Scripts of Kingship

Essays on Bernadotte and Dynastic Formation in Crisis and Revolution

MIKAEL ALM & BRITT-INGER JOHANSSON (EDS.)
Dynasty in the Making
A New King and His ‘Old’ Men in Royal Ceremonies 1810–1844

MIKAEL ALM

As the autumn storms momentarily subsided, former Maréchal of the French Empire and Prince of Ponte Corvo Jean Baptiste Bernadotte crossed the strait on a fleet of carefully ornamented barges, and landed on Swedish soil in Helsingborg on 20 October 1810 as the elected heir to the throne.¹ During the spring and summer of the preceding year, the political face of Sweden had changed dramatically. In March — in the midst of war — the reign of Gustavian absolutism was ended by a bloodless coup d'état. King Gustav iv Adolf was formally deposed in May and subsequently deported together with the queen, his ten-year-old son, by birth heir to the throne, and three daughters. A new liberal constitution was inaugurated in June, and the deposed king’s uncle, the ageing and childless Charles xiii, was proclaimed king.²

The arrival of Jean Baptiste, henceforth called Charles John, and the ensuing introduction of the new Bernadotte dynasty marked the end of these revolutionary events. The Swedish experience was not unique in a European context; this was an age of revolution, and Gustavian absolutism was by no means the only ancien régime to be overthrown in the wake of the Napoleonic wars. The events, nonetheless, had their peculiarities.

Returning to the quay that October afternoon, these peculiarities

¹ Carl Axel Löwenhielm, Min Lefvernes Beskrifning (Stockholm 1923), pp. 125 f.
² See e.g. Rolf Karlbom, Bakgrunden till 1809 års regeringsform. Studier i svensk konstitutionell opinionsbildning 1790–1809 (Göteborg 1964), and — with a cultural approach to events — Anders Sundin, 1809. Statskuppen och regeringsformens tillkomst som tolkningsprocess (Uppsala 2006). A brief comment on Swedish political history: Gustavian absolutism was established in 1772, when Gustav iii ended a half-century of parliamentary rule through a coup d'état. Monarchical rule was further strengthened by constitutional amendments in 1789. Gustav iii was assassinated by an aristocratic conspiracy in 1792, and succeeded by his son, Gustav iv Adolf, who reached majority in 1796.
appeared in the flesh. Three distinguished men formally greeted the arriving prince: the Marshal of the Realm Hans Henric von Essen, Field Marshal Johan Christopher Toll and his Excellency of the Realm Eric Ruuth. They had been appointed this honourable task by the new government and acted, so to speak, as the representatives of the new order. But they were hardly “new” in the field of politics. On the contrary, they had all been part of the political firmament of the former regime, and as such, they were highly qualified servants of absolutism.

Staging the State

The scene leads into the subject of this article. The reception was the first, however modest, in a series of ceremonies to be performed around the arriving prince and future king. The rich ceremonial repertoire that had taken shape over the centuries remained, and was — along with the bureaucratic and artistic apparatus to organise them — handed down to post-revolutionary monarchy. Although often (almost routine-like) referred to as Bourgeois in nature, the reign of Charles xiv was nonetheless a markedly ceremonial one. As the storms of revolution abated, the “liturgy” of state continued with decisive continuity. State ceremonies continued to enact the general structures and doings of political power, and, more specifically, the nature and proceedings of the new dynasty. The first Bernadottean dynastic cycle, with its ritual introduction and preparation of its first succession,
was illustriously enacted by a lengthy suite of dynastic ceremonies, such as funerals, coronations, weddings, baptisms and days of majority.

These ceremonies effectively communicated the ideological foundations and symbolic understanding of state power and the new dynasty. They staged a “theatre of power”, exhibiting the various assumptions that served to legitimise the structures of power.\(^5\) Rather than an ideological analysis of the dynastic imagery as manifested through space, rites, symbols and words, this article suggests a somewhat different approach.\(^6\) As Michael Walzer once put it — pinpointing the fundamental issues of structure, legitimacy and authority of power — the state is, in itself, “invisible”. It has to be “personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived”.\(^7\) Alongside the symbolical presentation, state ceremonies functioned as a “theatre of power” in a more tangible mode. As the ceremonial spectacles unfolded, the state was displayed as the sum of its institutions and high officials. Walking or riding in processions, standing or sitting in ceremonial rooms, actively or passively participating in the ritual proceedings, the servants of state — the actual “cogs” in the workings of state machinery — formed a corporeal, flesh-and-blood visualisation of state.\(^8\)

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\(^{6}\) These ideological lineaments are the subject of the ongoing research from which this article emanates. Bernadotte ceremonies are, overall, poorly researched, and what research there is, is found mainly in biographical works. See Dunbar P. Barton, *Bernadotte. Prince and King 1810–1844* (London 1923); Alma Söderhjelm, *Carl Johan. Ett karakterporträtt* (Stockholm 1939); Höjer (1943); Thorvald T:son Höjer, *Carl XIV Johan. Konungaåtiden* (Stockholm 1960); Lars O. Lagerqvist, *Karl XIV Johan. En fransman i Norden* (Stockholm 2005).


Returning to the opening scene on the quay as Bernadotte landed on Swedish soil, the presence of “old” men indicates the drama. In the midst of change, there was continuity. The scope of revolutionary shift had had its steadfast limitations, and as the “new” post-revolutionary order settled and the “new” Bernadotte dynasty was introduced, the course of events included the preservation of “old” and distinctly Gustavian elements. By focusing on the physical display of the leading men of state in three consecutive ceremonies, my aim is to approach the suspenseful events of revolutionary Sweden and, specifically, illustrate the intertwined histories of an old power elite and the promotion and installation of the new Bernadotte dynasty.

1810 – Entry

The first major ceremony to be performed around Bernadotte was his grand entry into Stockholm on 2 November 1810. This formed the ritual of arrival, by which the elected prince was inoculated into the royal household. It was performed for the second time that year. Only eleven months earlier, in January, the Danish Prince and Duke of Augustenborg Charles August, the first elected heir to the throne (who had died in May) made his entry in much the same, solemn manner.

Riding in a royal coach – drawn by eight horses and escorted by a fourteen sections long procession, opened and closed by two full squadrons of mounted guards, and to the massive thunder of salute – Charles John travelled the traditional route of royal entries. Entering through the northern city gate, where the Magistrate headed by the Chief Governor formally received him, he made his way to Gustav Adolf’s Square, encircling the Royal Palace on the seaside, crossing Riddarhustorget (the Square of the Noble House), passing Storkyrkan (the Stockholm Cathedral), and entering the courtyard. At the

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9 The entry was originally scheduled to take place on 1 November. Being the deposed king’s birthday, the date was deemed inappropriate, and the entry re-scheduled for the following day. Riksarkivet, Kongl. Maj:ts kansli, Ceremonimästarens arkiv, Journaler 22, p. 176.
10 Ordning Wid Hans Kongl. Höghets Thronföljarens Emottagande och Intåg i Residencet, 1810 (Stockholm 1810).
palace, he was ceremoniously escorted through the royal apartments to the
king’s Grand Bedchamber.¹⁹

Three days later, on 5 November, the inauguration was completed through
the solemn ceremony of the Oaths of allegiance.¹² Remaining in the king’s
Bedchamber on the day of the entry, however, the waiting king was encircled
by nineteen men as the prince entered. They were the equivalents of the
troika on the quay: in the capacity of Members of Cabinet, Excellencies of
the Realm and high state officials, they acted as the representatives of state in
the ritual of arrival and inoculation.¹³

Looking closer at these men, the drama indicated on the quay appears in
full scale. As shown in Table 1, all but one – Fredric Gyllenborg – had been
firmly anchored in the power elite of Gustavian absolutism as holders of high
offices of court, civil service and the military. Four of them had entered the
highest ranks during the reign of Gustav IV Adolf in the 1790s and 1800s.
Gustaf af Wetterstedt, for instance, who now presided as Chancellor of Court
– and who earlier the same year had been one of the leaders of the “French
Party” pushing for Bernadotte’s election – had served in the inner power
circles of the deposed king as his State Secretary of Foreign Affairs.¹⁴ But the
astounding majority of the men present – fourteen of the nineteen – had
pre-histories stretching even further back, to the reign of Gustav III in the

¹³ Ordning, Då Hans Kongl. Höghet Sveriges Utkorade Kron-Prins Prins JOHAN BAPTIST JULIUS
Håller Sit Intåg I Residencet, I November 1810 (Stockholm 1810), §§ 3–5. Unlike Charles John,
who – for unknown reasons and due to a last minute change – had started from Haga castle,
Charles August had started from Drottningholm castle, and entered through the western
gates. From Gustav Adolf’s Square, however, the routes were the same. See Ordning Wid
¹⁴ Sten Lewenhaupt, Svenska högre ämbetsmän från 1634. Högre ämbetsmän och chefer för statliga
verk inom central och lokalförvaltning m.m. Namn och årtal (Stockholm 1961), sections 370,
926. See also Sten Carlsson, Gustaf IV Adolfs fall. Krisen i rikstyrelsen, konspirationerna och
statsvälvningen (1827–1829) (Lund 1944), p. 69; Jörgen Weibull, “Katt bland hermeliner”, in
Antoinette Ramsay Herthelius (ed.), Karl xiv Johan – en europeisk karriär (Stockholm 1998),
p. 88.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Debut</th>
<th>Court</th>
<th>Civil</th>
<th>Military</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hans H. von Essen</td>
<td>Marshal of the Realm</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan G. Oxenstierna</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td>X/O</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Magnus F. Brahe</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan Liljencrantz</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredric Riddelstolpe</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl A. Wachtmeister</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Maurit Klingspor</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td></td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel af Ugglas</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1788</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lars von Engeström</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td></td>
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<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustaf M. Armfelt</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabian von Fersen</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredric Gyllenborg</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>/O</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathias Rosenblad</td>
<td>Member of Cabinet</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltzar von Platen</td>
<td>Member of Cabinet</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gudmund J. Adlerbeth</td>
<td>Member of Cabinet</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X/O</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carl J. Adlercreutz</td>
<td>Member of Cabinet</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabian Wrede</td>
<td>Member of Cabinet</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>/O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustaf af Wetterstedt</td>
<td>Chancellor of Court</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans G. Trolle-Wachtmeister</td>
<td>Chancellor of Justice</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Sten Lewenhaupt, Svenska högre ämbetsmän från 1634. Högre ämbetsmän och chefer för statliga verk inom central och lokal förvaltning m.m. Namn och årtal (Stockholm 1961), and Gustaf Elgenstierna, Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor i—51 (Stockholm 1925–1936).

Reading from left to right, the data in tables 1–3 is presented as follows: NAME = name and years of life; POSITION = office/rank at the time of the ceremony in question; DEBUT = the year of entering into high office; COURT = CIVIL = MILITARY = fields of office. X = before 1809, O =
1770s and 1780s. Fredric Ridderstolpe, who greeted Charles John as President of the Collegium of Mining, presented the greatest seniority. He entered the corridors of power as Chief Chamberlain of the crown prince and future king Gustav III in 1766, proceeded to government positions as Senator and the above-mentioned Presidency in 1789, and was appointed as a judge in the King’s Supreme Court by Gustav IV Adolf in 1796.16

Similar records are found among the others. Johan Liljencrantz, now President of the Collegium of Commerce, had for the duration of absolutism been a loyal servant in the field of finances and commerce, while Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna, now Excellency of the Realm, had been an equally loyal and highly rewarded servant of Gustav III and Gustav IV Adolf, holding high offices within the civil administration as well as the court (as a renowned poet in his time, he had also lent his pen to the praise of absolutism).17 Another highly familiar character was Magnus Fredrik Brahe. Something of a court favourite in the 1770s, he was among the first to be honoured with the dignity of Excellency of the Realm in 1778, and in the same year he had enjoyed the enormous favour of holding the infant Gustav (iv) Adolf at the pompous baptism. Later, Brahe served him as a confided member of interim governments, and as his appointed Speaker in the Estate of Nobles in 1800.18 As a final example, Gudmund Jöran Adlerbeth, now a Member of Cabinet, had been a prominent figure in the royal image-making apparatus during the 1770s, 1780s and 1790s. As Antiquarian of the Realm and Secretary of the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, he – who in 1809 had been one of the authors of the new constitution

3. The Oaths of Allegiance took place in the Hall of the Realm, a traditional stage for state ceremonies. The election was ceremoniously confirmed: Charles John, standing by the side of the throne, took his oath to the king, and the four estates in turn took their oaths to the elected crown prince. The nobles sit on benches to the left, the clergy, burghers and peasants to the right. (Ink, pen and watercolour on paper by Emanuel Linnell ca 1810–11. Nationalmuseum. NMH A 46/1973. Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
— had been the author of the many panegyric medals struck to glorify the absolutist reign of Gustav III.¹⁹

Nor was Gyllenborg — the seemingly sole exception in this highly Gustavian congregation — an entirely unfamiliar character in Gustavian history. Certainly, he entered the highest ranks after the revolution, and greeted Charles John as the elevated Minister of Justice. But during the entire reign of Gustav iv Adolf, he had served in the outskirts of the power elite as appointed deputy to the Chancellor of Justice.²⁰

In the midst of revolutionary change with dethronement, a new constitution and the arrival of a new dynasty, the presence of these men represents an equally decisive continuity in the Swedish power elite. Rather than the formation of a new elite, the political transitions saw the persistence — or re-formation — of an old one. The corridors of power were, in comparison to the many revolutions and changing gallery of characters in contemporary France, populated by the likes of the unscrupulous turncoat Talleyrand. They were veritable personifications of his much quoted maxim that “treason is a matter of dates”.

Everyone, it should be added, was not equally successful in this transition. Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt and Samuel af Ugglas — two reputable royal favourites of the past, presented to Charles John as Excellencies of the Realm and Presidents — were about to fall.²¹ The former was soon accused of conspiracies to restore ex-Crown Prince Gustav (the son of Gustav iv Adolf) to the throne and went in exile to Finland in spring 1811, where he went into imperial service of the Tsar as Governor General of the new Russian Grand Duchy. The latter, notorious Chief of the equally feared and loathed secret police during late absolutism, was simply too closely allied with the deposed king

²⁰ Elgenstierna (1925-36) 3, p. 236.
and, lacking support within the power elite, he was silently ostracised from the corridors of power and retired to his provincial estate.  

The lines of continuity are, nonetheless, distinct. They are perfectly illustrated by two men. Carl Johan Adlercreutz, a trusted military leader of Gustavian absolutism, had been the Commander-in-chief of the Northern army in 1809. He – who now greeted Charles John as a Member of Cabinet – was the very man who, on 13 March the previous year, had marched into the king’s cabinet, in charge of his arrest and subsequent removal from the capital.  

Hans Henric von Essen represents the ensuing process of introducing the new dynasty. As ranking Colonel and favourite courtier, he had actually been the one walking arm in arm with Gustav III as the king was shot in 1792, and he had continued his military and civil services during the reign of Gustav IV Adolf. As Marshal of the Realm, he was now in charge of the ceremonial displays around Charles John, and the one who escorted him – albeit not literally arm in arm – in the procession of entry, through the royal apartments, and into the king’s Bedchamber, as the ritual of inoculation unfolded.  

The presence of old men offers valuable insights into the nature of revolutionary events. The revolution in 1809 was essentially staged and carried out by the power elite. It was a revolution from within. The very men who had served as the loyal servants of absolutism turned against it, and in March 1809 years of conspiracies and covert obstructions culminated in open revolt within the highest ranks of military and civil leadership. As so lavishly demonstrated by the display of characters in the king’s Bedchamber – staging the power elite and its rejoicing around the elected heir to the throne – these


men were equally in charge of the new regime and the introduction of the new dynasty.

1818 – Coronation

Moving ahead in time to the coronation in May 1818, and the elected heir’s ritual transformation into King Charles xiv John, the continuation of the intertwined histories of the old elite and the new dynasty comes into view.

The day of the coronation opened with a massive procession of 55 sections, escorting the king to Storkyrkan – since the seventeenth century the prime site of Swedish coronations – where the traditional rituals of anointing, oath, investiture of regalia, and holy blessing unfolded.

The procession formed a vivid example of the ceremonial staging of state. As Charles xiv – under a canopy, forming the 26th section – solemnly strode along the designated route and entered the church, he was accompanied by all the main corpuses of state. It was, quite literally, a display of the state “on foot”. Before him, the procession opened with the royal and princely courts, followed by the legislative assemblies of the united kingdoms, the Norwegian deputies and the four Swedish estates, followed in turn by Rikets Allmänna Ärenders Beredning (the State Drafting Department) and the Supreme Court, followed by the Members of Cabinet. After him, the procession went on with their Excellencies of the Realm, followed by the five orders of chivalry, headed by their heralds, succeeded by the manifold rows of the three female courts, Ladies of State, the military ranks, the State Collegia, and, finally, the Magistrate and the Fifty Elders of the city.

The ceremony as performed had several distinctly Gustavian features. For

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26 Ordning Wid Hans Kongl. Maj:ts, Konung CARL XIV JOHANS Kröning och Hyllning wid Riksdagen i Stockholm år 1818 (Stockholm 1818), §§ 18, 27, 28, 29–35, 36. However, the ceremony was not unchanged. The customary coronation banquet was, as noted by the Grand Master of Ceremonies, “called off” by the king. Instead, he had a more secluded meal with the royal family, whilst the festive banquets for the Estates and the diplomatic corps were delegated to the Marshal of the Realm and the two State Ministers. Riksarkivet, Kongl. Maj:ts kansli, Ceremonimästarens arkiv, Journaler 30, pp. 102–104. Apparently, the rituals of grand and public eating had no place in Bernadottean ceremonials; the last traditional and full-scale coronation banquet to be staged in Sweden was that of Charles xiii in 1809.

instance, the colourful cavalcade of costumes depicted on the official painting of the coronation — picturing the moment of the actual crowning — is highly familiar. The robe worn by Charles xiv, with its long coat of cloth-of-silver with silver embroidery worn with top boots in purple velvet and golden crowns, was moulded from the model introduced by Gustav iii in 1772. It had become something of a traditional coronation robe; with minor adjustments according to changing fashion, Gustav iv Adolf had used it in 1800 and Charles xiii in 1809. The Excellencies encircling the throne were, furthermore, wearing Gustavian ceremonial costumes, and the spectators in the background displayed a virtual catalogue of the various costumes issued by Gustav iii and Gustav iv Adolf for the ranks of court, military and civil government.

These Gustavian features in the clothing of power had their counterparts in the anatomy of power. Around the king — on foot in the procession, seated or standing in church — were the very same men who had greeted him as elected heir and participated in the ritual of inoculation in 1810. Looking at the procession from a bird’s-eye view, they begin to appear: af Wetterstedt, still Chancellor of Court, walking with the Members of Cabinet in the 16th section, and Trolle-Wachtmeister walking as Excellency of the Realm in dignified proximity to the king, behind the crown prince, in the 29th section. Next to Trolle-Wachtmeister, furthermore, walked Georg Adlersparre, who as Commander of the Western army in the spring of 1809 had led its rebellious march on Stockholm, thus igniting the revolutionary process in the capital.

28 Royal use of silver-cloth (alternatively white) was of considerably older date; the continuity refers to the composition and cut of the costume with its long coat, belt and high boots. On coronation robes, Gudrun Ekstrand, Kröningsdräkter i Sverige (Stockholm 1991), pp. 90–94, 105–108, 114–117, 124–128. In contrast to the lines of continuity stressed here, Ekstrand argues that Charles’s robe marked a new style, inspired by imperial France, and a break with Gustavian tradition (p. 122).

29 On these costumes, see e.g. Eva Bergman, Nationella dräkten. En studie kring Gustaf IIs dräktreform 1778 (Stockholm 1938), and Georg W. Fleetwood, "Gustav iv Adolfs Provinsuniform", in Gustavianskt. Studier kring den gustavianska tidens kulturhistoria tillägnade Sigurd Wallin på hans femtiotredje (Stockholm 1932). See also Philip Mansel, Dressed to Rule. Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II (New Haven & London 2005), pp. 51–54.

The seven Excellencies of the Realm seen encircling the throne on the painting may illustrate the prevailing lines of continuity (see Table 2). All but one has already been mentioned: Ruuth was one of the three men who greeted Charles at the quay, while von Essen (also present at the quay), Wachtmeister, von Engeström, Brahe and Gyllenborg had been present in the king’s Bedchamber. The seventh Excellency – Field Marshal Curt von Stedingk – was no different in regards to his pre-history as a loyal servant of absolutism. Appointed Colonel in 1779, he had risen to the rank of General in 1807, and he had served as the trusted Ambassador at the Russian court during the reigns of Gustav III and Gustav IV Adolf.  

**TABLE 2: The Coronation 1818 (Excellencies carrying regalia)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Debut</th>
<th>Court</th>
<th>Civil</th>
<th>Military</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hans H. von Essen (1755–1824)</td>
<td>Marshal of the Realm</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curt von Stedingk (1746–1837)</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm, Field Marshal (Mantle)</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Ruuth (1746–1820)</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm (Key)</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Carl A. Wachtmeister (1740–1820)</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm (Orb)</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lars von Engeström (1751–1826)</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Sceptre)</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td></td>
<td>X/O</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magnus F. Brahe (1756–1826)</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm (Sword)</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td></td>
<td>X/O</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredric Gyllenborg (1767–1829)</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm, Minister of Justice (Crown)</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>(x)/O</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Sten Lewenhaupt, *Svenska högre ämbetsmän från 1634. Högre ämbetsmän och chefer för statliga verk inom central och lokal förvaltning m.m. Namn och årtal* (Stockholm 1961); and Gustaf Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor 1–9* (Stockholm 1925–1936).

The intertwined histories of the old elite and the new dynasty – and the continued role of the former in the introduction of the latter – was almost overtly staged as the ceremony progressed. The destroyers of kings, quite literally, re-emerged as the makers of kings. As the procession entered the
church, the seven Excellencies of the Realm walked immediately in front of the king, carrying the regalia on blue velvet cushions. And as the Archbishop performed the ritual of investiture, they were the ones who – one by one, whilst von Essen directed the course of events with the marshal’s staff – furnished the new king with his insignia of kingship.32

Adding to the revolutionary drama, and further underscoring the Gustavian character of events, several of the eminent men now performing the ritual “making” of King Charles xiv had been equally prominent in the “making” of Gustav iv Adolf at the coronation in 1800. Eric Ruuth had carried the Sceptre in the procession, Wachtmeister the Key, while von Essen, at that time Stable Master of the Realm, had been on horseback, heading the heralds preceding the regalia, and Brahe, originally appointed to escort the queen, had headed the Estate of Nobles as their appointed Speaker.33

Looking ahead, to the autumn of 1818, and Charles xiv’s Norwegian coronation at the medieval Cathedral Nidaros in Trondheim, the lines of continuity re-appear. As in Stockholm, the ceremony formed a physical staging of the state. It was, however, a different state: it was not a post-Gustavian one, but a post-Oldenburg one, as Norway for more than four centuries had been under Danish rule. Albeit “old” men in the sense of being firmly anchored in the political firmament of Norway, the power elite to be staged in processions and rituals was of another making, and – lacking connections with Gustavian absolutism and Swedish revolutionary events – it formed a history of its own.34

The contours appear on the Norwegian coronation painting. The king, on the throne, has already been invested with his regalia, and Crown Prince

33 CEREMONIAL Wid Deras Majestäters Konung GUSTAF IV. ADOLPHS Och Drottning FREDRICA DOROTHEA WILHELMINAS Kröning Wid Riksdagen i Norrköping År 1800 (Stockholm 1800), § 18:14, 18:22, 18:24, 18:11:5. Slottsarkivet, Riksmarskalksämnetets arkiv, D 1:3, Överkammarrherrens journal, pp. 677–679. The majority of men greeting Charles John in 1810 had officiated in 1800: Oxenstierna had orchestrated the rites as Marshal of the Realm, Wrede had carried the Mantle in procession, Klingspor had carried the queen’s Sceptre, Liljencrantz had escorted her, and Ridderstolpe had carried the king’s Sword at the ensuing coronation banquet.
4. Charles XIV surrounded by familiar servants of Gustavian absolutism. Gyllenborg, assisted by the Archbishop, places the crown on the king's head. Behind him, front to back: von Essen with the marshal's staff, Brahe with the sword, Ruuth with the key, Wachtmeister with the orb, and von Stedingk with the mantle. To the left, the seventh Excellency, von Engeström with the sceptre, comes into view. (Oil painting by Pehr Krafft the Younger 1826, detail. Nationalmuseum. NM Rbg 58. Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
Oskar on his right is swearing the oath. The equivalents of the seven Excellencies in Stockholm are readily identified, forming among themselves a personification of the king’s Norwegian Cabinet. Encircling the podium, they stand on foot, sit on benches and on tabourets. In the forefront, the mighty First Minister Peder Anker – who enjoyed particular royal favour as the single Excellency of the Realm named in Norway – has invested the king with the Crown, and is now administering the oath. Immediately behind the throne, hats on their heads, stand Mathias Otto Leth Sommerhjelm with the raised Sword and Christian Krogh with the Orb on a velvet cushion. To the left, on the second row of tabourets, sit Jonas Collet and Thomas Fasting, the former having carried the Sceptre now in the king’s right hand, the latter the Mantle now on the king’s shoulder. Finally, on the far left, Court Marshal of the Norwegian court Ferdinand Wedel-Jarlsberg orchestrates events, bare-headed with marshal’s staff in hand.

But as the ritual making of a new king was re-enacted on Norwegian grounds and the introduction of the dynasty progressed, the old Gustavian men once again took center stage. Glancing to the left of the coronation painting, two eminent, and by now familiar, representatives of the Swedish king-makers come into view. Prominently placed on the first row of tabourets on the right side of the throne, on the very steps of the podium, af Wetterstedt and von Engeström – in greyish eminence, wearing official costumes of state, decorated with strings of orders – preside as the coronation unfolds. The latter, in addition, had walked by the king’s side as the procession strode to and entered the Cathedral.

35 This was the first coronation in Norway since 1514. Vague traditions paved the way for inventing new ones. Charles had a new set of Norwegian regalia made on his personal expense. Furthermore, instead of his Swedish coronation robe, Charles wore a black marshal’s uniform with embroidered leaves and epaulettes on the shoulders and high leather boots. Inge-mar Karlsson, Ann Grönhammar & Else Braut (eds.), Brödrafolkens väl. Unionen 1814-1905 (Stockholm 2005), pp. 139–142.


37 Ceremoniel ved Hans Kongelige Majestet Kong Carl XIV. Johans Kroning i Trondhjem Aar 1818, § 16:17. The two coronation processions made up physical moulds of the united kingdoms; whereas a Swedish Excellency escorted the king in Trondheim, a Norwegian Excellency –
Thus, fewer in number and more reserved in the Norwegian ritual, the “old” men re-appeared in the midst of dynastic making.38

1844 – Funeral

Looking yet further ahead in time, the ceremonial settings reflect the gradual process of rejuvenation of the power elite. As the “old” men retired and died, “new” men appeared and took their places in high offices and, consequently, in the ceremonies. Over time, the originally Gustavian fabric of the dynasty as displayed in processions and rituals grew increasingly “Bernadottean”.

As the long reign of Charles xiv came to an end in 1844 and the power elite assembled for the enactment of the final state ceremony – the funeral – these processes are vividly illustrated. By now, the majority of the men who had greeted him in 1810 and encircled him in 1818 were long gone, and a new guard appears.

The ceremony occurred in three main stages, prolonged for months, conscientiously initiating the ritual transference of royalty from the dead king onto his successor. First, the king – on a raised catafalque, under a black canopy, surrounded by regalia – lay in State in the Seraphim Hall, the walls covered in black cloth and illuminated by 600 wax candles. Second, the coffin, again under a black canopy, was escorted by a 64 sections long procession, all dressed in mourning, to the traditional royal tomb in Riddarholmskyrkan and placed on a podium, below the erected castrum doloris, at the high altar. And third, the actual funeral rites with its conventional bell-ringing, hymn

38 Opposite them, another Gustavian character presides: Jacob De la Gardie, head of the delegates of the Swedish Parliament. Born in 1768, he reached the rank of Colonel in 1792. A court-favourite of Gustav iv Adolf – nicknamed the king’s “minister of jests” – he also served as a diplomat. In 1806 he was entrusted with the task of leading the nobles at the Assembly of the Estates in Pomerania, and in 1808 he was appointed Brigade Commander of the Southern army. Certainly, his dogged loyalty to the deposed dynasty in 1809–10 disturbed the new regime, but he soon adhered to the new order and joined the ranks as Excellency of the Realm, General and Chief Marshal of the queen’s court. Anders Grade, “De la Gardie, Jacob Gustaf”, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon 10 (Stockholm 1931), pp. 742–753; Elgenstierna (1925–36) 2, p. 229.
singing, funeral music, sermons, reading of the king's biography, and – finally – the coffin's removal to the crypt.39

Again, these pompous spectacles served as a staging of state. The holders of the highest offices of court, civil service and military were ever present and on display throughout the proceedings. They appear around the catafalque as the king's body lay in State, corpus by corpus in the procession as it was escorted to church, and on benches, tabourets and foot as the burial progressed.

In 1818, the clothing of power had indicated the lines of continuity; in 1844, the official costumes indicate the changes. As the many-headed procession strode the designated route, carpeted with black cloth and lined by military guards, a new mourning attire for all members of the orders of chivalry – decided by royal decree on March 26 – came into view. With its fashion-right top hat, simple black coat with a single row of buttons, pantaloons replacing breeches, top boots with spurs replacing shoes, and long cloak, it was a decisively Bernadottean apparel, replacing the Gustavian costumes of the past.40

Looking closer, the “new” men crystallise. In section 30, for instance, the Marshal of the Realm, Magnus Brahe – with mourning crape on the marshal's staff – marched ahead of the long parade of the king's foreign and Swedish orders of chivalry. In church, he took his prominent seat on the right hand side of the coffin, and as it was removed to the chapel, he walked at its foot.41 Surely, his Gustavian lineage was apparent. But it ran in blood via his father, the above-mentioned Magnus Fredrik Brahe, not in service. Born in 1790, he had no Gustavian pre-history of his own. As newly appointed courtier at the time of Charles's arrival, Brahe was immediately taken into

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39 The king died on 8 March; he was laid in State on 15 April, and the funeral was held on 26 April. Ordning vid Högstalig Hans Kongl. Maj:ts Konung CARL XIV JOHANS Begräfnings i Riddarholms Kyrkan den 26 April 1844 (Stockholm 1844), §§ 1, 9, 11. See also Sveriges Stats-Tidning eller Post- och Inrikes Tidningar, April 16 1844 and April 26 1844.

40 The approved design was on display the weeks preceding the funeral. Livrustkammaren, Handlingar rörande ceremoniell. Karl xiv Johans kröning 1818, untitled decree March 26 1844. The Gustavian set of costumes had been subject to several reforms since 1818. See e.g. Karl Löfström, Sveriges riddarorden (Stockholm 1949), p. 341; Lena Rangström, "Den svenska hovdräkten – nationell och europeisk", in Tony Lewenhaupt, Lena Rangström & Angela Rundquist (eds.), Hovets dräkter (Stockholm 1994), p. 26.

Although royal ceremonies drew large crowds of spectators, mass-produced prints such as this panorama of the funeral procession in 1844 brought the ceremonial display to a wider audience. Here, a detail is seen depicting the section with the king’s coffin and the five Excellencies carrying the regalia. (Engraving, från dödsbädden till grafchoret. Panorama öfver processionen vid högtsalig H.M. Konung Carl XIV Johans likbegängelse i riddarholmskyrkan den 26th april 1844. Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Kart- och bildavdelningen. Photo: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.)
special favour, constantly by the prince's and later king's side (he is depicted in the row of men standing behind the king on the Norwegian coronation painting). A swift military career followed Charles's accession to the throne. He reached the rank of Colonel in 1820, climbing further to Major General in 1824, Chief of the general staff in 1828 and Lieutenant General in 1830. Likewise prominent at court - nicknamed "the factotum of court" - he was appointed Marshal of the Realm in 1831, and named Excellency of the Realm. In comparison to his predecessor, the utterly Gustavian Hans Henric von Essen who had orchestrated the arrival and accession of the new dynasty, Brahe, who was now in charge of the first Bernadotte funeral and succession, was of a different fabric.

Further back, the equivalents of the seven Excellencies at the coronation are found in the 35th section. Albeit fewer in number – only five – they performed the same symbolically charged function. Walking in front of the coffin, they carried the regalia on black velvet cushions. As shown in TABLE 3, they had all entered the highest ranks after 1809 and three of them after 1818. They were the likes of Brahe. Albrecht Ihre, now carrying the Sceptre, can serve to illustrate the point. Born in 1797, he had entered the ranks as diplomat in 1827, nearly a decade into the reign of Charles xiv. Proceeding rapidly through the ranks, he was appointed State Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1831, Chancellor of Justice in 1838, Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1840, and finally advanced to the rank of Excellency of the Realm in 1842.

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43 The gradual pace of transition is illustrated by the succession of Marshals of the Realm. The intermediate holder of the office (between 1824 and 1831), Claes Fleming, represented a second phase, middling between the "old" Gustavians like von Essen and the "new" men like Brahe. Born in 1771, he represented a younger generation of Gustavians who had entered high offices during late absolutism. Certainly, in his case the early career had been quite informal; alleged favourite of King Gustav iv Adolf, appointed Chief Chamber Groom in 1795, he entered the ranks of high office as member of the Swedish Academy in 1799. But his real breakthrough came after 1809, as Member of Cabinet in 1810, Excellency of the Realm in 1814, President in 1824, and – the same year – Marshal of the Realm. Elgenstierna (1925–36) 2, p. 747; Bengt Hildebrand, "Fleming, Claes Adolph", Svenskt biografiskt lexikon 16 (Stockholm 1966), pp. 163–165.
45 Elgenstierna (1925–36) 4, p. 7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Debut</th>
<th>Court</th>
<th>Civil</th>
<th>Military</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arvid M. Posse</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm, ex-Minister of Justice (Key)</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>O/Q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustaf A. Stiernefeld</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs (Orb)</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>(o)</td>
<td>O/Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl A. Löwenhielm</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm, ex-Member of Cabinet (Sword)</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>(o)</td>
<td>(q)</td>
<td>(x)/O/Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albrecht E. Ihre</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Sceptre)</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>(o)</td>
<td>O/Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lars H. Gyllenhall</td>
<td>Excellency of the Realm, Minister of Justice (Crown)</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>(o)</td>
<td>O/Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Incidentally, the procession also staged the continued history of the Norwegian power elite. In front of the five Swedish Excellencies, their Norwegian counterparts carried the Norwegian regalia on equally black cushions. Although representing a history of its own, historically quite autonomous from Swedish politics, the Norwegian power elite had experienced a corresponding rejuvenation since 1818. Prominent family names persist, individual histories intertwine, but the men on foot presented a new – and in a sense more Bernadottean – guard. Now Norwegian First Minister and carrying the Crown, Fredrik Due, for instance, had made his career in the Bernadotte ranks. Born in 1796, he had a rapid military career combined with a civil one, entering high office as State Secretary in 1822, and appointed First Minister in 1841. His ceremonial offices, as Norwegian Herald of the Realm and Master of Ceremonies of the Orders, suggest an equally active role in the ceremonial presentation of dynasty by the Norwegian power elite.46

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46 *Ordning vid Högstalig Hans Kongl. Maj:ts Konung CARL XIV JOHANS Begrafning i Riddarholms Kyrrkan den 26 April 1844, § 10:34. S. H. Finne-Grønn, “Due, Frederik”, Norsk biografisk leksikon 3 (Oslo 1926), pp. 374–377. The other three carriers of regalia were: Hans Petersen, born in 1793, entered ranks as Prefect (stiftsamtmann) in 1837 and appointed Member of Cabinet in...*
Returning again to the Swedish Excellencies, the links to the past were still present. The gradual transition from “old” to “new” men is personified by the pre-history of Carl Axel Löwenhielm, born in 1772 and the most senior of the five. He had entered ranks as Colonel in October 1809, and as Member of Cabinet in 1822 and his being named Excellency of the Realm in 1826, his position in the power elite was firmly anchored in the reign of Charles xiv. But his career had begun in the service of absolutism, as a climbing military officer and courtier in the 1790s. The fact that he was a bastard son of Charles XIII adds an extra twist to his position as a link between dynasties.47

A glance at the peripheries of the 1844 ceremonial spectacle, and additional traces from the past – like physical remnants of the early phase of dynastic introduction – surface. For instance, the signature on the decree issued on funeral dress reveals a familiar name: Mathias Rosenblad. Born in 1758, and thus approaching his 90s, he had entered civil service during the reign of Gustav III, reaching high office as member of the Ecclesiastical Drafting Department in 1786, and appointed as State Secretary in 1792. As such, he rose to considerable power during the reign of Gustav IV Adolf, in effect Minister of the Interior with a fixed tabouret in the king’s cabinet meetings. During the revolution in 1809, he had played the role of loyal servant, preparing the king’s proclamation with its forceful condemnation of the revolt of the Western army and its equally passionate demand for order and subordination. Later the same day – now an open coup-man – he administered the retraction of the very same proclamation from public view, and took seat in the new government as a Member of Cabinet. In this capacity, he was among the men greeting Charles in the king’s Bedchamber in 1810 (see TABLE I). Rising still, he was named Excellency of the Realm in 1810, and appointed Minister of Justice in 1829. A loyal Gustavian turned revolutionary, turned loyal Bernadottean,


6. Mathias Rosenblad (1758–1847), portrayed in succession as: 1. A young Judge Referee in the service of Gustav III. (Oil painting by Ulrica F. Pasch 1789. Private owner.)

Furthermore, the life and career of Mathias Rosenblad adds a facet to the process of rejuvenation within the Swedish power elite. Surely, the “old” Gustavians had a firm grip on the state machinery, retiring mainly by death. But beyond this natural transition to the “new” men, political events also contributed to the process. Rosenblad’s activities in the funeral arrangements were made in his capacity of Chancellor of the Royal Orders, an office he had been appointed to in 1838 and which, in 1844, was among the few offices he still held. A virtual embodiment of the austere conservatism that permeated Charles’s politics, he was increasingly under attack by the liberal opposition, and after the tumultuous \textit{riksdag} in 1840 the king was forced to relieve him from his offices.\footnote{Karlbom (2000), p. 488. Elgenstierna (1925–36) 6, p. 450.}

The new men continued to fill the ranks; by the time of Rosenblad’s death in 1847, Arvid Mauritz Posse as well as Lars Herman Gyllenhaal – both eminent carriers of the dead king’s regalia in the procession – had held his old office as Minister of Justice.\footnote{Lewenhaupt (1961), section 901.}

The Making of a Dynasty

As the new post-revolutionary, constitutional and Bernadottean Sweden emerged from the turmoil of 1809, the royal ceremonies convincingly illustrate the suspenseful nature of the course of events. Certainly, these events can be described in terms of a revolution \textit{of} government; the old absolutist political order was replaced by a constitutional one. Above all, it was a revolution \textit{by} government – a \textit{coup d’état}, essentially engineered and carried out from within by the power elite. But, apart from the removal of the king, it was far from a revolution \textit{in} government. The old men remained, adding continuity and a distinctly Gustavian accent to all the changes that brought about the new Bernadottean Sweden.
Thus, the references to the “making of a dynasty” in the title of this article have double implications. On the one hand, the old elite took charge of the making of the new dynasty — in a practical sense by Bernadotte’s election and subsequent installation, and in a symbolic sense by fabricating and presenting the imagery the new dynasty, not least through the ceremonial medium. On the other hand, the old men constituted the actual making of the new dynasty as holders of the high offices of government. Charles xiv’s well-documented “Gustavian fright” should be put in perspective. True, he was suspiciously on guard against any hint of a restoration of the old dynasty; by law he banned contacts with the deposed king or his family, and with ruthless determination he ordered the eradication of the remaining memorials of Gustav iv Adolf. But his throne depended on Gustavian support and he was literally in Gustavian hands. Upon his arrival an alliance was forged between the new king and the old men, lasting for decades, and ensuring a successful dynastic transition by anchoring the new dynasty in an existing elite fabric of Swedish society.

Returning to the funeral procession in 1844, it also indicates the continuation of the story. The death of Charles was neither the end of dynasty nor of the power elite. Instead, a new chapter was opened. Further back in the procession came the new king, Oskar i, surrounded and supported by the loyal servants handed down to him by his father. And as the dynastic cycle started anew, these were the very men who were to be on display and carry his regalia to his coronation.

The intertwined histories of dynasty and power elite – quite literally – marched on.

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The image shows the personification of Sweden, Svea, as she grieves Charles August, the first crown prince elect, who preceded Charles John. Charles August died, presumably of stroke, during a military manoeuvre, but rumours circulated for some time that he had been poisoned by Count von Fersen. As a result of this, the Count was brutally lynched by a mob. (Engraving: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Kart- och bildavdelningen. Photo: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.)
1. Charles XIV, posing in a portrait commemorating his 25th anniversary as king of Sweden. He is wearing the uniform of a French Marshal while standing in a room at the Royal Palace of Stockholm. Through the window is seen the church of Skeppsholmen, built on his initiative. The plans for Garnisonssjukhuset (the Garrison Hospital) and Göta kanal (the Göta Channel), as well as a book titled Victoires et Conquêtes referring to martial deeds, are lying by his right foot. On the mantelpiece there is an urn and a vase in porphyry referring to his investment in the porphyry works in Älvdalen. (Oil painting by Emile Maseré 1843. Nationalmuseum. NM Rbg 36. Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
II. The new dynasty, as represented by its members Charles XIV, Queen Desideria, Crown Prince Oskar, and his consort Crown Princess Josefina, and all their children. They are standing in the Pavilion of Gustav III at Haga. The portrait reminds the viewer of the connection between the old and the new dynasty. Behind Charles XIV, there is a portrait bust of Charles XIII representing the old dynasty. The new dynasty is represented by the Crown Prince standing next to his father who is holding his right hand on top of the head of his grandson Prince Charles as if he was blessing him. (Oil painting by Fredrik Westin c. 1837. Nationalmuseum. NM Grb 1706. Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
Apart from Charles XIV himself, the coronation painting carefully depicts two additional royalties. On the far left, Princess Sofia Albertina, the last remaining member of the Gustavian royal family, represents the lineage of the old dynasty. Further to the right, Crown Prince Oskar represents the future of the new dynasty. (Oil painting by Pehr Krafft the Younger 1826. Nationalmuseum. NM Rbg 58. Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
iv. The Acclamation of King Charles XIV in 1818 upon his ascension to the throne taking place in front of the Royal Palace of Stockholm. The royal family and representatives of the four estates are sitting in a temporary wooden loggia. Warships salute him with the citizenry watching and cheering from the bridge. The king was soon to move into the apartment formerly occupied by his adoptive father. (Oil painting by Carl Stephan Benét. Nationalmuseum. NM 4739. Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
V. In the painting we see the sculptor Bengt Erland Fogelberg surprised by a visitor - us - while working on the Odin statue in his studio in Rome. The sculpture was commissioned in 1828. It was probably intended to be the focal point of the planned museum at Rosendal, as the Norse god was often used as a personification of Charles XIV. The sculpture was a success, and was celebrated as a masterpiece upon its delivery in 1831. (Oil painting by Carl Stephan Bennet, c. 1832. Nationalmuseum. NM 3892. Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
VI. A Norwegian landscape painted in the mid-19th century, but still reminiscent of the pastoral Northern scenery described in Bernhard von Beskow's libretto for Queen Desideria's coronation in 1829. (Oil painting by Charles XV. Uppsala universitets konstsamling, UU 163. Photo: Uppsala universitets konstsamling.)
VII. Charles XIV and the Crown Prince visiting the burial mounds of Gamla Uppsala. They are contemplating the content of the poem cited in the text, seemingly at the moment being read aloud by the prelate, standing in front of the king in the painting. (Oil painting by Johan Wägner 1836. Nationalmuseum. NM 4813. Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
VIII. This memorial stone, still standing at the regiment at Frösön in Jämtland, was raised in 1838. The stone was the subject of several articles in The Swedish State Paper in the light of a testimony on both the loyalty of the Swedish people and the Norse entrenchment of Charles XIV. (Photo: Tourist Information Office, Östersund.)