

Symbols of Growth: The Decoration of Swedish Schools 1890-1920

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At the turn of the twentieth century Sweden's national identity required redefinition. In 1905 the dissolution of the Treaty of Kiel ended Sweden's acrimonious union with Norway. Political losses were compounded by mass emigration, principally to North America. The advent of industrialisation in Sweden coincided with an international rise in literacy levels. Felling vast tracts of northern forest proved lucrative, with paper pulp becoming the country's largest single export by 1914. One of the results of such large scale harnessing and exploiting of natural resources was the creation of an uprooted urban proletarian class. In response to this social upheaval, Sweden witnessed a profusion of idealistic peoples' movements and associations, which engaged in the enlightenment and beautification of life for the masses. Trade Union study circles, lecture series and Grundtvig's *Folkhögskolor* [Folk High Schools] offered adult learning opportunities. The opening of Skansen, Arthur Hazelius' pioneering open-air museum, in 1891 and Stockholm's Art and Industry exhibition of 1897 introduced new dimensions to popular education. Resembling Sweden in miniature, Skansen condensed a country's ethnographic culture into a palatable experience. Whilst Lapps, reindeers and a polar bear grotto added a touch of the exotic to the capital, the inclusion of a provincial, turn-of-the-century school-house must have been a familiar sight for many Stockholmers, only a generation or two removed from the land. The *folkskola* [primary school] statute of 1842 decreed compulsory attendance for all children, further stipulating that within five years each parish should provide and maintain a permanent *folkskola* building.

In her seminal text *The Century of the Child* (1900), author Ellen Key (1849-1926) presents her vision for the school of the future, "In every room, on the outside of the building, architecture and decoration will form a beautiful whole..."¹ According to Key, beauty was to be equated with moral goodness. Thus the placing of art in schools was invested with the responsibility to edify, rather than simply instruct the child. The aim of this paper is to examine the realisation of this concept through the activities of *Föreningen för skolornas prydnad med konstverk* [The Society for the Decoration of Schools with Artwork] and like-minded individuals. The Society was primarily concerned with children's ability 'to see' works of art, aspiring "...to convey art to the youth and the youth to the art."² Positioning the works of art in question within communal spaces facilitated the regular access to art prescribed by the Society. Didactic messages were channelled through compositional devices such as scenes of familiar localities and the empathetic subject of the youth in Swedish nature. Discussion will focus on how these art works made a collective school identity compatible with lessons in fostering national identity.

The Society for the Decoration of Schools with Artwork was established in Stockholm on 12th March, 1897, by Carl G. Laurin (1868-1940) and his younger brother, Thorsten (1875-1954). Informal in its approach to organisation, the Society's committee also included various important cultural figures. With both Laurin brothers employed at P. A. Norstedt and Sons publishing house, the Society was advantageously positioned to propagate art in schools. In *Konsten och skolan och konsten i hemmet* [Art in the school and art in the home] 1899, Carl G. Laurin formulated the Society's recommendations to improve Swedish children's understanding of art. Obligatory visits to local monumental buildings and museums were to be regularly conducted with historical context from an accompanying teacher in order to heighten the pupils' sense of beauty. In addition to its commitment to obtain high quality art reproductions, the Society's cachet rested on its aspiration to introduce monumental art to school walls.

An initial sum of 500 kronor was allocated to achieving this proposal. The Society worked on the premise that each member school would pay an annual fee of 10 kronor in order to receive works of art. Inevitably, such an ambitious undertaking would require great financial and artistic support. The Society was able to secure both by functioning as an alliance of art patrons that tapped into a solicitous

vein in contemporary Swedish society. Men like the Laurins, "...alert, indefatigable, truly alive persons, young men at their best..." in the words of the artist Carl Larsson (1853-1919), moved easily within Stockholm's intimate intelligentsia circles.³ Amongst their influential friends were counted Swedish artists Anders Zorn and Prince Eugen who offered the revenues from some of their exhibitions to the cause.

Attitudes towards aesthetic embellishment were strengthened by an 1897 Riksdag decree that assigned 1% of expenditure on new state buildings to their artistic decoration. Whereas the acquisition of funds depended on variable sources, combining state and private contribution, one resource that was readily available to the Society was an abundance of wall space. During this period, city parishes sustained the construction of massive schools to accommodate the upsurge in the number of school children. Immense demands were placed on these schools. *Maria folkskola*, located in Stockholm's Södermalm district opened its doors in 1893. It had been designed for 2000 pupils, however, by the time of its completion, 4000 children needed places. The city council granted an additional 350,000 kronor in 1907 for an extension to be built along Wollmar Yxkullsgatan. In the meantime, pupils were divided into morning and afternoon classes to ensure that every child received lessons each day.

The *folkskola* aroused deep civic pride. A speaker at the inauguration of a Malmö *folkskola* in 1899 declared that, "...Folkskolan är svenska folkets skötebarn" [The Folkskola is the Swedish peoples' favourite child].⁴ When trying to ascertain the reasons for this effusiveness, it is important to remember that the *folkskola* had no direct architectural precedent. The use of inadequate existing and non-purpose-built buildings was abandoned largely due to the efforts of P.A.Siljeström (1815-1892). Siljeström effectively united both practical and aesthetic elements in school architecture. His scheme to circulate sets of art engravings and lithographs between schools, although never implemented, provided an early model for the Society's endeavours. Siljeström's expertise formed the basis for the *Normalritningar*, first issued in 1865. The publication of these standard school designs was intended to impose homogeneity with quantifiable hygiene, heating and ventilation regulations. Accordingly, new schools were often built on bands of land outside the old town's boundaries, with access to light and ample space. Such buildings became known as *skolpalats* [school palaces], a term that not only indicates their physical scale but also suggests the stature they were perceived as having by contemporary Swedes. The palace analogy was furthered by the frequent practice of naming *folkskolor* after kings from Sweden's glorious past.

Gustav Vasa folkskola in Stockholm is a *skolpalats* complete with its own fairy tale in the form of narrative staircase paintings by Gustaf Magnusson (1890-1957), executed in 1914.⁵ Pupils climbing the stairs could follow the sequence upwards as a story about maturation or an '*Odyssevssagan*'. The four scenes depict how a herd boy becomes a knight and slays a dragon to save the beautiful princess. Emphasis is placed upon obedience at the stage when the young knight halts on his journey to heed a wise old man he encounters. In old age, the former knight is found seated beneath a tree, teaching a group of small boys from a thick volume. The message is clear, listening to the wisdom of elders sets the youth on a virtuous path in life.

The role of royalty in the *folkskola*'s development became increasingly more tangible than simply a school name or portrait of the king in a classroom. On 17th February, 1902 Oscar II attended the dedication of *Adolf Fredriks norra folkskola* [Adolf Fredrik's North Primary School], built 1898-1902. This building debuts Stockholm's most prolific school architect Georg A.Nilsson (1871-1949) and his application of an innovative system of reinforced concrete joists. The earliest example of this construction method is to be found at *Kungsholms folkskola*, Stockholm (1898). Appropriately, Nils Kreuger's (1858-1930) monumental oil painting *Midsommar* [Midsummer], 1905, hung in *Adolf Fredriks* assembly hall, does not resort to pastoral imagery but rather transposes an essentially rural/folk motif to the city. Two horse-drawn carts proceed parallel to the picture plane along Skeppsbron towards Södermalm. The draught horses are adorned with sprigs of silver birch which traditionally festoons the Maypole, along with wild flowers, flags and primitive magical symbols. Here, it is the masts of the steamers bedecked with merchant navy flags that assume the semblance of the Maypole. In choosing

to represent Midsummer, Kreuger explores one of the most emotive national festivals. In a country of Sweden's latitude, the arrival of summer is held sacred, as a release and renewal, following months of darkness and bitter cold.

The importance attached to nature is reflected in the school curriculum by *Naturkunnighet* [Nature knowledge]. A personification of this subject features on the façade of *Adolf Fredriks norra folkskola*. Enframed by the twisted roots and canopies of two fruit trees, the female figure has the stature of a goddess, clad in breastplate and swathes of drapery. *Naturkunnighet* is coupled with *Handaslöjd* [Handicraft] on one projecting wing, with *Historia* and *Religion* positioned on the adjacent wing. These subject pairings are aligned as new and old school subjects respectively. A similar arrangement is adopted by Nilsson at *Adolf Fredriks nya folkskola* [Adolf Fredrik's New Primary School], Stockholm (1907-10). The towering north edifice is emblazoned with blue and gold shields representing school subjects, each pierced by a beam of light from the sun and burning torch motif. The theoretical (older) subjects orbit around the sun, whilst the practical (newer) subjects emanate from the torch. The torch was a subtle play on the name of this district of Stockholm, *Blosset*, which translates as the torch or flare. The organic and sinuous decoration of the schools Rådmansgatan façade in beige and white plaster was replaced, when its condition deteriorated, by economically sound coloured glazed tile plates. Although this plethora of stylised symbols in patriotic colours constitutes a dramatic change, the composition of Nilsson's designs remained the same. However, the sheer height of this powerful display seems to preclude an exclusively child-oriented purpose. It also functions as a statement of the conspicuous value Swedish society bestowed on knowledge and the prosperity that could afford to raise such impressive school buildings.

High expectations were placed on the *folkskola*. In a time of social turbulence, it was hoped that the *folkskola* would reconcile class divisions and overcome the misconceptions of its being a '*fattigskola*' [poor school]. One way to accomplish this seems to have been to embrace the symbolic visual language of the *läroverk* [secondary school], judging by Bishop Billing's indignant objection to what he saw as the blurring of architectural distinctions between the *folkskola* and *läroverk*.⁶ Above the boys' entrance to Adolf Fredriks norra folkskola is painted a floral wreath with an entwined scroll which proclaims '*Kunskap är makt*' [Knowledge is power]. This statement was qualified by the reality that only a privileged few could progress to the *läroverk*, where the real power of education lay. In 1862 the *läroverk* was granted the right to hold the *studentexamen* or university matriculation examination on its premises. The *läroverk's* main entrance became a symbol of transition, almost exclusively for the use of *studentexamen* celebrants.

Anders Nilsson (1859-1936) captures the sense of elation associated with this occasion in his stained glass designs for *Lunds fullständiga läroverk för flickor* [Lund's Complete Secondary School for Girls]. The school was built 1915-16, following plans by Georg Hagström (1865-1918) and Frithiof Ekman (1871-1941). The central window shows a beaming girl holding her newly gained white student cap. Girls were permitted to sit the *studentexamen* in 1870. Behind her stands an accurate representation of the school, giving the exhortation to strive for excellence a strong pertinence to the girls assembled in the hall below. This image of academic success is flanked by two smaller windows illustrating the conventional female occupations of motherhood and weaving. The comparative elongation of the student window could be interpreted as a metaphor for the growth in the provision of girls' education. The proliferation of private girls' schools was such that by the end of the 1880s almost every town with a population in excess of 3,000 had a *flickskola*.

Engrained gender divides define this period of Swedish educational history. However, except for some slight tailoring, the subjects chosen for works of art in boys' and girls' schools were essentially similar. Thematically, comparison can be drawn between the work of Anders Nilsson in Lund and the work of Bruno Liljefors at *Norra Latin läroverk* [North Latin Secondary School], Stockholm. *Norra Latin* was the most prestigious boys school of its time in Sweden. In 1880 the school moved to a Neo-Renaissance building designed by Helgo Zettervall (1831-1907). Under the auspices of headmaster Carl Lundberg the school embarked on a glorious new era. Lundberg, a cultured classical humanist and

tutor to Oscar II's sons, was receptive to the aesthetic aspirations of the school's former pupil Carl G.Laurin.

Norra Latin's well-lit three storey atrium was the site of the Society's first monumental commission. Having raised the profile of state patronage with his National museum frescoes charting the Swedish monarchy as champion of culture (1895-96), Carl Larsson was an obvious choice to attract favourable attention to the Society. Larsson's figurative landscape entitled *School Boys' Prayers at Ladugårdsgårde* occupied the middle level of the atrium and was painted between 1898-1901. The depicted ceremony observed the arrival of spring in song, music and prayer, "...a ritual meant to foster solidarity among the students and to inspire allegiance to the nation."⁷ The school assembled in Kungsträdgården, a park in central Stockholm. However, Larsson transposes the setting to Ladugårdsgårde, a military practice ground to the east of the city that he frequented as a child. The artist suffuses the scene with natural and religious imagery. Suspended above the assembled school boys and spectators, is a golden arc, within which grows a profusion of flowers, crowned by the sunflower. The presence of the dove, angelic figure and gilded words of the Lord's Prayer elevate the fresco to a spiritual plane. The door lintel that interrupts the picture space is transformed into an altar in the apotheosis of this school ceremony.

National defence was a pressing concern in the late nineteenth century. Sweden relied upon *indelningsverk*, an apportionment recruitment system, instituted by King Karl XI (1672-1697) whereby most provinces were contracted to the crown to provide one regiment. Whilst this had sufficed for defence in the seventeenth century, at the beginning of the twentieth century advocates for modernisation held up the model of Prussian conscription. At its abolition, the decrepit *indelningsverk* system was supported by only 10% of the population. Evasion of military service had also been a contributing factor in emigration. In order to redress this decline, eminent figures in society instigated a sharpshooter movement, based upon the rallying call made by Blanche in a speech at the Stockholm Exchange on 11th November 1860, "Fosterlandets söner led vid led, sida vid sida-se där den bästa ringmuren kring stad och land!" [Homeland's sons, rank by rank, side by side-see there the best encircling wall around town and country!].⁸ The movement's objective was to reinforce the army by providing weapons training to volunteers from across the social spectrum, in response to the discovery that the military garrison in St Petersburg alone could overwhelm the entire Swedish army.

Measures were taken to introduce military marches and weaponry training to the *elementarläroverken*, *folkskola* and *folkskolor* teacher training colleges. Aroused by these developments, the anxious inhabitants of Adolf Fredriks parish constituted the *Föreningen för främjand av skolungdomens vapenövningar* [Society for the Promotion of School Youths' Weapon Practice] in 1865. The Society procured arms and uniforms for the *folkskolor*. Swedish flags sewn by women of the parishes formed a focal point for parades and thus also in Larsson's composition. Larsson's autobiography *Jag* (1931) contains vivid recollections of his own military drilling in the *folkskola*. He recounts, "...[being] dressed in some kind of uniform of blue cloth. We had guns and a flag with a gold tassel. I was the one who carried the flag".⁹

Teaching staff at *Norra Latin* were of the opinion that military drill was a healthy counterbalance to sedentary academic work. Accordingly, Lundberg, portrayed in the foreground of Larsson's fresco, became a prominent figure in the movement. In 1902 *Skolungdomens i Stockholm Skytteförening* [Stockholm School Youths' Shooting Society] was founded. Lundberg acted as its president from this date until 1908. In this capacity, one of his most outstanding services to the Society was his negotiation with King Oscar II to secure the Stora Skuggan shooting ranges for school boys.

Indebted to his former teacher, Lundberg, Prince Eugen painted *The Light Night*, which hangs beneath Larsson's fresco. The prince gravitated towards a subject that would impart a sense of his own rapture with nature to his young viewers. Of the painting he wrote, "I want to do something authentically Swedish, with black fir trees and glistening water, to give an impression of tranquillity and seriousness-something that I think would be good for the boys to look at."¹⁰ The *Light Night* was begun in summer 1898 and finished the following year. Prince Eugen's beneficence at *Norra Latin* extended to subsidising

Bruno Liljefors' *Migrating Swans* 1900, on the uppermost level of the atrium. The image is imbued with symbolism. The eldest pupils, studying for the *studentexamen*, were educated on the top floor of *Norra Latin*. If successful, they would earn the right to wear the student's white cap. The flight of these elegant white birds has been likened to the development of these young men as they prepared to enter the wider world.¹¹ Juxtaposed with Nilsson's stained glass window in Lund, Liljefors' rendering is steeped in National Romantic reverie. The effect of gazing up into Liljefors' sky, standing amidst Larsson's school boy ranks or surveying Prince Eugen's panoramic landscape is facilitated by the ingenious perspectival arrangement of the murals as a whole. The adjustment of their respective viewpoints in accordance with their hanging position is indicated by the passage of the sun through each work. The sun-like golden arc in Larsson's fresco could have sunk or risen from either Liljefors' or Prince Eugen's paintings as both are tinged with the warm glow of twilight.

Militaristic undertones emerge again in Carl Larsson's monumental oil painting *Outside the Summer Wind Blows*, 1903, for the hall of *Göteborgs högre latinläroverk* [Gothenburg Latin Secondary School]. The title of the work is derived from a poem and later song by the early National Romantic poet Samuel Hedborn (1783-1849). The end of the school year is marked by a group of *folkskola* children who carry buckets, brooms, branches of birch and garlands in order to clean and decorate their schoolhouse. Dominated by a fresh sap green, Larsson's palette sings of the munificence of nature. However, a discordant note is struck by the jarring verticality of the cavalry guard, veiled widow and dishevelled beggar. These three figures contradict the horizontal movement of the composition, moving against the flow of the procession and even against the direction of the summer wind, which is indicated by the billowing schoolhouse flag in the background.

The Swedish flag becomes a symbol of all-encompassing national identity. "See yon cross there gleaming ever brighter, / Honour's gold on faith's fair blue!"¹² These lines from King Oscar II's poem *Hoist the Flag* allude to the flag's origins flying above Sweden's ships and strongholds and the importance attributed to its colours. During the latter half of the 1890s it was decided that each school should have a flagpole and flag. Larsson's canvas can be seen as a visualisation of poet Verner von Heidenstam's description of, "...den avlägsnaste skola, vars flaggstång ensam reser sig över skogshultet" [the removed school, whose flagpole alone travels over the forest canopy].¹³ Such patriotic fervour would be intensified in 1905 when the emblem of union with Norway was removed from the flag's hoist canton.

The presence of another flag in Larsson's composition could possibly explain the division of children and adults as a political statement by the artist. The Danish flag sewn to the guard's saddle, if seen to represent the dispelled dreams of Pan-Scandinavian politics from the 1860s, suggests the passage of a disillusioned older generation from the political Left to the Right; from liberalism to conservatism. The children, chattering and cheerful are almost completely oblivious to the adults. Full of ideals, vitality and hope they progress towards the Left. Larsson originally intended a St George and the Dragon motif for *Göteborgs högre latinläroverk*. His impulsive change is reflected in a rather tenuous didactic message. He stated that the image would serve to instil in the boys a sense of responsibility towards these younger children as they would become their teachers, doctors and leaders in the future.¹⁴ Possibly a more accurate interpretation is the description given by the artist's son Ulf, in a school essay dated around late 1902. Ulf rationally see the adults as the embodiments of the sorrow and misery that children must be prepared to face in life. Significantly, he is attuned to the expectations of manhood; the readiness to sacrifice one's own life for the defence of king and homeland.¹⁵

Outside the Summer Wind Blows was presented by the Gothenburg division of the Society for the Decoration of Schools with Artwork. The city's mercantile character is reflected in the provenance of its donors who were primarily men of commerce, one of whom was Pontus Fürstenberg (1827-1902), an affluent wholesaler and Larsson's patron. It was Fürstenberg's earlier collaboration with Larsson at *Göteborgs Elementarläroverk för flickor* [Gothenburg's Elementary Secondary School for Girls] that provided the initial seed of inspiration for subsequent monumental programs in Swedish schools. Hedda Key, sister of Ellen and a teacher at the school, approached Fürstenberg for his support to enliven the

gloomy interior of Adrian C. Peterson's newly built school. With typical Larssonian exuberance, one painting rapidly grew into a highly original chronological scheme called *Swedish Women Through the Centuries*, which extends the full height of the staircase and was painted between 1890-91. Historical genre scenes from daily life are interspersed with the portraits of exemplary Swedish women St Birgitta and Fredrika Bremer.

On entry the viewer is confronted by the gaze of Norse goddess Idun. Idun was the guardian of a basket of magic apples that restored youth to the Old Norse gods. The lower staircase can be construed as a temple dedicated to higher ideals, spring and youth. Signs of the season are implicit in the verdant colour walls and door panels studded with blue anemones. The symbolic potential of colour was exploited by Larsson, who used the relatively new technique of Keim's mineral colours. The process was simple in application and allowed the artist to work rapidly. Larsson's colour scheme is dominated by earthy warm tones in the lower section that gradually yield to lighter tones. This colour transition, combined with the historical sequence can be related to the ascending motion of the staircase as a passage through time, from darkness to light; ignorance to enlightenment.¹⁶

Larsson wrote a narrative epilogue to accompany the series for the jubilee edition of *Idun*, a weekly magazine for women and the home in 1907. Amidst this cast of characters is Gerdr, the Viking woman. She stands with her two children before a rune stone erected to her fallen warrior husband, Gardar, '*sjökonungen*' [the sea king].¹⁷ At the foot of the stone spreads a carpet of blue and yellow flowers. Long before the flag, Swedish national identity was shaped by the contours and colours of the land. National Romantic artists were profoundly influenced by the primordial strength of northern Sweden's landscape. A convincing sense of the terrain is conveyed through the positioning of the painting midway up a flight of stairs, the diagonal thus emphasising the slope of the hillside. The detail Larsson gives about Viking funereal practices, describing Gardar's burial in his long boat with horse, hounds, weapons, clothes and helmet, transform these walls into the pages of an illustrated history book.

Commentators have noted how a subtext of binding male dependence defines many of the depicted women.¹⁸ One time seemingly free of such constraints is the contemporary age at the top of the staircase [Pl.6]. Lively young school girls engage with the viewer from between the internal fenestration. Below them is a frieze capturing the spirit of the era. Its emblematic linear forms include telegraph wires, light bulbs that sprout in a floral way and a railway carriage axle. The girls are shown on a botanical excursion gathering flowers in their vasculums. These flower samples were then pressed and attached to the pages of their herbariums, the Latin name given to the pupils' collections, which literally means 'book of growth'. Each specimen was supplied with a label recording its species, Latin name, etc. and the collector's name. Larsson is similarly accurate in his account of the excursion, stating that Göthilda Magnus, Clara Wallerius, Greta Runnerström, Ellen Schultz and Sigrid Westerberg, all actual pupils at the school, can be found here, gathering examples of *Ranunculus acris* (meadow buttercup).¹⁹

Monumental paintings in Swedish schools at the turn of the twentieth century were not intended purely to beautify school buildings. The school functioned as a microcosm of greater society, its role being to condition children, imposing order and identity. In every sense, the monumental paintings, stained glass and architectural decorations considered in this article are symbols of growth. Nurtured by a fertile pedagogic/philanthropic climate and growth in urban populations, they express through this natural imagery the educational values of their age and their desire to create ideal, young Swedish citizens. Larsson's frieze of the contemporary age, the culmination of his fresco series *Swedish Women Through the Centuries*, epitomises the growth of national identity. A seeming cacophony of miscellaneous objects, it expresses the inextricable fusion of nature and modernity, so particular to Sweden, in budding, droplet-like light bulbs and a telling foundation of brick-like books. Innate strength derived from the natural and national colours of the golden wheat stalks and blue cornflowers harmonises with the tensile rhythm of the wires and rails which would carry Swedish identity and nationhood far beyond its natural frontiers and into the wider world. All is infused with vigour and

potential movement, a sensation enhanced by Larsson's recessional perspective. As the viewer ascends the staircase, the telegraph lines appear to converge in the distance. Similarly, the inquisitive gazes of the schoolgirls above transcend their temporal bounds, challenging the children and researchers of another century to see these monumental paintings anew.

¹ E.Key, *The Century of the Child*, trans. F.Marco, London and New York, 1909, 264.

² C.G.Laurin, "Konsten och skolan och konsten i hemmet", in *Föreningen Heimdals Folkskrifter*, No.63, Stockholm, 1899, 10.

³ J.Z.Lofgren (ed.), *The Autobiography of Sweden's Most Beloved Artist*, trans. A.B.Weissmann, Iowa City, 1992, 181.

⁴ H.Kristenson, "Det svenska skolhuset", in G.Harding and B.Jangfeldt (eds.), *Artes:Tidskrift för Litteratur, Konst och Musik*, Borås, 1999, 60.

⁵ Many thanks to Per Hedström for information about this school.

⁶ A.Åman, "Inledning Till Skol-Arkitekturen:Om Uppsala läroverk och svenskt skolhusbyggande i de stora undervisningsreformernas spar", in T.Nevéus (ed.), *Upplands Nations Årsskrift*, No. 25, Uppsala, 12.

⁷ M. Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s*, Berkeley, L.A., London 1988, 176.

⁸ C.G.Trotzig, "Skolungdomens skytte och andra vapenövningar", in B.Hallerdt (ed.), *Från det försvunna* (Sankt Eriks årsbok), Stockholm, 1989, 151.

⁹ J. Z.Lofgren (ed.), *The Autobiography of Sweden's Most Beloved Artist*, trans. A. B. Weissmann, Iowa City, 192, 30.

¹⁰ Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*, 177.

¹¹ With many thanks to Lars Centerstam at Stockholm City Conference Centre for this interpretation. Interview August 2002.

¹² *Anthology of Swedish Lyrics from 1750-1915*, trans. C.Wharton Stork, New York and London, 1917, 125.

¹³ S. Björck, *Heidenstam och sekelskiftets Sverige*, 1942, 142.

¹⁴ H-O.Boström, "Ute blåser sommarvind:Carl Larssons aulamålning för Göteborgs Latinläroverk", in *Sett:Essäer om 1800- och 1900-talskonst*, Stockholm, 1992, 254.

¹⁵ Boström, "Ute blåser sommarvind", 252.

¹⁶ P.Hedström, "Konsten i den svenska skolan kring sekelskiftet 1900", in *Artes:Tidskrift för Litteratur, Konst och Musik*, Borås, 1999, 53.

¹⁷ C.Larsson, *Svenska kvinnan genom seklen*, Stockholm, 1921.

¹⁸ B.Fredlund, "Svenska kvinnan genom seklen", in *Carl Larsson*, exh. cat., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1992, 276-7.

¹⁹ Larsson, *Svenska kvinnan genom seklen*.