

# The National Necessity

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*A village parish in the Danish island of Zealand formed its own Historical Society in 1907, later erecting a museum proper in a small hamlet. The society turned down a proposal for merging as equal partners with the county historical society, insisting that it would rather cultivate the closest possible connection between contemporary individuals and the past. This study tries to demonstrate that the efforts of the founders were closely linked with a specific understanding of the concepts of "people" and "fatherland" and that the driving force behind the founding was that of feeling the need to express one's own national affiliation through action, thus mirroring the endeavours of the Danish nationals south of the border, in the "lost provinces" of South Jutland (Sleswick).*

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*Ved skrivelse af 25. maj 2005 har Studienævnet ved Europæisk Etnologi tilladt, at specialet er udarbejdet på engelsk.*

## Chapter 1: *Theme subject and summary*

*A village parish in the Danish island of Zealand formed its own Historical Society in 1907, later erecting a museum proper in a small hamlet. The society turned down a proposal for merging as equal partners with the county historical society, insisting that it would rather cultivate the closest possible connection between contemporary individuals and the past. This study tries to demonstrate that the efforts of the founders were closely linked with a specific understanding of the concepts of "people" and "fatherland" and that the driving force behind the founding was that of feeling the need to express one's own national affiliation through action, thus mirroring the endeavours of the Danish nationals south of the border, in the "lost provinces" of South Jutland (Sleswick).*

In 1864, The Kingdom of Denmark fought a brief war with Prussia and Austria, thereby losing the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein and with them about 1/3 of the territory and 1/5 of the state's population. Following the forced secession of Norway of 1814 (1815) after the Congress of Vienna, Denmark had in just 50 years' time, and so in living memory, become a monoethnic national state and a tiny statelet to witness compared to the middling North-European power of the Twin Kingdom of Denmark-Norway in the *florissant* years of the late 18th century. The loss of the duchies meant a severe deterioration of the infrastructure of the resulting state in that the Southbound sea and overland links as well as the commercial seaports facing West towards the North Sea and the Atlantic were now in foreign hands – enemy hands, as it were. Also, large grain producing tracts were lost.

Another 40-50 years on, on the eve of World War 1, Denmark had metamorphosed into a well-functioning, even buoyant economy. "The State of Denmark" was a success story at this point. Still, though the material lives of many people had become easier with the affluence, a double trauma persisted in the plight of the compatriot Danes in the lost provinces combined with the lack of national pride on the part of Danes living in the Kingdom proper.

Although few remarks directly pertaining to this double trauma are on record on the part of the founders of the Historical Society, I hold it to be the explaining factor for the founding of the society, of the turning down of the offer to merge with the larger County Historical Society as well as the conspicuous channelling of funds towards the construction of the museum itself, the collection of items representative of the Danish national selfconsciousness, the erection of a number of monuments and other expressions of a national nature undertaken by the founders and their followers.

However, there needs to be a link (other than sheer empathy or self-righteousness) between feeling the pain of the Double Trauma and the actions taken in order to answer the question, "what used to be the rationale for trying to solve the dilemma of the Double Trauma by conspicuously performing symbolical acts ", or, in other words, what made the founders feel that they did the right thing acting the way they did?

I mean to propose that the categories of "Folk (People)" and "Fædreland (Fatherland, Native Soil)" suffice as analytical tools or implements towards this end. Subsuming the sameness of Oneself and the Other through the concept of "Folk" links the fate and circumstance of the (relatively) affluent Danes of the Kingdom with the South-Jutlanders regardless of personal knowledge or indeed interaction, whilst the concept of "Fædreland" performs the same function as regards the disputed territory and the Kingdom as defined by the post-1864 borders. It may be demonstrated, differentially,

that although the Danish living abroad in the North-American Freestates and in Argentina were indeed perceived as compatriots, "Landsmænd" (or even "Folkefæller"), they were not regarded as national paradigms and worthies of massive political and economic support – for the reason that they did not live in a "Fædreland" under foreign rule, but voluntarily in foreign lands.

Linked by fate and circumstance, the Danes living in the Kingdom and the South-Jutlanders form acting parts of the symbolical expressions carried out by the Historical Society whether as agents or as beneficiaries, or, to put it more precisely, both groups serve as agents AND beneficiaries. Whilst the Zealand parishioner-founders have it as their role to supply the physical acts and objects in the framework of the Historical Society, the role of the South-Jutlanders is to add emblematic moral quality.

Establishing the crucial categories of "Folk" and "Fædreland" calls for consideration and deliberation. Employing definitions currently used in cultural and social science and history is not without caveats in so far that such definitions spring from deconstructions or attempts at deconstruction of the very categories. Epistemologically, a link must be established between the parlance of thence and that of now.

The anthropology embedded in Lutheran religious thinking and practice may offer an intertemporal modus for establishing the concepts. Do the Lutheran concepts of "calling and vocation" ("kald og stand") explain the concepts of "people" ("folk") and "fatherland" ("fædreland") as understood in a Danish context?

This line of thinking was brought about through when I was contemplating the nature of national sentiment, and egged on by the derision of the Danish language as represented by Jacob Grimm<sup>1</sup> as something crude and secondary to the superior Germanic represented by High German by means of which an idealistic nationalism is formulated. At the opposite end is the pragmatic national self-consciousness based on the thinking of Martin Luther, later to be expressed by NFS Grundtvig and his following, and which may be summed up as follows:

*Being "a national" is tantamount to acknowledging the binding nature of one's history as a person with a parentage and a common fate with compatriots of the same tongue and lineage as one-self.*

The metaphysical framework for such an understanding is the Lutheran insistence on "calling and vocation" meaning that the individual must accept whatever means and situation in which he finds himself and furthermore act according to this calling, doing his best in the circumstances (as opposed to merely bearing his burden). Also, the doctrine that the individual Christian " - shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind ... (and) ... thy neighbour as thyself"<sup>2</sup> in the Lutheran understanding indeed makes it imperative that the Neighbour as represented by the Danes abroad be kept in mind and supported. During the years of reconstruction (1865-1914), the Danes south of the border were no priority in the Kingdom, and as the hardship in the occupied territories grew and eclipsed during the von Koeller period of the 1890's, it became obvious (if only to a limited part of the people) that the South-Jutlanders needed to be helped, but that, at the same time, their conception of nationality was superior to that held by the majority of the Kingdom's inhabitants.

In order to carry the argument, I shall lay out the background for the period of 1864-1914, looking first at Denmark in chapter 2, a tiny but thriving state – its infrastructure, the creation of wealth, statehood and foreign policy, and the creation of an empowered people.

Next, I shall look at the parish of Højby and the province it was part of, examining in chapter 3 the feudal legacy, looking at the creation of a freeholding farming class and its political and social infrastructure. The spiritual influence carried out by the Vallekilde Folk High School and the proliferation of organized civil society in production cooperatives and associations taking care of the sick and the old, temperance, youth, gymnastics, rifle drills etc. and infrastructure in the shape of the press and transportation.

Further, I in chapter 4 I shall describe the actors regarding my subject theme: The founders of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby and their historical society. I shall look at how they got the idea, their purpose and goal and at Individual histories.

In chapter 5: The man-of-war and the goose settee I describe the activities carried out by the Historical Society, including the collection at the museum, adding a few remarks about the historiographical environment it was to become part of.

Establishing the points of reference is what chapter 6 is about – laying out, so to speak, the sources of national ideology in Denmark 1864-1914. There is the Folk High School track and the modern anti-nationals, the Brandes – Hørup league but I also make a point of establishing the fundamentals of Grundtvigian-Lutheran evangelical thinking and believing.

In chapter 7, I examine three sets of ideas of nationality, two modern and one of the period.

Finally, in chapter 8 I make a description of my own process of understanding what was going on at the time of the founding of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby. Can such a thing as a National Necessity exist in a parish with just a few thousand inhabitants? It can, if it is seen as a way of creating order in a shattered world. That is in effect what the story of the historical society is about, as if it would declare the following: *"We, the people, hold the power. However, some of us, the South Jutlanders, are presently powerless under foreign rule. In order for us to maintain that we are the rightful holders of power we must insist that the estranged part of us be reunited with the rest. For the whole people to become aware and determined (the "double jeopardy", or trauma, being the loss of autonomy on the the part of the South Jutlanders and the loss of national self-consciousness (or pride) by the Danes of the Kingdom), the national history must be preserved, collected and displayed to the people, by the people, in its own quarters (parishes)."*

In order for this story to stick, I must employ explanatory powers that bridge a century and a profound change in every parameter applicable to the description of Denmark and the Danish people.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Denmark 1864-1914: Tiny and thriving**

As King Christian IX of Denmark signed the ratification of the peace treaty of Vienna on November 12, 1864, the loss could be calculated thus: In terms of territory, 20.000 km<sup>2</sup> lost of previously 60.000 km<sup>2</sup> (ie. 33 percent), and of population 900.000 lost out of 2.500.000 (36 percent). The duchies of Sleswick, Holstein and Lauenburg in their entirety were ceded to the victors, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austrian empire. Of the population lost, approximately 200.000 were Danish nationals, the rest being Germans and a few Friesians. The extraordinary losses incurred through the war were potentially devastating - psychologically, politically and in terms of economics, and the view that the rump statelet was not viable was common.<sup>3</sup>

#### **The political consequences in domestic politics**

With the 1864 Treaty of Vienna, the main political contention of close to a century and a half had been resolved at a stroke<sup>4</sup>. It was now utterly irrelevant to discuss the relationship between the different parts of the Danish monarchy since in 1814 Norway had been severed and now Holstein and Sleswick. Only one part was left: Denmark proper, and Danish politics had to be rearranged accordingly.

In the course of 1865 and 1866, the constitutional issue was solved, installing a two-chamber parliamentary system able to deal with interest-group politics. A very swift action indeed in comparison with the 15-year long struggle 1849-1863 for the newly-founded popular democracy to be capable of handling the integrated monarchy's need for political institutions.

The combination of Interest-group politics along party lines brought out the peasant vote<sup>5</sup> in great numbers. Rapidly changing living and work conditions called for participation. The period saw the formation of regular political movements and parties superseding the early days of democracy where personalities rather than politics often ruled the day.

#### *The political consequences relative to the lost provinces*

If not right away, then eventually, after the Austro-German war (1866, peace treaty of Prague) and Franco-German war (1870, peace treaty of Versailles), it was to become clear that Denmark could not expect to achieve the return of the parts of Sleswick populated by Danes in any foreseeable future, if at all (the German parts and their inhabitants were no love lost)<sup>6</sup>.

As well as defining Danish domestic politics, this situation was decisive for the strategies and tactics followed by the Danes of Sleswick.

#### *The political consequences in foreign affairs*

In the realm of power politics, Denmark's remaining role was as a guardian of the Baltic approaches. In 1857, the great powers had signed the Treaty of Copenhagen whereby the Kingdom of Denmark waived its right to tax international shipping passing the Sound at Elsinore in exchange for a lump sum (33.5 Million Danish Rixdollars, close to a third of the entire state debt at the time) and, not least, thereby fixing the Danish claim of stewardship of the straits (by paying up, the powers vindicated the Danish position). With the Russian empire's main fleet moored at Kronshtat in the Bay of Finland and the Prussian navy, based in Danzig, being heavily expanded, the British had a pressing urge to formally keep the approaches under neutral auspices,<sup>7</sup> while the Germans, on the other hand, would like to keep the option of being able to shut off the waterways. This juxtaposition of the interests of the great powers imbued the traditional

Danish penchant for neutrality in foreign policy with new meaning and a stability of sorts, provided the great powers kept abreast.

#### *The economic background of 1864-1914*

Up to the defeat of 1864, trends had been upward. Still largely an agricultural economy and a grain exporter, Denmark fully enjoyed the effects of the British corn laws being abolished (effective by 1847) and consequently, farm land prices roughly doubled from 1848 to 1863<sup>8</sup>. Copyhold tenure was rapidly being replaced by regular ownership and this, together with the disbanding of communal farming through enclosure, made way for individually owned and entrepreneurially managed farms with a considerable power of capital accumulation<sup>9</sup>.

Even though trends were helpful, the evolution of the main production forces had a bigger say in bringing about growth. Following a disastrous deforestation and degrading of agricultural land in the period *circa* 1650-1750, Danish farming had succeeded in restoring the productive powers of the land, mainly by introducing mastery of fertilisation (marling, cultivation of pulses) and and by draining wet lands<sup>10</sup>. The stake invested was a hefty hike in working hours spent on the land (mostly digging ditches and building dirt fences) together with the adoption of non-traditional methods of cultivation. This of course predates the period under scrutiny but helps to explain the resilience of Danish farming of the period.

Resilience was indeed needed as the grain prices started slipping in 1876. Led on by East European and overseas imports, the grain baisse was to last for approximately 20 years (price troughs in 1887 and 1896).

However, Danish farming adjusted to well to circumstances. This in turn had implications for the moral and spiritual set-up of peasantry as we shall try to demonstrate.

#### *Infrastructure*

The loss of the Duchies occurred at a time when overland freight transport by railway was gaining momentum. The first railways served passenger transport only, but the swing of agriculture towards producing for the market changed that. Fertilisers were in great demand in the commodity-producing farming sector and first grain, then dairy and meat produce had to be taken to the export markets in larger quantities and speedier than before, making it necessary to concentrate shipping in larger, well-equipped ports fed by rail. The railway system grew from a track total of km 310 in 1864<sup>11</sup> to km 905 in 1874 and, eventually, km 3,930 in 1914. Danish-registered shipping tonnage grew from 149,000 tons in 1864 to 513,000 tons in 1913<sup>12</sup>, and although earlier Danish shipping to a large extent had been based on overseas tramping<sup>13</sup>, newly founded steamship companies such as Det forenede Dampskibsselskab ("United Steamship Co.", founded 1867, counting 1/3 of the total Danish-flag tonnage in 1905) served mainly Danish imports and exports and domestic distribution. There were 33 shipowning companies in 1900, 109 in 1914.

The territorial rearrangement made it necessary for Denmark to invest in a new westbound gateway to make up for the lack of shipping opportunity. The West Sleswick port of Husum and the Holstein ports on the Elbe were now in Prussian hands as was the Free State of Hamburg after its forceful incorporation in Prussia. Hamburg had for centuries acted as a transportation hub for all of Jutland, notably for the trade in livestock. As Hamburg was included in the Prussian customs regime in 1870-72, bar a free port reserved to overseas trade, using it as a transit gateway was no longer an option.

The ever-expanding British market with its comparatively free trade and appetite for food imports led to the establishment of a Western seaport at Esbjerg, and with the joining of Esbjerg to the main railway grid in 1874, and with commercial port services at strategic points all over the country served by rail and railway ferries linking together the main islands and Jutland, the Kingdom of Denmark indeed had obtained a most efficient infrastructure in the course of quite a short span of time.

The harbour of Esbjerg was established by provision of a parliamentary act and financed by the State whereas most parts of the main grid and all of the secondary lines were founded by private investors. The legislators decided, though, that the building and running of these infrastructural projects was a strategic national task<sup>14</sup> and took over most of the grid by way of the Railway Act in the early 1870's.

Since telegraph services were indispensable for running the railways, the State Railways took over telegraph lines and offices along with the rails and stations of former private lines, to be reorganised as the State Telegraph Service under the Postmaster General and – unlike the military-run telegraph before the Danish-Prussian War – open to the public, whether business or private.

Thus, together with transportation the nation got access to a fast and reliable means of communication. The impact of this on the quality of commercial decisionmaking (price fixing, quotation, closing contracts and so on) on the part of merchants, cooperatives and individual farmers so far has not been examined in detail but can hardly be overestimated. It coincides with the founding of a plethora of commercial local newspapers that took part both in the marketplace, bringing advertisement and so merchandise to the farthest corners of the Kingdom, and in the democratic process of assessing arguments and which were served by newswires delivered by the telegraph service.

#### *The realignment of production and the cooperatives*

As the grain baisse came into full force in the mid-seventies, farmers had no recourse to the remedy used by their copyholding forefathers – that of weathering the crisis by ducking and waiting and eventually not paying their dues to the manor, getting by on a day-to-day basis using one's own produce. By now they were owners with real values of their own to defend and, for the most part, mortgages to pay. They were producers in a market-based economy with the ecological equilibrium long superseded by the use of traded fertilisers (guano or chemically manufactured products).

Making a turn-around, however, going from grain production to livestock or dairy farming was not feasible on an individual basis and so farmers had to band together in order to switch to profitable lines of production. Those who succeeded did so by joining forces in order to exploit economy of scale. Danish Farmers' Cooperatives proved their success (even to this day) – the success being keeping the value-added under farming's control.

Ever since the establishing of cooperatives in Danish farming a discussion has taken place of how and why the cooperative movement succeeded. Suffice it here to point to the fact that in cooperatives (as opposed to capital companies) the decisionmaker and the economical focus is the individual farmer. The one who benefits (or pays) is the one who nods or nays. A Danish cooperative is not a company as such, but a method for individual businesses (farms, farmers) to pool efforts.

By the end of the 1860's, the grain export contributed 59 percent of the aggregated Danish export surplus<sup>15</sup>. As large grain producers with comparative advantages in labour unit costs went on-stream<sup>16</sup>, that revenue dwindled fast. The immediate reaction was to switch to exporting live cattle, mainly pigs to Prussia. That indeed made up for



some of the lost revenue on grain, but as dairy farming was introduced, it soon became the dominant source of income in farming and of export revenue for the country as a whole.

### *Dairy farming*

A number of factors contributed to the successful establishment of agricultural production organised along cooperative lines, first and foremost within dairy farming.

The use of machinery and coal-fired steam power was ubiquitous by mid-century already and when the first cooperative dairy opened in Jutland in 1882<sup>17</sup>, this did not represent a technological revolution in itself. The great leap forward was in the combination: raw materials (milk) with technology (centrifuges to separate milk fat and milk protein, the starting point for the two lines of production: Butter and cheese), handling by professionals to ensure uniformly high quality, transportation (collecting milk and shipping merchandise) and the ability to act in the marketplace. Soon, production cooperatives were followed by marketing and sales cooperatives, combining the commercial force of individual dairies.

Everything under the close surveillance of the owners – farmers in union.

In order to succeed, any commercial enterprise must first and foremost be able to deliver – that is, convince prospective patrons that their orders will be filled as agreed. For that reason, in order to secure raw materials for the production, cooperatives' bylaws had to be attractive to all producers, not favouring large over small or vice versa. As a general rule, cooperative dairies as well as other cooperatives were financed by loans secured by members' individual unlimited liability, thereby potentially jeopardising the base of existence of the farmers. The much-hailed principle of "one man, one vote" was not a token of moral superiority but a simple consequence of the fact that, if the cooperative failed, everyone, big or small, would be in equal circumstances – that, is, prone to personal bankruptcy. In decisions bearing on making or breaking, each man's decision counted the same.

The daily operations were financed by withholding some of the proceeds of sales so that producers would receive payment on account while the annual surplus would be distributed according to the amount of raw milk supplied. In other words: Cooperatives' members freely let the collective keep part of their capital at its disposal, thereby demonstrating the long-term perspective of their commitment<sup>18</sup>.

The point of getting the place of the cooperatives in society and culture right is to establish the sources of the conspicuous self-confidence that one witnesses in the peasantry in Denmark in the period between 1864 and 1914. One cannot help but wonder whence first- or second generation freeholding farmers (and even smallholders and cottagers) had the self-reliance to act in every aspect of society's functioning.

In terms of function, the organisation of production through cooperatives is well established. Further submitting the facts to cultural analysis adds the dimension of personal decision-making, personal fate (or history), orientation towards higher powers and so on, creating a picture of an acting person, a human being in his own right.<sup>19</sup> In order to decipher the cultural logic of the period it is necessary to recombine as far as possible the economic and spiritual givens of the day as they presented themselves to the actors, or agents (to speak in textual terms).

The dairy cooperatives eventually gave rise to another booming agricultural industry, that of pork and bacon.

### *Pig breeding*

As mentioned above, pig breeding already was a market oriented export industry based on the export of live animals. With industrial dairy farming, the prerequisites for fattening porks were readily available to farmers in the form of skimmed milk, buttermilk and whey. These intermediary products were returned to the farms<sup>20</sup> and put to good use together with the grain now not needed for export<sup>21</sup>. It belongs in the picture that at the beginning of the pig fattening period, farmers mostly sold to private pork processing factories but when the German market suddenly closed down in 1887 for veterinary and market protection reasons, factory owners stopped buying at once, letting the farmers bear the brunt of the situation<sup>22</sup>. From then on, cooperative pork processing factories sprouted all over the country, not quite making private competition obsolete, but almost.

By 1900, Danish bacon accounted for 25 percent of the British market. By 1914, that figure had doubled to 50 percent. The total value of farm produce exports rose from 133 million Kr. in the periode 1876-80 to 534 million Kr. in 1910-14. In percent of the total export from Denmark, farm produce kept abreast with 87 percent of the total in 1876-80, 88 percent in 1910-14.

### *Organized peasantry*

The short version is that the framework of organized farming in Denmark was there already when the freeholding class of former peasants was created, but that they took it over entirely and rearranged it to suit their needs.

Looking a bit closer, it is a salient feature that farmers' unions<sup>23</sup> were of a bottom-up nature, very decentralised and close to members but also from early on with a certain amount of government financial support, linked to holding "cattle shows" which were the main vehicles for the dispersion of new technology and methods – and of course, better breeding stock. They also held members' meetings during the winter season with lectures by experts, local and national, and arranged prize competitions, awarding prizes for "best smallholding". By 1914, membership was practically universal<sup>24</sup>.

Another feature is the creation of specialized organizations dealing with the various aspects of farming – dairy farming, pig breeding, growing of feedstuff, growing of sugar beet and so on. The dynamism of the marketplace was mirrored in these specialized organizations which, as a rule, cooperated closely with the scientific institutions and took part in running field tests of all kinds.

By the end of the period, typically, the individual farmer was member of a number of professional and economic (ie. cooperative) unions, taking active part in annual general meetings, sitting on boards and committees and taking part in social and professional functions. This of course helped to educate the entire profession in the workings and doings of organizations. With the Local Government Act of 1876 and the Church of Denmark reform of 1905, there was a lot of local government to be done in the close to 2,000 parish municipalities. Very often, local members of parliament took part in

### *Being Danish, having lost, finding a new way*

At a time where industrialism roared through the western world creating abysmal poverty in grimy cities, Denmark got its own version based on agriculture.

In his treatise on animal husbandry, S.P.Jensen proposes the following factors as decisive for the extraordinary bounce in the development of Danish agriculture<sup>25</sup>:

Firstly, individuals farms had a *size* favourable to the introduction of modern methods and machinery. Second, *freeholding* facilitated financing and favoured swift decisionmaking. Thirdly, basic *school training* and *Folk High Schools* contributed to a

high degree of understanding of new methods. Next, the *ability to cooperate*. Further, the fact that *no corn duty* was imposed as the prices plummeted, thereby making it possible to use cheap grain for foodstuff; and finally, that *research and development* was instituted early as a joint responsibility of farmers' organization and government.

Little wonder if peasants held their heads high. However, not all is gold that shines. The period's build-up of worldly wealth did not solve the existential problems created by the national meltdown in 1864. Should one forget about defeat and a nation put asunder in order to concentrate on day-to-day dealings? Should one fear for the future and further inroads by the fiend of the fathers of '64? Or should one endeavour to put the nation back on its feet again, not just in terms of living standards but also as a nation under God with responsibility towards the heritage of the forebears? In chapter 6, the currents and counter-currents of the period's spiritual make-up will be examined in greater detail.

One in ten of all Danish nationals came under Prussian sway in 1864, following a period of less than 50 years of defining Danish nationality and the coining of a common cause, both national and democratic. Of this period, 16 years had been spent in war or "non-peace", since the Three-Years War of 1848-50 had not resulted in a proper peace treaty.

So it was not a well-defined national entity which found itself sundered in the wake of November 1864, and, consequently, the following years witnessed a less-than-orderly rearrangement of thinking and defining the national question relative to the compatriots abroad, the Prussian usurpers and the nationals remaining within the borders of the smaller kingdom.

### **Chapter 3 Højby Sogn** (the parish of Højby)

Drawing up the background of the Historical Society, and passing from the national level to the local, the focus shifts to the parish of Højby, eponymous with the Society, and the surroundings, notably the district of Odsherred and the county of Holbæk (Danish: Holbæk Amt), the North-Westernmost district of the island of Zealand.

The County of Holbæk used to be the least urbanized of the counties but one of the most populous in terms of rural inhabitants<sup>26</sup>.

Højby Sogn forms the middle of the northern part of County of Holbæk. It used to be not only the largest in its county, but also one of the largest and most populous parishes of the country as a whole. In the 1901 census it had 2,902 inhabitants, in 1916 3244 (the next-door borough of Nykøbing Sjælland had 2,000 resp. 2,621). The soils are largely of high fertility with the exception of sandy patches close to the coasts West and North.

#### *The heritage*

Of old, the villages of the parish had belonged to the See of Roskilde. After the Lutheran Reformation, the lands passed to the Crown (1536). Ravaged badly during the Swedish Wars in the 17th century, a considerable part of the property was given in exchange for royal debt to private owners. Later, the larger part was bought back by the King in order to support a cavalry regiment<sup>27</sup>. Two manor houses were sold in 1801, the rest of the farmsteads were sold as freeholds in the 1850's.

During the greater part of the period of absolutism (1660-1849), even though the peasants of Højby and the adjoining parishes were copyholders under the Crown, they enjoyed a high degree of self-determination in practice<sup>28</sup>. Obedience or compliance seems not to have been the prevailing character in them. For instance, on the introduction of forced labour (villeinage) on the two local manors purchased in 1775 and reorganized from 1782 by the Crown with the purpose of sale to private investors<sup>29</sup>, the copyholders immediately protested and even went on strike, later taking the decision to court in order to block it, claiming that such liabilities were not provided for in their copyhold deeds. The copyholders eventually lost their case, but not before the supreme court had heard it, and not until 1790. Villeinage was abolished entirely on Crown lands in 1797, so the burden carried by the Odsherred peasants was quite limited – it can certainly be argued that the plaintiffs were successful in dragging out the case. It should be noted that villeinage was common in all other parts of the island of Zealand.

#### *Enclosure: End of communal farming*

A far more profound change than the rearrangement and sales attempts of the Royal property was the abolition of communal cultivation through enclosure<sup>30</sup>, carried out in the parish of Højby in 1794.

The Enclosure was to have profound influence on the ability and willingness of peasants to take individual responsibility but to a great extent it also presupposed such ability and willingness<sup>31</sup>. The main characteristic of enclosure in Denmark was the distribution of land in order to create self-contained agricultural economic units – homesteads, as it were. In the process, commons were indeed enclosed.

Empowering the peasants was one of the main objects of carrying out this enormous process of change which entailed quite some political risk on the part of the king. The stakes were that, given success, enclosure would redistribute wealth toward more productive agents in the realm of agricultural production and so raise the income potential of the Kingdom of Denmark.

Until Enclosure, the villages of the parish of Højby had been managed in the traditional way, that is, according to the three-furlong system of cultivation<sup>32</sup>. The complexity of the system is suggested by the fact that, as an example according to a reconstruction based on maps and documents<sup>33</sup>, the vicarage (a freehold, but a part of the village community) held no less than 88 strip fields in the furlongs of the Village of Højby. Apart from the fallow furlong, crops sown in the fields were the three main staples rye, barley and oats, some peas, vetch or other leguminous plants.

Needless to say, this highly complex way of managing resources and production called for expert execution on the part of the farming peasants.

Apart from the community within each village, neighbouring villages that bordered on shared commons would engage in communities designed to facilitate animal husbandry by making the most of the pastures<sup>34</sup>. Further, the villages' farms were mostly held by more than one landowner, so there would be differences regarding how the relationship worked between titleholder and tenant.

The actual running of affairs would be carried out by the farmers of the village taking decisions together. The Headman of the village, one of the peasants elected to the office by his peers, took care of daily doings and dealings. The district court was an important institution in relation to village life since issues not solved amicably by consensus had to be solved there – typically, conflicts about property rights and violations of rights such as trespassing<sup>35</sup>. Villagers were appointed court witnesses serving as bailiffs and messengers of the district court, passing information to parishers at church service on Sundays – whence the importance that households were represented every Sunday. The procedure involved was ancient, since of old any legal provision had to have been read aloud at a public court meeting in order to be law. The execution of estates by taking count of belongings, dividing the property and providing for orphans was another important judicial field involving villagers as witnesses and wardens.

To sum up, traditional village life involved a large degree of common decisionmaking, making demands on the individual adult in terms of ability to cooperate and deliberate. Basically, these skills had to be appropriated by way of handing down tradition between generations. No written records were kept, nor did the local management keep correspondence (apart from legal documents). Formal schooling came into existence in the villages in the parish of Højby quite early and must be taken into account when assessing peasants' ability to take stock of outside factors and construct meaning in times of change.

#### *Peasant Education*

As a principle, primary education was a matter for the church, as such instituted by the Lutheran church order (Da.: Kirkeordinansen) in 1537<sup>36</sup>. The clergy of a Danish parish church consisted of a vicar and a deacon, the latter no mere servant to the vicar but an official in his own right charged with – among other things – catechism and with an obligation to catechise the young for an hour or so every Sunday before or after service. Visiting rural deans and bishops saw to it that this obligation was fulfilled.

The Danish protestant church employed the Lutheran orthodox ritual<sup>37</sup> right from the beginning with its emphasis on hymns performed by the congregation. The first authorized hymn book compiled by Hans Thomissøn in 1569 was in use until 1699; the next one serving for almost as long. The hymns and the hymn book became an important source of Christian learning and gave words to religious sentiment. Reading was mainly taught in village schools in order for the children to become able to read

Martin Luther's Lesser Catechism, the Bible and the hymns. Some writing and some calculus might be taught as well.

The accession to the throne of the pious King Christian VI was followed by a succession of religious and school laws. The Sabbatical Order was issued in 1730, making it a misdemeanour to not attend church service. Compulsory confirmation was instituted in 1736 and a primer, Truth unto Fear of God (Da.: Sandhed til Guds frygt) was prescribed. It contained 759 questions and answers regarding catechism that were to be learned by heart (simpletons among the pupils were awarded a certain credit). In 1739 a decree ordered all parishes to open schools (at the peasants' expense). Compulsory tuition in Bible and Catechism was to be free of charge; writing and calculation, however, to be paid for by the parents. The Pietist teaching with its emphasis on personal demeanour and the keeping of strict decorum ruled the day.

The provisions regarding cavalry district schools were as follows<sup>38</sup>: Children of the estate must attend school from age five. Hours were 7-11 am and 2-4 pm, in winter 8-12 am and 2-4 pm. At age 8, children who needed to put in work at home would only have to attend half-day. Apart from knowledge of the Christian faith, the children must learn about the law of the land; in practice a piece of the Basic Law<sup>39</sup> was read aloud to the pupils before they went home to lunch. The school teacher was to be selected by the vicar and approved by the rural dean in the presence of the county sheriff who also had to visit twice a year. The vicar was in effect responsible for the performance of the schoolteacher. Teachers needed no specific qualifications and there were as yet no teachers' training colleges to train them. Most were students, sometimes even masters of divinity unable to get a calling as vicar or deacon.

A school was being kept in the village of Højby around 1680, founded by the vicar.<sup>40</sup> Another village, Stenstrup, got its school in 1729, founded by the owner of the manor. In 1735 Royal schools were founded in Højby, replacing the old one, and Sonnerup, following the King's decision to open 240 schools in cavalry districts. In the 1760's, a schoolteacher informs in a letter that he has to "put up with 70-80 unruly children from morn till night"<sup>41</sup>. It follows that the quality of instruction was not high.

Nevertheless, by the time that peasants took over farm production individually, between 6 and 7 generations of peasants had received formal training, learning reading and Christian doctrine and often more. Many homes owned hymn books, bible- or gospel books and religious tracts and by the late 1700's, printed calendars with practical suggestions for farming were widely distributed. If not universal, literacy was widespread.

#### *Local government*

As absolutism waned and with the advent of a new freeholding class of farmers – professionals, hardly peasants by the old definition – new political institutions took over authority previously held by manorial lords. Village headmen had continued to be elected even after the abolition of communal farming but had precious little to do. Royal servants<sup>42</sup> performed the duties of running of the legal system (since manorial lords did no longer exert justice in their own lands or otherwise) and as public officers at large, collecting dues and making decisions on behalf of national government.

In December of 1841, a new political body saw the light of day in an election held at the school in Højby. Land owners and officials gathered to elect a parish council as prescribed by a Royal decree<sup>43</sup>. Two features were novel: The council covered all of the parish, not just one village, and it had powers to raise money by taxation or prescription of labour. Local government was instituted. The first council had members coming from 7 of 15 villages.

The parish council had 3 main objectives: To look after paupers and schools; roads; and public order. The council of Højby met at the schoolhouse and as early as 1842 meetings were opened to the public, not just as lookers-on but also with the right to make intercessions "with modesty"<sup>44</sup>.

An interesting conflict of interests appeared as a member of the council wanted to parcel out his outlying piece of moorland, c. 7 hectares, to landless families both of the parish and outsiders. He needed consent from the council and applied accordingly. He was reproached by the majority of the councilmen who thought that he was creating more poverty by selling land that could not sustain families with a living. Nevertheless, he upheld his request –an example of the industriousness of the individual farmer in the face of the common good.

The parish council undertook a much-needed reconstruction of the workhouse, involving contributions of both cash and labour on the part of the inhabitants.

After the abolition of absolutism in 1848-49, local government was further expanded as was the general franchise. In 1856, heads of households were given the franchise; in 1908 women and servants followed.

#### *Civil society*

Local government was far from being the sole outlet of spiritual energy and societal enterprise. Associations flourished in the parish of Højby from the middle of the 19th century.

As described in chapter 6, the Danish-Prussian War in 1864 gave rise to a plethora of Folk High Schools. The one in Vallekilde not far from the parish of Højby was to have profound influence locally on the spiritual, social and economic development. Among the first pupils at Vallekilde (in 1865-66) was a young farmer from the village of Stenstrup, Niels Andersen. In 1868, a local primary school of the Grundtvigian stripe opened in the neighbouring village of Sonnerup, where another farmer was sympathetic to the idea<sup>45</sup>. The teacher had been found by the owner and headmaster of Vallekilde Folk High School, Ernst Trier. In the early years of Vallekilde, he dedicated much energy to the setting up of such local institutions<sup>46</sup>. In this way, an active circle of "wakened people", adherents to the views of the Folk High School movement, were able to establish a spiritual ambience akin to that which they had encountered at the Folk High School<sup>47</sup>.

The free school at tiny Sonnerup – with a public school next door – existed by virtue of the support of just 3 families for the first 6 years or so, but after moving to a newly-built school house in nearby Stenstrup it grew into a healthy institution, well-heeled in terms of families willing to send their offspring there, often at the expense of quite some way to walk in order to get to school.

Teachers of the right persuasion would not only teach school but also be the nucleus of activities directed at the community.

One such activity in the parish of Højby was the "exercise house" in Stenstrup, a village hall erected in 1880 and so one of the earliest in the region. It served the Gymnastics and Marksman Association<sup>48</sup>, founded in 1867 by veterans of the German-Danish wars in 1848-50 and 1863-64 (see ch. 2) but predominantly ex-pupils of the Vallekilde Folk High School, a teacher of which, the architect Andreas Bentzen, made the drawings for the exercise house. He was a leading character of the "Marksman Movement". The abovementioned Niels Andersen was among the founders, too, and his father owned the land that served as shooting-range. Drills and gymnastics soon became equally important and young girls were admitted. From 1900, girls also took

part in shooting exercises. Like the free school, the Gymnastics and Marksman Association's physical education was closely linked with spiritual markers. There was no contest or association dance held without an address by a speaker from "the movement".

In close succession, the parish became home to a savings bank, a number of cooperative stores, five cooperative dairies (two side-by-side in the village of Højby), a control association<sup>49</sup> (controlling milk quality and animal husbandry on farms), a temperance union and a temperance hotel, popular libraries, a sick care association, and a youth (sports) association. Utilities such as piped water and electric current were set afoot by private initiative as well, only later to be taken over by the municipality.

Add to this the local chapters of nationwide organizations such as farmers' unions, political parties and the abovementioned Gymnastics and Marksman Associations, and a picture emerges of a population that was intensely involved in running just about everything. Many people served on boards and took part in practical chores, and many of those had got their sense of purpose from what they or their friends had picked up at Folk High Schools and at the pulpits of sympathetic clergy, either in parish churches (notably, the new church in Lumbsaas) or in "option congregations" according to a provision of legislation<sup>50</sup> regarding the Lutheran Church of Denmark, now known as The Folk Church (Da.: Folkekirken), made after the abolition of absolutism. A sizable free church (option congregation) existed in connection with the Vallekilde Folk High School since 1873<sup>51</sup>.

#### *Infrastructure*

In rural tracts like the parish of Højby, walking or riding on horseback used to be the means of transportation for ordinary people, and the peasant horsecart the general way of transporting goods, and it stayed that way until railway construction and road building became a matter of local decision (and dispute).

The railway trunk line from Copenhagen to the port of Kalundborg, a national main line, opened in 1872. The station at the county seat of Holbæk (pop. in 1850: 2638, in 1901: 4574) became a gateway for produce out of, and goods into the province – and for people, shortening the travelling time from the district of Odsherred substantially as people would walk, ride or drive to the nearest station.

In 1890 plans were drafted by the county council to connect the borough and port of Nykøbing to Holbæk with a railroad line. The line did not open until 1899, but Højby managed to become a "tank town", a village with a railway station, signing to part of the expense in the process. This of course benefited local industries and farms which were now on-stream with the grid serving import and export. Holbæk and to a lesser extent Nykøbing had port facilities well suited to handle imports of coal and fertilizers and grain exports as well as the manufactured goods from the dairies. Holbæk was home to one of the largest cooperative pork factories in the country, founded in 1888<sup>52</sup>.

Højby had a telegraph station and a post office, Lumbsaas a telegraph office.

Another important feature of local life was the press. The borough of Nykøbing Sjælland had 4 dailies by the turn of the century, Holbæk had 5. Most widely read in the countryside was the Holbæk-Posten, whose editor, H.J. Hansen, was sympathetic to the Grundtvigian and Folk High School movements and, by the way, personally engaged in local history as chairman of the Historical Society of the County of Holbæk.

Newspapers carried important commercial news such as quotations of grain, fertilizer and feedstuff as well as news and features of political and spiritual life.



### *A family and its homestead*

Apart from running everything else, the people of the parish of Højby were busy running their own businesses as well. Since the abolition of communal farming, the range and scope of personal endeavour had widened greatly. The family of the Trollebjerggaard Farm (see ch. 4) serves as an example of industriousness and adaptation to change<sup>53</sup>.

Nygaard was one of the small villages of the parish of Højby. By the time of Enclosure in 1797, it comprised five homesteads. By the land distribution, each of them was awarded a block of c. 40 hectares. One of them, later to be named Trollebjerggaard, however, was assigned c. 60 hectares, since some of it was not fertile, being hills and having barrows on it (hence the name – names of farmsteads came into fashion at the time of land distribution).

The copyholder at the time of redistribution was the newly widowed Agnethe Andersdatter (1767-1842), originally from the village of Lumbsaas. She married again, this time a man from Tengslemark, Lars Jensen (1765-1829). They had two sons together, Jens Larsen<sup>54</sup>, who was to succeed his father at Trollebjerggaard in 1836, and a brother who got the Stendalgaard closer to Højby.

Jens Larsen (1803-83) married a miller's daughter from the neighbouring parish in 1836. The bride, Bodil Hansdatter (1814-1904), was 23. He bought the freehold of the farm (in 1855) and got quite wealthy, especially after 1864 when the grain export boomed. He built new outbuildings and even then managed to leave a handsome sum for the heirs.

Two children survived (out of eight): Anders Jensen (1850-1933), and Laurits Jensen (1858-1938).

Anders Jensen went to the Vallekilde Folk High School in 1866. He married Henriette (Mariane Mechtilde) Grønbeck (1853-1940), a miller's daughter from the borough of Nykøbing and herself a pupil of Vallekilde. Anders Jensen took over the farm while his brother, Laurits, who was blind, got a smallholding and a handsome sum of money (see ch.4).

Anders and Henriette got 4 children 3 of whom survived: Agnethe born 1882, Jens Grønbeck born 1885 and Viggo Villemoes born 1890.

In 1906, Agnethe married a farmer, Peder Andersen of Kragemosegaard in Tengslemark. His father owned the neighbouring farm and had a seat on the County Council.

Jens Jensen<sup>55</sup> went to Askov Folk High School at age 16, then to the Agricultural and Folk High School at Høng<sup>56</sup> and finally to the Agricultural College in Copenhagen. He became an academic agronomist. After working as a teacher at the Agricultural Folk High School in Tune in Zealand, he returned to the farm in 1908. In 1910, he married a Faroese girl, Minna Joensen. They settled on a parcelled-out part of the property of 12 hectares, a new farmstead complete with an ancient name, "Pea Barrow Hill"<sup>57</sup>. His main occupation was as an adviser in animal husbandry to the members of the Farmers Association.

The younger brother, Viggo, at age 17 served as master farmhand on the homestead as he was asked to come and serve as a garden hand on the Folk High School in Løvenholdt in Jylland. He went from there to a handicraft course at Askov Folk High School before returning to work on his home farm together with his brother in 1908 as leaseholders to their father. In 1909 he was off again, this time to Roskilde Folk High

School, and again in 1911 to the Agricultural Folk High School at Høng. Eventually, he took over the farm. In 1917, he married Kirstine Ruggaard (1887-1962), a trained nurse. They eventually got 3 daughters. In 1917, Viggo Jensen also bought the neighbouring "Næsholmgaarden". Selling produce for export during the war of 1914-18 had been favourable, and the property was now close to 100 hectares, a sizeable farm at the time. For the next 14 years, Viggo Jensen tried several novel lines of production, such as cutting peat for heating, pig breeding, potatoes, grass seed production, spruce for christmas trees etc., but hardly anything went right and in 1931, he was forced to sell the homestead (to a farmer from Stenstrup), buying instead a smallhold on the bad soil close to the sea, of about 9 hectares. In 1937, at age 50, his wife started work as a night duty nurse at the mental hospital in Nykøbing. For the next 25 years, the couple managed to get by keeping poultry and taking tourist boarders in the summer. At 75, Viggo Jensens wife died. He was then 72 and lived for more than 20 years after to finally pass on the tale of his own life wrapped into, and forming an integral part of that of his forebears. An exemplary way of relating to history, one might say.

This voyage through the defining period of transition from peasantry to quite some time and almost no space<sup>58</sup> within the confines of a single family goes to demonstrate the dynamism of interplay between station, circumstance and individual that stands out in the period 1864-1914. Zooming in on the one person that was given plenty, achieved to bring in more and then lost most of it one cannot but acknowledge the extraordinary force of the moral and spiritual backup of the people in question.

#### *The state of mind of the "living"*

There are some words of Viggo Villemoes Jensen that convey the pervasive nature of the attitude to life shared by the "wakened" people of the Folk High School movement. At 93, he is remembering his stay at the Løvenholdt Folk High School where, 77 years earlier, he served as a garden hand during the summer course (for girls), but also took part in the school life. He says:

*"So I joined in May and that got to be a most interesting and instructive summer even though it was damp that year. An exercise hall was built that summer. I believe it was finished in June. So what do I remember? Rowing the Salten Langsø Lake with the deer appearing on the brink in the summer night. I also see some of the farm hands before me; Uhrenholdt, and Peter Gam. Yes, there were quite some, and they did the plowing with horses of course. But Birkedal and Laurits Nielsen<sup>59</sup> appear so lively to my memory. That other teacher's name is gone, but he did snatch away the best girl of them all, Ingeborg. Later, they set up a Folk High School together in Vraa. – In spring a young man came to the farm, he had come to a standstill and suffered sadness. Laurits Nielsen got him wakened in a fine and cheerful way. Well, I suppose the singing at night together with the girls helped, too. Come August he was cured and got himself a companion for life as well. The girl's name was Simonsen but I can't remember her first name."*

The wakening up of the soul, mind and spirit was a fact of life for these people – literally, although in a spiritual sense, the difference between living and dying. Viggo Villemoes Jensen had seen how it worked (the quotation above) and he had felt it in his own life. At age 93, his main worry concerning the future (that of the world, not his own) is a growing Godlessness and the perspective of nuclear war (no little concern in 1983). But then, he recalls a lecture he heard at the village hall in Stenstrup in 1936, that very likely a renewal would come forth from the east (ie. Russia), where Christian people are persecuted but where it happens that the henchmen are so impressed by the martyrs' patience that they join the Christian faith.

## **Chapter 4 The founders and their historical society**

### *Getting the Idea*

"It was one afternoon, at the end of 1906 or beginning 1907, that the thought of a historical collection for the parish<sup>60</sup> emerged in Laurits Jensen and me, Herskind," the rev. Isidor Herskind writes in the second entry of the record book of the Historical Society<sup>61</sup>. The first entry records the founding and the by-laws of the Society dated 22nd September 1907.

*"How did it happen? It came on as a flash, even as a surprise for both of us, and we grasped it, both of us, deciding to realise the thought."*

The reason why Isidor Herskind needs to identify himself is that he is actually writing the protocol as penman for Laurits Jensen, the chairman of the newly-founded association. Laurits Jensen was blind, so all of his writing and correspondence had to be carried out with the help of other people.

The quoted piece is quite typical of the style ubiquitous in the Folk High School movement from the very start<sup>62</sup>. Although no direct mention is made of the Divine, there is hardly any doubt that the inspiration comes from above. This is the way one writes when one has a higher calling.

### *The Founders' Individual Histories*

The piece identifies Laurits Jensen and Isidor Herskind as the "founding fathers" of the Society and thereby in a class of their own.

As co-founders, the pair of them are exemplary of the brotherhood makeup of the Folk High School movement. On the outside, they could hardly be more different than they were.

### *Isidor Herskind*

Isidor Herskind was curate of the parish of Højby<sup>63</sup>. Son of a Copenhagen merchant, a descendant of a family of clergymen and public servants through centuries and a Master of Divinity<sup>64</sup> of the University of Copenhagen, he was trained in the academic and professional tradition of official Lutheran Protestantism. Although he himself was no figurehead of the Folk High School Movement or Grundtvigianism, a closely related popular movement within the Church of Denmark<sup>65</sup>, he is bound to have had close relations to those circles. Being no local, his commitment and dedication to the Historical Society of course must have been of a rather idealistic bent. That, on the other hand, was quite the norm at the time.

After having moved away from Højby and Lumsaa, Isidor Herskind stayed in his new living for 30 years. He earned himself a reputation<sup>66</sup> as a gentle and considerate minister, sensitive to the spiritual needs of his flock, true to his vocation and never one to side exclusively with one party only in the proceedings of the local church life, although the Grundtvigian trend was felt to be an important part of him. On his retirement in 1942, he published a small volume of sermons titled "Never lose courage."

### *Laurits Jensen*

Laurits Jensen, on the contrary, was local incarnate. His life story itself witnesses the immense change in wealth, living conditions and spiritual force of the peasantry in Denmark. His official portrait epitomizes this in a single detail – the pin of the Knighthood of the Order of the Dannebrog<sup>67</sup> on the lapel; not the medal "for merit" "for faithful service" usually awarded to the lower classes, but the full knighthood.

Laurits Jensens<sup>68</sup> fate was a mixture of the typical and the extraordinary<sup>69</sup>. The second son of a first generation freeholding farmer, he shared the vantage point of a very large part of his contemporaries indeed – that of not being the eldest and so having to earn his way into coming to his own. However, he suffered from bad eyesight from childhood and lost vision completely in his mid-twenties, following an accident. That put an end to plans of achieving a higher education. His childhood education had been at local village schools where the subjects were reading and writing and catechism. Later, he had attended Folk High School twice, first at Vallekilde, then at Askov, and travelled to Norway.

The farm on which Laurits Jensen grew up, "Troldehøjgaard" (The Troll Hill Farm) was situated in a picturesque scenery with an assembly of seven barrows on a hilltop behind the farmstead and medieval ruins on three neighbouring farms. Together with tales of nightly hunts by long-deceased kings and gentlefolk this made a perfect setting for the boy's play and imagination. His mother's kin lived in the neighbouring parish of Odden with the "Battle of Odden" between British and Danish men-of-war<sup>70</sup> still in living memory and the memorial's flaming words to witness.

The freehold had been bought in 1855, 3 years before Laurits Jensen was born. The farm prospered. In Danish peasant wisdom, there is a saying: 'Every farm can support at least one pair of idle hands'. Laurits Jensen might have been that – a pair of idle hands, due to his disposition, and in earlier, poorer, times he would eventually have had to go and live as a pauper.

After becoming blind, he stayed in his parental home since he, as a blind person, could not take up a paid position. In order to provide for him, a smallholding was bought in 1892. The brothers were close and there was no conflict regarding the division. The older brother, Anders, shared widely in the younger brother's interests.

Laurits Jensen's farmstead of around 3,5 hectares prime land plus an endowment of Kr. 40,000 got him going and most probably would have sufficed to keep him for the rest of his life, although he needed paid help at all times, a farmhand and a maid, or housekeeper<sup>71</sup>. He never married.

However, even though he was able to take part in some field and stable work, farming was not to be his main occupation. Early on, he had acquired an interest in folklore and history, beyond any doubt egged on by his sojourns at the Folk High Schools. There is a moving account of this in a memorial article from 1953<sup>72</sup>: "Laurits Jensen's foster sister had been one of the first group of girls to go to Vallekilde Folk High School in 1865<sup>73</sup>. Two years after, his brother Anders enrolled in the winter course and Laurits was given the opportunity of accompanying his father to visit the older brother. He later recalled hearing Ernst Trier giving a lecture on the occasion and himself being so carried away that he would ask his brother if not he – Laurits – could stay and take part there and then." Of course that was not feasible, but as it were, Laurits Jensen got his turn at Vallekilde as well, and afterwards going on to another famous Danish Folk High School, the one in Askov just north of the 1864 Danish-Prussian border and heir to the Rødding tradition.

Laurits Jensen must have made many friends and acquaintances during his stays at the Folk High Schools. He was an outgoing person with a straightforward mode of expression, to witness from the numerous letters that he left behind, and it was in no way unheard of that even very young men of peasant background took up the study of history in the pioneering years.<sup>74</sup> Laurits Jensen was making records of folklore in 1884 at the behest of one of the leading personalities of Danish folklore studies, Evald Tang Kristensen, a teacher from West Jutland with whom he corresponded and to whom he

sent his first records. *"You may wonder that my hand looks different in every letter,"* he wrote to Tang Kristensen in 1884. *"But this is for the fact that I am blind and as such must get whoever is available to write for me."*<sup>75</sup>

The historiographers accounting for Laurits Jensen's life and occupation with folklore and history do not make much of the national aspect of his points of view<sup>76</sup> and it is true that he does not expound the theme in the writing of his own that is left behind. His letters are matter-of-factly without much ado, concerned with whatever task he is undertaking for the correspondent, or that the correspondent is supposed to deliver.

There is, however, sufficient evidence in contemporary records that Laurits Jensen held strong opinions and feelings; that he was no detached expert or history wonk for history's or his own sake.

In a sketchbook diary belonging to Peder Anders Andersen of Kragemosegaard in Tengslemark, the husband of Laurits Jensen's niece Agnethe, an account is made of an outing that adds another dimension to the picture of Laurits Jensen than the one conveyed by his letters, giving it a profounder character – and more than a glimpse of the passion he contained.

*"Saturday before Pentecost of 1907,"* Peder Anders Pedersen writes<sup>77</sup>, *"Laurits Jensen and the rest of our party pulled away from Højby Station on the 11 AM train in order to visit the reverend Jensen in Jernved.."*

Niels Anton Jensen had been curate (from 1896) of Højby and Lumbsaas before Isidor Herskind and had moved to a living right on the Danish-Prussian border, Jernved, barely 20 kms. from Askov (and from Rødding, now on the Prussian side where no Folk High School activities were tolerated). During his tenure, he had become close to several of the Folk High School families and had also assisted Viggo Jensen in his writing. His sister married a local. Reverend N.A. Jensen visited back several times, and on this very occasion, his visits got paid back.

At eight on Whitsun Sunday morning, the visitors from Højby knocked at the door of the vicarage, 'causing some bafflement and surprise,' as Peder Anders Andersen's account has it. Apart from sitting in on the services in church, the party from Højby gets to partake in a village hall meeting with two lectures, and it is there that – *"afterwards, the participants sat down at the coffeetables, short addresses were made by the vicars, and Laurits Jensen, himself, admonished the assembly: 'Let every speck of soil speak to you through the ages'. ..."*

The apex of the trip, however, is going to nearby Ribe to see the antiquities and from there by train crossing the border to South Jutland, the lost province where Danish compatriots lived under Prussian rule. Peder Anders Andersen writes: *"It is with sadness that one passes the iron gate <between the Danish and Prussian side of the border station> to the raped land. Even though the iron gate be ever so heavy and they <ie. the Prussians> put up the black and white border posts everywhere, the people South of the border is every bit as Danish as those to the North, or maybe even more so, since these severed countrymen are all the time reminded of their nationality – kmuch more than us who are being left in peace to have it but only to take it out at festive moments and even then in a rusty version."*

It is obvious from the above that this improvised trip to visit old friends was not just that nor just an outing to see interesting historical places but rather an enactment of national expression on the part of the travellers, received in that spirit and amplified by the hosts in South Jutland to make an even stronger event.

### *The highlights*

Another instance of this symbolic behaviour is the celebration of the anniversaries of the Battle of Odden in 1808 – notably the 100 years' anniversary but also, for instance, the visit of around 600 South Jutlanders on 8th July 1911 (in order that the weather be more suitable than one could expect on the actual date, 15th March).

### *The other Founders*

The other founding members of the Society are less well described, but they belong very much in the picture as this – the Society – was meant to be a collective effort in the Parish of Højby, like the dairies, the Sick Care Association, the Temperance Club, and so on. From the very start, women were on the board of the Historical Society, reflecting the fact that girls who had been to Folk High Schools enjoyed the same level of instruction as young men, and indeed the same amount of spring in their personalities.

### *The Society*

The Historical Society as such was not a novel idea. In 1904, a similar society had been created for the district of Odsherred and the erection of a museum in the village of Høve southwest of Højby on the initiative of a local teacher and folklore collector, Lars Andersen. In 1905, a Historical Society for the County of Holbæk was formed. Some 20 people from the parish of Højby became members of the county society, among them Laurits Jensen and Isidor Herskind.

What sets the Historical Society of the Parish of Højby apart is the insistence on being local, keeping together the perspective of kin, village and parish.

Right from the beginning, the board of the county society suggests that the society of Højby merge with the larger outfit. The suggestion is turned down politely. Members in Højby are awarded a special rate of membership fee to the county society.

### *3) Objectives*

The bylaws of the Historical Society state as its objective that it should "awaken and sustain the interest in old Danish culture and folk life and to this end a) endeavour to establish a historical collection, b) hold instructive lectures and c) publish pamphlets of a historical-educational nature."

The Historical Society at once set out to realize its objectives in a broad sense, pursuing the idea of making a collection but also holding several lectures and other events (see chapter 5) and keeping up the collecting of folklore already instituted by Laurits Jensen and by then a well-established activity. Further, it instituted a collection of kinship history, linking local families to the topography of the parish and its villages.

## Chapter 5: The man-of-war and the goose settee

Every object or artefact constitutes a sign or uttering and so lends itself to scrutiny by way of interpretation, thereby calling up its narrative. In the case of Historisk Samfund for Højby Sogn and its museum at Stenstrup, the building and its collections<sup>78</sup> – on show and in store – reveal the intentions of the founders if interpreted through the filter of their national thinking. Museums are about objects; museums themselves are objects. The museum in Stenstrup created by the Historical Society even more so as it was erected for the specific purpose of containing the collection-to-be.

A salient feature of the exhibition was the bridging of two tiers of historical tradition not normally combined, and certainly not in museums of the so-called "local" kind. One tradition was that of recording folk life; the other, recording national (state) history. In Stenstrup Museum, the two were represented through, respectively, a complete peasant living room with the characteristic "goose settee", a bench with pens for geese under the seat so they could be kept in the house during winter and objects salvaged from the wreck of a Danish man-of-war sunk in battle off the coast of the region during the "War of the Englishmen", the conflict between Denmark and Britain during the Napoleonic Wars (1801-1814) – a story ripe with bravery, violent death, bombs bursting in air and windswept warriors' graves in the countryside with probably some of the most impressive lyrics by the young Grundtvig to celebrate heroism.

In order to gauge the expanse between the two types of objects on exhibition and, consequently, the mental tour-de-force on display in the Society and at Stenstrup Museum, one must first take a look at the norm of museal expression in Denmark and the narrative of it and at the historiographical set-up of the day.

### *National museums in Denmark*

The Danish National Museum in Copenhagen was an offspring of the constitutional process whereby absolutism was replaced by the people's sovereignty and general franchise in the course of the first half of the 19th century.

Based on the Land Laws of the 12th and 13th centuries (and so on early Christian influence on Danish legislation, *vide*: Muren om Israels Hus), the basic assumption was that "whatever belongs to no-one belongs to the King." Hence, anything left about without specific ownership fell to the sovereign, thus everything found about of value (but also, for instance, shipwrecks, the property of people dying without heirs, that of executed criminals, etc.) The Artefact Chamber of the King<sup>79</sup> was his private collection containing amongst other things the so-called Golden Horns and other priceless items. The King himself was steward of antiquity (and a number of Danish kings were actively pursuing the sport of digging for antiquities<sup>80</sup>). All along, the kings had had antiquarians running their collections and interpreting the individual items and their bearing on the greatness of the monarch.

In 1848, the actual passing of sovereignty from the King to the People took place<sup>81</sup>, followed by the complicated process of separating what was to become the personal belongings of the King and the Royal lineage from the possessions of the Kingdom of Denmark, i.e., the State. The private collection remains to this day in the castles of Rosenborg and Amalienborg, the latter being the royal residence, whereas an early concern of the founding fathers of the constitution was to install the official museum on its own premises – in fact, in the Prince's Palace in Copenhagen, and, since 1892, named The National Museum.

After the abolition of absolutism, official history was no longer a royal prerogative and the museum profession along with everything else became professionalized during the

1870's and 1880's. J.J.A. Worsaae<sup>82</sup> bridged the two ages since he served first as the King's commissioner, later as head of museums of the state under the free constitution.

#### *History as an Act of Loyalty, a Conviction, an Art and a Science*

From the early days of Danish historiography it was a royal privilege and so it remained, if not formally, then in practice throughout most of absolutism<sup>83</sup>.

However, as first the Encyclopedism and Enlightenment got its Danish followers<sup>84</sup> and later the Romantic Movement got hold of the hearts and minds of the educated classes in Denmark, there was a shift in the scope of historiography – away from eulogising the kings towards supporting a popular cause and, even later, becoming a detached pursuit of intellectual endeavour for its own sake or that of science. Of course, the latter courses were not coherent with one another, and so a fighting-ground was created that in due time was to influence both politics and popular understanding at large.

Born in 1783 and become a historian both by bent and by accident<sup>85</sup>, the theologian N. Frederick S. Grundtvig became the main inspiration for the interpretation of the history of the Danes as a nation in contrast to the history of their kings. He himself wrote copiously,<sup>86</sup> drawing heavily upon Norse and Anglo-Saxon material, folklore and myths, but also inspired other writers to take up the challenge. Bernhard Severin Ingemann (1789-1862), a theologian like Grundtvig and a grammar school teacher, achieved a huge public for his historical novels<sup>87</sup> dealing with kings and princes allright, but in a national perspective and who became a model writer of that genre for the rest of the century<sup>88</sup>.

Besides the nationally minded authors like Grundtvig and Ingemann but not without inspiration drawn from their work, a new generation of historians with a scientific orientation came forth during the first half of the 19th century, notably the above-mentioned Jürgensen Thomsen but also C.F. Allen who held the History chair (1851-71) at the University of Copenhagen. In 1840 he published his "Handbook in the History of the Fatherland", to be brought out in numerous editions throughout the rest of the century. Other writers of influence were J.G. Schiern and Casper Paludan-Müller.

An example of the modern approach to history was A.D. Jørgensen<sup>89</sup>, a trained teacher and, although not an academic, a treasured writer of national history later to become head of the State's Archives, a high-ranking public servant. In 1882, he brought out his "40 Accounts of the History of our Native Country," a collection of instructive episodes showing how the Duchy of Sleswick, or South Jutland, had always been inhabited by Danes and an integral part of the Danish realm. Hardly a scientific work itself since it included both myths and folklore, it served as a tool (or weapon) in the battle between Prussian (German) and Danish culture in the lost provinces. 10,000 copies were distributed through the Danish Language Association, founded in 1880.

The main current in Danish historiography, however, was the adherence to the principle of historicism, a German school of historiography<sup>90</sup>, and a statist view of history notably under professor Erslev<sup>91</sup>, no friend of specifically national views of history.

#### *The People's History: Folk Museums in Denmark*

A plethora of local museums sprang up during the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century. Most notably, the Open-Air Museum and the Danish People's Museum<sup>92</sup> seized on the growing popular interest in the history of the people. The industrial exhibitions in 1879 and 1888 boosted the interest, and by the turn of the century the Open Air Museum had acquired a sizeable piece of property north of Copenhagen. The proliferation of local museums benefited from the general interest and in almost every borough throughout the land an old town house was turned into an exhibition of antiquities and popular artefacts. Village museums like the one in the



parish of Højby were less frequently found but by no means seldom<sup>93</sup>. In 1904, the Danish Folklore Archive was set up with a government grant, to be supplemented in 1908 with a membership-based popular organisation<sup>94</sup> which organized and coordinated the activities carried out by many local collectors (such as Laurids Jensen and others from the Historical Society of Højby).

As has been demonstrated, the two kinds of museums – the state-and-power kind of Royal lineage and the house-and-hamlet kind of the popular movement for folk culture – had quite different etiologies. Getting them together in one small house i Stenstrup in the parish of Højby was a witness of an interest beyond the ordinary.

*The record of the early years*

The Founding Act and Bylaws of the Historisk Samfund for Højby Sogn put down in the 1907, September 22nd record in the protocol states the purpose of the Historical Society:

*" .. To arouse and sustain interest in old Danish culture and folk life, and to this end to a) establish a historical collection, b) hold popular lectures and c) propagare popular pamphlets."*<sup>95</sup>

An impressive list of activities is witnessed through the protocol (the minutes of the board of the Society) for the next five years until the museum building is finally inaugurated and through the year of 1913, 7 years in all. The computation goes as this (year / number of events):

1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
3	4	5	11	6	6	9

During the period, 44 public events were made (not to speak of the board meetings, committee meetings and the meetings of Laurits Jensen with other museum people and folklore collectors.) This in average amounts to a public event every other month. Add to this that the people who went most likely also visited similar events arranged by the Youth Association, the Lecture Association, political parties etc., and you find a picture of a whole parish of a remarkable degree of "awakening" in the Folk High School sense of the word. The recollections (related in part in chapter 3) of Anders Jensen, owner of the Trollehøjgaard farm in Nygaard and a nephew of Laurits Jensen, head of the museum, testify to this.

The list of events follows below edited so that the reader will be able to ascertain the scope of interest of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby and the nature of the events. Besides two lectures – on Japan and on China – all of the events have a bearing on themes related to the establishing of either local identity or national identity.

Local identity is about e.g. visiting barrows, that is, the graves of ancestors, and castles, where ancestors would have fled to in times of war; collecting kinship and topographical information<sup>96</sup>; collecting folklore describing the beliefs and poetry of ancestors; matters of the church locally, and so on. Marking out local highlights, as the rescue at sea in 1885 commemorated by the erection of the monument on the shore at Gudmindrup Lyng, putting flagstaves on venerable barrow hills<sup>97</sup> and the like belongs in this category – by marking places, one endows them with meaning and so the tradition that might otherwise be lost is perpetuated. Finally, the objects of the collections (not individually accounted for in the minutes of the board, of course) visibly and tangibly speak of the forebears – the distant ones of stone age and later prehistory found during field work and construction work, and those of the immediate past, such as the "farmers' livingroom", a showcase of peasant lifestyle – taken directly from daily use on the farmstead of Trollebjerggaard to the exhibition of the museum at Stenstrup.

National identity is about commemorating the highlight dates of battles such as the Battle at Odden in 1808 (the British-Danish War of 1801-14), but also the anniversaries connected with the two Danish-Prussian Wars 1848-50 and 1863-64 and the wars with the Swedish in the 17th century. Further, historiography on a national level (Kock, Saxo, Absalon). Objects in the collection such as the sea chest from the man-of-war of the Battle at Odden, the wreckage oak planks and – a prize, to wit – the ship's bell, secured through lengthy negotiations with the Marine Ministry and finally hung in the museum and sounded so one could not only see and touch it but also hear the true sound of history. Finally, the common cause of Danes in the Kingdom and Danes in the lost provinces is amply dealt with, both in lectures and in symbolic behaviour such as the great visiting trip of 150 South Jutlanders in 1911.

The main point, however, is not to make a difference of the two tiers of identity establishment, the local and the national, but to notice that the people behind the Historical Society – the founders, the board of trustees and the numerous participants in events – make a lot of keeping the two aspects together – for which reason they also do not want to merge with other societies or museums. Although the programmatic remarks of the keepers of records are precious few, this is one feature that gets a mention more than once – see for instance the entry for 5th June, 1912.

In other words, I hold it to be wrong to see the Society people as *mainly* interested in local history (or conversely. as *mainly* interested in national history). Indeed, they insist on enacting the complete range of identity from the individual via the lineage to the parish on to the national level.

I suffice it here to be demonstrated that indeed the founders and members of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby were driven by an idea which can best be described as identity building in the modern terms of our day. Of course, they never use that term themselves. Nor did they have to, because, by virtue of the national struggle going on in South Jutland between Danish and German, it was totally transparent. Still, the categories at work need to be identified and explained. What does "people" (folk) and "native land" (fædreland) imply? This I will discuss in more detail in chapter 7.

#### *The record of events 1907-1913*

22nd February, 1907: "The Village", A lecture by Mr Povl Hansen, head of Vallekilde Folk High School, at the village hall in Stenstrup (under the auspices of the Historical Society for the County of Holbæk)

9-10th June 1907: 1000 antiquities displayed at the village hall in Stenstrup, considered the official beginning of the Historical Society for the Parish of Højby. Lecture by Andreas Bentzen, Vallekilde Folk High School. Admission fees minus expenses amounted to Kr. 172,50 (compare that the annual membership fee was to be Kr. 0,50).

22nd September 1907 (The founding Annual General Meeting): Lecture by Peter Madsen, member of parliament, about the Royal visit to Iceland<sup>98</sup>, and by rev. Christiansen, Højby, about the history of hymn books from Reformation to the present day.

24th January, 1908 (ordinary Annual General Meeting). Lecture by Mr J. Jacobsen about medieval martial folk songs<sup>99</sup>.

2nd March, 1908. Concert with two local singers and piano accompaniment. Declamation of national plays by Herskind. Entry fee brought in Kr. 50,-

5th June, 1908. Summer reuninon at the castle ruins at Næsholm in the village of Nygaard. Lectures by rev. Herskind (the medieval ruins of Næsholm and Drøsselbjerg and the barrows close by), by rev. Christiansen about an ancient folk tale of The Dragon and the Parish Church, and by the local Niels Nybjerg about the constitution.

2nd November, 1908. The collection (most of the 1000 items on show in 1907 had been donated to the Society) was moved to two rented rooms in a farm at Stenstrup.

25th January, 1909 (Annual General Meeting). Excerpts from "Politics" by P.A. Rosenberg <sup>100</sup>read aloud.

16th March, 1909. "The period 1658-59 (the Swedish-Danish wars). Lecture by Povl Hansen, head of Vallekilde Folk High School.

6th June, 1909. "Danish-American Peter Riis" - Concert and lecture by Mr Peter Jacobsen, teacher at Vallekilde Folk High School. The audience was taught a new song by Jeppe Aakjær<sup>101</sup>.

4th July, 1909. Summer Reunion at the village of Klint. Mr Graversen, newspaperman of Copenhagen, lectured on the Renaissance anthem "Danmark Dejligst Vang og Vænge" and its author, Lauritz Kock. Rev. Herskind lectured on the history of historiography, from the mediaeval Saxo to Johan Ottosen<sup>102</sup>. The old farmer who was host to the meeting was hailed for his planting the wood at Klint 40 years befor.

20th December, 1909. The parish church of Højby, lecture by rev. Herskind at the Temperance Hotel in Højby. After the lecture, the assembly freely discussed the topic and several people were able to add observations relating to the village and the church from times of old.

7th January, 1910. Rerun at the Lumbsaas village hall of the 20th December so as to also cover the westernmost part of the parish.

15th January, 1910. Annual General Assembly. Several accounts of personal and parish history authored by members of the Society were read aloud.<sup>103</sup>

8th February, 1910. Lecture on Japan by marine lieutenant and landowner Coucheron-Aamodt at the village hall of Højby. 100 slides shown. The success was such that Mr Coucheron-Aamodt at once was invited to lecture again.

23rd February, 1910. Lecture on China by Coucheron-Aamodt about his adventures in China. 100 slides.

4th May, 1910. The Prophecy, lecture by rev. Bjerre<sup>104</sup> at the village hall in Stenstrup. The speaker to the prophetic features of Grundtvig's work.

29th May, 1910. Lecture on Booker Washington by Vallekilde teacher Peter Jakobsen. A song was taught to the audience.<sup>105</sup>

24th June, 1910. Rally at the village hall in Stenstrup in order to discuss the various options regarding the collection. Strong support for keeping and extending the collection and get a proper house for it, possibly by buying a farm and selling the land so the buildings could serve as a museum.

13th July, 1910. Lecture on the mediaeval bishop Absalon, "Father of our Native Land," by rev. N.A. Jensen, Jernved (earlier curate of Lumbsaas) at the village hall in

Lumbsaas. "He concluded his lecture with the wish the we might verily be worthy of being called Sons and Daughters of our Native Land."

21st August, 1910. Lecture on the equality of women with men by Mrs Jutta Boisen Müller at the village hall in Stenstrup. A Womens Union was formed at the occasion.<sup>106</sup>

17th October, 1910. Lecture on the Life and Learning of Nobility in the 16th and 17th century by a Ph.D. Høffding, at the village hall in Stenstrup.

21nd November, 1910. Extraordinary General Assembly concerning a proper house for the collection. A proposition from the newly-founded museum in Nykøbing to merge collections was turned down. Whether or not to build new or to buy an old house was postponed pending a fundraising drive. On December 5th, the Assembly reconvened. The fundraising had been successful, 22 persons voted to build new, 2 to buy old. 20 voted to place the museum in Stenstrup, 9 voted for Højby. – A committee was formed with 8 members. For the following period until inauguration in 1912 much space in the minutes is dedicated to practical detail.

29th January, 1911. Apart from subjects related to the erection of the museum, it was discussed to erect a memorial for a party of brave men who had rescued the crew of a shipwrecked vessel at Gudmindrup Lyng on the coast.

14th February, 1911. A lecturer from outside does not show up at the village hall in Stenstrup. Rev. Herskind reads from a play by Ludvig Holberg<sup>107</sup>.

10th May, 1911. The opening of tenders for the construction of the museum. The price of the 77,5 m2 building was fixed at Kr. 2510. A building site of c. 425 m2 was bought at Kr. 166.

7th July, 1911. "A great day for the museum," namely the visit of 160 South Jutlanders "who watched and listened with great interest and at times interrupted to tell how things were back home".

13th August, 1911. Together with the Folk Youth Association<sup>108</sup> a day meeting was held at Nygaard. Lecture by rev. Herskind about the castle ruins and the manors and how they related to the myth regarding the church of Højby, that a nobleman's daughters had murdered their violators during mass and so inflicted a ban on the parish. After refreshments in Anders Jensens garden at Trollehøjgaard the party went to visit the hills and barrows of Trollehøj, where Dr. Marius Christensen of the Folk High School of Askov lectured on how to conduct historical collection. Laurits Jensen, chairman of the Historical Society, was commended for his work to collect memories.

7th December, 1911. Raising of the roof of the new museum building. "The banner flew over the house, this home of memories". At the table at Anders Madsens farm, where the building committee, the board and the contractors and building workers met to celebrate, old Danish building methods were discussed.

24th January, 1912. Annual General Assembly. On the following board meeting it is agreed to try to get the ship's bell from the Danish line ship Prinds Christian Frederik of the Battle of Odden between the British and the Danish on March 15th, 1808, for the museum. It was being kept at the manor of Ellingegaard in the parish of Højby. Further, the board would like to have the burial chamber from a local barrow placed at the museum.

22nd February, 1912. A "large and fine" South Jutland rally was held at the village hall in Højby by the Historical Society and two other associations: The Youth Association

and the Temperance Union. The main speaker was by the South Jutland farmer Gotthardsen. From the newly appearing collection of poems of P. Lauritsen some was read aloud.<sup>109</sup> A Danebrog (a Danish flag) was presented to the Historical Association by the women of the Association.

22nd March, 1912. A bazaar was held at Stenstrup together with the Sick Care Association. There were lotteries, cakes coffee and temperance beer. The programme featured violin music performed by the schoolteacher and the veterinarian. Rev. Herskind read aloud an excerpt of Helge Rode's play "Grev Bonde og hans Hus"<sup>110</sup>, two choirs performed, local writers' poetry was recited and a song written for the occasion was sung by the public. The taking on the part of the Historical Society amounted to Kr. 351.

5th June (Constitution Day), 1912. The inauguration of the museum at Stenstrup took place with speeches by Laurits Jensen and rev. Christiansen. While singing one of the anthems of the peasant liberation movement<sup>111</sup>, the crowd then marched to the village hall. Rev. Christiansen held a lecture on History and Niels Jensen, member of Parliament, made a speech on the constitution. After a lunch break, there was much more singing of national songs (and a few hymns, notably "Nearer My God to Thee" in commemoration of the Titanic, sunk in the Atlantic on 15th April of the same year). Then rev. Herskind held an address underlining the importance of museums for the great world as well as the little parish. Another address by Andreas Bentzen of Vallekilde Folk High School summoned everyone to keep up the good work of the museum. A song about the villages of the parish of Højby and the neighbouring Odden parish written for the occasion by Anders Jensen of Nygaard was sung by the crowd "with force and vigour".

10th June, 1912. The memorial for a party of brave men who had rescued the crew of a shipwrecked vessel on the same day in 1885 was inaugurated at Gudmindrup Lyng on the coast. The memorial was formally turned over by the committee to the Historical Society.

27th August, 1912. At a meeting of the Womens Union Mrs Jutta Bojsen-Møller held a lecture. On the same occasion, a picture of South Jutland leaders, presented to the hosts of the visiting South Jutlanders in 1911, was shown to the people present. The picture was then given as a present to the museum in Stenstrup.

19th February, 1913. Meeting at the museum. Mr Skriver, teacher at Højby, reads aloud Mrs Martha Ottosen's play <sup>112</sup>"Fædrenes Jord" (The soil of our Native Land)

25th June, 1913. Rev. Herskind, now vicar of Barse in South Zealand, lectured about his time in the parish.

3rd August, 1913. Lecture on the farmers' movement in Zealand by Folk High School teacher P. Jensen, Høng.

9th. September, 1913. The ship's bell from Prinds Christian Frederik (Battle at Odden, 1808) was placed in the collection. The crowd listened to its ringing, a song to commemorate the occasion was sung and member of parliament Niels Jensen held a lecture on the battle. Rev. Larsen of Skamstrup lectured on church bells and the history of individual bells, specially related to the area.

18th September, 1913. Visit to the museum of Captain Marnø and men of the 22nd Army Batallion 3rd Company.

19th September, 1913. Visit to the museum of Captain Abrahams and men of the 22nd Army Battalion 1st Company.

6th, 15th and 27th November, 1913: Lectures by Rev. Marstrand on the June Constitution and the November Constitution 1863-1866, held together with the Youth Association and the Lecture Society

## **Chapter 6: Establishing the points of reference**

### *The Folk High School and the Grundtvigian-Lutheran Track*

As has been demonstrated in the preceding chapters (3 – 5), the group of people behind the Historical Society for the Parish of Højby were characterized as members of the circle acquainted with the Vallekilde Folk High School (or other like Folk High Schools). At the time of the Society's founding proper, the Grundtvigian Folk High School movement<sup>113</sup> was well established, in many ways an important and mainstream part of the social and cultural infrastructure<sup>114</sup>. However, the fundamental spiritual set-up remained, and its basic characteristics were largely the same as in the pioneering days.

The Spirit and the awakening of the Christian forces and those of the people were the basic concepts of the movement, and in stark contrast to the abysmal destitution suffered by people like D.G. Monrad<sup>115</sup>, the defeat of 1864 was not perceived as The End, but an inspiration and a call to fight. The vibrant community life of places like the parish of Højby in the period of 1864-1914 to a large extent may be explained by the forces unleashed by the movement.

The crux of the Folk High School movement was described like this by historian Vilhelm la Cour<sup>116</sup>: "The founding of Vallekilde in 1865 by Trier or Testrup in 1866 by Jens Nørregaard was carried out in profound trust of the eventual reawakening of Christian and popular powers – precisely set off by the pain of defeat. A fight was going on at these schools, not for material advantages or social positions, but for the Spirit of the People, a concept hard to grasp for those who do not live in it and by it. ...

"The Folk High Schools achieved a decisive influence on the spiritual development of the farming classes<sup>117</sup>. ... The young were able to bring home profound values – a living sense for the basic forces at work in human life, an open mind to what they meant for kin and people and a longing to get on with daily work whether in the home, at church, in school or at the village hall or by serving local cooperative unions. Through the Folk High School education, the Grundtvigian mark permeated our people even more strongly than the church and formed its view on life, freedom and enlightenment at the time. This view was totally different from what other circles made of these terms and yet highly fertile in every place where popular and spiritual life together was sufficiently forceful in homes and religious communities to keep to the paths laid out by The Old One himself<sup>118</sup>."

Later in this chapter we shall examine in detail how this worked in practice through the records of the inauguration festivities at the Vallekilde Folk High School in 1865.

In chapter 5, the practical effects of this outlook as found in an individual is described through the example of Viggo Villemoes Jensen<sup>119</sup>. He comes across as a winner, even though he loses his property and that of his family. He starts over again, making a thriving business out of a patch of sand, looking after 50 summer tourists at a time at age 75. His wife dies; he pays her respect and remarries. His second wife dies; he takes his grandchildren on travels and records interesting observations. He wishes at age 92 that peace will prevail and that people would not be so Godless. That's precisely it: God is the best he can wish for people – that they know Him and trust in Him.

### *A different view: The "Modern Breakthrough" and Brandesianism*

It is a generally held view in Denmark that modernity in this country begins with the first of a series of lectures, "Main Currents in the Literature of the 19th Century", held on November 5th, 1871, at the University of Copenhagen by Dr. Georg Brandes<sup>120</sup>. Having

as yet no tenure at the university, the then 29-year old used his *jus docendi* to make a name for himself, and whether or not one agrees on the datefixing of modernity, one must admit that Brandes made his name. He became eponymous with the philosophy, or outlook on life, that discarded the Christian understanding of Man's life and destiny, supplanting it with that of scientific probe, criticism and evolution, in short, realism and naturalism in the understanding of Hippolyte Taine and Auguste Comte, Stuart Mills and Herbert Spencer.

The main point of Brandes' lecture was that generally speaking, Denmark was 40 years behind the developed cultural nations of Europe – Germany, France, Britain – and that Denmark was generally hostile towards accepting foreign ideas in the form of literature and spiritual movements. In a way, he projects backwards the "littleness" of the Danish nation of the day (1871), blaming it on his immediate predecessors (and fails completely, by the bye, to take into consideration the cosmopolitan undercurrents of Danish culture in the 18th and the first part of the 19th century). The whiff of it all is: condescension. Scorn.

It is not fair to credit (or blame) Georg Brandes with everything concerned with this, but schools and tendencies need names, and his was up for it. His personal conduct of life and high profile<sup>121</sup> aroused much adverse sentiment. The chair he had hoped for he did not get, and he lived abroad for a number of years returning on an allowance procured by friends and benefactors. Only in 1902, as a sextagenarian, did he become professor at the University of Copenhagen and by then his views had metamorphosed into a elitist fin-de-siècle highmindedness<sup>122</sup> with little appeal to the broad public.

A more complex explanatory model for the introduction of modernity in Denmark is proposed by the historian Niels Thomsen<sup>123</sup> in "Hovedstrømninger 1870-1914". He argues that the endorsement of modern (non-traditional, non-religious) views in the period was broad and hinged upon people with impeccable credentials to their names – eminent doctors and scientists like P.L. Panum, August Krog, Christian Bohr, A. Hannover, Johannes Fibiger, Niels Finsen, and Emil Chr. Hansen, philosophers like Harald Høffding and Kr. Kroman and biologist and novelist J.P. Jacobsen. People who did not run away with other peoples' wives<sup>124</sup>, but were nevertheless proponents of positivism, secularism, some even of agnosticism.

One can think of a number of reasons why first the academic community, then society at large became oriented towards materialism and the "positive" (in the Comte'sque meaning). The generation after H.C. Ørsted<sup>125</sup>, discoverer of electromagnetism, had learned from his example the importance of experimentation. Empiricism became the norm at the Civil Engineering Academy, the Royal Veterinary and Agricultural High School, and the science faculties of University of Copenhagen.

The extensive drive for developing better crops and animal breeds carried out by agricultural societies, farmers' unions and academia throughout the 19th century was based on a down to earth, trial-and-error experimental attitude which eventually grew into research and development by scientific standards, closely followed not only by professionals but by everyone interested in growth and progress in the trade. The introduction of coalfired steam engines in factories and transportation based on imports (made possible by the introduction of powered pumps in British mining a hundred years earlier) brought mechanical engineering into the focus of society at large – witness Hans Christian Andersens preoccupation with technical matters, a subject of several of his tales. He was a friend of H.C. Ørsted's, after Ørsted's death he was on the committee to erect a monument for him (and in his diaries even more preoccupied with railways than the diverse pains he suffered).



Public utilities like gas, water and sewage were technical accomplishments as well, much valued in towns and cities where the population increased together with the density of built-up areas. In short, many if not most things connected with increased wealth came acquainted with natural and technical sciences.

When Charles Darwin proposed the principle of evolution by natural selection<sup>126</sup>, there were quite many people in Denmark who could appreciate the argument. But how could modernism take hold as a life-interpreting alternative to traditional Christianity?

Well, it most likely did not, at least not for very many people. As Professor Harald Høffding, with the full weight of his chair in philosophy at the University of Copenhagen behind him, declared that matters of faith and matters of fact could not be fathomed by the same measure and so proposed a Huxleyan agnosticism<sup>127</sup>, probably only a few took notice. However, in practice very many people – specially townspeople – already lived their lives un-committed to a Christian everyday practice<sup>128</sup>. There is no way of knowing to which extent they did so conscientiously or if they went along with a lifestyle that came natural to the liberal society taking hold after the abolition of absolutism and the wars. But apart from the view of professed believers (of either stripe of "wakened" persuasion, Grundtvigian or Home Mission), the secularized population could be seen as living according to a yardstick traceable back to Danish theologian Søren Kierkegaard, by which secular life and spiritual life are incommensurable. F.C. Sibbern, professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen 1813-70, held about the same view, as did "reform theologians". Faith had in practice become a private matter, and so an element of modern living – of modernity, as it were<sup>129</sup>.

It is probably fair to say that modernity in Denmark came into existence not by the scheme of any individual or party but as a consequence of a number of factors coinciding. It should also be noted that modernity exists alongside with traditional way of thinking and perceiving matters of life and existence for a very long time.

It is also important to bear in mind that modernity does not possess the party-building properties of movements such as Grundtvigianism and the Folk High School movement<sup>130</sup>. Condescension is no rallying-point, nor is despair, and despair is the other ingredient in the attitude of the Brandesian, or culture-radical camp, as it was later dubbed.

As regards modernity's ability to deal with the complex issue of coping with the loss of the South Jutland provinces and getting on with life, the early modernistic response coined by D.G. Monrad<sup>131</sup> struck the tone that was to gain force even to the point of almost blocking the reunification of parts of South Jutland after the defeat of the German Empire in World War 1.

A part of the Venstre (The Left) liberal political movement broke away from the mainstream party in 1905, forming the Radical Liberal party that incorporated opinions hostile to defense, appeasement with the German Empire and, consequently, a defeatist attitude towards the South Jutland question. The *cri-de-guerre* of this position were the words "What good is it?"<sup>132</sup>, a comment to the parliamentary struggle over defense but generally employed in the sense, "this is out of our legion; let's get on with our own business."

As shown by the case of Bishop Monrad's pamphlet, this attitude cannot be reduced to mere youthful academic superiority. It had its foundation in extensive knowledge of the forces at work in Europa at large, of the Great Powers whether antagonist or protagonist of the Danish cause and certainly in the case of Monrad and other contemporaries, in a deep-felt personal sense of despair. It is little wonder that these people did not see any way of putting the situation right and consequently, it is

understandable that some of them looked to other ways out, trying to forget about the South Jutland jeopardy in the process.

Scorn and despair in the face of – what? What is the characteristic of the other camp – the Grundtvigian – Folk High School camp<sup>133</sup>?

"Glade grundtvigianere", happy Grundtvigians is a term often used to adversarially describe the people of that persuasion. "Happy" meaning rather too happy; foolish; even blithering. Apart from the last epithet, the description is not totally unfounded. To grasp the inner drive of those who interpreted their existence in terms of the Grundtvigian Folk High School is indeed to understand that these people were happy because they were not left to themselves. Someone looked after them. That someone was Jesus.

In order to look at the way Jesus works in the life of the individual and the people one might examine one of the decisive moments in the Folk High School movement – that of commissioning a new school to the good work – and, subsequently, submit the acts and words to Lutheran theological hermeneutics.

### *The Roots*

An important source of the sentiments and convictions that branched out in the main social, cultural and philosophical camps later in the 19th century is to be found in the years of national realignment in the duchy of Sleswick, during the 1830's to the Danish counter-insurgency "Three-years War" of 1848-1850 and the Austroprussian-Danish War of 1863-64, both in the events and the prolific writings.

It is a feasible view that it was the conflicts of kings and grandees that had for centuries kept the border districts in limbo, and time alone made this situation stable in terms of national affiliation. One can certainly argue that there was no immediate need to make strong statements or binding choices along lines of nationality since the issue was not contended<sup>134</sup>. It is a telling feature, for instance, that the most important writer in support of the Danish cause in South Jutland in the 1870's and 1880's, A.D. Jørgensen, grew up in a professedly *Danish* home in the hamlet of Graasten in the 1840's speaking *Low German* and was later sent to the grammar school in the borough of Flensborg where he would be taught in *High German*. His father, a village bailiff, was one of the first arrested by the victorious Prussians in 1864, being known as a loyal Dane.

As a legacy of the feudal arrangements made by the kings of Denmark during the Middle Ages, the southernmost part of Jutland, later to be named after its capital Sleswick, had been joined with the German land of Holstein to form the twin duchies of Sleswick-Holstein, undisputedly a fief of the Danish king but, ever since an accord made in 1460 with the knighthood of the lands, untied from its affiliation with Denmark.

For dynastic and power-political reasons, the kings of Denmark for centuries sought to reunite the duchies with the kingdom proper, a project only to succeed in 1721, where the Russian empire agreed to waive its hereditary claim for the duchies. However, due to centuries of German influence and rule by German-leaning dukes, the temporal and spiritual authorities throughout the lands had fostered German language and German high culture and implemented it throughout the towns, whereas peasants largely stayed with their Danish tongue and ways. By the early decades of the 19th century, most likely spurred by much improved living conditions in the top strata of peasantry, the population of large tracts shifted from Danish vernacular to (low) German. Coinciding with the national awakening (Fichte's "Reden an die Deutsche Nation", Brothers Grimm<sup>135</sup>) in Germany at large, coupled with the civil-rights movement of the day, this shift brought about a reaction among the Danish (though not necessarily Danish-

speaking), first recorded among scholars and the élite, but found among the working classes and peasants and their spokespersons as well.

#### *Flor's school and handbook*

Professor Christian Flor<sup>136</sup>, a Dane employed at the (German-language) University at Kiel, seized upon the loose plans for a popular academy for peasant youth put forward by N.F.S. Grundtvig. For years he had been supporting local Danish politicians, instituted Danish libraries and was instrumental in setting up a Danish-language press in the 1830's before founding the first Folk High School in Rødding in northernmost Sleswick, to open on November 7th, 1843. It was a truly novel idea – to rally Danish young men for the national cause by means of education "for life", that is, concerning the fundamentals of personal and cultural existence as a member of the Danish people, along with useful knowledge of reading, writing, mathematics and agricultural subjects. The main subjects taught were history and Danish<sup>137</sup>.

Christian Flor's "Handbook of Danish Literature" which he brought out in 1844 in the first edition was to become "the book" of virtually every pupil of a Folk High School, and so immensely influential. Book learning was not valued at Folk High Schools since one of the principles coined by Grundtvig was that of education by "the living word", that is, person-to-person or even heart-to-heart. However, teaching the valuable stuff of old Danish and Scandinavian literature was hardly possible without a textbook, and so Flor's Handbook prevailed.

The verbally transmitted education at the Folk High School is not on record<sup>138</sup> but the prefaces to two of the Flor's Handbook editions probably conveys quite well the spirit of teaching and its general drift.

In the 4th edition (1854)<sup>139</sup>, Christian Flor writes: "It is not sufficient to explore the daily dealings and the historical exploits of a certain people. We must study its literature if we want to get to know its real existence and peculiar life as matters the outwardly, material, and the inwardly, spiritual, in short: its nationality. *For every people has a nature of its own. These special natures of different people we should, however, not endeavour to terminate or disrupt but rather develop and refine* just as, when travelling, we are pleased to see a new and beautiful landscape, the likeness of which the nature of our home does not offer. – It is remarkable that, precisely in our times whose purpose it seems to be to lead all nations to a peaceful and friendly intercourse and let everyone enjoy the plentiful and diverse productions of the Earth by taking away whatever hinders easy and uninterrupted communication; that precisely *in this age the vehement struggles about language and borders occur everywhere lingual boundaries are found*. However, the explanation is at hand. It is *the good spirit of the age that will not tolerate that the spiritual peculiarities expressed by diverse nationalities be obliterated and wiped from the earth*. For if so, life would lose immensely in terms of diversity and variation, strength and surety, beauty and abundance. If the progressing culture might not make our life easy and wealthy without at the same time render it uniform and dull it would not be for the good but a disaster for mankind. However, that is also not the case. ... If the peoples wish to be something special for themselves and for others and not just fill up the Earth as superfluous masses *they must preserve and educate their nationality*. – It is important to bear this in mind when educating youth. Teaching the mother tongue should not just train the pupils to a good and pure style, and to read and speak well, but also to acquaint them with the spiritual life of their compatriots and forebears as witnessed through language and literature. – *I have chosen samples from those literary leaders who have achieved most clearly, strongly and beautifully to speak what used to live and move, and what still lives and moves in the soul of our people* and which ... some might be so fortunate as to get to consider it *a holy patrimony from their fathers and regard it as their most valued treasure*." (my italics).

Christian Flor writes here in the years of peace after the insurgency 1848-50. His words are witness to the conviction of his that a people needs to actively hold on to its heritage of being just that: A people, in order to retain its licence to be special and independent. – In 1872, as he published the 7th edition of the handbook<sup>140</sup>, the second Sleswick War had resulted in the national catastrophe of losing all of South Jutland and leaving the South Jutlanders under foreign rule. Rødding Folk High School existed no more. He is far more haggard and precise when writing the new preface:

"Among the fundamental ideas that have appeared in this century I believe the idea of "people-hood"<sup>141</sup>" ("the principle of nationality") to be the most important as well as the one that appeared first and has developed the most. To me, at any rate, it has always been the spiritually most exalted and the most profound in terms of the heart. The fundamental idea can be expressed very shortly like this: Experience teaches that each and every of the manifold and diverse peoples that make up mankind has not just its own language but also special properties and preferences given by nature, by which fact we may deduct that the Creator has intended for each people a special task to fulfil in this world towards the development and salvation of all mankind. So this fundamental idea requires of every people that it seek to get to know its innate peculiar nature in order not to stray from the works of life intended for it.

"In this century there are many sad examples of nationalities united in one state <whether by force or coercion> which have failed. Every people has stuck to regard its proper language and other peculiarities as a spiritual common good in which everyone, be they high or low, men or womanfolk, take equal share. They feel that this is their true home where they can be what they are; only there they feel free and secure and happy. For this reason they will not at any price refrain from this native soil<sup>142</sup> of the heart and mind but set their lives at stake and tolerate persecution and pain in order to keep and defend it."

The words of the octogenarian are carefully rinsed of any precise allusions to South Jutland or the Danes living there (in order not to preclude the sale and use of the book in South Jutland under German rule, with censorship of Danish literature widely exercised), but the meaning comes across starkly and conveys well the feeling of anybody at the time who was aware of the national jeopardy. The statement draws up the lines of conflict that were precisely going to be realised during the next three-four decades. With the rising of the Danish movement in South Jutland (the northern part of the Duchy of Sleswick), the Imperial German government retaliated with persecution, reaching a high in the years 1897-1901 when von Koeller was president of the province.

#### *Vallekilde Folk High School – an example*

22 years after the opening of Rødding Folk High School - almost to date (on November 1st, 1865) – a new Folk High School opened in the small village of Vallekilde in Northwestern Zealand. Ernst Trier, founder and principal, was to attain profound influence on the spiritual and political life of the post-war youth and his Folk High School, "Vallekilde Folkehøjskole", to become one of the leading of its kind, on a par with the Rødding and Askov institutions.

Ernst Trier<sup>143</sup> was drafted to the army as a field chaplain<sup>144</sup> during the campaign of 1864. He never served in battle, but experienced the disclosure of the preliminary peace accords during his service, was discharged in September and stayed in Copenhagen during the November days when news of the peace treaty was expected.

Ernst Trier's account of his founding of the Vallekilde Folkehøjskole conveys the thinking and parlance concerning national and religious understanding of a person's

place in time and history and so helps to establish a contemporary expression of the ideas and endeavours held by the founders of the Højby Sognd Historiske Samfund, and not by accident, since Vallekilde influenced the communities of Højby and Stenstrup from its earliest days. For this reason, Ernst Trier's account of the founding of Vallekilde will be quoted copiously<sup>145</sup>.

*"On the evening of November 2nd, I was sitting writing my fiancée ... She had asked me why my letters were so sombre and I wrote as an answer: This awful peace is about to be concluded. And then the people has sunk so far under these circumstances that one is not far from being relieved by such a peace accord even though it is a terrible disgrace ... Up till now, the point of my endeavour was always: A new life has finally been created in Denmark, now to bring out the spiritual life ... But Alas! Every sight and sound reminds one of the great disaster that threatens to shatter all progress and spiritual life and maim the dearest gift that was bestowed upon us hither: our native soil<sup>146</sup> and our mother tongue<sup>147</sup>. However, this is but a threat, and a threat out of Hell is my belief; and I think not that the Lord will let it happen. - -*

Here, the three constituting elements of a national self-understanding are employed as explanatory categories in a specific situation: "We" (ie. the Danish people), "our native soil" and "our mother tongue". And it is coupled with the intervention of the Lord. All the machinery necessary in order to effect the national destiny is in place.

Ernst Trier now describes how a visitor interrupts his writing: the reverend Hoff<sup>148</sup>, an acquaintance from his service days and a vicar of a West Zealand hamlet, Vallekilde. He has come to visit:

*"When first we met, it was lovely summer and our hopes were light. Now we met again in the dark hours of an autumn eve with the fact of fate's jeopardy in front of us. Glory to God for that visit! From that moment I again began to raise my head. He stayed with me for a couple of hours and barely was he gone before I carried on with my letter: '-- I was interrupted so the letter will not make the evening train ... Hoff came to visit and you will not believe how much I benefited from talking to him ... It is as though I once again feel the power, something wanting to be toiled for..'*

*"We discussed what was mostly needed in order to once again rehabilitate our people –that now was the time when the illumination of the people of which Grundtvig had been speaking and singing so greatly and widely should happen; that the most important remedy for the resurrection of the people was to get working on the Danish Folk High School."*

Here, two agents are introduced<sup>149</sup>: The Narrator (Hero), and the Visitor (Helper), demonstrating by way of the classical "magical triangle" (ie. explaining the meaning to a reading fiancée) the tool (the Folk High School) and the aim (the illumination of the people).

Of course, such writing is topical, but for a reason, and this is the kind of narrative that the Folk High School would instil in their pupils. – Later, Ernst Trier writes about his meeting Grundtvig himself and, not least, Grundtvig's wife – Trier puts great faith in the power of women – thereby underpinning the calling involved in his undertaking. He quotes Grundtvig from their conversation: " – You (i.e., Trier) have shown yourself as someone able to speak to grown men. Through the Folk High School these will have to be taken care of in order for Denmark to have a future ..."

The kind of pupils Trier would try to recruit to his school were the sort he had met as a field chaplain, that is, farmhands - regular blokes of country stock with an open mind and a good nature. It is a point made by Grundtvig and his followers that in order to

develop into a full person one does not need to have any academical training, indeed, that kind of schooling (dubbed "the black school") might even be a disadvantage. One might add that, from a political and demographic point of view, one would indeed prefer to influence the next generation as broadly as possible.

In his quest for guidance and endorsement Trier also looks up the mythical Christen Kold, a figurehead of Grundtvigian dimensions but of much more practical disposition. He is at Dalum where Trier was billeted during the campaign and close to where Trier's fiancée lives. Trier reports of getting Kold's moral consent.

Trier gets introduced to the parish of Vallekilde by Hoff (and gets a sponsorship from Hoff's spouse), and sets out to secure housing, boarding and school rooms. Financially, he takes advantage of his father's good standing, but nevertheless he spends a lot of effort getting things done in the cheapest possible way.

At the inauguration of the Vallekilde Folk High School in November, 1865, several topical addresses were made. In a letter to his fiancée on the eve of the inauguration, Trier writes: *"Every moment is precious to me, in just a while I must rush round to two farms in order to make bedsteads for the first pupils who will arrive to-morrow – Marie! I am so happy to- night! The school-room is finished, it is so beautiful ... You ought to see it with the beautiful picture of Frederick VII and the escutcheon with the Danish coat-of-arms and the large globuses ... Marie, how can I ever thank the Lord suitably! I am so happy! And Termansen is coming! He, the most prominent and noble peasant of the Land<sup>150</sup> will carry out the inauguration of my school ... !"*

Whether the Lord or the member of Parliament is more to be thanked remains unclear, but one is not left in the dark regarding Ernst Trier's mood.

Amidst much pounding of his heart, he registers a long row of visitors' arrivals. Parents wanting to pay for their sons' stay and friends saying hello take up the first part of the day, but then: -- *At 1 PM I summoned everyone with the small new school-bell to gather round the flagstaff in the garden. The Dannebrog<sup>151</sup> was hoisted and I saluted it by reciting the song "Hail thee, our Banner"<sup>152</sup>, adding the wish that the sight of Dannebrog outside the school windows might always remind teachers and pupils to stay true to the school's cause. The crowd then struck up the anthem: Hail thee, our banner, Cross-emblem white. If we follow pace with thee, victory will be ours, and the golden age. Danes follow you freely. 2) More than swords, the enemies fear to see thee planted near to them. Wherever thou art hoisted, victory rallies around the blessed host of the Lord of the Cross. 3) Lovingly, thou art embraced by men of honour<sup>153</sup>, the name of Dannebrog thou bearest forth; to the glory of Heavens may thou always bear this name along with victory. 4) Love of the home resides in our bosom. The strife for peace is our only delight and for that only we sharpen points and edges to fight. 5) Hail thee, our banner, Cross-emblem white. In thy trajectory often thou flied higher still than the hosts of spirits; Victory follows thee freely.*

By choosing the Constantine hymn as the emblematic song for the inauguration, Ernst Trier in a masterly way bridged the joy of the occasion and the gravity of the situation. The very reason for creating the institution was indeed to counter the defeat suffered only a year before. Many – if not all – of the pupils who were to start their education had served in the army; the casualties were still being counted; the losses were not fathomed yet.

Everyone present must have been struck by the melancholy in the words of Grundtvig. Where had victory come to? Were they not men of honour since they had been deprived of that victory?

To the secularly minded observer, this looks partly like tormenting oneself, partly like somebody trying to drum up a *revanchiste* sentiment, summoning God for one's own end.

The point here is that everyone present was aware of the fundamentals of Christian doctrine.

Like in the case of St Constantine at Milan, the real victory to hope for is not that on the battlefield. Points and edges may or may not win the day; the real fear on the part of the enemy is the emblem of faith, the holy Cross – and nor is the real enemy the person in the differently coloured uniform facing you in combat but rather the Evil One. The real battleground is for the people to be won or lost – won for life, ie. in a national sense; lost for perdition as a national entity.<sup>154</sup>.

Another song was performed, written for the occasion by Ernst Trier's friend Jens Nørregård and expounding the need to rally around the good omens even in times of darkness, to stand by the Faith represented by the Danish flag –faith in the Lord, and in the Danish people, blessed by Our Lord.

The first inaugural speaker, Termansen, had arranged for his address to be preceded by yet another song, again by Grundtvig, and rendered here in its entirety<sup>155</sup>:

Gone are the days of old, vanished, like rivers in the ocean, and where the weak now seeks his rest the stronger found his grave; but, hail be to the Lord of Heavens, the kin of the noble never shall die out. 2) While graves are being dug, the cradle rocks, and life blots out the vestiges of death: each noble lineage South and North renews itself forever, and memory, like the mercy of the Lord, perpetuates itself through thousand generations. 3) So let us behold what nobles did name passion for life! Yea, let us vie with all the best and dare boldly to fight death! – for which to counter, and the grave, we may yet hope to achieve, so help us God.

The main theme of Termansen's address was indeed "Memory, like mercy of the Lord, perpetuates itself through a thousand generations" . He went on like this<sup>156</sup>: *"If the Lord has provided for a better future for Denmark, and the Spirit will truly wave above the life of the people<sup>157</sup>, ... <although> this hope for a bright and happy future for our people and our native soil does seem to be denied by all that is manifest and has happened these days and to be countered by many an omen for the future. Yet, my Danish friends, I feel for my part that if I were to let go of this, this hope that I embraced with my youthful passion<sup>158</sup>, I would not be needed here to-day, and what brings us together to-day would be of little or no avail; for the school, the school for the Danish youth, is not there in order to convey the advantage of the day but to bestow fulfilment, profoundly and lastingly, upon a life in, and with, and for the people, for our native soil and for the common good. ...*

*"The song that we just sang seems to me to speak of the great wonder of God's love and His power; that one generation goes forth where the foregoing went under and that in the face of death life still renews itself and rejuvenates itself, and not just speaking of natural life, because there is a mysterious kinship, a profound, spirited and cordial unity between the fathers and their offspring through a thousand generations. And thus the memory also can perpetuate itself, like the song says. ... For this reason, because there is such a fundamental unity between those of old and the new generations – for that reason, what the one did live and learn, the other gets to own by spirit and by heart. The same law applies to an entire people, indeed to the whole life of the human kind, as is true for each person.*

*"In the same way as every year adds its experience and what we have learned in it to the next, every generation of a people adds its experience and learning to the next and everything becomes a life's trajectory<sup>159</sup> in which the people, as may every single person, may, yea, shall have more experience and light shed over its life.*

*"And then – what is then the most treasured and comforting truth that 'memory' in the life of a people, and in particular in our people's life, can and will make clear to us? It is that 'God's mercy' renews itself and perpetuates itself from generation unto generation for a thousand generations and yet more! It is the safe ground unto which we can trust to put down our foot and know that it will stand fast in spite of storm and sea.*

*"Just as the well does not run dry whence we see mankind's life spring forth and renew itself in the field, so the the well flowing with God's mercy and grace that has watered generations before us shall not run dry for those coming after. ... "*

Here Termansen undertakes to couple the temporal and the divine by demonstrating how individual humans' experience of life adds up to a people's consolidated memory in much the same way – that is, by implication – that God bestows His grace anew on every individual and thence every generation and so, on mankind.

Termansen goes on:

*" .. On the contrary! If they <ie., those coming after> undertake to use life in the right way and embrace memory in faith, that stream shall swell even more and with ever more blessing as we grow fitter to accept it. To what avail does the richest well spring amongst us when we see not its beauty nor wish to draw water from it? ... "*

He makes the argument that no-one is too "small" to fulfil his obligation to contribute to the good, that is, to fight for *"life and light, truth and justice, freedom, people and native soil and everything noble and lovable in the life of man. For when it came to fighting with the weapons of love and faith, patience and hope, no-one was ever too small e'en though many a-one was too great and smart..."* – This for the reason that the Lord, who bestows the blessing on *"he who puts his faith in Him and stays the best of souls"* – that the Lord makes no difference between people. In short, with the Lutheran argument: Believe in God and be saved. No other qualification is needed, and no-one stands out exalted in the face of the Lord.

The distinction between the "small" and the "great" plays directly into a theme which is often highlighted when discussing "Danishness" (being Danish): That whatever is smaller or weaker is apparently better than that which is stronger and greater. In the present context of Termansen's inauguration speech, it is very clear that the underlying meaning is not that smallness has a certain desirable quality in its own but that being small or great is irrelevant in God's reality.

The celebration goes on until nightfall, but the above suffices to demonstrate the mood and the contents of the enterprise which was about to be undertaken, and which indeed took off remarkably, growing into one of the leading Folk High Schools in a few years' time and transforming the spiritual and everyday life of the surrounding land profoundly<sup>160</sup>.

*What to make of God and all that?*

It is my experience from dealing with the authorship of N.F.S. Grundtvig through a number of years<sup>161</sup> that although the work of Grundtvig is crammed with references to the Divine, it is perfectly possible for many people to ignore those references and their implications while at the same time feeling they understand his work well<sup>162</sup>.



Much the same can be said about the way the national paradigm is being handled. Of course, it is quite possible to form a theory of nation, national sentiment, nationalism and like subjects without any divine representation. When considering a certain period, however, and quite obviously when dealing with 19th and early 20th century Denmark, religious phenomena must be treated in a way so as not to lose the meaning ascribed to them by the individuals concerned, of the time in question.

For that reason, the quoted speeches and songs from the inauguration of Vallekilde Folk High School must be examined according not only to their content of national ideas, but equally according to the relationship between the temporal (national) and the eternal (Christian). Further, the action taken by the individuals and groups must be examined also in terms of religious practice.

It is here that the Lutheran theology of vocation and station<sup>163</sup> enters the picture.

#### *The Lutheran cornerstone*

In order to understand how this works, one must bear in mind the education of the classes in question, the founders of the Historical Society being mainly peasants ("almue").

Whilst general education was first introduced nationwide by royal decree in 1814, in fact it had existed throughout most of the countryside for a century or so previously. The parish of Højby was situated in a former Cavalry District (see chapters 2 and 3). In the early years of the 18th century, as such Cavalry Districts were formed by the king, every parish was fitted with a school for peasants' children in order for them to learn reading, writing and catechism. The local clergy was responsible for undertaking the education, the deacon often doing the actual reading with the children. So it happened that book learning, although scant, was instilled in the people of the countryside and with it a close knowledge of the basic scriptures of the Lutheran faith: The Creed, the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments and an assortment of rules of life, as taught by the Minor Catechism by Martin Luther.

The basic principles of the Lutheran teaching are those of total authority and total servitude.

#### *Freedom's fountainhead: General priesthood*

Total authority (or "general priesthood" – in Danish: Det almindelige præstedømme) – means that every Christian stands directly responsible in the face of Christ, who is sole head of the Church (*vide* e.g. Martin Luther, "On the Freedom of the Christian", 1522). The conscience of the believer knows no other lord than the Lord. Clearly, this position means that pope and bishops and clergy in the old sense are disposed of and that the believers' assemblies, or parishes, are invested with the duty not only to elect able preachers and officials – vicars, not priests – but also to constantly try (probe) the teaching of such preachers and to react if they fail to relay the Gospel. The individual is ultimately responsible.

"On worldly Authority, and how far one should obey oneself" (*Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei* (1523) lays the foundation, together with the abovementioned works, for Martin Luther's exposé on the nature of relations between the individual Christian and authority.

As it happened, the actual election of officials in the Lutheran church was to be the privilege of lay officialdom (this, too, for religious reasons which will not be discussed here) but what matters to the subject of the spiritual formation of a people (in the sense of "laós" (Gk)) is the emphasis put on listening to the preaching of the Gospel –not in a

fundamentalist way, but rather as a means of building a dynamic personal relationship with the Word of God, the mystical entity of Christ and Scripture<sup>164</sup>.

#### *Defined by duty: Love thy neighbour*

The other aspect, that of total servitude, pertains to the duty of the Christian towards his neighbour. Based on the principle laid out in the "double commandment" to love one's neighbour as oneself<sup>165</sup>, this in the Lutheran understanding places every Christian in a personal relationship with the neighbour, meaning anyone immediately close to him. The virtue of the Lutheran thinking is to underscore the unrelayed "directness" of that commandment – you do not do this or that in order that you thereby fulfil orders issued by an authority, but you do so in order to complete the obligation vested in each Christian by means of the total authority of everyone baptized (the formula for that being "having put on the Christ", ie. as a gown or a second body)<sup>166</sup>. So, to love your neighbour is to serve him.

This line of thinking permeates all of Martin Luther's writing and so has made its way into the spiritual make-up of Lutherans through the teaching of moral obligations such as the Ten Commandments. The emphasis is very ostensibly being laid on doing one's duty according to one's station ("calling and vocation"), meaning the actual circumstances (in place and time) in which you find yourself. Whether exalted or lowly, your place in the World is where you are supposed to make your effort, thereby following Christ. The actual admission to the company of the Lord is not complicated in the Lutheran teaching, since Martin Luther established that Faith only saves<sup>167</sup>. However, living as a Christian is not necessarily easy, since it implies both listening to the words of the Gospel resounding in one's soul and fulfilling the obligation to serve<sup>168</sup>.

The concepts of "serving" and of "loving one's neighbour<sup>169</sup>" are the centrepieces as far as historical and national self-consciousness is concerned: The obligation to serve and to love has a vertical (temporal, or historical) dimension as well as a horizontal one.

The historical dimension can be inferred from the Fourth Commandment which covers the individual's relationship with not only parents, but every form of seniority and temporal authority. (*"Thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother: What does this mean? That we should fear and love God in order that we do not despise our parents or masters<sup>170</sup> or arouse their anger but honour them, serve, obey, love and keep them in esteem.<sup>171</sup>"*) The precise words were learnt by heart by every young boy and girl in the Kingdom of Denmark and, since 1736 through the office of Confirmation by the Church, a prerequisite for attaining adulthood even in civil matters such as paid service, legal action, marriage etc.

Your parents, your authorities, your kin, your lineage, your people are all deserving of your service in exactly the same way as the person next door.

Thus, the Lutheran understanding of the place of the individual in relation to God and the commandments encompassed by the Symbols acknowledged by the Church of Denmark makes it possible to establish the concepts of "People" (in Danish: Folk) and "Nation" (Danish: Fædreland) as commonly understood by ordinary Danish people at the time dealt with in this treatise. Although "People" as a term refers to a collective entity defined by language and history, the actual interpretation of the term in the late 19th and early 20th century is the extension of the understanding of the religious term of "neighbour" and its implications<sup>172</sup>.

#### *Taking Luther to Højby*

Passing from this overall understanding of the Lutheran contribution to understanding the concepts of "People" and "Fatherland", what does it imply in real terms for the

assessment of the activities carried out by the people of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby?

It is safe to assume that the activities covered by the society must have been regarded as a calling, or vocation, whereby one must bear in mind that in Lutheran understanding, a vocation is not a thing that sets you apart, but, on the contrary, the normal state. What is special is whether you have a gift or not; the obligation to do what needs to be done is an instance of the total servitude mentioned above and so a universal must<sup>173</sup>.

It follows that no specific hierarchy is inherent in the group of people making up the society. What sets someone apart – notably Laurits Jensen, who did most but not all of the work and who by his blindness was kept from doing certain things – is not eminence but the result of a vocation taken to the sensible limit of things. Exactly the same was as was the case in the cooperatives and the various societies and associations in Højby at the time.

Looking at People and Fatherland in the perspective of religion, it is safe, too, to subsume that the pervasive faith in God instilled a feeling of trust in Providence: "He who helped us hither helps us thither, too" is an often quoted hymn line<sup>174</sup>. If you believe in God, He will help, and this goes not just for the individual but equally for the People<sup>175</sup>. The Lutheran principle of redemption through faith is at work here. By implication, this facet of man's relationship with God leads to greater patience, a virtue much needed by the compatriot South Jutlanders and beautifully hailed in their anthem of resistance "Det haver så nyligen regnet."

### **Chapter 7 Modern ideas of nationality compared to the period**

I take it to be established that the founders the Historical Society of the parish of Højby acted relative to a national agenda. It is now appropriate to take a look at how history and cultural science describe phenomena as the one at hand and whether they offer explanations of the drivers behind the substantial effort invested in the Højby project.

#### *A contemporary historian: Vilhelm la Cour*

"The term "Fatherland"<sup>176</sup> is by all means a live word," writes historian Vilhelm la Cour<sup>177</sup> in his 1913 treatise "Fædrelandet, Grundtræk af Danskhedsfølelsens Vækst"<sup>178</sup>, after a lengthy introduction about how Grundtvig and Hans Christian Andersen, respectively, deal with their Danishness, placing both firmly in a Christian self-understanding<sup>179</sup>.

Vilhelm la Cour goes on: "Although "Fatherland" denotes some specific geographical area, it is still something quite different from a normal place name. Not only does it demonstrate that at the moment, there is a lineage<sup>180</sup>, a People that calls it 'its own', but also that this fact is established by inheritance. Between Fatherland and People, there are the closest of relations. A People without a Fatherland is simply: a race, and a Fatherland without a People: an appalling unlikeliness. Love of the Fatherland cannot arise prior to the awakening of the sentiment of being a People. On the other hand, it is unthinkable that love of the Fatherland can lie dormant when the People has really become self-conscious.

"At the time when it (ie. the People) has reached self-knowledge in a spiritual and ethical meaning, the borders of the Fatherland are also defined. Everything that is not part and parcel of the common sweep<sup>181</sup> is outside the Law of the Land, geographically speaking.

"One needs to contemplate this when tracing the love of the Fatherland as it grew through the times. This will at the same time draw up the history of how the people came to realize itself as such. For our part it goes to say that both are part of a more exalted unity: The "feeling of Danishness" which, by implication, would have to include sensibility towards the mother tongue, reverence towards our symbols of statehood and love of the recollections of our kin.

"A historical quest for the essence of the love of the Fatherland would have to depart from the living conscience of the people regarding its life as a free and independent nation.

"Such a conscience is a product of time and development ... from lineage through tribe to people. But not even when a people has been formed, a nation is at hand. The nation is a product of cultural development which it takes centuries to fulfil. ...

"Of our own nation, one of the most homogeneous of Europe at large, it may be said that it was fully formed around 1000 A.D., but not in terms of selfconsciousness. By this standard, it only emerges c. 200 years later. ... "

From here, Vilhelm la Cour goes on to trace his concepts through time (and at length). In Vilhelm la Cours parlance "folk", "fædreland", "nation", "Danishness" all refer to empirical facts. In his treaty, he traces utterances of a national bearing or nature and refers them to "facts on the ground" in the form of documented events and, not least, the people itself.

#### *Modern Danish cultural history: Tine Damsholt*

A good 80 years later, Tine Damsholt in her article "Om begrebet folk" as well as in her Ph.D. thesis<sup>182</sup> proposes a modern view. Whether in the Montesquieu or the Herder tradition, she reads in the "state patriotism" approach to peasantry in 18th century Denmark an instrumentalism dedicated to increasing the wealth and power of the state<sup>183</sup> and she ventures no assessment of the possible involvement of the peasants themselves.

As she moves on to the 1840's, Tine Damsholt<sup>184</sup> finds that the period ( - she writes in the impersonal passive - ) has moved on to regard the nation not as a statist concept centered on the king's person but as an expression of the people's spirit manifest in language, folklore and history and carried by symbols such as cornfields, the Dannebrog flag, barrow hills and beach woods. "The individual's own understanding, that is, the subjective nationality, was a lesser concern in this regard. Ideally spoken, however, the population ought to have a correct sense of their nationality and so of their original culture. In the words of the discourse, "the people's spirit must be awakened". The position of "The People" thence became central to the national discourse. The people both became the decisive historical and contemporary political subject and an object that must be examined regarding its objective nationality and the correct selfconsciousness according to its belonging to a certain nation. "The People" must have the right kind of national consciousness and a self-understanding as a part of the political subject with a responsibility towards the common good. Relative to the political discourse the aim of securing the people's responsibility towards the whole remained intact but now complemented with the idea that the whole ought to be identical with the delimited nation.

"The Folk High School in Denmark was to become one of the tools for educating the correct consciousness. In the supplication to the king to open the first Folk High School in Rødding in 1844 it was stated that the wish was to create an institution where peasant and townsman could gain knowledge and skills relative to his position as 'a son of the land and citizen of the state', ie. both the national and the patriotic side of his person. At the school, the people's spirit was going to be reawakened through accounts of heroes of the past and the people's exploits. The Folk High School would educate young peasants to become nationally conscious citizens who loved the fatherland. ... "

Damsholt goes on to demonstrate that as much as the peasantry had been instrumental for the 18th century state theorist in order to implement physiocratic reforms, as much did the 19th century writers need The People as a body-national in order to propagate a state-political solution in the border-drawing conflict between German and Danish regarding the duchy of Sleswick. The base line of Damsholt's analysis is that there is such a thing as "the concept of the people<sup>185</sup>", but hardly such a thing as The People. It remains an analytical tool. I find that Damsholt's grasp of the concept is representative of a modern way of dealing with the concept of people; it being reintroduced to the cultural discipline of European Ethnology gradually through the 90's. It should be noted that, differential to the la Cour case, in Damsholt's analysis, faith does not play any significant part.

Does this conceptual-logic approach to the meaning of People (and, by implication, related concepts such as Fatherland, love of the Fatherland and like) adapt to the case of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby?

*Ernest Gellner, modern social anthropologist*

Before assessing the various virtues of the la Cour and the Damsholt positions, it is convenient to take a look outside the interpreting realms of history and culture (such as European Ethnology in the Copenhagen sense), at another possibly explanatory source, the British social anthropologist Ernest Gellner's "Nations and Nationalism."<sup>186</sup>

Gellner's neo-functional approach views matters in terms of complexity. A highly developed society with all sorts of division of labour – in its prototype form: industrialised society - can only function if a system of instruction is in place to perform education and communication. Such a system requires a state to exert power in order to maintain the indispensable "machinery", and it does so within the confines of a culture that is most likely to take the form of a national state. He uses the parable of a fish tank or a breathing chamber: There may be several forms possible, but not the no-form solution. A media is needed; that media is national culture.<sup>187</sup>

Gellner goes on: "We seem to be in the presence of a phenomenon which springs directly and inevitably from basic changes in our shared social condition, from changes in the overall relation between society, culture and polity... Generally speaking, nationalist ideology suffers from pervasive false consciousness. Its myths invert reality: it claims to defend folk culture while in fact it is forging a high culture; it claims to protect an old folk society while in fact helping to build up an anonymous mass society. ... Nationalism as a phenomenon, not as a doctrine presented by nationalists is inherent in a certain set of social conditions; and those conditions, it so happens, are the conditions of our time." Gellner makes short script of religion, reducing it to yet another (substitutionable) form of appearance<sup>188</sup>

It is clear from the above quotation that Gellner's system works perfectly without the concept of People. The ideology is pervasive; the content of it is not important, and by the way, it is coincidental. The individuals living in a nationalist state gain from it in that they take advantage of high culture's education and communication; the state attains a stable – well, state, in that it has defined defendable boundaries so it can concentrate its use of force in a focused way, outside and in. In short: A clockwork.

#### *Explanatory powers*

Now to examine the powers of the three explanatory models in the face of what happened in Denmark at the time of founding of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby.

The Gellner paradigm obviously needs the totality of the Danish state in order to be demonstrated since it is a macrotheory.

It can be argued that the institution of Folk High Schools is an example of how to see to it that high culture pervades the uneducated classes. However, if one looks closer, the functionalism of Gellner works less well – not as far as the high-strung outbursts of sentiment are concerned (for instance, at the inauguration of Vallekilde Folk High School); they could be explained as internalization in the social psychological sense – but the setting and taking of stakes doesn't add up; no-one benefits socially or economically from taking part in the courses. The school barely pays its way and the pupils get no formal education that they can cash in on. If one wants to presuppose individual gain from going to Folk High School, then going back and engaging in extensive unpaid community work (besides the governing positions in the cooperatives, also not paid but commercially understandable) – then it must be in the likeness of some quasi-Trobriander trade circle that could take years to bring back any returns on the social and cultural capital distributed.

A striking feature of Gellner's paradigm is the stark functionalism of it. Another, that he offers a compromise between the essentialist attitude to the concept of nation and the constructivist in that he insists that nationalism is the primal, nation the secondary tier of conceptualization and that, given that, nationalism and hence nation is indeed essential *in circumstances* – so conceding on the one hand that there are societal stages where nationalism is not on the agenda, but, on the other hand, in the ones we

are concerned with, it is pervasive: agrarian civilizations do not engender nationalism, but industrial civilizations and societies do.

Gellners argument implies that the concept of nation falls short of being conceptual-logic in the sense that it indeed denotes a system of interrelated phenomena making up, in their combined entirety, a "nation" but only – and this is what shifts it towards the conceptual-logic – only if it is triggered by the overlying concept of nationalism. A set of nation-constituants may or may not be a nation according to the type of civilization at work.

Damsholts notion of people is embedded in an overall theory of discourse whereby "the people" incorporates the patriotic as well as the national perspective, meaning citizens as well as nation (ie. the plurality of individuals pertaining to a certain culture and history). The concept of people is necessary *in order to* combine contractual theory (natural law) with the historically-culturally defined narrative of the said plurality.

Although from a different angle than that of Gellner, Damsholt ends up with a concept of people mediating between the state and the individual. Subjectivity and objectivity are ways of exerting control and instilling ideologies through the mechanism of interpellation and it is demonstrated, especially in Damsholt (1996) that this is supposed to work point-to-point, ie. not by way of anything resembling a ("the") people *per se*. However, she does raise the question if it might not be possible to construe a specific form of interpellation regarding "nation and people"<sup>189</sup>.

Assessing Damsholt's conceptualization vis-a-vis the Højby case, here again it is difficult to see how the statist mechanism with its perspective of the interpellating sovereignty and the interpellated subject fits in with the busy self-asserting ex-peasants that makes up the farming community and runs it in almost every way conceivable and even trying to make foreign policy (albeit on a small scale) by supporting and entertaining South Jutland compatriots visiting. Anyhow, suffice it to conclude that the concept of people is probably necessary for the Damsholt argument in order to move ahead from the patriotic to the nationalistic phase, but that no such thing as The People appears on its own.

Vilhelm la Cour's handling of the categories of "folk", People, and "fædreland", Fatherland, offers a contemporary theoretical framework for discussing the the fundamental drivers in the founders of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby in the first and second decade of the 20th century.

In Vilhelm la Cour's thinking, People and Fatherland are complementary concepts, the one not being possible without the other. In order to be "a people", one-such must be self-conscious as-such. This is no automatic thing but a historical and therefore unique process told as it evolves.

Two preconditions for the creation of the feeling of being a People exist: That of a free and independent state<sup>190</sup> expressed in the person of the king, "and the recognition of a conflict between us and our neighbours"<sup>191</sup>. In la Cours view, these conditions predate 1000 A.D. and he cites ample evidence to support his view, tracing the ever richer heritage of lore, script and relics through early and late Middle Ages, Renaissance and into early Modern History with the advent of absolutism and further. Dealing with the 18th century Danish public servant and writer Tyge Rothe, an admirer and translator of Montesquieu, he writes: "Ours is a more fine-tuned feeling for the Fatherland than his. He was a patriot without being a nationalist. We today cannot be nationalists without being patriots," thereby acknowledging the double bind to state and nation.<sup>192</sup>

Vilhelm la Cour's method is tracing rather than theoreticizing, so his 217-page recount of the growth of national feeling is a step-by-step demonstration of ever more precise proof of ever more acute feeling. Finally he concludes: "A nation is a soul, a principle of spirit. Two prerequisites –but really one and the same –make up this spiritual principle: the one, that there is a shared ownership of a rich heritage of memories – the other, the consent and urge of the present generation to live together in unity and forever to claim the heritage passed down. The existence of a nation rests on the people's a daily consent just as life of an individual depends on a reiterated manifestation of life. Ultimately, the will of the people proper is the only rightly criterion to which one must always resort."

Does this analysis fit with the utterances in word and deed of the founders of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby? To a considerable extent, it does.

It is manifestly proved that the founders were painstakingly collecting bits and pieces of their past – very much their own past since they insisted on dealing only with the parish as their scope of observation and activity<sup>193</sup>, but clearly inscribed in the Fatherland paradigm, demonstrated by the embellishment of the landscape with markers of the past. Thus, the "rich heritage of memories" was consolidated just as was done by people of the same persuasion everywhere in the country at the time. This nation-wide collection and keeping of memories amounted to a huge conservation of shared memory – documents, folklore, objects, memorials, buildings, photographs - that remains to this day a source of common Danish history for whosoever wishes to ascertain act or deed or lineage.

What for the urge to live together and to claim the passed-down heritage there are practically no verbal or written programmatic statements on record. What little there is, however, points in the direction suggested by la Cour. The Historical Society showed a remarkable persistence in the face of changing living conditions and tastes on the part of the inhabitants of the parish, only to disappear as an institution after close to a century – and then only to pass on the legacy to a new body to take care of things.

Whether or not the will to exist as a nation is still at hand remains to be seen. As once remarked by Tyge Rothe: "The peasant does not speak of his love of the Fatherland."<sup>194</sup>



## **Chapter 8: The National Necessity**

Was the creation of the Historical Society for the parish of Højby in any way special? Or was it just another "me too"-project, modelled on known paradigms such as the historical society of the county of Ribe, first in Denmark, or the much closer historical society for the county of Holbæk which predates Højby with a few years.<sup>195</sup>

The proposition I set forth at the beginning of the present survey was that the efforts of the founders were closely linked to a sentiment of belonging to a people and a fatherland and that the driving force behind the founding of the society was the urge to express their national sentiment. The reason for this was the special layout of the exposition at the museum: unlike other small local society-based museums, the one at Stenstrup when it first caught my eye had not only the ubiquitous Farmer's Parlour, complete with a goose settee, but also the remnants of a Danish man-of-war perished in battle. Somehow, the combination suggested that the scope was the nation, not the parish or even the class of people – the farming class – that made up the population of the parish.

I suggested that the founders wanted to fulfil the expression of the national sentiment through making a collection, building a museum to put the collection on display, collect folklore, hold lectures, dig out ruins, erect monuments and raise flagstuffs. The parish that they knew so well they would turn into an exhibition of history and culture.

All this in fact they did, eventually<sup>196</sup>, but why? Did the founders have a mission of their own, as I proposed, and what was the nature of that mission?

As I made myself acquainted with the long-dead persons through their board meeting minutes, letters and notes it became clear that they had not been recording whatever deliberations of a programmatic nature they had made. The correspondence is straightforward and to the point: "*Get me this; do you know if-?; I can offer you Kr. 30 to write such*". In some instances remarks such as "it was a spirited meeting" or "the public greeted him most heartily" pay homage to the extent of feeling that went into the enterprise, but lofty expressions do not come easily to them.

In order to sustain the argument I had to rely on circumstantial evidence. The news coverage of absolute highlights such as the 100-years anniversary of the Battle at Odden (1908), the anniversaries relative to the wars of 1848-50 and 1864 and the visit of eightscore South Jutlanders in 1911 certainly testify to the importance felt locally and the considerable authority of the leaders of the society in the matters dealt with. Plying through 8-10 years of local press left me with the feel of an exhaustive corpus of day-to-day doings and dealings; from broken legs and necks to burnt-down windmills and parliamentary notes, and, most valuable, a close encounter with the weight of the matter of my interest. News of the Historical Society was likely to make front page headlines.

Through the work of Jan Steen Jacobsen, then head of Stenstrup Museum<sup>197</sup>, the links between the Historical Society and the Vallekilde Folk High School has been laid out, placing the society as one of several institutions of the area that had picked up and carried out the ideas inherent in the Grundtvigian Folk High School movement in local practice – most notably so at the village hall of Stenstrup, home to a considerable association of gymnasts and marksmen and venue of innumerable events and lectures, and the free school now at Gudmindrup.

The collections at the Dansk Folkemindesamling<sup>198</sup> and The Royal Library, department of manuscripts, both at Copenhagen, offer insight in the methods and results of the Historical Society and the circle of associates working with them.

As I was making this round it became obvious to me that the actual founding of the society and, in quick succession, the erection of the museum for the collection in fact could be seen as the objective of a process rather than the starting point.

Coupling the coinciding focus points of the Society, as recorded in the minutes and letters, with the results of going through local newspapers and the Højskolebladet, the Folk High School Gazette, a sort of blueprint emerged: That of an image of the national struggle during the 19th century to the (then) present day. I am not at all certain that this pattern would have come through if I had stuck to the records of the Society or the associates at the Folklore Archive (and others) since the practical details took up quite a lot of attention and resources, together with the practicalities of building and moving house.

As it were, I was now faced with the possibility that this was not a project of merely managing antiquity but an ongoing effort to keep the attention of oneself and one's contemporaries focussed on something else. What?

Being past the 1880's infight about the fortification of Copenhagen, the only big open question was South Jutland. It constituted a sore, that of putting right the injustice done to the South Jutlanders. My suggestion was that the extensive collection and displaying of lore went towards raising national conscience locally so as to match the level of that of the South Jutlanders who were superior to the Danes of the Kingdom proper when it came to national sensitivity.

This attempt at a conclusion as to the real nature of the drive behind the founding of the Historical Society was not just founded on the strong weighting of the Battle at Odden together with the Whitsun outing to South Jutland of 1907 in the records but these things in conjunction with the steady trickle of newspaper notes of the situation south of the border, e.g.: A farmhand deported for attending Danish meetings while working on a farm belonging to a Danish minority congressman. Two Danish actors on tour reading classics evicted. A Danish minority congressman indicted for misconduct. Heavy fines dished out for minor misdemeanors etc. etc. –In the Folk High School Gazette<sup>199</sup> there are rather more detailed accounts of how the Danish population is being harrassed, legally and otherwise, and how the German Imperial government tries to buy its way into the realm.

At this point I needed to ask: Where does recording and computing stop, and conjecture begin?

I hold it to be perfectly feasible to gather circumstantial evidence in a case like this, amassing bits and shreds of contemporary stuff that had probably been available to the individuals in question. Of course there are degrees of likeliness that an individual article has been read by, say, Isidor Herskind or read aloud to Laurits Jensen. But if the general review that one is conducting points to availability of information, it is safe to suggest that this information was shared by the individuals since they were known to be interested in such matters.

Likewise, we may safely assume that the founders were familiar with Folk High School lore – and we know for a fact that those that had attended Vallekilde Folk High School did know, and very likely were the owners of Flor's Handbook, since we know that this book was indeed part of the curriculum at Vallekilde.<sup>200</sup>

I will call these conjectures "of the first order" and I am confident that they will stick.<sup>201</sup>

As regards my rendition of the historical background at national level (chapter 2) and local level (chapter 3) it is not intended to be conjectural, neither to be complete as it is only meant to supply the necessary explanatory backdrop to the main theme, as are the parts regarding the Society in chapters 4 and 5 and chapter 6 (the spiritual and cultural ambience) and 7 (theories of nationality).

Now that the likelihood was established that the eventful first years of the Historical Society were unleashed by the plight of the Danish South Jutlanders I still needed there to be some mechanism that would provide the frame of understanding, so to speak, relevant to the people involved. Since they themselves obviously felt that they had to do what they did, what would be the rationale? I found it to be not very likely that they would inscribe their activities in any formalized theory, although by invoking the monograph on the growth of the feeling of Danishness by Vilhelm la Cour<sup>202</sup>, dealt with in chapter 6, I have been suggesting that contemporary bodies of coherent thought on the subject matter do exist.

Where to look, then, for a rationale that would join the Højby circle with South Jutlanders, peasants with vicars, and the heroes of the English-Danish wars at the beginning of the 19th century with the affluent agriculturalists after the turn of the next century?

One thing they all had in common: Lutheran Christianity, and I have been laying out my view of how it would produce the meaning necessary in chapter 6. But that was not the way I got to think of it. Instead, as I was scanning Fichte and Jacob Grimm in order to get to the bottom of the matter, it appeared to me that what is often dubbed "the beginning of nationalism" is not it – it is much rather a kind of particular universalism, substituting French (or whatever) universalism with another one, now of the German stripe<sup>203</sup>.

As I was contemplating the artificiality of it, I wondered how to describe the undisputed sort of fact-on-the-ground nationality resting on people sharing language and history. It was then that I came to think of Danish historian and writer Martin A. Hansen who offers a paradigm in one of his historical essays: If one would take a plain old farm in the countryside with a barrow hill on its lands and invite all the previous owners, then the dwelling would probably not be able to hold the 200-odd guests. Even if it were, the guests would feel uneasy about the party since most of them would not be able to talk to each other. However, if one would ask them to stand in line, each with his predecessor to one side and his successor to the other, any subject of conversation started at either end could reach the other end uncompromised. And they would all know something of the subject matter since they were all on their own land.

Land, lineage and language – much the factors that la Cour hold by in his 1913 treatise. Still, there needs to be something of a "thou shalt". Enter Christ, enter Luther, enter Grundtvig.

Lutheranism bred Grundtvig, Grundtvig inspired the Folk High School movement and the Folk High Schools disseminated a handful of generations with high hopes, bottomless faith and educated to lead the way (since in principle there are no formal subjects in Folk High Schools, talking gets to be the criterion of excellence. There is an old saying that anyone from the Folk High School "can talk the cow out of the cloverfield".)

So: Does the Lutheran concepts of "calling and vocation" ("kald og stand") explain the concepts of "people" ("folk") and "fatherland" ("fædreland") as understood in a Danish

context? I think it does, inasmuch as being "a national" is tantamount to acknowledging the binding nature of one's history as a person with a parentage and a common fate with compatriots of the same tongue and lineage as one-self and sharing the same land. With the temporal anchoring in land, lineage and language (including memories) comes the spiritual link to God, and the lesson of it is that the temporal bit does not work without the spiritual one. Lose your faith, lose your connectivity. Keep your faith, keep the hope – just ask the South-Jutlanders.

It would certainly have been beautiful to be able to challenge one of the founders of the Historical Society with this instrument of analysis. However, too little is left of a personal nature from the most prominent of those, Laurits Jensen, him being decidedly a shy person<sup>204</sup>, neither did Isidor Herskind leave anything behind but a small collection of sermons.

What a blessed coincidence, then, that the life story of Viggo Villemoes Jensen is at hand.<sup>205</sup> I must admit that, in chapter 3 I venture to what might be called conjectures "of the second order". This is where I combine second-tier information (the Viggo Villemoes Jensen statements are an interview, not made by myself) with a set of allegations based, in this case, on inferring explanations of a religious nature of the quite commonplace remarks made by Viggo Villemoes Jensen. The thing is, though, that when you draw up the course of events in his life, the only source of comfort and consolation and of strength to carry on is his faith. And he shows himself to be a real Folk High School kind of person – curious to the end and feeling in a position to give advice to the next generation even though he has precious little left.

But couldn't it just be that Viggo Villemoes Jensen is not the same type of person as those of the founding generation? For one, he is not so much younger, being born in 1890. Further, he is the nephew of Laurids Jensen so he shares a lot of passed-down lore (- he actually sat on the goose settee in the museum when he was a child, in his own home). Finally, he fits into the Martin A. Hansen paradigm. – I think his case is well founded.

Creating order in a shattered world – that is in effect what the story of the Historical Society of the parish of Højby historical society is about, as if it would declare the following: "We, the people, hold the power. However, some of us, the South Jutlanders, are presently powerless under foreign rule. In order for us to maintain that we are the rightful holders of power we must insist that the estranged part of us be reunited with the rest. For the whole people to become aware and determined (the "double jeopardy", or trauma, being the loss of autonomy on the the part of the South Jutlanders and the loss of national self-consciousness (or pride) by the Danes of the Kingdom), the national history must be preserved, collected and displayed to the people, by the people, in its own quarters (parishes)."

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## Summary in Danish

*Ved skrivelse af 25. maj 2005 har Studienævnet ved Europæisk Etnologi tilladt, at specialet er udarbejdet på engelsk.*

### DEN NATIONALE NØDVENDIGHED

En kreds af mennesker i Højby Sogn i Odsherred, Holbæk Amt i på Sjælland dannede sit eget Historiske Samfund for Højby Sogn i 1907. Senere blev der opført en museumsbygning i en af sognets små landsbyer. Det historiske Samfund afviste at indgå på lige fod med sin samling i Historisk Samfund for Holbæk Amt, idet man hellere ville bibeholde den nære tilknytning mellem sognets beboere og dets fortid.

Nærværende undersøgelse søger at påvise, hvorledes grundlæggernes aktiviteter var nært forbundet med et specifikt forhold til begreberne "folk" og "fædreland" og at den drivende kraft bag grundlæggelsen af Det historiske Samfund var en følelse af nødvendighed i forhold til at udtrykke sit tilhørsforhold i handling. Derved spejlede man tillige forholdene for de dansksindede sydslesvigere i de tabte landsdele i Nordslesvig.

Efter krigen i 1864 kom Danmark forholdsvis hurtigt på benene i økonomisk forstand, men der bestod et dobbelt trauma, bestående i den fortsatte besættelse af Nordslesvig og manglen af en national stolthed og identitet på baggrund af bevidstheden herom.

Der er kun få vidnesbyrd, som direkte henviser hertil i dokumenterne efter grundlæggerne af Historisk Samfund for Højby Sogn, men det er min opfattelse, at deres handlinger derom: Grundlæggelsen af samfundet, afvisningen af at indgå i den større forening, anvendelsen af ressourcer til at opføre et museum og en række andre handlinger af national karakter, som grundlæggerne og sognefolkene foretog sig.

For at etablere en sammenhæng mellem oplevelsen af det dobbelte traume forsøger jeg at forbinde begreberne "folk" og "fædreland" med en forklaringsmodel. Jeg finder, at det tankemæssige grundlag, som kan udstrækkes over et hundredårs nationale begivenheder og den tilhørende personkreds, er den antropologi, som kan udledes af den Luthersk-evangeliske fortolkning af centrale dogmer i kristendommen, særligt begreberne "kald" og "stand".

Det er min opfattelse, at det at tilhøre et folk i et fædreland er en konsekvens af at indse, hvorledes man som person er bundet af sin historiske tilknytning til en slægt og skæbnefællesskabet med landsmænd, hvis historie og afstamning man deler.

Kan man forestille sig, at et begreb som "en national nødvendighed" eksisterer for en gruppe mennesker i et sogn med nogle få tusinde indbyggere? Det mener jeg er tilfældet, hvis man ser det som et forsøg på at skabe orden i en verden, som er bragt i uorden – som hvis man sagde: *Vi, folket, er de retmæssige indehavere af magten. Dog er nogle af os, sønderjyderne, for tiden udelukkede herfra ved at være under fremmed herredømme. Men vi insisterer på, at disse udelukkede genforenes med resten af os. For at hele folkeet kan blive klar over og handlekraftige i forhold til det dobbelte trauma bestående i adskillelsen og tabet af national selvbevidsthed og stolthed blandt danskerne i kongeriget, må vor nationale historie bevares, indsamles og udstilles af folket, for folket, i dets egne omgivelser – sognet.*

## Notes to chapters 1-8

<sup>1</sup> v.: Grimm, Jakob: Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, Leipzig 1848 (in: Über die Deutsche Sprache, Leipzig, Insel-Bücherei vol.120): "Es haben sich also bis auf heute nur fünf deutsche Sprachen auf dem Platz behauptet: die Hochdeutsche, niederländische, englische, schwedische und dänische, deren künftige Schicksale nich vorausgesagt, vielleicht geahnt werden dürfen. Wie en den Völkern selbst tut sich auch in den Sprachen, di sie reden, eine unausweichliche Anziehungskraft der Schwerpunkte kund, und lebhaft erwachte Sehnsucht nach festerer Einigung aller sich zugewandten Stämme wird nicht nachlassen. Einen Übertritt der Niederländer zur hochdeutschen Sprache, der Dänen zur schwedischen halte ich in den nächsten Jahrhunderten sowohl für wahrscheinlich als allen deutschen Völkern für heilsam und glaube, dass ihm durch die Lostrennung Belgiens von Holland, Norwegens von Dänemark vorgearbeitet ward: es leuchtet ein, dass dem Niederländer lieber sein muss, deutsch als französisch, dem Dänen lieber, schwedisch als deutsch zu werden. Auch verdient die Sprache der Berge und Höhen zu siegen über die der flachen Ebene. Dann aber wird nicht ausbleiben, sobald Seeland aufhört, eine nordische Hauptstadt zu enthalten, dass auch die Jüten in ihren natürlichen Verband zu Deutschland, wie er ihrem Altertum gemäss und durch die deutliche Spur des sächsischen Dialekts unter ihnen gerechtfertigt ist, wiederkehren." – So, Jacob Grimm proposes that Jutland "returns" to Germany and the Jutlanders to the High German tongue (Grimm makes the distinction of German = Germanic in modern usage, and High German = German (but definitely meaning: High German, not Low German or Platt).

<sup>2</sup> Matthew 22, 35-37

<sup>3</sup> So the former Prime Minister, D.G.Monrad, in the proceedings of the State Council (Rigsrådet): "I fear that this treaty will be the death warrant of Denmark.. that it shall be divided along the Great Belt." (v. la Cour 1947, Vol II, p.389)

<sup>4</sup> In 1723, the Danish monarchy had achieved international support for its claim on Holstein, thereby removing the threat of secession imposed by the dukes of Holstein-Gottorp. Although Holstein was admitted to the German Union in 1815, a decision by the Union's council in 1823 confirmed the Danish sovereign's sole claim on Holstein - as a German prince, and that Sleswick was none of its concern. The initial claim of the Prusso-Austrian coalition in the war of 1864 was to put right the Danish transgression of Holstein's rights through the incorporation of the duchy in the State of Denmark by way of the November constitution of 1863, whereas the military outcome was a classical territorial conquest as far as Sleswick was concerned.

<sup>5</sup> Epitomized by the monolithic monument for "The first peasant in the King's council", commemorating the first danish peasant to be appointed cabinet minister (Peasant, Da.: Bonde. There is a distinction with cultural connotations between Bonde = peasant and Landmand = farmer, the latter being a technical-vocational term, the former a mark of value. Unless one is very outspokenly against agriculture and agriculture's ways, there is no pejorative connotation of the term "bonde" in Danish.

"Den første bonde i Kongens Råd": I udkanten af kirkelunden ved Sct. Bendts Kirke står et mindesmærke for landbrugsminister Ole Hansen, Bringstrup (1855-1928). Ole Hansen var søn af sognefoged, gårdejer Hans Olsen. Ole Hansen valgtes i 1883 til Bringstrup sogneråd og var mellem 1886-1891 dets formand. Fra 1895-1910 var han medlem af Sorø Amtsråd. Han blev i 1890 til folketinget. Han var tilsluttet venstrereformpartiet. Han var den første danske bonde, som opnåede at blive minister. Han var landbrugsminister fra 1901 til 1908, da han trådte tilbage i forbindelse med Alberti-Skandalen. Men han opnåede at blive valgt igen og i 1914 kom han i landstinget og blev formand fra 1922 til sin død i 1928.

Mindestenen (se billede) er rejst af hans venner og meningsfæller d. 24 juli 1930. Portræt-relieffet af Ole Hansen samt reliefferne af en sædemand og en plov er skabt af billedhuggeren Johannes C. Bjerg, som også var skaberen af Valdemar den Store statuen på Torvet. (MSH) (Source: <http://www.arkivnet.dk/ringstedleksikon/h.htm>)

<sup>6</sup> This *raison d'état*, however, was hardly reflected in the the general mood of the Danish public which retained the hope of reunification, not least under influence of the popular sentiment south of the new border. While the German locals soon found themselves incorporated in a greater Prussian state and every hope of an autonomous Sleswick-Holstein dashed, the Danes organised themselves along lines of education, politics and culture. By and large, they held their own in the face of Prussian endeavours to first win over, then colonize the Northern parts of Sleswick.



<sup>7</sup> In 1886, the German Empire began the construction of the canal joining the North Sea and Baltic naval bases at Wilhelmshafen and Kiel (moved there shortly after the Prussian take-over), making unlimited passage through Danish waterways even more pressing for the British

<sup>8</sup> la Cour op.cit. p.345

<sup>9</sup> The Danish form of enclosure ("udskiftning") was initiated at a time when land tenure was still predominantly based on copyholding. Ownership, however, was spreading already in the early 1800's and gathering momentum even through times of state bankruptcy and credit crisis (1813) and adverse market and growing situations (1820's)

<sup>10</sup> The argument is set forth in detail in Kjærgaard 1996

<sup>11</sup> v.: J. Dieckmann Rasmussen "Landskab og Samfærdsel" in Bjørn, Claus (ed.): Det danske landbrugs historie Vol.III, Landbohistorisk Selskab 1988. Figures relating to the Kingdom alone.

<sup>12</sup> la Cour op.cit. p. 447. The rise in tonnage by 244 percent corresponded to a rise in the number of units by only 16 percent due to the rapid introduction of larger steel ships propelled by steam engines

<sup>13</sup> v. Ole Mørkegaard: Søen, slægten og hjemstavnen, Mus. Tusculanum 1993. It is demonstrated how the tonnage before the Danish-Prussian War of 1864 was heavily concentrated in the Duchy of Sleswick and to a large extent served shipping agents and merchants in Hamburg in the South America and East Asia trade.

<sup>14</sup> The famous saying in a debate in Parliament (although at a later date) was that, "next to the sexual urge, railways are known to raise most passion", ie. leaving the development to private enterprise would not safeguard effective transportation countrywide (Rigsdagsmand J. K. Lauridsen (1858-1905): "Næst efter kønsdriften er af de menneskelige drifter jernbanedriften den,der sætter de fleste lidenskaber i bevægelse."

<sup>15</sup> la Cour, op.cit. p.439ff

<sup>16</sup> North America, Argentina, the Ukraine

<sup>17</sup> in Hjedding. Although in a Copenhagen perspective, this was (and is) close to the end of the World, in terms of dairy production and dairy produce exports it is fairly close to the centre, situated amidst plenty of cattle farms near Ølgod, a tank town on the Northbound railway line from Esbjerg opened in 1875. The dairy stayed in operation for 115 years. - In 1885 there were 84 cooperative dairies, in 1895: 832, and in 1914: 1168. Although privately owned dairies existed, they amounted to only 196 in 1914. The combined production value in that year of Danish dairies was 347 million Kroner, butter production alone: 250 million.

<sup>18</sup> Membership of a cooperative in this way actually buttressed the creditworthiness of the individual farmer, an important aspect of a decision of buying land in a rising market, since lenders knew that ceteris paribus, the person in question most likely would be able to sell his products and so to create income

<sup>19</sup> "In *his* own right:" – bearing in mind that the rural household was based on matrimony and that farmers' wives were deeply involved in decisionmaking at all levels.

<sup>20</sup> Raw products (milk) delivered to a cooperative remains the property of the farmer, whereas privately owned dairies keep the delivery in its entirety, eventually selling fractions back to the farmer at a premium. There could be some interesting implications in these relationships as concerns the "simple mode of commodity production" in the understanding of Thos. Højrup, v. Højrup, Thomas: Dannelsens Dialektik. Museum Tusulanum 2002

<sup>21</sup> As a consequence, Danish farms switched from wheat production to barley, better suited to fattening pigs. Denmark became a net importer of grain in the period and indeed of feedstuff concentrates, where Denmark became the market leader as a buying nation. -- The exported tonnage (slaughtered weight) of pigs rose from 7 million kg in 1864-70 to 33 million kg in 1881-85. In the period 1881-88 the number of animals rose by 46 percent.

<sup>22</sup> v. S.P. Jensen: "Husdyrbruget" p.340 in Bjørn, Claus (ed.): Det danske landbrugs historie Vol.III, Landbohistorisk Selskab 1988.

<sup>23</sup> Da.: Landboforening

<sup>24</sup> S.P.Jensen, op.cit.: 120 unions with c. 99,000 members in 1914 up from 96 unions with 53,000 members in 1896

<sup>25</sup> op.cit. p. 348-49

<sup>26</sup> v. Trap, J.P.: Kongeriget Danmark, Vol. II. 4th Ed., G.E.C. Gads Forlag 1920,

<sup>27</sup> v. Trap, J.P.: Kongeriget Danmark, Vol. II. 4th Ed., G.E.C. Gads Forlag 1920, and Jan Steen Jacobsen, "Højby By og Jorder, en Kulturhistorisk Beskrivelse" in Ganshorn, J. and N.E.Jensen (eds.): Højby By og Jorder. Trundholm Kommune – Planstyrelsen 1987

<sup>28</sup> From 1694, the cavalry district was the de facto owner of the Crown lands, meaning that no resident landlord had to be catered to. When the cavalry district was discontinued in 1718, the stewardship on behalf of the owners was shifted to a royal overseer in a remote borough.

<sup>29</sup>v. op.cit. – Since feudal times, land ownership in most parts of Denmark had been according to the manorial system with farmers' tenure by copyhold. Freeholding was not common, especially not in the island of Zealand. As has been argued by a number of authors, notably Thorkild Kjærgaard (Kjærgaard, Thorkild: Den danske Revolution 1500-1800. 2nd ed., Gyldendal 1996) and P.O. Christiansen, the system was far from serfdom and individual farmers enjoyed legal rights as well as advantages (and disadvantages) vis-a-vis manorial lords according to trends, the second part of the 18th century being quite advantageous to farmers employing labour.

<sup>30</sup> Da.: Udskiftning. Beginning with private tests in the 1750's, all farm land regardless of ownership was, eventually, measured, assessed and parcelled out into coherent units, breaking up the communal cultivation by villages passed down from times prehistoric. This was probably the most profound change of the make-up of Denmark's geography and culture ever to have happened. The enclosure as such was conducted in around 15 years' time calculated from the passing of the necessary legislation. The resettlement followed at a somewhat slower pace.

<sup>31</sup> Witness the inscription on the "Column of Liberty" (Frihedsstøtten) in Copenhagen, erected 1792-97 in honour of the peasants' freedom from adscription: "Bade the King: / Cease adscription / Peasants' law lead forth Effort and Order / That the freeman may become frank and enlightened / Industrious and virtuous / Honest citizen / Prosperous." – The adscription, in force in different forms for about a century, albeit not universally, was seen as a symbol of the old system whereby individual effort was kept back. It did not, however, affect the way farming was carried out.

<sup>32</sup> Each furlong, cultivated for two years and fallow for one, was divided into fields. Individual fields were divided into strips between farms but worked in common, since the narrow strip fields did not allow individual farming. As argued by several writers, so Kjærgaard 1996, communal cultivation as such was not ineffective as such

<sup>33</sup> Kort over præstens agre 1782, rekonstruktion: Stenstrup Museum, in: Jan Steen Jacobsen, "Højby By og Jorder, en Kulturhistorisk Beskrivelse" in Ganshorn, J. and N.E.Jensen (eds.): Højby By og Jorder. Trundholm Kommune – Planstyrelsen 1987, p. 31 23 – 21 –38

<sup>34</sup> Apart from the church village of Højby, the parish incorporated 14 other villages. Each furlong necessitated communal husbandry with different adjoining villages. The issues to be regulated between villages were mainly related to regulating the number and branding of cattle grazing in the pastures and fencing

<sup>35</sup> v. Mikkelsen, Chr.: Højby Sogn for to hundrede år siden. Historisk Samfund for Højby Sogn 1960, p.44-45

<sup>36</sup> v. Lausten, Martin Schwartz: Danmarks Kirkehistorie, Gyldendal 1987, p.130f.

<sup>37</sup> Protestantism instantly broke into different strands. Danish Lutheranism (Da.: Folkekirken) is distinctly less scripture-oriented than, for instance, German Länderkirchen

<sup>38</sup> v. Mikkelsen, op.cit. p.182f

<sup>39</sup> Da.: Christian V's Danske Lov

<sup>40</sup> v. Mikkelsen, op.cit. p.150ff

<sup>41</sup> v. Mikkelsen, op.cit. p.208

<sup>42</sup> Da.: Herredsfogeder

<sup>43</sup> Da.: Sogneforstanderskab, v.: Jan Steen Jacobsen, "Højby By og Jorder, en Kulturhistorisk Beskrivelse" in Ganshorn, J. and N.E.Jensen (eds.): Højby By og Jorder. Trundholm Kommune – Planstyrelsen 1987, p. 43f

<sup>44</sup> Jan Steen Jacobsen, op.cit. p.44. In 1844, some of the parish paupers appeared at a meeting, asking for financial support of the parish. The landless and the poor were not eligible nor could they vote, but a considerable part of the deliberations of the council were concerned with poverty.

<sup>45</sup> v. Jacobsen, Jan Steen: "Det gode liv." In Zimling, Jette (ed.): Gudmindrup Friskole 1868-1993

<sup>46</sup> The School Law passed by Parliament on 2nd May 1855 provided the necessary freedom to institute private schools by substituting compulsory school attendance with compulsory education, albeit under supervision by a local school board. By further shifting supervising powers and the authority to appoint teachers in primary schools from state to local government level (in 1856) , the legislators aimed to raise local commitment (v. Nielsen, Niels: Folkeskolen – Folkets Skole, in: Danmarks Folkestyre, ed. Christiansen, Johs et. al., Nordiske Landes Bogforlag 1947)

<sup>47</sup> Of course, establishing circles also meant having locals recruit pupils to the Folk High School.

<sup>48</sup> Da.: Skytte- Gymnastik og Idrætsforening

<sup>49</sup> Da.: Kontrollforening

<sup>50</sup> Lov om Sognebaandsløsning, 1855

<sup>51</sup> First to open at Ubberup closer to the borough of Kalundborg in 1873, then as a twin congregation in Vallekilde 1882

<sup>52</sup> Actually, the port of Nykøbing lost tonnage by the introduction of the railway service, v. Trap, J.P.: Kongeriget Danmark, Vol. II. 4th Ed., G.E.C. Gads Forlag 1920 p.434.

<sup>53</sup> Based on the narrative of Viggo Jensen in Jacobsen, Jan Steen (ed.): Livsform og levevilkår i landsognet vol I, Stenstrup Museum 1984

<sup>54</sup> <sup>54</sup> Patronymical names were universal: Given name, father's name + -sen for a man and -datter (daatter) for a woman. Married women could be designated by their husband's names: "Anne Marie Lars Pedersens" instead of "Anne Marie Jensdatter"

<sup>55</sup> By the late 19th century, largely coinciding with families getting freehold of farms, family names were fixed, most at the patronymic at the time as in this case

<sup>56</sup> Da.: Landbrugsskole. These institutions combined the "learning-for-life" aspect inherent in the Folk High School tradition with vocational training in subjects of agriculture. The first vocational training school within agriculture, Næsgaard Landbrugsskole in the island Falster was founded in 1799, only to be operational in 1829. Only after the creation of a strong freeholding class did the Agricultural Folk High Schools take hold.

<sup>57</sup> Da.: Ærtebjerg

<sup>58</sup> all the abovementioned locations in the parish of Højby are within 5 kilometers of Trollehøjgaard

<sup>59</sup> The owners and teachers

<sup>60</sup> In Danish: "Sogn," meaning both parish and rural municipality

<sup>61</sup> Forhandlingsprotokol for Historisk Samfund for Højby Sogn 1906 (1907)-1941, Xerox. Original in Stenstrup Museum.

<sup>62</sup> compare chapter 6, quotations from the inaugural speeches of Vallekilde Folk High School in 1865

<sup>63</sup> Isidor Herskind (1872 – 1946), curate of Højby and Lumbsaas from March 1903 till August 1912, Lumbsaas being a parish-of-ease under the parish of Højby since 1896 when a modern church was erected in the North-Easternmost part of the region. Herskind moved to the living as rector (Da.: Sognepræst) of the hamlet of Baarse in South Zealand 1912. The post of curate was a normal way of starting a career in the Church, positioning oneself to apply for a full living. Before being called to the curateship of Højby and Lumbsaas, Isidor Herskind had followed the normal path for a vicar-to-be: After his Master's degree in Divinity he served for 2 years as a private tutor of a nobleman's family, living on the manor, then as a teacher and resident of one of the Royal Orphanages in Copenhagen for four years.

Ministers' remunerations were dependent on the size and make-up of the parish, Højby being a large and quite wealthy one. The curateship of Højby and Lumbsaas was quite a safe bet on a future position and the region's affiliation with Grundtvigian and Folk High School circles made it natural to apply for parishes favourable to that side of the Church, especially after the Church Governance Reform Act of 1905 had introduced locally elected boards of trustees. The hamlet of Baarse formed part of the electoral district of the borough of Præstø which earlier had elected Grundtvig to Parliament. Actually, the living in Baarse with a remuneration of Kr. 7128 yearly was rather more lucrative than even the one in Højby where Isidor Herskind's principal would earn Kr. 6838 (1870 census).

<sup>64</sup> Danish: Cand.Theol. (candidatus theologiae)

<sup>65</sup> Danish: Folkekirken (literally: The People's Church)

<sup>66</sup> Paul Nedergaard: Personallistoriske, sognehistoriske og statistiske Bidrag til en dansk Præste- og Sognehistorie 1849-1949 Vol.II. København 1951

<sup>67</sup> Da.: Dannebrogordenen. Knighthood, Da.: Ridderkors. Awarded in 1928. The 1932 portrait by Troels Trier (a grand nephew of Ernst Trier of Vallekilde Folk High School) used to be kept at Stenstrup Museum. Reproduced in Jacobsen, Jan Steen: "Bag de mørke briller". Blindesagen No.5, May 1996

<sup>68</sup> Born 23rd December 1858, died 13th February 1938

<sup>69</sup> v. Jacobsen, Jan Steen (ed.): Livsform og levevilkår i landsognet vol I, Stenstrup Museum 1984 (the recorded memories of Laurits Jensen's nephew, Viggo Villemoes Jensen, b.1890), and Jacobsen, Jan Steen: Stenstrup Museum 75 år. In: Fra Vestsjællands Museer 1981, ed.: Ole Strandgaard, Vestsjællands Amtsmuseumsråd 1981. Ellekilde, Hans (ed.): Foreningen Danmarks Folkeminder igennem 25 Aar. Schönbergske Forlag, København 1933. Article by Carl Langkilde in Kristeligt Dagblad, 1953, and obituary in quoted in (unpublished) Museumshistorie i Nordvestsjælland. Compilation by Jan Steen Jacobsen, Stenstrup Museum

<sup>70</sup> 22nd March 1808

<sup>71</sup> On a property the size of Laurits Jensen's farmstead, paid help would normally not be required on a year-round basis but only in work-intensive periods, if at all, depending on the number of children able to work

<sup>72</sup> Carl Langballe: Henfarne slægter – forglem dem ej! in Kristeligt Dagblad 21st July 1953, quoted in (unpublished) Museumshistorie i Nordvestsjælland. Compilation by Jan Steen Jacobsen, Stenstrup Museum

<sup>73</sup> More likely: In the summer of 1866, since girls went to school in summer, young men in winter according to the need of labour in farming

<sup>74</sup> The National Archive had been founded in 1861. The professionalization of history as an academic discipline was carried through only in 1880 at a reform of the university degrees. Up until then, historiography was largely the realm of theologians – Grundtvig, C.F.Allen, Casper Paludan-Müller; Troels Troels-Lund being a late example

<sup>75</sup> Letter 10th March, 1884. Laurits Jensen is 25 and writes to Tang Kristensen as a peer, showing maturity and competence regarding his subject, the recording of folk songs.

<sup>76</sup> I.e. Ellekilde, Hans (ed.) : Foreningen Danmarks Folkeminder igennem 25 Aar. Schönbergske Forlag, København 1933, p.61ff. -- Jacobsen, Jan Steen: "Bag de mørke briller". In Blindesagen No.5, May 1996. -- Jacobsen, Jan Steen: Stenstrup Museum 75 år. In: Fra Vestsjællands Museer 1981, ed.: Ole Strandgaard, Vestsjællands Amtsmuseumsråd 1981. – Christian Reimer, article in "Aftenposten" 10. Feb. 1918 in (unpublished) Museumshistorie i Nordvestsjælland. Compilation by Jan Steen Jacobsen, Stenstrup Museum

<sup>77</sup> "Jyllandsrejsen", unpublished manuscript by Peder Anders Andersen, 1907 in the collections of Stenstrup Museum (collection no. 210)

<sup>78</sup> In 2004, following the merger between the museums of the region, Stenstrup Museum's collections were removed from the building erected in 1911 and brought to storage in the new museum. The 1911 building was put up for sale. Until then, the exhibition (apart from a limited number of additions) was largely identical with the original, at least in structure and scope. (An amalgamated temporal exhibition of objects from the merged institutions was put on show in June of 2005. Pending reconstruction, a permanent exhibition will be arranged at a later date. However, the museal identity *per se* of Stenstrup Museum and the message of it must be regarded as a thing of the past that was not preserved.)

<sup>79</sup> ) "Kunstkammeret," The Artefact Chamber as an institution dated back to 1650 (founder: King Frederick III). It contained a large collection of curios – handicraft, paintings, ethnographica, weapons and antiquities. It was supplemented by the collection of the Duchy of Holstein-Gottorp at its extinction in 1721. In 1807, the "Royal Commission for the Keeping of Antiquities" ("Den kgl. Kommission til Oldsagers Opbevaring") was founded, to be opened to the public in 1819 under the name of "The Old-Norse Museum (Oldnordisk Museum)", and its secretary, Chr. Jürgensen Thomsen, was the leading force of what was later to become the State's main museum and one of the founders of archeology as a scientific discipline in Denmark. It was he who coined the terms of Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. Already in 1832 the collection was moved to a location in the Royal residence at Christiansborg and a couple of years later it was merged with the Artefact Chamber under Jürgensen Thomsen's management.

<sup>80</sup> Among them the last absolutist king, Frederick VII (1848-63), whereas his father, Christian VIII, was more interested in classical antiquity and coins and medals

<sup>81</sup> The proclamation of King Frederick VII on March, 21st, and the installation of the first constitutional cabinet

<sup>82</sup> Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae (1821-85) was an archeologist and museologist, head of the important state museums. He served as cabinet minister for culture 1874-75. He made great achievements in his field and is to this day hailed in Ireland for his contributions to the archeology and history of the Iro-Atlantic Norse settlements.

<sup>83</sup> The "Gesta Danorum" was an early example, written by the learned canon Saxo in the 13th century sponsored by the mighty archbishop Absalon, a scion of one of the lineages near-equal to the royal breed. It is a muster of partisan historiography in the tradition of the great classics such as Herodotus and Caesar. Anders Sørensen Vedel and P.F. Suhm are other illustrious writers in the tradition of regal loyalist historians in the realm of the Kings of Denmark.

<sup>84</sup> Notably Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), who held the History chair of the University of Copenhagen from 1730 and authored a comprehensive history of the Twin Kingdom of Denmark and Norway

<sup>85</sup> Grundtvig was defrocked as a vicar for a period and must turn to other occupations

<sup>86</sup> Influenced by the thinking of German writer Joh. G. Herder (1744-1803), but also influenced by British writers such as Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)

<sup>87</sup> His first historical novel, Valdemar Sejv (named after a restoration hero King of Denmark of the Middle Ages) was published in 1826.

<sup>88</sup> Hugely popular as well were Carit Etlar and H.F.Ewald, both with large oeuvres of popular historical content.

<sup>89</sup> A(dolph) D(ethleff) Jørgensen (1841-97), originally: Jürgensen, a master dyer's son from Graasten in the Duchy of Augustenburg in Sleswick

<sup>90</sup> v. Thomsen, Niels: Hovedstrømninger 1870-1914. Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences vol.217, Odense 1998, p. 154f

<sup>91</sup> Kristian Erslev (1852-1930), professor at the University of Copenhagen 1883-1915. He founded the tradition of tenure by the Radical Left party at the department of History.

<sup>92</sup> Da.: Frilandsmuseet, Dansk Folkemuseum (both were later to be incorporated in the National Museum)

<sup>93</sup> For instance, the Stevns Museum in the village of Højerup was founded 1911 by a group of people of the Historical Society for the County of Præstø and the Stevns Folk High School

<sup>94</sup> Foreningen Danmarks Folkeminder

<sup>95</sup> Forhandlingsprotokol for Historisk Samfund for Højby Sogn 1906 (1907)-1941, Xerox. Original in Stenstrup Museum

<sup>96</sup> The genealogical tables are kept at the Stenstrup Museum. To this day they will make it possible for descendants of peasants of the parish of Højby to establish their lineage

<sup>97</sup> v. Ellekilde, Hans (ed.) : Foreningen Danmarks Folkeminder igennem 25 Aar. Schönbergske Forlag, København 1933, p.71, the picture of the barrow hill Troldestuen in Stenstrup with Danebrog flying. Apart from being a landmark, the barrow hill in question has folklore attached to it in the form of peasants' tales of trolls as shapers of the landscape.

<sup>98</sup> Then a dependency of Denmark

<sup>99</sup> Da.: kæmpeviser

<sup>100</sup> Peter Andreas Rosenberg (1852-1934), literary and theatre critic

<sup>101</sup> "The farmer's song", Bondens Sang (Jeg lagde min gaard i den rygende blæst)

<sup>102</sup> Johan Ottosen, 1859-1904, a politician, author and teacher of history. He wrote the text of the unofficial anthem of the South Jutland civil resistance to the Prussian occupation "Ja, det haver så nyligen regnet" in 1890.

<sup>103</sup> This activity was agreed the year before. The accounts were called "year books" (årbøger).

<sup>104</sup> Most likely the head of the Folk High School in Sorø, founded in 1888 with Jutta Bojsen-Møller

<sup>105</sup> Booker T. Washington, (1856–1915), black American educator and writer, "The first black American to be invited to the White House by the President of the United States." (source: <http://booker-t.-washington.ask.dyndns.dk/>) – The attention towards American affairs was considerable in the years c.1880-1920, when around 150,000 Danes went to the USA and Canada in emigration or as temporary workers. The Danebod Folk High School in Nebraska and a teacher's training college with a theological seminary served the Danish community and many Danish Folk High School people went there and back again, e.g. Niels Svendstorp (1876-1958) who taught in America and later became owner and head of Folk High Schools in Stevns and Kolding and an Agriculture Folk High School in Denmark. – The periodical "Højskolebladet", a biweekly which was widely subscribed to by ex-pupils of the Folk High Schools, carried extensive coverage of the Danish communities, schools and parishes of North America and issues related to language, religion and folk life of the expatriates.

<sup>106</sup> Jutta Bojsen-Møller (1837 - 1927) Folk High School matron, suffragette. Mother of the prominent politician Frede Bojsen Møller, founder owner and head of Rødkilde Folk High School in Møn.

<sup>107</sup> (16-17) eminent Danish writer of the enlightenment

<sup>108</sup> Folkelig Ungdomsforening for Højby Sogn

<sup>109</sup> A specimen of P. Lauritsen's work: "He who will make songs in Denmark must diligently watch the south / must monitor the fight going on, sense its pain and elation / must feel that the fate of Danish existence is sealed on the soil of Sleswick – / in the songs of such a person the struggle shall mark the holy vestige of zeal. (*"Den, der vil digte i Danmark, må årvågent spejde mod syd, / må følge den kamp, der føres, fornemme dens smerte og fryd, / må føle, at danskhedens skæbne besegles på Slesvigs jord – / i hans sange skal kampen tegne begejstringens / hellige spor."*) Vort Fædreland, Nationale digte og Sange, P. Lauritsen, 1911 (quoted from [http://www.nomos-dk.dk/skraep/p\\_lauritsen.htm](http://www.nomos-dk.dk/skraep/p_lauritsen.htm))

<sup>110</sup> Helge Rode (1870-1937), poet and critic. Beginning as a follower of symbolism, he later voiced strong national feelings and was to write one of the "theme songs" on the occasion of the reunification of the northern part of South Jutland with the kingdom: " ... This is thee free speech of Denmark, without the load of foreign talk. Frankly speaks Freya. Own bread for own table, Denmark's wheat, Denmark's rye: Ground at the mill of Dybbøl." (... *Det er Danmarks frie sprog, uden tryk affremmed sprog, frejdig Freja taler. Eget brød til egen dug, Danmarks hvede, Danmarks rug: Dybbøl Mølle maler"*) (5th verse of "Som en rejselysten flåde") The mill at Dybbøl was – and is – a strong symbol of the South Jutland cause.

<sup>111</sup> C. Hostrup: "Hel tung han efter sig Foden drog", written in 1866 on the occasion of the centenary of hereditary copyholding. The chorus runs: To the fore, peasants, to the fore! ( Frem, Bondemand, Frem). Hostrup was vicar at Silkeborg in Jutland and a prolific writer of songs for the Folk High School Movement.

<sup>112</sup> Martha Ottosen (1866-1928), spouse of Johan Ottosen. She wrote plays and historical literature.

<sup>113</sup> Da.: Højskolebevægelsen. Not a formal union, the term described in a broad sense the followers of Grundtvig and Kold, respectively the theoretician and practitioner of free schools for adults.



<sup>114</sup> In 1867 alone, 21 Folk High Schools were founded. In 1872-73 3.091 pupils went, in 1912 8.038. The Folk High Schools had obtained financial support as early as 1851. By 1913, the grant amounted to c. Kr. 500,000 or around Kr. 62,50 per person. -- In 1914, the admission test (Da.: Kundskabsprøven) for national service, which was universal at the time, showed that those who had been at a Folk High School had only half the errors in spelling and arithmetics of those with just primary school (v. Thomsen, Niels: Hovedstrømninger. Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences vol.217, Odense 1998, p.37). Half the freeholding farmers had frequented a Folk High School or similar compared to a quarter of smallholders, 30 percent workers in towns and 18 percent farm labourers – impressive figures when one considers the cost involved (Thomsens computations of Stat.Medd. (The Statistics Gazette) 1915).

<sup>115</sup>D.G. Monrad : Politiske Drømmerier ("Political Dreams") (1870), quoted copiously in la Cour, Vilhelm: Fædrelandet, Grundtræk af Danskhedsfølelsens Vækst (1913, private edition) p. 204-212. Ditlev Gothard Monrad (1811-87), theologian and politician. Member of the first constitutional government 1848, drafter of the constitution 1849. Member of parliament 1849-65 and 1882-86, prime minister 1863-64. Bishop 1849-54 and 1871-87. As the responsible for the defeat in 1864, he resigned as prime minister and bishop and went in exile to New Zealand, to return after 6 years.

<sup>116</sup> la Cour, Vilhelm: Danmarks Historie Vol.I-II, Berlingske Forlag 1947

<sup>117</sup> Da.: "Bondestanden"

<sup>118</sup> The Old One: A name for Grundtvig (not God!)

<sup>119</sup> Dealt with in more detail in chapter 3

<sup>120</sup> 1842-1928. His doctoral thesis 1870, Den franske Æsthetik i vore Dage (French Contemporary Aesthetics), dealt with Hippolyte Taine's literate criticism

<sup>121</sup> Hans Hertel: Georg Brandes' Kulturrevolution in Hertel, Hans (ed.): Det stadig moderne Gennembrud, Gyldendal 2004

<sup>122</sup> Georg Brandes introduced Friedrich Nietzsches thinking in Denmark and Germany

<sup>123</sup> v. Thomsen, Niels: Hovedstrømninger 1870-1914. Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences vol. 217, Odense 1998. It is named for the lectures (and later a 6-tome book) by Georg Brandes and meant to lay out the complex of contemporaneously established reference points and those that stand out to-day.

<sup>124</sup> Georg Brandes had done just that, probably a contributing factor to the gossiping-induced popularity of his November, 1871 lectures which were mainly attended by a city public, not by his academic peers (Hertel, op.cit)

<sup>125</sup> (1777-1851) Electromagnetism discovered 1820. In 1829, Ørsted founded the Civil Engineering Academy of which he was director until he died.

<sup>126</sup> in 1859. Danish translation 1872

<sup>127</sup> Niels Thomsen op.cit. p.58. Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895), an embryologist, was a proponent of evolution and coined modern agnosticism: That it is not possible for Man to gain knowledge of God (Evolution and Ethics, 1893)

<sup>128</sup> Church attendance had been falling steadily, according to contemporaneous sources, yet membership was still almost universal. In 1870, 0,8 percent of the population were not members of the Church of Denmark, In 1911 1,5 percent.

<sup>129</sup> -- It would indeed be interesting to make a comparison in this regard to Barcelona and Catalonia at large since this country experienced a development comparable with that of Denmark. The "Catalanisme" (the national resurrection) had both a Catholic-Christian resurrection movement (Torràs i Bages) and a bourgeois-liberal (Almirall) side to it, cf. Termes, Josep i Agustí Colomines: *Les Bases de Manresa de 1892 i els orígens del catalanisme*, Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 1992

<sup>130</sup> The Folk High School- or Grundtvigian movement's political arm, Venstre ("The Left") Liberal Party, was created, broke up, and reunited in a succession of wings and fractions mainly along person-oriented lines and relative to the prolonged period of "Right" (Da.: Højre) cabinets governing by provisional law (1877-1894, "the withering years")

<sup>131</sup> in la Cour, Vilhelm: *Fædrelandet, Grundtræk af Danskhedsfølelsens Vækst* (1913, private edition), p.204-212. D.G. Monrad writes of the situation after the defeat and the loss of the South Jutland province: He wished " - to contribute to clarifying our true political situation, search for the truth, grasp the laws of nature and history governing the life of our people ..." He did not find the truth: "I have search awake and dreaming, with all the powers of the soul, but I did not find it. I found doubt." The doubt and the detraction regarding the powers of the people are a lasting legacy of the Brandesian (also dubbed 'culture radical')

<sup>132</sup> "Hvad skal det nytte?" said by journalist and member of parliament Viggo Hørup (1841-1902), one of the main characters of the Brandesian wing of The Left. In 1884, together with the parliamentarian brother of Georg Brandes, Edvard, he founded the daily Politiken, later to become masthead of the Radical Left.

<sup>133</sup> There were quite sizeable groups of adversaries to the modernist thinking outside of the broad movement that I characterize as the Folk High School movement, most notably the party of the Right, also known as the Free Conservatives (and later to form a party called the Conservative People's Party). The fortification of the capital city of Copenhagen was the rallying point for several groups and a divide of national politics from the 1870's right up to World War I. – A number of well-respected people and eminent publicists, artists and the like were also found on the traditionalist and / or Christian wing, opposed to modernism. Agnes Slott-Møller, a distinguished painter in her own right and wife of fêted painter Aage Slott-Møller, wrote with strong national feeling and was widely read, e.g. Slott-Møller, Agnes: *Nationale Værdier*. H.Hagerups Forlag, Kjøbenhavn 1917. – So, too, Valdemar Rørdam, a most respected writer and poet: Rørdam, Valdemar: *Fra Grænseøerne i Sydvest*. Gyldendal 1913, and Rørdam, Valdemar: *De dernede*. Gyldendal 1917. – Holger Drachmann, painter, poet and playwright and immensely popular, visited South Jutland in 1877 and wrote a moving account of his travel including the song "De vog dem, vi grov dem / en grav i vor have" (They killed them, we dug them / a grave in our yard).

<sup>134</sup> In his thesis "Duke", Ph.D. Mikkel Venborg Pedersen has examined this circumstance with regard to the duchy of Augustenburg in Sleswick

<sup>135</sup> Grimm, Jakob: *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, Leipzig 1848 (in: *Über die Deutsche Sprache*, Leipzig, Insel-Bücherei vol.120)

<sup>136</sup> Christian Flor (1792-1875). 1826 assistant professor at the University of Kiel. 1845-46 head of Rødding Folk High School.

<sup>137</sup> The Rødding Folk High School, situated just South of the 1864 border between Denmark and Prussia, was closed after the 1864 war and the activities moved to Askov just North of the border. After the reunification in 1920, Rødding again became home to a Folk High School. The school at Askov in the meantime had become one of the largest and most influential Folk High Schools.

<sup>138</sup> numerous letters testify to the inspiring impact of the teaching at the Folk High Schools

<sup>139</sup> Flor, C. (ed.): Haandbog i den Danske Litteratur. 4th ed., Gyldendalske Boghandling 1854

<sup>140</sup> Flor, C. (ed.): Haandbog i den Danske Literatur. 7th ed., Gyldendalske Boghandel 1872

<sup>141</sup> Da.: Folkelighed

<sup>142</sup> Native soil = Da.: Hjemstavn

<sup>143</sup> Ernst Johannes Trier, 1837-1893, a second-generation Christian of Jewish descent, son of a timber merchant of Copenhagen and himself a theologian

<sup>144</sup> Da.: Feltdegn

<sup>145</sup> Trier, Ernst: Femogtyv Års Skolevirksomhed i Vallekilde. Aug. Bangs Boghandel København (1890), 3. ed. 1907. My translation '.

<sup>146</sup>Da.: Fædreland

<sup>147</sup> Da.: Modersmaal

<sup>148</sup> V.J. Hoff (1832-1907) master of divinity (cand.theol.) 1857, 1860 curate of the parish of Vallekilde, vicar of the electorate parish (Da.:valgmenighed) of Ubberup (later Vallekilde-Ubberup) 1873-1894, later of the Vartov Grundtvigian parish in Copenhagen.

<sup>149</sup> The hermeneutical model here employed is largely the Agent Model of modern textual critique and dramaturgy

<sup>150</sup> Niels Jokum Termansen (1824-92), peasant farmer and politician, member of Parliament 1858-86. Epithetical of the Grundtvigian archetype of "life-learned countryman", trained at Rødding Folkehøjskole.

<sup>151</sup> The national flag of Denmark

<sup>152</sup> Da.: "Hil dig, vor Fane". Titled "Dannebrog", it was written by N.F.S. Grundtvig in 1864 (based on a 1837 rendition of the ancient hymn *Salve Crux Arbor Vitæ* by Adam of St Victor). The Danish text goes as follows (quoted from the *Folkehøjskolens Sangbog*, 15th ed. 1968):

Hil dig, vor fane! / korsbanner hvidt! / Holde på bane / med dig vi skridt, / vis er os kransen, / gyldenårsglansen.  
Danskerne følge dig frit. 2) Fjenderne grue, / mer end for sværd, / ved dig at skue / plantet dem nær; / hvor du dig hæver, / sejer omsvæver / korsherrens signede hær! 3) Kærlig omfavned' / dig dannemænd, / Dannebrog-navnet / bærer du end; / himlen til ære / altid du bære / navnet med sejer igen! 4) Hjemkærligheden / bor i vort bryst, / striden for freden / kun er vor lyst, / odde og ægge / kun for dem begge / skærpet vi har til en dyst. 5) Hil dig, vor fane! / Korsbanner hvidt! / Du på din bane / overfløj tit / højere oppe / åndernes troppe; / sejeren følger dig frit.

## EXALTATIO CRUCIS

--Adam Sancti Victoris

Salve, Crux, arbor vitae praeclara,  
Vexillum Christi, thronus et ara!

O Crux profanis Terror et ruina,  
Tu Christianis Virtus es divina,  
Salus et victoria!

Tu properantis Contra Maxentium,  
Tu praeliantis Juxta Danubium,  
Constantini gloria!

Favens Heraclio, Perdis cum filio  
Chosroen profanum.  
In hoc salutari Ligno gloriari  
Decet Christianum.

Crucis longum, latum,  
Sublime, profundum,  
Sanctis propalatum,  
Quadrum salvat mundum  
Sub quadri figura.  
Medicina vera,  
Christus in statera  
Crucis est distractus,  
Pretiumque factus  
Solvit mortis jura.

Crux est nostrae libra justitiae,  
Sceptrum regis, virga potentiae,  
Crux coelestis signum victoriae,  
Belli robur et palma gloriae!

Tu scala, tu ratis,  
Tu, Crux, desperatis  
Tabula suprema;  
Tu de membris Christi  
Decorem taxisti,  
Regum diadema!

Per te nobis, Crux beata,  
Crux cruore consecrata,  
Sempiterna gaudia  
Det superna gratia! Amen.

<sup>153</sup> Da.: "Dannemænd", reminiscent also of the words "Daner" and "Danskere" ie. Danes

<sup>154</sup> One of the commonest *topoi* in the Grundtvigian rhetoric is the ambiguity of national salvation and damnation. When the auditorium was added to Vallekilde Højskole in 1876, another notable of the moment, C. Hostrup, wrote the song "Det, som lysner over vangen", precisely expounding that theme, in honour of the occasion: "*That light across the field – is that evening's glow? Was that the Swan Song ringing from the Sound? Only a shimmer is left, will it die away? What is this moment – gloaming, or the break of day?*"

<sup>155</sup> Udrundne er de gamle dage / som floder i det store hav, / og hvor sig hviler nu den svage, / dér fandt den stærke og sin grav; / men, lovet være Himlens Gud! / de ædles æt dør aldrig ud. 2) Mens graven kastes, vuggen gynger, / og liv udsletter dødens spor, / så immer sig igen forynger / hver ædel slægt i syd og nord, / og mindet, som Guds miskundhed, / forplanter sig i tusind led. 3) Så lad derpå os syn da fæste, / hvad ædle kaldte livets lyst! / Ja, lad os kappes med de bedste, / og vove kækt med død en dyst! / At byde den og graven trods / kan med Guds hjælp og lykkes os. (N.F.S. Grundtvig: Morgensang for Mariboës skole (Morning song for Mariboë's School), 1833

<sup>156</sup> Trier 1907, p.47-52 passim. My translation.

<sup>157</sup> *Folkelivet*

<sup>158</sup> Termansen is referring to his own stay at Rødding Højskole.

<sup>159</sup> Da.: levnedsløb

<sup>160</sup> In his monograph "A Local Grundtvigian Movement" (Ehlers, Søren: En lokal grundtvigsk bevægelse. 2nd ed., Landbohistorisk Selskab 1983), Søren Ehlers traces the impact of Vallekilde Folk High School from the start to present day.

<sup>161</sup> As a journalist, I worked at Kristeligt Dagblad ("The Christian Daily") at the time of the 200-years anniversary of the birth of Grundtvig in 1983. I was assigned as a reporter to cover the events and have stayed with the subject ever since, eventually teaching the subject at Folk High School

<sup>162</sup> Treasured historian and writer Ebbe Kløvedal Reich (1940-2005) in his early work "Frederik – en folkebog" (1972) (Frederick, a popular treatise) did just that although in later editions he did try to mend somewhat the skewed picture.

<sup>163</sup> Da.: Kald og stand

<sup>164</sup> Digression: The concept of Laós (people, laity) as opposed to Kliros (sacred officialdom) inherent in the order of the Old Church as well as the Latin Church loses its sense in the teachings of Martin Luther (*vide* e.g. Martin Luther "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation", 1520) in that every believer, not just the ordained orders, are successors to the Christ (Cf. Matt.16.16: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church"). It may be argued that this conception of individual responsibility and authority inherently leads to the democratic ideas later to be fostered in the Protestant communities of North-Western Europe, especially England and Scotland, whereas the revolutionary line of thinking in the tradition of the Enlightenment, Rousseau, the 1st Republic of France and utopian Socialism has inherited the sharp divide between the authorised who lead (the Kliros) and the non-authorised to be led along (the Laós)

<sup>165</sup> (Mth 22, 35-37)

<sup>166</sup> St. Paul, epistle to the Galatians, III, 27-28

<sup>167</sup> Martin Luther: Lecture on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, 1515

<sup>168</sup> A well-known treatise by Max Weber, "Capitalism and the Protestant Ethic" in my view gets this mostly wrong, putting the emphasis on adherence to formal moral obligations which, although possibly an explanation in Calvinistic and like congregations, are not crucial in Lutheran protestantism. Ernest Gellner makes a similar observation regarding this (Gellner, Ernest: Nations and Nationalism. Blackwell 1983 p.19)

<sup>169</sup> to be understood in a broad sense. No sentimental issue is implied.

<sup>170</sup> It can be argued that the endorsement by Luther of national churches under the aegis of sovereign princes (*vide* e.g. Martin Luther "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation", 1520) broadly explains the Lutheran particularism leading to the national state paradigm as opposed to the universalism of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

<sup>171</sup> Martin Luther's Minor Catechism, 1529, my translation from the Danish.

<sup>172</sup> This understanding is well expressed by the historian and pedagogue Laurids Engelstoft in his 1808 treatise "Tanker om Nationalopdragelsen, betragtet som det virksomste Middel til at fremme Almeneand og Fædrelandskærlighed" (Reflections on National Instruction as the Most Effective Means of propagating Mutuality and Love of the Fatherland). In a discussion of how patriotism is superior to cosmopolitanism he states: "True patriotism does not despise the duty of loving Man as a brother, but it demands that ... this endeavour be limited to the local circle, to a defined vocation, to the Fatherland and to one's situation therein. Whosoever wills to be of use must do so in the very place where he can."  
(quoted from la Cour 1913, p.114)

<sup>173</sup> Danish theologian and philosopher Søren Kierkegaard has drawn up this argument very precisely in his treatise "Enten-Eller" (Eng.: Either-Or). v. Arendt, Rudolph: Tænkning og Tro. Gads Forlag 1978, p.250f

<sup>174</sup> "Han, som har hjulpet hidindtil, Han hjælper nok herefter," Grundtvig 1845-50

<sup>175</sup> Grundtvig's was led to despair in 1844, when he suspected that the faith of the Danish people had waned and that God might withhold His help; however, in 1848 he was confident even in the face of defeat in the first battle of Sleswick since the signs of faith and trust in God everywhere was an omen of Divine help to be expected, v. la Cour 1913, p.7-14

<sup>176</sup> "Fatherland" in this case is renders the Danish term "Fædreland", although in terms of style "Native Soil" is probably a better choice. However, conveying the literal meaning carries a point since a distinction is made in Danish between "stat" = state OR nation as a body-politic, and fatherland as the inherited realm of shared history and memory. Compare German: Staat / Vaterland and Czech: Národ / Vlast.

<sup>177</sup> Vilhelm (Birkedal Barfod Dornonville de) la Cour (1883 - 1974) earned a master's degree in 1909, a doctoral degree in 1927 both at the University of Copenhagen. He never gained a tenure or chair at the university but taught secondary school to supplement his writing and conduction of archaeological work, among other places in the parish of Højby in 1950 (the ruins of Næsholm). As a historian, Vilhelm la Cour adhered to the standards of source criticism. However, as a historiographer he insisted on the narrative that carried a meaning and a purpose. He was politically a conservative, detained for some time during the German occupation 1940-45 and fled to Sweden in 1944. He was until his death the editor and publisher of a journal dedicated to the national question of the German-Danish border.

<sup>178</sup> "The Fatherland, Fundamentals of the Growth of the Feeling of Danishness"

<sup>179</sup> - As far as Grundtvig is concerned, to the point that "to Grundtvig, the relation to God was the sole guaranty for the salvation of the Fatherland. "Were it in my powers by my hand or by word of my mouth to stave away the enemy from the border, and did I know that after that, the people would lapse to Godlessness and uncleanness, nay would I move!" (in a comment in 1814). The exposée of Grundtvig is based on two versions (1844, 1848) of his "Fædreland! Ved den bølgende strand – " (Eng.: Fatherland, by the undulating waters - ), that of Hans Christian Andersen on his 1850 song "I Danmark er jeg født, der har jeg hjemme – " (Eng.: In Denmark I was born, that is my home – ")

<sup>180</sup> Da.: En Slægt

<sup>181</sup> Da.: Bølge, literally also: Wave, meaning the simultaneous process of recognizing the two objects in one

<sup>182</sup> Eng.: "On the Concept of People" in Stoklund, Bjarne (ed.): Kulturens Nationalisering. Museum Tusulanums Forlag 1999. -- Damsholt, Tine: Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerånd. Inst f Arkæologi og Etnologi, Københavns Universitet 1996 (Ph.D. thesis, published as a manuscript)

<sup>183</sup> The main sources being vicar's reports (Joachim Junge, Niels Blicher)

<sup>184</sup> Damsholt "On the Concept of People" in Stoklund, op.cit., p. 37f

<sup>185</sup> Da.: Begrebet folk. One understands that the "concept of people" is seen as a vessel that can be filled with or emptied of national-cultural or state-patriotic content.

<sup>186</sup> Gellner, Ernest: Nations and Nationalism. Blackwell 1983

<sup>187</sup> Gellner op.cit. p.51-52. Gellner's analysis rests on the assumption of high cultures and growing complexity.

<sup>188</sup> - meaning that religion may indeed play a decisive role in the circumstance but not *per se*. See for instance the case of reinvention of the "muslim" epithet in Yugoslavia (Gellner op.cit. p.71-72) and shrine vs. scriptural islam in Algerian nationalism

<sup>189</sup> v. Damsholt, Tine: Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerånd. Inst f Arkæologi og Etnologi, Københavns Universitet 1996 (Ph.D. thesis, published as a manuscript), p.223-224

<sup>190</sup> la Cour uses the word "Danerige", Eng.: Realm of the Danes

<sup>191</sup> la Cour (1913) p.22

<sup>192</sup> It is interesting to note that Damsholt in her oeuvre makes equally much of Tyge Rothe's figure as an expression of loyalist patriotism

<sup>193</sup> It is a human trait that in one instance the parish principle is tacitly overlooked: that of the Battle of Odden which really took place off the coast of neighbouring parish of Odden. The memorials are in the graveyard at Odden Church.

<sup>194</sup> v. la Cour 1913, p.88, quoting Tyge Rothe: Tanker om Kærlighed til Fædrelandet (1759) (Eng.: "Reflections on love of the Fatherland")

<sup>195</sup> It was certainly possible that the society would be a result of a blind man's want for a pastime coupled with the indulgence of friends. In a conversation with the knowledgeable Erland Porsmose, MA, head of museums and archives in the municipality of Kerteminde on November 13th, 1996, he raised serious doubt that any sort of national project might have been involved in very many cases; indeed, as far as the Kerteminde society was concerned, he was positive that the founders had been mainly concerned with preserving the valuable and special part of the heritage and proving that the local area sported some of the best of the country. Famous Danish painter and lithographer Johannes Larsen was the driving force behind the society and served as chairman for 25 years.

<sup>196</sup> The period under scrutiny in the present paper is 1864-1914 for reasons of methodology (and convenience). This leaves out much of the achievement made by the society in later years. Laurits Jensen stayed on as manager of the museum until he died in 1938, the last 10 years living in a wing of the museum building in Stenstrup.

<sup>197</sup> Now head of the amalgamated museums of Odsherred

<sup>198</sup> Danish Folklore Archive

<sup>199</sup> Højskolebladet (The Folk High School Gazette) had a nationwide circulation, however, it has not been possible to establish individual subscribers' names. I hold it to be as good as certain that it was read in the parish of Højby by the people belonging to the Folk High School circle and so was part of the pattern of communication

<sup>200</sup> Flor's Handbook is on the expense list of Ernst Trier's very first course at Vallekilde

<sup>201</sup> It might have been nice to have more of it – two or three newspapers instead of just one, more books, stock lists of local booksellers. However, it has to end somewhere. There are indeed sources that I still would have liked to check, notably a set of diaries of a local farmer of the Folk High School Stripe and the private archives, if available, of the family of the schoolteacher at the free school.

<sup>202</sup> la Cour, Vilhelm: Fædrelandet, Grundtræk af Danskhedsfølelsens Vækst (1913, private edition)

<sup>203</sup> v.: Grimm, Jakob: Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, Leipzig 1848 (in: Über die Deutsche Sprache, Leipzig, Insel-Bücherei vol. 120): "Es haben sich also bis auf heute nur fünf deutsche Sprachen auf dem Platz behauptet: die Hochdeutsche, niederländische, englische, schwedische und dänische, deren künftige Schicksale nich vorausgesagt, vielleicht geahnt werden dürfen. Wie en den Völkern selbst tut sich auch in den Sprachen, di sie reden, eine unausweichliche Anziehungskraft der Schwerpunkte kund, und lebhaft erwachte Sehnsucht nach festerer Einigung aller sich zugewandten Stämme wird nicht nachlassen. Einen Übertritt der Niederländer zur hochdeutschen Sprache, der Dänen zur schwedischen halte ich in den nächsten Jahrhunderten sowohl für wahrscheinlich als allen deutschen Völkern für heilsam und glaube, dass ihm durch die Lostrennung Belgiens von Holland, Norwegens von Dänemark vorgearbetet ward: es leuchtet ein, dass dem Niederländer liber sein muss, deutsch als französisch, dem Dänen lieber, schwedisch als deutsch zu werden. Auch verdient die Sprache der Berge und Höhen zu siegen über die der flachen Ebene. Dann aber wird nicht ausbleiben, sobald Seeland aufhört, eine nordische Hauptstadt zu enthalten, dass auch die Jüten in ihren natürlichen Verband zu Deutschland, wie er ihrem Altertum gemäss und durch die deutliche Spur des sächsischen Dialekts unter ihnen gerechtfertigt ist, wiederkehren." – So, Jacob Grimm proposes that Jutland "returns" to Germany and the Jutlanders to the High German tongue (Grimm makes the distinction of German = Germanic in modern usage, and High German = German (but definitely meaning: High German, not Low German or Platt).

<sup>204</sup> In the monograph of the Højby collections of folklore(Ellekilde, Hans (ed.) : Foreningen Danmarks Folkeminder igennem 25 Aar. Schönbergske Forlag, København 1933), Hans Ellekilde, the eminent head of the Danish Folklore Archive, recounts that Laurits Jensen requested that references to his name, bar just one or two, be omitted.

<sup>205</sup> Again, it is Jan Steen Jacobsen who has secured this document in an interview. v. Jacobsen, Jan Steen (ed.): Livsform og levevilkår i landsognet vol I, Stenstrup Museum 1984