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LIVING DEMOCRACY IN DENMARK

P. MANNICHE

LIVING DEMOCRACY IN DENMARK

"Say not the Struggle Naught availeth".

Danish Countryside.

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LIVING DEMOCRACY IN DENMARK

INDEPENDENT FARMERS
FARMERS' COOPERATION * THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS
COOPERATION IN THE TOWNS * SOCIAL AND
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES * SOCIAL
LEGISLATION * A DANISH
VILLAGE

With 132 photographs illustrating life and conditions in Denmark

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PREFACE

By Professor H. J. Fleure.

BRITAIN was the pioneer explorer of the uncharted maze of machine-industry, with a population uprooting itself from the soil and crowding into slums that in due course gave birth to vast amounts of unearned increment to be used as industrial capital. The population became a fortuitous concourse of atoms and even thinkers often forgot that a crowd is not a society and that provision for social life is a primary need of a social being. It is true that the feeling for society, being a basic feature, found alternative expression in philanthropic, sporting, frivolous and even disreputable associations, but the relation of all these to local social life as a whole was too limited. Moreover, while the concourse of atoms had a certain amount of liberty, there were severe limitations even in that respect because such a large proportion of the population was composed of wage-earners left for generations without even a fragment of economic insurance. This gap in our social system has since been filled in.

It is interesting to compare with British schemes the efforts made by the Danes to meet modern conditions, to secure more liberty, to maintain society and to improve conditions of life. In Denmark about the middle of the nineteenth century the peasantry was still attached to the soil and there was not the same attraction of better wages in large and growing industries, but a peasantry is often inclined to cling to old ways heavily encrusted with ancient superstition, so it is a great achievement of the Danes that they have gone far towards liberating the peasant mind and yet maintained the life of the rural community.

Grundtvig and his helpers fortunately recognized the social nature of man and planned so that children might grow up as members of their community. They saw that education might go far astray if it aimed too much at pumping into the juvenile mind information that was supposed to be applied in adult life. The child was given time to keep in touch with the farm and, in the early stages of adolescence, he was held to devote himself to farm work. The time

for further education, they thought, came later on, at the threshold of adult life. The folk high-school was, in fact, a civilized adaptation of the processes of initiation that so many of the peoples of the world have worked out for themselves. It may be that the Danish ideas are unsuited to our conditions, but there is here much material for thought.

Characteristically, the further education planned for the young people was not a training in farming or in business or even in the sciences behind these activities. The folk-high-school set out to help young people to work and live together as members of the Danish community; they were taught the social history and the literature of their country, the use of their mother-tongue, especially of the spoken word, free and sincere debate, and bodily exercise as a key to health. Though the young men attend the folk high-schools in winter and the young women come in summer, they meet at school reunions, and parallel experience of the school has furnished a common basis of thought for many a husband and wife. There are inevitably cases in which facile speaking scores too heavily at first, but young people are able to check these tendencies in one another fairly effectively. Some utilitarian items have been inserted into the folk high-school curriculum as a result of experience.

Though the schools are voluntary enterprises, there is considerable help from public funds, and the state sees that the accounts are in order, besides keeping an eye on the work with which it rarely, if ever, interferes. It realizes that success depends more on personal devotion than on any system. Sometimes the responsibility is too heavy and a school goes down, but that the movement should have maintained its enthusiasm for a hundred years is a sure indication of a wise combination of national and voluntary effort. It will need to adjust itself a good deal in the next generations and one hopes the weight of tradition will not be too heavy.

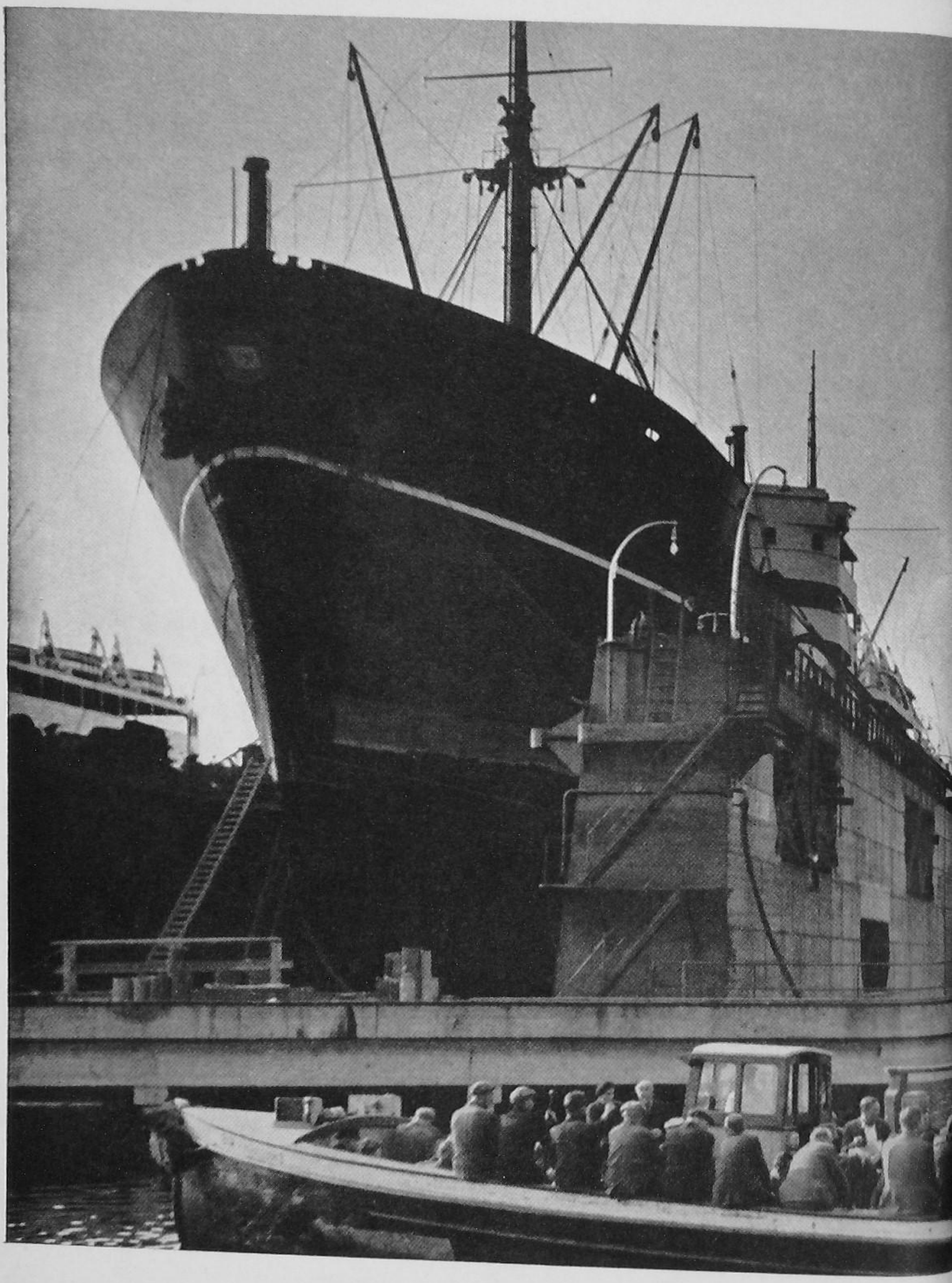
The contact with disinterested teachers who worked for very moderate rewards has had an interesting result in encouraging young farmers to trust disinterested experts as well as their fellows, so these schools have contributed greatly to make effective both the state system of expert advice given at research institutes in agriculture and the commercial schemes of cooperative selling and buying and management of credit. The basis is trust and the proportion of default or fraud is low.

The renovated peasantry feels it has hold of the land; it will not be mulcted for improvements it has made and it is not liable to be dispossessed though mortgages do often give rise to anxiety. Be it noted that the mortgages are often owed to the local co-operative credit society which knows the circumstances; it is not merely impersonal.

The education system, the schemes of expert advice and research, the cooperative organizations for buying, selling, and credit are a sort of tripod on which Danish rural life stands. Danish rural development found its opportunity with the massing of industrial populations, especially in Britain where lack of interest led to neglect of any idea of maintaining a proportionate rural element among the people. Opportunities for internal colonization on the heaths of Jutland also made possible a measure of collectivism among the groups thus erected, and cooperation supplemented by grading of products was easier for an industry that sent out its exports mainly by one steamship line through one port and brought them to that port by state railways. The peasantry were still attached to the soil so there was no need to call them 'back to the land'; the problem was the somewhat less difficult one of keeping them there and improving their status. Another help was that the Danish Church had sufficient Catholicity to retain at least nominally within its fold the vast majority of the population; the idealists were not forced to meet the exclusivism of a privileged group.

In Denmark, moreover, the opportunities for acquisition of considerable wealth had been few and the plutocracy had not so many social plums within its reach as was the case in England. Standards of spending were therefore not forced up so much as in Britain and plain living and high thinking was a more practicable ideal.

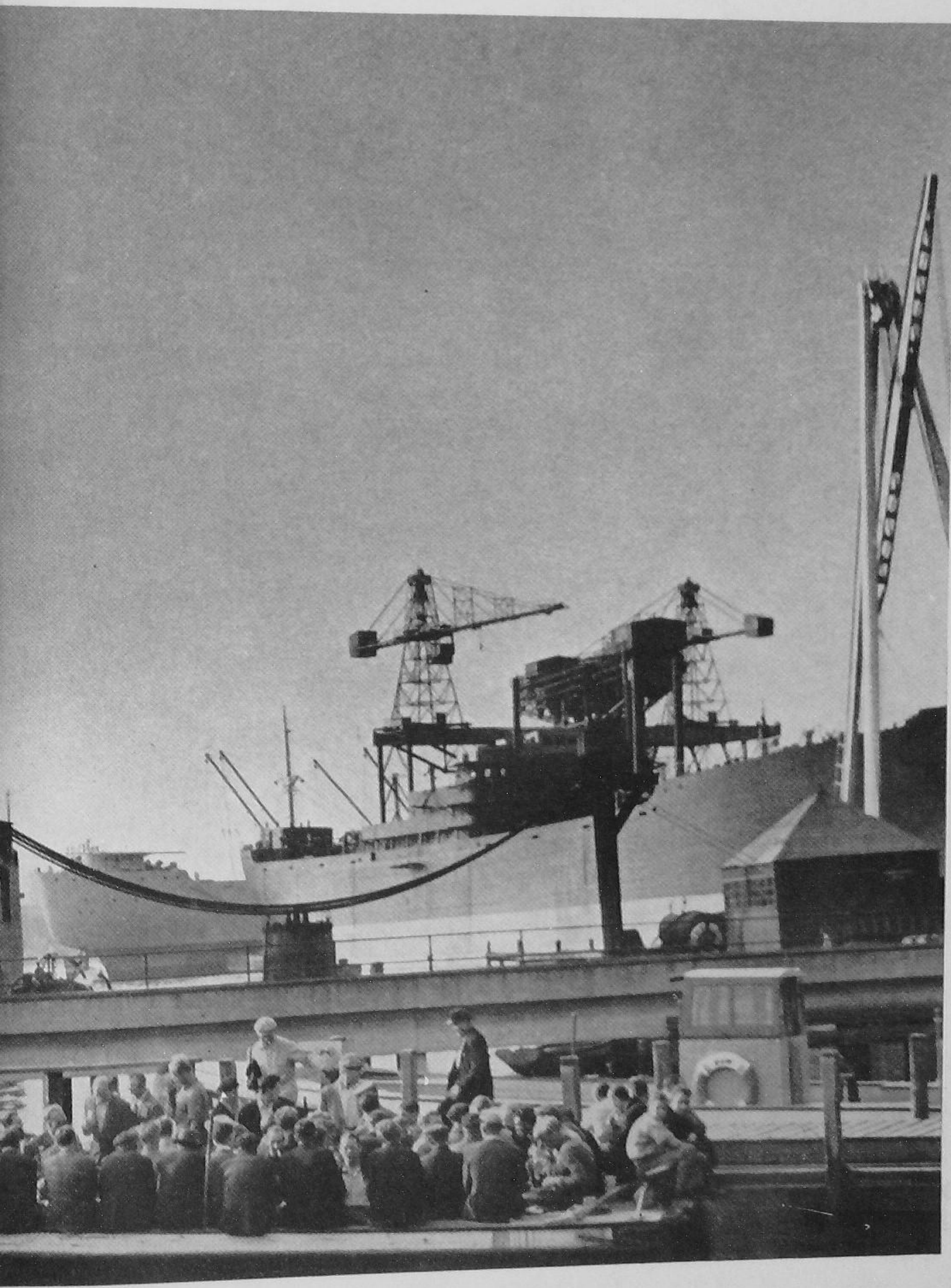
One must not of course overlook the difficulties of the position. No one knows how much depends upon enthusiasm and faith in the Danish scheme, and these qualities have a sad habit of waxing old and of being treasured when they have become mere fossils. Copenhagen is another problem, a city too large for a little country like Denmark in an era of economic nationalism. Changes in the British demand for farm products, or dictation by any great power are further dangers. But, whatever the future may bring, here is an experiment that has promoted rural happiness in skilled work, mutual trust, and a large measure of both economic and intellectual liberty.



Off to Work at the Ship-yard.

Ship building is one of the leading Danish export trades. Like many other industries it has to imp

From Denmark (published 1951



rmeister & Wain, Copenhagen.

l raw materials and fuel. There are 650,000 organized workers in industry, handicraft and transport.

e Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

INTRODUCTION

WHEN the time came for a new edition of my book Denmark A Social Laboratory, it became apparent that much of it must be rewritten in the light of recent developments.

The opportunity has been taken to add so much new material that it was thought desirable to change the title of the book.

This book is not a complete description of Danish life, nor even of all the social experiments undertaken. To give that would require a much larger volume than this slight one affords. It is an introduction designed primarily for foreigners to those phases of Danish social life which have won attention outside the country and which can be studied to some degree even during a short visit.

I have included at the end of the book an appendix with a table of comparative American and English monetary and metric systems.

The author acknowledges deep gratitude to Miss Harriet Bircholdt of New York for going through the manuscript and suggesting improvements in the English. I am also thankful to Miss Doris Porter of Mississippi, Mrs. Winifred Jones and Mr. Percy Wait for their help in improving my English in parts of the text, and to the Danish Agricultural Council, the Workers' Cooperative League, Samvirke, the organ of the Danish Cooperative Wholesale, Legationsraad Kr. Bure of the Danish Foreign Ministry and G. E. C. Gad's, Westermann's and Gyldendal's Publishing Firms for many of the photographs used in this edition.

I have drawn from several books written in English, such as:

H. Hertel: A Short Survey of Agriculture in Denmark, published by the Royal Agricultural Society of Denmark.

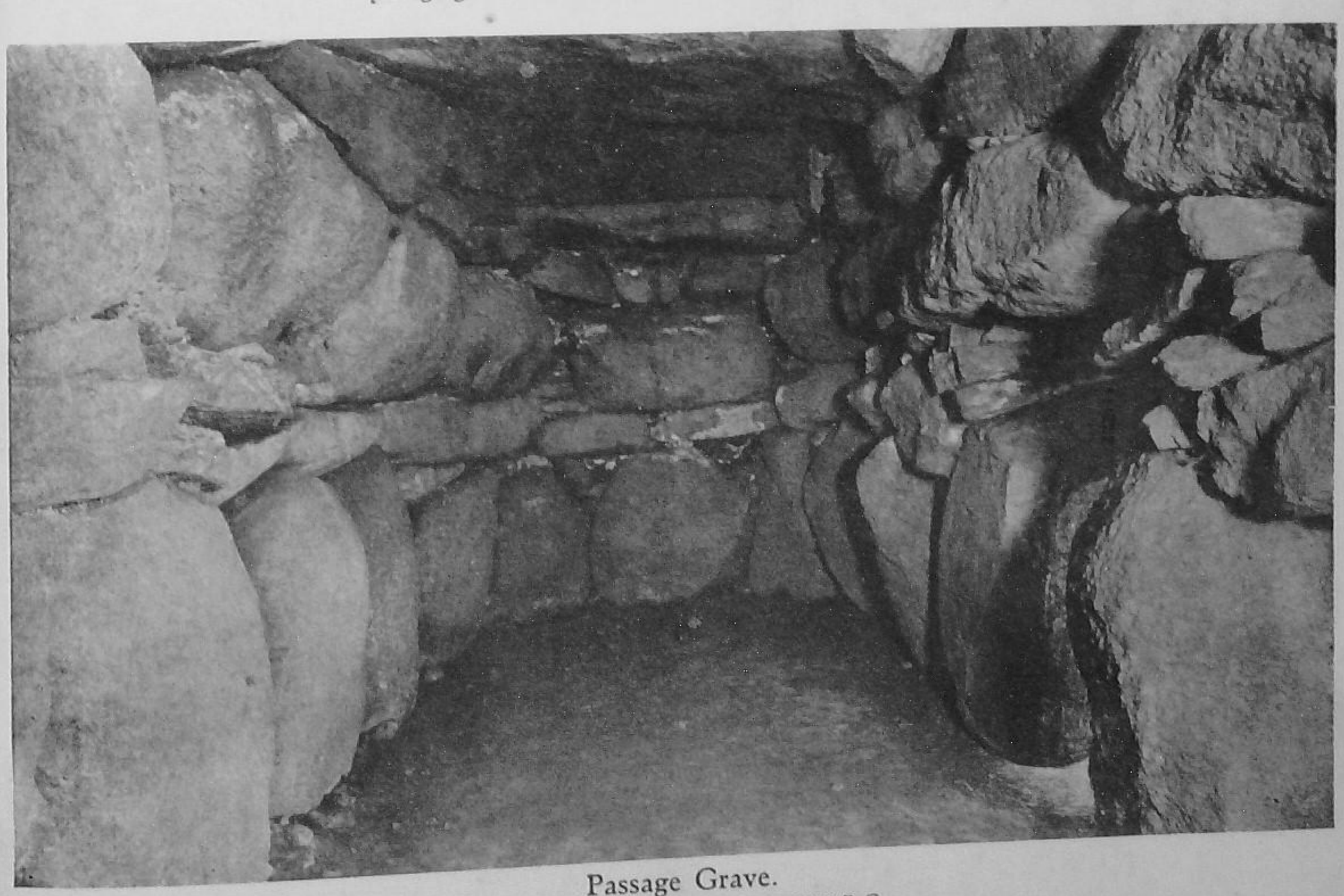
A. Axelsen Drejer: Co-operation in Danish Agriculture.

Nöelle Davies: Education for Life, Williams and Norgate Ltd. 1931.

Einar Jensen: Danish Agriculture, Its Economic Development. (J. H. Schultz. Copenhagen 1937).

Dolmen in a Round Barrow.

Vilsted, Sorø County. Even older than the passage grave below. The building of such graves in the Stone Age shows that there must have been social organization in Denmark even then. The passage grave was a family burial place for many generations.



Passage Grave.

Dalby, Holbæk County. About 2000 B.C.

Harald Faber: Co-operation in Danish Agriculture. 2nd Edition, London.
Report from the Danish National FAO committee, May 1951.
Begtrup, Lund, Manniche: The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community. Fourth Edition. Oxford University Press, London, and Arnold Busck, Copenhagen.
Denmark 1951, Published by the Danish Foreign Ministry.
Denmark Agriculture, published by the Agricultural Council, 1935.
Among Scandinavian sources for this book are primarily writings of Carl Koch, Edvard Lehmann, Jens Warming, Anders Hedberg, Carl Iversen, Ernst Borup, C. Cederblad, P. Christensen, Fr. Dalgaard, Thor Pedersen, Vig. Nørby, Th. Thorsteinsson, K. Skovgaard (in Survey of Danish Agriculture, published by the National Danish FAO Committee); Fridlev Skrubbeltrang and Henning Ravnholt, in writings published by the Danish Society (Det Danske Selskab), and Johs. Novrup in Scandinavian Adult Education (Det danske Forlag, Copenhagen).

Further, I should like to thank Professor Dr. I. L. Kandel, formerly of Manchester University and Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, for his kind permission to use part of the information in an article of mine treating of rural social and educational problems in Denmark, which appeared in the Educational Yearbook 1938 of The International Institute.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Fleure for his preface. Dr. Fleure has always shown a keen interest in Denmark and in The International People's College. He has visited this institution on several trips to Denmark, alone and with groups of his students.

April 1952.

Peter Manniche.

Part I.

INDEPENDENT FARMERS

Far whiter mountains shine splendidly forth
Than the hills of our native islands,
But we Danish rejoice in the quiet North
For our lowlands and rolling highlands.
No towering peaks thundered over our birth:
It suits us best to remain on earth.[1])

AMONG the nations of the world Denmark has been described as a farmers' cooperative commonwealth. Without sacrifice of individual liberty the Danish farmers have carried cooperation further than those of any other country, with the possible exception of Swedish farmers, who in recent years have made rapid progress.[2]) Of the 205,000 farmers in Denmark possessing more than one hectare of land, more than 190,000 are members of one or more cooperative associations. During the past decade the cooperative movement has made headway among industrial workers as well. This development of cooperation, which is not the result of any state compulsion or regimentation or monopoly, is partly traceable to the unusually high level of adult education fostered by the Danish folk high school system, a legacy to the nation from the great poet-bishop Grundtvig.

Foreigners find it difficult to understand the dynamics which for generations have sent to these schools from one-fourth to one-third

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[1]) "Denmark's Consolation" (Danmarks Trøst), written in 1820, was Grundtvig's first national song. Translated by S. Foster Damon in *A Book of Danish Verse*, published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York, Oxford University Press, 1922.

[2]) In Sweden, 255,000 of the 355,000 farmers with more than one hectare (2½ acres) of land deliver milk to cooperative dairies, but these 255,000 supply 98 % of the milk delivered to all dairies in Sweden. 100,000 farmers have no milk to sell because they use it for their own consumption. Finland is leading as far as consumer cooperation is concerned.

of the total rural population of Denmark in the prime of their youth, on their own initiative, at their own expense and for the sake of education without any expectation of degrees or any direct material return. In a later chapter the reader will discover that there were religious as well as political and nationalistic factors involved in the founding of the folk high schools, but there is one basic factor: the character of the people and their particular environment ensure a democratic tradition in education as in politics.

National Features.

The Danish population is homogeneous. It is of the Gotho-Germanic group and has lived in the country since pre-historic times. All the inhabitants speak the same language, 97 % are members of

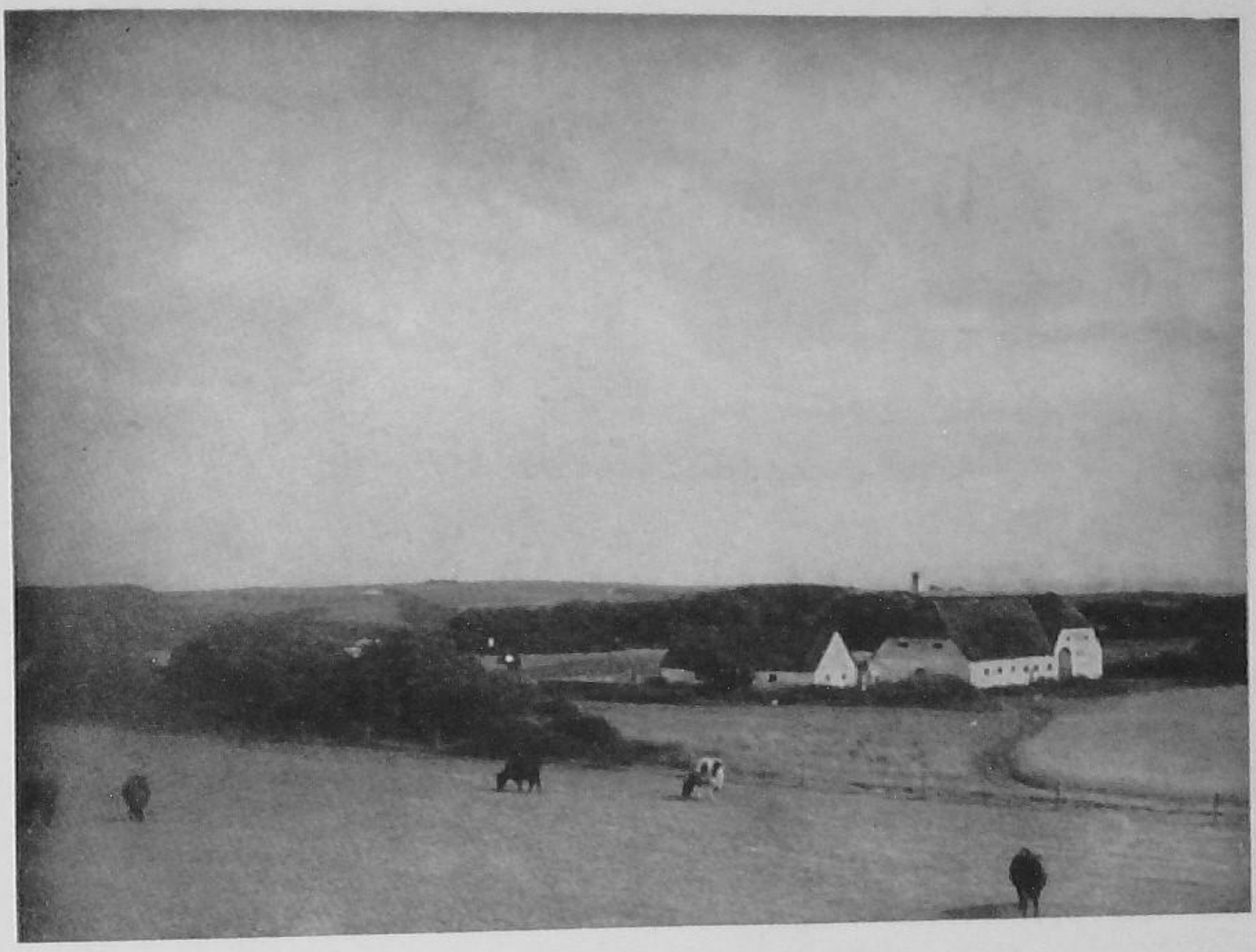
Hans Christian Andersen's Statue in Copenhagen.
Danish realism, irony and childlike confidence are all found in Andersen's fairy tales.

Harvest Time.

the Danish Lutheran Church (see pages 56 and 213—16). Although half the population now dwell in urban or semi-urban localities, practically all Danes are descended from peasants who for untold generations have cultivated the soil.

The Danish landscape is idyllic rather than impressive. It rises above the sea, carrying on its back small villages, scattered square-built and straw-thatched farms, groves of beech trees, windmills, dairies and white churches with red roofs. The author Henrik Pontoppidan described some fifty years ago the charm of a warm summer evening, when villagers heard the church bells ringing down the sun as peasant lads, wearing wooden clogs on their feet, went clattering over the fields to meet the homeward-bound milk-maids. The Jutland landscape unfolds itself before the observer as a large tapestry. Gently sloping mounds rise above the field and meadows. As one progresses further to the west, one discovers large patches of heath and dunes. From the North Sea salty, blustery winds sweep incessantly across the country and at times the scene

The Chalk Cliffs of the Islands of Mön.



North Jutland.

becomes bleak and monotonous. But Jutland, too, has its scenes of idyllic beauty. Through its meadows brooks ripple in sparkling reflection of the sun.

As with nature, so with culture. Feeling and grace characterize much of Danish music, painting and sculpture. Its literature is made up of short stories, fairy tales and lyric poetry rather than great dramas. All this is a reflection of Danish character. In the course of history the Danes have learned to develop intelligence, keenness, adaptability and persistence — the more humble virtues of a *small* nation — in place of force. They lay no plans far ahead, but are adroit in meeting difficulties as they arise from day to day. And since Denmark is a small nation, it cannot afford to neglect the individual. Through cooperation among the farmers and social legislation for the industrial workers the unfortunate are helped by the more fortunate to join in the march of progress.

It was not so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, when the Danish peasant was greatly oppressed by a domineering nobility. Apparently having lost the pugnacity of his Viking forbears, he retained, nevertheless, the brooding introspection that makes Hamlet a Danish type. In this mood he developed his aptitude for

surmounting difficulties by evasive smiles and jesting irony. Denied outward freedom, he found compensation in an absorption in matters of the mind; and after the middle of the nineteenth century the folk high schools and other forms of democratic education gave an intellectual orientation to his spiritual experiences and psychological observations.

Thus the very nature of the Danish people may help to explain why the cooperative movement, the folk high schools and a highly developed system of social legislation have become outstanding features of Danish life.

Geographic Conditions.

Denmark (Map page 239) lies in the northern part of the temperate zone, between the 54.33 and 57.44 degrees of latitude. The northernmost point, Grenen (the Prong), where the Kattegat and Skagerak Seas meet, is in the same degree of latitude as Aberdeen in Scotland and Nain in Labrador. It is about 155 miles (250 kilometers) south of Oslo, the capital of Norway. From Grenen to the point farthest south in Denmark, Gedser Odde, the distance is about 225 miles (360 kilometers). From Esbjerg to Copenhagen is approximately 190 miles (300 kilometers). Copenhagen, the Danish capital, is in about the same degree of longitude as Leipzig in Germany and Rome, Italy.

The area of Denmark is about 17,000 sq miles (43,000 sq kilometers). The five hundred islands, about half of which are inhabited, are less than half of the area of all of Denmark, but are more densely populated than the peninsula of Jutland, which has roughly 150 per square mile (62 inhabitants per square kilometer) as against 400 per square mile (166 per square kilometer) on the islands.[3])

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[3]) In comparison: Denmark has 94 inhabitants per sq km, Belgium 276, Germany 189, Finland 12, France 76, Great Britain and Northern Ireland 203, the Netherlands 285, Norway 8, Sweden 15, Switzerland 110, Czecho-Slovakia 95, U. S. A. 16, the Indian Union 107, Korea 125, Japan 210. The average living age in Denmark is 66 years for men and 68 years for women; in Sweden the figures are 65 and 67, Norway 61 and 64, Holland 66 and 68, Germany 60 and 63, U. S. A. 65 and 70, and in most countries considerably lower. The annual increase in population is 1.11 %, in Norway 0.65 %, Sweden 0.93 %, England and Wales 0.54 %, USSR 1.14 %. The annual birth rate in Denmark is about 2 %, the death rate 0.9 %. In 1949 1,017,100 men and 949,800 women were unmarried, 979,800 men and 984,100 women were married, 22,500 men and 37,000 women divorced, 69,000 were widowers and 151,400 widows.

The 4,300,000 people in Denmark live in an area that is one-tenth the size of Sweden, one-eighth that of Norway and Finland, somewhat less than half the size of Bavaria or the state of Indiana in U. S. A., and about twice the size of Wales or the state of Massachusetts in the U. S. A.

While the other Scandinavian countries are rich in minerals, timber and water power, Denmark has only one natural resource — arable soil. About 95 % of the country is productive and approximately 77 %, i.e., an area about the size of Normandy in France, is farmed. Some 3,800 sq miles (10,000 km^2) are made up of forests, heath land, dunes and urban factory areas.[4]) There are not many large uncultivated areas left. Moorlands that were formerly entirely non-arable have been transformed into white clover pastures. Practically the whole of the Danish soil consists of deposits from the Ice Age, which, in layers of varying extent, rest on strata of lime and chalk. These strata occur in several places so near the surface that it is possible to utilize them for industrial purposes in open quarries (cement, lime). Only on the island of Bornholm does the basic rock rise to the surface.

The ice has left a soil of greatly varying composition, and it is not particularly fertile. But the climate is insular, relatively mild with no abrupt transitions from icy cold to scorching heat. It does not give the farmers something for nothing, but still it rewards his perseverance and industry and is agreeable for heavy farm work. Grain crops, root vegetables, clovers and grasses thrive well and form the natural basis for a great livestock production.[5])

One can never be sure of the weather in Denmark. It can change from hour to hour and from year to year. Some winters may bring much frost and snow, and in other years hardly any snow at all, so that the grass stays green all winter. The weather is, after all, cold enough in winter to necessitate keeping the livestock under cover

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[4]) Since 1939 the growth of towns, construction of new roads, airports etc., has reduced the cultivated areas of Denmark by 25,000 acres a year. This means that nearly 500 average-size farms are taken out of production each year. Despite the losses Denmark has still a greater proportion of her land under cultivation than probably any other country in the world.

[5]) The spring work on the farms begins in March, sometimes earlier; spring sowing during March and April; root cultivation in May, June and July; haying in June and July; grain harvest in July and August; autumn sowing in September; root harvest in October and November; and winter ploughing in November.

from October until May.[6]) The prevailing summer winds come from the west and the north and give Denmark a comparatively cool summer. The mean temperature over a long period is, for the lowest temperatures in February 27° F(÷2.6 C), and for the highest temperatures in July, 69° F (21° C). The annual number of sunshine hours is about 1,700.

The light northern nights begin in early March and last until the end of August. The average number of days with frost is 97, starting late in October to about the first of May, when the last night frosts usually occur. The mean annual precipitation is about 26 inches, roughly the same as in Eastern England and California, varying from year to year with between 21.7 inches (550 mm.) for the eastern part of the country and about 29.5 inches (750 mm.) for the western part of Jutland. August and October are usually the wettest months. The precipitation is frequently deficient in the spring and showers during the harvest season sometimes endanger the cereal crops, but on the whole the climate, with its variation from sunshine to rain, is favorable to agriculture.

The Importance of Agriculture.

Agriculture occupies a key position in Denmark for a two-fold reason. Firstly, it delivers almost all the food-stuffs consumed by the Danish population. Secondly, about 70 per cent of Danish exports had for many years before World War I been agricultural products. In 1950 they amounted to about 62 per cent of the aggregate export.[7])

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[6]) This, of course, greatly increases the cost of the buildings required for housing the animals and storing the winter fodder.

[7]) The export of agricultural goods had a value of 2,825.8 million kroner, industrial goods 1,537 million kr, fish 144.2 million kr, other goods 71.5 million kr. Of the aggregate imports in 1950 raw material for agriculture accounted for 602 million kr or about 10.2 per cent. Of this amount grain and bran accounted for 156, oil cakes and meal for 224 and fertilizers for 180 million kroner. Of the agricultural exports the most important items were butter 893, bacon and pork 748, eggs 338, cattle and meat 296, cheese 152, sugar 133, grain and malt 68, field seed 73 and potatoes 30 million kroner.

The Danish *industries* supply chiefly the *domestic* market, but in certain lines such as manufacture of many different kinds of special machinery (for agriculture and cement), processing of agricultural products (sugar, flour, condensed milk and cream, canned goods, beer, vegetable oil) and ship building the export trade is considerable. In the first seven months of 1951 machinery worth 264 million kroner was exported — a rise of 45 % above the same period in 1950. The Copenhagen China and the Danish Diesel engines

Our imports of cereals and other food stuffs amounted before the war to 1,500,000 tons annually. During the war and the occupation these imports were stopped, and our agricultural exports were halved. This meant that the value of our total exports was reduced by 35 per cent — a reduction which was the chief cause of our shortage of goods and commercial deficit during these years.

Since the war, Danish agriculture has had various difficulties to combat. Lack of raw materials, cereals and oil-cakes has kept production down. From 1945 to the end of 1947 we suffered from an unfavorable balance between import and export prices. Before the war we were able to import 96 kilograms of coal for one kilogram of butter, but in 1947 only half of that amount of coal could be obtained. As our greatest export is butter and one of our most important imports is coal, such price conditions were almost catastrophic to us. In 1948—49, however, the imports of raw materials increased, price conditions were somewhat improved and the year's harvests were the largest in the history of Denmark.

The great difficulty at present is the shortage of dollars. Agriculture must buy its raw materials with dollars but sell for sterling or other soft currency. While this was also the case before the war, at that time we could exchange sterling for dollars. There is also a need for dollars for making good the damages resulting from the German occupation and for the mechanization of our agriculture. For the time being our dollar needs have been partially met by The Marshall Aid which granted us about 550 million kr. annually.

Concerning the difficulties arising from our selling for sterling and buying for dollars, it is the opinion of Mr. Kristian Bording, who upon his retirement from office in 1950 had been Minister of Agriculture for more than twenty-one years, that there are but three ways out:

1. Exporting to the dollar countries. Efforts in this direction have hitherto not given great results.

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are known the world over. Danish cement is widely exported. Machinery for cement making is one of the Danish specialities. In consequence of the rapid electrification of Denmark, a considerable manufacture of electrical supplies has developed, the volume of which is sufficient not only for needs of the homeland but also for exports to foreign countries.

The textile industry has, in recent years, developed very rapidly, and in many of its fields, Denmark is self-supplying. Before 1939 the leather industry covered only 30 % of our consumption of upper leather, but during and after the war it reached 70 %.

2. Buying raw materials in non-dollar countries. Here again, results so far have been moderate.

3. The way of "austerity" — doing without raw materials. This would mean a reduction in production, the halving of exports, a 30 % reduction in imports and a great loss to the farming community. This in turn would mean increasing unemployment and poverty for the entire Danish population.

According to Mr. Bording, two factors would relieve our difficulties:

1. A lessening of the fear and danger of war and the apparent need of armaments to such an extent that the huge economic resources and forces in the present world could be used in the service of peace and reconstruction.

2. The prosperous growth of the two great industrial countries, our neighbors England and Germany, with a resultant ability to buy our refined agricultural products at reasonable prices.

Mr. Bording goes on: "It was the free, unlimited import of grain and concentrates at reasonable prices which contributed so effectively to the economic progress of Danish agriculture from 1890 to 1940. The crisis in the eighties, caused by the fall of prices on the grain which we then exported, thus became an unexpected but important economic lever for Danish agriculture. As the import of raw material since 1940 has been and undoubtedly will continue to be very limited, we shall be much more dependent on our home grown production of fodder crops than we have been in the past."

Agriculture is not of the same importance to employment as it is to the economy of the nation. For many years the number of persons engaged in agriculture has been stationary. In the period 1880—1900 some 920,000 inhabitants made a living by farming; in 1949, about 910,000. Since 1949 the rapid increase of machinery has caused a very considerable decrease in the number of persons engaged in agriculture.

In 1949 some 25,400 persons lived by forestry, 41,350 by horticulture, 31,600 by fishing, 484,000 by commerce and finance, 1,285,000 by handicraft and industry, 248,000 by transport, 268,358 were in the liberal professions and administration.[8])

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[8]) Manufacturing industries in 1947 reached production values of 4,900 million kroner compared with the 2,800 million kroner of the agricultural production which in that year was relatively low.
The average unemployment percentage for 1950 was 8.72. This low figure

Though the agricultural population has been stationary for a hundred years, the agricultural production has shown a remarkable increase. From 1830 to 1880 the production of grain was doubled and the animal production was more than doubled. This progress was due partly to an increase in the agricultural area,[9]) partly to improvement of the soil, and, at the end of the period, to better fertilization.

After 1880 the average annual harvest yield rose from 45,000,000 crop units (one crop unit equals 100 fodder units; i.e. 100 kg barley), to 132,347,000 in 1949, i.e., 43.3 per ha.[10])

The causes of the progress in this period were an increase in the amount of fertilization, improvement in strains of plants and better treatment of the soil, and, especially a large increase of the area with rootcrops.

In 1881 the milk production was 1,391 million kg, in 1950, 5,403 million kg. The number of cows was 1,219,000 in 1881, 1,553,000 in 1950.

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meant that there was especially in the summer, a great scarcity of labor in various trades, including agriculture. The hourly rate for skilled workers in industry was in the spring of 1951 about 390 to 395 øre and for unskilled workers approximately 330—335 øre. Wages in agriculture were about as high when the cost of livings is taken into consideration, and considerably higher than before the second war.

The total gross national income in 1950 was estimated at 23,300 million kroner. About 5,500 million kroner has been invested and almost 18,500 million kroner spent on consumption.

(Report from the Danish National FAO Committee, May, 1951).

9) From 1861 to 1881 the tilled area was increased by 383,000 ha, chiefly through cultivation of the Jutland moors.

10) The following chart shows the harvest yield per ha in quintals (100 kg) in the year 1948 (or 1949).

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Potatoes	Sugarbeets
Denmark	35.9	24.0	34.6	31.9	169.2	348.9
Norway	31.6	20.0	21.5	21.5	184.8	
Sweden	23.0	20.7	21.1	16.9	122.7	355.1
Finland	14.5	14.2	14.2	14.9	127.2	225.0
France	18.9	12.1	16.1	13.2	94.8	172.4
Holland	41.3	27.4	38.6	31.4	232.4	386.6
Great Britain and N. Ireland	27.3	20.8	24.9	21.9	169.9	207.6
Germany	24.4	19.8				
West. Ger.	26.8	23.3	24.4	27.9	183.8	241.6
East. Ger.	19.7	15.6				
Canada	9.0	5.3	10.7	10.6	111.0	228.2
U. S. A.	10.0	7.5	13.0	11.7	137.1	314.8
The whole world	10.5	13.4	11.8	12.7	112.3	219.7

In Denmark and the other Northern countries the following scale is used when converting the crops into feed units: 1 kg of barley = 1 kg of rye = 1 kg of wheat = 1.2 kg of oats = 1 kg of dry matter in potatoes = 1.1 kg of dry matter in roots = 2.1 kg of hay or from 4—5 kg of straw.

lions; the butter production in 1881 was 49 million kg, in 1948 120 millions; bacon and pork, 46 million kg in 1881, 313 millions in 1939 (in 1948 it was only 179 because of the effects of the war, but is now reaching pre-war levels again), eggs in 1881, 9 million kg, 87 millions in 1948. This general rise has been due not only to the increased import of fodder and the increased field crop, but also to the employment of more rational feeding and tending of the domestic animals. That this all-over increase in production has taken place with a *stationary* agricultural labor force (indeed, a *decreasing* labor force in most recent years) results from both higher yields from the soil and livestock, and from improved implements and increased use of machinery.[11])

In industry and handicraft, where the use of machinery is still greater than in agriculture, the annual productivity per occupied laborer was valued at 10,625 kroner. The corresponding figure in agriculture in 1947—48 was 7,714 kroner.

In relative figures, the agricultural population may continue to decrease in Denmark. But since raw materials for industry are scarce, Danish industry and commerce will always be dependent on our agricultural export. The solution of our agricultural problems is therefore of vital importance to the entire country.

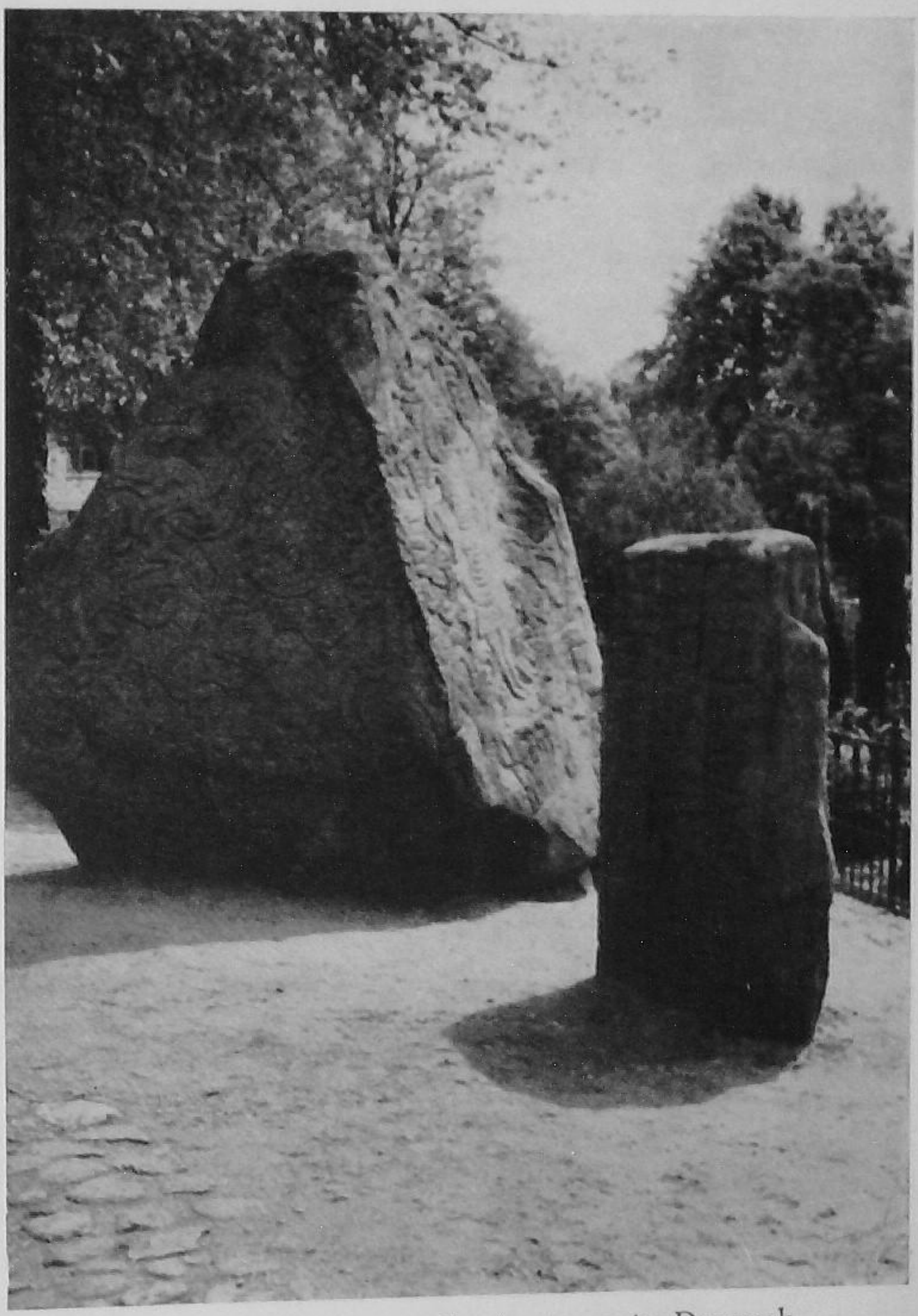
If this is so today, it was no less so in the past when the bulk of the population was agricultural. How an illiterate and inert peasantry was transformed into an alert and politically influential class which showed a flexibility of mind and power of determination for which years of community life and education had prepared it, will be described in the following chapters. This transformation took place within two centuries. It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that their old traditions of freedom were restored to the Danish farmers.

A brief Survey of Danish History up to the Close of the 18th Century.

In the period of antiquity Denmark was, practically speaking, peopled with peasants. The Viking[12]) was not only a good sailor but

[11]) In July 1950 17,844 tractors were owned by farmers (in 1947 there were only 4,396). 20,940 holdings used machine stations. There were 367 combines.

[12]) The Viking is the "man of the Bay". "Vik" in the Scandinavian languages means a bay, and the Vikings derived their name from the fact that most of their original settlements were placed on the shores of bays or protected waterways.



The two most famous Runic stones in Denmark, at Jellinge, Jutland (about 985 A.D.).

The younger runes were used from about 800 A.D.

a farmer as well. He had the sea at his door and the farm at his back. From the mouth of the Oder river the German merchants sailed across the Baltic to the Danish islands, and from Emden and Bremen to the Limfjord (which separates the northern part of Jutland from the peninsula) to trade with the Danes. Hedeby, the present town of Sleswig, was in the Ninth Century the only real town in Denmark. The towns that arose in the following centuries were all

small and remained comparatively small until modern times.[13]) There were, in the prehistoric times and in the early Middle Ages, large farmers, and small farmers, but no aristocracy proper. The king was the first among equals. The peasants who lived in villages and who were freeholders,[14]) met in their local parliament (the ting), when they passed laws and sentences after free expression of opinion. It was not until the 12th century that the society got a centre in the power of the king, who in the great time of the Valdemars became one of the mightiest rulers of Europe, extending Denmark's borders to include Mecklenburg and Pomerania to the south. Agriculture made great progress, forests were cleared, new soil cultivated, and the yield rose. The markets of the towns got many visitors. The Catholic Church was deeply rooted in the people. Life was, to a degree unknown in modern protestantism, tied to the Church. Large brick buildings in the village superseded the original wooden churches,[15]) monasteries were scattered all over the country. The monks, while concentrating on their chief task of "preparing men for heaven", were also teachers of agriculture. From about 1250 the kings began to quarrel with their military lords or the wordly magnates of the Church. It was a time of general decline; the people were brutalized, their leaders desirous of power at any cost. The former sense of unity and security gave way to conflict and fear. The kingdom was split and dwindled down. But, when it was deepest down, it rose again. Margaret, daughter of Valdemar Atterdag (Valdemar the New Day), who had reunited the realm and strengthened the royal power, became the ruler of Norway after the death of her husband who had been king of that country. The union between Norway and Denmark thus formed lasted for 434 years. In 1397 she also became the queen of Sweden, which country remained with Denmark until 1523, its southern provinces Scania, Halland and Blekinge even as late as until 1658.

The reformation in 1536 strenghtened the power of the noblemen. The crown, which now owned more than one-half of the land, disposed of practically all this land (with the exception of the forests) to the manors. The political power of the nobles was broken

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[13]) Copenhagen, which with its suburbs now has 1.1 million inhabitants, had in 1769 82,000 inhabitants; the provincial towns which now have 1,020,000 residents had 78,911 in 1769; the rural districts, now claiming 2,097,400 inhabitants, had 638,700.

[14]) The serfs had been freed gradually after the introduction of Christianity.

[15]) Several of these churches, the so-called "stav buildings", are still to be seen in Norway and Finland.

in 1660 when the king, supported by the town citizens and the clergy, introduced absolute monarchy and surrounded the throne with officials, many of whom were commoners or belonged to an immigrant nobility which held large feudal estates in trust for the king. (See page 45). But economically, the nobility, both native and immigrant, preserved its power over the large peasantry, the root and kernel of the population. It is true that the kings protected the size of the peasant holdings, but the free and independent yeoman had disappeared almost completely to give place to copy-holders, dependent upon the lord of the manor.[16]) They had to work two, three or four days a week on the lord's *demesne*, and even more in harvest time. However, one good feature of the feudal system in Denmark was a well developed community life. The alderman, elected by the villagers for a term of one or several years, convened his fellow-peasants under the "village tree" from time to time to discuss such common problems as when and where to plough and harvest, which trees to mark for building or for firewood, or how much feed to assess each peasant for the village bull. The enclosed cultivated fields around the village, even when apportioned in strips to the different farms, required a uniform and simultaneous working. Joint use was made still more necessary for the commons lying outside the fields.

The firmly established rules for joint action in the cultivation of the soil and the customs and traditions of a rich social life in the village community point to an intellectual and moral culture which in many aspects survives at the present time, even though they made changes to new forms of management impossible without the unanimous agreement of the village. The chief obstacle to progress, however, was the lord's right to dictate when and how much his tenant was to work for him. Hence the latter was unable to concentrate on the cultivation of his own land. The tenants, on the islands more than in Jutland, where they were never fully repressed, became uninterested, lazy and shiftless. Their production per acre of cultivated land was very poor.

From Tenancy to Free-hold.

The problem of freeing the peasants from their bondage was not solved on their own initiative. They were too weak and too ignorant to

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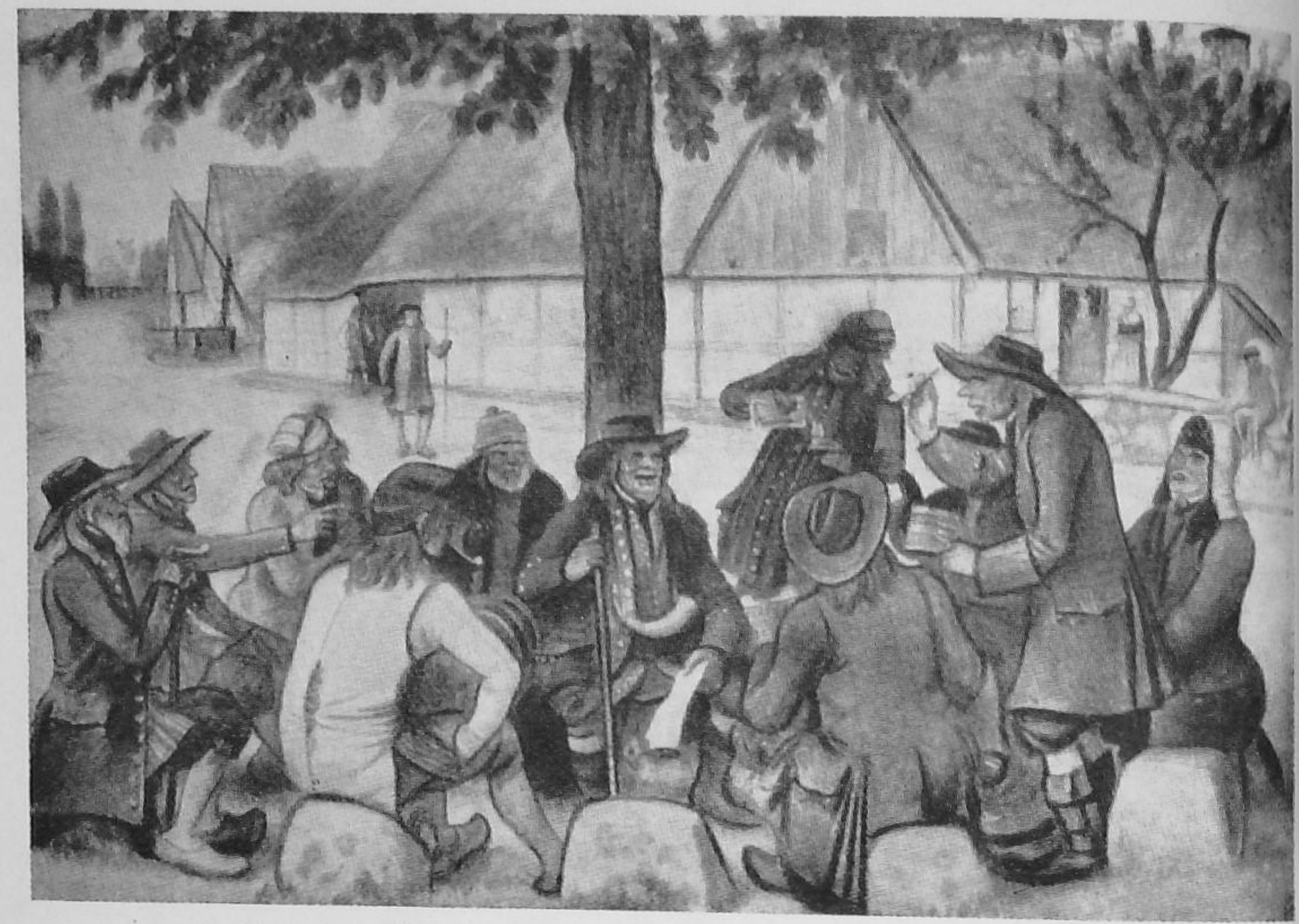
16) In 1733 the peasants became completely tied and were not allowed to move from the estate on which they were born. This bondage to the estate was abolished in 1788.



A Meeting under the Village Tree, before the Agricultural Reforms.
(by Rasmus Christiansen).

work out reforms for themselves. It was an autocratic government which first proposed the conditions for a social development which in the course of a few generations has enabled the Danish peasant to master a system of agriculture and agricultural cooperation which has elicited the praise of agricultural experts everywhere.

Since the Danish king in 1660 had overthrown the power of the nobles, he possessed a greater authority within the State than any other monarch in Europe. He was able to carry out the work which faced the "Enlightened Absolutism" in Denmark, in a manner that turned attention to the State and the community and not to any narrow class interests.

The general rise in prices in the latter half of the eighteenth century and a growing demand for grain imports in the English market, gave an economic impetus to the reforms. Under the influence of German Evangelical Christianity, the wide-spread enthusiasm for "human rights" and the teachings of Physiocrats, some high-minded noblemen, notably A. P. Bernstorff and the brothers Christian and Johan Ludvig Reventlow, and intellectuals like the Norwegian Christian Colbjørnsen, worked out plans for reforms which the king carried through against the opposition of

The Steward of a Manor inspecting the Harvesting Implements.
(Photo Nordisk Film).

the greater part of the nobility and to some extent of the peasants themselves.

Certain spiritual and cultural conditions made the development of the reform movement possible. For one, Denmark was one of the first countries to establish compulsory education. It was effectively carried out as early as 1814, giving the rural population some necessary schooling and bringing it under religious and moral influences more than before. The village school has done invaluable work in elevating modern Danish peasant culture. Religious revivals have met with much support from the rural population and the Church and Christianity have had a steady influence on the peasants and their schools. Ever since the absolute monarchy introduced Consultative Estates with advisory authority in 1834, and in 1849 gave way to a liberal constitution founded on a two-chamber system somewhat resembling that of the Belgian, most of the Danish peasants have consistently supported a democratic development. The village schoolmaster, long before the folk high schools began their work, had made a great contribution in this development.[17])

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17) Mr. Arnfred, principal of Askov folk high school, writes in his biography of Severin Jørgensen, the founder of the Cooperative Wholesale Society, "His father was a teacher, one of the old parish deacons, whose life-story ought

The reforms were embodied in a number of laws passed between 1769 and 1850, and they were threefold. First, they freed the farmer from joint action in cultivation of the soil, and the compulsory rotation[18]). Second, they consolidated the peasant's small and widely scattered strips of land into units close to the farm buildings. Many of the farm-houses, formerly clustered together in villages, are now scattered about the country. The third and most difficult part of the reform was the freeing of the peasants from obligatory work on the large estates, a task which required almost a century. The final solution, however, was much better than in Germany and England. The Stein-Hardenberg reforms in Germany freed only the medium farmers, and that at a cost of half their land, which was given to the estates as compensation. The smallholders, especially those east of the Elbe, were reduced to the state of landless agricultural workers. In England, where the stout yeoman type migrated to the industrial towns, the large estates, after the theories of agricultural economists, became larger, to the end of increasing the productivity not of each land unit, but of each labor unit.

The reformers in Denmark, who had otherwise learned much from England, refused to adopt this policy. "The land exists for the nourishment of our farmers", they maintained, and enacted laws to prevent the merger of peasant farms with each other or with larger properties. Thus in Denmark, contrary to the practices of other countries, the distribution and acreage of small and medium sized

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some day to be written -- those rural schoolmasters for whom their training-college education had meant a Christian and a democratic revival. Many of them stayed in one place all their lives, not only teaching the children at school but accompanying them throughout their youth and manhood as spiritual guides and as practical advisers. They were responsible for the erection of village halls and they encouraged new methods of farming. When the ideas of Cooperation were propounded, they were the obvious pioneers. The west of Jutland can show several examples of barren moors that have been tilled and transformed into fields with newly built and tidily kept farms under the leadership, direct or indirect, of the deacon."

[18]) There is now generally a seven or eight years' rotation on Danish farms, on small as well as large, the only difference being that the small holdings cultivate comparatively more root crops for their cattle. On medium soils the rotation is often: 1, wheat or rye; 2, root crops; 3, barley; 4, clover and grass; 5, clover and grass; 6, oats; 7, root crops; 8, mixed grains. In 1948, according to the FAO report, grains occupied 41.5 % of the agricultural area, root crops 18.6 %, seed 1.4 %, fallow 0.3 %. Among the grains barley holds the top rank, but mixed grains, i.e. a mixture of oats and barley, with sometimes an addition of leas and vetches, plays a large part, comprising almost one-fourth of the total area occupied.

holdings were protected by law, and the peasant class became the pillar of Danish agriculture. Important regulations determined the relations between tenant and estate owners. Other regulations encouraged the increase of free-hold ownership. For example, within certain limits State loans at low interest and long term credit were made available for this purpose. The prices of the copyhold farms were determined by law and were very advantageous to the copyholder. It became the rule that the farms passed in their entirety to one heir, or were sold in their entirety by the heirs; larger farms, however, have often been divided among the children. The most recent legislation forbids the lapsing of existing holdings, and there are rules fixing the minimum area to which an existing property may be reduced. In 1951, 95.5 % of the existing holdings were cultivated by the owners; the remainder was rented out.[19]) Thus the yeomanry has been reinstated in Denmark.

Thanks to the rising grain prices subsequent to the slump in the twenties, farm incomes grew larger and the increases were frequently used for improvements. Lack of capital, however, was strongly felt.

19) "Next to Norway, Denmark is doubtless the country where there are the greatest number of free-hold properties. The objection most commonly raised against free-hold is that the holders have to invest too great a part of their capital in the real property and that consequently too little capital is left for use as working capital. This argument, however, does not apply to Danish conditions, for the amount to be paid down in cash at the purchase of agricultural properties is, under normal conditions, about equal to the value of the live and dead stock. The balance of the purchase amount is supplied by mortgages. Even the severe agricultural crisis in the 1930's, which had to be remedied by governmental measures such as State-financed extension of payment, did not shake the conception of freehold as the ideal form of tenure. Various means of fluctuating the rate of interest in accordance with the state of the market were discussed, but met with skepticism on the part of the farmers. However, in the case of government small holdings, to be mentioned later, an interest adjustable to the state of the market has been introduced, at their own option."
The Survey of Danish Agriculture, by K. Skovgaard, National Danish FAO Committee, 1946.

In 1880 a little over one-fourth of America's farms were operated by tenants and sixty years later almost two-fifths of the farms were tenant-operated. Tenancy in the U. S. A., be it crop-sharing or cash lease, is associated with a certain amount of insecurity. In most areas of the country more than two-fifths, and in some areas more than three-fifths, of the tenants reported less than two years of occupancy. This feeling of insecurity, which has great social consequences (the tenant on short lease hesitates to improve land. Home, neighborhood and schools, churches and rural organizations suffer) causes many farmers and farmers' children to go to town.
(See David Edgar Lindstrom: *American Rural Life*, The Ronald Press Company. New York, 1942, pp. 99—101).

The conversion to freehold took a long time and many farmers wanted to be in a position to spend considerably larger amounts on buildings, stock and soil preparation than previously, when, for the most part, local savings banks had acted as intermediaries between the mortgager and capital.

The Problem of Securing Credit.

Cooperative Credit Associations.

The problem of securing credit was solved to a large extent by voluntary cooperative credit associations. The contribution of the State took the form of an act passed in 1850, which provided the framework of and granted certain privileges to such cooperative credit associations.[20]) Though the State left everything else to private initiative, the associations are not considered cooperative in quite the same sense as those cooperative activities that have since then sprung up without any State initiative or support at all.

The Prussian "Landschaften", created in the time of Frederik the Great, served as a model, with one outstanding difference. While the Landschaft was utilized in Germany chiefly by the large land owners, in Denmark the Cooperative Credit Associations helped the rank and file of the peasantry.

The management of the society is democratic throughout, with general meetings held at which the members elect the Board of Representatives.

The double purpose is to provide capital for utilization of land through farming and building enterprises and to create safe and saleable securities for the investment of capital by spreading of risk through joint liability of the debtors. In return for a first mortgage on his land and buildings, which are evaluated by special appraisers,[21]) the farmer obtains from his credit association a bond which carries a fixed interest paid by the association. He converts the bond into cash on the current bond quotations at a commercial bank. There are no difficulties in this procedure as the credit of the associations stands very high in the financial community. The bonds that are

[20]) The State helped by not taxing the bonds and by giving facilities in case of foreclosure. In the instance of small holders' credit societies, it guaranteed the payment of interest up to four per cent. (See following pages.)

[21]) One aspect of the evaluation of the estate as an object for lending purposes is its capacity to yield a stable income. The lending institute often pays as much attention to the skill and reliability of the borrower as to the material security of the farm.

issued on unstamped paper may be transferred to the bearer or to a person whose name is mentioned in the papers.

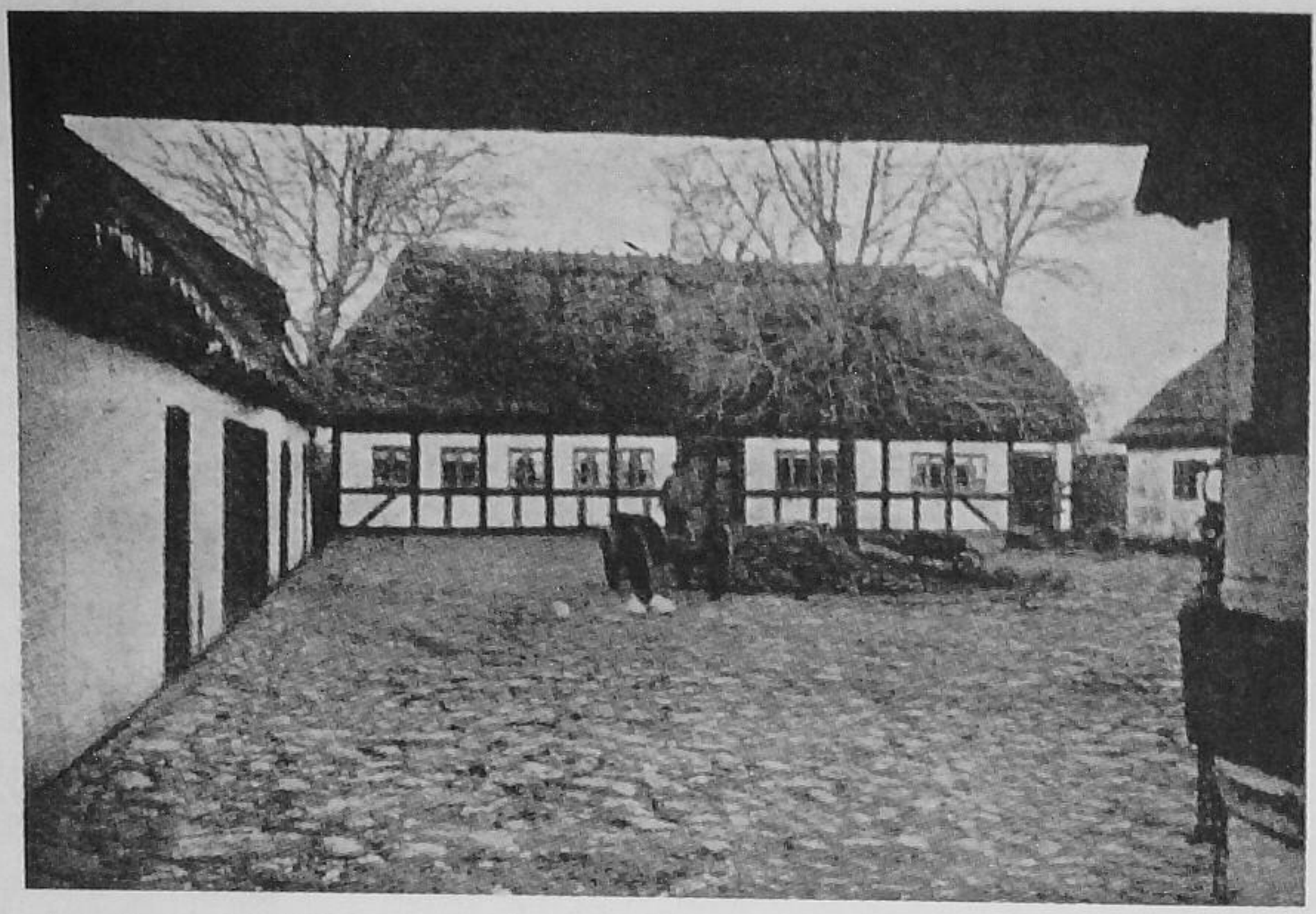
The members of each credit association are grouped in "series". Besides liability for his own loan, which is personal and complete, the mortgager also assumes joint liability for the loans issued within his series. This joint liability is limited, however, to two-thirds of the principal amount of his loan and is incumbent upon the real estate mortgage only. The series have various subdivisions with differing terms and rates of interest. Interest rates of 3, 3½, 4, 4½ and 5 per cent have been employed. However, since the extremes have prevailed only in times of exceptional plenty or scarcity of money, the overwhelming majority of loans are taken out at the rates of 4 and 4½ per cent.

The loans are most commonly amortized in one hundred and twenty semi-annual payments. Several associations, however, use periods of amortization for forty years or less. The law gives the association power of special foreclosure if, and when, it becomes necessary.

The mortgager may repay his loan and the association may redeem its bonds, but the association may not require a loan to be repaid as long as the conditions are duly kept. Furthermore, the bondowner may not require a bond to be redeemed in any other way than by amortization. This amortization, corresponding to that of the loans, takes place by purchase or by the drawing of bonds at par (and in certain series, above par) in order to make sure that bonds shall not be in circulation in excess of the amount covered by the remainder of the mortgage deeds.

For the most part, the loans are annuity loans. This means that the semi-annual payment is unchanged throughout the currency of the loan, with the accompanying conditions of a decreasing amount of interest, an increasing amount of repayment, and a constant contribution to the reserve and administration fund. The latter amount, according to law, must be at least one-twentieth of one per cent on farm loans and one-half of one per cent for industrial loans.

Since 1895 nine cooperative second mortgage associations (one of which closed in 1913) have been organized. These are allowed to lend up to 75 % of the property value, but with more rapid amortizations and higher interest charges. Only three of these give loans on agricultural properties. Developments have justified the existence of second mortgage associations as far as town property is concerned,



Farm Buildings from the Middle of the Nineteenth Century.

but for landed property there are limits to the practical applicability of joint liability as the basis of credit.[22])

The Credit Associations have no legal or factual monopoly of loan-granting on the security of first mortgages. The activities of the savings banks and of the Public Trustees Office in this field date further back than the Credit Associations, and life insurance companies invest capital in much the same way. But only the Credit Associations can offer the mortgagers the advantage of being secured against an increase in the rate of interest, for the main object of their organization is to offer the best possible loans to their members. The lending policy of other institutions, on the other hand, must always remain a means to another end — the best possible interest for the capital-owners consistent with the security. It is true that other institutions may offer loans without loss arising from sale of bonds, but in periods of inflation their borrowers avail themselves to a large extent of the opportunity to exploit the high market prices and change over to Credit Association loans.

The position of these Cooperative Credit Associations in the econ-

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[22]) The Mortgage Bank of the Kingdom of Denmark was established in 1906 with the object of strengthening the market value of the Credit Association bonds. The Danish State has assisted the bank with capital and the bank may raise loans at home and abroad on the security of Credit Association bonds.

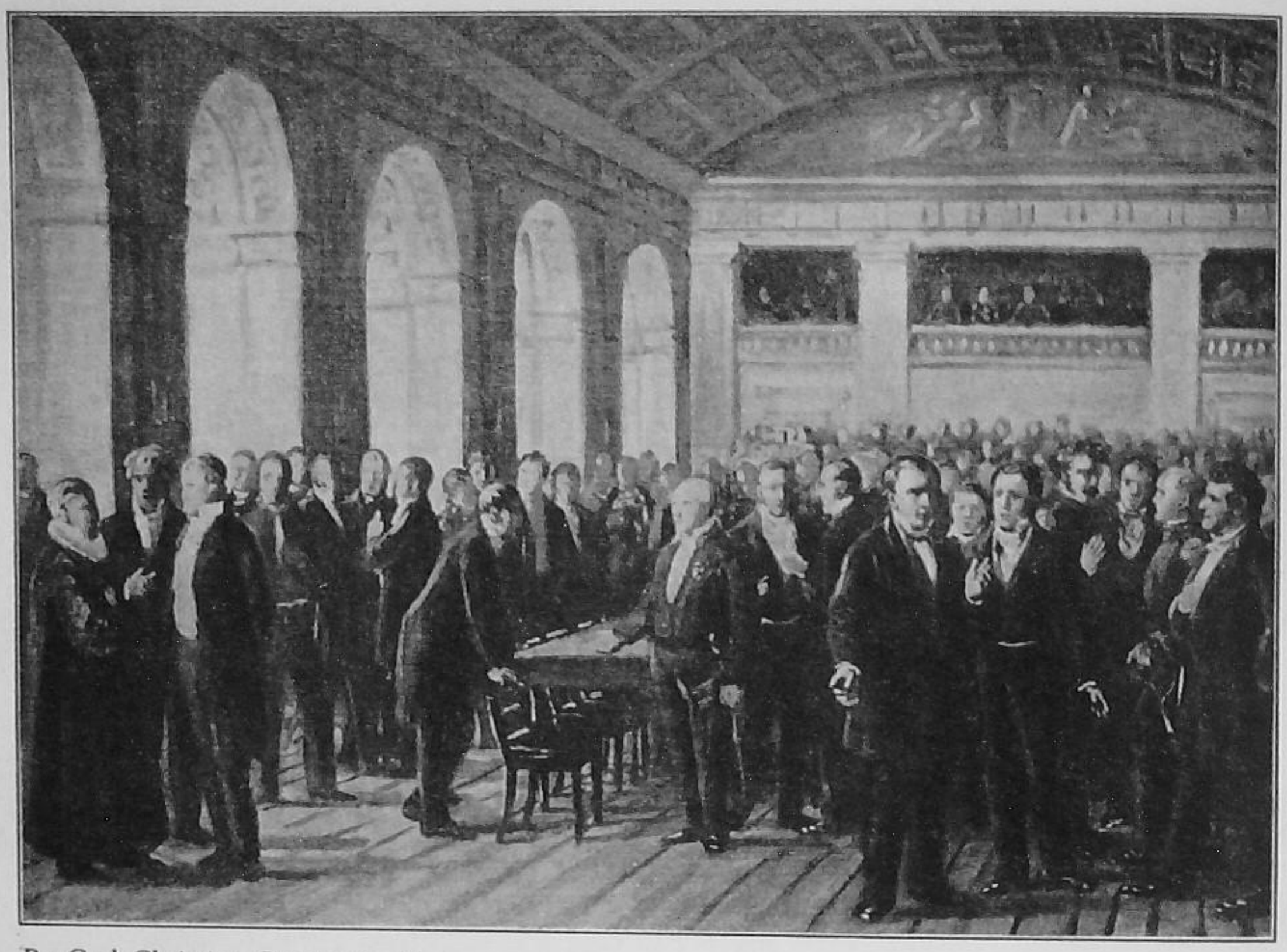
omic structure of Denmark will appear from the following few figures. In 1945 the aggregate national wealth was roughly estimated at 43,000 million kroner, real estate representing 20,700 million kroner of this amount (on the basis of the latest assessment values of that year). The total amount of all mortgages (not just first and second mortgages) on this real estate may be estimated as having been approximately 12,500 million kroner in 1948. Out of this mortgage debt 6,600 million kroner was owed to the Credit Associations and 600 million kroner to the second mortgage associations. In 1950 2,584 million kroner i.e. 53.1 % of the total mortgaged debt on agricultural properties was owed to cooperative credit societies, approximately 1.5 % to cooperative second mortgage societies, 16.8 % to savings banks, 7.1 % to the state, 19.5 % to others.

In 1880 54 % of the Credit Associations' mortgages were agricultural mortgages. In 1948 only 39 % were placed in loans on agricultural property.[23]) During the crisis through which the farming industry has passed, especially in the period between the two wars, its burden of debt proved difficult to bear.[24]) The fact, however, that the Danish farms have been heavily mortgaged in bad times has been a consequence rather than a cause of the difficulties of the farmers, for these difficulties resulted from international conditions of a complicated nature. But it may be said that the Danish credit system, and in particular the long term amortization practice, has tended to force the price of property to rise, since the annual instalment, which does not vary from bad to good times, is considered in all transfers of property.

In spite of this, it is generally recognized that the Credit Associations have had a considerable share in the development of Danish farming. The provisions have enabled capable young farmers without much capital to become landowners. Farmers' sons, for instance, now find it possible to become independent at an early age, while formerly they had to wait until the father had died. Without the relatively easy access to capital which the Credit Associations have offered, it is unlikely that the Danish farmers would have spent the great amount of money on improvement of their buildings, (photos, pages 58 and 59), that they actually have. The importance of the

23) About the importance attached to the Credit Associations to town housing schemes, which after the First World War assumed large dimensions, see pages 163 and 166.

24) In 1937 75.7 % of the aggregate mortgage value of land, buildings and stock were under mortgage.



By Carl Christian Constantin Hansen. D. G. Monrad in the foreground.

The Constituent Assembly 1849.

Credit Associations in Denmark's economic life is so remarkable that they have frequently attracted the attention of foreign students and experts in agricultural economy.

The Farmer in Danish Politics.

A great part of the reform work immediately after the introduction of the free constitution was the result of cooperation between "Friends of the Peasants" and the "National Liberals", one of whose leaders, D. G. Monrad, often sided with the peasants. The parties were not firmly organized. Party discipline was strongest among the peasants, whose leaders, the Christian-revolutionary smallholder, Peder Hansen, and the farmer J. A. Hansen, preached the gospel of solidarity. These men, in Biblical phraseology, reminded the wealthy part of the population of the wrongs that were committed against the poorer part. But the peasants in general had not yet acquired the political insight and knowledge that later made it possible for them to take an active part in the national and political administration of the country. For the few months during which the peasants' party had a majority in Parliament, the country had a

Ministry of Venstre (the Left). After the sudden death in 1860 of their capable leader, Mr. Rotwitt, the farmers were unable to form a Ministry for some time. In his sermon at the Prime Minister's funeral, Grundtvig praised Rotwitt as "the best man the nation has had at the helm of the State for many years." These words created great indignation among the "educated classes" where the National Liberals had their stronghold. With increasing bitterness they had witnessed the peasants opposing the "enlightened leadership" of the intellectuals. After the defeat in 1864, the "*Venstre*" was so weakened and divided that I. A. Hansen feared it would be impossible to preserve the Constitution of 1849 which provided for general suffrage in elections for both houses. He therefore initiated the collaboration between "the great and small farmers". This led to the revised constitution of 1866 which gave the estate owners prominence in the upper house. The Right party, consisting of the old National Liberals and the estate owners, who had soon become merged, remained in power from 1875 to 1894, but the Left party steadily increased its majority in the lower house. The Prime Minister, J. B. Estrup, though he was in favor of a cautious social legislation, made himself unpopular among the progressive part of the population because of his stubborn opposition to democratic government. His chief opponents were the farmers, who, in the latter part of the century, found able political leaders in the persons of two village schoolmasters, Christen Berg and J. C. Christensen. The latter became the leading man in the Ministry of 1901 which was to have the support of the majority of the Danish peasant population. In 1915, when the Radical Party (see page 49) had formed the cabinet, the Parliament voted the return to the Constitution of 1849, introducing at the same time suffrage for women in elections for both Parliament and the municipal councils.

In 1901, half the members of the lower house were farmers. The Minister of Agriculture since then is traditionally a farmer, and although the workers have come into the political foreground in the present century, as prophesied in 1901 by Viggo Hørup, one of the intellectuals who supported the farmers' opposition in politics, the independent farmer is still the determining factor in *agricultural* the independent farmer is still the determining factor in legislation in Denmark. Through the Agricultural Council, which is the apex of the farmers' associations, he wields his influence on all measures affecting the welfare of farmers. Within the farmers'

groups the small-holders at present have a particularly strong strategic position..[25]) But is was not so in the previous century.

The Problem of the Small-holder.

With the introduction of the free constitution the economic conditions of the small-holders were not immediately improved. Both the estate owner and the medium sized farmer (the gårdmand, i. e. the farmman) were the employers of the cotters (husmænd). The farmers had the greatest amount of work to offer, and in the cultivation of his own lot, the cotter was particularly dependent upon the farmer. The estate owners did not fail to emphasize that the dependence upon the farmer was sometimes worse than the tenancy under the big estates. The time from 1850 to the agricultural crisis in the eighties became a period of economic progress for the medium farms, while during the same period the cotters who cultivated their lots had too little land to enable them to participate in the general progress. About 1870 no less than 102,000 families had under one-fourth of a ton of hard corn (a taxation unit of land, varying with the estimated quality of the land, equal from about seven acres in the fertile soil of Lolland to about fifty acres in West Jutland), while many had no land at all. In 1872 a commission examined the conditions of the agricultural laborers and found that almost two-thirds of their income was spent for food.[26])

The folk high school principal, Anders Jørgensen, one of the leaders of the small-holders, wrote about the holders of this time:

"What a pitiful sight it often was to see these small-holdings! Generally the holdings consisted of fields lying fallow, rye and oats with long stalks.

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[25]) The Small-Holders' Associations are no longer represented in the Agricultural Council, which is a joint representation of the Federation of the Danish Agricultural Societies and Cooperative Societies, but the Small-Holders' Societies together with the Agricultural Council take part in the trade negotiations which affect the interest of agriculture. They act to a considerable extent as consultative agencies to the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry in recent years transferred the administration of agricultural export to official committees and many members of these committees were elected on the recommendation of agricultural organizations, including those of the small-holders.

[26]) This was almost the same amount as now in Northern China. In Jimmy Jen's statistics from the district of Ting-Hsien in the northern part of China, 70 % of the income of its 400,000 people was spent for food. At present it is estimated that on an average one-fourth of the income in Denmark is spent for food.

An antiquated Small-holders Cottage.

and a couple of poor grass fields. The livestock corresponded to the fields. It consisted of one or two lean cows, one or, rarely, two pigs and some chickens. The feed for the cattle was very poor in quality. Consequently the manure was also very poor and the value of the soil therefore decreasing. In addition to this, the very small amount of butter and eggs which the small-holder could sell, usually fetched a very low price. It is true that the prices on corn had not yet fallen considerably, but they had begun to do so."

It was a happy sign that many farmers did feel solidarity with the small-holders and spoke in their behalf in the Danish Parliament. State aid for equipment and/or purchase of small-holdings was initiated about 1875 through a State guarantee for the payment of interest up to four per cent on the Jutland Cooperative Credit Association for small-holders. To stimulate farming on the small-holdings, as early as 1873 the government began to award certificates of merit for well-tilled land. In 1890 it inaugurated a system of free summer excursions on the State railways, whereby the small-holders could visit and learn from one another. Evening classes and courses in agriculture for small-holders received subsidies. It was, however, through the agricultural societies and especially through their own unions that the small-holders reached the results that today give them a prominent position in the Danish social economy.

Agricultural Societies.

The Danish Agricultural Societies have their origin in the distant past. In 1769 the first economic society, the Royal Agricultural Society, had as its aim, as it still has, the creating of active interest in Danish economic life with a special regard for agriculture.[27]) The membership was never very large (approximately 1,000) but at the beginning of the nineteenth century it became the prototype of several other societies. These societies had the primary aim of developing industry in general, but, like the parent society, in course of time they concentrated on the development of agriculture. After 1850 numerous agricultural societies were established whose various functions included arranging demonstrations of plant culture, distributing prizes for the best field cultivation, holding meetings with lectures and discussions, and the engaging of a large number of agricultural advisers. They were also the first to adopt definite measures for the improvement of cattle raising and cattle breeding. Among the most important of these measures may be mentioned cattle shows, the keeping of herd books, bull clubs, competitions between whole herds (both ordinary and pedigreed), the appointment of agricultural advisers[28]) and research work. More than one hundred shows are now held annually and the State grants prizes for the best animals exhibited, including pigs, horses, sheep and poultry as well as cattle. The Danish herd books, which are all pedigree herd books, have

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[27]) It has, among other things, established a Bureau of Agricultural Excursions (Landøkonomisk Rejsebureau) which free of charge assists foreign visitors who come to Denmark to study agricultural problems, Danish agriculturists who are planning trips abroad and young farmers who desire to obtain positions abroad for the purpose of study.

[28]) Both the State and the Agricultural Societies employ agricultural advisers, but the greatest number, namely about 530 advisers and 200 assistants are working directly under the auspices of the Agricultural Societies and the Small-Holders' Societies. There are advisers in plant breeding, animal husbandry, accountancy, soil improvement, household work, and young-people's work. Recently there have also been appointed advisers on agricultural buildings.

A very efficient collaboration is taking place between State, Science, Agricultural Advisers and farmers' organizations to meet the present demand for a larger production of home-grown fodder crops. It is thought that the Danish farmers could produce much more, if larger areas be used for such rich yielding crops as sugar beets, potatoes, lucerne, etc. By ensiling the tops of beets and other crops, fodder values could be gained which have previously not been satisfactorily utilized. By greater isolation and improved ventilation in the stables the domestic animals could make better use of the fodder.

A Prize Bull.

gradually come under the control of the agricultural societies. In the eighties the bull clubs in particular began to play an important part in improvement of the stock. Subsidized by the State, they possess a large number of superior animals selected through findings of the herd books. During and after World War II artificial insemination of cows grew common and has helped to increase the yield of milk, especially in the small-holders' herds. The average yield of butter per cow in Zealand is 187 kilo, in Jutland somewhat less.

All Danish farmers, including the small-holders, took part in the rapid progress after the agricultural crisis in the latter part of the nineteenth century, but it was the owners of the medium sized farms (25 to 120 acres), representing the old peasant holdings, who set the pattern of Danish farm life. This began in the seventies when such activities as the entrance into politics to legislate for the Danish rural needs, the building up of the cooperative movement with its wide ramifications, the assuming of leadership in the educational world of the folk high schools and agricultural schools, played a significant part in the development of the national agricultural system. These all-important activities will be treated later in detail.

Almost all of these "gårdmænd" took part in the daily work on the farm. They were on an equal footing with their servants and often gave these domestic workers such good treatment that they remained several years on the same farm. The servants' chambers were as a rule very unattractive, but all on the farm were eating at the same table. The members of the new and comparatively small farmers'

aristocracy, which tried to imitate the estate owners, were considered social climbers and frequently distrusted. "Hired and boarded help" did not mean that which foreigners often associated with that condition of employment. The workers were, to a very large extent, the sons and daughters of other farmers and did not have the mental attitude of laborers at all. On the contrary, they had ambitions to become independent farmers themselves as soon as their apprenticeship was served. A keen English observer, Professor Ashley, wrote in the early part of this century that Danish agriculture can be understood by a foreigner only if he realizes this fact. At the time Professor Ashley wrote this statement, of the 500,000 persons who were engaged in agriculture in Denmark, only 35,000 were farm laborers and about 58 % of the work on farms was done by the owners and their families. An additional 37—38 % was done by regularly boarded help. The cottagers, who were growing in number, and the agricultural laborers, however, were economically inferior and less free socially than the farmers themselves even under the best patriarchial conditions. There was a certain two-faced attitude on the part of the farmers towards the small-holders, and it was therefore of great importance that the small-holders at the end of the nineteenth century began to organize their own movement.

Several of their oldest associations had purely technical and professional aims, just as the farmers' associations had, and they were not created to split the rural population politically. But it was not long before the movement, which was supported by several holders of medium-sized farms, intellectuals and popular authors, began to make demands of a social-political nature, such as compulsory national insurance, homes for old-age pensioners, compulsory schooling to the age of sixteen, and the establishment of more independent small-holdings. Under the influence of Henry George, many of them did not demand any privileges in the way of reduced taxation, but they did demand increased taxation on social values, especially social land values, with a consequent increase in the availability of cheaper lands.

How the State helps Agricultural Workers to become Farmers.

In 1899 the government took definite steps to assist farm purchases. It established a loan fund of two million kroner annually, at 3 % interest and 1 % annual instalment. The act provides that when the

loan has been paid off, the holding becomes a free holding which can be sold, but which cannot be sub-divided. The administration of the act is highly decentralized. Local commissions administer the funds, make the loans and supervise investments. If so requested by the prospective holders, they will guide these clients in the purchase of land and the erection of buildings. The applicant must be a Danish citizen between twenty-five and fifty years of age and must have earned his living by farm work for at least four years after his 17th year. He must submit declarations from the parish council and from two reliable citizens who know him intimately, testifying to his honesty, industry and ability to manage a farm. Furthermore, he must be able to supply one-tenth of the money needed for the purchase of land, stock and buildings and must not already possess a small holding. The rate of interest has since been raised to 4½ (or 4) per cent. During the first five years no amortization payments are required. Thereafter an additional one per cent is paid annually for amortizing. Since 1924, part of the building loan is non-interest bearing.

The act was much utilized by prospective holders, but it has been subjected to a number of criticisms. First was the criticism of the risk involved through the State's lending of nine-tenths of the purchase money to prospective small-holders. However, fears in this direction have proved unfounded, since interest and instalments have been promptly paid with hardly any exceptions.

A second criticism had to do with the size of the holdings. The first loans, and consequently the first holdings were too small, it was claimed. For several years loans as a rule did not exceed 3,600 kroner and the minimum area of the holdings in the five-year period 1900—1905 was only two and a half acres. The law was the result of a compromise between the interests of the owners of large and small farms. The holder had to hire out part of his time on large farms to make a living. This ensured cheap labor for the larger farms and prevented emigration, but it proved very unsatisfactory to the small-holder, as he could not concentrate on his own farm and work it intensively. In 1904, after the Left party had come into power, the provisions of the law were liberalized. Subsequent amendments have raised the maximum limit of the loans and have made unmarried women eligible to borrow. The average holding is now fifteen to twenty acres. In 1948—1949 the average loan to each new holder

was 43,500 kroner and the average additional loan to holders who were already established about 4,300 kroner.[29])

A third criticism referred to the form of possession. As soon as sellers discovered the increased demand for land by the prospective small-holders, they put up the price. The State, since 1906, had tried to remedy this situation by lending a certain sum annually at 3 % interest to small-holders' cooperative associations towards their expenses and administration. The members would buy a tract of land together and parcel it out among themselves after the purchase. This device forced down the purchase price from 188 % of the value of the land, as estimated for taxation, to 171 %. It was still too high, however, and in many cases the quality of the available land was inferior. Therefore the movement in favor of the securing of land by the State and the sub-letting of such land to State tenants with permanent tenure was growing. The State was to maintain national ownership of the land and thereby receive for the nation the benefit of "unearned increment".

As a result of the criticism of the law of 1899 a land act was passed in 1919 which was greeted as "the most radical step yet taken by any country in the promotion of farm ownership". The law established "State farmers", or State tenants, who hold their farms with all the essential rights of ownership. Buildings and livestock are the farmer's own personal property. He pays an annual land rent which is determined by periodic appraisements depending upon the current rate of interest and the market value of the land. The increase in value resulting from improvements made by the "State farmer" himself are exempted in these appraisements.

For the purpose of making land available through the State, two additional laws were passed in 1919. According to these laws a large portion of all glebe land[30]) was to be surrendered for parcelling, and

[29]) A new proposal which has been considered by the government is the creation of one or two acre holdings for factory workers to cultivate at their own leisure, upon which they may fall back in periods of unemployment. The proposed holdings would somewhat correspond to the "Per Albin Holdings" in Sweden (especially for forestry workers). They are not to be confused, however, with the allotment gardens, (or colony gardens) which are available to town-dwellers, some of whom have to live in poor tenements and dingy flats. These gardens give such urban residents their own rightful share of sun and light and air. The oldest garden colony, at the town of Aalborg in Northern Jutland, dates from 1884. Today the allotment garden colony is a long established institution everywhere in Denmark.

[30]) The rural clergy received a considerable part of their income from farms attached to the vicarage. In return for surrendering them to the State they were given a certain increase in their regular salary.

the eighty or so entailed and trust properties were to be made free estates, on surrender of 25 % of the capital of such estates, and, in return for a compensation, of one-third of the land. The Supreme Court sanctioned this latter act after a law suit.

It was intended that the two systems introduced by the laws of 1899 and 1919 should be carried out simultaneously in order to test which of the two offered the greatest advantages. Subsequent legislation has made the economic conditions of the respective acts, apart from the difference in principle, as nearly identical as possible. In 1948—49 the average area of the State holdings established according to the law of 1919 was 13.4 ha., and the average building loan was some 36,000 kroner. The law of 1899 is more popular in Jutland where thrifty and individualistic farmers cling to the freehold idea,[31]) than on the islands, where farmers live in close proximity and interdependency. In the latter areas there does not seem to be the same fear of the State's maintaining national ownership of the land. Between 1899 and 1950 the State, by these two methods, had helped some 25,000 small-holders to obtain their own homes and holdings.[32]) Indeed, this was by far the greater part of small-holdings established since 1899.

Two State small-holdings in the neighborhood of Elsinore visited by the writer in 1939 provide an illustration of the conditions prevailing in this type of agricultural occupation.

In 1922 one of the small-holders had obtained 15 acres of land, and

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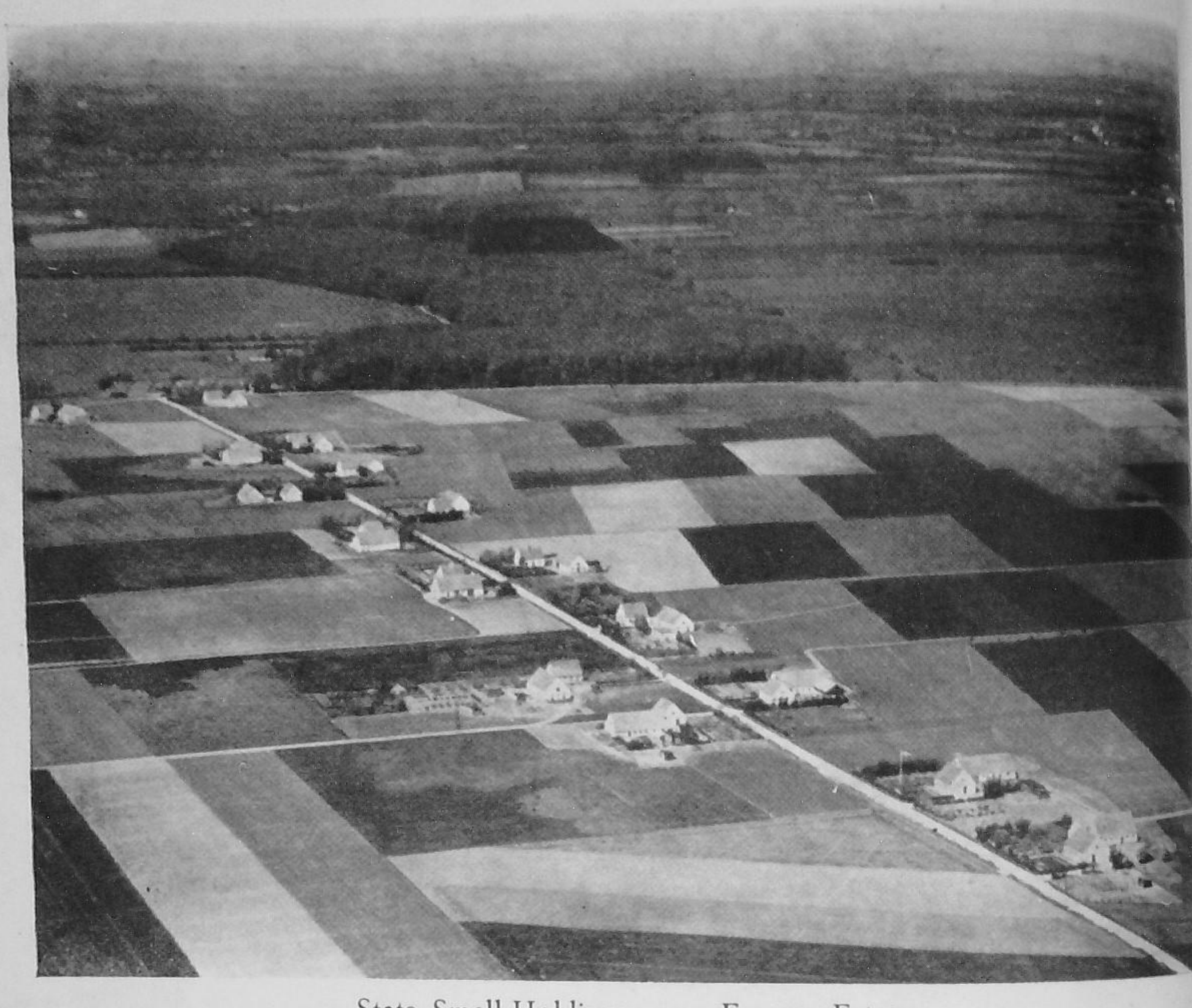
31) Politically, the small-holders in Jutland are associated with the Social-Democratic party to a larger extent than on the islands where the Radical Party (Left Wing Liberal) gets their chief support.

32) Under the act of 1899 about 16,000 small-holdings were established in the period 1900—1935. The loans and grants by the government amounted to about 146,000,000 kroner. An additional 20,000,000 kroner had been granted as supplementary loans to 11,202 small holders.

Under the act of 1919 the number of established State holdings up to the mid-thirties was 5,269, of which 1,400 were on glebe land and 3,869 on feudal estates. About 57,000,000 kroner were paid as building loans. The average size was 7 hectares. By 1939 practically all the glebe land and trust properties had been parcelled out. An act of 1921 authorized the Ministry of Agriculture to purchase land for parcelling out up to an amount of three million kroner, an amount which was increased in the subsequent years.

In 1949 altogether about 25,000 new holdings had been established, and additional land had been provided for about 15,000 holdings by the aid of the government. After the Second World War the establishment of new holdings has been heavily checked by the shortage and high cost of building material and equipment. Thus, in 1951, the lowest price paid for new buildings in North Jutland was 47,000 kroner, which means that comparatively few in that year took the risk of starting a small-holding.



State Small-Holdings on a Former Estate.

had erected a building and equipped it with stock and inventory for a total sum of 26,800 kroner. Of this sum he had received 18,000 kroner as a state loan; and he had supplied 1,800 kroner himself. The remaining 7,000 kroner he had obtained by borrowing from an association assisting small-holders in the parcelling out of land. He paid about 700 kroner a year to the State, which covered interest and an annual instalment of ½ % of 6,000 kroner, on which the State held a first mortgage. Not until the first mortgage was paid was he required to amortize the second mortgage. The loan from the association he had been able to pay off in the course of years. His main income was derived from six cows, which had given an average yield of 3,000—3,500 kilo of milk per cow (3.6 % fat.).[33]) In earlier years, before the control of pig-raising, he had a rather good income from this side of his farming, in which he had specialized (photo page 154).

His neighbor had only about eleven acres, for which, with build-

[33]) The average yield per cow in Denmark in 1939 was about 3,300 kilo of milk (3.75 % fat); for controlled cows, 3,700 kilo.

ing, stock and equipment he paid 23,000 kroner in 1922—18,000 as a State loan and 5,000 kroner representing his life savings. He supplemented his income from farming by a garden of one and a half acres which brought in a net profit of about 600 kroner a year, i.e., approximately one-third of his income.[34])

Both of these farmers had bought their land under the law of 1899, but had made use of a later law[35]) by which interest charges can be fixed according to fluctuations of the business cycle. In other words, these small-holders preferred the conditions for the settlement of State loan laid down in the law of 1919, but they retained possession of their farms.

Rise of the Small-Holder.

At the end of the Nineteenth Century, Vilhelm Lassen, one of the political leaders of the Left Party (the Farmers' Party, see page 37) gave a description of the small-holders which presents a different picture from that given in 1884 by Anders Jørgensen, the folk high school principal (see page 38).

"They are not in a class with the wealthier people of the parish, for they appear in their Sunday best only when they attend divine service on the high holidays of the church. They dress like laborers and there is no doubt that they eat as people of small means. But one does not classify them with the paupers of the parish, either. For the village suspects that when the husband makes a journey to town twice or thrice a year, he invests a bit of savings in the savings bank.

One doesn't hear much about these people. They have no trouble with employers, for they seldom hire their services out to others. If for a few days they do so, they perform their work conscientiously, don't bother about other people and demand only a reasonable remuneration for what they have done. Nor do they have any troubles with employees. They have none. For they themselves manage to do what is to be done. Husband, wife and children do all the work outdoors and indoors. As to public questions, they

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34) Small-holders with about the same acreage, visited in 1950, had an income of 7,000—9,000 kroner. The Danish retail index figures were in 1951 215 (on the basis of prices in 1944) and 367 (on the basis of prices in 1935).

35) In 1934 the two Acts of 1899 and 1919 were amalgamated into one Act on the Establishment and Extension of Small Agricultural Holdings. The rate of interest which, according to the act, is normally 4 % may be reduced to 1½ % or raised to 6 %. On the whole, one may expect the State to advance on easy terms the whole of the amount involved in the acquisition of land and buildings, whereas the holders themselves must procure the live-stock and implements.

An old Farm of about 35 Acres.

generally follow the prevailing opinion of the parish; in social life they are proud that their butter and bacon fetch the top price along with that of the big farms.

This class of people are the efficient cotters holding land of their own, from four to ten acres."

Since Vilhelm Lassen gave this vivid description of the Danish small-holders this important social class has been raised to an even greater economic independence and to a freer and better social position. The soil of their holdings has been improved and cleared of stones and weeds. There are still too many cotters with poor buildings, but the Danish landscape is now full of pretty and practically built small farms, which can afford beautiful gardens, not just with vegetables for the kitchen, but with flowers and trees for ornaments. Many of the so-called "fenced-in small-holders", who formerly could not acquire land from the neighboring properties, have got State subsidies[36]) to increase their area so as to make them subsistence holdings. The part-time holdings, the owners of which have to work for others, are now, as compared with other countries, representing a relatively small number. Step by step and year by year the hard-working Danish small-holders have wrested an increasing profit from

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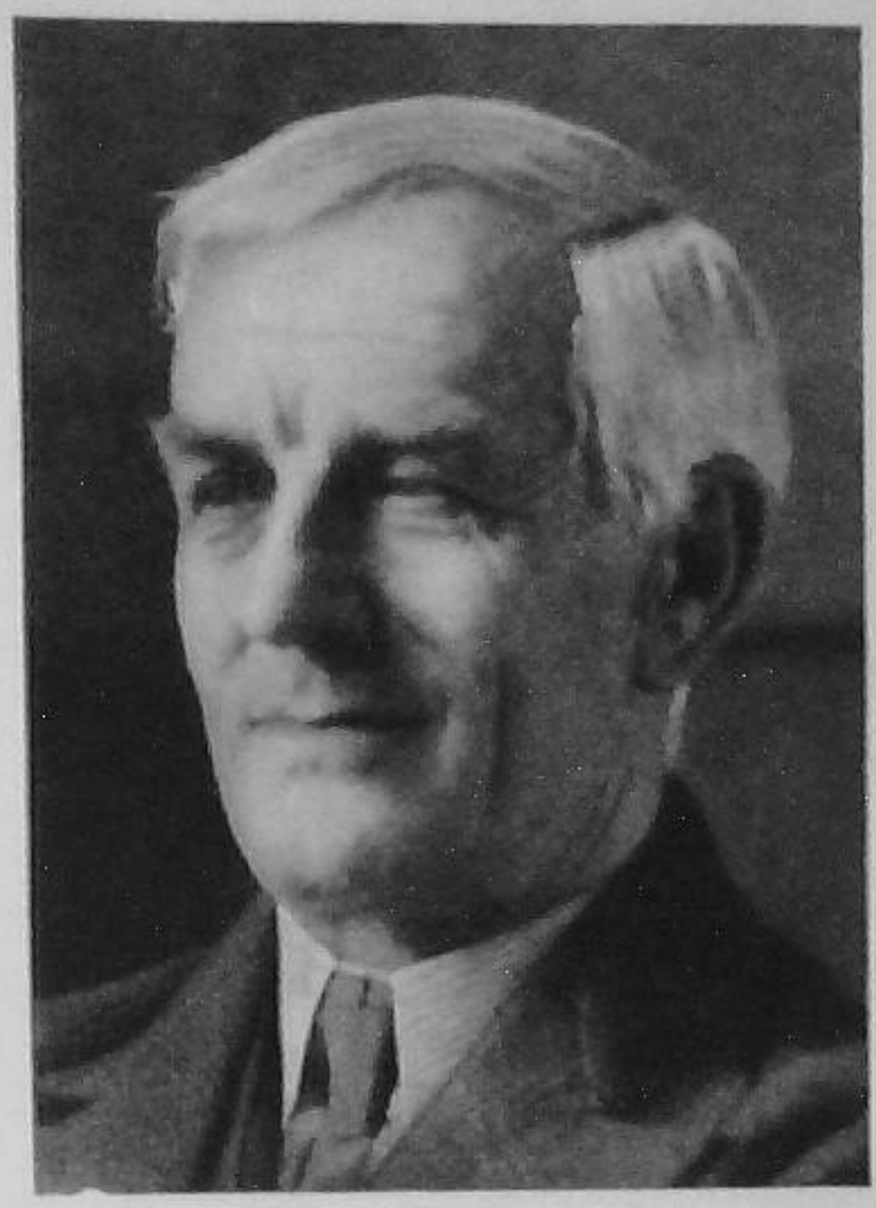
[36]) See foot note 32, page 45

their land and they have understood how to use the opportunities given them by their cooperative association to secure credit and good marketing and buying conditions, by their organizations and consultants to rationalize their work, by their folk high schools to obtain standards of higher culture and — especially in this century, to yield a considerable *political* influence.



Jens Holdgaard.
A Small-holders' Leader.

It is from the small-holders that the Radical Party gets its chief support. But this party by no means commands all their votes. On political issues the small-holders are independent and for this reason all political parties give great attention to their demands.

The Present Political Situation in Denmark.

The grouping of political parties remains much the same as at the beginning of the century — a Conservative Party, two Liberal Parties (A Moderate Party, called the Left, and a Radical Party which was formed in 1905), a Social-Democratic Party and a Communist Party. But the community in which these parties work is quite different from that in which they originated. The Constitutional issues which gave rise to the great political struggle between the Conservative Party under Estrup and the Left Party under Berg and later under I. C. Christenen have now been settled, as the parliamentary system and adult suffrage without privilege are recognized by all the political parties. Not only this, but the economic structure of society has also undergone a radical change in the course of parliamentary rule.

Denmark has never known violent revolutions. Economic and social changes in the structure of society have followed an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary development. Therefore, many of the social and economic measures in force in the country today date from the regime of the farmer governments in the twenties. The Social-Democratic Party, under Mr. Thorvald Stauning's long leadership, successfully tried to improve the conditions of the industrial workers, but it has grown into a people's party, eager to represent the interests of all the working and middle classes.

The House of Parliament.

In Denmark, general elections ordinarily take place every four years and in the normal course of events a Lower House election should not have taken place until the autumn of 1951. Had political developments been as expected, the coming Lower House election would have been on an issue of constitutional amendment, at which electors, in accordance with the constitution, would have been called upon to give their assent to a new constitutional law. For a considerable period a commission has been dealing with the matter and much had been achieved towards reaching agreement on reducing the voting age, which at present is 25 for the Lower and 35 for the Upper House, to 23 or 21 for both houses, on a Constitutional law giving what would amount to single-chamber status, on allowing female descendants to succeed to the throne, and on other reforms. However, when in August 1950 the Social-Democratic Hedtoft government summoned parliament to deal with a number of military-political and financial proposals, and failed to get its proposals accepted, unamended, through parliament, it decided to call for a general election. As a result political development proved to be different from what was expected, for work on constitutional reforms was postponed indefinitely. The election of September 25 did not give definite results.

The distribution of mandates gave the Social-Democrats two more than in the last parliament, the party now having 59 mandates. The Radical Party gained two mandates, now having 12. The Conservative Party gained 10, bringing their present strenght to 27. The Left Party's representation fell from 49 to 32. The Single-Tax or Justice (Henry George) Party increased its strength from 6 to 12 mandates, and the Communists, losing two mandates, have now 7 members in the Lower House.[37])

After the election the party position in the Lower House is such that the present government, under Mr. Erik Eriksen (a farmer of the Left Party) and based on a coalition between the Left and the Conservatives, is obliged to try to get its proposals carried by soliciting support from various sides and must therefore negotiate on each issue with the different parties. In military matters and foreign policy the government is generally supported by the Social-Democrats, but in financial matters and questions relating to commercial policy its position is weak. The paramount problem facing the government and parliament at the present time is to bring about a balance between the nation's consumption and its earnings, but it is also the intention to further the work of reconstruction and to maintain social, cultural and humanitarian standards. And the issue of a constitutional amendment, which was postponed, will probably again come into the foreground of Danish politics in the near future.

The Lot of the Small-holder Today.

The position of the small-holder in the Danish Social Economy is still more important than his share in the political life of the country. The 101,500 small-holdings, with between 0.55 and 10 hectares of land each, occupied in 1946 only about one-sixth of the total agricultural area, but they *accommodated approximately one-half of the total farming population*, 102,000 farmers with between 10 and

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37) Of the members of the Folketing (two of whom represent the Faroe Islands) 105 are elected by constituencies. The 44 supplementary seats are divided among the parties in proportion to their total poll and distributed throughout the whole country. The 57 members of the Landsting are elected by indirect method for eight-year periods; the remaining 19 members are nominated by the outgoing chamber.

Each bill must pass three readings by simple majority in each of the two chambers, before it obtains the King's signature and becomes law. The King presides over the Council of State in which he discusses affairs of government with his Ministers.

The Royal Family.

60 hectares occupied 70 % and 4,500 farms with more than 60 hectares about 15 % of the Danish agricultural land.

When not too small, the small-holdings yield the largest income per hectare, as shown by the figures in the following table, compiled by the Bureau of Farm Management and Agricultural Economics.

Farm Incomes in Kroner per Hectare for Holdings of Various Types and in a Period with Highly Differing Conjunctions 1916—17 to 1940—41.

	Net Profit	Rentability in percentages		Net Production	Profit per 100 kroner wages
		commercial value	assessed value		
under 10 ha	141	3.2	4.6	742	82.1
10—20 ha	134	4.1	5.6	556	89.8
20—30 ha	132	4.3	5.6	528	92.7
30—50 ha	121	4.3	5.5	480	92.3
50—100 ha	110	4.3	5.4	434	91.3
over 100 ha	100	4.2	5.1	418	92.8

The small-holdings have the largest net production and the largest net profit. The net production indicates the production of home grown products, as purchased feeding stuffs, etc., are deducted. That interest on invested capital is lowest on the small-holdings is due to the fact that in their case the expenses for stables and living quarters are relatively high.

The figures in the last column indicate what remains of the income —after the *normal* interest of the commercial value has been deducted—to pay for work done on the farm towards each 100 kroner wages calculated on a basis of the *normal* wages to workers. Here again the chief reason for the low figures for the small holdings is the relatively high cost of buildings.

The gross income per ha of the small-holdings originates chiefly from the sale of animal products.[38]) The accounts for 1949

[38]) On small farms the family labor force is proportionately larger than on large farms. Hence the small-holders grow crops needing intensive labor and giving high yields. Normally these have been the root crops — rather than the cereals. By devoting a comparatively large area to root crops the small farmers can provide *winter* feed for a dairy herd larger, in proportion to land, than that of any other size farm. The small-holders thus contribute greatly to Denmark's uniformly stable supply of butter without seasonal variation.

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It is admittedly doubtful whether the figures for these years can be made the basis for an estimate for the future. Any serious unbalance of world trade which would menace the market for Danish finished products might

A Small-holder with his Cows.

—50 showed for small-holdings a total gross income of 2,600 kroner per ha of which only 6.7 % originated from the sale of plant products and 90.5 % from animal products. Farms of from 50 to 100 ha had a total gross income of 1,567 kroner per hectare, 27 % of which originated from the sale of plant products, mainly grain, seed and sugar beet, and 71.2 % from the sale of animal products. Farms of more than 100 hectares had an average gross income of 1,548 kroner per ha of which 47.9 % originated from the sale of plant products.

Apart from all economic considerations there are moral factors—the healthiness of outdoor life, the possibility of a unified family life with children following the vocation of their parents under parental guidance, and the close contact with domestic animals, all of which make desirable from a national point of view the further encouragement of small-holdings.

In the autumn of 1951 the Danish magazine "Husmandshjemmet" (The Small-holder's Home) invited answers to the question: Why

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be fatal to an agricultural community consisting solely of small-holders specializing in animal production. But the fact remains that a more intensive employment of labor and capital on the Danish soil would make possible a large increase in the rural population and somewhat help to relieve the towns from the scourge of unemployment.

A Budding Farmer.

do you want to be a small-holder's wife? Quotations from the answers published in the same journal lead the reader to suppose that, although the daily lot of the average small-holder's wife may well be arduous, she enjoys ample compensations, and would not exchange her mode of living for that of town wives. Contentment and happiness coupled with good domestic life—the dream of most people—are what these small-holder families actually experience.

A constant and vital source of inspiration for their work is found in their being in close contact with nature, in their young children, and in their livestock. Practically all the answers speak in praise of nature, plants and animals, all of which to the small-holders are a wonderful source of well-being. Typical of the quotations are the following:

"I am delighted in the confidence shown by the animals; there is the cow that raises its head to be petted, the sow, lying in travail, that loves to be spoken to and scratched behind the ear, the horse that neighs when it wants a piece of bread — — —" "A beautiful summer morning when everything is clean and fresh—such a morning calls forth in us all that is pure and good. We feel an urge to emulate the singing of the lark when its flood of melody greets us from the sky above us. Or a late-summer day, when woods and forests begin to take on autumn tints, and the birds gather for their long migrations. No other work is comparable with ours: The intimate contact with nature as one leads one's own cows to pasture in the early morn-

ing, through grass glittering with dew drops and past trees and bushes where spiders have been weaving their delicate gossamer patterns — — — and then there is the quiet evening in the fields under a harvest moon. — — — I believe I know every inch of the fields and every little shrub and bush in the hedge. — — — We greet all our animals as friends, and they know us; most of them were born on our holding, and they seem like members of our family and indispensable."

Then there is joy in the fellowship between parents and children. In town life husbands, wives and children share leisure hours. On small-holdings the hours of work are shared. The wife is aware of her usefulness and this gives her a sense of security and pride in her position.

"The best thing in my life," says one wife "lies in the circumstance that my work-mate is the man to whom I gave my hand and my heart. — — — Our family, our holding and our livestock make up a little world. We have all so much in common, and by reason of this fellowship it is a delightful and blessed experience to be a small-holder's wife." — — — "The home, the work and the rearing of children are inseparable; father and mother influence the children equally. — — — Divorce is very rare in our class, because, I think, we share everything. It is a joy to be at my husband's side all day long and with him witness the growth going on around us — —. A small-holder's wife, taking part as she does in the work that earns the family's income, naturally has her say in how it is to be spent — — — all this makes our married life harmonious and happy." — — — "It is delightful to see healthy children growing up in the country, where they have ample room to develop their bodies and can experience daily the small miracles of life happening in nature, in stables, and in the fields. — — It is a great advantage to have the youngsters at hand. They need not be sent to kindergartens and such places." — — — "To live in God's free nature, with husband and children, is one of the greatest experiences on earth. To see ruddy, round-cheeked children growing up around us, sharing the work with father and mother, makes me feel that I would not exchange my modest home for the finest villa in the city."

Other quotations show a sense of gratitude to God and a responsiveness to religious feeling which appears to be more common among small-holders and farmers than it is in other sections of the Danish population.

The quotations all bear witness to the joy of a simple and active life on the soil. If the questions in the enquiry had taken another form many answers would probably have stressed the arduous work that allows but little leisure, but they would not conceal the fact that the work on the small farms has made people able to retain an appreciation of genuine values and has given them a feeling of confidence and contentment.

The small-holders' life was praised by poets like Johan Skjoldborg and Jeppe Aakjær, a Danish Robert Burns, whose songs became

favorites to the students of the folk high schools and helped to break down social barriers between the sons and daughters of small and big farmers. (See pages 57 and 208).

The Song of the Small-Holder.

When winter has vanished from furrow and lea,
and the green young rye's crumpled blade
stands straight in the sun by the shimmering sea,
then seize I at last, and scarce know it for glee,
my shovel, my hoe, and my spade.

The long rusted edge to the grindstone I hold,
and hammer and straighten the blade,
then quick I leap forth from my cottage threshold,
to break up the clods and to delve in the mould,
with my shovel, my hoe, and my spade.

I listen once more to the lark's merry song,
all the choir of the spring fills the glade;
I ken from last summer the whole merry throng;
I dig and I delve to their tune all day long,
with my shovel, my hoe, and my spade.

When the sun turning westward on glittering wheel,
casts wide o'er the moorland a shade,
I straighten my back, and life's purpose I feel,
as the blue light glows bright on the earth-burnished steel,
of my shovel, my hoe, and my spade.

Johan Skjoldborg (1861—1936),
translated by A. Ashton.

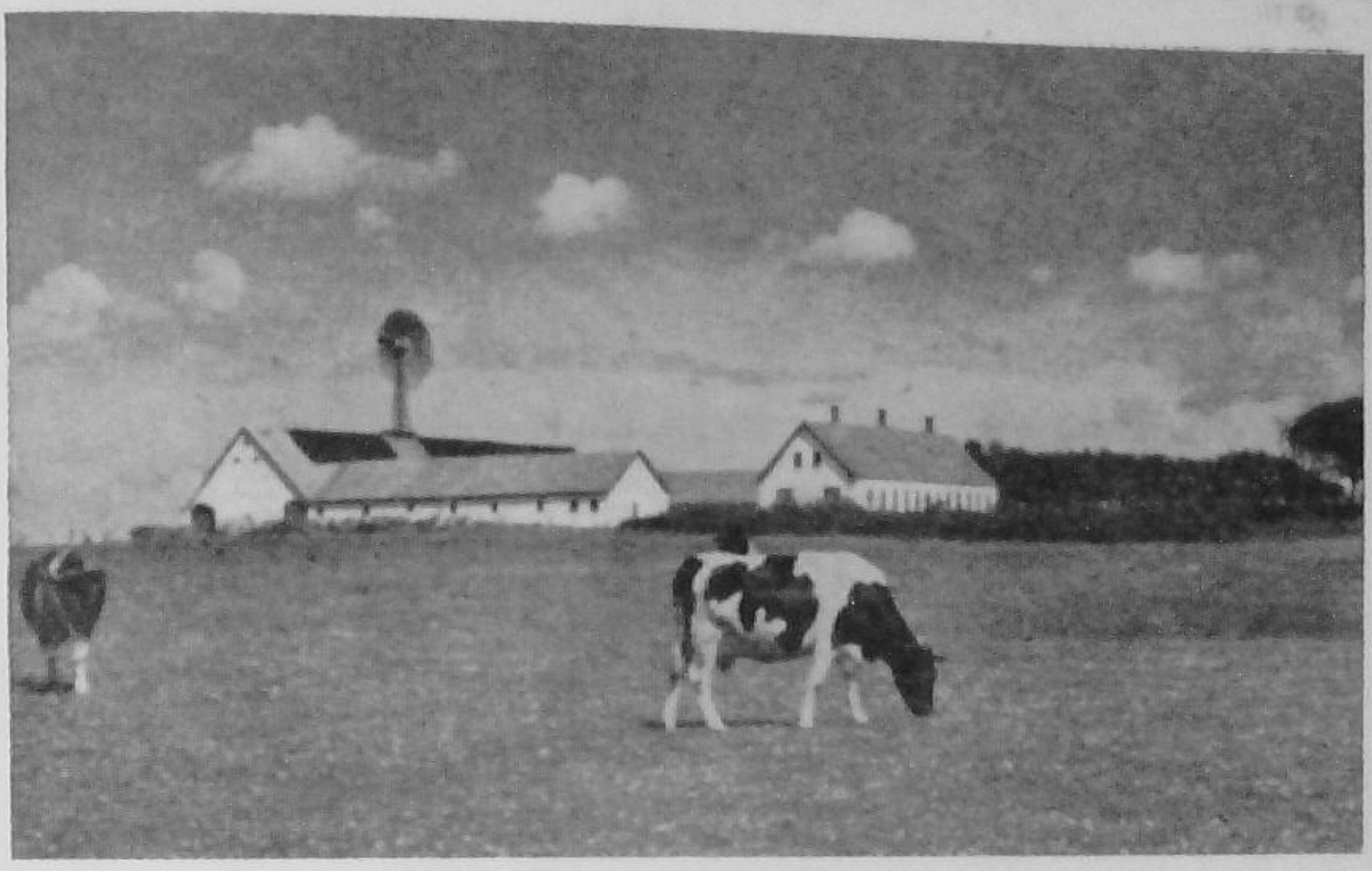
From a publication of The Small-holder's Folk High School in Funen, whose late principal, Jacob Lange, was well known to many American and British educationalists and agriculturists.

A Farm of 40—50 Acres.

The agricultural laborer, too, may experience a close contact with nature and domestic animals, his children can hide in the green grass and play with pebbles on banks and shores. There is, however, a great difference between the life in freedom, full of planning, risks and hopes which the independent farmer is living, and the life—on daily orders — lived by the agricultural laborer. And those farmers who migrate to the towns do not realize how much they lose. The values of the old nature-grown peasant traditions will never come back. However homeless the first generation may feel in the new environment, the second generation becomes as a rule completely urbanized. It is true that the colony garden belts around the cities represent a special form of flight from urban life, a longing for a forgotten rural and simple existence. But very few of the town-people, artisans and employees with regular wages large enough to provide the little luxury of "going down to the country" in this way, will settle down in the countryside proper, and if they do, they seldom prosper there. It seems as if people must be born into the life and work on a farm in order to thrive.

Even opponents of parcelling out of Danish land into small-holdings cannot deny that it has helped to preserve many of the best elements of the peasantry for agriculture. It probably will not be able to stop the migration from country to town. Sons and daughters of farmers and agricultural laborers will continue to go by thousands to the town with a fund of fresh powers and capacity to work.[39]) But if the old Danish aim of increasing the productivity of

[39]) Sadly enough it appears that a relatively large number of those migrat-



A Farm of 80—100 Acres.

each *land* unit is to be maintained, and if our ideals of a healthy home- and out-of-door life for as many as possible are to live on, the number of small holdings in Denmark should be increased.

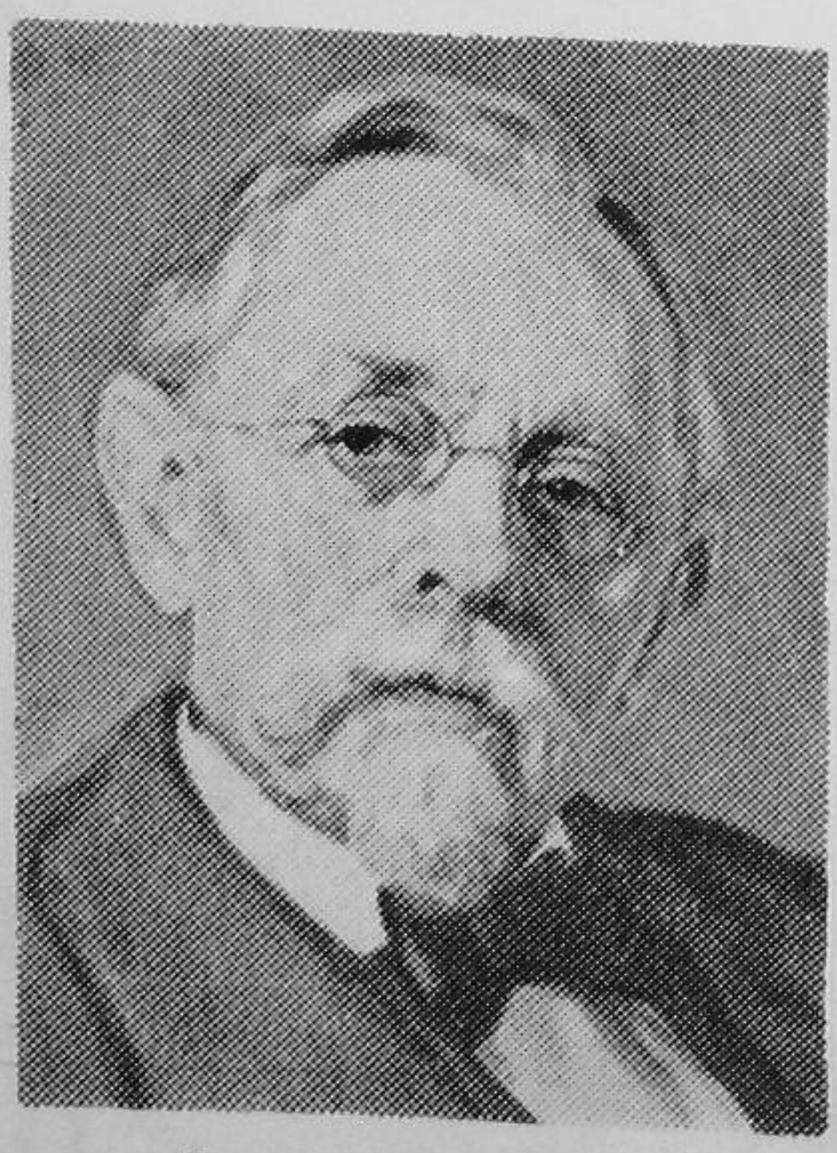
This increase, however desirable, must be gradual. Small-holdings, in order to be fully efficient, demand a disproportionately large amount of capital, which the State cannot undertake to supply all at once. There are advantages, too, in having some large holdings which can experiment with new agricultural methods and which more easily can switch over to new forms of production than the specializing small-holdings are able to do.

As shown in the following chapter, it was the demand of the English market for bacon and butter which determined the pattern of Danish agricultural economy and gave the cattle- and pigraising Danish small-holders and owners of medium-sized farms special opportunities. — — —

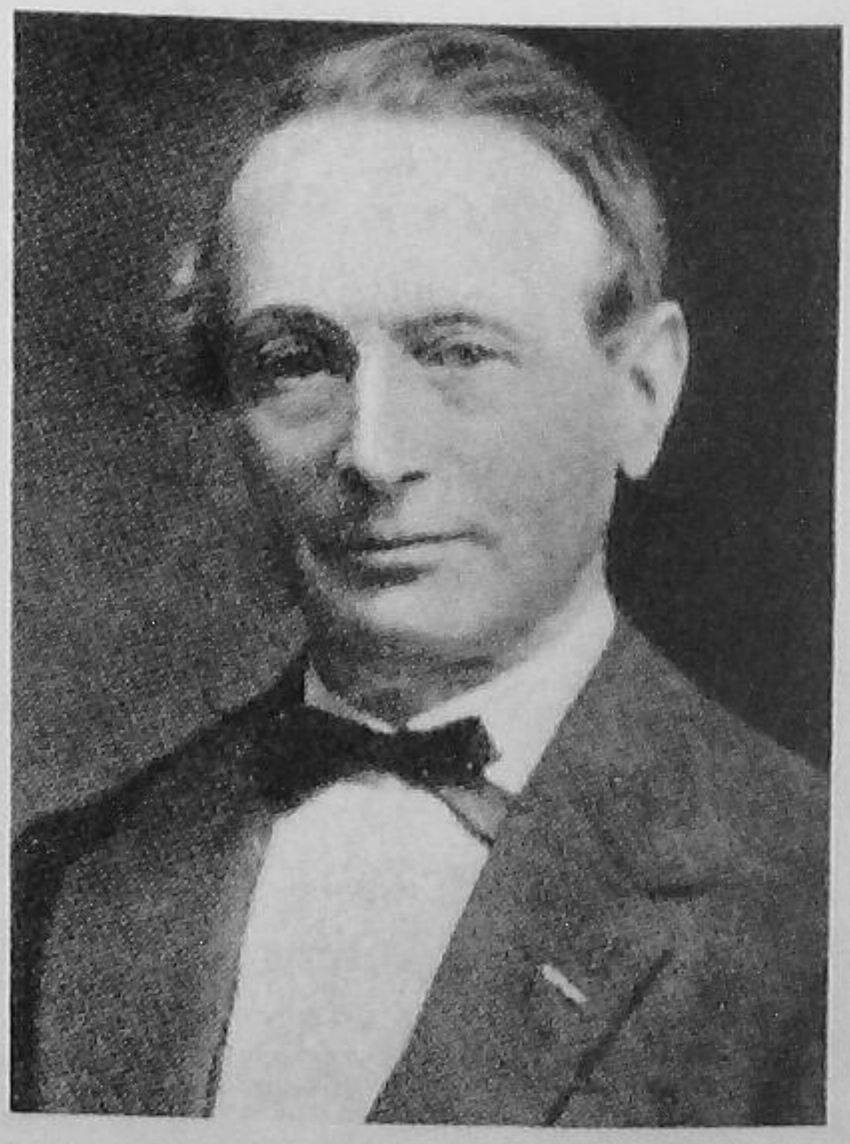
The cooperative movement was their lever. It is a peculiarity of Danish production that it combines the most extreme decentralization in small local cooperatives, whose members represent six or eight cows on an average, with absolute centralization in the marketing state. Sales organizations, private and cooperative, handle vast exports of butter and cheese. Statistics from before the Second World War show that Denmark had become the leading country in butter export, supplying 28 % of the total world butter trade. It also exported more bacon than any other country did.

ing from the country to the capital cannot adapt themselves to city conditions. They lose foothold and often become total failures.

A General Meeting of a Cooperative Society in the 19th Century, by Agersnap.



Severin Jørgensen.



Dean Sonne.

Part II.

FARMERS' COOPERATION

From Grain to Livestock Farming in Less than Two Decades.

The repeal of the Corn Laws in England in 1846 opened a new foreign market for Danish agricultural products. The growing industrialism in England drove many laborers from the farms to the cities and increased the demand for agricultural produce at the very time when the English supply was decreasing. Then the discovery of gold, first in California and later in Australia, brought about an abnormal rise in world prices. All these factors favored Danish agriculture. Denmark exported large quantities of grain to England as well as a fair amount of cattle to Germany. The resulting increase in the income of Danish farmers gave them and their country a financial independence hitherto unknown,[1]) which was reflected in the establishment of many local savings banks.

Moreover, it gave them opportunity for reading, attending folk high schools and for activities in agricultural societies, in which the influence of the ordinary farmer from this time was dominant. In 1849 the Free Constitution provided for universal manhood suffrage, and led to new agricultural laws[2]) which destroyed the last vestiges of feudalism and promoted a voluntary change from tenancy to free-holding.

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[1]) In the period from 1830 or 1840 to about 1880 agriculture accumulated more capital than it consumed, so that, mainly on account of the accumulation, Denmark became for the first and only time—apart from a short period during the first World War—a creditor country lending money to Germany, Sweden and some other countries, and having a favorable international capital balance. From about 1880, the agriculture, however, again had to cover its capital requirements from other sources, both inland and foreign, in order to be able to undertake the change from grain-growing and to undertake a large-scale, far-reaching extension and rationalization of the industry. The Danish capital balance in 1949 showed an aggregate foreign debt of about 2,400 million kroner.

[2]) The above mentioned D. G. Monrad (see page 36) was a chief author of these laws. He was, in one period, Minister of the Interior. In other periods he was Minister of Church and Education, and in 1864 he was Prime Minister. When he died in 1887, he was the bishop of Lolland Falster.

The high prices of grain had first tempted the farmers to a one-sided cultivation which resulted in a wasteful exploitation of the soil. It soon became apparent that such short-sighted methods would defeat their purpose, and with the growing enlightenment of the farmers more scientific soil methods were introduced: chemical fertilizing superseded the marling and other forms of physical stimulation of the soil. Since cattle were one source of supply for manure, there was an increase in livestock on the farms, but the chief factor which caused the Danish farmers to switch from the production of grain for export to that of butter and bacon was the competition of the United States, Argentina and Siberia in the European markets in the seventies.

The Danish small-scale farmers were forced to the wall, for they could not compete with the efficiency of the first phase of large-scale production of grain. Improvement in transportation and reduction of freight rates further aggravated the situation. The fall in prices is indicated by the following index numbers:

	Vegetable foods	Animal foods
1866—77	100	100
1878—87	79	95
1888—97	62	81

Obviously some action had to be taken to save the Danish farmers from ruin. Most other countries introduced tariffs, but the Danish farmers sought another solution, which in the long run proved to be better not only for the consumers in the large cities but also for the farmers themselves.

As the decline in prices was considerably greater on grains than on animal products there was an incentive to change from grain production to dairy farming; and so pluckily and resolutely did the Danish farmers effect the change that it was accomplished by the end of the eighties. They used their crops, and indeed increased them, for the feeding of the growing number of domestic animals. These, so to speak, became factories turning raw materials into refined articles, butter and bacon, and these in turn commanded higher prices than the raw materials.

The extent of the change may be seen in the following figures:

	Milk cows	Pigs
1871	808,000	442,000
1893	1,011,000	829,000

And not only did the number of cows increase, but the average yield of butter per cow increased from 110 pounds in 1880 to 200 pounds at the end of the century.

Shipping,[3]) commerce and industry from 1880 made good progress parallel with the agricultural production. Thus it became possible to absorb the whole growth of the population in the urban trades and to let the agricultural population have their share of the improved standard of living by the strongly increasing productivity per person.

It was fortunate for Denmark that when most European countries tried to stem the fall of prices by high import duties on agricultural products, the English market remained open. With the growth of the industrial population the English farmers found it more profitable to sell whole milk directly to the towns than to make butter; and the Danish farmers found a market for their increased output.

Thus, external as well as domestic factors helped the development of Danish agriculture to a hitherto unknown degree.

Of the internal factors the most important was the spirit of self-help in the farmers, expressed through their cooperative production societies. These made it possible to combine the advantages of small-scale intensive farming with those of large-scale machinery, and they relieved the farmer of business responsibilities, permitting him to give full attention to the production of crops and animals. *The typical features of modern agriculture in Denmark, i. e., the importation and production of raw material for feed, and the exportation of finished products in the form of butter, bacon, and eggs, were closely linked with the cooperative movement.*

The Cooperative Dairy Societies.

The branch of animal husbandry which was first developed in Denmark was butter and cheese making. In 1880, L. C. Nielsen, a Danish engineer, invented the mechanical cream separator capable of continuous operation.*) This invention opened the way to dairying on a large scale, and, as we shall see, facilitated the application of cooperative methods. Before the invention of the centrifuge it was only the large estates in Denmark that were able to produce butter in quantities and of a quality to meet the demands of the English

3) The East-Asiatic Company, The United Steamship Company, A. P. Moller and J. Lauritzen are leading Danish shippingfirms.

*) In Denmark called the Centrifuge.

The First Cooperative Dairy at Hjedding.

N. J. Fjord
was a Village Schoolmaster
before he became a Professor.

market. Now the opportunity came to the medium-sized farmers and the small-holders. In the seventies the influence of the Royal Agricultural College[4]) had begun to make itself felt, and through the tireless efforts of two of its professors, N. J. Fjord[5]) and Th. R. Segelcke, a new interest in scientific dairying and feeding was far-reaching. For a hundred years the Royal Agricultural Society[6]) had urged the improvement of livestock, and local agricultural societies now carried the message to the farmers.

As early as 1866 Dean Hans Christian Sonne[7]) had adapted the principles of the Rochdale pioneers to the first Danish cooperative store, in the little town of Thisted in Jutland. This society was intended to serve the needs of town workers; but when the movement began to spread, it was among the farmers that consumers' cooperatives took firm root. Farm journals had carried articles on semi-cooperative dairies in America, Switzerland and elsewhere, and several attempts had been made to establish dairies more or less on cooperative lines, but it was in 1882 that the first real cooperative dairy was organized. Since then, it has become a model for other societies not only in Denmark but in the world at large. The story of its founding is interesting.

One day in the winter of 1881—82 a young travelling dairyman put up at a small inn with the apt name of "The Beergood Inn" on the west coast of Jutland. His conversations with the farmers led him to send out invitations to the neighboring farmers in the village of Hjedding, asking them to meet and discuss the problem of more efficient dairying. A number of the farmers responding, the young man outlined an idea he had about the making and marketing of butter. His plan was to engage an expert to teach farmers the best way of churning, and to establish a central sales-room to which the butter was to be taken for sale after being churned in the homes.

The farmers expressed an interest in the idea, but for some reason did not adopt it. They arranged another meeting to discuss the idea of a common market. It was probably through the initiative of a

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4) Founded in Copenhagen in 1858 (see pages 67 and 184).

5) Fjord (1825—91) was a primary schoolteacher before he became a professor. The results of his work as leader of the experiments carried out by the Royal Agricultural College have been translated into several foreign languages and have become of international significance.

6) Founded 1769, see page 40.

7) See page 73.

young dairyman, Stilling Andersen,[8]) that the group decided that instead of making butter and marketing it jointly, they would build a creamery and send their raw milk to it. The invention of the cream separator just at this point indicated to them the possibilities of such a cooperative enterprise. The farmers realized that it would be good economy, and good dairying too, to collect the milk from different herds and have it worked at some central place. Some of the farmers who owned fine herds had to be persuaded that the gain would be worth the risk they would take in mixing the milk. Those who were willing to join at first represented only 300 cows, but Stilling Andersen, in order to achieve the necessary minimum, promised to buy the milk of a hundred additional cows, and to enter the undertaking as a cooperator as well as the manager at a modest salary. Thereupon the plan was adopted. A committee of five members was elected and one of them, Niels Kristensen, was entrusted with the task of drafting the rules of the cooperative. With Stilling Andersen and another farmer, N. H. Uhd, he set to work the night of the meeting, and by five o'clock the next morning they had drawn up the contract and rules of the new society. All the members were to own the dairy in common. They were to obtain the capital to erect the building and buy the equipment through a loan based on the security of the real property of the members, who were jointly responsible. Any surplus was to be divided according to the amount of milk delivered; the democratic principle was maintained in the rule that each member was to have only one vote at the general meeting regardless of the number of cows he owned.

As soon as the experiment at Hjedding showed itself to be successful, other communities began to build cooperative dairies in the neighborhood and in other parts of Denmark. The farmers soon realized the advantages of the cooperative dairies over the existing "Fællesmejerier".[9]) The cooperative dairy returned the skim milk to the members at a nominal price, whereas the private dairy usually fed it to its own pigs. The private dairy also had to meet the problem of "thin milk" (diluted with water), a practice undreamed of in the cooperative, the success of which depended on the honesty of the individual members. When the villagers "saw that the bailiff, the

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[8]) Stilling Andersen was the son of a farmer and had been a student at Tune Agricultural School, where he had seen how the small-holders, to their advantage, delivered milk to the dairy of the school.

[9]) Privately owned dairies that bought milk from a group of farmers.

schoolmaster and other respected members of the community joined", it was not long before the milk waggon was stopping at every farm and small-holding of the village. It became the rule that a farmer should deliver all his milk, except the quantity needed for use in the home, to the cooperative dairy, a rule that worked to the disadvantage of the farm laborer and the poor neighbor. After the introduction of the Gerber apparatus, payment was generally made on the basis of the fat content of the milk as well as of its weight.[10])

The cooperative movement made rapid strides, especially in the years 1887—1888, when no less than 300 cooperative dairies were founded. In the beginning these received no support and only lukewarm interest from the large farmers and estate owners, and neither the State nor any other public agency took notice of them. It was from the peasant class that the movement recruited both leaders and followers.

Foremost among the peasants was Niels Pedersen, son of a small Jutland farmer. He had passed through the usual training of practical work on the farm, and like many other bright boys of his generation, he attended winter courses at a folk high school and an agricultural school. In addition he took a full eighteen months' course at the Royal Agricultural College,[11]) and having thus equipped himself with the best knowledge that the schools of his time offered to young farmers, he bought a farm of forty acres near Askov Folk High School and there opened an agricultural school, Ladelund. From the beginning he foresaw the success of the Hjedding experiment. "A wave has risen from the sea in the west; nothing can stem it until it sweeps over the whole country", he said. So many farmers' groups came to him for advice about organizing and equipping cooperative dairies that it is said that the watchdog of Ladelund never ceased barking.

Niels Pedersen saw the need for education among dairymen; and

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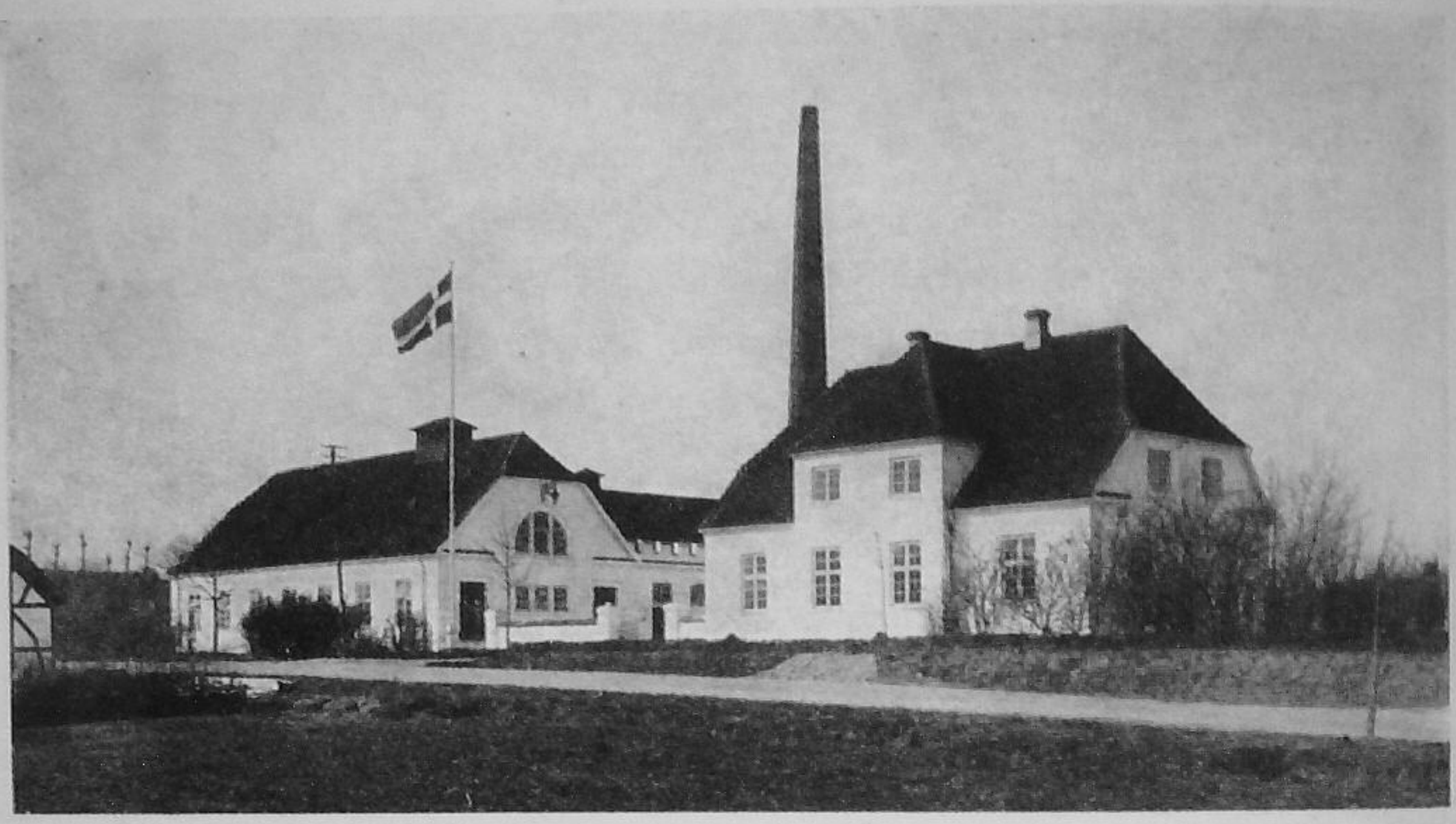
10) The members are paid every second or fourth week, after the deduction of an amount to cover working expenses. At the end of the year the surplus is distributed according to rules that differ from one dairy to another. The actual operation is wholly in the hands of the manager, chosen by the committee of eight or ten non-salaried members. For his services the manager gets an annual sum plus light and fuel. skimmed milk, free house rent and a share of the milk handled. His assistants receive wages from the association according to fixed rules. The committee, through its chairman, makes all decisions of an economic nature.

11) In 1920 the term was lengthened to thirty-two months. The average yearly attendance in recent years has been about 200.



A Modern Cooperative Dairy.

he trained many of the men who later became leading dairy managers. They received high ethical inspiration from him as well as practical instruction. His students said of him that "he gave us a scope for our life".

Two years later, Jørgen Petersen (1854—1908), principal of the large Dalum Agricultural School, followed Niels Pedersen's example and established special courses for dairymen.

The first task of the cooperative dairies was to produce butter of such quality as would compare favorably with the butter made on the large estates. As late as 1890 the estates' dairies were winning all the prizes for butter at the agricultural shows, but by the end of the century the situation was quite the reverse.

By 1900 the number of cooperative dairies was two-thirds of today's total. Of the 1,566 dairies in Denmark in 1949, 1,321 were cooperatives, which received 90 % of the total milk supplied to dairies. There is a relatively even distribution over the country, a fact that accounts for the reduction in the cost of transportation of milk from the farm to the dairy and back again. The increasing use of the motor truck has, however, somehow eliminated the need for so many dairies; and further consolidation could reduce operating expenses, — coal, for instance.

The total milk production for 1950 was 5,403 million kilograms, of which some 70 % was used for butter, 8 % for cheese, 2 % for condensing, 8 % for home use, and 11 % sold for consumption. 90 % of the butter was produced by cooperative dairies and 180,000, i. e.

almost 90 % of all Danish farmers were members of cooperative dairies.[12])

Milk Recording Societies.

The cooperative principle was also applied in Milk Recording Societies. It was only natural that the members of the cooperative dairies, where milk from many farms was mixed together, should be interested in the fat content of the milk. In 1894, Mrs. Anine Hansen, wife of the leader of the experiment station at Vejen near Askov Folk High School, suggested that a group of farmers should appoint a man to test and record the yield and cost of feeding each cow. The next years, Niels Pedersen (see page 67) and thirteen farmers of the neighborhood organized the "Vejen and District Control Society", the first of its kind in the world, and appointed a "Control Assistant", or Milk Recorder.

The report of a teacher from Ladelund Agricultural School in 1896 created something of a sensation when it revealed that it cost 585 øre to produce one kilogram of butter from the poorest cow, while it cost only 112 øre to produce the same quantity from the best cow. This report hastened the movement that had already begun for the elimination of inefficient cows and the improvement of breeds. The number of Milk Recording Societies grew until now there are 1,641, with more than half of the cows in the country under control.

One reason for the rapid growth was that the farmers who, by the turn of the century had control of Parliament, began to legislate in the interest of agriculture. The Act of 1902 concerning domestic animals provided for an annual grant to any Milk Recording Society which followed the general rules of management.

The members are jointly and severally responsible for the liabilities of the Society, which is managed by a committee of from three to five members. This committee in turn is under the joint management of a district committee. A central committee coordinates the work and the results of all the societies.

The recorders, who work for a modest salary generally receive their training at the larger agricultural schools, which, after their regular five or six months' winter course, offer a two months' course in milk control.

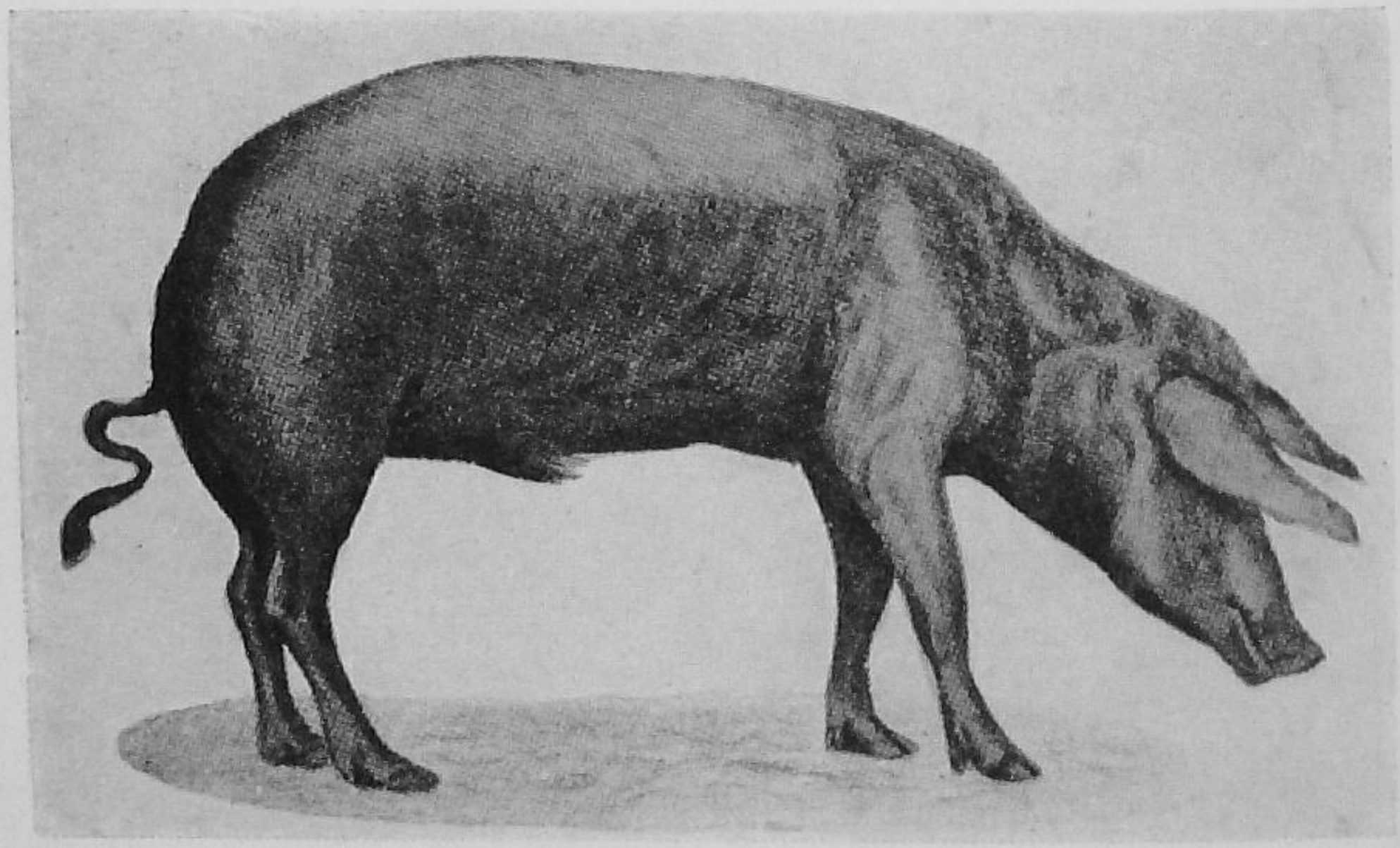
Besides improving breeds, the Milk Recording Societies have

[12]) For a description of an average cooperative dairy see page 229.

furnished the statistical basis for scientific feeding. The late Professor Lars Frederiksen, for about ten years leader of the Government experiments on the feeding of cattle, so systematized feeding that a very large number of Danish farmers now feed their cattle according to his formulae.[13])

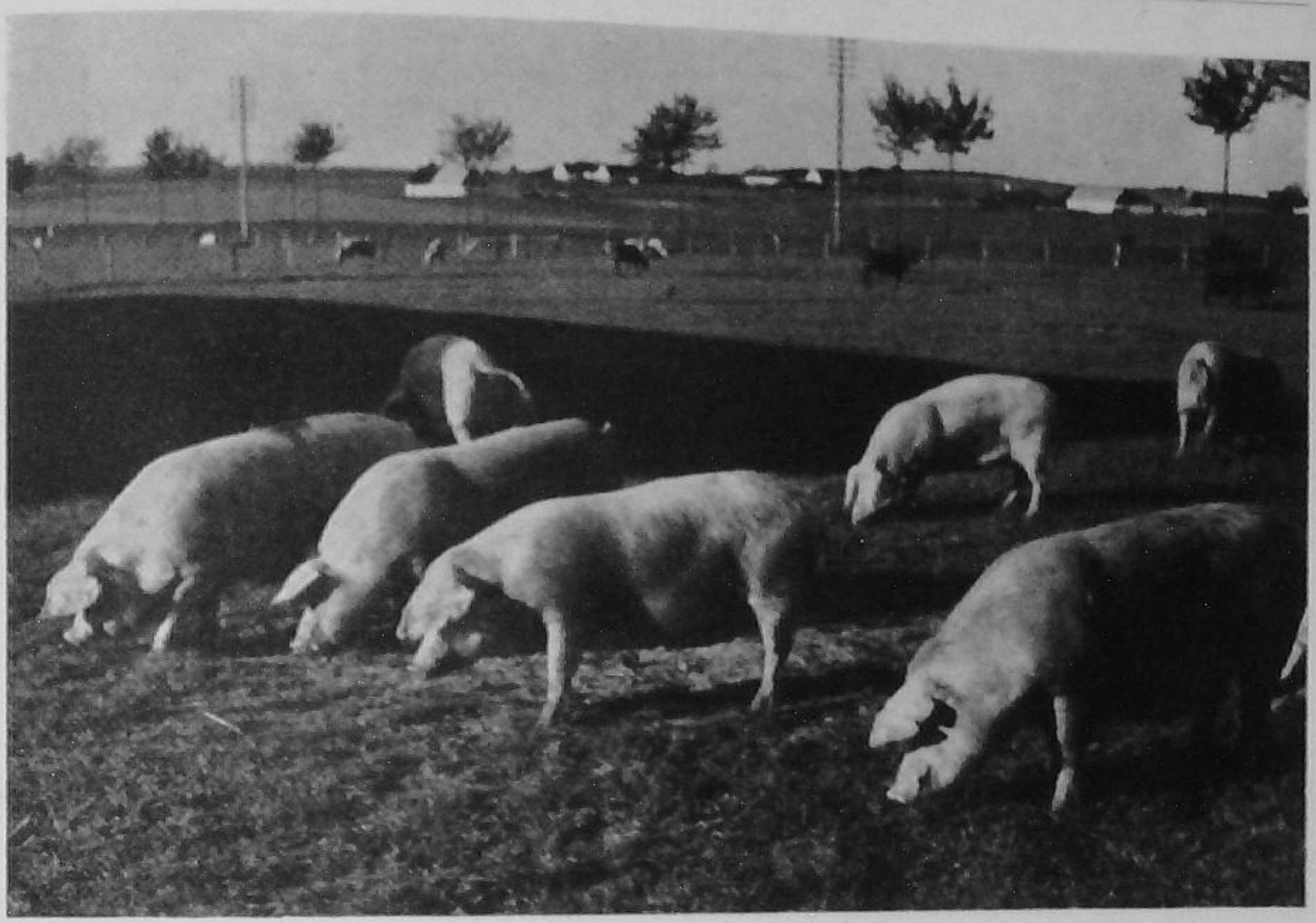
The Cooperative Bacon Factories.

For many years cooperative dairies occupied the first place in Danish export business, but very close to them are the cooperative bacon factories; in certain years bacon export has become of greater importance to the Danish farmer than butter export. The two branches have developed side by side, as the feeding of pigs depends on the by-products of the dairies. In 1950 the total turnover of the cooperative dairies was 1,735 million kroner, and of the cooperative bacon factories (which handled about 89 per cent of the total number of pigs supplied for killing) 1,390 million kroner.



Old Danish Razor-back, 18th century.

[13]) From the Society at Vejen, the Milk Recording Societies spread to Sweden, where »Hvilans Control Society« was formed in 1898 near one of the first established folk high schools; in the same year a similar society was formed in Norway. Through the Danish farmers in North Slesvig the movement filtered down into Germany. In the United States a society, probably the first, was established in Michigan by a Swedish milk recorder. Almost every country in which dairy farming is of importance has followed the Danish example. There is international cooperation between the associations: thus, all Scandinavian Milk Societies are agreed on the use of one kilogram of barley as the equivalent of one food unit.



Danish Land-Breed.

In the early nineteenth century the breeding of pigs was far removed from the modern science of animal husbandry. Half-wild and ill-fed animals roamed loose in the woods and groves fending for themselves on whatever scanty food they could find. The increased enlightenment and efficiency of the farmers began to reflect themselves also in better pig raising, and when the cooperative dairies began, there was already a fairly substantial bacon export to England.[14])

The marketing of bacon, however, was largely in the hands of private dealers, who bought pigs from farmers and sold them to slaughterhouses. When P. Bojsen, principal of a training college and a folk high school in Jutland, discovered that the farmers in his neighborhood paid a middleman's profit of about 30,000 kroner a year to dealers, he began in 1887 to agitate for the establishment of a cooperative slaughterhouse in the town of Horsens. In his opinion there would be three advantages in such an establishment: 1) the dealers' charges would be saved; 2) the question of by-products, an irksome one for the private abattoirs, would be greatly reduced, as the cooperators became interested in their utilization; and 3) the private shareholders' profits would be eliminated.

Opposition on the part of the town authorities, which was characteristic of the feeling of the urban population towards cooperative

[14]) Germany had then levied a duty on Danish pigs.

efforts, was at last overcome, and on the 22nd of December 1887, the first killing was done in the first cooperative bacon factory. Then the real struggle began. A large Hamburg firm which owned several bacon factories in Denmark resolved to kill the new enterprise at its birth, or at least to give it such a blow that farmers in other parts of the country would be afraid to follow its example. It suddenly raised the price of pigs to prevent the cooperative factory from buying. But the members of the Horsens society saw through the trick and pledged themselves to sell their pigs to the cooperative factory only. Though for many years the society had economic difficulties and enemies everywhere among the private dealers and butchers, Mr. Bojsen continued his propaganda, and in the year 1888 four new cooperative slaughterhouses were opened.

For several reasons the cooperative bacon factories had a more difficult beginning than the cooperative dairies. The bacon factories had to oppose an already existing and fairly strongly organized private industry. Moreover it was difficult for the new slaughterhouses to hire technically skilled men because they were already engaged in private business. There was even at the annual general meeting in 1890 some agitation for the sale of the Horsens factory; but the storm blew over, only to be followed shortly by a greater danger, an attempt to amalgamate Horsens and other cooperative bacon factories with the private slaughterhouses. Although such amalgamation would undoubtedly have lessened competition and brought about many advantages for the factories, it was fortunate that the attempt was defeated. The keener the competition of the private curers, the more the need of keeping the cooperative factories as nearly perfect as possible.

The principles underlying the organization of a modern cooperative bacon factory are the same as those of the dairies, with a few essential differences. First, a bacon factory has 30 or 40 times as many members as a dairy and needs much more capital. Not only is the initial investment larger, but capital is necessary to finance the larger stores. Butter can be sent from the dairy the day after the milk comes in, but the bacon factory needs a longer time to deliver the finished product.

These facts influence the organization of a slaughterhouse. The capital is obtained by a loan—as in the case of the dairies—but the members do not as a rule guarantee this loan with all that they possess. There is limited liability, and the members within a smaller

district (all known to each other) guarantee either a fixed sum or an amount proportionate to the number of pigs delivered from the district.

The cooperative bacon factory is as a rule situated in a town easily accessible to the farmers of a certain district. The members pledge themselves to deliver for a specified period (from 5 to 20 years).

During the war the number of pigs in Denmark decreased, but rose again, from 1½ millions in 1948 to 3½ millions in 1951. At present, the pigs are delivered to the bacon factories at a live weight of about 95 kg. The weight of the slaughtered animal for export is then approximately 70 kg, which gives 60 kg of bacon. To make the pig testing work more exact, and the results a better help to the breeders by the selection of boars and sows, the cooperative bacon factories have built three large testing stations with individual feeding.

The Consumers' Societies and the Cooperative Wholesale.

As already mentioned (page 65), the Rev. Hans Christian Sonne established the first Consumer Cooperative Society in 1866. He thus became the father of the Danish cooperative movement. Dr. F. F. Ulrich, a medical man, had called Sonne's attention to the activities of the English Rochdale pioneers, and it was their principles he adopted in the town of Thisted's Workers' Society, which began its cooperative activities by the joint purchase and distribution of bread and groceries for its members.

Along with his idealism and strict honesty, Sonne possessed a practical business sense. The movement he initiated was to survive ridicule and severe attacks in its early existence. About 1875 there were in all about 130 cooperative shops, the greater part in towns. After 1880, however, there followed an almost explosive expansion of the cooperative stores in the rural districts, while the towns, for a period, appeared to lose interest. (See pages 65 and 159).

The great agricultural crisis in the eighties and nineties compelled the farmers to look for means to save expenses. During the same period the farmers carried through not only their political emancipation in the struggle with the government, but also their cultural and economic emancipation from both the National Liberals — through their folk high schools — and the large merchants in the towns — through their cooperatives.

There were in 1950 almost two thousand consumers' societies, and more than 1,900 of these were members of the Cooperative Wholesale. This had a turnover of 475.7 million kroner. The societies had a total membership of 420,500 persons. For the organization of a present-day cooperative store in the country see page 225. Measured by international standards the average membership and annual turnover of the Danish cooperatives are small. They have only to a minor extent adopted the system of district federation. As in other branches of the cooperative movement, the self-determination and self-government of the individual societies are maintained.

The first successful attempt toward an organization of the cooperative stores for the purpose of joint purchases was made by the Zealanders in 1884, but it was the Jutlanders, under the leadership of Severin Jørgensen, manager of the Vester Nebel cooperative store, who carried the victory when, in 1896, the Cooperative Wholesale of the Danish Consumers' Stores was founded through an amalgamation of the Zealand and the Jutland wholesale houses. Though its headquarters was situated in Copenhagen, Mr. Severin Jørgensen became the director. In this as in other important spheres this modest and unassuming store manager became the strong pioneer of the Danish cooperative movement.

As in the local societies the General Assembly is the highest authority. Each society sends a delegate with one vote, except the Copenhagen Society and the Aarhus Society, which have been formed by the amalgamation of independent societies and therefore have several delegates.[15])

Since the General Assembly, with its some two thousand voting delegates, is an unwieldy body meeting only once a year, a Board of

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[15]) The large Copenhagen society H. B. (The Capital's Consumers' Society), which sends sixteen delegates to the FDB conference and now has 55,000 members, started in a railway carriage. Many other workers' consumers' societies began under similar primitive conditions. In 1948 the turnover of the urban retail societies was 82.6 million kroner. In recent years there have been successful experiments with customers' self-service. The urban movement would probably have developed more rapidly if it had not been hampered by the existing legislation that does not allow more than one shop in each local authority area if it sells to non-members. The relationship between the FDB and the urban societies has been closer in recent years and there never was the disposition on their part to found their own wholesale society, as has been the case in other countries. It is true that some fifty urban consumers' societies are organized in the Urban Cooperative Union which shares the aspirations of the Labor movement, but this union is not a business organization, but, as described on page 168, purely advisory in character.

Representatives, numbering twenty-seven persons each one of which represents one district, meet several times a year to discuss policies and to elect the executive board. This board consists of seven members who appoint the expert commercial managers. Decisions, such as the salaries of the permanent staff and the purchase and sale of fixed property, must be approved by the Board of Representatives which consists mainly of farmers. The auditors, who control the society's financial accounts, are elected by the General Assembly which also decides on distribution of the surplus.

The Society has several provincial branches and warehouses which facilitate the distribution of goods to the member societies. By way of reprisal for a boycott of the Danish tobacco merchants the Society started a tobacco factory of its own. It now has factories for roasting coffee, making chocolate and confectionery products, clothing and shoes, margarine, flour, furniture, etc. It can thus supply local societies with a large portion of the wares that they stock. It is estimated that ten to twelve per cent of the total retail trade of the country is handled by the cooperative consumers' societies, but through their efforts to keep down prices they have also been of great importance to those who have not joined the movement.[16])

The work of the Wholesale Society is not confined to direct business. Walking about the large buildings in the headquarters in Njalsgade on the island of Amager (but still in the central part of Copenhagen), one sees laboratories where the quality of food, clothes, textiles, etc., are tested; exhibitions of furniture designed by architectural departments; and accounting and auditing departments. The offices of "Samvirke", the weekly cooperative, which has the largest circulation of any newspaper in Denmark (about 350,000), are situated in the main building. "Det Danske Forlag", the Danish book publishing firm which publishes cooperative as well as other literature, has its offices some distance away near the other end of the bridge leading to the island.

From the farmers' point of view one of the most important activities of the wholesale society is the improvement and sale of guaranteed

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16) The Scandinavian electric-lamp factory, "Luma", is a classic example of the battle of the cooperatives against the abuse of power by trusts and cartels. It was started on the initiative of the Swedish Wholesale Society, but the wholesales in the three other Scandinavian countries joined in the ownership. When the first "Luma" lamps were put on the market in 1931 the international "Phoebus" trust gradually reduced its price, from 1.35 kroner to 0.80 kroner.

seed. This is also an example of a happy collaboration between producers' and consumers' cooperatives. A cooperative society for improving seed, formed by the Danish agricultural societies, undertakes the production, and the wholesale does the distributing. The two societies together decide on the sales price. In November of each year order blanks are sent to the local consumers' societies and to the farmers' and small-holders' associations for distribution among their members. The orders are filed at the wholesale distribution office, and in the spring the seed is sent in sealed and labelled parcels to the local stores for distribution to the farmers. The local societies receive a little more than 5 % of the sales price.

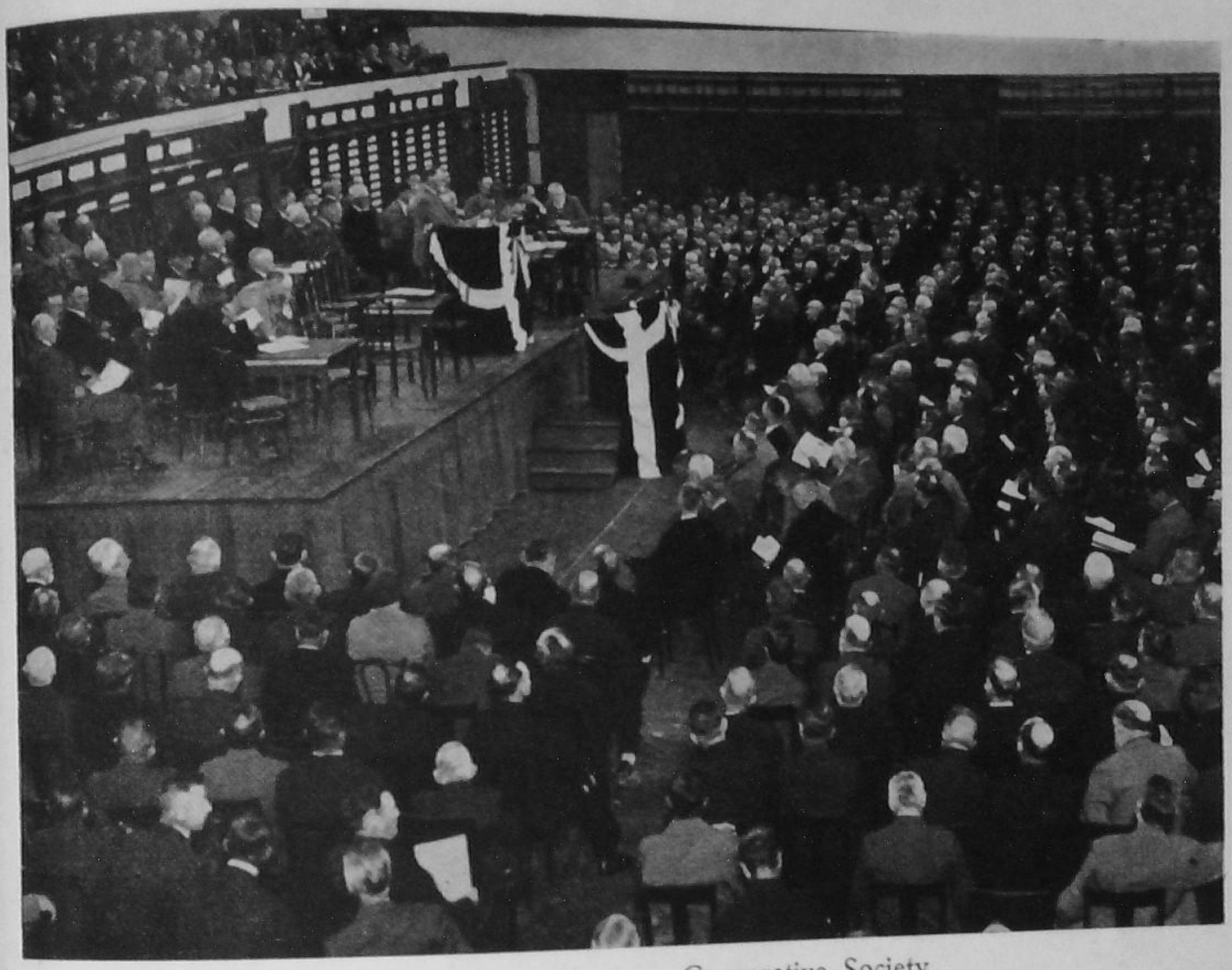
Through this successful cooperation of producers and consumers the farmer is guaranteed well-grown and clean seed of superior quality.

Purchasing Societies.

To a great extent the purchase of grain, feed and chemical fertilizers in Denmark is organized on a cooperative basis. The movement dates back to the Eighties, when inferior seed-cakes were sold in large quantities. The farmers, at a loss to know where they might obtain such stock feed as would increase the milk yield, began to organize cooperative societies for the purchase of feed. Under the leadership of a farmer, Anders Nielsen, the Jutland Feeding Stuffs Association fought a successful battle with private importers, who attempted to kill the society by dumping huge quantities of feedstuffs on the market. On Anders Nielsen's insistence the society resolved to compel its members to buy all their feed from it, but no more than was required for the use of their own stock. The latter regulation was made in order to prevent the formation of any private undertakings that might do harm to the movement as a whole.[17]) In 1948 the Feeding-stuff societies numbered 1,635 with 100,000 individual members, and handled nearly half the feed business in Denmark.

In 1901 Anders Nielsen again took the initiative in organizing the first cooperative for the purchase and sale of artificial manure. Until the War of 1914—18, however, the society did not import fertilizer. The fertilizer trust took advantage of the war situation to demand from the cooperatives that they pledge themselves to buy all their fertilizer from the trust for five years. The answer of the

[17]) This regulation, which applies to the feed societies, does not operate in the distributive society, where the members may buy where they wish.



General Assembly in a Cooperative Society.

cooperatives was a plan for the building of chemical factories by the Danish Cooperative Manure Supply Society. The local societies pledged themselves to deal solely with the association, and in July 1916, Anders Nielsen was able to inform an assembly of 871 delegates that 1,353 local societies with 67,000 members had joined the association, which now represented farms of a collective value of 750,000,000 kroner. The society has not been able to build its own factories, but it has good connections in foreign countries and it supplies fertilizer at reasonable prices to the amount of nearly 40 % of the chemical fertilizer used in the country.

The cooperative purchasing movement has resulted also in Cooperative Coal Societies, Dairy Societies' Joint Purchase, and Engineering Works, and Cement Works.

Other cooperative societies deal in Accident and Damage Insurance; and there is a Pension Society, and a Cooperative Sanatorium Association which operates a sanatorium for tuberculosis patients and another for rheumatic patients.

Cooperative Export Societies.

When the Danish cooperative dairy societies were formed, they aimed chiefly at the improvement of the product, leaving the sale to the merchants; but as early as 1887 an association of cooperative dairies on the island of Funen was formed for marketing purposes. Statistics for 1948 show that the *butter export societies*, 10 in number, with an annual turnover of 1,340 million kroner, handled 55 % of the butter exported from the country.

The butter is usually sold f.o.b., and the price is fixed every Thursday on the Produce Exchange in Copenhagen by a committee representing the producers, the cooperative export societies, the private Danish firms, and the established buyers for the English cooperative stores and chain stores.[18])

Generally the bacon factories sell through brokers in the main consuming market in England. However, several factories have united in setting up a selling organization, called the *Danish Bacon Company*, which has headquarters in London and branches in a number of cities.

The Cooperative Egg Marketing Association represents another cooperative enterprise. It was Severin Jørgensen and two village schoolmasters who, about 1890, suggested that local egg circles should be organized and joined into a *cooperative egg export society* to cover the whole country. The members contract to collect and handle eggs in such a way as to produce a high quality product. Each member and each circle are identified by numbers, and every egg is stamped with those two numbers. In case of complaint every egg can thus be traced back to the producer. In 1948 there were 906 egg export societies in Denmark, with a membership of 49,000, and a turnover of 68.4 million kroner. The cooperative bacon factories exported eggs amounting to about 15 million kroner. The private egg export firms, which must be authorized by the Ministry of Agriculture, accounted for about 70 % of the egg export.

The Government Control Service controlling dairy products also controls the export eggs in regard to quality, grading, marking and packing. The eggs are examined by candling.

A number of *cattle export associations* have been formed, each local association operating independently. Members contract to sell

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[18]) The butter export societies did pioneer work in introducing payment for butter to members (the dairies) according to quality.

all cattle for a period of a few years to the association, so the latter always has a dependable supply. Operating capital is raised by borrowing against the members' joint liability. In 1948 there were 20 associations, with 40,000 members and a yearly turnover of nearly 68.4 million kroner. The cattle export associations and the cattle sales associations together handle about 40 % of all Danish exports of cattle and meat.[19])

The usual pooling arrangement obtains in the cattle export association. The approximate value of the cattle is paid to the owner within a week's time, and final payment is made at the end of the year, after operating expenses have been met.

The Cooperative Bank.

In 1914 a Danish cooperative undertaking was set up which at first proved a failure. It was a bank which was to operate according to cooperative principles and do banking for the benefit of the members. It had a promising start, but the deflation following the war of 1914—18 brought about heavy losses; and there were also a few unwise engagements undertaken.

A distrust of the bank spread among the cooperators, and no serious attempts were made to keep the bank solvent. This apathy eventually resulted in bankruptcy, though it proved later that the assets of the bank could almost have met its liabilities. In fact, it paid off its creditors at more than 90 %.

A new cooperative bank was established in the same year in which the old one closed; and the "Andelsbanken" is a going concern, which just before the Occupation was the fourth largest bank in Denmark, with every expectation of realizing the aspirations of the first cooperative band.[20])

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[19]) In the case of the local associations, as well as that of the national Danish Farmers' Society for the sale of cattle the domestic market has also been of much importance.

[20]) From 1944 to 1949 its share capital rose from 16,110,000 kroner to 27,900,000 kroner, half of which was supplied by individuals and half by societies (not only cooperative but also small-holders' and farmers' societies), its loans rose from 90 million kroner to almost 343 millions, and its turnover from 29,000 millions to 53,000 millions. In 1950 it was over 60,000 million kroner.

A special local form of cooperative banking is represented by the Village Banks, of which there are about one hundred. Forty-seven of these, for which statistics were available, had, in 1948, a total balance of about 40 million kroner.

Development in Cooperation during World War II.

During the occupation the Germans did not interfere with the Danish cooperative movement. The consumer societies did suffer from lack of sufficient supplies and the Cooperative Wholesale was not able to develop as it might have done under normal conditions. On the other hand, the efforts to adapt the production to the existing possibilities caused some new developments. The increased interest in fruit growing led to the formation of several cooperatives, which in 1945 were joined together as the Danish Fruit Growers' Cooperative Association for the sale of fruit to home markets as well as for export. In 1947 the National Association of Cooperative Laundries was formed.

After the war one of the main tasks was to find a cooperative basis for the increasing mechanization of agriculture. In 1947 the Danish Farmer's Cooperative Association for the Purchase of Machines was formed, and in 1948 the Association of Cooperative Refrigerator Plants came into existence. Several cooperative machine stations sprang up in order to help the members get part of their work done by tractors and other agricultural machines which they owned in common. However, in spite of the large profits on the private sale of agricultural machines,[21]) Danish farmers have

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[21]) The difference between the import price and the price paid by the farmers is, as a rule, from fifty to seventy per cent of the import price. The profits are at present limited through the Danish Price Control. The import duty on tractors amounts to five per cent of the value, for implements three øre per kg, while harvesters are free of duty. About fifty per cent of the agricultural machines used in Denmark are produced within the borders of the country.

Common use of machines in Denmark is undertaken through three types of machinery stations.

1. Cooperative machinery stations established by farmers who jointly buy tractors and other machines. The farmers bind themselves to be members of a machinery station for at least five years and to use the machines at least for a specified number of hours annually. An annual membership contribution of five kroner per registered hour is payable, in order to create a fund for the purchase of machinery. The machines are let to the members at varying prices according to the kind of machine. The station is under the charge of a committee, which appoints a manager and a suitable number of tractor operators and mechanics according to the size of the machine park.

2. Machinery stations for hiring. These are operated by farmers or contractors who undertake to perform the work with their material on conditions which are in accordance with the general price scale. They may assist the cooperative stations by lending them machines, but they are administered

not followed suit with their Swedish colleagues, who often have their machines placed at agricultural schools for use in instruction. In Sweden some thirty per cent of all agricultural machines are cooperatively owned.

Characteristic Features of Danish Farmers' Cooperation.

The most characteristic form of cooperation in Denmark is the producers' society; and cooperation throughout bears the stamp of the farmers who promoted it. The societies borrow their funds for fixed and working capital, and the farmers' influence is seen in the liability provisions which hold their members *jointly responsible* for obligations incurred by them.[22]) This would hardly have been the case had townspeople determined the policy of the movement. However close together people live in towns, they are farther apart in spirit than the farmers scattered through a rural district, and are less likely to be willing to guarantee loans made in conjunction with people whom they do not know. In recent years, when large numbers of townsfolk have joined the cooperative stores, their influence has been apparent in the organization of the Cooperative Wholesale, which is based on *limited* liability. Nor does the Wholesale any longer demand, as it once did, that its members, i.e., the cooperative stores, have joint liability within their own ranks. The greater number of cooperative stores have, however, not yet availed themselves of this change of policy.

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as ordinary private concerns. This form of machine station is very extensive and the stations are united in provincial associations which to a certain extent co-ordinate the work to be performed in order to secure the best utilization of the material.

3. Stations for joint use of agricultural machines. These are generally operated by owners of medium-sized farms—from twenty to thirty ha—who jointly buy tractors and agricultural machines for use on their own farms. A tractor of 25 to 30 horsepower can perform the work on from 100 to 150 ha, i. e., the work on four to five farms. The members are liable jointly and separately for the repayment of the loans they may raise.

The government conducts one experiment station where new machines and implements are tested, the results of which are published for the guidance of farmers. Some agricultural organizations have appointed advisers, and demonstrations are held every year.

(Extract from *Denmark, May 1951*, Report from the Danish National FAO-Committee to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations).

[22]) In the larger cooperatives it has become necessary to limit the liability to local groups. Cf. chapter on bacon factories, page 72.

Dean Sonne and Severin Jørgensen, the great pioneers in the movement, were ardent advocates of unlimited liability. They feared that if the risk and responsibility were lessened, the movement would lose its strength and moral importance. It is possible, however, that the Danish cooperative stores will sooner or later follow the example of the cooperatives in England, Sweden and other countries, where each member is held responsible only for the liability attached to his own shares. Unlimited liability in Denmark served its purpose at the beginning by making access to loans easy, but in the course of time it has made for great difficulties in cases of failure. These, however, have been few.

In the matter of disposal of surplus, the Danish cooperatives have travelled a different road from that of the Rochdale pioneers. The Rochdale policy is to sell goods at current prices and then to use part of the undistributed surplus for social, educational and philanthropic purposes. The Danish cooperatives have as a rule also sold at current prices, but they have used practically all their surplus for the payment of instalments on debts, the accumulation of reserve funds,[23]) and the payment of dividends to members. "We already have social legislation which takes care of the old and the invalid", the farmers said. "And why should we start an educational program as long as we have folk high schools? And too much information about our movement and the ways of running it will do no good, but will tend rather to split it". Their reasoning may have been good or bad. The British movement spends a great deal on educational purposes, and the Swedish cooperatives have always insisted on the need of enlightenment for the public and the cooperators alike. After the War of 1914—18, during the period of economic instability, the need was felt in Denmark for a thorough understanding of the system. In 1928 the Cooperative Wholesale started an entertaining fortnightly publication, *Brugsforeningsbladet*,[24]) which serves as a link between the members of the stores, and advertises the movement. Another step in the program of self-understanding was the establishment in 1932 of the Middelfart Cooperative College by the Cooperative Wholesale. The school has about one hundred students, prospective managers and others, studying cooperation and commercial subjects.

[23]) The Danish farmers have often been slow to see the necessity of building up working reserve funds. Particularly is this true of the cooperative dairies.

[24]) Now called Samvirke, see page 75.

The Danish societies have not followed the Swedish practice of limiting dividends to three per cent in order to cut down prices, but, as has been noted in the chapter on bacon factories and purchasing societies, they too have successfully competed with monopolies and trusts, without attempting to become monopolies themselves.

Even today there are no State laws governing the cooperatives in Denmark. What legal basis exists is a kind of common law which has developed from the constitutions and by-laws and practices of the societies themselves. As the farmers did not, as a rule, employ legal counsel in drawing up contracts and other papers, these latter have not always been so clear and precise as they might have been, but they have been able to stand the test of the courts.

The cooperative consumers' societies were tax-free as long as they sold to members only, but if they sold to non-members they were taxed on their surplus[25]) just as with private stores. The production societies were exempt from taxation if they worked, improved, or sold their members' produce, even though they were sometimes obliged to buy products from non-members in order to maintain their special activity. In 1940, however, an amendment was introduced making distributive societies and similar cooperative associations, under certain specified conditions, liable to the payment of State income tax.

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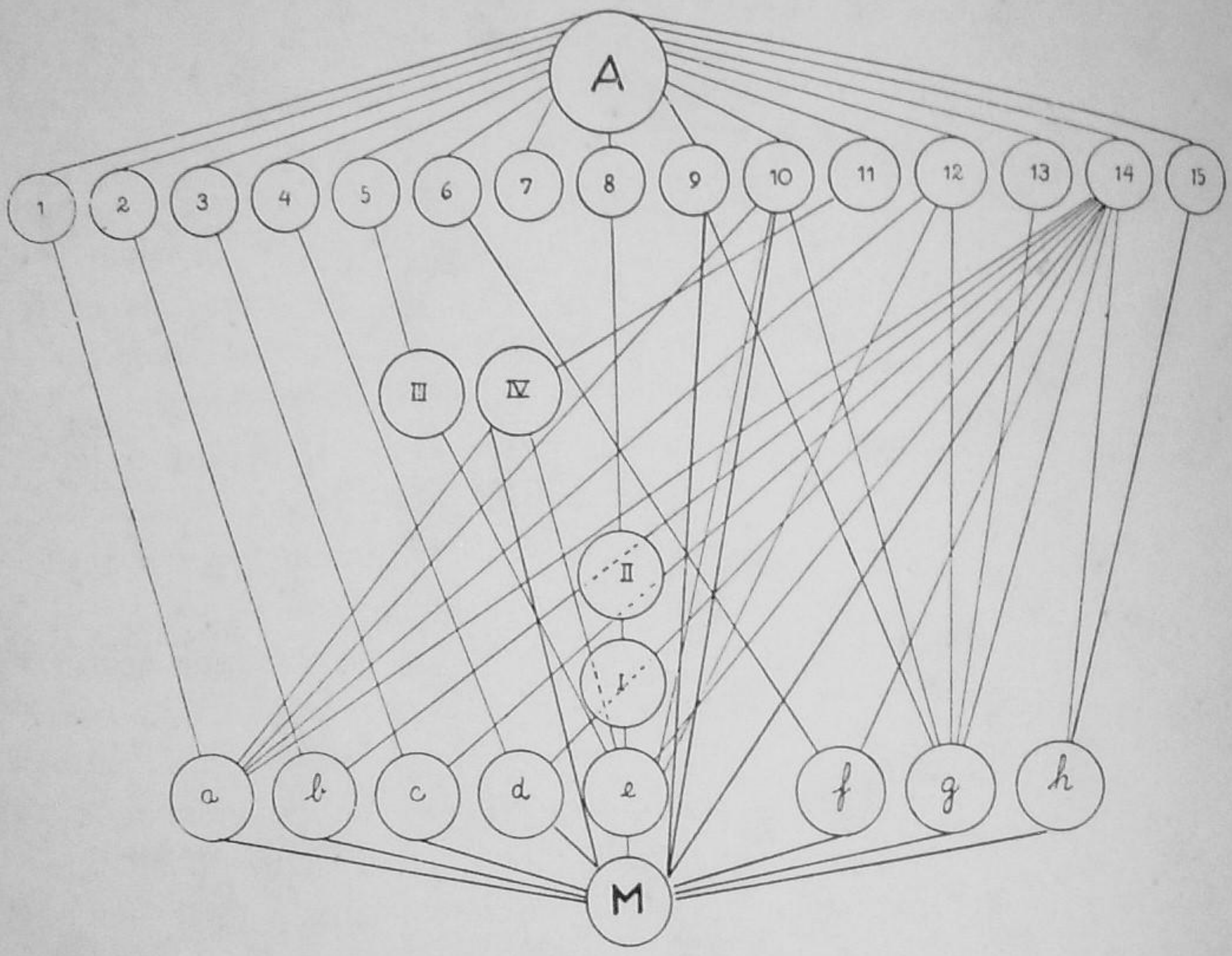
Danish cooperation is not the outcome of a theory. It has been a spontaneous, sporadic and non-political development, prompted solely by practical needs and maintained by socially-minded local supporters. In this respect it is quite different from the Finnish cooperative movement, in which the idea antedated the organization, and in which also centralization from the beginning made the movement efficient to a degree which the Danish cooperative attained only after years of experimentation.

It was not until 1899 that an association was set up in Denmark to coordinate all the central organizations, composed of the local societies within the separate branches — dairies, bacon factories, etc. This coordinating organization is known as the *Federation of Danish Cooperative Societies*. The current affairs and the work between delegate conferences are conducted by the committee of the federation, the *Central Cooperative Committee of Denmark* (Andelsudvalget), but it is a cardinal principle underlying the activities of

[25]) Also on the surplus derived from the sale to members.



The system of the Danish Cooperative Movement

A: Central Cooperative Committee

1. Federation of Danish Cooperative Bacon Factories.
2. The Danish Farmers' Cooperative Egg-Export Association.
3. Association of Danish Cooperative Cattle Export Societies.
4. Provincial Cooperative Society for Purchase of Feeding-Stuffs.
5. Federation of Danish Cooperative Butter Export Associations.
6. Danish Cooperative Fertilizer-Society.
7. Danish Farmers' Cooperative Association for Seed Growing.
8. Federation of Danish Dairy Associations.
9. The Danish Cooperative Cement Factory.
10. Cooperative Coal-Society.
11. Association of Danish Agricultural Cooperative Insurance Societies.
12. The Sanatorium Society of the Cooperative Societies.
13. Cooperative Wholesale Society of Denmark.
14. Cooperative Bank.
15. Danish Village Banks.

M: Individual Member

a. Bacon Factory.
b. Egg-Collecting Society.
c. Cattle Export Society.
d. Local Association for Feeding-Stuffs.
e. Cooperative Dairy.
f. Local Society for Fertilizer.
g. Cooperative Distributive Store.
h. Village Bank.

I. Local Dairy Association.
II. Provincial Dairy Association.
III. Butter Export Society.
IV. Cooperative Insurance Society.

Made by A. Axelsen Drejer, editor and secretary of the Danish Central Cooperative Committee.

the central committee that it should not interfere with the work of the individual societies or associations, but confine itself to joint problems such as representation to government committees, to the Agricultural Council and to the International Cooperative Alliance. It prepares matters which may later be passed on to one or another of the special societies or may occasion the establishment of a new society. It prepares an annual survey of cooperative statistics and publishes a journal, *Andelsbladet*, which serves as the joint organ of the cooperative movement.

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The cooperatives have not transformed society in Denmark. Private business still is the rule in most *urban* industries and commerce. *The farmers in the cooperatives are eager to maintain an open market,* and they are free to patronize private concerns, if they become dissatisfied and choose to terminate their membership at the end of the contract period. In cases in which there is no contract, as in the stores, members may leave the society at any time. But the fact remains that in the course of time the Danish farmers have been so thoroughly organized that they are environed by cooperation. A farmer who wishes may get his mortgage loans from cooperative credit societies, he may electrify his farm through cooperatives, he may sell his milk, pigs and eggs through cooperative dairies and export societies, and buy household wares as well as seed, feed and fertilizer in village cooperative societies. He can make provision for illness and death through cooperative sickness and insurance societies, and he can place his savings in cooperative or mutual savings banks.

Freed from the merchandizing requirements of their calling, the farmers have been able to concentrate on the production of superior crops and livestock and to adapt their production to changes in the foreign market. The cooperatives have made possible the development of more highly standardized products and the consequent reduction of their selling costs.

Though the administration with its bulky organization and democratic methods may make for slower management than an effectively run private corporation, the cooperatives have, on the whole, operated economically and have furnished a healthy competition to private business. They have eliminated the possibility of exploitation of the farmer and have given the small-holder the same bargaining power as his more affluent neighbor.

Many farmers grumble at what they consider excessive government regulations though others consider the regulations as having saved Danish agriculture. In either case, the farmers' effective organization and their capacity to work together have made it possible for the government regulations to be tried and to function as well as they have.[26])

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[26]) The agricultural crisis of Denmark was a part of the economic collapse which resulted from the restrictions on international trade after 1918. Denmark, dependent for its existence on exports of agricultural products, was particularly hard hit because its farm mortgages were based on the estimated profits in hitherto normal times. The farmers therefore were confronted with the necessity of paying interest on the same high mortgages out of seriously diminished incomes. The situation was quite different from that of the seventies when the fall of grain prices had compelled the Danish farmers to producing butter and bacon instead of grain for export. The new crisis involved not only the fall of prices, but a curtailing of the market through tariff duties.

Germany, in 1929, took steps to protect her home market and imposed almost prohibitive duties on agricultural products. France also regulated imports, but the hardest blow to the Danish market was struck on November 17th, 1932, when England after the Ottawa Conference levied a duty of 15/- per hundredweight on imported butter and imposed other duties which damaged Danish egg export. Danish bacon which hitherto had been imported in unlimited quantities was now restricted to a quota of the total bacon imports from non-empire countries.

The immediate consequence of the crisis in Denmark was an overproduction of export goods. The farmers hoped to counteract lower prices with larger quantities. But the cost of production remained comparatively high. The gross income per hectare in 1928/29 was 900 kroner, and the cost of production 750 kroner. In 1931/32 the corresponding figures were 525 and 575.

To resolve the dilemma the farmers practised all possible economies in regard both to labor and to maintenance and fertilizer and feed so that the total working expenses on the farms were reduced by 69 kroner per hectare in 1932—33. There was a particularly good harvest in that year which also helped. But the crisis could scarcely be solved by individual effort alone. The State in conjunction with the Agricultural Council took measures to combat overproduction, to improve the rentability of farm land and to protect the foreign market.

In the year 1933—34 150,000 head of cattle were destroyed for industrial use, the State paying a certain price for each condemned cow.

This plan which began as a device to check over-production became in the hands of the Ministry of Agriculture a systematic examination of cattle with a view to the destruction of tubercular cows. The law requires that any herd from which milk is sold for consumption must be completely healthy.

The quota on bacon made it necessary to reduce the number of pigs. A system of control was introduced whereby the production of pigs for export was regulated by ticket.

This measure was of a special benefit to the small-holders as the price of

What Made the Danish Farmers Cooperators?

Why have the Danish farmers developed cooperation to a higher degree than farmers in other countries? It is often said that there is an intimate link between Danish butter and bacon and the Danish folk high school. When Sir Horace Plunkett, the Irish land reformer, visited Denmark to study agricultural methods and conditions, he found to his surprise that the success of farmers' cooperation had its deepest root in a purely cultural institution, the folk high school. He who had come to investigate a piece of machinery remained to study a philosophy. Dr. Stampa of Jugoslavia[27]) had the same experience when he spent a fortnight studying a little Jutland community.

Many other observers have noted this close relationship between the cooperatives and the folk high schools. Nevertheless, to suppose that the cooperative movement is wholly the product of the folk high school system is to oversimplify the question.

Cooperation was practically forced upon the Danish farmers by an external factor: dependence on the foreign market. The necessity of wholesale transportation, steadiness of supply, and uniformity of quality put before the small Danish farmer the choice between handing his produce over to a big commercial firm or joining a cooperative society and thus avoiding the middleman's profit. It was comparatively easy for him to choose the second alternative. As

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pigs increased since the small-holders got comparatively more tickets than other farmers did. The large farms which produce grain for sale were helped by another measure to reduce the bacon production. The price of grain and other feed for pigs was raised from less than 11 to 13 kroner by a tax on imported feed stuffs.

The State has also made efforts to help the farmer by direct measures to increase farm incomes. The most important step in that direction was the abandonment of the gold standard in September 1931 following England's example.

The threat to Danish agriculture through tariff and quota barriers led the government to negotiate commercial agreements with England which were followed by similar pacts with Denmark's other customers. England agreed to take 62 % of its total import of bacon and ham from Denmark and 38 % of its imported eggs. In return Denmark agreed to buy 80 % of its coal from England, to promote the sale of British iron and steel and to reduce the duty on British textiles and certain other industrial goods.

An agreement with France cancelled the duty of 15 % on Danish products, and in return Denmark promised to import French champagne, wines and liquors. Special arrangements were made with Germany on the basis of clearing.

[27]) A League of Nations agricultural adviser to China.

there is little class distinction among the farmers, they mix socially and so find it easy to join in economic undertakings.

It is at this point that the folk high school enters the cooperative picture. Led by a few pioneers of idealism and practical enterprise the farmers were able to carry the cooperative movement through by themselves without help from the government. That they could do so is largely due to the influence of the folk high school, which not only supplied the pioneers of the movement but educated the whole peasantry to an understanding of their problem and a trustful appreciation of their leaders.[28])

J. T. Arnfred, principal of Askov Folk High School and Chairman of the Board of Representatives of the Cooperative Wholesale, has written that, whereas in a competitive society the failure of your neighbor may be the cause of your own success, co-operation can only be furthered by people who are ready to share their successes and failures with others. It is this spirit of fellowship which the folk high schools helped to foster.

They did that without propaganda for cooperation. Foreigners who visit Danish folk high schools are surprised to find that cooperation is not one of the subjects in the curriculum. The influence of the high schools on the cooperative movements is indirect. Several thousand *farmers'* sons and daughters each year go through the folk high schools and agricultural schools.[29]) The schools tend to awaken in these young people a sense of what the individual owes to the community, a feeling of confidence in others, and a willingness to make sacrifices for the common good. Almost every Danish farmer has at some time in his life come into contact with the folk high schools. The schools hold great meetings in the autumn and at other times, which farmers from the vicinity attend in large numbers, whether or not they have been students.[30])

Cooperation in Denmark has had a particularly free and democratic character. In creating this spirit the folk high schools have

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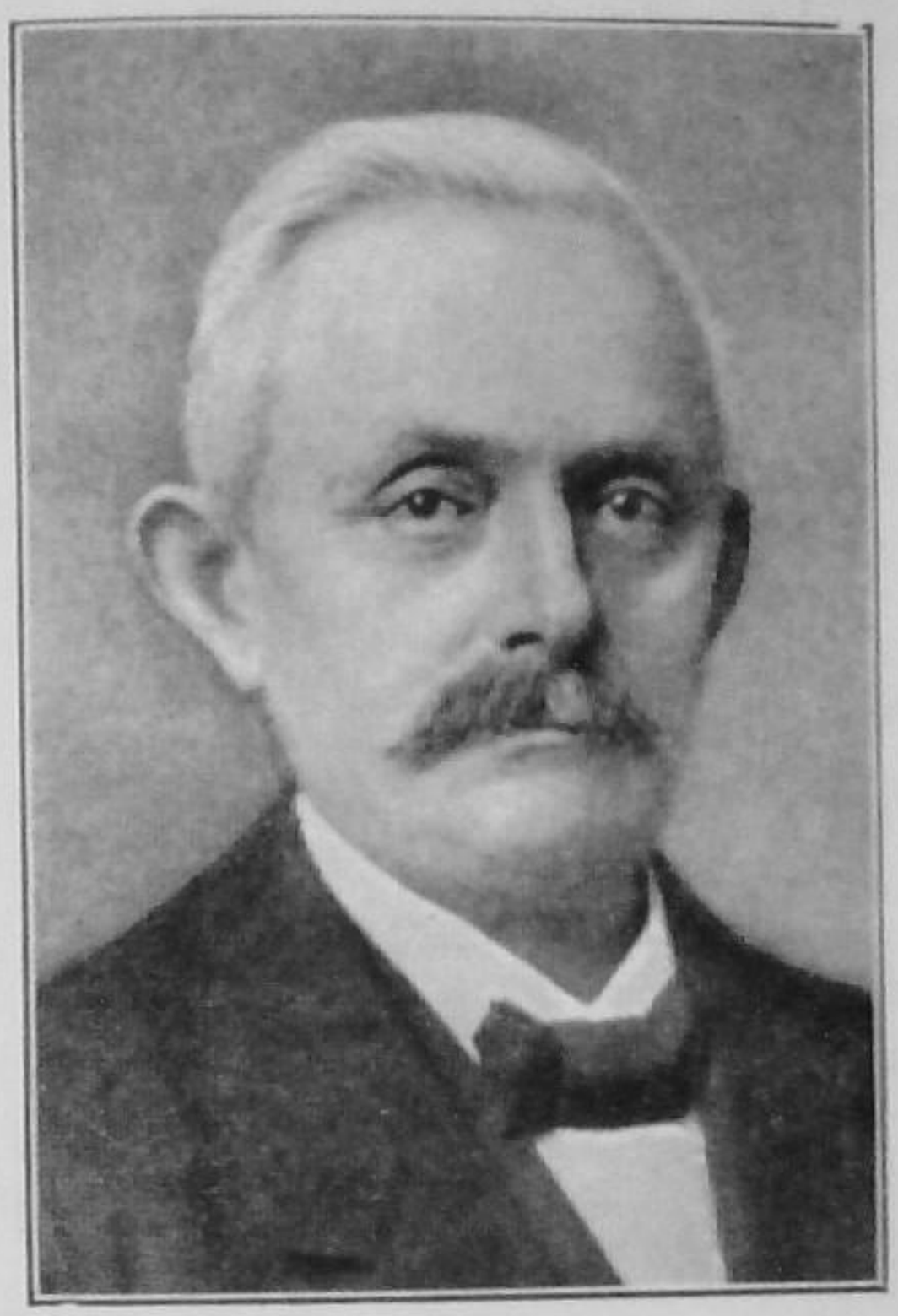
[28]) Another factor was the stubborn political conflict during the last third of the 19th century, in which the farmers were the chief opponents of the masked attempt to reintroduce absolute monarchy whereby the King would have governed without the consent of the Folketing (Lower House of Parliament). The fight strengthened the farmers' appreciation of freedom and the desire to manage their own affairs. (See page 37).

[29]) In 1935—36 the parents of the 6,773 students in folk high schools, apart from agricultural schools, were: 2,873 medium-sized farmers, 844 smallholders, 447 workmen, 710 artisans, mostly rural, and 1,899 other occupations.

[30]) See page 115.



Anders Nielsen.

played an important part. They have taught that men are judged not by the size of their talents but by the use they make of them. The instruction they have given has enabled the ordinary farmer so to improve his knowledge as to become an efficient member of a cooperative committee or even to become a manager. And the folk high school's ideal of freedom with responsibility has become an ethical force in the cooperatives.

When in the early days of the folk high schools their freedom was threatened by the government, the principals — who also owned the schools — faced with great courage the possibility of losing State support rather than being subject to political control. Their conduct set an example of loyalty to the cause of freedom. The farmer, who as a student had watched the struggle, later as a cooperator followed the example of his teacher and saved the cooperatives from the threat of extinction by big business. He remained loyal to his pledge nothwithstanding the immediate gain he might have won through abandoning the cooperative enterprise.

There are numerous witnesses to the debt the cooperatives owe the folk high schools.[31]) In an article about the Danish cooperative movement, Director Anders Nielsen[32]) writes of the folk high school: "It has filled in and levelled the cleavages in society and thereby paved the way for common endeavor. It has sent students out into life with an increased love for the country and its achievements, riper and more thoughtful, more receptive to life's teaching, and therefore better equipped to understand and make their way ... This significance of the folk high schools has now been emphasized and affirmed so often and from so many sides that it can be stated as a fact that not only the cooperative movements but the cultural

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31) Hans Lund, in *The Folk High Schools and the Development of a Farming Community*, by Begtrup, Lund and Manniche, Oxford University Press, (Fourth Edition 1949) gives several quotations.

32) See pages 76 and 77.

position of Danish farmers as a whole rests on this foundation. When we consider the social importance of the cooperative movement and its economic contribution to the national development, we must acknowledge with gratitude the great religious and educational leaders Grundtvig and Kold and their many co-workers and followers who have called forth a higher culture and a feeling of solidarity among the people, and who have also taught the people to think and to use their powers so that not only the individual but the whole community is benefitted".

Anders Nielsen speaks truly. No one can understand the peculiar national culture of Denmark without reference to the folk high school and to its founder, the man who through a long and dramatic personal development gathered such rich treasures in his soul that when the time of need came, he was able to coin them for the benefit of a whole people.

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Part III.

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

Grundtvig.

"All Danes have met the effects of Grundtvig's life-struggle in our people, consciously or unconsciously. Numbers of people feel that his name is attached to the strongest impressions of their childhood, youth and maturity. Farthest back they are reminded of Grundtvig as the author of Christian hymns and of songs that related the whole of the Bible history and the history of Denmark. These songs and hymns brought their minds in harmony with the Danish community and its spirit. And later, in youth, they perhaps received from him the watch-word that focussed the struggling force of their spiritual cravings, and filled their sails, enabling them with good cheer to set out on 'the ocean of thought, faith and 'knowledge' where the powers, as he sang, 'compete for rank', where there shall be freedom for all that has its source in the 'spirit', and where, therefore, 'the living word' finds the only field of action where it is worthy. And finally, it was perhaps not until they reached maturity that, by his help, they rightly understood what reality is: that spirit is reality; that the world of the spirit is the true world of reality; — and that therefore only spirit is power."

Thomas Bredsdorff,
The founder, and, till his death in 1922, principal of Roskilde Folk High School.

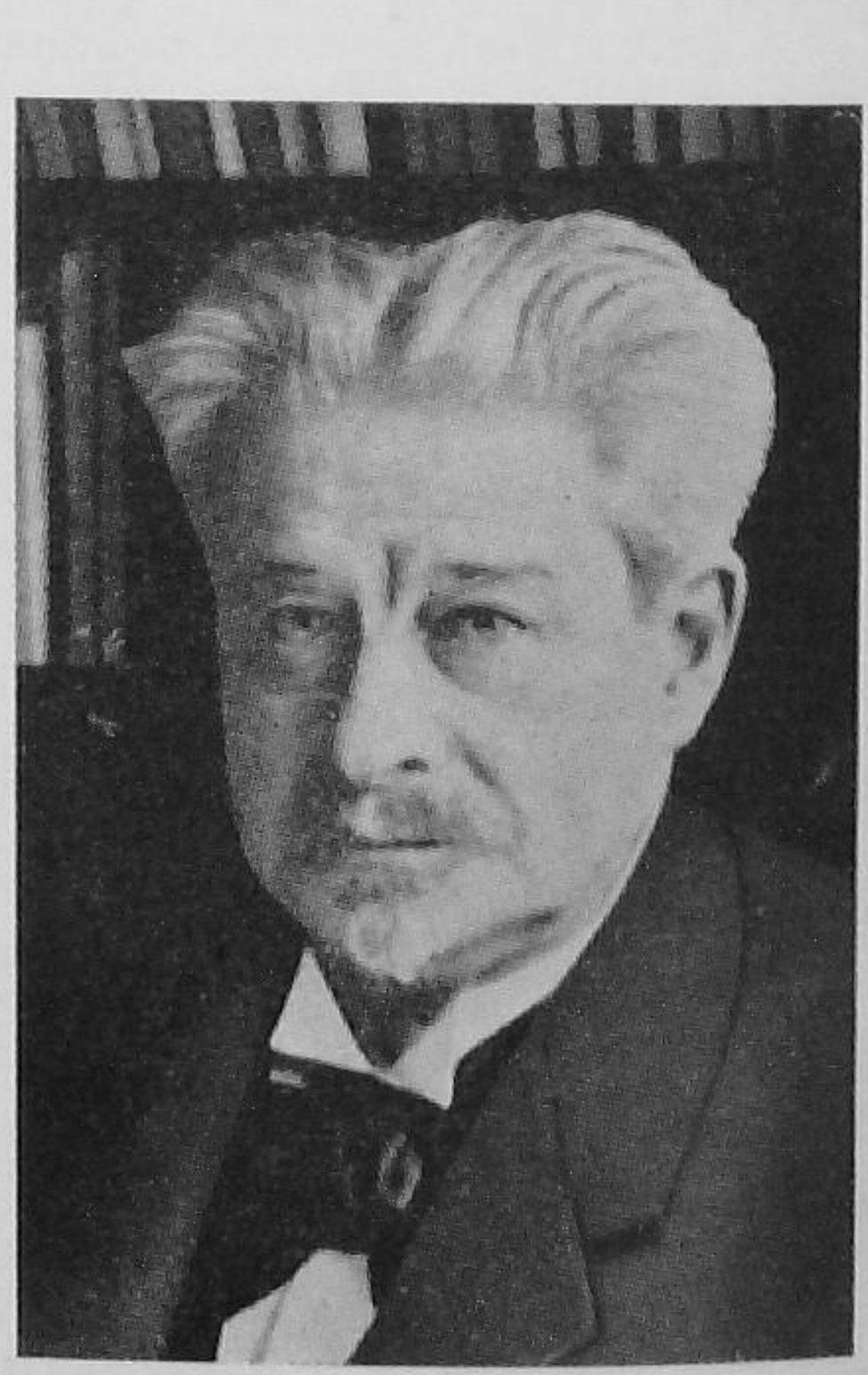
AFTER the military defeat of 1864 and the loss of Slesvig to Germany, Denmark seemed doomed to oblivion. George Brandes and other gifted intellectuals thought that there was nothing left in Denmark upon which to build, and they looked to other countries, especially to France, for sources of a national renaissance. But, meanwhile, there was growing up in the Danish rural districts a strong and vigorous movement which was destined to create a new and greater Denmark—greater by virtue of its recaptured primitive power and belief in itself.

"Outward Loss, Inward Gain", thought Captain Enrico Dalgas, gathering together the peasants of Jutland in a united effort for the reclamation of the heath. "Outward Loss, Inward Gain", thought the high school men, bringing together the peasant youth throughout Denmark to start a work which has made the Danish peasant one of the most enlightened in the world.

Nicolai Frederick Severin Grundtvig, the Prophet of the North, as the Germans have called him, was the great creative genius who became a source of inspiration to much of the new life in Denmark after 1864.[1])

Born in 1783, Grundtvig lived to be almost ninety years old. During this long period he followed the range of historic events with intense interest and took active part in various spheres of Danish life. He was a member of Parliament and of the Constituent Assembly. He stood for the abolition of all privileged suffrage, for free and equal legal procedings, for the abolition of conscription[2]), for the right of

Enrico Mylius Dalgas.
Founded the Jutland Society for Reclamation of the Heath.



George Brandes.
The Literary Critic of Wold Fame.

[1]) The Grundtvig influence can be traced in all phases of Danish life. Many of the leaders in business, art, and public education were his disciples after 1864 and were inspired by a vision of a Christianity which was not unworldly and a world that was not un-Christian. Among these were such men as C. F. Tietgen, who reorganized Danish commerce and started the United Shipping Company; Martin Nyrop who designed the Copenhagen Town Hall; and Joakim Skovgaard, the painter, who decorated the cathedrals of Viborg in Jutland and Lund in Sweden. The freedom of teachers and training colleges also reflects his influence.

[2]) Grundtvig wanted a voluntary army.

every farmer to obtain sufficient land to enable him and his family to live on it in a free and independent way, and for the development of a political democracy based on a free adult education embracing the whole nation. He fought for religious liberty and created a strong religious consciousness among the people. The older he grew, the wider became his horizon, but he won his great importance because through this continuing expansion of interests, he clung with increasing strength to the "Inner Light", as quakers would say, gained through his spiritual experiences.

His life was a continuous growth. His childhood itself was an idyll. Born in a Danish vicarage in beautiful southern Zealand, he experienced the "child paradise" which he so often called to mind. This memory of something lost, however, never created sadness in him; on the contrary, it became a dynamic force in his life and inspired his ideas on education. He believed that childhood has a right of its own and must not be looked upon only as a preparation for adulthood.

After a happy childhood there followed an empty youth for Grundtvig. He was shut up with mathematics and Latin and Greek in the grammar school of Aarhus. Afterwards, in somewhat unjust indignation, he attacked the "black school" that had made him "Haughty and dull" and killed what religious life he had in him at the time of his entrance. In the time of adolescence he maintains that the young must not be shut up with pen and book and ink without any relationship to practical life and nature. The best schools in these dangerous years of human development are the workshops of good artisans and the farms of capable farmers where he can get actual interest in the calling he is afterwards to follow.

From Aarhus Grundtvig went to Copenhagen, and his early manhood was spent in the university atmosphere then saturated with the spirit of rationalism, which in Denmark had taken a moderate but rapid form of "supernationalism". He afterwards became the chief champion against rationalism, but undoubtedly he was himself somewhat influenced by it, though it could not have made him the prophet he was to be. When, in 1803, he completed his theological studies, he was, as he himself said, "a drone without spirit and without faith". He needed a warming spark, and it came.

From 1805 to 1808 he was a family tutor on a country estate on the island of Langeland. And he, "the most bitter scoffer at love, met a woman and loved at once as passionately as is possible to a

mortal". But he realized that his love was hopeless, as she was the wife of another, and that he had to conquer this love. He turned to work. For a time he buried himself so completely in his studies that it became his habit to use the whole day and night for writing and reading, interrupted only by a short nap now and again on the sofa.

In 1802 he had heard his cousin, the young Norwegian natural scientist Henrik Steffens, lecturing in Copenhagen on German Romanticism, but had not understood very much of it. But now, several years later, he suddenly began to understand Steffens' theories about the significance of the life of spirit and "the connections of periods with Christ as the central point". Eagerly he read the new German philosophers, especially Fichte and Schelling, and then went on to the poetry of Goethe and Schiller and the dramas of Shakespeare. He was engrossed in the work of the young Danish poet Oehlenschläger; he immured himself in the old Norse mythology. He developed a religio-romantic view of life. Seeking "the reconciliation between the finite and the infinite", he saw that through poetry and philosophy, but above all through religion, could a full reconciliation be reached. This he found embodied in the Bible.

And so he became a poet. His first poetry was an indignant philippic against the frivolity with which people in Copenhagen took to trivial amusements after the English attack and the loss of the Danish fleet. His powers greatly unfolded in the following years, and a brilliant future as a poet and scholar seemed to lie open before him.

After this first romantic awakening there came a second, a Christian awakening. His thoughts had been turned in different ways towards the questions about the nature of the Church and its functions. And then, one evening in October, 1810, he found a contemptuous passage against Christianity in the book which he was reading. Indignantly he cast the book aside and made up his mind to become a reformer.

"I became wonderfully, inexpressibly affected; henceforth all fear left me like a fog gone from my eyes." But this was only the beginning. A few months later he felt crushed by the question with which he faced himself. "Are you yourself a Christian, and are your sins forgiven?" It was only through a violent soul struggle accompanied by a brief mental break-down that he was able to answer, "Yes". He had now returned to his childhood faith, but with a personal and positive strength. His earlier religious standpoint had been mostly

N. F. S. Grundtvig. 1831.
by C. A. Jensen.

a contemplative view of the glory of Christianity; now it was a personal relationship to the Almighty. He had now gained something which he was never to lose.

But Grundtvig had not yet reached his goal. The more he studied the Bible, the more he felt that the Bible must be interpreted, and that the interpreters, i. e., the theologians, would never agree. At last, in 1825, his ardent search for truth was crowned with success. In a "blessed moment" he realized that he could not find the truth through the learned study of a book, but rather in the living community of men and women who are united by faith in the Holy Spirit.

God is spirit, and it is the Spirit which gives life. Christianity must have existed *before* the Bible, among the disciples and in the living Church. With its Creed, its sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Church was a wondrous historic fact, wherein the living Christ through His word was Himself present. Christ is not only the past but also the present. Christianity is not a doctrine, but life — spiritual life.

Grundtvig had now found the viewpoint to which he was to hold fast through the rest of his life. It was not Lutheran[3/4]) orthodoxy, for although he remained a faithful adherent to the Danish Church, he did not build upon the Bible's infallibility. It was not Roman

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[3]) Grundtvig has often been compared with Luther. Like Luther he was a man of the people and possessed a deeply religious nature. He had not Luther's universal influence nor did he have his dramatic tension, but he was a greater poet than Luther and above all a greater democrat.

[4]) N. Lindberg maintained, in "Grundtvigs politiske Stade" (1876) page 5, that "outside the peasant class, comparatively few of Grundtvig's friends have been able to follow him in the questions of freedom". Lindberg argued against Fr. Hammerich who, judging from statements made by Grundtvig before the introduction of the Constitutional Law, rightly described him as a friend of absolute monarchy. However, Grundtvig's democratic development and various statements later on spoke in the opposite direction. Grundtvig was one of the few who opposed the 1866 revision of the Constitutional Law (see page 37).

Catholicism, for although his sense of history gave him a reverence for a great tradition, he did not recognize any hierarchical authority. It was not rationalism, for although he admitted the claims of reason he insisted that religion is based on faith and not on intellectual proof.

He felt himself a part of that Christian Community which has existed continuously since the Pentecost, and in which the Spirit and the Word lives. He felt that he was carried by a mighty spiritual and historical wave; a brighter and firmer character now came to his religious life. What Grundtvig at this time experienced was not only an insight into the way his thoughts should go, but also an acquisition of a brighter temperament. Since his Christian awakening in 1810 he had felt himself the strict judge of his age, and he had uttered many indignant words against his people and the men of the church.

But now (1824—25) there came a complete change. He was filled with deep joy. It seemed to him that from a dark night and a hazy morning he had come out into bright day. He realized that it was not his task to stand aloof as a judge, but to seek to build up the good and beautiful life which was present, even if dormant, in his people. He must talk encouragingly and not preach the Day of Judgment. He became aware of a new fellowship with both the community of Christians and the Danish people. This new sense of human fellowship inspired his great autobiographical poem, "Nytaarsmorgen" (New Year's Morning) and became the core of his poetry.

This high conception of human life, which became so important in all his spiritual endeavors, shows itself more and more from this time onwards. The love of his country became brighter and warmer. When he now buried himself in reminiscences of the great past of his people, it was not in order to look despondently on the miserable present, but in order to get a happy invigoration for contemporary life. He was renewed as a poet. He now had a desire, as he says, to sing about everything — "about Moses and Mimer, about Heaven and Earth", about Christianity and humanity, about Biblical and national history, and expecially about the strong folk life[5]) which is rooted in the history and nature of the fatherland and which looks up from there to God in Heaven. This is the zenith of Grundtvig's life. Many of his best thoughts originated from this period. He threw himself into a fight against a shallow rationalism, now with a new interpretation; his hymn writing burst forth, and he began to think about the place of education in a national awakening.

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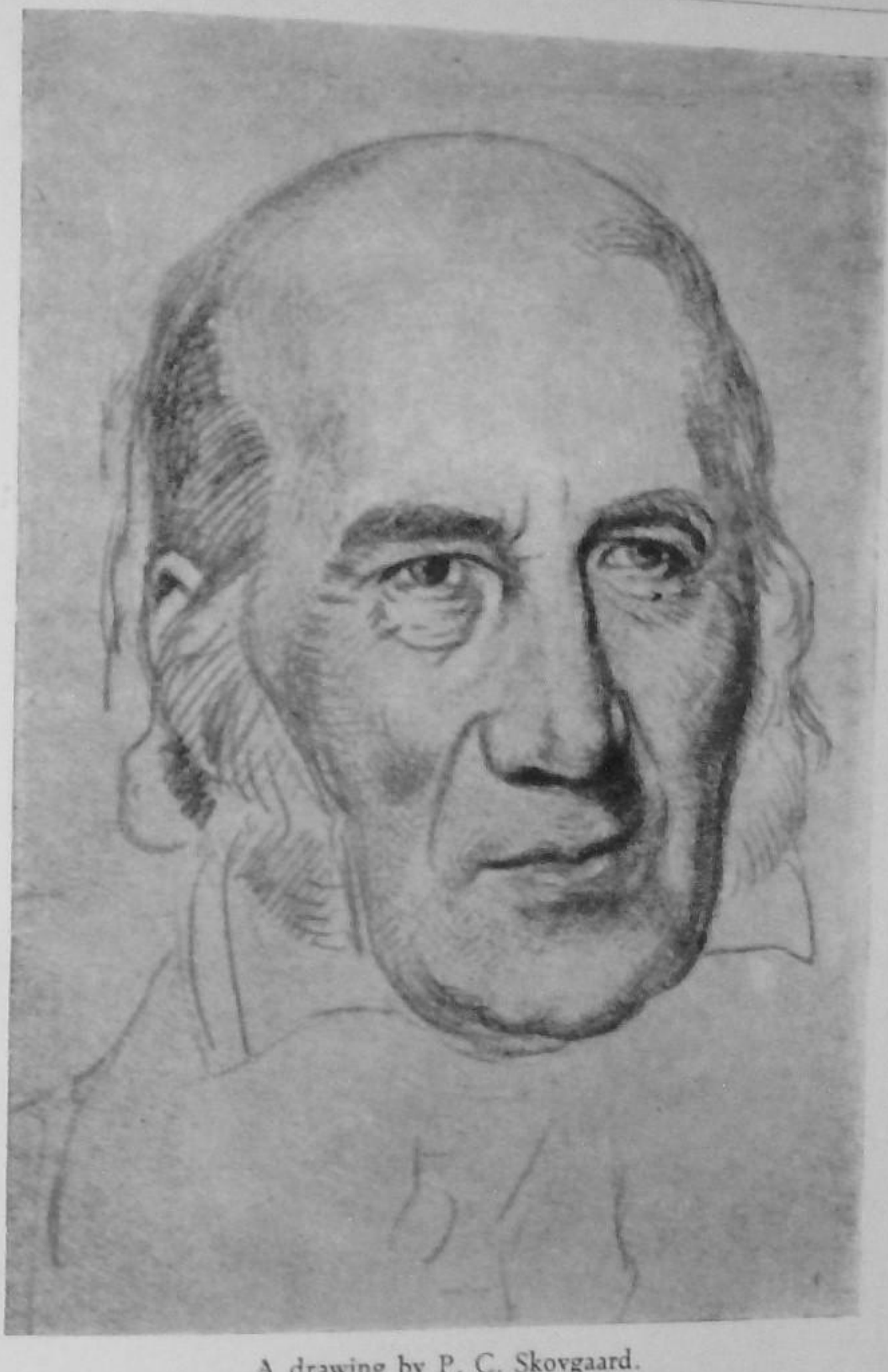
[5]) See foot note, page 103.



A drawing by P. C. Skovgaard.

It was during this period that Grundtvig made the first of his three journeys to England, journeys fruitful of results quite unforeseen by him when he made them. He went to study the manuscript collection of Anglo-Saxon literature in English libraries. He published Danish translations of the old Phenislay, of Beowulf, of poems by Caedmon, and of the lovely story about the child king Skjold (Scyld) who came sailing to Denmark in a large ship and initiated an age of happiness for the people. Several of these poems later influenced Danish artists and poets. Grundtvig's work with Old English literature was not without importance. But to a still higher degree than the English past, the English present influenced him. This he had not at all expected. It was the great factories, the vast commerce, civic life as a whole that impressed him. When he came home he could not but compare Denmark with England. When he compared Møens Cliff with Albion's white coast and the Danish paradise in Zealand with

the English one in Devonshire, he thought that nature in Denmark was more beautiful than in England.

With reference to human life in England, Grundtvig was overawed. He defines the main characteristics of the English people thus: a strong bent to work for high purposes, intimate familiarity with experience, deep reverence for the traditional, and a firm conviction of an Almighty God, a ruling providence in this life. He says, "It is impossible to see the boldness with which the Englishman takes hold of everything, that sureness with which he quickly discovers what will decide the success of an enterprise, and the perseverance with which he strives to overcome all difficulties and usually does so — to see this without feeling that one is in the domain of the heroic spirit, that spirit to which no thought is too high, if only man can reach it — as on the highest mountain tops one reaches the clouds — and to which no great achievement is impossible before it is tried with all the power, diligence and staunchness which is in the might of man."

"And if we now step into the great workshops or see the great sails with wind and current sweeping off on rivers and seas, then we must comprehend not only the strange powers which lie hidden in mute nature, but also those that lie closest to us in the articulate, even eloquent half-divine human nature."

He got the same impression from English industry. "To be sure, there was something dismal about it, especially the sight of thousands of men made mere cogs in a machine, indeed, unthinking serfs for the factory lord." He felt that much desolation lay at the bottom of the immense English press of business and desire for profit. None the less, there was giant power in it. It was to him as if he heard the "sound of Thor's mighty victorious hammer."

The lively activity, the vigorous civic life, the growing love of freedom, it was these that made the greatest impression upon him in England. He had been inclined for many years to lose himself in the burial vault of the past, but now he was brought face to face with the strong reality of the present. And when he thought of little Denmark, which was slowly working upwards after the terrible losses it had suffered — the war of 1807—1814 and the economic collapse which followed the loss of Norway in 1814 — then the thought: here is something we need — courage, power and freedom.

A new element was added to his spiritual nature. During his stay at Langeland in his youth, he had acquired much knowledge from the

German and Danish romantic movements. He did not give up the best of this. But now came this exhilarating blast from the West. The virile realistic features of his personality came out powerfully. The years from 1830—40 were Grundtvig's most fruitful period of authorship. He published a collection of sermons in three volumes; his major work, *Scandinavian Mythology*; a great number of hymns; a world history in three volumes; and a long series of writings about the folk high school.

Folkehøjskolen.

In 1834 the Danish government took a cautious step towards political freedom by introducing an institution of "Consultative Estates". This meant that the four classes into which Danish society was divided — nobility, clergy, town citizens and peasants — had the power to advise the King through their representatives. Small as this step was, it set many thoughts into motion, and Grundtvig's mind, ever preoccupied with Denmark's welfare, began to work with definite plans.

In his ideas of popular education we may trace the influence of Rousseau, whose ideal of a life in the primitive countryside had a great following in Denmark, though Grundtvig did not share Rousseau's fear of civilization. It is apparent that Cambridge, where he stayed for some time, gave him a picture of the value of corporate college life. We also realize how much he had learned from Fichte's idea of a "school for youth", where in full freedom each individual ripens into moral independence as well as into a strong feeling of responsibility for the fellowship and society in which he lives. But it was the rich treasures gathered through his own inner development that made it possible and necessary for him to coin his thoughts for the benefit of the whole people.

He began from the standpoint that when the people, farmers and artisans were called upon to take an active part in Danish legislation, they should be educated for this duty — not through children's schools, but through schools for adults. He held that the child should rest and grow in its rest. The child has first of all the right to be a child, and the education given to children must be adapted to their needs. Nor is adolescence the proper time for such "social responsibility" education, for the youth between fourteen and eighteen needs physical activity and familiarity with the work he may later have to

do. It is not until a man reaches adult years that he is mature enough to understand life.

"Dead are all letters, even if they be written with the fingers of angels, and dead is all knowledge which does not find response in the life of the reader. Until the brain and the body have fully developed, and until life has revealed itself so completely to the individual that he can recognize it when it is described, and feel a natural desire to be enlightened in regard to its conditions, not only mathematics and grammar, but all intense brain work in childhood is killing."

Youth, therefore, is the proper time for enlightenment. This is the age of mental awakening, when the great questions about life are asked. Then the religious life, the sex life, the feeling for poetry, fatherland and society are fully awake. The soul of the full grown youth is far more filled with questions than it was during the transitional years, and it should be the task of the folk high school to give answers to these questions.

Before the advent of the high school there was no school for adults in Denmark except the University, and its aim was to educate officials. Grundtvig maintained that a school should be established for "that great part of the people who do not want to become, or cannot possibly become officials, but have to feed themselves and the officials, too." "Only barbarians and tyrants can imagine that this root and kernel of the people — tenants and free-holders, large farmers and small ones, artisans of all kinds, sailors and tradesmen—does not need any more enlightenment than can be obtained behind the plough, in the workshop, on the boat and behind the counter." It is indeed, "the great merit of the Danish school system that it has, so to speak, raised the boy from the poorest cottage to such a position that he is able to take part in the highest activities and rise to the highest position. Such a popular enlightenment would succeed, in a greater or smaller degree, anywhere in Christendom, but I am sure nowhere better than in the Scandinavian countries and particularly in Denmark, which has not been disturbed by outbursts of strong passions but has its greatest danger in dullness and credulity which will throw the victory into the hands of the enemy, if general enlightenment is neglected."

The enlightenment should not be given in Latin — as it was at the University — but in the native tongue. It should give the Danish citizens a thorough knowledge of their country, its social institutions

and its historical development. It should enable them to express their thoughts in clear and good Danish. The young should, therefore, be acquainted with Danish literature, in which the best of the people's spirit has been revealed. The folk high schools should not begin or end with an examination. The task of the folk high school is not to put questions, but to help the youth to find answers to questions. But even future officials should be admitted, for these, above all, need to come into contact with their fellow citizens.[6])

"It would be of great use and real pleasure if there were a well managed farm connected with the folk high school and if this were surrounded by workshops of all kinds, where every young man at the school could see really efficient management of his trade. Such acquaintance with the many-sided practical activities would be a prerequisite for a real understanding of Danish social life and national institutions." Grundtvig really means that civics should not be taught primarily as a classroom subject through dull statistics, but should come from contact with "a lively and intelligent Dane who had travelled all over the country with his eyes open, so that he had come to know birds, animals and human beings, and had gained a real insight into the peculiar characteristics of the Zealander, the Jutlander and the inhabitants of the various small islands, and who could help to bring the young from all parts of the country into a real and living intercourse."

He went further and indicated the great value of making excursions into the country under the leadership of men who had practical insight into political economy and sociology, and were able to inspire students through revealing comments on what they saw. Such a school and such a teacher would not educate the young away from their ordinary work, but would send pupils back to their workshops or farms with an increased interest and a clearer understanding of citizenship and of all human conditions.

Books should have a smaller place in the "Folkehøjskole" than at the University. Books, with all their advantages, are merely a picture of life, a memory of life that was once lived. A merry joke, an indignant exclamation, an inspired speech, however, are direct and

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[6]) Grundtvig maintained that there should be only one university in all three Scandinavian countries, preferably at Gothenburg, Sweden. The scholars there, those who possessed real scientific qualifications, should be absolutely free to do research work and not be under any obligation to teach if they did not wish to do so. The true scientists, according to Grundtvig, will not stand aloof from life. "With united power they will defend life and freedom."

immediate witnesses of the spirit. Therein lies the power of the spoken word. It is this idea Grundtvig expresses when he refers to the spoken word as "living" and to the written word as "dead".

Grundtvig once stated that for him the greatest conflict in the universe was the conflict between life and death. These two words are key-words in his writings and in his actions. He held the Biblical view that man was created of the dust, but, at the same time, in the image of God. Man lives not only in a material world, but also, in a higher, spiritual world. The connection between these two worlds comes about through the word, for the word is the body and the means of expression of the soul. In the battle between the powers of life and death, light and darkness, life would win the victory as long as man was in alliance with God. For God has, through his revelation in Jesus Christ, sent such powerful spiritual forces into the world that man, through their aid, can overcome evil and win eternal salvation.

To Grundtvig human life was so rich and many-sided, so deep and powerful that no man could describe the laws of development of another man. Both the individual and the whole nation must have the freedom to live their own lives in accordance with the deepest impulses of their own nature. Therefore Grundtvig fought for liberty and for man's right to grow in accordance with the inner laws of life. A life can only unfold itself when different forces meet in rivalry. He demanded "freedom for Loke as well as for Thor", for the evil god as well as for the good god, but first and foremost he demanded freedom for the word and "for all that springs from the spirit".

The inner kernel in freedom is the love of fellow man. This leads to mutual respect and a feeling of responsibility which prevent freedom from developing into license and anarchy. Not only man himself but also his surroundings, the world in which he is set, were for Grundtvig the creations of God. For this reason he opposed the attempt of the pietists to set up a barrier between man and "the world". Humanity was to him the prerequisite for Christianity. But he did not regard the "human" as something theoretical and abstract. Rather, mankind is a practical and concrete thing which expresses itself through national life. Humanity everywhere wears the garment of nationality, and if one wishes to ennoble human life one must begin with national life. "Charity begins at home", says the Englishman ... All experience teaches that he who does not love his nearest neigh-

bor does not love the distant ones either; who does not love his own people loves still less all men.

"By a 'nation' (et folk) Grundtvig understood not only a number of people who happen to live within the same frontiers or under the same ruler, but a real spiritual fellowship between people of the same descent, the same way of thought, the same purpose in life — an organism embraced and held together by the bond of the mother tongue. 'National' (det folkelige) for Grundtvig ... signifies the conscious fellowship of a people united around its historic and spiritual values. This unexplainable but unbreakable fellowship was due to a hidden but active life-force which Grundtvig called 'the national spirit' (Folkeaanden). It is this deep, hidden life-force which calls forth and stamps itself upon the life of a nation. The flourishing of national life demands a free and fruitful interaction between the different generations and social classes of the nation, not only a historical fellowship between past, present and future, but also a social relationship which transcends all class differences. All Grundtvig's activities as a clergyman, poet and educator of the people were directed to create this fellowship within the Danish nation."[7])

Grundtvig's concept of a nation could sometimes find expression in words that might suggest a dangerous nationalism. But Grundtvig himself warned against any such misinterpretation. "What I call 'folkelighed' (nationality)", he wrote, "is considerably different from the un-Christian and anti-Christian nationalism being preached in Germany and France." He shared Herder's views of the world full of a number of peoples or nations. Each of them had its own historic time of visitation and its special contribution to make to the life of the human race. It was on the basis of these ideas that he sought to awaken the people of the North to an understanding of their historic past. The best method of achieving this, thought Grundtvig, was to tell them about the life of the human race, to show the development of humanity in the light of history.[8])

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[7]) This quotation is taken from Ernst Borup.

[8]) The educational ideas of Grundtvig are wholly determined by his reverence for life. He called the folk high school "a school for life". By this he understood an education which has for its aim the shedding of light upon the conditions of human life. It is not until we learn to interpret our own experiences in fellowship with others that we can begin to really understand the meaning of life. For a rich and true life is so full of contrasts which have to be united, that the experiences of the individual do not suffice to give us clarity about life. Nor can such clarity be obtained all at once, if

To Grundtvig history does not appear as a meaningless mass of details, but as a great continuity, a real "career of mankind". The young should be led into this stream of history in such a way that they find their place in it and learn from the errors and failures, the feats and victories of mankind. Grundtvig believed in the subjective presentation of history. He thought that the laws of development could be discovered only by those who had a definite philosophy of life as a measuring rod. Students at the folk high school should not be made passive, analytical observers of history, but active participants who themselves could create history. The past should be the basis of the present, and the teaching of it not dry, but living, poetic. Grundtvig said that he discovered "the magic band which unites history and poetry", and he knew the power of the poetic presentation of history over young minds.

Singing must have a prominent place at the folk high schools. Grundtvig himself wrote a great number of hymns and songs, many of which were intended to be used in connection with the lectures on history, and to help create a bond of fellowship between the lecturer and his students. Grundtvig was not a poet in the generally accepted sense of the word. He did not make poems for art's sake. He possessed the genius of a true poet, but he did not care much about form. He had a burning desire to express what stirred his soul and mind. When he spoke in prose he was often ponderous and hard to follow, but when he reached a spiritual height, he burst forth into poetry which poured from his lips like water from a living river. There are a few commonplace spots in his poetry, but, as a rule, it glows with beauty and vigour, and few, if any, Scandinavian poets have equalled him. He wrote his poetry for the many and sang for the nation or the Christian community in rhytms and images which unite souls instead of estranging them from one another. He almost always used "we" instead of "I" in his hymns. For this reason the Danish scholar, Vilhelm Grønbeck said of him, "Grundtvig faces forward towards a new culture. Out of his own directly creative originality, he foreshadows a humanity which will replace isolation with social brotherhood, will prefer the chorus and the march to tunes at

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ever. One of Grundtvig's most important education ideas is this: life is growth, where everything must come "in the order of nature".

Grundtvig was often obscure. He knew it and preferred obscurity to clarity. "It is an unreasonable demand from my readers that I must express something clearer than I see it, or that I must keep silent about what great glories I see because it is, what of necessity it must be: obscure.

The Aged Grundtvig.

sunset, and will prefer life itself to the contemplation and aesthetic enjoyment of life."

Grundtvig did not formulate a detailed plan for his folk high school. He, who understood his people and other peoples so well, had not the same insight when he was dealing with individuals in practical life and probably would not have been able to convert his idea into a concrete form. He indicated the broad outline of his folk high school but with his common sense he left the organization of it to those who would venture the experiment. However, so rich was his personality and so overwhelming his influence on his disciples that when the folk high schools did begin to spring up they all bore the imprint of Grundtvig's views.

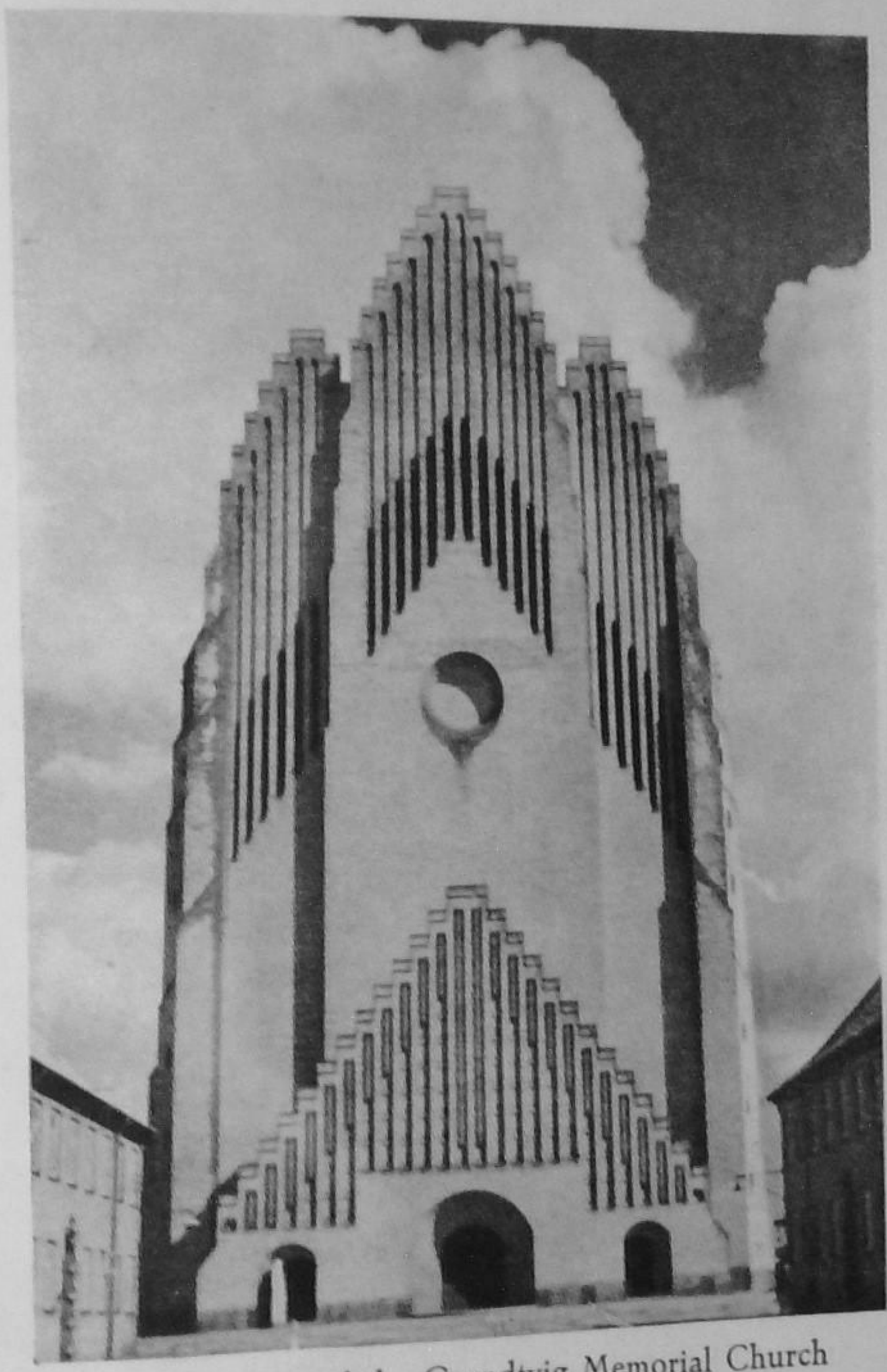
Grundtvig's personality is not easily understood. Professor Vilhelm Grønbeck said of him that "he grows more mysterious the closer we come to him." Life fermented and rushed up within him. But he had the strength of a hero to carry on his battle. Three times he nearly gave way. His mind was darkened and his thoughts were

deranged, but each time he came through, and then felt that man cannot fight his way to salvation on his own strength, but must take everything as a gift of grace from God. His long life was a working day of heroic dimensions. His poetic works and hymns comprise fourteen or fifteen thick volumes. As an historian he showed great thoroughness and went direct to his sources in ancient foreign languages — Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Old Norse. He could read both English and German. It was rightly said of him, "He performed the work of three generations."

Grundtvig was married three times. His second wife bore him a son when he was seventy-one and his third wife a daughter when he was seventy-seven. He preached his last sermon a few days before his death and wrote his last poem only the day before. Obstinate, intolerant, uncompromising while he was young, he had lost — for a period — his office in the church[9]) and had made a host of enemies at the university and in public life. His happiness grew with age, however. Even though all his life he held a dread of the horrors of death, he ended by putting forth a concept of Christianity which has in Denmark been called "joyful Christianity" (den glade Kristendom). This must not be taken as meaning a superficial, cheap kind of Christianity, but rather as a preaching of Christianity in which joy in the Gospel overwhelms the fear of the law. At the time of his death he was considered as being the greatest son of his country. Indeed, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnsen, the Norwegian poet, hailed him as the greatest son of the whole North.

There is no more fitting memorial to Grundtvig's life and work than the beautiful church which was built by the Danish architect, Jensen Klint, at Bispebjerg, one of the suburbs of Copenhagen. The great edifice stands, broad and solid, like Grundtvig himself, as if it had grown out of and were rooted in the Danish soil. Yet it is a temple which lifts itself and its environs towards the heavens, strong and pure in line and form. Seen from the distance, it appears like a greatly magnified village church, while if looked at from the large window of the neighboring municipal school or from the streets surrounded by the houses built by the workers' cooperatives, its monumental strength is almost felt by the onlooker. The church was built through subscriptions from the rural and urban population and from public grants. It has become, like the great personality it commemorates, a veritable symbol of Danish unity.

[9]) Grundtvig's title of Bishop was honorary.



The Frontage of the Grundtvig Memorial Church
at Bispebjerg, Copenhagen.
Designed by Jensen Klint.

It bears witness to Grundtvig's conception of a nation as an integrated whole, whose unity is derived not from laws and social regulations, but from the consciousness of the highest values in the individual member. He had visualized a school which gathered into itself young farmers, workers and university students — a school for the whole people, inspired by the "Living Word", a school for life. But for Grundtvig, there was no unbridgeable gulf between this life and the hereafter. So profoundly and intensely was he interested in man's earthly life, that its vast possibilities embrace eternity as well as time. In his school as in his church, in his songs as in his hymns, rays from eternity glimpse through and, at times, sparkle brightly with life-giving power.

The Folk High School Takes Root in the Nation.

The only concrete suggestion that Grundtvig made in connection with his folk high school idea was the plan for a large Danish high school at the old royal academy of Sorø in mid-Zealand. Many people think it was just as well that his plan was not carried out at once.[10]) Instead of one great institution, many small schools came into being and have possibly made for a more organized development. The small schools offered greater opportunities for personal contact which Grundtvig considered a first principle of education.

The first actual experiment was made at Rødding in North Slesvig in 1844. Christian Flor, a professor of Danish Literature at the German university of Kiel, then on Danish soil, thought that the folk high school idea could be used to meet the rising national spirit of the Germans by giving the North Slesvig peasantry, who were Danish, a cultural stronghold. The war of 1848—50 suspended the school's activities for a time, and when the war ended and North Slesvig remained Danish, there were those who wished to turn the Rødding school into an agricultural college. Sofus Høgsbro, who was then principal, and Christian Flor successfully opposed the idea; but it was not until the school moved to Askov on the other side of the new border, after the defeat of 1864, that it became a regular Grundtvigian folk high school. Flor's school had somewhat the character of a small university, rather unsuited to the needs of the peasants. The courses were too long (two winters and the intermediate summer) and too expensive for any except the wealthiest farmers' sons, and the school's national mission was not quite in keeping with Grundtvig's conception of the function of a high school.[11])

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[10]) The most famous and largest of the folk high schools, Askov, later approached Grundtvig's dream of Sorø.

[11]) The school did not, however, become a fanatical institution, as might have been feared. In the first principal's inauguration speech, he conjured the great Valdemar period in the 12th and 13th centuries from the grave. Then the peasantry had been capable and respected. Now the peasant had again appeared as the backbone of the nation; but if he was to play his part he must be enlivened and enlightened. But the enlightenment they were to receive should be urged by love of country, its language and history. "To love one's own country", the speech continued "is not the same as hating one's enemies". Although the German language and literature has in some respect been injurious to us "no nation is more spiritually and intellectually indebted to the Germans than we Danes are". (From Johs. Novrup: Adult Education in Denmark).

After North Slesvig's reunion with Denmark in 1920 a large Danish folk high school was again established at Rødding, with Hans Lund as principal.

It was left to a man of the common people to establish the pattern of the Danish folk high school. Christen Kold (1816—1870) has been called a "rustic blend of Socrates and Pestalozzi". Others might find a similarity between him and George Fox. He was a shoemaker's son who understood the people's needs and was able to speak in a language they could understand.

Kold's father wished his son to follow his own trade, but the boy was so awkward with cobbler's tools that his parents gave up the attempt and sent him instead to a teachers' training college. There he experienced a religious awakening that opened his mind and made him a serious student. His individualistic methods of teaching, however, brought him into conflict with the authorities. Then he went to Syria where he lived as a missionary's helper and later as a book binder. In Syria he learned "to be content with little, to see God's hand in everything, and to realize that there were fewer differences between races than he had supposed". He also learned the value of silence and of listening to others. All this was useful to him when he returned to Denmark resolved to found a folk high school.

As a first step he went to Grundtvig to ask advice and help. He had saved fifty-five pounds and wanted seventy more. Grundtvig helped him though Kold did not take his advice about the age of admission for students. He preferred boys of fifteen to those of eighteen, who, as he said, were too interested in their sweethearts and their pipes. He opened his school at Ryslinge in 1850 after sending out invitations to the countryside. Only one applicant responded and Kold almost lost heart, but was reassured in his mission when on the opening day several cartloads of peasant lads turned up unexpectedly. He was able to open his school with fifteen boys. But he presently had to admit that Grundtvig was right: the young boys could not understand him, and he had to leave them to his fellow-teacher. After that first year he revised his program to meet the needs of older students, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. It was he who established the five-months' winter term, from November to March, when the boys could best be spared from their work on the farms. Later he introduced a three-months' summer course for girls, which ran, as it still does, through May, June and July.

At the time of his religious awakening Kold had been brought into contact with the layman's movement, and it was chiefly from homes where religion held first place that his students came. His method was to "enliven" first and then to "awaken", and indeed he under-

stood how to keep the interest of his peasant lads alive. Sometimes when the spirit moved him, and he talked with them about Danish history or Bible history, or on thoughts or personalities that had made a deep impression on him, they forgot their leisure time, meals, and everything else. He created a school wherever he went, but it was a school without marks or examinations. Some of the more utilitarian-minded farmers objected that they were getting no practical results from the teaching and could not even remember it. "If you are putting drain pipes in the soil", Kold told them, "you have to mark the places where you put them, but when you sow corn you need no markers; in the time of harvest you will see the results".

The results did come, material as well as spiritual. To Christen Kold, more than to anyone else, is due the practical development of the folk high school. He made the daily life among students and teachers who had "everything in common" so plain and frugal that he kept everybody but peasants away.[12]) But these peasants afterwards became champions of the farmers' economic and political democracy.[13])

Though the folk high schools never joined any special political party they were as a rule — not always — to be found in the rank and file of Danish democracy. Thanks to the folk high schools, which from 1870 up to the present Times have attracted to their winter and summer courses every third or fourth member of the youth of the countryside, the plain farmers have been able to follow the lead of the pioneers. In return, the farmers have secured to the folk high schools full freedom to follow their own methods.

"It is of no use to feed my hens", said a farmer member of Parliament when the government wished to assume control of the high schools, "if at the same time I tie a string around their necks".

Grundtvig said about Kold, that he was Denmark's, perhaps the world's greatest schoolman at that time. Many have agreed with Grundtvig in this verdict. Kold is in their opinion the only practical educational genius Denmark has fostered. By the power of his words, in virtue of his inspired

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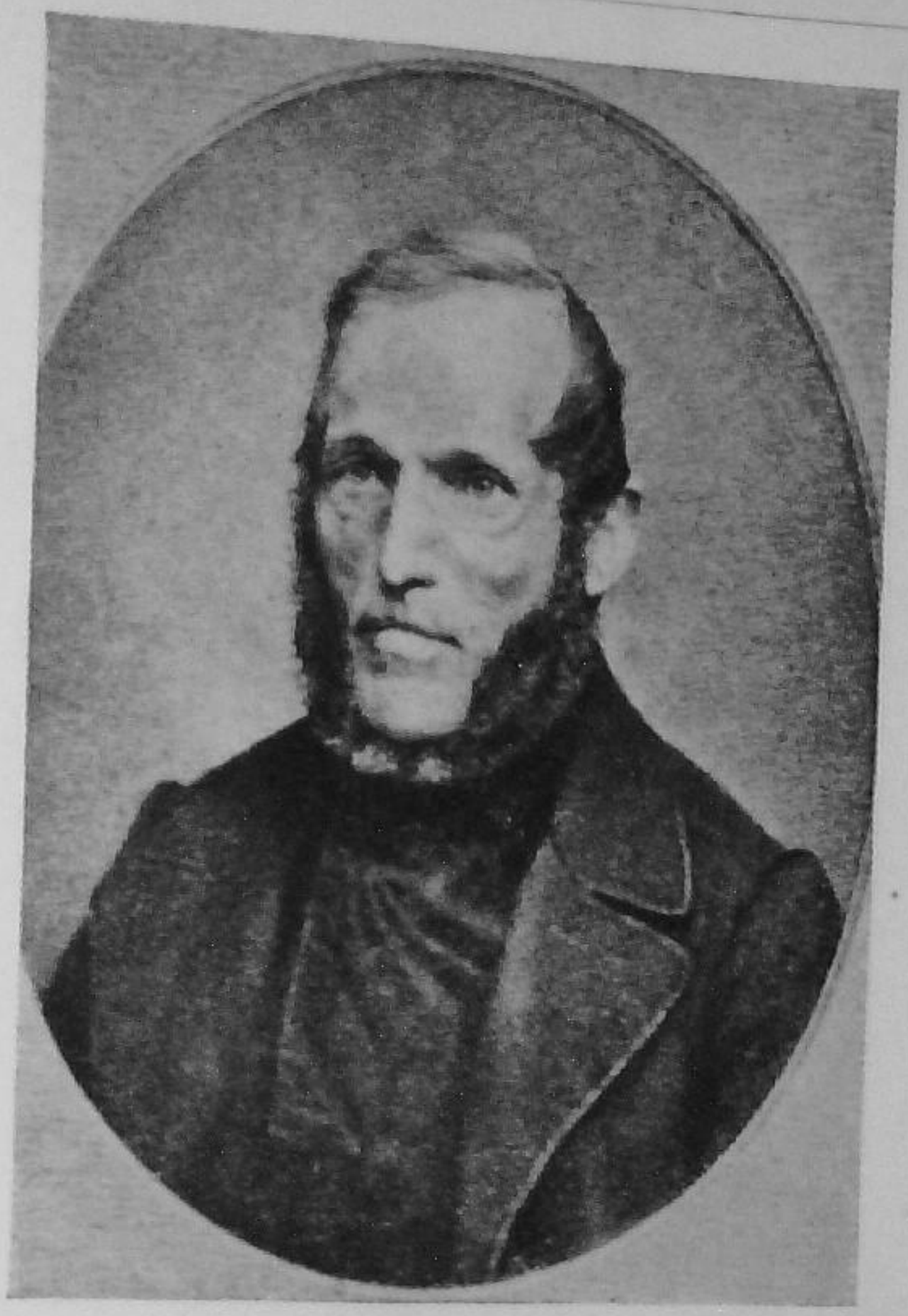
[12]) As late as 1925—26 only 7 % of the folk high students came from the towns. The number has slightly increased since then, but only in years with much unemployment in urban industries.

[13]) A rough examination of the available information for the whole country shows that of all chairmen of the cooperative dairy associations, 54 % had attended folk high schools, 23 % agricultural schools, and 2 % dairy schools. Hans Lund, in "Begtrup, Lund and Manniche: The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community", 4th edition, Oxford Press, page 53.



Christen Kold.

personality, he "made all that he touched living". He spoke till his students became part of the world of gentleness, peace and beauty, into which he carried them. And they felt that this world was reality, because he himself lived as he spoke. His love of simplicity was similar to Gandhi's. In the years he struggled to find means for the school, he mostly lived on bread and milk. He showed his contempt for those who lived in luxury or who felt aloof from the ordinary man. He dressed simply so that poor students should not feel out of place. "If life is to be true," Kold said, "it must be simple and direct. So is everything that comes from God."

His educational methods were revolutionary. He reacted against the current practice of making pupils learn by rote. He held strongly to the view that teachers should be so engrossed in their subjects and in their calling as educators that the drive and energy inspired by their love for their work could animate the work of the pupils. His criticism of learning from books has, however, not always experienced a healthy influence on many of his followers, who copied his example, but did not possess his genius.

Kold was not always easy to collaborate with, for he followed his own ideas and was not guided by the judgment of other men. But he turned the wheel of the cultural life of the Danish peasants and opened up new paths for them. At a certain period of his life he had felt, like Grundtvig, that his own desperate efforts to reach perfection were crowned with success only in the same degree that they were made completely subordinate to the grace of a loving God. From the moment Kold realized this, love became the determining factor in his relations to his fellow beings. This love made him capable of finding the form of teaching that harmonized with the spirit of the peasants of his time.

He was a trustworthy guide and did not lead the peasant youth astray, for his mind showed a right balance of elements mutually correlative.

He had the immediate faith of a child and saw God's hand in every detail of life. At the same time he was a very critical nature, sober and realistic. He had a vision of a grand future for his people, and after his stay in Syria, indeed, for the whole human race. Yet his everyday efforts in the school he created were concentrated on making this a *home* for his students, and he never tired of emphasizing that the home is the individual cell on the health of which the life of the organization of society depends.

He was born in a town, but was of peasant descent, rooted in the soil and with an ingrown respect for personal property, yet completely determined by the idea, that this property was only a means to higher ends, and the use of it should be completely determined by due regard to the good of all.

Early in 1849, Uldum Folk High School, situated near Vejle, Jutland, was started, and in 1851 the school was able to move into its own building. This school was inaugurated by Rasmus Sørensen, a primary schoolteacher. Farmers of the district helped him in the erection of the building just as they had helped Christen Kold at Ryslinge. Uldum High School was the realization of hopes and dreams long cherished by Sørensen. For years he had been travelling up and down the country with the purpose of rousing the peasantry both politically and religiously.

A teacher of the school, who had formerly taught at Rødding, made a comparison between the schools at Rødding and Uldum. He wrote about the latter, "The school-room ceiling is pitched much too low, tobacco smoke and moisture from the large number of persons accumulate on the beams and drip down. It is worst near my desk, so I am sometimes obliged to put on my rain-cloak; but that doesn't matter; good spirits and an agreeable attitude of mind prevail here—that's the main thing. We haven't any books, neither for the teachers nor for the pupils. We teachers have to produce everything out of ourselves. Perhaps it is all to the good, for then we are not tempted to become too learned; but I must admit that I miss the large collection of books we had at Rødding. — There are always folks from the village or district, the coffee pot is never off the fire and some of them prefer brandy to cream in their coffee." (From Johs. Novrup: Adult Education in Denmark).

Soon the school became the centre of meetings for people living in the district. It is now one of the largest folk high schools in Denmark.

When Christen Kold and Rasmus Sørensen made the initial experiment in setting up a typical folk high school, the movement was given momentum by a group of five young university men, gifted theologians, who formed a club known as the Little Theologicum. They met at their different homes in Copenhagen and studied the New Testament together. The soul of the club was the young enthusiastic Ernst Trier, of Jewish blood, fiery and full of ideas and imagination. The head was Ludvig Schrøder, a man of practical in-

tellect, who was always able to turn the discussions into fruitful and constructive channels.

All five were familiar with Grundtvig's views, and the national tragedy of 1864 led them to give up careers in church or science to devote their lives to folk high school work. Ludvig Schrøder followed Sofus Høgsbro as principal of Rødding as early as 1862. After the war of 1864 he moved the school to Askov, where he and his splendid wife, working under conditions nearly as simple as those at Ryslinge, made a school home which became a dynamic centre of farmers' activities. Schrøder's idealism, coupled with his practical sense and a tremendous capacity for work, made him the foremost folk high school man of his time, and Askov became the largest of the folk high schools.

Ernst Trier founded the school at Vallekilde; and this man who came from a wealthy bourgeois home was the keenest of all to insist on the necessity of "plain living and high thinking". It was he, too, who first perceived the possibilities that the folk high schools held for other classes of the population than farmers, and he established technical courses for artisans at Vallekilde. Later several other folk high schools followed his example; but it is chiefly rural artisans who attend these schools.

In the seventies and eighties a number of high schools of the Grundtvig type were founded by university men, teachers, and enlightened farmers without degrees, but with a burning desire to pass on to others what had helped to enrich their own lives. As the farmers' prosperity increased, the schools grew with them and developed a little more comfort, though an Englishman who visited them as late as in the Nineties would have looked in vain for a bath tub, much as he would have done in England a generation earlier.

"Of all the younger high school men, Ludvig Schroder was perhaps the one who carried Grundtvig's ideas most thoroughly into application. Under his guidance, with the help of Poul la Cour,[14]) all the many subjects taught at Askov were fused into a living unity within the mould of a wide "historical education". His influence permeated the whole work of the school, and his deep, sincere and serious personality had a lasting influence on his pupils. In everyday intercourse he appeared somewhat reserved and unapproachable.

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[14]) Poul la Cour (1846—1908) a younger brother of Jørgen la Cour (the founder of the first Danish agricultural school) was of French Huguenot descent. He possessed great gifts as a folk high school teacher, as a scientist and as an inventor. The great Danish author, Martin Andersen Nexø, who in 1893 attented Askov, was deeply impressed by his personality. (Author's note)

but in the lecturehall he was able to disclose the riches of his inner life to his listeners, and afterwards the students would for hours be discussing his lectures. Schrøder was a man of a wonderfully versatile activity — lecturer, organizer, member of Parliament, writer on widely different subjects, publisher of songbooks for the high schools, and one of the three directors of the Society for the Reclamation of the Jutland Heaths. It is characteristic of him that whereas his favourite lecture subject was old Scandinavian mythology, which he used as a vehicle for the expression of his philosophy of life, one of his best-known books was *The Natural Resources and Industries of Denmark*. For all his essentially romantic outlook on life, Schrøder was a realist in a very practical sense. He believed in the "poetry of human activity", the romance of daily work. The story is told of him that once when a guest complained that he could not get enough hands to weed his turnips and milk his cows, Schrøder exclaimed, "Is that really so? Can't you get anyone to help you weed, and are your daughters unable to get anyone to help them milk the cows? Or do you mean to say that you and your daughters are above weeding turnips and milking cows and that you give this work into the hands of hired strangers? If so, I can quite understand why you have difficulty in adapting your farm to modern requirements. You must change your course. You must not regard any kind of farm-work as menial labour to be left to hired hands; hired labor is often incompetent. Take part in the work yourself, and show laborers that work ennobles a man. Get everybody who works on the farm to feel that they work in fellowship and that they are all respected as human beings. Then you will soon find that all have come to regard it as a matter of honor that the farm is run on modern, efficient lines, and you will be able to sow twenty acres with turnips". Schrøder was in advance of most other high school men in his interest in the social questions raised by the Industrial Revolution. As a member of Parliament he did good work in the interest of housing reform. Once when he had lectured in Ribe on the development of a happy human life, a "poor worker" who had listened to the lecture wrote him saying that was all very well for rich folks, merchants and officials, but there were also poor folks among his listeners, and next time he lectured in Ribe he had better choose another subject, for 'we have no childhood, we have no youth, we have no soul in our homes'. Schrøder never forgot those words; they gave a strong driving force to the keen interest in sociology which he showed in after years.

This many-sided interest of Schrøder's left its mark on the life of Askov. He was always eager to extend the work of the school, and to bring it into contact with other fruitful activities. He was glad to find a little town springing up around the high school like the towns that sprang up in the Middle Ages around some famous monastery; to see an eminent folk-lorist like H. F. Feilberg coming to make his home at Askov; and to watch a sloid school, a weaving school and similar institutions gradually growing up in the neighborhood. He welcomed the establishment of la Cour's experimental windmill and Frederik Hansen's experimental plant station as a fulfilment of Grundtvig's wish that the high school students should have examples of practical activities before their eyes; and his own model farm, where for a time he was the proud possessor of the best milch cow in Jutland, served the same ideal. When Niels Pedersen, a former student and teacher at Askov, founded his Agricultural School at Ladelund in 1879, he had Schrøder's warm approval. Schrøder heard with pleasure too of the establishment by two other Askov students, Jørgen Petersen and Hans Appel, of the now well-known Agricultural School at Dalum.

At Askov,

by Erik Henningsen, 1902. Ludvig Schrøder is lecturing. Standing Jacob Appel, who, in 1906, became principal of Askov and from 1910—13 Minister of Education. To the right is professor la Cour sitting, and in the front to the right the folklorist, H. F. Feilberg. The ladies are Ingeborg Appel (née Schrøder) and Charlotte Schrøder.

From the early days at Rødding it was customary to hold occasional public meetings at the high school for the people of the district, and this practice was continued at Askov, where, at the first public meeting, Schrøder spoke on the myth of Idunna, Nutzhorn on Germanism in Denmark, and Fenger on spavin in horses — a characteristic program. Moreover, Schrøder and his fellow-teachers often delivered lectures in different parts of the country in the intervals of their school work, and did much to help the movement for the establishment of lecture halls in Danish villages. Christen Kold had held meetings for school teachers at his high school during the summer holidays, and after Kold's death Schrøder adopted this practice at Askov. From Peter Larsen, the famous lay preacher, he got the idea of holding 'Autumn Meetings', where farming people could gather together for a few days of lectures and singing and hospitable entertainment after the harvest had been gathered. These meetings afterwards became general throughout Denmark. Another type of meeting which Schrøder initiated at Askov was the gathering to celebrate the Constitution of 1849, held yearly in Skibelund Grove near the high school, and attended by thousands of Danes from both sides of the border. An Old Students' Association was formed in 1887, and another link with the old students was provided by the paper *Højskolebladet*, which Konrad Jørgensen,[15]) a former member of the school, started with Schrøder's

[15]) Severin Jørgensen's brother.

support in 1876. In all these ways, and in others as well, Askov under Schrøders' leadership came in active and widespread intercourse with the life of the Danish people, to the enrichment of both groups. Not only this, but Askov became a centre for the spread of the high school ideal to other lands. Many of the leaders of the Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish High School movements came to Askov either as visitors or as students; the founder of the first Danish High School in America, Olav Kirkeberg, received his training there; and few years passed without bringing inquirers from one or another foreign country to this powerful "focus" of the high school's life.[16])

(Quoted from Dr. Noelle Davies: "*Education for Life*", Williams and Norgate Ltd., 1931).

In time Askov established a training course for folk high school teachers, and its curriculum — also in its regular courses — tends to be more advanced than in the ordinary high schools. But like the other folk high schools, Askov does not prepare for any examination or degree.

In formulating the aim of the folk high school teaching, Mr. Alfred Poulsen, who was principal of Ryslinge Folk High School, and from 1891 to 1916 the chairman of the Union of Folk High Schools and Agricultural Schools, expressed himself as follows: "The greatest gifts of life — spiritual and cultural values — are for everyone, and the task of the folk high school is to guide the young to make these gifts their own." A Danish poet, Chr. Hostrup, who has written some of the best folk high school songs, pithily expresses the folk high schools endeavor in relation to its students in the line: "Only teach them what is worthy of love."

Modern folk high school teachers will probably agree with Ernst Borup, the former principal of Grundtvig's folk high school at Lyngby, that the Grundtvigian Folk High School seeks "to educate people and give them a right attitude towards life, not in the form of a ready made philosophy of life, but by helping the students to think for themselves and teaching them to distinguish between true and false values and strengthening their will to choose the right way, even if it is perhaps the hardest to tread."

In practice, folk high school teaching as it has been given in most schools may be summed up under the following heads: —

1) The teaching should satisfy the desire of the students for the useful knowledge which everybody needs and in which students as a rule are most directly interested. This often takes the form of

[16]) Mrs. Olive Dame Campbell in 1922 visited Askov and several other folk high schools. Her experience there was the genesis of her well-known book: The Danish Folk School, Macmillan Co., New York, 1928, and her own American folk school at Brasstown, N. C. (Author's note).

The Lecturer Commands Attention.
From Grundtvig's Folk High School at Frederiksborg.

freshening up the knowledge of the mother-tongue, arithmetic and writing, which they acquired in the elementary school, or of instruction in such subjects as physics, chemistry, botany, geography, hygiene, sociology, book-keeping, drawing, and similar subjects. In all the folk high schools subjects of this kind are studied, but the government doesn't require any special subject on the curriculum. Some of the subjects mentioned may predominate at the cost of others.

2) The teaching is not confined to meeting the momentary interests and everyday demands of the students. It serves to arouse new interests and widen their horizon, to open up new views of the great world outside and of human problems. Here the method is the informal lecture on historical, literary, religious and social subjects, on art and science, on great personalities and the main lines of cultural development.

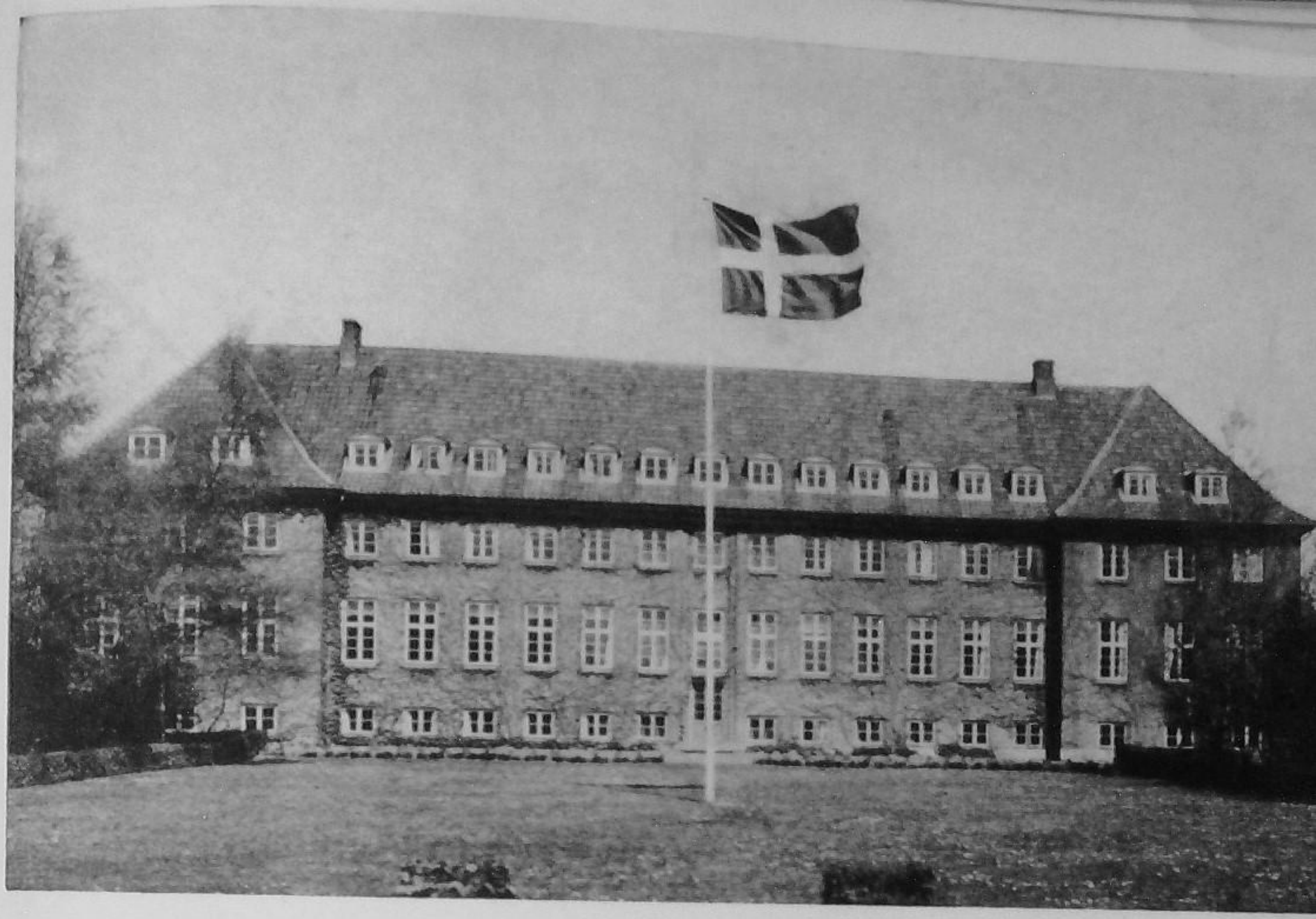
3) One of the principal aims of folk high school teaching is to give a general orientation amidst the Kaleidoscope confusion of existence. For this purpose subjects like geography, civics, history, literature, etc. are used. Often the first step is a thorough geographical

and historical introduction to conditions in the students' own country. But this soon leads to a comparison with other countries and to descriptions and appraisements of different forms of culture, social systems and philosophies of life.

A good deal is said in the folk high schools about man's environment, about natural and social conditions, but it is all eventually directed to throwing light upon human life itself and on its deepest problems. These great questions can seldom be answered, but merely having them raised and discussed with teachers and fellow students may be a great experience for a folk high school student. His thoughts are actuated, imprisoned forces are released, his will is awakened. Grundtvig has expressed the matter as follows: "We must win the young for life, not for ourselves or our own special opinions, not for any fixed or final order of things or ideas, but for life—noble, active, human life—which is equally noble in every station when it shapes itself not according to the station of life but according to the spirit which hovers freely above us all," or "To know oneself and one's God is of far greater value than glittering gold."

An example of the work done some twenty years ago at an ordinary high school with courses of normal length (nineteen weeks for men and twelve for women) is shown in the following table.

Subjects	Men's Course	Women's Course
	Weekly Hours	Weekly Hours
Danish	7.9	7.3
Handwriting	0.7	0.3
Reading aloud, and History of Literature	2.9	2.9
History and Danish Law and Social conditions	10.8	11.2
Geography	1.9	1.9
Natural Sciences and Hygiene	3.5	3.3
Arithmetic	5.5	4.0
Drawing	2.5	0.4
Singing	1.4	1.9
Gymnastics	4.8	5.4
Sewing	—	9.6
Agricultural Subjects	3.2	—
Domestic science	—	1.3
Other Subjects	2.4	1.5
Total	49.5	51.0



Haslev.

The Grundtvigian influence was also apparent in the folk high schools established by "*Inner Mission*", an intensely religious movement which is described in the chapter, "A Danish Village", pages 223—24. These schools, while they have put a stronger emphasis upon Bible study than do the typical Grundtvigian schools, have at the same time stressed the importance of imparting "useful knowledge".

The first high school of this movement was established in 1887 at Nørre Nissum in Jutland. The Rev. Ad. L. Hansen taught his seventeen students in the large common room of his vicarage and used its barn for a gymnasium. This school was soon recognized as a folk high school, was given State support and acquired its own buildings. In the following years other buildings were added, one with a department for artisans and another which became a training college for primary school teachers.

In 1891 a folk high school was founded at Haslev in Zealand on the initiative of the Rev. Vilhelm Beck, the leader of the movement. P. G. Davidsen, one of the teachers at Nørre Nissum Folk High School, became the principal of this new school. He not only succeeded in developing the folk high school but also was instrumental in the creation of new schools at Haslev. In the course of time a training college for teachers, an agricultural school, a school for artisans and a high school preparatory to the University were est-

Letters are Distributed.

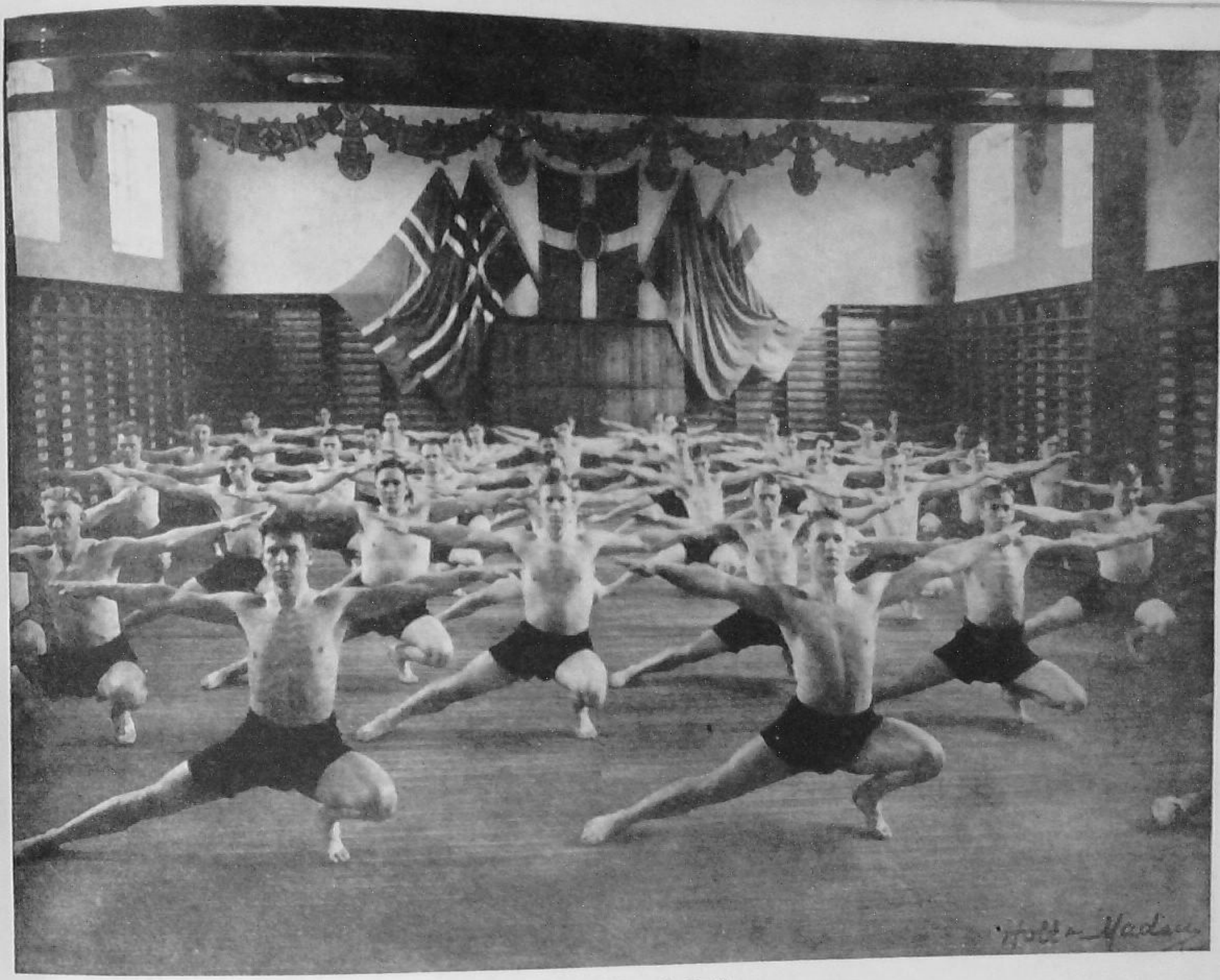
At Dalum Agricultural College. Johs. Petersen-Dalum, principal, standing.

ablished at Haslev, which thus became an educational centre of the Inner Mission Movement.

Related to Inner Mission is the Lutheran Mission movement which got its own folk high school at the town of Hillerød in Northern Zealand. Its principal, Fritz Larsen, in his teaching of natural science, is akin to Poul la Cour (see page 113).

The *Danish Agricultural Schools* have been called the Children of the folk high schools. It was the success of the folk high schools that encouraged people to found schools with a *technical-agricultural training as the main purpose*. Only one agricultural training centre (Næsgaard) was founded simultaneously with the first folk high schools. All the rest are of a later date, the first typical agricultural college (Lyngby) being founded in 1867 by Captain Jørgen la Cour. Several of the agricultural schools were originally folk high schools.

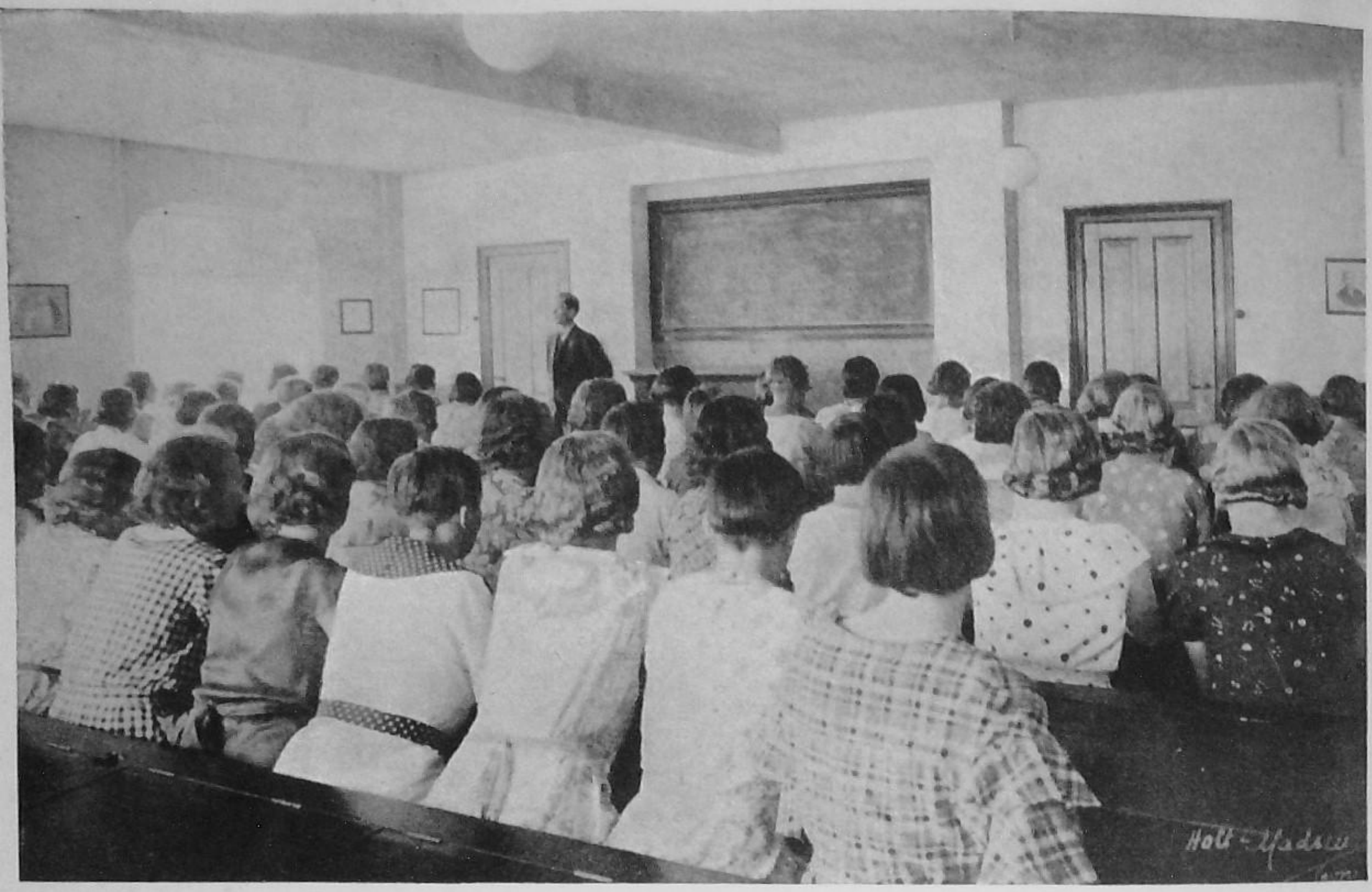
Niels Pedersen, who in the latter part of the seventies erected Ladelund Agricultural School near Askov (see page 67), was one of



From an Agricultural College.

Schrøder's pupils. A few years later Jørgen Petersen and Hans Appel (also former students of Askov Folk High School) started another large agricultural school at Dalum, near Odense, where Kold's school had been situated. Among other agricultural schools that sprang up, Tune Agricultural School has already been mentioned (page 66) as has Haslev (page 119). The principal of Asmildkloster Agricultural School, H. Hauch, has twice been Minister of Agriculture and was for many years the president of the Agricultural Council.

At most agricultural colleges there have been two courses, one of 5 or 6 month's duration beginning in November and another of 3 months' duration as an extension course in direct continuation of the winter course. The winter course is mainly a theoretical-technical course, the main subjects on the curriculum being plant-growing and stock-breeding, with a number of lessons in the natural sciences (physics, chemistry, botany, zoology) as the basis. But such subjects as the knowledge of agricultural implements and machinery,



A Grundtvigian Continuation School.

agricultural economics, budgeting and account keeping are important items on the curriculum. Besides these agricultural subjects history, civics, reading and writing are also taught.

Most of the subjects are introduced to the students by a series of lectures. But the students have to do individual work such as the writing of papers, attending study circles and taking part in laboratory work in connection with the different subjects.

Between one-third and one-half of all those farmers who have a holding of their own have been either to a folk high school or to an agricultural school*) or to both. Only about 25 % of the folk high school students and 35 % of the agricultural school students have had other than primary schooling. The gap between these schools and the primary school, which is generally left at the age of 14, is usually spent in apprenticeships on the farms or in workshops. During and after the last war some 10 to 15,000 pupils annually have attended vocational agricultural training, at courses, which are closely connected with the agricultural societies (see page 40), and mainly held in the winter evening. They must, to obtain Government grants, comprise at least 30 hours and be attended by at least 20 pupils.

About 2 % of the school population, chiefly in rural areas, attend the so-called *"Free Schools"*, which are established for the primary

*) In 1947—48 there were 25 agricultural schools with 2.376 students.

grades by parents who share the Grundtvigian view of life. They are supported by public grants, but the parents have control. Many of Grundtvig's followers have also started residential *Continuation Schools* (Efterskoler), often named *Youth Schools*, for boys and girls beyond the primary grades. In many cases parents who wish their children to live away from, but also near home before obtaining employment, cooperate in providing school buildings. There were in 1948 about 70 such schools in Denmark with over 4,000 students.

The continuation schools did not really come to the fore until the twentieth century, but they have experienced a rapid growth since the First World War when stress was laid on such practical subjects as woodwork for the lads, cookery, needlework and weaving for the girls. In their teaching of history, geography and similar subjects they have found the method of narration more suitable for their pupils than the lecture method. In spirit and in outward framework (school terms, State support, etc.) they are, however, so close to the folk high school that they may be characterized as "folk schools for adolescents".

One sphere of Danish life the folk high school found it very difficult to approach. It was a long time after the establishment of the farmers' schools before the idea penetrated to *the town workers*. The first disciples of Grundtvig looked to the peasants as the people who might take the lead in the recovery after 1864. It was on this new unexplored stratum of society that such men as Schrøder, Trier, and their companions centered their hopes. Consequently, they did not take work in their own city but went out into the country.

Meanwhile, Copenhagen was passing through a process of transformation. In 1857 the old guild barriers were eliminated, and in the late sixties industrial development created a new and numerically strong stratum of the population — the dependent wage earning class. At first this class occupied itself entirely with the struggle to raise its standard of living.

The Danish church which, at first, had shown an understanding of the peasant was, with a few exceptions, blind to the needs of this new proletariat. It failed to realize that as long as it "dined with the rich" it was useless "to preach to the poor". Be that as it may, the teachings of Karl Marx and German "materialistic" socialism found a fertile soil among the Copenhagen workers. "A drop from the ocean of science is of greater value than half a glass of your

water of life", said a worker to the young theologian, F. Falkenstjerne, who, in 1882, started a small folk high school, which he had to give up after a few years.

But the man who was destined to be the pioneer in folk high school work in Copenhagen was quietly beginning his experiment. Johan Borup, as a young student of his relative, Ernst Trier, determined to give to Copenhagen something of what he had experienced at Vallekilde, but he was more than thirty years old and a theological graduate before he could set to work in earnest. He began with an extensive program of teaching for "men and women of the non-academic class", and his methods of advertising work attracted considerable attention. At first his work prospered, but there came a period when the school seemed doomed to failure. "I read Danish with one person and gave lectures for three or four. It looked as if life was leaving the poor tree I had planted, but, when I stuck a nail into the tree, I noticed that there was sap in it still." Through a series of public lectures Borup succeeded in establishing a connection with some of the trade unions. He then declared his school a "high school". It was not, however, quite the type of school found in the country. It was not a boarding school where the pupils attended lectures and classes from morning till evening. Pupils came and went during the day and especially during the evening. But the central principle of the folk high school was maintained. Borup said that the workers themselves were beginning to demand enlightenment about *life*. "When I now spoke with the young people about the values of life in general and about their own lives, I could detect in their silence that my thoughts at some time had been theirs, but had been partly forgotten and were now welcomed back."

In 1930, Johan Borup acquired his own large and beautiful building in Copenhagen.

Meanwhile the soil had been made ready for two of the political leaders of Social Democracy in Denmark, Mr. C. V. Bramsnæs and Mr. Harald Jensen, to form a *Worker's Educational Association*. It was founded on January 1st, 1924, with the financial help of the trade unions, the Workers' Cooperative Movement, the Social-Democratic Party, and the Social-Democratic Youth. In the course of time the State has made financial grants to the W. E. A., which has a folk high school of its own, Roskilde, and conducts lectures and study circles, book circles and group travelling throughout the country.

Through its widespread activities W. E. A. has contributed largely in giving the rising generation of the working-class social insight and understanding, The work of W. E. A. as well as that of the evening schools which have developed to an astonishing extent, the number of students rising from about 25,000 in 1930 to 185,000 in 1947/48, deserves a much more detailed description than this book, which is concentrating on the folk high schools, affords.

The organizing work is carried on by a committee under the presidency of Mr. Bramsnæs, a former Minister of Finance and now the director of the national bank. The daily administration of the central organization has been in the hands of Christian Christiansen, at one time Minister of Fisheries, and Oluf Bertolt. Besides, there are more than a hundred local educational committees.

Julius Bomholt, M.P.,(former principal of Esbjerg High-School) has indicated some causes for this development. After the World War a rebellion against the mechanization of life and a longing for a richer development arose within the social democratic youth, as it did in other youth groups. Life itself, as Borup had discovered, grew more important than its material goods.

Some of the responsible leaders of the Social Democratic Party, when it came into power and was faced with constructive tasks, took the opportunity to utilize this state of mental unrest for a quiet but very efficient effort, the realization of the workers' ideal of life, which the introduction of the eight-hour-day stimulated. This ideal has both an outward side, which, according to Julius Bomholt, it is the task of the Social Democratic Party to promote, and an inner side, that of personal development which can be accomplished not as an aim in itself but only through service.

Poul Hansen was the principal of Esbjerg Folk High School, which was founded by J. P. Sundbo, M.P., some twenty years before the W.E.A. took part in its administration.[17]) He says: "The Workers' Folk High School has not been the instrument of a superficial political agitation. On the contrary, one of its tasks has been to combat cheap phrases and view points, and to help young people, through personal work to obtain life values and views that are genuine and lasting ... The transformation of society will continue to occupy the minds of all socialists. It is in our blood. But to an increasing degree we have discovered that the working field of the

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17) It is now a school for young fishermen.

Roskilde Folk High School.
The principal, Hjalmar Gammelgaard, standing.

workers' colleges is man himself. We may, after all, be so mean and dirty that even the best social system becomes a worthless frame around dubious contents. If a social system is to be built up on the democratic basis, which, in our country at least, is considered the natural one, this can be done only in connection with an educational work which not only uses the democratic idea as a source of inspiration, but also concentrates on developing the best human powers in the individual."

The workers' folk high schools in particular have emphasized tuition through the medium of study circles. In the study circles, the interest and inspiration aroused through the lectures are transformed into personal work. In this respect the Danish workers' schools have profited by the experience of Sweden where Brunnsvik, Birkagaarden, Viskadalen, Sigtuna, Tärna, Svaløf, Marieborg, Östra Grevie and several other folk high schools in the last few decades have attracted young workers in increasing numbers.

Hjalmar Gammelgaard, the former head of Roskilde Folk High School, and the chairman of one of the greatest socialist youth associations, at first wished Roskilde to train the elite of the workers' youth. He later come to reject this idea. He came to see the great possibilities for cultural development of the working classes as a whole

and realized that it would be dangerous to form an intellectual aristocracy within the working classes that would soon be isolated from their comrades and themselves would suffer from their feeling of superiority. Nevertheless, he felt that, when the rank and file of the unemployed youth are admitted with State support to institutional life in fellowship as they are in Denmark, a proper selection should be made, and those who are unable to concentrate on studies or are morally unfit should attend work camps under more strict discipline than is desirable at a folk high school.

The workers' folk high schools have differed from the other high schools in their choice of subjects. They emphasize those subjects which bear on the life of industrial workers, such as Trade Unionism, Labour Problems, Economic Geography, but the two types of schools are essentially similar in their outward framework, in their relation to the State, and also in their educational principle. The work does not end with any examination or diploma. Their primary aim is to train for Life, not for gaining a living.

Recent experiments within the folk high school system are the Scandinavian folk high schools associated with the names of Geneva, Switzerland, and Frederiksborg[18]) (cf. Frederiksborg Castle in the town of Hillerød, see page 148). Before the war, the Geneva folk high school gathered students from all the Scandinavian countries for a three months' course at Geneva and at other towns in European countries. With the background of the common European culture, it helped its students to realize their own Scandinavian contribution. The Frederiksborg folk high school has succeeded in attracting Swedes, Norwegians and Finns both as teachers and as

18) Frederiksborg Folk High School is called "Grundtvig's Folk High School at Frederiksborg". At Grundtvig's seventieth anniversary, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish friends honored him with a gift of 30,000 kroner to be used for a folk high school to bear his name. It was opened in 1856 in the neighborhood of Copenhagen. Grundtvig himself thus became able to give occasional lectures to its young peasant students. In 1890 the school moved to Lyngby where the first agricultural college had been established, but in 1937 it moved again, this time to Frederiksborg, where one of the prominent folk high school men in Denmark and one of the country's most popular lecturers, Holger Begtrup, in 1895 had founded a school that soon became very large. Holger Begtrup died in 1937. C. P. O. Christiansen, who at his death in August 1951 was succeeded by S. Haugstrup Jensen, was another prominent man in the Danish folk high school world, enthusiastic and inspiring, full of ideas, but faithful to his vision of a northern, indeed universal fellowship, based on Christian brotherhood.

Ryslinge Folk High School.

students. Its principal, the late C. P. O. Christiansen, was also the leading man in a movement to carry through the idea of a Scandinavian folk high school near Gothenburg, Sweden. In the autumn of 1946 a "folk high school for citizenship" was established at Krogerup, between Copenhagen and Elsinore, supported by both the employers' and the employees' unions, as well as by the cooperatives, and headed by the well known youth leader, professor of Church History, Dr. Hal Koch.

In 1950 Johannes Novrup, who for several years had been the State Supervisor of the Danish folk high schools, etc., and who plays a leading part in the work of UNESCO and other international organizations for adult education, became the principal of Magleås Folk High School, near Birkerød. This school was established by Danish peace societies and other bodies interested in international cooperation. Though the language of instruction is Danish and though the school is primarily intended to serve Danish students, it will probably in years to come play an important role in drawing the minds of foreigners to Danish folk high schools, and the minds of Danish folk high school youth to international problems.

The establishment of the workers' folk high schools, the two Scandinavian schools, Krogerup, Magleås, and the International Folk High School at Elsinore, to say nothing of the spread of the folk high school idea into other countries, show that the folk high school has a remarkable power to gain new ground, but, meanwhile,

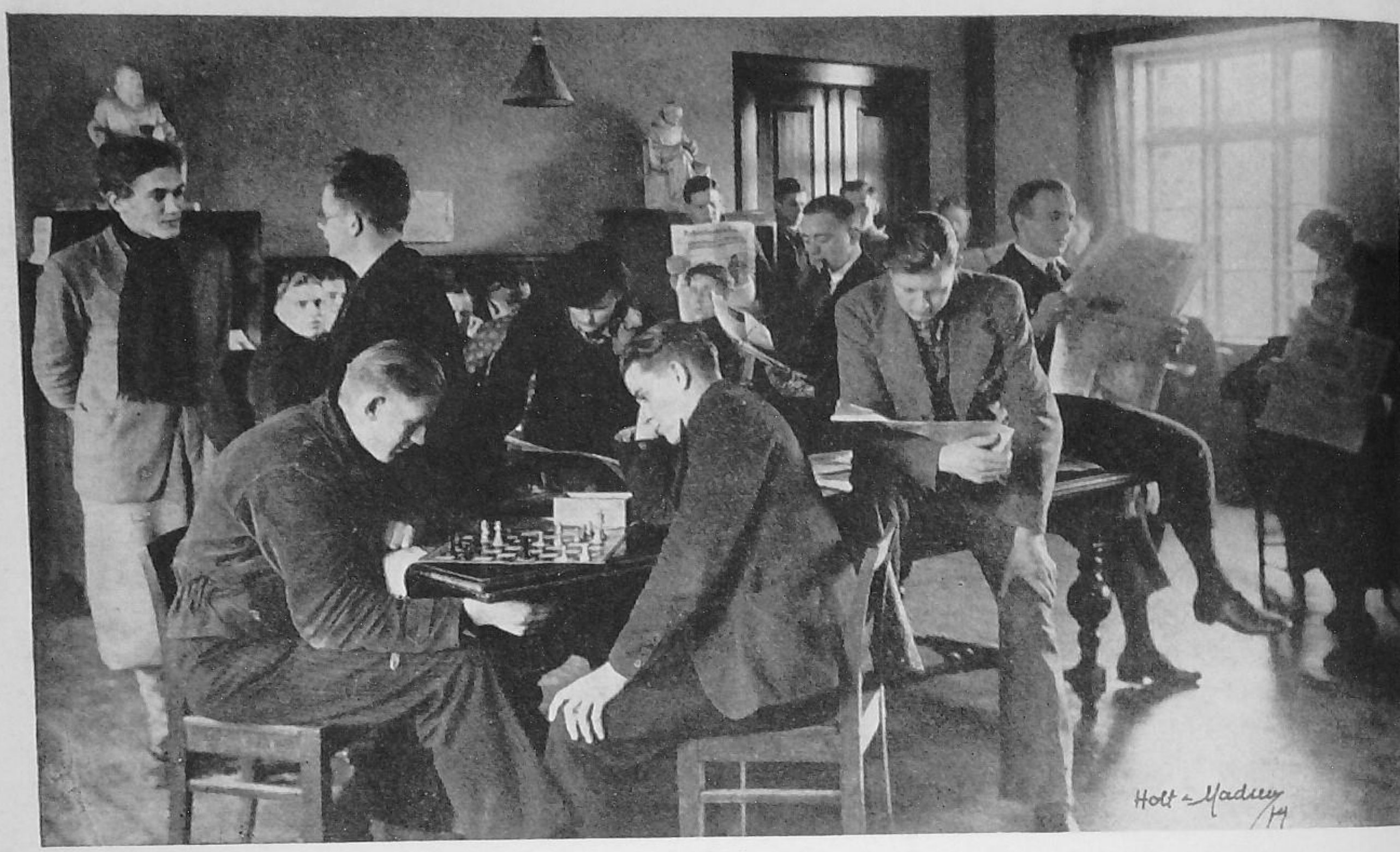
Study Hall in the Library of Askov.

the Danish folk high schools have undergone some changes due to the changes in social and political conditions. A new valuation of ethical standards that has created new problems for their work, and new factors in education such as films, radio, the press and libraries, have had an influence on their teaching.

The Danish Folk High Schools as they are Today.

It is still the rule that the students gather for two or even three hours daily in a lecture hall, but the lectures are often followed by question hours, and an increasing emphasis is placed on the work in reading rooms and libraries. Special hours are set aside for conversation and study circles. The students are encouraged to study and work for themselves, and to make the preparation which is necessary if they are to give a personal contribution to the study circle, and to develop an independent judgment.

The *framework* of the schools has also undergone considerable changes in recent years. Christen Kold began his school in a cottage with two school rooms and a bedroom, where he, his fellow teachers, and the fifteen students all slept together. Now the folk high schools are often small castles, surrounded by restful gardens, and the students' rooms are made for two or three, with central heating, as a rule, and other modern conveniences including baths and sometimes a swimming pool, and always a gymnasium. But with a few exceptions, even the best equipped are still marked by a certain



Relaxation.

A common room scene at Askov.

simplicity, and care is taken, as in Kold's time, that the outward framework of the schools should not differ from the conditions under which the majority of the students have to live when they leave the school.

The Danish folk high school tree has continued to branch out in *new directions*. The Inner Mission Schools, of which there are now ten,[19]) have at Haslev got their own institution with *advanced courses* for former folk high school students. For that matter it has also successfully run short courses for foreign students. The Inner Mission school at Tommerup, on Funen, is one of the largest folk high schools in Denmark, and Haslev School for Artisans accommodates a very large number of students (about 225). This school, like other special schools for artisans is, however, not considered a folk high school in the ordinary sense of the word. They do not get their State support on the same terms as the folk high schools, and their teachers are not members of the union of teachers in folk high schools and agricultural schools.

The link between the agricultural schools and the folk high schools is still close. The administration of the agricultural schools is not under the Ministry of Agriculture, as is the case with the

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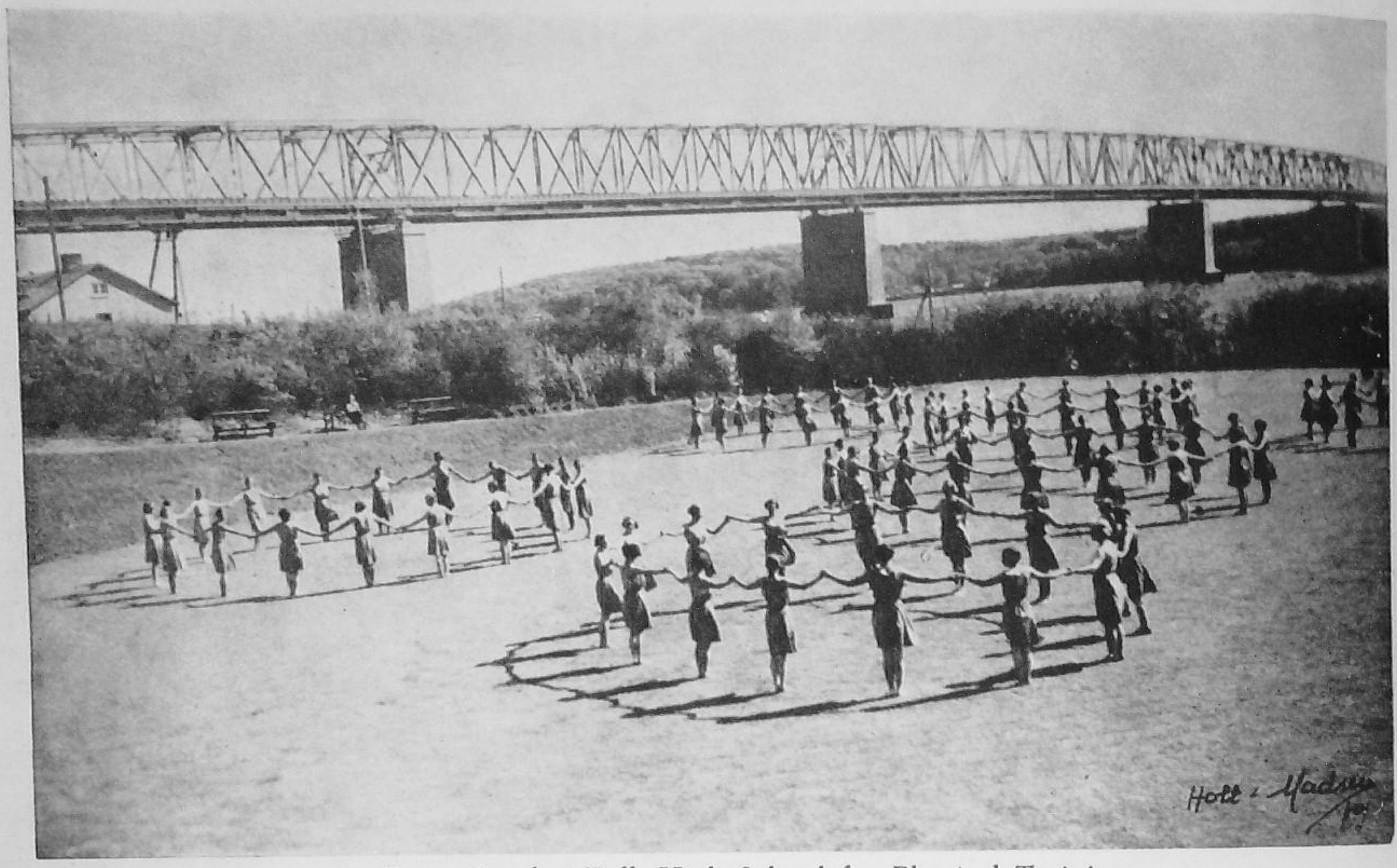
19) The ten schools have in course of sixty years been attended by about 50,000 students.

Store Restrup Folk High School for Small-holders.

In 1912 a small-holders' association for parcelling out land acquired the Store Restrup manor and used the building for a folk high school.

Royal Agricultural College in Copenhagen, but under the Ministry of Education. Their subjects are, indeed, predominantly technical, but there are no examinations or degrees, no attempt to "classify and stamp intelligence", and lectures on general culture are given with a view to maintaining the program outlined by Jørgen la Cour when he started the first school: "The Danish agricultural school is a child of the Danish folk high school and like this it is built on the Christian faith and the life of the people." As the sons of small-holders cannot afford to attend both types of schools, and also for other reasons, special schools for small-holders were established. These schools will probably grow in number and influence. Technically and socially they adapt their instruction to the needs of the small-holders, but at the same time they give subjects of general culture a larger place in the curriculum than the agricultural schools generally do.

The first folk high school for sailors in Denmark, was established at Svendborg on Funen in 1906. This school is inspired by the views of the Inner Mission, whilst the three folk high schools for gymnastics and sports are allied to the Grundtvig type. This may be said especially about the gymnastic folk high school for women which was founded by Miss Jørgine Abildgaard and Miss



From Snoghøj Folk High School for Physical Training.

Anna Krogh at Snoghøj in Jutland. They have built a Grundtvigian free church in one wing of the school building. The first folk high school for gymnastics was founded in 1920 at Ollerup, Funen, by the well-known Niels Bukh,[20]) who had formerly been a teacher of gymnastics at Vallekilde. To train leaders for the voluntary courses in Gymnastics that had spread all over the country during the latter part of the 19th century, many folk high schools started monthly courses in gymnastics. With the Ollerup School, which, under Niels Bukh, developed a thorough training in "primitive gymnastics" which he and his students have made known all over the world, the training of young leaders of gymnastics was made much more systematic, and, in the course of 25 years no less than 10,000 leaders in the towns and in the country had received their training at Ollerup. The Snoghøj gymnastic system for women was originally inspired by the Finnish pioneer Elli Björksten, while Niels Bukh, and the leader of Gerlev School for Sports and Gymnastics (founded 1940), Kristian Krogshede, have built on the Swedish Ling gymnastics.

The three folk high schools for prospective nurses are one of the latest branches of the Danish folk high school tree, but the

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[20]) Niels Bukh died in 1950.

Weaving in a Folk High School.

schools of domestic science,[21]) like the schools for artisans, are subject to special regulations and get their support under a special law, though in spirit most of them are akin to the folk high schools, as are the schools for artisans generally.

"The Workers' Educational Association" is planning to found new folk high schools in the near future. In the early days of the folk high school movement, the peasant students returned home to raise their whole class culturally and economically. Now the same chance and responsibility have come to the industrial workers, and the best of these are bringing new life into the folk high school world.

In 1943/44, about one-third of the town students attended the two workers' folk high schools and Borup's folk high school in Copenhagen. At the 54 folk high schools and 24 agricultural schools then existing, only 1,252 students, i. e. about one-seventh, were from the towns (including the capital, Copenhagen). The failure to attract a larger number of students from the towns is partly responsible for the fact that the folk high schools in the last generation, in spite of

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21) There are 22 State recognized domestic schools, attended by almost 2,000 students.

their many branches, *have not been able to increase their number of students in proportion to the growth in population.*

In 1901/02 there were 6.282 students at the folk high schools and 1,126 at the agricultural schools. In 1941/42, there were 7,206 students at the folk high schools and 3,034 at the agricultural schools.

In 1948 there were about 6,500 students in the 59 folk high schools. The fact remains that whilst the Danish population in the last generation has increased by about 50 %, the number of folk high school students has been practically the same.

It is not possible to give a fully satisfactory account of the causes of this standstill. The demand for technical education at the cost of the desire for "character building" coupled with the increased possibilities for instruction and entertainment through the press, radio, cinema, and municipal evening classes, have not been favorable to the folk high schools and have led to a decreasing appreciation of what is the central motive in their work. The extension of military service from 12 to 18 months may also react unfavorably on folk high school attendance.

However, there is little doubt that economic conditions were essentially the cause of the standstill. The fact that the farming population, to a larger degree than ever before, has been dependent for its livelihood on ever-changing conditions, has turned many young farmers from the economic risk involved in attending a folk high school. The young men and women from the towns have, because of the wide-spread unemployment in the thirties, been particularly hesitant to give up their job to spend a winter or a summer on courses at a folk high school. Furthermore, many of the folk high schools themselves have been suffering from straitened financial conditions. About half of the folk high schools in Denmark are still owned by their principals, and considerable capital is often tied up in buildings and equipment. This capital has to be borrowed and interest has to be paid. The State grants, always modest, and smaller than the State grants to similar schools in other Scandinavian countries, have not been sufficient to enable the schools to meet adequately the increasing demands for equipment and to give reasonable remuneration to a staff of highly qualified teachers.

In Denmark there are to-day about 200,000 ex-students of the folk high schools, and these students, and with them almost the whole population, realize the great influence the schools have had upon the economic, social and cultural development of Denmark.

Therefore, the govern ment is eager to facilitate access to them. A committee, appointed by the then Minister of Education, Jørgen Jørgensen, a Grundtvigian farmer, and consisting of representatives of teachers and principals of the various types of schools, made proposals which with some modifications were embodied in an Act of Parliament on the 4th of July, 1942. In this new Act, the most vital problems of the folk high schools were dealt with and a satisfactory solution was sought.

The schools' relationship with the State has always been one of the main issues in the Danish folk high school world. The new law of 1942, which increases the State's contribution both to the schools themselves and to their students, at the same time as it secures the principals' full freedom to select their own teachers and form their own curriculum, is an expression of the fact that their relationship with the State need no longer be a cause for anxiety.

In order to facilitate the appointment of well qualified teachers at the folk high schools, the committee proposed and carried through: (1) that teachers could carry over their seniority from one folk high school to another, and from a folk high school to a position in the State schools or in the Church, and, (2) that the folk high schools should receive support from the State to the extent of half the teachers' salaries, provided that these were almost equal to those paid in the Normal Schools for the training of elementary teachers.

Previously, the State grants towards the salaries of folk high school teachers were calculated on the basis of the salaries of primary school teachers. The minimum number of weekly hours corresponded to two-thirds of those in the primary school. The basic salary is now much the same, but the State pays annual increments of 600 kroner, 1,200 kroner, and 1,800 kroner to teachers who have put in five, ten, or fifteen years' service respectively.

As the State, and not the school, makes these contributions, the transfer of a teacher from one school to another is facilitated, and the teachers made less dependent on the principals for their livelihood. While the State grants to the teachers were increased by the new law, the State no longer gives any contribution to the principals' salaries.

The ideal size of a folk high school was considered to be between

70 and 120 students. If the schools are small, it is difficult to secure a sufficiently diversified curriculum. If they are very large, the personal contacts between students and teachers will suffer.

In line with the policy of limiting the number of pupils, the new Act facilitated the erection of more schools. The old law made it a condition for State support: (1) that the principal should be recognized by the Ministry of Education and, (2) that the school should have existed for two years with an average number of students corresponding to at least 12 all the year round. But from 1942 onwards a school receives State support when it has existed for one year only, with a minimum of students (between 18 and 35 years of age) averaging 15 throughout the year. Furthermore, if the principal be recognized by the Ministry, the students can receive support from the very beginning of the school.

The State's support covers not only half the salary of the teachers, but (1), a basic grant of 1,000 kroner (formerly 500 kr.) annually, (2) 2.75 % of the estimated value of buildings and equipment, and 35 % of the cost of new books and other school requisites. Provided that a proposed folk high school is not privately owned and is a non-profitmaking corporation, the new Act enables it to obtain a State loan (at 4 % interest and no amortization) corresponding to one-third of the cost of the buildings and equipment, and with security after a mortgage corresponding to another third of the value.

The committee had proposed that the State should establish schools in localities where private initiative was lacking. The proposal, however, was not carried through, as the majority in Parliament was of the opinion that it was not the proper task of the State to establish schools, which, like the folk high schools, are inspired by a definite view of life and have a purely idealistic and personal message.

The State support to the schools, is after all still somewhat lower than in the other northern countries, and so is, generally speaking, the support *of students*. According to the new Danish Act, the amount of money, necessary to cover the students' expenses for board, lodging, tuition, books, pocket money, repairs to clothes, etc. is fixed every year by the Ministry of Education, on the basis of an estimate made by the governing committee of the Union of Teachers of the Folk High Schools and Agricultural Schools. After consultation with the committee of Ways and Means the Ministry then decides how large a percentage of this amount

should be contributed by the State. Application for support is to be sent to the local school boards at least a month and preferably three months before the courses begin. It is not permitted to mention in the application which folk high school the applicant wishes to attend, as no discrimination should be allowed on the part of the authorities. The support is granted solely on the basis of the income of the applicant, and his or her parents, during the past fiscal year.[22]) Applicants who have been unemployed for at least four months during the preceding year, or at least two months before they wish to attend a folk high school pay only one-fourth of the amount they would be paying if they had not been unemployed.

The committee was particularly anxious to increase the number of town students, not only those who wanted to attend the already existing folk high schools and mix with the country people there, but also students in special town schools, adapted to the urban population, though carrying with them some of the atmosphere of the existing folk high schools. State grants are now also given to urban day high schools which are subject to the same rules for support as the other folk high schools. They differ, however, from these by receiving students who, as a rule, do not live in the schools. At present there are, besides Borup's High School, two dayschools of the folk high school type in Copenhagen.

The increased State support to the schools was not, as already pointed out, reached at the cost of the independence of the schools. The law of 1942 reaffirms, with the consent of all the committee members, the principle that the State should not control the selection of teachers. The folk high schools should continue to be *free schools*, not only in the sense that students should attend on their own initiative, but in the sense that the principals of the schools have the sole right to appoint their fellow teachers, according to the needs of each individual school and irrespective of what kind of training these teachers may have had. (In Sweden the folk high school is the most free form of school in the country, but the principals who want teachers have to announce the position through the proper channels, and the applicants must, as a rule, be university graduates. From the candidates, the central education authority, "Skolöverstyrelsen", selects a certain number, out of which the folk

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22) About two-thirds of the students receive support covering from 20 to 75 per cent of all their expenses.

high school committee appoints the desired teacher or teachers on the recommendation of the principal.)

In 1940/41 there were 412 men and 193 women teachers in the 54 Danish high schools, and 189 men and 40 women teachers at the agricultural schools. Approximately half of these teachers gave all their time to the school, and the other half, such as clergymen, agricultural consultants, farmers, etc. derived their chief income from outside the school. Approximately one-third of the teachers had degrees from the university, about one-sixth theological degrees, and another sixth an M. A. degree, or, in some cases, a higher degree.

In the choice of subjects for the curriculum the new Act allowed to the Danish schools the same freedom as they have in choosing their teachers. In Sweden certain regulations are laid down by the Ministry and it is thus prescribed that Natural Science must be among the subjects taught at the folk high schools. But in Denmark there are no such regulations.

At the schools which have special courses for artisans about two-fifths of the weekly hours were given to the teaching of subjects of general culture, especially of history. Some of the schools do not teach Natural Science at all, and the teaching of foreign languages does not play any great part.

The folk high school will probably to a greater degree than before, help to equip the young people who come to it for their work in life, while at the same time it must never lose sight of its original purpose. What drew the bright young farmer — who afterwards became a pioneer — from the plough and the workshop was a desire to get an interpretation of his deepest personal experiences in fellowship with comrades under the guidance of teachers, who were scientists in so far as they built on reality and truth, but artists in their vision of the unity in the manifoldness of life and in their capacity to transmute it into a working philosophy. With the vision he gained, he went back to transform rural life.

In the 20th century the folk high school idea spread to other European countries, the United States, Japan and China. This movement the author will describe in another book which will also contain a more detailed description of the development of the folk high schools in the Scandinavian countries than is possible here.

The following chapter, on the International People's College, will

Aerial View of the I.P.C.

deal with a venture in international adult education on Danish soil, not because it is strictly relevant to a book on Danish social problems and the attempts to solve them, but because the author as the founder and principal of this school cannot resist the temptation to make its ideals and experiences known as widely as possible.

The International People's College, Elsinore.

The International People's College was founded at Helsingør, Hamlet's Elsinore, Denmark, in 1921. It was intended to help in the building of a bridge between nations by bringing students of various countries to meet and study together. Just as it was necessary that the newly freed farmer and worker should be educated for participation in national government, so, after the war, it became apparent that if political and economic internationalism were to function as hoped for, it would be fatal to neglect the human element in the international situation. The League of Nations and other international organizations provided the machinery for peace, and the war-weary populations had the earnest wish for peace which might be transformed by education into intelligent international cooperation.

Therefore, the International People's College was founded with the idea that if the peoples of the world could be induced to intermix as the Scandinavian peoples do, they would become friendly,

Emmy Louise and Peter Manniche in front of the first building of I.P.C.

During the first years the students built their own rooms on the top floor of the farm, turned the stables to lecture halls and class rooms and built a new stable.

The German Students were often Members of the Youth Movement.

understand each other and ultimately make war impossible. The Scandinavian folk high schools, have helped to create a national fellowship and supplied a cultural basis for the development of Scandinavian democracy. *An international folk high school might help to create an international fellowship and educate for international democracy.*

Through the leadership of a small committee headed by the late Caj Hegermann-Lindencrone, then in the Danish Board of Education, later the Director of the National Royal Theatre, the College came into being. The college had been projected as early as 1916 when the author visited Britain for the purpose of obtaining support for the idea. Britain was then wholly concentrated on the war and feeling was strong against Germany and the Kaiser. A favorite joke of the time concerned an old gentleman who asked the quickest way to a hospital and was told to call for three cheers for the Kaiser. But the joke was not quite fair to England, where, although feeling was tense, good humor and faith in future good-will and cooperation existed. English Quakers, university professors at various seats of learning, and indeed many people of different outlook were ready to establish good relations with their enemy as soon as the war was over, and they realized the value of making such an experiment, particularly by a small neutral country with a long tradition of adult education.

There was not sufficient money at first for new buildings, and an old manor house on the outskirts of Elsinore was purchased and adapted for use as a school. The location assured the college easy access to the capital, yet permitted the students to live and work in the open country. With the aid of the first students, some workers from the Copenhagen Settlement, the building, garden and farm were put into order. The work took a long time, during which the students lived a simple life given to study and manual work. One room in the upper story was used as living room and sleeping room. There was little furniture: a door laid across the backs of two chairs served as a dining table. The first cook was a metal worker. As he had neither training nor cookery books, there was not much variation in the dishes. Roast beef and coffee occupied too large a place on the menu.

The first foreigners at the school came from famine-stricken Austria; and they were very enthusiastic about the food. Having been under military discipline for many years, they found the

democratic conditions at the school very strange and seemed to feel the lack of some authority to whom especial honor was due. When, on the first morning, the oldest member of the company, a mason by trade, with long beard and drowsy eyes, entered in shirt sleeves and wooden clogs the Austrians sprang to their feet and saluted, saying, "Guten Morgen, Herr Professor!" They were in earnest, for even if the heaps of sand outside and the miscellaneous collection of furniture helped to disillusion them, they could not immediately rid themselves of the effects of the discipline they had undergone under the old Austrian military regime. Nevertheless, they soon settled down and became one of the liveliest elements in the little community.

When the college began its regular work in the autumn of 1921, there were twenty-four students: two Americans, three English, five Germans, three Austrians, one Irishman, one Scotsman and the rest Danes. Five of the students were university men, three or four were clerks, a few farmers, and about half were town workers; it was no small problem to establish a true fellowship among them. It was solved mainly by three means: song and music, manual work and language study.

The language of music is international, and long before the students could converse they could understand each other through the medium of songs. In the atmosphere created by German wanderlieder, Danish folk ballads and English students songs, the students received their first impressions. The Germans, especially, were tireless singers, and their mandolins and guitars were as necessary to their comfort as was the bath to the English.

Through manual work, however, the students came to know each other even better. Manual work requires little speech and yet serves to reveal much of a man's personality, his perseverance and accuracy, his strength and weakness. When a man expresses himself through his hands it is difficult for him to convey a false impression of himself to his fellows. Manual work at the college had another advantage: it gave the farmers and artisans an opportunity of revealing their worth in activities in which they were superior to the academically trained students, thus helping to level conscious differences of attainment.[23]) Further, it had a soothing effect on the

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[23]) A studious Englishman on a cold morning fed the chickens with rum to warm them. The workers laughed at him, but he had the last laugh when a worker student boasted that although a beginner in English he had

nerves of students from war and revolution stricken areas and enabled them better to concentrate on mental work.

Though language difficulties were not an insuperable obstacle to the establishment of community life, the better the students became acquainted the more they felt the need of closer intellectual intercourse and of the breaking down of language barriers. The teaching of languages therefore became a matter of great importance, and it was found that this could be done under exceptionally favorable circumstances. Teaching and practice went hand in hand, and during the first year most of the students learned enough English to follow lectures in that language, participate in the discussions that followed and write essays on the lectures.

From this modest beginning the college has steadily developed. With student help, a large stable has been converted into living quarters and classrooms. Three new buildings have been erected and twenty acres of land have been turned into a beautiful campus. The college now accomodates about a hundred and twenty students and rooms in cottages nearby are available and often made use of.

Besides the governing body in Denmark, committees have been set up in the United States, Germany, Great Britain and France, having for their purpose the raising of funds for scholarships to necessitous students. A steady exchange of students has been arranged with the Cooperative College of Loughborough and Coleg Harlech, Wales. Students have also come from Ruskin College, Oxford; Fircroft and Woodbrooke, Birmingham; Hillcroft, London; Newbattle Abbey College near Edinburgh; Berea College, Kentucky; and Antioch College, Ohio, while the College has sent Scandinavian students to almost all these institutions.

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The International People's College, although international in its aims and structure, is subject to certain environmental influences; and questions arise as to how far it is influenced and to what extent it resembles the Grundtvig folk high schools. These schools have been characterized as national in outlook and poetic-historic in method. If these had been the essential features, they could not have created any great interest in other countries, and in this century their traditions could not have inspired the foundation of an in-

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been able to follow a lecturer who spoke on "French bacon all the time". The subject had actually been Francis Bacon.

Scandinavian Conditions.

Non-Danish Students at Winter Term, Nov. 3—March 29.

ternational folk high school. This interpretation of their characteristics is due to the influence of the Romanticism which survived in Denmark at the time the schools arose. It would be truer to characterize them as *personal* in method, *individualistic* in educational principle and *ethical* in purpose.

The "living word", i. e. the spoken word, was to Grundtvig the highest medium for expressing *personality* and, therefore, to him the most potent force in education. The International People's College has not been able to use the inspirational lecture in the same degree as has the Grundtvigian school, but it has to a larger extent offered its teaching through study circles and classroom work. Yet it maintains the *personal contact* between teacher and pupil and between one pupil and another that is the core of the Grundtvig system. It is, indeed, this contact that helps to fuse the heterogeneous group into a living fellowship.

Grundtvig's disciples stressed the need for adapting the school to the pupil. This *individualistic principle* must also be applied to the teaching in an international college where the students come from different countries and different social and economic levels. Students choose the subjects they wish to study; but, as it is impossible to serve the *whole* curriculum à la carte, certain lectures

German History.

August Henning, the German tutor, has since 1934 lead international seminars at the winter- and summer terms.

are served table d'hôte to all who can understand the language in which they are given.

The Grundtvigian folk high school was *ethical* in its aim, a school for life, based on the general principles of Christianity. The International People's College also came into being as the result of religious inspiration and faith; and its work is continued in the hope that, small as the effort may be, it can serve as a channel through which people may form a new philosophical basis for our present civilization. The rampant materialism of the recent generations found its expression in the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. National arrogance found support in theories according to which nations felt themselves destined by God to rule the world. These views help the growth of imperialistic ideas and militate against international cooperation. The latter is inspired by a conception of universal brotherhood in which each nation has its *particular* and consequently *limited* tasks. It is the desire of the college that this conception shall receive every opportunity of development.

The *curriculum* is designed to forward this aim. The staff is international and the Danish teachers are able to give instruction in any one of the principal languages. It is obvious that teaching

Swedish Folk Dancers at I.P.C.

of languages plays a large part at the college, but the course in languages touches at the same time literature, history and social matters, in order that the students may make real contacts with the minds of other peoples. There is rich opportunity to supplement the teaching by conversations and discussions, and often at table and on excursions one hears and has to take part in polyglot talks.

A study of the present international problems is encouraged along with those of the various countries and peoples of the world. Climate, soil, situation, agriculture and industrial facts, social evolution, artistic expression are all bound up in intimate ways, and those who realize these associations become ready to discuss problems of psychology, politics and economics, and of practical life, with a much increased understanding of the natural reasons for diversities of points of view. Thus they can effectively promote that good-will which is the all important moderating factor.

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At this point the reader may be interested in knowing how the students of the several nations compare with each other and the ways in which it is possible to combine them for effective study. To begin with, unless newcomers already possess knowledge of two or more languages, they must be divided according to their nationalities. The barrier of language, however, is only one of many barriers which at first tend to keep nationalities apart. There is the barrier of national temperament.

However much the individuals differ from one another within a nation, there are certain reactions that may be considered as national since they distinguish a comparatively large number within one nation from that of another. The national environment has made itself felt.

The English students are attracted by what is known in English as the

Students from Fifteen Nations.
Summer Term April 20—July 15.

tutorial method of teaching. In this method the teacher is himself a student. He explains that the whole truth is far greater than his conception of it. He invites students to join him in an attempt to extend their knowledge by honest and humble exploration. The Scandinavians are more dependent upon leadership, but they have a strong feeling for democracy in education, that is to say, they like their teacher to be a man among men, yet wish to be led by the first among equals, one who has something to say and not just has to say something.

Many of the German students showed a longing for authority. They desired to be led by a tutor who could give them a picture of system and order. When they were so inspired they were very good students and would work heart and soul. Their work became part of themselves to a greater extent than is the case with most of the other nations.

Many of the first German students of the College were associated with the German Youth Movement. The Youth Movement in particular was marked by the characteristic German love of ideas. They feared that the purity of their principles might be contaminated by an attempt to put them into practice. It is easier to say what they did not want than what they wanted. They protested against the materialism and rationalism of their generation, they did not drink or smoke, they did not go in for sports or politics. They wanted to go out into the open country to be free and natural. Several of them developed a fine harmony of ideas, others tended to go to extremes: from a strict discipline to a desire for boundless freedom, to smash by violence the forms under which for some time they had been living.

Contrary to the Anglo-Saxons, who are primarily interested in obtaining results and do not bother very much about planning the way to reach

them, many Germans were motivated by a strong feeling that the future is a logical consequence of the premise, the idea from which they start. The English generally prefer to deal rather with the present situation, because they think that unknown factors will play their part in future development. Put more simply, the English want to know reality and want to know it in order to control it. The Germans have a desire to dissolve their personality in the service of movements and ideas. They have developed a great technique of organizing and thinking in terms of a bigger whole.

Several of the Germans were constant debaters, seeking to convert others to their own point of view. In this respect, however, there seems to be a marked difference between the young Germans that came to the school before the second world war and those that are attending courses now. The latter are less idealistic perhaps, somewhat disillusioned, but bent to learn from others and about others. Many Germans have been among our very best students.

The English are perhaps still more difficult to generalize about than any other people. Criticism can be levelled against some of them for the social sins of complacency and patronage. On the credit side of the balance sheet there is much to be said. They have a strong sense of "fair play", particularly for those in adversity. Their individualism is generally coupled with a strong sense of humor that gives them a true perspective, and then any latent complacency disappears. They are certainly great lovers of their own country, but seldom wear nationalism on their sleeves. They are so rooted in their own traditions and way of life that they frequently bring their own soil with them to a new country, and are inclined to judge other people from their own standards. (In the early days of the College it was the English who initiated more bath facilities when they thought these were inadequate and proposed English afternoon tea when they did not find it on the curriculum). Yet it must be said that the English students at the Elsinore College have generally shown a remarkable loyalty to it. As students they generally take more keenly to politics or economics than to philosophy. In discussion meetings they pay deference to their own elected chairman, but this deference is not a hero-worship; it is a device whereby he can be used to put a stamp on generally accepted ideas or a procedure in which they believe. This is possibly not surprising among nationals in a country which has developed constitutional monarchy and sovereign institutions to such good effect.

Of their nearest neighbors, the Welsh, much can be said to indicate that they are very different and partake of a different culture.—The Welsh temperament displays emotion, a love of expression. Intellectually, they are anxious to work on a synthesis. In their democratic attitude they are akin to Danes, Norwegians and Americans. They are good mixers and generally liked, ready to argue and even more ready to sing.

Despite prevailing rumour, the Scots are generous, but are discriminating and purposeful in their generosity. They show a strong sense of character, make loyal members of an institution without losing their individuality. They are given to wit rather than to humor, unlike their English neighbors, and are more given to intellectual pursuits. The quality of dourness occasionally takes a deeper or more extreme tone.

Other fine examples of the human race may be found among the Swedes and the Swiss, who have had the good fortune for generations to live in peace, whilst their neighbors were at war. Both show strong humanitarian elements, chivalry and consideration for others. They are both

great nature lovers, and as far as the Swedes are concerned, I know them to be good organizers. As lone individuals many Swedes are somewhat at a loss, unlike the Norwegians, who are individually resourceful. The high mountains of Norway and the sparseness of the population seem to have created conditions favorable to independence, downrightness, courage and pugnacity. 'They have a rustic quality; at the same time they are apt to dramatize situations. This latter quality shows a high degree of imagination.

The Dutch have shown great cordiality, but little ceremony; the directness of approach of some of them has first to be understood to be appreciated. Their occasional bluntness really characterizes the qualities of openness, ingenuousness and strong individuality. Together with the Germans, the Dutch might display great diligence in the garden work of the College, especially when individual rather than teamwork was allotted them. Outstanding among the international personnel of the College, Netherland students have been travellers. Many showed a keen desire to see other countries and took every opportunity of seeing new places. When they wanted something accomplished, they would pursue the matter with confidence, taking the result, however difficult, as a matter of course or as an already accomplished fact.—Combined with their individualism there was also a noticeable tendency towards conservatism in thought. They showed a deeper religious sentiment than many other nationalities. It was plain to see the stamp of Calvinism on their estimate of family life and social institutions. It was, however, the Roman Catholics among whom were the greatest protagonists of their religious convictions.

It is interesting to compare the attitude of Belgian Catholics in this respect. It may be said that many of them rest passively in their faith when found side by side with their Dutch co-religionists. Of course, there are important differences between the Walloons and the Flemish, but to Belgians in general religion is fundamental in their lives, and many a Belgian who had strayed from the faith still appeared to remain, in spite of criticism, under a spell of fascination for the devotional life.

The most outstanding point about the French students is perhaps their desire to make individual contributions. In discussions they display their love of clarity and logical thinking and have above all a disposition to be analytical. Their style shows special elegance, and they rejoice in expressing a truth or a truism in the clearest and most beautiful form. Thus embellished, the statement would appear to carry for them much greater weight.

Whilst the Germans in their work showed thoroughness and even heaviness, the French possess an inimitable light touch. With a few of the French, this took the form of merely skimming the surface, but with others there was a strong desire to go deeper, a passion for reaching the truth. A strong sense of tact and a natural desire and ability to be pleasant characterized most of the French students at the school.—Many of these are farmers or agricultural students. Whilst French farmers formerly very seldom left their own country, it has now become quite common for them to go abroad. When planning a program of excursions for French students, it is generally important that there be no gaps. They want to have their time fully utilized and do not want much time for recreation.

If a comparison is to be attempted between the French and the Czecho-Slovakian students, the latter have been notable in their display of temperament. This is in some ways akin to French temperament, but it might be described as being less schooled and more vital. They have displayed a passionate love of their country and national institutions, and yet a keen

sense of their international mission. Being sensitive souls, some of them could be easily hurt by a careless reference, but it must be said that the wound did not go deep. They were quick to forgive and quick to forget. Yet there is sturdiness in many Czecho-Slovakians. They may bend, but they don't break.

The Americans are as keen for a result as the English, and they are most efficient in promoting it. They want quick results and have not always the time to wait. They are free from class distinctions and show great natural sympathy and good will. Their great asset is their idealism and generosity, which is genuine, however exploited it may be by unscrupulous countrymen. America's leading position in the world, whether destined for service or predominance, will put that country to its greatest test. For that matter Americans differ among themselves as much as do the people from quite different parts of Europe, from where their ancestors came. Those from the Midwest, for instance, may be as full of individuality, inhibition and steadfastness as any Scottish or West Jutland farmer.

The more serious German students at the College did not always understand the irony or broad fun of the Copenhagener.[24]) When a young Copenhagen student said that he had neither international nor any other intellectual interests, but wanted the college to give him a good time as cheaply as possible, many Germans were shocked. They were shocked unnecessarily. Behind the sometimes cynical remarks of the Danes, there generally lies a fear of giving too strong an expression to their feelings. Germans, Swedes and other foreigners who sometimes complain that Danes seem to laugh at everything should pay a visit to Jutland where they will soon discover purpose and intensity. Intensity, indeed, is a strong feature in the Danish character, and partly explains how a movement such as the folk high school movement obtained a firm hold on the population.

It must be said that generalization about so intricate a subject as national characteristics is very fallible and can often times be wrong. Life among so varied a number of students is bound to create points of view, and it would not be fair to express oneself too dogmatically or too critically. What is true of the teacher is also true of the students. To allow any bad impression to rankle at the expense of the good one is not likely to promote a feeling of good fellowship.

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The premises and general equipment of the College were, to begin with, very primitive, and the educational work was, necessarily, experimental. Looking back, however, the growth of the College often seems to me something of a miracle, for there were no organizations promoting its interests or providing financial guarantees. If I had used my reason only, I would never have begun to work for the realization of the idea. From the very start the institution has carried on from hand to mouth, and its survival has been due largely to a series of unforeseen, imponderable strokes of fortune

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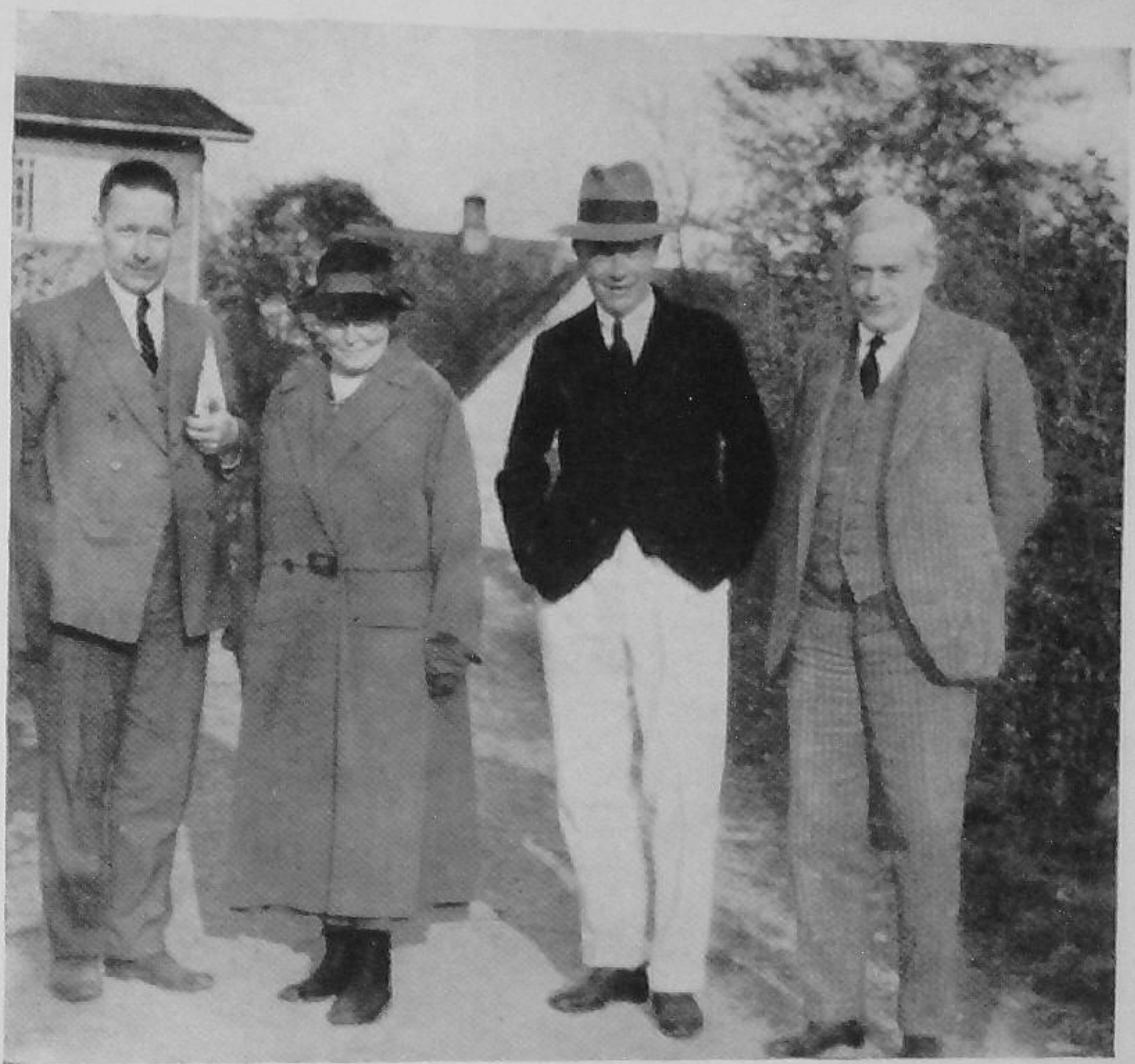
[24]) Other Germans, who learned about the essential trait in Danish humor, the knack of passing quickly from the serious to the amusing, were attracted by it and wanted to "organize" it.

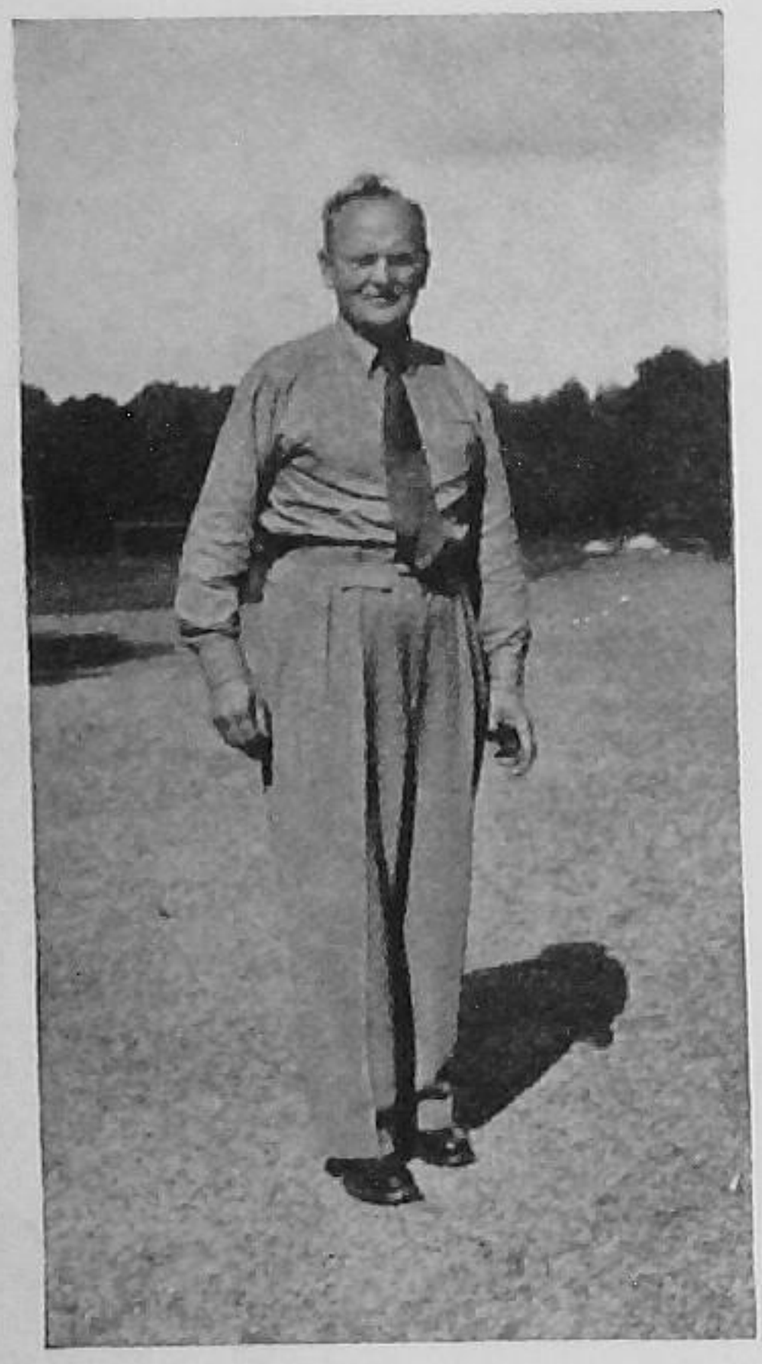


The lady is Mrs. Svelmøe Thomsen and the gentleman to the right Mr. Hegermann-Lindencrone. To the left is Mr. Percy Wait, the English tutor at the College.

coupled with the goodwill and active support of interested people. But apart from financial difficulties, it was fortunate that we started in a small way and laboriously harvested experience in an educational field that had hitherto lain fallow. We did not underrate our task, and we found gratification in learning from our shortcomings and in making efforts to adapt our college to the wishes of the students which, as it happened, could somewhat change from term to term.

It is fortunate, too, that three members of the permanent staff — a Dane, an Englishman and a Swede — have been able to serve the College from the beginning. These were supplemented later by a German teacher who has now been with us for sixteen years, and by a Danish teacher who was appointed three years ago. It is equally fortunate that several members of the original committee and college council are still with us, but in thinking of these we naturally lament the loss, through death, of members such as Cai Hegermann Lindencrone, director of the Danish National Theatre, Mrs.

Dr. Peter Manniche
explains the Danish Constitution to students from the Gold Coast and Indonesia.



Emil Lennings,
the Swede, who since 1923 has been the registrar of the College.

Miss Gerda Mørup
with foreign students learning Danish.

Dr. Tom Hughes Griffiths,
who since 1925 has taught International Conditions at the three months' summer terms.

Svelmøe Thomsen, Danish secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, George Jochimsen, civil engineer, Bishop Valdemar Ammundsen, Th. Døssing, director of Danish public libraries, C. N. Hauge, former Minister of Commerce, Th. Poulsen, a former Minister of Church Affairs, Fr. Lading, mechanic, Rudolf Benzon, registrar at Teacher Training College, and W. O. Uttental, estate owner. We are also mindful of the teaching and lecturing given by guest teachers from Sweden, Gt. Britain, the United States, Germany, France and other countries, who, together with several auxiliary Danish teachers, have served the College. Most of these have been associated with our work for a long period.

In spite of post-war restrictions on travel the attendance of foreign students at our college since the second world war has increased rather than diminished. It is very pleasing to note this. In recent years the fortnightly vacation courses have been attended annually by as many as 500 or 600 students from abroad. Some 44 nations have been represented, though most of the students have come from Sweden, Gt. Britain, France and Holland. Our records show that up to 1952 a total of about 8,600 students have attended these vacation courses, some 4,800 the regular winter and summer courses. These men and women have been of all ages from eighteen upwards, and all social classes have been represented. However, whilst about three-fourths of the vacation-course students have come from countries abroad, the proportion of foreign students at the long, regular summer and winter courses has been substantially smaller, — not more than about one-third of the total body of students.

The relatively small proportion of foreign students at the long courses is due partly to the reluctance of young persons to devote a long period to courses that do not conclude with an examination and the acquisition of a diploma or degree. Our experience in this respect corresponds to that of adult educational centres in all countries outside Scandinavia. Among students there is doubtlessly a desire for a liberal education which, in the modern world, includes most definitely a knowledge of international matters, but vocational and professional calls are seemingly more immediate and clamant. This may be partly explained by the educational setback many have suffered in consequence of the war and the universal demands of military service.

The College draws its main financial sustenance from the Danish State, which grants about 50,000 kroner annually to the regular

Students from I.P.C. attending Open Air Lecture with their Hosts in a Farmers Village.

courses. The Corporation of Elsinore grants 6,000 kroner annually, and Mr. Uttental and six or seven Danish foundations have contributed to new buildings and upkeep of the old ones. Foundations in England and USA have contributed small amounts. The main support, however, is derived from the fees of the students, which in 1951 were £ 10 per month during the regular courses, (November 3rd to March 29th and April 20th to July 15th), and £ 10.10 per fortnight during vacation courses in July, August and September. Out of a total budget of about 300,000 kroner annually, the fees cover more than three-fourths.

It has required great efforts and an eye to economy to meet the annual running expenses. For many years the debts involved by the improvements and expansions have represented a heavy burden

Students from I.P.C. Visiting a Danish Small-holder.

Lecturers and Students of Training Colleges, attending a Course arranged in April every Year by I. P. C. An Address has just been given, in the House of Parliament, by Dr. Flemming Hvidberg, Minister of Education.

on the minds of those who were responsible for the fortune of the College.

The great changes in the grounds and buildings, however, show the progress that has been made. Our college has passed out of its infancy and is striving for greater opportunities for growth. The ideals and programs of the College are needed as badly as ever.

In recent years we have found it worth while to arrange special courses for *young farmers from abroad* who feel that the Danish agricultural community with its cooperatives has achieved results that deserve their attention. They attend lectures on the subject at the College and are taken out to see the working of Danish farms and associated agricultural institutions. It can be arranged for foreign young farmers to spend two or three years as apprentices on selected Danish farms and finish with a course at a Danish folk high school or/and agricultural school. These young people enter freely into the international activities of the college, which are a source of enjoyment and profit to them.

Scandinavian Teachers studying Psychology at a Vacation Course, I.P.C.
(Lecturer: Joel Fajerson, Stockholm Training College).

We have also arranged special *international courses for teachers, and for persons interested in youth leadership*. Here again the College feels that Denmark with its educational standards, reflected in the work of the normal schools as well as in the folk high schools, and with its democratic government and institutions, is a proper country for the study of modern educational methods and for the study of ways and means of securing the welfare of the rising generation. Students at these special courses are also caught by the international spirit of the College and come to see the wider implications of the special subjects they are studying.

Under the leadership of Professor B. A. Fletcher, Director, Institute of Education, University of Bristol (Teachers' Course) and Peter Kuenstler, M. A., Research Fellow, Bristol University (Youth Leaders' Course) the primary aim of both courses is to provide, through lectures and discussions, a knowledge of current problems and recent developments in the fields of teaching and of youth service in a number of countries. The attendance at the special courses has been increasing.

The aim of the College is the formation of an international fellowship, but the one basic condition for a fellowship in which we appreciate one another's good points is *regular work which animates the creative spirit*. Just because the students differ

UNESCO held it its first conference for Adult Education Leaders at I.P.C. june 1949. Forty nations participated. Mr. Johannes Novrup was the Danish Leader of the Course.

so much in character they are valuable channels of instruction and sources of inspiration to one another. The loyalty and strength of ease of the English, the industry and rich emotional life of the Germans, their musical gifts, the stability of Canadians, Dutch and Swiss, the resoluteness of Americans and Norwegians, the humor and broad sympathy of the Chinese, the tranquil serenity of the Indians, the spontaneity, combined with sturdy perseverance of the Czecho-Slovakians, the sense of duty of the Japanese, and the readiness to help of the Danes, the chivalry of the Swedes and French — all may put some mark on the life of the College and influence its members. The personal development which is necessary to create a harmonious social life out of so many types is the same that each nation must experience if there is to be harmony in the international orchestra. Small as the experiment is, the students must go through the same ethical development through which the nations must go in order to enter the United Nations, or any other form of international political organization, in the right spirit.

Cooperative Housing at Bispebjerg, Copenhagen.

Part IV.

COOPERATION IN THE TOWNS

ALTHOUGH the consumers' cooperative movement had its initiation in the town of Thisted, it was in the rural sections in which it took root and flourished during the nineteenth century. Its value to townsfolk was pointed out in the year 1898 by the frequently mentioned pioneer of the movement, Severin Jørgensen, in a series of articles in the Copenhagen *Social-Democrat*, the organ of the trade unions and the Social-Democratic party.

When the town workers began to organize into trade unions, they were largely under the influence of the Marxian distrust of cooperation and Lassalle's belief in the "iron law of wages" theory.[1]) They were rather reluctant to give cooperation a trial and centered their energies on the fight to improve wages through trade union activity. "But", pointed out Severin Jørgensen, "must it be Either-Or? Why not Both-And?" With the help of Frederik Jeppesen Borgbjerg, editor of the *Social-Democrat*, and other leaders of social-democracy, the cause of cooperation was successfully urged on the trade unions.

Cooperation among the farmers had been and remained a matter of individual initiative and individual membership. Among the town workers, cooperation from the first showed the influence of a collective body rather than a group of individuals. The greater part of workers' cooperatives are organized as shareholding companies, but they differ from the ordinary form in the fact *that no individual profits are possible*. What surplus accumulates goes to the society for purposes of developing the movement.

Practically all shares are now held by cooperative societies, trade unions or similar groups. The dividend to each individual society

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[1]) That the natural tendency of wages is to fall to the minimum necessary for existence. — Lasalle promoted *producers'*, but not consumers' cooperative societies. The wages would decrease if consumers' stores reduced the cost of living, he thought.

is generally limited to 4 or 5 per cent and cannot exceed 6 per cent. Shares may only have nominal value. They must be registered and are not purchasable on the Stock Exchange.

The earliest example of workers' cooperation was the Social-Democratic press, which began to work as early as the seventies. It was organized on the same principles as the other workers' cooperatives. The 65 Danish local Social-Democratic newspapers are owned by labor unions. The surplus which is accumulated is used for the establishment of other Social-Democratic papers or to lend support to those which are in financial difficulties.

In the seventies and eighties several "people's houses" (community buildings for workers) were organized on a similar basis. Most of the larger towns have now such centres.

The town cooperatives testify to the pressure of outside circumstances in their organization. Thus, for example, the first workers' cooperative bakeries came into being as a countermove against the high price of bread, which the fall in the grain prices from the seventies did not affect. Other cooperative bakeries followed and have served as a yardstick to measure equitable prices of bakery goods.

In 1885 the first successful workers' cooperative bakery was established at Horsens in Jutland, and, in 1886 the first cooperative bakery in Copenhagen came into existence. In the following years many cooperative bakeries sprang up all over the country. In 1916 most of the existing cooperative bakeries were consolidated into a national association, headed by P. Christensen (see pages 173—174). It established its own wholesale and import of grain, flour, and other articles for bakeries and operates its own mill at Skive, Jutland. The total turnover of the 40 bakeries, with membership in the Cooperative League (see page 168), was in 1950 about 27,7 million kroner.

A great lock-out in 1899 furnished the impetus for the establishment of cooperative shareholding companies, organized by workers within the various trades. They obtained the necessary capital as shares from the respective trade unions. The movement operated on a small financial basis and for that and other reasons it was not always successful. Several of the associations formed in provincial towns had to discontinue operations. The conditions proved best in Copenhagen where the large trade unions took over the direct responsibility for the work. The formation of the Workers' Cooper-

ative Building Society (Arbejdernes Kooperative Byggeforening) in 1913 marks a turning point in the movement. It has succeeded in constructing more than 5,000 apartments up to 1950. The tenants of the flats built by this society are not members of the society, as in the case of the Workers Cooperative Housing Association (see next page), but the standing rules provide that the premises must not be transfered to private ownership. In the event of liquidation the property reverts to the public.

Another interesting development is the cooperative barber shops, which arose as the result of trade conflicts. The 22 shops and the factory which manufactures the equipment and articles necessary for maintaining them are the result of a consistent cooperative policy on the part of the barbers' trade union, which has set aside special contributions for cooperative funds.

The Danish Cooperative Insurance Ltd. (Dansk Kooperative Assurance A/S) which also deals in life insurance, had in 1950 a turnover of 5.2 million kroner.

The cooperative breweries began in the nineties in Jutland in several provincial towns, but only those in Aarhus and Aalborg, the two largest towns, are still alive. The cooperative brewery in Copenhagen, the Star (Stjernen), had a difficult beginning, but after several years, it enjoyed a business recovery in 1924 under the leadership of Emanuel Svendsen. The annual turnover of the brewery is now 30 million Kroner, (about 8 % of the total Danish beer production).

While the farmers outside the big towns have been unwilling or unable to form *cooperative milk supply societies*, the unions of unskilled labour, in 1897, established the cooperative dairy, "Unity" (Enigheden), in Copenhagen. This is now Denmark's largest milk supply company and operates its own big farm for the production of children's milk. With a staff of eight hundred it supplies one-fourth of the total milk consumption in Copenhagen.

As the price of milk sold to the consumers in Copenhagen was twice the farmers' selling price, an act of 1940 enjoined the local authorities to carry out a rationalization of milk distribution in the capital. The results were a reduction in the number of dairies from 108 to 13 large and technically efficient dairies, of which "Unity" is the largest. The trade unions have founded similar cooperative dairies in the town of Silkeborg. So far, milk rationalization schemes have been introduced in forty towns.

Today the retail price of milk in Copenhagen is the producers' price plus fifty per cent. Costs of processing and distribution have been halved. This concentration of processing at a small number of establishments not only enables these to make much better use of their capacity, but the resulting guaranteed sales and increased earning capacity also provide the means for

a thorough-going modernization of buildings and plants and a general extension of laboratory control and research. Public health control was at once simplified and made more efficient and substantially cheaper per unit.

The rationalization was not confined to processing; distribution was reorganized in the same way. The number of retailers was drastically cut. In Copenhagen the number fell from 2,850 to 1,687. Funds with which to pay compensation were raised by a loan paid off by the remaining dairies in the form of contributions to a dissolving company. In most cases the amount was one øre (0.01 kroner) per litre of milk sold.

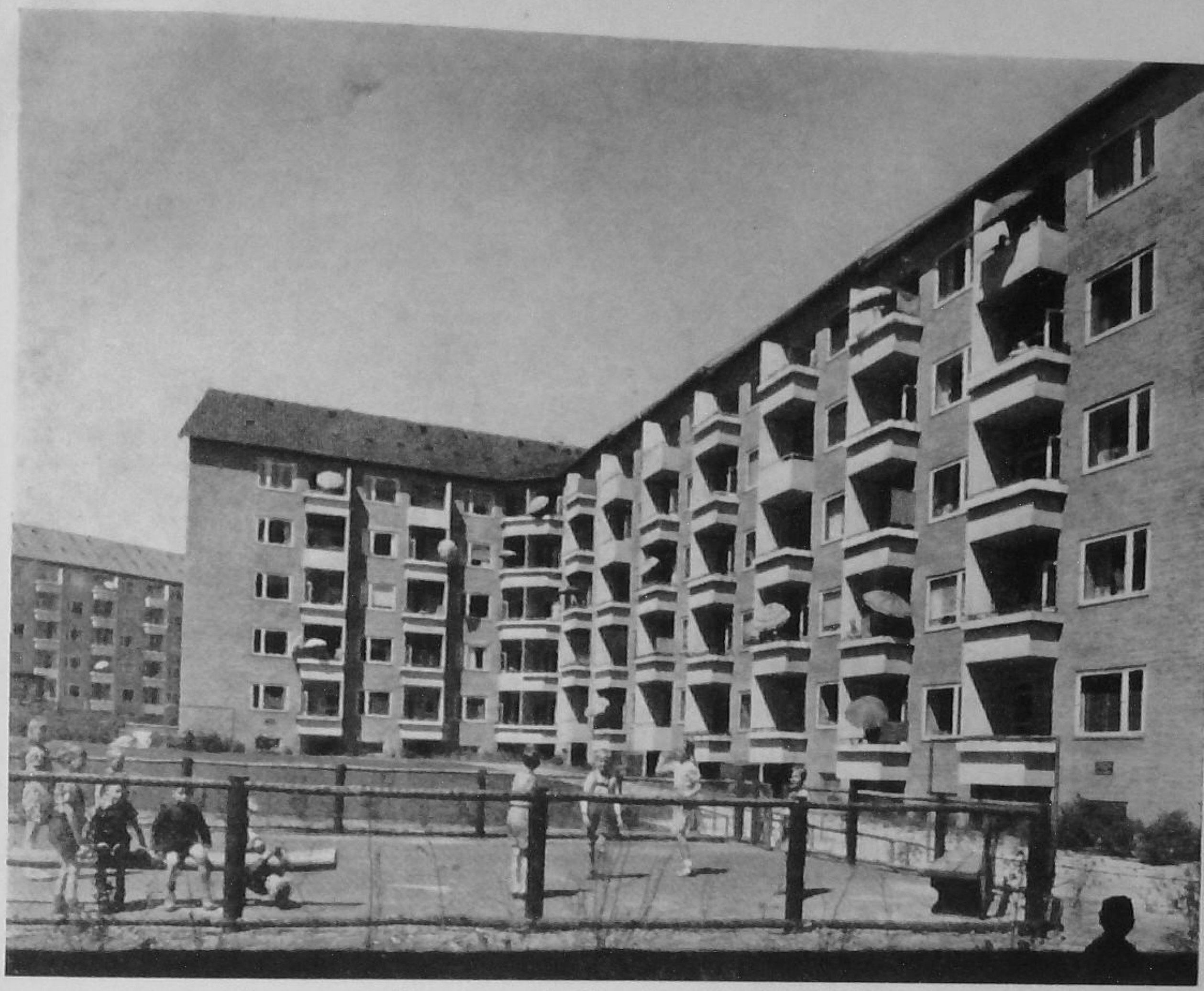
At first Cooperative Fuel Societies in the provincial towns had not the same success as the cooperative bakeries. The fluctuations on the coal market are dangerous for societies with a small capital. In 1915 the Trades Union Congress (Fællesorganisation) in Copenhagen began to import German coke and sell it at a comparatively low price to the workers. In 1916 the business was organized into a co-operative shareholding company (Arbejdernes Fællesorganisations Brændselsforretning), which after several vicissitudes, and a final reorganization (under the leadership of the present director of the "Star", Peder Nørregaard), is now doing good work.

In 1950 there were 8 workers' cooperative fuel societies in Denmark with a turnover of 15.8 million kroner.

There are several other workers' cooperative undertakings, a publishing firm, a book shop, a large printing works, a bookbinding establishment, a radio supply, a window cleaners' society, several canteens and restaurants, a messengers' society, and finally a Workers' Cooperative Bank (Arbejdernes Landsbank), which was started in 1919, and had in 1950 a total turnover of 4,180 million kroner.

When the town workers did begin to recognize the value of the *consumers'* cooperative movement, the number of members increased greatly, and there are now 125,000 members in the Danish Cooperative Consumers' Societies in the towns, and most of these are workers. The majority of the urban societies differ from the great majority of rural societies in having limited liability for the capital invested, but they too are members of the Cooperative Wholesale Society in Copenhagen, (see pages 74—76). Under the leadership of J. M. Johansen,[2]) the Copenhagen consumers' societies all joined into one central society (now with 60,000 individual members and 180 shops), which has proved an asset. Stil the consumers' movement in the capital and the provincial towns has not yet approached the growth of that of the rural societies.

[2]) Mr. J. M. Johansen was succeeded by Mr. Kaj Nielsen.



Cooperative Housing with Play Grounds for Children.

There is one important field within the cooperative movement in which the town workers have made a particular contribution; this is the field of house building. The Worker's Cooperative Building Society has already been mentioned. Another large society is the Workers' Cooperative Housing Association (Arbejdernes Andelsboligforening), Copenhagen, which was founded in 1912 with Jens Christian Jensen, M. P., as chairman. In 1950 it had constructed over 6,350 apartments and shops. It is not organized as other workers' cooperative societies, as a shareholding company, but is really a consumers' cooperative, in which the individual members subscribe to shares to an amount proportionate to the size of his flat or house, but generally corresponding to 3 % of the part of the building costs not covered by loans. When a member leases an apartment he pays an *initiation fee* of 40 kroner. If he moves away from the apartment and withdraws from the cooperative, he is entitled to the return of the value of his share and his initiation fee. The cooperative buildings are financed with money lent by cooperative credit and mortgage associations and by the State, which supplements the loans made by the associations up to 97 per cent of the cost. The members' shares

The Cooperatives also build Single-Family Houses.

and initiation fees provide the remaining three per cent. The rents, which vary with the size of the apartments, are applied to the maintenance of the buildings, the payment of interest, and the amortization of the mortgage. The members must pay for repairs to their own apartment. The cooperative apartments are small, as a rule two or three rooms and a kitchen, though in some buildings apartments of up to six rooms are available.

A third type is the Social Housing Society an example of which is described in the following chapter, pages 168—69 (photos) and 179—80.

In the late thirties and in the beginning of the forties The Workers Cooperative Housing Society was building a number of 3-story blocks as well as undetached houses in the Bispebjerg quarters[3]) of Copenhagen, round the Grundtvig Memorial Church.[4]) Several of the apartments were reserved for families with many children. The architect suggested that a pretty big area, some 6,000 square yards, should be cut out from the middle of a building site and made into a junk ground. (Photo next page). The well known landscape architect, C. Th. Sørensen, helped to carry out the plan and took care that the place was not made open and unprotected. It should not be completely visible from the surrounding apartment houses. That would tend to make such an ugly establishment unpopular. The junk play ground should as far as possible be the childrens' own domain.

That which distinguishes a junk playground from the ordinary playgrounds with seesaws, swings, roundabouts and such appliances for games is simply that it offers the children possibilities for creating and shaping. They can dream and imagine and make dreams and imagination reality.

A junk playground can give the children of the towns somewhat the same rich possibilities as the country children have. There must be twigs, old boards and bits of wood, bricks, tiles, drainpipes, discarded automobiles, boats, waggons, wheelbarrows and whatever else can be mentioned of junk. The children can turn all to account. Just this, that they can dig in the earth to their heart's content, gives them splendid possibilities. They work

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[3]) and [4]) Photos pages 158 and 107.

Cooperative Housing on the English Model.

From the Junk Play Ground.

with houses and caves, build towers, make thrilling tunnel railways of the big drainpipes, plan theatres, fence in small gardens and many other things.

It cost about 12,000 kroner to arrange the ground, and some 10,000 kroner annually to operate the place which is now internationally known.

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Immediately at the outbreak of the second world war the Government declared its intention to maintain house rent at the pre-war level, both in old and new dwellings. For flats already occupied a general rent stop was introduced which practically prohibits any increase in rent without the consent of tenants.

The great rise in prices caused by the war (the official building price index rose from 100 in August 1939 to 224 in August 1950) coupled with the fact that the loan granted by the credit societies did not amount to more than 30 or 40 % of the building costs, made the subsidizing of house building necessary.

This was effected by the granting of supplementary Government loans at a lower interest than that which the Government had to pay on its own loans. The extent of the subsidy granted varies according to the character of the building enterprises, as may be seen from the following table:

	Loan limit with guarantee from local district council. per cent.	Annual payment. per cent.	Hereof interest. per cent.	Period of amortization. years.
Cooperative and other non-profit Building Societies				
a. multi-family houses	97	2.2	2.0	69
b. single family houses	97	1.7	1.5	69
Buildings by local authority				
a. multi-family houses	95	2.2	2.0	69
b. single family houses	95	1.7	1.5	69
Building of tenement houses or single family houses by private persons				
a. multi-family houses	85	2.7	2.5	69
b. single family houses	85	2.2	2.0	69
Owner-occupied houses (by persons of modest means) ...	90	3.2	2.0	48

(As regards loans to agricultural workers the building loan — apart from the purchase of the site — may be as much as 100 per cent of the building costs, and it is granted without prior mortgages. Three-fourths of the loan is exempt from interest, but has to be amortized with one per cent per annum of the cost price).

The importance which in Denmark has been attached to building undertaken by cooperative and other non-profit building societies is due to the growing recognition of the fact that private building, in spite of the stringent building and town planning regulations, needs to be supplemented by other forms of enterprise more directly concerned with social interests. At the same time there is a reluctance to allow this supplementary building activity to be undertaken by the local authorities directly.

Cooperative and other non-profit organizations, it is maintained, will be less dependent on political issues than the municipal Councils. They will often be able to undertake the carrying-out of *large* housing schemes with better planning and provision for such conveniences as day-nurseries, kindergartens, play rooms, laundries etc., than private building undertakings can.

Last but not least, the public subsidy to the cooperative and other non-profit building societies is part of a wider plan in which these societies, in due course, will be self-sufficient. For it is the rule that tenants continue to pay the rent which is normally paid for flats provided by corresponding cooperative building, even if the running costs of the tenements are reduced on account of the redemption of the loans. The resulting surplus, or in any case part of it, is earmarked for the financing of new building.

Until 1945 the various subsidies made it possible to keep to the 1939 rent, also in new houses. When in the course of 1945 building prices began to rise again, it was no longer possible to maintain stability in the rent level of houses, though generally speaking this has not risen to the same degree.

It is another matter that the new constructions — in spite of the subsidies — did not correspond to the demand. To have maintained the pre-war housing standard, 30,000 — 35,000 additional dwellings would have been required.

The acute housing shortage and the low interest level have, in spite of the rise in prices and difficulties in regard to manpower and material, favored private initiative. Private building, which to a large extent has been confined to the building of small houses, has therefore been of great importance to the spreading of employment within the building trade. The following table shows the ratio between cooperative and private building since the second world war.

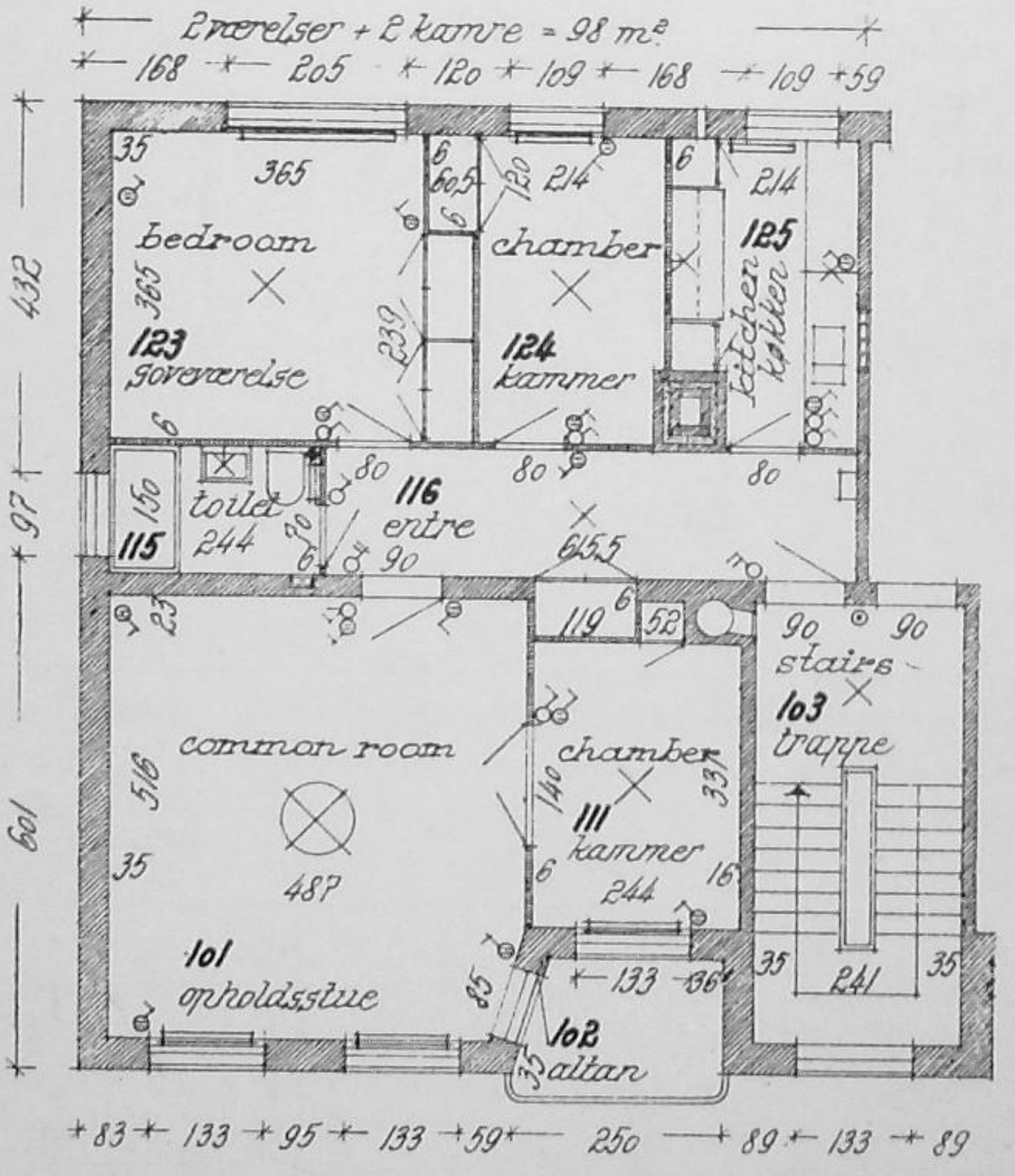
Number of completed dwellings	1939	1940-45 on the average	1946	1947	1948	1949
1. Towns and urban districts						
Cooperative and other non-profit building societies and local authorities	2,450	4,992	3,370	3,369	8,222	10,973
Private with subsidy	2,691	1,759	1,752	2,343	3,776	5,265
Private without subsidy	16,272	4,251	3,147	4,230	4,887	4,471
Total number of dwellings	21,413	11,002	8,269	9,942	16,885	20,709
In tenement houses	16,000	7,600	4,800	4,900	9,200	13,500
in one-family houses	5,400	3,400	3,500	5,000	7,700	7,200
2. Rural districts[5])	2,900	1,600	2,100	2,700	2,700	3,100
3. The whole country[6])	24,300	12,600	10,400	12,600	19,600	23,800

[5]) The number of dwellings constructed in the rural districts can only be estimated roughly, and the information from the year 1947 is especially uncertain.

[6]) In 1950 the number of self-contained dwellings in Denmark was about 1,261,000. More than 50 per cent of these were in tenement houses, the remainder in one family houses and farm properties.

Various branches of workers' cooperation gained a common expression in 1922, when The Cooperative League (Det kooperative Fællesforbund) was established. It is a central bureau, from which the organization of education for cooperation, propaganda, and representative tasks originate. The Cooperative League is like the Central Cooperative Committee (see page 83) a member of the International Cooperative Alliance, and it represents the Danish Workers' Cooperative at International Congresses. It does not function as a central organ of business enterprises for wholesale purchases or the establishment of productive undertaking. The League may, however, act as promoter of cooperative undertakings as in the case of the Danish Cooperative Insurance Ltd. and the Wholesale Society for dealing with building materials. Its director is Mr. Thor Pedersen.

The space of this book makes it impossible to give a detailed description of the Danish Workers' Cooperation in all its aspects. It will suffice to give a picture of the development of the cooperative movement in a typical provincial town which also gives an opportunity to describe the function which the municipality plays in modern Danish society.



Interior Plan of a Flat. Social Housing Society, Elsinore.

Flats erected by the Social Housing Society, Elsinore.

Part V.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF A DANISH TOWN

Elsinore.

Elsinore has about 21,500 inhabitants. It is beautifully situated at the entrance of Øresound, the international waterway forming the border between Denmark and Sweden and connecting the Kattegat and the Baltic. The castle of Kronborg dominates the town, rising from the low bastions, festive and distinguised by its bays, turrets and towers, and its jadegreen roof.

Elsinore is almost as old as civilized life can be traced on these coasts. A market town may have grown up round the church of St. Olai the oldest parts of which date from about the year 1200. The town got its name Helsingør (Elsinore) probably from the protruding neck (Danish: *Hals*) and the sands (Danish: *Øre*) of Zealand, while the older Castle *(Borg)* standing on the opposite side of the Sound in Sweden, on high ground, was named Helsingborg.

Kronborg and Shipping Yards with view across the Sound to Sweden.

Churches in the foreground are those of St. Mary and St. Olai.

The town had no historical importance until 1426 when it got extended town rights. Since then it has passed through an interesting development. It became known to all seafaring nations for the sound tolls which King Eric of Pomerania in 1426 demanded that all ships passing through the Sound should pay at Elsinore. The tolls were abolished by international agreement in 1857. To enforce the payment of the tolls, King Eric built the fortress, called "Krogen". It was partly destroyed in 1533, and King Frederik II, during the years 1562 to 1585, built the castle known as Kronborg,[1]) which was to serve as a combination of royal residence and fortress. Hamlet, the Danish Prince, is a legendary figure, and there is no authentic proof of the tradition that Shakespeare himself ever visited the castle. However, his troop of actors did. According to historians King Frederik II met an English troop of actors producing Shakespearian plays in Slesvig. He became so enthusiastic over the acting that he invited the troop to come to Elsinore to produce plays at Kronborg, which was then being rebuilt. During the years 1579 to 1585 there was almost always a company in Elsinore lodging with private individuals. They were primarily musicians and played the Reveille and the Retreat every day. It was from these troops that Shakespeare learned the intimate details of the legend of Hamlet and also got a vivid description of the King's Court, which enabled him to portray the scene of the tragedy so accurately.

At the time when the Sound tolls were in force Elsinore was a prominent and wealthy town. Three monasteries were built, one of which the large and beautiful Carmelite Cloister from 1419 still exists. It is the best preserved monastery of the north. The church of St. Mary forms the south wing and is a beautiful example of late medieval Gothic. In time Elsinore became strongly international in character. It was a centre for many foreign diplomats and large merchant houses. Hans Christian Andersen,[2]) the famous author of fairy tales, had no

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[1]) Kronborg was surrounded by three ramparts with accompanying moats, the inner part and some of the outer still exist. Most of the first storey and part of the ground floor of the castle is now occupied by the Maritime Museum, which was opened in 1915. It shows the naval and especially the mercantile development of Denmark. At the east end of the south wing is the Castle Chapel, above which the famous Knights' Hall extends through the whole wing as far as the biggest tower, the square Telegraph Tower. In the two-storied vaulted casemates under the ramparts of the Castle the Swedish General Dahlberg and several hundreds of soldiers had their quarters in 1658—59 during a Danish-Swedish war.

[2]) Hans Christian Andersen, though born in Odense, in 1826—28 went to

doubt noticed with wonder the stately English residences with their sash windows, double entrances, elegant Wedgwood furniture and other beautiful things when he depicted the Englishman with pockets "bulging with gold coins". An example of such houses is still to be seen in Strandgade 86. The English provided their own church, which, by the way, was purchased in 1889 by the labor organizations to be used as a meeting hall.

The abolition of the tolls caused the town to decrease in importance and population. In 1882, however, a new shipyard was constructed, which at present employs a staff of more than 2,800 workers. Through this the town has again recovered along normal lines.

The large number of tourists from Denmark and foreign countries visiting Elsinore demand a comparatively large hotel accommodation. Near the bathing beaches is situated the well-known Marienlyst summer resort, established in 1857 and restored since then.

At least 2,000 persons are employed in privately owned shops and

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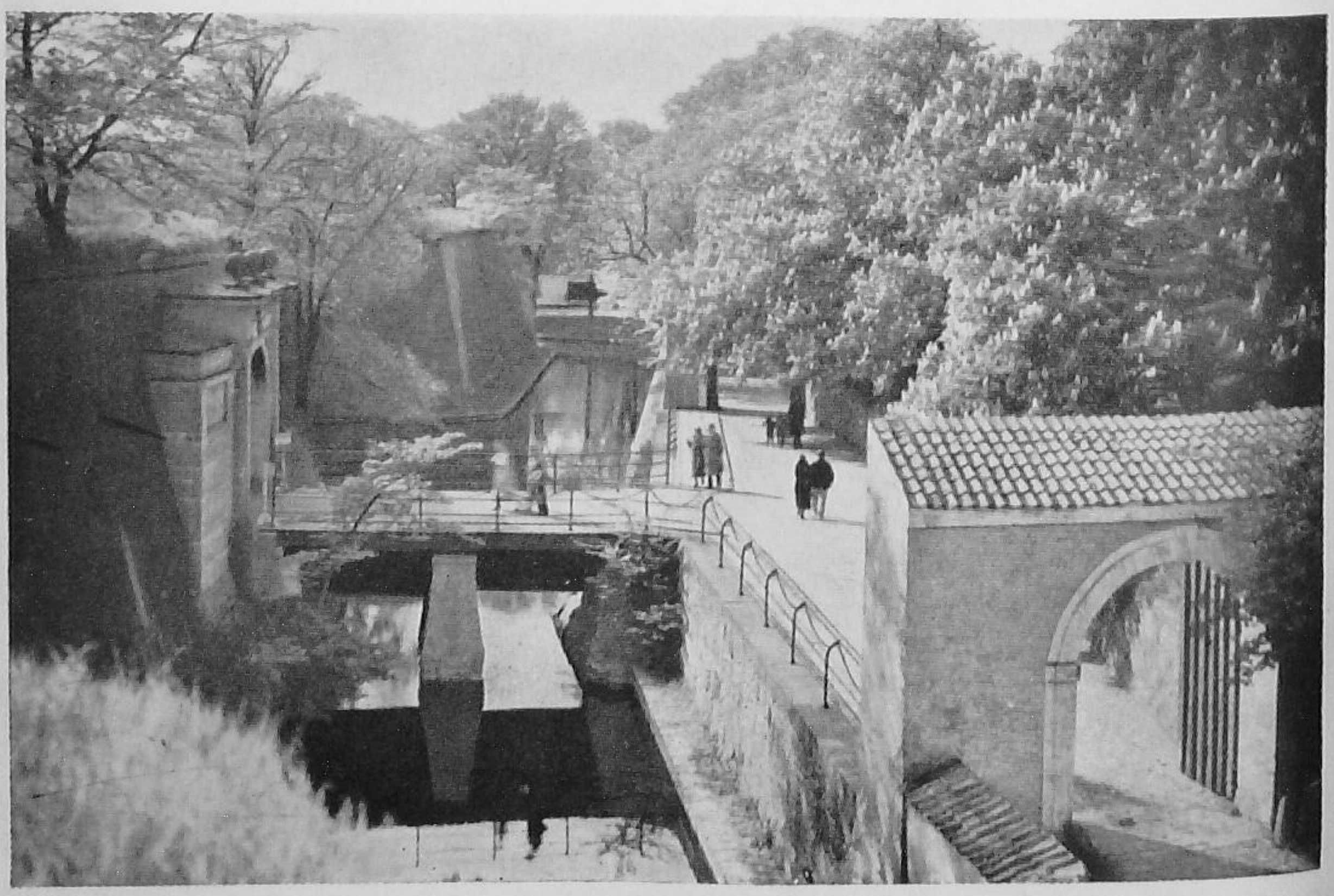
school at Elsinore in 12 Kongensgade the former building of the grammar school, which has now been removed to the corner of Kongevejen and Trækbanen, near the Crèche and the Home for Old People. Its name is Elsinore Gymnasium.

Moat and Ramparts, Kronborg.



The Carmelite Cloister.

commercial enterprises. Some 1,500 persons are employed in industries, apart from ship-building.

Elsinore is a typical Danish municipality. From 1919 until 1946 the Mayor, Mr. Peder Christensen, has been the leader of many co-operative and other economic enterprises, including the Cooperative League and the Labour Movement Economic Council. The latter was founded in 1936 to represent the labor organizations just as the Agricultural Council represents the farmers' organizations and the Industrial Council the employers in industry.[3]) Before 1919 the

[3]) Another citizen of Elsinore, Mr. H. P. Christensen, the director of the shipping yards, was the director of The Industrial Council.

The Town Hall of Elsinore.

Peder Christensen, retiring Mayor of Elsinore, greets his successor, Sigurd Schytz.

mayors of Danish towns were State officials, but a new law of that year gave the people the right to choose their own mayors through their Town Councils. The Mayor of Elsinore is elected by the Town Council from among its members after each ordinary election; his term of office holds good for four years, after which period he can be reelected.

The Town Council consists of nineteen members. In the election of 1888, nineteen Conservatives were returned. In 1892 the first Social-Democratic member made his appearance. Since 1913 with the exception of the period 1943—47, the Social-Democratic Party has had a majority over the other parties. (The Communist, Conservative, Justice, Liberal and Radical parties).

The Town Council administers the affairs of Elsinore. Executive powers are vested in the Mayor, the Magistracy and special committees of the Council. The Magistracy consists of the Mayor as Chairman and four Councillors. The Mayor heads the Municipal Administration in so far as this is not in the hands of special committees. There are two executive departments, the department for Bookkeeping, Secretariate and Finance, and the department for Technical Administration.

The Town Hall, which is the seat of the administration, was rebuilt in 1852. On the walls in one of the largest rooms are displayed permanent records of people who have made bequests to the town or to philanthropy, administered by the Town Council.[1]) In the Mayor's private office are many historical gifts. The oldest of these is a drinking horn, presented in 1838, after many years of enmity, by the neighboring Swedish town of Hälsingborg. This and other gifts bear witness to the more than 100 years of friendly relations between the two border towns, which might well serve as a pattern for all other borders.

Education and Social Welfare are the inherited responsibilities of a modern Danish town. They have grown into highly complicated institutions.

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The municipality of Elsinore is partly responsible for the financial management of the *Schools*. There are three primary schools and one secondary school, the "Gymnasium", where roughly one fourth of the number of children after having reached the age of eleven, is

prepared for either a "Real examination" (for civil service and similar positions) or for university matriculation.

Public primary education in Denmark was established by statutes issued as early as 1814. These statutes have been the foundation of Danish school legislation till the passing, on May 1937, of the Primary Education Act now in force. Since 1814 education of all children is compulsory in Denmark, but children may be taught at home or in private schools.

Infant schools are not part of the public school system. They may be run either by municipalities as separate institutions or as private enterprises, subsidized by the State. The *compulsory* school age is from seven to fourteen years. There are generally 240 working days in the school year, with 18 — 23 — 28 hours per week in the 7 — 9 age group, 30 — 33 — 35 hours in the 10 — 14 (15) age group. The average number of pupils in a class is about 30, in the rural districts and in secondary schools somewhat smaller.

The curriculum comprises the usual school subjects: Danish, oral and written, Writing, Arithmetic, Scripture, History, Geography, Natural History, Gymnastics and Games, Singing, Drawing, Needlework (for girls), but the whole series of subjects need not be complete till the fourth year in the primary school.

A psychological list of words is used throughout the *fundamental* classes. Oral and written spelling is given every day. Speech training is not taken as a formal subject. Cursive writing is taught from the beginning. Sloid (with paper and clay) is taught the boys, when the girls have needlework. Free expression is encouraged, children working in books with crayon. Clay is used for individual and group models. From the age of 9 years, drawing has become a special subject with one or two periods of 50 minutes per week, supervised in larger schools by a specialist. Arts is seldom taught.

Two periods a week are given to Knitting and Sewing (the syllabus is set by the State Inspectress). Music, consisting mostly of singing, is taught for one period per week by a specialist. Use is made of the public library and the school library by the children. Wireless lessons in various subjects may be taken.

In the main school (now called non-examination middle school) for 11—14 (15) age groups, the curriculum is extended to include Physics, Wood-work for the boys and House-wifery for the girls. Instruction in one or two languages may be given.

By a *Gymnasium* is meant a school comprising both middle school (with examination) and senior school. It constitutes an organized entity with one headmaster and one staff. The middle school comprises four classes, covering the ages from 11 to 15, to which is added a "Real" class to the "Real" examination passed at 16 years of age. The teaching of foreign languages plays a prominent part.

The senior school is a direct continuation of the middle school and leads through three classes (corresponding to fifth and sixth forms in England and to high school and the first year of junior College in U. S. A.) to the Matriculation Examination. It is divided into a modern languages section, with English and German, and the science section, with mathematics and physics, as main subjects. In some of the Danish gymnasiums there is also a classical section with Latin and Greek as the main subjects. French is taught at all three sections.

All the children are examined twice a year by a school dentist and once a year by a school doctor. An attempt is being made at Elsinore and a few other towns to discard the promotion examination taken at 11 years, replacing it by the teachers' judgment. If the parent is dissatisfied with the conclusion reached, an examination is given to the child.

There are 34 State, 22 municipal, and 11 private (though State supported) Gymnasiums. In the municipal Gymnasiums there are (since 1933) just as in the primary schools, parents' councils, but these do not take part in nomination of candidates for head-masterships or masterships. In the private and the municipal schools the principals of the schools and the local authorities respectively have wide autonomy.

On January 1st 1947 the total number of children attending school in Denmark was 481.395, of whom 73.710 attended examination schools. The senior school leaving examination (Studentereksamen) is passed by about 3.000 students per year (about 600 of whom are privately prepared). There are 213 municipal and 131 private Middle and "Real" schools preparing for examinations and 34 State, 22 municipal and 11 private gymnasiums. The recent Private Elementary School Act has considerably increased the grants to private elementary schools, which now have about 11.000 pupils.

The teachers in the three senior classes are mostly graduates, trained at the universities. The rest of the teachers have a four year course at one of the 21 teachers' training colleges of which 8 are run by the State and 13 are private, but receive State aid. There is also a Teachers' High School in Copenhagen which conducts advanced courses for teachers, who have some experience of teaching.

In 1947 there were 2732 public elementary schools with 9392 men teachers and 6181 women teachers. ... Teachers in the Danish non-examination schools have great liberty with regard to teaching methods, but it may be said that on the whole the Danish school system shows less variation than the English and American systems. For the examination schools detailed directions and regulations have been issued by the Central Secondary School Inspectorate.

The number of students at the universities is about the same proportion of the population as in England, but smaller than in Scotland and much smaller than in U.S.A. and Canada. Matriculation in Denmark is quite tough and is taken rather late; at the age of 18 or 19. Sometimes it imposes perhaps too great a strain on the young people preparing for it.

The headmaster of one of the primary schools acts as secretary to the Education Committee, appointed by the Municipal Council. He assists in the administration of the schools. The whole staff of each school constitutes a Teachers' Council, which is entitled to be consulted on important questions regarding the school. No fees are required in any of the municipal schools. In the primary schools one daily meal is provided for all children who want it, i. e. about 50 per cent.

The Non-Examination Middle School is intended to form the basis of the apprentice schools, technical and commercial (which are

compulsory for apprentices in handicrafts and commerce) — and to prepare for practical work. The first inquiry, however, in practically all trades being still about examination marks, the non-examination middle schools in Denmark have not yet reached the importance hoped for.

Elsinore Gymnasium,
Front Building.

The only private school now existing at Elsinore is a primary school attached to the Catholic Church of St. Vincent, which was erected in 1930. In the neighboring towns of Hillerød[4]) and Frederikssund there are private examination schools.

The International People's College (or Folk High School) is situated in the outskirts of Elsinore. Within a radius of 10 to 15 miles there are no less than five ordinary Danish folk high schools, two near Hillerød, one near Rungsted for young business people, one, Magleås, near Birkerød and one, Krogerup, at Humlebæk. (See page 128).

At Krogerup Folk High School, the Danish Youth Council has its H. Q. This council is a manifestation of the voluntary collaboration between Danish youth organizations, and is also a medium of international cooperation.

The increasing mechanisation having created a great number of unskilled workers, the Unskilled Adolescent Education Act was passed in 1942. All towns have to provide youth schools, but attendance is voluntary. They may be established as day schools and evening schools (with from 150—360 hours) or as boarding schools, the courses of which must extend over at least two months. The instruction should not be vocational or technical, but of a social character, though at least one-half of the total number of hours must be of a practical nature and aim at giving the pupils some orientation in subjects bearing on their work.

The evening schools for adults have been of particular importance. At Elsinore no less than 2,500 students attend the evening school, which is headed by one of the teachers of the primary schools. Practically all general educational subjects are taught, besides practical subjects such as typewriting, shorthand, woodwork, domestic

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[4]) Noted for its large *Frederiksborg Castle*, with the Museum of National History, supported by the Carlsberg Foundation.

work etc. The evening schools may be established by local authorities (in town or country), associations or private persons, but one condition for obtaining State support is that the instruction comprises at least 20 hours in the subject taught and that each course is atended by an average of a least 10 students per lesson. In the Act of 1942 a new provision was added about a special grant to *evening high school* courses which concentrate on social and cultural subjects (civics, history, literature etc.). At Elsinore about 300 students attend these courses, and the number is increasing.

The municipality also supports the *public library*, which is established for the service not only of Elsinore but of the surrounding district.[5]) It furnishes grants to the technical schools (for the theoretical training of apprentices) and the commercial school as well as to the evening courses for adults.

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Private business dominates the industries and commerce at Elsinore. It is in the rural sections that the Danish Cooperative Movement has its deepest roots. The workers' organizations have, however, at Elsinore, as in other Danish towns, started several *cooperative undertakings*, such as a central consumers' cooperative store with six branches, a timber and fuel supply company, and a cooperative bakery. Another cooperative operates a cinema and a meeting house.

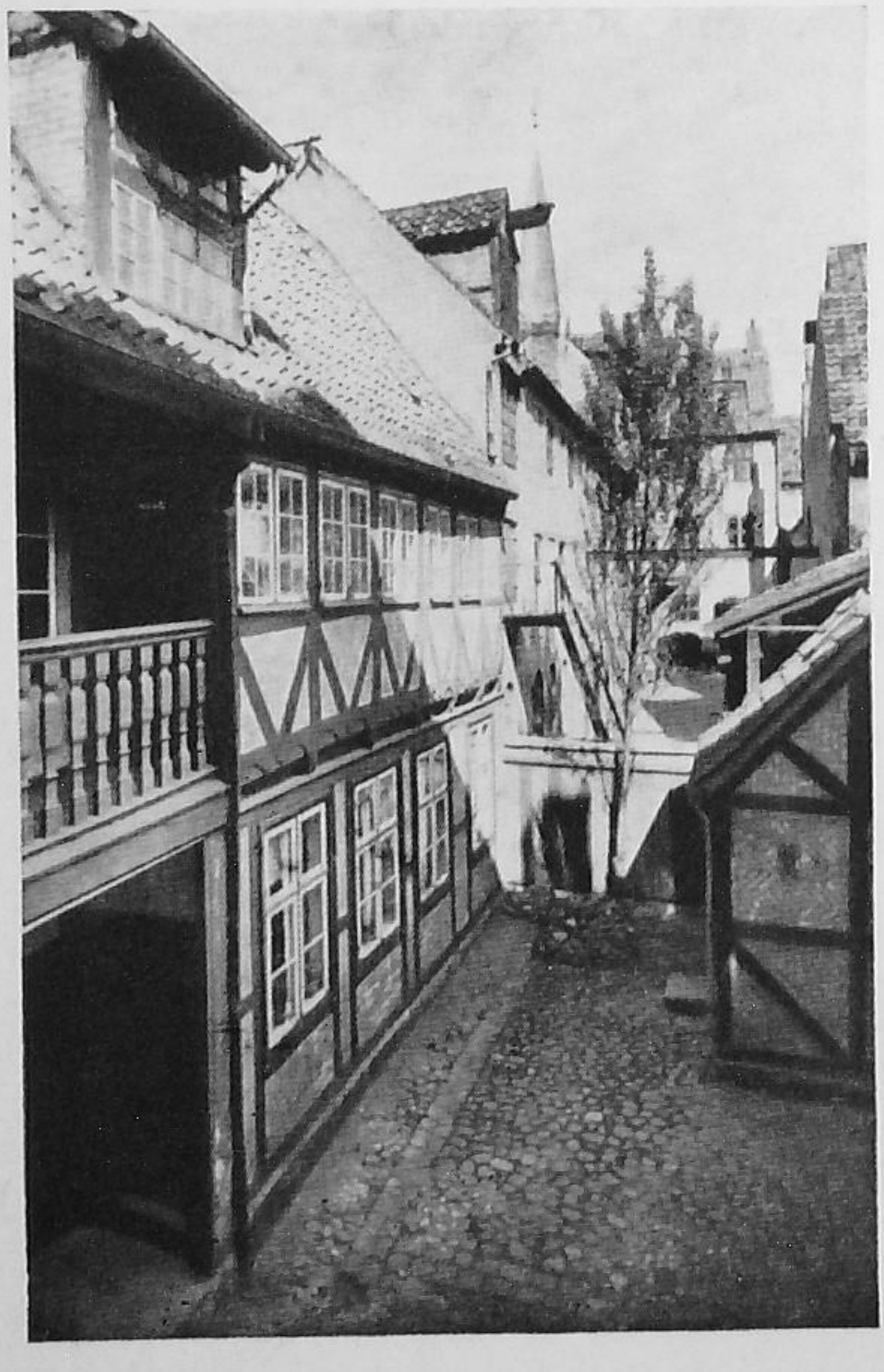
The first cooperative building society, consisting chiefly of employees of railways, was formed in 1922. It comprises 68 apartments, which must always remain the property of the society.

When a State law of 1938 provided a new basis for "*social building*" (i.e. yielding no private profit) in Denmark, Elsinore was one of the first towns to put this particular law into practice. In 1938 Mr. Peder Christensen formed the "Social Housing Society, Helsingør", with the support of the Municipal Council. It is a non-profit *institution*, not a union of members. The committee

5) It is situated in the old Carmelite House, which was built by two noblemen, Herluf Trolle and Per Brahe, in the sixteenth century and restored in 1908. It got the name Carmelite House, because a small part of it has been built by the monks to be used as a hospital for "poor foreign mariners". The library loans out about 120,000 books yearly having motor car service for supplying remote parts of the district. Both town and country can borrow books from the library free of charge, and it supplies the schools with sets of books. It is also a centre for the State's educational film service, lending films and projectors to local organizations and institutions. It has two rooms for study circles, and some of the librarians take part in voluntary adult education work, e. g. W.E.A., and offer their services for lectures on literature and the best use of books.

consists of a chairman, elected by the Council, and four members also elected by the Council, together with two members elected by and among the occupants of the apartments. Since this society was established the municipality has sold the society all the houses it had constructed for renting out apartments, and has resolved to cease building houses with flats for renting. By 1953 the society will have built about 1,100 shops and apartments, 350 of these in 1952 and 1953. In 1938—39 the rent per square metre was 15 kroner, in 1951 22 kroner. The total cost of sites and construction will in 1953 amount to 24,150,550 kroner. (Photos, Pages 168—69).

In both types of building societies the capital is obtained as loans from the usual sources, i. e. credit and mortgage associations, and the State which — when the municipality guarantees — supplies the remaining necessary capital as a loan up to 97 % of the total cost. Only 3 % is required from the occupants, and even this amount may



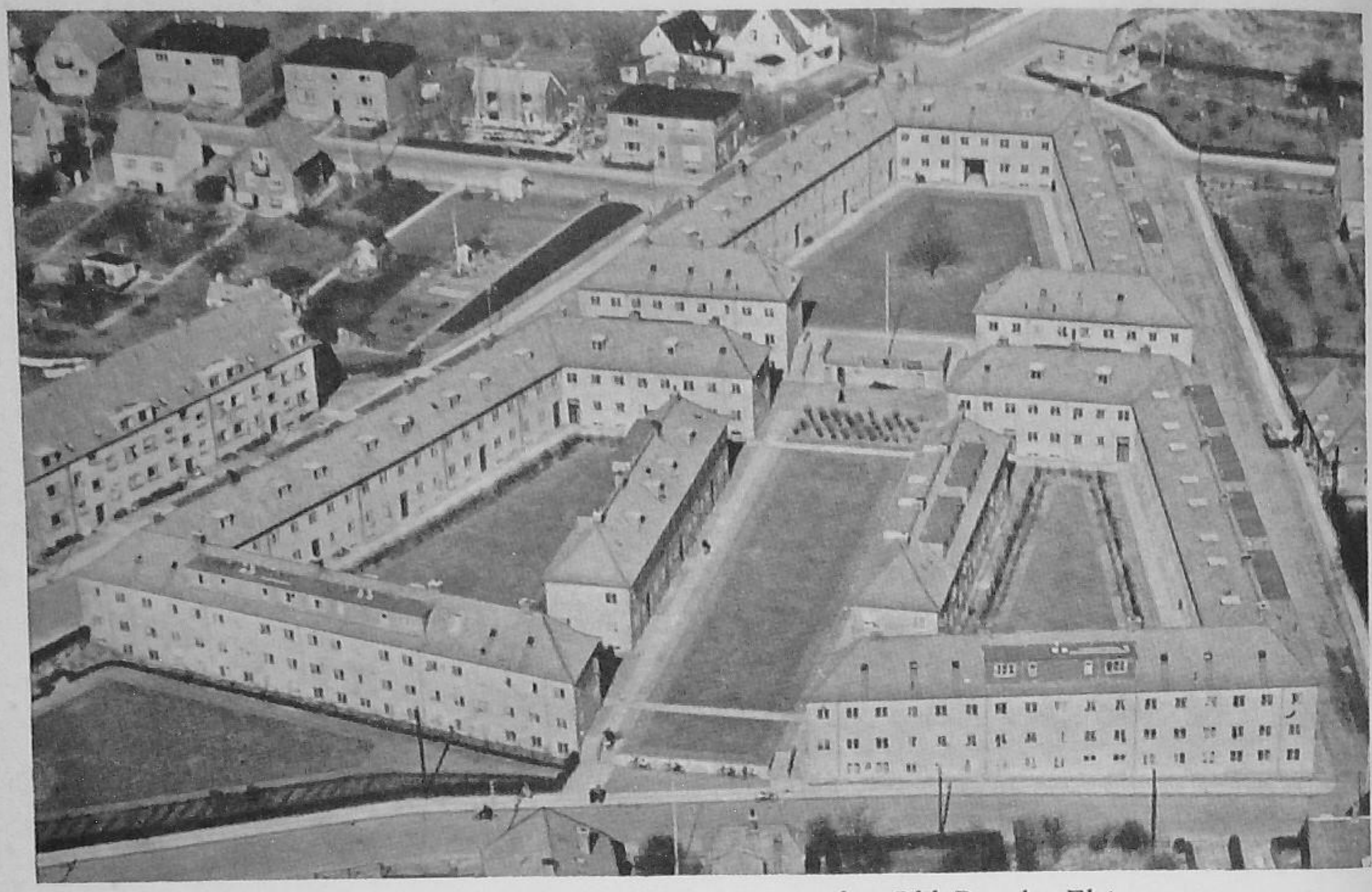
Century-old Buildings.

The Churchyard of Elsinore.

be guaranteed by the municipality in cases of families with three or more children.

Private house building can also get State support under the law of 1938, which has been revised in 1946 and 1951. In 1952 there were in Elsinore two large private building societies, and a number of citizens have built single family houses with money borrowed from the State (next a primary loan) at an interest of 2,2 per cent.

Apart from its interest in cooperative building the municipality of Elsinore has explored other fields of social welfare. In 1933 it secured 20 acres for 204 allotments. (The holders pay 5 øre per



Block of Buildings with Apartments for Old People, Elsinore.

square meter a year). It has provided for large sports and recreation grounds, bathing beaches, etc. It grants 30 per cent of the running expenses of the crèche (Børnegaarden) which is founded and owned by a private society, the Elsinore Mothers' and Children's Aid Society. (The State pays 40 per cent, and the parents the rest. Some fifty infants under 2½ years and sixty children under school age (sevenyears) are taken care of during the day-time when the mothers are at work). Almost all hospitals in Denmark are maintained by public subscription. So also Elsinore has its large hospital. (Small provincal towns have as a rule a county hospital). Elsinore has established large institutions for the old people.

One of the best of the Danish Old People's Homes is in Elsinore where the helpless aged live in dormitories and the able-bodied in small apartments consisting of living room, bed room and kitchen. All the expenses (amounting to about 10 kroner daily per person) are paid by the municipality, which in turn collects the old people's pension[6]) with the exception of 24 kroner a month for spending money.

Arrangements for the old are made by all municipalities, but Elsinore went further and built houses with 150 and later additional 44 apartments for old people who do not qualify for the ordinary home. These people pay a small monthly rent of 10 kroner, and the municipality defrays the bulk of

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[6]) At Elsinore 220 kroner a month for a married couple, 135 kroner a month for a single person, to which is added help towards fuel and clothing.

the expenses. The State has decided that municipalities can get State aid for the building of such houses. In the period 1938—49 altogether about 10,000 dwellings have been built by local authorities for old age pensioners.

An account of the expenditures in the fiscal year 1950—51 of Elsinore Municipality towards its social services etc. is seen in the following table:

The Cost of Central Administration	875,430 kr.
Social Welfare	2,353,222 »

Sickness Insurance paid on behalf of needy persons 24,000 kr.

Invalidity 66,945 kr. (one-seventh of the total expenses, the State paying six-seventh).

Old Age Pensions with the Nursing Home for Aged 987,896 kr. (The State pays four-seventh of the expenses).

"Alderdomsstiftelsen" with 19 apartments for old people at low rent 93,030 kr.

Hospital	1,213,230 kr.

Schools.

Elementary Schools (with a teaching staff of 80 persons, some half being women).

Teachers' Salaries	790,000 kr.
less Contribution from the State	433,000 »

Secondary School (with a teaching staff of 28 persons)

Teachers' Salaries	370,000 kr.
less from State	207,000 »
less fees	26,000 »
Evening School	30,000 kr.
Youth School (the State paying about 70 % of the expenditures of The Evening School and the Youth School)	2,600 »
Technical School	48,000 »
The Central Library	170,000 »
less from the State	63,000 »
less from the Country and other Sources	5,000 »
Streets and Roads	538,822 »
Recreation and Municipal Parks	292,246 »

The total budget was about 8 million kroner.

Income Taxes were about 6 million kroner.

Imposts on Property about 300,000 kroner.

*

With the exception of the recently founded university at Arhus, all Danish institutions of higher learning are situated in Copenhagen, i. e. The old university, which was founded as early as 1478, the Technical University, the Royal School of Pharmacy, the Royal Dental College, the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, the Royal

Veterinary and Agricultural College, and the School of Commercial Science.

In 1948—49 there were 4.636 men and 1.475 women students at the Copenhagen University, and 1.114 men and 231 women students at the Aarhus University. The latter, inaugurated as late as 1928, is a self-supporting institution. The major part of its expenses are defrayed by the Danish State, the rest by the Corporation of Århus and private supporters. The number graduating at the two universities were 1620 and 32 respectively. In the same year The Technical University had 1783 students. In the training colleges there were 1483 men and 931 women students, and in Denmark's Teachers' High School, in Copenhagen, 220 men and 133 women students for the long courses.

There are five faculties at the universities, the faculties of theology, law and economics, medicine, science and philosophy. Philosophy covers what the English and Americans mean by arts.

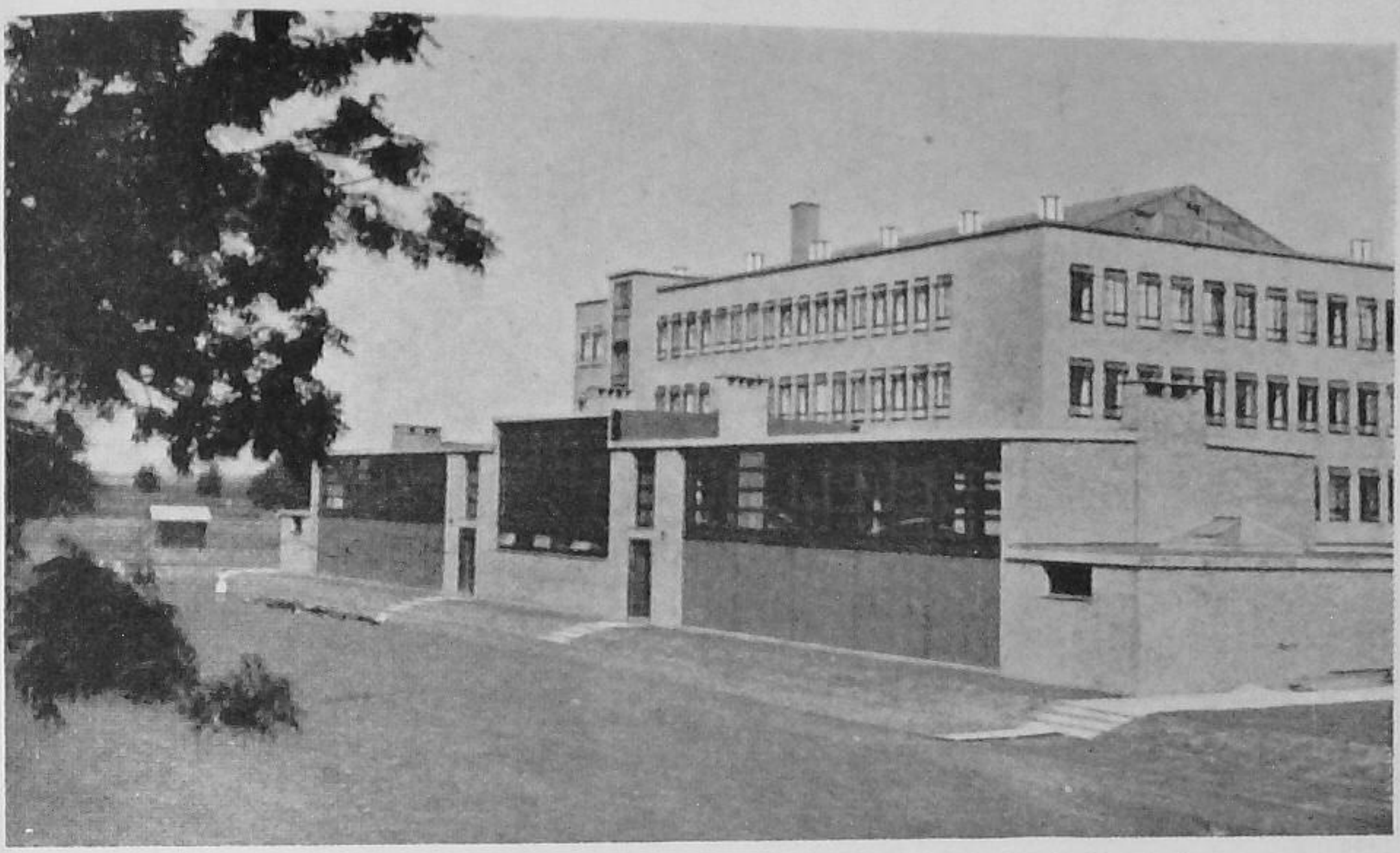
The training at the universities vary according to the faculties from five to seven years.

Oral examinations receive more emphasis in Denmark than in England and the United States, where—in spite of the increasing use of "interviews"—written papers form the major part. The courses in these countries are as a rule also more disciplined and planned than in Denmark, especially in the humanities, where until most recent years students could study in very much their own way. In the first stages of the studies at the Danish universities a greater stress is probably placed on the assimilation of facts than at most Anglo-Saxon universities. It is demanded from a student preparing to teach languages in secondary schools, that he acquires great skill in practising the foreign language and that he has quite a detailed knowledge of its history and of its literature.

It is in Denmark, as in the other Scandinavien countries, a long process to become a university lecturer or professor, and preparation for a doctor's degree takes many years of research.

Nowadays economic pressure tends to make the periods of study shorter, and to make many students work their way. There are not so many bursaries and scholarships as in England, but there are no fees to be paid, and a loan bank run by a student organization can lend students quite substantial sums towards their board and lodging.

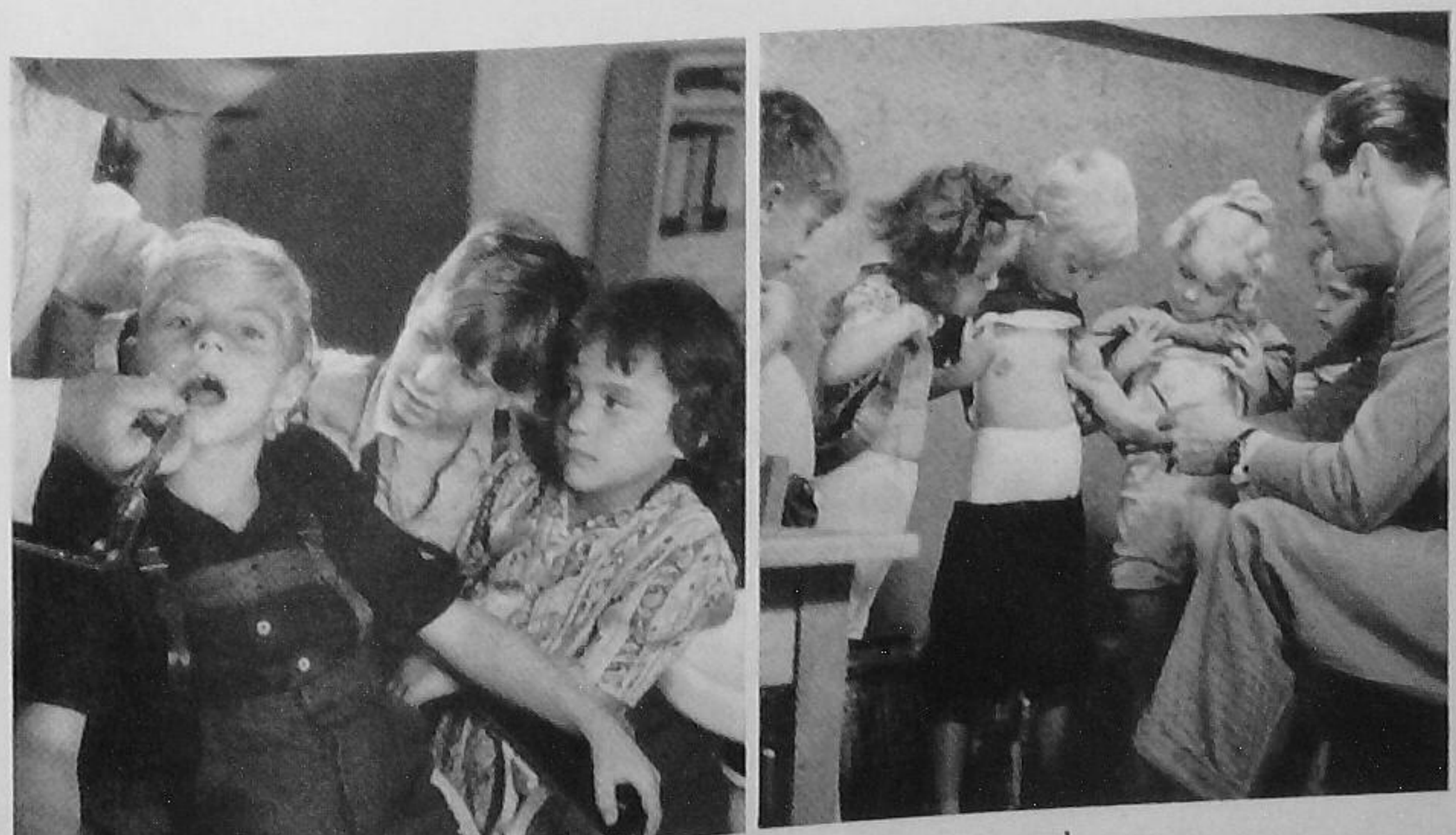
In the University of Lund, Sweden, the student body runs a kindergarten for the children of the increasing number of married



A Modern Primary School in Copenhagen (Skolen ved Sundet).

students. There is no such institution for Danish students, but Student Councils, which are established by law, have taken over many responsibilities of student life. Denmark's International Student Committee is an important link with the foreign student world.

The Danish Society, founded in 1940 on the initiative of Folmer Wisti, who has since been its director, is doing popular educational work both in Denmark and abroad. Its publications (in 1952 more than 46 volumes) and lectures, its summer schools, study tours in Denmark, its bursaries granted



The school-dentist and school-doctor at work.

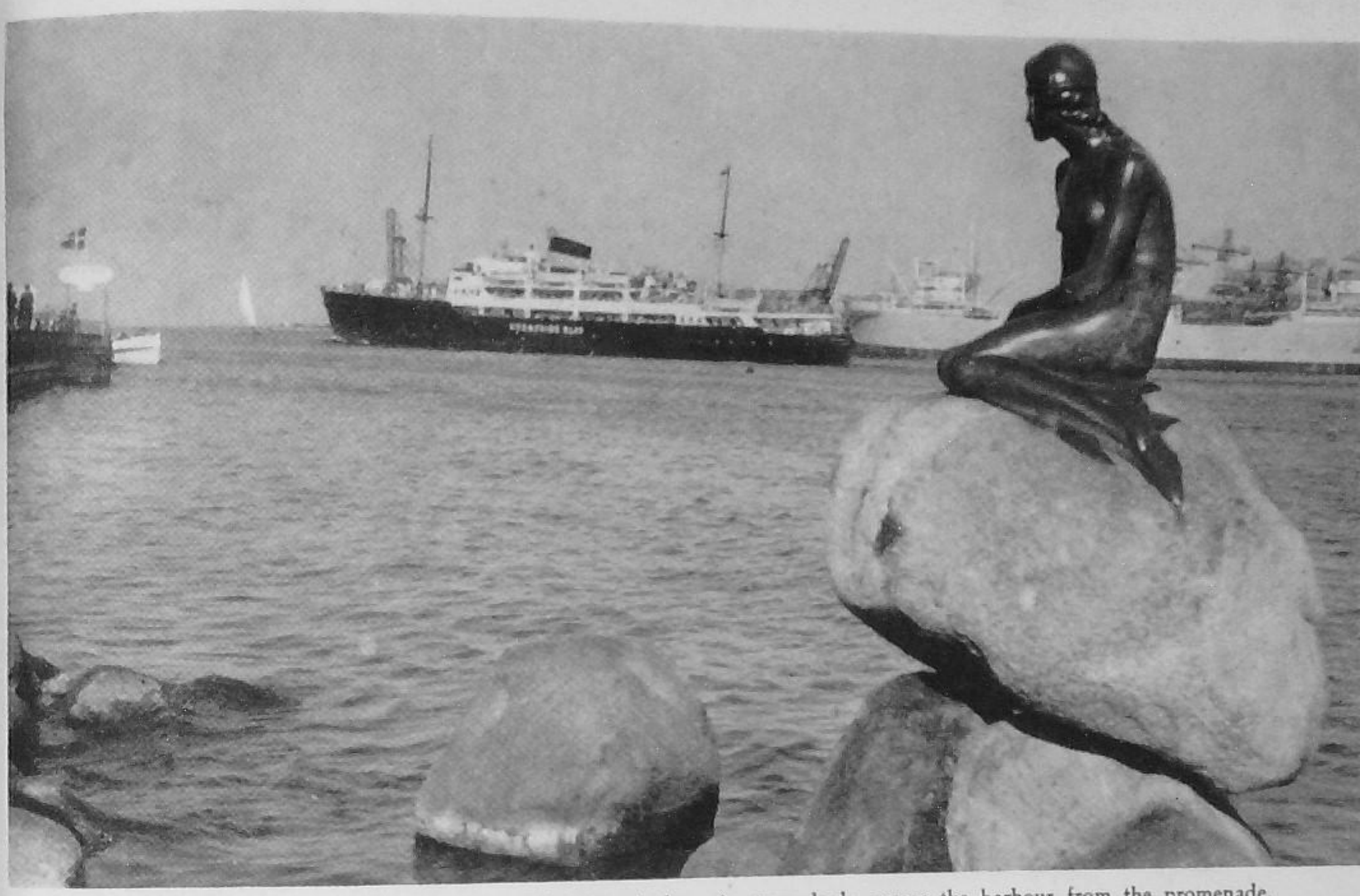
Students in the Front Hall of the Copenhagen University.

to foreigners studying the Danish people's culture, its "ambassadors" abroad, who have been specially schooled in Danish culture and social conditions, all contribute substantially to the work of creating living and comprehensive association and mutual enlightenment between Denmark and other countries.

The Danish Society, which is presided over by Mr. Viggo Christensen, former Chief Mayor of Copenhagen, receives a State grant of 500,000 kroner yearly.

During the month of August Miss Ingeborg Stemann has now for about twenty years conducted Holiday Courses for Foreign Students. She is supported by a Danish committee and representatives of "Old Students". The main subject of the courses is Danish language, life, literature and thought.

Denmark's American Society, presided over by Viggo Carstensen, barrister, has, in collaboration with The American Scandinavian Foundation, arranged for a great number of Americans to study Danish Conditions and for a still greater number of Danes to study in America.



The Little Mermaid, inspired by Hans Christian Andersen's story, looks across the harbour from the promenade, on the outskirts of Copenhagen. The boat, Kronprins Olav, belonging to the United Steamship Company, plies between Copenhagen and Oslo. The sculptural work is by Edv. Eriksen.

The British Council and Institute Francaise are arranging for lecturers and students to go to Denmark and for Danes to go to holiday courses in their respective countries. After the war, a Danish-Indian Society, a Danish Austrian Society and a Committee for Danish-German Teachers' Rallies have been founded with similar purposes.

World Friendship Federation has its H. Q. in Copenhagen (K. Helweg Petersen, Gen. Sec.), and its Danish branch arranges for a great number of exchange visits. So does the Danish branch of International Friendship League.

The Rask-Ørsted Foundation, established by the Danish Government, 1919, supports Danish science in its contributions to international research, and to international exchange of scientists.

Among the many important scientific institutions attended by foreigners, the Institute of Theoretical Physics is directed by Professor Niels Bohr. It was established with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation.

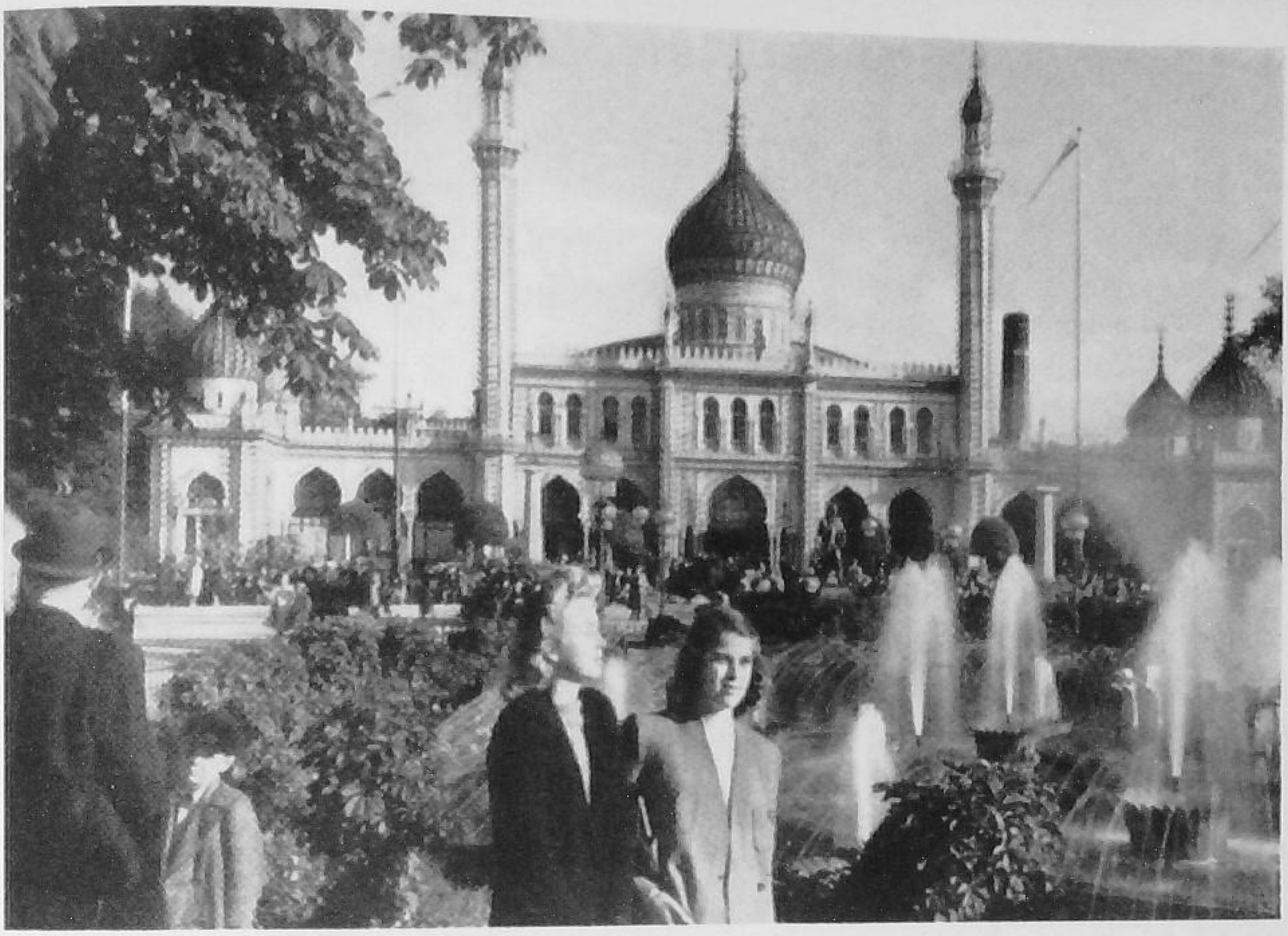
A Glimpse of Copenhagen.

From Elsinore the highway runs along the Øresund coast to Copenhagen. This coast has been called Denmark's Riviera. On the slopes in between the beeches and beautiful gardens lie stately villas of wealthy Copenhageners and lowly straw-thatched cottages of fishermen.

As one approaches Copenhagen in the summer the shores become more and more crowded with bathers. The population of the capital is in search of sunshine, fresh air, and salt water. "A fat peasant child with a head too big, and too intelligent: that is Denmark", says

The march of the Guards through part of the city is a frequent event which attracts considerable crowds.

Copenhagen on Wheels.



Tivoli.

Karel Capek.[7]) "Only a few years ago, they say, Copenhagen used to be locked up for the night, and the Danish Mr. King used to have the keys of the town gates on his night table. Today, no longer are there any town gates . . . Tivoli is the capital of Copenhagen, a town of swings, shooting galleries, fountains, bars, and entertainments, a town of children, lovers and altogether of people, a great amusement park, perhaps unique in the world in its popularity, popular heartiness, and its naive, gay, kermess exuberance . . . Men and women on bicycles. There are as many here as in Holland, and they rustle through the streets in whole swarms, in streams or more or less combined in pairs . . . Art collections. And what else? Yes, canals and fish markets, royal palaces and sailors' pubs where the concertinas drone away into the transparent night, venerable old houses of merchant gentlemen, runic stones and cheerful girls in printed frocks from the fashion shops, fat and healthy children . . . And no beggars, altogether no speck of grime and misery; the other day they only found sixteen people who had no roof over their heads at Christmas."

Copenhagen, like the rest of Denmark, shows the results of the far-reaching social legislation in Denmark, which is taking care of all the infants, aged, infirm, and invalids who in former generations were totally dependent upon their kinsmen or some charitable institution.

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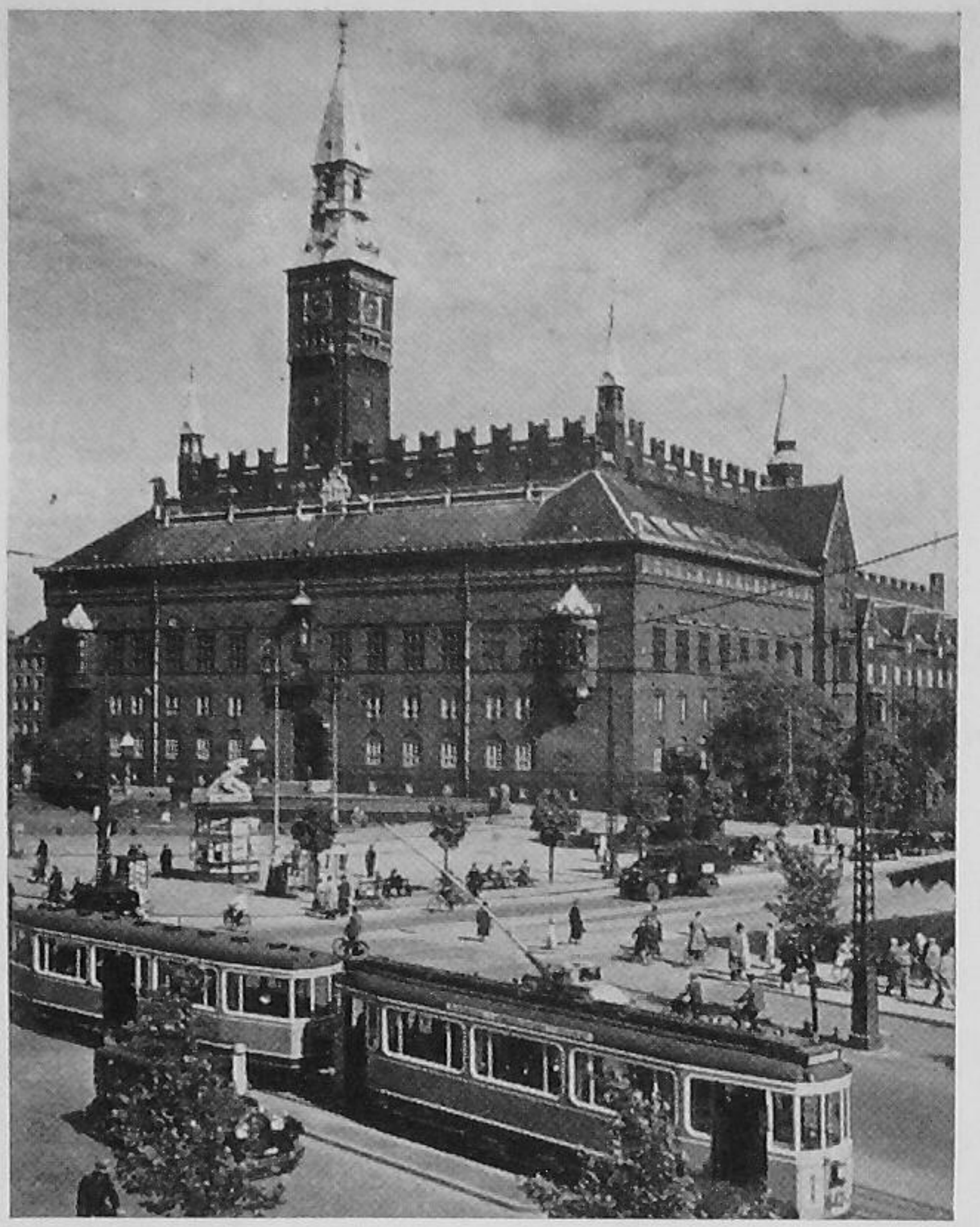
[7]) In "Travels in the North", Allen and Unwin, London 1939.



The City Hall, Copenhagen.

Part VI.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Denmark for the people, the call rings from the north.
Room for us all at the table of society
Fight against those who would take by storm and strike
The shining redoubts of freedom on which our people build.
Room for every thought which springs to life and grows —
That is the note we strike in the great world choir.
Room for us all, room for all who want
Denmark for the people.

Oscar Hansen.

In the years preceding and during the first World War the workers discovered their strength, though at the same time they discovered that socialism was not a utopian scheme to be achieved all at once, if ever, but a practical program based on the belief in an organized society and an evolutionary development.

It was the Social-Democratic Minister of Social Affairs, K. K. Steincke, a life-long student of social care, who, in 1933, codified and further developed the social reform legislation which a Conservative government had initiated towards the end of the 19th century.

The legislation for the *Protection of Labor* remained untouched by the new code, but has been supplemented or superseded by more recent laws.

In Denmark as elsewhere the starting point of social legislation has been the regulation of child labor. An act of 1873 forbade the employment of children under ten years of age. The minimum working age has since been raised to fourteen years with certain exceptions for agriculture, horticulture, fisheries, and a few other occupations. No child under twelve may be employed as an errand boy, and between twelve and fourteen the working hours are limited to four a day. For young persons between fourteen and eighteen night work is prohibited except when necessary for their training.

Legislation for the protection of women workers has been somewhat hampered by the women themselves who feel that any special legislation for them is discriminatory. Although night work for women is permitted, the law prohibits women's work for four weeks after child birth. But a doctor's permission can easily be obtained.

The eight-hour day in industry and commerce has become almost the universal practice, but it is the result of voluntary agreements between trade unions and employers' organisations and not of legislation. The law merely provides for an eight-hour-day in factories with continuous operation. Work on church holidays is forbidden in industrial concerns, and shops must keep fixed hours and be closed on Sundays and other holidays.

The right of practically all Danish workers to holidays with pay was established by law in 1938. The law increased the number of workers with the right to annual holidays and raised the number of days for those workers and public servants who already had holidays. Payment of the allowance which the worker is entitled to enjoy during his holiday rests with the employer. This allowance amounts to a certain per cent of the wages the worker has earned, including board and lodging, but not remuneration paid him in return for special expenses or for overtime, etc. As the allowance is intended to be enjoyed during the worker's holiday (from May 1st to September 30th generally), there must be a guarantee that it is available when the holidays begin and that it has not been paid to him beforehand. In cases where the allowance at the beginning of the holiday is not paid out through or with the guarantee of the organization to which the employer

belongs, it is paid in the form of holiday stamps, which are handed to the worker together with the wages he receives during the holiday year. This holiday stamp system is administered by the Post Office.

Danish People's Holiday Association (Dansk Folkeferie) is an organization founded with the object of helping anyone entitled to holiday with pay to utilize this to the best advantage.

In 1947 the Ministry of Social Affairs set up a holiday board on which the State, employers' and workers' organizations, tourist associations, factory legislation officials and other bodies are represented.

Factory inspection is expert and efficient, but the Government has been slow to extend factory regulation to the small manufacturer or craftsman, who has thus been able to hold his own against the large factories.

Denmark's peculiar contribution to social legislation lies in the field of *Social Insurance*. The slogan "support for self support" expresses the underlying philosophy of its social legislation. All insurance is social, but the use of the term "social insurance" implies the direct interest of the State or its subdivisions. In Denmark the State now organizes and regulates the insurance; in some instances it runs the insurance institution itself.

Social insurance and public relief had existed for almost fifty years and were the subject of more than forty laws before the legislation of 1933. The new reform was built on the old system, which was admirable in many ways and in part had served as a pattern for the social legislation of other countries, notably New Zealand and England, which based their old age pension system on that of Denmark. But its gradual and haphazard growth made for certain serious defects, and it was to correct these, to simplify and rationalize, to modernize the whole system, that the reform was carried through. The numerous old laws were replaced by four, of which the longest, the Public Relief Act, contains no less than 335 sections. The other three are all insurance acts.

The point of departure of the old system was the ordinary poor relief. From time to time special measures provided for the relief of distress in cases in which it seemed unjust or inexpedient to subject the recipient to the humiliating character of poor relief, which in Denmark involved the loss of civic rights. Thus it was that the many laws, which were often over-lapping, came into being.

The new system is set up on a different basis. It begins with the systematic investigation of cases of need and distress. It ascertains

in which cases the insurance principle, and in which the relief principle should be applied, and in the latter cases whether public support should be granted as a matter of right, and support given according to stipulated rules, or charity.

All cases that prove not to be specifically public relief are dealt with under one of the three insurance laws. Among these cases are *industrial accidents*. The entire cost of workmen's compensation is borne by the employer, not by the taxpayer or the worker. The employer alone pays the premiums, since accidents are looked upon as trade risks that must be covered by the cost of production. All workers in gainful occupations are insured, even washerwomen and cleaning women. Certain occupational diseases are in the same category as accidents. The Labor Insurance Council, a government institution, decides the degree of disability and the amount of compensation, and its decisions are final. Until the decisions are arrived at, the injured worker receives 60 % of his daily wages, but for the first thirteen weeks this compensation is paid by the sickness insurance, and only in case the disability lasts for more than thirteen weeks is the amount refunded by the accident insurance company. Thus all minor accidents are treated as sickness.

In case of permanent disability, total or partial, the worker receives compensation in annual instalments, though lump-sum payment is still made to the widow in cases of mortal accidents. Formerly the lump sum was the usual form of compensation, but there were so many cases in which the capital was mis-spent, that the new legislation takes account of this human failing.

The insurance principle is also applied to *unemployment relief*. The trade unions, from an early date, compelled their members to contribute to special unemployment funds. The new act required all unemployment societies to establish "Continuation Funds" to continue the payment of unemployment relief after the expiration of the time during which ordinary unemployment relief is given, for a maximum period of seventy days within twelve consecutive months. The workers themselves largely support unemployment insurance through their contributions. The employers pay a small share and only to the continuation fund. The insurance societies are independent, but must be approved and are controlled by the State, which assists them from public funds. The grant is graded according to the size of the members' wages. Nearly all the Danish workers are organized in

trade unions and so are insured, but those who are not organized also have access to unemployment benefits.

Whereas insurance against accident and unemployment is limited to workers, the other kinds of social insurance are open to the whole population. The voluntary *sickness insurance*, to which two-thirds of the population subscribed before 1933, was made obligatory by the new law. Every person reaching the age of twenty-one is required to become a member of either a Sickness Benefit Society or a State controlled Sickness Insurance Association. The latter is not subsidized by the State.

There are two classes of membership in the sickness benefit societies (or "sick clubs"), active and passive, the latter designed for persons who have a taxable income of more than roughly 9,000 kroner, the maximum varying with the locality. These members pay only a small sum, but they may at any time their income falls below the prescribed maximum become active members by paying the larger fees.

These small contributions compensate the sick club for the risk of having to accept the passive members later. The active members pay about 80 kroner a year.

To be recognized by the State a *sick club* must have at least two hundred members, who are attached to a definite trade or live within a limited locality. The State grants any recognized sick club a support corresponding to two kroner per month per member plus one-fourth of the expenses for doctor, for treatment outside the home, for day benefits, for dental care, for nursing in the home or in convalescence homes, and three-fourths of the cost for insuline or for similar preparations of vital importance.

In case of an illness the sick club gives its *active* members (1) free doctor's assistance; (2) free treatment at hospital, where the municipality pays the lion's share of the expense; (3) three-fourths of the expenses for preparations of special importance (and it may give grants towards other medicine as well); (4) a daily benefit of at least 40 øre and at most 6 kroner, varying with the size of the monthly contributions of the active members over and above the regular premium of 80 kroner per year. An improvement by the reform is that special maternity benefits have been introduced.

To illustrate the quality of service given to the inhabitants of a municipality, we turn to the following description of one of the best hospitals in Copenhagen, Bispebjerg.

Bispebjerg Hospital.

Bispebjerg Hospital was built by the City of Copenhagen during the years 1908—1913. It was constructed after the pavilion system. Each pavilion consists of two floors, and on each floor there are two wards for 16 patients. A garden is laid out at each patients' pavilion where the patients can enjoy being out-of-doors; there are also gardens for the resident doctors and officials with their families. A park of five acres has been set aside for the nurses and other employees. The nurses work eight hours a day. The graduate nurses have four weeks and the probationers three weeks vacation. Besides board and room the youngest nurses receive an annual salary of about 7,418 kroner, the oldest 8,380 kroner.

During the war 1914—18 seven kilometres of tiled underground corridors were constructed, so that about 4,000 soldiers could be nursed underground in case of an emergency. These corridors are now used for conveying food to the various departments.

There are five departments in the hospital; namely, two for surgery, two for general medical treatment, and one for mental diseases. In the department for mental patients there are approximately 150 beds. In each of the four other departments there are approximately 180 beds. The mental department serves the purpose of classifying the patients suffering from mental diseases. As soon as the type of mental disease from which the patients are suffering is determined by the attending psychiatrist, the patients are directed

to the different institutions treating those particular types of diseases. The cost to the municipality per day for each patient amounts to 47 kroner 80 øre. All citizens, rich or poor, living within the limits of the city of Copenhagen are entitled to hospitalization and medical treatment for the maximum cost of 1 krone 20 øre per day. This amount is paid by the sick clubs for all active members. Foreigners and persons living outside the city are entitled to hospitalization and medical care at a cost of 24 kroner per day. For children under one year of age only half this amount is paid.

Medical care in this particular hospital includes the following: transportation to and from the hospital by ambulance, beds, medicines, operations, and all other necessary treatments.[1])

The maximum number of days permitted is 420. In cases where an extension is necessary this can be made possible through an application to the Minister of Social Affairs.

Most of the physicians in Denmark engage in insurance practice. With approximately 2,000 such doctors there is one for each 900 insured persons (and their dependents).

To the sickness insurance is attached an *invalidity insurance*, the burdens of which are borne in an almost equal amount by the insured persons, the employers, and the public. Invalidity insurance is compulsory for all persons between the ages of 21 and 60, including the passive members of sick clubs. The invalidity insurance is on a contributory basis and is paid jointly with the contribution to the sick club. The invalidity pension was changed by the law from a flat rate for all to a pension graded according to place of abode, sex, and marital status. There is an extra allowance to the disabled and the blind.

To the sickness insurance is also attached a system of *old age pensions* which is called insurance but is, in fact, straight public relief, paid wholly by the State and municipality. The pension is obtainable at the age of 65 (or 60, in case of single women), but it is increased if the pensioners wait for one, two or more years before asking for it. It is graduated according to the income and resources of the person in such a way as to hamper his thrift and energy as little possible.

Since these payments are not always sufficient the communities

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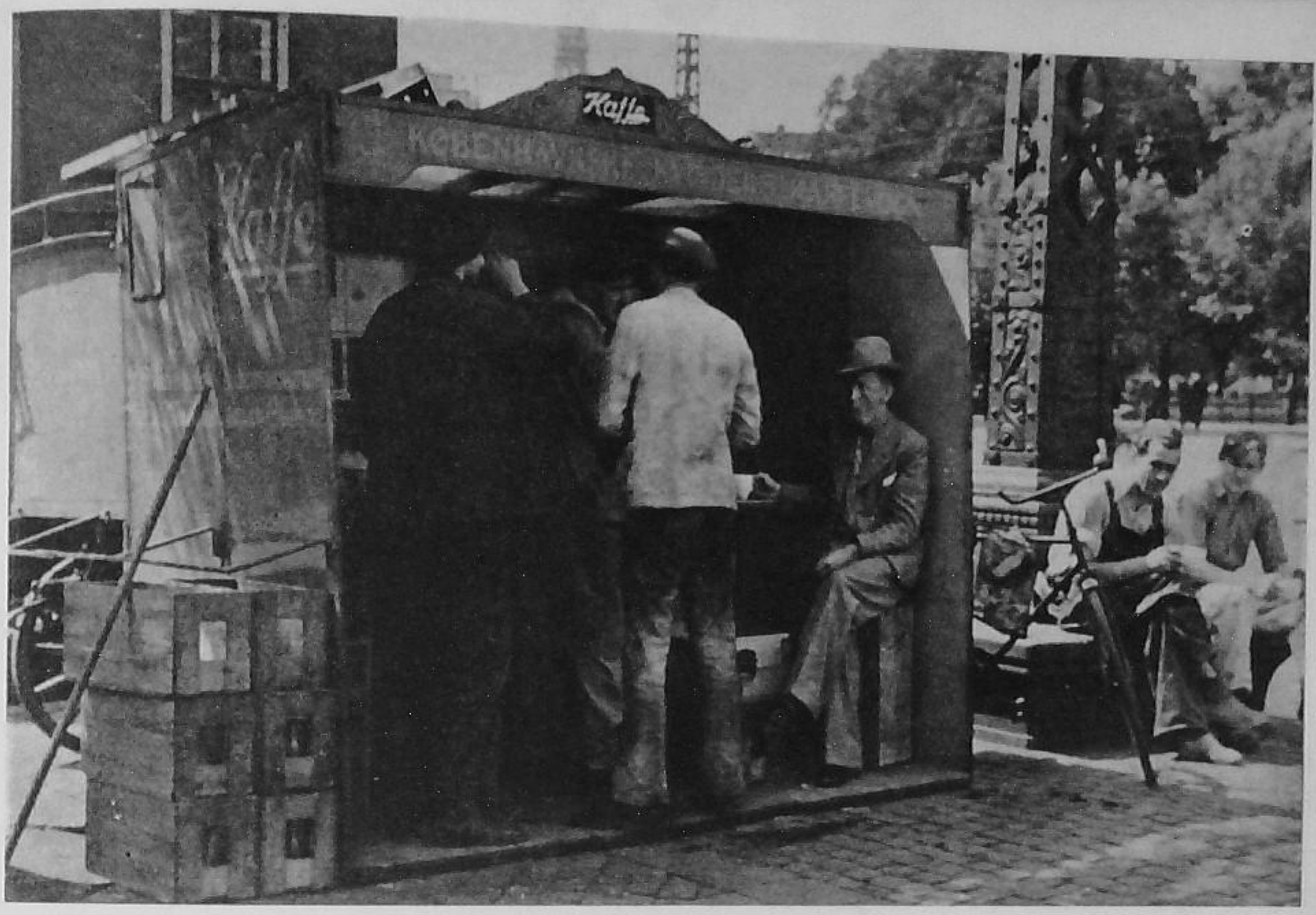
[1]) In most hospitals in Denmark, transport is paid for by the social board. Those who are not members of sick clubs, however, generally defray the expenses themselves.



The Copenhagen Women's Coffee Waggon.

The intention of the social laws is not to make private philanthropy unnecessary. There is still plenty of scope for private enterprise.

The old lecture hall and gymnasium of *Kofoed's School* have, in the morning hours, been used as work rooms where, each year, several hundred housewives have taken part in various courses, and have learnt to use old material for the making of dresses, coats, etc. for themselves and their children.

Kofoed's School was started in 1928 in the basement of a house in a working-class quarter of Copenhagen, on the island of Amager. Eleven

young unemployed men were invited, but only one turned up. In 1952 some 40,000 persons had attended the school, which was founded by N. C. Kofoed, the parish clerk of Christian's Church, and his wife. It is still under the same leaderchip.

The "students", that is to say all the persons who seek help from the school, must themselves gain the right to this through the receipt of certain points which are awarded them when they take a bath, do gymnastics, repair clothes and in other ways indicate their willingness to cooperate.

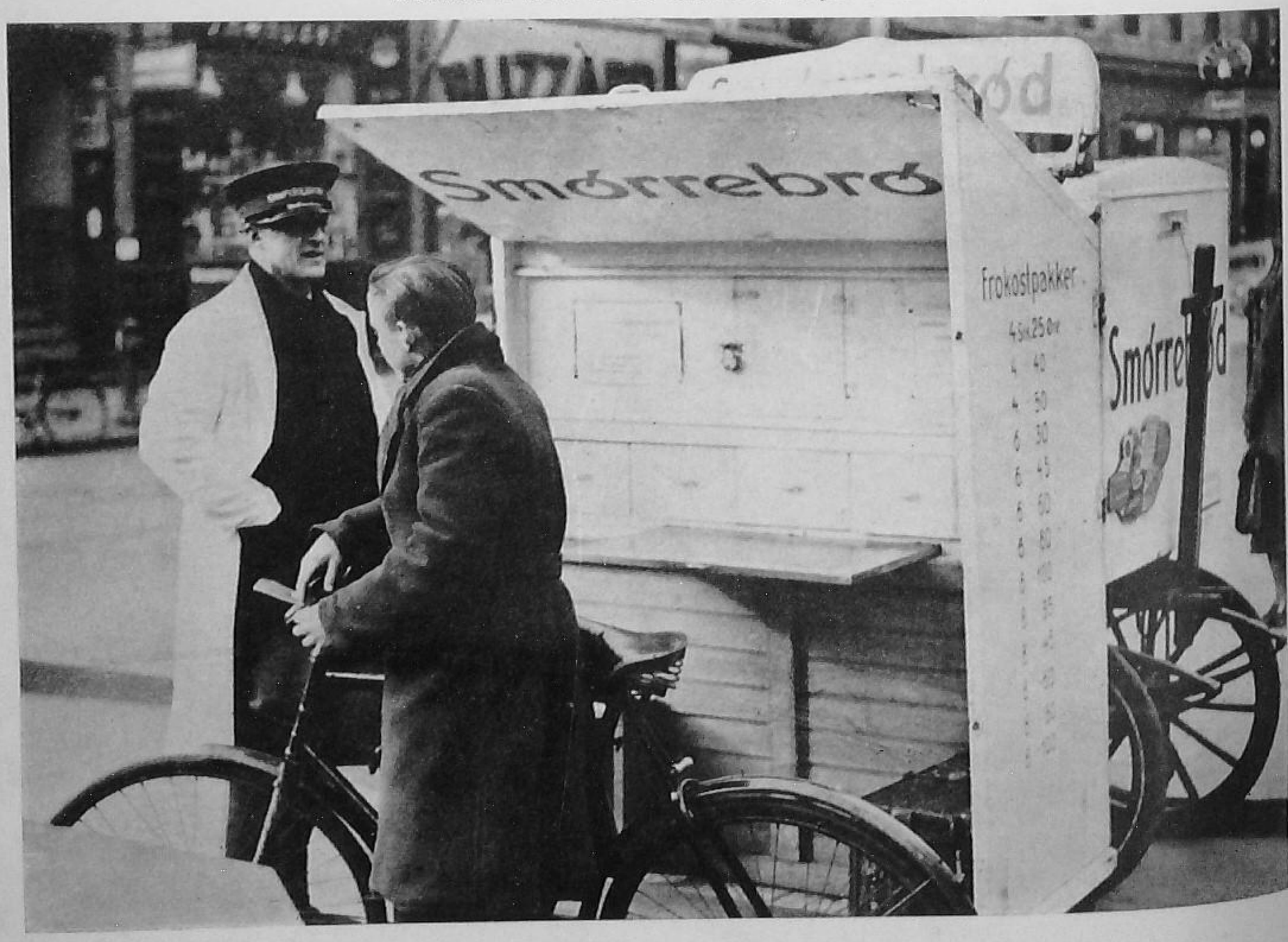
At the southern point of Amager the school has a branch that is something between a folk high school and a practical technical school for young persons. Many of the students are now employed all over the country in various occupations.

During the past twenty-four years the upkeep of the school has been dependent on private contributions. The technical branch receives State support. The municipality of Copenhagen is now also giving aid.

The Christian Student Settlement in Saxogade was a pioneer in clubwork, partly based on the English model. It now carries on a many-phased activity. Saxoly, Saxogården, Askovgården, Hejle's Youth Club and Vesterbro Youth Club (run by the local police) are other examples of private youth clubs that have come into being in recent years. Of the numerous youth clubs that have grown up in Copenhagen and its suburbs, supported by the municipal authorities, probably the best known is the one in the suburb of Husum. It has departments for handicrafts, sport, holiday camps, entertainment and educational work.

A Bite on the Way to Work.

Denmark is noted for its smørrebrød (open sandwiches).



have built old people's homes in the towns and many places in the country. About such homes see page 182.

Just over one-half of all Danes that have passed 65 years of age receive the Old Age Pension.

Finally the law af 1933 dealt with the different kinds of *Public Relief*. Here, too, the underlying idea has been that the relief should be given not arbitrarily as a charity, but as a matter of right according to fixed rules.

Small and entirely temporary subsidies may be granted by the municipalities in cases of extraordinary distress without any degrading effects.

In the mild cases of ordinary poor relief, the supported persons are merely subjected to a certain control and obliged to repay what they have received, if they become able to do so. In the more severe cases (gravely neglectful supporters of other people, chronic alcoholists, professional tramps, prostitutes and the like) loss of political rights, compulsory labor, etc. are added according to the nature of the individual cases.

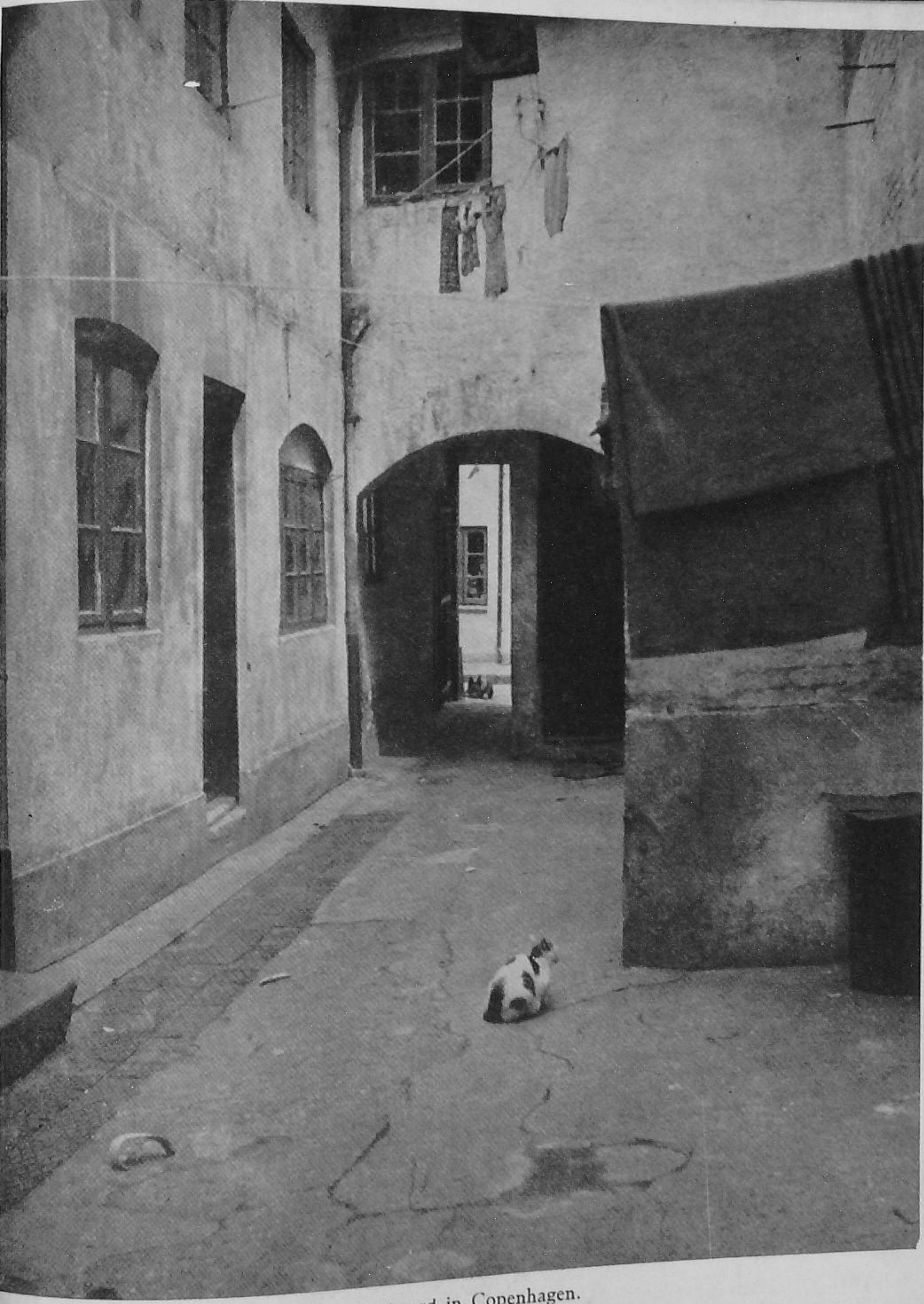
Most important, perhaps, is the centralization of the different forms of insurance and relief. In each municipality a social board is established where all the strings are pulled, and which makes it possible to settle the accounts between the State and the different municipalities in a much simpler way than was hitherto the case.

Of matters outside the domain of social legislation mentioned above, importance is attached to the care of mentally deficient, the insane (who come under what is called special care) and the very important care of children, including the supervision of children, preventative measures against juvenile delinquency, child welfare etc. The act further provides for the payment of grants to single persons who have to provide for children. The Danish Government is well on the way to caring for all those who are in need,[2]) but in spite of all that has been done by way of social legislation, the Danish society cannot be said to have fully solved its social problems as long as a relatively large number of young people are threatened by unemployment. In the month of February 1934 31.3 per cent of the organized workers were unemployed. True enough, December, Janu-

[2]) It is estimated that about one-third of national and local revenue in Denmark is devoted to the costs of social legislation, and more than one-sixth to educational purposes. The Income and Property taxes, in 1948—49, yielded about 1,050 million kroner or 42 per cent of all revenue and the Customs and Excise dues 1,420 million or 56 per cent. (See foot note page 205).

There are many child-welfare centres throughout the country, providing creches, kindergartens and spare-time resorts. Many business and industrial concerns have built nurseries and crèches for the children of their women workers. The picture illustrates this service in a Copenhagen factory.

In 1939 the State began to employ health nurses as a means of combating infantile mortality. Their work is to advise and help mothers during the first year of their baby's life. Health nurses have become a great success. Mothers are not obliged to accept this service, but a vast number do so. The picture reveals mutual satisfaction with the child's progress.



Backyard in Copenhagen.

The Copenhagen Family in their Allotment Garden.

ary and February are the worst months of the year, and that since 1931 and especially during and after the second world war the average unemployment figure decreased. Recently, however, it has again risen. In January 1951 it was 15.3 per cent. A comparatively great part of the unemployed are between 18 and 25, the age at which their character is still being moulded. They tend to become bitter, feeling that society has no use for them. They get

super-sensitive, or, what is still worse, become accustomed to idleness, helpless in the force of circumstances and not able to control their own lives. They have all chances of becoming loafers and going to the dogs. It is an urgent issue to any government in Denmark to try to break the strength of external factors and to find work for every one, able and willing, who cannot rest content with a system of unemployment benefit.[3])

*

A recent feature of Danish social legislation is the allowance of rental rebates for large families where financial circumstances warrant. When there are two children, the rebate may be twenty per cent; for three, thirty per cent, and the amount rises by ten per cent for each child to a maximum of seventy per cent. The cost is shared by the State and by local authorities. Total expenditures on rent rebates in 1949—50 was 3,600,000 kroner.

There are no slums in Denmark in the English sense of the word. Yet housing conditions are by no means altogether good. At the beginning of industrialism in Denmark, as elsewhere, those at the bottom of the wage-earning scale were crowded together into former middle-class houses. In an apartment that was intended for only one family many large families would be housed. They had to make do with one common staircase and sometimes a common kitchen. And as soon as the question of establishing dwelling houses arose, in Copenhagen just as in Berlin and Paris, new stores were added to the old buildings, and, even worse, back and side buildings were built in the courtyards. So there arose a kind of slum quarters, not as a result of the decay of old buildings but because of the new buildings that created a lack of sunshine, fresh air and space.

These conditions are now gradually disappearing. As in London and New York, the central part of Copenhagen is increasingly becoming the place where people work but where they do not live. The workers have their allotment gardens and many of them follow the example of the upper classes and move to the outskirts of the town or to the suburbs. Here housing conditions are found to be very different from those prevailing in the old city. The English villa style is evident in many private gardens where paths and large areas of

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3) In this connection it is of great importance that a Public Conciliation Board was established in 1910. The Act was extended in 1934. By means of mediating between the disputants, it tries to prevent stoppage of work on the expiration of collective agreements.

gravel are disappearing, replaced by modern houses rising like islands from a sea of green connected with the street or road by a "crazy" pavement with grass growing in between the stones. In the new large apartment houses the influence of modernism in architecture can be observed. There is no display or showy embellishment. The shape of the buildings is simplified with flat roofs and walls quite bare. The windows are given the greatest possible area of glass and seem to draw the garden and the sky into the rooms themselves, which are sparsely but comfortably furnished.

*

An outstanding feature of Danish social life is the absence of wide clefts between classes. Denmark is increasingly becoming a country where, in the words of Grundtvig, "few have too much and still fewer too little". The following figures showing average net-incomes *(i.e. taxable incomes)* for various groups in the year of 1949 are adequate to the point:

Managers	28.509 kroner
Estate owners	24.567 »
Lawyers	21.792 »
Wholesale dealers	20.141 »
Medical men	18.095 »
Manufacturers	16.341 »
Shop keepers	8.977 »
Ministers of religion and teachers...	7.721 »
Clerical workers	7.435 »
Master builders	7.256 »
Independent farmers	7.038 »
Mechanics	6.732 »
Agricultural Workers, see footnote[4]).	

The real purchasing power of industrial and agricultural wages and salaries were rather higher than they at first indicate, for the prices of basic food stuffs were lower than in a number of countries,

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[4]) Agricultural workers with own household received, in 1946, about 13 kroner per day. Only 17 per cent of the workers on the farms were permanent or temporary workers with own household. For unmarried regular workers, who received board and room, a census of 1946 showed the following figures: foremen 2,723 kroner annually; men 17—21 years 2,220 kroner, 21 years or more 2,487 kroner; girls 18 years or more 1,347 kroner; herdsmen 2,613 kroner.

Since 1949 there has been considerable increases in income on account of a general rise in prices.

including England and Germany.[5]) A State subsidy kept down the price of rye bread, sugar and a few other commodities, but most goods were subject to free, competitive evaluation. Industrial products, on the other hand, are in many cases higher than in some other countries, for instance, Sweden, Germany and England. Until 1951 butter was rationed with 250 grams a month to each person. Strange as it may seem to people abroad, the people of this country then had to eat three times as much margarine as butter. Sugar which, like butter, is a very important export article, and coffee are still (1952) rationed. Such delicacies as bananas and pineapples are unobtainable, but oranges and lemons are now available, though in small quantities. The absence or relative scarcity of these kinds of fruits is due, of course, to a rigid control of foreign currency designed to reserve this for vitally useful imports.

As already inferred, the relatively high standard of living enjoyed by the Danish people is due not to particularly abundant natural resources, but to a very large extent to the agricultural and industrial efficiency of the people themselves, — the hard work put in by the farmers and their wives on the many small and medium-sized farms, to the highly developed and multi-phazed cooperative systems, to the ability of the farming community to adapt itself rapidly to new forms of production demanded by changing economic conditions, to the high quality of work done by skilled craftsmen in a number of specialized industries, such as the production of Diesel motors and the manufacture of the finest china and porcelain wares.

*

Is Denmark a social paradise? Danes themselves are the first to deny this. Statistics reveal facts of the same increase in certain

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[5]) The yearly annual budget of a factory worker's family (in Copenhagen, 1950) shows where the money goes:

Food	3,000	kroner
Soap and cleaning materials	150	»
Personal expenses, hairdressers, books, papers, medicines, telephones, etc.	480	»
Clothing and footwear	1,150	»
Rent	800	»
Fuel, electricity, and gas	450	»
Transport (trams, cars, trains, etc.)	300	»
Taxes, union fees, health insurance	1,230	»
New acquisitions and upkeep	440	»
Other expenses (presents, charity, garden, pets, savings, etc.)	400	»
Spirits, tobacco, and meals out	600	»
Total expenditure	9,000	kroner

social problems that has beset most of the countries of the Western world. Crime has increased to a degree that cannot be ignored, and educators in penal institutions tell us that at least eighty-five per cent of the inmates come from broken-up homes. Divorces in Denmark have increased from about three hundred annually some sixty years ago to seven thousand — i. e., one out of every five marriages ends in divorce. There are doctors who speak about neurosis becoming a national disease. A leading police official has written ominously of the pocket editions of "thrillers", wild west mysteries and passionate love affairs which sell by thousands, on murder committed everywhere, at all times of the day and the night, in clubs, churches, universities, trains, steamers, at sunrise and by moonlight. "Murder by the Dozen" ... "The Market for Murder" and similar titles suggest the favorite literature of too many people. A generation or so ago people felt a great respect for all accepted moral standards and the penal code, says this official, and the idea of joking about murder as is done in such modern films as "Arsenic and Old Lace", "Seven Small Sins", etc. was unthinkable. The picture he gives may be overdrawn, but it would be wrong to forget its warnings and submit to the course of events. Sanguinary and catastrophic world events have dulled the senses of millions of men and women against even the most cruel acts of violence such as the destruction of millions of Jews by the Nazis. Murder is a familiar event and can very well give material for farces and comedies. In the minds of many the rumors of war and preparation for war create a fatalistic attitude that a new and still more inhuman world war is inevitable.

It was not long ago that all that was "modern" was accepted as identical with progress. Do we believe in progress now? We are heartened, to be sure, by the evidence of social progress as described in previous chapters, but no doubt a number of people are fundamentally sceptical even though they try to derive a certain self-satisfaction and self-importance from the feeling that life today in the great cities represents the life of the future. The vigor and energy in social enterprise of the day have, it is quite true, a certain greatness about them. It is the concern of those who take an active interest in the social welfare of city life that it should develop politically, culturally and artistically in such a way that it may become the focus of the entire people. Since the turn of the century the population of Denmark has increased from two to four millions. This increase has been confined to the towns; it has not affected the coun-

tryside. Yet, it may be that from the large percentage of the rural-born emigrants to the cities of Denmark and from there to Copenhagen[6]) will come the inspiration which will lead more warmth and stability into the gay, fascinating and friendly atmosphere of our capital.

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[6]) See also pages 43 and 58.
In 1948, 14,172 persons moved from the rural districts to the provincial towns. From these 3,175 moved to the capital and 1,109 to its suburbs. 1,185 moved directly from the rural districts to the suburbs of the capital and 1,574 to the suburbs of the provincial towns. 6,044 moved from the centre of the capital to its suburbs.

Part VII.

A DANISH VILLAGE

What were life worth with its endless needs
and its gnawing vanity,
if there were no spot with a dale and reeds
where the heart trembles to be.
If we were not drawn across the world,
drawn back, to stand at last
and hear the song
of dream along
the brook we loved in the past.

Jeppe Aakjær.[1])

THE small size of Denmark makes it possible for the country to be used as a kind of laboratory for social experiments. Now it may be of interest to get a fuller picture of the life of the people and the background against which these experiments work.

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[1]) Translation by Robert Silliman Hillyer in "A Book of Danish Verse", published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York. Oxford University Press 1922. About Jeppe Aakjær see page 56.

The Village Road.

The examination can best be made in one of these villages, of which each is a microcosm of the nation, a mirror reflecting in a small area the whole pageant of national life. The village chosen is a typical North Zealand community of about 800 persons, almost all of them dependent on dairy farming for their living.

The feature that first catches the eye as one approaches the village from the county road is the white church with its large red-roofed tower. The oldest building in the village, dating from the twelfth century, the golden age of Danish history, it rises above the Danish landscape and has been the rallying point round which people have built their homes. The churchyard surrounding it, with its trees, shrubs and flowers, and quaintly carved tomb stones is replete with memories and shows the affectionate care of the villagers for generations.

The Farm Family.

The Farm.

From the churchyard visitors go into the centre of the village and presently enter the courtyard of one of the oldest farms.[2]) Like most of the old-time Danish farms it has its buildings set in a hollow square around the courtyard.[3])

Passing by the detached pigsty one enters through an archway with large tarred swinging gates. To the right stands the south wing, where the horse stable is located. On the left is the poultry house, a small barn, an outdoor toilet, and a room for the three men servants. The east wing contains the cow shed and the grain barn, and at the north end of it is the shed for peat, coal, and wood.

The family occupies the north wing. This was built in 1862, but the other buildings are much older, and appear so though they are fairly well kept up.

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[2]) In size the farm represents the group known as "Gårdmand" farms. The acreage is 81 acres, somewhat above the average of the type.

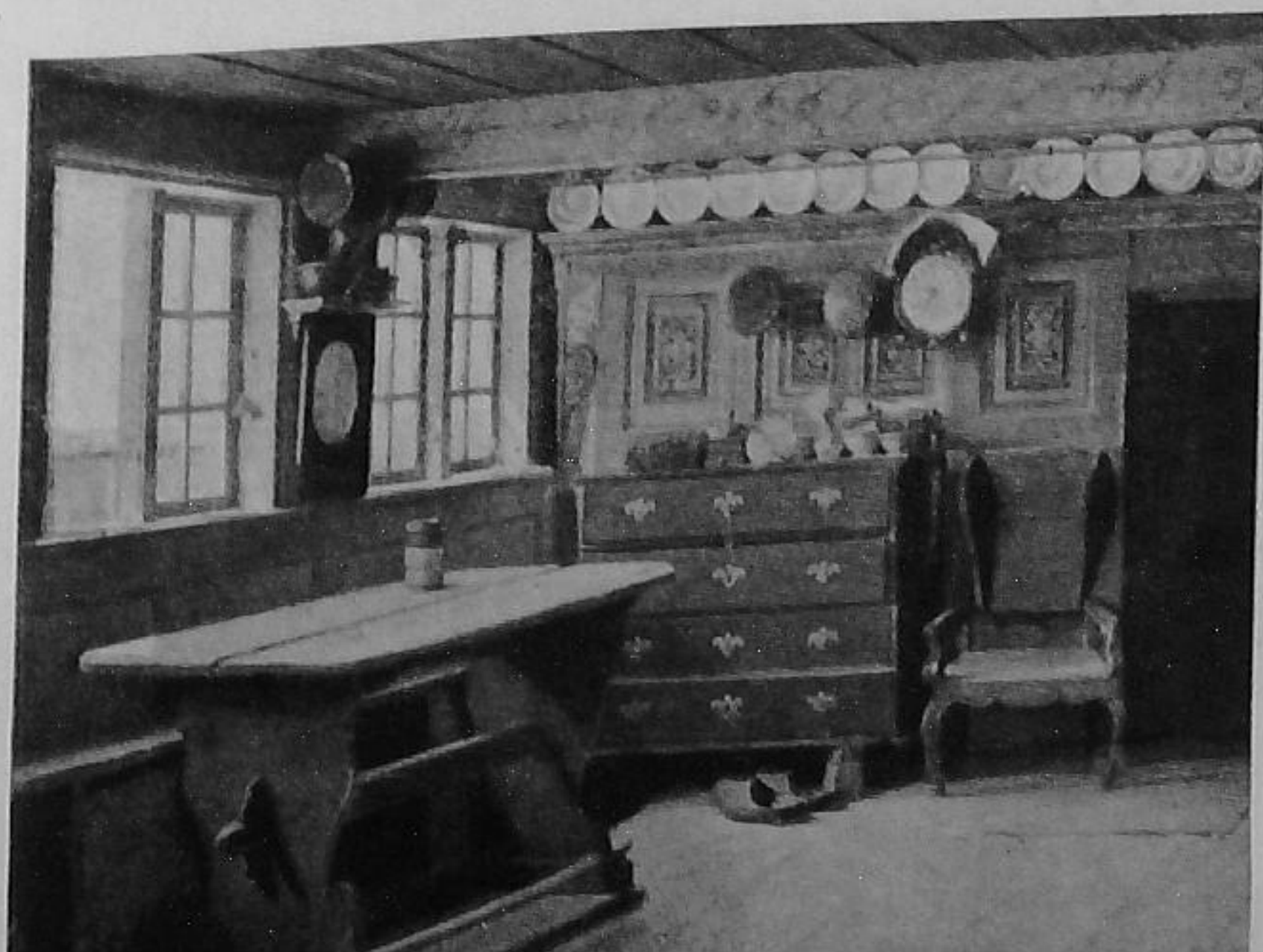
[3]) The old Danish farms varied from the Saxon farm (to the south of Slesvig), where all the rooms and outhouses were contained under one roof and differed also from the Norwegian and Swedish farms which comprised a number of detached houses. With its four wings the Danish farm stands with its back to the winds that constantly sweep the unsheltered country.

In olden days the farm houses were built not by a master builder, nor even by a carpenter, but by the people of the neighborhood from materials at hand. The young men cut the timber from the designated oaks, and the young women plastered the clay over the framework. Or the clay was burned to brick in the nearby kiln. The roof was of straw or of reeds from the moor.

A Dance in the
Great Room of
a Farm House
in 1855,
by Julius Exner.

Visitors,
by Julius Exner.

A Borgerstue,
by Julius Exner.



To walk into the cobble-paved courtyard between the low moss-covered thatched buildings is like stepping back several generations, but any illusion of benightedness is dispelled by the appearance of the owner. As he comes from his work in the field or the stables, he is seen to be a man of 65 or so, with a kind and genial look, a quiet power that at once puts the visitors at ease. Without doubt he is one of the outstanding personalities in the community, wholly typical of the Zealand peasant in his keen interest in the life of the village, about which, since early childhood, he has walked in perfect assurance.

His brisk active wife comes to the door and invites everybody into the parlor. The conversation turns to those aspects of village life which a Danish town dweller born in the country has "loved long since and lost awhile".

Foremost in their minds is their home. There is probably no class in society to whom *home* means so much as to the farmer. The Danish farmer spends little on clothes or recreation, but he enjoys beautifying his home. This particular farm house has no less than thirteen rooms, all of them on one level and opening into one another. It is apparent that the family spends most of the time in the kitchen and the common-room. The "great room" to the left in the front hall, which was formerly used on important occasions like weddings, funerals, confirmation parties, harvest festivals, and dances which lasted well into the morning, has now been divided into smaller parlors and bed-rooms and in one of these is still the old Himmelseng[4]) or high canopied family bed. The cellar, where formerly the beer was brewed and the butter churned, is now a store-room for milk, home canned vegetables, and other comestibles.

The common-room or Borgerstue[5]) is the family dining-room where master and servants eat together seated on wooden benches at a long trestle table. The old rustic colors in woodwork and furnishings — blue, green, yellow, red —[6]) the solid furniture, the row of copper plates shining from the wall, and the old-fashioned simplicity of the room provide a charming and unusual setting for many a stimulating table talk.

The parlor is a formal room in which various styles of furniture are found in a cosy but crowded mixture. Stoves take the place of

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[4]) Literally: Heaven bed.
[5]) Burgher's Hall.
[6]) This color scheme in the Borgerstue is no longer common.

Supper.
by Frits Syberg.

central heating which is the rule in towns, but there is electric light[7]) as well as a telephone and a radio. There is no bath-room.[8])

Parents, children, and servants on this farm live as one large family. The wife's old bachelor brother has built a house next door so that he can come in and join the family at meal-times and for conversation at dusk and through long winter evenings. The son, who is a carpenter and joiner, has his home within the village border, near enough to turn up with his family in the old home whenever opportunity affords. The unmarried daughter helps with housework, and on quite an equal footing with her is the maid, who has been with the family for several years. The foreman has recently been awarded a prize by the agricultural association for fifteen years of faithful service — an acknowledgment, though also an admission that such a term of service is no longer common.

When the farmer interrupts the conversation to feed his pigs, the milk-maid, who lives near by, comes into the court-yard with her little boy. She has just completed her milking in the pasture,

7) About 76 per cent of the agricultural properties have installed electric power. Some 85 or 90 per cent of the houses have electric light.

8) Public baths have been installed in the dairy—as is the case in many villages. Only few of the farms in the village have bath rooms and water closets.

where the cows stand tethered in a long row according to an old Danish custom no longer common. She goes home to prepare meals for her husband who is a day laborer on another farm. The milking requires about three or four hours of her time every day. Everyone else on the farm, the farmer, his wife, the daughter, the maid, the foreman, and two young boys of fifteen and sixteen work in summer all day long from six or six-thirty in the morning until dusk, interrupting their work only for three substantial meals and an afternoon coffee after the customary forty winks. There are no definite working hours such as have now been introduced on most large and medium-sized farms.

Indeed, during the last ten years milking machines have been introduced into most of the farms, and working hours have been cut down to nine hours in the summer and seven or eight in the winter. The cash wages in agriculture are about four times as high as those paid before the war when unmarried workers were paid about 900 kroner annually, in addition to board and lodging.

The Danish farmer is no less proud of his *livestock* than of his home, and when neighbors meet they inspect the barns and stables even before sitting down to coffee. On this farm there are six horses, seventeen milch cows, ten heifers, thirty-four pigs and seventy hens.[9]) The horses are of the Frederiksborg breed, which is common on the island. The farmer points out with satisfaction the graceful form, the agreeable lively temperament, the fine curve of the neck, and the elegant trotting action. The Frederiksborg horse is akin to the English hackney breed. Though willing workers, these animals are not strong enough for heavy draught work, so farmers in the clay soil of Jutland generally prefer the stronger Jutland breed which resembles the old Brabant horses.

The cows are all of the red Danish milch cattle that predominate on the islands. This type is a good milker and a light eater, but not so good for beef as the Black and White Jutland breed, similar to the Frisian Holstein Breed.[10])

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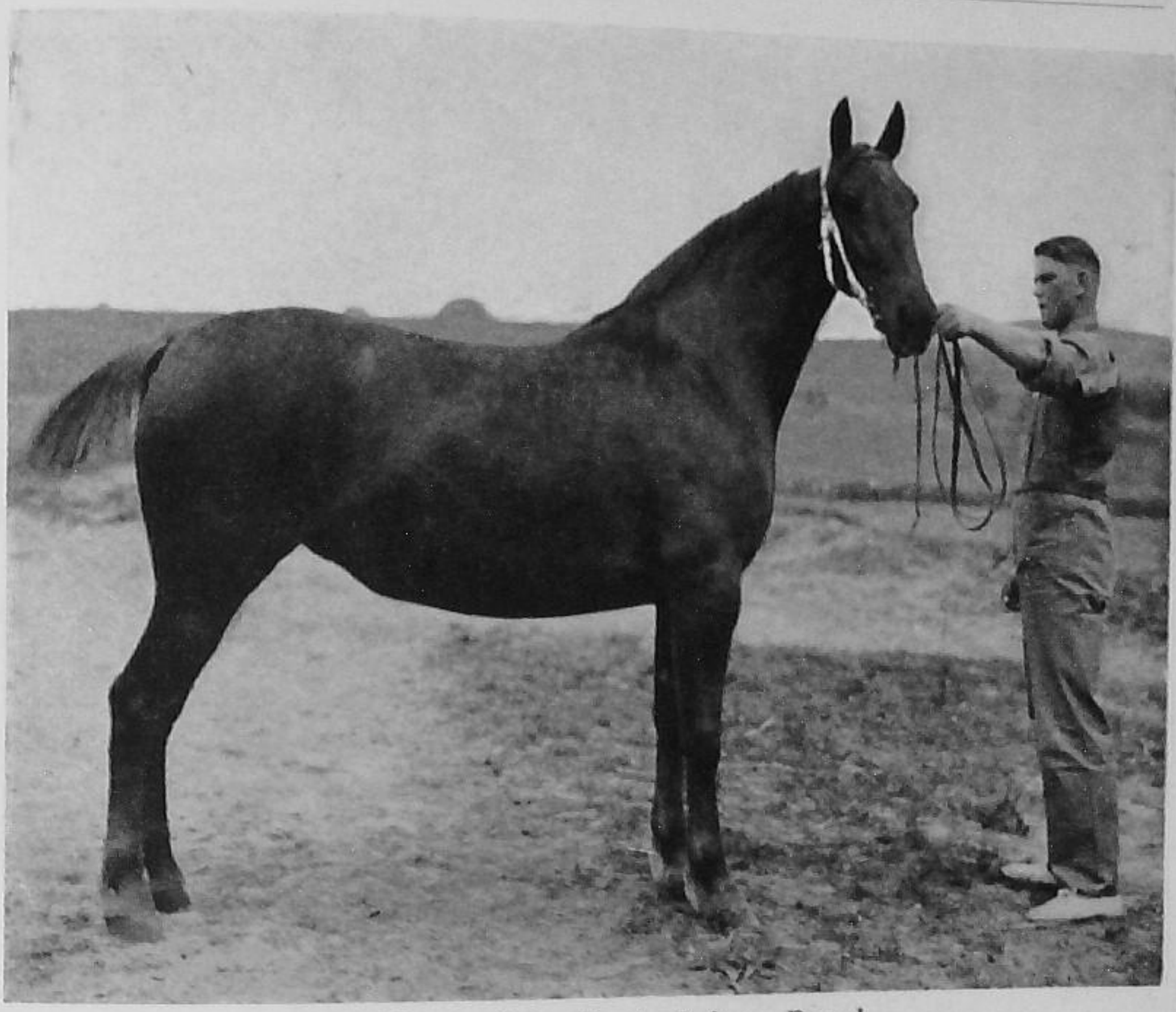
[9]) The statement of the assessor gives the valuation of this farm at 110,000 kr., 20,000 kr. for buildings and 90,000 kr. for the land. Small agricultural holdings with soil of average fertility, normal buildings, livestock and equipment cost at present from 6,000 to 8,000 kroner per ha., and medium-sized holdings from 5,000 to 6,000 kroner per ha. The commercial value may be estimated as at least one and a half times the assessed value.

[10]) Photos pages 41, 54, 59, 233. The number of horses was in 1950



A Mare of the Frederiksborg Breed.

The pigs are of the Danish Landbreed, raised for bacon with special regard to the English market, which demands a lean type with long deep sides.[11]) When Germany was the chief importer the pigs were grown as fat as possible, and with the reopening of the German market the fat pig begins to make its appearance again on the Danish farms.

While the farmer is busy there is an opportunity to interview the married *farm laborer*, who lives nearby and has worked here regularly in the harvest time for 25 years. In the off-season he cuts peat and harvests the heavy rushes which are used for thatching. The farm laborer differs from the hired servant in being a seasonal worker who may be employed on several farms in the course of the year. His own land is limited to a small garden, where his vegetables are interspersed with rows of flowers and a few bee-

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about 500,000, i. e. 85 per cent of the number in 1939. With the increasing use of tractors the number will decline much more.

The number of cows was in 1950 about 3 millions, hereof milch cows 1,577,000.

[11]) Photo see page 71. In the spring of 1951 there were in Denmark about 3,500,000 pigs.

The Laborer has hoisted the Red-and-White Dannebrog to welcome the Visitors.

hives. There is hardly a rural home in Denmark without its flower garden, and his is no exception.

His house, as neat as the garden, consists of four rooms and a kitchen. The interview is held in the parlor, which is specially heated for the occasion. Two large plants occupy a considerable part of the floor space, and the well-polished copper and silver on the buffet are plainly not for ordinary use. The room in which the family spend their free hours is smaller, with simple furniture not intended for show, but inviting for homely conversation or solid work.

The laborer is one of the leaders in the political life of the village. For 24 years he was a Social Democratic member of the parish council, and a picture of the Social Democratic cabinet hangs on the wall. At present he is an alternate member of the Roskilde district tax committee and chairman of the cooperative store. The work that he does at his little table after his day's labor compares favorably in its significance with the work done in the more pretentious office of many a larger home. His mentality must be above the average, since, for three years he has demonstrated his ability to compute the local taxes by the highly complicated Danish system. His socialism has not disturbed the good relationship between him and his employer, who belongs to the Liberal Left, but he cannot conceal his pride at the fact that after a generation of

political development his own income now approaches and in certain years had surpassed that of the gårdmand.

Use of Leisure.

On return to the farmer's home for afternoon coffee and a variety of pastry even more profuse than that served by the laborer's wife, the conversation turns to youth problems and the use of leisure in the community. The farmer and his wife follow this problem with keen interest although their own children are grown up. The youth activities are an organic part of village life. When the farmer was young the rifle clubs were of greater attraction than at present, and dances in the homes were more frequent. Nowadays the harvest festivity is limited to a game of cards after a better than usual meal. Sometimes it is a joint affair in the village meeting house. The young people form sports societies, and one can see foot-ball practised with more passion than professional skill. Tennis is seldom played in the villages, but in recent years Badminton has been introduced. Gymnastic exercises in general retain the hold they have always had on the Scandinavian youth.[12]) The village schoolmaster

[12]) In 1938 127,000 or 8 % of the population between 15 and 40 years of age were members of gymnastic societies. Members of Foot Ball Clubs

Danish Country Girls on the Stadium of Ollerup
Folk High School for Physical Culture.

or a young farmer trained in a folk high school or in Niels Bukh's gymnastic high school[13]) acts as director of the courses during the winter. The long winter evenings call for other activities such as amateur theatricals in which a large part of the youth participate.[14]) The plays of Hans Christian Hostrup and others of the so-called folk high school poets are still popular. The travelling movies with a sound machine come once a month. They exhibit mostly Danish films, since the villagers do not understand other languages.

In the old days the parsonage and the school were the chief centres of village cultural life, but the parsonage became too small and the school that took its place was closed to farmers' gatherings during the political struggles of the late nineteenth century. Thereupon the farmers built meeting houses throughout the country, and these now shelter many social activities of the villages. These buildings are generally ample structures without architectural distinction, but they provide facilities for lectures and for folk dances. In this village it was chiefly the young married couples that preferred these to modern dances. There are also provisions for serving food

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numbered 15,000, Swimming Societies 23,000, Badminton Clubs 14,800. In all, 350,000 were members of some sports club or other. 120,000 of these were women. The above figures do not include the thousands that participate in gymnastics or other exercises in schools or in individual homes.

[13]) See page 132. Niels Bukh founded in 1920 a Gymnastic High School at Ollerup and built in the same year a large stadium. His "primitive gymnastics" are not only taken up by Danish gymnastic societies, but have created an interest all over the world.

[14]) Often these plays are very well acted, though occasionally they are unintentionally humorous as was the case with one play, in which the lover was a local youth lately returned from army service. He was admonished by the stage manager, who was also the bailiff, not to stand at attention but to move a bit when he sang to his lady, whereupon he moved by marking time as if he were on the parade ground. We all laughed at him, for this rustic hero was an exception. At rehearsal when he had to read his part he read the stage direction, "and then he takes the book and exits left", in the midst of an eloquent love passage, and with the same feeling. Persistence turned him into a fairly good "lover" before "the first night", but it was a long time before he was free from the teasing of his neighbors.

Folklorists say there is a difference in the types of peasant humour. The Jutlander who had to fight a difficult soil, but who had more independence than the men of the islands, developed a dry wit which was likely to carry a bite as well as a moral. Søren Kierkegaard, who was a Jutlander, used this kind of sarcasm to drive home his ethical lessons.

The Zealander, on the other hand, lacks the dynamic one-sidedness of the Jutlander. His humor is a sense of perspective, in which his own ego occupies its proper place, so that he can laugh at himself. Friends in Zealand can indulge in personal teasing banter for a whole evening and still part friends.

and coffee — the national drink — and even beer, a usage criticized by some because of the tavern atmosphere that may creep in.

As to lectures, there is competition between the meeting house and the school, which has, to some extent, regained its position as a community centre. A feature of village life which cannot fail to engage a visitor's attention is the great interest in these lectures, even in our days of radio-competition.[15]) The Danish farmer "will go miles to attend meetings".[16]) This is undoubtedly traceable to the influence of the folk high school. Grundtvig is said to have taught the Danish people to listen just as Ruskin taught the English people to see. Folk high school men are still in high demand as lecturers, sharing popularity with university professors, agricultural advisers, and political, or religious leaders.

The local library has been established in the school. A law of 1937 decreed that, within five years, facilities must also be offered in the school for teaching sloid and other handicrafts to adult villagers. Formerly an old barn housed these activities. The village carpenter, his journeyman, and the schoolmaster meet from seven to ten twice a week in winter with a group of young girls and boys. These classes have been held for the past five years with a steady increase of interest and attendance. The schoolmaster teaches book-binding as well as the three R's, and the two others the making of such furniture as writing tables, chairs, basket trays, brushes, and picture frames. The teachers are paid by the county, but each student supplies the material for the articles he makes for himself.

Cultural Life.

In former days the schoolmaster and the parson were farmers among farmers. They received as part of their salary the right to work farms attached to the school and the parsonage. With their opportunities for reading and study they were able to apply their knowledge to farming as well as to preaching and teaching. During the period of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century "the clergy took the lead in agriculture", and were what the agricultural advisers and county agents are today. These activities, undoubtedly, strengthened their contact with their communities, and widened, though at times also thinned, their religious influence.

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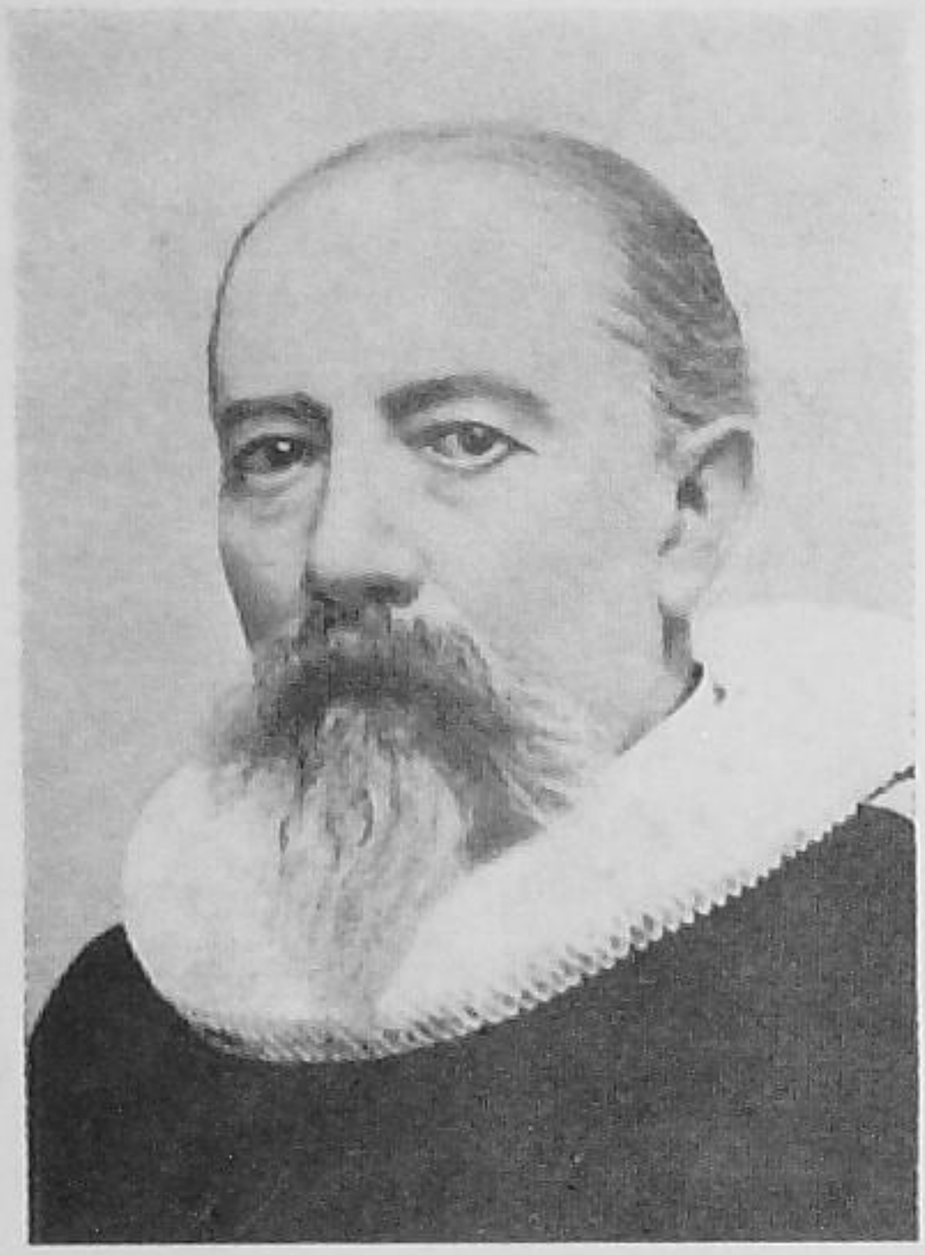
15) In Denmark every three out of four families have a radio.
16) Fred C. Howe: *Denmark, the Cooperative Way*, Page 27.



Vilhelm Beck.

An old "Grundtvigian".
Jens Nielsen Borris,
Principal of an Agricultural School.

The parson and the schoolmaster are now no longer tillers of the soil. Their pioneering work in agriculture has been done, and with the rise in the general level of education the farmer has access to technical knowledge which was once the sole property of the educated man.

When asked about the influence and position of the local clergyman, the farmer answered that he was "a nice and plain man who could talk with anybody" — a reply characteristic of Danish village dwellers to their authorities. Kings and officials, clergymen, and schoolmasters are judged according to their ability to mix with common people. Simplicity in manner is often a higher recommendation to a candidate for office than intellectual prowess.

This Danish instinct for social equality — and indeed for economic as well — is inherent in the character of the land itself where nature gives every man the opportunity to make a living by his own efforts, but denies to any man the chance of accumulating wealth beyond reasonable limits. It was furthered by the work of the monks in the Middle Ages who introduced the three-field system with common cultivation of equal shares of land. The feudal system created a servility in the peasant towards his superiors, but this has now quite disappeared. The peasant has the assurance of strength, so much so that he can afford to be humorous about "higher ups".

Søren Kierkegaard.

The story is told of a newly appointed sheriff who, filled with the sense of his new importance insisted on promptness in appointments. When a farmer of the district strolled in casually half an hour late, the sheriff upbraided the man, but the latter, instead of being the least bit abashed held out his hand in friendly greeting: "So *you* are the *new* sheriff. Welcome to us here!"

According to the farmer's statement the church services on Sundays have in recent years been attended by only thirty or forty persons. But though religious feeling does not express itself primarily through outward forms and observances, and though there is a seeming indifference to the church in large sections, the ethical life of the nation has still deep roots in Christianity. The fundamentals of the Christian religion and ethics are taught in all the schools for children in Denmark. Its practical expression is the belief held by the average Dane, that "what is right will in the long run prove best". What is expedient for reasons of race and class can never be right. There is an inherited tradition of right.

The constitution of 1849 modified the existing State Church and created the term "people's church". Later, legislation gave the local

congregations the right to recommend to the Ministry candidates for appointment to their own churches. The stamp of the folk is on the church throughout. The Danish clergy have learned that nothing makes for empty churches more than subtle theological disputations, and those pastors who have the strongest influence are those who preach in terms that the common people understand.

It is primarily the hymns, however, with their rhytm and melody, which give Danish church life its special character. The hymns, like the most popular sermons, reflect every day life. Thomas Kingo (d. 1703), one of the greatest hymnologists who ever lived, has sung into the hearts of the Danish people the best of Lutheran piety, its living belief in Providence, its joy in the grace of God and the beauty of nature, its appreciation of family life and daily work. In the morning and evening hymns of Bernhard Severin Ingeman (d. 1862) the spiritual world is reflected through nature, and Bishop Grundtvig in both his hymns and his other writings expresses an ever increasing belief in the harmony of God, Nature and Man.

From the "*Day Song*"[17])

by N. F. S. Grundtvig.

With what rejoicing do we see
The sun has at last ascended
And shines on the ocean steadily
And makes the whole world splendid,
While we, his sons, cry jubilee
That night, long night, is ended.

Our feast-day strides across the land
Wreathed with the zenith's splendors.
Its hours at the Lord's command
Ripple like brooks in the meadows,
Till joyously at last they wind
Under the linden shadows.

The clergymen who were disciples of Grundtvig developed an optimism that made them peculiarly aware of the brighter side of life, and which found a ready response among the middle class farmers as they rose to influence. A Swedish author, the Rev. V.

[17]) Translation by S. Foster Damon in "A Book of Danish Verse", published by The American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York. Oxford University Press 1922.

Södergren, says that this Grundtvigianism is so indigenously Danish that it must be experienced to be understood. It has preserved old Danish values under new forms and transformed individual piety into a Christian cultural fellowship.

In contrast to Grundtvigianism stands the "*Inner Mission*", which stresses the need of individual conversion and the dangers of worldliness. This movement has roused its followers to great sacrifices, and is the driving force in foreign missions and in the attempts to "Christianize" the urban population. With its appeal to abstinence and hardihood it has made its greatest inroads among those elements in the population whose daily life is a combat with adversity and temptation. It has thus changed the life of many rough West Jutland fishermen and created a beautiful home life where formerly the inn was the attraction.

The Inner Mission is not a separatist movement. It exists within the Lutheran Church and is probably the strongest trend in it, though it is the "prayer house"[18]) rather than the church building round which it centres. It is a modern expression of the dualism in Danish religious life, a successor to that pietism of the eighteenth century which kept true piety alive through the age of Enlightenment. Its founder was Vilhelm Bech, who, for all his religious zeal and fervor, never lost the wit and polemic humor that made him able to meet the common man on his own ground. "Ballerup's alarm clock" he called the energetic and talkative wife of the sedate Dean B, and to a lady who gushingly complimented him on a sermon he replied, "Well, the Devil has already told me that several times".

In the neighborhood of our visit there are about ten families who belong to this movement. They hold special religious meetings in their homes, where they gather with the clergyman and the woman teacher.

In another village visited the Inner Mission comprises about half the population. They keep aloof from the lecture society organized by the former students of the Grundtvig folk high schools and from the occasional theatre parties held by the same group. Their abstinence from such "worldly" pleasures, and a certain inability among some of them to live up to their high professions, have made the Inner Mission folk at times a butt of sarcasm among their less pious neighbors. The movement has now lost much of its unworldliness, and its adherents in many villages are the most eager listeners to

18) A house in which religious meetings are held.

scientific and technical lectures. The Inner Mission was responsible for the founding of the Y. M. C. A. by Olfert Ricard, a man of high, even delicate culture.

The movement has been nourished on the philosophy of the great religious thinker Søren Kierkegaard (1813—1855) whose writings have had a profound influence on thought throughout Europe.[19]) His insistence on uncompromising intellectual integrity, and his almost morbid passion for isolating the individual from the "crowd" and the religious from the "human" made him the spiritual father not only of poets and thinkers like Ibsen and Høffding but also of the more intellectual among the leaders of the Inner Mission.

Søren Kierkegaard feared that the Danish people and church would see only the soft side of Christianity, and he felt it his mission to free them from this illusion. He strove to create unrest as the way towards deeper and more real rest. "The Gospel is not the Law; it will not save you by rigor but by gentleness! but this gentleness will save you, it will not cheat you. Therefore there is rigor in it".

The Administration.

The secular official of the village is the Sognefoged (i. e. the parish bailiff). He is appointed by the Stiftamtmand (or sheriff of the diocese), and adds a small salary to his other income. One of his powers is the right to perform civil marriages, and during his term of office, he has married five couples. He also registers church marriages, of which there are about ten each year. As the local substitute for the police magistrate, he shares with the clergyman the doubtful privilege of advising couples who wish to be divorced. These two gentlemen have made themselves such a successful court of domestic relations that they have reconciled the only couple who has mentioned divorce in their ten years of office.

Another duty of the bailiff's is the registration of the youths of seventeen for military service. This is now universal and compulsory. Before reaching the age of twenty every young man must present himself to an army doctor and a committee of officers who examine

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[19]) Photo page 221. Recent publications on Søren Kierkegaard are: Hoecker: S. Kierkegaard (Oxford 1937); Lowrie: S. Kierkegaard (Oxford University Press 1938); S. Kierkegaard, Philosophical Fragments, Translated by Swenson (Oxford University Press 1936); Purify Your Hearts, Translated by Aldworth and Terrie (Daniel 1937); John A. Bain: S. Kierkegaard (Student Christian Movement 1935); E. E. Allen: Kierkegaard, His Life and Thought (Noft 1935).

him and assign him — if he is able-bodied — to the unit of the service in which he must spend eighteen months, — in certain branches a longer period.

With true Danish hospitality the bailiff refused to release the interviewer until he had served a substantial meal of wild duck shot by himself on the nearby lake. Then a visit was made to the cooperative storehouse manager, who is chairman of the *Village Council*. He has held that office since 1935 having been elected four times for a term of four years. He is one of the two Radical Lefts, who together with three Social-Democrats, three Liberal Lefts, and one Conservative form the Council. This represents two villages which form one parish of 1,400 persons. It is responsible for the maintenance of schools and local roads, and for the administration of social measures like Old Age Pensions and Unemployment Relief.

Of the eighty persons over sixty years who were eligible for pensions, about half were receiving this form of public aid, and most of those had not applied until they had reached the age of sixty-five and were eligible for a higher annual grant. Three-sevenths of the total expenditure of the village for social welfare, went to old age pensions. Since there was no old people's home in the parish the council rented three rooms in a neighboring village for its most destitute persons.

Six thousand kroner were spent on unemployment relief.

The two village schools cost the parish 31,620 kroner a year, of which 7 or 8,000 will be repaid by the State.[20])

The Cooperative Store.

Girls meet for Gymnastics in the village hall Tuesday and Friday at 8 p. m.

Ladies meet for reducing exercises Tuesday at 7 p. m.

Young people's Choral Society meets Saturday at 8 p. m. Bring the Folk High School Song Book.

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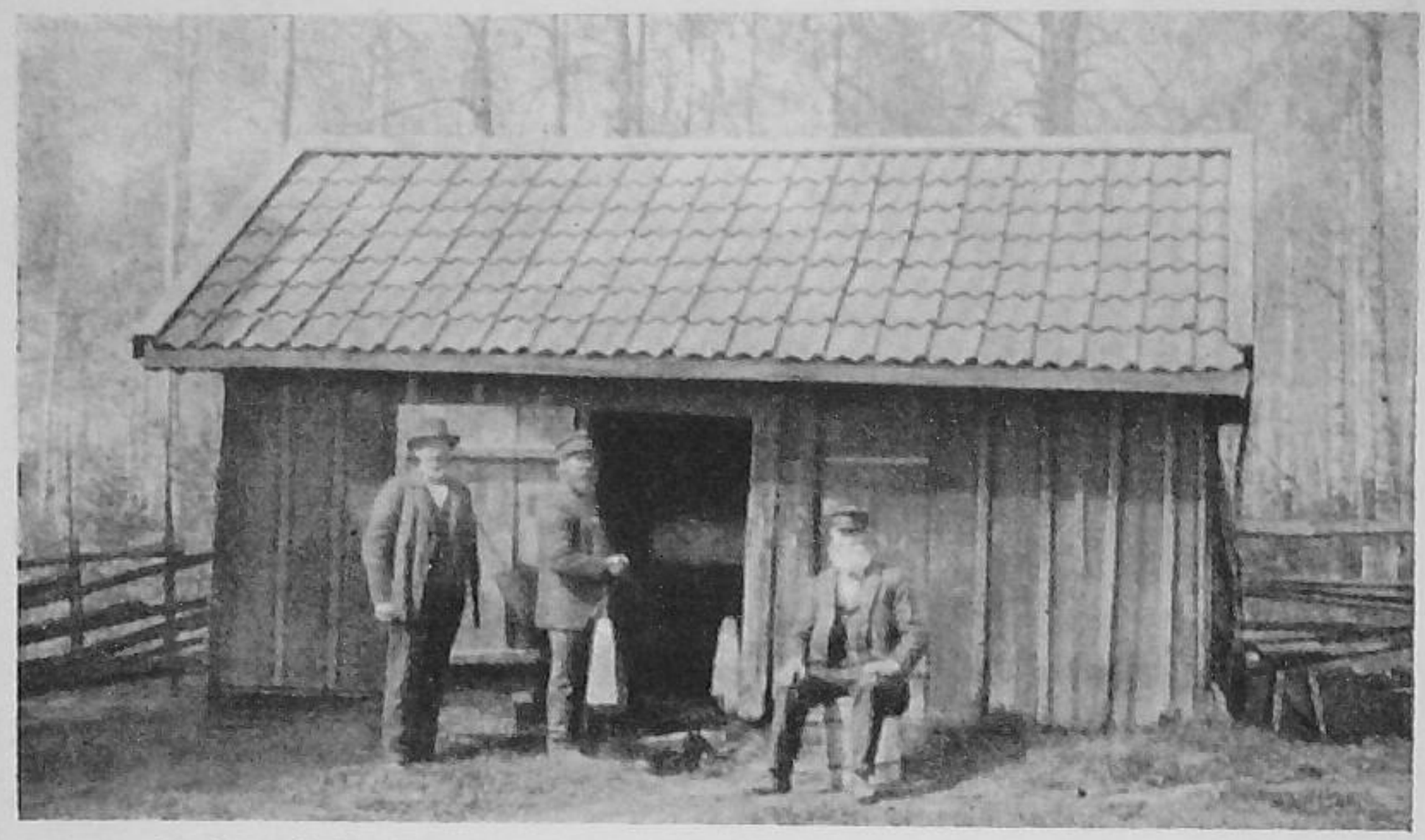
[20]) The parish budget of 246,000 krnoer included, besides interest on indebtedness and other expenses: Social care 98,000, Schools 31,620, Roads 47,100, Administration 24,000. The income from local taxation was 225,000 kroner.



A Swedish Cooperative Shop of the Nineteenth Century.

> Sports Club entertainment with recitations by Editor So-and-So. Coffee Table and two hours' dance.
>
> Principal So-and-So of Roskilde Folk High School will speak on Sunday evening on "The Cultural Basis of a True Democracy."
>
> Farmers are asked to bring wagons or cars for the Old People's Excursion to Frederiksborg Castle on Sunday afternoon. Box lunches. Meet at the school at 11:30 a. m.

The array of posters that meets a visitor's eye in the cooperative store makes it evident that the store is one of the village's social strongholds as well as an economic centre.

It has already been noted in the chapter on cooperative dairies that Dean Sonne, in 1866, established the first cooperative store in the town of Thisted. Now it is a common feature of Danish villages. Between one-fourth and one-sixth of all the household necessities in Denmark are bought in the cooperative stores, and it is estimated that in the *rural* areas, the farmers buy some seventy per cent of such articles as well as a great part of their seeds, implements, and feed.

The earlier cooperative stores resembled the farmers' own meeting houses. They had a homely atmosphere, and they provided ample

A Modern Cooperative Shop at a Swedish Village.

seating accommodation. This old-time sociability had its disadvantages, since it often encouraged a lazy farmer to loaf for hours in the store with a bottle of beer, and it also often made for a rather careless and unattractive arrangement of goods. It was not unusual in those days to see a tun of tar placed beside a barrel of margarine. All this has been remedied in recent years. A State law prohibits the consumption of alcohol in the shops, and the cooperatives themselves pay more attention to attractive sales display and observe more than before the Rochdale principle of selling only "pure and unadulterated goods". Wares are now wrapped under sanitary and modern conditions at the factory so that no hand need touch the product before it reaches the consumer. The Cooperative Wholesale has also established a bacteriological laboratory for the purpose of examining and improving the quality of wares handled by it. In recent years, too, there has been a notable improvement in the cooperative stores from an architectural point of view. Sweden has set a good example in this respect. The Danish stores were at first built without much planning. Bishop Grundtvig gave expression to the Danish method of trial and error when he answered those who wanted a detailed description as to how the folk high school should be organized, "It is of no use to buy the cap for the baby before it is born". Unpretentious stores had the advantage of economy in the beginning, and to a small peasant nation that means much. But the labor involved in the constant readjustments to serve the increasing volume of business might have been saved had adequate facilities

been available from the first. So, since 1929 the Cooperative Wholesale in Copenhagen has had an architectural consultant to help the small local societies to build more satisfactory structures.

The store described in this chapter has been completely modernized. It is spacious, and the goods are attractively displayed on open shelves. The 200 members, who represent about 90 % of the villagers, account for an annual turnover of 560,000 kroner. They buy practically all their groceries and household necessities from the cooperative, though they still buy most of their ready-made clothing at private shops in the towns. Sixty per cent of the value of the wares sold comprise food materials, ten per cent clothing and shoes, ten per cent hardware, and twenty per cent wine, tobacco, soap, and luxuries. Ninety-two per cent of the goods stocked come from the Cooperative Wholesale, although the manager is free to buy in the open market. This shop sells a little less cattle feed and fertilizer than the average village cooperative, turning over about 120,000 kroner a year in this branch.[21]) The shop is managed by a committee of seven members, most of whom are farmers — as is usually the case. The manager is not a member of the board but, as in the Danish cooperatives everywhere, an employee. On appointment he is required to deposit with the society 6,000 kroner as a personal guarantee. His salary is 7¾ per cent[22]) of the turnover, plus free house and a certain amount of fuel. His income and his house of six rooms, bath, and kitchen, place him on an economic footing with the better-off families of the village.

The Manager with his Staff at the Front Door of the Cooperative Store.

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[21]) The Helsinge Cooperative, which is an exceptionally large village store, sells several million kroner worth of fodder each year.

[22]) The percentage may vary slightly. A new agreement entitles him to a pension.

If he gives credit to a customer who cannot pay cash he does it at his own risk. Severin Jørgensen and Dean Sonne foresaw the danger of the "credit devil", but the intimate relationship between the villagers and the store managers often makes it difficult for the latter to deny credit.

He engages his assistants, who in addition to board and lodging which he supplies in his own house, receive salaries mostly out of his income. The first assistant, a man, receives 405 kroner a month, the second 375 kroner, and the apprentice 104 kroner.

Each of the employees has a two weeks' vacation with full pay in the period between May first and October first. The wages are in accordance with the rules of the Trade Union.

The Cooperative Dairy.

The visitor to a Danish dairy must be an early riser. The dairy lies outside the village, and work there begins at five in the morning. The dairy consists of four main rooms — the large dairy hall, where milk is received, the butter room, the cheese room, and the room where the power engine and the cooling apparatus are placed.

All must be clean and ready before the first van arrives with milk from the farms. When the van went to the different farms, some of the farmers would come along to give a lift with the milk and to observe how much their neighbors were delivering. When the milk arrives it is weighed and then put into the separator. From there the cream goes through the pasteurization apparatus and into the large sheet iron vat where it is soured. The skimmed milk is also pasteurized and is then returned to the farmers in their own cans in the quantities desired and at a very low price. By ten o'clock the butter made from the previous day's cream is finished, and the first cask is filled with 112 English pounds from the churn.

Each cask is dated as a protection against speculation by dealers who might buy quantities of butter in the season when prices were low. On two opposite staves of each cask a brand is placed, the so-called "Lur-brand".[23]) The Lur is a mark of quality as well as of nationality since export butter is limited to a high quality bearing this stamp.

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[23]) A musical instrument from the Viking Age. In the National Museum, Copenhagen, 21 lurs are exhibited. Some of them are so well prepared that tunes can be played on them this very day. Very few lurs have been found outside Denmark.

The members who supply milk to the dairy have on an average 7 or 8 cows. The average annual yield per cow was 4,000 kg. 23 kg whole milk was required to produce 1 kg of butter. The price of butter was 6 kroner per kg with 86 fat units. The net income per kg whole milk was about 35 øre. The dairy through its general meeting makes rules to ensure good, wholesome milk. No food must be given to the cattle which will give an undesirable flavor to the milk, or which will have an injurious effect on the products. Once a week a reductas test is made, and any defect is immediately brought to the attention of the farmer who suffers a reduction in the price paid for his milk[24]) and who may be excluded from the society.

The manager is paid partly in money, but chiefly in milk so that he becomes personally interested in the quality of the products of his dairy. His assistants are not paid by him, but by the society.

It has been a special feature of the Danish cooperative dairies that they are run in periods of 10 or 15 years, rarely 20 years. The duty of the members to deliver all their milk holds good for this period. When a period has ended an appraisal of the value of the dairy is made, and the amount by which this value surpasses the debt is credited to the members, and a new period begins. In general, a period does not make any great change in the complexion of the membership, but it affords an opportunity for new members to join.

The Lur Brand for Danish Butter.

The School.

The last building to be visited is the school. Some twenty years ago the village replaced the old one-room schoolhouse with a modern red brick structure. In the old days the problem of overcrowding was solved by arranging the school program so that the big boys attended school four days of the week, and the small children only two in the winter. In the summer it was the other way around — an arrangement which enabled the older boys to work on

24) There are generally four classifications.

the farms in the season when their help was most needed. Indeed, the practice is still common in most rural schools.

The new school has three class rooms and a large gymnasium. It has electrical conveniences and there are wash basins with running water and water closets in all its buildings. There are three teachers instead of the one schoolmaster of the old days.

The law of 1937 makes it possible for all children in the country to receive continuation instruction free of charge if the parents of fifteen children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen demand it, and the majority of the school board agrees. The instruction in the continuation schools is to be of a practical nature. The law also provides that in addition to schools for small children each rural district must have at least one school for children above twelve years of age. Each group in such a school must receive at least 960 hours' instruction annually (in the towns the minimum figure is 1,200). Besides instruction in the compulsory subjects of Danish, religion, arithmetic, writing, history, geography, singing, gymnastics, and needlework for girls; there is optional sloid for boys and domestic work for girls. Each school must have a gymnasium and sports grounds, which are also at the disposal of the village youth.

This law led to the building of larger school houses. Opinions differ as to the wisdom of this move. With the growth of consolidated schools the old type of village school with its one-man teacher will tend to disappear, and the centralized school characteristic of the towns will take its place. There are those who fear that educational efficiency may be bought at the cost of a loss in the personal touch and influence, which the schoolmaster has in communities with only the farm population for his friends.

It is true that an unusually large number of the village teachers in the past generation have played an important part in the political life in the country. Christen Berg, the leader of the farmers' opposition to the Government's masked attempt, in the seventies and eighties of the last century, to reintroduce absolute monarchy, was a village schoolmaster, as was also I. C. Christensen the leader of the Liberal Party, representing the farmers, who, in 1901, established the first parliamentary government in Denmark.

It is difficult to foresee what the consequences of the new law may be. If the elementary schools continue to be interested in char-

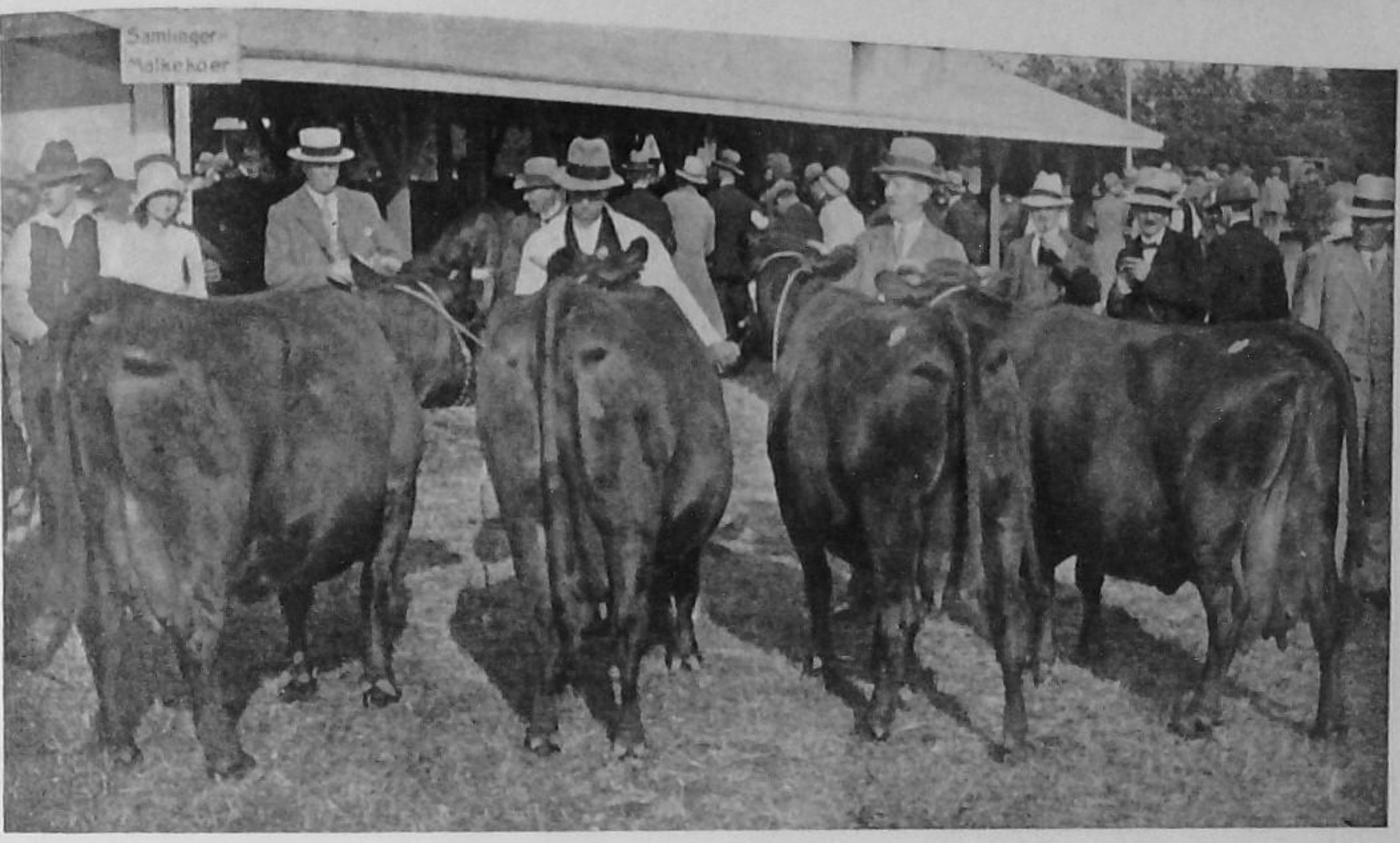
A Farmer of Earlier Times.

acter building and not primarily in preparing the pupils for a career, the law may help to keep the bright and active youth in the rural districts. One of the consequences may be that the development of the schools for children in the rural districts will make it possible for the folk high schools to reduce the time hitherto spent in the review of elementary school matter and give them more time for imparting a training in technical subjects, as well as for that intellectual orientation towards the ethical and religious life of their students which in the past has been their chief contribution to the development of the life of the rural community.

Envoi.

Before the industrial revolution life in the home, and work on the fields and in the stables were to the farmer an educational influence tending to his contentment with a quiet and isolated world. Pictures of old peasants show calm and plain faces that do not reveal signs of deeply disturbing influences, be they of grief or of joy. Their friendly ways and faithful work gave to the whole parish its character of peace and stability.

But now industrialism has set its stamp on the life of the farmers. Their natural mysticism and their old peasant religion bound up with forecasts about sun and wind and rain are disappearing. Nor is there the same expression of personal remoteness in the faces of many modern farmers as there is in the photographs of their grandparents which hang on the walls of their homes. There are easy-going "gentleman" farmers in the modern villages, and there are clumsy gaardmænd's wives dressed up like ladies of fashion. Among small-holders and agricultural laborers there is a residue of dullards. Nevertheless, the modern Danish village has not lost its peculiar atmosphere, and there is strong evidence that industrialism has not



Danish Farmers at a Cattle Show Nowadays.

destroyed sterling qualities of rural life. For there are still large numbers of hardy farmers whose faces show signs of a deep-rooted culture and of persevering work. They are more free in their manners than their ancestors were, they have a wider horizon, and their reading and interests go much further. The farmer's wives are now, as they were before, usually busily occupied all day long, though except for the small-holders' wives their work is now mostly limited to the domestic domain.

Of course, the motor age has made its inroads in village planning. The tendency of the village nowadays is not to cluster round the church and the school as in former times, but to stretch out along one road by which easy access may be had to the motor bus connecting with the nearest town.

Functionalism in architecture has also laid its hand on the village. The quasi "gothic" and "renaissance" villas of the days before the first world war with their cupolas, canopies, verandas, and over-ornamentation are giving way to more unpretentious bungalows.

A Small-holder's Home with a Stork's Nest.

A Picturesque Lane.

Danish Manor.

Wind Power is still used, though less than formerly.

For all that, the newer houses are better equipped and more comfortable to live in. As one leaves the village it is, nevertheless, to the old farm houses, not to the villas with cupolas and canopies, etc. that one feels oneself drawn, and feels happy that there is still enough of it left to give the village its character. The old farm houses with their white wings suit the landscape. They are one with it, and they give it a harmony and quiet beauty that is soothing to the mind.

And out in the open country lie now the scattered buildings of the small-holders' homes that have been established on the land that formerly belonged to the manor.

With the manor and its grounds a piece of romantic beauty will disappear from the landscape. Some will find that the Danish landscape will suffer by this change. To others the many small in-

dependent farmers' homes may reveal a new kind of beauty, the beauty that expresses itself wherever life is active and free. The small-holder and his family know what it costs to wrest from nature its gifts, and consequently value them the more. Their lives are enriched through their work, and they in turn enrich the nation to which they belong.

Far more of those metals so white and so red
Find others by digging and selling
We Danes though can point to everyday's bread
In even the lowliest dwelling —
Can boast that in riches our progress is such
That few have too little, still fewer too much.

From Grundtvig's "Denmark's Consolation"[25])
Translated by J. S. Thornton.

[25]) The exact translation of the last line is: That few have too much, still fewer too little.

CONVERSION TABLE

1 **Danish krone** = 100 øre = 11. 5 d approx = 14.5 cts approx

OFFICIAL CURRENCIES IN COPENHAGEN, APRIL 1952

	London	New York	Paris	Brussels	Zürich	Rome	Madrid	Amsterdam
	19.36	692.00	1.98 1/8	13.85	158.20	1.11	—	182.27
Pari sept. 1931	18.16 per £	373.00 per $100	14.62 per 100 frcs.	10.37 per 100 frcs.	72.00 per 100 frcs.	19.64 per 100 lire	72.00 per 100 pesetas	150.00 per 100 fl.

	Stockholm	Oslo	Helsingfors	Reykjavik	Prague	Lissabon	Frankfurt a. M.	Montreal
	133.72	96.90	3.01 1/2	42.50	13.88	24.15	164.70	705.45
Pari sept. 1931	100.00 per 100 kr.	100.00 per 100 kr.	9.40 per 100 mk.	100.00 per 100 kr.	11.06 per 100 kr.	16.51 per 100 escudos	— per 100 d.mk.	373.00 per $100

1 meter (m) = 39,3 inches

1 kilogram (kg) = 2,2 lbs = 2 Danish pund

1 liter (l) = 1,75 pints

1 hectare (ha) = 10,000 sq meter = 2,47 acres

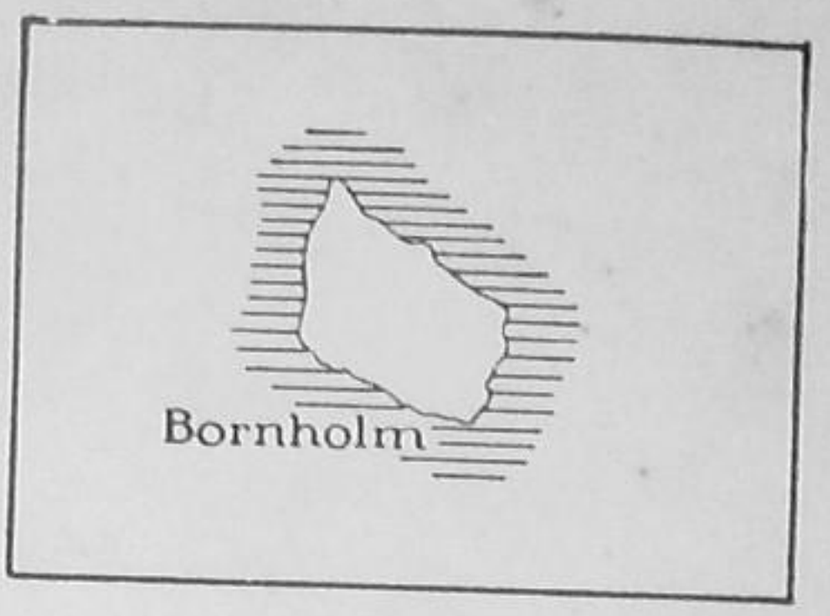
1 acre = 0,4 ha

1 sq mile = 259 ha

+ Folk High Schools.

⊕ Small-holders' Schools.

○ Agricultural Schools.



0 10 20 30 km

KATTEGAT

Vraa +

Thisted

Aalborg

Store Restrup ⊕

Skive +

Asmildkloster ○

J y l l a n d

Ry +

Aarhus

Vestbirk +

Malling ○

Hjedding

Uldum +

Horsens

Samsø

Jellinge

Børkop +

Vejen

Esbjerg

Askov +

Snoghøj +

Middelfart +

Kerteminde +

Ladelund ○

Hoptrup +

Odense ⊕

Dalum ○

Rødding +

F y n

Sønderjylland

Ryslinge +

Ollerup +

Faaborg

Als +

ØRESOUND

Helsingør (Elsinore) +

Hillerød (Frederiksborg) +

Vallekilde +

Lyngby ○

København

Roskilde +

Tune ○

Sjælland

Høng ⊕

Sorø

Antvorskov +

Haslev +

Sydsjælland ○

Udby

Falster-

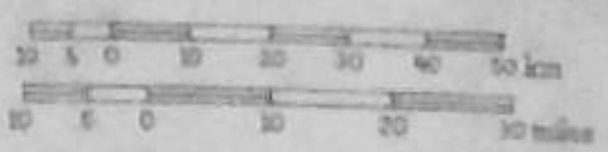
Lolland

THE BALTIC

Jutland (Jylland) with North Slesvig (Sonderjylland), Funen (Fyn), Zealand (Sjælland), Lolland, Falster and Langeland (between Fyn and Lolland).

DENMARK

ROAD- and RAILWAY MAP



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