

**Mogens Klitgaard**

**God Tempers  
the Wind to the  
Shorn Lamb**

Translated and  
with an Introduction and Notes  
by Marc Linder

With the Assistance of  
Gitte Gaarsvig Sørensen

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The cover image is one of the friezes adorning the lobby of the Danish Parliament, which were painted by Rasmus Larsen between 1918 and 1921. Courtesy of Folketinget.

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## Notes

The bolded numbers at the left refer to the pages of *God Tempers the Wind to the Shorn Lamb* on which the italicized text appears.

**1** *But one day . . .*: This entire italicized passage bears a resemblance to the parable of the laborers in the vineyard in Matthew 20:1-16 and Luke 20:9-18, but it is not taken directly from the Bible. In his recent thesis submitted to Copenhagen University, Jacob Wraae Nielsen interprets the passage as a pastiche of constructed biblical tidings designed as an ironic commentary on the role of the Christian church and morality in instilling conformity. Jacob Wraae Nielsen, “Mogens Klitgaards livssyn—en læsning af tre romaner og en novelle med afsæt i eksistentielistisk teori” 59-60 (Specialeopgave, Institut for Nordisk Filologi, Copenhagen University, Oct. 2001). To be sure, the saying “God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb” is not biblical. In English it is most often associated with Laurence Sterne’s use of it: “She had since that, she told me, strayed as far as Rome, and walked round St Peter’s once—and returned back—that she had found her way alone across the Apennines—had travelled over all Lombardy without money—and through the flinty roads of Savoy without shoes—how she had borne it, and how she had got supported, she could not tell—but *God tempers the wind*, said Maria, to the shorn lamb.” Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* 139 (Graham Petrie ed.; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982 [1768]). It can nevertheless be traced back at least to the Frenchman Henri Estienne, who used it in 1594: “Dieu mesure le froid à la brébis tondue.” *The Home Book of Quotations: Classical and Modern* 789 (Burton Stevenson ed.; 10th ed.; New York: Dodd, Mead, 1967 [1934]). That the saying appears to have more currency in Denmark than in the United States may be related to the fact that the painter Rasmus Larsen used it as the title of one of the ornamental friezes he painted in the lobby of the Danish parliament. See above “A Note on the Cover,” p. xxiv.

**3** *parish deacon*: A *kordegn* (literally “choir deacon”), which lacks an equivalent in the United States, is the right-hand of and administrative assistant to the pastor in the Danish Lutheran church, performing certain functions during the service itself such as reading the opening and closing prayer. However, in Denmark, where various civil registrations are associated with the church, the *kordegn* also takes care of registering births, deaths, and namings, in addition to keeping the church’s

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accounts. Email from Edel Steffensen, acting *kordegn*, Haraldskirken, Høje Gladsaxe (Dec. 13, 2001); email from Vivi Jensen, *kordegn*, Thomas Kingo Kirke, Odense (Dec. 14, 2001). Every Lutheran church in Denmark has a *kordegn* and all Danes are intimately familiar with the position.

**4 Frederiksholm:** In the 1920s the Copenhagen city dump was located in the southwestern corner of the city. Harald Eriksen, "Hammelstrupsvej," in *Sydvest Folkeblad* (updated Apr. 23, 2001), on <http://www.sv-folkeblad.dk/lokalhistorie/lokalhistorie199701.html#LOKALHISTORIE>.

**4 Coastal Road:** Strandvejen, which runs from Copenhagen north along the Sound, was the location of many huge villas owned by nouveaux-riches World War I profiteers.

**4 Larsbjørn Lane:** Larsbjørnstræde is located in downtown Copenhagen near City Hall.

**4 the people's kitchen:** Unlike a soup kitchen, a *folkekøkken* is not free; run or subsidized by local governments, it provides cheap meals to the poor. People's kitchens were first established in Copenhagen in March 1917 under the impact of wartime inflation and fuel shortages, which caused the municipal authorities to impose severe restrictions on the population's use of cooking gas. Although at first they served only dinner, later they offered comprehensive meal service. N. Andreasen et al., "Københavns Kommunes Administration," in *Danmark Land og Folk: Historisk-topograifsk-statistisk Haandbog* 4: 44-69 at 50 (separately paginated) (Daniel Bruun ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1922); Sigurd Jensen, *Under fælles ansvar* 166-67, in *Københavns historie*, vol. 5: 1900-45 (Sv. Cedergreen Bech et al. eds.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1981). Klitgaard himself frequented Copenhagen's people's kitchens when he was down and out. Poul Carit Andersen, "Mogens Klitgaard," in Mogens Klitgaard, *de sindssyges klode* 5-28 at 11 (Copenhagen: Carit Andersen, 1968).

**5 Humlebæk:** A coastal town north of Copenhagen about 3 miles south of Elsinore.

**5 Halland:** A region of Sweden along the Kattegat north of the Danish island of Zealand.

**6 Ängelholm:** A Swedish coastal town about 17 miles from Hälsingborg, which is located directly across the Sound from Elsinore.

**6 crown:** The *krona* is the Swedish currency.

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6 lodgings for travellers: Klitgaard uses in italics the Swedish *rum för resande*.

6 I came to a crowd of day laborers; most of them were Poles: Many thousands of (especially female and child) seasonal farmworkers migrated from Poland, where small plots and lagging industrialization generated agrarian unemployment and underemployment, to Germany, Denmark and (to a lesser degree) Sweden in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to cultivate and harvest sugar beets. Zdzislaw Ludkiewicz, "The Agrarian Structure of Poland and France from the Point of View of Emigration," *International Labour Review* 22:155-76 at 163 (1930). Polish farmworkers' seasonal migration to Germany began about 1870. G. Rabinovitch, "The Seasonal Emigration of Agricultural Workers to Germany," *International Labour Review* 25:213-35, 332-67 (1932). Danish sugar beet factories, which began operating in 1874, recruited Swedish girls to work in the fields; this migration stopped about 1906 when Swedish farms were able to employ the unemployed farmworkers from southern Sweden. Polish workers migrated to Denmark between 1893 and 1929, when the increased unemployment associated with the Depression caused Danish men to begin performing this work. The number of Polish workers in Denmark peaked at 12,452 in 1914, dropping sharply and permanently thereafter. Georg Nellesmann, *Polske landarbejdere i Danmark og deres efterkommere: Et studie af landarbejder-invandringen 1893-1929 og invandrerens integration i det danske samfund i to generationer* 20-54, 120 (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1981); Jens Warming, *Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv: En lærebog i Danmarks statistik* 59 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1930); Euzebiusz Basiński, "Poles Abroad," in *Poland: A Handbook* 146-73 at 154 (Warsaw: Interpress, 1977). The harsh conditions of the Polish workers' employment, which included contracts that they were not permitted to terminate, led to regulatory legislation in 1908 establishing police supervision of contractual relations. Lov vedrørende Anvendelse af udenlandske Arbejdere til Arbejde i visse Virksomheder samt det offentlige Tilsyn dermed, Law No. 229 of Aug. 21, 1908, in *Lovtidende for 1908*, at 903-909; Nellesmann, *Polske landarbejdere i Danmark* at 73-85. Between 1904 and 1914, about a thousand Polish (and Galician) farm laborers were recruited annually to work on sugar-beet farms in southern Sweden, where emigration (in large part to the United States) and industrialization had led to a labor

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shortage, at least under the inferior conditions offered by the farm owners. As in Denmark, some Polish laborers remained in Sweden after World War I began; though some left during the 1920s, others settled in Sweden. Tomas Hammar, "Sverige åt svenskarna: Invandringspolitik, utlänningskontroll och asylrätt 1900-1932," at 32-34, 49, 397 (Doctoral dissertation; Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1964). According to "Labour Problems in Sugar-Beet Production in Denmark, Germany, and Sweden," *International Labour Review* 21:244-54 at 249-50 (1930), no agricultural laborers entered Sweden after World War I.

**6** *luffare*: Swedish for tramp or vagabond.

**7** *farmstead*: *Avlsgård* was that part of a landed estate where the actual farming took place.

**7 a** *Copenhagen basement wash house*: A bare room with a cement floor, a large vat, and a huge pot for boiling the clothes.

**11** *the high-heel slippers changed her, made her instep slimmer and her calf rounder*: On the physiology and ideology of these effects, see Marc Linder, "Smart Women, Stupid Shoes, and Cynical Employers: The Unlawfulness and Adverse Health Consequences of Sexually Discriminatory Workplace Footwear Requirements for Female Employees," *Journal of Corporation Law* 22:295-329 (1997); Marc Linder and Charles Saltzman, "A History of Medical Scientists on High Heels," *International Journal of Health Services* 28:201-25 (1998).

**14** *registered*: The farm had to register him with the police.

**15** *parish church council*: After a half-century's existence on a voluntary basis, the *Menighedsråd* became statutorily mandatory in all parishes in Denmark beginning in 1904. In addition to the parish minister, who was chairman, it consisted of at least four representatives—all men and women at least twenty-five years old were eligible—elected by the congregation for six- (and, after 1912, four-) year terms. It had to meet at least four times annually, and it had to be consulted with regard to all questions decisively affecting the congregation's religious life. It also gained control over the church's collections for the poor. Harald Jørgensen, *Lokaladministrationen i Danmark: Oprindelse og historisk udvikling indtil 1970*, at 379-81 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1985).

**19** *Halmstad*: A Swedish coastal town on the Kattegat about 70 miles north of Copenhagen; it was Sweden's nineteenth largest city in

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1925 with a population of 18,381. Kungl. Statistisk Centralbyrån, *Årsbok för Sverige 1926*, tab. 10 at 8 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1926).

**19 Falkenberg:** A Swedish coastal town 25 miles north of Halmstad.

**19 beachcomber:** The Danish word *betskummer* (or *bitskummer*), which derives from the English “beachcomber,” can also mean a man without permanent employment who hangs out in ports and cadges from the sailors docking there. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* Supp. Vol. 2:92 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995).

**20 police:** Klitgaard uses the Swedish word with the Danish plural definite suffix *poliserne*.

**20 the luffer were freed from reporting their arrival and departure:** In Sweden and Denmark and other European countries, people who move from one city to another are required to register with the national residence registration office (*folkeregister*), whereas those such as vagabonds who had no permanent address registered with the police. Because municipalities feared being stuck with liability for paying poor relief to vagabonds, they sought to remove them to the municipalities from which they came and which had the legal responsibility for maintaining them.

**20 spikes:** Klitgaard uses the Swedish *spik*, which is recognizable to Danes as the Danish *spiger* with the same meaning.

**20 Norrland:** Sweden’s northern division with a population of 1,018,009 and a population density of only 4 inhabitants per square kilometer at the 1920 census, Norrland was the country’s smallest demographically. *The Encyclopædia Britannica: The New Volumes* 32:629 (12th ed.; London: Encyclopædia Britannica, 1922).

**21 hawkers:** Klitgaard uses the Swedish word (with a Danish plural ending) *nasarne*, which is not comprehensible to Danes.

**21 honest social ambitions:** An ironic phrase from two comedies by Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), the leading figure of the Danish enlightenment. In one, a character seeks to distinguish his honest ambition from rage for rank. Ludvig Holberg, *Den honnette Ambition*, in *Holberg Comoedierne* 3:101-39 at 107 (Carl Roos ed.; Copenhagen: Aschehoug, 1924 [1741]). In the other, a character states that what among men is called rage for rank, is called honest ambition among women. Ludvig Holberg, *Philosophus udi egen Indbildning*, in *Holberg Comoedierne* 3:321-81 at 376-77 (1754).

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**21 small communities:** Klitgaard uses a pseudo-Danish spelling (*samhæller*) of the Swedish word *samhällen*.

**21 a dollar:** A *daler* was until 1873 a Danish coin worth two crowns. Derived from the German *Taler*, the word was used in all the Scandinavian languages.

**21 Värmlands-Kalle:** Värmland is a county in west-central Sweden; Kalle is the equivalent of Charlie.

**23 I ingratiated myself with him:** The phrase *Jeg brændte på ham* could also mean: "I gave him a light."

**23 Thurø:** A small island off the southeast coast of the larger island of Funen near the town of Svendborg.

**25 ordinary seamen:** An ordinary seaman is a member of the deck department and subordinate to an able seaman; he has learned part of the trade and performs general maintenance and repair work. After passing an examination, he is eligible to become an able seaman. René de Kerchove, *International Maritime Dictionary* 554 (2d ed.; New York: Van Nostrand, 1961).

**25 a discharge book:** An 1861 law required every Danish sailor to have in his possession a *søfartsbog* with information about when and where he had signed on and been discharged, his liability for military service, and other matters. *Ordbog over det danske sprog* 23:273 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1996 [1946]). U.S. law since 1936 has called for a "continuous discharge book." 46 U.S. Code sect. 7202 (2001) (codifying Act of June 25, 1936, ch. 816, sect. 3, 49 Stat. 1930).

**26 skerries:** The *Oxford English Dictionary*'s definition ("A rugged insulated sea-rock or stretch of rocks covered by the sea at high water or in stormy weather; a reef") does not adequately describe this unique Swedish phenomenon, which includes islands with grass and woods and bare cliffs shooting up out of the seas; although the *skärgård* off Stockholm are the best known, off Sweden's west coast from Gothenburg northward lies an archipelago or belt of skerries, islands and cliffs extending four to eight miles seaward and making navigation intricate. *Oxford English Dictionary* 15:593 (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); National Imagery and Mapping Agency, *Sailing Direction (Enroute): Skagerrak and Kattegat* 83 (8th ed.; Bethesda, 2000).

**26 Fruit soup:** *Sødsuppe* is made with fruit syrup, prunes, raisins, and sago.

**28 ØK:** The Østasiastiske Kompagni (East Asiatic Company) was

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a large Danish colonial trading and shipping firm.

**28 Skagen:** A town located at the extreme northern tip of Jutland where the Skagerrak and Kattegat, two arms of the North Sea, meet.

**28 close-hauled:** "The trim of a vessel's sails when it endeavors to make progress in the nearest direction possible toward that point of the compass from which the wind blows." de Kerchove, *International Maritime Dictionary* at 154.

**29 ox-hide shoes:** This type of shoe, which "recalls shoes from 'stone age,'" was commonly worn in the villages in the Faeroe Islands until World War II. It was made of ox-hide (or horse-hide or sealskin), from which the hair had been removed and which was then tanned in tormentil. The shoes were sewn with a seam in the middle in the back and front; two shoestrings were drawn through two holes in the front and two in the back, wound a couple of times around the ankle, and the ends were inserted under the laces in front. Klitgaard does not say what the shoes were made of (and probably did not know), calling them merely *skindsko*; since "leather shoes" would be misleading and "hide shoes" is not a term in use in English, it is assumed that the shoes were ox-hide. Similar shoes made of sheepskin were generally worn by women and children, who often wore those shoes underneath wooden shoes. Email from Regin Debess, National Museum of the Faeroe Islands (Feb. 20 and 21, 2002). The stronger ox-hide shoes were, according to Tóri í Hoyvík, the city gardener of Tórshavn, "slippery to wear, but everybody used it in the villages maybe 70 years ago when in the mountains gathering sheep or in the cliffs catching birds (there they put a woollen outer shoe on to prevent sliding in the birds' guano) as well as on the sea fishing." Email from Tóri í Hoyvík (Feb. 21, 2002).

**29 Thorshavn:** The capital of the Faeroe Islands.

**29 roads:** A less enclosed place than a harbor, where ships can safely lie at anchor. See, e.g., Hampton Roads, Virginia.

**29 Selletræ:** The Danish spelling of the small Faroese village of Selatrad, which is located about 45 miles from Thorshavn.

**31 Grimsby:** A port on the east coast near Hull.

**31 The Orkney Islands:** They are located north of Scotland at about the same latitude as the southern tip of Norway.

**31 lay to:** A ship lies to when the wind and sea conditions prevent it from continuing on its course.

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**31 Langelinie pier:** A very popular place to promenade in Copenhagen.

**35 Hovedstaden: The Capital** was a newspaper published from Nov. 26, 1912 until Mar. 9, 1920, when it was absorbed into *Kristeligt Dagblad*. The founders of the paper wished to “combat the modern press’s immorality and—in a struggle against Politiken—support the people’s regeneration on a religious and national basis.” Jette Søllinge and Niels Thomsen, *De danske aviser 1634-1989*, 2:216 (Odense: Odense universitetsforlag, [1988]-1991).

**35 Kristeligt Dagblad: Christian Daily** was from its founding in 1896 associated with the Church Association for the Inner Mission, a puritanical, pietistic, revivalist movement within the Lutheran Church. Søllinge and Thomsen, *De danske aviser 1634-1989*, 2:195-96.

**36 bear skin fescue: Festuca scoparia** is neat football-like rounded clumps of green foliage producing flower-heads in June and July.

**37 The United’s:** Det Forenede Dampskibs-Selskab (The United Steamship Company), which was founded in 1866 by the financier C. F. Tietgen, gained a quasi-monopoly over Danish shipping.

**37 butter boat:** Danish butter exports to England were the country’s biggest export item and as such the linchpin of the import-dependent Danish economy.

**37 “Primula”:** “Primrose.”

**37 Little Parrot Street:** There once was a Kleine Papageienstraße in Altona. <http://www.fulgura.de/1800/md42-inx.htm>.

**37 Altona:** At the end of the eighteenth century Altona, located on the Elbe River directly west of Hamburg, into which it was incorporated in 1937, was the second largest city in Denmark.

**42 German South Jutlander: A sønderjyde** is an inhabitant of South Jutland/North Schleswig. After World War I this area was returned to Denmark after having been part of Germany since the war of 1864.

**44 it was right after the vote in South Jutland:** In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, with a 91.5 percent participation rate, three-fourths of the voters of so-called Zone 1 (the southern border of which ran north of Flensburg) voted on February 10, 1920 to be reunited with Denmark, while one-fourth voted to remain part of Germany. Erik Rasmussen, *Velfærdsstaten på vejen: 1913-1939*, at 210-18, in *Danmarks historie*, vol. 14 (John Danstrup and Hal Koch eds.; Copenhagen: Politiken, 1965).

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**45** *sex appeal*: Klitgaard uses the phrase in English.

**47** *grebes*: A type of swimming and diving bird.

**50** *main train station*: That is, in Copenhagen.

**51** *Valby-Povl*: Valby is a section of Copenhagen; Klitgaard was born there.

**51** *Kruså*: A small border town directly north of Flensburg.

**52** *Why not get sent home*: A *hjemsender* is an indigent Dane sent back to his home parish within Denmark or repatriated by a Danish consulate abroad to Denmark. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 8:234 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal 1994 [1926]).

**52** *Angleterre*: The Hotel d'Angleterre was Copenhagen's fanciest and best-known hotel.

**53** *Bræddehytten*: Wooden Cottage was and is a famous restaurant in the amusement park Bakken in Deer Park outside Copenhagen.

**53** *Gedser*: Located on the island of Falster, it is the southernmost Danish town, where ferries carrying rail passengers to and from Rostock, Germany depart and land.

**54** *Wivel*: A famous restaurant in Copenhagen, which was later renamed Wivex and from which dance music was transmitted on radio. The restaurant was owned by Carl Wivel (1844 - 1922).

**54** *Lake Fure*: Furesø, Denmark's deepest lake, is located 10 miles northwest of Copenhagen.

**54** *Lake Garda*: It is located in northern Italy between Brescia and Verona.

**55** *Esbjerg*: Located in southern Jutland near the German border, it is Denmark's biggest west coast port and the center of the export trade to Britain. It was Denmark's seventh biggest city, with a population of 24,063, in 1925. Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarbog 1926*, tab. 6 at 9 (Copenhagen: Thiele, 1926).

**55** *had a couple of German thousand mark bills on me, but they weren't worth anything—no one wanted to exchange them*: By the latter part of 1923 the dollar was worth more than a trillion marks.

**55** *coal trimmer*: A trimmer (or stower) shifted the coal from storage to the stokers and made sure the coal was evenly distributed on the ship.

**57** *a wholesale merchant*: Wholesale merchants were the quintessential wealthy occupational group in Denmark, the counterparts to corporation or bank presidents in the United States. See Mogens Klit-

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gaard, *There's a Man Sitting on a Trolley* 178-79 (note to p. 2) (Marc Linder tr.; Iowa City: Fānpihuà Press, 2001).

**59** *Sir Basil Zaharoff, the armaments prince*: Zaharoff (1849-1936) was an armaments dealer who made a fortune, especially during World War I.

**59** *Odense*: The principal town of the island of Funen, it was Denmark's third largest city with a population of 49,469 in 1921 and 52,208 in 1925. Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarbog 1926*, tab. 6 at 6-9.

**59** *breeches buoy*: A life-saving device consisting of a canvas seat with breeches as the legs, it is hung from a life buoy suspended by rope between ships or between a ship and land.

**59** *Svendborg*: A town on the southeastern coast of Funen adjacent to Thurø. Bertolt Brecht lived there as a refugee from 1933 to 1939.

**62** *Fruens Bøge*: A wooded area on Odense Creek on the southern outskirts of Odense.

**62** *Munkemose*: Munk's Marsh is a large park on Odense Creek near downtown Odense.

**62** *Thrige*: A large Danish firm producing electrical motors. Thomas B. Thrige began his own enterprise in Odense in 1894 after returning from the United States where he had worked at the Thomas Edison laboratory. Thrige became one of the largest employers in Odense. <http://thrige-titan.dk>.

**63** *we'll be sent to serve a prison sentence for nonpayment of child support for an illegitimate child*: Schmidt does not mean that they had actually fathered illegitimate children, but that the authorities would use vagabonds' reputation for loose relations with various women as a pretext for incarcerating them.

**63** *Middelfart*: A town on the extreme western coast of Funen adjacent to Jutland with a population of 6,870 in 1921 and 7,087 in 1925. Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarbog 1926*, tab. 6 at 7.

**63** *Enslev*: There are several towns by that name in Jutland, but none on Funen. *Geodætisk Instituts kort: Danmark i 1:200 000* (13th ed.; Copenhagen: Geodætisk Institut, 1955). No such place is listed in the 1921 population census. Danmarks Statistik, *Folkemængden i Februar 1921 i Kongeriget Danmark* (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1921). There is a village named Indslev (sometimes also spelled Ingslev) on the road from Odense that did have an inn in the 1920s and was located about seven miles from Middelfart. See the map of Funen

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appended to *Danmark: Land og folk: Historisk - topografisk - statistisk Haandbog*, vol. 4 (Daniel Bruun ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1922). It would be unusual for Klitgaard to invent a place name.

**64** *pollarded*: To pollard is to cut back to the trunk to promote growth of a dense head of foliage.

**64** *A ladybug was sitting on my hand and I let it fly up to Our Lord and ask for good weather tomorrow, because . . . you just do it—you learned it as a child*: Known by all Danes, this verse is perhaps the first nursery rhyme children learn. One points to the sky with the finger the ladybug is crawling on and recites the rhyme; if the ladybug does not fly off on its own, one helps it on its way by blowing on it.

**65** *The King*: Christian X was the Danish king in the 1920s.

**65** *the House of Oldenburg*: The Oldenburgers were the royal house from which the Danish kings descended beginning with Christian I (Count Christian of Oldenburg, who reigned from 1448 to 1481) and ending with Frederik VII (who reigned from 1848 to 1863). Oldenburg is a former Grand Duchy.

**68** *the ferry*: It sailed to Jutland, probably to the town of Fredericia.

**69** *pale, light beer*: *Hvidtøl* is a top-fermented, strongly malted, low-alcohol content Danish beer.

**69** *a real pilsner fit for a human being*: Pilsner is virtually synonymous with beer in Denmark.

**70** *Vendsyssel*: The northeasternmost part of Jutland, separated from the rest of the peninsula by the Limfjord. “Syssel” is a district.

**70** *the Inner Mission*: The Church Association for the Inner Mission in Denmark, a puritanical, pietistic, revivalist movement within Danish Lutheranism, was founded in 1861. Calling themselves “de hellige” (“the Pious,” “the Holy,” or “the Saintly”), adherents stressed confession, repentance, conversion, and salvation, and rigidly proscribed amusements such as dancing, card playing, and alcohol. See Marc Linder, “Introduction,” in Hans Kirk, *The Fishermen* xii-xiii (2d ed.; Iowa City: Fänpihuà Press, 2000 [1999]).

**71** *Gothenburg*: Sweden’s second largest city is located on the Kattegat at about the same latitude as the northernmost tip of Jutland. Its population in 1925 was 231,007. Kungl. Statistisk Centralbyrå, *Årsbok för Sverige 1926*, tab. 10 at 8.

**71** *Danish printers . . . had a fine benefits system, travelled by train from town to town and travelled around like other tourists*: Among

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printers, as with other trade unions whose roots went back to the old guilds, there was a custom that, when they came to a town abroad, they could go to the local trade union and get shelter and a "donation," which at that time was a fixed sum (travel money), which made it possible to make ends meet until they got to the next town if there was no work in the first town. The local union was also the place where they could hear about possible jobs and especially printers had an easy time of getting work everywhere. Email from Morten Thing, Nov. 21, 2001; Lujo Brentano, *On the History and Development of Guilds and the Origin of Trade Unions* 89-90 (1870); *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 6:912-13 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1994 [1924]).

**72 Borås:** Sweden's eighth largest city with a population of 32,317 in 1925, it is 43 miles directly east of Gothenburg. Kungl. Statistisk Centralbyrå, *Årsbok för Sverige 1926*, tab. 10 at 8.

**72 "The Little Magician":** A 48-page book with this title was published in Danish in Norway at the beginning of the century: *Den lille Tryllekunstner: en righoldig Samling af let udførlige, høist interessante og overraskende Tryllekunster til Underholdning i selskaber og gemytlige Kredse* (Kristiana [Oslo]: S. Kriedts Forlag, 1900).

**77 the Promenade des Anglais:** A wide road running the length of the Mediterranean sea-front in Nice and lined with turn-of-the-century grand hotels.

**78 Cagnes sur mer:** Located on the French Riviera between Antibes and Monte Carlo.

**79 Øresund:** The strait between the island of Zealand and Sweden connecting the Kattegat and the Baltic.

**79 Tårnbæk:** A coastal town just north of Copenhagen with a well-known sailing harbor.

**79 Juan les Pins:** The town adjacent to Antibes on the Riviera.

**79 cacahuet:** The Spanish word for peanut; the French word is cacahouette or cacahuète.

**80 St. Tropez:** It lies further west along the Riviera.

**80 Toulon:** A larger coastal city near Marseille.

**80 bouillabaisse:** A specialty of Provence, where Marseille is located.

**80 La Corniche:** "The coastal road" winds along the Mediterranean coast and all the fanciest villas are located in this district.

**82 Hobro:** A medium-sized town in northern Jutland at the inland

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end of Mariager Fjord.

**83 Roskilde:** A town about 20 miles west of Copenhagen noted for its cathedral, where the Danish kings and queens are buried.

**84 *I was charged with vagrancy:*** Presumably Klitgaard was charged under The Vagrancy Act, 1824, which in the 1920s empowered a justice of the peace to commit every person convicted of “wandering abroad, or placing himself or herself in any public place, street, highway, court, or passage, to beg or gather alms . . . to the house of correction, there to be kept to hard labour for any time not exceeding one calendar month.” The Vagrancy Act, 1924, 5 Geo. 4, ch. 83, § 3, in *The Complete Statutes of England: “Halsbury’s Statutes of England”* 12: 913, 914 (London: Butterworth, 1930).

**84 *Pourquoi non: Why Not.***

**85 *outskirts of towns:*** In the course of their migrations around the country, vagabonds stopped off in small towns and suburbs, gathering at cafes and in public squares.

**86 “*Inky pinky parlez vous*”:** A World War I British soldiers’ song.

**86 *toilet bowl . . . shouting:*** The inmates forced the water down through the bowl siphon and onto the other side of the toilet trap; because the toilets in the cells were connected by means of this pipe, which led to the sewer, when the bowls were empty, they acted as a kind of megaphone. So-called toilet telephones are a worldwide phenomenon in prisons. At San Quentin state prison in California in the 1970s they worked this way: “The musings were broken by a rhythmic thumping through the concrete ceiling. He was wanted on the ‘telephone.’ He signaled back by standing on the toilet and pounding with the heel of his hand. Quickly he folded both blankets into squares, put them over the mouth of the seatless toilet, sat down and began jumping—forcing the water out. He scooped the last of it into the sink and knelt at the toilet, his face in the bowl. ‘Hallo!’ he yelled. ‘Who’s on the phone?’” Edward Bunker, *Animal Factory* 148 (New York: Viking, 1977).

**87 *hauled:*** The ship had been hauled to the middle of the artificial basin by means of a rope or warp attached to a fixed object.

**87 *Malmö:*** Sweden’s third largest city with a population of 116,348 in 1925, it is located on the coast directly across the Sound from Copenhagen. Kungl. Statistisk Centralbyrån, *Årsbok för Sverige 1926*, tab. 10 at 8.

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**87** *Norrköping*: Sweden's fourth largest city with a population of 60,132 in 1925, it is located about 100 miles southwest of Stockholm. Kungl. Statistisk Centralbyrån, *Årsbok för Sverige 1926*, tab. 10 at 8.

**87** *Nykøping*: A smaller town (population 12,181 in 1925) located between Norrköping and Stockholm. Kungl. Statistisk Centralbyrån, *Årsbok för Sverige 1926*, tab. 10 at 8.

**88** *the alcohol monopoly company*: The *spritbolag* was a system that became generalized in Sweden as a result of a statute enacted in 1917 that went into effect on January 1, 1919. Förordning angående försäljning av rusdrucker, in *Svensk Författningssamling*, 1917, No. 340, at 803-25. Under it, the sale to individuals of drinks with an alcohol content greater than 3.6 percent was limited exclusively to the "system company" (*systembolag*), which the State controlled and which paid almost all its profits to the State. Everyone who wished to buy alcohol for home consumption was registered and received a pass-book or ration book (*motbok*); the total amount of distilled spirits (defined as containing 22 percent alcohol) that they were permitted to buy each month was four liters. "The amount of alcohol which may be sold to a customer in a restaurant is also strictly limited and confined to meal-times." *The Encyclopædia Britannica: The New Volumes* 32:630. After Sweden narrowly voted against prohibition in a referendum in 1922 (49.3% voting for prohibition and 50.7% voting against), a rationing system (called the Bratt System after Dr. Ivar Bratt) introduced in Stockholm on Feb. 26, 1914 and in force in all of the country since 1919, remained in effect: "The Bratt System was based on a strict licensing procedure for restaurants with extensive veto rights for local authorities, and individual rations for adult citizens to secure that each individual wasn't allowed to buy more than one could consume without harm for oneself or one's family. In practice this meant that the wealthy were allowed to buy more than the poor, and men allowed to buy more than women. Except for at restaurants, the purchases were noted in individual passbooks (*motbok*) which like bank-books were to be presented at the liquor store. Wine, beer and distilled liquors were sold by the glass only in connection with meals and only at licensed restaurants and cafés—and sold in bottles only by the Systembolaget's monopoly liquor stores. The Bratt rationing system was abolished in 1955, but the monopoly for sale of liquors, wine and beers (with more than 2.8% alcohol) still remains." "Swedish History: 1914-45," on <http://www>.

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lysator.org/nordic/scn/faq736.html.

**88** *on the tramp*: Travelling journeymen wandered from place to place (*på luffen*), especially abroad, to work for shorter or longer periods of time. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 13:2 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1932]).

**89** *Valdemarsvik*: A town located about 30 miles southeast of Norrköping at the inland end of a bay.

**89** *chair sled*: The *sparkstøtting* (kick sled or chair toboggan), which dates back to the nineteenth century, remains a popular mode of transportation and recreation in Norway and Sweden. It is even used on icy city sidewalks by elderly people as a kind of walker in which to cart their groceries about.

**92** *Gävle, Sundsvall, Umeå, Skellefteå, and Haparanda*: Swedish coastal towns stretching in order along the Gulf of Bothnia all the way to the Finnish border. It is almost 700 miles from Stockholm to Haparanda.

**92** *Härnösand and Örnsköldsvik*: Two coastal towns located between Sundsvall and Umeå.

**93** *Norrskensflamman: The Flame of the Northern Lights* was founded in 1906 and evolved from being a social-democratic into a left-wing socialist and, from 1922 on, a communist newspaper published six days a week in the far northern town of Luleå; in the early 1920s this four to eight page newspaper had a circulation of 11,000. <http://www.kb.se/nl/titlar/128.htm>.

**93** *banking*: Raising the outer edge of a bend in the track counteracts the centrifugal force.

**94** *people have put their index finger on their temple and buzzed like a bee*: The European equivalent of circling the temple with the index finger to indicate that someone is crazy.

**94** *Østre Park*: Eastern Park (*Anlæg*) in Copenhagen, which was built in the 1870s on the military ramparts that had recently been removed, is located adjacent to the Botanic Garden; it is dotted with lakes and home to two art museums.

**97** *Luleå*: Northern Sweden's principal town, it is the eastern terminus of the iron ore railroad and export port on the Gulf of Bothnia for Swedish iron ore. Its population in 1925 was 10,971. Kungl. Statistisk Centralbyrå, *Årsbok för Sverige 1926*, tab. 10 at 8.

**98** *Laholm*: Located on Sweden's west coast, about one-third of the

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way between Malmö and Gothenburg.

**101** *a Swedish mile*: 10 kilometers or about 6.2 miles.

**103** *Kiruna*: Located in the far north (Lapland), about 100 miles south of Sweden's northernmost point, it is the northernmost municipality. Not founded until 1899, when it was connected to the railway carrying iron ore to Narvik (Norway) and Luleå, its population grew like that of a Klondike gold-rush town during its first two decades, reaching 7,500 by 1910. According to Klitgaard's diary entries from 1926, he arrived in Kiruna in the summer of 1924. Leon Jaurnow, *Den lyse vagabond: Mogens Klitgaards liv og forfatterskab* 28 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 2002 [forthcoming]).

**103** *mountains*: The general Danish word for "mountain" is *bjerg*; the word used here, *ffjeld*, denotes tall mountains consisting of rock masses, especially those whose tops are above the tree line, and applies only to formations outside of Denmark.

**103** *Kirunavaara*: Located within the city limits, it is the world's largest iron ore mine.

**103** *billiard pins*: The game here is a unique Danish specialty, developed about a century ago, called pin-billiards (*keglebillard*), which involves 5 pins placed in a diamond shape at the center of the table. The point is to hit the red ball against the white ball, which in turn must knock over the pins in the middle. If the red ball knocks over a pin, the player gets minus points. A player keeps playing as long as he keeps knocking over pins or hitting both white balls with the red ball.

**104** *Narvik*: An ice-free port in northern Norway to which iron ore from Kiruna began to be transported by rail in the late nineteenth century. The towns are about 85 miles apart. Founded in 1883 as Victoriahavn, it became a town in 1902. At the census of 1920 its population was only 6,499. Statistiske Centralbyrå, *Statistisk Årbok for Kongeriket Norge 1921*, tab. 3 at 10 (Kristiana: Aschehoug, 1922).

**104** *Teddy*: "There was a tobacco war going on nearly 100 years ago . . . and it arrived [in] Norway soon after the British-American Tobacco Co. (Norway) Ltd. was established in Oslo 1905. It rapidly became a cruel war between the American tobacco trust (led by American Tobacco Company's James 'Buck' Duke) and the Norwegian manufacturers. In U.S.A. president Theodore 'Teddy' Roosevelt was fighting the American trust/enterprise, and he soon became a kind of hero for the Norwegian manufacturers. In 1914 J. L. Tiedemann's Tobaksfabrik

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honored Roosevelt by launching a cigarette brand named TEDDY. The trust war in Norway ended in November/December 1930 when BAT (Norway) was split between BATCO (45%), Tiedemann (45%), DnC (5%) - a bank, Andresens Bank (5%) - a bank owned by the Andresen family, the real owners of J. L. Tiedemanns Tobaksfabrik, when A/S Norsk-Engelsk Tobakkfabrikk (NETO) was established. In November 1933 NETO was completely in the hands of J. L. Tiedemanns . . . .” Roosevelt’s image also appeared on the package. “A Brief History of Teddy,” on <http://home.online.no/~smpeders/ind-ted.htm>.

**104 tobacco monopoly:** In 1914 the Swedish parliament introduced a state monopoly, AB Svenska Tobaksmonopolet, which went into effect in 1915. Förordning angående statsmonopol å tobakstillverkningen i riket, in *Svensk Författningssamling* No. 436, at 1355 (1914).

**104 Gällivare:** A town 50 miles south of Kiruna.

**105 rømmekolle:** A Norwegian dish made of curdled whole milk strewn with sugar and crumbs; it is a dessert, but it is unlikely that people in Narvik were eating it while walking around. Neither the word nor the dish is widely known in Denmark.

**107 the sea:** Narvik is situated on a fjord, which is connected to the Norwegian Sea, which in turn connects the Atlantic Ocean and the Barents Sea.

**108 The engineer told tall tales about back when he'd built a railroad in Persia:** Construction of the Trans-Iranian Railway began in the 1927; after delays with British and U.S. contractors, a Swedish-Danish syndicate took over construction. Julian Bharier, *Economic Development in Iran 1900-1970*, at 202-206 (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

**108 Spitsbergen:** An island (and also a group of islands) in the Arctic Ocean north of the Norwegian mainland; in 1920 the dispute between the Soviet Union and Norway over the islands was resolved in favor of Norway, which incorporated them in 1925.

**111 a big power station:** This hydroelectric plant, which was one of the first built by the Swedish state in 1915, was designed to provide power to the iron ore industry.

**112 I became a wholesale smuggler:** Klitgaard wrote a story about this episode in his life: Mogens Klitgaard, “Teddy-smugleren,” in *Social-Demokraten: Hjemmets Søndag*, Mar. 20, 1938, republished in Mogens Klitgaard: *Hverdagens musik; Udvalgte noveller og skitser 27-*

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34 (Sven Møller Kristensen ed.; Copenhagen: Fremad, 1989).

**113 *Malmberget*:** The Ore Mountain, it is located about a mile outside Gällivare.

**113 *Piteå*:** Also located on the Gulf of Bothnia a little south of Luleå.

**114 *Umeå*:** A town on the Gulf of Bothnia south of Piteå, its population was 7,002 in 1920. Statistisk Centralbyrå, *Årsbok för Sverige 1939*, tab. 10 at 8 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1939).

**116 *Östersund*:** A town located in the center of central Sweden with a population in 1925 of 14,552. Kungl. Statistisk Centralbyrå, *Årsbok för Sverige 1926*, tab. 10 at 8.

**118 *Vesterbro Street*:** Vesterbrogade is a main artery running from Frederiksberg Gardens into the center of Copenhagen near City Hall. In 1935 (and from the beginning of the twentieth century) it was the third most populous street in Copenhagen; Klitgaard lived in a garret on Vesterbrogade in 1936 while writing *There's a Man Sitting on a Trolley*. Københavns statistiske Kontor, *Statistisk Aarvog for København, Frederiksberg og Gjentofte Kommune 1936-1937*, tab. 11 at 11 (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1937); Mow., "Min Bog var for mig Knald eller Fald—siger Mogens Klitgaard," *Berlingske Aftenavis*, June 9, 1937.

**118 *Deer Park*:** Jægersborg Dyrehave in Klampenborg 6 miles north of Copenhagen is an enclosed forest, which dates back to 1669 when King Frederik III had a smaller deer park created on that site. It is a very popular recreational site.

**118 *Studenterkilden*:** An old restaurant on the southern border of Deer Park. Earlier it had been known for catering to students.

**118 *Lake Bagsværd*:** Located northwest of Copenhagen.

**119 *Abisko*:** Abisko National Park, which was established in 1909, is located northwest of Kiruna, near the Norwegian border and Narvik.

**121 *Wedding*:** A working-class neighborhood in Berlin, often known as Roter (Red) Wedding.

**122 *Gare du Nord*:** A railway station in Paris, at which, as the name implies, trains arrive from northern Germany and Scandinavia.

**122** *it occurred to me that in a few days I'd be thirty years old. And that was the ridiculous thought that . . . wouldn't leave me alone:* Klitgaard himself experienced such an epiphany on his thirtieth birthday, prompting him to write *There's a Man Sitting on a Trolley*. See above "Introduction" at pp. xvii-xviii.

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**123 *Magasin du Nord*:** A large Danish department store.

**125 *rue Servandoni*:** William Faulkner lived on this street in 1925. <http://www.uhb.fr/faulkner/WF/centenial/four.htm>.

**126 *Bois de Boulogne*:** The transformation of a state forest into the first large municipal park in Paris in the 1850s was projected and managed by Napoléon III and Baron Haussman; the 865-hectare Bois de Boulogne lies on the western edge of Paris. David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* 94-99 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

**126 *La vie parisienne*:** A well-known weekly magazine, published from 1863 until 1949, “it won a firm foothold by being very well informed on women’s fashions and on Paris gossip . . . , but it attracted male readers by dealing with these subjects in a titillating way. Its most successful issues were reprinted as mild pornography, but just mild enough to escape prosecution.” Theodore Zeldin, *France, 1848-1945*, vol. 2: *Intellect, Taste and Anxiety* 717 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977). For hundreds of examples of pictures of women in the magazine in the 1920s, see *The Girls from La Vie Parisienne* (N.p. [New York?]: Citadel, 1961); *French Fashion Illustrations of the Twenties: 634 Cuts from La Vie Parisienne* (Carol Grafton ed.; New York: Dover, 1987).

**127 *Flag*:** A very popular cigarette in the 1920s. Jørgen Sømod, “Sønderjylland umiddelbart efter 1920,” on <http://www.gladsaxegymnasium.dk/2/soemod/fpenge.htm>.

**127 *I . . . was deported from the Kingdom of Sweden for all time*:** Klitgaard in fact was in Umeå looking for new sales territories for his smuggling operation when he was deported (but probably not permanently) from Sweden on November 9, 1924, for lacking the prescribed passport and the ability to support himself. Leon Jurnow, *Den lyse vagabond* at 30. When Klitgaard fled to Sweden from Denmark and the Gestapo in August 1943, a friend mentioned to a newspaper that Klitgaard in his younger days had been a smuggler in northern Sweden; he was then briefly imprisoned and released. Sven Møller Kristensen, “Indledning,” in Mogens Klitgaard, *Hverdagens musik: Udvalgte noveller og skitser* 7-11 at 7-8 (Sven Møller Kristensen ed.; Copenhagen: Fremad, 1989).

**127 *salt and bread make your cheeks red*:** *Salt og brød gør kinden rød* is an old Danish saying that Klitgaard uses ironically to mean that poor people are supposed to be consoled by the thought that they can

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live healthily on salt and bread alone. A history of working-class life in Denmark's second largest city, which bears the saying as its title, quotes the written recollections of a machinist who had been an errand boy for a baker in Århus in the 1890s from whom he once in a while received "old bread, which, no matter how old it was, was always welcome. Undernourished as we were, we were always hungry. Many times our evening meal was dry rye bread with salt and tea to go with it. My mother had a slogan, which went: Salt and bread make your cheeks red. It was always at the end of the week that we heard it, when the lard had run out—we didn't know about butter." Svend Aage Andersen, *Salt og brød gør kinden rød: Arbejderliv i Århus 1870-1940*, at 91 (Århus: Universitetsforlaget, 1985).



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**Mogens Klitgaard**, who died in 1945 at the age of 39, was Denmark's leading critical-realist and historical novelist between the world wars. *God Tempers the Wind to the Shorn Lamb* is a self-ironic, largely autobiographical account of his decade-long vagabondage during the 1920s. Having grown up in an orphanage after his middle-class parents had died by the time he was 10, he ran away from his involuntary apprenticeship as a market-gardener at 15 and bummed around Europe from Lapland to the Riviera, with stays in Stockholm, Hamburg, Berlin, Paris, Hull, and jail, working—much to his chagrin—as a farm laborer, ship's cook, tour guide, private eye, and smuggler, until tuberculosis put an end to that way of life. Published in 1938, the novel comes to terms with the illusory freedom of the vagabond, whose life becomes as routinized and tedious as any factory or office worker's. The *Times Literary Supplement* immediately lauded the Danish original for telling a "good convincing story in an excellent style." The book appeared just one year after Klitgaard's popular and critically praised first novel, *There's a Man Sitting on a Trolley*, a satirical but sympathetic account of the pathetically absurd efforts of a bankrupt dry-goods storekeeper to maintain his middle-class aspirations by working as a door-to-door bill collector in Copenhagen during the Great Depression.

Translator **Marc Linder**, a professor of labor law at the University of Iowa who taught for three years at Roskilde University in Denmark, has also translated four of **Hans Kirk's** classic novels: *The Fishermen*, *The Slave*, *The Day Laborers*, and *The New Times* as well as *There's a Man Sitting on a Trolley*. His Introduction and Notes place the book and the author in the context of Scandinavia during the 1920s.

All of the translations of Klitgaard's and Kirk's novels can be ordered from **Prairie Lights Books** at (800) 295-BOOK or [info@prairielights.com](mailto:info@prairielights.com) and **Iowa Book & Supply** at (319) 337-4188 or [iowabook@iowabook.com](mailto:iowabook@iowabook.com).