Mogens Klitgaard

There's a Man Sitting on a Trolley

Translated and with an Introduction and Notes by Marc Linder

Fānpihuà Press
Iowa City
2001
There's a man sitting on a trolley by Mogens Klitgaard. Translated and with an Introduction and Notes by Marc Linder.

xlix, 228 p.; map; 21 cm.
Includes bibliographical references
ISBN 0-9673899-7-6
PT8175.K55 D4713 2001
Library of Congress Control Number 2001132480
Notes

The bolded numbers at the left refer to the pages of There’s a Man Sitting on a Trolley on which the italicized text appears.

1 smallish dry-goods store: In 1935, there were 2,485 dry-goods, clothing, knitwear, and fashion stores in Copenhagen (including Frederiksberg and Gentofte) with a total staff of 10,708 and sales of 227.6 million crowns. Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for København, Frederiksberg og Gentofte Kommune 1936-1937, tab. 94 at 77 (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1937).

1 neighbor’s: The Danish word (næstens) is that used in the Ten Commandments: “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s house . . .” (Ex. 20:17). Nabo is the secular word for “neighbor.”

2 Vesterbro: Vesterbro, Nørrebro, and Østerbro are neighborhoods of Copenhagen lying north and west of three lakes. These former rural suburbs are often called broerne, this name deriving not, as a common misconception would have it, from the bridges going there, but from the cobblestone-paved (brolagte) main access roads leading from there to the city and its three gates named for these three geographic directions (western, northern, and eastern). Mogens Lebech, “Vesterbros Bebyggelse,” in København: Før og nu, vol. V: Østerbro Nørrebro Vesterbro, at 225-302 at 227 (Svend Aakjær, Mogens Lebech, and Otto Norn eds.; Copenhagen: Hassing, 1950). Vesterbro is an arch-working-class neighborhood.

2 slum: In a Copenhagen baggård (a rear courtyard or sometimes merely an air shaft ) the rear tenement was built so close to the front building that little air or light remained. For photographs of typical examples, see Edvard Heiberg, 2 vær. straks 22 (Copenhagen: Monde, 1935); Ole Buhl, “Saadan bor de københavnske Arbejdere,” Land og Folk, July 27, 1945, at 3:1-4; Rich. Willerslev, Sådan boede vi: Arbejdernes boligforhold i København omkring 1880, at 23, 25, 132, 134 (Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag, 1979). Speculative builders adopted this system of unhygienic working-class rear tenements built around ever smaller courtyards without direct access to the street in the second half of the nineteenth century as Copenhagen’s population outgrew the narrow confines of the inner city (where rear tenements had proliferated earlier, as a result of which 22 percent of Copenhagen’s population were living in rear and side buildings as early as 1855) and the city expanded to Vesterbro, Nørrebro, and Østerbro beyond the old ramparts.
Notes

The shifting of the so-called demarcation line on January 6, 1852, in toward Copenhagen opened the way to construction of tenements in these outer areas, where building had, since 1810, in the wake of the English bombardment of Copenhagen, been permitted only with the approval of the military in order to create a free-fire zone and then only on condition that the military could raze the buildings without compensation. In 1867 construction became permissible in the area between the ramparts and the newly-shifted demarcation line; once the military had finally conceded that the ramparts themselves had lost their usefulness, they began to be removed in 1872. Villads Christensen, “Københavns Oprindelse, Udvikling og Vækst,” in Danmark Land og Folk: Historisk-topografisk-statistik Haandbog 2:77-121 at 113-18 (Daniel Bruun ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1919); Peter Bredsdorff, “Byens udvikling og vækst,” in København: Nu og før, vol. I: Indledende Afsnit, Slotsholmen, Havnen 41-58 at 51-58 (Svend Aakjær, Mogens Lebech, and Otto Norn eds.; Copenhagen: Hassing, 1949); Mogens Lebech, “Fra de gamle forstæder til voldkvartererne,” in København: Nu og før, vol. IV: Christianshavn Voldkvartererne 183-200 (Svend Aakjær, Mogens Lebech, and Otto Norn eds.; Copenhagen: Hassing, 1948); Georg Nørregaard, “Vesterbro,” in København: Før og nu, vol. V: Østerbro Norrebro Vesterbro, at 205-224 at 216-17; Harald Langberg, Uden for voldene: Københavns udbygning 1852-1952 (Copenhagen: Den almindelige Brandforsikring, 1952); Jens Erik Frits Hansen, Københavns forstadsbebyggelse i 1850'erne 74-75 (Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag, 1977); Sigurd Jensen and Claus Smidt, Rammerne sprænges 90-91, 150-56, in Københavns historie, vol. 4: 1830-1900 (Sv. Cedergreen Bech et al. eds.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1982). In the 1870s and 1880s, four- and five-story rear tenements with businesses located in the rear courtyards became increasingly common in inner Nørrebro. By 1880 one-fourth of the city’s population lived in such housing. Hansen, Københavns forstadsbebyggelse i 1850’erne at 75; Vagn Dybdahl, De nye Klasser: 1870-1913, at 36, in Danmarks historie, vol. 12 (John Danstrup and Hal Koch eds.; Copenhagen: Politiken, 1965). In the older areas of Copenhagen in 1935, such rear buildings accounted for 16,556 apartments compared to 130,172 apartments in front houses. The highest proportion of rear-building apartments was found in Christianshavn, the inner city, and inner Nørrebro. Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for Køben-
By the mid-1930s, the population question fueled discussion of the need for “slum clearance” and “airing out of slums” in Copenhagen on the grounds that “the lack of light and airy apartments” in rear tenements promoted stagnation in births. “Skal Nørrebro og Vesterbro gennemskæres af Lagkagehuse?” *Berlingske Aftenavis*, Feb. 15, 1936, at 2:1-2; “Vil Kommune kassere 5000 ældre Lejligheder som sundhedsfarlige?” *Berlingske Aftenavis*, Feb. 15, 1936, at 2:1-2. New York City had architectural analogs: “Built in the mid to late 1800’s, rear tenements were originally the first building on a lot of land. It had a spacious front yard in a suburban setting. As the population of New York City grew, the front yards gained value as building sites. Newer buildings were built on these front yards and the existing building became the rear tenement. If one were to look out the front window of a rear tenement, he or she would see the back of the newer building.” [http://www.dragonfighters.com/anatomy.html](http://www.dragonfighters.com/anatomy.html)

The Danish immigrant Jacob Riis, who had experienced Copenhagen slums, wrote in 1890 that 100,000 people lived in New York’s rear tenements. Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* 41 (New York: Dover, 1971 [1890]). Soon after his book appeared, a tenement-house commission called rear tenements “slaughter-houses.” Jacob Riis, *The Battle with the Slum* 116 (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969 [1902]). For an American account of housing in Copenhagen that appeared the same year as Klitgaard’s novel and totally ignored these slums, see Agnes Rothery, *Denmark: Kingdom of Reason* 193-96 (New York: Viking, 1937).

2 *Isn’t it written that you have to make the most of your talents:* Although the phrase *(forvalte sit pund)* has a long literary history, the double meaning of “talent” goes back to Matt. 25:25: “And I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, there thou hast that is thine.” See also *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 17:113 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1937]).

2 *Religion is the opium of the people:* According to Karl Marx, “Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie: Einleitung.” in Karl Marx [and] Friedrich Engels, *Werke* 1:378-91 at 378 (Berlin [GDR]: Dietz, 1964 [1844]): “Religious misery is at one and the same time the expression of real misery and the protest against the misery. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people.”
2 the Nazarenes: This church was part of the evangelical holiness movement that originated in Methodism-Wesleyanism in the United States in the late nineteenth century. Phineas F. Bresee founded the First Church of the Nazarene in Los Angeles in 1895 and the movement assumed a fixed organizational form in 1907-1908 when the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene was formed as a result of mergers. There are only very few Nazarenes in Denmark today; their minister, who states that the church did not come to Denmark until 1960, is aware only through rumor of the existence of the earlier group. J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions* 344-45 (5th ed.; Detroit: Gale, 1996); http://www.nazarene.dk; email from Kaj Ove Bollerup (July 18, 2001).

2 wholesale merchant's license: Wholesale merchants were disproportionately represented among the wealthiest Danes. In Copenhagen (including Frederiksberg and Gentofte) in tax year 1936-37, of 367 persons reporting incomes of 100,000 crowns or more, 117 were wholesale merchants, more than any other occupation; of 282 persons reporting assets of one million crowns or more, 75 were wholesale merchants, more than any other group except pensioners. The average annual income of the 4,165 wholesale merchants (18,658 crowns) was exceeded by that of 1,833 company presidents (31,349 crowns) and 703 attorneys (22,812 crowns). *Statistisk Aarbog for København...1936-1937*, tab. 208 at 168-69. Klitgaard himself included an actual newspaper article from 1942 in a later novel stating that in tax-year 1941-42, 93 of 528 asset-millionaires were wholesale merchants, more than any other category. Mogens Klitgaard, *Den guddommelige hverdag* 92-93 (N.p. [Copenhagen]: Carit Andersen, n.d. [1975 (1942)]. The word grosserer has a subsidiary pejorative meaning of one who makes an exaggerated show of his wealth. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 7:119 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal 1994 [1925]). For example, in a well-known contemporaneous novel about the unemployed in Copenhagen during the depression of the 1930s, when one young man who is considering suicide offers his coat to another unemployed young man, the latter remarks that things cannot be so bad with his family if “you can play Grosserer.” Leek Fischer, *Det maa gerne blive Mandag* 72 (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1934 [1933]). Grosserer were especially associated with large, expensive, and ostentatious villas in and around Copenhagen. See, e.g., Ole Buhl, “Her kendes Bolig-
noden ikke,” *Land og Folk*, July 31, 1945, at 3:3-5. The Danish word conveys ideological overtones lacking in the Danish term for merchant (*købmand*) or in the English “wholesaler.” In the United States, wholesalers’ domination of the distribution system, which had peaked by the 1880s, was undermined by direct dealings between mass retailers and vertically integrated mass producers. Prominent wholesale merchants such as Alexander T. Stewart had accumulated extraordinary wealth in the mid-nineteenth century. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* 215-39 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978 [1977]).

2 It may well have been the war that was the setting for their economic success: Many businesspeople made great amounts of money during World War I. Although Lundegaard had surely not been a nouveau-riche war-profiteer (*Gullaschbaron*), merchants with stocks of goods on hand were able to achieve handsome profits by raising the prices of much sought-after pre-war goods. Sigurd Jensen, *Under fælles ansvar* 173-75, in *Københavns historie*, vol. 5: 1900-45 (Sv. Cedergreen Bech et al. eds.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1981).

3 Anna’s salary exactly covered the rent for the little apartment in the rear tenement: If, as appears below (see p. 6), Anna’s monthly wage was 40 crowns, the 480-crown annual rent was almost identical to the average annual rent of 484 crowns for a two-room apartment (see below p. 72) in Vesterbro in November 1935. *Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937*, tab. 80 at 65.

4 Lundegaard set off for his wearisome collection work: Bill collectors (*inkassatorer*) were a relatively low-paid group even within the relatively low-paid white-collar occupations. A special survey conducted in Copenhagen for 1936 revealed that the average annual wage for male office and store employees was 3,402 and 2,962 crowns, while that of bill collectors in the trade sector (excluding, for example, banks) was only 2,652 crowns. Since bill collectors were on average 10 years older than office and store workers (40 versus 30 years old), their age-specific wage was even lower. Henning Friis, “En Undersøgelse vedrørende Handels- og Kontormedhjælpernes Lønninger i København 1936,” *Socialt Tidsskrift* 14(5):194-97 at 195-96 (May 1938). On white-collar wages and their relationship to wages of unskilled manual workers, see below note to p. 79. Bill collectors in Copenhagen had their own trade union, whereas in the provinces they were organized.

4 *passageway*: A *port* is the tunnel-like archway through the front building to the back courtyard where the rear building is located. For photographs, see Willerslev, *Sådan boede vi* at 126, 128, 130. Such passageways were an important site of young people’s social life in Vesterbro. See Tove Ditlevsen, *Barndommens gade* (6th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2000 [1943]).

6 *Sundholm*: Located in the Sundby section of Copenhagen and established in 1908 (replacing a similar institution, Ladegaard, in Frederiksberg), Sundholm was part of the municipality’s public assistance system (*Forsørgelsesvæsen*). It was divided into three institutions: a hospital (St. Johannes Stiftelses Afdeling); a house of corrections (*Tvangsarbejdsanstalt*) for Copenhagen and the islands where beggars, pimps, and similar groups served penal sentences; and a workhouse (*Arbejdsanstalt*) for Copenhagen for younger able-bodied persons with a tendency to vagabondage and alcohol. In the early 1920s, the *Tvangsarbejdsanstalt* could hold 244 men and 96 women, while the *Arbejdsanstalt* held 600 men and 120 women. Mogens Lebech, “Frederiksb ergs Bebyggelse,” in *København: Nu og før*, vol. VI: Frederiksberg, Yderkvarterer, Forstøder 43-130 at 106-107 (Svend Aakjær, Mogens Lebech, and Otto Norn eds.; Copenhagen: Hassing, 1950); Mogens Lebech, “Yderkvarterernes Bebyggelse,” in *id.* at 163-226 at 220-21; N. Andreasen et al., “Københavns Kommunes Administration,” in *Danmark Land og Folk: Historisk-topografisk-statistisk Haandbog* 4: 44-69 at 45, 48 (separately paginated) (Daniel Bruun ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1922). On March 31, 1936, the *Arbejdsanstalt* held 288 men and 24 women, while the public assistance department housed only 41 men and 9 women. Københavns statistiske Kontor, *Statistik Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937*, tab. 171 at 132. The “slave discipline” enforced at Sundholm led to a number of suicides. Heiberg, *2 Vær. straks* at 25-26. The public assistance law as amended by the Social Democratic government in 1933 charged the minister of social affairs with insuring that there be the requisite number of *Tvangsarbejdsanstalter* with sufficient room to receive the persons who, pursuant to the statute, were sentenced to *Tvangsarbejde* or to receive public assistance through placement in a *Tvangsarbejdsanstalt*. Lov Nr. 181 af 20 maj. 1933 om offentlig Forsorg, sect. 40, in
Notes

*Lovtidende for Aaret* 1933, at 890-942 at 902 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1934). Sundholm was a common trope in Copenhagen-centered, Depression-era Danish literature. For a well-known example of someone sent to a *Tvangsarbejdsanstalt* for requesting welfare but refusing to perform communal work of breaking rocks, see Hans Scherfig, *Den forsvundene fuldmægtig* 125-26 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1938). According to Tove Ditlevsen, *Man gjorde et barn fortøjet* 116 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1996 [1941]), the lowest stratum of Copenhagen society was occupied by “those without subsistence, the riffraff and drunkards, who sleep in Fælled and Søndermarken until they’re nabbed and sent to Sundholm.”

6 *Custom House*: *Toldbod* is the wharf in Copenhagen harbor where the customs service building was located.

6 *between 3 and 4 degrees centigrade*: Between 37 and 39 degrees Fahrenheit. The average temperature in Copenhagen in January 1936 was 2.5 degrees centigrade. *Københavns statistiske Kontor*, *Statistisk Aarbog for København ... 1936-1937*, tab. 3 at 3.


6 *Østerbro*: It became a somewhat more affluent section of Copenhagen than Vesterbro and Nørrebro in part because construction there did not begin in earnest until the 1880s and was of a somewhat higher quality and in part because military and civil servants moved there; it also included typical working-class areas, and overall architecturally became a “stone desert” like Vesterbro and Nørrebro. Georg Nørregaard, “Østerbros Historie,” in *København: For og nu*, vol. V: *Østerbro Nørrebro Vesterbro*, at 5-24 at 24 (quote); Lebech, “Østerbros Bebyggelse,” in *id.* at 27-98 at 30.

7 *but she could get herself glasses*. It probably wouldn’t be that expensive—after all, the health insurance fund would pay some of it: Members of the 1,600 state-recognized and -subsidized health (or, literally, sickness) insurance funds (sygekasser), by virtue of paying a modest membership fee equal to about two or three days’ wages of an unskilled laborer (in 1936 the more than 2 million members paid less than 49 million crowns in contributions, while national and local gove-
ernment subsidies totalled 19 million crowns), were entitled to free medical treatment from a doctor, free treatment in a hospital, and a sickness benefit ranging between 40 øre and 6 crowns per day (depending on how high a premium the member chose to pay) not to exceed four-fifths of a member’s daily wages. The state contributed 2 crowns for each beneficiary member of the fund—defined as “persons without means of the working class and those men and women similarly situated to them economically such as smaller farmers, craftsmen, and other tradespeople, civil servants, and the like,” whereby “without means” was defined to be an annual income below 4,200 crowns in Copenhagen (approximately the annual wage of a skilled worker employed year round) and down to below 2,800 crowns in nonurban areas, and assets below 9,500 crowns for single persons and 14,500 crowns for family heads—and one-fourth of the funds’ expenditures on beneficiary members for doctor and hospital treatment and sickness benefits. Membership was made de facto obligatory by conditioning the receipt of old-age and disability pensions on membership in a sygekasse; by 1936 about 90 percent of the population above the age of 14 were covered. Lov Nr. 182 af 20. Maj 1933 om Folkeforsikring, sects. 6, 12, 13, 18, 36, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933, at 992-1035 at 995 (quote), 999, 1000, 1003-1004, 1013 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1934); Bekendtgørelse til Vejledning om de Indtægts- og Formueforhold, der som Regel betinger en Persons Optagelse eller Forbliven i en anerkendt Sygekasse med Ret til gennem denne at nyde Tilskude fra Staten, in id., at 1389; Danmarks Statistik, Statistik Aarbog 1938, tab. 146 at 134 (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1938); Danmarks sociale Lovgivning: 1891-1941, at 23, 27 (Copenhagen: Gad, n.d. [1941]); “90 Procent af Befolkningen er nu i Sygekasserne,” Politiken, Feb. 6, 1936, at 10:5-6; Jens Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundslev: Er lærebog i Danmarks statistik 537-39 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1930). For a contemporaneous description of the Danish health insurance system as part of the overall social security system, see Rothery, Denmark at 18-28. Not all health insurance funds provided assistance toward the purchase of glasses, which was voluntary rather than statutorily required. Danmarks sociale Lovgivning: 1891-1941, at 25, 32.

8 it was totally senseless for a girl like her to be engaged to an unemployed office worker who isn’t even in a labor union: Labor unions
in the nineteenth century established unemployment insurance systems for their members. When the parliament enacted a statute in 1907 authorizing subsidies to these systems, the unemployment insurance funds were required to be separated from the unions, although each union heavily subsidized the fund with jurisdiction over the occupation or industry organized by that union. Although unions required their members to join the appropriate fund and virtually all union workers (and almost all industrial and craft workers) were insured, workers who were not unionists were entitled to membership in their occupational unemployment insurance fund, but some funds required them to pay higher fees on the grounds that experience showed that they were more likely than unionists to become unemployed. Danmarks sociale Lovgivning: 1891-1941, at 76-80. A well-known novel set in Copenhagen in the 1930s describes an office worker who joined a union, although it had no collective bargaining agreement with her employer, because she “had an obsession with insurance—she had life, fire, theft, and accident insurance, so why not unemployment insurance.” Ditlevsen, Man gjorde et barn fortræd at 21. Official Danish unemployment statistics did not include the uninsured. In Copenhagen the rate of unemployment among insured office and store workers was considerably lower than the average for all occupations: in 1935, 6.9 percent and 16.2 percent, respectively (and 7.3 percent for all insured store and office workers in Denmark and 22.1 percent for all insured workers in Denmark). Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937, tab. 185 at 140-41; Jørgen Dich, Arbejdsløshedsproblemet i Danmark 1930-1938: Betænkning afgivet af Socialministeriets statsvidenskabelige Konsulent app. 3 at 377 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1939).

8 you know what a man working in an office earns: At this time the majority of office and retail store workers were not unionized; consequently, according to the Handels- og Kontormedhjælperforbund, starvation wages and much longer hours than among unionized workers prevailed at many work places. “Lønnen i Butiken og paa Kontoret,” Politiken, Nov. 10, 1936, at 10:2. A special survey of the wages of about 28,000 full-time year-round private-sector office and store workers in Copenhagen in 1936 revealed the following average annual wages (in crowns): male office employees—3,402; male shop employees—2,962; unmarried female office employees—2,333; married
female office employees—2,280; married female shop employees—2,025; unmarried female shop employees—1,822. "Hvem er Larsen?" Kulturkampen 8(4):2 (September 1938). At the 1930 census, 24,776 subordinate office and shop employees were recorded in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg; in 1936 the total membership of the Handels- og Kontormedhjælper Forbund in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg was 9,021. For office workers alone the figures were 9,406 and 2,538. Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937, tab. 18 at 23, tab. 188 at 144.

9 Three different pictures of the king of Rome: Napoleon gave his son, born in 1811, this title; there are many famous paintings of him.

9 Hjørring: A town in the far north of Jutland.

9 Solrød beach: Solrød strand is located on Zealand about 20 miles southwest of Copenhagen.

9 the song about Larsen: This song, written by Sven Møller Kristensen with music by Hermann D. Koppel and Bernhard Christensen, was performed in Kjeld Abell’s play Melodien der blev væk (Copenhagen: Monde, 1935). This enormously popular and controversial play about the alienation of the little white-collar worker during the 1930s had its premiere on September 6, 1935. The play opens with the song, which begins: “Here’s a song about a man named Larsen,/it’s him you meet on the street every day,/and he had no luck with life, which he otherwise had expected much of. It should be so good, and in fact it’s so rotten.” Id. at 9. At a meeting of teachers, some of whom felt that their pupils should be forbidden to see the play, Abell himself stated that “Larsen is all of us, all who are walking on a treadmill, created by dissatisfaction.” “Pædagogerne i skarp Strid om Melodien, der blev væk,” Politiken, Feb. 12, 1936, at 6:3-6. An adaptation of the play by Frances Sinclair and Ronald Adam was first produced in London in 1936, which opened with “Song of Johnson.” Kjeld Abell, The Melody That Got Lost 15 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1939). On the play, see above “Introduction” at pp. 25, 27.

9 "We’re brought up to be considerate and modest," Nielsen said. "That’s what’s destroying our existence. We have to be ruthless, cynical, and cold-hearted": The cynical narrator-vagabond of Klitgaard’s semiautobiographical novel makes similar utterances—for example, that he’d gotten involved in being enslaved because he’d been brought up to submit to compulsion. Mogens Klitgaard, Gud mildner luften for
Notes

de klippede før 42 (Copenhagen: Carit Andersen, n.d. [1938]).

10 they’d then have to buy a treadle sewing machine on installments: At this time the abuses associated with the purchase of consumer goods, especially cars, vacuum cleaners, furniture, books, and radios, were a subject of intense controversy in Denmark. See, e.g., “Den sunde og den usunde Afbetaling,” Politiken, Nov. 17, 1936, at 4:3-6.

10 abortionists: Before the enactment of an abortion law in 1937 (which went into effect on October 1, 1939) permitting abortions for medical (the mother’s life or health), ethical (pregnancies caused by criminal acts), and hereditary reasons, it was illegal in Denmark to perform or undergo an abortion. However, juries regularly acquitted mothers and case law increasingly permitted physicians to perform abortions based on the principle of jus necessitatis, which authorized the sacrifice of the lesser good (the child’s life) for the greater good (the mother’s life), though defining that criterion caused much confusion. Lov Nr. 163 af 18. Maj 1937 om Foranstaltninger i Anledning af Svangerskab; Danmarks sociale lovgivning at 143-46; Vera Skalts and Magna Norgaard, “Abortion Legislation in Denmark,” in Abortion and the Law 144-78 (David Smith ed.; Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1967).

11 the parable of the unfaithful servant: Matt. 24:45-51; Luke 12:42-48

11 the Søndermark: Laid out in the eighteenth century, this park adjoins the Zoo and is south of Frederiksberg Palace Gardens; the first playground was added at the end of the nineteenth century. Søndermarken is more like a forest than a park and is wilder than the neat Frederiksberg Gardens, from which it is separated by Roskildevej. Both parks are part of the grounds surrounding Frederiksberg Castle. Elsewhere Klitgaard reported that as boys “we tobogganed there in the lovely hills.” Mogens Klitgaard, “På skovtur i København,” in Ekstra Bladet, July 3, 1937, reprinted in Mogens Klitgaard, Hverdagens musik: Udvalgte noveller og skitser 91-96 (Sven Møller Kristensen ed.; Copenhagen: Fremad, 1989).

12 Pledging her salary as security: A forskrivning is a document by which a party assumes an obligation. To make clear that Lundegaard’s plan is to pledge his daughter’s future salary payments as security for the loan from Salomonsen, gageforskrivning has been translated as above. It appears that Danish law does not regulate wage assign-
ments in the private sector. Email from Thomas Lemvig, attorney in Fredericia (quoting Bernhard Gomard, Obligationsret, pt. 3, at 104 (Copenhagen: JOF, 1993)). The Danish Parliamentary Library (Folke­tingets Bibliotek) could find no information on the subject, but expressed the opinion that it had not been regulated at private places of employment. Email from Eva Nancke, Arbejderbevægelsens Bibliotek og Arkiv (July 5, 2001). Even if it had been regulated in some manner in the 1930s, presumably it was not prohibited—otherwise it would be implausible that Lundegaard (even apart from his forgery of his daughter’s signature) and especially Salomonsen could expect that Anna’s employer, a large department store, would go along with the scheme and pay out Anna’s salary to Salomonsen. Later Salomonsen himself uses the term “assignment” (anvisning). See below note to p. 49. The degree of legal protection of workers’ wages against their own creditors varied greatly internationally. José González Blanco, Protection of Wages 195-210 (Geneva: La Tribune de Genève, 1959). A number of state labor-protective laws in the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century declared null and void any contracts to pledge future wages to secure loans. For example, the Supreme Court of Indiana upheld, as against a claim of unconstitutional deprivation of liberty of contract, a state law (1899 Ind. Acts ch. cxxiv, sect. 4, at 193, 194) prohibiting such assignments on the grounds that the situation of “ordinary” laborers and wage-earners “renders them peculiarly liable to imposition and injustice at the hands of employers, unscrupulous tradesmen, and others who are willing to take advantage of their condition. Where future wages may be assigned, the temptation to anticipate their payment, and to sacrifice them for an inadequate consideration, is often very great. Such assignments would, in many cases, leave the laborer or wage-earer without present or future means of support. By removing the strongest incentive to faithful service,—the expectation of pecuniary reward in the near future,—their effect would be alike injurious to the laborer and his employer. It is clear that the object of the act of 1899 . . . was the protection of wage-earners from oppression, extortion, or fraud on the part of others, and from the consequences of their own weakness, folly, or improvidence.” International Text-Book Co. v. Weissinger, 65 N.E. 521,523 (Ind. 1902). See generally, Lindley Clark and Stanley Tracy, Laws Relating to Payment of Wages 31-33 (U.S. Bureau. of Labor Statistics, Bull. No.
408, 1926). Most states in the United States still regulate the assign­ment of wages. For an especially detailed statute that requires employ­ers to process wage assignments that comply with the statute’s proce­dures, see Illinois Wage Assignment Act, 740 Illinois Compiled Statutes 170 (2001).

13 It was during these days that a well-known editor of a paper in Copenhagen wrote that a quick little war would have a refreshing effect, create business, production, work for idle hands, earnings: This editor could not be identified, but another well-known leftist novel about office workers during the 1930s that appeared just a year before Klitgaard’s book contained an almost identical passage in which an employer mentions to an employee that “a quick little war . . . can take care of everything and get business humming.” Harald Herdal, Der er noet i Vejen 9 (N.p.: Funkis, 1936). Later the first-person narrator says that there are others who agree that only a new war can save “hard­pressed business.” Id. at 82.

13 If we were just certain of being kept out like during the world war: Denmark was not a belligerent during World War I.

13 Do you remember Copenhagen in 1915-16—life was worth living then: While workers’ real wages declined during the war, the group of corner-cutting nouveaux riches businessmen, whose incomes especially soared in 1915 and 1916, were derisively known as Gul­laschbaroner. Svend Aage Hansen and Ingrid Henriksen, Sociale brydninger 1914-39, at 42-46, in Dansk social historie, vol. 6 (Copen­hagen: Gyldendal 1980).

13 Then we’ll go boozing the whole night through: “Så solder vi den hele lange nat” is a song from the operetta “Frøken Tralala” performed at the revue theater Scala in Copenhagen in 1914; the melody is by Jean Gilbert and text by Johannes Dam and Poul Sarauw.

13 the soldier-boys’ families: The Danish word jenser, which de­rives from Jens, the most common male first name, has been a common name for Danish soldiers since the middle of the nineteenth century (see the British term “Tommy”). Ordbog over det danske Sprog 9:789 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1994 [1927]).

13 when the steamship company stocks rose, war would come: During World War I, neutral Denmark’s steamship companies trans­porting wartime freight made “dizzying sums” and paid out huge dividends. Axel Breidahl and Axel Kjerulf, Københavnerliv gennem et
Notes


13 the six-day race: An indoor bicycle race in which two-rider teams rode continuously for six days; at least one member of the team had to be cycling at all times. The first such race in Copenhagen took place in February 1934. Breidahl and Kjerulf, Københavnerliv gennem et halvt Aarhundrede . . . 1912-1937, at 472 (reprinting a newspaper article).

15-16 Obliging foreigners . . . old buildings: These opening paragraphs of chapter 2 appeared verbatim in the manuscript science-fiction novel that Klitgaard wrote in 1933 but never published and that was not published until 1968. The only deviations are that the earlier version lacked the four sentences beginning with “Its speech” and ending with “splendid city” and that the first version used “A spring evening” instead of “A February evening.” Mogens Klitgaard, de sindssyges klode 190-91 (Copenhagen: Carit Andersen, 1968). The appearance of these paragraphs in the earlier novel is a mystery in its own right since they have no connection to the preceding or succeeding text or to anything else in the novel.

15 Tivoli: This world-famous amusement park, which opened in 1843, is situated on remnants of the city’s old fortifications and moat between the main railroad station and City Hall Square. In reprisal for the destruction by the Danish resistance on June 22, 1944, of a factory producing arms for Germany—on the Riffelsyndicat, see below note to p. 109—the Nazi occupiers executed eight resistance fighters and on June 25 the Schalburgkorps, Danish Nazis carrying out countersabotage reprisals, destroyed most of Tivoli with bombs and fire. Jensen and Smidt, Rammerne sprænges at 33-35; Franz Wendt, Besættelse og Atomtid: 1939-1965, at 215-15, in Danmarks historie, vol. 14 (Copenhagen: Politken, 1966).

15 Langelinie pier: A very popular waterside promenading area with a view of the port.

15 it’s the city that appears under the item: Payment under an affiliation order in the English state budget: An alimentationsbidrag is a payment, pursuant to a court order, by a man found to be the father of an “illegitimate” child. According to Prof. Elias Bredsdorff, it was known in the 1930s that when Danish women complained that British
sailors had impregnated them, the British government paid child support payments. Telephone interview (May 28, 2001). An extensive search, however, turned up no such item in the very detailed published budgets of the Royal Navy or the Foreign Office. 1937 Civil Estimates and Estimates for Revenue Departments for the year ending 31st March 1938, in Accounts and Papers, vol. 19, no. 58: 1936-37 (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1937); Navy Estimates 1937 in Accounts and Papers, vol. 19, no. 58: 1936-37 (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1937). In 1919, when many warships returning English and French prisoners of war visited Copenhagen, newspapers were replete with articles charging that “Langelinie is literally being besieged by a certain category of the city’s young women, especially in the evening,” and that the “ill-mannered Copenhagen girls” would not let the foreign sailors in peace. Breidahl and Kjerulf, Københavnerliv gennem et halvt Aarhundrede . . . 1912-1937, at 225 (reprinting newspaper articles).

15 the amateur society whose gala attire’s covered in the press: Klitgaard’s biographer suggests that the group was not an organization of amateur enthusiasts of any sort, but merely people trying to pass themselves off as part of high society. Klitgaard uses the English “society.” Email from Leon Jaurnow (July 4, 2001).

15 cream-colored milanaise: A type of artificial silk.

15 Babbitville: The corresponding fictitious Danish epitome of narrow-minded petty-bourgeois provincialism is Pærekøbing. It is derived from pæredansk (“very Danish”) and the place-suffix -købing (“small market town”).

15 communal gardens: Kolonihaver are colonies of small allotment gardens that began to be set aside in the 1880s, especially around cities, as part of the conservative party’s policy of self-help to improve workers’ conditions. By 1908 the movement organized itself in the Kolonihaveforbundet for Danmark and by the 1930s there were tens of thousands of kolonihaver with tiny wooden houses used for recreation. Dybdahl, De nye klasser: 1870-1913, at 416-19; Erik Rasmussen, Velfærdsstater på Vej: 1913-1939, at 384, in Danmarks historie, vol. 13 (Copenhagen: Politiken, 1965); http://www.kolonihave.dk. Alone in Copenhagen, there were almost 16,000 gardens in 1936, two-thirds of them rented from the government; the average size was 350 square meters and the annual rent 6 øre per square meter. Whereas in earlier years the colony gardeners had been almost exclusively industrial wage
workers, by the 1930s office workers and civil servants had also become active. Københavns statistiske Kontor, *Statistisk Aarbog for København* . . . 1936-1937, tab. 231 at 185. On plans at the time to expand the available area, see “Mægtig Kreds af Sommerhus-Kolonier omkring København,” *Berlingske Aftenavis*, Feb. 1, 1936, at 1:1-2, 2:2-3. In addition to this idyllic side of 40,000 Copenhageners’ living in such tiny houses in the summer, many thousands lived illegally in these totally substandard shacks year-round in the 1930s because they lacked other housing. Heiberg, *2 Vær. straks* at 35-39. Denmark has per capita more allotment and leisure gardeners than any other country in the world. http://www.jardins-familiaux.org/den/den_1_e.htm.

15 *fortifications that’ve been demolished and some that haven’t*: The fortifications that were built under King Christian IV in the early seventeenth century were in large part demolished after 1872 in connection with the city’s expansion; their traces can be found in the ring of parks extending from Tivoli to the Citadel. Lebech, “Fra de gamle forstæder til voldkvartererne.” The most prominent remaining fortifications are the ramparts on Christianshavn, where Lundegaard is wandering toward the end of the novel.

15 *the city that’s notorious for its treatment of orphaned children*: Klitgaard may be referring to his own unpleasant experience between the ages of ten and fourteen living in the Royal Orphanage in Copenhagen. See above “Introduction” at p. viii.

15 *the city that builds layer-cake houses*: In the cubist style with horizontal lines, the original *Lagkagehus* was built between 1928 and 1931 in Christianshavn and became one of Copenhagen’s sights. Rasmussen, *Velfærdssstaten på Vej: 1913-1939*, at 414.

15 *starlings’ nesting boxes*: Architect Holger Jacobsen designed an art-deco inspired, towerlike new stage of the Royal Theatre, known as *Stærekassen* in Copenhagen, which was built between 1928 and 1931. The expression was coined by Elna Munch, a Radical member of parliament (and the first woman ever to give a speech to that body), who, during a Folketing debate on March 7, 1928, called the proposed addition a “gigantic starlings’ nesting box.” On April 1, 1928, 20,000 people demonstrated against it. Breidahl and Kjerulf, *Københavnerliv gennem et halvt Aarhundrede* . . . 1912-1937, at 194, 405 (reprinting newspaper articles). Criticism of its exterior and interior led to its closure after two years, but it was reopened shortly after the end of
Notes


15-16 but uses a collection of barracks next to a gas plant as a tuberculosis hospital: Øresundshospitalet, Copenhagen’s tuberculosis hospital, was located next to Østre Gasværk (and originally also next to a pig slaughterhouse) and had long housed some of its beds in so-called Döcker-tents or barracks, which were wooden skeletons covered with felt. J. P. Trap, *Kongeriget Danmark* 1: 266 (separately paginated section “Hovedstaden Kjøbenhavn og Frederiksberg”) (3rd ed.; Copenhagen: Gad, 1906); Jensen and Smidt, *Rammerne sprænges* at 204. Klitgaard himself was a tuberculosis patient there in 1933. See above “Introduction” at p. xiii.

16 800,000 . . . people: The population of Copenhagen, including Frederiksberg and Gentofte, in 1936 was 846,900 or 23 percent of the entire Danish population. Danmarks Statistik, *Befolknings fordeling efter køn og alder den 5. November 1935*, tab. 1 at 6-7 (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1937). For an extended argument that the administrative, monetary, commercial, military, scientific, educational, and artistic concentration in Copenhagen surpassed that in Paris or any other country, see C. C. Clausen, “København og Frederiksberg,” in *Danmark Land og Folk: Historisk-topografisk-statistisk Haandbog* 4:1-29 at 1-14 (separately paginated).

18 the pastor’s wife: Pastorinden may merely be an ironic-derogatory epithet for a self-righteous busybody—as indeed “sister” itself may be.

19 Nielsen picked up pins: The game being played 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. http://www.ddbu.dk/BTC/Keglebillard/Keglebillard.html.

19 trotters: The trotting season in Denmark in 1936 began on March 29 and lasted into December. At the two Copenhagen race tracks, there were 34 racing days at Charlottenlund and 36 at Amager.


22 He desperately held on to the number 18. And here add 4—twenty-two. Carom twenty-six: A player gets 2 points for knocking over a pin, 4 points when the red cue ball hits both white balls, called red (ægte rødt), and 4 points when the two white balls hit each other, called white (blegt). Those were the rules in the 1930’s; today players do not get 4 points for white. Email from Jimmy Lauridsen, webmaster, Danish Billiard Federation (May 19, 2001).

23 Tycho Brahe had had an artificial nose: The Danish astronomer (1546-1601) lost a part of his nose in a duel and replaced it with one made of gold and silver.

24 the snow shovelers are getting a little work to do: See “Tøvejret redder Danmark fra Trafik-Sammenbrud,” Berlingske Aftenavis, Feb. 17, 1936, at 1:1-4. In cities snow shovelling was a way for the unemployed to earn a day’s wage (whereas in the rural areas farmhands were compelled to perform this work as part of their employers’ legal duty to furnish a certain number of men to shovel). “Brevet fra Landet: Snefoged,” Berlingske Aftenavis, Feb. 28, 1936, at 2:3-4. There were complaints in 1936 that snow removal was still regulated according to a statute from 1904 that antedated the advent of modern equipment. Lov Nr. 96 af den 22. April 1904 om Snekastning, sect. 15, in Lovtidende for Aaret 1904, at 411-17 at 415 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1904).

24 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.

24 Gammel Strand: Old Strand is a picturesque street with old houses along Frederiksholms Canal, which in the early Middle Ages was the coastline and was long a fish market. In the Danish text, the abbreviation Gl. is used for Gammel.

24 Ørsted Park: Laid out in the 1870s with the remains of the then recently dismantled ramparts and located adjacent to the old center of Copenhagen, the park is named for the physicist Hans Christian Ørsted (1772-1851).

24 the English king’s been appointed an admiral in the Danish
fleet: King George V having died on January 20, 1936, the king in question was the newly crowned Edward VIII. The title of admiral is used as an honorary title for royal persons. *Lademanns leksikon* 1:40 (Copenhagen: Lademann 1972). According to the Lord Chamberlain of Denmark, Edward VIII was made an honorary admiral in the Royal Danish Navy on January 29, 1936; King George V had also been an honorary admiral. Letter from S. Haslund-Christensen, Hofmarskallen, Amalienborg Palace (June 14, 2001). According to the director of the Royal Danish Naval Museum, it was “a normal procedure to make friendly monarchs honorary admirals. . . . The main purpose was to make a friendly gesture to a maritime foreign monarch” entitling him to wear an admiral’s uniform on suitable occasions. Email from Ole Lisberg Jensen (June 8, 2001) (quote); email from Anders Olsen (June 7, 2001).

24 “*War in Africa and rearmament have created a year of growth,*” says the Commerce Bank’s annual report: See “Krigen i Afrika og Oprustningen skabte er Fremgangens Aar,” *Politiken*, Feb. 13, 1936, at 13:5-6. Handelsbanken was Denmark’s second largest bank.


24 *Lord Chamberlain’s Department:* The Hofmarskallat is in charge of the monarch’s household. The current Lord Chamberlain sees no connection between these events and his predecessor’s workload. Letter from S. Haslund-Christensen (July 24, 2001).

24 *police headquarters:* Politigården was built between 1918 and 1924 in the neoclassic style. [http://www.kbhpol.dk/PG.htm](http://www.kbhpol.dk/PG.htm).

25 *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 Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937*, tab. 11 at 11; Mow., “Min Bog var for mig Knald eller Fald—siger Mogens Klitgaard,” *Berlingske Aftenavis*, June 9, 1937.

25 *Streget:* A continuous stretch of five shopping streets (Frederiksberggade, Nygade, Vimmelskaftet, Amagertorv, and Østergade) running between City Hall Square and Kongens Nytorv in central
Notes

Copenhagen; though today it is exclusively a pedestrian street, in 1936 there was also motorized traffic. Berlingske Aftenavis, Feb 29, 1936, at 5. See generally, Mogens Lebech, “Strøget,” in København: Før og nu, vol. II: Gammel-København at 73-134.

26 King’s Gardens: Kongens Have, which surrounds the seventeenth-century Rosenborg Palace and is located a little to the west of Kongens Nytorv, is the oldest in Copenhagen and noted for its statue of Hans Christian Andersen.

27 Lundegaard rode his bicycle from address to address: By the early 1920s, Copenhagen was the world’s leading bicycle-riding city, especially as a means of daily transportation among blue- and white-collar workers. Andreasen et al., “Københavns Kommunes Administration” at 44-69. Even by 1910, one of the reasons that the owners of private trolley systems did not oppose their municipalization was their expectation that bicycles would soon make significant inroads into trolleys’ passenger volume. Jensen, Under fælles ansvar at 123. By the end of 1936, there were 400,000 bicycles in Copenhagen and fewer than 20,000 automobiles. Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for København...1936-1937, tab. 127 at 97. For a description of the ubiquity of bicycles in Copenhagen at that time, see Rothery, Denmark at 6-8. In 1936 it was also estimated that there were 44 bicycles for every 100 persons in Denmark, the highest such ratio in the world (Holland at 43/100 being second). Knud Gulstad, “Cyklisternes Kaar i Danmark,” Berlingske Aftenavis, Jan. 18, 1936, at 9:2-4. By the 1930s, the bicycle had become “a fully integrated feature of daily transport for the broad masses” in Denmark. Hans Kryger Larsen and Carl-Axel Nilsson, “Consumption and Production of Bicycles in Denmark 1890-1980,” Scandinavian Economic History Review 32:143-58 at 143 (1984).

29 contracts that have to be given as security for a loan at the bank: The firm was using accounts receivable as collateral for a loan.

29 municipal court: Copenhagen’s inferior or lower court.

32 Vestre prison: Vestre fængsel, the Copenhagen city jail, is located adjacent to Vestre Cemetery (see below p. 34), about a mile or two from central Copenhagen. Western Prison was built in 1895 and considerably expanded in 1918; it is constructed on the panopticon model. http://www.kriminalforsorgen.dk/uk_web/uk_info/prisons/krim0017.htm
Notes

33 yellow winter aconite: Also called New Year's Gift because it often blooms while snow is still on the ground, eranthis hiemalis, belonging to the genus Eranthis of the buttercup family Ranunculaceae, is one of the earliest flowering bulbs in Europe and Asia.

33 The lockout's also arrived. It's thrown 125,000 men out of work, in addition to the 140,000 who already were: In 1936 the single largest strike/lockout of the decade was prompted by unions' demand for raises for low-paid workers. It lasted from February 23 to March 30, when 100,000 workers were locked out. The dispute was settled by compulsory arbitration. "Klokken 17 standser Arbejdet," Berlingske Aftenavis, Feb. 22, 1936, at 1:1; "Fabrik-Fløjterne lød i Morges over København—efter seks uger Tavshed," Berlingske Aftenavis, Mar. 29, 1936, at 1:1; "Stor-Lockouten kostede Arbejderne 25 Mill. Kr.,” Politiken, Sept. 12, 1936, at 3:2-3; Rasmussen, Velfærdsstaten på Vej: 1913-1939, at 481; Walter Galenson, The Danish System of Labor Relations: A Study in Industrial Peace 132 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952).

34 Vestre Cemetery: Situated south of Frederiksberg Garden and southwest of central Copenhagen, Vestre Kirkegaard, Denmark's largest cemetery at 54 hectares, was opened in 1870 and expanded many times. In 1851 burials within the city ramparts were prohibited and the cemetery that had long served as the city's main cemetery was running out of space. At the time the municipality of Copenhagen bought the land for the new cemetery, it was located in Valby outside the city limits. Many famous Danes are buried there including novelist Herman Bang. Jensen and Smidt, Rammerne sprænges at 145.

34 phosgene: Carbonyl chloride was first used as a poison gas in World War I by Germany in 1915. It was considered especially lethal because it was the gas for which the deadliest dose was lowest, although modern gas masks were able to neutralize it effectively. "For sent at anskaffe sig en Gasmaskes, naar Krigen staar for Døren," Berlingske Aftenavis, Jan. 8, 1936, at 10:2-6.

34 Hobro: A medium-sized town in northern Jutland at the inland end of Mariager Fjord.

35 The health insurance fund doctor comes later in the day. He's in a huge hurry, darts right through the doors without looking to the right or the left, right to the bed where Lundegaard's lying, asks for his health insurance fund card... and is out the door again like lightning.
Approximately one-third of the health insurance funds with more than one-half of all members paid general practitioners a fixed annual amount per member; the rest paid on a fee for service basis. *Danmarks sociale Lovgivning: 1891-1941*, at 25-26. Presumably Lundegaard is a member of a fund that pays his doctor a fixed annual sum.

35 *It was while they had the business; back then they weren’t in the health insurance fund, but in sickness insurance*: Sygeforsikring was a private insurance policy with an insurance company that required higher contributions than the state-approved and state-subsidized health insurance fund (*sygekasse*) and protected the financially better off against economic losses resulting from sickness. Lundegaard’s income as a merchant may have been too high to entitle and require him to be a beneficiary member of the health insurance fund. He may therefore have been a member of a sickness insurance association (*sygeforening*), which provided insurance for “people of means” (*bemidlede*). Lov Nr. 182 af 20. Maj 1933 om Folkeforsikring, sects. 11 and 31 in *Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933*, at 998, 1010.

36 *Princess Trail*: Prinsessestien is a nature trail between Lyngby and Frederiksdal a few miles north of Copenhagen.

37 *Castle Mounds*: Voldstedet presumably refers to Frederiksdal Palace, which grew out of the medieval Hjortholm, which was the castle of the bishop of Roskilde located near Lake Fure. The fortified castle was destroyed during the civil war of 1534-36. King Christian VII in 1739 made a present of Frederiksdal to the first Count Schulin and thus provided the occasion for the building of Frederiksdal Slot in 1744-45. [http://www.ltk.dk/ltktst/profil/sevaerdigheder/tre_slotte.htm.](http://www.ltk.dk/ltktst/profil/sevaerdigheder/tre_slotte.htm)

37 *Lake Fure*: Furesø, Denmark’s deepest lake, is located 15 km. northwest of Copenhagen.

38 *Nørrebro*: A working-class section of Copenhagen.

39 *when you’re simply forced to pay money to the health insurance fund*: As explained earlier (see above notes to pp. 7, 35), persons “of means” were not entitled to be beneficiary members of a health insurance fund, but the insurance law of 1933 required them to become passive members (unless they were beneficiary members of sickness insurance association) in order to receive an old-age or disability pension. Such obligatory passive membership cost a nominal 2.40 crowns per annum and entitled such members to become active members later in life if their health and income deteriorated. *Danmarks
Notes

sociale Lovgivning at 24.

40 white-collar people: The insulting Flipmennesker resembles another fictional communist’s use of flipproletar in a well-known novel that had appeared in 1936; see above “Introduction” at p. xxvii n. 64.

42 Helsingor Street: One of the municipal baths was located on Helsingersgade (Elsinore Street) just outside central Copenhagen near Kongens Have.

43 Oresund Hospital: Copenhagen’s municipal tuberculosis hospital. See above note to pp. 15-16.

45 a trolley: Trolley service was inaugurated in Copenhagen in 1863 and terminated on April 23, 1972. Privately operated lines were taken over by the municipality in 1911. Andreasen et al., “Københavns Kommunes Administration” at 58 [no pagination]. In 1936-37, Copenhagen trolleys transported 130,000,000 passengers; a ticket cost 20 øre (25 øre including a transfer); a monthly ticket cost 10 crowns. Statistisk Aarbog for København... 1936-1937, tab. 117 at 89; tab. 138 at 104.

47 Now we’ve gotten the Little Belt bridge: After decades of discussion, work on the 1178-meter bridge connecting Jutland and the island of Funen began in 1925 and it was dedicated on May 14, 1935. “Da Lyntoget sprængte Baandet over Broen,” Politiken, May 15, 1935, at 1:2-6. It was one of the projects that “filled . . . contemporaries with joy and pride.” Rasmussen, Velfærdsstaten på Vej: 1913-1939, at 9.

47 now we’ve gotten the lightning train: The high-speed diesel train was also introduced in 1935 and was made viable by the opening of the Little Belt bridge, which made possible continuous traffic to the mainland at 120 kilometers per hour unencumbered by a ferry voyage from Funen. It was predicted at the time that it would “revolutionize” Danish railway transport. “Med Lyntog til Indvielsen af Lille Bælt-Broen,” Politiken, May 5, 1935, at 13:3-4. The red-painted lightning train improved the Danish State Railway’s image in the 1930s even though in fact few people used it. http://www.dsb.dk/universer/trainspotting/nostalgi/lyntog.htm.

49 I’ll have to collect the money through the salary assignment: See above note to p. 12.

49 He knows his man: The phrase Han kender sine pappenheimere (“He knows his Pappenheimers”) is taken from a German saying (er kennt seine Pappenheimer) concerning General Gottfried Heinrich Pappenheim in the Thirty Years War.
Notes

49 Nice and Menton: Menton is the city next to Nice on the Riviera.

51 City Hall Square: Located adjacent to Tivoli and near the main railway station, it was the nodal point of the trolley system and the center of modern Copenhagen.

51 Gammel Kong Road: Gl. Kongevej (Old King’s Road); Bager Lane: Bagerstræde (Baker Lane).


53 Frederiksberg: It dates back to 1651 when Frederik III gave 20 peasants of Dutch origin from the nearby island of Amager the right to settle in and cultivate the previously royal land. Frederiksberg is an administratively separate municipality, which, after Copenhagen had incorporated several other areas at the turn of the twentieth century, became an enclave completely surrounded by Copenhagen and part of Greater Copenhagen. Efforts by Copenhagen in the first decades of the twentieth century to incorporate Frederiksberg—prompted in part by annoyance over the fact that Frederiksberg residents who worked in Copenhagen paid a lower tax rate than Copenhagen residents because their tax rate was governed by the tax rate in their municipality of residence and Frederiksberg had lower tax rates—failed to persuade the parliament to act. Conversely, as a relatively well-to-do municipality, Frederiksberg was opposed to becoming subject to Copenhagen’s social problems and higher taxes. Jensen and Smidt, Rammerne sprænges at 276; Jensen, Under fælles ansvar at 290-93. As an indicator of Frederiksberg’s relative affluence: in tax year 1936-37, 12.2 percent of the income of Copenhageners, but 27.3 percent of those in Frederiksberg was reported by those earning 15,000 crowns or more; in 1935, their average income was 34 percent and their average assets 154 percent higher than those of their counterparts in Copenhagen. Statistisk Aarbog for København...1936-1937, tab. 209 at 170, tab. 212 at 171.

53 Kongens Enghave: Located in the southwestern corner of Co-
penhagen, King’s Meadow was mainly built during the interwar period as a kind of “ideal community” for the working-class population.

53 they’ve begun to paint garden houses: Little summer houses or bowers in gardens.

53 Botanic Garden: The Botanic Garden, originally founded in 1600, is a Copenhagen University institute that maintains a collection of living plants for research, education, and general information purposes to contribute to increasing knowledge about plants and promote interest in nature.

53 the appeals court attorney: A landsretssagfører is entitled to litigate before the intermediate appeals court, on which see below note to p. 138.

54-55 her eyes blue, gray, a bit protruding, have what make men interested; men even have a special designation for that kind of eyes: Presumably the reference is to “bedroom eyes” (sovekammerøjne).

56 the Little Mermaid: Sculpted by Edvard Eriksen and erected on August 23, 1913, den lille Havfrue, based on a tale by Hans Christian Andersen, is one of Denmark’s leading tourist attractions.


58 Godthaab Road: It is a peculiarity of Frederiksberg, reflecting its greater affluence, that almost none of its streets bears the prosaic name “street” (gade); instead, they largely bear the more old-fashioned and rural names “road” (vej) or “avenue” (alle). Such names as “Good Hope” (Godthaab) also hearken back to the time when country houses in Frederiksberg bore such names. Erling Stensgård, “Frederiksbergs Historie,” in København: Før og nu: vol. VI: 5-40 at 25.

58 a tipple: Gewesen is a nonsense word adopted from German (the past participle of the German infinitive of “be”) that was used by the Danish playwright Kjeld Abell and others in the 1930s. Telephone interview with Elias Bredsdorff, Apr. 9, 2001.

59 Kongens Nytorv: The King’s New Market Square is Copenhagen’s biggest and one of its most popular squares.
59 The war in Abyssinia: Italy under Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in October 1935 and, after a ruthlessly destructive campaign using modern weapons (including poison gas) against a people without them, occupied and annexed it in May 1936. See, e.g., “Mussolini: Krigen er endt: Abessinien er italiensk!,” Politiken, May 6, 1936, 1:2-6.

60 Øster Street: Østergade (East Street) is one of the shopping streets making up Strøget.

60 Højbro Square: Højbroplads (High Bridge Square), located off Strøget, is well known for its statute of Copenhagen’s founder, Bishop Absalon, and daily flower market.

60 the state-owned pawnbrokerage: Det kongelige Assistenshus was established in 1688 as a private money-lending business, but in 1753 it became a state institution originally conceived as a means of alleviating poverty, or, in the words of its semi-official history, “a sound safety valve in the social machinery.” E. Snorrason, “Forord,” in H. Thueslev, Det kongelige assistenshus: Københavns Assistenshus og anden Pantelânervirksomhed v (Copenhagen: Gad, 1976). Pursuant to section 15 of Law No. 272 of May 6, 1921 on Pantelânervirksomhed og Handel med brugte Genstande, in Lovtidende for Aaret 1921, at 825-29 at 828 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1922), pawnbrokers’ lawful interest rate beginning on January 1, 1936, was reduced to 1.5 percent monthly (from 5 percent in 1921); at this low level this business almost disappeared and the Assistenshus regained its de facto monopoly status. Driving private pawnbrokers out of business was in part a function of the perception that they provided outlets for stolen goods. As the business of the Assistenshus declined in the post-World War II period, it was terminated in 1974. Thueslev, Det kongelige assistenshus at 256-316. Although the trend was clearly in favor of the Assistenshus, as late as 1935, the private pawnbrokers were still doing a greater volume of business. Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937, tab. 133 at 113.

60 the canal: Frederiksholms Canal.

60 Nybro Street: New Bridge Street (Nybrogade).

60 Nikolaj Church: Nikolaj Kirke was built in 1915-17 as a reconstruction of the old church, which had burned down in 1795.

60 Thorvaldsen’s Museum: The museum houses the works and collections of the Danish sculptor of Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844); opened in 1848, it was the first public art museum in Denmark.
Notes

60 Christiansborg: Christiansborg Palace houses the parliament and the supreme court; it was rebuilt in the early twentieth century after two earlier palaces burned down.

60 Storm Bridge: Stormbroen crosses Frederiksholmskanal at Stormgade connecting to Slotsholmen (Castle Islet), the island on which Christiansborg is located. Storm refers to an unsuccessful Swedish attack on this part of the city in 1659.

61 A piece of fabric: In 1936, more than half of all the items pawned at the Assistenshus were clothing. Thueslev, Det kongelige assistenshus at 321.

61 the credit rating agency: The Købmandsstandens Oplysningsbureau—the Danish equivalent of Dun & Bradstreet—founded in 1870, is Denmark’s oldest and largest credit agency.

65 the Copenhagen city government ought to be weeded out, says Nielsen. Now there’s been another swindle. And it involved millions: In April 1936 a corruption scandal that had been going on for 10 years was uncovered involving the municipal organization selling necessities to the city’s poor residents which had been established in 1917 to regulate the prices of fuel, herring, and other items during the world war, but which the municipality had been winding down since the 1920s. There were eleven sales places in Copenhagen, which in 1934-35 sold coal, coke, firewood, and petroleum for 821,867 crowns. The fraud amounted to less than a million crowns. “Københavns Kommune bedraget for over en halv Million Kr.,” Politiken, Apr. 3, 1936, at 1:2-6; “Ottosen hentes paa Hospitalet og gentager sin Tilstaelse,” Politiken, Apr. 3, 1936, at 1:3-4, 2:2; “Fantastiske Regnskaber i Raadhus-Svindelen,” Berlingske Aftenavis, April 16, 1936, at 1:1-6. See also “Torvedirektør Henning Koch suspenderes i Dag!” Berlingske Aftenavis, Apr. 3, 1936, at 1:5-6; “Kan ingen i Verden hindre et Komplots Bedrageri?” Berlingske Aftenavis, Apr. 3, 1936, at 1:1-3, 2:1-2; “Papir-Lappen, der afslørede Svindelen paa Raadhuset,” Berlingske Aftenavis, Apr. 4, 1936, at 1:1, 2:2; Jensen, Under fælles ansvar at 158, 296-97.

65 a boy spending summer vacation in the country: A feriedreng (or feriebarn) was typically a poor schoolchild, especially from Copenhagen, spending summer holiday for up to six weeks with an unrelated family (at its expense) in the country, but could also mean, as in Lundegaard’s case, a child from a town spending the summer with relatives in the country. “25-30.000 Københavnerbørn paa Landet, 25-30.000
Notes


66 *L'Hombre*’s becoming fashionable again: *L'Hombre* is a European card game dating back to seventeenth-century Spain.

66 There they play straight-out: *Ligeud* is played with 36 cards and 3 players. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 12:858 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1994 [1931]).

66 mousel: *Mausel* is a German game of chance, which was widely played in Denmark especially in Jutland; its rules are pieced together from those of other games. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 13:1115 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1932]). The name is derived from an anti-semitic German slur, *Mauscheln*.

66 spoons: In *Bedstemor med slav i* (Grandma with a smack in it), a popular game in Denmark especially among children, matchsticks are placed in the middle of the table totalling one less than the number of players. A player with four cards of the same order tries to take a matchstick without the other players’ noticing; the player who wins up with no matchstick, loses. The expression *med slav* (Jutlandish for *slag* i) means that the other players smack the table around the remaining matchsticks with an open hand. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 20:281 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1941]). The game is called “spoons” in the United States and “pig” in Britain.


67 a serpentine dance: Devised in 1891 by Loie Fuller and performed in a white silk dress.

68 Here’s life and happy days, here the sun never sets: “Her er liv og glade dage,” a common phrase, was popularized by Axel Breidahl’s use of it as the refrain in a song in a 1928 theater piece, *Stamherren*. Breidahl had taken it from a song sung in servicemen’s associations, “Kammeratens røde næse,” in which the reply to the question as to why the sun never set there was: “Because it’s good to be here.” T. Vogel-Jørgensen, *Bevingede ord* 262 (2d ed.; Copenhagen: Gad, 1945 [1940]).
Notes

According to a novel about the Copenhagen slum proletariat in the 1930s, it was “the ordinary and usual song that was always sung mournfully and slowly when a kind of joie de vivre is at its high point among drunken people, the taverns’ hymn sung in drawling and drunken voices . . . .” Harald Herdal, *Man skal jo leve* 1:53 (Copenhagen: Vendelkær, 1982 [1934]).

68 *the American band would’ve long ago struck up the one about the music being thirsty*: It was and is common for musicians to sing a little song (“Musikken er tørstig”) about how thirsty they were to cause patrons to stand the musicians a beer.

68 *or the one about we want beer, we wanna have beer*: *Vi skal ha’ øl* is a well-known drinking song.

68 **440 pounds**: A Danish *pund*, which was abolished as an official measure of weight in 1907 but continued to be used in speech, equals half a kilogram. The Danish text refers to 400 *pund*.

69 **Valencia**: A popular dance restaurant in Copenhagen.

69 **Isted Street**: Istedgade is a main street running through Vesterbro to the main railway station. Isted Heath (now located in Germany) was the site in 1850 of the bloodiest battle ever fought until then on Danish soil, occurring in the course of the wars over Schleswig-Holstein. Roar Skovmand, *Folkestyrets fødsel: 1830-1870*, at 298-301, in *Danmarks historie*, vol. 11 (John Danstrup and Hal Koch eds.; Copenhagen: Politiken, 1964). One of the most heavily populated streets in Vesterbro, it was a center of resistance to the Nazi occupation during the “people’s strike” of the summer of 1944, when residents barricaded the street and hung up banners across it reading: “Hitler can take the whole world, but Istedgade will never surrender.” Wendt, *Besættelse og Atomtid: 1939-1965*, at 215-23; Ole Buhl, “Saadan bor de københavnske Arbejdere,” *Land og Folk*, July 27, 1945, at 3:1-4.

71 **There are 100,000 unemployed**: In March 1936, 104,644 members of labor union unemployment funds representing 25.9 percent of the membership were unemployed in Denmark. International Labour Office, *Year-Book of Labour Statistics 1935-36*, tab. 1 at 5 (Geneva 1936). This rate of unemployment had peaked at 43.5 percent in January 1933. Niels Finn Christiansen at al., *Tiden 1914-1945*, at 252 (*Danmarks historie* vol. 7; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1988). In Copenhagen (including Frederiksberg) the number of unemployed in March 1936 was 32,911 or 20.8 percent of the members of union unemploy-
Notes

ment funds. The highest rate of unemployment in Copenhagen was 35.5 percent and the greatest number of unemployed was 48,624, both recorded in December 1932. Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937, tab. 186 at 142.

76 a man who drove for a living: In Danish chauffør means both any automobile “driver,” including and specifically a taxi and truck driver, and a “chauffeur”; since the text appears to intend to refer to the man’s occupation and there were few private chauffeurs at the time, it is likely that he is a taxi or truck driver.

76 Sortedam Lake: Sortedamssøen (Black Pond Lake) is one of three lakes located just to the west of central Copenhagen.

77 there are the May Day demonstrations, the communists on one half of Fælleden and the social democrats on the other: Although the two parties held separate festivities, the Communists’ tone, as a consequence of their slogan of unity, was “gentler” than it had ever been before; that tone was, however, not echoed by the Social Democrats, whose leader, Prime Minister Stauning spoke out against the crushing of brother parties by a combination of reactionaries and communists. “Hellere mere Arbejde end forkortet Abejdstid [sic],” Politiken, May 2, 1936, at 6:2-5. In October 1935 the Social Democrats, having received more than 46 percent of the votes in the parliamentary elections—their highest proportion ever—were the senior partner in a coalition government with the Social Liberals (Det radikale Venstre), while the Communists’ share was less than 2 percent. Fælledparken (Commons), Copenhagen’s first people’s park for sports, meetings, and concerts, had long been associated with the working class and May Day. Fælleden was originally part of a large pasture extending over most of what later became Nørrebro and a part of Østerbro. As this section was built up, the open area was reduced and its use expanded as a training and parade grounds for the military. By 1870 Nørrebro became a working-class section and workers were using Nørrefælled for picnics and games. On May 5, 1872, the historically important “Battle at Fælleden” took place, when the military and police sought to prevent Danish Social Democracy’s first outdoor meeting. In 1905, as more and more of the land was used to build hospitals and other buildings, the Copenhagen city council, prompted by the country’s first Social Democratic mayor, decided to transform the remaining space into a park before it was too late. The new People’s and Sports Park, as Fælleden was called, was
Notes

a reality by 1913 and became the traditional site of the Social Demo-
crats' May Day meetings. The Danish Communist Party did not begin
holding its May Day meetings there until 1932. Søren Federspiel et al.,
Arbejdernes 1. maj: Arbejderbevægelsens internationale demonstra-
tionsdag i tekst og billeder 1890-1990, at 34, 58-59, 89, 97-120 (Copen-

77 And in the newspaper you can read that the freight market is
livelier: See “Mere Liv paa Fragtmarkedet,” Politiken, May 2, 1936, at
16:3.

77 the crisis is about to ease, the commodities markets are char-
acterized by an upward tendency: See “Opadgaaende Tendens præger

77 And now you can buy gas masks. They’re not expensive at all.
You can get a nice gas mask for 12-15 crowns: See “En ‘Folks-
Gasmaske’ bringes i Handelen,” Politiken, May 15, 1936, at 3:1-2,
which quotes the interior minister to the effect that it was necessary to
discourage the thought of furnishing the civilian population with gas
masks because they would only create a false sense of security. For an
example of such efforts to create a false sense of security, see “Gas-
krigens Virkninger kan begrænser stærkt,” Berlingske Aftenavis, Mar.

77 And the travel agencies are advertising a Pentecost tour to the
Canary Islands and Africa: See “Pinsetur til de kanariske Øer og

77 Tivoli’s opening in pouring rain: Tivoli opened on May 7 in

77 Bakken’s also opening: Dyrehavsbakken (Deer Park Hill), lo-
cated in Klampenborg a few miles north of Copenhagen, is the world’s
oldest amusement park.

77 in Utterslev Marsh you can get yourself your the season’s first
mosquito bites: Utterslev Mose, located in the northwestern part of Co-
penhagen a couple of miles from the center of the city, is well known
for its rich variety of bird life. In 1931 the municipal council decided

77 The thermometer’s fluctuating between 7 and 13 degrees centi-
grade: Between 45 and 55 degrees Fahrenheit.

77 all of the spring’s glorious vegetables have arrived: new pota-
toes, asparagus, strawberries, cauliflower, spinach, lettuce. They’re
Notes

just so expensive that they can’t be bought. By ordinary people, that is: Klitgaard inadvertently included strawberries in the list of vegetables.

In May 1936, only 8,071 kg. of hot-house strawberries were supplied to Copenhagen’s fruit and vegetable markets, selling for an average of 7.00 crowns per kg.; in June the supply rose to 29,805 kg. and the price dropped to 3.60 crowns. In June and July, 480,261 and 702,675 kg. of field-grown strawberries were brought to markets, selling for 1.50 and 1.95 crowns, respectively. Asparagus, which cost 3.00 crowns in May, cost 1.75 crowns in June when the supply doubled. The 4,780 kg. of hot-house cauliflower cost 13.50 crowns in May, while the 54,820 kg. of field-grown cauliflower cost 3.80 crowns in June (and 33,115 kg. cost 2.00 crowns in November). Københavns statistiske Kontor, Statistisk Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937, tab. 101 at 80-81.

78 swagger coat: A women’s jacket, fashionable in the 1930s, it had a full back and hung loose in the front. http://www.lib.virginia.edu/~jlc5f/Assign9a.htm.

78 the Circus: The word is capitalized here because it refers to the Circus Building (Cirkusbygningen), which was first built in 1886 and rebuilt in 1915 after a fire; located near Tivoli, it was originally designed for the circus, but later came to be used for other cultural events as well. http://www.cirkusbygningen.dk/Historie.html

78 Citadel: Kastellet or citadellet Frederikshavn at Langelinie dates back to the 1660s, but it was no longer a fortress in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, it was a barracks and was the first object occupied by Nazi Germany when it invaded Copenhagen early on the morning of April 9, 1940. Wendt, Besættelse og Atomtid: 1939-1965, at 68-69.

78 the Smedelinie: The counterscarp on the citadel’s works toward the west named for a building that was once used by the fortress’s smith. It was a footpath between the ditches.

78 the Swedish Church: Gustafskyrken, construction of which began in 1908, is located near the citadel.

79 an Indian carretero: See B. Traven, Die Carreta (Zurich: Diogenes, 1993 [1931]), on the life of Mexican cart-drivers. Traven was one of Klitgaard’s favorite novelists (see above “Introduction” at p. xiii), and Klitgaard is presumably referring to this novel, which had been translated into Danish in 1934.

79 Italian day-laborer dock-hand: Havnesjover derives from the
Notes

Dutch word *sjouw*, meaning a tough job, especially lugging heavy objects.

79 *collar*: The fashion at the time, at least for low-paid white-collar workers, was a detachable celluloid collar, which could be cleaned with soap and a nail brush. Jensen, *Under fælles ansvar* at 253.


79 when the Egyptian fellah hears about the life of a Parisian servant, in handsomely appointed salons where there are beautiful women and music, whose work consists only in putting a bottle of wine and two glasses on a table with flowers and saying voila, his own slave existence appears to him like a hell without equal: In Danish this sentence contains a syntactical inconsistency (anacoluthon), which has been eliminated by deleting the word “and,” which Klitgaard used before “whose work,” presumably because he sensed that “whose” sounded as if it referred back to “women and music.”

79-80 It seems to be a fixed rule across the whole globe that the longer the working hours a proletarian has, the less he earns. Nielsen’s working hours total 70 hours a week. And he earns less than a unionized worker who works 48 hours a week: Klitgaard, who had this very job in 1936, earned 30 crowns per week (see above “Introduction” at p. xiii); the average wage for all unskilled male laborers in trade and industry in Copenhagen in the third quarter of 1936 was 1.45 crowns per hour. Københavns statistiske Kontor, *Statistisk Aarbog for København* . . . 1936-1937, tab. 189 at 145. Based on a 48-hour workweek and allowing for two weeks of vacation (which did not become a statutory right in Denmark until 1938), an unskilled male laborer’s average annual wage at 3,480 crowns would have exceeded all of the average annual white-collar wages mentioned earlier; see above note to p. 8.

80 *Funen*: An island between Zealand, on which Copenhagen is located, and Jutland, the Danish mainland.

80 Then of course you’ve got the Welfare Office to fall back on. 13.50 crowns per week: The public assistance law enacted in 1933 provided that local governments should not pay recipients an amount in excess of the amount that they presumably would have obtained un-
under the national insurance law if they had fulfilled the conditions for the receipt of such aid. Lov Nr. 181 af 20 Maj 1933 om offentlig Forsorg, sect. 297, subsect. 1, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933, at 890-989 at 975. Under the national insurance law enacted at the same time, the annual disability or old-age pension guaranteed a single male in Copenhagen below the age of 66 amounted to 732 crowns, which equaled 2 crowns per day or 14 crowns per week. Lov Nr. 182 af 20. Maj 1933 om Folkeforsikring, sect. 39, subsect. 1, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933, at 992-1035 at 1015-16.

80 you risk being sent to do farm labor: Recipients of public assistance who refused to take on suitable work could be relegated to the poor-relief system and compulsory work in a workhouse. Lov Nr. 181 af 20 Maj 1933 om offentlig Forsorg, sect. 306, subsect. 1, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933, at 977; Bekendtgørelse af Lov Nr. 205 af 20. Maj 1933 om Arbejdsanvisning og Arbejdsløshedsforsikring, sect. 17, subsect. 1, para. 10, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933, at 1279-1301 at 1289-90. In 1936 the minister of social affairs called on agricultural employers to use the public employment service (Arbejdsanvisning)—to which union unemployment funds were required to report the names of newly unemployed members and those of unemployed members who had obtained employment—in their search for workers. “Maa Regeringen genindfore stavnsbaandet?” Berlingske Aftenavis, Apr. 16, 1936, at 5:5-6; Bekendtgørelse af Lov Nr. 205 af 20. Maj 1933 om Arbejdsanvisning og Arbejdsløshedsforsikring, sect. 4, subsect. 1, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933, at 1281. Despite the existence of 10,000 unemployed farmworkers, agricultural employers were seeking 25,000 workers. “Arbejderne skal ikke tvinges fra By til Land,” Berlingske Aftenavis, Jan. 22, 1936, at 4:2-3. In 1935-36, 20,652 agricultural jobs were assigned by the employment service, but only 572 of them by the Copenhagen office. Danmarks Statistik, Statistisk Aarbog 1938, tab. 150 at 136. The labor movement charged that in reality farm employers operated on a revolving-door basis with 14- to 20-year-olds, and later in 1936 farmers admitted that there was no lack of adult labor. Fremad og atter Fremad . . . LØs historie 1871-1960, at 380-81 (Henning Tjørnhøj ed.; Copenhagen: Fremad, 1998).

81 go to the main train station movie theater and see the newsreel:
The D.S.B. (Danske Statsbaner) Kino, modeled on a similar operation in Paris, was opened in 1935 as propaganda for the state railways. Although originally designed as a kind of entertainment waiting room for travellers, it also became popular among Copenhageners. It did not show “real movies” and the newsreel was its main attraction. It was closed in 1971. Carsten Wiedemann, “DSB-Kino på Hovedbanegården” (Friday July 1, 1999). http://dr.dk/p1/danmarkkort/arkiv1999.htm

81 Thor Street: Thorsgade is one of the oldest streets in Nørrebro. Lebech, “Nørrebro Bebyggelse” at 198.

82 Mr. Lundegaard, sir: Danish, like German, but unlike English, has a polite form of address in which the word for “Mr.” is placed before the addressee’s occupational title. Here Andresen addresses Lundegaard as hr. inkassator.

82 the matter would go to the bailiff: Kongens foged is an official charged with executing distraining against people who fail to pay their debts.

82 cretonne: Strong unglazed cotton cloth.

83 Norreport: The biggest station of Copenhagen’s electrified railway system is not far from the Botanic Garden.

83 he was standing there just inside the entrance to the Garden looking at Pallas Athena: There is a well-known statute of the Greek goddess at the Botanic Garden.

83 S-train: Copenhagen’s electrified metropolitan railway began operations on April 3, 1934, on the route Frederiksberg-Klampenborg. Jensen, Under fælles ansvar at 295-96; http://www.dsb.dk/universer/trainspotting/nostalgi/stog.htm. The word S-toget was borrowed from the German, where “S” stands for Stadt (city).

84 Klampenborg: A coastal town a few miles north of Copenhagen.

84 Hermitage Plain, past Stag Marsh, through Raadvad and Stampen, again to the south along the paths and across the open plain: Lundegaard is walking in Deer Park. Hermitage castle was built in 1736 under King Christian V and was used in connection with hunts. Birgitte Rühmann, “Dyrehaven—jagtrytternes legeplads gennem 332 år,” on http://mattsson.dk/dyrehaven.html.

84 Fortune: Elevated area near the southwest corner of Deer Park.

84 in town: The 1937 edition has a typo (byene) as does the 1970 edition (byerne [“the cities”]); the translation here agrees with the 1997
Notes

86 Sundby: A section in the southeastern part of Copenhagen on the island of Amager. In the wake of increasing industrialization toward the end of the nineteenth century and the settlement of a considerable working-class population, Sundby became an independent municipality in 1895, but by 1902 economic and health-related problems in the fast growing population led to its incorporation into Copenhagen. http://www.sulfo.subnet.dk/om_sundby.htm

87 Revolutions are also occurring in the tennis world. Since the English queen has permitted the participants at the world championships at Wimbledon to play with bare legs: “When, in 1933, [the American tennis player Helen] Jacobs became the first woman ever to wear shorts at Wimbledon, her action sparked less controversy than any other player might have caused. Even the Prince of Wales expressed approval: ‘I see no reason on earth why any woman should not wear shorts for lawn tennis. They are very comfortable and quite the most practical costume for the game; and I don’t think the wearers lose anything in looks.” Adrianne Blue, “Obituary: Helen Jacobs: A Woman’s Guide to Gallantry on the Court,” Guardian, June 13, 1997, at 22 (Lexis). Jacobs stated in her autobiography that the issue of shorts for women was decided at Wimbledon in 1934 after she had worn them at the U.S. national women’s championships the previous year. Helen Hull Jacobs, Beyond the Game: An Autobiography 173-75 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1936). See also Helen Hull Jacobs, “The Psychology of Tennis Clothes,” Ladies Home Journal, June 1934, at 31, 118, 120. When, on the eve of her defense of her title in the U.S. national women’s championship at Forest Hills in 1933, Jacobs announced “her planned debut in shorts . . . the scantiest attire ever worn by a queen of American tennis,” she stated: “I’ve lost many points through my racquet catching in my skirt.” There was “apparently . . . no move to dictate to the women stars what they may wear,” and there had been only “mild excitement” the previous year when Bunny Austin wore shorts in the men’s national championship. “Miss Jacobs Plans Debut in Shorts Today; First Net Champion Ever to Adopt Attire,” N.Y. Times, Aug. 15, 1933, at 21:6. According to another account, in 1934 the British player Bunny Austin, fatigued by the “sweat-soaked” heavy white flannel trousers that men wore by tradition, became the first man to wear shorts at Wimbledon. “Bunny Austin,” The Times (London), Aug. 28, 2000 (Lexis). He had
"'expected a fuss there, but there was none. Slowly, others followed. I don't know why we put up with long flannel trousers for so long.' At Wimbledon, King George V and Queen Mary accepted the change without comment, and soon other men, and then women, led by the American Helen Hull Jacobs, started wearing shorts, too." Frank Litsky, "Bunny Austin, 94, a Pioneer in Tennis Shorts," N.Y. Times, Aug. 28, 2000, at B6:1 (Lexis). According to Austin's autobiography, he was the first to wear shorts at Forest Hills in 1932 and at Wimbledon in 1933. H. W. "Bunny" Austin and Phyllis Konstam, A Mixed Double 96-97 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969).

87 Now they'd just gotten night buses, which turned Copenhagen upside down and created such scenes that people were just about to start saying Citizen and Comrade to one another: See “Fodselsdagsstemning paa de københavnske sporvogn i Morges,” Berlingske Aftenavis, May 1, 1936, at 7:1-2.

87 Enghave Road fire station: Enghavevejens brandstation is located in Vesterbro.

88 Ermelunden: A forest at the southwest corner of Deer Park. A lund is a "grove."

88 In the rear-tenant apartments the heat means that you should preferably not open the windows. The garbage cans put out a stupefying stench: Writing about turn-of-the-century rear tenements in New York City, Jacob Riis observed that if there was an open space between them, "it is never more than a slit a foot or so wide, and gets to be the receptacle of garbage and filth of every kind; so that any opening made in these walls for purposes of ventilation becomes a source of greater danger than if there were none." Riis, The Battle with the Slum at 115.

92 Gammeltorv: Old Square.

92 Marmor Bridge: The Marble Bridge (Marmorbro), which was built in 1741, crosses Frederiksholms Canal at Ny Vestergade to Christiansborg.

95 Sundby Beach: Sundby Strand is located off the island of Amager on the Sound between Denmark and Sweden.

96 What was it that they'd written in the interrogation report from the big criminal abortion case: Only in exceedingly few cases had the operation not gone smoothly: Klitgaard is referring to the trial beginning in 1932 and delayed until 1935 of Dr. Jonathan H. Leunbach (1884-1955), Denmark's most prominent sexual reformer; he was ul-
Notes
timately acquitted by a jury. "De tre Læger frikendt: Dommen hilst med Raab og Bifald," *Politiken*, May 10, 1935, at 1:2-6. He was tried again in December 1936 in another case involving a referral of a patient who died as a result of an abortion and he was sentenced to three months in prison in 1936, completing his sentence on April 11, 1937. At the first trial, the mortality rate of women undergoing abortions was much discussed; some studies revealed rates of about 1 percent. J. H. Leunbach, "Retsapparatet i Reaktions Tjeneste," *Kulturkampen* 1 (1):28-30 (June 1935); "De fire Læger fik alle Fængselsstraf," *Politiken*, Dec. 8, 1936, at 1:4-6; Max Hodann, "A Prosecution for Abortion in Denmark," *Marriage Hygiene* 3 (3):202-203 (Feb. 1937); Lau Sander Esbensen, "De illegale aborter—et kompetent alternativ eller russisk roulette?" *Bibliotek for Læger* 192 (1):5-24 (Mar. 2000). In his defense speech at trial in May 1935, Leunbach evaluated the procedure he followed in his own clinic as having "in the vast majority of cases gone on completely smoothly." Unpublished speech, held by Leunbach in the court between May 7-9, 1935, referred to as "Leunbachs forsvars­tale," included in Leunbach’s private files, typescript p. 13; email from Lau Sander Esbensen (May 3, 2001).

97 *they have an unemployment card in their pocket*: The insured unemployeds’ entitlement to benefits was conditioned on submitting to periodic checks by showing their Kontrolkort at the unemployment fund office during each benefit period. Bekendtgørelse af Lov Nr. 205 af 20. Maj 1933 om Arbejdssanvisning og Arbejdsløshedsforsikring, sect. 2, subsect. 5, in *Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933*, at 1293. In 1921 the right-wing government had amended the statute regulating unemployment funds in an effort to prevent abuse by requiring employers to stamp the cards of newly hired workers and send them back to the fund. The system, however, proved to be a fiasco in industries with jobs of often varying tenure and also because many employers forgot to ask for the cards altogether since many employees were not members of funds and therefore had no cards. This regime was abolished in 1927. Hansen and Henriksen, *Sociale brydninger 1914-39*, at 240-41.

98 *Nielsen says that the difference really isn’t that big because actually he doesn’t earn much more than the other guy gets in benefits*: By law the average daily benefit that unemployment insurance funds were permitted to pay could not exceed two-thirds of the average earn-
ings of the occupation in question; the actual payment was lowered by another provision setting the daily maximum benefit at 4 crowns for providers (i.e., family heads) and 3 crowns for non-providers. Bekendtgørelse af Lov Nr. 205 af 20. Maj 1933 om Arbejdssanvisning og Arbejdsløshedsforsikring, sect. 15, subsect. 3, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1933, at 1287.

99 the rescue squad: Sophus Falck founded Falcks Redningskorps in 1906 as a private for-profit fire-fighting corporation. Axel Breidahl and Axel Kjerulf, Københavnerliv gennem et halvt Aarhundrede: Gemt og glemt i Alvor og Skæmt 1883-1912, at 457 (Copenhagen: Hassing, 1938) (reprinting a newspaper article from 1906). Over the years it has taken on many other activities such as ambulance and security services.

99 training to run with gas masks on: Such on-the-beach training with gas masks was not uncommon at the time. See e.g., “Gasmasker paa Nyborg Strand,” Politiken, July 30, 1936, at 10:4.

104 out in the new housing blocks with the funny little balconies: In an effort to create greater access to light and fresh air, working-class apartment complexes in Nørrebro began about 1935 to be built with free-hanging, shielded balconies facing south. The leading architects of this functionalist style were Povl Baumann and Knud Hansen. Jensen, Under fælles ansvar at 259-60.

104 Herlev: A town a few miles west of Copenhagen. In the first edition and 1970 edition, it is spelled Herlov, which is the name of an inn there.

104 Holte: It is located northwest of Copenhagen near Lake Fure.

104 the whole country’s eating red fruit pudding: Rodgrod is a popular Danish dessert made with redcurrant or raspberry juice, sago flour, and sugar.

104 Fælledpark: See above note to p. 77.

105 The d’Angleterre: The Hotel d’Angleterre at Kongens Nytorv was Copenhagen’s fanciest and best-known hotel.

105 Lake Bagsværd: It is situated northwest of Copenhagen, just south of Lake Fure.

105 Burmeister and Wain’s gotten big orders from the Soviet Union: Burmeister & Wain was a large Danish and world pioneer in motor shipbuilding and engineering; before it became Burmeister & Wain in 1865, it had existed under other names since 1843. Already by 1877 it had become Denmark’s largest enterprise with 1,100 employ-
Notes

ees; in 1980 it sold off its engineering division and the remaining shipbuilding firm collapsed in 1996. It built eight ships for the Soviet Union in the 1930s, including two in 1932, three in 1933, and three in 1936; other than the ones built for the Soviet Union in these years, the company had stopped building steamships. Johannes Lehmann, Burmeister & Wain gennem hundrede Aar (Copenhagen: A/S Burmeister & Wain’s Maskin- og Skibsbyggeri, 1943); Erik Eriksen, Værftet bag de 1000 skibe: Burmeister & Wain Skibsvarft 1843-1993, at 106, 153-54 (unpaginated) (Copenhagen: Burmeister & Wain, 1993); email from Anette Eklund Hansen, archivist, Arbejderbevægelsens Bibliotek og Arkiv (June 20, 2001) (based on information from the B&W Museum).

105 Prisoners’ Aid: Fængelseshjælp was a private organization founded in 1902 to help resocialize prisoners. It also supervised parolees. Together with all other similar organizations, it was absorbed in 1951 by the Danish Welfare Society (Dansk Forsorgsselskab), which in turn became a state entity in 1973.

106 which streets he’s been walking along: The nonsense-producing typo—gaæt af—in the first edition (which was retained in the 1970 and 1985 Gyldendal editions) has been ignored in favor of gået ad (as corrected in the 1997 edition).

107 Graabrodre Square: Located in central Copenhagen, this square contains several houses from the eighteenth century including the remains of the old Graabrodre Monastery. The Gray Friars were Franciscans.

107 Skinder Street: Skindergade (Tanner Street) runs right by Graabrodre Square.

108 Worker Good Samaritans: Arbejdernes Samariterne Forening was founded on July 31, 1907, in connection with a workplace disaster that injured many workers. In 1922 it became a suborganization of the Danish Red Cross and in 1933 changed its name to Arbejdernes Samariterne Forbund. http://www.asf-dansk-folkehjælp.dk/Historie.html.

108 Fort Kastrup: It was built in 1886-87 as part of Copenhagen’s coastal defense, but in 1925 the area was taken over by the municipality of Copenhagen, which used it for civilian affairs. Located on the island of Amager, a few miles southeast of central Copenhagen, it offers a view all the way to Sweden.

109 Light Automatic Rifle Syndicate: In 1936 the Dansk Rekyl
Riffel Syndikat changed its name to Dansk Industri Syndikat A/S. Originally its main product was the Madsen machine gun. It sold weapons to Nazi Germany during the occupation of Denmark.


111 they ought to do just what was being done in France, which had nationalized the war industries: Under the Popular Front government of Socialists and Radicals (supported but not joined by the Communists), which had just taken office in June 1936, the Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 484 to 85 on July 17, 1936, passed the Loi sur la nationalisation de la fabrication des matériels de guerre, which authorized the government to purchase armaments firms. In the course of the parliamentary debates, the Minister of National Defense and War, Edouard Daladier, justified the law on the grounds that: “La fabrication privée des armes n’a pas pu échapper à la loi du capitalisme, qui est la recherche du profit.” Journal Officiel: Débats parlementaires: Chambre des Députés, 16e Législature, Session ordinaire de 1936 (2e partie) at 1992. See generally, Daniel Ligou, Histoire du socialisme en France (1871-1961) 396-432 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962).

112 the blue sound: The Øresund is the strait between Zealand and southern Sweden connecting the Baltic Sea and the Kattegat.

116 Høsterkøb: A village half way between Copenhagen and Elsinore.

117 straw: The stems of cereal plants such as wheat, oats, and rye are called straw both while they are growing and when used for bedding after the harvest. Although “stalks” might have sounded more familiar to American readers in the sentence in the text, that word is correctly applied to corn, which was not grown in Denmark.

117 Zealand: Sjælland is the island on which Copenhagen is located.

117 Nyboder’s dirty yellow, mildewed old houses: Originally built in 1631-41 as housing for the Navy, the hundreds of little row houses with 850 apartments and 2,500 residents in 1936 (the number of residents having reached 15,000 at the end of the eighteenth century) were (and are) uniformly painted yellow. “Nyboder giver hvert Aar
Notes


117 **Store Kongens Street:** Store Kongensgade (Great King’s Street) runs from Kongens Nytorv to Nyboder.

117 **Rørvig:** A coastal town in a vacation area in northwestern Zealand about 60 miles from Copenhagen.

121 **civil-servant’s home:** Together with employment security, municipalities made civil service attractive by providing housing to some civil servants.

123 **drop the formalities:** The phrase *være dus* means to drop the formal pronoun *De* of address in favor of the familiar *du*.

125 **Saltholm:** A bird refuge, Saltholm is an island to the east of the island of Amager in the Øresund between Denmark and Sweden comprising 6 square miles of mud flats, marshes, and open grasslands. The island and its surroundings are protected and access to parts is limited to certain times of the year. http://www.linander.dk/stig/salthoe.htm.

125 **Nybro Road:** Nybrovej is a long street that runs out to the rural lake areas in the northwest in the suburb of Lyngby.

125 **Hjortekær:** Stag (or Hart) Marsh.

125 **open-house coupon-book puzzles:** *Rundskuedag* was introduced in 1910 in Copenhagen as the one day a year (in September) on which the public could visit various institutions. *Rundskuehæfter* are coupon books; coupons were required to enter the buildings; the books also included puzzles, the solving of which entitled people to various prizes. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 17:136-37 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1937]). The coupon books provided admission at half price at the horse-racing track where it was possible to win an open-house horse, which could be converted into a thousand crowns. “Rundskue-Galop,” *Politiken*, Sept. 14, 1936, at 11:4-5.

125 **Landsting election:** Amendments to the Constitution of 1915 raised the voting age for the Landsting, the upper house of the Danish parliament (which was abolished in 1953), to 35. It had 72 members, one-fourth of whom were elected by the retiring Landsting; the others were elected indirectly through an electoral college. It had long been a bastion of the right-wing parties, which as a result were able to thwart
the will of the more democratically elected Folketing, but in the election held on September 15, 1936, the Social Democrats and Radicals gained a one-vote majority when a tie vote on the island of Bornholm was decided a week later by drawing the name of a Social Democrat from a bronze-age urn. “Det spændende Valg: Kamp om tre Mandater,” Politiken, Sept. 9, 1936, at 5:2-6, 6:1-3; “Landstings-Flertallet skal afgøres ved Lodtrækning,” Politiken, Sept. 16, 1936, at 1:2-6; “Regeringen trak den store Lod,” Politiken, Sept. 23, 1936, at 1:2-6; Rasmussen, Velfærdsstaten på Vej: 1913-1939, at 483-85.


125 The big language courses are opening now: For advertisements of courses opening in September, see Politiken, Sept. 16, 1936, at 19.

125 it was laid down long ago that pink silver lamé will be the coming season’s big craze: See Elinor Kielgast, “Opvisning af Vintermoden,” Politiken, Sept. 7, 1936, at 14:1-4, which includes a picture of such a pink silver lamé item.

129 there are so many travelling salesmen you could use them as hog feed: Working conditions for travelling salesmen were inferior to those of other employees. In 1917 parliament enacted a law that required employers to give them three months’ notice, but the Handelsrejsendeforbund complained in 1936 that arbitrary treatment was still common; for example, if the employer went bankrupt, travelling salesmen were in a much more difficult position; the terms and conditions regulating whether the salesman or the firm took the risk of customers’ nonpayment were also disadvantageous. Lov Nr. 243 af 8. Maj 1917 om Kommission, Handelsagentur og Handelsrejsende, sect. 86, in Lovtidende for Aaret 1917, at 623-39 at 638 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1918); “Nordens Handelsrejsende ønsker nye Arbejdsforhold,” Politiken, Nov. 11, 1936, at 15:5-6. At the time of the 1930 census, there were 4,948 travelling salesmen in Copenhagen (including Frederiksberg and Gentofte), 96 percent of whom were men; the male labor force totalled 254,986. Statistisk Aarbog for København...1936-1937, tab. 18-19 at 23-27.

130 Ordrup Scrub: Ordrup Krat is located in the southernmost sec-
Notes

130 the king's city: Copenhagen.

131 Taasinge: A small island directly off the southeast coast of the island of Funen, which is known for its apples. Taasinge, according to a parish pastor there, also "used to produce a lot of fruits, apples, pears and cherries. Unfortunately most of it is gone now." Email from Didier Gautier (June 26, 2001).

131 Helligaandshus: The House of the Holy Ghost, which is connected to the Helligaandskirke, is the west wing of a fifteenth-century abbey.

131 Lake Gurre: Gurre Sø is located 40 kilometers north of Copenhagen.

131 They made on the whole a day of it that was about as romantic as you see in the American films, where youth has nothing to do but paddle around on large woodland lakes in canoes, which are padded with flowery pillows and with a portable phonograph: Klitgaard developed this image into a short story. Mogens Klitgaard, “Cosy Corner,” in Politiken: Magasinet (Aug. 25, 1940), reprinted in Klitgaard, Hverdagens musik at 41-47.

132 it's not the chance occurrences that decide your fate, but the way you react to the chance occurrences: Klitgaard's semi-autobiographical novel opens with this observation: "Sometimes I think about the fact that it's not the chance occurrences that determine our life, but the way we react to the chance occurrences. To be sure, many times life has surely offered me a chance—I just wasn't capable of taking it. Conversely, life has many times given me an opportunity to do something wrong, and I've never neglected to avail myself of it." Klitgaard, Gud mildner luften for de klippede fär at 7.

133 12 Kamel Street: Kamelgade, which is today called Gernersgade, was in Nyboder. See above note to p. 117.


138 the Eastern High Court: Østre Landsret is the eastern division of the intermediate appeals court with jurisdiction over appeals from the county courts in the eastern part of Denmark. It is located in Bredgade not far from Amalienborg Palace.

138 In Brønshej there's a man who killed his five-year-old son
because they were starving and were going to be evicted by the bailiff. See “Fortvivlet Far kvæler Søn Kongens Fod finder Liget,” Politiken, Oct. 30, 1936, at 1:2-4. Brønhøj is a district in the northwestern part of Copenhagen which was not incorporated into the city until 1901.

138 a suburban theater’s having a success with a play whose main character’s a worker who incessantly claims that, after all, we have it pretty good—it’s only the idiots who’re complaining—there are really lots of places where they have it much worse: None of the Danish cultural historians consulted (including those who were adults living in Copenhagen in the 1930s) could identify such a play.

138 Moving day, as usual, is turning the city upside down: Moving day was the day on which leases expired and people moved into or out of rented dwellings; at this time it was the third Tuesday in April and October. In 1936, the third Tuesday in October was October 20. Nevertheless, by this time, according to a newspaper article published that day, moving day was no longer a single day, but a season, and in fact the biggest moving day had been the previous Saturday. Because the construction or renovation of many dwellings was not completed on time, many renters who had to leave their previous dwelling could not yet move into their new one, resulting in great disruption, which was exacerbated that year by the big lockout in February and March affecting the building industry. “Flyttedag—men uden Plads til Kom­moden!” Politiken, Oct. 20, 1936, at 9:2-6; “Flyttes Flyttedag i Aar til 15. Maj?” Berlingske Aftenavis, Mar. 20, 1936, at 1:5-6. In connection with parliamentary discussion of a law that as of 1937 made the first of every month a general moving day, it was pointed out that the existence of only two moving days raised building costs by forcing construction workers to work overtime to meet those two deadlines. “Indenrigs­ministeren foreslaar treaarige Leje-Perioder for Lejligheder,” Berlingske Aftenavis, Jan. 8, 1936, at 6:1-4; “Nu kommer Beskyttelsen for Bolig­og Butikslejere,” Politiken, Nov. 12, 1936, at 5:2-6. See also Ordbog over det danske Sprog 4:1273 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1994 [1922]); Ordbog over det danske Sprog: Supplement 3:977 (Copen­hagen: Gyldendal, 1997); Lov om Leje, sect. 8, subsect. 1, No. 54, Mar. 23, 1937, in Lovtidende for Aaret 1937, at 119-35 at 120. Oddly, a large newspaper advertisement for carpets appearing on November 1 was called a “Moving Day Offer.” Politiken, Nov. 1, 1936, at 5:1-3.

138 the king’s been to the movies to see Panserbasse: The film was
a 1936 Danish farce cum American gangster-romanticism directed by Lau Lauritsen and Alice O'Fredericks and featuring Ib Schønberg, one of Denmark’s most famous actors, in one of his first star roles, playing “the fat, kind cop. . . . It was lovely, the entire thirteen-year-old public swooned with delight.” Ebbe Neergaard, *The Story of Danish Film* 70 (tr. Elsa Gress; Copenhagen: Det danske Selskab, n.d. [ca. 1964]). The comedy, in which English-speaking foreigners played the gangsters, opened October 1, 1936 at the World-Cinema in Copenhagen. *Politiken*, Oct. 1, 1936, at 19:3 (advertisement); “Dansk Gangsterfilm,” *Politiken*, Oct. 2, 1936, at 3:2-6, at 4:1-2. *Panserbasse* is Copenhagen slang for a police officer (“cop”); *basse* also means “fatty,” which described Schønberg. The king was Christian X, who reigned from 1912 to 1947.

142 *Caballero*: Francisco Largo Caballero, a former plasterer, labor union official, and chairman of the Socialist party, was named premier of the popular front Republican government in September 1936 and named himself minister of war. Klitgaard had such a map of the war front in Spain with black pins for the fascist troop units and red ones for the government’s hanging in his own room. When asked about it by an interviewer, he replied: “I believe Europe’s future is being decided in these very months on the Spanish fronts.” Christian Houmark, “Daarligt egnet til at mode Livet,” *B.T.*, June 10, 1937. In 1938 Klitgaard added that Spain would become fascism’s Waterloo if everyone who understood the importance of this struggle actively sided with the “heroic Spanish people’s side . . . in the struggle for European culture.” “For regeringen,” *Kulturkampen* 4 (2):4-13 at 9 (Mar. 1938).

143 *Teglholmen*: Burmeister & Wain’s iron foundry was located in the southern part of Copenhagen on South Harbor.

143 *To be sure, they read in the newspapers that B. and W.’s stockholders are dissatisfied with the dividend, that they’re at daggers drawn over the profits*: As a result of the worldwide depression and special problems facing Danish export-oriented firms in overcoming trade barriers and acquiring foreign exchange in order to pay for imports of raw materials, by the end of 1932 Burmeister & Wain faced such desperate straits that it prevailed upon the Danish government to enact a statute (in February 1933) splitting the company into a new operating company and a new company designed to liquidate the assets and liabilities not transferred to the new operating company. Although the
winding-up company was terminated in 1937 after all creditors had been paid in full, the restructuring spawned disputes over the dividends to be paid owners of preferred shares in the new operating company and the disposition of the profits resulting from the unexpectedly vast expansion of the company’s sales, which management wished to use for increasing the firm’s capital and reserve fund rather than redeeming the preferred shares. The dispute was not resolved until February 1942, when the government enacted a new statute (which had to be and was accepted by a majority of shareholders). Lehmann, Burmeister & Wain gennem hundrede Aar at 189-96, 199, 213-25.

144 the prodigal but, to be sure, returned, son: The parable of the lost son is found in Luke 15:11-32.

147 Kobmager Street: The old name was Ködmanger (“fleshmonger”); this intersection is near Hojbro Square.

148 black: The typo in the first edition (storte) was changed in later editions to sorte (“black”) rather than to the equally possible store (“large”).

150 lustrous blue spot on its neck feathers: The technical zoological term is “speculum”; the word used by Klitgaard (nakkespejl) would be misleading in its English translation (“hand mirror”).

151 Hubertusjagt in Deer Park in red coats: This traditional hunt was originally the annual foxhunting (on the English model) in the park of the Hermitage Castle north of Copenhagen. St. Hubertus (whose day is November 3) is the patron saint of hunters. Riding clubs have held the chase on the first Sunday in November since 1900; riders wear red coats and foxtails are worn on the shoulders of two persons acting as the foxes. In 1936 the event took place on November 1 and the winner was company president V. Klitgaard. “Festlige Skue i Dyrehaven,” Politiken, Nov. 2, 1936, at 13:3-4; http://hubertusjagt.dk.

151 Lake Fuglesang: Fuglesangsøen (Lake Birdsong) is in Dyrehaven.

151 a quick little trip to Norway’s sun and cold: Copenhagen newspapers were filled with ads for trips to Norway.

151 coke: The residue of coal remaining after distillation without air, coke was used as home heating fuel more in Europe than in the United States.

151 The storm’s speeding across the country, sucking five Esbjerg cutters down into the deep: This storm caused one of the biggest fishing
catastrophes in West Coast history. Esbjerg is Denmark’s most important West Coast port. “Esbjerg savner 36 Fiskere,” *Politiken*, Nov. 1, 1936, at 1:2-6.

151 Now the farm hands are coming from the countryside to the city to look for work: In 1938 Klitgaard developed this scene into a Christmas story about a farm worker who came to Copenhagen in November and wound up begging. Mogens Klitgaard, “En julefortælling,” in *Solhverv: Socialistisk Julehæfte* (1938), reprinted in Klitgaard, *Hverdagens musik* at 35-40.

151 people’s kitchens: *A folkekøkken*, unlike a soup kitchen, 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. Andreasen et al., “Københavns Kommunes Administration” at 50; Jensen, *Under fælles ansvar* at 166-67. In 1936 there were five people’s kitchens in Copenhagen and one in Frederiksberg, which served several million meals and were supplied by their own sausage and fruit juice factories and bakery. Københavns statistiske Kontor, *Statistisk Aarbog for København . . . 1936-1937*, tab. 178 at 135. Klitgaard himself frequented Copenhagen’s people’s kitchens before he became a well-known author. Poul Carit Andersen, “Mogens Klitgaard,” in Klitgaard, *de sindssyges klode* 5-28 at 11.

151 The Royal Library garden’s so quiet: Det kongelige Bibliotek was founded by King Frederik III in the third quarter of the seventeenth century and became the largest library in Scandinavia. A new building for the Danish national library was built between 1898 and 1906. The garden, known as Copenhagen’s “most intimate,” is situated between the library and the National Archives, which in turn is connected to Christiansborg Slot, which houses the parliament and the supreme court. *København: Nu og før*, vol. I: Indledende Afsnit, Slotsholmen, Havnen 210 (Svend Aakjær, Mogens Lebech, and Otto Norn eds.; Copenhagen: Hassing, 1949).

151 Bennett’s advertising Christmas and New Year’s trips: See, e.g., *Politiken*, Nov. 1, at 3:13 (Bennett Rejsebureau advertisements for Christmas and New Year’s trips to Norway).

Titan jumps 4½ percent: See “Titan sprang i Gaar 4½ i Vejret,” Politiken, Nov. 1, 1936, at 15:4. The share price of the stock of Titan A/S rose by 4½ percent the previous day. Titan A/S, a producer of mechanical and electrical machinery, was founded in 1897. At its peak it employed more than 3,000 workers; after a merger with its biggest competitor in 1965, it is today Thringe-Titan A/S. http://www.titan-textile.dk/forside.htm.

the Christmas tree that'll decorate City Hall Square next month has already been marked for felling: See “Byens Juletræ udvalgt,” Politiken, Nov. 11, 1936, at 5:1.

Basedow's disease or some such thing: First described by an Irish physician, Robert James Graves, in 1835, and later (1840) by Karl von Basedow, Graves’ disease, or Basedow’s disease, as it is called in Europe, is an autoimmune disorder resulting in hyperthyroidism; bulging eyes are a very common symptom.

the six-day race: The fourth six-day race held in Copenhagen began November 27. See “I Aften lyder Skudet for det Qrede Seksdagesløbet i København,” Politiken, Nov. 27, 1936, at 10:1-6; Jensen, Under føelles ansvar at 313.

Knippels Bridge: As part of a military defense policy of building new fortress towns, in 1618 King Christian IV caused work to begin on the island of Christianshavn (the northern part of the island of Amager); it was connected to mainland Copenhagen by Den Store Amagerbro, later renamed Knippelsbro (Log Bridge). It was first built in 1618-1620 and rebuilt several times over the centuries. The third bridge built in 1906-1908 was hopelessly inadequate to the increased volume of automobile and bicycle traffic of the 1930s; crossing the interim bridge that was in operation from 1933 until a new bridge was opened on Dec. 17, 1937, was almost life-threatening for bicycle riders. Svend Ellehøj, Christian 4.s Tidsalder: 1596-1660, at 220-21, in Danmarks historie, vol. 7 (John Danstrup and Hal Koch eds.; Copenhagen: Politiken, 1964); Mogens Lebech, “Knippelsbro,” in København: Nu og før, vol. IV: Christianshavn Voldkvartererne at 41-48.

Christianshavns Square: Christianshavns Torv is a central square on Christianshavn. Lebech, “Torvegade og Torvet.”
Notes

159 Islands Wharf: Islands Brygge (Iceland’s Wharf) runs along the island of Amager.

159 Lange Bridge: Lange Bro (Long Bridge) connects the mainland of Copenhagen to the island of Amager. Dating back to the seventeenth century, it was rebuilt several times and in 1930 an interim bridge was built that stood into the postwar years. Mogens Lebech, “Langebro,” in København: Nu og før, vol. IV: Christianshavn Voldkvartererne at 159-64.

159 Nials Street: Njalsgade, as it is now written, runs for several blocks from Iceland’s Wharf to Amager Commons. Large apartment blocks occupied this entire stretch. For a photograph from 1938, see Lebech, “Yderkvarterernes Bebyggelse” at 165.

161 the new perfume . . . designed by Prince Yousoouf in London: Prince Felix Yusupov (Klitgaard used the French spelling) (1887-1967) led the group of conspirators who killed Rasputin on Dec. 30, 1916, and after the Bolshevik Revolution lived in England, France, and the United States. From a family of vast wealth in Russia, he sought to maintain a gay life style in the beau monde abroad. While he was visiting London in 1935, the Russian-born Mrs. Lythgaw Smith suggested they open a perfume shop under the name of an earlier business of his, Irfe (the first two letters of his and his wife’s names). He designed different perfumes, selling for £6 to £16, for blondes and brunettes. Christopher Dobson, Prince Felix Yusupov: The Man Who Killed Rasputin 172 (London: Harrap, 1989). According to Alexandre Vassiliev, Beauty in Exile: The Artists, Models, and Nobility Who Fled the Russian Revolution and Influenced the World of Fashion 279, 275 (Antonina Bouis and Anya Kucharev tr.; New York: Abrams, 2000 [1998]), Yusupov and his wife Irene had produced such perfumes in 1926, but the book also includes photos of the perfumes from 1936.

161 the ravishing velvet dream of a dress with zipper Madame Landowska has created: The first edition misspelled the designer’s name (Landkowska) and later editions followed it. Presumably Klitgaard found the reference in “Stribet Fløjlkasak,” Politiken Magasinet, Dec. 6, 1936, at 24:3-4, which spelled the name correctly.

161 sock-suspenders: Men used them at a time when socks lacked elastic bands; they were a typical Danish Christmas gift.

162 Christmas sheaths of grain have been hung on the trees on the boulevards for the birds, who aren’t permitted to starve in December:
Juleneg is a tradition at Christmas, when animals and humans are supposed to be treated well.

163 cheap ready-made Czechoslovak goods: Czechoslovakia was a leading world exporter of cotton yarn, cotton-piece goods, and wool yarn, but not of clothing; Denmark imported and Czechoslovakia exported 15 to 20 times more in yarn and fabrics than in ready-to-wear clothing. Exporting from countries (like Czechoslovakia) with old cotton-textile industries to countries (like Denmark) with newer cotton-textile industries was built into the structure of world trade in textiles. International Labour Office, *The World Textile Industry: Economic and Social Problems* 1: 73, tab. 2 at 73, tab. 4 at 75, tab. 12 at 97 (Geneva: ILO, 1937); L’Office de Statistique de la République Tchécoslovaque, *Annuaire Statistique de la République Tchécoslovaque*, tab. VII 4 at 126, tab. VII 8 at 131 (Prague: Orbis, 1936); Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarbog 1938*, tab. 93 at 83-84. Foreign exchange controls during the 1930s strictly limited the import of finished consumer goods, especially of those competing with domestic production; the Danish clothing industry was one of the chief beneficiaries of this protection of the home market. Vagn Dybdahl et al., *Krise i Danmark: Strukturan­dringer og krise­politik i 1930'erne* 159, 164 (Copenhagen: Berlingske forlag, 1975). Of the garments (including knitwear but excluding shoes and hats) valued at 18 million crowns officially imported by Denmark in 1936, only 94,000 crowns' worth of underwear came from Czechoslovakia. Danmarks Statistik, *Danmarks Vareindførsel og ­ud­førsel i Aaret 1936*, tab. 2 at 109-17, in *Statistisk Tabel­værk*, Femte Række, Litra D, Nr. 57 (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1937). Imports of cheap mass-produced Czech clothing may have resulted from exchange agreements involving Danish exports or illegal transactions involving re-exports of goods to countries from which imports were permitted and removal of labels identifying the country of origin. Email from Morten Thing (July 2 and 9, 2001) and Prof. Ole Hyldtoft, Department of History, University of Copenhagen (July 2, 2001).

165 Could he maybe get him foreign currency?: In January 1932 the Danish government established a de facto foreign currency monopoly: a central office (*Valutacentralen*) rationed and allocated foreign currency to importers—who were required to have a certificate from the central office, which in issuing certificates had to take into account the need for imported raw materials for Danish exporting firms and raw
Notes

materials and means of production to maintain domestic production—thus in effect regulating imports. To be sure, especially after 1935, all the important national business associations were coopted into a foreign currency council, which helped prepare the guidelines for foreign currency allocations. Rasmussen, _Velfærdsstaten på Vej: 1913-1939_, at 410-28; Dybdahl et al., _Krise i Danmark_ at 136-38; Hansen and Henriksen, _Sociale brydninger 1914-39_, at 279-80, 302-304.

165 It was make or break, this business here, and obviously it turned out to be break: On Klitgaard’s view of the applicability of this “make or break” situation to his own life while writing the novel, see above “Introduction” at p. xix.

166 That damn pressure that’s settled over him has surely got to be able to pass: The first edition, followed by the 1997 edition, contains a typo, misspelling _fortage_ as _foretage_ (“do”), which is nonsensical here; the 1970 edition corrected it.

166 There he turns the corner at Farimags Street and swims with the current down Frederiksborg Street. There he comes to a halt at Kongens Nytorv: Kongens Nytorv is about three-quarters of a mile from the intersection of Farimagsgade and Frederiksborggade. _Farimag_ means “slowpoke”; before 1880, the street was called _Farimagsgade_, and meant a road people drove slowly on. _Ordbog over det Danske Sprog_ 4:768 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1994 [1922]).

166 Smile your way through life: “Smil dig gennem Livet” is the title of a slow-waltz composed by Sven Gyldmark; the text is by Axel Andreassen. Two different Danish recordings were made of the waltz in 1934, and in 1936 it was published as sheet music. The song apparently originated in “4 Uger i Himmerig.” Email from Svend Ravnkilde, Danish Music Information Centre (May 29, 2001).

169 _club-sjavs_: This game is apparently the same as the previously mentioned _sjavs_, which may merely be shortened form. Email from John McLeod (May 20, 2001). See above note to p. 66.

170 Ørsted Works: This large municipal electricity generating plant, built between 1916 and 1920 and located in South Harbor, about 2 kilometers from Lange Bridge, is named for the Danish physicist Hans Christian Ørsted. Andreassen et al., “_Københavns Kommunes Administration_” at 56.

171 _the octroi house_: The _accisebod_, located on the ramparts of Christianshavn, was built in 1718-20; it collected the duty on domes-
tically produced goods brought into Copenhagen. This small yellow house, which is called the octroi house, was originally a porter’s lodge, the actual octroi house, built in the 1820s, having been torn down in 1913. In July 1936, just a few months before this scene takes place, the octroi house was moved back a few meters on rails to accommodate the widening of Amagerbrogade. http://www.ravelinen.dk/his-3uk.htm; Breidahl and Kjerulf, Københavnerliv gennem et halvt Aarhundrede . . . 1912-1937, at 496 (reprinting a newspaper article). For a photograph, see Mogens Lebech, “Torvegade og Torvet,” in København: Nu og før, vol. IV: Christianshavn Voldkvartererne at 69-82 at 80.

171 By the mill he goes up onto the ramparts: The ramparts are the old defenses of the city of Copenhagen which were removed elsewhere, but are preserved on Christianshavn and a popular place for walks. The lille mølle on Christianshavn was built around 1800 and stopped milling in 1890; its arms were removed in 1897. It is owned by the National Museum. Mogens Lebech, “Christianshavns Vold,” in København: Nu og før, vol. IV: Christianshavn Voldkvartererne at 149-58; http://www.ravelinen.dk/his-5.htm.

171-72 He takes out his knife . . . and desperately slices two deep gashes in his wrist: This episode, involving rejection by a brother who was a senior bank clerk, bears an uncanny resemblance to one in Klitgaard’s own life. One cold and windy evening in the fall of 1923, when he was living in Copenhagen unemployed and on public assistance, hunger drove him to visit his brother Svend, who was ten years older and rising quickly in a career at one of Denmark’s biggest banks. Despite repeated knocks, no one answered the door. On leaving, Klitgaard could see his brother’s and sister-in-law’s shadows from the street; that night he went to his room and slit his wrist. Leon Jaurnow, Den lyse vagabond: Mogens Klitgaards liv og forfatterskab 26-27 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, forthcoming).

172 National Hospital: The Rigshospital, which is located in Østerbro adjacent to Falldedparken, is about three or four kilometers from Christianshavn Torv. Opened in 1910, it was the premier hospital in Denmark. Breidahl and Kjerulf, Københavnerliv gennem et halvt Aarhundrede . . . 1883-1912, at 500 (reprinting a newspaper article). For a photograph of the entrance, see København: Før og nu, V:184.

172 Sundby Hospital: The distance to Rigshospital is about 30 percent greater than to Sundby Hospital, which after its thorough renova-
tion and expansion in 1933, became one of Denmark’s most modern hospitals. Jensen, *Under fælles ansvar* at 224-25.

173 *St. Hans Square*: Sct. Hanstorv, a short distance from the Rigshospital, is one end of Blegdamsvej, on to which the hospital faces.

173 *King Edward and Mrs. Simpson*: On Thursday, December 10, 1936, King Edward VIII announced that he would abdicate because the government would not permit him to marry Wallis Warfield Simpson, a twice-divorced Catholic.

173 *welfare*: Klitgaard uses the less common word *Social understøttelse* instead of the more common *Socialhjælp*, which was public assistance available to people after their unemployment compensation and special crisis-assistance ran out. The only reference to a use of the word in the *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* is Klitgaard’s use of it here. *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog* 20:1288-90 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1941]). Since the gardener with the florist shop was self-employed, he was not eligible for unemployment compensation and was thus relegated to public assistance (*Kommunehjælp*), receipt of which, even after the Social Democratic government revised the law in 1933, could trigger curtailment of civil rights as did receipt of poor-law help. *Lov Nr. 181 af 20 maj. 1933 om offentlig Forsorg*, sect. 1, subsect. 3, sects. 307 and 309, in *Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark Aaret 1933*, at 890, 978-79. In 1936-37, 8,716 persons receiving municipal relief lost the right to vote. *Danmarks Statistik*, *Statistisk Aarbog* 1938, tab. 160 at 143.

173 *ten sweet ones for fifty*. *It’s probably oranges*: The price is 50 øre. The world’s 15th largest importer in 1936, Denmark imported 8,975,600 kg. (65 percent of them from Spain) for 3,444,000 crowns; oranges were cheapest in December. Spain was the world’s biggest exporter, accounting for almost two-thirds of world exports from 1930 to 1934, but during the civil war imports from Italy and Palestine—Jaffa oranges were very popular in Denmark before World War II—rose strongly. *Danmarks Statistik*, *Danmarks Vareindførsel og udførsel i Aaret 1936*, tab. 2 at 90-91; U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Statistics* 1939, tab. 263 at 194 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939). “Sweet ones” (*søde*) was a common expression for oranges in the 1930s, but is not today. *Ordbog over det danske sprog* 23:255 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1996 [1946]).
Mogens Klitgaard, who died in 1945 at the age of 39, was Denmark's leading critical-realist and historical novelist between the world wars. Having grown up in an orphanage after both 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 was a vagabond in Europe for a decade until tuberculosis made that way of life impossible. In 1936, while working 80 hours a week for a pittance as a scorekeeper at a Copenhagen billiard parlor, he used the occasion of his 30th birthday to reevaluate his life and decided to write a novel. The result was *There's a Man Sitting on a Trolley*, a satirical yet 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 during the Great Depression. Adapting John Dos Passos's montage techniques to weave political and economic events into the action and consciousness of the characters, Klitgaard deftly conveys his fascination with and repugnance for the pulsating metropolis of Copenhagen, presenting perhaps the most poignant contemporaneous depiction of that city's bleak working-class slum life in the 1930s. Klitgaard has been praised for the "playful intensity" with which he combined a minimalist style with "evocative passages of...lyrical observation and sheer delight in the world" (Nils Ingwersen). Often compared to Hans Fallada's worldwide best-seller, *Little Man—What Now?*, Klitgaard's book offers deeper social insight without the distraction of a maudlin love story.

Translator Marc Linder, a professor of labor law at the University of Iowa who taught for three years at Roskilde University Centre in Denmark, has also translated four of Hans Kirk's classic novels: *The Fishermen*, *The Slave*, *The Day Laborers*, and *The New Times*. His Introduction and Notes place the book and the author in the context of Copenhagen during the 1930s.

*There's a Man Sitting on a Trolley*, like Kirk's novels, can be ordered from Iowa Book & Supply at (319) 337-4188 or iowabook@iowabook.com or Prairie Lights Books at (800) 295-BOOK or info@prairielights.com