Hans Kirk

The Day Laborers

and

The New Times

Translated and
with an Introduction and Notes by
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Notes

The bolded numbers at the left refer to the pages of *The Day Laborers* and *The New Times* on which the italicized text appears.

**The Day Laborers**

3 *farmers and smallholders*: Farmers (*bønder*) were classified as farming a farm (*bondegård* or peasant farm) assessed at between 1 and 12 *tonde hartkorn*; smallholders (*husmænd*) farmed land assessed at less than 1 *tonde hartkorn*. Danish statistics on farm size were a by-product of the tax laws, the basis of which was a *tonde hartkorn*, that is, an amount of hard corn (that is, about four bushels of rye or barley); this unit referred to the same productivity of a smaller area of fertile land or a larger area of less fertile land. Though geographically variable, 1 *tonde hartkorn* averaged 25 acres nationally. Einar Jensen, *Danish Agriculture: Its Economic Development* 126 n.4 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1937).

3 *daily bread*: See Matt. 6:11 (The Lord’s Prayer): “Give us this day our daily bread.”

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

4 *Lars Seldomglad*: This last name is a literal translation of the Dickensian name (*Sjældenglad*) Kirk gave this character. Although the name is unknown in Denmark, Kirk did use it for someone in his childhood memoirs whose “melancholy” made it “fit splendidly.” Hans Kirk, *Skyggespil* 104 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1998 [1953]).

4 *poor-law relief*: Although the Danish constitution (section 84 of
the constitution as amended in 1866) entitled all needy citizens to public assistance, the shame associated with receipt of poor-law relief was linked to the humiliating conditions of acceptance, including compulsory labor and placement in the poor house, the loss of control over any property the recipient owned and, for men, the loss of the freedom to marry without the poor-law authorities’ consent and loss of the right to vote; this disenfranchisement of paupers (who had not paid back or been forgiven their assistance) was retained, despite modernization of the poor law in 1891, because it was enshrined in the Danish constitution (section 30(b) of the constitution as amended in 1866); as late as 1886, one-fourth of male workers were deprived of the right to vote for this reason. Lov af 9de April 1891 om det offentlige Fattigvæsen, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1891, at 199-218, sects. 29, 38 and 42 at 206, 208-209 (Copenhagen: Schultz, n.d.); Jens Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv: En Lære bog i Danmarks statistik 569-75 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1930); Harald Jørgensen, Studier over det offentlige fattigvæsens historiske udvikling i Danmark i det 19. aarhundrede 84-88, 97-111 (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1979 [1940]).

4 Klovhusene: A fictitious place name.
4 the last days: Acts 2:17.
5 It’s in the holy scripture that the Lord put a rainbow in the heavens as a sign of the covenant: Genesis 9:12-14.
5 He promised us that from that time and till the end of the world, day and night and the course of nature wouldn’t cease: Gen. 8:22: “While the earth remaineth . . . day and night shall not cease.”
6 Boel-Erik: A boel (an older spelling of bol) was a small farm (see below note to p. 27). Boel was primarily a Jutlandish version of the female name Bodil, but here it doubtless refers to someone who grew up on or owned such a small farm.
6 Bregentved: Kir k gave Bregentved, who purports to be descended from nobility, a name with a somewhat distinguished ring to it. Bregn e means “fern,” while -tved is a suffix, which come to mean “place.”
6 Black Anders: His nickname Sorte (Anders being his first name) has been translated throughout as “Black.”
6 Jens Horse: This last name is a literal translation of the Danish word Hest, which is also unknown in Denmark.
6 Cilius: This very uncommon name, for a very special character, leaves Danish readers somewhat surprised. Kirk may have used the name to point to the fact that in earlier times parents sometimes gave children unusual names of biblical prophets and legendary figures. Whether Kirk was thinking of the Danish painter Cilius Andersen (1865-1913) is unknown. Email from Morten Thing (Oct. 9, 2000).

6 the next due date for mortgage interest payments: In Denmark they are due in semiannual installments on June 11 and December 11 (still popularly known as the “devil’s birthday”).

6 Færgeby: Literally Ferrytown. No Danish town bears this name, but Kirk may have synthesized it from several towns in the vicinity of Assens/Alslev. They include: Mariager, only a few miles west of Assens, which, though somewhat smaller in population than Assens, was much older, an official market town, and possessed of more varied commercial and cultural institutions; Hadsund, where Kirk grew up, which did have ferry service, but was located on the other side of Mariager Fjord; and Hobro, which lies at the extreme inland end of, and is the largest town on, the fjord, and the seat of Onsild Herred (district), where the district magistrate resided, whom Ulriksen and Tora and Olga Jensen seek out (see below p. 371). Although Hobro’s population amounted to only 3,161 in 1901, it was “a large city coming from Mariager’s lonely streets.” C. C. Clausen and J. J. Nielsen, Danmarks land col. 227 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, n.d. [1903]) (part on Jutland separately paginated). Contemporaneous information on these towns is available in volume 4 of J. P. Trap, Kongeriget Danmark (3rd ed.; Copenhagen: Gad, 1901); and Danmark land og folk: Historik-topografisk-statistisk haandbog, 3:104-105, 615-28, 698-99 (Daniel Bruun ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1920). Bjarne Nielsen Brovst, “De nye tider er forbi,” Jydske Tidende, Oct. 15, 1983, asserts that Færgeby is Kirk’s hometown of Hadsund without explaining how characters in the novel could walk or bicycle there from Assens/Alslev in spite of the fjord separating the towns.


7 unyielding minds: The phrase (tidselgemyter) is taken from Hans
Adolf Brorson’s hymn (1732), “Now Found Is the Fairest of Roses” (“Den yndigste rose er funden”). Brorson (1694-1764) was one of Denmark’s greatest hymnists.

7 the Lord doesn’t let a sparrow fall to earth without his will: See Matt. 10:29-30: “Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.”

8 kick against the pricks: Acts 9:5; 26:14. The phrase means “resist the inevitable.”

8 Grundtvigan: Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872) was a theologian, clergyman, poet, creator of a new Danish hymnbook, and founder of residential folk high schools for young adults (the first of which was established in 1844). Reacting against pietistic and rationalistic currents in Lutheranism, engaging worldly problems and pleasures, and propagating a common rural folk culture, Grundtvigianism became an optimistic ideology for Denmark’s growth-oriented, prosperous farmers after they had extricated themselves from the control of the large landed proprietors. See A. H. Hollman, The Folk High School, Part II of Democracy in Denmark (Alice Brandeis tr.; Washington, D.C.: National Home Library Foundation, 1936); Kaj Thaning, N.F.S. Grundtvig (David Hohnen tr.; Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab, 1972); Steven Borish, Danish Social Movements in a Time of Global Destabilization: Essays on the Heritage of Reventlow and Grundtvig, the Efterskole, the Postmodern (Vejle: Kroghs Forlag, 1996).

9 wise as serpents: Matt. 10:16.

10 band of friends: Venneflokken is a communal group of adherents of the Inner Mission or religious Grundtvigianism.


11-12 seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness: and all these things shall be added unto you: Matt. 6:33.

12 Pastors’ association: Den danske Præsteforening, which became a clergymen’s trade union vis-à-vis the Danish state church, was founded in 1896.

12 the Pharisees and the scribes: Luke 15:2 and many other biblical passages discuss them as self-righteous formalists.

13 He’d give them the pure word of the gospel in their face, the way Luther, the man of God, did it to the devil at Wartburg castle: According to legend, while Luther was translating the New Testament
into German in 1521, he threw an inkpot at the devil, who had wished to interfere with Luther’s work.

14 the blood of the lamb: Rev. 7:14, 12:11.

14 The Mirror of the Human Heart: This short book (54 pages), which was translated from the German (and apparently was originally written in French) and first appeared in Danish in 1842, went through at least seventeen editions, one appearing as late as 1926: Menneskets Hjertes Speil, fremstillet i ti figurer over den indvortes Tilstand og Beskaffenhed, enten det er et Guds tempel, eller at Satans Værksted (Odense 1842; 16th ed.; Odense 1918).

15-16 Oh sili vaasikum: These nonsense words sound funny in Danish because they contain the word vaas, which means “nonsense” and has a Latinate ending. Email from Morten Thing (Aug. 7, 2000).

17 Let not greed fill thy spirit, for to what end is mammon in the miser’s spirit: Despite the presence of several unusual Danish words in this biblical-sounding sentence (Lad ikke begærighed fylde din ånd, thi hvortil er mammon i niddingens ånd), no such biblical passage could be identified. Conceivably Kirk made it up to cast Andres, a miser’s miser, in a ridiculous light.

18 thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: Matt. 25:21.

18 Have to the plough you put your hand, let not your spirit waver: This hymn (“Har hånd du lagt på Herrens plov”), written by N. F. S. Grundtvig in 1836, is based on Luke 9:62: “And Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.” The Danish text is found in Den danske Salmebog, No. 575 at 586 (Copenhagen: Det kgl. Vajsenhus’ Forlag, 1969). For a translation, see Hymnal for Church and Home 212 (Blair, Neb.: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1927).

21 Spourup: A fictitious place name.

22 the works of the Lord: Psalms 77:12 (and other passages).

22 worldly children: Those who, unlike God’s children, have not been saved.

22 First then I could call Him my Master and Savior: This hymn, “I Saw Him in Childhood” (“Jeg saa ham som bam”), was written by Vilhelm Birkedal (1809-92) in 1858 and can be found in Den danske Salmebog, No. 58 at 69; it was translated by P. C. Paulsen in Hymnal for Church and Home at 249.
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23 Take no thought for the morrow. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof: Matt. 6:34. Kirk omitted an intervening sentence.

23 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched: Mark 9:48.

24 Large farmer: Beginning about 1850, the term proprietærer designated larger farmers whose landed estates ranged in size (12 to 30 tønder hartkorn) between peasant farms and manorial farms (godser) and who aligned themselves with the owners of the latter (godsejer). Proprietærer often stemmed from the urban bourgeoisie. Hans Jensen, “Godsejerklassen og herregaardene i historisk belysning,” in Herregaardene og samfundet at 13-92 at 69 (Therkel Mathiassen ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1943); F. Skrubbeltrang, Agricultural Development and Rural Reform in Denmark 93, 119 (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1953). In 1905 the total number of farms owned by proprietærer and godsejere was only 2,093 out of a total of 289,130 farms in Denmark, but accounted for about 15 percent of total farmland (by tønder hartkorn). Peasant farms (gårde) numbered 76,610, accounting for 73 percent of farmland, while small-holdings (huse) numbered 212,520 and accounted for only 11 percent of farmland. Danmarks Statistik, Statistisk Aarbog 1915, tab. 35 at 36-37, tab. 36 at 38 (Copenhagen: Thiele, 1915); Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv at 192.

24 parish council: The sogneråd was the local governing body in a rural district; its principal task was administering roads, schools, and poor relief. Its activities were supervised by the county council (Amtsråd). Harald Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark: Oprindelse og historisk udvikling indtil 1970, at 320-26 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1985).

27 Smallholder: A bo[e]lsmand was the owner of a farming operation (bolsted) smaller than a gård but larger than a hus.

27 If you’ve got money, you get ahead, if you’ve got none, you’re as good as dead: This line (Har du penge, går du frem, har du ingen, får du skam) is a variant of a well-known children’s rhyme from the song “Der bor en bager på Nørregade” about getting cookies at a bakery: Og har du penge kan du få, men har du ingen kan du gå (“If you have money, you can get, if you don’t, you can go”).

27-28 the parable that it is just as hard for the rich man to get into heaven as for a camel to get through the eye of a needle: According to Matt. 19:21-26, Mk. 10:23-32, and Luke 18:22-30, Christ said that it
was easier for a camel to go through a needle’s eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.

28 schnapps: The Danish words brændevin and snaps are derived from the German Branntwein and Schnaps. The former literally means “burned wine” and is etymologically related to “brandy,” while the latter meant a mouthful of a drink of Branntwein. Jakob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch 9:1175 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1899). The word that Kirk generally uses, brændevin, was more common in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, while snaps is more widely used today. Although generally brændevin was alcohol produced by distilling grain or potatoes, an 1857 tax trade license law expressly defined it as including in addition all kinds of distilled spirits. Lov af 29 December 1857 om Haandværks- og Fabrikdrift samt Handel og Beværtning, § 79, in Samling af endnu gjældende Love og Anordninger: 1849-1859, at 405, 425 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1861). Brændevin was also associated with products of simple distillery equipment at smaller distilleries or in households. Both Danish words are generic terms for “distilled spirits,” although they are more colloquial than that English term. Nevertheless, the workers in Kirk’s novels were presumably drinking some cheap version of aquavit, a clear Scandinavian liquor made of ethanol of agricultural origin, with an alcohol concentration of more than 37.5 percent, flavored with distillate of caraway seeds or dill, and containing dry matter (such as sugar) of less than 15 grams per liter. Although the failure to meet one of these criteria today would require selling the product as snaps in Denmark, consumers there generally regard akvavit and snaps as synonymous because they drink both with meals. The turn-of-the-century expression, “schnapps is the poor man’s aquavit” (see below p. 449), suggests that brændevin was cheaper and of lower quality than aquavit at that time. Email from Jette Ostergaard, Danish Distilleries A/S (Nov. 6, 2000). Because aquavit is not widely known in the English-speaking world, “schnapps” has been used here throughout (except on pp. 281 and 496, where Kirk expressly uses akvavit). The novels’ contemporaneous proletarian counterparts in the United States would presumably have been drinking whiskey, but that term would have been misleading in the novels since at the time it was a rich man’s drink in Denmark, even though as a collective term for hard liquor brændevin would have included whiskey.

28 coffee laced with schnapps: Kaffepuns or kaffepunch, which
apparently originated in Jutland, is schnapps considerably diluted with very strong black coffee.

33 In my cheerless chamber I often sit: Several Danish specialists, including Prof. Sven Hakon Rossel (University of Vienna) and the experts at the Danish Folklore Collection (Dansk Folkemindesamling) in Copenhagen were unable to identify this folk ballad ("Paa mit triste kammer tit jeg sidder"), which was probably a so-called penny or broadsheet ballad (skillingsvise), which people could buy. Although several Danish folklorists suggested that perhaps Kirk had himself written the ballad, Prof. Elias Bredsdorff persuasively argues that Kirk, who strove to recreate a milieu, would have considered making up a ballad "cheating." Email from Sven Hakon Rossel to translator, Dec. 14, 2000; telephone interviews with Elias Bredsdorff, autumn 2000. Pastor Frederik V. Jensen translated the ballad.

37 For not a sparrow falls on the ground without your will, and the very hairs of our head are all numbered: See above note to p. 7.

37-38 The Lord shall preserve our going out and our coming in from this time forth, and even for evermore: Psalms 121:8 (in the original "thy" is used instead of "our").

40 I'm no lady with three chimneys on my farmhouse: The number of chimneys on a house was an indicator of wealth because it meant that the owner was rich enough to have several tiled stoves and not just one in the kitchen.

41 Teach Me, Oh Woods, to Wither Gladly: The hymn ("Laer mig, o skov, at visne glad") was written in 1813 by Adam Oehlenschläger (1779-1850), a romantic poet, and appears in Den danske Salmebog, No. 632 at 642. The hymn on death and rebirth in nature continues: "like late in harvest your golden leaf, a better springtime is forthcoming." The translation is by Pastor Frederik V. Jensen.

41-42 the account in the Old Testament of the rainbow God put in heaven as a sign that night and day shall not deviate: This rather obscure exegesis may mean that the rainbow was the sign that summer and winter, day and night should not deviate from their "set" courses. Presumably Pastor Gamst was referring to Gen. 9:12-14. Pastor Frederik V. Jensen suggested this interpretation. Email to translator (Nov. 27, 2000).

42 this country with its couple of million people: At the census of 1901 and 1911 the population of Denmark was 2,449,540 and
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42 What shall I say when I see that all the woods are teeming!: Pastor Gamst is quoting this line from the hymn “Arise All Things that God Has Made” (“Op al den ting, som Gud har gjort”), written by Brorson in 1734. It appears in Den danske Salmebog, Nr. 12 at 17.

43 While thus seated under a rustic mulberry tree: The poem from which these verses were taken was written by Sophus Claussen, “Besøget i Himlen (The Visit in Heaven),” in Sophus Claussen, Titania holdt Bryllup: Digte 33-45 at 39 (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1927). Kirk had been a literary secretary to Claussen, one of Denmark’s leading poets, in the mid-1920s and even helped select the poems for this particular collection of Claussen’s poetry. Morten Thing, Hans Kirks mange ansigter: En biografi 100-103 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1997). From the rest of the poem it is clear that “he” is God. Pastor Frederik V. Jensen translated the verses.

44 when the clergyman has spoken, the deacon has the word: A degn denoted both the assistant to a pastor and a village teacher.

46 estate forest: A plantation was a forest on land not previously planted to trees—especially conifers planted in the worst Jutland heath. Much of this plantation work was done in connection with Det danske Hedeselskab (Danish Heath Society), which was founded in 1866 and directed by Enrico Mylius Dalgas (1828-1894).

50-51 assistance fund . . . poor-law assistance: Poor-relief funds (De fattiges kasse or de frie fattigkasser) were established in 1856 outside of the poor-law system. Initially their main source of revenue was church poor boxes, but gradually the townships and municipalities (kommuner) began subsidizing the funds; beginning in 1904 this support was promoted by statutes requiring the state to subsidize the kommuner. In 1907, the name was changed to assistance funds (hjælpe-kasser). Every municipality and township was required to have a fund whose purpose was to support the “deserving needy” outside the poor-relief system. Despite the constitutional entitlement of all needy citizens to public assistance, the funds’ capacities were limited by the amounts appropriated by the kommuner, and their chief beneficiaries were the temporarily unemployed. Lov af 29. Marts om Tilskud til “de fattiges kasser,” in Lovtiderende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1904, sect. 1 at 278 (Copenhagen: Schultz, n.d.); Lov af 4. Maj om Hjælpe-
kasser, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1907, at 452-56 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1908); Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv at 569-75; Jørgensen, Studier over det offentlige fattigvæsens historiske udvikling i Danmark i det 19. aarhundrede at 84-88, 97-111; Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 323-24.

52 man who moved boundary markers: A skelflytter secretly and fraudulently moved boundary markers to increase the extent of his own property.

53 Midsummer’s Eve: Sankthansaften, June 23, is named after Saint John the Baptist.

53 Lystrup: A small village a couple of miles east of Assens.

56 It’s the bigwigs that sit in the parish council and the assistance fund: The parish council did not directly control the assistance fund, but could make contributions (not to exceed 30 øre per inhabitant), one-third of which could be refunded by the state. The fund was managed by a board consisting of at least five members, who were elected by the voters of the township or municipality. Lov af 4. Maj om Hjælpe-kasser, sects. 3, 6, 7, and 14, at 452-55; Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 324.

57 ride the wooden horse: A punishment/torture, especially in the military and for peasants, in which a person was made to sit astride a narrow plank supported by two or four legs for extended periods of time with his hands tied behind him and weights tied to his feet. It went out of use at the end of the eighteenth century. Ordbog over det danske Sprog 24:782 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal 1996 [1948]).

57 secondary school: A realskole, following a reform of 1903, was a one-year program following a four-year middle school; it was not oriented, like a gymnasium, at preparing students for the university. Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 388-89.

57 a school that taught Latin: En lærde skole was also called a Latin school, which focused on teaching classical languages. Its original nineteenth-century purpose was to prepare pupils to enter Copenhagen University, until 1928 the country’s only university. Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 384-89.

58 We also saw, didn’t we, a school teacher as minister to the king: Jens Christian Christensen (1856-1930) was the Liberal (Venstre) prime minister (konseilspræsident) from 1905 to 1908. He had been a village schoolmaster in western Jutland, but school teachers were often also
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dacons.

62 "A Babe Is Born in Bethlehem": “Et Barn er født i Betlehem” was written by N. F. S. Grundtvig in 1820, but can be traced back to a Latin hymn from the Middle Ages, “Puer natus in Bethlehem.” The text is found in Den danske Salmebog, No. 85 at 96.

64 Vindblæs: A small community and a parish near Assens.

65 awakened: To be vakt involves recognition of one’s sinfulness and readiness for repentance.

65 a little backyard apartment: Though not a slum outright, it conjures up image of a dwelling squeezed between larger buildings and lacking sun and air.

67 the good way: See 1 Kings 8:36: “Then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people Israel, that thou teach them the good way wherein they should walk . . . .”

68 you know what’s written about Martha and Mary: one thing is needful: Luke 10:41-42.

69 the eternal fire where there’s groaning and gnashing of teeth: See Matt. 13:42: “And shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.” See also Matt. 13:50. Kirk uses the Danish word suk, which means “sighing” or “groaning,” although the Danish translations of the Bible use gråd, which means “weeping.”

71 Mission Tidings: Indre Missions Tidende is a weekly that has been published by the Inner Mission since 1854.

71 schnapps-devil: Brandevinsdjævel was apparently coined by Carl Moe, a fire-and-brimstone Inner Mission preacher, in a sermon he delivered in Harboor—an Inner Mission stronghold from which the fishermen in Kirk’s The Fishermen came and where Kirk’s paternal grandparents lived—in the 1880s. Later the expression spread to circles outside of the Inner Mission in the anti-alcoholism movement. The prevalence of working-class consumption of schnapps at the time is underscored by Martin Andersen Nexø’s memoirs of his experiences as a farm servant in the 1880s when it was customary for farmers to give farmhands a pint of schnapps a day. Even after some farmers had begun to do away with the custom and to pay their servants instead an additional eight crowns per half year, the farmer for whom Nexø worked refused to pay the amount, even though he did not himself drink schnapps and thought it made people into slaves. Martin Andersen Nexø, For lud og koldt vand 23 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1969
[1937]). He also reported that in the Copenhagen of his youth it was customary for distilleries to pay their employees one-fourth of their weekly wage in schnapps. Martin Andersen Nexo, *Et lille kræ* 68 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1969 [1932]).

72 *the works of the devil*: 1 John 3:8.

72 *the last is worse than the first*: Matt. 12:45 (“the last state of that man is worse than the first”).

73 *wherewith shall it be salted if the salt have lost his savour?:* See Matt. 5:13.

74 *overseer of snow removal*: Each parish council appointed several *snefogder*, who summoned those subject to an obligation to work. Farm servants had to do this work as part of their service—landowners were the legally responsible parties—but for the rural unemployed in the winter it was a chance to earn a day-wage from the parish. Lov af 9. April om snekastning, in *Lovtidende . . . for Aaret 1891*, at 219-24.

74 *I really don’t understand what’s written in the scriptures about work being a curse*: Cf. God’s message to Adam on driving him out of the Garden of Eden in Gen. 3:17-19.

78 *Old-Jep*: Jep is short for Jeppe, which is derived from Jacob (and is the equivalent of “Jake”), and may remind some Danish readers of the title character Jeppe of the Hill in Jeppe paa Bierget Eller Den forvandlede Bonde (*Jeppe of the Hill or the Transformation of a Peasant*) (1722), a famous satiric comedy by Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), the leading figure of the Danish enlightenment. Jeppe was a drunk, who was whipped by his wife and cuckolded by the parish deacon.

80 *peppernut cookies*: Peppernut cookies are customarily eaten at Christmastime and also used as the stakes in card games.

81 *the knave and the geezer and the guardsman*: According to an editor of the *Jysk Ordbog*, these Jutlandish words (svissi, pjolter, gardist) are not known to be names of cards and may be idiosyncratic jargon of Kirk’s figures. Email from Viggo Sorensen to Morten Thing (Aug. 7, 2000). Svisi can also mean a vagabond, while pjolter can also mean whiskey and soda water. Danish card enthusiasts were also unable to identify the cards that the words might designate. According to two East Jutland card enthusiasts (Knud Sorensen and Knud Erik Pedersen) consulted by Elias Bredsdorff, such card names varied from parish to parish in Jutland and would have been mutually unintelligible among neighbors. They did, however, believe that the game itself was called
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81 be my guest, as the deacon said when the clergyman kissed his wife: The deacon was traditionally a comic figure or one of ridicule in Danish literature. See, e.g., H. C. Andersen, “Lille Claus og Store Claus,” in H. C. Andersen, Samlede eventyr og historier 1:14-25 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1962 [1835]).

84 fourteen acres of heath: The one tønde of land in the Danish text is about 13.6 acres.

89 Lovely is the earth: “Dejlig er jorden” is one of Denmark’s best-known hymns. It was written by Bernhard Severin Ingemann (1789-1862) in 1850 following the battle of Isted—the bloodiest ever until then on Danish soil—in the course of the war over Schleswig-Holstein. The text may be found in Den danske Salmebog, Nr. 111 at 125.

89 Goethe-harmony: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s classical ideal of harmony, as presented in Wilhelm Meister, was based on educating a harmoniously free humanity, in whom all human capacities would be developed into a beautiful equilibrium.

90 good gifts: Matt. 7:11. Other biblical passages use “good things.”

94 yoke: The yoke (klaptræerne) Marinus has in mind is not the kind used to couple two animals (especially oxen) together for pulling a plow, but a simple self-fashioned wooden frame, consisting of sticks tied together, around the neck of a cow or other animal to prevent it from pushing through a fence. Both the object and the word have largely disappeared in Denmark and the United States. Ordbog over det danske sprog 10:477-78 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1994 [1928]); Oxford English Dictionary 20:756, col. 1 (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989 [1933]). Marinus’s insult conveys the sentiment that the drunken man needs to be restrained from leaving the precincts in which he usually roams.

94 With an “Our Father” in your sight, you shall not be trembling: The line is taken from the hymn “Always Carefree When You Stroll” (“Altid frejdig, når du går”) written by Christian Richardt in 1867. The text appears in Den danske Salmebog, No. 727 at 736. It was also much used by the Danish Resistance during World War II. The translation here is by Pastor Frederik V. Jensen: “Always carefree when you stroll/on ways of God’s own knowing./even if you reach the goal./ only at this
world’s ending./ Never fear the darkest might/ look, the stars are shining,/ with an ‘Our Father’ in your sight,/ you shall not be trembling!/ Fight for all that you hold dear!/ Die, if that’s what’s called for,/ then life isn’t so severe,/ and death is then not quite so sore!”

94 governess-cart: a light two-wheeled vehicle with two seats on the sides facing each other.

97 nag: The Danish word, klaphingst, means a horse that has been imperfectly castrated or one of whose testicles failed to descend properly. Most Danes, while not knowing this precise meaning, would know that the word refers to a horse that is not in good condition. The English equivalent, “ridgeling,” is so obscure that it would not only be unintelligible and fail to convey any sense of the word, but would sound inauthentic in context.

98 meat of dead cattle: Meat from animals that were not slaughtered, but that died of disease or accidents, and is not fit for human consumption.

99 herdsman: Herdsmen (or cattlemen), whose confining work required them to take care of the dairy herd every day, were paid considerably more than farmhands, their positions were often for life, and their wives typically had to milk. Danmarks Statistik, Tyende- og Daglejerlønnen i Landbruget 1915, at tab. 5 at 21, 23 (Statistiske Meddelelser, 4th ser., vol. 51, fasc. 2; Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1916); Jensen, Danish Agriculture at 142 n.8.

102 And I’m supposed to fatten them up with whole milk!: This scene may go back to Kirk’s childhood experiences, contemporaneous with the action in the novel set in the first decade of the twentieth century. Driving around the Mariager Fjord area with his father, a country doctor, Kirk reported in his memoirs witnessing his father telling one of the district’s largest farmers that he should give his herdsman whole milk because his children were undernourished: “Children can’t manage on skim milk, potatoes, and tough meat. You can afford it.” The farmer replied that the doctor didn’t know what he was talking about: these people bred like rats and did nothing but stuff themselves and whores. When the farmer turned his back on them, Kirk saw an “ugly, fat, blotchy neck. Oh well, father says, after all he’s not an evil person, he’s just stupid. But it’s a high price [to pay] when stupid people have too much to say.” Kirk, Skyggespil at 77.

102 nobody’s going to bamboozle me: The cryptic comment by the
owner of Holle Estate (mig skal ingen rende ladeporte ind med: nobody’s going to run in my barn doors) is a curtailed and inverted version of an idiom (vi kan rende gennem en lukket ladeporte uden at han kan mærke det: we can run through a closed barn door without his noticing it) meaning that someone is stupid.

103 we put our trust in him who dresses the lily in all its glory: Cf. Matt. 6:28-30.

108 It was her inheritance they were bargaining over, but no one asked her what she thought: By the early twentieth century, “the antiquated provisions of the Danish marriage law were the source of repeated pleas for . . . reform . . .” The Danish Statute Book of 1683 had provided for community property between husband and wife, but only the husband “was entitled to dispose of the joint estate, married women being under a legal disability in matters of property.” Johannes Faurholt and Per Federspiel, Recent Danish Legislation on the Relation of Husband and Wife 3, 9 (Copenhagen: Nielsen & Lydiche, 1927). According to the Married Women’s Property Act of 1899, the husband had control over the joint estate; however, he was forbidden, without the wife’s consent, to sell any real property which, according to the title deeds, the wife had contributed to the joint estate. Lov nr. 75 af 7. April 1899 om Formueforholdet imellem ægtefeller, § 11, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1899, at 323-29 at 325 (Copenhagen: Schultz, n.d.). Thus, if the title deed revealed that Frederikke owned the farm, Cilius would have needed her consent to sell it. It was not until 1925 that a wife became entitled, during her lifetime, to dispose freely of all property she brought into the joint estate. Lov nr. 56 af 18. marts 1925 om ægteskabets retsvirkninger, § 16, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1925, at 209-19 at 211 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1926). Thus the reader is left with the suspicion that the physically and psychologically overpowering Cilius, if he sold the farm without Frederikke’s consent, would not have been acting in a wholly lawful manner. As the holder of a law degree who had practiced law, Kirk was almost certainly familiar with these legal nuances.

108 agricultural consultant: Consulting agronomists were largely employed by farmers’ and smallholders’ associations and their salaries were subsidized by the state. They performed services roughly similar to those of county agents in the United States. Jensen, Danish Agriculture at 180.
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111 the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests: Matt. 8:20.

116 According to the words of the scripture, we shall be to one another as brothers: Cf. 1 John 4:21: “And this commandment we have from him, That he who loveth God loveth his brother also.”

116 a good example to the uncircumcised: Cf. Rom. 4:9-12; Eph. 2:11-22.

116 Seek not your own: 1 Cor. 13:5: Charity (or love) “seeketh not its own.” Cf. also Philippians 2:4.”

116 Ye are the salt, and if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted: Matt. 5:13 (“Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted”).

120 market town: A købstad was a town either having a significant population whose livelihood was dependent on trade and industry or one on which the king had historically conferred special municipal trading or manufacturing privileges.

121 lay not up for yourselves treasures where moth and rust doth corrupt. . . .: Matt. 6:19.

122 the woman shall be a helpmate to the man: Gen. 2:18.

122 It’s written: be meek: Cf. Matt. 5:5: “Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.”

127 How the cement was actually manufactured, they weren’t clear about. Maybe you dug it right out of the cliff and poured it into sacks: Even in the much larger industrial city of Aalborg, when the first cement factory was being built there around 1890, a large part of the local population was unfamiliar with cement. Jesper Nielsen, Cementarbejdernes Fagforening 1896-1996, at 93 (Aalborg: Cementarbejdernes Fagforening, 1996).

130 in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread: Genesis 3:19.

130 thou shalt not worship the golden calf: See Ex. 32.

131 ultimately it was the farmers and the big taxpayers who had to pay for them in their old age: In 1891 Denmark became one of the first countries to enact an old-age assistance system. The Law on Old-Age Assistance for Worthy Needy Outside the Poor-Law System (Lov om alderdomsunderstøttelse til verdige trængende uden for fattigvesenet), which was viewed as a supplement to the new poor law enacted the same day, covered all needy persons over the age of sixty who had not received poor-law assistance in the previous ten years (initially only 30
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percent of the population received the benefit). The benefit was financed from general taxation—initially a tax on beer, largely consumed by workers—but the law did not specify its amount, which was set by municipalities and townships and subsidized by the state. Jørgensen, Studier over det offentlige fattigvæsens historiske udvikling i Danmark i det 19. aarhundrede at 208-17; Danmark som foregangsland: Et bæredygtigt pensionssystem 25 (Copenhagen: Ministry of Economics, 2000). For an analysis of the transitional regime between the poor law and universal pensions stressing the perceived need to support farm-workers without imposing the costs on farmers, see Peter Baldwin, The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State 1875-1975, at 65-76 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

134 let your communication be, Yea, yea, Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil: Matt. 5:37.

136 ready to seize the opportunity: This literary phrase in Danish is taken from Luke 19:44: “thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.”

137 Jens Horse: From the first edition on, this character in this one passage only is called “Niels Horse”; on the assumption that Kirk overlooked this inconsistency, the name has been corrected.

140 The foxes have holes . . . and the birds of the air have nests: See above note to p. 111.

143 Can someone even take to the road in Denmark? I bummed my way in America: Perhaps Hopner asks because at the time most states in the United States criminalized vagrancy. In California, for example, “Every person . . . without visible means of living who has the physical ability to work, and who does not seek employment, nor labor when employment is offered him . . . or who roams about from place to place without any lawful business . . . is a vagrant, and is punishable by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment . . . not exceeding six months . . . .” 1903 Cal. Stat. at 96.

145 hard: This word has been translated according to the text of the last edition to appear in Kirk’s lifetime (svært). The text of the first edition reads “strange” (sær). Both words are possible in this context, but the former has been adopted because it seems somewhat more fitting, although it may merely be a typo.

145 farm-pensioner’s house: An aftægtshus is a house for lifetime occupancy of which a retiring farmer who has sold his farm contracts with the person to whom he has sold the house.
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151 a dredger, which was meant to make the fjord deeper so big ships could enter to pick up cement: The fact that the entrance to the Limfjord east of Aalborg was made deeper than that of Mariager Fjord was an important factor in establishing the preeminence of the cement industry at Aalborg. Henning Bender, Aalborgs industrielle udvikling fra 1735 til 1940, at 374 (Aalborg: Aalborg Kommune, 1987).

153 Some were from the west, and others lived on the islands: The navvies were from western Jutland and the many Danish islands.

154 salvation was prepared: Luke 2:30-31: “mine eyes have seen thy salvation, Which thou hast prepared . . . .”

158 Suffer the little children to come unto me: Mk. 10:14.

160 Moloch: A biblical idol to which children were sacrificed. Lev. 18:21.

161 islander: Iver came from one of the Danish islands (Zealand) rather than the Jutland mainland.

164 jamb stoves: A bilæggerovn was a tile stove set into the wall and fired from the fireplace of an adjoining room.

166 In reality there’s no social class that’s worse off than agriculture’s smallholders: On Kirk’s similar views, see above “Introduction” at pp. xix-xxi.

167 let the car drive: The Danish phrase (lod bilen kører) leaves even some Danish literature and language experts puzzled because it makes grammatical sense only if Schjott has a driver; yet there is no indication that he has a chauffeur and, given the ridicule to which Kirk otherwise exposes him, Kirk would certainly have highlighted Schjøtt’s having a chauffeur. Kirk may have chosen this rather subtle way of mocking Schjøtt’s desire to give himself a majestic appearance by ‘letting the car drive’ rather than driving it himself.

169 warm the tiles and put them in the bed so they could get some warmth in their bodies: It was customary, especially in clay-rich mid-Jutland, to heat up clay tiles and put them under down quilts to warm up the bed.

176 But Marinus didn’t think much of soil if rye couldn’t grow on it: Although rye was far from being the most important crop at the time in Denmark or Jutland, it was the basic bread grain in the countryside, where people ate wheat bread only on Sundays. Marinus may therefore have meant that if Boel-Erik as a day laborer did not cultivate rye, he would not be able to survive.
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179 election: 2 Pet. 1:10: “brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure.”

180 For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known. Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the housetops: Luke 12:2-3.


181 whited sepulchers: Matt. 23:27: “Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men’s bones, and of all uncleanness.”

182 If someone strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other also: Cf. Matt. 5:39.

182 borne false witness against her neighbor: Cf. Ex. 20:16.

185 stories on high: Amos 9:6: “It is he that buildeth his stories in the heaven . . . .”

187 put his house in order: 2 Kings 20:1: “Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order . . . .”

194 I’ve wrestled like Jacob with the Lord: Gen. 32:24-28.

206 Mrs. Marja: In Danish (as in English) it is not common to call a married woman “Mrs.” followed by her first name alone. The familiar tone evoked by “Mrs. Marja” conjures up a false intimacy in the style of the sensationalist weekly press and exposes her as a public female with a touch of upper-class frivolity. Marja itself, which is Finnish for Mary, would have been very uncommon as a Danish name. To Danish ears it sounds exotic and yet, by association with Mariager Fjord, perhaps also familiar. Email from Morten Thing (Oct. 9-10, 2000); email from Helli Skærbak (Oct. 9, 2000).

206 The farmers didn’t want to know anything about unions: the man who joined wouldn’t get work on the farms: On Kirk’s view of the difficulties in organizing farmworkers, see above “Introduction” at p. xx-xxi.

207 it’s written that we must love our enemies: Luke 6:27: “Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you.”

211 But now at least he had joined a union, an association of Christian workers and employers: In 1899 the Kristeligt dansk Fællesforbund for Arbejdsgivere og Arbejdere (KdF) was formed, which had
its origins in the Inner Mission and the latter’s view of employers and employees as having common interests. By 1907 the KdF’s by-laws guaranteed that the group’s Christian line was not inconsistent with the Inner Mission’s. The chairman of the Inner Mission, Vilhelm Beck, who criticized the socialist unions’ class-struggle ideology, warmly recommended the organization. The organization rejected such an ideology, which viewed employers as enemies; the KdF also rejected strikes and lockouts. By 1901 the KdF, which had its greatest strength in smaller towns in Jutland, had gained about 4,000 members, but it failed to achieve any prominence. Bent Honoré, Den kristelige fagbevægelse 16-34 (Randers: Kristeligt dansk Fællesforbund, 1985); Henry Bruun, Den faglige arbejderbevægelse i Danmark indtil aar 1900, Pt. I: Til ca. 1880, at 279 (Copenhagen: Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie, 1977 [1938]); Axel Nielsen, Dänische Wirtschaftsgeschichte 560 (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933).

213 Judge not: See Matt. 7:1: “Judge not, that ye be not judged.”

213 called . . . unto him: Matt. 10:1 and numerous other passages.

214 true life: This phrase may be taken from 1 Tim. 6:19 and is variously translated as the real, true, or eternal life.

215 Boel-Erik pointed out a farm . . . where he’d been placed in service by the parish council when he was a boy: Under the old poor-law system, the parish invited bids for farming out paupers’ children and accepted the lowest bid; after finishing school, they were placed as farm or domestic servants. Even after termination of farming out, such children continued to be placed as servants until they were eighteen years old. Jørgensen, Studier over det offentlige fattigvæsens historiske udvikling i Danmark i det 19. aarhundrede at 189, 247-49, 254-57; Lov af den 9de April 1891 om det offentlige Fattigvæsen, sect. 30 at 206.

215 the Socialist March: Written in 1871 by Ulrik Peter Overby (1819-1879), “Snart dages det, brodre” (“Soon the Day Is Dawning, Brothers”) is one of the labor movement’s most important songs and still a fixed feature at May Day parades.

215 a member of parliament . . . making a speech . . . with a flaming red beard and a tremendous voice: The description fits the Social Democratic orator and leader Frederik Borgbjerg (1866-1936).

216 you’ve got children to support: Since Cilius has only one child, the phrase may be used here as a fixed figure of speech with the plural applied even to a parent of a single child.
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216 farmhands who were observing the day on which their term of service ended and started again: According to the law governing master-servant relations then in effect for agriculture and domestic service, the general times for hiring for service entered into for more than a half-year were May 1st and November 1st (skiftedag); in other words, servants who contracted to work for at least a half-year were not permitted to leave before the expiration of that period. Tyendelov for Kongeriget Danmark, 10 Mai 1854, sect. 11, in *Samling af endnu gældende Love* at 238, 239. This provision remained in effect even after the statute was replaced by a less coercive regime. Lov af 6. Maj 1921 om Retsforhold mellem Husbond og Medhjælpere, sect. 3. *Pelle the Conqueror* opens on May 1, 1877, as Pelle and his father arrive on Bornholm with other Swedish workers who are met at the boat by farmers seeking to hire farmhands. Martin Andersen Nexø, *Pelle Erobreren* 1:11 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1996 [1906]). In his memoirs of his youth as a farm servant, Andersen Nexø characterized it as a “slave law, which the farmers faithfully helped one another enforce literally against us.” Martin Andersen Nexø, *For lud og koldt vand* at 23. The struggle against the much disliked 1854 law was initiated by socialist groups in 1871. Ulf Torlyn and Keld Thomsen, *Det opsætsige tyende: Kvindearbejde og organisering, 1870-1920*, at 70 (Århus: Brændenælen, n.d. [1979]). The harsh and oppressive conditions of domestic service are also reflected in *Pelle the Conqueror*, which is set a bit earlier than the events in Kirk’s novels. In it a class-conscious bricklayer in Copenhagen expresses his anger over a daughter’s working as a domestic servant by calling the work “nice slavery [et kønt slaveri].” Martin Andersen Nexø, *Pelle Erobreren* 2:101 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1996 [1909]). The title character of *Ditte Menneskebarn*, after having worked as a domestic servant in Copenhagen, decides that she will give it up for “free labor [frit arbejde].” Martin Andersen Nexø, *Ditte Menneskebarn* 2:127 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1919]).

219 contract note: A document establishing the main points of a deal that has been concluded; it is usually superseded by a detailed contract.


224 the factory worker—he’s . . . achieved so much in material welfare that all that nonsense about suffering and renunciation appears foolish to him: For Kirk’s views of these issues at the time he was writ-

225 *He knows a little about where things are headed:* The Danish verb *snerpe hen* comes from an idiom about the fictitious town of Snerpe: *han ved at byen hedder Snerpe, men han ved ikke hvor den snerper hen* (he knows the town is called Snerpe, but he doesn’t know what it’s about); it means that one knows something about a matter, but not its whole context.

228 *union:* The Cement Workers Union (*Cementarbejderne’s Fagforening*) was organized at the Aalborg Portland-Cement-Factory at Rørdal in 1896; in turn, that same year it joined the Laborers’ Union for Jutland and Funen (as of 1897 called the Danish Laborers’ Union (*Dansk Arbejdsmands Forbund*)), which included unskilled workers from almost every industry. The Cement Workers Union’s membership rose from 122 in 1896 to 600 by 1920. Nielsen, *Cementarbejderne’s Fagforening 1896-1996*, at 17, 21, 30; Walter Galenson, *The Danish System of Labor Relations: A Study in Industrial Peace* 22-24 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952)

231 *credit association:* An organization of property-owning borrowers whose joint and several liability enable them to obtain cheaper and larger loans. This type of financial institution began in Denmark in 1850. Warming, *Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv* at 425-28.

232 *Cilius went to Høpner and explained that they couldn’t work together with Kresten Bossen, who had to be regarded as nonunion.* “What’s that supposed to mean?” Høpner asked. “We’ll be obliged to strike,” Cilius said. Labor unions sought to combat the *Kristeligt dansk Fællesforbund for Arbejdsgivere og Arbejdere* by prohibiting their members from working at places of employment where KdF-members worked. Honoré, *Den kristelige fagbevægelse* at 31.

233 *in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread:* See above note to p. 130.

233 *Render therefore unto God the things which be God’s,* and unto Caesar the things which be Caesar’s: Luke 20:25 (and other passages). Kirk has inverted the order in which God and Caesar are mentioned in these biblical passages.

235 *rotary kiln:* See below note to p. 269.

241 *poor farm:* Beginning in the 1860s, at a time of severe strain for agricultural workers, many townships established poor farms to
which they referred most of the parish's poor. Originally the inmates furnished their own subsistence by cultivating the plots or gardens attached to the farm. Poor people generally regarded the poor farm as the most frightful prospect and engaged in "heroic" struggles to avoid being sent there; the parish councils successfully used the threat of the poor farm as a means of discouraging the poor from seeking poor relief. The poor-farm movement peaked in the 1880s. Other parish councils established special poorhouses, whose primary object was to provide shelter especially for the elderly destitute. Jørgensen, *Lokaladministration i Danmark* at 320-21; Jørgensen, *Studier over det offentlige fattigvæsens historiske udvikling i Danmark i det 19. aarhundrede* at 184 (quote), 270-312.

245 the wide world: This phrase has been translated according to the text of the last edition to appear in Kirk’s lifetime (den vide verden). The text of the first edition reads “the wild world” (den vilde verden). Although both phrases are possible in this context, the former has been adopted because it seems somewhat more fitting.

247 Now they were laborers and in a labor union: The former agricultural day laborers had become industrial unskilled laborers (arbejdsmaænd); cement workers were organized in the *Arbejdsmands Forbund*, an organization of unskilled laborers. See above note to p. 228.


249 Funen: The Danish island immediately adjacent to south Jutland.

249 Is she going to change jobs in November?: See above note to p. 216.

250 Zealand: The major Danish island, on which Copenhagen is located.
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250 Bornholm: A Danish island in the Baltic Sea south of Sweden and north of Germany and Poland.

251 Well: Laurids uses this English word.

255 thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: See above note to p. 18.

258 I almost think she uses bank notes where other people can make do with a newspaper: Presumably Andres has in mind such uses as wrapping fish and toilet paper.

258 a town next to a factory: The Danish censuses of 1911 and 1921 referred to it as Assens Factory Town and Assens Cement Town. See above “Introduction” at p. xv.

262 farm lodgers: An indsiddler was a farm laborer who rented a place to live on a farm without having full-time employment there (especially in the winter).

264 The new life: Kirk had tentatively titled the second volume of the trilogy The New Life. Thing, Hans Kirks mange ansigter at 173.
The New Times

269 the cement factory: Following the excavation or quarrying of the two principal raw materials, chalk (or elsewhere limestone) and clay, the main processes in the manufacture of cement are: (1) crushing, grinding, and mixing; (2) burning (at 2,600 to 3,000 degrees F.) to incipient fusion or calcination resulting in the production of clinker; (3) cooling and grinding of clinker into clinker powder in rotary coolers. William Brown, The Portland Cement Industry: A Practical Treatise on the Building, Equipping and Economical Running of a Portland Cement Plant 10 (New York: Van Nostrand, 1917).

269 the huge rotary kilns: The slurry is fed into the higher end of the kiln, whose axis is inclined slightly from the horizontal, and burned at the lower end. The rotary kiln was viewed as revolutionizing the cement industry because it reduced both capital expenditures and the number of workers, simplified manufacturing, and improved the quality and uniformity of cement. In Europe, kiln technology in the nineteenth century had been driven by the relative expensiveness of fuel and the relative cheapness of labor. Because coal was relatively cheap in the United States and oil had just been discovered and was also cheap there, while wages were higher than in Europe, the practical development of the rotary kiln, which had been patented in Britain in 1885 and required huge amounts of fuel, was stymied in Europe and brought to fruition in the United States, where technicians focused on the most labor-saving burning methods regardless of the impact on fuel economy. Use of rotary kilns in the United States proliferated in the latter part of the 1890s. It was only when rising oil prices forced firms to accommodate the use of pulverized coal as a fuel that rotary kilns became profitable to use in Europe, where the Aalborg Portland-Cement-Factory was the first to adopt it in 1898. The rotary kiln reduced the number of workers at a cement plant by 80 percent; its introduction at the Aalborg plant prompted the discharge of about 100 workers, which was “extremely unpleasant for those concerned,” but in the long run a “blessing.” Knudåge Riisager, F. L. Smith & Co.: 1882-1922, at 100-106, 259-60 (quote) (Copenhagen: Langkjær, 1921); S. B. Newberry, “Portland Cement—Sketch of Materials and Process,” in The Cement Industry: Descriptions of Portland and Natural Cement Plants in the United States and Europe, with Notes on Materials and Processes in Portland Cement
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269 tube mills: Cylindrical rotating mills that grind raw materials.


269 sanatorium for tuberculosis: The Nationalforening til Tuberkulosens Bekæmpelse, founded at the turn of the century, which aspired to afford treatment to patients too poor to pay for it, helped build numerous sanatoriums, at least one of which (at Skørping, which opened in 1906) was not far from Assens. The Danish state began to play a major part in combating tuberculosis in 1905 with the enactment of a statute providing state subsidies for sanatoriums and treatment of patients outside the poor-law system. To insure that personal economic circumstances did not interfere with tracking and treating the disease, the Danish state and local governments heavily subsidized the sanatoriums’ operation and poor patients’ stays. Lov om Statsstotte til Sygehuse for Tuberkulose samt til Patienters Behandling paa saadane af 14de April 1905, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1905, at 299-302 (Copenhagen: Schultz, n.d.); Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv at 537; National Association for the Fight Against Tuberculosis, The Fight Against Tuberculosis in Denmark (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1950); Ole Horwitz, “Bekæmpelsen af lungentuberkulose i det 20. århundrede,” Ugeskrift for læger, 128:127-31 at 129 (Jan. 27, 1966); Ida Blom, “Frivillige organisasjoner i kamp mot tuberkulose 1900-1940: En norsk-dansk sammenlikning,” in Den privat-offentliga gränsen: Det sociala arbets strategier och aktörer i Norden 1860-1940, at 209-40 (Monika Janfelt ed.; Copenhagen: Nordisk Ministerråd, 1999).

270 or maybe they give notice at this time of year on Funen?: See above note to p. 216.

270 You have a singsong intonation as fine as the way the deacon sings the offertory: Danes outside of Funen perceive natives of Funen as having a charming melody to their speech.

273 bought the Færgeby station master’s furniture at an estate auc-
tion: The Danish phrase efter stationsforstanderen is ambiguous: it probably means that the station master died, but could also mean that he had retired or moved to a smaller dwelling or to a station in another town.

273-74 I certainly understand you'd prefer to get away from that place: What is translated here as “place” in the original is land, which means “country”; it is an abbreviated form of Fynsland, a common term for Funen, which Danes would perceive as a place and not a country.

274 kick against the pricks: See above note to p. 8.

275 good doctrine: Prov. 4:2: “I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my law.”

277 Zealander: Iver was from the Danish island of Zealand.

278 “I mean you’ve got a real gift for it,” Cilius said: This sentence is in the first and second editions, but was omitted in the 1959 and paperback editions. The omission appears to be erroneous because leaving out Cilius’s name makes the flow of the dialog awkward.

280 poor farm: See above note to p. 241.

281 the Socialist March: See above note to p. 215.

281 Brønderslev: A town about fifty miles north of Assens, where the Great Brønderslev Fair had been a tradition since 1843.

285 thorn in the flesh: 2 Cor. 12:7: “lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me . . . .”

286 Be content in all things: Cf. Phil. 4:11: “for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.”

287 I’ve been faithful over the few things that were entrusted to me by the gospel’s sacred word: See above note to p. 18.

289-90 the learned college in Copenhagen: This lærde kursus was probably a so-called Latin or learned school. See above note to p. 57.

292 assistance fund: See above note to pp. 50-51.

293 mockery will be smitten on one’s own mouth: For similar sentiments, see Prov. 9:12 (“if thou scorner, thou alone shalt bear it”) and 30:17 (“The eye that mocketh at his father . . . the ravens of the valley shall pick it out”).

295 strike: In 1910 the cement workers at Denmark’s biggest cement plant, Aalborg Portland-Cement-Factory, threatened to strike if the firm did not agree to their demand for an increase in their hourly wage from 30 to 35 øre. Management refused and a lockout was de-
declared for the whole industry. The strike was settled after six weeks on the basis that the hourly wage would rise to 32 øre in 1910, 33 øre in 1911, and 34 øre in 1912. Another strike took place in 1912 when the Cement Workers Union demanded an hourly wage increase of 10 øre and management made a counter-demand of a 5-øre wage decrease. Following an eight-week lockout, a four-year agreement was reached providing for a 2-øre increase in 1912, and 1-øre increases in 1913 and 1914. Nielsen, Cementarbejdernes Fagforening 1896-1996, at 34-35.

295 final strike notice: Under the basic agreement regulating labor relations between the Federation of Trade Unions and the Danish Employers’ Association entered into in 1899, each side is required to give the other side’s executive committee notice of the intent to bring a proposal for a work stoppage to a vote at an authorized meeting at least fourteen days before the stoppage is to take effect and notice of the result of the vote at least seven days before the stoppage is to take effect. “Overenskomst mellem Dansk Arbejdsgiver- og Mesterforening og De samvirkende Fagforbund,” reproduced in 100-året for Septemberforliget: Det offentlige arbejdsmarked på vej ind i et nyt århundrede—et festskrift 5-7 at 5 (Copenhagen: Finance Ministry, 1999).

295 It seems to me we’ve got an outrageously good wage: At the outset it was difficult to organize cement factory workers around the issue of wages because many of them had worked on farms where wages had been even lower. Nielsen, Cementarbejdernes Fagforening at 30-31.

295 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread: See above note to p. 130.

296 we have to compete with cement on the world market: In 1913, 52 percent of the cement produced in Denmark was exported. Betænkning vedrørende Cementbranchens konkurrenceforhold og F. L. Smidth-Koncernen afgivet af den i henhold til lov nr. 128 af 31. marts 1949 nedsatte trustkommission, tab. 2 at 12 (Betænkning nr. 243; Copenhagen: Statens trykningskontor, 1959).

296 But in the years before Hepner had had his own war to conduct with the big cement trust, and there he’d become the little guy. He’d been compelled to enter into the cartel, and had been barely allowed to keep on being president: By 1914, the Kongsdal cement factory had been taken over by the cement ring led by the quasi-monopoly Aalborg Portland-Cement-Factory and its major owner, F. L. Smidt &
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297 exilor: Trade name for a packing and filling machine for bags and barrels: the cement was sucked from silos into this closed machine, which eliminated the formation of dust associated with hand-packing. It was in use in the Danish cement industry by 1909. Riisager, F. L. Smidth & Co. at 248-49. Whereas sacks were used for the domestic market, at the beginning of the twentieth century barrels were used for exporting cement. Nielsen, Cementarbejdernes Fagforening at 96.

299 Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters: Eph. 6:5. 299 Servants, be subject to your masters: 1 Pet. 2:18.

299 Whoever humbles himself will be exalted: Matt. 23:12

300 strike assistance: During the strike of 1910, cement workers received ten crowns per week in strike assistance at a time when their hourly wage was 30 øre; the assistance thus amounted to about 33 hours’ worth of hourly wages for workers whose workweek alternated between 72 and 96 hours. The replacement rate was further reduced by the fact that cement workers were also paid a piece rate, which increased their daily wage by about 50 percent. Nielsen, Cementarbejdernes Fagforening at 31-35.

300 reporting to the union: Workers were required to show up at the union hall or unemployment office with their union card to get it stamped as proof that they were on strike.

304 Well, I mean it’s a water closet, the equal of the one that was installed in Høpner’s president’s residence: In the first, second, special 1959, and paperback editions this sentence begins with quotation marks that never close. It has been assumed that the quotation ends at the end of the sentence.

304 Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil: See above note to p. 134.

306 ether drops: Named for a German physician, Fr. Hoffmann (1660-1742), and consisting of one part ether and three parts alcohol, Hoffmannsdräber were used as a remedy for nausea.

307 concrete block plant: Concrete block plants, which produced such cement products as bricks and roofing tiles, were much smaller and more numerous than cement factories. In 1905 (1914), there were
225 (499) foundries employing a total of 948 (1,354) production workers; 31 (85) had no employees and 176 (358) only one to five workers. Danmarks Statistik, Statistisk Aarbog 1919, tab. 55 at 68-69 (Copenhagen: Thiele, 1920); Ole Hyldtoft, Københavns industrialisering 1840-1914, at 364 (Herning: Systime, 1984).

307 Banks and savings banks: Danish banks lent primarily to industry and trade, whereas savings banks’ loans went largely to real estate and housing. Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv at 404-408.

307 his grandmother had been a servant girl in a castle called Bregentved on Zealand: A large estate and castle on Zealand about 25 miles from Søra Academy, the elite private secondary school that Kirk attended from 1909 to 1916, overlapping with the years the novels take place, bear this name. At the time Kirk was writing the two novels, Bregentved was the largest estate in Denmark. Therkel Mathiassen, “Herregaardes og godsers udbredelse og fordeling i Danmark,” in Herregaardene og samfundet at 93-118 and 104.

307 count: In the first and second editions Kirk had used “baron.” The change to “count” appeared for the first time in a special edition published three years before Kirk’s death. Hans Kirk, De ny tider 41 (Copenhagen: Borgen, 1959). The copyright page states that “this edition has appeared on the initiative of the New Danish Literature Society.” The Nyt Dansk Litteraturselskab reissues books that are missing from public libraries, which are its members. According to the Society’s chairman, its archives do not reveal that Kirk proofread the edition or made any changes. Email from Morten Bagger to translator (Feb. 5, 2001). The change from “baron” to count was retained in the Gyldendal paperback edition that appeared six years after Kirk’s death, although that edition contains typographical errors not in the 1959 edition. According to Kirk’s biographer, Kirk’s correspondence with Gyldendal contains no instructions concerning changes for future editions. Email from Morten Thing to translator (Jan. 22, 2001). “Count” eliminates the inconsistency that arose later in The New Times when Bregentved looks as though he were descended from a count (see above p. 472). The owners of Bregentved estate (the heads of the Moltke family) were counts; a count is a higher-ranking aristocrat than a baron.

307 old-age assistance: See above note to p. 131.

308 from over there: From the union headquarters in Copenhagen.
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308 wife: It is assumed that the substitution of “women” (kvinder) in the 1959 and paperback editions for “wife” (kone) in the first and second editions was in error.

313 And we can’t let them say we weren’t able to hold out just as long as the others: Cilius is referring to the cement workers in the other factories in the industrywide strike.

314 And as he thus spake for himself, Festus said with a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad!: Acts 26:24.

315 one thing is needful: See above note to p. 68.

315 And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues. They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover: Mark 16:17-18.

315 He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned: Mark 16:16.

316 and not like the doubting Thomas put our finger in Christ’s stigmata: See John 26:25: “But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.”

316 have faith like a grain of mustard seed: Matt. 17:20


317 You’re arrogant about your fear of God the way a rich man is about his money: See 1 Tim. 6:17: “Command those who are rich in this present world not to be arrogant nor to put their hope in wealth, which is so uncertain, but to put their hope in God, who richly provides us with everything for our enjoyment” (New International Version).

317 the servant of the Lord: 2 Tim. 2:24. Both Kirk’s text and the Danish bible use “a servant of the Lord.”

317 folk-theology: The notion of folkelig expresses the entire Grundtvigian program of cultivating the roots of Danish national culture and identity.

318 Paul, who can shake off a poisonous snake the way the rest of us can a caterpillar: See Acts 28:3-6.

318 Down to earth, down to earth, that’s where life has summoned you: Written in 1872 by Hans Vilhelm Kaalund (1818-1885), a lyric po-
et best known for his children’s stories, the first lines of “Paa det jevne, paa det jevne!” read: “Down to earth! Down to earth!/—not into the blue sky—/That’s where life has summoned you,/that’s where you shall be tested.” For the full text, see H. V. Kaalund, Samlede digte 335-37 (Otto Borchsenius ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1898). Generations of Danish schoolchildren have learned the song, the title and first line of which has become a Danish idiom.

319 Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach’s sake and thine often infirmities: 1 Tim. 5:23.
319 our Lord transformed water into wine when he was invited to a wedding in Canaan: See John 2:1-12.
319 God, I thank you that I am not like other men—robbers, evil-doers, adulterers—or even like this tax collector: Luke 18:11.
322 I scarcely understand how they can bring themselves to say work is a curse: See above note to p. 74.
324 Jens Glud, you should change your name to Jens Klud: Klud means “wash cloth” or (in language post-dating Kirk’s novels) “wimp.”
324 pay the price: The Danish text refers to the kapiteltakst, which was the average annual price of the most important varieties of grain, which was set for the assessment of tithes.
326 Yet not a sparrow will fall to the ground apart from the will of the Lord: See above note to p. 7.
326 There shall not one hair of a person’s head fall to the ground: 1 Sam. 14:45 (which uses “his” rather than “a person’s”).
332 We have to be content with little, as the scripture says: See above note to p. 286.
335 fornication . . . adultery: In the Danish text, Andres wants to report his wife for hor, which is the word used in the ten commandments for “adultery.” Ex. 20:14. It is also the older legal term, but can mean “fornication” as well. It is obviously linked to hore, which means both “adulteress” and “whore.” Pastor Gamst responds by shifting to the modern, non-biblical, juridical, and morally less freighted word for “adultery” (ægteskabsbrud). Later in the conversation, Gamst himself uses hor. Because uniform use of “adultery” here would make Gamst’s question nonsensical, two different terms have been used. Whereas according to the Kings James translation of Matt. 5:32, “whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery,” the Danish translation of 1907 uses hor for “for-
nication” and “adultery”; the New International Version, in turn, uses “marital unfaithfulness” instead of “fornication.”

336 afterward perhaps you'll want to divorce her? That's permitted on account of fornication: This ancient right had been codified in 1683 in Kong Christian den Femtis Danske Lov 3-16-15-1 (V. A. Secher ed.; 2d ed.; Copenhagen: Gad, 1911 [1683]).

336 thorn in the flesh: See above note to p. 285.

338 Forgive one another: Col. 3:13.

339: Ida . . . to: These four sentences appear as a separate paragraph in the 1959 and paperback editions.

339 Let all your things be done with charity: 1 Cor. 16:14

341 meeting of friends: The vennemøde was an institution associated with Grundtvigians and the Inner Mission.

341 we children of God must be the yeast that leavens the bread: Cf. Matt. 13:33: “The Kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.”

341 but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?: See above note to p. 73.


344 1500 degrees of heat: Centigrade, or about 2700 degrees Fahrenheit.


345 Did you come to conduct exams, Pastor Gamst?: Part of the parish minister’s duties was examining children and teachers; failure to pass could lead to a pupil’s being left back. These ancient powers of the parish minister were reinforced by the introduction (by a regulation of Jan. 13, 1736) of a system of compulsory confirmation of all children through the schools in a country with a state religion, and persisted until 1933-34. Christian den Femtis Danske Lov 2-18-14; Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 237, 250-51, 513. Perhaps the most famous literary example of such an examination occurs in Pelle the Conqueror, in which Pelle gets an A+ in religion because, after reciting the story of God’s condemning the serpent to crawl on its belly and being asked what a limb is and told that it is a body part that can move
independently, Pelle offers the ears as an example; when he astonishes the minister by actually being able to move his ears, the minister, school committee, and parents laugh, thus assuring him his grade. Andersen Nexo, Pelle Erobreren, 1:149-50.

346 **folk-culture and folk-identity**: The term *folkelighed* cannot be translated in a word or a phrase. It expresses the entire Grundtvigian program of cultivating the roots of Danish national culture and identity. See Steven Borish, *Danish Social Movements* at 104-41.

346 **Seek ye the places most lowly**: A line ("Ak søger de ydmyge steder") from Hans Adolf Borson’s hymn from 1732, “Now Found Is the Fairest of Roses” (“Den yndigste rose er funden”), appears in *Den danske Salmebog*, No. 98, at 111, and was translated by J. C. Aaberg in *Hymnal for Church and Home* 105 (Blair, Neb.: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1927).

346 **land**: On the term Kirk uses here, *Hartkorn*, see above the note to p. 3.

346 **If I were just a capable teacher, too**: The omission of this sentence, which is in the first and second editions, in the 1959 and paperback editions is clearly erroneous because Ulriksen’s reply makes little sense without it.

346 **kick against the pricks**: See above note to p. 8.

347 **Central executive committee with authorization concluded agreement**: Already by the beginning of the twentieth century nationwide, industrywide collective bargaining was common in Denmark, where labor relations were centralized and controlled by national labor and employers organizations. The so-called September Agreement (Septemberforliget) of September 5, 1899 between the Federation of Trade Unions (De samvirknende Fagforbund) and the Danish Employers’ Association (Dansk Arbejds giver- og Mesterforeningen) followed a four-month lockout that put 40,000 workers out of work as the newly formed employers’ organization sought to punish the newly formed labor federation for its failure to prevent a subordinate union from striking after the national organizations had reached a contract agreement. See Galenson, *The Danish System of Labor Relations* at 1, 97-102; Erik Stig Jørgensen, “Tilblivelsen af Septemberforliget, Den faste Voldgiftsret og Forligsmandsinstitutionen,” in *100-året for Septemberforliget* at 11-30. Although the September Agreement, which created the framework for regulating the labor market during the twentieth century,
largely reflected employers’ aims, it also recognized workers’ right to self-organization. Chief among the Agreement’s provisions were: (1) the mutual recognition of the other organization’s right to initiate a strike or lockout, which, however, must be approved by at least three-fourths of the votes by a representative union or employer association; (2) each side’s obligation to give the other side’s executive committee notice of the intent to bring such a proposal to a vote at least fourteen days before the stoppage is to take effect and notice of the result of the vote at least seven days before the stoppage is to take effect; (3) each side’s obligation not to recognize or support any strike or lockout contrary to the foregoing provisions; (4) a mutual agreement not to support an unaffiliated workers’ or employers’ organization in a dispute with the other side; (5) union acknowledgment of the employer’s right to direct and distribute the work and to use what labor in its judgment is suitable; and (6) a “self-explanatory” presumption that the Federation of Trade Unions would be willing to act with the Employers’ Association on behalf of peaceful, stable, and good labor relations and that under no circumstances would either side interfere with any worker’s “exercising his natural right to perform as much work and as good work as his abilities and training permit him . . .” “Overenskomst mellem Dansk Arbejdsgiver- og Mesterforening og De samvirkende Fagforbund,” reprinted in 100-året for Septemberforliget at 5-7. See also Galenson, *The Danish System of Labor Relations* at 291-93 (translation of the text of the Agreement).

349 “If I were the one deciding, the strike would never have begun or it would’ve been carried out to the bitter end.” Høpner was angry and Cilius understood that he definitely didn’t have much to say when decisions were made about big issues: Høpner’s subordinate role in the strike is a reflection of the power of the cement ring, led by the quasi-monopoly Aalborg Portland-Cement-Factory and its major owner, F. L. Smidth & Co., the leading producer of cement factory machinery. See Betænkning vedrørende Cementbranchens konkurrenceforhold og F. L. Smidth-Koncernen.

350 consumer co-operative society store: This Danish institution, which dates back to 1866, was designed to reduce prices for working-class consumers by eliminating the exploitation and shoddy goods associated with middlemen. See *The Danish Co-Operative Movement* (Clemens Pedersen ed.; Patricia Hansen tr.; Copenhagen: Det Danske
Selskab, 1977). Until about 1907-1908, the Social Democratic party had maintained a negative attitude toward co-ops as diverting workers' attention from political and union activity. This lack of official support had been reinforced by the fact that in some districts small store owners made up a significant proportion of the party's voters. Vagn Dybdahl, Danmarks historie, vol. 12: De nye klasser: 1870-1913, at 252 (John Danstrup and Hal Koch eds.; Copenhagen: Politiken, 1965).

351 Let the good times roll: A loose translation of the common phrase, Her er liv og glade dage (literally: Here are life and happy days), which was popularized by Axel Breidahl's use of it as the refrain in a song in a 1928 theater piece, Stamherren. Breidahl, in turn, 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]).

353 clinker storage: Clinker is stored or aged (often in silos) before grinding.

354 Vendsyssel: The northeasternmost part of Jutland, separated from the rest of the peninsula by the Limfjord. "Syssel" is a district.

357 Ranum, my old teacher's college: Ranum seminarium, located near the Limfjord about forty miles north of Assens, had been founded in 1848, at which time it was one of five state institutions for teacher education. Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 253.

357 estate bailiff's whip: The ridefoged, who was in charge of the villein service (hoveriarbejde) on manorial estates, was a much detested figure from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century.

357 Grundtvig: See above note to p. 9.

358 But it's not grades that count, little Soren, but character: Ulriksen is making an irreproducible pun: the Danish word for report card "grades" is "karakterer."

359 gifts of love: Charitable gifts given to the needy.

359 tombola: A charity lottery.

360 Viborg: A middle-sized and old Danish city about 30 miles southwest of Assens. It had been a garrison town since at least the eighteenth century. See Danmark land og folk: Historisk-topografisk-statistisk haandbog 3:244-63.

361 Ajs: Jutlandish for Anders.

365 Nobody discovered I was with child: Under the Master-Servant
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Law, a master was entitled to fire an unmarried servant immediately and without notice for being pregnant. Tyendelov for Kongeriget Danmark, sect. 41, subsect. 13, in Samling af endnu gjældende Love at 244. In his epic novel Ditte Menneskebarn, Andersen Nexø includes a scene in which a (female) farmer looking like someone conducting legal proceedings held a book in her hand and “solemnly spoke bookish language” as she cited by number and quoted this very subsection to her servant to justify firing her on the spot (because she was pregnant by the farmer’s son). Martin Andersen Nexø, Ditte Menneskebarn 1:365 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1919]).

365 laced myself up tight: The expression used here (jeg snørede mig ind) typically refers to the wearing of a corset; because corsets were in such widespread use at the time, working-class women could buy them cheap used. It was not uncommon for women to use them, just as Olga did, to conceal their pregnancies. Email from Niels Senius Clausen, Roskilde University Centre (Nov. 28, 2000).

369 Grundtvig: See above note to p. 9.

369 God’s purpose is in every storm: Mogens Lemvig Hansen translated these verses, the sixth through eighth stanzas of Grundtvig’s hymn, “Er Du Modfalden, Kære Ven, (“Are You Downhearted, Dearest Friend”), which he wrote in 1850-51 and appears in the Den danske Salmebog, No. 511, at 520.

371 district magistrate: A herredsfoged was an ancient office dating back to the Viking period combining the functions of chief constable and judicial officer. This fusion of local administration and judicial system also prevailed in urban areas, where the corresponding official was called a byfoged. Rural magistrates were, from the end of the eighteenth century on, assisted by parish sheriffs (sognefogeder). With enactment of the Lov om Rettens Pleje (Administration of Justice Act) of April 11, 1916 (which was not enforced until 1919), the separation of the judicial and executive powers, promised by the Constitution of 1849, and the creation of independent prosecutory and police powers were finally implemented. Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 157-60, 296-99, 419-29; Lorenz Rerup, Danmarks Historie, Vol. 6: Tiden 1864-1914, at 259-60 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1989). A herred (or hundred) was a relatively small administrative district of which there were more than a hundred; each county (amt) consisted of numerous herreder, which in turn were divided into still more numer-

373 we’ve had a deacon as prime minister: See above note to p. 58.

373 Concealment of birth and infanticide: From 1909 through 1917, 56 criminal sentences were handed down against women for infanticide in Denmark, while 98 were handed down for concealment of birth. Danmarks Statistik, Statistisk Aarbog 1915, tab. 126 at 157; Danmarks Statistik, Statistisk Aarbog 1919, tab. 128 at 167.

373 to whomever God gives a government post he also gives a head clerk: This saying, which was imported to Denmark from Germany, is an abbreviated version of a slightly longer one: “To whomever God gives a government post he also gives reason . . . or in any case a head clerk.” Vogel-Jørgensen, Bevingede ord at 89.

373 The constitutionally guaranteed arraignment before a magistrate: This arraignment is known as a Grundlovsforhor or constitutional hearing because the Danish constitution mandates it within 24 hours of arrest. The right has been anchored in the Danish constitution since its adoption in 1849 and at the time of the events in the book it was embodied in article 80 of the constitution as amended in 1866.

374 As the days grow longer, the winter grows stronger: The second stanza of a hymn by one of Denmark’s greatest hymnists, H.A. Brorson, “Her vil ties, her vil bies,” published in 1765, a year after his death. The song, which is learned in school, is very well known in Denmark, and the line quoted here is itself a Danish saying, which antedated Brorson’s use of it (as did its English equivalent: “As the days lengthen, the cold strengthens”). Vogel-Jørgensen, Bevingede ord at 450. The hymn text appears in Den danske Salmebog, No. 642 at 651.

376 too wild: The modifier “too” was omitted from the 1959 and paperback editions.

380 Staggers: An infectious brain disease in horses that causes
uncertain gait as well irritability; it may be associated with boarding in a muggy and stifling stable.

381 Havnse: There is no town in the Assens vicinity by this name, though towns elsewhere in Denmark do bear the name.

383 For what were we sinners without him: Cf. 1 Cor. 15:17: “And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins.”

383 power . . . glory: From the Lord’s Prayer.

383 brought his offering to the Lord: Gen. 4:3: “Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord.”

383 Whatever was given to God, was repaid double: Cf. Luke 6:38: “Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom.”

387 O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord: Jeremiah 22:29.

387 Peter’s haul: In John 21:6-11, after the disciple Simon Peter had been unable to catch any fish, Jesus appeared and the disciple found 153 fish in his net.

389 circle of friends: See above note to p. 10.

390 meeting house: Meeting (or assembly) houses, the first of which was built in 1867, were an integral part of the rural adult education movement and contributed to democratic local self-government. Skrubbeltangel, Agricultural Development and Rural Reform in Denmark at 172-74.

395 Thomas Trilling accompanied his wife to Faergeby on the steamer and from there she was to go on by train: Mariager, which had a reputation for its “sleeping-beauty sleep,” was the last market town in Jutland to be connected to the rail network, the railway connection there not being inaugurated until the 1920s; at the beginning of the twentieth century passengers still had to ride there in a yellow royal mail coach. Residents of Assens would presumably have taken the steamer to Hobro (which had been connected to a trunk line in 1869) to catch a train going north or south. There was also a quasi-privately owned railway from Randers to Hadsund (and points north), which passed only a mile or so east of Assens, but the latter’s residents would not have needed to take a steamer to reach it. Clausen and Jensen, Danmarks land at 219, 226; http://www.jernbaner.dk/mhvj/Historie.html.

399 child maintenance: Alimentation is the compulsory contribution made by the father of a child born outside of marriage.
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399 maybe: This word was omitted from the 1959 and paperback editions.

401 Now found is the fairest of roses: The two verses are the first and last of Brorson’s hymn, on which see above note to p. 346. Kirk also used this hymn in his childhood memoirs; when a woman with a viper-voice recited the first two lines, the young Kirk thought they had a concealed meaning. Kirk, Skyggespil at 139.

402 hetaera: A cultivated courtesan in ancient Greece.

403 ombre: A three-handed card game.

404 election for the parish council: In 1908 a local election law had been enacted introducing so-called universal suffrage for men and women of good character, twenty-five years and older, who had paid taxes the previous year and had not received (unrefunded) poor relief. Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 316.

407 People’s Gazette: Folketidende was a not uncommon generic name of newspapers including one for which Kirk had worked (Lolland-Falsters Folketidende).

407 pleasure park: Woods designed for excursions for the urban population’s summertime pleasures.

412 millions now living will never die: On February 24, 1918, Joseph Rutherford, who had recently become president of Jehovah’s Witnesses, gave a lecture in Los Angeles titled, “Millions Now Living Will Never Die.” In late 1920 he published a book by the same title, which was translated into many languages including Dano-Norwegian. In August 1920 he began a European tour, which inaugurated a campaign, lasting several years, which included emblazoning this slogan on large billboards in all the large cities and in newspaper advertisements, thus elevating it to a byword. The campaign was linked to the prophecy that the millennium would arrive in 1925. See Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, Jehovah’s Witnesses in the Divine Purpose 76, 98 (Brooklyn: Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, 1959); Alan Rogers, Millions Now Living Will Never Die: A Study of Jehovah’s Witnesses 53 (London: Constable, 1969); M. James Penton, Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah’s Witnesses 57-58 (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997 [1985]). Since the scene in the train takes place in the late spring of 1914, Kirk either misremembered when this campaign had taken place or intentionally compressed the chronology.
414 if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out: Matt. 5:29.

415 philosophicum: This philosophy exam (examen philosophicum) given at the end of the first year’s course in philosophy at Copenhagen University.

416 the International: The so-called Second International, an organization of socialist Social Democratic parties formed in 1889, collapsed in 1914 when those parties, instead of preventing World War I, supported their respective governments.

417 South Jutland: Also known as North Schleswig. Denmark was forced to surrender this territory after it lost a war over it against Prussia and Austria in 1864.

417 Esbjerg: Denmark’s leading western port, located on the west coast of Jutland a few miles north of the then German border. Its population grew at a uniquely explosive rate in the last three decades of the nineteenth century following construction, at state expense, between 1868 and 1874, of a large harbor—prompted by the disruption of southern trade routes associated with the territorial losses to Germany in 1864—which served the export of Danish agricultural commodities, especially to Britain. Villads Christensen, “De danske købstæders Op- rindelse og Udvikling,” in Danmark Land og Folk: Historisk-topografisk-statistisk haandbog 2:3-33 at 29 (Daniel Bruun ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1919); Danmark Land og Folk: Historisk-topografisk-statistisk haandbog 4:80-82 (Daniel Bruun ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1922).

418 guard duty: The function of the Sikringstjeneste was to protect troops from enemy intervention.

418 A mighty fortress is our God: Original text by Luther and music by J. S. Bach (“Ein’ feste Burg ist unser Gott”).

418 broad waters: Those parts of Mariager Fjord where the fjord broadens out.

419 Earth in whose bosom there is hatred and murder: A poem written by Christian Richardt (1831-1892), a theologian and post-romantic lyric poet. It is significant that Kirk has the Grundtvigian teacher Ulriksen recite the poem because that movement included a Christian, antimilitarist wing. The full text of the poem, which is titled, “Ved Kirkemødet” (“At the Synod”) and was written in September 1871, is found in Chr. Richardt, Samlede Digte 1:328-29 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1895). Frederik V. Jensen translated it.
Coal: Because Denmark produced no coal, it had to import all of its requirements; coal supplies were limited by wartime blockades despite Denmark's neutrality. As in other countries during World War I, the Danish government was quickly empowered to regulate the economy in great detail. Denmark imported almost all of its coal from the two chief belligerents, Great Britain and Germany. Imports of coal (and coke) from Britain, by far the largest supplier, increased slightly in 1914 and 1915, but by 1917 they amounted to only one-fourth of the level of 1915; despite the quadrupling of German imports, total imports fell by almost half between 1915 and 1917. The allocation of coal between production and heating placed tight restrictions on those industries such as cement production that were large users of coal. The production of peat as an alternative fuel rose dramatically during the war. Einar Cohn, Danmark under den store krig: En økonomisk oversigt 76-79, 148-50 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1928); Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv at 129-30; Svend Aage Hansen, Økonomisk vækst i Danmark, Vol. II: 1914-1970 at 9-18 (Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag, 1974).

strike her on the right cheek: Matt. 5:39.

The only thing that didn't rise was wages: Real hourly wages in the trades and industry fell by 12 percent from 1914 to 1915 and by 14 percent from 1914 to 1917. Cohn, Danmark under den store krig at 284.

ration cards and maximum prices and shortages of goods: As World War I began, the Danish parliament empowered the government to regulate prices; early on rationing was imposed on such important elements of the diet as bread, butter, sugar, and bacon. Hansen, Økonomisk vækst i Danmark, Vol. II: 1914-1970 at 15. See generally, Einar Cohn, “Denmark in the Great War,” in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland in the World War 409-558 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930).

the power and the kingdom: Taken from the Lord’s Prayer.

Pastor Gamst once again sought the places most lowly: Another reference to the line from Brorson’s hymn. See above note to p. 346.

such a bitter plum: The phrase så besk en blomme goes back to two ballads in which Queen Dagmar on her deathbed in 1212 unsuccessfully tries to persuade King Valdemar the Victorious not to
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430 the four angels who had been kept ready for this very hour and day and month and year and were released to kill a third of mankind: Rev. 9:15.

430 the heads of the horses that resembled the heads of lions, and out of their mouths came fire, smoke and sulfur: Rev. 9:17.

431 big beast in Revelation: According to Rev. 13:1-2: "And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority."

432 he that is pure let him first cast a stone: John 8:7. Both the Danish and English translations of the Bible use "without sin" rather than "pure," but since Martin Thomsen picks up on that word, it has been retained here.

432 like the apostle Paul I've killed the carnal urges in myself: Rom. 7:4-6

433 forgive thy brother: See Luke 17:3: "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent forgive him."


435 bury our talent in the earth: Matt. 25:25.

437 cassortium: Bregentved's malapropism for "consortium."

438 O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord: See above note to p. 387.

439 peat bricks by the hundreds of thousands: Kirk does not specify the unit of measurement, but small bricks—the form in which peat is dug up—seems more plausible than other units such as cubic meters, kilograms, tons, or loads. Demand for peat, which had already been widely used as a fuel in Denmark, rose dramatically during World War I, when coals imports declined sharply. See above note to p. 421.
The young fellows came home from the defense force, were permitted to be at home for a time and were called up again: The Sikringsstyrke, which was designed primarily to defend fortifications in Copenhagen, was unpopular in neutral Denmark and call-ups and demobilizations led to conflicts within the all-party government and with the military in 1916-17. Although the term had been used before, Sikringsstyrke has come to be associated specifically with the forces drafted during World War I. The number of troops declined from 50,000 on Aug. 1, 1914, to 35,000 in 1915 and 23,000 in 1917. Niels Finn Christiansen, Karl Lammers, and Henrik Nissen, Danmarks Historie. Vol. 7: Tiden 1914-1945, at 84, 86 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal: 1988); Cohn, Danmark under den store Krig at 260, 263-65.

Art Academy: The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts was founded in 1754.

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

he was strongest who stood alone: Dr. Stockmann’s final line in Ibsen’s An Enemy of the People (1882) was his “great discovery”: “The thing is, you see, the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone.” Henrik Ibsen, En Folkefiende, in Ibsens samlede verker 3:157-216 at 216 (13th ed.; Oslo: Gyldendal, 1962). The Grundtvigian pastor Brink quotes the same line in Kirk, The Fishermen at 93.

yesterday’s poor were today’s rich: A reference to the so-called gullaschbaroner—nouveaux-riches wartime profiteers and speculators, of whom Bregentved is an example, who made fortunes by means of shady deals.

there was no point talking to the dean: There were about sixty deaneries and a dean (provst) both acted as a parish minister and carried out administrative duties under the bishop. Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 378.
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445 The minister went off and obtained an audience with the bishop: The parishes to the south of Mariager Fjord belonged to the Aarhus diocese, where the bishop had his seat.

446 we belong to different movements within the church: The bishop refers to the split in the Lutheran Church between the Inner Mission and Grundtvigianism; Pastor Gamst signals that he no longer belongs to the former. P. Lindhardt, Vækkelser og kirkelige retninger i Danmark (Copenhagen: Det Danske Forlag, 1951). A similar conversation occurs in Kirk, The Fishermen at 23-24, between the Grundtvigian pastor Brink and the Inner Mission fisherman Thomas Jensen.

447 We must constantly wrestle as Jacob wrestled: See above note to p. 194.

447 government ministry: The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs (Kirkeministeriet) administers the tax-based state-financing of the salaries of the clergy of Evangelical Lutheran Church (Den danske Folkekirke), the official state religion, which the constitution requires the state to support. Ecclesiastical Affairs had just become a separate ministry on April 29, 1916; until then, it had been a department within the Kultusministerium (Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Education).

447 that a curate be appointed: A kapellan was an assistant minister in a larger parish with one or several curates. Jørgensen, Lokaladministrationen i Danmark at 378.


449 schnapps . . . is the poor man’s aquavit: The commonly used expression, den fattige mands snaps, gained currency around 1890 as part of political agitation against taxation of distilled spirits. Ordbog over det danske sprog 20:1031 (5th ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1995 [1941]). The phrase was imported from Germany, where Chancellor Bismarck had apparently coined it. During a debate over indirect taxes in the Reichstag in 1881, he referred to Branntwein, to the legislators’ amusement, as “the drink of the famous poor man” and went on to praise schnapps for its productivity-enhancing impact on manual workers, who at times could not do without it. Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags: IV. Legislaturperiode: IV. Session 1881, 1:562 (Berlin: Verlag der Norddeutschen Buchdruckerei,

450 Because the bigwigs had never dared put a tax on the poor man’s aquavit: Before 1908, the tax on a liter of spirits (at 200 proof, while the usual brændevin was 80 proof) was 18.5 øre; the tax rose to 60 øre in 1912, and leaped to 20 crowns during the war. Production also declined sharply because the government prohibited the processing of certain crops (e.g., grain and potatoes) for alcohol that were needed for food production. The high taxation, which also embodied a legislative temperance policy, was retained after the war and resulted in a two-thirds decline in consumption of aquavit, the mainstay of hard liquor, by the 1920s. Lov Nr. 636 af 21de December 1917 om Ændringer i Lov nr. 137 af 17de Marts 1917 om Tillægsafgift paa Spiritus og i Lov. Nr. 119 af 8de Juni 1912 om Beskatning af Spiritus, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1917, at 1414 (Copenhagen 1918); Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfunds­liv at 641-42; Christiansen, Lammers, and Nissen, Danmarks Historie, Vol. 7: Tiden 1914-1945, at 61-62; Sven Røgind, Alkoholbeskatningen i nor­dens lande 108-17, 138-44, 154-63 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1933).

450 It was a government of the people that did it and a socialist was sitting in this government: The government during World War I was controlled by Det radikale Venstre (Social or Radical Liberals) and supported by the Social Democrats (in 1916 the latter entered the government for the first time when their leader Thorvald Stauning became a so-called control minister without portfolio); these parties’ chief voters were small farmers, civil servants, and workers, and they were understood to represent the interests of consumers and workers. Cohn, Danmark under den store krig at 8.

450 Now it was around the time that the collective bargaining agreements had to be renewed: Trade unions had signed five-year agreements with employers in 1911 that expired in February 1916. Many workers criticized their unions’ failure to alleviate the impact of
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inflation on wages during the war; this criticism intensified once the Social Democrats entered the government in 1916 and the union leaders, who were allied with the Social Democrats, sought to subordinate wage policy to the government’s economic policy as a whole. These criticisms fostered the growth of a union opposition. Erling Olsen, Danmarks økonomiske historie siden 1750, at 192-93 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1962).

450 the devil and his great-grandmother: The phrase “The devil and his dam” is of ancient lineage in English, Danish, German, and other languages. Vogel-Jørgensen, Bevingede ord at 179 (Fanden og hans Oldemor).

452 it was so touchingly sweet that he still said “A” instead of “I”: Much of the population in northern Jutland pronounced the standard Danish “jeg” as “a.” See H. F. Feilberg, Bidrag til en Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmaal 1:1-2 (Copenhagen: Thiele, 1886-1893).

454 Their forefathers had performed compulsory labor services there: Peasants’ performance of such compulsory labor for lords of the manor had been partially abolished by law in 1850, reduced to insignificance by 1880, and virtually disappeared by 1900. F. Skrubbeltrang, Agricultural Development and Rural Reform in Denmark at 116; Olsen, Danmarks økonomiske historie siden 1750, at 52.

454 ridden the wooden horse: See above note to p. 57.

454 immured damsels: In using these catchwords to evoke a negative picture of Denmark’s feudal manors, Kirk alludes to stories of noblemen’s daughters’ having been walled up for refusing to comply with their fathers’ plans for arranged marriages.

455 Holsted parish: It is situated in south Jutland a little more than 100 miles from Assens.

455 Think what somebody can get for the livestock alone on that farm: The question mark ending this sentence in the first and second (but not in the 1959 and paperback) editions has been disregarded as a typographical error, although Kirk sometimes uses question marks in unusual ways.

455 You have to keep in mind that there’s first-class livestock on that farm: This sentence was omitted from the 1959 and paperback editions.

458 M.A. Candidate: As a stud. mag. (studiosus magisterii), Søren is studying at Copenhagen University for a degree—cand. mag. (can-
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didatus magisterii)—that requires him to pass an examination (embeds-eksamen) entitling him to teach in secondary schools. The degree falls somewhere between a U.S. master’s and doctoral degree.

465 The work stopped and reappeared when coal arrived: By 1917, the lack of coal caused cement production (which required half a kilogram of coal to produce a kilogram of cement) to stop or be cut back and led to coal rationing. Cohn, Danmark under den store krig at 164-65, 190.

465 assistance was given to those who remained without work: The Danish state liberalized the eligibility of and expanded financial assistance to the increased number of unemployed during the war by means of subsidies to trade union unemployment funds. Midlertidig lov angaaende overordentlig Hjælp til arbejdsløse, Nr. 531 af 27. Okt. 1917, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1917, at 1243; Cohn, Danmark under den store krig at 174-79. Such state subsidies had first been authorized in 1907. Lov om anerkendte Arbejdsløshedskasser, Nr. 88 af 9de April 1907, in Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1907, at 322-29 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1908).

467 boundary mover: See above note to p. 52.

468 according to the stiff wind: Trees in western Jutland are bent eastward by the strong North Sea wind.

468-69 what Orient and Burmeister & Wain were quoted at: Dampskibsselskabet (Steamship Company) Orient was a large Danish shipping company, while Burmeister & Wain was a large Danish and world pioneer in motor shipbuilding and engineering company (until its collapse in 1996). Shipping company shares were a favorite object of wartime stock speculation.

469 Revolution came in Germany and Børgesen was satisfied. It was the old tried and true socialists who moved to the forefront, the organized working class that took power: In the wake of impending German military collapse in the summer of 1918, worker and soldier soviets were formed, the kaiser fled the country, and a republic was declared by the Social Democratic Party. Agreements between the Social Democrats and the military and between the unions and employers frustrated the establishment of a more radical soviet system.

471 Contentment is a gain: According to 1 Tim. 6:6: “But Godliness with contentment is great gain.”

472 could become: In the 1959 and paperback editions “could”
(kunde) was changed to “was going to” (skulle).

477 ballads of the Virgin Mary: Søren’s choice of such a trivial and antiquarian dissertation topic may have been dictated by Kirk’s desire to mock Ernst Frandsen—who had written his dissertation on medieval ballads of the Virgin Mary—Sophus Claussen’s son-in-law, with whom Kirk had had a dispute in the 1920s while both were working for Claussen’s newspaper, Lolland-Falsters Folkeblad. Thing, Hans Kirks mange ansigter at 103.

478 mayor: In addition to the chief mayor, there are five mayors in Copenhagen elected by the city council. Kenneth Miller, Government and Politics in Denmark 193-94 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968).

478 cross: The Cross of the Order of the Dannebrog; the order, which was instituted in 1671, is divided into several classes and is headed by the Danish monarch. It is designed as a reward for meritorious civil or military service, or contributions to the arts, sciences, or business.

481 “I’m too old to get tuberculosis,” he said. “It cares only for young blood”: An old-fashioned way of referring to tuberculosis, especially among less educated people, was to speak of “getting the tubercles.” Here and elsewhere in the novels characters use this locution.

481 follow the farmer’s work spring and autumn. He’d been able to: The omission of this whole line from the 1959 and paperback editions is clearly in error.

483 people’s parties: Although a people’s party originally designated a political party that championed popular control of the government, by World War I it took on the meaning of a party that sought to represent not a class, but the whole people. At the end of 1915, the Right (Højre) party, whose main constituents had been businessmen and higher civil servants, was renamed the Conservative People’s Party so that the party could hold its own in the wake of the new constitution, which gave women the right to vote and otherwise expanded and democratized suffrage and representation. It was not until 1934 that the Social Democratic Party programmatically ceased being a working-class party and became a mass party of the people (under the slogan “Denmark for the People”) in an effort to obtain fifty percent of the vote.

483 folk high schools: These residential schools, attended largely by rural young adults and inspired by Grundtvig’s conception of popular enlightenment, which focused on Danish history, language, and

490 **the Lord searches our hearts and reins:** Rev. 2:23: “I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts.”

490 **The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord:** Job 1:21.

491 **stock prices . . . were going down:** Share prices dropped sharply beginning in August-September 1918. Cohn, *Danmark under den store krig* at 242, 314. For example, Burmeister & Wain shares fell from 270 in July 1918 to 148 by October 1919. Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarbog* 1919 tab. 92 at 118.

494 **The hours of work had been reduced, as the workers had been demanding for many years. Before, a day laborer had toiled from early in the morning till late; now he had to serve only eight hours for his daily bread:** On February 12, 1919, the Danish parliament enacted an “Act to Introduce the Eight-Hour Working Day in Factories Working Continuously Day and Night (Lov om introdøelse af 8-Timers Arbejdsdagen i Fabrikvirksomheder med Døgnudtog).” It prohibited workers in such plants from working more than eight hours in a 24-hour day. Thus, although the statute was of limited applicability, it did apply to cement workers. Even here, however, the eight-hour day was not absolute. The law permitted employers, when shifts were changed, to extend the period of employment to no more than sixteen hours, providing that no worker’s total hours exceeded 160 during three consecutive weeks. At the same time, under pressure from the radical syndicalist opposition within the labor movement, national collective bargaining between the Danish Employers’ Association and the Danish Federation of Labor achieved an eight-hour day for most workers (but excluding, for example, agriculture) beginning January 1, 1920, which was, however, associated with the introduction of forced overtime work. Steen Busck, Jens Christensen, and Asger Jepsen, “Klassesstrukturen i Danmark 1870-1920 med særligt henblik på en fremstilling af arbejder-
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494 And wages had risen: they were higher than ever before. Compared to the last prewar year, 1913, nominal wages in all industry and trades rose by 168 percent by 1919 and 231 percent by 1920; the corresponding real wage increases were 25 percent and 27 percent, respectively. Cohn, Danmark under den store krig at 284. Hourly wages of cement factory workers rose from 46.0 øre in 1914 to 77.4 øre in 1918 and 120.3 øre in 1919. Danmarks Statistik, Statistisk Aarbog 1919, tab. 107 at 147.

494 local party organization: Børgesen is doubtless a member of the Social Democratic party. Its “voter association” (vælgerforening), which had been formed before the party was represented in the parliament, was organized by election districts; these local groups, in turn, had their own national organization and expressed their views at national congresses. As with the other parties, the Social Democrats’ parliamentary group took the lead in day-to-day politics, but had to pay considerable attention to the association’s views in questions of principle. Erik Rasmussen, Danmarks historie, vol. 13: Velfærdsstaten på vej: 1913-1939, at 19 (John Danstrup and Hal Koch eds.; Copenhagen: Politiken, 1965).

494 Education was also needed. A man traveled over and gave a lecture; he spoke of study circle: Worker education carried on by traveling lecturers and in study circles began around the turn of the century; it developed into a systematic nationwide format under the auspices of the Arbejdernes Oplysningsforbund (Workers Education Federation), which was founded by the Social Democratic Party and the union movement in 1923-24.

494 union book: Cilius is referring to a union membership book (medlemsbog), which some unions in the United States, especially in the building trades, also call a “union book,” though it is better known as a “union card.” The Danish union book, which pertained to membership in the union and its unemployment fund, contained the union’s bylaws as well as stamps documenting the member’s payment of dues and receipt of unemployment and strike assistance. In the meantime, the book has been replaced by a card in Denmark.

496 temperance beer: Temperance inns were permitted to sell beer with a 2.25 percent alcohol content. Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og
samfunsliv at 646.

497 cement for South America or Australia: As a result of the German blockade of the Baltic during World War I, the Danish cement industry lost Russia as its major export destination, but continued to export significant quantities to South America and Australia until the Danish government prohibited the export of cement from Mar. 17, 1917 to Dec. 3, 1920. Bender, Aalborgs industrielle udvikling fra 1735 til 1940, at 386.

499 Now let's get the copperware polished up: The meaning of this sentence in Danish (Lad os nu få kobbertøjet poleret) is a puzzle even to Danes. While some suggest a possible sexual connotation, others believe that Cilius's inebriated state might account for the seeming meaninglessness. According to another speculation, since Cilius and his guests are drinking coffee with schnapps, the reference may be to the custom in olden days of polishing copper with coffee grounds. Yet another interpretation notes that schnapps was burned in copperware in the first half of the nineteenth century. The most likely meaning seems to be that Cilius is simply underscoring the festive nature of the occasion, one on which some Danes might in fact have polished the copper pots and pans hanging on their wall for decoration.

499 almost: This word (snart) was omitted from the 1959 and paperback editions.

500 "When I was a navvy, we beat up a contractor who was going to lower our wages. And when he turned up with strikebreakers, we threw them in the water." "That was those methods," Børgeesensaid. "Now we make progress by the peaceful process of negotiation": Although Cilius is referring to an earlier roughneck mentality, Børgeesen, a loyal Social Democratic trade unionist, is alluding to the emergence between 1910 and 1920 of a syndicalist opposition (Fagoppositionens Sammenslutning) to the rigidly centralized system of labor relations cultivated by the Danish labor movement. Anti-parliamentarian and anti-reformist, the syndicalists advocated direct economic action and general strikes. The building of the Danish railway system in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had created a new group of casual workers, navvies (børster), who moved from site to site, living in sheds and dugouts along the tracks, to the "horror of decent people." Dybdahl, De nye klanner at 234.