

EDUCATION FOR LIFE

A DANISH PIONEER

by

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TO MY MOTHER

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

"It cannot be explained; it must be experienced," wrote an old student of the Danish Folk High-School; and I realize only too keenly how far my "explanation" falls short even of my own experience of High-School life. Still, I am glad to have this opportunity of recording my gratitude to all the Danish friends who made that experience possible for me—more especially to Mr. and Mrs. Peter Manniche, of the International People's College, Elsinore, and to my kind hosts and hostesses at the Folk High-Schools of Vestbirk and Askov and the Gymnastic High-School of Ollerup. And if my book succeeds in encouraging others to visit the High-Schools for themselves, and thus obtain a better understanding of Grundtvig's ideas and their influence in practical life than they could ever get through books, I shall be satisfied.

It would be impossible to mention here all those in Scandinavia and elsewhere who have helped me with information and advice in the preparation of this book. I must, however, make a special acknowledgment of my indebtedness to the Royal Library of Copenhagen and to Sir John Ballinger and the National Library of Wales for their co-operation in arranging the loan of the Danish books which I required, and also to those whose support has made the publication of the book financially possible—to individual members of my family, and to Mrs. McClenaghan and Dr. Thomas Jones, Mr. Peter Manniche and Mr. Lars Baekhöj, and the World Association for Adult Education. I am also indebted to my husband for his interest, encouragement, and help at almost every stage of the work.

Indirectly, but none the less fundamentally, this book owes much to my countryman, the late Patrick Pearse, whose writings first made vivid for me the ideal of "the school for life," and made me wish to visit Denmark so as to see for myself how the educational principles that inspired St. Enda's had been applied on a national scale in a little country like my own.

NOËLLE DAVIES

CHAPTER I

THE CONTEMPORARY BACKGROUND

History records few transformations more romantic than the transformation which took place in the life of Denmark in the nineteenth century. During that century the country of Hans Andersen underwent a change like that which happened to his Ugly Duckling. The backward little Scandinavian kingdom of 1800, with its countryside only just emerging from feudalism and its culture confined to a small circle of aristocrats and urban intellectuals, developed into the co-operative commonwealth of to-day, the pioneer in many fields of progress, from public hygiene to disarmament, the self-reliant democracy whose rural civilization and genuine folk culture are rivalled by few, if any, of the bigger nations, and whose schools and agricultural institutions draw students and admirers from every quarter of the world.

The causes of this transformation cannot be summed up in a single word or formula. The forces which went to the making of modern Denmark were many and varied—influences from the European world outside her borders, influences from her own past and from her own folk heritage, and the incalculable influence of individual personality—that “unknown quantity upon the spirit’s counting-board,” as Grundtvig calls it. Yet of all the individual personalities who played their part in that eventful century of Danish history, there was none, perhaps, with a greater or more potent influence than the personality of Grundtvig himself—the “Prophet of the North,” who “dreamed so strongly that a new world came into being” from his dream. So intimately

was his life interwoven with the life of Denmark for close upon three generations (1783-1872) that, as his biographer Rönning tells us, we cannot understand the history of the Danish people after 1800 without considering Grundtvig's life and work.

The Europe in which Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig grew to manhood was in process of transition from the cosmopolitan rationalism of the eighteenth century to a new era of revolutions and revivals. Already in the seventeen-sixties the publication of Macpherson's *Ossian* and Percy's *Reliques* in Great Britain and of Rousseau's *Émile* in France had opened the floodgates for the tide of Romanticism; in the following decade German literature had entered upon its period of "Sturm und Drang"; and the writings of Kant, Fichte and Schelling in the later years of the century marked a new epoch in the realm of philosophic thought. And side by side with this intellectual upheaval went the industrial and agricultural revolution, which, starting in England, was gradually to transform the whole social and economic structure of European life, while the establishment of the American and French Republics inaugurated an equally revolutionary movement in politics.

From this battle of the old and the new which was growing in intensity from the seventeen-sixties onwards, the Scandinavian countries at first stood to a great extent aloof. Intellectually, at this time, Denmark lagged far behind the greater nations of Europe, clinging to the ideals and modes of thought which they were already beginning to cast off. With the exception of a few individual forerunners of Romanticism, such as Tyge Rothe, a few distinguished statesmen like A. P. Bernstorff and the von Reventlows, and some pious Lutherans of the older stamp, the majority of educated Danes were

nourishing their mental life on the outworn formulas of the "Age of Enlightenment." The secondary schools were in the grip of a rigid and lifeless Classicism, while at Copenhagen University, even as late as 1800, the theologians knew very little of Kant, and the philosophers were still descanting on the ideas of Leibnitz and Wolff, as though these were the latest things in philosophic thought. Primary education had been nominally compulsory since 1739, but the fact that its whole cost fell on the parishes often made it impossible to maintain any schools at all, and some which were maintained were almost worse than useless, owing to their poor equipment and the incapacity of the teachers. Basedow, the disciple of Rousseau, had indeed taught for some years (1753-61) at Sorö, and later in his writings helped to popularize the ideas of his master; but though these ideas awakened an academic interest among the intelligentsia, they had little or no effect upon popular education.

The chief representatives of educated thought in the country districts were the clergy, many of whom were philanthropic men, with all the faith of the eighteenth century in the sovereign power of reason, and genuinely anxious to promote popular education as they understood it. To this end, they devoted a considerable part of their sermons to such "practical" subjects as the doctoring of cattle and the manuring of crops; but, helpful as these discourses may have been in their way, they failed in the most vital point of all, for they did not arouse in the peasants the initiative and the self-reliance which would have enabled them to help themselves. Most of these philanthropic instructors of the peasants were infected by the characteristic defects of eighteenth-century rationalism, and shared its

aversion from or indifference to external Nature, the deeper emotions of the human spirit, and the popular heritage of folk-song and tradition. Spiritually alien from the people whom they sought to teach, they failed to strike the chord which might have roused them from their apathy. "Everything that could touch the heart of the common man, from Kingo's hymns to the old ballads and sagas, these friends of enlightenment reckoned as harmful superstition," writes a Danish historian.

The writings of Ewald (1743-81) had given early promise of a Romantic Revival in Danish literature, but after his death the Romantic impulse faded out, and the reading public of the 'nineties was quite content with the superficialities of Jens Baggesen, varied by such foreign fare as the works of Lafontaine and Kotzebue. German had been the official language of the Army and Civil Service up to the time of Guldberg's administration (1772-84), and, even when replaced by Danish for official use, remained the usual language of polite society.

Politically, absolutism had prevailed since 1660, and the tumults of the French Revolution hardly found an echo in Denmark, where the bourgeoisie were too comfortable and the peasantry too ignorant and apathetic to be disturbed by the new battle-cries which were arousing Europe. The few political hot-heads who took the matter more seriously were exiled; and the severe Press law of 1799 checked the expression of unduly Radical sympathies. It was not the first great Revolution, but the recrudescence of the revolutionary movement in France in 1830 and in 1848, which had definite political reactions in Denmark, first in the establishment of the Advisory Councils (1831-34), and later in the grant of a democratic constitution (1848-49).

For Danish commerce the close of the eighteenth century was a period of unexampled prosperity. After the many wars which had marked her rise to power in the Middle Ages and her subsequent decline, Denmark, since 1721, had enjoyed almost unbroken peace, and had taken advantage of the wars of her neighbours to increase her overseas trade, from which the merchants of Copenhagen were amassing princely fortunes. As yet, however, she was untouched by the Industrial Revolution, and was to remain so for almost half a century—a fact of great significance for her development. Her agricultural revolution, on the other hand, was already beginning, though it was still only in its very earliest stages. It had been inaugurated in 1788 by the great reform measure (*Stavnsbaandets Lösning*), carried through by the Regent, Prince Frederik, and his advisers, which began the break-up of the feudal tenure under which the peasants had hitherto been bound. The abolition of the old system of communal tillage was accompanied by legislation to enable the peasants to acquire the ownership of their own farms, and this opened the way for the rapid extension of the system of peasant proprietorship which took place during the nineteenth century.

The period immediately succeeding the Napoleonic War was a difficult one for Danish agriculture, owing to the low corn prices that prevailed, while the financial strain was aggravated by the State bankruptcy and the Government's deflation policy. As the century advanced, however, agricultural improvements, such as the use of the swing-plough (1821) and new methods of cultivation and draining, were introduced, principally from England, and raised the farming industry to new levels of prosperity. Meantime, a fresh note of respect for the

peasant was making itself heard in Danish literature, for example, in the often-quoted line from Thaarup's *Harvest-home* (1790), *Adel kan en Bonde vaere* ("A peasant can be noble"). But the peasants themselves remained for the most part inarticulate, and in some cases even resisted the introduction of the new reforms. "Until the new century is far advanced, history tells us only of what was done for the people, not of what the people did themselves" (Begtrup).

The renaissance which was so slow in coming to the Danish rural districts had, however, already reached the educated circles of the capital at the turn of the century, just at the time when Grundtvig was passing through the University. By 1802 Grundtvig's fellow-student, Adam Oehlenschläger, was already becoming known as a writer of promising verses, and in that year he experienced his full poetic awakening through his contact with the great Romantic Movement which was now at its zenith in Germany. That vital contact came to the young poet through his fellow-countryman, Henrik Steffens, who in 1802 returned to Copenhagen from Germany, where he had spent four years in close relationship with Schiller, Goethe, Schelling, Fichte, and other leading men, and had become imbued with the new ideas which were revolutionizing the world of thought. The lectures which Steffens delivered at Copenhagen University between 1802 and 1804, expounding the poetry of Goethe and the ideas of the new philosophy, were full of significance for the reawakening of Danish intellectual life. Even more far-reaching was the influence which he exerted upon Danish literature through his personal friendship with Adam Oehlenschläger. Oehlenschläger's splendid poem, *The Golden Horns*, was composed within a few hours

in the ferment of inspiration resulting from his first intimate conversation with Steffens; and with its feeling for Nature, its love of symbolism, and its enthusiasm for the "ancient gold" of national saga and legend, it sounded the authentic note of the Romantic Revival, and heralded a new day in Danish literature and life.

The day which dawned so hopefully in Oehlenschläger's poem suffered a temporary eclipse during the era of depression which followed on Denmark's ill-fated participation in the Napoleonic War, but in the eighteenth-twenties it broke forth once more in the writings of Grundtvig and of Bernhard Ingemann, the leaders in a second remarkable literary renaissance. The most remarkable fact, however, about the Danish Romantic Revival is that it neither lost itself in cloudy fantasies nor sought an outlet in warlike ventures and the "romance of Empire," but turned to find its expression in the "romance of hard work," and linked itself with the agricultural revival in the building up of a new Danish rural civilization. It is in this respect that Denmark shows the most striking contrast to most of the other countries with which she shared the impulse of the Romantic Movement; and the fact that Danish Romanticism took this peculiar line of development is due to Grundtvig more than to any other single man.

CHAPTER II

THE MAKING OF THE MAN

The words which Grundtvig wrote of Holberg in his poem, *New Year's Eve* (1811), apply with singular aptness to himself: "Every mighty spirit unites within himself, in the bond of individuality, all that is widely scattered in his time and people; and thus thou wert the true interpreter of thine own age and of thy Northern land. But that which can alone create the union with itself, the unknown quantity upon the spirit's counting-board, the vision of genius was thine own and God's." In our study of Grundtvig we shall see how deeply he was affected by the events and tendencies of his time and nation; we shall also see how the power of his own individuality and his "vision of genius" brought the diverse forces that influenced him into a new unity, and transmitted them to his fellow-countrymen in new and fruitful forms.

Of all the influences that went to the moulding of Grundtvig's character and philosophy of life, one of the profoundest seems to have been the influence of his home. The youngest child of a country parsonage, Grundtvig spent the first nine years of his life at Udby in the beautiful South Sjaelland countryside, mingling freely with the peasants, and learning from one of them, old Malene, a crippled woman whom his parents maintained at the parsonage, many popular proverbs and sayings which he never forgot, and which stood him in good stead in later years as a writer of pure, idiomatic Danish. The influence to which Grundtvig as a child owed most of all was the influence of his mother, a

woman of warm heart and strong character, who carried on a valiant struggle against ill-health and poverty, and whose chief ambition was to give her sons a good education. She was proud to trace her descent from the well-known family of the Bangs, who counted the famous mediaeval Bishop Absalon among their kindred; she loved to tell her little son about the old Danish legends and traditions: and it was from her that Grundtvig derived that sense of the living connection between past and present which was of such significance for all his thought. "Through thee I have my root in the herodays of old," he wrote to his mother in a poem dating from 1815, "and with thy noble blood thou gavest me the sense for song and saga."

It was his mother who taught the little boy to read, and soon he was poring over big volumes of history from his father's library, which were almost too heavy for him to carry. The events of which he read came to life again in his quick imagination, and after reading Kall's *World History* he would wander round the garden, cutting the heads off docks and nettles in a fanciful representation of the Battle of Marathon. His father, unlike most of the contemporary clergy, was an orthodox Lutheran, comparatively unaffected by the prevailing rationalism, and among the volumes in his library was a *Life of Luther*, which Grundtvig read at the age of eight, and which so entranced him that he could hardly be dragged away from the book. From old Malene, too, he learnt to love the simple, old-fashioned, Lutheran hymns, reminiscences of which colour much of his own religious poetry.

Childhood at Udby seems to have been a "Golden Age" for Grundtvig, but this Golden Age soon ended. At the age of nine he was sent away to Jutland to learn

Latin from an unmarried clergyman, Laurids Feld, who had been his brothers' tutor; thence he passed to Aarhus Latin School, where he spent two years before entering Copenhagen University in 1800. These years of formal schooling seem to have been comparatively barren ones for his development. He still retained some interest in Scandinavian mythology; but with regard to most other subjects he appears to have been passing through a phase of youthful cynicism and disillusionment at the time of his entrance to the University. He had lost his religious orthodoxy, he tells us, through reading the satiric writings of T. C. Bruun, and, in his own phrase, he was "without spirit and without faith." Even the stirring events of the Napoleonic War, which was raging in Europe outside, failed to rouse or hold his interest.

Grundtvig's first years at the University were rather aimless ones. "Did nothing all day," is a frequent entry in his Diary. His study of theology was taken up for no other reason than to please his parents; and the veteran University professors, encrusted with the hoary orthodoxies and scepticisms of the eighteenth century, were hardly fitted to awaken in their students an enthusiasm which they did not feel themselves. From the social life of the city Grundtvig was cut off by his poverty, his shabby home-made clothes, his awkward manners, and his Jutland dialect. He was consequently much shut in upon himself; but he read greedily all that came in his way, and tried his hand at the writing of verses and comedies. "In society," he wrote to a friend some years later, "I was the most stupid, dumb, and boring creature, and at the same moment my heart laughed within me, for I was not what I seemed to be; and I gladly returned to my solitude." These words

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suggest a consciousness of latent powers on the part of the tongue-tied student; and, through the happy circumstance which brought Henrik Steffens to Copenhagen to trouble the stagnant waters of University routine, those latent powers were called into activity by the vivifying stimulus of the Romantic Movement.

Though Grundtvig and Steffens were cousins, they did not know each other intimately; but Grundtvig attended his cousin's lectures during the two winters (1802-4) which Steffens spent in Copenhagen. "It is the same spirit which sleeps in the stone, dreams in the plant, wakes in the animal, and becomes self-conscious in man"—this, which was the keynote of Schelling's Natural Philosophy, was also the leading idea in Steffens' lectures, though he gave it a Christian rather than a pantheistic interpretation, and in his treatment of history dwelt upon "the idea of the connection of periods and Christ at their central point." In his first course of lectures Steffens traced the revelation of the spirit in Nature, in history, and in individual personality, and stressed the significance of poetry as "that which even in the finite finds the stamp of the eternal."

So remarkably did these lectures of Steffens' combine and harmonize two of the main strands of Grundtvig's nature—the historico-poetical and the religious (strands which we glimpse already in his childhood, and which run through all the utterances of his maturity)—that it is not surprising that Grundtvig looked back on them as the turning-point in his life. It is hardly too much to say that they gave him the elements of a coherent philosophy of life, an interpretation of the tendencies which he already dimly felt within himself—in fact, performed for him the function which he afterwards designed the Folk High-School to perform for the youth

on the threshold of manhood. Their influence, however, was not apparent for some time—not even to Grundtvig himself. He noted in his Diary that he understood but little of the lectures, and some of the ideas which they contained appeared to him ridiculous. Only after an interval of some years, when he had taken his theological Degree and become a tutor in a private family on the island of Langeland (1805-8), where the depths of his emotional nature were stirred by his struggle to master a passionate love for the young wife of his employer which tormented him in secret—only then did the seed which Steffens had sown in his mind begin to germinate. The significance of Steffens' conception of poetry as a revelation of the eternal harmony began to dawn upon him, and in his desperate quest for that harmony he buried himself in the philosophic and poetic writings of the Romantic School—Schelling's *Bruno*, Fichte's *Bestimmung des Menschen*, Moritz's *Götterlehre*, and the works of Schiller and Goethe. Schiller and Fichte, he tells us, were his heroes among German writers at this time, Goethe and Schelling his mysteries.

It was in a Danish setting, however, that the ideas of Romanticism had the deepest appeal for Grundtvig, and it was through their Danish exponent, Oehlenschläger, that they made the most lasting impression upon him. At the University he had read without appreciation some of Oehlenschläger's earlier poems; but when on Langeland, in his period of "Sturm und Drang," he turned to them again, they seemed to open up a new world to him. "It was like a miracle to me," he says, "that the voices which had slumbered through ages of time, and the longings which whispered in the depths of my heart, could hold such living speech in the Danish tongue." Those voices from past ages

which, through Oehlenschläger, now began to speak to Grundtvig with such compelling power were the voices of the mythic past of Scandinavia.

From his childhood Grundtvig had loved the old myths and sagas of the North, and some of his earliest attempts at authorship (1803-4) had dealt with Danish legendary themes; but now, through the influence of Oehlenschläger, and still more through his own experience of mental struggle in striving to master his unspoken passion for Fru Leth, he obtained a new insight into the spirit and significance of Scandinavian mythology. In the great cycle of legends which depicted the conflict of Aser and Jaetter he saw a mighty allegory of human life, with its conflict between good and evil which runs through all history and is fought out anew in every individual soul. In the story of the revolt of the Aser against Allfather, their defeat by the Jaetter on the day of Ragnarok, and their resurrection to the new life of Gimle, where the will of Allfather is once more supreme, he found an inspired foreshadowing of the development which takes place in human history "through the battle between a superior spiritual power and the striving of the race for independence." So deeply did the symbolism of Scandinavian mythology interweave itself with the very texture of Grundtvig's thought during his phase of intellectual and emotional rebirth that henceforth we constantly find him returning to it whenever he wishes to express the most fundamental aspects of his philosophy of life. It was here that he found "the natural figurative language to express vividly, briefly, and with spirit the truth about the great battle for eternity."

"It is their glory alone which helps me to bear the burden of life," wrote Grundtvig of the Northern myths in 1807, "and unless I can rediscover in the ancient

North the lofty harmony of the Eternal, my life is done." It was in this spirit, and not from any motives of academic scholarship, that he plunged into the study of the Edda and other records of Scandinavian antiquity; and for a time the present seemed shadowy and unreal to him beside the new world which he had discovered in the past. Almost all the writings of his early literary period (1807-10), both prose and verse, deal with the themes of Scandinavian legend which now possessed his soul. "In the ancient North alone I have my home," he cries in one of his poems from this period; and in spirit he had "cast himself down before the Aser's altar." All through his life the mythology of Scandinavia remained one of his highest sources of inspiration; but he was saved from the danger of a sterile absorption in his enthusiasm for the past and from an under-valuation of the present by two new experiences which came to him about this time. One was the awakening of his patriotism for the living, actual Denmark of his own day and generation; the other was his religious "conversion" in the winter of 1810.

Like his great German contemporary, Fichte, whom in some ways he so strikingly resembles, Grundtvig received the call to his true lifework through the suffering of his country in the Napoleonic War. Wholeheartedly as he worshipped the Scandinavia of by-gone centuries, he could find little to win his devotion in the petty, complacent life of contemporary Denmark, until the Danes found themselves unexpectedly involved in the Napoleonic War, and fighting against the superior naval power of England. Then the exploits and gallant death of his friend, the young Lieutenant Peter Willemoes, showed him that the heroic spirit of their ancestors still survived in Denmark; and the sufferings of his

people after the bombardment of Copenhagen and the capture of the Danish fleet by the English in 1807 touched him still more deeply, awakening in his strong nature that passionate tenderness for his "little Denmark" ("det lille Danmark," as he loved to call it) which breathes through all his writings and inspired some of his loveliest poems.

From this time forth Grundtvig felt his whole life consecrated to the service of his country. It was his newly kindled patriotism which called forth his first published book (*Maskeradeballet i Danmark*, 1808) in which he urged his countrymen to put aside their trifling and show themselves worthy of their ancestors in the hour of crisis. It was his patriotism, now burning with a clearer and steadier flame, which inspired him through eight laborious years (1815-23) in his task of translating the Chronicles of Saxo and Snorro into a living modern Danish which could be read and appreciated by the common people. It inspired him in his work as a politician and as editor of the various periodicals (*Dannevirke*, 1816-19, *Danskeren*, 1848-51) in which he sought "to see everything with Danish eyes and describe everything with Danish words." In his work as a poet, in his work for the Folk High-Schools, in all the many activities of his wonderfully active life, the same motive—love of Denmark—reappears. Sometimes, disheartened by the indifference of his countrymen, he felt that he was "too hard-handed to handle Danish hearts aright," and thought of emigrating to Norway, Germany, or England; but still he stuck to his post, hoping through all disappointments that at last his countrymen would hear his message. The time of waiting was long, but he lived to see the national renaissance which brought him his reward.

Grundtvig's achievement of authentic personal religion was only attained at the cost of a sudden and violent "conversion," which came upon him with such a shattering shock that it took him some years to recover his spiritual equilibrium after the upheaval which it involved. Already in his time of mental conflict on Langeland he had begun to find something more than a formal meaning in Christianity; but his enthusiasm for Scandinavian mythology had given another outlet to his religious feeling. The two years after his return to Copenhagen were years of rapid intellectual development. He had obtained a post as history teacher in a secondary school in the city, and a free place at "Valkendorfs Kollegium" (a kind of students' hostel), where he spent "two of the happiest and proudest, most active and instructive years" of his life. His fame as a writer was growing; his *Northern Mythology* (1808) was warmly welcomed in both Denmark and Germany as a work of great promise, and was partly translated into German by Friedrich Schlegel. He now enjoyed the society of congenial friends, and was for a time admitted to the "Danish Olympus," presided over by Oehlenschläger and the brothers Ørsted (one of whom later became famous as the discoverer of electro-magnetism). But the time of crisis was approaching, hastened by a combination of seemingly unrelated events.

In the spring of 1810, Grundtvig's father, whose health was failing, requested him to return to Udby as his chaplain. The request came as a blow to all Grundtvig's hopes and ambitions. He had, "in common with all poetic natures, the secret horror for conditions of office in the prosaic world," and he felt that his vocation lay in literature. Still, he agreed to preach his "Dimispraeken" (qualifying sermon), so that, if the

Bishop's consent could be obtained, he would be free to go to Udby. His sermon duly passed the "Censor," but the Bishop would not grant the application to have him sent as chaplain to his father. Grundtvig thereupon refused to press the matter further, saying that it was a sign that he was meant to stay in Copenhagen.

His conscience was probably troubling him, however, during the ensuing months, and his mental restlessness was intensified by the anxiety which followed the publication of his "Dimispraeken." It contained a vigorous attack upon the irreligion of the contemporary clergy, some of whom complained to the authorities, with the result that Grundtvig found his career endangered by the threat of law proceedings and of his possible exclusion from the ministry. He ultimately escaped with an official "reprimand," but only after a period of delay and nervous strain.

Meantime, his study of mediaeval history had been leading him to the conviction that Christianity was the vital force which could alone revive a nation—"life and action spring from faith." With this conviction fresh upon him, he was reading Kotzebue's *History of Prussia*, when he came upon a sneering reference to the "dry, withered Cross" which was doomed to overthrow the nobler pagan worship of the Germans. "At that a cold shudder passed over me, so that I not only hurled the book away, but sprang up, seized by a mighty spirit, which called me to be a reformer." Grundtvig spent the next few weeks in a state of spiritual excitement and exaltation, burying himself in the study of the Book of Revelation and the prophetic books of the Old Testament, and alternating between moods of hope and of fear. At one moment he pictured himself as the leader of a new Crusade, standing forth and holding before

his people "two blazing torches, the Word of the Lord and the witness of the past"; but again he shrank from the thought of the opposition he would have to encounter. Then suddenly, in the midst of his proud dreams and plans, the question came to him—"Are you a Christian yourself?"—and his pride gave way to the torments of despair.

For days he lay in a state of semi-delirium, feeling "the chill of mid-winter" in his soul, unable to find relief in tears, and believing himself to be smitten by the wrath of God. In this time of mental and physical breakdown, a side of his nature which in his hours of normal consciousness was repressed or sublimated began to torture him with sensual imaginings, and he felt "the devil like a snake winding around his body." Slowly he won his way back to normality, helped by the peaceful atmosphere of Udby, where he was now thankful to obtain the post as his father's chaplain which he had formerly scorned.

From the spiritual crisis which had convulsed his life Grundtvig at first sought refuge in a zealous and rigidly orthodox Lutheranism; but with wider experience he developed a wider and deeper conception of religion. In time, too, he became a leading theologian, and his doctrine of the "living word" as the basis of the Church gathered around him a party of adherents who were known as "Grundtvigians," though he himself objected to the sectarian label. Notwithstanding all the changes which took place in Grundtvig's religious thought in the years after 1810, however, the crisis of that year left with him two convictions which became an integral part of his philosophy. It convinced him that the will and the feelings were of fundamental importance in all spiritual life. "The spring of life is the heart, not the

head," he wrote, in allusion to the barrenness of intellectual enlightenment without corresponding emotional and volitional development, and again, "Light without warmth is the torture of hell." Further, his "conversion" deepened his conviction of the existence of a spiritual Power which upholds and guides the universe, and brought him the realization that henceforth his work must be done, not in his own unaided strength, but in reliance on that higher Power. With this there came to him a new feeling of humility, which found one of its channels of expression in his growing sympathy and sense of fellowship with the common people. From this time forward his writings, which previously had been destined for a comparatively narrow circle of intellectuals, seek to adapt themselves to the needs of a wider audience, and do so in no patronizing spirit.

The combination of the religious and the patriotic trends in Grundtvig's thought sometimes gives to his writings a curious apocalyptic tone like that of some ancient Hebrew seer. He speaks to his people as one who has a direct message for them from God—sometimes a message of warning, sometimes a message of hope. At times his mystic visions and prophecies appear to modern eyes to verge on the fantastic; but often they seem to spring from some deep source of spiritual insight which justifies his title of "Prophet of the North." The Danes for Grundtvig are in a very real sense a "chosen people." Denmark for him is "the Palestine of history," and her mission on earth is to lead the nations in a revival of living Christianity, and in building up a new "historical culture" to replace the Latin culture which has been undermined by the French Revolution. Denmark is the heart of the North, the heart of the world, he says; the Danish people are "the people of

the heart" (*Hjertefolk*), and since all true faith springs from the heart, he expects the next great revival of religion to take place in Denmark, which he identifies with the Sixth Church of the Book of Revelation. Language of this kind sounds extravagant to our ears; but the vision of Denmark's future "fifty years on" which he depicted in his allegorical poem *Dansk Ravnegaller* (1860) has been largely fulfilled by the progress of events; for the prophetic picture of "the realm of little Denmark . . . with peace and freedom, heroic courage, folk-song and gladness, with wisdom clad in childlike garb, in love and truth, outshining the glory of the Great Powers, and yet not arousing grudging envy," is not unrecognizably far removed from the realities of to-day.

Interwoven as it was with his religious faith, Grundtvig's faith in the future of his country never wavered. "Never was my hope more firm and living than now in the days of trouble, now when everyone must despair who trusts in the world and himself," he wrote to the King in 1814, after the State bankruptcy and the loss of Norway, and the same brave note rings out again after a lapse of fifty years in his articles and poems which were called forth by the disaster of 1864.

Memories of his childhood, influences from the Romantic Movement and from Scandinavian mythology, from patriotism and from religion—these were the main elements that went to the moulding of Grundtvig's character, and all these had been fused into a living unity with his personality while he was still a young man. There is, however, another influence of his maturer years which is often spoken of as having had decisive results for the development of his thought, and particularly of his Folk High-School idea—the influence of

his first three visits to England in the summer months of 1829, 1830, and 1831. These visits were undoubtedly of significance for Grundtvig's thought, though it is somewhat difficult to trace the precise ways in which they influenced his ideas. On his first visit, Grundtvig went no farther than London, where, with his imperfect knowledge of the English language, he felt himself almost lost among the "long streets and unfamiliar faces," and divided most of his time between the bookshops and the British Museum. On his second visit, however, he ventured farther afield, to Exeter, Bristol, and Oxford, while during his third visit he spent some days at Cambridge, where he dined with the Fellows "and felt himself more at home than would have been the case at Copenhagen University." He met, besides the leading Anglo-Saxon scholars, other prominent men of the period, among whom were George Borrow, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert Owen. This social intercourse and the impression which he got of the freedom and activity of English life were of even greater importance for his personal development than the scholarly researches which he had come to prosecute.

We can trace English influence on Grundtvig's thought in one or two fairly definite directions, e.g., in his belief in *laissez-faire* in economic life, and in his conception of the ideal University. It is, however, through their influence on his general attitude that his English travels seem to have affected him most. "What I chiefly admired in England," he writes, "was the free and living activity, the masterly grasp of the useful, and the clear vision for what is really and lastingly honourable." When he first came to England he was ready enough to criticize the materialistic nature of English activities, but the English disconcerted him by answering his criticisms

with the question, "What do you do in Denmark, then?" "I shall never forget that 'What do you do?' if I live to be a hundred," he declares, "and I had to confess that, though we had the wish and the power to do many good things, we thought so much about a safe job and about all sorts of things of which the one must be done and the other not left undone, and about all possible hindrances and misuses and misunderstandings of honest intentions, that we really *did* nothing worth talking about." Grundtvig's English experiences made a realist of him; they taught him that an ounce of actual performance is worth a pound of theory. "In England I first learnt with regard to freedom, as to everything human, to lay the whole emphasis on the *actuality*, with deep contempt for vain appearances," he writes, and again, "It was, I believe, in England . . . that I really learnt to know the difference between shadows *with* and *without* a body . . . and I learnt, by the comparison, the undeniable advantage it is for both things and persons to be *actually* in existence, outside of our brains, a property for the lack of which no historic or poetic glory can compensate." It is not surprising that, after such a lesson, Grundtvig's thoughts turned with doubled earnestness to the practical activities of the school as a means of making his ideal Denmark no longer a mere vision of "poetic glory," but an actuality.

In some respects England stood for Grundtvig as a warning rather than a model. He was deeply impressed by the creative activity of industrial England, which he felt must be the product of some mighty spiritual force. "One must infer great causes from great effects, and from the thousand-horse-power of the steam-engines one must infer human greatness and the heroic spirit

of the North in the inventors." Yet he felt that this activity had taken a wrong direction in its pursuit of profit, and he shuddered at the system which made men "mere accessories, mere appendices to machines." He believed that the enclosures movement had done incalculable harm in England. "The people are severed from the land, which has fallen into the hands of a flock of landlords, who can neither possess it with right nor defend it when need arises; poverty will grow continually and bring the people to despair." This seemed to him to be "the inner sore in England, which one easily overlooks, dazzled by her outward splendour." Hence, on his return from his fourth and last visit to England in 1843, we find him writing to Ingemann that he is more convinced than ever of the need of pressing forward with the adult education movement, lest Denmark should follow England on her mistaken ways.

In his private personal life, Grundtvig was fortunate in many respects. He was fortunate in his friends, who included some of the ablest men in Denmark, as well as a great number of loyal followers throughout the country. He was fortunate in the three women whom he found to share his life: the gentle, simple-hearted Lise Blicher, whom he married in 1818 after a seven years' engagement, and who stood by him faithfully in all his early struggles; the noble-spirited Fru Marie Toft, his second wife, who was his true soul-mate, though their companionship was tragically ended by her death in 1854 in their third year of married life; and Asta Reedtz, Fru Marie's friend, whom he married in 1858, and who cared for him tenderly in his old age. He was fortunate in his children, some of whom became prominent in Danish intellectual circles, though they

never attained to anything like their father's eminence. But in his public life Grundtvig often had to stand alone, especially in his younger days; his frank expression of his opinions cost him many friendships; and for a great part of his life he had to contend with anxieties, opposition, ridicule and apathy which would have broken the spirit of any but a man of more than common strength.

But Grundtvig was a man of more than common strength. He possessed the most amazing physical and mental energy, and his powerfully built frame did not belie his Viking ancestry. For many years he led what by all modern criteria was a most unhealthy life, sitting indoors at his studies, and continually enveloped in a cloud of tobacco-smoke. There were many nights when he would not undress or go to bed at all, but snatch a few hours' sleep in his armchair, and often for weeks together he would not go out of doors, save for the short walks to and from his church on Sundays. Yet nothing seemed to impair his vitality. In 1851, when he attended a great meeting of Scandinavian students in Norway, the students acclaimed him as "the youngest of them all," and in the same year, at an age when romantic love might be expected to be nothing but a memory, he experienced an "Indian summer" of romance which culminated in his second marriage, and which he has immortalized in a succession of love lyrics, full of beauty and power. On the day before his death, within a week of his eighty-ninth birthday, he was able to preach as usual in Vartov Church, and some of his hearers commented afterwards on the strength of his voice. Save for one or two brief periods of mental disturbance like that from which he suffered in 1810, he retained full command of his faculties to the end;

and up to the last he was a learner and young and vital in spirit. With his intellectual gifts, his physical vitality, and his reserves of spiritual power, he was ideally equipped to translate his rich experiences into action, and to take the lead in the regeneration of the Danish people.

CHAPTER III

GRUNDTVIG AS REFORMER AND WRITER

There is hardly any sphere of nineteenth-century Danish life to which Grundtvig did not make some lasting contribution, and it would require many volumes to chronicle the multifarious activities of this many-sided man, who was religious reformer, politician and national leader, scholar, poet, philosopher and educationist all in one.

Most of Grundtvig's adult life was spent in the service of the Church, but it was by no means a tranquil or unbroken service. Already during his chaplaincy at Udby his outspokenness had aroused the hostility of the Copenhagen clergy and thus debarred him from obtaining a ministerial position in the city, where he had hoped to have an opportunity of influencing the University students. After his father's death in 1813, Grundtvig spent eight years in Copenhagen without professional employment, supported only by the scanty earnings from his literary work and by gifts from generous friends, until in 1818, when he was hopelessly in debt, the King came to his rescue with an annual subsidy of 1,200 kroner, to enable him to finish his translations of Saxo and Snorro. In 1821 he was at last appointed to a country parish, and in the following year to Vor Frelzers Kirke in Copenhagen, where he became a growing intellectual force in the life of the city. In 1825, however, his theological controversy with Professor Clausen involved him in a libel action; he incurred a fine and had his writings placed under the Police Censorship, which was not removed until 1837; and in consequence of this and of the unfriendly

attitude of the Bishops, he resigned from the ministry in 1826, and was once more without employment for six years. It was during this period that he first visited England, with the aid of a travelling scholarship from the King, in order to study the Anglo-Saxon MSS. in the British Museum. In 1832 he was granted a semi-independent ministerial position as preacher at Frederiks Kirke in Copenhagen, and in 1839 he was appointed to the ministry of Vartov Church (also in Copenhagen), which he held until his death. In 1861, on the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination, he was granted the honorary title of Bishop, in recognition of the great work he had done for the Danish hymnal.

Through all the vicissitudes of his professional career, Grundtvig was engaged in almost ceaseless literary work, and from 1832 onwards his name is indissolubly associated with the Folk High-School movement which he inaugurated, and to which his later writings and speeches have a constant reference. In his later years he also took an active part in political affairs. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), and was subsequently elected to the *Folketing* (Lower House) in 1849, 1853, 1854 and 1855, and to the *Landsting* (Upper House) in 1866.

In the history of the Danish Church Grundtvig occupies a position which is rivalled only by that of Sören Kierkegaard. He was more fortunate than his ill-starred contemporary in living long enough to see the results of his labours; but, like him, he spent many years of his life in a lonely battle against ecclesiastical authority, and had he died at the same age as Kierkegaard, he would be remembered, not as Bishop Grundtvig, but as another of the prophets who are without honour in their own time and country.

Grundtvig presents the somewhat rare phenomenon of a reformer who is at the same time possessed by a strong sense of historical continuity, and of a religious enthusiast who claims for his opponents the same freedom which he enjoys himself. Unlike the majority of men, he did not grow more conservative as he grew older, but rather became filled with the growing conviction of the value of religious freedom which is expressed in these words, written in 1859, "The older I grow, the clearer it becomes for me that my Christian errand in my circle is really this: to make it clear with my utmost powers for both friends and foes that true Christianity, far from being allied with any spiritual thralldom or compulsion of conscience, or with any hypocrisy, secrecy, or theatricality, can not only bear all *human freedom*, as well as all human enlightenment, but *demand*s them, and can only flourish, can only work with its full power and be seen in its glory, where its enemies have the same freedom as itself to make their strength felt spiritually."

During the earlier period of Grundtvig's ministry, it was his zealously orthodox Lutheranism and his condemnation of the prevailing scepticism which brought upon him the enmity of the rationalist clergy; but in later years, though his zeal did not diminish, it expressed itself in other ways, and especially in the campaign for freedom both within and without the State Church in which he took the lead. He was one of the first to protest against the persecution of the Dissenting Sects and the compulsory baptism which was enforced upon their children, and as a result of his exertions the oppressive regulations were ultimately repealed. Another important reform which was due to Grundtvig and his followers was *Sognebaandets Lösning*—the abolition of the rule which

bound all members of the Church (except those resident in Copenhagen) to their parish clergyman, from whom alone they could receive the sacraments, and to whom they must send their children to be prepared for confirmation, whether he shared their religious views or not. The abolition of this rule in 1855 removed a constant source of friction between the rationalists and the Grundtvigians and orthodox Lutherans within the State Church; and a further step in the direction of freedom was taken by the law of 1868, permitting the formation of *Valgmenigheder* ("voluntary congregations"), according to which a group of persons who wished to support a clergyman of their own instead of the parish clergyman might do so without seceding from the Church. Having achieved so much for the freedom of the laity, Grundtvig was anxious to secure an equal measure of liberty for the clergy, without which he felt that they were always exposed to the temptation of hypocrisy. He proposed, therefore, that the oath of office should be altered so that the intending clergyman should only bind himself to teach in accordance with Scripture and administer the sacraments "according to his best conviction"; he also suggested that the Bishops should be free to ordain only those whom they thought fit, and that the candidates should be free to go to any Bishop they liked for ordination. He failed, however, to get support for these proposals; and even some of his friends considered that they went too far.

It is noteworthy that, while pressing for these and similar reforms in the teeth of adverse ecclesiastical opinion and official delays, Grundtvig strenuously opposed the idea of any break with the State Church, or of secession to join any of the dissenting sects which would have welcomed him as a leader. He held, indeed,

that in certain circumstances, if the State sought to impose undue restrictions on religious liberty, the Church might be compelled to sever her connection with it; but he felt that this would be a disaster, because of "the indissoluble connection between Christian life and national life." For him, the Danish Church and the Danish nation were bound together in a historic unity, and, with his strong historic sense, he shrank from the idea of any rupture of that unity. This conception of historical continuity received a further manifestation in the doctrine of the "living word," which was his most important contribution to theology, and which is dealt with in a later chapter.

It was not only as a theologian and a practical reformer that Grundtvig rendered lasting service to the Danish Church. As a religious poet, he placed it still more in his debt, both by the longer poems, such as *Roskilde Rim* and *Kong Harald og Ansgar*, which trace the history of the Church in Denmark, and by the great body of hymns with which he enriched the Danish hymnal. Penetrating into every corner of the country, and breathing the strong and joyous faith of their author, Grundtvig's hymns have been a powerful agency in spreading among the Danish people that attitude towards life and religion which has earned for his followers the name of "joyful Christians" (*glade Kristne*).

To Grundtvig, with his strong conviction of "the indissoluble connection between Christian life and national life," it seemed in no way incongruous that a leader of the Church should also be a leader in national politics. From the time that his patriotism was first awakened by the events of the Napoleonic War, he was actively concerned in all that affected the political destiny

of his country. His earlier contributions to political discussion are in the tone of an Old Testament prophet, summoning his people to repentance on pain of destruction, and again comforting them with the assurance of the promises of God and His special care for Denmark. At the outset of his career, his views with regard to the machinery of government were surprisingly conservative. He was a staunch upholder of the absolute monarchy, which in his opinion afforded a more satisfactory guarantee of the essential liberties of the people than would be given by the rule of selfish nobles or an ignorant majority; and he believed that "a well-ordered freedom of the Press could do all the good that a Parliament could possibly do, without involving a single one of the difficulties, inconveniences, and dangers that are connected with Parliaments." This attitude was due in part to the peculiar conditions prevailing in Denmark at the time, and in part to Grundtvig's ingrained distrust of "the wretched superstitious belief in *forms*, which is altogether un-Danish." What he had seen of the fever of Constitution-making in revolutionary France, with its negligible results in practice, and of the realities of plutocratic rule in England, under a nominally democratic Constitution, intensified his conviction that Constitutional forms could never create a free people, and deterred him from throwing in his lot with the rising Liberal Party in Denmark.

As he grew older, however, Grundtvig's political views underwent a development in the direction of greater freedom similar to that which took place in his views on matters of Church policy. He had regarded the establishment of the Popular Advisory Councils (1831-34) as a "regrettable mistake"; but a brief experience of their working in practice soon showed

him that he had been looking on the matter "like a bookworm." Before the end of his life we find him an enthusiastic champion of popular government, though to the last he combined his popular sympathies with an intense personal loyalty to the King. He was an active member of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49) which gave Denmark her democratic Constitution; and both there and later as a Member of Parliament he opposed the proposals for a property franchise, and tried to strengthen the regulations safeguarding freedom of debate and ministerial responsibility, thus endeavouring to ensure that the new democratic government should really reflect the will of the people, and not degenerate into a bureaucracy.

Grundtvig always stood as an independent in politics, and hence took no share as a party leader in the direct determining of national policy. His real political influence was exerted rather through his work as a writer and lecturer, and through his personal contacts with the younger political leaders, than through the part he played in Parliamentary debate. His permanent contributions to Danish politics were made, above all, in connection with his work for the reawakening of the Danish national consciousness and for the political and social uplifting of the peasant class.

The rebirth of national sentiment is an almost universal feature of European history during the nineteenth century, but in Denmark there was hardly any individual who did more to bring it about than Grundtvig. Not only did he take part with Oehlenschläger and Ingemann, through his poems and translations, in recalling to the Danish people the historical and legendary glories of their past; but he also found more direct and practical means of arousing and fostering patriotic feeling in the

present. The series of lectures on modern Danish history which he delivered in Copenhagen in 1838 led to the formation of the first "Danish Society" (*Dansk Samfund*), to promote the discussion of everything concerning the welfare of Denmark, and numerous similar societies soon sprang up throughout the country; while the practice of holding open-air meetings in the rural areas in celebration of national anniversaries received a great impetus through his influence. In the Folk High-Schools which owed their origin to him "the fatherland was the central point" round which the interest of the students centred. When the conflict between the Danish and the German elements in Slesvig-Holstein flared up in the eighteen-forties, Grundtvig immediately espoused the Danish cause with voice and pen, and he was one of the speakers at the great Skamlingsbanken meeting in 1844 which fused into a unity all the rising forces of national feeling. During the wars of 1848-51 and 1864 he took the lead in heartening and encouraging his people in their struggle against heavy odds, and celebrated the courage of the Danish common soldier in several stirring poems. Even in face of the disaster of 1864, he succeeded in inspiring his countrymen with his own unswerving faith in their national destiny. "Small nations," he wrote, "have been instruments in God's hand for His greatest and most wonderful works on earth," and again, "The more strongly and bravely a nation defends its freedom and independence, its fatherland and mother tongue, the more fruitfully human life develops in all directions, and the more beneficial, happy, and fruitful becomes the interaction of all the peoples of the earth." Love of country, even when imperfect, is a force of the utmost value which the true internationalist should foster rather than repress; "its

blemishes can never be so great that it is not the best thing in a people, and blends in one with all real love of humanity."

Grundtvig's passionate nationalism was thus combined with internationalism, and, for all the extravagant language in which his patriotism sometimes clothed itself, he was no Jingo. He never wished to see Denmark extending her territory at the expense of other nations, or imposing her culture and language upon peoples to whom they were alien. This is strikingly evidenced by his attitude to the Slesvig-Holstein question—a question on which, if ever, his national enthusiasm might have been expected to prejudice his judgment. He told his countrymen quite frankly that, in spite of their pious wishes, the real Denmark extended no further than the point at which "people will *keep on* speaking Danish," that is, somewhere in the middle of Slesvig; and he declared that to assert "an antiquated right to living human beings" would be to treat them like slaves. In 1857, again, when the Danish Government was imposing Danish as the language of religious instruction upon the German-speaking population of South Jutland, Grundtvig did not hesitate to protest, declaring that everyone should have leave to worship God in his own tongue. The policy towards Slesvig-Holstein for which Grundtvig stood out almost alone over seventy years ago was endorsed in essentials by the framers of the provisions for the 1920 plebiscite.

Grundtvig was neither a militarist nor a pacifist. He believed war to be justified when it was fought for national independence, but he preferred the victories of peace. "Peace can and ought everywhere in human society to have a history far richer and more pleasing than that of war, except when the latter is waged in defence

of peace and the occupations of peace." If life in time of peace is stagnant and ignoble, war may be welcomed as an outlet for pent-up energies; the remedy for this is to be found, not along the negative lines of merely condemning war, but through the positive policy of giving scope for worthier peace-time activities. "It is by no means true statesmanship to make life in time of peace stiff, measured, and uniform, but to make it as free, as fermenting, and thereby as active and fruitful as possible." Those who know modern Denmark must often have been struck by the blend of patriotism and internationalism, and the sustained enthusiasm for peace and the activities of peace, which characterize the Danes. In both these directions we can trace the influence of Grundtvig.

The other great contribution which Grundtvig made to Danish politics was through the part which he played in the uplifting of the rural population. From his childhood Grundtvig had had a warm sympathy for, and understanding of, the Danish peasants; and there is a passage in the Diary that he kept at the University which shows that even then he was dreaming of the time when he might help in their emancipation. Commenting on a book in the style of Pestalozzi's *Lienhard und Gertrud*, which he had been reading, he declared that it aroused his anger and indignation against "all the persecutors of the peasants who exist," and "awakened fresh courage in me to offer up everything some day, likewise, for the enlightenment of the peasants." In after years he realized this youthful ambition to the full. We have seen how he undertook the translation of the chronicles of Saxo and Snorro in order to make them "reading for the common people"; and from the eighteen-thirties onwards he came into

still more fruitful contact with the peasants, both personally and through his disciples among the country clergy, who spread his ideas far and wide. As a Member of Parliament, he became personally acquainted with the leaders of the *Bondevenner*, or "Friends of the Peasants," and many of them were strongly influenced by him. It was through the Folk High-School Movement which he inaugurated, however, that he did most of all to assist in that rise of the peasants to political power which was such a remarkable phenomenon in the history of the later nineteenth century in Denmark. These adult schools provided the peasants with the education which they needed to fit them for the tasks of government; in 1903 over 35 per cent. of the members of the Danish Parliament had had a High-School education.

The work which Grundtvig did as inaugurator of the Folk High-School Movement, however, had more than a merely political or local significance, and deserves more detailed consideration.

"Half a skjald and half a bookworm," is Grundtvig's own description of himself, and the description reminds us that, side by side with his work in Danish public life, the work which he did in the study must also be remembered. In the realm of pure scholarship his reputation rests chiefly upon his Anglo-Saxon studies. He played the part of a pioneer in rousing the interest of English scholars in their own antiquarian treasures; and it was through his influence that the British Museum was induced to make a copy of the sole surviving MS. of the *Book of Exeter*. An English firm of booksellers offered to publish an edition of Anglo-Saxon MSS. if Grundtvig would act as editor; the enterprise subsequently fell through owing to a rival project started by Benjamin Thorpe, with the backing of the Anti-

quarian Society; but Grundtvig was content to have succeeded in "moving the English people themselves . . . to give to their own ancient literature the attention it had undeservedly lacked." His translation of *Beowulf* (1820) won high praise from Jakob Grimm, and in his extreme old age he followed it up by an edition of the poem in the original Anglo-Saxon (1861). Even to-day his name is still quoted by the writers of Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic text-books, just as the name of his countryman and contemporary, Madvig, is quoted in text-books on the Classics.

Yet, for all his wide reading, prodigious learning, and patient industry, the "skjald" in Grundtvig was always getting the upper hand of the "bookworm." His *World History* resembles an epic rather than a scientific treatise, and it is his poetic nature which in great part dictated his interpretation of the Scandinavian myths. Nevertheless, he has the scholar's conscientiousness and love of truth, and insists that the historian must not falsify the records to suit his own opinion, nor quote a source which he has not studied himself. Even if many of Grundtvig's theories have been disproved by the more exact scholarship of later days, most of his errors were shared by the duller, plodding scholars of his day, and his writings have the advantage of still being readable and interesting because of their flashes of poetic insight and their attempt to find a deeper meaning and connection beneath the external happenings of history.

Grundtvig's characteristics as a writer have never been more aptly described than by himself in a quaint English letter to his acquaintance, John Browning: "Rather than a genuine poet I would terme myself a particular compound of History and Poetry, the fermentation of which not without some power has

manifested itself as well in the prosaic as in the metrical performances of mine, which of course with few exceptions fall short of the unity and clearness, I have never despised, but would not buy on the expense of life and strength." There in a nutshell are the chief merits and defects of Grundtvig's prose and verse—on the one hand, "life and strength," the fermenting of ideas, originality and power—on the other, a tendency to diffuseness and obscurity, lack of unity and disregard for form. Grundtvig loves to speak in allegories, and his poetry is full of "mystic imagery and dark sayings"; but its obscurity is not the artificial obscurity of conscious elaboration, but the natural obscurity of the poet striving to express symbolically the vision which he can hardly capture in words. "As soon as I am inspired," he says, "all verse forms I can take hold of break, and I seize on fragments of them all, and indicate thereby, as if by hieroglyphics, what I cannot possibly express through them." Not all of Grundtvig's poetry is obscure, however; some of his shorter poems and hymns are masterpieces of simplicity; and anyone who has heard them sung by a Danish gathering, and observed how perfectly the song and the singers seem suited to each other, must have been struck by his success in capturing the national tone.

Grundtvig had a deep sense of the high calling of the poet—"God's fellow-worker," whose special function it is to discover and reveal the kinship between the spiritual and the material. His favourite theme is "man and the deeds of nations," "man as a player in the great historical drama." "My song is only an echo of the heroic lays of our ancestors," he wrote, and many of his best-known poems deal with subjects from Scandinavian history. Whatever his theme, he had the gift

of expressing his whole personality in what he wrote—a gift which, we are told, was also his in speech. "I have hardly ever met a greater poet in conversation," a Swedish visitor said of him in 1840. "Every thought was like an inspiration. His heart was in every word."

Grundtvig's prose shares most of the characteristics of his poetry, but exhibits in a greater degree the typical Danish humour which makes him so lovable a writer. Perhaps the figure in the English literary world to whom he shows most affinity is Thomas Carlyle, though his style is mellow and less abrupt and fiery than that of the Scotsman. Like Carlyle, he owes his eminence as an author to "his wide humanity; his emotional depth; his vitalizing, poetic imagination; his spiritual force; his mastery of language; and the supreme originality and wealth of his style."

The same poetic and allegorizing fantasy which overflowed into Grundtvig's scholarship overflowed also into his philosophy. He never embodied his ideas in a regular philosophical system, expressed in the precise and technical language of the professional philosophers. In this respect he reminds us of Goethe, of whom Spengler writes, "The position of Goethe in West-European metaphysics is still not understood in the least; when philosophy is being discussed he is not even named. For unfortunately he did not set down his doctrines in a rigid system, and so systematic philosophy has overlooked him. Nevertheless he was a philosopher. His place *vis-à-vis* Kant is the same as that of Plato—who similarly eludes the would-be systematizer—*vis-à-vis* Aristotle. Plato and Goethe stand for the philosophy of Becoming, Aristotle and Kant the philosophy of Being. Here we have intuition opposed to analysis." Much of this description applies with

equal force to Grundtvig, and if some day a new school of historical-interpretative philosophy arises with Goethe and Spengler as its prophets, perhaps his philosophy will receive an attention which the systematizers have hitherto failed to accord it.

In opposition to the speculative philosophy of his day, Grundtvig insisted that all philosophy must be historical and based upon experience. "We never understand more of a life than we have experienced ourselves," he wrote; and he distrusted all attempts to form an absolutely clear and logically complete system of philosophy, believing that its very clearness and completeness implied its divorce from the actual facts of life. Clearness, as he said, is our goal, and we cannot expect it to be our staff upon the way. "All true philosophy must be historical: historical, because reason finds nothing in itself but the measuring-rod for finite truth, and must therefore seek the content of philosophy outside itself; historical, because man develops in time and can only be understood in it; historical, because it must be fragmentary, and can only be completed at the end of time." The crown of all man's knowledge and philosophizing, according to Grundtvig, will be the creation of a "Universal History in the widest sense." With his usual fondness for metaphor, he pictures it as an "Aladdin's Palace"; its main foundation has been laid in the Bible by the human spirit in its relation to the divine, and the foundations of the wings, "which are to image man's relation to nature and to history," have been laid by the spirits of Greece and of Scandinavia; but the building still awaits completion, and will only be finished in eternity.

The starting-point for Grundtvig's interpretation of history was the conception which he had derived from

Steffens of "the connection of periods and Christ at their central point." The rise and fall of nations was for him intimately dependent on the growth or decay of their religious life; and all progress was guided by "the invisible spirit of History, that great artist, who never gives up the purpose he has set before him." The conception of history as the process whereby rebellious humanity is gradually brought to voluntary acceptance of the divine purpose was the same one as Grundtvig had found allegorically embodied in Scandinavian mythology, and this led him to believe that the Scandinavians were pre-eminently the people of historical genius, and therefore destined to take the lead in the building up of the new historical philosophy. In a later age his countryman, Tyge Rothe, had, according to Grundtvig, seen and expressed "the principle which is the key to all history, that God from eternity has foreseen . . . man's free-will, and therefore, without destroying it, ordered all things so that His determined counsel shall nevertheless be carried out."

For the rest, Grundtvig's treatment of history was coloured by his characteristic love of symbolism; and, in particular, he succumbed to the fascination of "the mystic number three applied to the world-ages," which, as Spengler points out, "evidently . . . has something highly seductive for the metaphysician's taste." Like Bodin, Herder, and others before him, he made a division of the periods of human history in accordance with "the conventional threefold order," though he gave this order his own individual interpretation. In doing so, he adopted two guiding principles, which may be expressed in the very words of Spengler, namely, that all history is "founded upon general biographic archtypes," and that, "the means whereby

to understand living forms is Analogy." In the application of these principles, however, he gave such free play to his fantasy that no doubt the modern exponent of historical morphology would have dismissed him from serious consideration, along with Ranke and others, who drew their analogies "with a Plutarchian, popular-romantic touch," and failed to work out "any *technique* of analogies." Another defect of Grundtvig's historical philosophy is that he derived almost all his material from the narrow limits of European history, and consequently his classifications and interpretations, when applied to world history as a whole, sometimes seemed forced and arbitrary. Yet, even if we must regard Grundtvig's philosophy as a new Scandinavian mythology rather than a scientific system, it is still stimulating, vital, and suggestive, by reason of its original ideas and imaginative power.

Following the analogical method, Grundtvig represented the process of history as reproducing on a larger scale the process which takes place in the life of the individual. The human mind, according to him, is made up of three chief elements—fantasy, feeling, and reason (*fantasi, følelse, forstand*). One of these predominates in each of the main periods of our lives—fantasy in youth, feeling in manhood, and reason in old age. Similarly, in the life of the race, fantasy predominates in Antiquity, feeling in the Middle Ages, and reason in the Modern Period. Again, of the three chief nations in ancient history, the Jews represent fantasy, the Greeks feeling (the direct enjoyment of the moment), and the Romans reason; or, turning to mythology, we find fantasy imaged in Zeus, feeling in Poseidon, and reason (which Grundtvig tends to regard as something cold and dead) in Pluto. There is no end to the analogies

and allegories which Grundtvig weaves around his mystic trinities; but one conclusion which he draws is of importance as furnishing a philosophic basis for his educational activity. Since the Modern Period is the age of reason, it is destined, he believed, to be predominantly the age of the school and of culture. "Culture," he wrote, "is the heroic deed that is reserved for us and for the generations to come," and again, "Just as the great achievement of Antiquity sprang from State institutions with a divine stamp, and that of the Middle Ages from a Church with divine authority, so must the great achievement of the Modern Period spring from a school with divine thoughts, which gives to both Church and State, and thereby to the whole of human life, a transfigured form."

The emphasis which Grundtvig laid on the human and historical aspects of philosophy sometimes led him to an apparent depreciation of the importance of science. In one passage, indeed, he wrote, "I grant without reserve with regard to mathematics, natural science, and speculative philosophy, that they are not only helpful, but necessary, for the interpretation of human life"; but his tendency was to regard the inorganic sciences as of subordinate importance. He is much at variance, he tells us, with anyone who "regards the machine-life as the highest, sets powder above printing, the cubic root above the root of man, arithmetical above religious relations, electricity above poetry, magnetism above morals, and chemistry above the Bible."

Nothing has so far been said of Grundtvig's famous doctrine of the "living word." In view alike of its difficulties and of the importance which Grundtvig himself assigns to it as the centre of all his philosophy, it seems necessary to give it a separate and somewhat fuller treatment.

CHAPTER IV

THE "LIVING WORD"

Grundtvig's doctrine of the "living word" embodies the claim that the spoken word is the living vehicle for the expression of spiritual life, and that it is the only means by which that life can be transmitted from one soul to another. This doctrine is fundamental alike for his theology and for his educational theory; indeed, he tells us that unless we understand it we can never understand his views on the life of nations and of the Church, for it is the innermost core of his whole philosophy of life.

Unfortunately, just as in the case of his general philosophy, Grundtvig nowhere gives a single complete and coherent exposition of his views about the "living word." From the references which are scattered throughout his writings we have to try to piece together a connected and consistent theory, with the help of the three axioms in which his disciple, C. J. Brandt, sought to sum up his teaching on the subject: "The spirit is power"; "The spirit works through the word"; "The spirit works only in freedom."

The spoken word, according to Grundtvig, is "a spiritual body," "the wonderful instrument of power for all the higher human life's activity." "The word is nothing else than the spiritual, which comes forth into the sphere of experience, and reveals itself for spirits"; it is the only direct revelation of the spirit, and "an undeniable proof of the inner connection between spirit and body, which reveals itself even in the world of sense." "Our word is far from being most powerful

when it names and describes what one can see with one's eyes and take in one's hands, but it is in its full power precisely when it expresses the invisible and incomprehensible which lives in us or floats above us, and creates thus a whole invisible world, which we men have for ourselves, and of which we see only shadows and pictures in the visible world." "The word stands as high above writing as the body above the shadow"; a good book, by conveying to me the reflection or shadow of the "living word," may awake the feeling which is already slumbering in my soul; but it cannot transplant new life. Only the "living word" itself can do that, for the written word is dead.

This theory, naturally, called forth objections from those who held, like Milton, that "books are not wholly dead things"; and Ingemann, for instance, in his correspondence with Grundtvig, argued that "life and spirit" are just as truly conveyed through works of art or the books of a writer like Shakespeare as through the spoken word. Grundtvig, in reply, made some modifications in his original statement; he admitted that words spoken parrot-wise could not transplant life, and that only the word with personality and faith behind it could do so; but he still insisted that "the spoken word is the son, and the letters only the slaves, in the house of the spirit." He did not deny, however, that books had their uses; to do so, as he owned, would have been a curious inconsistency for "one who spends most of his time diligently writing books." "If only we do not seek life itself in books, but seek only information about what *lived in the author* and in the period he describes, then we can hardly think or speak too highly of the art by which the spirit really in a way cheats death, and transplants the knowledge of its life

between widely severed peoples and periods." Here the distinction drawn between the spoken and the written word is so fine that it seems to have lost most of its significance; and indeed Grundtvig himself confessed to Ingemann that he was not surprised that his friends found his teaching on this point obscure.

From this brief survey of Grundtvig's chief pronouncements about the "living word," it will be seen that his conception of it was at bottom a mystical one, and therefore difficult to explain in purely logical terms; but perhaps it may help our understanding of it if we try to trace its development in his mind and study the chief influences which seem to have contributed to its shaping.

When we seek in Grundtvig's personal experience for the grounds of his exaltation of the "living word," perhaps we shall not go far wrong if we trace them back to the period of his childhood at Udby. Even then, it is true, he was already something of a book-worm; but the "living words" of his mother had come first in his experience, and no doubt he would have said that her stories of the heroic past of Denmark awakened within him the spiritual life which he afterwards found reflected in books. But, according to his own account, it was an experience of his later youth which brought him the conscious conviction of the power and value of the "living word," and that experience came through his hearing of Steffens' lectures, of which he writes as follows: "That there really exists something which one can call inspiration, not merely in jest, but in genuine earnest—yes, that in the human breast there slumbers a higher vital force (*Livskraft*), which, when it breaks forth in a corresponding stream of words and we do not obstinately close our ears, carries us away with it

till it stops—of this I received a living conviction, and I learnt to know and admire, to love and desire, that higher eloquence, that winged word, which, at least so long as it lasts and sounds, hovers like a mighty spirit above our heads, and sits enthroned like a king in the midst of his enemies; and therewithal I was converted to belief in the vital force in the invisible, to belief in the spirit and the world of the spirit as something altogether real, and as a far higher and mightier reality than that which we have before our eyes."

It was some time, however, before Grundtvig worked out the full implications of this conviction, and, in particular, before he drew the sharp distinction between the spoken and the written word which is one of the peculiar features of his teaching. The years of toil which he spent upon the translation of Saxo and Snorro, hoping thereby to reawaken the national spirit of his countrymen by reminding them of Denmark's past greatness, are eloquent proof that his faith in the power of the *written word* to transplant life was still strong. Probably his disappointment when he found that these translations had failed to a great extent to reach the common people, or to arouse any response among them, was one of the strongest factors which caused him to transfer his faith to the *spoken word* as the instrument of spiritual renewal. At all events, it was after this failure that, as he tells us, his thoughts "fell on a Danish High-School where one could give it to the people as warm as one had it oneself" by means of the spoken word. Another important event in his life which took place at this period (the eighteen-twenties) helped to give his conception of the "living word" a new form and definiteness. This was his controversy with H. N.

Clausen, and the spiritual experiences which led up to it.

Clausen at this time was a young but influential theological Professor at Copenhagen University, and one of the chief representatives of the rationalist school of thought within the Church which denied or minimized the divinity of Christ; Grundtvig, on the other hand, was a leading champion of orthodox Lutheranism. The orthodox way for him to defend it would have been by taking his stand upon the infallibility of the written word of the Bible; but for some time he had been having doubts as to the soundness of this course. His keen sympathy for the common people was the chief source of these doubts. Since the revelation of the true Christian faith is a matter of such vital importance to man, he argued, God, Who reveals His wisdom "unto babes," must have made that revelation in such a way that simple men can see and understand it. But the disputes and new theories of theologians have made Biblical interpretation such a complicated matter that the plain man stands bewildered and does not know what to believe. Surely, then, the true ground of the Christian faith must be found elsewhere than in the Bible, which no longer offers the clear and unmistakable witness which the plain man needs.

Unlike Sören Kierkegaard, Grundtvig was not satisfied to place the ground of faith in the "inner witness" of the heart alone. He did lay great emphasis upon this "inner witness," but he felt that it was not enough. By simply starting out from our subjective religious impulse and seeking what may satisfy it, he said, we lay ourselves open to all kinds of self-deception; "for when one starts out from the spiritual impulse one feels, one is obviously starting out from what is deepest,

but also from what is most mysterious (*dunkleste*) in man, and that mysterious deep, the deep of the heart, would have to be absolutely pure and undefiled to enable us, by merely following the longings and impulses which arise from it, always to seek and grasp the truth." Grundtvig felt the need of a more objective witness, and, having ceased to believe in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, he was impelled by his strong historic sense to seek it in the witness of the Church. We can trace this new development in his sermons from the period around 1824. In one of them he asks, "Is it not in the *living* Church of the Lord that Christ dwells, rather than in the Holy Scriptures? And what is the life-giving power? It is the Holy Spirit." In another he says, "The sacraments are signs . . . ; but there is something invisible bound up with these visible signs; for our sacraments are not performed in silence, but accompanied by the utterance of that wonderful, invisible thing which is laid upon our tongue to unite spirit and body; that is the word, and here not our weak words, but the words of the almighty power of Jesus, of which He bears witness: they are life and spirit." Here the conception of the *spoken* word as the living and life-giving word is obviously taking shape; but the process is not yet complete, for we still find Grundtvig speaking of the *written* Bible as a "living word."

Suddenly, however, in the summer of 1825, when he was still praying and pondering over the question of the infallible ground of faith, he made what he afterwards called the "great discovery" of his life. This discovery was that "the matchless witness, which I was so laboriously seeking in all the realms of the spirit, resounded like a voice from Heaven throughout all

time and Christendom in the Apostolic Creed as used at Baptism"—in other words, in the spoken witness of the historic Church, handed down orally from generation to generation. On the transmission of life through this "living word" the continued existence of the Church depended. Within a few weeks after Grundtvig had reached this new conviction, H. N. Clausen published a book in which he claimed that the Bible was the only true touchstone of the Christian faith, and that only scholars were fitted to interpret it, which he proceeded to do in a rationalistic spirit. Grundtvig at once retorted in a vigorous pamphlet, in which he asserted that the Church's historic witness in the Creed, rather than the Bible, was the touchstone of faith, and accused Clausen of trying to establish a new "exegetical Popedom." The ensuing controversy, which incidentally involved Grundtvig in a libel action and caused his temporary resignation from the ministry, did much to clear up his conceptions of the meaning of the "living word." At its conclusion we find him formulating his new theological position as follows: "It is neither the Bible, nor any other book, but *the word used at Baptism*" (i.e., the Apostolic Creed—the "living witness" of the Church) "which distinguishes the Christian body of believers from all others," and again, "Though it" (the word of faith) "is not living in the same degree on the tongues of all Christians, still it *is* living on them all, and dead in all books, even if they were literally written with God's finger. For the paper is dead and has no faith, and if we cannot even learn rightly to understand the meaning of the plainest book without knowing the word by hearing, then we can still less either understand the Christian revelation, or be persuaded to believe it, if we have not heard some living man bear

witness of it; but even if we could do both, our faith must still remain dead and powerless, for the living Christ is not ink on paper" (*sort paa hvidt*—literally, "black on white").

In these words Grundtvig laid down the doctrinal basis upon which the Grundtvigian sect in the Danish Church afterwards grew up, and most of his subsequent theological writings are devoted to a further working-out of its implications. The theological validity of Grundtvig's doctrine of the "living word" is a question for theologians. If it cleared away many of his previous difficulties, it raised new practical issues of no less difficulty, for example, the question of the efficacy of baptism when the words accompanying the sacrament are spoken by an unbelieving priest, since Grundtvig himself had declared that the word spoken parrot-wise and without faith could not be called a "living word," nor transplant spiritual life. From a more general point of view, however, Grundtvig's theological doctrine of the "living word" has two main features of interest. The first is its intimate connection with his sympathy for the common people—his conviction that "a peasant's soul must necessarily be as dear to God as a professor's"—and with his love of freedom. He arrived at his doctrine of the "living word" through his search for a simple straightforward witness to the true Christian faith which would carry direct conviction to the unlearned man; and, once arrived at, it enabled him to combine insistence upon a few central propositions as the touchstones of Christian belief with a broad liberalism and openness of mind about many other matters of theological doctrine and Church practice. The second point of interest is that it was in this theological connection that Grundtvig's conception of the "living

word" first took definite shape, though he afterwards extended it to every other sphere—the school, for instance—in which the transmission of spiritual life was in question.

Grundtvig was not the first nor the only thinker to attach a mystical significance to the spoken word, and even to draw a distinction between it and the written word in this respect; and his conception of the "living word" may have owed something to his predecessors. In the Bible itself there are numerous passages which might have served as a starting-point for his speculations on the subject. Throughout the Old Testament the phrase, "the word of the Lord" is constantly used of the *spoken word* of Jehovah as an instrument of creative power, and as inspiring prophecy and imparting the law. Reminiscences of the New Testament passages—"The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," and "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life"—occur more than once in Grundtvig's writings; but on the whole, and in the light of other passages, the Bible hardly furnishes a precedent for the unique importance which Grundtvig assumes for the spoken word as the transmitter of life, and Lutheran theology certainly does not.

A still more striking parallel occurs in Plato, in that passage of the *Phaedrus* in which Socrates and Phaedrus are discussing the respective value of the spoken and the written word. Here we find Socrates saying, "He who thinks . . . that he has left behind him any art in writing, and he who receives it in the belief that anything in writing will be clear and certain, would be an utterly simple person . . . if he thinks that written words are of any use except to remind him who knows the matter about which they are written. . . ."

Now tell me; is there not another kind of speech, or word, which shows itself to be the legitimate brother of this bastard one, both in the manner of its begetting, and in its better and more powerful nature?" . . . "You mean the living and breathing word of him who knows, of which the written word may justly be called the image?" answers Phaedrus. "Exactly," replies Socrates, and goes on to ask, "Shall we suppose that he who has knowledge of the just and the good and the beautiful has less sense about his seeds than the husbandman? . . . Then he will not, when in earnest, write them in ink, sowing them through a pen with words which cannot defend themselves by argument and cannot teach the truth effectually. . . . No; the garden of letters he will, it seems, plant for amusement, and will write, when he writes, to treasure up reminders for himself, when he comes to the forgetfulness of old age, and for others who follow the same path." Phaedrus remarks that the writing of stories "about justice, and the other subjects of which you speak," is a noble pastime, and Socrates answers, "Yes, Phaedrus, so it is; but, in my opinion, serious discourse about them is far nobler, when one employs the dialectic method, and plants and sows in a fitting soul intelligent words which are able to help themselves and him who planted them, which are not fruitless, but yield seed from which there spring up in other minds other words capable of continuing the process for ever, and which make their possessor happy, to the farthest possible limit of human happiness."

Grundtvig seldom quotes the Classics as authority for his opinions, for his Classics were the Scandinavian myths; and, writing in 1812, he says, while expressing respect for Plato as a "humble, truth-loving thinker," that he knows too little of him to give any certain

judgment on his doctrines. In view, however, of the extraordinarily close resemblance which, even in details of metaphor and phraseology, exists between his teaching and Plato's with regard to the "living word," there is at least a strong possibility that at some period of his life he may have read and been influenced by the *Phaedrus*.

The conception of a "living word" or "inner word" is a common one in religious mysticism, and Hans Denck, a leader of German Anabaptist thought in the sixteenth century, worked out a philosophical theory of the "inner word," spoken by God in the hearts of all men, apart from which the Scriptures were useless. With the German Romantic Revival from the time of Herder onwards, the tendency to develop a mystical conception of the significance of language or "the word" again becomes prominent. It is clearly evident in the works of Fichte, who writes, for example, in his *Addresses to the German Nation*, "What an immeasurable influence on the whole human development of a people the character of its language may have—its language, which accompanies the individual into the most secret depths of his mind in thought and will and either hinders him or gives him wings, which unites in its domain the whole mass of men who speak it into one single and common understanding, which is the true point of meeting and mingling for the world of senses and the world of spirits, and fuses the ends of both in such a fashion that it is impossible to tell to which of the two it belongs itself." It is probable that Fichte, whose writings strongly influenced Grundtvig at an impressionable stage in his development, may have contributed some elements to his conception of the "living word," but the sharp distinction which

Grundtvig draws between the spoken and the written word seems to be left in abeyance by the German writer.

Another influence which may have impressed Grundtvig with the significance of the spoken word was his study of mythology, and especially Scandinavian mythology. As Dean Inge points out, "Belief in the living power of a spoken word . . . has . . . an important place in the Runic ritual of Northern Europe." Not only do we find this belief illustrated by the frequent references in early Scandinavian literature to the incantations and "mighty words" which were uttered as an accompaniment to the cutting of magic runes and which carried their own fulfilment with them; but the importance assigned by the Scandinavians to the spoken word is further evidenced by the prominent place which was occupied in their social organization by the *thulr* or seer, the human prototype of Odin (whom Saxo calls *Uggerus vates*), and the *vola*, or wise woman, both of whom exercised their influence through the spoken word. We may compare the Druids of Gaul, of whom Caesar says that "it is against their principles to commit their doctrines to writing," and that they "hold long discussions about the heavenly bodies and their motions, the size of the universe and of the earth, the origin of all things, the power of the gods and the limits of their dominion," and the immortality of the soul—just those "invisible and incomprehensible" subjects which Grundtvig held that the "living word" was best fitted to express. There is a significant passage in *Nordens Mytologi* (1832), where Grundtvig alludes to the Ten Commandments and "the swan-song of Moses" as "living words," passed down orally from parents to children among the Hebrews, and similarly describes the pagan myths as "living spoken words" by which the pagan peoples

transmitted their conception of the fundamental truths of spiritual life from generation to generation. Scandinavian mythology, with which Grundtvig was primarily concerned, furnishes a striking instance of this oral tradition in the poems of the Elder Edda, which scholars consider to have been handed down orally for about three centuries before they were committed to writing. In one passage Grundtvig describes the introduction of written historical records as a sign of approaching death, like the writing down of his will by an old man; and, when we remember his peculiar love and reverence for everything connected with the ancient past of Scandinavia, it is probable that the example of the early Scandinavians in orally transmitting the spiritual heritage of their race may have seemed to him to indicate the true method of transplanting spiritual life.

Here we have sought to disentangle some of the complicated strands which make up Grundtvig's philosophy of the "living word"; but Grundtvig himself would no doubt dismiss our efforts by asserting that his views on the matter could never be explained in writing, but only through the "living word" itself! Whatever the extravagances or difficulties of his doctrine, especially in the theological sphere, he grasped a fundamental truth in his emphasis on the expression of personality through the spoken word; and, though all aspects of his theory may not carry equal conviction to the modern mind, in one aspect at least it has been amply justified, and that is in the work of the Folk High-Schools.

CHAPTER V

“THE SCHOOL FOR LIFE”

It was as an educational pioneer that Grundtvig did his most characteristic work for Denmark, and it is as an educational pioneer that he takes international rank. Theologian, politician, poet—Denmark may well remember him as these, but his work in these spheres alone would not have brought him his growing reputation beyond her borders, and his work as a scholar has to some extent been superseded by modern critical research. It is on his achievement as “the Father of the Danish Folk High-School,” the inspirer of what Dr. Albert Mansbridge calls “perhaps the most wonderful of all the adult education movements of the century,” that his title to international and lasting fame securely rests.

Grundtvig's interest in education began early; he had already begun to think about it from the standpoint of the educator while he was still an educand. One of his first attempts at authorship, a product of his University days, was a comedy entitled *The Schoolmasters*, which set out to be a satire on the half-educated type of teacher turned out by the new Training College at Blaagaard, and which was rejected by the Royal Theatre, much to the young author's disappointment. Shortly afterwards, in 1804, Grundtvig made his first appearance in print as the writer of a letter to a Copenhagen newspaper, protesting against the scandalous conditions at a primary school in Falster, where the master had been blind and incapable for years. In the light of his later career, this early concern for educational matters seems

oddly prophetic; and a few years later, during his stay on Langeland, Grundtvig seems to have already become conscious of his vocation. It was then, he relates, that "at my passage to serious manhood, I fell into thoughts over the wisdom of the period, my own inner self, my destiny as a teacher of the people, my activity as an educator and a preacher."

Grundtvig's interest in education was quickened by his experiences as a practical educator—first as the tutor of little Carl Leth in Langeland, then as history teacher at "Det Schouboeske Institut," and later (in the eighteenth-twenties and 'thirties) as the teacher of his own boys and the sons of some of his friends. It received a new urgency from his experiences after the Napoleonic War, when he was seeking for means to arouse his people from their apathy; and when he found that his writings failed to do so, his thoughts turned more and more to the school and the "living word." The final influences which brought his educational ideas to maturity seem to have been his visits to England and the new political departure involved in the King's decision to establish Provincial Advisory Councils (1831). Writing in 1839, he said, "Though a High-School for the people, with the Danish education that would spring from it, had been one of my sweetest dreams for many years, the People's Council had to be set up before it became more than a dream, before I myself could gain a clear idea of the nature of that education and see the inward impulse which would now drive the people to seek the education and culture which the People's Council lets them feel to be far from superfluous, but desirable and altogether necessary for the good of the country." Most of his constructive educational proposals date from the period after 1832, during which he never ceased to

develop and press forward his plans alike in his private correspondence, in his public lectures, and in a constant succession of pamphlets.

The stamp of genuine greatness is apparent in the clearness of vision with which Grundtvig perceived both the great need in the education of his country and the means by which that need might be supplied. All around him he saw schools—schools for the Classics and for scholarship, schools for the "three R's," caste schools, professional schools—but nowhere could he find a school for *life*. Yet without such a school, which would work for no mere specialist or sectional end, but for the development and enriching of the life of the whole people, he could see no hope of national regeneration. From a democratic standpoint, he realized the futility of all the contemporary talk about freedom and culture, when nothing was being done to fit the mass of the people to use freedom rightly and to develop a culture which would really be their own. "People in our days shout themselves hoarse about freedom and culture, and that is certainly what we all need, but the proposals for attaining them have generally the same fundamental fault as Plato's *Republic*, where the guardians of freedom and culture themselves swallow them both up, so that the people for all their labour get only proud tyrants to obey, to support, and, if that can comfort them, to admire and deify." The only sure path to a popular freedom and culture which would be more than empty names was through education; and here it was not only a reform of the existing schools that was required, but the creation of an entirely new type of school to fill the gap by which the usefulness of the whole educational system was being undermined. "Even if all our other school institutions were excellent and

fitted to their purpose, still they would have a great lack so long as we lacked a school for the life of the people and of citizens, in which we all can and must share, and which we must also regard as the natural root and spring of all our living efforts."

In his conception of the essential function and purpose of the "school for life," Grundtvig always envisaged it under a twofold aspect, corresponding to the twofold nature of man as an individual and as a member of the social organism. On the one hand, it must aid the individual to unfold his own potentialities to the full, and "awaken, nourish, and enlighten the human life which one . . . must presuppose to exist in the Danish youth." It must help him to interpret the new and bewildering experiences which press upon him as he grows towards manhood, and, while deepening his sense of the wonder and mystery of life, it must help him to create a cosmos out of the chaos of experience, and to find the guiding thread of a personal philosophy to which he can hold amidst life's confusing ways. Self-knowledge it will give him—"Know thyself," is the right inscription above all human school-doors," says Grundtvig—and, with knowledge, the inspiration to action for which we lazy mortals have still more cause to pray—

"Grant us the will to fashion as we feel,
Grant us the strength to labour as we know."

From this point of view, the object of the "school for life" was summed up by Grundtvig as "a culture and enlightenment which is the affair of each individual and bears its reward in itself."

On the other hand, while fostering the personal development of the individual, the "school for life" must

also fit him for membership of the civic community; and here there is no real opposition of aim, since man is naturally social. His education must make him feel himself to be consciously at one with the community, sharing in its traditions of the past, its life and action in the present, and its aspirations and responsibility for the future. Thus his daily work will acquire a new significance, when he becomes aware that it may be done for the service of his nation, and, through his nation, of humanity at large. Here, once more, Grundtvig realized that to achieve his purpose the mere imparting of knowledge was not enough; inspiration must be given as well. The essential task of the school in this respect was to create that "*spiritual sense of a unity in multiplicity*" without which "even the clearest insight into the organic connection of society is dead and powerless."

How was this twofold aim of individual and civic development to be attained? Through a "school for life"—yes; but what was to be the substance of its teaching? Through the medium of what subjects was the "education for life" to exercise its vivifying power? Grundtvig answered by indicating three great media through which the "school for life" should function—
/ history—the mother tongue—and song.

The insight which he had revealed in his discussion of the end did not fail him in his choice of the means; for each of the three subjects to which he gave priority was specially fitted by its very nature to achieve its double purpose.

Take history first, for instance—both national and world history, which Grundtvig made the basis of his whole educational structure. When taught, as Grundtvig conceived it, from an organic standpoint, and not as a

mere jumble of names and dates, what subject could be better adapted both to enlighten the individual about his own nature, supplementing his scanty experience of life with its "rich and sure experience," and to reveal to him his oneness with society? As he studies the history of the race, he re-lives consciously the stages of development which he has already passed through unconsciously in his growth, and thus the union between individual and social experience is created for him both intellectually and emotionally. As he studies the history of his nation, the peculiar tendencies and characteristics which have been developed in the evolution of his own community, and which are latent in himself, become clear to him, enabling him to develop his personality rightly in the light of his social heritage. Without a living knowledge of the history of the past, and especially of the past of his own people, a man is on the verge of barbarism, for it is the characteristic of barbarism to have no history. He is in danger of becoming an "up-rooted man," one who "belongs nowhere," fighting for his own hand, with no kindred community in which he can take his place and join his energies with those of his fellows for a common purpose and in the strength of a common tradition. Through a true historical education, on the other hand, the growing youth comes to feel himself at home in the universe; he learns to see himself and his nation as part of the great procession of humanity, and acquires a new sense of responsibility, feeling himself to be "a product of the whole of history, who will help to determine all the time to come and its moral and intellectual phenomena."

To history, therefore, Grundtvig assigned a unique position as the groundwork of education and as the master-science which co-ordinates and harmonizes all the

other sciences. "History, as the experience of life on a large scale, is not only the best, but the only thing by means of which one can rightly enlighten young people," he declared, and again, "Since history embraces the most noteworthy words and deeds of the human race, in which human nature reveals itself and to which all scientific progress belongs, all human knowledge is historical at bottom, and knowledge of the past is the only means of understanding the present and laying wise plans for the future." He gave his "school for life" the alternative name of the "historical High-School," and he urged that if the historical method were applied to the other subjects of the curriculum their value as a means for the development of personality would be enhanced.

The type of history teaching which Grundtvig wished to prevail in the "school for life" was not the critical or bookish type. One of his chief complaints against the existing education system was that it overdeveloped the critical faculties at the expense of the other sides of human nature. "We are all educated to be critics instead of creators," he said. Scholarship, indeed, had gained by this; but the gain was only temporary, for eventually "the eternal criticizing will exhaust our human life-force, and give free play to the animal impulses which never die out." Already it had inflicted such injury on the moral and spiritual life of the community that only by turning into another path could spiritual bankruptcy be avoided. To Grundtvig the growth of this critical and destructive mentality seemed to be bound up with the "bookworminess" which he regarded as one of the great faults of his generation. This was a natural corollary of his theory of the "living word." Believing as he did that the real inner life of man, the

life of feeling and experience (*fölelsesliv*) proceeding from the heart, could only be expressed through the spoken word, which itself was something living, and that books could only convey the ideas which were the reflections or shadows of the inner life, he was bound to condemn any system of education which centred around books. It could only give the students shadows of life and dead ideas upon which to sharpen their critical faculties, but by itself it could never give them any new access of vital force or any creative or constructive impulse. It meant a divorce between the life of the heart and the life of the head. It was as if all doctors were taught anatomy and dissection, and nothing else, he said.

In the light of these convictions, Grundtvig designed for the history teaching in his ideal school an entirely different method, a method which in his judgment would fit it for its primary purpose of quickening spiritual life. Here, as in every other department of the school, the "living word" should have the place of honour, and books should be relegated to a subordinate position. The teacher should avail himself of the results of scientific scholarship, but should not obtrude them unduly in the actual lesson. He should be concerned rather to absorb the spirit of his subject and to transmit it to his students with the simple eloquence of sincerity and enthusiasm than to stand aloof and criticize. In dealing with the ancient Danish traditions, for example, what was required of him was not a critical examination of their sources, such as might be suited to an audience of scholars, but the traditions themselves, retold with life and vigour. They should be taken as they were, as "fragments of ancient historico-poetical ballads," and used to give pleasure to the students and to help them to acquire "a living sense of the great age of their

common national heritage." The teacher in selecting his material must be guided by a fine sense of what is essential and what is non-essential, like the instinctive judgment exercised by the people themselves in preserving some of the events of their history in living tradition and committing others to forgetfulness. His principal theme should be "events in the history of the fatherland which all concentrate themselves in a single focus, with no other connection than the national, with no other criticism than that which arises of itself when one looks round in search of what serves one's purpose and can give inspiration."

The second subject to which Grundtvig assigned pre-eminence in his "school for life"—the mother tongue—possesses, like history, a blend of characteristics which make it peculiarly fitted to serve the twofold purpose of individual and social education. What can be closer to the individual than his native language, which, as Fichte says, accompanies him "into the most secret depths of his mind in thought and will"? And at the same time it is this very language which is a primary condition of his social life, through which he communicates with his fellows and receives his social heritage, and which is one of the strongest ties that bind him to his fellow-countrymen. In the importance which he attributed to the mother tongue, Grundtvig was at one with Fichte, and a forerunner of modern educators such as Gentile, Findlay, and de Man. "Faith and language," he wrote, "are the two golden chains which bind the human soul to all which is holy and dear to it; for through the former it stands in communion with its divine origin, and through the latter it blends with kindred souls. That the form both take in different countries is not the work of chance, but,

like the flower of the plant, is developed from the peculiar life of each people, can only be doubted by those whose life does not extend beyond the present moment and whose eye has always rested on the surface of things, to whom history and the human spirit are alike unknown."

Language study for Grundtvig did not imply the formal study of grammar; indeed, the formal sciences find comparatively little place in his curriculum. We talk about rules for speaking and writing in the mother tongue, he said, "but it depends at bottom on whether one knows what one wants to say and is familiar with the spirit of the language; if not, no rule helps; if so, one needs none." "The mother tongue has its home neither in the brain of scholars nor even in the pen of the best writers, but in *the mouth of the people*, and it is here, and not there, that the mother tongue must live and move and work, express and extend Danish patriotism, enlightenment, joy, and gladness." The chief means of education in the mother tongue should be free lecturing and "living conversation," combined with a study of "the popular, and especially the historical and poetical, part of our national literature," and of the traditional proverbs which "enshrine the spirit of the language."

Side by side with the mother tongue went song as the third great medium of living education—song, which, as Grundtvig said, lifts us above the earth and gives us a glimpse of the eternal—song, through which the individual may reach the highest point of harmony, both within himself and with his fellows. What Grundtvig wanted here was not conventional solo singing, but hearty, natural, united song, in which the words had equal value with the music. In a plan for Sorö High-

School, drawn up in 1843, he stressed on the necessity of having a teacher "who knew and loved the songs of the people, both in their older and in their newer form, and who could either lead the singing himself, or had a permanent assistant who could do so; for, though we must as little seek to make all the young people professional singers as to make them scholars, still the songs of the people, naturally used, have been from the earliest times the most fruitful means of education, and must play a leading part wherever young people are to live and learn with pleasure." He expressed his belief that the lovely songs of the Danish poets would only make their full contribution to the life of the people when they were echoing in all the schools instead of remaining on paper, unsung or only sung on great occasions. "In our modern community singing," says Dr. Jacks, "somebody without knowing it has discovered a potent means of promoting harmony and good temper and the spirit of friendly co-operation among the masses of mankind." That discovery was made long ago by Grundtvig.

Very early in his educational career Grundtvig had reached the conviction that the true work of the "school for life" could only be done during the period of youth—"the time of spiritual creation." Already in 1807 we find him writing, "The real work cannot be done in the children's school—here we can get no farther than to make it possible for them to acquire later on a sense for culture. It is the *period of youth* which is decisive." "The period of boyhood," he wrote later, "is not the right school-time." "Whoever is to have good of learning must first have lived a while and paid heed to life in himself and in others, for only thereby does he get into a position to understand books that describe life

and throw light on it." "Suppose we . . . leave aside for the present the question of what can be done for the spiritual enlightenment of life with the boy, who finds it hard enough to orient himself in the external world, and fix our eyes on youth as the right period for enlightenment (*Oplysnings-Alder*)—then we get the right idea of our problem, which certainly is difficult to solve, but for the solution of which it is far more worth the trouble to work."

It is not surprising that, with these conceptions of the requirements for a "living education," Grundtvig saw in the existing system almost the exact reverse of his ideals. Universal education did indeed nominally exist in the shape of primary schools to teach everybody the "three R's," but, as Grundtvig observed, universal education in the civic sense is "something quite different from universal reading and writing and arithmetic; for whatever else they may be useful for, one does not get from them any fuller understanding of life and its real relations." This fuller understanding, which the elementary school by its very nature could not give, was denied to the mass of the people by the absence of any provision for further education; when the "decisive period" of youth arrived, they were immersed in the dull routine of daily toil, and no "living word" came to lighten their darkness and bring them the experience of spiritual creation.

Those whose fortune permitted them to carry their education farther were in little better case. To Grundtvig the "Latin School," where the boys, "torn loose from nature, domestic and active life, . . . hang over books and arithmetical tables from morning till night," was nothing but a "school for death." After passing through such a school, young people would not find it easy "to

take hold of hammer and tongs, axe and saw . . . or to fit themselves for and feel happy in the so-called 'coarse work,' the lower position and regular and frugal way of life which civic activity and prosperity demand." Such schools were only fitted for the education of a caste, and, after all, Grundtvig remarked sarcastically, it is not practicable "to turn all the people into Professors, officials, and almsfolk, unless they can all literally live on air." The University was little better. "Would it be exaggerated to assume that three-fourths of the students of Copenhagen can hardly write Danish; know no other history than that of which they have learnt some fragments at school and at the University; have no other idea of philosophy than that it is a wretched dry thing they must learn for their second examination; know nothing else of poetry than that it is something—usually lies—which rhymes or at all events—God knows why—sounds very pretty; and, finally, have no higher goal for their studies than at most to get a first class at their final examination, and after that—a well-paid job?" In short, even those who had received a "higher education," according to the standards of the day, were far from having had an education for life in Grundtvig's sense. "We so-called educated men are educated not to practise ourselves a stronger, nobler, and kindlier life and language than the multitude, but to offend, vex, and exalt ourselves over them and each other—never to ask what we ourselves have done or can or will do, but always what others have done or in our opinion can and must do, without worrying in the least about how impossible we should find it if we tried it ourselves." "We are immeasurably rich in ideas, but great beggars in reality; rich in knowledge . . . but poor in vital force."

Reform was urgently needed, but to Grundtvig the true path of reform seemed to lie in beginning with the "decisive period" of youth, and creating a new type of school to meet its needs, instead of directly attempting to remodel the existing schools. To a friend who urged him to undertake the reform of the boys' schools he replied that what was most needed for such a reform was a body of teachers able and willing to carry it out, "and these we can only get by the education of the adult youth at a Folk High-School." Accordingly, instead of spending all his energies in a denunciation of the existing system, he threw them into a successful campaign for the creation of Folk High-Schools or People's Colleges—the new schools whose name implied that they were to be adult schools and open to the people as a whole. In his conception of adult education as not merely a supplementary process to fill up the gaps in elementary knowledge which might have survived the period of primary instruction, but as a unique and vital stage in human development, demanding a technique and a status of its own, he was a real pioneer.

At the same time, though Grundtvig, with a true strategic instinct, concentrated his attack upon one vital point, he did not neglect the earlier stages of education, and the acceptance of the principles for which he stood logically involved the reorganization of the entire educational system. Like Rousseau, he believed that to each stage of human development from infancy to manhood there corresponded a peculiar type of education; and from his scattered references we can build up a fairly complete picture of the ideal system of education as he imagined it, divided into the three main stages of Primary, Secondary, and Adult education, each suited to a different stage of growth.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

Ideally, Grundtvig felt that the place of primary education should be the home. "Can anyone doubt," he asked, "that the ideal for education would be when every father and mother could teach their children themselves, and the next step is when a teacher for one or a pair can step, as it were, into the father's place?" From his experience of both public and private teaching he preferred the latter, believing that the former almost unavoidably made too great an appeal to the teacher's vanity and the competitive spirit of the children. He realized, however, that public primary schools were a practical necessity, and this being so, he was mainly concerned with having them remodelled so as to express a new spirit of freedom. Childhood, as Rousseau had insisted, had its own rights and was not a mere preparation for manhood; the child should be allowed to develop freely and naturally, instead of being prematurely forced ahead. "By seeking to implant in the children the order and quietness, wisdom and prudence of old age, we only graft death and the weakness of old age into their souls and bodies, and we utterly destroy the vital force in many of them." As wise educators, we should adopt the contrary policy, and "strive . . . to prolong the years of childhood in the spirit as long as possible."

Another aspect of freedom which Grundtvig wished to see in the primary school was religious freedom. In an early essay he had asserted that "the sense of the eternal still slumbers in the child, and he feels no impulse towards religion," and though in later years he seems to have modified this view, he grew still firmer in his insistence that religious instruction should not be com-

pulsory. "All forced learning of Christianity, whether the compulsion comes from parents, clergy, or school-teachers, is worse than none, and was the chief cause of the unbelief and indifference of the past century." Parents, of course, should not let their children grow up in ignorance of Christianity, but it should never be made a matter of compulsion or learning by rote for the children, and they should never be examined in their so-called "Christian knowledge." Here, as in other spheres, Grundtvig had a lively antipathy for the "topsy-turvy Chinese examinations, where the old people torment the young with questions which they cannot possibly answer out of their own experience of life, and can only answer by repeating the words of others." "All examinations, as we know them," he wrote, "are repellent to me, and examinations in anything which is dear to our hearts are appalling." Hence examinations in the orthodox sense find no place in his educational system, though he does suggest in one passage that voluntary tests might be permitted in the High-School.

Despite his advocacy of freedom in the elementary school, Grundtvig was not, like Rousseau, an advocate of a purely negative education as suited to this stage. His more positive conception is shown by the emphasis he laid on story-telling. History, the mother tongue, and singing were to be the chief subjects of the curriculum, and the history teaching might be made easier by the memorizing of historical rhymes, of which Grundtvig composed some specimens in his *Krönike-Rim*. All the subjects should be taught as "links in a single chain"; geography, for example, should be taught in close connection with history, apart from which it is, "historically and humanly speaking, a desert." The children should not be crammed with the names of

towns, imports, and exports. This method wearies them—and "even the best children get naughty when they are bored"—and it gives them a false idea of what really makes a country important—the *men* it produces.

In all the teaching of the primary school, the "living word" should be predominant. "What a heaven-high difference it makes," exclaims Grundtvig, "whether children hear a historic word which they catch up spontaneously and store away in themselves, or one stuffs a history-book into them!" Freedom and informality should be the keynotes of the teaching, and there should not be too rigid adherence to a fixed time-table, for this would mean treating children like machines.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Grundtvig suggested one reform in secondary education which seems obvious to-day, but was not so regarded in his time—namely, that boys should have a good knowledge of their own language, first spoken and then written, before learning any foreign language. He also suggested that Greek should come before Latin, as being more similar to Danish in thought and expression, and as possessing a literature of more intrinsic value; and his sympathy for the Greek spirit reappears in his wish to see the time when "the *Iliad*, freely translated into all languages, will take the place of the Latin grammar in our schools."

On the whole, however, Grundtvig felt it to be almost a waste of time to attempt to reform the existing secondary schools, since he was convinced that "the period of boyhood is not the right school-time." He did not underrate the importance of the period from fourteen to eighteen as a stage in development, but he felt that during this phase of rapid physical growth, when the

boy "finds it hard enough to orient himself in the external world," he should not be cooped up in the school with its desks and books, but should be out as much as possible in the open air and in "God's free nature," learning farming or some other trade, and engaging in healthy manual work. "The only good boys' school for child life that I have any idea of is the houses of good and industrious citizens, where the boys can get both a liking for the trades they will afterwards practise, and a grasp of them." Grundtvig's suggestions in this respect reflect, of course, the conditions prevailing in Denmark before the Industrial Revolution, when handicraft and domestic industry were still the order of the day; at the same time, his fundamental idea, that practical and constructive work is better suited to the adolescent stage of development than book-learning, has been taken up again by modern educators, with the support of the "new psychology." Sanderson of Oundle, for example, gave a prominent place to technical and vocational training in the secondary school; and despite all the differences between the modern scientific enthusiast and the "particular compound of History and Poetry" from nineteenth-century Denmark, this seems to be a point where their ideas meet and supplement each other. We can dimly conceive of a future system of education in which the ideas and the methods of these two educators might be harmonized, and in which, after leaving the primary school, the children would learn a "trade," either as apprentices with special provision for recreation and certain continuation classes, or in specially equipped day-schools, and then, when they had gained sufficient experience to feel a need for its interpretation, would pass on to the Folk High-Schools to seek there "the spiritual enlightenment of life" of

which the young adult, however vaguely, feels the need. Civilization in the industrial countries, however, will have a long way to go before such a system becomes more than a dream, for the people as a whole.

ADULT EDUCATION. (1) THE FOLK HIGH-SCHOOL

With the period of youth, from eighteen onwards, there comes, according to Grundtvig, the moment of "spiritual creation" which gives the educator his richest opportunity. Hence the process of education would be incomplete, and would fail to a great extent of its effect, unless the claims of this period were taken into account, and schools established to give young people, not a technical or vocational education, but an "education for life," and one which would fit them to go on educating themselves after they left the school. Life is the affair of us all; and hence these schools were to be open to all the young people of the nation. Institutions for the pursuit of scholarship would still be necessary, but their function was quite distinct from that of the popular adult schools or Folk High-Schools (*Folkehøjskoler*). "Scholarship is one thing," wrote Grundtvig, "and education and fitness for life another; they may well be united, but not in the case of the majority; they must not be hostile to each other; they must be kept separate, otherwise they seek to drive each other out, and necessarily . . . spoil each other." Scholarship will lead scholars astray "if it is not confronted by an education of the people which obliges it to take present-day life and the moment into consideration, just as the education of the people will soon degenerate into a superficial polish if scholarship does not keep it alive."

Though Grundtvig was preaching the cause of the Folk High-Schools all through the last forty years of

his life, he did not attempt to draw up a detailed programme for them beforehand. With his keen sense for the practical, he realized that there were many questions of detail and method which could only be satisfactorily settled through experience. "The child must be born," as he put it, "before one can tell what cap will fit him." It will be a great art, he said, even to describe historically "the mutual instruction and living intercourse" in such a school, and such an "expression and development of life and transmission of warmth" cannot possibly be "mathematically calculated or schematically set out in advance." He did, however, lay down the main principles which should guide the High-School's work.

The Folk High-School, as Grundtvig conceived it, was to be "an educational institution, open to the youth of the whole nation, where naturally the mother tongue has absolute monarchy, and where its simple but great task is: to enlighten the people about their own nature, their fatherland, and its constitution, resources, means and real needs, for the good of all." Grundtvig obtained a clear idea of its task by considering what members of the Popular Councils must have in order to be worthy of their position, namely, "a living conception of the civic community and of the common good, a living sense of the individuality of their people, deep devotion to 'King and country,' power to express themselves orally in the mother tongue with life and ease, freedom and dignity, and finally a clear insight into what we have and what we lack, founded upon accurate information as to the state of the country."

The programme of the High-School, as already indicated, was to centre round three main subjects—history, the mother tongue, and singing. While studying Denmark's past, however, the students were not to be

left in ignorance of her present, and another important subject at the High-School was to be *Faedrelandets Statistik* ("national statistics"). Grundtvig observed that he would personally prefer to call it "The Mirror of Denmark," for it was not to be a mere matter of statistical tables, and its basic idea should be a dynamic rather than a static one. Its task should be to give as vivid a description as possible of the life and economic activities of the Danish people; but Grundtvig remarked that he would prefer to leave a detailed discussion of it to other pens, as he had little knowledge or experience in the subject. The best teacher would be one who had travelled widely in Denmark and had personal knowledge of conditions in all parts of the country; but even without a special teacher much might be done if the teachers understood how to set the students' "own powers and knowledge in activity," so that they might exchange information with one another on this subject. Grundtvig had a rooted aversion to teaching methods which consisted in criticizing and theorizing without reference to concrete experience—"life always comes before *light* with human beings," was his watchword. Hence he suggested that it might make the "statistical" teaching more real and living to the students "if side by side with the Danish High-School there was a farm worked in the best possible way, and if the High-School was surrounded by workshops where all crafts were practised in the best possible manner." "It would be of inestimable benefit for the young people both to see the future craft of each one of them practised in masterly fashion, and to have before their eyes the living variety to which their wise teachers would constantly direct their attention." This passage shows that Grundtvig desired the High-School students to be kept in close

contact with the activities of practical life; but he made no suggestion that any regular course of vocational training should be embodied in the curriculum; and one of the characteristics which from the first have distinguished the High-School from most contemporary movements for adult education is that its aim is in no way technical or "practical" in the narrow sense.

Other subjects to be studied at the High-School were the Danish Constitution and Danish law, and administrative and local-government conditions (*administrative og kommunale forhold*). In addition to these subjects, Grundtvig remarked that "the imparting in a living manner of many kinds of knowledge, linguistic and mathematical and scientific (*naturhistoriske*), could also give pleasure and profit at the Folk High-School . . . but still we must remember that *everything* is not for *everybody*."

The "living word" must naturally be the great instrument of High-School education, and Grundtvig desired to see it working, not only through lectures, but also, as far as possible, through "living conversation." We are merely bungling in our education, he said, "so long as we speak alone, and do not understand how, through a living conversation, to introduce and maintain the general interest and interaction which is the life of the High-School and the condition of advancing enlightenment." The High-School should be residential, and the daily intercourse of teachers and students would play an important part in creating that "spiritual sense of a unity in multiplicity" which is one of the essential aims of civic education.

In his insistence on freedom as an indispensable condition of the High-School's work, Grundtvig vindicated a principle which in his day was largely ignored

in education, and by doing so laid the foundation of the future success of the movement. Attendance at the High-School must be purely voluntary, and the spirit of freedom must govern all the relations between teacher and students. "A living education is only found where the ear is as free as the mouth, and where the teacher really strives to serve his hearers with all the vital power and enlightenment which may be found in him or develop itself in him under the relationship." The personality of the teachers would be all-important, and, wherever the ultimate control of the school might rest, the Head should be given the utmost possible independence. In all important matters, however, he should consult the School Council, which should be mainly drawn from the students themselves. This practice would help to make the provisions of the Constitution more real to the people, and membership of the School Council would be a good preparation for public life. If the School Council were unanimous against any measure, that measure might be very good in itself, but it would never suit a Folk High-School.

From the fact that for many years Grundtvig worked for the conversion of the State Academy at Sorö into a Folk High-School, and strove untiringly to enlist the support of the King for his project, it has sometimes been inferred that his ideal was a State-owned and State-controlled High-School. This seems to be a mistaken inference. Sorö was peculiarly fitted, both by its beautiful natural situation and by its historical associations, to be the site of the first national High-School. It had been the site of the monastery of the famous Bishop Absalon in the Middle Ages; and the Academy had been founded by Christian IV and endowed by Holberg. No other place could be better fitted, as it

seemed to Grundtvig, to act as "a sanctuary for Danish piety and a workshop for Denmark's Saga"; but the conversion of the existing Academy into a High-School could only take place through State action, and for a time, owing to the sympathy of Christian VIII for Grundtvig's plans, this seemed quite a possibility. These circumstances in themselves sufficiently explain the fact that, until the sudden death of Christian VIII in 1848, Grundtvig's High-School plans centred principally around Sorö. That he had no special preference for a State High-School in itself is apparent from the ready help which he gave to the private individuals who pioneered the High-School movement, and still more so from a pamphlet which he addressed to the Norwegians in 1837, urging them to start a Folk High-School by private subscriptions, and adding ruefully, "Here in Denmark, where people really seem to think of the perfect State as a public institution for getting us all, without further trouble, food and drink, clothes and shoes, house-room, a good wife, obedient children, fresh air, universal peace, and all that one's heart can desire—here it is no use to speak, much less to write, of a Folk High-School which the people could make for themselves; for if it is not given and presented to us, we would travel all round the world to find it, before we would move from the spot to build it ourselves."

There is plenty of lofty idealism in Grundtvig's conception of the Folk High-School, but it is also eminently practical. This blend of idealism and practicality emerges very early in his educational theory; we find it already in his Langeland Diary, where he defined the aim of education as being "to form a man who, nourished at the motherly breast of Nature, can preserve the deep feeling for all that is great and

beautiful, without sinking into discontented inactivity on seeing reality so far below those bright ideals, and even below what it could be in spite of its finite limitations." So, too, in his Folk High-Schools, though his aim was no less lofty than to awaken the spiritual life of the young people of the nation, and to make them feel their kinship with the eternal and with all that is noblest in the past, he did not wish their education to give them a distaste or contempt for the tasks of practical life. Rather, it should teach them that human life is "equally noble in every position, when it shapes itself, not according to the position, but according to the spirit, which hovers freely above us all." He desired that the students might return from the High-School to their former work, "with increased pleasure, with a clearer view of human and civic relations, especially in their fatherland, and with an awakened happy feeling of the national fellowship which makes them sharers in everything great and good which has hitherto been and shall hereafter be achieved by the people to which they belong."

It should be remembered to Grundvig's honour that, unlike many of his contemporaries, he realized that "women are really human beings," and so must claim their share in the "education for life." The need for a reform in women's education had begun to dawn upon him as early as 1807, when he tentatively observed that woman could be "not merely harmless, but the strongest spur to culture, without losing on that account anything at all of her own natural characteristics; but then, too, her education would have to be something quite different from what it is now—worthless show." Later, his ideas took more definite shape, and he claimed for women a place in High-School education. "In spite

of all my bookishness," he wrote, "I would far rather hear one of my songs . . . fluttering its wings upon the lovely lips of our Mother and her daughters than if all the hands of the menfolk were never so diligently turning the leaves of my thickest books. This taste I wished to make immortal in the Danish High-School." In *Dansk Ravnegaldet*, the long allegorical poem which was found among his papers after his death, he foreshadows the existence of a great High-School for women at Vallö.

(2) THE SCANDINAVIAN UNIVERSITY

The crown of the educational system which Grundtvig envisaged for his people was the *videnskabelig Højskole faelles for hele Norden*—the Scandinavian University. He believed that, before the popular education of the High-Schools had advanced very far, the Northern countries would desire to set up in addition to them "a great learned High-School, certainly not for Latin and Roman Law, but for the development and interpretation of human life in its mysterious depth and glorious variety, that is, a University . . . which . . . really answers to its name." The demands of scholarship, the poverty of the Northern Kingdoms, and the fact that there was "but one spirit" in Scandinavia, all made it desirable that a single great Scandinavian University should be set up in place of the existing "Latin Universities," while the work of the latter in preparing students for Government posts and for the professions would be handed over to special Seminaries in close connection with the Folk High-Schools in the different Scandinavian countries. Teachers should also be trained partly at special Seminaries, and partly at the Folk High-Schools.

The "learned High-School" would supply the scholarship which would be needed if popular culture was not to become superficial; but, although the nature of its studies would be different, it should, no less than the Folk High-School, "regard everything from the standpoint of life and try to set itself in life's service." The work of the students should be directed to "progressive enlightenment and culture," and should embrace all branches of human knowledge, combining them in that great "Universal History" which Grundtvig thought of as co-ordinating all the specialist sciences. "There is necessarily found an opposition between the historical and the physical sciences," he wrote, "but it follows of itself that a sufficient explanation would remove this opposition, and that universal history, embracing all human activity, also embraces all scientific endeavours of humanity." In order to understand the development of the human race, a knowledge of the three chief nations of Antiquity would be required, and hence the students would have to learn Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; "but the languages should be learnt for the sake of the books, and the books read for the sake of life," and not vice versa, as so often happens.

Since in the Scandinavian University there would be no examinations or preparatory courses of lectures leading up to them, one might ask what the three hundred Professors could do to employ their time, but this, said Grundtvig, would show very little understanding of the possibilities of a life of "free and living interaction between scholars." "In a University which has lost all resemblance to a factory, the visits of young men, intellectually awakened and eager for knowledge, would both occupy many of the older men and enliven them all; for even the most famous German Univer-

sities presented a pleasing spectacle in their flourishing youth, because they were not examination machines, but free scholarly institutions, where the older men themselves, by distinguished qualities and friendly approachableness, had to attract and hold the young men from whom they were to get their living." "Now if we imagine all the Latin schools gone, and imagine all boys growing up, as far as possible, in their own homes and in God's free nature, in living intercourse with the people, trained in one or other of the crafts of daily life, so that even those who from childhood seemed best suited for mental work had also learnt to use their hands, and if few or none came to visit the learned High-School but those who had already distinguished themselves at the Folk High-School, then we can easily see that the Professors . . . would find that, even spiritually speaking, they received as much as they gave through the visits of the young people." To a great extent the formal lectures and disputations would be replaced by "well-ordered scholarly conversations," partly with the younger men, and partly among the elder scholars, for the benefit of anyone who wished to hear them. The visits of distinguished scholars from other Universities would bring fresh intellectual stimulus, and be occasions of great hospitality. "I need only turn my eyes to the most living scholarship that ever flourished," said Grundtvig, "namely, the Athenian, to find all the conditions that I desire for the Scandinavian University." Professors should also travel more abroad, and thus bring home a more living impression of other countries than they could get through books.

Though Grundtvig's project of a single great Scandinavian University has remained unrealized, the existing Universities in the Scandinavian countries have come

to approximate more and more closely to his conception of the ideal University, and for the last fifty years their work has been supplemented by the "extended High-School" of Askov, which to some extent has fulfilled the functions of a "High-School University," with an influence extending through the whole of Scandinavia.

In the primary and secondary schools of Denmark, changes in the direction of a realization of Grundtvig's ideals had already begun to take place during his lifetime, and have been carried farther since his death. His disciples among the elementary teachers soon made war upon the old system of learning by rote and mechanical repetition, and replaced it by freer and more living methods. We find one of them, Morten Eskesen, already writing to Grundtvig in 1851, "It is a joy to see the children with glowing cheeks, sparkling eyes, and burning hearts, listening to stories of the deeds of their ancestors or joining in when I sing to their praise. Yes, you have long prophesied about the 'Golden Age in Denmark,' and it is coming." The revolution in educational method was hastened by the establishment of numerous private or "free schools" (*Friskoler*), the pioneer of which was the famous *Friskole* set up by Kristen Kold, through Grundtvig's influence, in the early 'fifties. In Copenhagen itself, the chief laboratory for the working out of Grundtvig's ideas was Queen Caroline Amalie's *Asylskole* ("orphan school"). The Queen, who was a warm admirer of Grundtvig, had the school exempted from the inspection of the Copenhagen school authorities in 1842, in order that his ideas might have free play there, and his influence is apparent in the prominence given to the "living word" and to singing, and in the place allotted to manual work and practical training. Even in some of the Copenhagen

secondary schools his influence can be traced as early as the eighteen-thirties and 'forties in the increased importance assigned to oral teaching and to the mother tongue. Though other influences have since combined with Grundtvig's in the evolution of the Danish schools, he may justly be claimed as the pioneer of much that is best in the new ideals and methods of education.

Grundtvig's real monument, however, is in the Danish Folk High-Schools, which have played such an important part in the life of Denmark during the past three-quarters of a century. In them are enshrined his most characteristic educational ideas; they existed as a dream in his heart when his countrymen scorned his suggestions as impracticable nonsense; and it was through his untiring efforts, in face of the rebuffs and disappointments of a dozen years, that the dream first became an actuality in 1844.

CHAPTER VI

THE IDEAL IN PRACTICE

I. THE TURN OF THE TIDE

The years around 1848 mark a turning-point in the history of nineteenth-century Europe. A new tide of revolutionary nationalism was sweeping in across the frontiers of reactionary statecraft, and the French Revolution of 1848 aroused an answering spirit of revolt in Hungary and Italy, and gave a new impetus to the democratic movements in almost every country. Side by side with the revolts and upheavals in the political and intellectual spheres went a less obvious, but no less important, economic revolution, as the new methods of industry and transport which had originated in England strengthened their hold upon the Continental countries.

For Denmark, too, as for the rest of Europe, the later 'forties were eventful years. From 1848 to 1851 the Danes found themselves involved in a war with Germany over the border province of Slesvig-Holstein—a war which terminated, for the time being, in their favour, and which acted as a powerful stimulant to their national self-consciousness. In common with the other nations of Europe, they felt the shock of the revolutionary movement which had broken out in France, and their own bloodless revolution of 1848 brought them at a single bound from the sway of absolutism to advanced democracy.

Looking back across more than three-quarters of a century, we can see the war of 1848-51 as marking a transition in the life of the Danish people from dreams

to realities—a transition symbolized by the death of Oehlenschläger, the great poet of the Romantic dream, in 1850. The period when a few brilliant poets and men of genius stood out against a dark background of popular ignorance and apathy was ended, and the new period of practical co-operative effort which was beginning was destined to raise the people as a whole to a new level of culture and prosperity. "The fact that the free Constitution gave all classes the right to take part in the government of the country contributed in a high degree to this general progress among the masses of the people; but no less significant was the fact that a feeling of responsibility and a sense for the common cause of the nation had been awakened among the common people by the war" (Begtrup). The workings of this new spirit were at once apparent to an observant onlooker like Ingemann, who wrote to Grundtvig in February, 1851, "Whatever of the spirit and life of ancient times had found entrance into the mind of the people during the last forty years has not been fruitless. We, who have lived through the humiliations of 1807 and 1814, must thank God for also having experienced the resurrection last year."

The reign of Frederik VII (1848-63) witnessed a steady increase in Denmark's external prosperity. Corn prices were rising; improved methods of agriculture were being introduced; the extension of peasant proprietorship was being encouraged by law and by the institution (in 1851) of credit societies to facilitate the purchase of their land by the small farmers. The religious revival during the middle of the century helped to foster a spirit of earnestness and industry in many districts. Attempts were also being made to give the peasants a more adequate education. The Primary School Law of 1814 was

extended and improved by a measure passed in 1856, and two years later the Royal Agricultural College began its activities. The work of men like B. S. Jørgensen, who taught in this College until 1886, marks the beginning of that interaction between scientific theory and practical agriculture which has since been such a prominent characteristic of Danish farming; but this interaction could not come into full operation until the country people had received a wider general education which opened their eyes to its potentialities and quickened their intelligence for its application. The chief credit for the imparting of this general education belongs to the Folk High-Schools which began to arise at this period under the influence of Grundtvig; and the part which they afterwards played in inspiring the successful Co-operative Movement of the 'eighties and subsequent decades has been the theme of many writers, both Danish and foreign.

While Danish agriculture was thus advancing, the Danish towns were not behindhand in their development. Up to this time industry in the towns had been rigidly bound by the old guild restrictions inherited from the Middle Ages; but in 1857, under the influence of *laissez-faire* theories from England, almost all these restrictions were abolished—a step which was no less significant for Denmark's future than the abolition of feudalism in 1788. Its immediate result was a great stimulation of industry and trade; and it opened up a new phase in Denmark's economic life, of which a typical figure was C. F. Tietgen, the famous banker and founder of "The Great Northern Telegraph Company" and "The United Steamship Company."

Politically, the years between 1848 and 1864 were

years of violent ferment. The Constitution had received the King's assent in June, 1849; but the end of the war left the Slesvig-Holstein question unsettled, and this led to constant changes of the Ministry, and even to modifications of the Constitution in the attempt to keep Holstein united to Denmark on terms that would not involve a war with Germany. Political power during these years was chiefly divided between the Conservatives and the National Liberals; but the peasants were also becoming a growing force in Danish politics. It is unnecessary here to trace the sequence of political events in any detail. The war, which broke out in 1864 and ended very differently from the war of 1848-51, was bound to come; for Bismarck was now in power in Germany, and the acquisition, not only of Holstein, but of Slesvig as well, was an important part of his policy. Cut off by the terms of peace from both Slesvig and Holstein, and burdened with a heavy debt, Denmark was left in a position which might well call for despair. Her remarkable recovery is one of the wonders of history. In every sphere of the national life young men started enterprises, such as the reclamation of the heath district, with the cry, "What we have lost outwardly we must gain inwardly"; and this patriotic revival went side by side with a rapid extension of the High-School movement.

The new era in the life of Denmark which began about the middle of the century did not find Grundtvig unready. He had been one of the outstanding figures in the former period, the period of Romanticism and "dreams"; and now, when the time had come for dreams to be translated into realities, the old man of nearly seventy was still to be a leader of his people for more than twenty years. He was among the first to

perceive the change which was at hand, and in a poem from 1851 he exclaimed:—

“No longer do I dream about the dead,
But now my song is of the powers of life
Which are astir *to-day*.”

Since 1838 he had begun to emerge from “the vault of History” where he had sat bowed over his writings for so many years, and begun to come into more direct and living contact with his people through occasional public lectures. This contact was maintained and intensified by his participation in the great national rally at Skamlingsbanken in 1844 and by his subsequent political activities. He had also begun at last to make his influence felt among the University students. His sympathy with the pan-Scandinavian movement in University circles had brought him into close association with them in the early 'forties, and in 1851, as we have seen, he was the guest of honour at a great student conference in Norway. Later, in 1860-63, he delivered a series of informal lectures in his home to a group of theological students from the University, including the future High-School leaders Ludvig Schröder and Ernst Trier, on whose development they had a decisive influence. Among the men who were actually engaged in the pioneer work of the High-Schools his influence was no less strong; Kold and the founders of Rödning looked up to him as their leader; and he was the centre of inspiration for the whole movement long before he became more directly and formally connected with its practical activities through the opening of a High-School under his own personal supervision at “Marielyst” in 1855.

2. RÖDDING—THE FIRST FOLK HIGH-SCHOOL

It was no accident that Grundtvig's High-School ideal first found a practical embodiment at Rödning in South Jutland. Conditions in that border district, where Danish and German culture were in conflict, were such as to intensify national self-consciousness. Most of the educated classes sided with the Germans, and the champions of Danish realized that the only way in which the peasants could become capable of holding their own was through a higher education with a national basis and imparted through the mother tongue, such as Grundtvig had long been advocating.

The first-fruits of this conviction appeared in an invitation to subscribe shares for the foundation of a High-School, issued in January, 1842, by several clergymen and farmers in Western Slesvig who had been influenced both by the ideas of Grundtvig and by Kristen Kold during his stay in the district. The nationalist enthusiasm roused by the action of P. H. Lorenzen, when he insisted on speaking Danish in the Slesvician Assembly in November of the same year, brought a wider volume of support to the movement, and in particular won for it the backing of the Copenhagen Liberals, headed by Grundtvig's old theological opponent, H. N. Clausen. Behind the scenes the life and soul of the movement was Christian Flor, who had been Professor of Danish at Kiel University since 1826, had been deeply influenced while there by Grundtvig's writings, and had known Grundtvig personally since 1829. Flor was a man of judgment and discretion, who had a leader's instinct in the choice of his lieutenants, and who understood how to unite the widely differing elements in the nationalist movement in support of the

High-School project. It was towards this aim that he was working in the formation of the "Slesvigian Union," which was brought into existence as an instrument for the advancement of Danish national ideals soon after the first nationalist meeting at Skamlingsbanken in 1843. It was supported by an Auxiliary Union in Copenhagen, under the leadership of Clausen. Flor succeeded in getting the Slesvigian Union to approve of a plan for the establishment of a High-School which he had drawn up, and to appoint a directorate of seven members for the school, with himself as chairman. Only one of the Grundtvigians who had issued the original High-School proposal in 1842 was on the directorate. This was necessary in order to win the financial support of the Liberals, who would have distrusted a directorate composed mainly of "unpractical Grundtvigians"; but Flor expected to have a fairly free hand, and it was his intention that the school should work on the principles laid down by Grundtvig. With the help of a loan from the Auxiliary Union in Copenhagen, a farm-house was bought near Rödning to serve as the site of the suggested High-School; and on June 17, 1844, Christian VIII signified his approval of the draft programme of the school, and gave permission for its establishment. At the great meeting at Skamlingsbanken in the following July, Grundtvig, who already in 1843 had urged the need of the youth of Slesvig for "a Danish education, which they can make their own in living fashion, and thereby become familiar with their fatherland in all its life and their mother tongue in all its wealth, vigour, and fullness," publicly gave his blessing to the new venture. His speech on that occasion, says Schröder, may well be called the inaugural address of the new school for youth.

The draft programme published by the High-School directorate in the summer of 1844 is not without interest. "Our aim," it declares, "is to found an institution where townspeople and peasants can acquire such knowledge and ability as may be of use and pleasure, not so much with regard to their special trade and occupation as with regard to their position as sons of their country and citizens of the State. The institution is thus intended to have a beneficial influence as well on their domestic and private as on their public and civic life. We call it a High-School because it is not intended to be an ordinary boys' school, but an educational institution, partly for young people after the age of confirmation, partly for full-grown youths and men, and we call it a Folk High-School because members of every class can obtain admittance to it, even if it is chiefly adapted for the farming class, and expects to draw its pupils from this class in particular." Three of the seven directors were always to belong to the farming class. Two teachers were to be appointed as a beginning, and more as soon as finances permitted. Instruction was to be given in the Danish language and Danish literature, history, civics, arithmetic, geography, drawing, mensuration, German, Swedish, natural science, singing, and gymnastics. Every half-year's course was to form a whole in itself, but the complete course was to occupy two years. The fees were originally fixed at 160 kroner per year; this was to pay for board and lodging in the school itself or in neighbouring farm-houses, instruction being given free; but financial difficulties in 1852 made it necessary to charge an extra 40 kroner for instruction.

Rödning High-School was formally opened on November 7, 1844, with twenty students. Its first Head-

master was the Divinity graduate, Johan Wegener. He had one assistant to begin with, and another, Dr. Poulsen, was appointed later. Poulsen taught physics, chemistry, geology, and geography, and established in connection with the school an experimental plot and kitchen garden, a laboratory, and a well-equipped natural history museum. The early years of the institution were difficult ones. Flor wrote of it in 1846: "They say that everything new which is destined to have great and important consequences has a painful birth and a hard childhood. If we could say the reverse—that everything new which has unusual difficulties to overcome always becomes something great—then Rödning High-School should bear rich and glorious fruits; for it was a long time before it came into existence, and, young as it is, it has already had many perils to face." Wegener, partly for reasons of ill-health, retired from his exacting post at the end of the first half-year, whereupon Flor, with rare self-sacrifice, gave up his position at the University of Kiel and came to Rödning to act as its unpaid Headmaster until he could find a suitable successor. The number of students now showed an encouraging increase, rising to forty-two in the winter of 1845-46, and the school buildings were enlarged. The King showed his favour to the enterprise by presenting the school with a complete set of gymnastic apparatus, and financial support was obtained from the Royal Danish Scientific Association and other societies. In 1846 Flor was able to hand over the Headmastership of Rödning to Frederik Helveg, and to devote himself once more to other aspects of the national struggle, though continuing some of his lectures at Rödning. A sudden interruption to this record of progress came, however, in 1848, when the war with

Germany necessitated the temporary closing down of the school.

In 1850 it became possible to reopen Rödning High-School, and in 1852 it first received direct support from the State. The amount of the yearly subsidy was originally 600 kroner, but had risen to 4,000 kroner by 1857-58. The new Headmaster was Sofus Högsbro, afterwards well known in the world of Danish politics. The financial difficulties which attended the reopening of the school were successfully overcome; but before long a new danger presented itself in the disagreement of the teachers themselves. Now that the war was over, many people thought that the need for a school giving a distinctly national education had passed, and they wished to see Rödning devoting itself to more "practical" work. Three small agricultural schools, giving purely specialist teaching, were already in existence in the early 'fifties; and many of Rödning's former supporters desired to see the High-School remodelled on similar lines. Very few realized that a general cultural education could have any influence upon practical life. Thomsen, the science teacher, adopted the popular view; but he was opposed by Flor and Högsbro, and finally resigned his post in 1856. A couple of years later, a somewhat similar difficulty arose. Högsbro had become a member of the Folketing in 1858, and his Radical politics aroused considerable hostility, which expressed itself in violent Press attacks upon the school, and led to a reduction in the State subsidy, in voluntary contributions, and in the number of students.

From the point of view of the historical development of the High-Schools, the controversy is important because it led the Ministry of Education to attempt to enforce upon the High-School the introduction of

an examination giving admission to the Royal Agricultural College at Copenhagen. Högsbro successfully resisted the proposal, and his defence of the existing practice at Rödning may be regarded as the classic definition of the High-School attitude to examinations. "The aim of the school," he explained, "is to awaken and nourish the sense for spiritual life by means of free lectures, and to promote the love of our fatherland by throwing light upon its language and literature, its nature and history, its conditions in the past and in the present. Besides this, however, it attaches no less value to the inspiring of the students with a liking and understanding for agriculture. It follows that the material for such teaching must differ in many ways from the material demanded for the Preliminary Examination. . . . Also with regard to the method of teaching the Folk High-School must set itself other aims. This institution certainly does not underrate the importance of specialist knowledge and the development of the intellect to keenness and clearness; but its aim is essentially educational; the development of the feelings and the will has for it more importance than the exercise of the memory and the reason. It seeks to do in the national and secular sphere what the Church does in the religious sphere. Therefore it must lay the chief stress on what is living, stimulating, vivid; and the hour in which it has succeeded in arousing a feeling for the high and noble things in human life and giving a stimulus to active work for their advancement has a greater significance for the Folk High-School than those hours in which new items of knowledge are added to those already possessed or the reason has learnt to follow a new grammatical explanation or a mathematical conclusion. Those hours are also included, but only

in order to supplement the others. Our learning is for life and not for the school. We wish our students to leave us with the desire to devote themselves to the tasks of life and to use with understanding the means which life offers. They will then easily be able to acquire what they lack in knowledge, and in their work their reasoning powers will reach the development of which they are capable. For such an education a conclusion like the Preliminary Examination is by no means fitted, especially since the school period is only reckoned as occupying three terms, and claim is laid on these by teaching-matter of a very different kind from that required for the examination." The stand for freedom made by Högsbro upon this occasion had an important influence on the development of the High-Schools.

The history of the first Rödning High-School was a brief one. Within the short space of twenty years from its inception, its career was closed by the war of 1864 and the loss of Slesvig-Holstein to Germany. Two years previously, however, Högsbro had retired from the Headmastership in order to devote himself unrestrictedly to his political activities, and had made way for Ludvig Schröder, who was destined to carry on the Rödning tradition to a new and greater development at Askov High-School, which he founded in 1865 just north of the South Jutland frontier. From Askov, in turn, after Rödning and the surrounding territory had been restored to Denmark by the plebiscite of 1920, came the young Headmaster under whose leadership a new Rödning High-School flourishes to-day, and thus the broken chain of tradition has been linked up once more.

In some ways it must be confessed that the original Rödning High-School was only an imperfect embodiment of Grundtvig's ideal. The peculiar conditions

under which it came into existence tended to make it too one-sidedly nationalist and political in its outlook. Flor believed, too, in concentrating chiefly upon the brighter students, because they would be best able to make a return for their schooling later on in service to their fellows; and the result of this was that much of the teaching was probably above the heads of the less gifted students, especially in the science classes. The relations between teachers and students were also less intimate than in the later High-Schools. Another serious defect of the school consisted in the relatively high fees which were charged. It was a heavy enough sacrifice for a small farmer to send his son to the school for two years, winter and summer, even if he had not had to pay anything for it; and the effect of the high fees was in practice to confine admission to the school to the sons of the richer farmers. Yet, with all its defects, Rödning High-School had the inestimable merit of being the first practical step towards the realization of Grundtvig's ideals in actual life. "It created the form into which a richer content could afterwards be poured from the life of the people, which was now unfolding itself in ever greater fullness." The man who beyond all others was to be instrumental in filling the High-School form with a richer content was Kristen Kold, himself a man of the people, who had never had either the advantages or the disadvantages of a University education.

3. KRISTEN KOLD

Kristen Kold (1816-70) was the son of a shoemaker from Thisted. As he said in later life, he was born to be a teacher of the people, and next to God he owed the development of this gift to his mother, who first

taught him "the power of the word to speak to the heart and make people good and free and happy." At the age of fifteen we find him engaged as teacher in a school for peasant children, many of whom "were big enough to see over his head." Three years later he obtained admittance to Snedsted Training College, not far from Thisted, and it was during his stay there that he experienced the religious awakening which was the mainspring of all his subsequent activity. "When I was eighteen," he said later, "I learned to love God and my neighbour, and I was so overjoyed that in that moment I determined to give my life and my powers to help my neighbour to share in the same, and it is actually this which the High-School would teach a man, to love God, his neighbour, and his country."

On leaving the Training College in 1836, Kold became a tutor in a private family, and two years later obtained a similar post at Forballum in North Slesvig, where he took part in the work of national reawakening, founding a little "Danish Society," where he read aloud Inge-mann's romances and joined in the singing of Danish folk-songs. It was here, too, that in his experience as a teacher of children he discovered for himself the value of Grundtvig's "living word." One of his pupils, little Maren, simply could not learn by heart the Bible history which she had to know for the examination. She tried and tried, and cried and cried; but it was all no use, and Kold was very much distressed about her. Then, he says, it suddenly flashed upon him—"You can tell the children the stories that they have to learn by heart—tell them, just as you tell fairy tales!" He tried it, and it worked; the children enjoyed the stories and remembered them word for word. From that day Kold was a convinced believer in the power of the "living word."

In his High-School he continued the practice of telling Bible stories; and "when he was inspired, he could speak so that his hearers would remember what he said right into the other world."

Kold now wished to try his powers in a larger sphere, and as at the time no one was allowed to start a private elementary school for more than eighteen children, he sought to become a teacher in a State elementary school. He was plainly given to understand, however, that unless he kept to the old method of making the children learn Balle's Catechism off by heart, there was no hope of his getting a post; and in despair he thought of emigrating to America, where he understood that every one was allowed to teach as he liked. An acquaintance of his, however, Pastor Hass, who was going as a missionary to Asia Minor, wanted a companion, so Kold offered to go as his attendant. Before their departure he spent a year in Copenhagen, where he learnt book-binding, heard Grundtvig preach, and became acquainted with several leading Grundtvigians. In 1842 he left Denmark for Asia Minor, where he spent five years, first as attendant to Pastor Hass, and afterwards as a bookbinder in Smyrna. In his solitude there his educational ideas ripened, and he longed to make another attempt to apply them. As soon as he had saved a little money he set out homewards, travelling on foot all the way from Trieste to Denmark.

Scarcely had Kold returned to Denmark when the 1848 war broke out, and he joined the army as a volunteer. War was not his trade, however, and he did not remain long in the army; but his experiences during the war taught him, as he tells us, "how the spirit works on a large scale." "Previously I had only known how the spirit worked through the word,

partly on myself, and partly through me on my neighbour, in individual cases; but then I perceived that the whole nation was inspired, and it was then that I first really came to know the Danish spirit. Thus, too, I got a clearer idea of what was really my purpose: namely, that the feeling and the inspiration from 1848, and the awakening which took place then, might endure and be confirmed. I wished to work through the school with the word so that all the Danish people could be *lastingly inspired*." With this purpose in view, Kold sought and obtained a post as tutor in the house of Vilhelm Birkedal, a leading Grundtvigian clergyman, at Ryslinge in the island of Fyn, and got leave "to take three or four peasant lads into the house in order to try if it was possible to inspire them." The success of the experiment encouraged Kold to start an independent school of his own; but the financial problem had still to be overcome.

In the spring of 1850, Kold learnt that a plot of ground in the neighbourhood, with a tumbledown farmhouse upon it, was for sale; but at the moment he had not enough money to buy it. He asked for a week's grace to consider the matter, and promptly set out for Copenhagen, to seek financial help from Grundtvig and his friends. With Grundtvig's help he succeeded in collecting a sum of 600 Rigsdaler, to which he added his own small savings of 500 Rigsdaler, and with this tiny sum (about £125 in all) he prepared to start his High-School. He bought the plot of ground at Ryslinge, and proceeded to erect a new house upon it. The peasants of the district helped him free of charge, and he himself took part in the work. It is related that he carefully gathered the nails from the old building which was being cleared away, hammered them straight again,

and laid them in heaps ready for use, so that nothing might be wasted. When the building was ready, Kold set off to visit his friends in Jutland and Fyn and to try to persuade them to send their sons to his school.

The winter term was to begin on November 1, 1851, and shortly before that time Kold issued a prospectus, in which he declared himself ready to receive twenty students between the ages of fifteen and twenty, of whom ten could be accommodated in the school, while the rest would obtain accommodation in the village. Each student was to pay a fee of 20 kroner for instruction and 40 kroner for board and lodging for the full term of five months. Students wishing to go through a complete course should come back to the school for a second winter. Those who found the fees beyond their means might arrange to pay only 20 kroner to begin with and pay off the rest afterwards in yearly instalments. The teaching was to embrace World History, Bible and Church History, Scandinavian Mythology and Danish History, Geography, Danish Literature, and Singing, together with continued instruction in the ordinary elementary school subjects.

During the first winter Kold had fifteen pupils, whose ages ranged from fourteen to thirty-three. He was fortunate in obtaining a grant of 300 kroner from the funds of Sorö, and was thus able to engage an assistant teacher, his friend Poulsen-Dal. Life in Ryslinge High-School was, however, severely simple, and many anecdotes are told to illustrate this. The entire household used only one kilogram of sugar during the first winter, and in the fruit soup there was only one raisin apiece; but the students did not mind, for they had "a daily feast of good words." Kold and Poulsen-Dal slept in the dormitory along with the students, and used to discuss

many problems with them before they fell asleep. This close companionship was unlike anything which had existed at Rödning, and no doubt had an important educative influence upon the students. It is thought that the privations that Kold went through at this time were instrumental in hastening his early death; but the lesson of his simplicity and lack of pretentiousness was not lost upon the Danish people. By his teaching and example he showed his students that a simple life and manual work could be combined with genuine culture; and thus he helped to create the psychological attitude which made possible the revival of the Danish farming industry.

In 1853 Kold moved his High-School to Dalby, where he had a more congenial circle of friends than at Ryslinge. Here he started, side by side with the High-School, a private elementary school (*Friskole*), in which the children might be emancipated from the routine bookwork and compulsory learning by heart of the State schools, and which might work in closer co-operation with the parents. In after years he sent many of his best High-School pupils to teach in similar "free schools" throughout the country. More and more, as time went on, Kold abandoned any definite time-table in the High-School, imparting his philosophy to the students through the medium of historical talks or reminiscences of his own life, while Poulsen-Dal took charge of the more "practical" classes.

Soon after his coming to Dalby Kold had to fight a battle against examinations like that which Högsbro had to fight at Rödning. In 1856 he had founded a union for the establishment of *Friskoler*; this led to the formation of an opposition union, which in the following year sent in a petition asking for the with-

drawal of State support from the High-School, which it characterized as a "one-sided sectarian institution, where nothing was learnt." Despite a counter-petition from Kold's former students, the State grant ceased in 1857. The grant had carried with it a right of inspection, and early in 1858 Kold heard that the inspecting authorities were coming to examine the school. Kold refused to permit any examination of the pupils individually; they were paying for their education themselves, he said, they did not wish to be examined, and no one had any right to examine them. He allowed Provst Rohmann, however, to address questions to the class as a whole; and there is a well-known anecdote which tells how a lad from Jutland remembered the name of the Roman general who conquered Attila, and by his ready answer "saved the school." Without further ado Provst Rohmann paid over to Kold 1,600 kroner, the equivalent of the State grant for two years, at the same time warmly commending his work. The victory was decisive; Kold had no further trouble about examinations.

The increasing numbers of his students induced Kold in 1862 to build a new and larger school at Dalum, near the new railway through Fyn. Here, in the years before his death in 1870, he had as many as 100 students in the winter term; and his financial circumstances showed such an improvement that he was able to do without any subsidy from the State. Here, too, in 1863, he introduced a summer course of three months' duration for women students. Grundtvig and Flor had already seen the desirability of giving women a share in High-School education; but Kold was the first who really made it a part of High-School practice. Experience soon taught Kold the wisdom of Grundtvig's principle that as a rule all students should be over eighteen years of

age; he adopted it in his school, and later High-Schools have in general followed his example.

Kold was a thoroughly original personality. He spoke straight from his own experience, and his clear blue eyes seemed to read the souls of his pupils. He has been aptly called "the Danish Socrates." His deep sincerity gave him a peculiar power. On more than one occasion he left the lecture-hall without giving any lecture, because he "did not feel the spirit over him." He never allowed his pupils to take notes while he was speaking; to do so, he held, would have distracted their attention, and broken the bond of spiritual union which should unite speaker and audience. His profound faith in the power of the "living word" is illustrated by the following incident. One of his students once said to him, "I like to hear you speak, but I am sorry that I cannot remember what you say." "Do not worry about that," said Kold, "it would be another matter if we were speaking about dead knowledge. It is like what happens out there in the fields. If we put drainpipes into the ground, we must mark the place in order to find them again. But when we sow corn, there is no need to mark the place, for it comes up again. You may be sure that the things that you have heard from me with joy will come up all right again when you want them."

The Danish High-School owes much to Kold. It was he who really brought it down among the people. It was he who set the fashion for the High-School Head of living in close intimacy with his students, and it was he who introduced the summer High-School course for women. The ethical and religious tendency which has been characteristic of the High-School is also, in great measure, due to his influence; and it was he who

definitely established the principle that "the people must be *enlivened* before they are *enlightened*, or at all events be enlivened and enlightened together."

4. THE OTHER EARLY HIGH-SCHOOLS

Among the best-known of the other early High-Schools was the school founded by Anders Stephansen at Hindholm in 1852, which devoted its chief efforts to equipping the peasants to assert their claims successfully in their struggle against the landlords. Kold once summed up the difference between Hindholm, Rödning, and his own High-School with his customary frankness. "My school is the best," he said. "At Rödning they work for Danish culture as against German culture, and when the former is triumphant, the task of that school will have passed; at Hindholm they work for the rights of the peasants, and when the peasants have gained the upper hand (and they have already done so), there will be no further use for Hindholm High-School. But in my school we work for Life as against Death, and that work must continue as long as the world exists."

Another early High-School was Marielyst High-School, founded in Grundtvig's honour by his friends, who subscribed a sum of money for the purpose on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. The school, which was situated in the suburbs of Copenhagen, was under Grundtvig's personal supervision; he frequently came out to lecture there, even in the year of his death, and sometimes entertained both teachers and students in his own home. The first Headmaster, C. J. Brandt, was too much of an academician to adapt himself to High-School work, and retired in 1859; but the school was more successful under his successor, Grove. After Grove's retirement on grounds of ill-health in 1890,

Grundtvig's High-School was transferred to Lyngby, where J. C. la Cour, the founder of Denmark's great Agricultural Museum, who had been conducting a combined Folk High-School and Agricultural School there since 1867, became its Head. At Lyngby it still flourishes to-day.

Besides the pioneer High-Schools already mentioned, about twenty small High-Schools and Agricultural Schools were founded in the period before 1864, of which some only lasted for a year or two, and only seven were still in existence in 1894. But though Brandt wrote in 1853-54 that "everybody is founding Peasant High-Schools," the really great advance in the High-School movement did not begin until after the war of 1864. In this advance a leading part was played by the three great High-Schools founded by Grundtvig's immediate disciples—Askov under Ludvig Schröder, Testrup under Jens Nørregaard and Christoffer Baagö, and Vallekilde under Ernst Trier. Vallekilde in particular is memorable as having been the pioneer in the inauguration of a separate department for young craftsmen in 1879, and in the introduction of Ling's Swedish gymnastics into the curriculum in 1883-84. Among all the High-Schools of the second generation, however, the most noteworthy part was played by Askov under Ludvig Schröder.

CHAPTER VII

ASKOV AND THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

I. ASKOV "EXTENDED HIGH-SCHOOL"

Ludvig Schröder (1836-1908), the founder of Askov High-School, was the son of a forester on the estate of the great reformer, Count Christian von Reventlow. After his entry into the University in 1854, Schröder became the leading spirit in a group of theological students (*Lille Theologicum*), which met for Bible study and discussion, and which also included Nørregaard, Baagö, and Trier. In common with his friends, he came under the influence of Grundtvig, whose informal lectures on Church History he attended in 1860-63, and who inspired him with the wish to take up work in a Folk High-School. Grundtvig's influence on Schröder lasted all through his life, and in later years his thorough study of his master's writings caused him to be jestingly called "the Professor of Grundtvig."

In 1861 Schröder was engaged by Högsbro to hold some historical lectures at Rödning High-School, and through one of the teachers there, Jens Lassen Knudsen, he came strongly under the influence of Kold, whose school he visited in 1862. Schröder afterwards sought to unite at Askov the best traditions both of Rödning and of Kold's High-School, combining the thoroughness in study on which Flor had laid so much emphasis with the close contact with the common people and the homely way of life practised by Kold. For this great work he received a practical training through his Headmastership of Rödning High-School (1862-64). Here too he found a faithful fellow-worker in his friend

Heinrich Nutzhorn, later famous as the composer of melodies to many songs by Grundtvig and other modern Danish poets. Nutzhorn afterwards shared Schröder's work at Askov, and was still alive there, as an old man of ninety-one, in 1924. Schröder found an even better helper in his young wife, Charlotte Wagner (1842-1904), who for many years superintended the difficult task of catering for Askov's numerous students and visitors, and whose kindly influence made the big school seem like a home to all who came there.

Schröder's work at Rödning was cut off by the war of 1864, during which he served as an assistant chaplain to the forces. As soon as the war was over, however, he was eager to start a new High-School which should maintain as close a connection as possible with the lost province of Slesvig. Rödning was now on German soil, and Schröder's choice of a site for his High-School which was to be its successor fell upon Askov, just north of it across the border. The indefatigable Flor came to Schröder's assistance, and within three years raised 8,000 kroner to finance his venture. His work for Askov is still commemorated in the inscription, *Flors Højskole*, over the main door of the school buildings. With Flor's support Schröder was able to rent two straw-thatched houses at Askov, with the right to purchase them later for 5,000 kroner. Here, in the summer of 1865, his wife and he held a small High-School course for girls, and here, in November of the same year, the first winter course began for about forty men students, in much humbler surroundings than those at Rödning.

After Kold's death in 1870 Schröder became the recognized leader of the High-School movement, and the number of students at Askov steadily increased.

A larger and larger proportion of them had previously been at other High-Schools or were returning to Askov for a second winter, and the need for the provision of more advanced instruction became more and more pressing. About this time Jens Nørregaard raised the question of the possibility of carrying out Grundtvig's plan for the establishment of a central State High-School at Sorö. A meeting was held at Copenhagen in April, 1878, to discuss the project. Schröder, who was one of the speakers, expressed his agreement with what Grundtvig had said in his old age: "It is all very well with the many Folk High-Schools which now exist round about in the country; but if the Folk High-School is really to have a future, it must have a powerful focus round which the whole movement can be concentrated." He felt, however, that the project of a State High-School in the form in which it was proposed by Nørregaard was not feasible.

No definite conclusion was arrived at; but soon after the meeting Trier, who was strongly opposed to the idea of any State interference, wrote to Schröder, urging him to turn Askov into an "extended High-School," and assuring him of support should he decide to do so. An old Rödning student, Jep Fink, also promised to do his utmost to organize the necessary financial support. Before taking any definite steps, Schröder deemed it right to consult Nørregaard, and he, seeing that his Sorö plan was not likely to materialize for the present, generously gave his full consent to Trier's proposal. A meeting was held at Askov in August, 1878, at which Trier set forth his plan, and it was decided to establish a "Danish High-School Association" to raise funds for the new "extended High-School." Nørregaard and Baagö promised to give help with the

lecturing in such time as they could spare from their own work, and a still more valuable colleague was added to the staff in the person of the scientist Poul la Cour, who now abandoned a promising career in order to take up a post at Askov.

The establishment of the "extended High-School" at Askov involved an outlay of about 12,000 kroner, between 1878 and 1880, on new buildings and equipment. Nørregaard, Baagö, and others helped at first by giving supplementary lectures, but the need for outside help gradually disappeared as it became possible to engage a larger staff of teachers. The ordinary summer course for young women was continued, but from October, 1878, the winter course was devoted to the more advanced work of the "extended High-School." At first this course was exclusively for men, but from 1885 onwards it became co-educational.

The arrangement of the school course at Askov under the new system was described by Schröder as follows: "During the extended High-School course, which begins in November and ends in April, all the students meet together for the principal lectures, which are held from 10.30 to 11.30 a.m. and from 6 to 7 p.m. on Church History, Scandinavian History, World History, and Historical Physics. These lectures are arranged in such a way that those which are given in the course of two winters cover the above-mentioned subjects as far as possible between them. Outside of these twelve principal lectures the first winter's students are separated from the second winter's, and the women are to some extent separated from the men students. The junior group gets instruction in historical mathematics, and the senior group in the history of the Scandinavian languages and literature. Lectures are held on sagas and myths and

on the economic life of Denmark for the junior group, and on World literature and sociology for the senior group. The men students, divided into at least three groups, get teaching in Danish, while the women do gymnastics, and vice versa. Conversation classes, for which the students must do preparation, are held separately for first-year men students, for first-year women students, and for second-year students of both sexes. Hygiene teaching is given to each sex separately. The few students who do English and German are divided according to the stage of knowledge which they have reached. . . . The school reading-room, with its good reference library, is open to the students a couple of hours a day . . . and at another time the library proper, which is reckoned to contain 20,000 volumes, is open for the loan of books."

The lectures on "historical mathematics" and "historical physics" represent la Cour's great contribution to High-School method. By treating these subjects historically and laying stress on the more important discoveries, the way in which they grew out of the experience of those who made them, and their wider significance, he was able to give his students a much more living impression of the sciences as a whole than by any mere text-book instruction in their rudiments. An interesting account of the methods employed, in la Cour's own words, is given by Hollmann (*Die Volkshochschule*, pp. 113 ff.).

With the lapse of time, the curriculum outlined by Schröder has naturally undergone some modifications; and courses for third-year students were introduced in 1914.

From the beginning the three principal teachers at Askov had occupied a position of equality, each receiving

a salary of 1,600 kroner, while Schröder had his house free in return for his extra work as Headmaster. Schröder, though nominally owner of the school, had kept its finances separate from his own; and this rendered easier the change in its constitution in 1898, by which the school became a "self-owning institution," with a directorate consisting of four of the teachers. This directorate was to carry on the tradition of the school with such changes as circumstances might dictate, but the condition was laid down that it should not sell or mortgage the school property without the consent of the Ministry of Education. On the death or retirement of a director, his successor is co-opted by the remaining directors. All the teachers are consulted in fixing the school programme and in appointing a new Head or new teachers, but the final decision rests with the directorate. The highest salary received by any teacher (including the Head) from 1878 to 1915 was 3,500 kroner a year, without pension. There has been only one change in the Headmastership of Askov—that which took place after Ludvig Schröder's death in 1908, when his son-in-law, Jakob Appel, who had shown his ability as a permanent teacher at the school since 1890, was appointed to the post.

Of all the younger High-School men, Ludvig Schröder was perhaps the one who carried Grundtvig's ideas most thoroughly into application. Under his guidance, with the help of la Cour, all the many subjects taught at Askov were fused into a living unity within the mould of a wide "historical education." His influence permeated the whole work of the school, and his deep, sincere, and serious personality had a lasting influence upon his pupils. In everyday intercourse he was apt to appear somewhat reserved and unapproachable; but in

the lecture hall he was able to open up the riches of his inner life to his hearers, and the students would afterwards discuss those lectures for hours together. Schröder was a man of a wonderfully many-sided activity—lecturer, organizer, Member of Parliament, writer on widely different subjects, publisher of song-books for the High-Schools, and one of the three directors of the Society for the Reclamation of the Jutland Heaths. It is characteristic of him that while his favourite lecture subject was the old Scandinavian mythology, which he used as a vehicle for the expression of his philosophy of life, one of his best-known literary productions was a book on *The Natural Resources and Industries of Denmark*. For all his essentially Romantic outlook upon life, Schröder was a realist in a very practical sense. He believed in “the poetry of human activity,” the romance of daily work. The story is told of him that once, when a guest was complaining that he could not get sufficient hands to weed his turnips and to milk his cows, he exclaimed, “Is that really so? Can’t you get anyone to help you with the weeding, and are your daughters unable to get anyone to help them milk the cows? Or do you mean to say that you and your daughters are above weeding the turnips and milking the cows, and that you put the work into the hands of hired strangers? If so, I quite understand why you have difficulty in adapting your farm to modern requirements. You must alter your course. You must not regard any kind of farm-work as menial work to be left to hired hands; hired hands are often incompetent. Take part in the work yourself, and demonstrate to your labourers that work ennobles a man. Get everybody who works on the farm to feel that everybody works in fellowship, and that they are all esteemed as human

beings. Then you will soon find that all have come to regard it as a matter of honour that the farm is run on modern, efficient lines, and you will be able to sow twenty acres with turnips." Schröder was in advance of most other High-School men in his interest in the social questions raised by the Industrial Revolution. As a Member of Parliament he did good work for the cause of housing reform. Once when he had lectured in Ribe on the development of a happy human life, a "poor worker" among his hearers wrote to him and said that his lecture was all very well for wealthy merchants and officials, but there were also poor workers among his audience, and next time he lectured in Ribe he had better choose another subject, for "we have no childhood, we have no youth, we have no soul in our homes." Schröder never forgot these words; they gave a driving force to the keen interest in sociology which he showed in after years.

This many-sided interest of Schröder's left its imprint on the life of Askov. He was always eager to extend the work of the school, and to bring it into contact with other fruitful activities. He was glad to find a little town springing up around the High-School like the towns that sprang up in the Middle Ages around some famous monastery; to see an eminent folk-lorist like H. F. Feilberg coming to make his home at Askov; and to watch a *slöjd* school, a weaving school, and similar institutions gradually growing up in the neighbourhood. He welcomed the establishment of la Cour's experimental windmill and Frederik Hansen's experimental plant station as a fulfilment of Grundtvig's wish that the High-School students should have examples of practical activities before their eyes, and his own model farm, where for a time he was proud to possess

the best milch cow in Jutland, served the same ideal. When Niels Pedersen, a former student and teacher at Askov, founded his Agricultural School in 1879 at Ladelund near by, the enterprise had Schröder's warm approval, and he heard with pleasure, too, of the establishment by two other Askov students, Jørgen Pedersen and Hans Appel, of the now well-known Agricultural School at Dalum.

From the early days at Rødding it had been the custom to hold occasional public meetings at the High-School for the inhabitants of the district, and this practice was continued at Askov, where, at the first public meeting, Schröder spoke on the myth of Idunna, Nutzhorn on Germanism in Denmark, and Fenger on spavin in horses—a characteristic combination. In addition, Schröder and his fellow teachers often delivered lectures in different parts of the country in the intervals of their school work, and did much to help the movement for the establishment of lecture halls in the Danish villages. Kristen Kold had held meetings for school teachers at his High-School during the summer holidays, and after Kold's death Schröder adopted this practice at Askov. From Peter Larsen, the famous lay preacher, he also adopted the practice of holding "Autumn Meetings," where farming people could gather together for a few days of lectures and singing and hospitable entertainment after the harvest had been saved. These "Autumn Meetings" afterwards became general throughout rural Denmark. Another type of meeting which Schröder organized at Askov was the meeting to celebrate the granting of the Constitution, held yearly in Skibelund Grove near the High-School, and attended by thousands of Danes from both sides of the border. An Old Students' Association was formed in 1887, and

another link with the old students was provided by the paper *Höjskolebladet*, which Konrad Jørgensen, a former member of the school, started with Schröder's support in 1876. In all these ways, and in others besides, Askov under Schröder's leadership came to stand in active and widespread intercourse with the life of the Danish people, to the enrichment of them both. Not only this, but Askov became a centre for the spreading of the High-School ideal to other lands. Many of the leaders of the Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish High-School movements came to Askov either as visitors or as students; the founder of the first Danish High-School in America, Olav Kirkeberg, received his training there; and few years pass without bringing inquirers from one or another foreign country to this "powerful focus" of the High-School's life.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

While the High-School ideal was receiving an intensive development at Askov, it was also undergoing an extensive development beyond the borders of Denmark, and becoming more and more of an international force. As was natural, it first found kindred soil in Scandinavia; and in its practical application Norway took the lead. As early as 1864, a High-School was started at Sagatun by the young Norwegians, Anker and Arvesen, who had belonged to Schröder's circle at Copenhagen University and had attended Grundtvig's lectures in the winter of 1860-61. Other High-Schools quickly followed; but for many years the High-Schools suffered from the competition of the official Provincial Schools (*Amtsskoler*), which imparted a specialist and bookish education, in contrast to the freer education of the High-Schools. Matters improved, however, after 1898,

when provision was made for a direct State subsidy to "extended High-Schools," and the High-Schools and the Provincial Schools have since come to stand in a less hostile relation to each other. The Norwegian High-Schools have tended to have more of a political character than their Danish prototypes.

Sweden came into the High-School movement in 1868, when no less than three High-Schools were founded—at Herrestad, Önnestad, and Hvilan. The initial impulse came from Christian Flor, who in a conversation with Dr. Sohlmann, the editor of *Afton-bladet*, awakened his interest in the High-Schools to such good purpose that he became an ardent and effective missionary in their cause. The Swedish High-Schools stand in very close connection with the peasants, and in many cases are owned by a Province or a Peasants' Union, instead of by an individual Headmaster. They are usually better equipped than the Danish High-Schools; and an important difference of method is found in the greater emphasis which they lay on science and technical subjects.

The pioneer of the High-School movement in Finland was a woman, Sofia Hagmann, a former student of Askov, who in 1889 began a High-School course for young women at Kangasala, in her native country. The first Swedish-speaking High-School in Finland was founded in 1891, and was followed by a number of other schools, some using the Swedish language, some the Finnish. A feature of the High-Schools in Finland is the close relationship in which they stand to the University, some of them being owned by an Association of University students. The Finnish High-Schools are co-educational, and devote a good deal of time to practical subjects, weaving, handwork, etc.

In 1910 there were 19 Folk High-Schools in Norway, 42 in Sweden, and 41 in Finland; and in 1930-31 Norway had 29 Folk High-Schools with 1,306 students, Sweden 54 with 4,584 students, and Finland 57 with 2,734 students.

The part played by Askov in promoting co-operation between the different High-School movements in Scandinavia has already been mentioned. The feeling of fellowship between the leaders in the different Scandinavian countries has also found an expression in the periodical Scandinavian High-School meetings, the first of which was held at Testrup in 1883.

Meantime, while the High-School movement had been spreading in Scandinavia, Grundtvig's idea had been carried to America by Danish emigrants, and the first High-School was opened there by Olav Kirkeberg in 1878 at Elk-Horn, Iowa. In 1926 there were six Danish High-Schools in America, with a yearly attendance of about 300. A High-School on the Danish pattern, but destined for American students, was opened by two American ladies in North Carolina in 1927, and Pocono People's College in Pennsylvania also represents an attempt to adapt the High-School idea to American conditions.

Even after Rödning had become German territory in 1864, the friends of Rödning High-School sought to carry on its work, and Cornelius Appel held High-School courses for girls there from 1869 to 1885. Some other attempts at starting High-Schools were also made by the Danes of Slesvig-Holstein, but the movement was slow to take root among the German population. In 1910 there were two German High-Schools in Slesvig-Holstein, one at Albersdorf and one at Mohrkirch-Osterholm. After the War, however, the cause of adult

education received a new impetus, and, as Dr. Yeaxlee observes, the Danish High-School has largely been the model in post-war adult education movements in Europe, and not least in Germany. The new German *Volks-hochschulen* aim, like the Danish High-Schools, not at "the dissemination of knowledge," but at "the development of personal life . . . and the stimulation of creative activity." It is true that most of them, perhaps, do not consciously recognize their spiritual descent from Grundtvig, but look rather to Fichte as their inspirer; it is also true that in some aspects of their work they resemble the British W.E.A. rather than the Danish High-School. The residential *Volks-hochschuleheim* is, however, a development more closely akin to the High-School; and in many cases, no doubt, the words of Dr. Georg Koch, quoted by Hollmann, may be taken as representative of the attitude of the German High-School pioneers. In the time of Fichte, says Dr. Koch, "distress taught men to pray, to look to the things which are not seen, and to seek to lay hold on them. It is no accident that to-day also, in the distress of the World War, the people feel a great yearning for the release of spiritual power, and that we expect such power to come from a deeper human education, a new education that takes in the people as a whole and helps the seeds of spiritual and moral growth which are latent in them to develop. As Fichte looked to a German People's School, so we look to a German People's High-School, and as he looked to Pestalozzi, the warm-hearted Swiss friend of children, so we look to his counterpart on the north of our country, the Dane Grundtvig, the inspired friend and awakener of grown-up young men." Among the German High-Schools which have been more or less directly modelled on the

Danish pattern are the pre-war High-Schools at Mohrkirch-Osterholm, Tingleff, Nornburg and Lunden (the two latter became Danish territory by the plebiscite of 1920, but remained centres of German culture), the post-war High-Schools at Leck and Rendsburg in Slesvig-Holstein, and the High-School at Lindenhof.

The Danish High-School ideal has also penetrated to other European countries, notably Switzerland and Czecho-Slovakia, where attempts have been or are being made to put it into practical application. In France, an attempt was made in 1926 by Professor Passy of the Sorbonne to start an International High-School on the model of the International High-School at Elsinore. Even in distant Japan the names of Grundtvig and Kold are known to educators; and in 1927 a Japanese Folk High-School was opened at Tonobe by their disciple, Mr. Kanji Kato, who had visited Denmark in 1923 and 1926 to study the High-Schools and *Friskoler* at first hand.

The first effort to adapt the High-School to English industrial conditions was made in 1908, when Fircroft Adult School was founded near Birmingham under the Headmastership of Tom Bryan, who had visited Denmark on several occasions and been greatly impressed by what he saw of the work of the Danish High-Schools. Fircroft is primarily intended to cater for the needs of industrial workers; but the desirability of extending the same type of education to the rural districts was stressed by the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in its Final Report, published in 1919. The Committee recommended the establishment of "residential continuation schools in rural areas where the pupils could go into continuous residence for three months," and added, "Experience would

show whether there was sufficient demand for residential colleges of the Danish High-School type, which is what we have in mind, to justify the separate establishment of non-vocational colleges." Since the publication of the Report, a practical step has been taken in the direction indicated by the opening at Avoncroft, near Evesham, of a non-vocational residential college for rural workers, inspired alike by the Danish High-School ideal and by the success of the kindred venture at Fircroft. In Wales, as the result of a more or less independent development, but also partly inspired by the Danish example, the High-School movement has borne fruit through the foundation in 1927 of Coleg Harlech, which draws its students from the ranks of both industrial and agricultural workers.

The greatest advance in the High-School movement outside Denmark has taken place in the post-war period since 1918, during which period it has formed part of a great forward movement in adult education. In view of the increased interest which is being taken in the ideas of Grundtvig in countries all over the world, and of the success which has attended the adaptation of the High-School ideal to widely differing conditions, it seems probable that internationally the movement as yet is in its infancy, and that the next half-century may see it developing as rapidly in the international sphere as it did during the past fifty years in the country of its birth.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DANISH HIGH-SCHOOLS TO-DAY

I. EXTERNAL ORGANIZATION

In 1928-29 Denmark had sixty State-recognized Folk High-Schools scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. All of them had come into being as the result of private initiative, and private enterprises they remain. Their relation to the State is governed by the High-School legislation of which an account is given elsewhere; it may be summed up in the phrase—State aid without State interference, Government inspection but no examinations. As regards ownership, the conditions vary. In many cases, a Committee of local supporters has made possible the establishment of the school in the first instance by subscribing shares, and the school has subsequently been bought by the Headmaster; in other cases the ownership of the school has remained in the hands of the local Association which established it. Out of fifty-nine High-Schools existing in 1925-26, thirty-six were the property of the individual Headmasters. Sometimes a man with private means has built a High-School at his own expense. This was the case with Nørregaard of Testrup, and it ensured for him from the beginning the independence which he desired so much in his work; but it had the less desirable effect that "the school came to lack that close connection with the district which comes from the fact that good neighbours have made sacrifices to get a school started in their vicinity" (Begtrup).

Though privately owned and controlled, the High-Schools are linked together in the "Association of Folk

High-Schools and Agricultural Schools," founded in 1891, which, although of a purely voluntary character, has done much to promote co-operation between them and to maintain high standards in their work. It has got most of its members to adopt a uniform charge for board and tuition; this at present amounts to about 70 kroner a month for women and 80 kroner for men, but the fees at Askov and the agricultural schools are somewhat higher. It has also introduced a system whereby the monthly fees are fixed on a higher scale at the beginning of the five months' winter term than at its end; this lessens the temptation for students to leave before the end of the course in order to take part in spring work on the farms. Its representations have been taken into account by the Danish Government in the framing of its High-School legislation, and it has also been instrumental in obtaining Government grants for various specific purposes—for example, a grant towards travelling scholarships for High-School teachers, a grant towards a three months' summer course for young High-School teachers at Askov, and another grant towards the University courses for High-School teachers which were started in 1895. Further, it has been responsible for some excellent publications dealing with different aspects of High-School history and practice.

Most of the High-Schools, though each independent of outside control, have worked together as acknowledged members of the movement initiated by Grundtvig. The "Inner Mission" High-Schools, however,—a product of the religious revival led by Vilhelm Beck in the 'sixties—have from the beginning held themselves apart from the Grundtvigian schools. They are distinguished from the other Folk High-Schools by the greater emphasis

which they lay on bookwork and on specific religious teaching. At the time of the War they accounted for about one-tenth of the total number of High-School students. Another school which stands somewhat apart from the main stream of High-School tradition is Esbjerg Workers' High-School, founded in 1916 by the Socialist leader, J. P. Sundbo. Sundbo himself was an old Askov student, and the school is similar in some respects to the Grundtvigian High-Schools; but its main purpose is political. Borup's (non-residential) High-School in Copenhagen, and the International High-School at Elsinore and Roskilde High-School, which, like Esbjerg High-School, cater more especially for the town workers, are in closer sympathy with the Grundtvigian movement.

2. CURRICULUM AND INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

As will be apparent from the examples given elsewhere, the curriculum of the Folk High-Schools still follows the main principles laid down by Grundtvig. An adaptation to modern conditions is, however, evident in the larger place given by most schools to such subjects as science and sociology; and the passage of time has also brought changes in the treatment of some of the subjects. The early High-School men, following Grundtvig's example, found it natural to clothe their philosophy of life in the symbolism of Scandinavian mythology; but the severe criticism to which the accepted theories of the origin of these myths were subjected towards the close of the century made it difficult to use them in the same simple and unquestioning way as before. Hence Ludvig Schröder, for instance, turned increasingly to Bible history and the story of men like Luther for the subject-matter of his lectures; while the younger generation of High-School

men tend, like Holger Begtrup, to seek a vehicle for the expression of their philosophy of life in the works of modern Danish writers, such as Paludan-Müller's *Adam Homo*. Some prophesy a return to the sagas as lecture subjects; but this seems hardly likely unless a new Romantic Revival makes them once more the "natural figurative language" of some future generation. In history, again, the tendency has been to attach increased importance to modern history. More emphasis is usually laid nowadays on the use of books and on the personal work of the student than was the case in some of the early High-Schools. Questions and discussion are encouraged; some schools have a box in which written questions can be placed, the more personal questions being answered by the teacher in private, and the rest in the discussion class.

Gymnastics have come to take an increasingly important place in the High-School curriculum, and are valued, as the Greeks valued them, as a means of education "not only for the body, but also for the soul." The daily "gymnastic hour" helps to preserve the curriculum from one-sidedness, and prevents the students from suffering injury to their health by reason of the transition from strenuous farm-work to a more sedentary life. Of recent years a new system of gymnastics, based on Ling's system, has been perfected by Niels Bukh at his Gymnastic High-School at Ollerup, where he trains leaders for the Gymnastic Unions throughout Denmark; and the success of this system in promoting healthy all-round development has already attracted attention in England and America.

Singing still holds its place of honour in the Folk High-Schools; and the song before, and often after, every lecture seems to the unaccustomed visitor one of

the most striking and attractive features of their work. The songs chosen are usually such as harmonize with the subject of the lecture, to which they thus form a fitting prelude or conclusion; and the singing is simple singing in unison. "It does not claim to be artistic singing, but instead it possesses qualities which make it an invaluable aid in the educational work of the people." The work of every day begins with *Morgensang*, when hymns are sung and some prayers are repeated (usually the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed), but attendance at this is purely voluntary. In the Grundtvigian schools, as distinguished from the "Inner Mission" schools, there is usually no specific religious instruction, though the spirit of all the teaching is religious in a wider sense.

The question of the introduction of special vocational courses, as distinct from occasional lectures on vocational subjects, has been a very live problem in the Danish High-Schools. The problem arose first at Vallekilde, where, as already mentioned, a separate department for young craftsmen grew up out of the informal classes held for some of the students by Andreas Bentsen, a former carpenter's apprentice. Over 3,000 young craftsmen were Bentsen's pupils during the thirty years of his teaching activity. The craftsmen's department remained part of the High-School, and its members continued to attend the principal High-School lectures. Under Bentsen's leadership, the new departure proved eminently successful, and it had the important effect of bringing a whole new class—that of the village artisans—under the High-School's sphere of influence. The attempt to combine specialist instruction with the primarily inspirational purpose of the High-School does, however, involve certain difficulties, which were pointed

out by Poul Hansen, Trier's successor at Vallekilde. The real difficulty, according to him, "consists in producing, amid the busy work in the handicraft-room, that quietness of mind which must be created before they can hear the personal questions, the eternal questions, awakened therein, and get peace to work through and find an answer to these." His own experience, however, led him to believe that this difficulty could be overcome, "when the High-School's staff are capable, and when the teachers of the handicraft department, like Bentsen, give themselves up heartily to the great common task."

When the subject came to be discussed at the first meeting of the Association of Folk High-Schools and Agricultural Schools in 1891, a view strongly adverse to the giving of specialist instruction in the High-Schools was expressed by the President of the Association, Alfred Poulsen, and appeared to command the support of the majority of the delegates. Poulsen declared that a man of exceptional genius, like Bentsen, might be able to harmonize specialist teaching successfully with the purpose of the High-School, but that as a general principle it was wiser to leave it to separate schools, as in most cases it must almost inevitably distract attention from the real aim of High-School education. In support of this view, we may point to the shortness of the average High-School course, which makes it desirable to concentrate on essentials, and also to the fact that most of the students have already had some practical training in manual work, and that the effect of the High-School course, though entirely non-vocational, has often been to inspire them with the wish to go on to a vocational school afterwards in order to perfect their technical knowledge. On the other hand, it may be urged that every subject alike may be a source

of inspiration, if only it is taught in the right spirit, and that the practical and constructive work involved in vocational training not only brings the students a much-needed relief from the strain of constant lectures, but also makes for a better balance in their development, through the change it affords from the purely receptive and more or less passive attitude which the hearing of lectures tends to produce. The Swedish and Finnish High-Schools have given a large place to practical subjects on their programme, and the experiment seems to have been attended with success; while in 1924 nearly half of the Danish High-Schools were giving some specialist instruction of one kind or another, and were not noticeably less successful than the rest in imparting the inspiration and interpretation of life which are the High-School's aim.

The best solution of the problem seems to lie along the lines of the course which has already been adopted, namely, the leaving of complete freedom to the individual High-Schools to vary their programmes in accordance with varying conditions. In cases where facilities for vocational instruction are readily accessible elsewhere, e.g., in specialist schools or local part-time classes, it is perhaps wiser for the High-School to leave this aspect of education to them, in view of the shortness of its course and in view of the fact that its students can find scope for positive activity and self-expression in other ways (discussion, gymnastics, etc.). On the other hand, where this is not the case, there seems to be no objection in principle to the inclusion of regular courses in technical subjects in the High-School curriculum, provided that these are not made an end in themselves, but are kept subordinate to the main purpose of an "education for life."

With regard to regular courses of instruction in agriculture, the tendency in Denmark has definitely been to leave this branch of specialist teaching to the "Agricultural High-Schools," most of which have been founded by old Folk High-School students, and which, despite differences in aim and method, still work in close co-operation with the Folk High-Schools. As Hans Appel, the Head of Dalum Agricultural School, expressed it, "The Danish Agricultural School counts itself as a descendant of the High-School, and it looks with gratitude and acknowledgement to the mother of the Schools for Youth." Many students whose desire for knowledge has been awakened at a High-School pass on to an Agricultural School, to obtain there the practical information which they need. The desirability of this was emphasized by Anders Svendsen, Head of the important Agricultural School at Tune. "The student who comes from a Folk High-School," he said, "usually brings with him a strong and living impression of the fact that his spiritual development has only just begun and that it is a long way to the goal; and when he enters the Agricultural School with this consciousness it is easy to understand that he is exceptionally well fitted to get the utmost benefit from the teaching. It would therefore be very desirable if all the young men who wish to take a course at an Agricultural College first spent at least one winter term at a Folk High-School." The Danish Government in its legislation has also to some extent encouraged this practice.

No description of the modern High-School could claim to be complete if it failed to take account of the social side of High-School life; for, as one High-School Headmaster expressed it, "Home life and the relationship of equals are fundamentals of the people's college."

Kold was the first to give full practical recognition to this principle, and, following his example, the High-School Headmaster and teachers live and eat together with their students as members of one large family. Nor is it only teachers and students who share the common meals and the common life; the servants take their place there too, on a footing of complete equality with the rest; indeed, they are often former students of the High-School. It is easy to see the effect that this practice must have had in breaking down class barriers and eliminating snobbish tendencies; and it is now very general, not only in the High-Schools, but even in the wealthier Danish households. Life in the High-Schools, though bright and cheerful, has little of luxury about it. In some schools the students wash out their own rooms and give some help in other household tasks; in all they rise early, fare plainly though wholesomely, and are expected to work hard—which, indeed, they usually do. Should there be an alternative series of lectures, they choose for themselves which ones they will attend; but “each pupil, on enrolling, is tacitly expected to fall into line with the school’s system of work.” “From 8 o’clock till 6.30 or 7 at night,” writes an American observer, “with the exception of one or two and a half hours at noon and thirty minutes in the afternoon for the inevitable coffee, the young men pass from one lecture or lesson to another with a tireless zest which was a revelation to us. . . . Probably it would be impossible to keep at this pitch of activity were the session longer, but you will remember that it is only five months, and that the young men come to it of their own free will, empty and eager after a number of years of practical work.”

The voluntary character of attendance at the High-

Schools is a feature full of significance. It is entirely a matter for the student himself as to whether he will attend a High-School at all, and if so, which one he will attend. Often students choose to go to a High-School at the other side of the country for the sake of the experience; and naturally they are anxious to select the High-School with the best reputation, which in itself tends to act as an automatic check upon the growth of inefficient High-Schools. Although the State (through the local authorities) makes grants to enable poorer students to attend a High-School course, it maintains the principle that every student must pay some portion of the fees himself, and thus prove his genuine desire for education by his readiness to make some effort and sacrifice to obtain it. The result of all this is that the question of discipline is a matter of very little difficulty in the High-School. The students are adults, who have come there of their own free will; they are given the freedom that befits adults, and they live up to it. The students have a committee of their own, which makes rules for the common interest of the school, and usually imposes fines for specified "offences," e.g., having a light on or making a noise after a certain hour at night. The proceeds of these fines go to pay the expenses of the *chokolade* parties which are one of the gayest and pleasantest features of High-School life. On certain occasions, for example, on a birthday or some anniversary, the whole school assembles in the dining-hall to partake of light refreshments in the shape of cakes and *chokolade* and to pass the evening with singing, impromptu speeches, and much good fun and merriment. Other evening entertainments include folk-dancing, amateur theatricals, lantern lectures, and debates; sometimes a distinguished musician or actor from Copenhagen may visit the school

and give a recitation. Sometimes the Headmaster entertains groups of the students in turn in his private room one evening in the week.

Excursions and games find their place on the High-School programme, and a big dance at Shrovetide is often a feature of the winter term. (Dancing to music was still considered ungodly at Askov in 1867; but this is so no longer.) In some schools the Students' Committee runs a weekly paper, and the various contributions, some humorous, some serious, are read out and discussed on the Saturday evening. Not many of the High-Schools follow the example of Trier at Vallekilde, who hardly allowed a newspaper to find its way into the school during the five months of the winter term. As a rule, while in no way propagandist institutions for any party, they take a healthy interest in politics, as in every other aspect of human life. The newspapers of every political party are usually to be found in a High-School reading-room; and the students have an opportunity of hearing all sides of the question, especially as opposing political views are often represented among the teachers, and expressed in free and friendly fashion. An outstanding event of the winter term is often the mock Parliamentary election, which takes place after the students have been fully instructed by the sociology teacher in the requirements of the electoral law. Excitement runs high; election meetings are held, and spirited speeches delivered; the school paper is full of political articles; and the dining-hall and the passages are liberally plastered with posters. The election has sometimes its poignant side; a case is on record where the ten-year-old son of one of the teachers retired to bed in the middle of the day, heartbroken at the loss of his vote, when the age limit for the franchise was raised to twelve;

and on another occasion a student who was supposed to have reached years of discretion was so distressed at the defeat of his party that he wished to leave the school. The Headmaster, however, tactfully persuaded him to remain by observing that his party might expect a victory next year, and his prophecy came true. Party bitterness and prejudice have little chance of surviving in the frank and good-humoured atmosphere of a typical Folk High-School, and in their relation to politics the High-Schools have done fine work for the diffusion of a spirit of sanity and good feeling.

The notably healthy character of High-School social life deserves a word of mention. "I was myself a student at a High-School," writes Alfred Poulsen, "and I can assert that during my whole stay I never heard an unseemly song or word, nor a bad-tempered quarrel. We eighty young men lived five long months together; and this behaviour is not the fruit of a prohibition or of stern discipline, but only of the tone that pervades the whole institution." Similar testimony comes from a girl student in the early days at Askov, who speaks of the happy, innocent, interesting life and the absence of spiteful gossip among her eighty companions. As a Swedish observer remarks, the atmosphere of self-mistrust and of petty criticism is blown away, for the students have bigger things to think about. There is no doubt that the secret of the healthy tone of the High-Schools lies not in negative prohibitions, but in positive influences—in the new life and new interests which open out there before the students and lay ample claim upon their energies. Many of the High-School Heads are themselves learners all their lives, and such men are well equipped to open the eyes of their pupils to the absorbing interest and romance of an education

which "is not for the school, but for life," so that they learn to say with Grundtvig:—

"When the death-bell goes,
Then only will my school-time reach its close."

And, having learnt that, they have little time to waste on petty quarrels and gossip.

3. THE HIGH-SCHOOLS IN THEIR RELATION TO NATIONAL LIFE

As a rule the High-School to-day, no less than in former times, stands in very intimate contact with its immediate neighbourhood. Some High-School Headmasters enter in very active fashion into the life of the locality, serving on local authorities and committees of various kinds, organizing "free schools" for children, starting co-operatively owned newspapers, and the like. Others think it better to devote themselves more exclusively to the work of the High-School. But in any case there is always much coming and going between the High-School and its neighbours. When there is a meeting or a play in the village lecture-hall, the High-School students frequently attend, and similarly the villagers are invited to the public lectures and gymnastic displays at the High-School. Old friends of the school from the neighbourhood come in, perhaps, to *chokolade* parties or to coffee with the Head in the evenings, and in turn entertain some of the students in their own homes, or send their sons and daughters to lend a hand with the preparations for the yearly festivities at the Old Students' Reunion. Some of them, perhaps, have been students at the High-School themselves, and their children are looking forward to going there too when they grow up.

The influence of the High-School, however, is by no means confined to the dwellers in its immediate vicinity. In many ways it penetrates to much wider circles. High-School teachers frequently spend part of their vacations in lecturing tours to different districts in the country, and sometimes organize study circles in connection with the lectures; one High-School Headmaster calculated that in this way he had held 5,200 meetings in his spare time. An even more pervasive influence, naturally, is that of the old students. In an interesting collection of letters from old High-School students, published in *Höjskolebladet* in April, 1926, phrases like the following constantly recur: "I left the High-School with courage to face life and a desire to take hold of its tasks"; "I never felt a stronger desire to work and do well in the farm-work at home, and to take part in life as a whole, than the spring I came home from the High-School"; "The best thing I got was education in responsibility and self-development"; "My stay at the High-School made clear to me where I had my place in life"; "It is like a spring whence I can always draw renewed strength for the work that is demanded of me." It is easy to understand that a band of young men and women coming out of the High-Schools each year with an experience and an inspiration like these would be bound to exercise a powerful influence on the life of the countryside; and that influence has affected the social and moral life of the community in many ways. It is to be seen not only in the rise of village halls, libraries, lecture and debating societies, and gymnastic unions, and in the spread of an increased interest in singing, folk-dancing, and art in the rural districts, but also in a healthier home life, and a new spirit infused into the routine of daily work.

In the political sphere, the High-School movement provided the educational basis for the rise to power of the *Venstre* or Farmers' Party, which for many years was the most progressive element in Danish politics; and its contribution to Denmark's economic development has been no less important. "Every Danish statesman, or educationist, or leader of agriculture or industry I have talked with has not failed to place the influence of the People's High-School as the chief element in his country's remarkable progress," writes Mr. T. P. Gill, former Secretary of the Irish Department of Agriculture; and the testimony of the Danes themselves has been confirmed by foreign observers. "Directly or indirectly as a result of her schools," writes an American educationist, "Denmark has solved the problem of co-operative enterprise; reclaimed hundreds of miles of sand dunes and heather regions; stopped the cityward tide of the rural population; and built up a rural social life wherein many of the social problems confronting rural communities in other lands have been cleared away. The most notable contribution by Denmark to modern education is the Folk High-School. . . . Foreign educators and parliamentary and congressional commissions have come to study the schools in sceptical mood and have gone away convinced." The part played by the High-School in furnishing leaders for the Agricultural Schools which arose in the later part of the nineteenth century has already been noticed; and they contributed no less valuable a share to the leadership of the young co-operative movement. Statistics collected by Poul la Cour in the 'nineties, which, though not complete, are generally accepted as representative, showed that 47 per cent. of the managers of co-operative creameries had attended a High-School, 24 per cent. an Agricultural

School, and 62 per cent. a Creamery School. From among the chairmen of the farmers' co-operative creamery associations, 54 per cent. had been at a High-School, 23 per cent. at an Agricultural School, and 2 per cent. at a Creamery School. "When it is remembered that only 16 per cent. of the rural male population had attended a High-School, Agricultural School, or Creamery School, these figures seem to be impressively high." Not only did the High-Schools supply the co-operative movement with leaders, but they spread among the rank and file the intelligence, the self-confidence, and the mutual trust which they needed in order to be able to apply the new scientific methods in their farming and to make a success of their co-operative associations. Economic historians such as Professor Ashley speak with admiration of the alertness and adaptability which enabled the Danish farmers to carry through successfully the revolutionary change in their agriculture necessitated by the loss of the market for Danish corn in the 'eighties; and they are agreed in recognizing the value of a High-School education in equipping the farmers for the task which confronted them.

4. PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

To say all this of the High-Schools, however, is not to imply that they have solved all the contemporary problems of Denmark and can now afford to rest on their laurels. "In the spiritual sphere," as one of their own writers says, "no standing still is known. Here it is a case of one of two things, forward or backward; and if one does not go forward, one goes backward." And the post-war period in Denmark has brought its own peculiar problems, which the High-Schools must solve if they are to continue their forward progress.

The War was a period of financial difficulty for many of the High-Schools, and a number of the smaller schools went under altogether; and since the War the total number of High-School students has ceased to show a steady increase proportionate to that which it showed in the past. More serious than the falling-off in the quantity of the students is an alleged falling-off in their quality, a waning, perhaps inevitable, of the pioneer enthusiasm of the High-School's early days. A larger proportion of students now come to the High-School because it is "fashionable," or "the thing to do," rather than because of any intense personal desire for the knowledge and inspiration which it can give. "The influence of the High-Schools has perhaps become a little more superficial than in Kold's time, just as a stream becomes less deep when it spreads itself over a wider surface." These tendencies have been accentuated by the wave of post-war materialism, which has not left Denmark unaffected. Overmuch external prosperity does not always seem to have a beneficial influence on spiritual and educational movements; we may contrast the state of the Danish High-Schools to-day with their remarkable advance after the disaster of 1864 or with the rapid growth of the *Volkschule* movement in impoverished post-war Germany. A great deal of "easy money" was made in Denmark during the War, and the attention of many people was distracted from the things of the spirit to the luxuries of material life; and now that harder times have come again, many people overlook the claims of cultural education in their anxiety to equip themselves technically for the struggle for existence, and to secure for themselves a safe and comfortable position.

Perhaps the greatest of all the problems which face

the High-Schools in Denmark to-day is the problem of their relation to the towns and to the industrial community. In common with most of the other countries of the world, Denmark during the past two generations has undergone a constantly intensified process of industrialization, which in numerous indirect and subtle ways has affected the life of the nation. The High-Schools trace their descent from the time when Denmark was an almost entirely agricultural community, and their methods and technique, and the subject-matter of their teaching, were developed to meet the needs of an agricultural community. If, however, they adhere rigidly to the old technique and subject-matter, they will cease to provide an adequate "interpretation of life" even for the rural community, since the life of that community cannot remain untouched and unchanged by the world-influences which transform economic and social conditions. On the High-Schools, as the greatest nationally organized institution for adult education in Denmark and the custodians of a high tradition, rests the responsibility for seeing and responding to the needs of the town workers, who, no less than the country dwellers, require an "education for life." If they refuse to meet their responsibility, and confine their interests to purely rural matters, leaving all the problems of the towns and of industrialism to be solved by other agencies, there is a real danger that the great work which they have done for national unity and for the abolition of class cleavages will be largely nullified, and that, in default of any harmonizing educational influence, the community will be split into two hostile and mutually uncomprehending sections—the new industrial class on the one hand, and the agriculturists on the other.

The challenge presented to the High-School movement by the towns was already recognized by Christian Flor, who made an unsuccessful attempt to meet it by the establishment of evening classes in Copenhagen. It was emphasized by Ludvig Schröder in his book on *Den Nordiske Folkehøjskole*; but the practical progress made in grappling with it has been comparatively slow. There has been little of the enthusiasm and boldness in experiment which have been shown by the *Volkshochschule* movement in post-war Germany in its relation to the town workers. There the attempt to bring an "education for life" within the reach of the town workers has taken all sorts of forms—evening classes; hostels for young workers whence they go out to their day's work, reassembling in the evening for lectures and discussions; residential schools in the vicinity of the towns to which they can go occasionally for shorter periods. It is interesting to notice, too, the boldness with which in some cases traditional methods and time-tables have been flung aside, while all the teaching takes the form of conversation on subjects suggested by immediate experience. In the wrong hands, no doubt, this method, which is strikingly reminiscent of Kristen Kold's, can be peculiarly futile; but with the right teacher it can be extraordinarily stimulating; and it seems a natural method for a whole new social class which is awakening to educational consciousness and groping for the technique and the subjects which will give it a real interpretation of life as lived under new and bewildering conditions. The German movement has its crudities; but it is tackling the problems of life in an industrialized community with an abundant energy and enthusiasm which seem to have no parallel in the general attitude of the Danish High-Schools to these problems.

To this general statement there are, however, honourable exceptions. Johan Borup has been a real pioneer in this respect. In his High-School for the Copenhagen workers he has, while working in the spirit of the Grundtvigian schools, largely discarded the traditional programmes, and sought to adapt all his teaching to the background of life in the actual conditions of a big city. In this adaptability of method, without the loss of the essential High-School spirit, and in Borup's own personality, lie the secrets of his success. The Danish author, Johan Skjoldborg, writes of his school, "Borup's High-School occupies a special position among our High-Schools. It is the only school of its kind that has been able to live in our capital where, every day, hundreds of voices from all sides are calling the people to other channels of interest." During and since the War, as we have seen, some other High-Schools outside Copenhagen have made a special effort to adapt their programme to the needs of the town workers; and a more widespread movement to establish contact between the High-Schools and the towns by means of short summer courses had already come into existence before the War. Since 1911 many of the High-Schools have established summer courses for townspeople, lasting for a week. About 1,000 men and women, mostly of the working class, attend these courses every year, and during the winter some of them meet again for lectures and social gatherings at Grundtvig's House in Copenhagen.

As yet, however, these efforts have only touched the fringe of the problem, which admittedly is a difficult one. Amid the rush of town life, it is hard for the students to attain to "that quietness of mind which must be created before they can hear the personal

questions, the eternal questions, awakened therein"; nor does the life of the average town worker, with its monotony, its suppression of initiative, and its subordination to machinery, afford the same scope for the working out of the principles he has discovered at the High-School as the freer and more varied life of the farmer. Perhaps it will need a man of a genius equal to that of Kristen Kold or Ludvig Schröder to solve the problem of completely adapting the High-School to the conditions of town life; but, meantime, the increasing recognition of its urgency, and the attempts at its solution which are being made in various directions, particularly since the War, are signs of the continued vitality of the High-School movement. Since the War, also, the Danish Government has assisted the movement for establishing contacts between the High-Schools and the townspeople by allowing young unemployed workers to utilize their unemployment benefit as payment for a course at a High-School.

Another proof of its vitality has been given by the Danish High-School movement in recent years, through the pioneer part which it has played in the much-neglected field of international education. It has always been part of the High-School tradition to combine world history with national history in its curriculum, and, with few exceptions, the High-Schools have fostered, together with a spirit of patriotism, the "real love of humanity," with which, as Grundtvig says, true patriotism blends in one. Following in this tradition, a High-School has come into existence since the War with the specific purpose of grappling with the problem of international relations, which is to-day more pressing than ever before. This is the International High-School at Elsinore, which seeks not only to convey

to its students a knowledge of international problems in the modern world, but also to impart the spirit of international fellowship, the "spiritual sense of a unity in multiplicity," without which their solution is impossible. It envisages itself as "a miniature League of Nations," and hopes that "the personal development which is necessary to create harmonious social life out of so many types and nationalities will make the students better fitted to help the world towards a better future." It seeks "to serve as a channel through which people may form a new philosophical basis for our present civilization"; it sees the elements of such a basis in the ideal of universal brotherhood and international co-operation—an ideal quite distinct from that of cosmopolitanism. In many details of its organization it is modelled on the Grundtvigian Folk High-Schools. Its fees are low, and it has instituted a system of scholarships for poorer students, in order that admittance to its courses may be open as far as possible to all and not confined to a privileged class. It has nothing to do with compulsory examinations. In some respects, however, its international character has necessitated an alteration in the Grundtvigian programme. Its staff is international; and in its curriculum a more prominent place is given to social psychology, sociology, social history, economics and the teaching of foreign languages than in the ordinary Danish High-Schools. Among its "discoveries" are those of the value of music and singing as an international language, and of the importance of the daily hour of manual work as a means of helping the students to get to know one another and of fostering a democratic spirit. Financial limitations have up to the present obliged the experiment at Elsinore to be worked out on a small scale; the

College at present, though it has grown with marvellous rapidity since its foundation, can only accommodate about one hundred and twenty students at a time. Nevertheless, within these limits it has already done valuable work; and the record of its pioneer experiences is worthy of the study of all who are interested in international education. It seems eminently desirable that similar institutions, accessible to those who have little time or money to spend at a University, and permeated with the High-School spirit of friendliness and readiness to learn, should spring up in other countries besides Denmark. Should this come about—and there are signs that it is not an altogether remote possibility—the Danish High-School movement may justly claim to have made a new contribution of peculiar value to adult education and to the life of the world.

Once, when Grundtvig was dreaming his dreams of the “education for life” to be given in the Folk High-Schools, he expressed the hope that it would show the students “how ancient Denmark can come to life again in quite a new way,” and that “many a Danish youth will find that learning so pleasant (especially since he will not have to be examined in it) that when he comes home he will not only seek to extend it, but above all try on himself if it holds good, and, when he sees that, work gladly to enable the whole world to see it in a fitting way.” As far as Denmark itself is concerned his hope has been richly fulfilled—witness the words of a writer in *The Economist*—a journal not given to indulging in sentimental enthusiasms—in 1922: “From the standpoint of social and economic development, Denmark is one of the most interesting countries in Europe; perhaps the only one that can make the much-tried believer in democracy feel really sanguine.” And

now in our time the second part of Grundtvig's wish is approaching fulfilment, for "the whole world" is beginning to see the value of the High-School method of "education for life" which has given Denmark her educated democracy. We may expect that during the present century the international movement for adult education will make advances comparable to those made in the field of elementary education in the nineteenth century. In the new movement, the Danish Folk High-Schools and their founder will have the honour which belongs to pioneers; and, as it progresses, Grundtvig will become more widely known, and a source of growing inspiration, not merely as "the Prophet of the North," but as a great international figure, a leader in the spiritual venture of education which is one of the greatest ventures in the history of humanity.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GRUNDTVIG'S RELATION TO OTHER EDUCATORS

The question of Grundtvig's possible indebtedness to other educators for some of his ideas has sometimes been discussed; and of course we do find points in his educational theory which he holds in common with predecessors and contemporaries. It has been suggested, for instance, that his emphasis on the importance of the mother tongue and of singing in education may have been due to the influence of Luther, for whose work he had so great an admiration; and the desirability of teaching boys a manual trade had been advocated by Luther, Rousseau, Basedow, Pestalozzi, and others, before Grundtvig adopted the idea, and gave it a somewhat original turn.

Despite these and similar coincidences, there is little evidence of a relation of direct discipleship between Grundtvig and any of his immediate predecessors in the educational field. He never acknowledges indebtedness to any of them as Pestalozzi, for example, acknowledged indebtedness to Rousseau. Of Basedow Grundtvig speaks with contempt, of Pestalozzi with qualified approval, but without much warmth, while, contrasting Basedow with Rousseau, he describes the latter as inspired by "a nobler, though also erring, spirit," and alludes to some of his educational theories as "whims." We have already, however, noticed several similarities between the educational ideas of Grundtvig and of Rousseau; and it seems likely that Grundtvig must have been influenced to some extent by the general educational

theories to which Rousseau had given such a widespread vogue, though he may not have consciously derived them from his predecessor. Freedom in education—the necessity of adapting one's teaching to the natural stages of the child's development—the distrust of books—the appreciation of history—the realization of the importance of the period of youth for education—all these ideas had been popularized by Rousseau before Grundtvig's time. There are phrases in the *Émile* which might have been adopted as mottoes by the High-School—such phrases as *Vivre est le métier que je lui veux apprendre*, and *Faites passer par le cœur le langage de l'esprit, afin qu'il se fasse entendre*. In Rousseau's *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de Pologne* there is a passage concerning the function of education in shaping national character which in some ways strikingly anticipates the teaching of Grundtvig. "It is education," writes Rousseau, "which must stamp on the souls of your citizens the print of their nationality. At twenty a Pole ought not to be another man; he ought to be a Pole. I wish that in learning to read he should read about his country, that at the age of ten he should know all its products, at twelve all its provinces, all its roads, all its towns, that at fifteen he should know all its history, at sixteen all its laws, that there may not have been in the whole of Poland a fine action or an illustrious man of which his heart and memory are not full, and of which he cannot give an account on the moment." We do not know, however, if Grundtvig ever read Rousseau's educational writings; with Rousseau's main thesis regarding the need for a "negative" education he was in definite disagreement; and, in so far as he was influenced by the Swiss educator, it was probably through coming into contact with

ideas popularized by him which were "in the air" and common subjects of discussion by educational reformers, rather than through any deliberate study of his theories.

Grundtvig's recently published *Letters from England* reveal the fact that on one occasion at least he met face to face a great contemporary reformer, the Welshman Robert Owen, whose educational experiments at New Lanark had attracted visitors from all over Europe; but, so far as we can judge, the meeting had not much influence on his development. On August 18, 1831, just before his return to Denmark, Grundtvig wrote to his wife that he had been to tea with a Dr. Arnott (a Scotchman practising in London, whom he had met once or twice before), and that at this tea-party he had met "a Mr. Owen, who wants to make everybody equally wise and equally good; but that he does not want to make them equally rich can be seen from the fact that from a big institution for carrying out his system he himself made £300,000, which was hardly the case with all the dear brothers and sisters whom he took into his service." The reference to the Owenite philosophy is unmistakable; but unfortunately it seems no less clear that at this meeting Grundtvig completely misunderstood the sincerity of Owen's intentions—a sincerity which afterwards led him to sacrifice the greater part of his large fortune in the attempt to give practical shape to his ideals. No record of any other meeting between Grundtvig and Robert Owen is available, unless we may suppose Owen to have been one of the "six or seven gentlemen" who were present at Grundtvig's first visit to Dr. Arnott in 1830, and who talked about things Grundtvig "only half understood," so that he "left as wise as he came, except for a headache."

Even if Grundtvig had met Owen more frequently and become convinced of his sincerity, it seems improbable that he would have derived much from his famous contemporary in the way of pedagogical theory—not merely because they were each concerned with a different aspect of educational reform, Owen's greatest work being done for the education of infants and in an industrialized society, while Grundtvig's was done for adult education and in an agricultural community, but also because of the wide contrast between their temperaments and their basic philosophies of life. Nothing could have been more remote from Grundtvig's historical conception of life than Owen's ahistoric Utopianism, with its expectation of the sudden coming of a "new moral world" which would bring about a complete break with the past. In their attitude to institutional religion they were equally at variance; and there are deterministic elements in Owen's educational theory which are quite foreign to Grundtvig's thought. Nor could the Danish thinker, who made the fatherland the central point in his Folk High-School and gave the mother tongue absolute monarchy there, have readily found much common ground of agreement with the man who refused to "admit of the divisions and distinctions created on imaginary lines which separate nation from nation," and desired to see all mankind united "as one man, *with one language.*"

A contemporary educator to whom Grundtvig may have owed more than to Owen, though he never met him personally, was Fichte. In temperament and in ideals they were more closely akin, and we know that Grundtvig read and admired some at least of Fichte's works during the period when, at his passage to serious manhood, he "fell into thoughts over his destiny as a

teacher of the people." In their conception of the place of nationality and of the mother tongue in education Grundtvig and Fichte are in close agreement, and also in their attitude to poetry as a means (in Fichte's words) of "flooding the life of all with spiritual culture." Between Fichte's plan for the proposed University of Berlin (drawn up in 1807) and Grundtvig's plan for his ideal Scandinavian University, there are many striking parallels; this, however, may be partly due to the fact that they both took the existing Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to some extent as their model. In some respects we find Grundtvig and Fichte in opposition, for instance, in the respective importance which they assign to history and to the Classics and in their attitude to the place of the State in education, a much larger rôle being assigned to State control and State compulsion by the German thinker than by the Dane. Fichte's People's Schools appear to have been designed for a younger type of student than Grundtvig's Folk High-Schools, and the parallel between them is not very close.

There was an earlier German thinker to whom both Grundtvig and Fichte may have been indebted for some of their ideas. This was Herder, whose writings Grundtvig admired, and quoted on more than one occasion. In many ways Herder's educational ideas are similar to those of Grundtvig. He desires to see more freedom and variety in school organization, and to have children allowed to develop naturally, instead of being made old men before their time, and in his *Fragmente* he condemns the "Latin school," which destroys the natural freshness of boys. In his *Schulrede* from 1765 he says that he does not wish everyone to become a scholar, but that education should fit each one to be a good human being in

his own sphere of life. He desires to see history taught in the schools, not pedantically, but in living fashion, as a means of developing character. Such teaching should include the outlines of world history. While he claims that *der Schuler soll fur alle Welt erzogen werden*, he wishes the school to have as far as possible a national and provincial colouring (*Farbe*), and he anticipates Grundtvig's sympathy for *das Volk*, which he calls *der grösste, nutzbarste, und ehrwürdigste Teil des Menschen*. He shares, too, Grundtvig's view of the importance of language, and some elements of the conception of the "living word" seem to be suggested by the passage in his *Fragmente* where he speaks of the close connection between word and idea, between feeling and expression, declaring that they are related to each other as body is related to soul, and adds that in early times this connection was helped by gesture, which cannot be reproduced in writing, and *die Seele der Dichter, die zu sprechen und nicht zu plappern gewohnt war, nicht schrieb, sondern sprach, und auch schreibend lebendige Sprache tönete*. He anticipates Grundtvig's view that languages should be taught "livingly" rather than from the standpoint of grammar, and that the teaching of the mother tongue should always come first, and he was a pioneer in awakening a new appreciation of the cultural value of folksong and tradition. In all these ways he appears as a forerunner of Grundtvig.

On the whole, however, it seems that we may fairly say of Grundtvig what G. D. H. Cole says of Robert Owen—that "he probably owed very little to others, arriving at largely similar conclusions with other pioneers by a different road based on his own experience." Grundtvig himself said, in allusion to his ideal of the

harmonizing of the national and the international elements in education: "I have neither picked up this view from the air nor learnt it from the Germans, but found it in the history of Denmark and in my own Danish head"; and the same thing seems to hold good of most of his characteristic educational ideas.

GRUNDTVIG AND KRISTEN KOLD

Kold's own account of the interview in which he sought Grundtvig's help in the founding of his High-School is quoted by Begtrup, and is of some historical interest. Kold was introduced to Grundtvig by Algreen, a mutual friend, and the following conversation ensued:

"This is Kold from Fyn,' said Algreen.

"Oh indeed, is it?' said Grundtvig.

"And at once we got into a dispute. I wanted to have my lads in school as soon as they were confirmed, at the age of fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen years. But Grundtvig said, 'It is no good before they are eighteen.'

"I can remember well that I said, 'Grundtvig cannot know what the peasants are like at home, for when they are eighteen, they have already begun to play sweet-hearts, smoke tobacco, and traffic in pipes and watches, and then we cannot get them inspired.'

"Oh yes, we can,' replied Grundtvig.

"No,' said I, 'as I have understood the matter, my opinion is the only right one.' I have always been sure in my cause, even when I made a mistake. Meanwhile, the Lord provided that we got people to teach both over and under eighteen, and then I found out at once that we could do something with those that were eighteen and over, while we could do nothing with those that were under eighteen. However, the dispute between Grundtvig and myself was closed for the time by Grundtvig's giving in, and otherwise the whole project would have come to nothing, for I would not have given in.

"Then I came out with my errand. . . .

“‘Yes,’ said Algreen, ‘what shall we do about it? For Grundtvig knows himself that there is nothing in the cash-box.’”

“‘It will come all right,’ said Grundtvig; then he asked me how much support I thought I ought to have.

“‘I have 500 Rigsdaler’ (1,000 kroner) ‘myself,’ said I, ‘if I can get 600 Rigsdaler besides—but it must be a gift, for I cannot promise to pay them back—then I shall have 1,100 Rigsdaler, and I will manage with that.’”

“‘Yes,’ answered Grundtvig, ‘600 Rigsdaler and 500 Rigsdaler make 1,100 Rigsdaler, but what will you be able to do with that?’”

“‘Well,’ I replied, ‘if it cannot be done with little, it cannot be done with much. But it cannot be done with nothing at all.’”

“Then Grundtvig said to me, ‘Go home and draw up a petition to people of good repute, asking them to support you in this enterprise, and bring it up to me, then I shall sign it first, and we shall see what my name can do.’ . . .”

“When we came out, Algreen caught me by the coat, and said, ‘You are fortune’s darling. Your cause is won now; when Grundtvig takes it up like that, it is safe.’”

“The 600 Rigsdaler were collected, too. Grundtvig gave 50 Rigsdaler, Fru Toft 100 Rigsdaler, and so on.”

A later anecdote, told by Klaus Berntsen, one of Kold’s old pupils, strikingly illustrates the reverence and affection which Kold, for all his sturdy independence of character, came to feel for Grundtvig. Kold had come on a visit to Copenhagen in the early ’sixties, bringing with him eight peasants from Fyn who had never seen Copenhagen before and who wanted to hear Grundtvig preach at Whitsun. Among them was Klaus Berntsen,

then a youth, and he was present when Kold brought the party to Grundtvig's house. "I was astonished," he relates, "to see Kold sitting like a schoolboy by Grundtvig's side. Kold, who at home always spoke so powerfully and strongly, sat here humbly asking questions and quietly listening to every word of Grundtvig's. The conversation was about prayer. . . . When we came out into the street, Kold said, 'Well, you see, when I come together with Grundtvig, I do not feel any desire to talk, but to listen. In the course of the year I gather a lot of questions which I cannot clear up; then I come here to see Grundtvig with them all, and he can help me so wonderfully to get them all smoothed out.'"

APPENDIX III

SOME HIGH-SCHOOL PROGRAMMES AND TIME-TABLES

The prospectus issued by Kold before the opening of his High-School in the autumn of 1851 is quoted by Begtrup, and it will be observed that in the main it follows closely on the lines originally proposed by Grundtvig. It embraced:—

“(a) Oral lectures on the main outlines of World History, based on the historical chart, *The River of Time*.” (This chart had been issued by Grundtvig, and in his historical teaching Kold made much use of Grundtvig’s *World History*.)

“(b) Bible History, related orally; in connection with this the students are given the choice between Müller’s, R. Sørensen’s, and Grundtvig’s Bible Histories for reading.

“(c) Portions of Church History, especially such as throw light on the sects and parties existing in the country.

“(d) Scandinavian Mythology and Danish History, first related orally, then read aloud from a book, viz., Oehlenschläger’s *Gods of the North*. Brandt’s rhymes and songs will be memorized by those students who have a liking and capacity for learning by heart. Müller’s *History of Denmark*, Saxo and Snorro will be used for reading.

“(e) Geography, first in outline, with the aid of the globe, accompanied by the reading aloud of descriptions of peoples and countries, e.g. *The Last of the Mohicans*, a description of life in America, *Thorvald Vidfôrle*, a

description of life in Iceland, etc.; then the geography of Denmark, which will be accompanied by statistical comments.

“(f) Selected productions of Danish authors will be read aloud as an evening entertainment; this will take place three evenings a week.

“(g) Singing, with special attention to ballads.

“And, finally, instruction in the ordinary school subjects will be continued, especially in order to make them fit for application in actual life, since they are in most cases only learnt mechanically.”

Of the daily programme of work in Grundtvig's own High-School at “Marielyst” we have a very full account from the pen of the Headmaster, Grove, issued by him in 1881, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the school, and quoted by Schröder. “I ask the reader,” says Grove, “to picture us sitting around a long table, round which are seated from twenty to thirty youths, most of them between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Although every winter there are some among them whose parents are neither farmers nor small-holders, the others are always in the majority. It is a group of this kind that we have to work with, and we endeavour to bear in mind what preconceptions we can start from. As for knowledge, we know that they have not much of that; for as a rule they are like the majority of people who have gone to an elementary school and been confirmed, but have then for a number of years ‘not thought much’ about ‘learning’; but now a desire has arisen in them to ‘hear something’—often, indeed, they only think of getting their school subjects freshened up again. But the point is to make use of this desire. However vague it may be, it is usually genuine; and the proof of this is the

sacrifice they make in order to get it satisfied; for this sacrifice is not a small one. They earn nothing that winter, and even if they had to pay nothing for tuition, still, for people in their circumstances, it is a costly business.

“At eight o’clock we gather in the schoolroom and sing a morning song, after which the teaching begins. The first hour from 8 to 9 a.m. I have always kept for myself, but not devoted it to any special subject. Indeed, I have used it freely; and naturally after twenty-two winters I cannot remember everything that I have discussed in it. However, I should like to give some account of how this hour has been employed. There is one thing which I always bear in mind, and that is that the students are not used to doing much listening, and that therefore at the beginning one must both make the classes short and only offer them what is easy to understand. It is quite different towards the end of the winter; then they are well able to listen with keen attention for a whole hour on end. Now, there are a number of sagas and stories which I have not time to include in the Danish History classes; these I employ here. As examples I may mention the Volsung story, the story of Holger Danske, and the story of Svend Felding and the discovery and colonization of Iceland. Similarly, at the beginning of the winter I have now and then gone through and explained a number of the songs we use. This is admirably adapted for rousing attention and opening their ears a little. Side by side with this go the proverbs, to which we always devote the Monday morning class. It was Pastor Brandt who taught me in the winter of 1859-60 to use them as subjects of conversation, and like him, I cannot sufficiently praise them for the wealth of ideas they contain,

and for the opportunity they offer of entering upon the discussion of all human relationships. In the course of time I have grown tired of using many things; but the proverbs, it seems to me, get better and better. I devote one of the morning classes to the history of literature; however, I cannot begin upon this at once, but when we have got a little way into the winter, I use at least one morning class a week for it. Naturally, we can consider only those writers who have had a wide and deep influence on our development. Those on whom I have lectured as a rule are Saxo, Kristen Pedersen, Anders Vedel, Kingo, Holberg, Brorson, Ewald, Oehlenschläger, Ingemann and Grundtvig. When the students have begun to acquire the capacity for listening and have got used to my way of speaking, I go on to subjects which require a little more exercise of attention. As examples of those I have used I may name: the characteristics of the different ages of man, both in the individual and in whole races, that is to say, fantasy, feeling, and reason; word and spirit; differences between the pagan religions of different peoples; the figurative language contained in our myths and ballads, as explained by Grundtvig. In recent years, since I myself do not lecture on World History, I have devoted some morning classes to a series of lectures on the light thrown on the story of man by the first chapters of the Bible, and one winter I took some morning classes to relate the history of the French Revolution from 1789 to the fall of Robespierre. But among these things many others find a place, e.g., lectures on archaeological research in our own country, on the discoveries at Nineveh and cuneiform inscriptions, on the antiquities of Egypt, on the natural features and the monuments of Palestine, on Socialism, the relation between society

and the individual, etc. To put it briefly, I have in the morning classes brought forward from the most different spheres of human life whatever in my opinion was adapted to awaken the attention of the students and to open their eyes.

“The period from 9 to 10 a.m. is used to make the students acquainted with the works of our chief writers. Here, too, we bear in mind that we cannot presuppose very much, and we begin, therefore, with ‘story-telling.’ In this respect we have found Björnson, Blicher, and Ingemann most useful, and for a change we have read some of Hostrup’s comedies; but when the young people have thus become accustomed to listen, and when through the history classes they have become acquainted with the old sagas and a little of the Middle Ages, we take up the historical dramas and read to them portions of Oehlenschläger. . . . Thus by reading aloud we gradually make them acquainted with our chief poets, and experience has shown us that this is admirably adapted to arouse both their attention and their love of reading, so that not a few of them spend a great part of their leisure in that way.

“After ten o’clock we have a break of half an hour, after which the time until eleven o’clock has been devoted to a handwriting class. Of recent years, however, we have made a change in this class, so that the writing teacher, Mr. Wahlin, comes here at the beginning of the winter a couple of days a week for two hours at a time. The students practise in the interval from ten to eleven according to his instructions, and thus they are able to write a good hand by Christmas, and the time from ten to eleven can be employed in another way.

“The class from eleven to twelve is devoted to Danish

History, which I regard as the most important subject in the school, and therefore I teach it myself. . . . Here, too, we begin with what is easier, namely, the ancient sagas, and work forward from that. In the beginning I found it difficult to cover the whole subject with these six classes a week; but gradually I learnt what could be cut down without loss; and in recent years I have devoted the time after Christmas to the more modern period after 1448. . . . The time from 12 to 2 p.m. is free; but then the classes begin again with World History from 2 to 3 p.m. This subject, too, I took for many years; but since 1872 we have always been three teachers in the winter term, one of whom has been, except for an occasional winter, a Divinity graduate, and then I have left World History to him. It has, naturally, been still more difficult to get through this subject, and we have only succeeded in so far as the students become acquainted through the lectures with the chief nations and the chief events in antiquity, the Middle Ages and the modern period. For this reason I have in recent years held separate lectures on the French Revolution, which I have allotted to different times, e.g., to one evening class a week.

“The time from 3 to 4 p.m. is used for instruction in correct writing and Danish composition, which the students are very eager to learn, and in which they often make good progress, so that they not only can reproduce a story correctly and with very few faults, but many of them can also develop a subject very satisfactorily on their own account.

“From 4 to 5 p.m. there is no class, but work begins again with geography from 5 to 6 p.m. This is one of the subjects which the young people like best. The shortness of the time makes it necessary to concentrate

the teaching on certain countries. These are: Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and England, which are treated more thoroughly, while the time does not permit us to go through the other European countries in such detail. However, in recent years some extra lectures on these have been given by Mr. Fenger, who has travelled a great deal abroad, and whose descriptions of what he has seen on his travels are followed with remarkably keen attention. The teacher can only deal with the other continents in broad outline.

"The period from 6 to 7 p.m. is devoted to arithmetic, which is also a subject on which the students as a rule set great value and in which they show much perseverance. When towards the end of the winter they have progressed far enough to be able to do calculations involving differently shaped surfaces, they get some instruction in land mensuration and levelling, and are shown how this is applied in practice.

"I must also mention that once a week from 5 to 6 p.m. there is a lecture on physics, and that in recent years instruction is given for a couple of hours a week in geometrical drawing; to this we devote some of the unoccupied writing-class periods.

"As for instruction in reading, I took charge of it for many years, devoting it to two or three evening classes from 8 to 9 p.m. I used as reading books Saxo and Snorro, and when I thought we were able for it, Ingemann's *Valdemar the Great* and Grundtvig's *Roskilde Rhyme*. When there was one of the students who could not read at all, which happened occasionally, I used the method of letting him follow in his copy of the reading-book while the others were reading; and this proved efficacious, for when a month or a month and a half had passed, he also wanted to read aloud, and more

than once this method has produced a good result. Of late years one of my assistant teachers has taken the reading classes, and here again we have used the unoccupied writing-class periods.

"The time is thus spent every day except for one afternoon a week which we have kept free, sometimes from twelve o'clock, sometimes from three to four o'clock, so that the students may rest a little; for our everyday custom requires many hours' work. And still not a few of them work hard on their own account both in the intervals and in the evenings, so we have a special reading-room where they can get the necessary quiet when the school classes are over."

Conditions at Askov in its early days are reflected in a detailed report issued by Schröder in the autumn of 1868, which runs as follows:—

"All the students gather in the big schoolroom:—

"(1) From 8 to 10 a.m., when Fenger holds a series of lectures on physics, chemistry, and agriculture, and on alternate days a series of lectures on the care of domestic animals;

"(2) From 10.15 a.m. till noon, when I hold a series of lectures on the life of the human race, in which I include what one usually calls world history, Danish history, and mythology, also to some extent Bible history, Church history, and psychology;

"(3) From 5.45 to 7.30 p.m., when Nutzhorn sometimes holds lectures on the geography of Denmark and once a week on a period of Denmark's more recent history, and sometimes teaches singing, Danish, and Swedish.

"The students, however, are divided into two groups in the three afternoon periods from 2 to 5 p.m.

"Those who have not been at a High-School before,

either here or elsewhere, and have not advanced their studies in any other way—and this is usually the case with three out of four—get instruction during these periods from our fourth teacher in handwriting, arithmetic, land mensuration, mapping, and levelling. Some hours a week Nutzhorn goes over writing exercises with the students individually. Sometimes, when the weather has been favourable, the young men have had rifle practice.

“The senior group, which mostly consists of former High-School students, receives in the eighteen weekly afternoon periods separate and more advanced instruction.

“(1) Fenger last winter had eight classes with them in chemistry combined with laboratory work, and in the physiology of plants, and lessons on infectious diseases of domestic animals.

“(2) Nutzhorn had five classes with them in world geography and Icelandic.

“(3) In five classes I endeavoured to make them acquainted with some of the most important historical source-books which have been translated into Danish; I also lectured to them on English history, following Macaulay, and I devoted some time to going through the main outlines of political economy with them in conversations. In so far as any of them wanted practice in writing, I went through their writing exercises, and we usually had conversations in connection with this too.

“In the arrangement of this teaching for the seniors it is our wish as far as possible to have regard to the desires of the students themselves. I should like to give this teaching a greater development. There are some students who want to go further in Fenger’s subjects, but care less about Icelandic, and vice versa. For this

reason we might well make a division of the seniors. I should, however, like them all to take part in lessons on modern history, with special regard to the civic and social conditions which have developed since the French Revolution in the previous century, and on the laws of Denmark. But the teacher who could give this teaching in a fruitful and stimulating way should ideally bring with him to the school a rich experience of the civic and social life of society and a close acquaintance with political conditions in Europe, such as one might expect to be possessed by an enlightened Member of Parliament. We should be exceedingly glad if we could get the help of such a teacher at all events for part of the winter.

“To the above description of our daily school life I must add that Nutzhorn during the midday period often conducts solo singing practice in his own house, so that solo singing may alternate with united singing in the school. The young people are very fond of this, and we set great value on it, because it trains singing leaders, and we hope that many of our students may be able to take this position, each in his own circle, after they leave the school. In the evening Fenger has taught English to some individual students.

“Finally, we often have reading aloud in the school on a couple of evenings in the week. I usually take this myself, and on Sunday afternoons last winter I read aloud for a couple of hours to the young men. The best I can offer them is Björnson's stories, but they have also greatly enjoyed a poem like Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin*. Mostly, however, I use historical poems. Towards the end of last winter half-year there were a couple of boys from Sjaelland who asked me to help them to understand Grundtvig's *Brage-snak*. I did not want to read it in school for fear it would be too

difficult for most of them; so I suggested that they should come to me and bring a couple of their friends who would like to hear it too. Many came—about thirty young fellows in the end” (there were seventy-four students that winter)—“and three or four evenings in the week they spent an hour and a half with me to hear these lectures on Greek and Scandinavian myths read aloud and explained—and this went side by side with the reading aloud for the whole school, which was continued on the other evenings. It was a proof to me that young men, at that age and with the freshness which peasants’ sons possess, can take in a great deal, if only they receive it in a living fashion by way of the ear. And this experience comforts me when people raise the objection that at Askov the young people are taught too much.

“It is clear from all this that there is not much free time here at Askov, and not much time for home-work, for those who wish to make use of all the help of the teachers. Of course it is no use to put many books into the young men’s hands. In our teaching we use Flor’s *Handbook in Danish Literature*, which also contains readings in Swedish, a book with readings in Swedish, published by the Scandinavian Society, and—for the seniors—Friedrikson’s *Icelandic Reader*. But of these books we have so many that the students do not need to buy them; for a small sum they can get the use of them for the half-year. Of books which a larger or smaller number of the students buy I may name: Lacoppidan’s book on agriculture; Stockfleth’s book on the more important sicknesses of horses, cattle, and sheep; Grundtvig’s *Historical Teaching for Children* and *Fragments of Danish History*; Flor’s *Danish Language and Syntax*; Flor’s book

on Grundtvig's historical and mythological views; Svend Grundtvig's *Selection of Danish Ballads*, and the song-books published by P. O. Boisen, Kristian Köster, and myself. In these there are a great number of historical poems, by means of which the memory of the Scandinavian myths and sagas, and of important events in the history of our country, and of Denmark's famous men, can be pleasantly refreshed, so that these songs, in connection with the reading aloud of historical poems like Paludan-Müller's *Benedict of Nursia*, Grundtvig's *Chronicle-Rhyme, King Harald and Ansgar*, and *Scenes from the Decline of the Heroic Period in Scandinavia*, Oehlen-schläger's *Hakon Jarl*, and Ingemann's *Valdemar the Great and His Men*, do as much good as a repetition of the stories, and do more, by showing the poet's conception of the saga or the historic event which is related."

The *Brage-snak* episode is characteristic of Schröder's whole attitude; it shows how fully he lived in the spirit of his own saying: "Where the powers of the teacher meet with the needs of the students, there lies the High-School's task." The stress laid on singing and the use of the conversational method are significant as being applications of Grundtvig's ideas. Significant, too, is Schröder's desire to extend the scope of the teaching for advanced students and to have classes in what we should now call sociology. It will be noticed that purely "practical" subjects, such as agriculture, had a place at Askov in its early days. The mention of rifle practice finds its explanation in the wave of enthusiasm for national defence which swept over Denmark after 1864, and which led to the formation of numerous Shooting Unions, often working in friendly co-operation with the High-Schools. Later on, the military drill and rifle practice at Askov made way for gymnastics, and a gymnasium was built in 1872. At first the old Danish

system of gymnastics was used, but during the 'eighties this was replaced by Ling's Swedish gymnastics.

With these early time-tables may be compared the official estimate of the average number of hours devoted weekly to the different subjects of the curriculum in an ordinary High-School course of normal length (nineteen weeks for men and twelve for women), during the year 1925-26, as shown in the following table:—

SUBJECT.	MEN'S COURSE.	WOMEN'S COURSE.
	Hours.	Hours.
Danish	7·9	7·3
Handwriting	0·7	0·3
Reading aloud, and History of Literature..	2·9	2·9
History and Danish Law	10·8	11·2
Geography	1·9	1·9
Natural Sciences and Hygiene	3·5	3·3
Arithmetic	5·5	4·0
Drawing	2·5	0·4
Singing	1·4	1·9
Gymnastics	4·8	5·4
Sewing	—	9·6
Agricultural Subjects	5·2	—
Domestic Science	—	1·3
Other Subjects	2·4	1·5
TOTAL	49·5	51·0

We may compare the time-tables of two individual High-Schools—Vestbirk, and Ollerup Gymnastic High-School—the former as a fairly typical example of those High-Schools which give courses in specialist subjects in conjunction with the ordinary High-School course, and the latter as showing how, even when a school devotes itself mainly to the teaching of a specialist subject, that subject may be fitted into the High-School framework as a part of a harmonious whole.

		MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
7.30-8.45		Lecture by Grönvald Nielsen (on Geography—Accounts of his Travels, etc.)					
9-10	B	Danish	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Danish	Arithmetic
	C	Danish	Arithmetic	Danish	Arithmetic	Danish	Danish
	A	Gymnastics					
	E	Gymnastics					
10-11	B	Gymnastics					
	C	Gymnastics					
	A	Danish	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Danish	Arithmetic
	E	Danish	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Danish	Arithmetic
11-12		Danish History	World History	Danish History	World History	Danish History	World History
12-1.30		Dinner					
1.30-3		Sewing					
3-3.30		Coffee					
3.30-4.30		Bible History	Hygiene	Physics	Bible History	Sociology	Bath
4.30-5.30	B	Danish					
	C	Danish	Danish	Arithmetic	Danish	Danish	Arithmetic
	A	Danish					
	E	Danish					
5.30-6.30		United Singing	Sociology	Reading Aloud	Reading Aloud	Choir Singing	Reading Aloud

The letters, A, B, C, E, refer to different groups of the students.

		MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
8.30-9.45		Lectures by Grönvald Nielsen (on Geography, Psychology, Literature, etc.)					
10-12	C	Danish	Danish	Agricultural Drawing	Danish	Agricultural Book-keeping	Danish
	B	Danish	Agricultural Drawing	Danish	Danish	Danish	Agricultural Book-keeping
	A	Agricultural Drawing	Danish	Danish	Agricultural Book-keeping	Danish	Danish
	D	Danish	Danish	Anatomy and Gymnastic Theory	Danish	Anatomy and Gymnastic Theory	Danish
	H	Handworkers' Drawing					
12-1.30		Dinner					
1.30-2.30	L	Danish History	Agricultural Theory	Danish History	Agricultural Theory	Danish History	World History one week and Sociology the next
	D		Commanding Exercises for Gymnastic Leaders		Commanding Exercises for Gymnastic Leaders		
	H		Danish		Danish		
2.30-3		Coffee					
3-4	H	Danish					
	A	Gymnastics	Gymnastics	Sociology, Danish Constitution, etc.	Gymnastics	Gymnastics	Agricultural Theory
	C						
	B	Arithmetic	Arithmetic		Arithmetic	Arithmetic	
	D	Arithmetic	Arithmetic		Arithmetic	Arithmetic	

4-5		Bible History	World History	H. | Danish	Physics	World History	Bath
5-6	H	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Danish	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	
	C	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	—	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	
	A	Arithmetic	Arithmetic		Arithmetic	Arithmetic	
	B	Gymnastics			Gymnastics		
D	Gymnastics		Gymnastics				
6-7		Hygiene	Reading Aloud by Grönvald Nielsen			Learning New Songs	Reading Aloud by Grönvald Nielsen
7-8		Supper					
8-9.30	H	Book-keeping	Drawing				
	D	Games for Gymnastic Leaders	Choir Singing	—	D		Gymnastics for Gymnastic Leaders

On Saturday nights there is a discussion, and on Sunday nights a lantern lecture.

Grönvald Nielsen is the retired Headmaster of Vestbirk, who lives beside the school, and still takes an active share in its life.

A, B and C are all farmers or *Landsmaend* = L.

A = 41 farmers not so advanced as B.

B = 31 advanced students.

C = 27 of the most backward students.

D = 17 students specializing in gymnastics in order to lead gymnastic unions at home.

H = 15 handworkers.

		MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
8-9		History of Physical Education	Bible History and Church History	World History	World History	Bible History and Church History	History of Physical Education
9-10	A	Gymnastic Theory	Theory	Ball Games	Physiology	Danish	Ball Games
	B			Danish		Danish	
	C	Ball Games	Arithmetic	Gymnastic Instruction		Arithmetic	
	D	—	Physiology	Gymnastic Instruction		—	Gymnastic Instruction
10-11	A	Gymnastic Instruction	Gymnastic Instruction	Danish	Gymnastic Instruction	Physics	Danish
	B	Danish	Ball Games	Gymnastics	Ball Games		Gymnastic Instruction
	C	Ball Games	Danish	Danish	Danish		Danish
11-12		Danish Literature	Biology, Psychology, and Pedagogics	Danish Literature	Scandinavian History	Danish Literature	Sociology

2-2.50	A	Danish	Danish	—	Danish	A	} Theory	—	
	B	Gymnastic Instruction	Arithmetic	Singing Games	Arithmetic	B		—	
	C	—	Gymnastic Instruction	C } Theory	Gymnastic Instruction	C D		—	
2.50-3.10		Coffee							
3.10-4	A	Arithmetic	—	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	—	—		
	B	—	Danish	—	Danish	Arithmetic	—		
	C	German	English	German	English	German	—		
3-4	D	Gymnastics							
4.5-5.10		I. Gymnastics							
4.10-5	II. Physiology	Sewing	Theory	Sewing	—	Sewing			
5.10-6.15		II. Gymnastics							
5.40-6.30	I. Sewing	—	Sewing	Theory	Sewing	Physiology			
6.30-7		Supper							
7-7.50	A	Singing Games	—	C	Singing Games	—	D	Ball Games	—

A and B = girls with elementary school education, B being more advanced in Danish writing and spelling than A.

C = girls who have had some further education after leaving the elementary school.

D = students from the neighbouring Folk High-School, who come in for some lessons.

APPENDIX IV

SOME HIGH-SCHOOL STATISTICS

As a rule, High-School people do not put much trust in statistics as tests of the progress of a movement. "Spiritual awakening cannot be measured," they say. Still, the statistics of the total number of students at Folk High-Schools and Agricultural Schools in 1844-45, and at ten-year intervals since 1852, do help us to realize the remarkable progress of the Danish High-Schools since their inception, and particularly in the period immediately after 1864. The figures are as follows:—

1844-45	..	..	..	46
1852-53	..	..	..	197
1862-63	..	..	..	505
1872-73	..	..	..	3,091
1882-83	..	..	..	3,801
1892-93	..	..	..	5,036
1902-03	..	..	..	7,361
1912-13	..	..	..	8,043
1922-23	..	..	..	8,365*

* 5,218 men and 3,147 women.

During the 50 years from 1844 to 1894 no fewer than 146 High-Schools and Agricultural Schools were founded, but only 77 of them were still surviving in 1894. The total number of students who passed through the schools in that period was about 110,000, of whom approximately 75,000 were men and 35,000 women. Statistics published by the Danish Government in 1927 illustrate the growth of the Folk High-Schools (as distinct from the Agricultural Schools) as follows: In

1850-51, there were 2 High-Schools in existence; in 1860-61, 11; in 1870-71, 50; in 1880-81, 64; in 1890-91, 67; in 1900-01, 73; in 1910-11, 82; in 1915-16, 71; in 1920-21, 60; and in 1925-26, 59. It will be noticed that a considerable decline in the number of High-Schools took place during and immediately after the War, the lowest point being reached during the years 1922-25, when there were only 57 State-recognized High-Schools; but it appears that the schools are now once more starting gradually upon the up-grade. In 1926-27 they numbered 59; in 1927-28, 61; and in 1928-29, 60—no later figures are available. The number of students attending the Folk High-Schools, after having fallen from 7,245 in 1920-21 to 6,318 in 1923-24, also rose again to 6,719 in 1925-26; in 1926-27 it was 6,670; in 1927-28, 6,762; and in 1928-29, 6,479 (3,359 men and 3,120 women). The number of students attending Agricultural Schools has remained fairly constant since the War; there were 22 of these schools in 1928-29, with 2,897 students (2,416 men and 481 women), as compared with 6,479 students at the 60 Folk High-Schools.

Some light is thrown upon the composition of the student body by the statistics concerning State-supported students given by Schröder for 1902-03. In that year, out of a total of 7,361 students, 2,776 were in receipt of State support to the sum of 226,588 kroner, 1,462 men and 1,142 women students having scholarships tenable at a Folk High-School, and 169 men and 3 women students having scholarships tenable at an Agricultural School. Of these 2,776 State-supported students, 2,340 were between the ages of 18 and 25. 1,211 were the children of smallholders (*Husmaend*), 524 of farmers (*Gaardmaend*), 387 of workmen, and 246

of handworkers or artisans. Of the men Folk High-School students, 740 had been farm servants, 515 were apprentices and craft pupils, while 82 were living with their parents; and of the women, 875 had been in service, while 149 were living with their parents. 2,571 of the State-supported students were from the country, and only 205 from the towns; and it was computed that out of the total number of students only 419 were town-dwellers. These figures may be compared with the Government statistics for 1925-26. In that year, out of a total of 9,719 students, 3,227 were in receipt of State support to the sum of 562,516 kroner, 1,112 men and 1,362 women students having scholarships tenable at a Folk High-School, and 561 men and 192 women students having scholarships tenable at an Agricultural School. Of these 3,227 State-supported students, 2,837 were between the ages of 18 and 25. 1,387 were the children of smallholders, 655 of farmers, 218 of workmen, and 349 of handworkers. Of the men Folk High-School students, 725 had been farm servants, 137 were apprentices and craft pupils, and 111 were living with their parents; and of the women, 1,110 had been in service, while 196 were living with their parents. Only 222 of all the State-supported students were from the towns.

Statistics are also given referring to the whole student body at the Folk High-Schools, as distinct from the Agricultural Schools, in 1925-26. From these it appears that 49 per cent. of the men and 55 per cent. of the women students were the children of farmers, 18 per cent. and 16 per cent. of the men and women students respectively the children of smallholders, 7 per cent. and 3 per cent. respectively the children of workmen, and 10 per cent. and 9 per cent. respectively the children

of handworkers. Details of the students' own occupations were only given for State-supported students, but it was calculated that 13 per cent. of the total number of men students were handworkers and apprentices. The corresponding figure in 1921 was 15 per cent., and the decrease was attributed to the continued growth of separate technical schools in the interval. It was noted that an increased proportion of the students were attending the advanced (*udvidede*) courses which were being provided in 11 High-Schools. 336 men and 208 women students had previously attended a High-School, while of the students at Agricultural Schools 678 men and 80 women had previously attended a High-School. Only 450 of the High-School students were from the towns. It was calculated that 31 per cent. of the young people of the country districts attended Folk High-Schools and Agricultural Schools in 1925-26, about two-thirds of these going to the Folk High-Schools.

The Danish Government has also published certain particulars relating to the staffing of the Folk High-Schools in 1925-26. In that year there were 548 teachers in the High-Schools, of whom 221 taught all the year round, 171 in the winter only, and 156 in the summer only. There were 57 Headmasters, 206 permanent men teachers, and 126 men teachers by the hour (*Timelaerere*); 3 Headmistresses, 32 Headmasters' wives who took part in the teaching, 95 permanent women teachers, and 29 women teachers by the hour. Most of the teachers by the hour were residents in the neighbourhood of the High-Schools, and the majority of them taught for less than seven hours a week. About 31 per cent. of the men teachers and 37 per cent. of the women teachers were under the age of thirty. Of the men teachers, 89 (including 17 Headmasters) had University

Degrees—53 of these being Degrees in Theology; 86 (including 16 Headmasters) had Teachers' Diplomas; 62 (including 2 Headmasters) had Agricultural Degrees or Diplomas; and 58 (including 7 Headmasters) had been educated at the High-Schools. Of the women teachers, 6 had University Degrees, 15 had Teachers' Diplomas, and 53 had been educated at the High-Schools, while 41 per cent. had no specially recorded education.

The following figures illustrate the annual grants to the High-Schools and Agricultural Schools:—

	1851-53	..	4,000	kroner	
	1853-55	..	6,000	„	
	1855-57	..	10,000	„	
	1857-60	..	20,000	„	
	1860-67	..	22,000	„	
	1867-79	..	28,000	„	
	1879-86	..	55,000	„	
	1886-90	..	40,000	„	
	1890-92	..	55,000	„	
By the law of	1892	..	120,000	kroner maximum	
„	„	1902	140,000	„	„
„	„	1913	150,000	„	„
	1922-23	..	550,000	kroner	
	1925-26	..	643,493	„	
	*1926-27	..	875,000	„	
	1927-28	..	770,000	„	
	1928-29	..	787,000	„	

* The figures for 1926-29 include grants for the training of teachers, grants to schools of cookery, etc. The proportion received as direct State grants by the Folk High-Schools and Agricultural Schools in each of these years was about the same as the total amount of State scholarships received by their students.

In addition to these direct grants to the schools, the State makes annual grants through the local education authorities (*Skoleraadene*) in aid of poor students. The following figures are given:—

1869-71	..	13,200 kroner
1871-75	..	22,000 „
1875-76	..	44,000 „
1876-79	..	66,000 „
1879-86	..	100,000 „
1886-92	..	90,000 „

By the law of 1892	..	180,000 kroner maximum
„ „ 1902	..	250,000 „ „
„ „ 1913	..	350,000 „ „
„ „ 1919	..	620,000 „ „
1921-22	..	593,135 kroner
1922-23	..	576,438 „
1923-24	..	561,995 „
1924-25	..	554,645 „
1925-26	..	562,516 „
1926-27	..	550,000 „
1927-28	..	542,000 „
1928-29	..	547,000 „

The average grant per student in 1925-26 was about 39 kroner a month to Folk High-School students and about 48 kroner a month to Agricultural School students, i. e., about half of their respective fees.

A temporary decrease in the State grants will be noticed in the late 'eighties and early 'nineties. In those years the Constitutional struggle which disturbed the life of Denmark during the closing decades of the nineteenth century was at its height, and was having an adverse effect upon the High-Schools. Those that

were suspected of siding with the Left incurred the hostility of the upper classes, and in some cases their State grants were withdrawn; those that were suspected of siding with the Right usually lost the support of the people. Also, the political conflict in its acuter phases tended to distract men's minds from the educational ideals of the High-School. A period of greater stability, however, was inaugurated by the High-School laws of 1892 and 1902.

APPENDIX V

HIGH-SCHOOL LEGISLATION

Before 1892, no separate law had been passed to deal with the High-Schools. The High-School grants formed an item of the yearly State budget, and the State exercised the right of inspection, but did not interfere with the curriculum and organization of the schools or impose any examinations upon them. In 1892, the position was regulated by a "Law concerning State subsidies to Folk High-Schools and Agricultural Schools." This law allotted to each recognized school a fixed grant of 300 kroner, and a further grant of 10 kroner for each *Aarselev*, up to a sum equivalent to one-third of the school's expenditure on teachers' salaries and teaching equipment. (The number of *Aarselever* represented the average number of students per month during the school year, and was ascertained as follows: Suppose a school had 48 men students for 5 months and 40 women students for 3 months, it would have had altogether $240 + 120 = 360$ monthly attendances of students, and dividing this by 12—the number of months in the year—we get the number of *Aarselever* = 30). No single school was to receive more than 3,000 kroner in State grants, and the total yearly grants to Folk High-Schools and Agricultural Schools must not exceed 120,000 kroner, while the grants in aid of poor students must not exceed 180,000 kroner. In order to be eligible for a grant, a school must have at least 10 *Aarselever* over the age of sixteen. A provision was inserted to the effect that a Folk High-School and an Agricultural School under the same Head should only receive a subsidy

equal to what would have been received if all the students had been attending one of these schools. In this way the Government encouraged the separation of Folk High-Schools from specialist Agricultural Schools.

The law of 1892 was revised and brought up to date by the High-School law of 1902, which raised the maximum subsidy to Folk High-Schools and Agricultural Schools to 140,000 kroner, and the maximum support for poor students to 250,000 kroner. Not more than half the students in any year were to receive State support, which was to amount on an average to 20 kroner per month per student. In the case of students at an Agricultural School, the condition of their receiving State support was that they should either be over twenty-two years of age or show "by a certificate from a Real School, Folk High-School, or Continuation School, or otherwise," that they possessed sufficient maturity to follow the specialist instruction given in the Agricultural School. High-School students and Agricultural School students were to be divided into two classes for the receipt of State support, and a separate grant allotted to each class, so that there might be no favouring of the members of one class by the local authorities at the expense of those of the other. The fixed basic grant to each school was raised from 300 to 500 kroner. The conditions for recognition were similar to those of the law of 1892: the school must have been at work for at least two years, and in each have had at least 10 *Aarselever*, none of these to be under sixteen years of age, and not more than a quarter of the men students under eighteen years of age. Provision was also made for State assistance to a voluntary, contributory pensions scheme for High-School teachers, the maximum con-

tribution by the State to the fund being limited to 10,000 kroner per annum.

In 1913, when Jakob Appel was Minister of Education, a new High-School law was passed, following closely upon the lines of the 1902 law, but making some additions and alterations. In order to obtain recognition for State grants a school must now have been working for at least two financial years, and in each year have had at least 12 *Aarselever*—the conditions as to age being retained. It would, however, be eligible to receive State-supported students if it had had as many as 10 *Aarselever* during the required period. No student who had attended the school for less than two months was to be taken into account in calculating the number of *Aarselever*. A recognized school which had had less than an average of 8 *Aarselever* (or 5 *Aarselever* in the case of schools giving a single winter or summer course) for three financial years in succession would forfeit its right to State support. The grants to individual schools were to be calculated on the same basis as before; in special cases, however, an extra grant might be made; but, unless special sanction were given, the total grants to any one school might not exceed 2,500 kroner. The yearly grants to High-Schools and Agricultural Schools might not, without special sanction, exceed 150,000 kroner, plus 1,500 kroner for every additional school, should the number of schools in any year exceed 86. An additional yearly grant of 30,000 kroner was to be made to Askov High-School, 4,500 kroner of this being set aside for the maintenance of needy students.

The law of 1913 also raised the State grant to the teachers' pension fund to a maximum of 20,000 kroner; and the grants to enable poor students to attend the High-Schools and Agricultural Schools were raised to

a maximum total of 350,000 kroner per year. In 1919 these provisions were amended so as to increase the grant to the teachers' pension fund to a maximum of 50,000 kroner, and the grants to poor students to a maximum total of 620,000 kroner per year—the average grant per student being fixed at 35 kroner a month.

Further alterations in the High-School law of 1913 were made by the Finance Law of 1921-22 and subsequent Finance Laws. The direct State grant to High-Schools and Agricultural Schools is now calculated on the following basis: (1) A fixed grant of 500 kroner per school; (2) 50 per cent. of the teachers' salaries; (3) 20 per cent. of the salary due to the Headmaster for his teaching work; (4) 35 per cent. of the expenditure on teaching equipment; (5) 10 per cent. of the expenditure on interest and amortization of capital (this expenditure is reckoned at 6 per cent. of the value of the school buildings).

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