

A History of Denmark

PALGRAVE ESSENTIAL HISTORIES

General Editor: Jeremy Black

This series of compact, readable and informative national histories is designed to appeal to anyone wishing to gain a broad understanding of a country's history – whether they are a student, a traveller, a professional or a general reader.

Published

- A History of Spain** *Simon Barton*
A History of the British Isles (2nd edn) *Jeremy Black*
A History of Israel *Ahron Bregman*
A History of Ireland *Mike Cronin*
A History of the Pacific Islands *Steven Roger Fischer*
A History of the United States (2nd edn) *Philip Jenkins*
A History of Denmark *Knud J. V. Jespersen*
A History of Poland *Anita J. Prażmowska*
A History of India *Peter Robb*
A History of China *J.A.G. Roberts*

Further titles are in preparation

Series Standing Order

If you would like to receive future titles in this series as they are published, you can make use of our standing order facility. To place a standing order please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address and the name of the series. Please state with which title you wish to begin your standing order. (If you live outside the United Kingdom we may not have the rights for your area, in which case we will forward your order to the publisher concerned.)

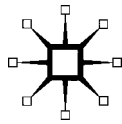
Customer Services Department, Macmillan Ltd
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

A History of Denmark

Knud J. V. Jespersen

Translated by
Ivan Hill

palgrave
macmillan



© Knud J. V. Jespersen 2004
Translation © Ivan Hill 2004

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1T 4LP.

Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted his right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2004 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
Companies and representatives throughout the world

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European Union and other countries.

ISBN 0-333-65917-1 hardcover
ISBN 0-333-65918-X paperback

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06 05 04

Printed in China

Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | viii |
| <i>Map of Denmark</i> | ix |
| 1 Introduction: what is Denmark and who are the Danes? | 1 |
| A Description | 1 |
| The Danes According to Robert Molesworth | 4 |
| Sir James Mellon and the Danish Tribe | 5 |
| Some Principal Themes of this History | 7 |
| The History of Denmark | 9 |
| 2 Foreign and Security Policy: from Gatekeeper of the Baltic to a Midget State | 12 |
| The Collapse of the Baltic System around 1500 | 12 |
| Denmark as a Gateway | 14 |
| Danish–Swedish Rivalry, 1563–1720 | 17 |
| The Wars with Britain and the Dissolution of the Dual Monarchy, 1800–30 | 21 |
| Denmark and the Unification of Germany, 1830–71 | 22 |
| From Neutrality to Membership of NATO, 1870–1950 | 26 |
| After the Fall of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe | 28 |
| 3 Domestic Policy, 1500–1848: the Era of Aristocracy and Absolutism | 30 |
| The Consensus Model | 30 |
| The Coup of 1536 and the New Concept of Sovereignty | 32 |
| From Domain to Tax State | 35 |
| The Crisis of the State Council | 38 |
| Coup d’État and Absolutism, 1660 | 40 |
| From Estates of the Realm to Hierarchy | 43 |
| The Danish Law, 1683 | 45 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Leasing Out the Power of the State | 48 |
| Struensee and Enlightened Absolutism | 50 |
| The Great Agrarian Reforms | 52 |
| Reform of Military Conscription and the Emancipation of the Peasants, 1788 | 55 |
| 4 Domestic Policy, 1848–2000: Democracy and the Welfare State | 58 |
| Civil War and Revolution | 58 |
| The 1849 Constitution – Rupture or Continuity? | 61 |
| The Revised Constitution, 1866 | 65 |
| Constitutional Struggle and Provisional Measures | 67 |
| Change of System and Parliamentarianism | 70 |
| The Century of Social Democracy | 72 |
| From Class Warfare to National Consensus | 74 |
| The Danish Model of the Welfare State | 76 |
| The Crisis of the Danish Welfare State | 78 |
| Goodbye to Welfare Democracy? | 80 |
| 5 The Church and Culture from Luther to Postmodernism | 83 |
| The Remote Church | 83 |
| The Reformation 1536 | 86 |
| The New Church | 88 |
| The Parish Priest as Civil Servant | 91 |
| The Church’s Project – the State’s Project | 94 |
| Pietism | 97 |
| The Enlightenment | 100 |
| Grundtvig | 103 |
| The Folk High School and the Danish Church | 105 |
| Grundtvig’s Concept of Popular Democracy | 107 |
| Grundtvig’s Legacy and the Danish Model | 110 |
| 6 Economic Conditions: the Old Denmark, 1500–1800 | 114 |
| Way of Life and the Economy | 114 |
| The Sound Dues, Denmark and the World Economy | 116 |
| The Old Agrarian Society | 118 |
| The Structure of the Landed Estates under Absolutism | 123 |
| The Agricultural Classes | 125 |
| Good Times and Flourishing Trade | 128 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| The Agrarian Revolution Arrives in Denmark | 129 |
| The Great Agrarian Reforms | 132 |
| The New Rural Society | 135 |
| 7 Economic Conditions: the New Denmark, 1800–2000 | 140 |
| Denmark and the Dual Revolution | 140 |
| ‘A small, poor country’ | 143 |
| Grain Sales and Modernisation | 146 |
| The Co-Operative Movement – the Second Agricultural Revolution | 148 |
| The Beginnings of Industrialisation | 153 |
| The Policy of Regulation during the First World War | 159 |
| Land Reform and Bank Failure | 162 |
| The Crisis of the 1930s – Collaborative Democracy | 166 |
| In the Shadows of the Second World War | 170 |
| Agriculture in Retreat | 172 |
| The Second Industrial Revolution | 174 |
| The Welfare State and the Service Economy | 176 |
| The Danish Welfare State and the World Economy | 178 |
| The Reluctant Europeans | 181 |
| The Half-Hearted Pioneering Country | 184 |
| 8 The Danes – a Tribe or a Nation? | 187 |
| Danishness in the Looking Glass of History | 187 |
| The Farmers’ Approach | 192 |
| The Multinational State and Danishness | 193 |
| Danishness and Absolutism | 196 |
| The 1864 Syndrome and Danishness | 200 |
| The Prevailing Identity | 203 |
| Perceptions of Nationalism | 207 |
| When did the Danes become Danish? | 210 |
| Denmark and the Danes in 2000 – and in the Future | 214 |
| <i>Notes</i> | 217 |
| <i>Select Bibliography</i> | 226 |
| <i>A Short Chronology</i> | 231 |
| <i>Selective Index</i> | 235 |

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr Ivan Hill, MA, for his enthusiastic work in translating my manuscript into English and for rewarding discussions in the process. I am also heavily indebted to the Carlsberg Memorial Foundation and to the University of Southern Denmark for the generous grants that made the translation possible.

Knud J. V. Jespersen



Denmark

Introduction: what is Denmark and who are the Danes?

A DESCRIPTION

Consulting a modern encyclopaedia under 'Denmark' would show that today this is the name of a state stretching from 54° to 58° north and 8° to 15° east. Denmark proper consists of the Jutland Peninsula and 406 islands, of which 79 are inhabited. The largest and most populous of these is Zealand, where the capital city, Copenhagen, is located, followed by Fyn and North Jutland. The total area is nearly 43,000 km². Then there are Greenland and the Faroe Islands, which with Denmark itself form a national federation.¹

Denmark itself has 7300 km of coastline and a 68 km land border with Germany. It is very definitely a low-lying country – the highest point is 173 metres above sea-level – and well suited for agriculture, though poor in mineral resources. Approximately 64 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation. Twenty-two per cent is woodland, heath, moor, marsh, dunes and lakes. The remainder consists of buildings and transport infrastructure. The country is delimited to the west by the North Sea, while the Danish islands demarcate the Kattegat from the Baltic. Thus the country lies across the sea route from the Baltic to the oceans and the route from the Nordic countries to Central Europe. This position as a gateway has played a very important role in the history of the country.

The population of Denmark is around 5.2 million, of which 85 per cent live in towns. Only 5 per cent are employed in agriculture and fishery, while 27 per cent work in industry or construction. The remaining 68 per cent are in the public or private service sector or unemployed.

A HISTORY OF DENMARK

By European standards the country is small, of a similar size to Switzerland, Belgium or the Netherlands, but without their central location and occasionally decisive role in European history. As a small country on the edge of Europe, Denmark, along with its Scandinavian neighbours, Norway and Sweden, has traditionally been viewed as part of the periphery of Europe just like the Eastern European countries and the Balkans. The following quotation from H. G. Koenigsberger's short history of Europe 1500–1789 illustrates this:

Clearly, the history of Europe is comprehensible only if it is constantly seen in its relations to Europe's neighbours. For over a thousand years, after the end of the Roman Empire in the west, Europe was on the defensive: against the Muslim Arabs along its Mediterranean frontier in the south, against the seafaring Norsemen from Scandinavia in the north and west, and against successive attacks of different Asiatic peoples in the east, from the Huns, in the fifth century, to the Avars, Magyars, Mongols and, eventually and most persistently, the Turks.²

Here the Scandinavians, and thus the Danes, are considered as enemies of Latin Europe on a par with the Muslim Arabs, the Asians of the steppes and the Ottoman Turks. It was not until Christianity spread to Scandinavia over a thousand years ago that a process of assimilation started, slowly converting Denmark from being a hostile neighbour to that of being a part of European culture. Denmark's marginal geographical position in relation to the economic and cultural European core that is centred around the English Channel has also been of great significance in the more recent history of the country.

One other geopolitical factor deserves to be highlighted in order to understand the size of Denmark and why it has become what it is today. This is its ambiguous location. From a historical perspective the country is both a Baltic power and part of mainland Europe. The first entailed a strong preoccupation over many centuries with the balance of power in the Baltic and resulted in a centuries-long rivalry with Sweden, the other major Baltic power. The second, especially after the unification of Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century, has been of critical importance for the international standing of the country, and still is. A strong, powerful and united Germany to the immediate south forced Denmark to act according to German, and thus European, conditions to a much greater degree than before. In some

INTRODUCTION: WHO ARE THE DANES?

ways Denmark's position from the middle of the nineteenth century resembles that of Scotland with its powerful neighbour, England, to the south.

From a longer historical perspective, the double position and role of Denmark can perhaps best be illustrated by the fact that the Danish kings were also Dukes of Holstein until 1864 and so had European interests to safeguard within the framework of the Holy Roman Empire until its dissolution in 1806, and afterwards in regard to Wilhelmine Germany. At the same time, right up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the kings obtained a significant part of their income from the Sound Dues, which were tolls levied on ships passing through Øresund. In itself this was a symbol of their suzerainty over the Baltic. So, the Danish kings were at one and the same time northern German princes and leading players in the Baltic region. This double position on the threshold of two very separate worlds has left an indelible mark on the historical destiny of Denmark.

Denmark's current commonwealth with the geographically remote Faroe Islands and the arctic Greenland is in many ways an anomaly, but it also serves as a reminder that the small, homogenous nation which is the Denmark of today is the product of a long historical development which can best be described as a process of reduction.

At the start of the period treated in this volume, the kings of Denmark held sway over a much greater territory than today, under the House of Oldenburg. First and foremost, after the personal union of 1380 the kingdom included Norway and its extensive North Atlantic possessions – Greenland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands. From 1536 Norway became formally integrated, virtually a province. The core area of Denmark also included the Scanian provinces on the southern tip of the Scandinavian peninsula and Gotland, the large island in the Baltic. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were also included in this huge state, of which Copenhagen was the capital, commanding the most important sea route into the Baltic, the Øresund.

In other words, this was an enormous North Atlantic–Baltic empire, stretching from the North Cap to the River Elbe in the south – a distance just as big as that from the Elbe to Gibraltar – and from the arctic Greenland in the north-west to Gotland in the east. This huge, unified kingdom extended over several climatic belts and ruled a very diverse population: Eskimos, Norwegians, Danes and Germans, each of whom spoke their own native tongue, lived in very different climates and had very different cultures. In reality the difference in

A HISTORY OF DENMARK

lifestyle between the prosperous Scanian farmers and the hunters of Greenland was just as great as that between the olive farmers of sunny Italy and the foresters of the dense, dark Swedish forests.

The history of Denmark over the last 500 years is principally the story of how this extensive and diverse unified empire, held together by the sovereignty of the Danish crown and regular shipping, slowly disintegrated under the changing circumstances of the times, with the dissolution of the component parts resulting finally in there only remaining the small core area which is today called Denmark. This huge process of disintegration and reduction, critical to an understanding of modern Denmark, is one of the principal themes of this account.

THE DANES, ACCORDING TO ROBERT MOLESWORTH

Another theme is to attempt a historical explanation of the habits and mentality of the modern Dane. Both strands are, just like the country in which he lives, the result of a long historical process, the course of which over the last 500 years will be traced here. However, describing oneself objectively is virtually impossible, and so perhaps a good place to start would be a brief description of the nature of the Danish lifestyle and 'national character' as observed by various foreigners at various times. It is probably most suitable to start with the best known historical description of Denmark and the Danish, Robert Molesworth's famous book *An Account of Denmark as it was in the year 1692*, which was published in 1694.

The Irish-born English diplomat Robert Molesworth (1656–1725) was British Ambassador to the absolutist Danish Court in Copenhagen for a few years around 1690. Shortly after his return home from his duties, which did not proceed exactly harmoniously, he wrote his *Account*, in which he collected his impressions of the country, its people and political regime. This was intended to be of instructive value for Molesworth's fellow countrymen, as shown by the following quotation:

Some naturalists observe that there is no plant or insect, how venomous or mean soever, but is good for something towards the use of Man if rightly applied: in the like manner it may be said, that several useful lessons may be learnt, conducing to the benefit of

INTRODUCTION: WHO ARE THE DANES?

Mankind, from this Account of Denmark, provided things be taken by the right handle.

As his choice of words suggests, he did not entertain a particularly high opinion of Denmark or the Danes, and this impression is confirmed elsewhere in the text – ‘The language is very ungrateful,’ he wrote, ‘and not unlike the Irish in its whining complaining tone.’ He described the Danes as desperately poor and oppressed by a tyrannical absolutist regime which in the course of just one generation had reduced the once free-born Nordic population to a condition of slavery. He found the climate quite simply odious, and described the capital of the country, Copenhagen, as a dirty little town with no sign of the character that distinguished other large European cities.³

The real purpose behind Molesworth’s *Account* was evidently to use Denmark as a terrifying example in warning his countrymen against welcoming an absolutist regime and thus giving up the right of self-determination, and so his description of the conditions in Denmark can hardly be taken at face value. In addition, his own experience of Denmark was mainly limited to Copenhagen and its surroundings. Thus, his description cannot really be taken as comprehensive either of Denmark or the Danes in 1692. It should rather be seen as the hasty attack of a disappointed diplomat against a regime he detested and against which he wished to warn the political decision-makers of his own country. Even so, the substance of his critical observations ought not to be dismissed out of hand, and the discussion later on in this book about the conditions in Denmark in the late seventeenth century and the events which created them may be regarded as the present author’s assessment of the extent to which Molesworth was justified from a scholarly point of view, and how far he overshot the mark.

SIR JAMES MELLON AND THE DANISH TRIBE

The same critical attitude cannot be considered to apply to another, later, account of Denmark and the Danes, written by another British Ambassador to Copenhagen long after Molesworth. This was Sir James Mellon, whose knowledge of the country came not only from his time as Ambassador in the 1980s, but also from a long period in the country as a student, especially at Aarhus University. Almost exactly

300 years after Molesworth's book, in 1992 Sir James published a very personal account of the country and its inhabitants as they appeared to a sympathetic, keen British observer. The book was called *About old Denmark . . . A Description of Denmark in the Year of our Lord 1992*.

Sir James introduced his account, both affectionate and perspicacious at the same time, with the statement that in his eyes marked the most significant characteristic of the Danes, and one which formed the underlying thesis of his book: 'The Danes are not a nation . . . they are a tribe, this is the strength of their fellowship and the reason that they have unshakeable trust in each other.' He continued to explain:

When talking about the idea of a 'nation', this also involves the idea of fellowship, but a nation requires if not more, then at least something different. The Danes have certainly developed and adapted. They have travelled around the world and forged commercial and cultural links in all corners of it. But they have never found their way to a synthesis of dissimilar elements, which is what is required for a proper nation. Their unity as a people is in fact due to the emphasis on uniformity. So this is not 'both and', but 'either or'.⁴

So, according to Sir James Mellon, the Danes are not a nation in its normal sense, but a tribe, whose behaviour strongly reminded him of the tribal behaviour he saw amongst the Ashanti in Ghana during his posting to West Africa between 1978 and 1983. Amongst the Danes he found the same concern for the weaker members of society, the same propensity for consensus and uniformity, the same avoidance of conflict, and the same implicit faith that political results should be achieved through discussion and compromise rather than the face-to-face conflicts which are otherwise characteristic of parliamentary democracy. All of these traits, and most Danes would nod in agreement with his analysis, he attributed to the tribal awareness of the Danish population, which in his view make Denmark and the Danes quite special amongst modern European nations.

Of course, it is open to discussion quite how powerful an explanation this simple thesis ultimately is. As shown above, the historical Danish Empire was far from being homogenous, and conflict, both internal and external, has played as big a part in the history of Denmark as in that of any other nation. The strong tribal awareness postulated as an underlying element in contemporary Danish self-

INTRODUCTION: WHO ARE THE DANES?

perception must therefore at least be considered as a relatively new cultural product and the result of a particular historical development.

However, there is little doubt that Sir James Mellon, in his entertaining way, has identified an important trait in outsiders' common perception of the country and its inhabitants: Denmark is a small, insignificant, comfortable country, peopled by a homogenous tribe whose members more or less all know each other, and even the most controversial political issues are resolved peaceably with the tacit understanding that we will still all be here afterwards.

It is a major concern of the following account to call into question and differentiate this stereotype. A significant aim of this history is to examine and explain from a historical perspective how far, how and why Denmark has become the country about which Sir James Mellon thought he could see and reflect upon so fondly and entertainingly in 1992. The account will describe how modern Denmark came into being, with special emphasis on some key elements in the process of modernisation which from 1500 on slowly transformed Danish society from being agrarian and always on the verge of famine to a prosperous, modern, industrial welfare society. The elements of particular interest – and so fundamental to the history – are sketched out in the next section.

SOME PRINCIPAL THEMES OF THIS HISTORY

The current modest size of the country is, as mentioned before, directly related to its historical position as the gateway between the Baltic and the North Sea. The centuries of rivalry with Sweden for supremacy in the North was to a considerable extent the result of this situation. This rivalry started as early as the dissolution of the Kalmar Union in 1523, but became more serious from the middle of the sixteenth century and can only really be said to have been resolved at the end of the Great Northern War in 1720–1. During these 200 years the conflict of interests with Sweden was by far and away the most important foreign and security policy issue and virtually decisive for Denmark's role on the international stage.

After the long, and for Denmark, relatively peaceful, eighteenth century, the emerging German nation state imprinted itself ever more strongly on the agenda for Denmark's foreign and security policy. The German moves towards national unity from the beginning of the nineteenth century led directly to the first Schleswigian War, 1848–50,

and then to the national catastrophe for Denmark in 1864, when the duchies of both Schleswig and Holstein were lost. Since then, the relationship with its large German neighbour has been the predominant factor in Danish security policy, and this took on an even greater importance after the reunification of Germany in 1989. The current position of Denmark and its contemporary role on the international stage can only truly be understood on the basis of these historical changes in foreign policy.

It is also natural to take into account a range of psychological and material factors in the development of Danish society itself when attempting to test Sir James Mellon's tribal thesis and to put it into a historical perspective. In rough chronological order, the first influence to identify is the Reformation and the Lutheran Church organisation introduced in 1536, which left a deep mark, not just in terms of the growing mental distance from Catholic Europe, but also because of the strong emphasis on spiritual life and the attitude of the Danish people towards authority, both spiritual and temporal.

Then the 188 years of absolutist rule left a deep and still visible imprint on the country and its people. Absolutism as a form of rule was introduced through a bloodless coup in 1660 and was only removed in 1848, through an equally bloodless revolution which laid the foundations for the current democratic constitution. The consistent endeavours of absolutist rule aimed at uniformity and transparency in regard to the subjects are part of the inheritance which outlasted this period to become one of the foundation stones of the modern welfare society.

The same applies to the consistent egalitarianisation of the Danish landed-estate system. This was initiated in the second half of the seventeenth century, with a view to making the taxation system more efficient, but resulted in a unique structure of landed estates which extended through the entire country, with a very few exceptions. Around 600 roughly equally sized manor farms came into existence, each surrounded by a number of equally large tenant farms, which took care of most of the agricultural production. This created the typical Danish farm, which was the basic production unit for centuries, and, after the agrarian reforms at the end of the eighteenth century provided the foundation for the rise of an independent class of land-owning farmers which, from the mid-nineteenth century became the most powerful political force in the country.

The two most significant nation-wide movements of the nineteenth century also had an impact. These were the movement for popular

INTRODUCTION: WHO ARE THE DANES?

enlightenment, through the Folk High Schools, and the co-operative movement, each and both of which transformed the majority of the Danish population from being servile and inarticulate subjects to vocal politically involved citizens. It is virtually impossible to understand the nature of contemporary Danish society without considering these two movements which politicised the rural population.

It is also of considerable importance to include the late industrialisation of the country. Compared to other European countries, the industrialisation of Denmark was rather recent. It is only from the end of the nineteenth century that it makes any sense to talk about an industrial sector of any significance, and it was only the huge wave of modernisation in the decades after the Second World War that moved the country from the agricultural to the industrial. The relative lateness of the process of industrialisation is still seen in modern Danish economic life, as there is a very large industrial sector still based on agriculture and a predominance of small to medium-sized enterprises. Both of these factors had significant consequences for the living conditions of Danes and the way in which things are organised. The social divisions in Danish society are much smaller than in many other places.

This also applies to political divisions, which in turn leads to the last factor which has to be included as a fundamental element in this description of contemporary Denmark, and must also be kept in mind when assessing Sir James Mellon's tribal thesis. This is the fact that the Danish Social Democrats, unlike similar political parties in many other countries, have never been able to achieve an overall majority. This has been principally because the party has never really appealed to the agricultural lower classes, the smallholders and labourers, who have instead turned to the Social Liberal Party. This parliamentary reality has prevented the Social Democrats from implementing a hard-line policy, and has forced them rather to build consensual alliances in order to form a government. This practically consistent style of negotiation by the parties in power during the twentieth century has had a decisive effect on the Danish political climate and on the peculiar nature of the Danish welfare state.

THE HISTORY OF DENMARK

The main themes of the following history are the result of a consideration of all the factors briefly outlined above, which together help to explain

the way in which Denmark has developed. Chapter 2 deals with the change from being a medium-sized Northern European conglomerate state to the small nation state of today, and attempts to provide a historical explanation at the level of international politics for the current nature and size of the country. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the internal politics, from the aristocratic princely state which existed from around 1500 to the social democratic welfare state which completed its development in the late twentieth century. Chapter 5 looks at spiritual life in its broadest sense, with the evolution of the Church as the fulcrum. The following two chapters treat material development and attempt to trace that development from an agrarian society characterised by shortage and want, to the excessive affluence of the modern industrial society. The concluding Chapter 8 takes a wider perspective on psychological constructs, with a particular emphasis on trying to find the answer to the question of when Danes actually considered themselves as Danes, in regard on the one hand to the Germans or Poles, and on the other to simply being inhabitants of Jutland, Fyn or Zealand. It is also discussed as to whether it is possible to identify a particularly Danish way of doing things. There will also be a consideration of whether such a specially 'Danish way' is the result of the historical experience of the Danes, or whether it relates to an innate tribal awareness amongst Danes, such as that suggested by Sir James Mellon. The overall aim of these chapters is not to present a detailed and comprehensive history of Denmark in the traditional way, but to take a few, hopefully well-chosen, themes from the last 500 years of Danish history and try to depict modern Denmark and its inhabitants from a historical standpoint. That is the principal objective. If during the course of this endeavour other historical insights are presented which may be of interest in themselves to the reader, then this can only be advantageous.

This introduction should conclude with some remarks on the historical boundaries of this book. Naturally, these are not unimportant, and in themselves reflect definite interpretations and opinions of what is important in this context and what is not.

The later limit, around 2000, is virtually obvious – it is impossible to be nearer the present. The starting point of 1500 is, however, an expression of a definite understanding of the forces which have created modern Denmark. Even though the history of Denmark obviously has its roots firmly in the Middle Ages, it can be persuasively argued that the modern history of the country first truly began when

INTRODUCTION: WHO ARE THE DANES?

the most powerful medieval institutions of the Baltic region – the Kalmar Union, the economic hegemony of the Hanseatic League and the dominance of the Teutonic Orders in the eastern Baltic – collapsed in the decades surrounding 1500. The result was that the region lacked a consistently organised power, and so opened up to the formation of new states in Renaissance style. Rivalry to fill the power vacuum arose, and this became the principal theme through the subsequent centuries, and thus an important part of the long process of modernisation which has marked out the history of both the Baltic region and the whole of Europe over the last 500 years. Therefore, if an arbitrary division has to be made, the year 1500 would seem suitable. From the start of the sixteenth century, the impact of these new dynamic forces, which we normally group together under the headings Renaissance and Reformation, was strongly felt, while at the same time the ideas, utopias and institutions of the medieval world slowly crumbled. Just as the history of modern Sweden is normally considered to have started with Gustav Vasa's definitive break with the Kalmar Union in 1523, so the history of modern Denmark can be said to have started at the same point.

This history therefore starts with this collapse. It could indeed be argued that it also ends with one – indeed in two ways: one the incipient collapse of the Social Democratic welfare state as we have known it since the 1960s, the other the erosion of the Danish nation state under pressure from the new world order resulting from the rapid expansion of the European Union and the breakup of Eastern Europe. There are many signs that these changes herald a completely new phase in the history of Denmark – a phase which may well one day mean that it becomes meaningless to talk of Denmark and of Danes as separate entities, just as it was in the Middle Ages. So the history which follows is in a certain sense the history of a limited period of half a millennium when a distinct country called Denmark existed and there was a distinct Danish state. This was only the case in a vague sense before then, and perhaps this will only remain the case in a very limited sense in the coming millennium. Thus, perhaps in the truest sense, this is the history of Denmark.

Selective Index

Only the proper text (pp. 1-216) is indexed. The entries *Denmark* and *Danes* are not included. Entries in other languages than English are printed in italics.

- Aalborg, 154
- Aarhus, 148, 154
- absolutism, 8
 - legitimising of, 50f
 - opinion driven, 139
- Act of Sovereignty (1661), 42
- Act of Succession (1665), 42, 46, 48, 52, 90
- administration, reform of, 43
- adscription, 55, 56, 133
- advisory assemblies of the provincial estates, 63
- Afghanistan, 214
- agrarian reforms, 8, 52f
- agrarian revolution, 121–2, 130
- agricultural commission, 54
- agricultural industrialisation, 174
- agricultural land (distribution of), 119
- Altona, 147, 194
- Amsterdam, 14
- Andersen, Hans Christian, author (1805–75), 146, 199
- Antwerp, 14
- aristocracy, privileges of, 36
- Arup, Erik, historian (1876–1951), 189
- Askov, 152
- August laws (of 1914), 159
- Austria, 58, 184
- Baltic region, 3, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 116
- Baltic Sea, 1, 2, 7, 13, 18
- Baltic States, 184
- Bang, Gustav, historian (1871–1915), 206
- Bang, Nina, politician (1866–1928), 206
- Bastille, storming of the (1789), 56
- Beck, Vilhelm, church leader (1829–1901), 99
- beef export, 120–1
- Belgium, 61
- Benelux, 179
- Berlin Wall, fall of (1989), 28, 186
- Bernstorff, Andreas Peter, foreign minister (1735–1797), 53
- Bible, first Danish translation of the, 92–3
- Billund, 175
- Bismarck, Otto von, German chancellor, 23, 24, 77, 201, 202
- Blixen, Karen, author (1885–1962), 111
- Board School Act (1814), 93–4
- Bodin, Jean, French philosopher (1530–1596), 39
- Bohr, Niels, physicist (1885–1962), 111

INDEX

- Bohuslen (former Norwegian province), 18
- Borgbjerg, Frederik, politician (1866–1936), 109
- Bornholm, 20
- Brandes, Georg, man of letters (1842–1927), 204
- Brazil, 210
- Britain, 16, 22, 27, 28, 129–30, 138, 141, 157, 161, 166, 171, 178–9, 189, 193; *see also* England
- British Corn Laws, 142, 146
- Britishness, 193–4, 198
- Brorson, Hans Adolph, bishop of Ribe (1694–1764), 97
- Burmeister & Wain, shipyard, 156
- Butterfield, Herbert, British philosopher, 192
- caritas* (the charitable role of the Church), 86, 96, 212
- Caroline Mathilde, Danish queen (1751–1775), 51
- Catholic Church, 13, 32–4, 86
 arrest of bishops (1536), 33
 becomes a national church, 87
- centrifuge, for production of butter, 150
- Christensen, I.C., politician, prime minister (1856–1930), 69, 70–1
- Christian, duke; *see* Christian III
- Christian II, king of Denmark (r. 1513–23), 15
 dethronement, 86
- Christian III, king of Denmark (r. 1534–59), 32–3, 90
 coup (1536), 87
 legislation on poor relief (1539), 91
 motto, 101
- Christian IV, king of Denmark (r. 1588–1648), 17, 18, 122, 189, 194
 death of, 39
 motto, 101
- Christian V, king of Denmark (r. 1670–99), 44
 motto, 102
- Christian VI, king of Denmark (r. 1730–46), 97
 motto, 102
- Christian VII, king of Denmark (r. 1766–1808), 51
 motto, 102
- Christian IX, king of Denmark (r. 1863–1906), 69
- Christian X, king of Denmark (r. 1912–47), 70
- Christiansborg Palace, 59
- Christiansen, Gotfred Kirk, toy manufacturer, founder of Lego (b. 1920), 175; *see also* Lego
- church land, confiscated, 88
- civil servants, increase in numbers, 177
- civil war (1534–6), 33; *see also* Count's War
- Clausen, Mads, engineer, founder of Danfoss (1905–1966), 175; *see also* Danfoss
- clergy
 as servants of the state, 89
 role in education, 94
- Colbjørnsen, Christian, agrarian reformer (1749–1814), 133
- Cold War, 178
- collaborative democracy, 169
- collective bargaining agreements, 162
- Common Market, 179; *see also* European Community
- Communist Party, 170
- compromise between Liberals and Conservatives (1894), 68; *see also* Højre; Venstre
- Confessio Augustana, 91
- confirmation, ceremony of, 93, 98
- conscription reform (1788), 56

INDEX

- consensus model, 6, 9, 30, 31
 Conservatives, 201–2, 206
 constitutional revolution (1536), 34–5
 Constitution, amended (1866), 66
 co-operative movement, 9, 149f
 dairies, 150f: numbers, 151
 purchasing societies, 151
 Copenhagen, 1, 3, 40, 41, 43, 56, 59,
 87, 108, 118, 122, 128, 137,
 138, 141, 147, 148, 154, 208
 British assaults on, 16, 21, 198
 fortifications of, 67f, 202
 siege of (1536), 33; (1658–9), 39
 Copenhagen-Bonn Accord (1955), 28
 coronation charters (and the church),
 90
 Count's War (1534–6), 17; *see also*
 civil war
 Cour, Poul la, high school teacher
 (1846–1908), 152
 crown of Denmark, 34, 35
 crown lands, 36, 54, 123
 customs reform (1797), 137
 customs union (Germany, 1834), 23
 Cyprus, 184
 Czech Republic, 184

 dairies, 149–50
 Danfoss, manufacturing company,
 157, 175
 Danishness, 194, 196, 200, 201ff
Danish Federation of Employers
 (founded 1895), 74
Danish Federation of Trade Unions
 (founded 1898), 74
 Danish fleet, confiscated by the
 British, 22
 Danish identity, 194
 Danish Law (1683), 45, 46, 47, 48,
 49, 75, 77, 124, 212
 Danish (social) Model, 49, 113, 160
 Danish nation state, emergence of,
 208
 Danish welfare model, 185, 213

 demographic transition, 153–4
Denmark for the People (Social
 Democratic manifesto, 1934),
 169
Denmark of the Future (Social
 Democratic manifesto, 1945),
 177
 Deuntzer, J.H., prime minister,
 professor, (1845–1918), 71
dominium maris Baltici, 15, 17
 dual revolution, the, 140, 207
 Duchies, the (ceding of), 24
 dyarchy, 35

 Easter crisis, the (1920), 70, 165
 Eastern Europe (break up of), 11
 Edinburgh Agreement (1992), 183–4
 EFTA, 179
 electricity generation, 151
 Elton, G.R., British historian, 35
 emigration, 154
 employment patterns, 169, 172–3,
 174
 England, 3, 14, 16, 104, 116; *see also*
 Britain
 Enlightenment, The, 100–1
 enlightened absolutism, 51
 entailed estates, 124, 145; *see also*
 land reform (1919)
 Erasmus of Rotterdam, 87
 Erik of Pomerania, king of Denmark
 (r. 1412–39), 116
 Esbjerg, 147
 Estrup, Jacob Brønnum Scavenius,
 politician, prime minister
 (1825–1913), 67, 68, 202
 ethnies, 209–10, 211, 212
 euro, the (common currency), 184
 Europe (early modern economic
 structure), 14
 European Act, the Single (1986), 182
 European Commission, 182
 European Community, 28, 173, 179,
 180, 181; *see also* Common
 Market

INDEX

- European Parliament, 182
 European Union, 11, 25, 28, 80, 82,
 184, 190, 215
 Exchange Control Office (1932), 167,
 168, 169
 Extraordinary Commission (1914),
 159
 ‘farmers’ line’ in Danish
 historiography, 192f
 farms
 dissolution of, 124
 forced sales of 166
 decreasing number after World
 War II, 173
 Faroe Islands, 1, 3, 22, 140
 February Revolutions (1848), 58
 Finland, 179, 184
folkelighed, 31, 107–9, 111, 212
 Folk High School, 9, 105, 202–3
 and co-operative movement, 153
 Songbook, 202, 206
Folketing (Lower House), 61, 66, 68
 four-party system
 emerges, 72
 breaks down, 79–80
 France, 25, 148, 179, 201
 Franco-Prussian War, 25
 Frederik I, king of Denmark (r.
 1523–33), 32, 86
 Frederik II, king of Denmark (r.
 1559–88)
 motto, 101
 Frederik III, king of Denmark (r.
 1648–70), 39, 90
 becomes hereditary and absolutist,
 41
 motto, 101
 Frederik IV, king of Denmark (r.
 1699–1730)
 founder of board schools, 93
 motto, 102
 Frederik V, king of Denmark (r.
 1746–66)
 motto, 102
 Frederik VI, king of Denmark (r.
 1808–39), 50
 Frederik VII, king of Denmark (r.
 1848–63), 59
 motto, 102
 Frederikshavn, 147
 freeholders, 123
 free schools, 105
 Frijs-Frijsenborg, C.E., Count, prime
 minister, (1817–96), 65, 66
 Fyn (Funen), 1, 111
 Gallop, Rodney, British diplomat,
 191
 gatekeeper, Denmark as, 15
 Gaulle, Charles de, president of
 France, 179
 German Confederation, 59, 60
 German Democratic Republic, 31
 German occupation of Denmark
 (1940), 27
 Germanness, 200
 Germany, 1, 2, 3, 7, 17, 23–8, 58,
 148, 157, 161, 166, 170, 178,
 179, 201–4, 208, 213, 214
 division of, 28
 nationalism in, 23
 unification of, 23, 183
 Glistrup, Mogens, politician, lawyer
 (b. 1926), 79
 Gotland, 3
 grain export, 120–1
 Great Belt, 27
 Great Land Commission (1786), 132
 Great Northern War (1700–21), 7, 19
 Greenland, 1, 3, 22, 27, 140
 Griffenfeld, Peder, chancellor
 (1635–1699), 44
 Grundtvig, N.F.S., church leader,
 politician (1783–1872), 103ff,
 195, 199, 212, 213
 English influence on his thinking,
 104
 lectures on *folkelighed*, 108

INDEX

- legacy, 109f
 philosophy of the 'popular', 107f
 poem on *folkelighed* (1848), 108
 'unique discoveries', 104
 views upon church and state, 106
 Grundtvigianism, 99, 100, 109f, 112
 Grundtvigians, 201, 202
 Gustavus Adolphus II, king of
 Sweden (r. 1611–32), 17
 Gustav Vasa I, king of Sweden (r.
 1523–60), 11, 15

 Halland, province of, 18, 189
 Halle (in Germany), 97
 Hamburg, 52
 Hanover, 52
 Hanseatic League, 11–13, 16–17
 Hansen, I.A., politician (1806–1877),
 66
 Hansen Uhd, Niels, founder of co-
 operative dairy, 152
 Hansen, V. Falbe, political
 economist, 154–5
 Helgesen, Povl, humanist (c.
 1485–1535), 87; *see also*
 Catholic Church
 Helsingør, 117
 Hjedding (in Jutland), 150
 Hobsbawm, E.J., British historian,
 140
 Holberg, Ludvig, philopher,
 playwright (1684–1754), 196
 Holst, H.P., poet (1811–1893), 200–1
 Holstein, 3, 8, 58–9, 60, 130, 190;
 see also Schleswig-Holstein
 Holy Roman Empire, 3
 Home Mission, 99–100
 Hungary, 184
 Hvidt, L.N., politician, minister
 (1777–1856), 60
 Härjedalen (former Norwegian
 province), 18
Højre (Conservative Party), 67–9,
 153; *see also* Conservatives

 Hørup, Viggo, politician, journalist
 (1841–1902), 203–4, 205, 206

 Iceland, 3, 22, 140, 210
 immigration, impact of, 79, 181
 independent farmers, 135, 136, 137,
 192; *see also* farms
 industrialisation, 9
 in Europe, 140
 the first wave, 155
 impact of late, 158
 pattern of, 156
 the second wave, 174
 the third wave, 176
 Ingemann, B.S., hymnodist, author
 (1789–1862), 199
 Islam, 112
 Italy, 179

 Jensen, Jørgen I, church historian, 83
 Jutland, 1, 21
 Jämtland (former Norwegian
 province), 18

 Kalmar Union (dissolution of, 1523),
 7, 11, 12, 13, 15
 Kalmar War (1611–13), 17
 Kanslergade Agreement, 168; *see*
 also World Crisis (1929)
 Karl X Gustav, king of Sweden (r.
 1654–60), 18
 Karl Gustav Wars (1657–60), 18, 195
 Karl XII, king of Sweden (r.
 1697–1718), 19
 Kattegat, 1
 Kauffmann, Henrik, diplomat, 27
 Kiel, 60, 147, 148
 Kiel Canal, 27
 Kierkegaard, Søren, philosopher
 (1813–1855), 102–3
 King, William, 150
 Kingo, Thomas, bishop, hymnodist
 (1634–1703), 195
 Kirghyzstan, 214

INDEX

- Koenigsberger, H.G., British historian, 2
- Kold, Christen, school reformer (1816–1870), 105
- Kongedømmet (national boundary 1864–1920), 24
- Korch, Morten, novelist (1876–1954), 174
- Korsør, 147, 148
- Krag, Jens Otto, politician, prime minister (1914–1978), 30–1, 72, 81, 82, 178, 179, 180
- Kronborg, 117
- labour movement, 158
- Landmandsbanken* fails (1922), 165
- land reform (1919), 162–4
- landslide election (1973), 79, 81
- Landsting* (Upper House), 61, 66, 70
- Lauenburg, 22
- law on elementary education (1814); *see* Board School Act
- Lego (toy company), 157, 175
- Legoland (amusement park), 175
- Lehmann, Orla, politician, minister (1810–1870), 59, 60, 62, 201
- Lex Regia*; *see* Act of Succession
- Liberalist movement, 63, 199
- Liberty Stone, the, 56
- lock-outs, 159
- London, 14
- Louis XIV, king of France (r. 1643–1715), 19
- Luther, Martin, 85, 86, 87, 88, 93, 97
- Lutheran Church, impact of, 95–6
- Lutter am Barenberg (battle at, 1626), 26, 189
- Lübeck, 12, 14, 17, 33
- Maastricht Treaty (1992), 183
- Magnussen, Arne, antiquarian (1663–1730), 195
- Malling, Ove, minister, author (1747–1829), 198
- Malta, 184
- manor farms (decree on, 1682), 124
- March Government (1848), 59–60; *see also* Revolution of 1848
- Marshall Aid, 172, 173
- Mellon, Sir James, British diplomat, author, 5–10, 31, 114, 115, 185, 208, 209, 210, 212–13, 216
- merchant navy (in Allied service 1940–5), 170
- military conscription, 55; *see also* conscription reform (1788)
- military revolution (in the sixteenth century), 37
- military service, 61
- ‘mini-ice age’, 121
- Ministry for Religious Affairs, 84
- Molesworth, Sir Robert, British diplomat, author (1656–1725), 4
- his *Account of Denmark* (1694), 5
- Moltke, A.W., prime minister (1785–1864), 59
- Monarchy, the
- becomes hereditary (1660), 41
- becomes absolute (1661), 42
- Monrad, D.G., politician, prime minister (1811–1887), 60, 200
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, French philosopher (1689–1755), 61
- Moth, Matthias, civil servant (1649–1719), 195
- Munch, P., politician, minister (1870–1948), 166
- Møller, A.P. (shipping company), 129, 157, 181
- Møller, Poul Martin, poet (1794–1838), 145
- Napoleon I Bonaparte, emperor of France, 21, 22
- Napoleonic Code (1804), 46

INDEX

- Napoleonic Wars, 20, 98, 129, 140
national assembly (for preparation of
the Constitution, 1848), 61
National Bank, 142, 159
national bankruptcy (1813), 142
national educational system, 112
National Liberals, 59, 63–5, 199, 201
National Socialist Party, 170
nationalism, 197
the modernist school, 207–9
the primordialist school, 209–10
nationalist movement, 63, 199
in Germany, 23
Nationality Law (1776), 197, 208
NATO, 27, 28, 190
Nelson, Horatio, British admiral, 21
Netherlands, 14, 16, 18, 20, 116,
120–1, 129, 130, 157
neutralism, 188, 190
neutrality (during the Colonial Wars),
21
neutrality pact (with Russia and
Sweden), 21
New Zealand, 200
Nielsen, Carl, composer
(1865–1931), 111
Nielsen, L.C., engineer (1849–1929),
150; *see also* centrifuge
nobility
loss of privileges, 43
titled, 44
Nordborg (in Als), 175
Nordek (plans of a Nordic free
market), 179
Nordic Seven Years War (1563–70),
17
North America, 148; *see also* United
States of America
North Schleswig, 24
North Sea, 1, 7, 181
Norway, 3, 21, 22, 94, 120, 140, 142,
179, 189, 194, 196, 198
Novo Nordisk (medical company),
157
Nyborg, 148
occupation by Germany (1940), 170
Odense, 146
OECD, 172
Oehlenschläger, Adam, poet
(1779–1850), 198–9
oil crisis (1973), 180, 182
Oldenburg, Royal House of, 3, 12, 23
Oldenburg State, the, 23, 193, 197
open field system, 53, 129, 131
Order of Dannebrog, 44, 45
Order of the Elephant, 44
Owen, Robert, 150
pacifism, 188, 190, 204
parish registers (introduced 1646), 89
Parliament, 61, 62; *see also*
Folketing, Landsting
parliamentarianism, 70, 202
parliamentary responsibility (of
ministers), 61
Peace of Westphalia (1648), 20
Peace Conference in Vienna
(1814–15), 22
Peace Treaty of London (1852), 24,
60
peasant farms, 127; *see also* farms
peasants, 127, 131; *see also*
independent farmers
Persian Gulf, 15, 19
Peter I the Great, Tsar of Russia
(1672–1725), 20
Petersen, Jørgen, political economist,
164
Pietism, 97
‘pig tickets’, 167
plebiscite (1920), 27
Poland, 184
policy of regulation (during World
War I), 159–60
Poor Law (1708), 92
Popular Church (*Folkekirken*), 84,
106

INDEX

- population (size and composition), 1, 118–19, 137, 143, 153
in different European countries, 118
- Portugal, 179
- privileges for counts and barons (1671), 124
- Progress Party, 79
- provisional financial budgets, 67
- Prussia, 60, 188, 190
- Prussian Seven Years War (1756–63), 21
- Radikale Venstre* (the Social-Liberal Party), 71, 72, 201, 203–4, 205, 206
- radical tradition (in Danish historiography), 188
- railways, 147
- Rasmussen, Poul Nyrup, politician, prime minister (b. 1943), 47
- rationing, 161, 171
- Reformation, the, 8
- reformatory movements, 86
- reformation of the Church, 87f
- Reventlow, Christian Ditlev Frederik, politician, agrarian reformer, 54, 133
- revivalist movements, 98
- revolution
of 1660, 40
of 1848, 58
- Reykjavik, 195
- Rigsbanken* (the National Bank), 142
- Rochdale, 150
- Rode, Ove, politician, minister (1867–1933), 159
- Roskilde, 147
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, French philosopher (1712–1778), 50, 52
- royal mottoes, 101ff
- Rubin, Marcus, historian (1854–1923), 138
- rural class system, 144–5
- Russia, 20, 28, 148, 161, 165; *see also* Soviet Union
- Rødding (in Jutland), 105
- St Petersburg, 20
- Scandinavia, 16
- Scanian provinces (*Skåne*), 3, 18, 189, 195
- Scanian War (1675–9), 19
- Scavenius, Erik, politician, prime minister (1877–1962), 26, 205
- Schimmelmann, Heinrich Ernst, politician, minister (1747–1831), 54
- Schleswig, 3, 8, 24, 58–9, 60, 189, 196; *see also* Holstein; Schleswig-Holstein
- Schleswig-Holstein, 23, 59, 60, 200
- Schleswigian Wars (1848–50; 1864), 8, 23, 24, 61, 204, 208
- Schlüter, Poul, politician, prime minister (b. 1929), 182, 183
- schools (founding of), 93
- Schumacher, Peder; *see* Griffenfeld
- Scotland, 3
- Scott, Walter, 199
- September Agreement (1899), 75
- Skagen, 116
- Slovakia, 184
- Slovenia, 184
- smallholders, 54, 126, 127, 134–5, 136, 145, 163, 164, 173, 203, 205
- Smith, Adam, 136
- Smith, Anthony D., British sociologist, 209–10, 211
- Småland, 18
- Social Democrats, 72ff, 75–6, 85, 109, 162, 165, 177, 205–6
- socialists, 202
- Social-Liberal Party, 163–4; *see also Radikale Venstre*
- Social Security Act (1976), 78

INDEX

- social security reforms, 77f, 168
- Sound dues, 3, 116–17, 118
- sovereignty (new concept of, 1536), 34
- Soviet Union, 28, 172, 214
- Special Operations Executive, 171
- State Council, 32, 33, 34
 crisis of, 38f.
 as *alter rex*, 39
- state mercantilism, 122
- state power
 and civil society, 47–8
 ‘leasing out of’, 125
- Statute Book (1643), 45
- Stauning, Thorvald, politician, prime minister (1873–1942), 76, 165–6, 167, 168, 169
- steamboat routes, 147–8
- Steincke, K.K., politician, minister (1880–1963), 168
- Stockholm Bloodbath (1520), 15
- strikes, 159
- Struensee, Johann Friedrich, German physician, political reformer (1737–1772), 51, 52, 55, 197
- superintendents, 88
- suspension of gold standard, 166
- Sweden, 2, 7, 17, 19, 22, 25, 94, 116, 117–18, 140, 179, 184, 189, 194, 209
- Switzerland, 179
- Syndicalists, 162
- taxation (changes in), 37, 38
- tenancies, 120, 123, 124, 126
- tenants, 127, 130, 133–4
- Teutonic Order, 11, 13
- Thirty Years War (1618–48), 17, 18, 37, 194
- Thisted, 150
- Torstensson War (1643–5), 18
- trade routes (changes in), 13, 14
- trade under neutral flag, 128f
- trade unions, 73, 161
- trading companies, 122
- Treaty of Kiel (1814), 141
- Treaty of Rome (1957), 179
- Treaty of Versailles (1919), 24
- Trolle, Herluf, Lord Admiral (1516–1565), 36–7, 194
- Trondheim Fjord, 44
- Tscherning, A.F., politician, minister (1795–1874), 60
- Tudor Revolution, 34
- unemployment, 161, 166, 168, 171, 176, 181
- United Left Party, 66; *see also Venstre*
- United States of America, 16, 27, 28, 154, 161, 172, 210
- University of Copenhagen, 92, 111
- urban middle class (emergence of), 138–9
- Venstre* (Liberal Party), 67, 68, 69, 70, 110, 153, 167, 168, 188, 202
- Vienna Congress (1814–15), 23
- village collectives, 136, 137, 178, 213
 and modern Danishness, 211–12
- village land (redistribution of), 132
- villeinage, 125, 130, 132, 133–4
- welfare model, 215
- welfare state (the Danish model), 9, 76–8, 177f
 and Danishness, 207, 210
- Westphalia (peace negotiations in), 18
- Westphalian system, 23
- Wittenberg, 88
- women
 on the labour market, 176
 win the right to vote, 61
- workers’ co-operative, 150
- working class, 158

INDEX

- world crisis (1929), 166
- World War I (1914–18), 27, 159
- World War II (1939–45), 27
- Zealand, 1, 54, 194
- Øresund, 3, 14, 15, 18, 40, 116, 117