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BISHOP GRUNDTVIG

THE PEOPLES' HIGH SCHOOL

IN

DENMARK

*by Professor J. L. MARIAS, D.D.*

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*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of  
Her Majesty the Governor-General*

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# BISHOP GRUNDTVIG

AND

## THE PEOPLE'S HIGH SCHOOL IN DENMARK

By Professor J. I. MARAIS, D.D.

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**REPORT furnished at the instance of the Colonial Secretary of the late Cape Colony, and published at the instance of the Minister of Education of the Union.**

PROFESSOR BETTEX, in his interesting book on *Culture* ('*Bildung*'), tells the following characteristic story:—

"When we—some theologians and professors, a distinguished jurist, a doctor, and owner of property—were once discussing matters in ordinary social intercourse, the question was asked by one of the company: 'But what, after all, *is* Culture?' The answers given were various and definitions flew about. Every definition had its weakness; and after a discussion which lasted two hours all kept silence, till a simple-minded Swabian, amid great hilarity, exclaimed with a sigh: 'Well, then, it appears that no one knows what *Culture* is!'" Introductory.

What is here said about *Culture* may be applied to *Education*. No definition can make the term plainer, for logical definition is simply impossible. Various ages have had various views on the subject, each country has its own methods, system has followed system, theorist has contradicted theorist, until a veritable Ossa of theory piled on a Pelion of system warns us that our structure is unsound, because our foundations are insecure. What Pope has said of government may well be applied to education:

"For forms of government let fools contest:  
That which is best administered is best."

If that be so, no nation can claim precedence in the struggle for system, nor can any nation take over without change the system or systems which have proved successful elsewhere. The younger nations may learn from the older; but to apply the methods of one country in all their rigidity to another is to lose sight of historic development, of special need; is to display a lamentable lack of pedagogic imagination, without which every educationist must fail. A nation's wants should give direction to a nation's training for the supply of those wants. In academic circles men are apt to sneer at the *Brot-und-Butter-Wissenschaften* (bread-and-butter sciences), as though a man's education should not "qualify him to earn his livelihood by a special knowledge or dexterity in some lucrative calling or profession" (Hamilton's "*Metaphysics*"). The useful will in the end overshadow and prevail against the merely ornamental. But too often the process is reversed: the ornamental is made to precede and finally to overwhelm the useful. Herbert Spencer has warned us against this tendency of modern education: "Men dress their children's minds as they do their bodies in the prevailing fashion. . . . Not only in times past, but almost as much in our own era, that knowledge which conduces to personal well-being has been postponed to that which brings applause." (See Herbert Spencer "*On Education*".)

\* \* \*

In young countries we are apt to adopt, often without criticism or proper adjustment, the educational methods or theories or systems of those that have preceded us in the race, instead of working out our own salvation according to our own requirements. The battle between the useful and the ornamental is simply transferred to a new field—as resultless in the newer sphere as in the old. The battle-ground has been shifted, but the *casus belli* remains. Is it not possible to combine the two opposing systems and to make them work in fullest harmony under new conditions? Some writers on the subject have thought it possible, and more than possible.

Mr. Froude, for instance, has put the matter very forcibly before us: "On the one side we have the cultivation of man's reason, the development of his spiritual nature. This elevates him above the pressure of material interests. It makes him superior to the pleasures and pains of a world which is but his temporary home, in filling his mind with higher subjects than the occupations of life would themselves provide him with. . . . But a life of speculation to the multitude would be a life of idleness and uselessness. They have to maintain themselves in industrious independence in a world in which it has been said there are but three possible methods of existence—begging, stealing, and working. Education therefore means also the equipping a man with means to earn his own living."

\* \* \*

Where these two aspects are combined in the training of youth, the result will be a benefit to the race. For education does not mean merely information, an imparting of truth from without; but also an evoking of truth from within. The human mind is not a *tabula rasa* for any wandering scribe, however well informed, to scribble upon. It has a bent of its own. Happy the teacher who discovers the bent of his pupils' minds and gives a new direction to the innate capacities and activities of that mind.

"Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise  
From outward things, whate'er you may believe.  
There is an inmost centre in us all  
Where truth abides in fulness: and around,  
Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in—  
This perfect, clear perception.

. . . And to know  
Rather consists in opening out a way,  
Whence the imprisoned splendours may escape,  
Than in effecting entry for a light  
Supposed to be without." \*

Hence the child's environment, his future destiny, his career in after life are to be carefully taken into account; so that, whatever system we adopt or method we apply in a new country, under new conditions, must be unfettered by the traditionalisms and effete theories of a civilization which has grown old in the service of youth. The law of adaptation and adjustment has to be applied to the needs of a rising generation, slowly emerging into the light of new surroundings, which of themselves are but an outcome of what has been in the past and a preparation for what will be in the future.

Education is a progressive science. No educationist can be original. Originality is not a characteristic of our race. From the days of Plato onwards men who have zealously laboured for the betterment of the race have been obliged to abandon theory after theory and to begin anew in this work of adaptation and adjustment.

"Grau, teurer Freund, ist alle Theorie",

Goethe makes Mephistopheles say in "Faust"; but even Mephistopheles has to add:

"Grün ist des Lebens goldner Baum."

It is this hope for the race which drives away our educational despair. "Hence it is the duty of all practitioners of the science of education to be well aware of its incompleteness, to do something for the enlargement of its boundaries, and to enrich it with new discoveries. Every school is a laboratory in which new experiments may be tried and new truths may be brought into light; and every teacher who invents a new method or finds a new channel of access to the intelligence, the conscience, and the sympathy of his scholars will do a service not only to his professional brethren and successors, but to the whole community" (Sir Joshua Fitch).

\* \* \*

It was with such views on education that I undertook last year while in Europe to visit Denmark and to study for myself and on the spot the "People's High Schools". Unfortunately these were closed when I visited that interesting country. I was enabled, however, to interview Dr. Nørregaard, the veteran educationist of Testrup, and to learn from his own lips what had actually been done, in circumstances the

\* Perhaps I might serve the reader by referring him also to Goethe's words:—

"Was in den Menschen nicht ist, kommt— auch nicht aus ihm.  
Denn wir können die Kinder nach unserm Sinne nicht formen;  
Wie ein Gott sie uns gab, so musz man sie haben und lieben,  
Sie erziehen auf's Beste und jeglichen lassen gewähren.  
Denn der eine hat die, der andere andere gaben;  
Jeder gebraucht sie, und Jeder ist doch nur auf eigene Weise  
Gut und glücklich."

(See on this question Karl Schmidt: "Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts.")

most adverse, for the intellectual elevation of the Danish peasant. I owe the worthy doctor a debt of gratitude. For, though no longer in active service, he may look back in vigorous old age upon a great deal accomplished through personal effort. As I sat in his study, the autumn sunshine spread over hill and dale and streaming through the windows, it seemed to me as if for the time being I was transferred to our sunny South Africa, with identical problems, and as if what *has been* accomplished in the far North may find a new accomplishment in our own South, where schools are, alas! too few, where theorists abound, and where, in spite of noble efforts, apparently so little has been achieved.

To tell the story of these "High Schools" shall be my aim in this report, in the hope that the day may come sooner than we dare anticipate when in this land of Good Hope no child will be left untaught, and new methods will be applied for the intellectual elevation of masses, largely careless of higher training and indifferent to what is being done for them already.

\* \* \*

The problem presented by Denmark from an educational point of view is exceedingly interesting. A country by no means rich in resources, with a soil "poor, sand-riddled, and famished", with a population so small that it would be lost in a city like London, it has slowly risen to a position of agricultural eminence which is not excelled even by its prouder and more highly favoured neighbour, Germany, before which Denmark had to bend as a tree bends before the blast of the storm. It is described by a careful student of its resources as "a very small country with an area of under 10,000,000 acres—I believe less than half that of Scotland—and a population of a little over 2,590,000, or about half that of London. Of this population one moiety lives by agriculture, while of the other remaining half a large proportion—I cannot say how large—lives indirectly out of the land or on those by whom it is cultivated" (Rider Haggard, "Rural Denmark").

The  
Danish  
problem.

The Scottish Agricultural Commission published a report in 1904, in which it says: "The sandy detritus of the Ice Age—the scrapings of hard, crystalline rocks—has given Denmark more poor than good land, and much of it we could know by no other name than 'a hungry soil'. Nor is the climate congenial. The situation is insular, but the island and peninsula constituting the country are in proximity to the cold German Ocean on the one hand and the icy Baltic on the other, while they are near enough to Finland and Russia to come under the influence of the rigorous cold of a Continental winter. As the country is low-lying and either flat or undulating, there being no sheltering hills—the highest point above the sea-level is 550 feet—the country must often be exposed to the fury of harsh, sweeping winter winds. The summer, although very good, is so short and dry that oats have scarcely time to grow and mature an abundant crop; and one of the problems engaging the attention of experiment stations in Denmark is to find a variety that can be sown one year and harvested the next; while farm live stock have to be comfortably housed and tended within doors for the greater part of the year." The farms are heavily mortgaged. "Probably", says Rider Haggard, "it would not be too much to say that, on an average, they have borrowed up to half the value of their estates." And yet this people rose to agricultural eminence not excelled anywhere. How has this come about? This is the problem to be solved.

\* \* \*

The problem must be studied in connection with the history of the people. That history is unique, especially in the nineteenth century. Involved in war with England, Denmark lost its fleet in 1807. The famous battle of the Baltic broke its naval prestige. As schoolboys we frequently had to recite the well-known ballad—

History of  
Denmark.

"Of Nelson and the North  
Sing the glorious day's renown,  
When to battle fierce came forth  
All the might of Denmark's crown."

But—as in Æsop's fable of the Frogs—what brought glory to the destroyers, brought dire disaster upon a suffering community. At a later date Denmark's policy cost the nation dear. It became involved in long-continued war with Sweden and England, in which Danish sailors, a race descended from the Vikings of old, distinguished themselves by great acts of sustained bravery. Years of struggle told upon the country and its slowly diminishing resources. Denmark lost its trade and national bankruptcy was the result. There may be "pomp and pageantry" in war, when an eager soldiery leaves the country amid the blare of trumpets and the applause of an admiring crowd: it too often spells "red ruin and the breaking up of laws" to those who remain behind. This Denmark found. In 1814 it had to accept peace

on terms which were anything but favourable. It had to hand over Norway to Sweden; and when at last the "piping days of peace" dawned upon the distracted country it found itself shorn of national honour, plunged into deepest poverty, bankrupt of resources.

\* \* \*

Strange to relate, during those years of stress and strain the national spirit awoke. This showed itself first of all in an outburst of national poetry, which is unequalled. Oehlenschläger, Baggesson, Holberg, Ingemann, received their inspiration from national decline, and voiced the national aspirations, its hopes, and its fears. Then, too, the national spirit awoke in a man who perhaps has done more for the intellectual elevation of his people than any man of his day. I allude to Bishop Grundtvig. This man's life and work have to be closely studied in order to understand the educational position of the country he claims as his fatherland.

A long-continued struggle, extending over many years, had been carried on between two political factions, the German party and the Nationalists ("Deutschtum" and "Dänentum", as it has been called by Dr. Ronberg Madsen, in his "Grundtvig und die Dänischen Volkshochschule"). The Court in those days was strongly German, so much so that King Christian VI. and his Queen not only gave the preference to every one and everything coming from across the border, but actually imported German workmen for building their palaces. The Danish language was despised at Court and became unfashionable in Court circles. It was relegated to the street, to the market, but kept from the palace and to a large extent from the school. A great shadow seemed to lie upon the land.

\* \* \*

Then came wars, without glory and without gain. The Schleswig-Holstein war in 1848-50 proved utterly disastrous to Denmark; and when still later, in 1864, Germany was once more supreme and Denmark lost its southern provinces, it seemed as if the much-suffering country could bear no more. "We Danes", said Dr. Nørregaard to me in his quaint German, "are inclined towards Schwermuth": the Danes apparently lose heart soon. The wonderful rebound therefore from poverty to comparative wealth, from national decadence to national revival, is one of the object-lessons for the modern world. Denmark might have sunk to the lowest depths of depression. It heard a voice which was echoed and re-echoed over the length and breadth of the land: "Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!"

How did this national revival come about? What influences brought about the great change? What forces hitherto latent now emerged into fullest activity?

In order to answer these questions a study is necessary of the Danish High School and the methods introduced by the great educational reformer, to whom his country is so largely indebted. Idea, ideal, idealism—are not these the main factors in the world's progress? An *idea* possessing brain and heart of a reformer, becoming his *ideal* through life, and leading to an *idealism* which informs all his attempts at reform—these are strikingly illustrated in the life and work of Bishop Grundtvig and in the High School system initiated by him.

\* \* \*

The national character.

Before tracing the career of this remarkable man a word or two is necessary to illustrate the Danish character. The people, though inclined to "Schwermuth", according to Dr. Nørregaard, have a wonderful self-control and an equally wonderful self-dependence. Dr. Hollmann, who has studied the Danish system of education at first hand, writes: "It may with confidence be said that there are few countries where small and big questions are discussed with such knowledge and freedom ('so rein heraus und unumwunden'), and where the elevated and the sublime find such a characteristic expression in popular form as in Denmark. The foreigner hears that in Denmark ordinary peasants ('Bauersleute') have so much to say in Parliament and the leading offices of Government; and he is still more surprised when he hears them give expression to their ideas in the House of Legislature ('Reichstag') and at meetings of agriculturists. It is true, indeed, that things proceed very slowly there, but what is said is expressed in clear and intelligible language. Still more will it surprise the foreigner when he hears that at the Danish High Schools for the people young men who have received their training merely at the common elementary schools hear lectures on Hegel, Schleiermacher, and on modern philosophical and social problems. These lectures are not what is commonly called 'popular', and therefore on a lower level, but thoroughly scientific; for the teachers at these schools are men academically trained, whose equipment for their task is by no means inferior to that of a professor at the university" ("Dänische Volkshochschule"). Thoroughness, it seems, is a characteristic of the Dane. In Denmark, at any rate, popular is not synonymous with unscientific or superficial. The Danish peasant knows the

value of learning and its effect upon man's success in life. He therefore realizes his responsibilities and makes use of his opportunities. Hence even the ordinary farm labourer impresses the foreigner with his knowledge of subjects which do not fall within the curriculum of the peasant trained elsewhere. A characteristic story is told by Mr. Rider Haggard:—"An English lady whom I met at Copenhagen told me that not long ago her motor broke down in a rural part of Denmark. While the repairs were being effected, she fell into conversation with a farm lad, who had lent her a rope, and found that he could talk French and German, could understand but not speak English, and was studying Latin! She remarked that it would be difficult to find a labourer in England who possessed so many accomplishments. 'Yes', answered the youth quietly, 'but every one knows that the English are very badly educated.'" This is by no means an isolated instance, nor is the description exaggerated; "for the Danes", according to a competent authority, "are an extremely well-instructed people". Miss Edith Sellars has had a similar experience. Writing in "Cornhill" (March, 1909), she speaks of a chambermaid at her hotel knowing and reading (of course, in Danish) Shakespeare with great delight. To this she adds the following statement:—"Again and again in Denmark, in little homesteads, in out-of-the-way villages, I have come across men and women keenly interested in literature; men and women who, after a hard day's work, would settle themselves down by their firesides with real delight to talk about books—to ask me of the tendencies of latter-day English writers, and to tell me what their own *litterateurs* were doing. In one house where I stayed the maid who waited on me was quite an authority on Shakespeare; she could quote (in Danish, of course) long passages from his dramas. In another, the coachman with infinite pride told me that his most cherished possession was a translation of Milton. I have met with Danish peasant farmers who knew infinitely more about the history of England than any English farmer I have yet encountered."

\* \* \*

Denmark reminds one of Holland, to some extent at least. There, too, you have a people earnestly interested in literature and well instructed; for, with political parties, small, fierce, aggressive, even the artisan is roused out of his self-complacency. Some years ago, while busy preparing a lecture for a Stellenbosch audience on Bilderdijk—perhaps the most brilliant of Dutch poets and by no means attractive as a writer—I met in a Cape family I was visiting a Dutch kitchenmaid, excellent in her ordinary work, who during her leisure moments in the evening was studying one of the latest books on the favourite poet of Holland (Bavinck, "Bilderdijk als Denker en Dichter")—a book I had just been reading myself and recommending to others. She bore a high character in the family she served with a faithfulness not equalled by any servants of my acquaintance. Her high intelligence did not in the least detract from the excellence of her work. Her case may be an exception to the general rule; but to me it was a revelation to find a serving-maid in a kitchen studying a volume by no means "popular"—in the sense of superficial, *vox et praeterea nihil*—but appealing to her intelligence in a way which even a university student might envy.

Denmark and  
Holland.

The peasant therefore is a force in Denmark, a power to be reckoned with. The desire for learning is great among old as well as young. They seem to be keen in applying new methods where the old have failed. That little country, with its starved soil, called by one of its poets "a torso with members ruthlessly torn from its trunk", has indeed shown a marvellous productiveness.

\* \* \*

Agriculturally it has played a leading part in the production of foodstuffs for more favoured lands beyond the seas. Let me give a few statistics of its export of agricultural products. Taking the three items of pork, butter, and eggs, we reach the following results:—

Denmark's  
exports.

Years.	Pork.	Butter.	Eggs.
1876-80.....	£1,062,000	£1,116,000	£66,000
1886-90.....	1,538,000	2,411,000	284,000
1896.....	2,322,000	4,600,000	506,000
1900.....	3,233,000	6,084,000	992,000

These figures are more eloquent than words. Here we have continued progress, a progress hardly equalled by any country in the world. Strabo called ancient Alexandria "the largest emporium of the world". The city founded by the great Alexander had the most splendid natural advantages, with a commodious harbour, lighted by the Pharos—a lighthouse celebrated in history—and with a market to which traders were drawn from every region of the civilized globe. Denmark cannot

claim such advantages, and yet it has supplied the civilized world with its foodstuffs of rare excellence. Bringing our statistics further down than 1900, we may appeal once more to Mr. Rider Haggard, who, on the authority of the "Danish Export Review", has shown that "in the year 1908 agricultural products to the value of £20,956,550 have been sent away, nearly all of it to the United Kingdom. This it was able to do in spite of the comparative density of its population, viz., 174 per square mile, which considerably exceeds that of Scotland (135 per square mile), and even that of Ireland (141 per square mile). To be more precise, the value of butter, bacon, and eggs imported into Great Britain from Denmark in 1908 amounted to about £18,500,000—an enormous total, that for a long while past has been steadily rising every year."

The Scottish Commission on Agriculture to Denmark confirms the above results for the year 1901. In its report it states that "Danish prosperity is mainly based upon rural prosperity"; in other words, that the Danish race is mainly a race of farmers. While 38·24 per cent. of the total population were living in towns, 61·77 per cent. were living in purely rural districts. "The significant thing, however, is that the growth of Copenhagen and other Danish towns has not been achieved at the expense of the rural parts, either as regards population or wealth. A migratory movement both to the towns and to foreign lands which excited alarm during some decades of the nineteenth century seems to have been successfully arrested, while to the most superficial observer it is obvious that the farmer has contrived to retain a reasonable share of the fruits of his labour."

\* \* \*

The Danes are a resourceful people, and apparently they watch the fluctuating foreign market with keen eyes. No European country rears so many pigs. "Every one keeps pigs, and usually as many of them as possible, with the result that in ten years' time the pig population has increased by a half, and there is now (1904) considerably over a million pigs in Denmark—fully half a pig per head of the population" (Scottish Report). The following figures will illustrate this statement:—

	Pigs per 1000 inhabitants.
Denmark.....	503
Prussia.....	295
France.....	195
Sweden.....	160
Great Britain and Ireland.....	93

The market is not steady. At one time, in 1887, 232,000 pigs were exported to Germany specially, to the value of £833,300, and bacon and ham were exported to the value of £666,700. The swine fever broke out in Denmark and German ports were closed, with the result that the export fell from 232,000 to 16,000. But the Danish farmer was not disheartened. "He went on rearing pigs as before, only more of them. In 1888 he had 770,785; in 1893, he had 829,131, and between 1891 and 1895 the export trade in pork had reached the considerable sum of £1,722,200; and Germany, which had again thrown open her gates, was receiving live pigs to the tune of £555,600 a year."

In the production of butter the Danish farmer is equally alive to his opportunities. Every care is taken to select and breed profitable dairy cattle. Careful records are kept of the average milk yield, so that progress in production may be carefully watched by all interested. The following table will show what results have been achieved (Scottish Report):—

AVERAGE OF ALL THE COWS IN VARIOUS ASSOCIATIONS FROM 1898-99 TO 1902-03.

	Pounds of Milk.	Pounds of Butter.
A. Increase in five years.....	614	29
B. " " " .....	968	40
C. " " " .....	667	33
D. " " " .....	1018	45
E. " " " .....	1189	50
F. " " " .....	1286	57
G. " " " .....	1366	50
H. " " " .....	1264	39
I. " " " .....	985	44
AVERAGE INCREASE.....	932	43

IMPORTS INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM DENMARK.  
(From British Statistics.)

Principal Articles.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.
	£	£	£	£	£
Horses.....	25,636	17,820	17,236	40,211	89,448
Butter.....	7,553,436	8,029,625	8,950,497	9,302,362	9,572,439
Eggs.....	908,543	923,551	1,160,948	1,366,073	1,648,367
Lard.....	6,983	9,672	9,096	16,958	24,943
Bacon.....	2,945,757	3,058,782	3,234,456	3,749,108	4,294,017
Beef (fresh).....	91,358	149,108	130,728	270,613	128,525
Mutton (fresh).....	30,882	13,097	11,777	18,685	23,759
Pork (salted).....	73,905	84,033	77,545	83,704	127,918
Pork (fresh).....	20,339	29,892	7,586	18,974	7,076
Unenumerated (salted or fresh).....	29,885	44,679	50,708	89,074	87,462
<b>TOTAL OF CHIEF AGRICULTURAL IMPORTS..£</b>	<b>11,587,724</b>	<b>12,360,259</b>	<b>13,650,577</b>	<b>14,955,792</b>	<b>16,003,954</b>
<b>TOTAL OF ALL IMPORTS.£</b>	<b>12,432,977</b>	<b>13,187,757</b>	<b>14,234,102</b>	<b>15,856,780</b>	<b>16,594,565</b>

The progressive value of the trade in butter, eggs, and bacon will be observed; and the maximum is not yet in sight. The dependence of Denmark on the British market is also noteworthy. Of Denmark's total sales to foreign countries, all but £2,000,000 worth are of the agricultural class, and all but £1,500,000 worth of that agricultural class go to the British consumer.

\* \* \*

The Danes are a thrifty people, almost penuriously so; destitution is comparatively unknown. The tramp is a rarity, the wandering beggar an anomaly. "Also", says Mr. Haggard. "though spirits can be bought at sixpence per bottle, there is practically no visible drunkenness, except occasionally among foreign sailors."

Politically Denmark is dead. It leaves the game of high politics to those whom it may concern. But in proportion to its ability to cope with great political questions in their relation to foreign countries, it has developed a home activity, a capacity for communal self-government, by which all the powers in a district work together for the development of local resources. This resourcefulness shows itself in their readiness to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. "The remarkable production of butter, in which Denmark takes the first place, just as Holland and Switzerland in cheese production, is the work of a single generation, and is due to two Danish characteristics: a clear intellect, that knows what has to be done in order to procure a good product and what is necessary to secure a good economic position, and at the same time a strong impulse towards co-operation. When at the end of the year 1880 the price of grain was suddenly lowered by the sudden rise of the American market and the outlook was dark for those who in Europe had to live by the production of grain, the Danes suddenly swerved from their course, gave up grain production, and devoted all their time and attention to dairy-farming. The Danes apparently know what co-operative dairying means, for in Denmark it has become a marked success. The smallest landholder has a share in its profits, even where only two cows are his sole possession. Denmark is covered with co-operative dairies, whose chimneys are seen from afar, and are the centres of an activity which attracts to itself the shining buckets of milk brought in day by day from small and large holders, while English gold flows into the country for the benefit of all shareholders in these undertakings." Co-operation in agriculture is a speciality in Denmark: its agricultural success is due to co-operation. It has "co-operative societies for purchase and distribution", with a membership of 200,000; "co-operative creameries", with 150,000 members; "co-operative slaughter-houses", with 67,000 members; "co-operative egg centres", with 65,000 members. In five years' time they built 1000 dairies and

fitted them with the latest appliances. Butter-making implements of the very newest patterns, worked by steam, have been introduced. They have formed 333 cattle-breeding societies. The results of their labour have been extraordinary, as the following figures will show. Since 1901 their income on these ventures has been as follows :

1901.....	£12,000,000
1902.....	12,890,000
1903.....	14,214,000

“The total exports of Denmark”, says the Scottish Commission of 1904, “in the year 1903 amounted to nearly £20,000,000; and of this, £11,214,000, or 57 per cent., came from co-operative societies.”

Should not the Danish co-operative system be thoroughly studied in South Africa, where co-operation has been attempted and—has failed? Miss Edith Sellars grows quite enthusiastic about them. She calls Denmark “the richest country in the world, per head of the population, barring England”. With equal enthusiasm, she adds: “They are but what the *High Schools for the People* have made them.”

This statement is endorsed by no less an authority than Sir John Gorst, who, while commending Denmark as a country which had risen from one of the poorest to one of the richest, comparatively speaking, in Europe, ascribes this pre-eminence to the “high grade of intelligence among its peasants, freeing the people from traditional prejudice and from the selfishness common to an undeveloped agricultural population, ready to adopt every improvement in the technical and co-operative sphere and to overcome all prejudice against scientific improvement”.

\* \* \*

The High  
School for  
the People.

The “High School” is the outcome of a system in some respects peculiarly Danish. It was a reaction against existing methods in education. Its special characteristic is its *unrestricted freedom*. In Professor Sadler’s “Special Reports on Educational Subjects” we read: “The schools for adults I am about to describe are original, both in conception and in method of working. They are conditioned only by the needs and requirements of the population around, as these are apprehended by the people themselves and their friends; nor are they confined within any limitations except such as are inherent in the capacities of teachers and students. It might be thought that schools having a freedom uncontrolled—schools, moreover, that in most instances are the property of a single individual—were unfit objects of public support. But we shall find, on the one hand, that the very best results flow from this large liberty, and, on the other hand, that the State gets good value for the large sums of money expended on them.”

The object of these schools is to give the peasant a wider outlook, a horizon—a special horizon, a horizon limited by the bounds of nationality and yet unlimited, a horizon very specially Danish and yet European, particular and yet universal. Most systems of education are limited in their range. They are simply the application of traditional methods, moving within the traditional sphere of operations. To break with tradition, to shatter the ancient forms and modes of procedure, to realize that

“The old order changeth, yielding place to new”,

and that

“God fulfils Himself in many ways”,

is not easy. Hence the reformer meets with opposition. “Ancient forms of party strife” are revived whenever an attempt is made to open up new ways for thought and activity. The world is ruled by ideas: in the idea lies the germ of the organization: when the organization is complete the original idea is frequently starved. National prejudice is a combined revolt against national progress. No nation in its attempts at reform can break absolutely with its past: no nation may cling to that past, as though present need must necessarily find fullest satisfaction in that which lies behind it. One nation may learn from another without adopting and applying in every particular what the other nation has acquired after years of trial and sometimes also years of failure. In the sphere of economics, as in the sphere of education, this statement has been verified over and over again. The subject is too wide a one to be treated here. I may be pardoned for referring to Professor W. Cunningham’s interesting book on “Alien Immigrants to England”, where he says: “It is clear that for the whole of our textile manufactures, for our shipping, for numberless improvements in mining, in the hardware trades, and in *agriculture* (italics are mine), and for everything connected with the organization of business, we are deeply indebted to the alien immigrants. Their influence on other sides of life is less easy to assess and trace, but it is none the less real. It may suffice to say that all through the

Alien  
immigration.

Middle Ages our isolated country was behind the rest of Europe in many ways, and that it has been through the agency of immigrants that we have been brought into contact with higher civilizations, and thus been enabled to learn from them." What is here said of alien immigration may be applied to national education. The reformer breaks through accepted methods and is not listened to, until at last the nation wakes up to build the graves of its martyrs. Bishop Grundtvig took this line of action. The city would not hear him and he turned to the country. He spoke to the level of the rural understanding: jocularly he called his speech "Burgerstubensprache" (domestic speech). He said somewhere, in one of his many pamphlets: the Chinaman for the expression of his thoughts needs some thousand and more written or printed forms, while the European employs only some twenty-five letters of the alphabet. Some witty European might say: Why so many symbols; a little more than a score suffices me? "These thousands of symbols—'crab's feet', he calls them—you may find it difficult to imprint upon your memory; but the thoughts of great minds need not remain for you a book with seven seals. They ought to speak to you, so that you may understand them, and when these thoughts are really great it does not matter to you how poor the words are in which they speak." He saw clearly that new methods, a new medium, were necessary. He initiated a forward movement, and by unwearied effort so influenced public opinion as to introduce the necessary reform. Other educationists have pleaded for reform in their own country and have been less successful. Professor Butler, addressing the students of Columbia University, raised his voice in favour of such reform in terms almost identical: "Public opinion, despite the protests of the pundits of the faculties, is forcing an extension of the course of study. It is one of the best bits of grim humour that our American practice, *inherited from the mother country* (the italics are mine), affords that the designation 'liberal' has come to be claimed as the sole prerogative of a very narrow and technical course of study that was invented for a very narrow and technical purpose, and that has been very imperfectly liberalized in the intervening centuries. It ought to soften somewhat the asperities of teachers of Greek to remember that the very arguments by which they are in the habit of resisting the inroads of the modern languages, the natural sciences, or economics were used not so many hundreds of years ago to keep Greek itself from edging its way into the curriculum at all. Paulsen is indubitably right in his insistence upon the fact that the modern world has developed a culture of its own, which, while an outgrowth of the culture of antiquity, is quite distinct from it. It is this modern culture that our education must lead. The first question to be asked of any course of study is: Does it lead to a knowledge of our contemporary civilization? If not, it is neither efficient nor liberal."

Prof. Butler  
on Education

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This indeed is the universal problem—the problem that faced Grundtvig in Denmark—how to educate the *people* as a whole, not the chosen few among the so-called cultured classes, and make it fit for the battle of life! Denmark is adequately provided with schools, both higher and elementary. Its University at Copenhagen, with 1300 students, has done and still is doing most excellent work, and its scholars, scientists, theologians, are second to none in any other country. Its common-school system is perhaps unsurpassed, though the report of the Scottish Commission maintains that "Denmark has nothing striking or novel for Scottish eyes", and though the Norwegian writer, Björnsterne Björnson, has said that the Danish peasantry are the most enlightened in the world. Let us see what has actually been achieved, so as to enable us the better to realize the reforms initiated by Grundtvig.

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In Denmark education is free of charge and compulsory. Every child must attend school after the completion of its seventh year and continues at school to the end of its fourteenth year. There are, however, schools of a somewhat higher grade, where a charge of one or two kroner (a kroner is somewhat less than a shilling) is made. The management is left in the hands of the school committee, consisting in the country of the parish minister, as *ex officio* chairman, and other members chosen by the parish council. In towns, however, the chairman is elected, while the town council is responsible for the appointment of the remainder. The result is that in the country 89 per cent. of the children are at school and in the towns 70 per cent., the average in Copenhagen being 77 per cent.

Educational  
system.

The number of pupils in each class seems to be limited to thirty-seven in the country and thirty-five in the towns. Co-education is permitted in country schools, boys and girls attending the same classes. This is rarely met with in Copenhagen, and in other towns this happens only in one-fifth of the classes. The hours of

attendance vary according to circumstances. In Copenhagen twenty-four to thirty-six hours a week are spent in school, but in country districts the communes regulate the time of school attendance in accordance with local conditions. In winter more days are spent in school than in summer, for during the summer the children are needed in the work on the fields. Hence in small districts attendance is demanded only for three days in the week. No elaborate buildings, ornate and architecturally striking, meet the eye. The schools are described as "plain, substantial, and fairly well equipped". In Copenhagen, to meet the difficulty of insufficient accommodation, the schools are worked in two shifts, one set of children attending from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. and another set from 1 to 6 p.m. In order not to lay too heavy burdens on the teachers, their hours of teaching are limited to six hours a day; but the hours may be distributed over the two periods. A good deal is made of out-of-door instruction. "The children are carried freely on the State railways to the country, where lessons are given direct from nature, and history is taught in the scenes where national events took place. In connection with a school recently erected in Copenhagen, a garden has been provided for growing specimens useful in teaching." Though thus there is a fair amount of variation as to hours of attendance, the rule is that children must receive instruction for forty-one school-weeks, averaging at least eighteen hours per week in the country and twenty-one hours per week in towns.

Elementary education therefore is sound in Denmark, and yet there was room for reform. The compulsory subjects are reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, singing, and for boys gymnastics. In towns drawing is added for boys, and for girls gymnastics and needlework. The optional subjects are natural history and Slöjd, and for girls gymnastics, housewifery, mathematics, and foreign languages. Physics and physiology are taught in the town free schools, but only exceptionally in country districts. This is the account given by Mr. Rider Haggard ("Rural Denmark"), to whom I am largely indebted. A system like this in no way differs materially from what is taught in other countries. And yet Grundtvig and his disciples clamoured for reform!

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The preparation for a university career leaves little to be desired. The students pass through a six-years' gymnasium course, variously called a "Laerde School", a Cathedral School, or a Laton School, beginning at the twelfth year. This needs no comment on our part. There is besides a four-years' course in a "Real-skole" or Modern School, sometimes in the same building as the gymnasium, but more frequently standing alone. This also begins at the twelfth year. Besides these there are a number of private schools, with a six-years' course, often containing a larger percentage of the scholars than the public school. At the end of the fourth year each school has to submit to a State examination of about the same difficulty, but with some difference in the subjects presented. The "Real-skole" examination is called "Almindelig-Forberedelses-Examen", or more probably "Präliminar-Examen", and forms a minor leaving examination. This leaving examination is in itself extremely interesting, including subjects not found in the curriculum of many schools—certainly not in South Africa. Let me enumerate these subjects:

1. An essay in Danish on some subject that falls within the programme of the school studies.
2. An oral examination in Danish language and literature.
3. A translation of a piece of English prose.
4. English *viva voce*, in which special stress is laid on translation into correct Danish of prepared and unprepared passages.
- 5 and 6. In French and German the examination is *viva voce* and the requirements are as in English.
7. History.
8. Geography.
9. Two or three problems in arithmetic.
10. Three problems in algebra and an oral test.
11. Three problems in geometry and an oral test.
12. Botany and geology.
13. Elements of physics.

*N.B.*—Neatness in written work counts as a subject.

In this case I am indebted to the "Special Reports on Educational Subjects", Vol. XVII, issued by the English Board of Education. I offer no criticism. It would be interesting to pursue the subject and to show what the effects are of this examination and later ones. But I refrain, only adding that private schools are conducted on strictly educational lines and are models which might safely be copied elsewhere.

My object in discussing the question at all is to show that the "High Schools for the People", of which I shall treat more fully at a later stage, stand entirely by themselves, though the system has been adopted by several of the countries of northern Europe. The Danish problem was peculiar. Though education had reached a high pitch of excellence, something seemed to be wanting. That want had to be supplied; for Denmark is largely dependent on its rural population, and that population was slowly sinking into despair through economic as well as political disaster. Markets were closed. America from across the seas had become a competitor not to be despised. Germany was closing its door. "Floods, droughts, epidemics among cattle, plagues of all kinds", were sweeping across the country from time to time. What were they to do? How were the peasants to be heartened and kept to the soil? I said on a previous page that the Danes are inclined to "Schwer-muth"—a phrase of Dr. Nørregaard's. Were they to go under, accepting the *status quo*, and to become nationally and economically bankrupt? Were they to drift into towns and to become hopelessly lost in purse and intelligence, in morals and spirituality? Technical training there was, second to none. The university and the schools dependent upon it provided largely for their intellectual necessities. Was a learned proletariat to be added to the burdens of an already overburdened community? Were responsibilities already too difficult and intricate to be fairly faced? In other countries the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic—have developed a fourth R in many instances, viz., Rascaldom. Was Denmark to follow and to prove an object-lesson to educationists of wasted effort and hopeless muddle?

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Under such circumstances the hope of the country lay in the "People's High School", where were far-seeing men who felt that technical training by itself was insufficient. "What our peasants need", they said (here I follow Miss Sellars), "is not technical training, but mental. They need to be taught that they have souls as well as bodies: they need to have their interest aroused in things outside their own farmyards. When once they have learnt to use their heads, they will teach themselves to use their fingers: when once they have learnt to think clearly and judge correctly, they will provide themselves with the means of learning how to farm well."

The High School by itself.

This was the guiding principle: How was it to be applied? In two ways, was the answer—

Let all traditional methods be discarded.

Let the national spirit be roused.

In an examination-ridden community all learning is tested by experts. To this no sane mind will object. Tests must be rigid and cannot be abolished from schools. But tests, however rigid, fail with certain classes of the community. The highest in a human being is not brought out by examination: dormant energies must be roused by something else. "Some of the teachers (in the High School) do not hesitate to describe examinations as actually degrading. Rather than submit to them the schools would surrender their grants. Our primary aim—they say—is to inform, and not to impart information. No doubt every student at the end of his four or five months' course knows many things he did not know before. But whether he knows many or few is a matter of small concern, so long as a new hope, a new life, a new spring of energy within him is called into being." This was the principle applied with a vengeance. This was an element, entirely new, without which these High Schools cannot be understood.

\* \* \*

Added to this was another element, which might be called their special characteristic. The schools were to be Danish to the core.\* The Danish language, Danish literature, Danish folklore, Danish poetry, Danish song, Danish history, were to form the standard subjects in the training of the Danish peasant. They were Danes and were to remain Danes, proud of their country and proud of its traditions.

Given an appreciation of the past and a new outlook into the future, given a horizon which no public school can give, and the peasant would face his new responsibilities with hope and with courage and would eventually accomplish something. "After thirty-six years", says a prominent teacher, "in the service of a 'Folkehøjskole' I have not been able to give up the faith with which I began my work. Our way through life goes from within outwards. If that which is within a man be set

\* We find the same thought expressed by Schiller in his "Wilhelm Tell":—

"Ans Vaterland, ans theure, schliesz dich an  
Das halte fest mit deinem ganzen Herzen."

in the right direction, it will bear fruit in the whole of his outer activities: a real enlightenment of spirit in the man of full age will call forth the energy, capacity, and perseverance which are more necessary than acquirements when we come to the solution of practical problems."

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How did these schools arise? To whom do they owe their origin? The man to whom Denmark owes more than to any educationist, past or present, was *Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig*. Tennyson's "Northern Farmer" was ruled by one dominant idea—

"Doesn't thou 'ear my 'orse's legs, as they canters awaay?

Proputty, proputty, proputty—that's what I 'ears them saay.

For proputty, proputty, proputty sticks an' proputty, proputty, proputty grows.

Ooom oop, proputty, proputty—that's what I 'ears him saay—

Proputty, proputty—canter an' canter awaay."

Bishop Grundtvig had one dominant idea: "Educate, educate, educate." This was the doctrine he preached and this was the doctrine which bore fruit in the "People's High School" in Denmark. We must know more about the man himself.

\* \* \*

Bishop  
Grundtvig.

He was born on the 8th of September, 1783, at Udby in Seeland, the youngest son of a Danish pastor on father's side, and on mother's side he was connected with an ancestry consisting largely of clerics and scholars. His mother was sister to Henrik Steffens, a university professor of great eminence, whose influence on Danish thought and life was felt beyond the limits of his own country. Brought up among books, the precocious boy developed in his early years a great love for reading, which, according to high authority, "maketh a full man". The story is told of his carrying heavy tomes which he could hardly handle with ease, and burying himself in historical investigation. Thrown among farmers from his earliest youth, there was much to rouse his patriotism and to stir up the desire to do for Denmark and the elevation of its peasant population all that lay in his power. Nature appealed to him: Jutland's heath, the sea, the forest, had a voice for him. The deep quiet of the lonely heath, the roar of a fretful ocean, the sigh of the wind, the crash of the storm, appealed to his inmost soul. He lived in a world of thought, which afterwards found expression in words of fire. Then came crash after crash. Denmark lost all in fruitless war. National bankruptcy brought his fatherland low. Is it to be wondered at that a young enthusiastic student should be roused out of scholarly lethargy by a zeal for his country's welfare in its lost condition, and that the desire for her salvation became his ruling passion through life?

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His training at the gymnasium was characteristic of the times. Latin was taught in a spiritless manner, as, alas! it is taught in most schools in our day—a dead language which neither informed the mind nor roused it to its fullest activity. And yet it left traces behind of which Grundtvig himself was not conscious. It has been said of him in later life that "from the Jews he learned that all education must be historical, from the Greeks that it must be poetical, while the life of the Roman people taught him to shun the amassing of knowledge which has nothing at all to do with the development of conscience and heart. His religion left him. Morally he was sane; religiously his mind was a blank. As the century was dying, he, too, was dying inwardly, according to his own statement. He calls himself "a short-sighted, self-opinionated Pharisee of the strictest sect." And no wonder. There was a kind of religion at school and gymnasium. The day was begun with psalms and prayer, both in Latin; and after seven hours of teaching the day was closed with a Latin psalm. Day after day the same psalms were repeated in dreary, monotonous, humdrum fashion, reminding the students of literature of Moore's stinging rebuke of Lord Castlereagh:—

"Why is a pump like Viscount Castlereagh?

Because it is a slender thing of wood,

That up and down its awkward arm doth sway,

And coolly spout and spout and spout away,

In one weak, washy, everlasting flood."

\* \* \*

Superadded to this dreary repetition of Latin psalms and Latin prayers came compulsory attendance at church. Every Sunday the lads were drafted off to service and were forced to listen to two somewhat uninteresting sermons, long and dry as dust, not appealing to the youthful mind. Every Friday another sermon, and on

festival days three were added to the list. On these the restless boys, who found the task irksome and the sermons dull, were examined. Those were days of a high-and-dry rationalism which could not and did not awaken any interest in the youthful mind—a rigid, mechanical system, which aroused the deepest antipathy in lads, eager to know, willing to learn, ready to appreciate, but hindered by a system of thought which killed all enthusiasm in higher things. The Church might have been an agency for good: the Sunday might have been a day on which glimpses of the Unseen and Eternal might have illuminated the every-day, monotonous tasks with light from on high. But, alas! the result was not equal to the end aimed at. Many a student in later life turned his back upon sermon, church, and preacher.

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Grundtvig tells us in characteristic style how he hated the whole system and pined for something that was real and truly informing:—

The Latin school.

“Although till my fifteenth year—in a corner of the Jutland heath—I had reserved a lively sense both for what is great and for the good of the homeland, for nature and for life in general, the Latin school had in less than two years transformed me into a cold, self-conscious, narrow-minded individual, so that I took no interest in the great struggle of those days, which in a measure I had followed with keen interest up to the day when I put my foot into the accursed Latin school. The battle of Aboukir, a few months earlier, I remember very well as something highly important. On this classic ground, however, I noticed very little of Napoleon’s return or of the battle of Marengo. In my memory Nelson’s deeds at Aboukir and at Copenhagen dwindle away, as if I had slept through the intervening days. That I could literally have done, as the Latin school which I attended was so spiritless, empty, depressing, that I had immediately after my arrival either to burn through or else had to learn to be ashamed of my love for history in general and that of the fatherland in particular; yea, to extinguish every spark of holy flame or every remnant of spirit within me. And although this remains a reproach against me that I chose the latter, it is at the same time an indication of terrible blindness on the part of our unsophisticated elders who cast us into such a circle at an age the most dangerous and so inimical to all higher sense for Nature and for Life, so empty of everything ennobling, so full of everything that is calculated to degrade and destroy a man” (Dr. Ronberg Madsen, “Grundtvig und die Dänischen Volkshochschulen”).

To this he adds a sentence or two which might have opened the eyes of Danish educationists, had they not been wedded to a system considered perfect, but without any real stimulus to the eager and inquiring mind of a high-spirited and patriotic youth. “In spite of such a Christian training as was prevalent in Denmark at the close of the eighteenth century, I entered the nineteenth as a heathen and made no secret of it to my contemporaries, only to discover in them a paganism like unto mine.”

\* \* \*

The humanistic Latin school was all through his life an object to him of the greatest aversion. He calls it “the black school”, “the school of death”. His hatred was not directed against classical culture as such, but against the false ideals which, through the study of the classics, were held up before the child. A foreign culture was lauded to the skies: home culture was despised as something beneath the notice of the scholar. Grundtvig’s strong aversion to the Latin tongue was deep-seated. It was the hatred of the historian and moralist. “In the Romans he saw only a nation of robbers, organized selfishness, and violence, a people that from its own resources has produced nothing truly great, but like the drone feeds itself fat upon the honey of Hellenic culture in order to use it in an insatiable desire for power as a weapon of destruction on its historic progress through the world, its pathway spotted with blood and ending in shame” (Hollmann, “Die Dänische Volkshochschule”).

\* \* \*

Grundtvig was above all an idealist: and it was at the university that his idealism was fed, for there he came under the spell of Steffens. A taste for modern literature was cultivated under his guidance; and when Grundtvig at the close of his career accepted a post as house-tutor in a private family he devoted all his leisure time to the study of such writers as Shakespeare and Ossian, Goethe, Fichte, Schelling, and Oehlenschläger. Fichte’s glowing patriotism must have made a deep impression upon his mind; and a great love was kindled for his mother-tongue, which was so sadly neglected in all circles at that time. “There are a few houses”, he says, “where Danish was spoken among servants and others, where it was hardly appreciated:

while there were other circles in which a Danish book was considered as an outlet for stupidity, and where a gallant would blush and ladies would laugh if surprised with such a book in their hands. There certainly are many who would consider it a sign of importance when they can write in French or German, but not read Danish. Finally it not infrequently happens that people able to buy books believe that these must necessarily have crossed the Elbe, if not the Rhine, in order to deserve a place on their shelves." Of Danish students he writes at that time: "Is it far-fetched to say that three-fourths of them can hardly write Danish, know nothing of history, except the few fragments which had been imparted to them at the university or at school, who have no conception of philosophy, except as being something dry and repulsive, necessary to be 'got up' for the second examination; who know nothing of poetry, except as being something—generally untrue—that rhymes or sounds pretty, and who, in a word, have no higher aim in their studies than a good certificate for their professional examination and, of course, as a result some good post."

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Have not others, before and after Grundtvig, found the strain of constant examination deadening in their effects? Every teacher at times must have felt how fruitless such examination tests are in most cases. Those who have read the recent "Life and Scientific Work of Professor P. G. Tait", who occupied the Chair of Physics in the Edinburgh University for many years, need only to be reminded of the following passage in that interesting work:—

"Having taken his degree as Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman, Tait was elected a Fellow of his College and began to establish himself as a 'coach'. To quote from an address he gave to the Edinburgh graduates fourteen years later, he became one of those who, 'eagerly scanning examination papers of former years and mysteriously finding out the peculiarities of the moderators and examiners under whose hands their pupils are doomed to pass, spend their lives in discovering which pages of a text-book a man ought to read and which will not be likely to "pay". The value of any portion as an intellectual exercise is never thought of; the all-important question is: Is it likely to be set? I speak with no horror of or aversion to such men; I was one of them myself, and thought it perfectly natural, as they all do. But I hope that such a system may never be introduced here.'"

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The late Bishop Creighton, in a speech delivered at Peterborough in 1894, has given expression to the same idea:—

"In one sense examinations are good, in another bad. Without examinations there would be a tendency to idleness and laxity. . . . The evil side of examinations is that, while they are simply meant to be tests, teachers will insist upon regarding them as standards. To get a class through an examination is too often regarded as the sole aim and object of teaching, but the real object should be to train and educate the children so as to develop their intellect generally. Worse still, when the teachers take the examination as a standard, they will also insist upon trying to take short cuts to the desired end. They cause certain facts and certain answers to be committed to memory, and in this way, instead of developing the intelligence of the children, they strive to circumvent the inspector, treating him as if he were a foe instead of a friend. As the examination draws near, they allot themselves the time necessary to cram into the heads of their scholars the knowledge required in order to pass. . . . True education consists in developing the intellect, not in committing to memory before an examination pages of information, often profoundly dry and generally inaccurate."

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The mother-tongue.

But examinations by themselves were not the elements in the Danish system of education which roused Grundtvig's antipathy. The neglect of the mother-tongue, as we have already seen, found in him its keenest opponent. One of his works bears on the title-page a motto from a Danish historian: "Where there is most life, there is victory"; and on page after page of his religious and controversial writings we meet with the expressions: "The living word", "The living voice". Not "Examens-jägerei": not the "Sichere Lebebrot"—not a constant strain of examinations, an examination fever into which the unfortunate youth is plunged, nor a sure means of subsistence based on certificates and diplomas, but "Bildung um ihrer selbst wille" (culture for its own sake)—such was Grundtvig's main idea, as it presented itself to an enthusiastic admirer. Denmark at any rate was roused when this principle was insisted on. The result we see after about fifty years in some seventy-one High Schools, attended by 30 per cent. of the peasant population, though other schools,

too, have become a power in the land. "Next to academic culture", says Dr. Hollmann, "and the attempts at popularization of science emanating from free-thinking circles inimical to Christianity in the towns, the word ' Bauernkultur ' (peasant culture) rises up before us in all its strength." For the people, by the people, in the tongue of the people, through the traditions of the people, with a view to the elevation of the people to a higher platform of thought and of action—such were the ideas which gripped the mind of this great educationist from the moment he left the University. A keen observer and student of university life like Professor Paulsen seems to endorse the views of Grundtvig when, in his review of university teaching, he says: "From the days when the humanistic poets and orators of the sixteenth century found the language of their respective nations as a Gothic barbarism and laid aside their national names as a stigma up to the present moment, the foreignness (' Fremdheit ') of all higher education among the people and their spiritual world was the practical result of their classical training."

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Such being the case, according to the best of authorities, it is small wonder that an enthusiast like Grundtvig soon after his entrance upon his life's work began to long for something better, and slowly prepared himself for initiating the necessary improvements in the studies of his fellow-countrymen. Unfortunately he roused opposition in all directions by his controversial spirit, and his enthusiasm sometimes found expression in terms by no means free from exaggeration. Though called to the ministry, he never had a fixed charge, except late in life. The prevailing Rationalism in the pulpit and the professor's chair found in him an uncompromising enemy. For though he had left the university "a Pharisee of the strictest sect", as he called himself, he passed through a religious crisis which gave a new colour to his thought and made him a new man. At Prästo he laboured for a time, largely through the influence of King Frederic VI. Then came a struggle with his ecclesiastical superiors. His very first sermon was received with strong rebuke from the consistory; and as his conflict with prevailing Rationalism was unceasing, he was forbidden to preach and to teach, and eventually resigned his charge as preacher, because he found himself hemmed in on all sides and hampered in the free expression of his opinions. Late in life, in 1839, at the age of fifty-six, he was appointed to a charge in Copenhagen, which he filled to the end of his days in 1872.

His retirement from the pulpit was largely caused by his polemical attitude towards the Church of his fathers. His attack on Professor Clausen, especially, caused no little sensation, for he characterized his opponent as the "leader among the enemies of Christ". "I declare him to be a false leader who abuses the Christian name and throws the Christian community into confusion, striving to undermine the Church, which he was called upon to serve and to establish. . . . This much is certain, that the Christianity of Professor Clausen is wholly false, his Protestant Church a temple for false gods, where falsehood is preached instead of truth." Clausen, deeply aggrieved, appealed against him, with the result that he was condemned to pay a fine of 100 dollars (£20) and placed under Church censure. This did not cool his ardour, and he continued his polemic in the "Teologisk Manedskrift", the effect of which was such that when the thousandth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into Denmark was celebrated, hymns selected by him, and among them the most celebrated of his own, were forbidden to be sung. This led to his retirement from the State Church.

In order to understand Grundtvig's position as theologian and ecclesiastical reformer it is necessary for us to realize what religious forces were at work in the Denmark of his time and generation. After the Reformation and its endorsement of Lutheran orthodoxy, there came a period during the reigns of Frederic IV. (who died in 1730) and of Christian VI. (1730-46) when German Pietism, encouraged and fostered at the Court, influenced all circles of the nation. This was followed by the introduction of Deism and Free-thinking from England, which for a time swayed the cultured classes, largely influenced by the Danish dramatist Holberg. Pietism, however, held its ground against the opposing forces from abroad. But when Germany gave way to Rationalism, which in a certain sense was nothing else than Deism writ large, the Danish Court under Frederic V. (1746-66) shook off its Pietistic modes of thought and of life and surrendered itself to the new ideas slowly finding their way into Denmark from the South. The common people, however, and more especially the farming population, still clung to Pietistic traditions, which were kept alive by lay preachers as against the regular pastors, who had largely adopted the new creed accepted and preached by their German neighbours. State and Church had been won over by the new views. With the "Deushtum" came German ways of

Grundtvig as  
ecclesiastical  
reformer.

thinking, though the national feeling raised a protest against this foreign importation. The common people were not so easily led astray, for Pietism had struck its roots too deeply into Danish soil. When Grundtvig was born (1783) Rationalism was prevalent in Denmark, the dominant force in ecclesiastical life. In him it had one of its keenest adversaries. For not only was it distinctly German and therefore foreign and anti-national, but many of its supporters had no sympathy with Danish tradition and Danish modes of life. Under Struensee, a German doctor of medicine, who was the chief political leader in the days of Christian VII. (1770-72), several reforms were introduced, especially in education. But Struensee himself was too distinctly German—he knew no Danish—and Rationalism had no sympathy with the awakening national sentiment. Danish poetry was despised, though men like Johannes Ewald and P. A. Heiberg, the former in his lyrics, the latter in his satires and dramas, waged constant war against prevailing “*Deutschtum*”. The golden era for Danish poetry dawned when Henrik Steffens arose and stirred the national life to its very depths. But Rationalism still kept its hold of the pulpit, and the public school was uninfluenced by this revival of ancient tradition and national sentiment. Grundtvig’s polemics and Bishop Mynster’s genial orthodoxy gave the death-blow to Danish Rationalism. “*Grundtvigianismus*” prevailed, though the newer orthodoxy held its own.

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Educational principles.

Grundtvig now threw himself with ardour unquenched into literary labours. To study Anglo-Saxon literature became the object of his life. For this purpose he visited England, where, at the British Museum, in Exeter, Oxford, Cambridge, he studied and transcribed Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and published them with introductions and translations. He was alone in the field, and he speaks with disgust of “*historians in that island (England) as seldom going beyond the Norman Conquest in 1066 and characterizing the Danish epoch as a hateful barbarism*”. In England, according to his own statement, he was regarded as “*a half-crazy poet*”. But his studies of northern antiquities were not without effect. Special mention might be made of his translation of the “*Song of Beowulf*”, the translation of the *Chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus* from the Latin, and of Snorro Sturleson from Icelandic.

Grundtvig left England with a high sense of the practical tendencies of the English mind, which made him despise “*die Federleckerei und das Bücherwurmwesen*” (pen-licking and book-worming). “*The living voice that goes from heart to heart*” he considered as superior to all mere book-learning. “*Book-reading*”, he maintained, “*not even for professional men, still less for the whole people, can be the principal thing, if every one is to be capable at his own work and fill his place in society, and life’s varying tasks are to be executed with zest and industry.*”

The teaching profession.

He had a high idea of teaching as a profession. “*Teaching*”, he says, “*ought to be such that to a large extent it springs from the life of the individual and must be proved in his life; but the mental condition which constitutes the life, the outlook upon the experiences of life, the tone in which one expresses those experiences, must be carried into life from youth upwards, and this is one of the chief grounds for a People’s High School.*” Here we have the keynote of the whole system. “*Education an adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race*”, as Professor Butler has put it in his interesting lectures to the students of Columbia University; an adjustment which takes into account the “*child’s scientific inheritance, his literary inheritance, his aesthetic inheritance, his institutional inheritance, and his religious inheritance*”. In these words of the American professor we may find a description of Grundtvig’s educational programme. “*His own pupils were wont to sum up his teaching in these brief sentences: Spirit is might; spirit reveals itself in speech; spirit only works in freedom*” (*Special Reports on Educational Subjects*).

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Grundtvig was always harping on this string. His language was at times extravagant, simply because his ideal was too high. The teacher, according to him, must be a man whose love for the mother-tongue is beyond all doubt. That was to be his own medium of thought and also his medium of instruction. “*The teacher he described as (1) one who was a master in the mother-tongue, not merely as found in books, but as spoken by the people, and could help his pupils to understand what they hear, to think in an orderly way, and speak clearly and fluently of what they think and know; (2) one who knew and loved his country’s history and could tell it in lively fashion; (3) one who knew and loved the popular song, both in old and newer form, and could either lead the singing or get some one to do it; (4) one who could give an orderly account of his country’s condition, its business activities and sources of wealth; (5) it was also desirable that some expert should give the pupils a true and living representation of the national constitution and laws*” (*English Reports*).

As this idea dominates his thought, he becomes more extravagant on the one hand and more enthusiastic on the other. Two extracts from his writings may suffice. "It is my highest wish as a citizen that soon, and better to-day than to-morrow, there may be opened a Danish High School accessible to young people all over the land, where they may readily get leave and opportunity to become better acquainted not only with human nature and human life in general, but with themselves in particular, and where they could receive guidance in all civic relations and become well acquainted with their country's need in all directions, whilst their daily life and love of country are nourished by national speech and historical information, by mutual intercourse with one another, and by the lively songs which are heard through all periods of Denmark's history and inspire admiration for what is great, warm love for what is beautiful, faithfulness and affection, peace and unity, innocent cheerfulness, pleasure and mirth. In truth, if King Christian VIII., as I gladly hope, opens such a Royal Free School for Life, for popular life in Denmark, he will be able, not merely to smile at the papers when they praise or blame him, but also to rejoice in a popular remedy just as wonderful as our absolute King; for he has therein opened a well of healing in the land which will be sought by crowds from generation to generation, and will win this renown, even in distant lands and in far future days, that there past counting blind people receive their sight, the deaf their hearing, and the dumb their speech, and that there the halt cast away their crutches and show clearly that the dance trips it lightly through the word." Can enthusiasm go further? In a letter, bearing date 9th February, 1843, he writes to the King in explanation of his plan. He would have "young people learning to know and to love the fatherland and mother-tongue and have light thrown upon the society of citizens in which they live, as marvellously constituted for the common good, wherein all conditions can be alike honourable and joyous, if people remember their dependence upon one another and learn from experience that true human development and enjoyment of our powers as rational creatures can be united with all conditions and accomplished in them all" (English Reports).

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Grundtvig's language becomes more and more extravagant when he discusses the examination-ridden system, which must lead to educational disaster. He speaks with bitter contempt of the "Kohlkopfen mit Pferde-Gedächtniss oder Pflug-bestien Fleisz"—the cabbage heads with their horse-memory or the industry of beasts harnessed to the plough. He contrasts these specimens of a degenerate system with the really clear heads of many who leave school and university for the activities of life in the city. With grim sarcasm he alludes to the custom in Denmark of congratulating a man who has succeeded in his examinations, by no means on account of what he has actually learnt, but because he has happily passed through "die gelehrten Kinderkrankheiten wie Pocken, Masern, und Keuchhusten" (the learned child's diseases of chicken-pox, measles, and whooping-cough). He advises all who do not intend becoming philologists or schoolmasters "all den Examenstand an den Nagel zu hangen" (to hang this whole examination stuff on the nail) and to throw themselves into something really useful. And then, he naively adds, it is considered a sign of poverty in the mother-tongue when these "erbarmlich-unwissenden Knaben" (miserably ignorant lads) can find no words in it to give expression to their foreign wisdom. The result of all this, he maintains, has been that in Denmark few know how to make use of their mother-tongue, either in spoken or written utterance, except as the shadow of a foreign tongue. Then, indeed, the mother-tongue "is dead and buried, only to haunt the living as a lost soul".

Hatred of  
examinations.

As for the Danish civil servant, he considers it far more necessary in his case to know good Danish than bad Latin, and to express himself accurately than to be able to write the best Latin exercises. Hence, too, his insistence on the "development of the imagination and of the emotional life by folk-tales and legends, by history and patriotic poetry, along with Bible and Church history, orally communicated and bound together with song".

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As his educational programme shaped itself in his mind he insisted on the teaching of certain subjects which in an ordinary school curriculum are placed in the background. Hence he insisted most strongly on the teaching of history—not as a mere chronology of events, a summary of dates, nor even a critical discussion of historic theories, as enunciated by writers past and present. It was to be history founded on the national life and its characteristics: a living communication of the living national traditions. "I have thought over these things for thirty years", he says. "During those years I was a searcher into antiquities and into history, more

than most, and I have more names of kings and historic dates in my head than three-quarters of our scholars." His aim was therefore to gather into a focus all that was worth knowing about the fatherland and to make that glow before his pupils. And he was successful. An English educationist, addressing the students at Askov, once drew attention to this. "We English have something to learn from you Danes. We have a glorious history, but to a large extent it is foreign to the majority of our people: we have a rich literature, but it is a dead treasure for a large number of the population. We want a bridge between the people and their history and poetry" (Hollmann). No one can wonder at this insistence on a knowledge of national history by Bishop Grundtvig. The Danes are a nation of heroes, and some of the folk-tales are intensely interesting, and many a spot calls up wonderful reminiscences of Denmark's glory in the past. As a specimen I give the following, as told by Mr. F. M. Butlin in his interesting work, "Among the Danes". It has reference to St. Knud of Odense. His shrine is to be found in the cathedral and his story is told by Hans Christian Andersen, whose "Märchen" are the delight of young and old in the civilized world. For Andersen was born at Odense and has glorified the place of his birth.

"This St. Knud of Odense did not belong to the conventional type of saint. In character he took after his grand-uncle, Knud den Store. He would also have liked to follow the latter's example and rule over England, but the fleet he collected for that purpose in the Limfjord never sailed. Trouble rose during Knud's absence in the South, and the dispersal of the fleet, before his return, led to severe measures against the peasants on the King's part. The peasants revolted and forced Knud to fly to Odense. Here he was slain before the altar in the little church of St. Alban's.

"The King was at that moment hearing mass in St. Alban's Church. 'Now, what advice do you give me?' he asked his brothers. 'It would have been better for us to have made use of our swords, for now it is clear that swords will be used against us.' 'My advice would be', answered Erik, 'that you get on horseback, for, if God wills, you may still escape, and if you be saved, everything is saved.' 'Far be it from me', answered Knud, 'for if I should save my life, they would turn against my people: but if they can kill me, they will spare my followers.' 'No', shouted Benedict, 'that shame shall never be ours. Rightly then would every Danish maiden ask if we could not even grip our swords and strike a blow for our King: we will not buy our lives by betraying you. Never have I heard that cowardly dastards were nearer to the God of Mercy than manly warriors.' So they decided to remain there, . . . Knud kneeling in the chair before the altar, praying, and weeping. To the priest he gave his scarlet cloak that mass might be said for all who fell in the fight, were they friends or enemies. Then he confessed and received the Holy Sacrament. Seated by the high altar, without his armour, in his silken robes, the scarlet cape over his shoulders, he gave Svend Thorgrinneson his costly belt with the dagger; he gave also gold and silver for the use of the Church. Then he took up the Psalms of David and sang some of them. Meanwhile the peasants were pressing forward. 'Come on', shouted Benedict to them, 'if you would speak with the King. You have run away from your chums, but it had been better for you to be threshing your corn this day than fighting with the King's men.' . . . So sharp was the fight that they were wading in blood above their ankles on the floor of the church. When it was at its hottest a stone, thrown through the window, struck Knud over the eye. Then he took a cup from the altar and let the blood run down into that in order that his clothes might not be stained, but he did not cease singing psalms. There followed a short pause in the strife, for both sides were tired, but then a javelin was hurled through the window. . . . It wounded the King and brought death to him. Yet once again he embraced and kissed his brother Benedict, and then remained still, called upon his Saviour, until his life-blood had drained away.

"Of the faithful brothers Benedict was slain, but Erik fought his way out, 'for those who knew the Prince could not hurt him, so greatly was he beloved'. He lived to be known as King Erik Ejegod. He built a church at Odense in memory of Knud, and he also built a cloister, sending for twelve monks from Evesham Abbey to found it. Then he persuaded the Pope to canonize his brother, travelling all the way to Rome on foot for that purpose, and astonishing the inhabitants of the different countries through which he passed by the facility with which he spoke the different languages."

But Bishop Grundtvig did more than insist upon the teaching of history; he applied the historic *method* to all his teaching. Hence the "Folkeshøjskole" has been called the "School of History". This is specially seen in the teaching of mathematics, professedly a difficult subject for the untrained student. Usually the teacher starts with a number of abstract formulæ, which the student has to memorize and apply at a later stage—formulæ which have no meaning to the average intellect. "Is it not absurd", says Professor La Cour, one of the most famous Grundtvig teachers, "to lay before youth at the start of their course what is most difficult? Let them learn gradually the art of abstraction. Are we indeed so mathematically one-sided as not to believe that something may be withdrawn from our precious hour for mathematics for historic communications, then I may say it is my experience that we proceed faster and with greater sureness in the direction of mathematics by following the upward windings of the human race in large and broad outlines than by placing oneself on the summit and calling upon the pupil to climb over stones and to crawl through clefts and fissures in order to reach us."

He illustrates his method in various ways and shows us how the student becomes interested in his subject from the very beginning. Taking geometry as his starting-point, where even in Euclid's most excellent manual the unfortunate student is brought up at the very outset by formulæ so abstract that, like the traveller in Sterne's "Sentimental Journey", he proceeds from "Dan to Beersheba crying, 'tis all barren", he shows how it may become—

"Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo's lute.  
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,  
Where no crude surfeit reigns."

The historic method lays formulæ aside for the time being. The student is taught to think historically and to see the meaning of these dull abstract statements which can never appeal to the youthful mind. It is well known that the science of geometry took its rise in Egypt some centuries before Christ, and that its very name indicates its origin. In the preface to the first English printed edition of Euclid's Elements, which appeared some years before the time of the Armada, John Dee quaintly says: "The science of magnitude, his properties, conditions, and appurtenances, commonly now is, and from the beginning hath of all philosophers been, called geometry. But, verily, with a name too base and scant for a science of such dignity and ampleness. And perchance that name, by common and secret consent of all wise men, hitherto hath been suffered to remain that it might carry with it a perpetual memory of the first and notablest benefit by that science to common people showed:

"Which was, when bounds and meres of land and ground were lost and confounded, as in Egypt yearly with the overflowing of Nilus, the greatest and longest river in the world . . . upon these and such like occasions, some by ignorance, some by negligence, some by fraud, and some by violence, did wrongly limit, measure, encroach, or challenge, by pretence of just content and measure, those lands and grounds; and so great loss, disquietness, murder, and war did full oft ensue, till by God's mercy and man's industry the perfect science of lines, planes, and solids, like a divine Justiciar, gave unto every man his own.

"The people then by this art pleased, and greatly relieved in their land's just measuring; and other philosophers writing rules for land-measuring; between them both thus confirmed the name of geometry, that is, according to the very etymology of the word, land-measuring." So far John Dee on Euclid!

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If such be the origin of geometry we can easily understand how the historic treatment of the subject would evoke interest. The student would come to hear of Thales, who is said, among other things, to have discovered that the sides of equiangular triangles are proportional by a measurement of the height of a pyramid by means of its shadow. This would introduce him to Plutarch, who gives a different version of the story; and to Pythagoras, who raised Thale's geometry to the full dignity of a science, and to the discoveries made by him and his school. So many a figure in history would pass before the mind of the pupil, until he begins to realize that Grecian and Egyptian culture has a message for men of our day, and that the science of to-day is largely a reproduction and certainly a development of scientific thought in bygone ages. The School of Alexandria would bring him face to face with the "Immortal Geometer", and Euclid would become to him more than a label, a name, a text-book, a series of dry, abstract, incomprehensible problems devised by dry-as-dust pedants for testing the reasoning powers of a by no means enthusiastic candidate for mathematical honours. In this way, too, Euclid's strength and his

Views on  
teaching of  
history.

weakness would be brought out. His "definitions" would be tested and in some respects found wanting: his doctrine of "parallel lines" would be carefully discussed: that curious sixteenth proposition, dependent as it is upon his theory of parallels, would probably be discarded as being

"A blot

Which so much beauty would do well to purge":

new proofs would be devised for some of Euclid's faulty propositions; until the student begins to grasp the leading principles and, what is better still, to apply them. In this way mathematical instruction would become not only a mental discipline, but also a utilitarian study.

One might illustrate the historic method in its application to other sciences, but what has been said will doubtless be enough to show the reader what the Grundtvig system really aimed at.

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In the teaching of history, pure and simple, the same method is adopted. Suppose, e.g., the Persian Wars are the subject under discussion; the teachers will not be satisfied with a bare relation of events in their historic setting. The whole Persian culture would be carefully handled; the contrast between European and Asiatic culture would be discussed in its bearings upon the question at issue. The student would get what our German friends would call a "weltgeschichtlicher Blick" (a world-view of history). He sees things in perspective. History becomes a "living" study. Bredsdorff, Director of the High School at Roskilde, has maintained that there are four possible ways of teaching history:—

"The first may be set aside. It has examination as an aim. In spite of its apparent miserableness, it is unfortunately general enough in learned schools.

"Or history may be taught on practical grounds. It will then be considered as either a smaller or larger series of excerpts from an encyclopaedia, or a 'Konversations-lexikon', from which something useful might result, as names, places, dates, etc., are constantly met with in newspapers and periodicals.

"The third method is the 'interesting' one. Here the idea holds that history-teaching really promotes general culture, somewhat after the fashion of the Chicago Exhibition. There proper arrangement of material brings the visitor into close contact with many countries without wearying him. Here the teacher exhibits history so that the pupil is not bored.

"Lastly, the teaching of history may be what Grundtvig called 'living'. Teaching lives where the teacher stands in closest touch with life and realizes in himself the deepest powers of life. Human life for such teacher is like a river which rises afar and rushes bubbling on till it falls into the ocean of Eternity. We ourselves are in the middle of the river: its waters surround us, stream through us, so that we feel ourselves a part of the rushing waters, carried along in trouble or in joy away to the Unknown."

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Hence great stress is laid on the *personality* of the teacher. He must be a man who fully realizes the situation—a man with a vocation, a man who knows his subject and who is eager to impart what he knows, a veritable king—according to Carlyle's interesting definition, "a man who can"—a man with a "weltgeschichtlicher Blick", a wide outlook, with all his knowledge brought to bear upon the subject under discussion and the scholar who is to be interested. The ordinary teacher, with the examination fiend at his elbow or his ear, as Eve's toad untouched as yet by Ithuriel's spear, treats his subject, alas! as he does a chapter in a Latin grammar or a problem in Euclid's "Elements". He regards it as so much matter to be imparted for use at the future examination test, when the student racks his brain to deliver in proper form what his memory has been enabled to retain by continued and frequently by almost hopeless effort. The teacher in the "Folkehøjskole" is master of his theme and gives his very best, so that the hearer sees and therefore knows what his instructor has made him see and know. "Er erzählt die Dinge gerade heraus, so wie er jetzt sieht, dasz sie sind" (he sees himself and tries to make others see). His pupils have to be awakened out of their lethargy and to follow him in his own pursuit of knowledge and of truth—no easy task forsooth:—

"And these I see, these sparkling eyes,  
These stores of mystic meaning, these young lives,  
Building, equipping, like a fleet of ships, immortal ships,  
Soon to sail out over the measureless seas  
On the soul's voyage."

Such is the Grundtvig school : such the Grundtvig ideal : such the Grundtvig teacher. Untrammelled, unfettered, a living personality, brimful of living thought, satisfying that natural craving for truth with which the earnest student is possessed, if only some one can be found ready to impart the knowledge which in his own life has become a mighty power for good and in his mouth an ever-conquering sword of the spirit. That his ideal is not realized in every case may be taken for granted, for "all men are mortal", but the ideal is there, and the Grundtvig teacher is at any rate inspired by his ideal.

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Poetry and history necessarily influence a nation's songs and ballads. This is Danish song. eminently the case in Denmark. Kierkegaard, another prominent figure in Danish religious and ecclesiastical life, referring to this feature in Danish education, says : "The aroma of song hangs about the 'Højskoler', as the smell of medicine hangs about our dispensaries. Song is our alpha and omega. We sing unrest, temper, anxiety, and all kinds of trouble away beyond the mountains." These songs are intensely patriotic on the one hand and deeply religious on the other. Let me give a specimen in a very crude translation of my own :—

"We greet thee, O sea, as the silver band,  
 Encircling the locks of our *Sweden*,  
 And the steel from the earth in the hero's hand,  
 And the song that floats over the waves.  
 And though there be homes somewhat too refined,  
 The sigh of the birches perhaps is ill-timed.  
     The Swede is our friend,  
     One heart and one blood :  
     All honour to Sweden,  
     It has taught us to fight  
     For truth and for right,  
     With firmness and vigour :  
 Yet the heart is at one with our *Denmark*.

'We greet thee, O *Norway*, whose festive halls  
 Show snowflakes, where others show tiles ;  
 Where the northern light shines in glory full-orbed,  
 And the Yule lights shine forth through the pine woods.  
 And e'en if its youth be pugnacious and rough,  
 The pine-needle surely hath caused it.  
     The Norseman's our friend :  
     One blood and one heart.  
     May Norway receive all its honour,  
     It has taught us the lesson  
     That heroes are reared  
     On its soil, in its homes,  
 In freedom and oneness with *Denmark*.

"To the roses of *Denmark* we lift up our song  
 On the down, on the heath sweetly growing :  
 A greeting we bring to the sea-lily pure,  
 On the waves of the East Sea flowing.  
 And though here the men may be lazy or slow,  
 The beech casts its shadow upon them.  
     Denmark is the mother,  
     Till our hearts cease to beat  
     For her heart and her soul,  
     Our life as a whole.  
     Though the foes come as snowflakes,  
     We shall yield up our heart's blood :  
 Where we fight for the freedom of *Denmark*.

"For though it be far from the table of youth  
 To the King's own royal table ;  
 Though still far from our North in vict'ry combined,  
 The three-prong is one-handled still.  
 And the day sure will dawn,  
 When the Kattegat knows but one flag.

Few we are indeed,  
 But the small become great,  
 If they watch and they work,  
 And they venture and win.  
 We greet now the two,  
 On the opposite shore  
 With them shall we struggle and win."

Such is a specimen of the patriotic songs of Denmark.

As another instance we may take the following hymn, composed by Bishop Grundtvig:—

*"Langt højere Berge der findes paa Jord."*

"Far loftier heights on the earth may be seen  
 Than here, where to hills they are nearer;  
 Yet fair are the slopes by the hillside so green,  
 And these, to us Danes, are the dearer.  
 We never were made for the peaks and the winds,  
 Our life on the plains that is most to our minds.

"Far lovelier countries, we all of us know,  
 Can travellers find as they muster,  
 But Danes have their home where the fair beeches grow  
 By shores where forget-me-nots cluster;  
 And fairest to us, by cradle and grave,  
 This blossoming field by the swift-flowing wave.

"Far finer and loftier speech may be heard,  
 When strangers their language are speaking,  
 But never are Danes at a loss for a word,  
 When vent for high thoughts they are seeking.  
 If words still to want be our mother-tongue's fate,  
 In sweetness, she wins more than others by weight.

"Far more of those metals, so white and so red,  
 Find others by diggings and sellings,  
 We Danes, though, can point to the dear daily bread,  
 In even the poorest of dwellings.  
 And see, too, in riches our progress is such,  
 That less have too little, if few have too much.

I have chosen these two specimens on account of their intense patriotism, their deep feeling, their love for the country which gave them birth. When sung at festive gatherings—and the Danes sing well—they must have been most inspiring.

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Of Grundtvig it has been said: "His dreams were so strong that a world would arise out of them." He had a great ideal which was only partially realized. The People's High School was to be a centre of northern learning—a northern university in the highest sense of the term, in which the culture of the North would once more flourish, as it flourished for two hundred years in Iceland. From this centre outwards a great mission would be undertaken to win the world for a Norse-Germanic culture, as against the all-absorbing Latin culture which dominated university life. This university would eventually throw "Berlin, Göttingen, and Wittenberg into the shade and overthrow the Colossus of Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge". In this centre a life of culture would be developed free from all compulsion and a cramping system of examinations: where men of learning could have unfettered intercourse with each other, and where the youth of the country could be trained to become the missionaries of that higher culture which was to be the rallying-cry of the new era of reform. Grundtvig has well been called by some "the Prophet of the North". He had an *insight* like Israel's prophets, and an *outlook* into a future whose "unborn ages were crowding in upon his soul". True, his great dream *was* not, *will not* be realized. But the People's High School" was the creation of his genius, his monument, and his glory.

These views of Grundtvig found expression in more than one pamphlet. In the "Danske Fiirklover" (The Four-leafed Danish Clover), he pleaded for King, Fatherland, People, Mother-tongue. In another pamphlet addressed to Norway, "Til

Nordmend", he called upon Norwegians to establish the Northern University which was his ideal; because his own people had not the courage "to be themselves", but were in the habit of imitating other nations, "even the Chinese", while history shows that no people had such a conception of its own individuality ("das gefühl des eigenen Ichs") as the Norwegians, and thereby had gained honour for itself (Madsen, "Grundtvig, etc.>").

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Among the factors which have to be taken into account in all training, *religious* instruction cannot be left out of view. This Grundtvig saw very clearly. How was this instruction to be imparted? A close observer of the system has described this side of the High Schools in the following terms:—

Religious teaching.

"The 'Folkehøjskole' teacher, whilst leaving all distinctive religious instruction to the Church of which he is an attached member, so teaches history, both that of his own and of other countries, as to show that there is a divine purpose running through the ages, that behind all human events there is a higher and a spiritual influence making for all that is good and right in conformity and in union with which he may gladly work for the establishment of a kingdom of God upon earth. The whole spirit of the schools, as evidenced most of all in the historical songs that begin and close each lecture, most of which have been sung so often as to be known by heart, enforces the conviction that—

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough hew them how we will".

Looking thus at the principles underlying the Grundtvig system, we can well understand the enthusiasm with which Dr. Hollmann describes it:—"The Christian and the Human have hitherto been separated. In the soul of humanity a deep chasm has been torn like a world-wound. We have a God-forsaken, human spiritual life and an overpowering unhuman Pietistic Christianity. Grundtvig's idea was to bring about a reconciliation. Therefore the schools can serve no particular ecclesiastical party. But they must be animated by a genuine Christian spirit. This naturally does not appear at once, as no special religious instruction is imparted, and practically the principle of religious self-development is accepted. That is to say, that the personality of the teacher is penetrated by this spirit. As little as an atheist can become a teacher at a Peasants' High School, as little can a chair be found for a narrow-minded Pietist."

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From what has hitherto been said it will appear what was Grundtvig's aim in the establishment of his High Schools. The keynote was struck in his poem on Columbus, published when he was in London:

"Wachet auf, ihr Dänenhelden!  
Tag und Tat ist Heldenlied."

"It was heartbreaking work for him to see men standing aside with folded hands while the country was drifting to ruin. This it was that drove him to start a regular crusade against his own countrymen. He went about among them, preaching and lecturing in every town in the kingdom, in every district; and wherever he went he denounced, with fiery eloquence, their lack of patriotism, and implored them in thrilling tones to shake themselves free from the fatal indifference in which they were sunk. He wrote poetry for them, too, stirring national hymns, war songs, in which he told them of the great deeds their forefathers had done. And the result was a great revival, national, social, and religious. The people rose as if from a long sleep at the bidding of this new evangelist. Strangely enough it was the peasants who, more than any other class, took the bishop's exhortation to heart. 'What shall we do to save ourselves?' was soon their one cry. 'Educate yourselves', was Grundtvig's answer. This indeed was the burden of all his latter-day preaching, for he held strongly that in education lay these men's one hope. Nor was he content with telling them what to do; he showed them how to do it. It was he who first conceived the idea of a Peasants' High School, and who formulated the plan on which all these schools were founded."

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Strange to say, it was never permitted Grundtvig to realize his ideal. Many years had to elapse before the Danish public was ready for the undertaking. It was in 1844 that the first High School was established, and only since 1864 did the whole movement receive a new impetus. Meanwhile Grundtvig was restlessly ventilating his views. His ecclesiastical position was singular. He tried in vain to found a free congregation, along with the German pastor, Simonsen; but in 1832 permission

No school of his own.

was granted him to hold Danish services in the "Frederikskirke" at Kristianshavn, and here he ministered for seven years, gathering around him all who were in sympathy with his religious and ecclesiastical views. They were known as "Grundtvigians", and stood in opposition to prevailing Rationalism, as well as to the orthodox party, with whose leader, Bishop Mynster, Grundtvig came frequently into conflict. The ecclesiastical question does not concern us here and needs no further comment. Suffice it to say, that constant friction with those who differed from him closed the Church doors against him. Shortly before his own death, however, King Frederic VI. appointed Grundtvig to the "Vartovkirke", where he laboured to the end of his days in 1872. The title of bishop was bestowed on him late in life. The restless ecclesiastic, the earnest patriot, the unwearied educational reformer, passed away peacefully on the 1st of September, 1872, honoured by thousands of his countrymen.

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It seemed as if Grundtvig's educational ideal would be realized when, in 1847, it was determined to reorganize the Academy at Sorö according to the principles advocated by him—at least to some extent. It was agreed that the mother-tongue was to be used throughout; Danish literature was to be thoroughly studied, as well as the literature of Iceland, the fountain-head of the Danish tongue. The courses of instruction were to be threefold: (a) Historical, with special reference to the Fatherland. (b) Literary—study of the German, French, and English languages and their literature, with physical and mathematical geography. (c) Scientific, with lectures on mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, natural history, i.e. mineralogy, botany, zoology. There was an idea of making this academy of some use to those who were preparing for a university career, with an examination in Latin and Greek.

Though not fully in accordance with Grundtvig's ideal, he was prepared to make trial of the new experiment, more especially as the King was ready to abolish all examinations and to place him at the head of the reformed academy. But early in the following year the King died and nothing came of the new scheme. However, in 1853, on his seventieth birthday, Grundtvig received a gift of 14,000 krone, which was raised to 31,000, for the establishment of a High School according to his ideas. This school was opened at Copenhagen on the 3rd November, 1856.

\* \* \*

Christian  
Flor.

The establishment of the first Peasants' High School on Grundtvig's lines gave rise to a good deal of controversy. This was at Rodding in North Schleswig, where Danish was spoken by 185,000 of the population, though the language of officials was German. The organ of the German party held that the object of the school was to make the German part of the population Danish. The answer to this was simple. The school could not make the Danes more Danish than they were, while Germans were not compelled to attend. It was a matter of choice. In Copenhagen the question was taken up and discussed by influential men in the Press. Faith in the new undertaking was soon at its lowest ebb. At last the man was found to carry out the idea—Christian Flor, Professor of Danish at the University of Kiel, who undertook the task, and for two years stood at the head of the school.

The school was opened in 1844. Its promoters gave expression to their views in a document of some importance laid before the King:—"The object we have in view", they say, "is the founding of an institution where the ordinary citizen and the peasant can acquire such knowledge as will be useful and pleasant; not so much with a view to his occupation and business, as in regard to his position as a son of the Fatherland and a citizen of the State. The institution therefore will necessarily influence his domestic and private life, but also his civil and public life. We call our institution a High School, because it is not an ordinary school for lads, but an institution for the instruction partly of young people after the age of confirmation and partly of grown-up men. We call it a *People's* High School, since admission will be given to men of all stations, though primarily intended for the farming population and drawing its pupils specially from that class."

The first years of the school were indeed years of "Sturm und Drang", although the interest in the institution slowly grew. The subjects originally taught were agriculture and horticulture, with general history and history of Denmark, Danish literature, German, mathematics, gymnastics, and singing. To these gradually other subjects were added, more with a view to practical life than to ordinary training.

But unfortunately the change in the boundary of Denmark caused by the war of 1864, by which Rodding fell to Germany, led to the closing of the school. At any rate it was transferred to Askov, where great progress was made, and changes were

introduced into the original plan. It then became known as the *extended* High School, because a second year's course was added to the first. The name of Christian Flor was still associated with the school, for over the chief doorway the legend remained, "Flors Højskole", in memory of its first teacher.

The new undertaking was directed for forty-three years by Ludwig Schröder, to whose zeal and earnestness the development of the school was largely due. Askov has become famous among kindred institutions in Denmark.

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The history of the People's High School would not be complete without the mention of Kristen Kold, whose chequered career throws light upon the religious and political condition of Denmark. To him is due the practical realization of Grundtvig's ideas. The one-sidedness which characterized the master was not found in the disciple. The original idea, as it lay in the mind of the great reformer and was expressed in many a pamphlet, was somewhat of an abstraction. From a North Schleswig institution at Rodding, with special reference to the circumstances of that province, the High School had to be changed into a national institution. To do this a man was needed like unto Grundtvig, and yet different from him, with a somewhat broader outlook, but as keen an interest in the nation and its educational development on strictly national lines. The man was found in Kristen Kold, who has well been called "Bahnbrecher der Dänischen Volkshochschule" (Hollmann). Kold was a remarkable personality—a man of the people, warm-hearted, enthusiastic, patriotic. He filled several positions as teacher with success, but always amid opposition. His method of teaching was repudiated by those in authority, with the result that at last no post in a public school was open to him. He set his face against all mere memorizing of text-books, and tried to teach by oral communication and continued narrative. Things came to a head when he positively refused to adopt a manual on Danish history, known as "Balle's Handbuch", which had to be committed to memory by the children. Instead of this handbook he proposed to teach history by narrative, along with Ingemann's romances. This brought him into collision with the school authorities.

Kirsten  
Kold.

Like Grundtvig, he passed through a religious crisis. According to his own account, a lay preacher, Peder Larsen, brought light into the darkness. "He made me see that our Lord loves mankind, and it was frightful I had not managed to learn that all the years of my life. I had never seen the like to the life, the zest, and strength and energy that sprang up in me." He soon came into collision with the ecclesiastical authorities. In Schleswig "one of his pupils almost cried her eyes out because she could not learn the long answers in the Catechism"; and he asked himself: "Can it be really God's will that children be thus tortured with learning by rote?" Applying his own method, as indicated above, he taught without book, explained the Catechism in his own words, "and was overjoyed to find how easily they understood and remembered". Thoroughly disheartened, because he found no support, but rather opposition, he attached himself as helper and servant to Pastor Hasz, who was preparing to leave for Smyrna as missionary. He remained with the mission for two years, and for other three tried to earn his living among the Turks by bookbinding. The money thus earned enabled him to leave Smyrna by ship for Trieste, where he bought a four-wheeled barrow for all his belongings and started on the long journey to Denmark, pushing his hand-cart before him. After two months he was home again, where he found everything in a state of disturbance. War was in the air and Kold enlisted as a private soldier. The trade of bookbinding was hardly a school of preparation for soldiering. Kold as a soldier was a failure. But one lesson he learnt, and this gave colouring to his whole life thereafter. He saw a people awakening with new-found enthusiasm to a defence of their national heritage, and the question arose in his mind: "Is it not possible to arouse this enthusiasm of the whole people for its national traditions and its national history?" He was going to attempt it, even if none would follow. His whole life was henceforth to be devoted to the education and elevation of his people.

He began on a small scale. At Rysslinge in Funen he gained the support of the pastor, Birkedal, who had employed him as tutor for his children and had permitted him to add to the number of his pupils a few farmers' sons from the neighbourhood. His teaching must have been a success, for he soon determined to start a school of his own. As his means were insufficient, he applied for help to Grundtvig, who subscribed 100 krone to his fund, which in a short time rose to 1200. He at once began to build, and started with twenty scholars and a capital of 2200 krone (a little more than £100). For the five months he received 20 krone from each scholar for teaching and 40 krone for board—a miserable pittance, forsooth.

A characteristic circular was sent by Kold to all supporters and friends. As this circular throws the clearest light on the whole movement, I may be permitted to present it to the reader:—

- “ 1. The school will be held only in winter from 1st November to the 1st April.
- “ 2. Twenty pupils will be admitted between the ages of fifteen and twenty, of whom ten can receive board and lodging in the school; the rest will be provided for in the village or the neighbourhood. The fee is fixed at 10 rigsdaler for teaching and 20 rigsdaler for board and lodging (1 rigsdaler = 2 kronen).
- “ 3. Two teachers will be attached to the school, in case the Minister of Education is willing to grant help from the fees of the Academy of Sorö.
- “ 4. The duration of the school-time is fixed at two winters, so that oral instruction may be imparted during the first and written instruction during the second, and therefore the pupils will be divided into two classes, each of ten.
- “ 5. Subjects of tuition will be: (a) Oral instruction in general history in its general features, with use of the historical chart ‘Tidens Strom’; (b) oral instruction in Biblical history—students expected to read either Muller’s, Sörenson’s, or Grundtvig’s Bible History; (c) an extract from Church history, with special reference to sects and parties in Denmark; (d) Northern mythology and history of Denmark, orally communicated and then treated according to Oehlenschläger’s ‘Nordens Guder’—Muller’s History of Denmark, Saxo, and Snorro will be used for reading; (e) geography, first of all in broad features according to the Globe, with descriptions of different peoples and countries, and then geography of Denmark, with statistics; (f) specially chosen works of Danish writers will be read on three evenings during the week; (g) singing, with special reference to the old hero-songs. Instruction in ordinary school subjects will be continued in order to help scholars to a practical application of the knowledge so acquired, inasmuch as information at school is, as a rule, imparted in a mechanical manner.”

Then follows a very characteristic statement to show the earnestness of the man:—

“ As 30 rigsdaler are demanded for school and board during the five months, and as this sum, however moderate, exceeds the means of parents anxious to have their children taught, payment may be distributed over several years; so that a father, whose son entered school this year, will pay in the first and second winter only 10 rigsdaler and the rest in five or ten or fifteen or twenty years, according to his circumstances, while another, whose son has not yet reached the required age, may begin with annual contributions, which will afterwards be reckoned in the account.

“ The school will begin on the 1st November, and payment will be demanded on the 1st January of each year.”

\* \* \*

Kold’s first school was attended by pupils whose ages varied from fourteen to thirty-three years. Kold soon saw that a change should be introduced into the original school plan. Strong criticism developed into open opposition. For as the influence of the director of the new school grew, and the whole surrounding district pronounced itself in his favour, the critics became alarmed. There was, indeed, a thorough lack of system in the scheme. There was no fixed plan, the original, after modification, having been entirely abandoned. When, e.g., Bishop Monrad asked Kold what he meant to do with his school and what he intended to teach, the answer came: “Love for God, the neighbour, the fatherland!” When in the summer a school was opened for children to satisfy parents who were displeased with the mechanical system of learning by rote and an association was formed for a free school for children, the opponents of the system established another association, “Landboforeningen”, with a view to combating the whole system. Not long afterwards a petition was sent to the Minister of Education, signed by 344, denouncing Kold’s High School as a one-sided, sectarian institution, where nothing was learnt. This was in 1857. Kold’s old pupils sent in a counter-petition, in which they gave glowing testimony to the good work done. For a short time the Government subsidy was withheld, but when a deputation, composed of clergy, officials, and others, had investigated the whole system of teaching on the spot, the tide seemed to turn. Government aid was restored, public opinion satisfied, and a new era of prosperity dawned on the High School.

An amusing story is told in connection with the deputation’s visit. When the “Probst” began to examine his scholars, Kold objected strenuously, because the men were there to be taught and not to be examined. The dispute ended in Kold being permitted to teach in the presence of a deputation, and an occasional question

was allowed. Kold trembled when the worthy "Probst" asked for the name of the Roman general who fought against Attila. Fortunately a young peasant gave the correct answer: Aetius. This answer saved the school and the system. To the end of his days Kold continued to teach with ever-increasing success, and at his grave Pastor Appel said of him: "I have seldom met a man whose firm faith in his calling was coupled with more triumphant hope. He knew that he wielded a spiritual sword of great keenness. His word was ever fruitful; it had somewhat of the power and strength of the deed. When he attempted to enter into the soul of his hearers he succeeded in doing so. In him we see what a personality means when it lives in faith and hope for an idea."

\* \* \*

Since Kold's day a network of such schools has been stretched across the country. They are distinctly Danish, though they have spread far beyond the limits of Denmark. The whole of the North has felt their influence, and if "imitation is the sincerest flattery" the imitation of this system in other countries is the best commentary on its distinct success.

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There remains one question to be answered: *How are these schools arranged?*

The High Schools are of two kinds: an elementary and a more elaborate system. Let me begin with the latter, taking as an instance the High School at Askov. According to Dr. Hollmann, they are arranged as follows:—

Syllabus  
adopted.

"From the beginning of November to the end of April there are about ninety-five men and sixty-five women students. More than four-fifths are first-year and the rest second-year students. Nearly all are between eighteen and twenty-five years of age; sometimes as many as one-fifth are over that age. Their parents are farmers, cottars, artisans, civil servants, teachers, tradesmen, and shopkeepers. I must further premise that the instruction at Askov is of a higher kind than at other High Schools: that it begins where most of the others leave off, except from May to the end of July, when there is a course for about 200 young women.

"The bell in the morning rings for prayers at 7.45 with the principal and his family. The attendance is good, though entirely voluntary. After breakfast the classes begin. The students take either a first-year or a second-year course. Let us follow one of the first-year men in his work through the day.

"From 8 to 9 there are on two days of the week lectures on *Historical Geometry* (i.e. geometry taken in the order in which the different parts of the subject were discovered). On two other days there are *Oral Examinations* in order to see whether the lectures on that subject have been understood. The other two hours are devoted to the *Industrial Life of Denmark*.

"From 9 to 10 the subject four days a week is the *Mother-tongue*. Here the students are broken up into smaller groups for class instruction. On the other two days there is an *Oral Examination* in the lectures on the *History of the World*. Then comes a short break with opportunity for slight refreshment.

"From 10.30 to 11.30 there are lectures on the *History of the North* on three days and on *Historical Physics* the other three days. The lectures this hour, as well as those of the last hour of the day, are attended by the whole school, both first year and second year, for both men and women. The lecturer uses neither manuscript nor note. His whole object is to secure the intelligent interest of his hearers; and when this is secured they give him both eyes and ears, and no question of note-taking arises. The use of text-books is reduced to a minimum; before the oral examination comes off next day some short handbook or brief printed outline is read by the student. Every such lecture begins or ends with a *song*, and if the subject be historical or literary there is no difficulty in choosing a song appropriate to the occasion. Out of the 579 songs in the song-book in most general use, more than one-half are national songs in great variety, or songs which range over the whole field of history. Such songs are sung in unison, and both tunes and words are familiar to all.

"The next hour is always given to *Gymnastics*, on *Ling's* system. Then comes the midday meal, consisting always of two dishes, one with the spoon (soup) and the other a dish of hot meat and vegetables. There can be no luxuries where *temperance a day* covers the cost of board, but there is always an abundance of good appetizing food.

"The first lesson after dinner is, on four days, one in *Drawing*, and on the remaining two in *Book-keeping*; the second is in *Singing*. There is then a short break for afternoon coffee.

"The next hour is devoted to *English*, two days a week; oral examination in *History of the North* for two days; *Hygiene*, one day; interpretation of the *Bible*, one day.

"From 4.30 to 5.30 *Geography* is taught for two days; *Arithmetic* for two; oral examinations in *German* for two.

"The last hour of the day is given to a general lecture for the whole school on the *History of the World* or on some scientific subject. Then comes the evening meal. Lights are out soon after 10."

From this sketch it will be seen that in the six months' course more than 300 lessons are given in the chief subject, *History*. *Physical Science* in this particular school comes next; *Mathematics* and the *Mother-tongue* are not far behind. In history is included *Bible History* and *Church History*. Religious instruction is given historically rather than dogmatically.

The accompanying table will show how the instruction is arranged for the whole winter course:—

## ASKOV (MEX).

Time.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
8-9	Ancient Scandinavian History and Language.		History or Mathematics.		Statistics.	Ancient History.
9-10	Danish.		Norse History (oral).	Danish.	Norse History (oral).	Danish.
10½-11½	Physics.		Lectures.		Physics.	
11½-12½	Gymnastics.					
12½-2	Drawing.					
3¼-3¾	Singing.					
1-5	Universal History (oral).	Arithmetic.	English or German.	Arithmetic.	Universal History (oral).	English or German.
5-6	Geography.	Mathematics (oral)	Geography.		Physics (oral).	Political Geography.
6-7	Lectures.		Norse History.			

## ODDER (WOMEN).

Time.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
7½-8	Coffee and Prayers.					
8-9	Geography.	Geology.	Geography.	Geology.	Geography.	Mythology.
9-10	Gymnastics.					
10-11	Danish History.	Physiology.	Danish History.	Danish History.	Physiology.	Danish History.

ODDER (WOMEN)—*continued.*

Time.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
11-12	Writing.					
1½-2½	Chemistry.	Arithmetic.	Chemistry.	Arithmetic.	Grammar.	Arithmetic.
2½-3½	Grammar.	Drawing.	Grammar.	Drawing.	Singing.	Drawing.
3½-5	Sewing.					
5-6	History of the World.	Singing.	History of the World.	Chemistry.	History of the World.	
7½-8½	Reading aloud from various books.					

The Askov syllabus (see statistical table on opposite page) is not carried out everywhere in its entirety. The principles are the same, the general method and arrangement the same; but with slight alterations the course followed at Askov is the course generally accepted. The following account will indicate where difference in detail comes in:—

“ At 8 o'clock we assemble in the schoolroom and sing a morning hymn, and then the teaching begins.

“ From 8 to 9 I have kept free for myself. In the beginning I do not give my pupils too much. My hours are shorter. But towards the end of winter it is different. They have become more accustomed to listen and give their full attention to the subjects discussed. There is always a number of *Folklore* tales and stories which I cannot treat in discussing the history of the Fatherland. These I now discuss. For example, the ‘Volsung-saga’, the story of Holger Danske, of Svend Felding, and the narrative of the discovery and colonization of Iceland. Thus, too, I have been in the habit of explaining part of the songs we commonly use. Then we have *Proverbs* for the people, which are discussed, as a rule, on Monday mornings. On another morning I treat the *History of Literature*, and especially of those writers who have made the deepest impression upon the country, such as Saxo, Kristen, Pedersen, Anders Vedel, Kingo, Holberg, Brorson, Ewald, Oehlenschläger, Ingemann, and Grundtvig.

“ Later in the winter I discussed such questions as the characteristics of the different ages of man and of nations in Imagination, Feeling, and Thought: further, Word and Idea; the differences in Paganism among different nations; figurative language in our sagas and our epics. In later years I have sometimes discussed the first chapters of Genesis in their relation to the origin of the human race; and in one winter I have treated the French Revolution from 1789 to Robespierre's fall. Many other things have been handled during this hour from time to time, such as archaeological research, the discoveries in Niniveh, Egyptian antiquities, the natural and monumental condition of Judea, Socialism, the relation of the individual to the State. In short, this hour was devoted by me to subjects which according to my idea should engage the attention of my scholars and open their eyes.

“ The time from 9 to 10 was devoted to a discussion of our best writers, such as Björnson, Blicher, Ingemann; later we passed to Oehlenschläger, and gradually to all our poets of some repute. This roused in them a desire for reading, which was satisfied to some extent in spare moments. After 10 there is a break of half an hour.

“ From 10.30 to 11 attention is given to *Writing*, with the result that our scholars by about Christmas are able to write a fair hand.

“ The time from 11 to 12 is devoted to the *History of the Fatherland*. This I consider the subject of chief importance in our school. From 12 to 2 we keep the schools free.

“ But at 2 we begin with the *History of the World*. All that we could do was to enable our scholars to make themselves acquainted with the chief nations and the

chief events of ancient, mediæval, and modern days to the end of the eighteenth century. In later years I have held lectures on the French Revolution, treating it one evening a week.

From 3 to 1 was devoted to *Dictation* and to a Danish exercise; 4 to 5 is free; 5 to 6 is devoted to *Geography*. Once a week at this hour a lecture is given on *Physical Science*. Two or three hours in the evening are devoted to *Reading*. Saxo and Snorro and some epic poetry are so treated."

This account is taken from "Grundtvig's Højskole, 1856-1906, by H. Rosen-dahl", and has been given in the exact words of Grove, who for more than thirty years was at the head of one of these schools. It gives us a clearer insight into the Grundtvig school proper, Askov having in course of time assumed a slightly different character, with new developments in certain directions.

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The most graphic account of the life of Askov I can find is the following description given by an old student in his "Ein Winter auf der Volkshochschule in Askov" (see Hollmann, p. 79):—

"At 7 o'clock in the morning the bell rings which hangs over the gate at the entrance. The school awakes. Doors and windows fly open; the scholars make up their beds (generally two occupy a room; every scholar brings the necessary sheets and pillow-slips from home), fetch water from the pumps, dust, sweep, and clean. At 7.30 everything must be in order. The bell rings a second time and calls to breakfast in the 'Dagmarhall'. Then one hears the clattering of wooden shoes and of heavy boots. From the 'White House' in the principal building and other residential halls the young men gather, and are soon seated on the benches at the long tables in the hall. After breakfast we have morning prayer, at which attendance is free. The wife of the Director, Frau Ingeborg Appel, plays a psalm on the harmonium, in which all join. Then a prayer is read.

"At 8 o'clock the first lecture is given. Before it begins a song or hymn is sung. Singing, singing, and once more singing may be the motto of the High School. Songs and ballads by Grundtvig, Richardt, Björnson, and other popular writers are thus sung. The early lecture is attended by both sexes. The subject is always the same. Either Dr. Marius Christensen lectures on *Language* or Professor La Cour on *Historical Physics*, or Professor Ludwig Schröder discourses on *Northern Myths* and *Hero Stories*.

"After the lecture students rush from the hall, put on their gymnastic dress, and are ready at 9 o'clock in the gymnastic hall. The teacher inspects them all as they appear. Then the various exercises begin, on the Swedish ladder or the cross-bar, with feats of jumping, according to prescribed rules. These are gone through with great energy, and at the end of the hour perspiration seems to shroud the strong limbs as in a mist. Then to the bathroom under cooling spray. Soon the bell rings and our second breakfast is taken.

"At 10.30 we are all assembled in the lecture hall. Now it is either Professor La Cour or Professor Appel who delivers a lecture on scientific subjects, or the teacher of history, Axelsen, who discusses the history of the world in modern times. At the close of this hour students attend different classes in groups: arithmetic, manual labour, hygiene, history, and geography. This brings us to 2 o'clock.

"At 2 o'clock we gather for the midday meal. Askov's kitchen has a reputation of its own. Strict economy is to be observed if four meals are to be provided for 25 krone, which the pupils pay per month for their board. Lunch is simple, but good: two solid dishes like soup and beef, or else some egg and meal food and Danish national dishes. The wife of the Director plays her part in these arrangements, for besides taking her share in the teaching of practical subjects she attends to the general economy of the school. After lunch there is a pause till 3.15, when the scholars, according to pleasure, engage in various games, such as football or winter sports.

"At 3.15 Nutzhorn, one of the oldest founders of High Schools, appears with his staff, and soon in the great gymnastic hall hundreds of strong voices make themselves heard in singing.

"From 4 to 6 there is instruction in Danish, German, and English for men, while the women are engaged in gymnastic exercises under the guidance of Frau Ingeborg Appel.

"At 6 o'clock we are again all together in the large hall for the last lecture of the day. Again we have history, either the ancient history of Denmark, under the theological candidate Fenger, or some other subject, like the history of England or Prussia, under Director Appel; or else Professor Schröder on Grundtvig's national ideas or some kindred historical or philosophical subject. Schröder is the founder of Askov and one of the most successful teachers of the High Schools. His power of

speech is great. Those who have heard him once will understand what the 'living word' means in the Grundtvig system. Quiet reigns during his lectures: deep thought characterizes his addresses: a doctrinaire dry-as-dustness is as far removed from his speech as oratorical pathos. Schröder relates that visitors who consider it their duty to tell him how 'interesting' his lecture was always rouse in him a feeling of sadness. There is another way of hearing. It sometimes happens that after a lecture one hears how the audience draws a deep breath. That is a sign that their feeling has been aroused, that personally they were touched."

This graphic description of an eye-witness throws a flood of light on the Grundtvig High School. The teaching is academic and yet free. There is no compulsion; there are no note-book summaries, no examinations looming in the distance, no text-book crammings, no degrees with their academic distinctions at the end of a prescribed course, no inducements to study for a certificate, a profession, a diploma. Those who come are driven by a desire to know. The "schoolboy with shining morning face and satchel, creeping like snail unwillingly to school", is absent. They come to learn: they pay for their instruction: they receive the very best from men who teach because they love teaching, not because they must earn their living, who have devoted their lives to the cause of their country, without enriching themselves at their country's expense.

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I offer no apology for these long quotations. I thought it best to summon eye-witnesses to my aid. These Grundtvig teachers are enthusiasts in their profession, and some of them are of high academic standing. After years of toil they can speak of a success which is phenomenal in the history of education. Their aim is to inform, not merely to impart scraps of information, hastily jotted down in ill-kept note-books, to be brought out at a later stage for an examination frequently as arid as it is useless. The student does not score in marks; his intellectual thermometer does not rise or fall according to the arbitrary application of a standard as variable as "the shade by the light-quivering aspen made"; maxima and minima, aggregates or totals, bursaries or scholarships, and the whole paraphernalia of the modern system do not trouble his dreams. He leaves the High School with a new outlook, an intellectual horizon; goes back to desk or school or farm, a different being, with high aims and purposes, with a new love for his country and a desire to do what his hand findeth to do in his own day and generation. Life has a new meaning for him: daily toil has become sacrificial: the gain for himself and his country is immense.

Dr. Hollmann is enthusiastic in his praise of the High School teachers: "These men speak without ecstasy, without any attempt at oratory; but a deep undertone of feeling runs through their whole discourse. This touches one's heart and holds the attention. They speak as men with a rich inner life, who give their hearers glimpses into a rich personality and send forth gleams of light out of their own personal life on the subjects treated by them, as the rays which are flashed from the tower of a lighthouse upon the dark surface of the ocean and for a moment illuminate the monotonous, uniform darkness of the heaving sea-bosom, rising and falling with the billows."

This statement might appear exaggerated, but it is the experience of all who have made the acquaintance of this system. If the description be true, it makes one long for better days in South Africa. Years ago I visited Greenwood Cemetery in America. It was summer. Sunshine glorified the landscape. The cemetery was beautifully laid out—a veritable paradise of loveliness, rendered beautiful by Art, still more beautiful by Nature. The gravestones, with their monotonous epitaphs in praise of the dead, declared unforgotten by the survivors, reared their gleaming heads and caught the sunshine, while above and around the trees in full and fragrant blossom seemed to be God's remembrance of the dead. I said to myself that if men would only give a little more of love to the living, a little less of unrecorded remorse for neglect to those whose life had been embittered by their carelessness and indifference, the graveyard might be less beautiful, but our commonplace, monotonous, dreary routine of drudgery would be ennobled by acts of kindness, of which the recording angel would take note as the soul passes into the Unseen. God was in that cemetery in the fragrance of flowers and the blossoms of spring. Man was represented in the monuments, and appealed to the wayfarer through false art and fictitious epitaphs of remembrance.

Could not our school-life be thus glorified? In hearts made grateful by unwearied kindness and helpfulness and in work accomplished for the good of the community?

Testrup.

Among the High Schools which have impressed the visitor, Testrup takes a foremost place. It is the creation of Dr. Nørregaard, called by Miss Sellars "one of the most eloquent men in all Denmark". "In 1866 Dr. Nørregaard betook himself to Testrup, in South Jutland, and founded the 'Peasants' High School' there. He was quite a young man at the time, rich and talented, with a brilliant future before him, if he chose; yet he gave up everything and, accompanied by his wife and brother-in-law, went forth to this desolate region that he might throw in his lot with the peasants and help them to rally from their misfortunes. Not only did he defray all initial expenses, but for years he contributed largely to the school."

In my interview with him I learnt a good deal about the High Schools at first hand. This has already been incorporated in my report. I shall here content myself by giving the syllabus as followed for many years at Testrup. There is a summer and a winter course, slightly differing from each other.

#### SUMMER COURSE AT TESTRUP.

- 8-9..... Danish Reading.
- 9-10..... Geography and Handwriting.
- 10-11..... Gymnastics.
- 11-12.30..... General History.
- 2-4..... For Women: Handiwork.
- 4-5..... Folklore. Norse Tales. Stories with their meanings.
- 5.15-6.15..... Writing in Danish and Arithmetic.
- 6.15-7..... Gymnastics.
- 7-8..... Danish Poetry.

#### WINTER COURSE.

- 8.30-9.30..... Geography and Natural History.
- 9.30-10.30..... The Danish Language, Reading, and Writing.
- 10.30-11..... Gymnastics.
- 11-12.30..... General History of the World.
- 2-3..... Gymnastics for some, Danish Reading for others.
- 3-4..... History of the Northern countries—Sweden, Norway, Denmark.
- 4.30-5.30..... Arithmetic and Geometry.
- 5.30-7..... Writing in Danish. Something original. Sometimes dictation.
- 7-8..... Northern Poets read and explained, e.g. Oehlenschläger, Inge-  
mann.

This scheme is very much simpler, intensely Danish, intensely patriotic. How Testrup strikes an English visitor we shall learn from Miss Sellars ("Cornhill", March, 1909), who says in regard to the *students*:—"I had watched them make their way into the lecture hall. They looked more alert than the average English agriculturist: their eyes were brighter and they lifted their feet higher as they walked. Still, in the great majority I could at first discern no signs of special intelligence, and about several of them there was something so stolid, nay, sleepy, that I wondered what could have ever induced them to forsake their ploughs for books. No sooner did the lecture begin, however, than I knew that I had misjudged them, for even the dullest among them was as one transformed as he listened."

Of Dr. Nørregaard she says:—"The lecturer that morning was Dr. Nørregaard, and he was dealing with a favourite theme of his, Alexander the Great. He described Alexander's victorious march to the East, depicting in glowing colours the countries through which he passed, the people whom he encountered. He told of the King himself, of his virtues and his vices, his triumphs and his trials; told, too, how he lived and how he died. He spoke with a verve and a fire that thrilled to the very heart's core those who heard him. These great, rough men hung on his words as if spellbound; their faces flushed, their hands trembled, and they held their very breath in their excitement."

Of his pupils she writes:—"Another day, when I was at the High School, I heard a lecture on Norse 'Folklore', and this excited even greater enthusiasm than that on Alexander had done. It was the same, too, I found, when literature was the subject of discourse. These diggers and delvers had evidently found time in their homesteads, before they ever came to the High Schools, to do much reading and to ponder well what they had read. Not only were they acquainted with the masterpieces of their national literature, but they had conned over Shakespeare with loving care, and knew something of Ibsen and Björnson, of Goethe and Schiller, too. . . . Writing is to many of them a sore trial; it is quite pitiable indeed sometimes to see the contortions they undergo in their efforts to keep their lines straight and their letters all of the same size. . . . Then Law is taught at this

High School, though only in so far, of course, as relates to civic duties, civic privileges, and the principles on which the Danish constitution is founded. There are also lectures on elementary science, on astronomy, geology, physics, and hygiene, and these many students follow with intense interest. The science teacher, as indeed every teacher at the High School, is careful, of course, to adapt his teaching to his pupils. And the result is that at the end of a winter's course most of them have learnt to interest themselves in the natural phenomenon they see around them. They know to a certainty why the moon is a crescent one day and round another and the causes of storms and tides: they know, too, why certain soils yield better crops than others, and they understand the mysteries of irrigation and deep digging."

"Some years ago", she continues, "a committee was formed in Copenhagen for the purpose of publishing science primers at a nominal price—a penny or twopence each; and the members report that it is in agricultural districts that their pamphlets are bought up most eagerly. This surely is a notable fact. Think what a laugh would go round were one to suggest to a company of Sussex farm labourers that they should buy for themselves science primers!"

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The system thus broadly sketched has had the most marvellous success. "During the years from 1844 to 1896 no fewer than 120,000 students passed through the Danish Peasants' High Schools—at Testrup alone there were nearly 7000, and at the present time nearly one-fourth of the whole agricultural population of Denmark contrive, by hook or by crook, to go to one of the High Schools for a term." Success of the High School.

In fact, there are 71 such High Schools spread over the country, attended by 30 per cent. of the agricultural population. In 1904 there were 3151 men attending these schools for the five months of winter, and 3186 women for three months. Besides these there were 13 Agricultural Schools, attended by 1054 men and 7 women.

From Professor Sadler's reports I gather that the students are distributed over various classes of the community. "Of the 7398 students, 3758 were sons or daughters of farmers (owning 20 to 150 acres), 1642 of cottars (owning 3 to 15 acres), 218 of labourers, 817 of artisans, 214 of shopkeepers, 417 of teachers or of civil servants, and 310 of parents not designated. As to their ages, 5607 were between 18 and 26 years of age, 1159 over that age, and 612 under."

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Needless to say, that the schools are conducted in the most inexpensive way. "The charge for board and lodging amounts to 100 krone for five months (i.e. at about 20 shillings a month). If to this be added 10 krone for books and appliances and 2 krone for possible medical attendance, the total for five months is 162 krone, or, say, £8. The corresponding expenses for the women's course of three months will be 102 krone, or about £5.

The schools receive Government help to a certain extent. Since 1892, 300,000 krone (£15,000) were contributed, of which 180,000 krone were devoted to bursaries and 120,000 were given in direct aid. In 1902 the total amount was further increased to 400,000 krone (£20,000), of which 250,000 krone were given in bursaries and 140,000 krone were applied to the schools. The remaining 10,000 krone were a contribution to a pension fund for the teachers. These bursaries were generally small. They would amount to about 20 krone a month at a High School and 24 krone at an Agricultural School. Some 2920 students were thus aided, making up nearly two-fifths of the whole 7398.

An analysis of the bursars brings about interesting results. Of the 1172 men who had bursaries in 1904 at the High Schools, 571 were in service on the farms for the most part, 381 were either journeymen or apprentices, 100 were still at home with their parents, 71 were farm pupils, 42 artisans, and so on.

What an educative force these High Schools must be in Denmark.

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After this review of the Grundtvig system we shall be in a better position to estimate its strength and its weakness. Though distinctly Danish in origin and conception, it has spread into neighbouring countries, and has found a home even in the United States of America among immigrants from Denmark. In Professor Sadler's Reports we read:— In other lands.

"The High School first made its appearance in Norway in 1864 and was for years somewhat of an exotic. The movement led in 1875 to the establishment of State 'Amtsskoler', as well as High Schools proper. An 'Amtsskole', like the High School, is a school in which the whole time of the pupil is given for several months to instruction; but its pupils are younger and it lacks the higher instruction in

history and literature which is the special feature of the High School. The two schools were at first rivals, but now exist peacefully side by side. And it is often found that the 'Folkehøjskole' pupil becomes the most successful director of the 'Amtsskole'. In 1900 there were 631 pupils in the High Schools and 1717 in the 'Amtsskoler'."

In Norway opposition was keen at first. It came indeed from two directions. The High Church party at the one extreme and an earnest Pietism at the other did not favour this movement in its early stages. The Norwegian is different from the Dane. The latter is more amiable, more hearty, and perhaps more emotional than his stern, earnest, self-contained, somewhat exclusive neighbour. The deep, dark fords, the high mountains, the sombre forests, the loneliness of its scattered population are reflected in the character of the people. They are on the one hand more susceptible to religious impressions, and on the other more liable to be influenced by the great poets of the North, Ibsen, Björnson, Lie, Kjelland, etc., whose works are met with even in the humblest cottage. And Grundtvig, with his somewhat paradoxical and at times somewhat unpractical theories, did not at first appeal to Norwegian thought. Slowly, however, the system found a way to the heart of the Norwegian peasant. At first stress was almost exclusively laid on mythology, of which the North is so rich, and on history and literature; but gradually a place was found in the curriculum for subjects of a more practical character. The religious element was not disregarded, though distinct religious teaching was absent—as indeed was the case in Denmark. As Superintendent Aswegen has put it: "We have no special religious instruction in our schools. But I maintain that our teaching is decidedly Christian, inasmuch as we ourselves are men of faith, and therefore impart instruction in a Christian spirit and from the Christian standpoint." In Denmark, indeed, it was Grundtvig whose idealism laid the foundation of a sound, national, Christian culture, as against the foreign influence which emanated from Brandes and was slowly permeating all classes of society. The latter was free-thinking and aesthetic, the former was distinctly Christian and ethical—Christian in the broadest sense of the term, and therefore appealing to all that was noblest in the national character and its aspirations. Norway, however, did not take readily to the High School system. Its growth there has been retarded. Possibly the establishment of the "Amtsskole", to which the "Storting" gave its adhesion in 1875, and which grew much more rapidly, so that in the years 1880–81 it had reached the number of forty, since largely increased, may have been one of the causes in restricting the spread of the High Schools.

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In Sweden success has been more marked. "The movement began in 1868, and in 1904 there were thirty schools at work. It is calculated that there have been 31,480 pupils in them—18,177 one-year men pupils, 3552 two-year men pupils (the second year is devoted almost entirely to technical subjects, such as farming and forestry), and 8751 women pupils. Since 1900 the Riksdag has granted 120,000 krone a year to these schools and 25,000 krone in bursaries for students in need of help."

Finland also has welcomed the High School. "It was 1889 that Sofia Hagman began the first school in this country, and there are now sixteen in which Finnish is the language of instruction and seven for Swedish-speaking students. Inasmuch as each of them also gives instruction in agriculture and domestic economy, the State gives a grant to each school of 2000 to 3000 marks. They are all co-education schools. In 1897 there were 560 pupils in the Finnish and 165 at the Swedish schools."

In the United States more than thirty years ago a People's High School was begun amongst Danish colonists, and there are at least three flourishing institutions of the kind at work in the New World beyond the seas.

Surely all this indicates an amount of vitality which must impress the thoughtful reader.

It is time this report came to a close. I have tried to throw as much light as I could on the educational problem which Denmark had to solve. That country may serve as an object-lesson to our legislators in South Africa. There, as here, the cry was raised, "Back to the land!" Through Grundtvig's influence and those who nobly supported him that problem was satisfactorily solved. Is it impossible for us in South Africa? Our ordinary system of education, in spite of much adverse criticism, is good: our experts are exemplary in their efforts to bring the system into touch with the people and their needs. But something is lacking. Unfortunately, as in Denmark before the advent of Grundtvig, our system is too uniform. It has but one aim, a university degree as the last link in the chain; the intermediate links fitting closely into each other have been forged by rigid examination tests from the kindergarten upwards. Hence the question asked by many, and not yet satisfactorily answered: Is not a new departure needed?

A year or two ago, addressing students of one of our university colleges, I ventured to say:—"The battle between idealism and realism, between humanism and utilitarianism, will have to be fought on South African soil. Quite recently Mr. Froude has been summoned as a witness in support of the doctrine that all education is intended to enable 'a man to earn his living as soon after he leaves the university as possible'. Necessarily a criticism follows of our whole educational system, and this criticism is largely negative, without any positive suggestion towards reform. But all real reform comes from within. It is centrifugal, from centre to circumference. Criticism, as a rule, is centripetal. It sees, or pretends to see, a circumference, and works, or pretends to work, its way to the centre: All the time, however, it merely corrects, and does not know that it corrects some inequalities in the curvature, known by all who have drawn that circumference from the centre in which they stand. I am not pleading for any special system. 'Our little systems have their day.' I am inclined to say of them all: 'Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.' I have seen the Dutch and the German systems as fiercely criticized as the English and our own. A recent number of the 'North American Review' is 'fierce as ten furies' in its attack upon

#### THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

The writer speaks of 'educational revolution' on American soil, of which 'the most significant and inevitable feature will be the abolition and destruction of all elementary schools and the substitution in their place of workshops rather than schoolhouses'. He accuses the American school system of 'helping to manufacture criminals', and calls upon the American people to 'revolutionize the criminal method of educating the young', which revolution, if retarded, will find the human race in a sad state of deterioration and demoralization. To some extent there may be a grain or two of truth in such criticisms. So far I accept criticism. But if everything educational is to be regulated by bread and butter, with or without jam, I take it a wider view is necessary. The question as to what is 'useful' does not occur to my mind. For what is useful in education? Surely the end and aim of all education should be to make of the mind a bright and effective instrument, capable of grappling with difficulties and raising us above all that is sordid and mean and of no repute. To educate means to lead outwards and upwards, towards the very highest ideal which a human being can reach."

That position I would still maintain, and in this spirit I drafted my report. I now commend it to the careful and earnest consideration of our legislators. To copy Denmark is out of the question: to learn from Denmark is possible for those who wish to learn. The weakness to many minds in the Grundtvig system is its absence of distinct religious teaching. There is a section of the community, both in Denmark and in Norway, not favourable to the People's High School on this ground. A number of schools have been established by supporters of the "Innere Mission", where more attention is devoted to the study of the Bible and of Church history and the history of missions. I have not been able to secure reliable information as to the working of these schools. But I have found with men like Dr. Nørregaard a distinct desire to maintain a thoroughly Christian spirit in the People's High Schools. "Wir Können nicht ganz rein humanistisch arbeiten . . . wir wollen es nicht: Dasz kann auch nicht", said the worthy doctor. The very latest reports to hand show that the system is spreading. More pupils are coming under its sway, more Government support is given, greater success is being attained. From official sources I gather that "in the financial year 1910-11, the number of prominent High Schools totalled 78", while the Government contribution "was 161,500 kroner directly to the schools and 253,700 kroner to the support of pupils". The age limit apparently is not as high as in former years. "In the financial year 1908-09, 60 pupils were under 16 years of age, 554 between 16 and 18 years, and 1106 over 25 years." The number of pupils attending in the financial year 1909-10 was 8153.

#### LITERATURE.

##### IN DANISH.

Several important works have appeared in Danish, Norwegian, Swedish. Among those of special value in *Danish* I may mention:—

L. Schröder: "Den Danske Folkehøjskole."

J. Nørregaard: "Testrup Folkehøjskole, 1866-1891."

H. Rosendahl: "Grundtvig's Højskole, 1856-1906."

## IN GERMAN.

- Hollmann : " Die Dänische Volkshochschule."  
 Maikki Friberg : " Entstehung und Entwicklung der Volkshochschulen in den Nordischen Ländern."  
 Róberg Madsen : " Grundtvig und die Dänischen Volkshochschulen."  
 J. Kaftan : " Grundtvig der Prophet des Nordens."

## IN ENGLISH.

- Report of Scottish Commission on Agriculture in Denmark, 1904.  
 Sadler : " Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere, 1907."  
 Rider Haggard : " Rural Denmark, 1910."  
 Edith Sellars : In " Cornhill Magazine ", March, 1909, on the " Peasants' High Schools in Denmark ".

## IN DUTCH.

- Dr. Lehmann : In " Onze Eeuw ", February, 1903, on " Denemarken en zijne Volkshoogeschoolen "  
 Dr. Haspels : " Scandinavische Reisschetsen."
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