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*My Danish
and Holstein
Ancestors*

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My Danish and Holstein Ancestors

1609-1975

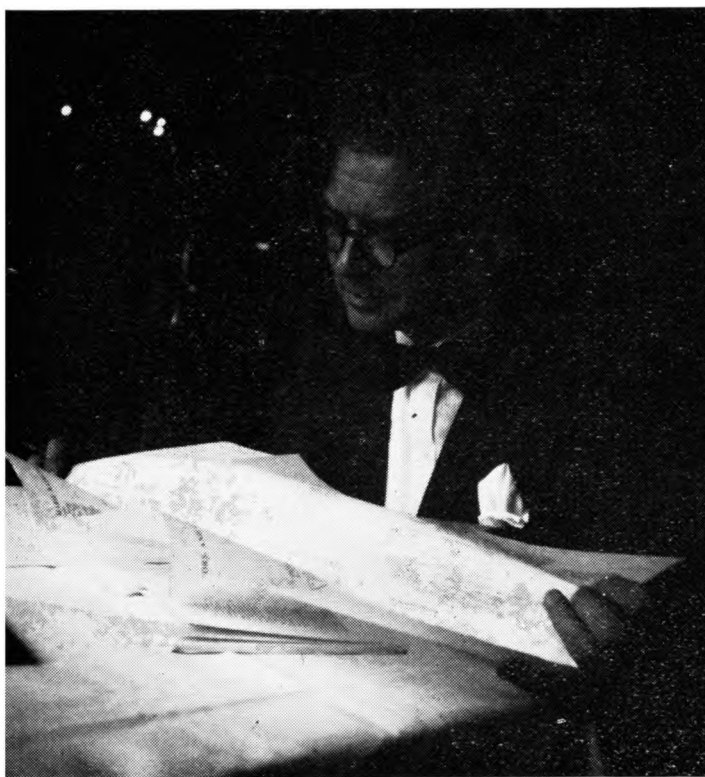
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Set in type and printed in England by the helpful and patient staff of
M. Pilling & Sons, Ltd., of The Cross, Elland, West Yorkshire.

Rosenkilde & Bagger,
Copenhagen, 1974.

*To my Sister Eva's, and my own, grandchildren
and their unborn descendants*

LANDSARKIVET FOR SJÆLLAND
BIBLIOTEKET



“Scrutinizing the Genealogical Tree.”

Unposed snapshot of the author, the Great-great-grandson of Henrich Petersen, taken by Sylvia on the 14th July, 1969, at Hotel Vinhuset in Næstved, after his first visit to Toksværd.

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I. My Maternal Ancestors

FIRST CHAPTER :

Introduction

Few visitors to Copenhagen can have failed to visit, or at least to have heard of, 'Strøget.' No such street name appears in any Copenhagen directory. Shorthand for the well-known, narrow and twisting, in my childhood exclusive, shopping thoroughfare, 'Strøget,' describes five separate streets, which running into one, roughly cover the distance from the old Western Gate (now : Raadhuspladsen) to the original Eastern Gate (now : Kongens Nytorv). For a couple of hundred years, the course of 'Strøget' has approximately divided the mediæval city into halves.

The streets which make up 'Strøget' are : Frederiksberggade, Nygade, Vimmelskiftet, Amagertorv and Østergade. In my early childhood, gay, red double-decker buses, drawn by horses, enlivened the street scene. About 1913, motor buses took over, at first running in both directions, before the thoroughfare was turned into a one-way street, only more recently (1966) to become a pedestrian shopping precinct.

Today, 'Strøget' is intersected by vehicular traffic in only six places. The eastern of the two central crossings, from North to South, runs into the insignificant-looking Hyskenstræde from the equally narrow Klosterstræde. In the latter are buildings, two centuries or more of age, which contain flats above, and *boutiques* below ; in some yards, timber-framed, colour washed buildings (including at least one half-timbered privy !) rub shoulders with imposing granite office and shop buildings of recent vintage.

Here, in the first half of the 18th century, in the heart of my native city, in Kloster-Stræde (as then sometimes spelled), the name of which commemorates the nearby presence of a pre-Reformation Greyfriars



The modern property at Klosterstræde 2 (since 1905, part of the modern adjusted *Matrikelnummer* 170), Copenhagen K., July 1968.

The site, from 1756 to 1806 known as new *Matrikelnummer* 53, was bought by Tiptipoldefar on the 30th August, 1734, for 120 Rigsdaler *Danske Cowant*.

The present house, in appearance, is possibly partly a replica of the timber-framed house constructed after the 1728 Fire which, until 1905, was standing on this site. That house was owned and partly inhabited by Peder Hendrichsen, my Tiptipoldefar (Great-great-great-grandfather), and his family, from 1734 until Tiptipoldefar's death in 1765.

monastery, lived, and carried on his trade, one of my maternal ancestors, Tiptipoldefar (Great-great-great-grandfather) Peder Hendrichsen. A master shoemaker, at one time fairly prosperous, he died in his house on Friday, the 22nd of November, 1765. Four days later, he was buried in the northern churchyard of his parish church, the Helligaandskirke, which still stands at the nearby Amagertorv. At his death, being referred to as 73 years old, having been christened on the 9th June, 1693.

Although his grave cannot be identified, there are in the churchyard, within 100 or 200 metres from his home and the busy, bustling 'Strøget,' decaying epitaphs on grave stones which recount the virtues of other Copenhagen citizens of that period ; from the entry in the Church Book, the clergyman who delivered the funeral oration is known to have been Dean ('Proust') Lindegaard. The receipt written by the doctor who attended Tiptipoldefar during his mortal illness, charging for his services 12 Rigsdaler and 3 Mark, is still extant.

The contents of a copious file at the Sjællands Landsarkiv provide such exhaustive details that one is able to visualize, not only the last year of Tiptipoldefar's life, but also his estate, as his personal garments, items of furniture and other property at the time of his death, were all carefully described and valued.

Married three times, by each of his two latter wives, he had, a son who grew up to manhood. The elder of these boys, Henrich Petersen, who was born on the 28th February, 1748, and christened in the Helligaandskirke on the 2nd March, 1748, became my Tipoldefar (Great-great-grandfather). How did it come about that I walked into this Aladdin's Cave of my undistinguished maternal ancestors ? Their names were unknown to me until 1965, let alone in 1911/12, when in Klosterstræde, on my first unaccompanied visits to the old city, I glued my boyish eyes to the tempting offers on display in the

shop windows of stamp dealers, such as Tybring, Frimærkebørsen “Hermes,” and others. Luck played its part. Partly, however, it is due to the initiatory efforts of my paternal cousin, Marie Rostgaard (though



Frimands Qvarteer
 Kiøbenhavn
 forfædiget af
 overconducateur CHRISTIAN GEDDE
 1757

[Klosterstræde matr.nr. 53 indtil 1806
 derefter er matr.nr.82 ~~og 81 indtil~~
 indtil 1905.]

Gedde’s Map (1757) of Frimands *Qvarteer*, Copenhagen, shows the position both of the Helligaandskirke and Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen’s house at 53 Closter-stræde. (Incorrectly, the printed details of the occupiers, listed separately, next to Gedde’s Map, also shows him to have owned 54 Closter-stræde.) (cf. map on p.70.)

she is in no way related to my maternal ancestors, but even more greatly to the perspicacity, initiative and knowledge of Niels Rickelt, Registrar of the Sjællands Landsarkiv in Copenhagen. But also, the character, behaviour and eloquence of Henrich Petersen, and his unhappy relationship, both before and after his father's death, with his stepmother, Christiana Margrete Hegelund, have played a part. Henrich's own mother, Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, died on the 10th April, 1760, when Henrich was twelve years old. She was buried on the 15th April, 1760.

Twice widowed, Henrich's father may have become reconciled to a lonely old age, why, otherwise, did he apply for royal permission to retain undivided possession of the modest estate of himself, his late wife and their child?

The document granting Peder Hendrichsen permission not to apply for probate, on the 9th May, 1760, at 'Our Royal Castle Fredensborg,' was signed by King Frederik V, and counter-signed by Count J. L. von Holstein who for 25 years had been President of '*Danske Cancellie*.'

The royal permission was subject only to simple conditions: The permit would remain in force as long as the ageing widower stayed single; other relatives of the only child of the marriage, i.e. Henrich, jointly with his father, Peder Hendrichsen (now also referred to as Henrich's guardian), were enjoined to enter into a document to protect Henrich's interests, until he came of age.

What occurred to account for the early *volte-face* of the ageing master shoemaker? Did Tiptipoldefar feel oppressed by his loneliness? Or did he seem a desirable catch to the much younger girl who was to become his third wife? He must have known that, marrying again, he would reduce the prospective inheritance of Henrich.

On the 25th November, 1760, kinsmanship probate was executed by Peder Hendrichsen, in the presence of his brother-in-law, Lauritz *Gjeldstrop*, citizen, silk- and cloth-dealer, and his brother, Christen *Henricsen*, citizen and shoemaker. On the 18th December, 1760, his third marriage is known to have taken place and must soon have been fruitful. In November 1765, at the time of Peder Hendrichsen's death, his second surviving son, the child by Peder's third wife, was said to be in his fourth year.

The indulgence of the ageing father towards his charming, clever, elder, surviving son, is likely to have caused family difficulties and jealousy. Born and bred in Copenhagen, it was still at Roskilde latinske Skole that, in 1765, Henrich qualified for entry to the University in Copenhagen, at that time the only one in Denmark, and at, in 1768, he qualified for his degree in theology.

Henrich's background, education and character are vividly mirrored in two lengthy, charmingly phrased, philosophical outpourings, relating to the disposal of his late father's estate and his own shortcomings, which he addressed to the Committee of Probate (*'Skiftekommissionen,'* as then sometimes called) in Copenhagen.

Both epistles are still in existence, neatly set out in Henrich's Gothic, though, faded, writing. Combined with those of 42 other carefully numbered documents in the file, they constitute a goldmine of information. It is also a key to the understanding of the age-old psychological and practical problems which occur when an elderly, already twice married, widower, doting on his gifted only surviving child, re-marries and, by his third wife, has yet another son, leaving at his death a modest estate to be divided among the dependent members of his family, this, in the case of Tiptipoldefar, to be done

according to the strict rules of compulsory family inheritance then prevailing in Denmark.

Before, however, attempting to examine the life, career and literary output of Tipoldefar, let us have a look at his father, Peder Hendrichsen, the master shoemaker. The facts known about him are few, but from one's general knowledge of Danish history and the topography of Copenhagen, one can cautiously try to fill in the gaps and visualize the background of his life, contemporary as he was with Holberg.

The events of the second section of the Great Northern War (1709-1720), in which Denmark suffered terribly, would overshadow his late teens and early twenties. Like other Danes and Norwegians, he is likely to have rejoiced at the daring and successful exploits of Tordenskjold.

At the age of 28, as he would be, we may assume that he was the same person as *Peder Henriksen*, shoemaker, who, in Copenhagen, on the 7th October, 1720, obtained a licence (*'løste Borgerskab'*) to operate as a shoemaker, according to the record (*'Borgerskabsprotokollen'*) still in the archives of the Copenhagen City Hall.

The year when Tiptipoldefar, if, as assumed, the entry relates to him, obtained his operating licence in Copenhagen, is significant, being also the last year of the Great Northern War. The approach of peace must have seemed to offer an attractive opportunity for material advancement to an industrious, skilled and enterprising journeyman shoemaker, setting up in business on his own. The year of 1720 also happened to be that in which, at the age of 36, after years of study and foreign travel in conditions of severe penury, Bergen-born Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), a scholar of Magdalen, Oxford, but not yet a playwright, was advanced to the Professorship of Eloquence in the University of Copenhagen.

It would be straining credulity to suggest that the two men ever met, except accidentally. The master shoemaker and Holberg (the latter, according to the Encyclopædia Britannica, during his generation, except for Voltaire, considered the first writer in Europe) obviously did not move at the same intellectual level. But also an historian, philosopher and poet, Holberg was a man of many parts. As the characters in his plays show, he cannot have spent his life in an ivory tower. In 1721 he became director of the Theatre in Grønnegade. There, in 1722, for the first time in Denmark, plays were performed in Danish, most being Holberg's own works, written and produced at breath-taking speed. With wit, colour and sure dramatic skill, Holberg presented a wonderful gallery of the life, amours, working conditions and foibles, of the common man both in Copenhagen and in the country, as well as those of his social superiors. The first of Holberg's masterpieces, 'The Pewterer turned Politician' ('*Den politiske Kandestøber*'), was produced in 1722, after which the production of one new play rapidly followed that of another, until in less than five years, for financial reasons, the Theatre closed for good in 1727.

Holberg never married, while thrice-married Tiptipoldefar for the first time married in 1721. Is it too fanciful to assume that, during the early years of his long life in Copenhagen, Tiptipoldefar, probably accompanied by his first wife, and possibly friends, enjoyed on the stage seeing Holberg's plays, always ironically witty, and sometimes overflowing into the auditorium, with the almost incredible gaiety and riotous behaviour featured in a play such as '*Mascarade*'?

Is anything more natural than that, after a hard and profitable day's work, Tiptipoldefar may have gone to the Playhouse for an evening's entertainment, as, almost exactly 200 years later, I did in the West End, when, after my Saturday afternoon's work at the Bank

in the City of London, I had finished one of my articles for 'Børsen'? In addition to the age-old and common pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, a Danish artisan for the first time, could enjoy at the Grønnegade Playhouse, satirical, gay plays, written by a genius, and acted in a language with which all members of the audience were familiar.

The novelty of hearing Danish, instead of French or German, on the stage may alone have been enough to attract Peder Hendrichsen. Copenhagen was a small crowded city, of less than 100,000 inhabitants, in which news would travel fast. Some twenty-odd years later, on the 2nd March, 1748, on his eldest son's christening certificate, the addresses of the two shoemaker godfathers are given as Pistolstræde (at which Jørgen Pedersen is stated to have lived) and Lille Kongensgade (at which lived Christen Hendrichsen, obviously the brother of Tiptipoldefar). Pistolstræde, then as now, was just round the corner from the site of the defunct Grønnegade Playhouse; Lille Kongensgade was also close by. Aren't these two guild-brethren of Tiptipoldefar's likely to have been genial companions of his youth, with whom he had enjoyed visiting the Grønnegade Playhouse and whom, much later, he wanted to honour by inviting them to become his eldest son's godfathers?

What happened in 1727 when the Theatre closed? For twenty years (1727-1746), a period of dreary pietism descended on Denmark, exemplified by compulsory and frequent church attendance and the imposition of many other regulations and restrictions. The disastrous Fire of 1728 destroyed large parts of Copenhagen, causing a period of poverty, depression and increased puritanism, but also of opportunities. Did Tiptipoldefar, at the beginning of this period, concentrate in a modest way on financial success? We know that Holberg, in addition to continuing his creative intellectual activities, did so.

Created a baron in 1747, Holberg, who died in 1754, left his large fortune, including his lovely estates in Central Sjælland, to Sorø Akademi, the Danish equivalent of Harrow School. If ever Tiptipoldefar aimed at achieving similar success, he was not even to be moderately successful.

Sources :

Printed :

Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th edition (Holberg).

Povl Engelstoft : Danske Biografisk Leksikon, X Bind, (Holberg).
København 1936.



*Specially drawn by Richard Natkiel, FRGS,
 Head of the Cartographic Department of 'The Economist'.
 Map of Denmark.
 (For detailed map of Sjælland, turn to p.264.)*

SECOND CHAPTER :

Was Tiptipoldfar Peder Hendrichsen a Jutlander from Ribe?

A definite affirmative answer to the question *1609-1720* posed in the heading can only be given, if Tiptipoldefar can be identified with that Peder Hendrichsen who, on the 7th October, 1720, in Copenhagen, obtained a licence to work and trade as a shoemaker ('*løste Borgerskab*'). But the combination of the Christian name of Peder and the surname of Hendrichsen, re-inforced by the description of his trade as a shoemaker, makes it very probable that the person named in this reference to a licence was Tiptipoldefar, known to have been christened in 1693. If this is correct, Tiptipoldefar hailed from Ribe, the idyllic little cathedral city of mediæval fame in South-Western Jutland, where storks still nest, though in rapidly diminishing numbers, on roofs of local houses. (Not far from here now stands the thrusting, restless, modern port of Esbjerg, then however, completely non-existent.) And in that case it is also highly probable that Tiptipoldefar is identical with the boy named Peder, son of Hendrich Pedersen (the latter, in that case, my Tiptiptipoldefar), who on the 9th June, 1693, was christened in Ribe Sct. Katharinæ Kirke.

In the absence of any church book for Ribe Sct. Catharinæ Kirke, for the period as early as 1644, when, according to his age at death, this Hendrich Pedersen is likely to have been born, we do not know the date of his birth or christening, or if he were born in Ribe, which seems probable. However, we do know that on

LANDSARKIVET FOR NØRREJYLLAND
Li. Sct. Hansgade 3 · Viborg · Telefon (0761) 230 og 1728

Viborg, den 26. juli 1968.

J. nr. 1365/1968.

HL/IL

Kr. Find Graucob
Overgate
30 Hullen Edge Road
Elland, Yorkshire

England

Som svar på Deres brev af 22. ds. kan Landsarkivet oplyse, at en dreng med navn Peder, søn af Hendrich Pedersen, blev døbt i Ribe St. Katharine kirke 9. juni 1693. Efter Hendrich Pedersen findes et skifte 5. februar 1705 (arkivnr. B 85A-120 fol. 495 b), hvori oplyses, at han var skomager, gift med Anne Pedersdatter, og at han havde 2 sønner, nemlig Peder, 12 år gammel, og Christen, 5 år gammel, og døtrene Sabina, 14 år gammel, og Maria, 10 år gammel. Det forekommer os sandsynligt, at denne Peder Henriksen er identisk med Deres forfader, men det vil formodentlig være umuligt at bevise.

De vil kunne få foretaget yderligere undersøgelser vedr. ovennævnte familie på de i vedlagte skrivelse nævnte betingelser, men De må være indstillet på, at resultaterne kan blive meget små, idet der kun findes få arkivalier fra før 1700. En døbsattest kan rekvireres her for 1 kr. + porto.

Med venlig hilsen


Jens Holmgård

Peder Hendrichsen, christened in Ribe in Jutland, on the 9th June 1693, is almost certainly identical with Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen, who died in Copenhagen on the 22nd November, 1765, in his 73rd year.

the 27th November 1685, Hendrich Pedersen obtained a licence in Ribe to work and trade as a shoemaker, and furthermore, that after being twice married, and dying at the age of 60, he was buried in Ribe on the

Rådhuset, København V. d. 18. juli 1968.

Hr. Find Graucob,
30 Hullen Edge Road,
Elland, Yorkshire,
England.

I anledning af Deres henvendelse af 11. d.m. kan man oplyse, at det af borgerskabsprotokollen fremgår, at Peder Hendrichsen, der den 7. oktober 1720 løste borgerskab som skomager, var født i Ribe. Kirkebøger m.v. vedrørende Ribe opbevares i Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland, Viborg.

I nogle herværende mandtalslister vedrørende indkvarteringsskat anføres fra Michaeli 1722 til Páske 1724 en skomager Peter Henrich som boende i Frimands kvarter (matrikelnummer) 57 (Klosterstræde) i sidehuset. Fra Michaeli 1726 til Páske 1727 anføres en skomager Peter Hendrichsen på adressen Frimands kvarter (matrikelnummer) 66 (Klosterstræde). I mandtal af 14. december 1728 over de af branden 1728 skånedede bydele anføres under Øster kvarter (matrikelnummer) 263 (Laxegade) en skomager Peder Hendrichsen, om hvem det oplyses, at han før branden boede i Badstuestræde. I skattemandtallerne ses han i Laxegade 263 til og med Páske 1732.

I Mallings fortegnelse over københavnske vielser 1720-1724 der opbevares i Stadsarkivet, oplyses, at skomagervend Peder Hendrichsen den 7. maj 1721 ægtede Kirstine Catrine Sørensdatter i Trinitatis kirke.

Sigurd Jensen
Sigurd Jensen

Jeppe Rasmussen
Jeppe Rasmussen

Name of bride is incorrect. It should be Kierstine Catrine Tønnesdatter.

Confirmation from the Copenhagen City Archives provides the slender link-up between Ribe and Copenhagen, and also gave me my initial information about the first of my Jutlandish Tiptipoldefar's three marriages.

9th January, 1705, probate being granted on the 5th February 1705. (*Landsarkivet i Viborg, Arkivnr. B 85A-120 Fol. 495b.*)

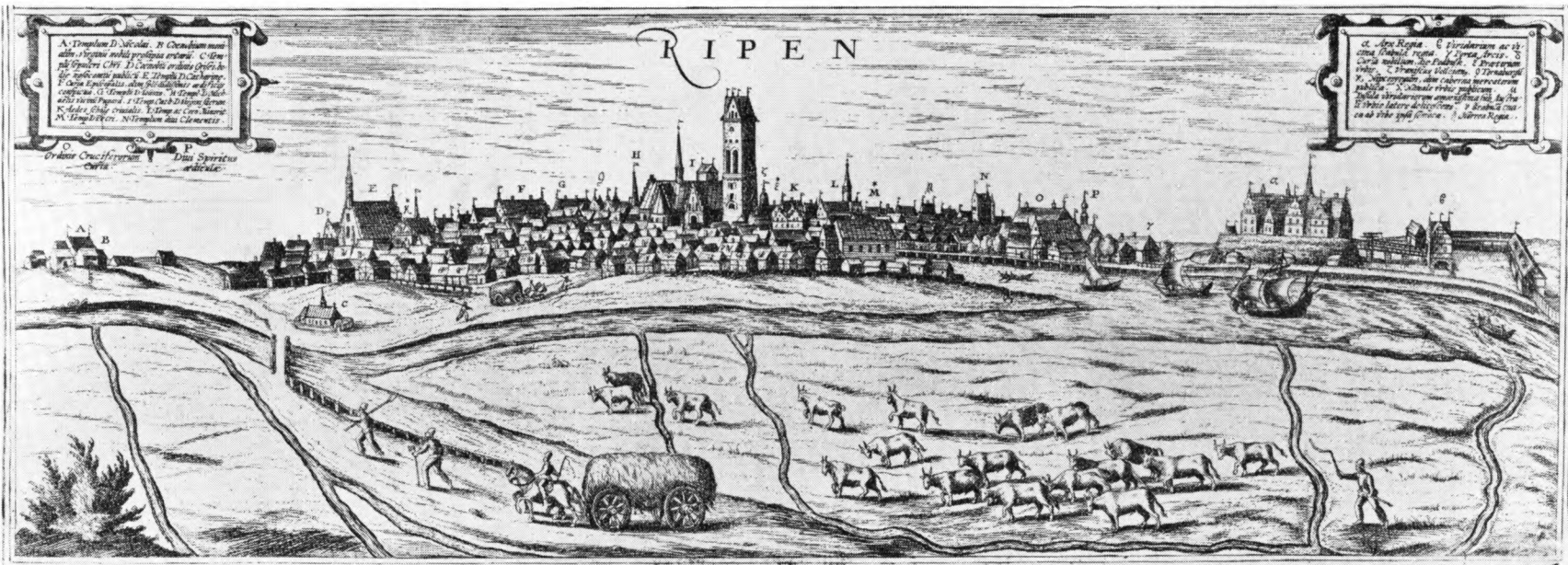
The name of Hendrich's first wife, who died on the 6th February, 1688, was Sabina Adamsdatter, and by her he had a daughter, Maren. As his second wife, Hendrich Pedersen, on the 15th May, 1689, married in Ribe Cathedral, Anna Pedersdatter Trane. Besides Peder, he had by her three other children, Sabina (chr. 22/2/1691), Sidsel Marie (chr. 6/11/1695) and Christen (chr. 11/2/1700).

Thanks to research carried out for me at the Landsarkivet in Viborg, it has even been possible to delve another generation back into the past. Subject to the usual reservation of probability and no certainty, we learn that Peder Clausen was the father of Hendrich Pedersen. Most probably, the former was my Tiptiptiptipoldefar. He, also, was a shoemaker who owned a property ('*gaard*') in Ribe at Nederdammen where he "*sad i Fællig sammen med sin Søn,*" Hendrich Pedersen. The name of his wife, my Tiptiptiptipoldemor, was Maren Hjaresdatter, by whom Peder Clausen also had another son, Claus, who likewise became a shoemaker.

Peder Clausen died on the 14th November, 1688, 79 years and 7 months old, while his wife, Maren Hjaresdatter, died on the 23rd February, 1692, 78 years old. Peder Clausen must therefore have been born in 1609, i.e. during the reign of Christian IV. This was nine years before the Thirty Years War began.

Conjecturally, it was also in 1609 that, in Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare wrote *Pericles* and/or *Cymbeline*, during the reign of James I, who six years earlier had become King of both England and Scotland.

The property at Nederdammen was situated between those of *Kancelliraad* Mathias Worm and *Kiobmand* Lars Hansen Mahler. Shoemaker Peder Clausen may have been a man of modest local importance, though his house was considerably smaller than those of his neighbours.



By courtesy of The Royal Library,
Picture Section.

The City of Ribe about 1600.

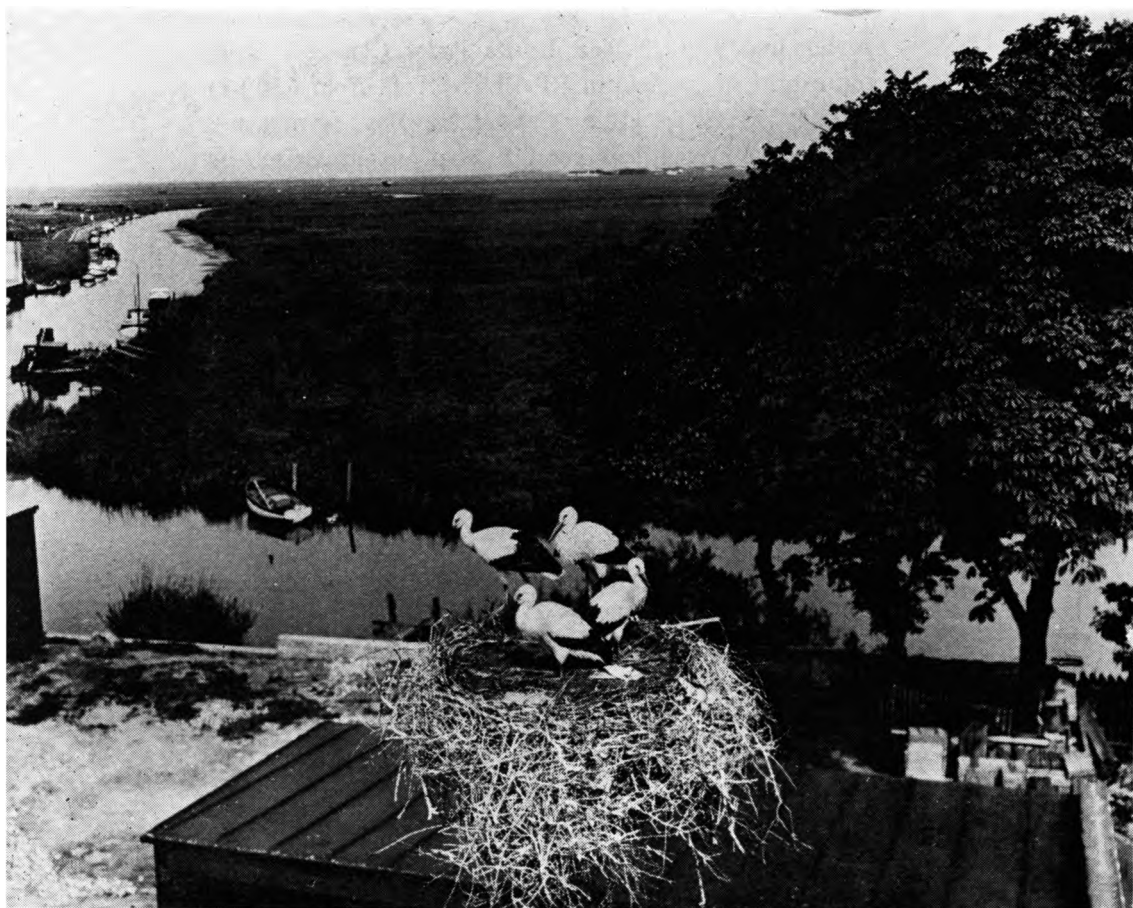
19

Born in 1609, Tiptiptipoldefar Peder Clausen, and his wife, Tiptiptipoldemor Maren Hjaeresdatter, who was born about 1614, are likely to have lived in Ribe, at the time when an anonymous artist executed this panoramic engraving of the city and its immediate surroundings. Both the bucolic and aquatic importance of the ancient city are in evidence.

In the centre is seen the Cathedral, in which, on the 15th August, 1689, Tiptiptipoldefar Henrich Pedersen was to marry, as his second wife, Tiptiptipoldemor Anna Pedersdatter Tranc. To the extreme left is Sct. Katharinæ Kirke, the family's parish church. On the 22nd November, 1693, Tiptiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen was to be christened here. On the extreme right is shown the Royal Castle of Riberhus. Artistic licence, possibly combined with civic pride, may account for the disproportionate width given to the stream of Ribe *Aa*.

Originally the position of Ribe made it part of the Duchy of Slesvig, but in the Middle Ages the City was transferred to the Kingdom of Denmark. It is rightly considered one of the oldest Danish cities, if not the oldest. Shrouded in the mists of time, part of its early history has reached us only by way of colourful ballads. The site of the City, from time immemorial almost on the border between Northern and Southern Jutland, made it, in the early Middle Ages, of strategic importance. An additional reason for the moated royal castle of Riberhus built just outside the City was provided by the fact that, in the days of flat-bottomed vessels, Ribe possessed the only navigable harbour on the long Western coast of Jutland.

Ribe, however, was first and foremost a busy market centre. The origin of the major portion of the material used in building the lovely Ribe Cathedral provides evidence of the City's early commercial success in promoting Danish exports. The cathedral was constructed, by enterprising and pious citizens, shortly after Denmark became christianized, of Rhenish Tuff Stone ('*Tufsten*'). The principal *quid pro quo* sent in exchange to Cologne and other cities of the middle Rhine were large numbers of the strong Danish horses able to carry the heavy armour worn by knights during the early Middle Ages. *Valdemar Sejrs Jordebog (1231)* records the annual export from Ribe at no less than 8400 horses. Ribe reached the zenith of its existence about 1250. By the time that Peder Clausen was born, in 1609, the introduction of gunpowder had greatly reduced the market for the large, sturdy horses, as the heavy armour was no longer of sufficient protective value to justify its considerable weight and attendant disadvantages. The sale and shipment, on the hoof, of the succulent Jutland ox, first to the German Cities of the Hanseatic League, but later mainly to Holland, had gradually superseded the export of horses.



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet. 2. Afdeling.

The reason why, until 1650/1700, the City of Ribe remained a vital port for shipment of oxen to Holland and also an important centre for shoemakers, is partly explained by this picture. Probably taken about 1930, near the modest harbour of Ribe, the photograph shows the stream of Ribe *Aa*, meandering its way towards the North Sea. For hundreds of years, the marshy, fertile meadows provided hay for the oxen, and thus hides for the shoemakers and frogs for the storks.

(Photo by W. Nørgaard Nielsen, Ribe, rephotographed 1971 by L. Larsen.)

A hundred years earlier, before Peder Clausen's birth, the export of oxen from Ribe had grown from 6,000 in 1501 to 13,000 in 1508. Careful breeding, rearing and fattening of oxen had created what was described as "The Danish Goldmine." The large beasts, before five years of fattening, were driven by the thousands through Jutland. Those destined for the Hanseatic cities of Germany went via Kolding and Slesvig. The larger number seems to have gone to Ribe. Thence they were shipped, by barges, to Friesian sailing vessels waiting near the estuary of Ribe *Aa*, North and South of the island of Manø, *en route* for Holland.

Accurate figures of the export of oxen from Ribe are available only in respect of a few years in the early sixteenth century. Extending over longer periods, and covering the whole of Denmark, other figures are obviously only estimates. The artificial customs barrier created, near Ribe, in 1570, between Northern and Southern Jutland, not only deprived the City of its natural hinterland, it must have made smuggling, and all that goes with it, profitable and almost respectable. Accurately kept records could prove both dangerous and costly, because some of the oxen were stall-fed at farms, other than the owners', near Ribe. By 1600, the number of oxen annually exported from Denmark, seawards or landwards, is believed to have reached 50,000. Duty was exacted by the Danish government on the export of each ox. Import duty by the Dutch government was also levied. By 1650, the number of oxen annually exported from Denmark is estimated to have increased to 100,000. From 1515, oxen were only allowed to leave Northern Jutland (*Norrejyland*), via Kolding or Ribe.

Ribe, therefore, was in a privileged position for shipment by sea to the ox-hungry, prosperous Dutch market. Stimulated by this profitable and gradually growing

trade, ancillary and associated trades sprang up over the centuries in Ribe. It is not to be wondered at that the Guild of Shoemakers, dependent upon the supply of hides for its principal raw material was already heard of in Ribe before the fourteenth century. Export of hides and skins being subject to payment of Danish export duty protected the home supply of its principal raw material.

Socially important and wealthy customers for footwear were not lacking. In 1409, in his will, Bishop Eskil of Ribe disposed of 100 pairs of shoes by way of gift to the poor! Brethren of the Shoemakers' Guild in Ribe quarrelled, however, with the King and other guilds. The authority and field of activity of the Slippermakers' Guild overlapped with those of the Shoemakers, as did those of the cattle and horse butchers, cobblers, glovemakers, furriers, and other trades, to whom the handling and use of skins was either easy or of vital importance. As members included both journeymen and masters, the guilds, in their early days, constituted in substance a closed shop. They were also responsible for fixing prices, but, in the opinion of King Hans, those for shoes became excessive. In 1507, His Royal Majesty revoked the charters of all shoemakers' guilds in Denmark. Few records and documents of these, to the men involved, momentous issues, have survived. The ding-dong battle continued, however, between the King and the Guild in Ribe (soon reconstituted, again abolished and, once more reconstituted and abolished), as it did between King and Shoemakers' Guilds elsewhere in Denmark.

At the end of the Middle Ages, Ribe had been a large and rich City with a population estimated at 5,000. Closure of monasteries and convents, combined with other measures resulting from the Reformation (1536), gave the City a definite set-back. Its further decline is

mirrored in the following decreases in its population : 1591, 4,500 ; 1641, 3,500 ; 1672, 1,939.

Ribe's last age of moderate commercial prosperity, largely based upon the shipment of oxen to Holland, lasted less than 200 years (1507-1701). Already before Peder Clausen's youth this export trade from Ribe had, therefore, tapered off. It never recovered from the Swedish wars of 1657-60.

In the stratified society of the seventeenth century, Peder Clausen was officially described as a master shoemaker. Not only to have survived, but to have prospered, during decades of almost continual war and occupation by ruthless enemy forces, and followed by years of declining trade, Peder must have been an astute and enterprising man.

Possibly, but improbably, he also dabbled in property, as did his important neighbour Mathias Worm (a son of the famous archaeologist, Ole Worm). Peder Clausen is almost certain, in common with many other Ribe citizens until about 1850, to have farmed on a small scale in the surrounding fertile country. To his property in the City it appears, belonged a plot of land in the meadows South-West of the City, still known as Lille Kobro.

In his modestly sized house, Peder, with his family, would live and sleep on the ground floor. With two sons, journeymen, and apprentices if any, he is likely to have worked in the adjoining workshop. Hides, other stock-in-trade, hay, heather and peat, as well as salted and smoked fish and meat, are almost certain to have been stored on the first floor.

From time immemorial, a wide road, or series of tracks, originating in the North of Jutland, had existed. Following, for much of the way, the watershed of the centre ridge of Jutland, it headed southward in an irregular pattern. Starting from Viborg, the ancient

pagan capital of Jutland, and terminating North of Dannevirke, Denmark's age-old bulwark against Germany, the road, *en route*, made untidy *détours*. The road was referred to by different names, and on its approach to Ribe the main Western branch was, and still is, known as the Army Road ('*Hærvejen*'). This ancient branch of the main road entered Ribe through Northgate ('*Nørreport*'), demolished only in 1843. For centuries, the Road had provided convenient access from the Gate, via two tiny islets, to the important harbour of Ribe, as well as to the centre of the City, where the annual Spring Market held on Annunciation Day ('*Mariæ Bebudelsesdag*'), the 25th of March, was of international significance and proportions. Road and river, meeting at Ribe Harbour, were both vital arteries for Denmark's foreign trade. Notwithstanding its martial name, the Army Road, ill-defined in its contours, had also since the Middle Ages been used as the thoroughfare for the vast droves of horses and oxen going to Ribe on their way to Holland and, via Kolding, to Hamburg, Lübeck and elsewhere in Northern Germany. Salt, limestone, cloth, wine, hops, spices, tobacco and articles of metal and other goods not available or made in Denmark, were imported in return, to be used in, or distributed from, Ribe.

In Nederdammen, the first of the two islets when entering the City from the North, stood the house owned and occupied by Peder Clausen. Demolished long ago, its exact location, until recently, was not known. This was partly because of reference in the deeds to one of the adjoining houses being the property of *Kancelliraad* Worm. Inconsiderately for posterity, the latter had owned properties on both sides of the street! The name of the other neighbouring owner, *Kiøbmand* Lars Hansen Mahler, on the other side of Peder Clausen's house, did, however, help in this process of elimination and location. Thanks to eleven hours of examination of records and deeds, combined with skilful mental



*By courtesy of Antikvar Mogens Bencard
of Den Antikvariske Samling i Ribe.*

The modern property standing, in 1969, at Nederdammen 27 (*Matrikelnummer* 47), Ribe. On this site stood the property owned by Tiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Clausen (1609-1688) and occupied by him with his family.

(For photographs of a property of that period larger than, but similar to, his, turn to pages 27 and 31.)

ability, by an experienced researcher, *Arkivar* Henning Paulsen, we now know the exact site of the house which Tiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Clausen owned.

The site (1969) is known as Nederdammen 27 (*Matrikelnummer* 47), and the ground floor of the present building is partly occupied by the local office of the daily newspaper *Aktuelt (Vestkysten)*. Differently shaped from that occupied by the property owned by Peder Clausen, the street frontage is, however, wider.

For the enterprising master shoemaker, the position must have been superb. Rectangular, as many Ribe houses of the period were, the building fitted into the site, as it was then, as a hand into a glove. Being at the



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet.

The two-floor 14-interaxalled building at Nederdammen in Ribe, owned, and at his death in 1688 lived in, by Tiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Clausen, is likely to have been similar to, though smaller than, that at Mellemdammen 11-12, shown above.

(Photographed 1917 by Hugo Mathiessen and reproduced on p.17 of "Gamle Huse i Ribe.")

bend of the street at the best strategic point, the house had one outlet to the principal commercial street of the City. At the opposite outlet, the house abutted the vital riverside, a fact likely to have been useful for

shipments by barge. The property's location near the city gate which was the principal entrance from the North may well have enabled Peder Clausen to obtain, from tired and troubled ox drovers, supplies of skins at bargain prices. Like as many other Ribe citizens of the period, he may well have sold some of his precious hay for the hungry oxen.

Socially also the site of Peder Clausen's house was of consequence. In spite of its gradual decline, Ribe, a centre of culture and intellect, from 1667 until 1750 enjoyed the rare distinction of having a royally appointed president in charge of its affairs. From 1667 to 1700, the president was none other than the educated, well-to-do and travelled Mathias Worm, who lived in a similar, though much larger, house to that of Peder Clausen, on the adjoining site, today roughly coinciding with that of Nederdammen 27. No portraits are known to exist of Peder Clausen and his wife, who were resident next to Worm. But oil-painted portraits of Mathias Worm and his wife, incorporated in their epitaph in Ribe Cathedral, provide us with an idea of the probable nature and elegance of the garments worn by the Worms and possibly by their neighbours. When, in 1723, Worm's widow, Margrethe de Hemmer, died, she left to her heirs, in addition to her house, valued at 550 Rigsdaler, the large fortune of 18,346 Rigsdaler. The size of her estate proved that even in times of adversity and decay, some people, including the King's representative, knew how to make money!

Reverting to the two-storeyed, tile-roofed house owned and occupied by Peder Clausen, we know that, like larger mansions of the period nearby, it was a so-called gabled house (*'Gavlhus'*), one gable facing the street. The length (or depth) of the building is indicated by the statement that it was carried by 14 interaxalled supports (*'Fag'*). From the street, a drive-in for oxen



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet.

Contemporary portraits of the neighbours, Mathias Worm and his wife, who resided at Nederdammen in Ribe in a house adjoining the property owned and occupied by Tiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Clausen (1609-1688) and his wife, Tiptiptiptipoldemor Maren Hjaresdatter (1614-1692). The garments worn by Mathias Worm (s. of Ole Worm) and his wife, Margrethe de Hemmer, are likely to have been similar to those worn by Peder Clausen and Maren Hjaresdatter. The Dutch style of portrait painting points to the close contact maintained between the decaying City of Ribe and the aggressively prosperous Holland. Lace, probably made from locally-grown flax, was a speciality for which the Town of Tønder, near to Ribe, was famous. Believed to have been painted in 1679 the portraits are incorporated in the restored epitaph still in Ribe Cathedral.

and horse-drawn vehicles, next to the one visible gable, provided access to the yard, which incorporated a lean-to. Well designed and substantially built as it is likely to have been, Peder Clausen's house, though smaller, was no doubt similar to the house still in a yard at Mellemdammen, of which photographs are shown on pages 27 and 31. (Probably built of Norwegian timber, while the close contact of Ribe with Holland was reflected in the architecture of this and many other buildings of the period.)

The turbulent seventeenth century was an unhappy period in the history of Denmark. Almost continuous wars included Christian IV's unwise intervention in the Thirty Years War, which resulted in the occupation of the whole of Jutland, including Ribe, by Wallenstein. His army, in addition to Croatic Cavalry, consisted of Germans, Italians, Cossacks, and others (1627-29). There followed four or five Swedish wars, during which many members of the population left their homes. From woods and bogs they carried on partisan warfare against the occupying enemy forces (1643-79). In between, in 1659, an outbreak of plague in Ribe claimed 900 victims. And in the ravished countryside near Ribe, packs of hungry wolves were still at large. During this century the hegemony of the Baltic irrevocably passed from Denmark to Sweden. The export of oxen, on which the prosperity of Ribe had largely depended, seems, however, to have continued, and, as late as 1650, to have reached its peak from Denmark, although not from Ribe. The period of Ribe's permanent decline had set in during the previous century. By 1650, the number of oxen shipped from Ribe to Holland had declined to the tiny figure of 566. By 1701, the number of farmers in Northern Jutland who were stall-feeding oxen for the Dutch market had decreased dramatically. Increased rates of *export* duty, imposed in 1718 by the Danish government, followed, in 1724, by *import* duties by the



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet.

The fine building shown on p.27 photographed from a different angle.
Note the beautifully carved wooden supports. ('*Knægte.*')

Dutch government, killed the oxen trade for good. Ribe's
halcyon days had gone.

How did Peder Clausen, his two sons and their families
fare during all these national and local vicissitudes ?

Facts known to us are few. Indirectly, we have learned that of the two sons, Tiptiptipoldefar Hendrich Pedersen must have been born about 1644. His only brother, Claus, may have been born a year or two earlier. At the time of the 3rd and 4th Swedish wars (1657-58 and 1658-60), the brothers would be 12/15 and 14/17 years, respectively. Peder Clausen, their father, would be 48/51 years. Eel-like qualities would surely be needed for anyone to remain alive during these long periods of exacting, cruel enemy occupations, let alone, after years of unrest and devastation to finish, as the owner of a house in the centre of the decaying City. No clues tell us how it all happened.

Information has, however, trickled down to us that, in the decade following 1660, there were still in Ribe not only ten shoemakers but, for good measure, also a dozen slippermakers! How could they all make a living? The market for shoes was, however, larger than it may have appeared. Until 1558, only members of the Shoemakers' Guild, exercising their craft in the City, had been permitted to make leather shoes. The large peasant population normally wore wooden clogs, which it was permissible to make in the villages. When peasants wanted leather shoes, they had to have them made in the City. The commercial success of a shoemaker in Ribe can never have been easy of achievement. Yet shoemakers' sons born in Ribe were not to be looked down upon. Ribe was a seat of learning. In the previous century the erudite Peder Palladius (1503-1560), born in Ribe the son of a shoemaker, became, after the Reformation, the first Lutheran bishop of Copenhagen. And, in 1690, only shortly after Peder Clausen's death, the first copious description of Ribe was written by a clergyman, Mads Pedersen Rostock, also the son of a shoemaker.

The appointment of Claus Pedersen, Henrich's brother, to the position of an assessor ('*Bisidder*'), though only for a limited period, was made by the Mayor and Council of the City of Ribe in 1675 and it was confirmed at a meeting of the journeymen of the Guild, held an evening in February 1675. The wording of a new Constitution ('*Skraa*') was approved. Present, in addition to the journeymen and officials of the Guild, were President Mathias Worm and Assessor ('*Bisidder*') Claus Pedersen ("*Ribe Bys Historie 1660-1730*," p. 207).

The difficult economic conditions after the Swedish wars caused guilds all over Denmark to adopt, in self-defence, a restrictive policy of membership. Hence the need for the presence of the King's representative at the meeting at Ribe in 1675, in order to listen and report to his royal master. In 1681, however, once again the drastic step was taken, by royal rescript, the dissolution of all tradesmen's guilds in Denmark (*Politikens Danmarks Historie*, vol. 8, p. 345, 1970). And although, the next year, in 1682, the decision was partially reversed, the issue of the rescript may partly illustrate the mental climate, in which, in 1685, the action described below was taken by my ancestors in the decaying old city.

On the 19th March, 1685, an agreement was entered into between the two brothers, Claus and Hendrich Pedersen. Except for a small mortgage on the parents' property in his favour, Claus renounced all claim to any inheritance from their parents' estate. Hendrich, in turn, undertook to provide for the maintenance of both parents until their deaths and to ensure that they received decent burials. It may be significant that not until eight months later, on the 27th November, 1685, at the age of about forty, did Hendrich obtain his trading licence ('*løste Borgerskab*'). Seeing that his brother appears to have obtained his licence more than ten years earlier,

Befaling: for alle Børn og Arverfædres Børn og for alle
 andre som forvalter med dem sine forældre eller søg-
 nedes Hænder, Væ og forfædre med dem alle for-
 alle den Høi og Høiherlige Konges Dybskalds Raad
 for Børn og Arverfædres eller Arverfædres Arverfædres
 for dem alle Høiherlige Over dem alle for dem alle
 at alle Børn og Arverfædres Hænder og alle dem alle
 alle dem alle og alle dem alle Arverfædres Arverfædres til
 mig og mine Børn for dem alle Børn og Arverfædres med
 Juste for dem alle Arverfædres og for dem alle Arverfædres med
 Raad med dem alle med dem alle og alle dem alle og alle dem alle
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 til Børn og Arverfædres Arverfædres, med dem alle Arverfædres
 og Arverfædres med dem alle Arverfædres for dem alle Arverfædres
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 Arverfædres Raad og Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres, med dem alle Arverfædres
 Arverfædres med dem alle Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres

Den 19 Martij

Anno 1685. Claus Pedersen, Arverfædres Arverfædres
 Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres

Til vittneskabs Arverfædres
 Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres

Claus Pedersen Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres Arverfædres
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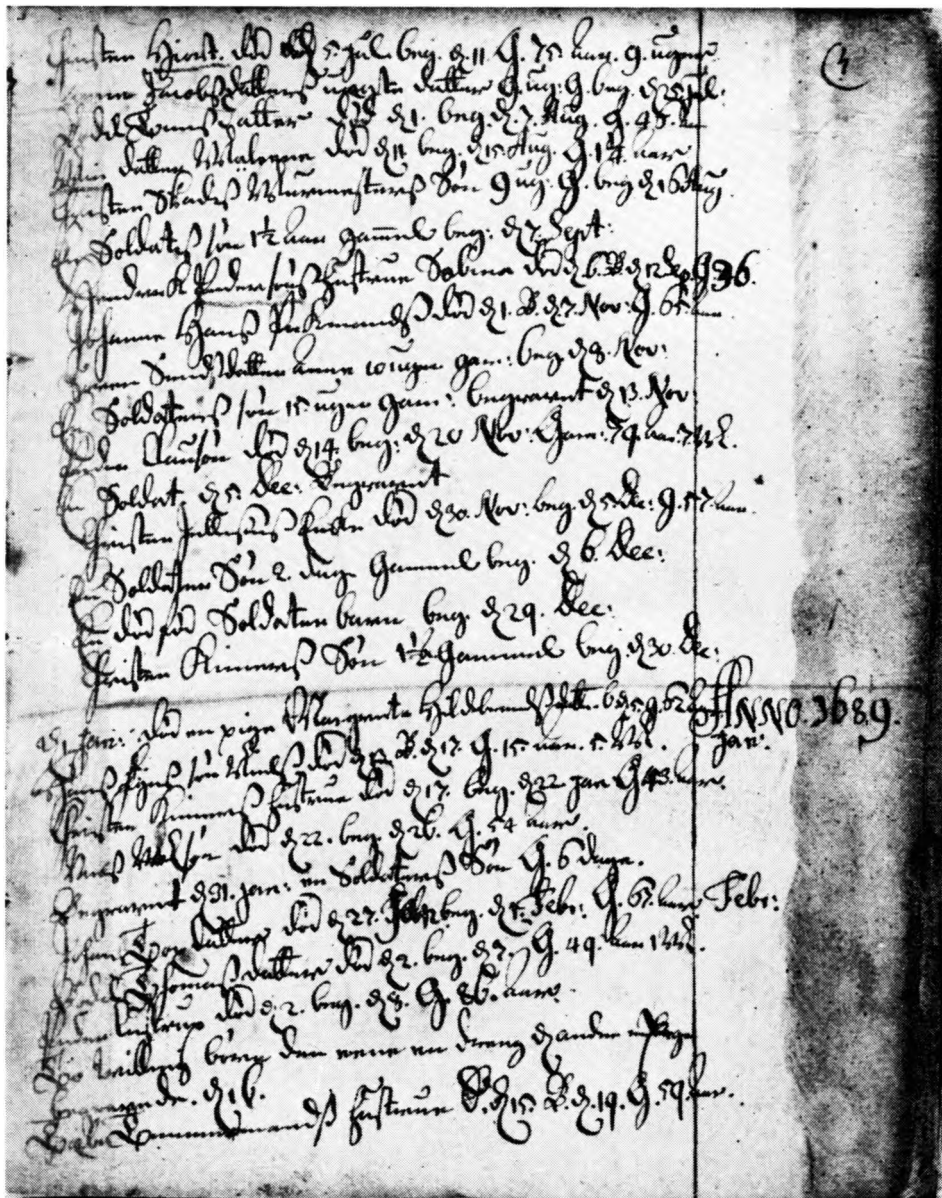
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By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland.

Couched in affectionately phrased, archaic Danish, on this third page in the Journal of Probate ('Skifteprotokollen') of the City of Ribe, Tiptiptipoldefar Hendrich Pedersen, signing jointly with his brother, Claus Pedersen, undertook "in Jesus' name," to look after, and care for his parents in their old age and ensure their decent burial.

The document was signed by both brothers, on the 19th March, 1685, their signatures being witnessed by their brother-in-law, the Rev. Andreas Verlohrn, a local clergyman, whose signature appears at the bottom, to the left. To the right is the signature of Tiptiptiptipoldefar 'Peder PK Clauson.'

(Reduced in size).



By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland.

Proof of Tiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Clauson's birth, death and burial: Transcribed, the entry shown in the Church Book for Sct. Katharina Church in Ribe, in archaic Danish, on page 4, in the 11th line reads: 1688: 'Peder Clausøn død den 14. beg(ravet) den 20 Nov: Gam:(mel) 79 Ar. 7 Md.

As the entries record his death, on the 14th November, 1688, and his burial on the 20th November, 1688, at the age of 79 years and 7 months, it follows that Tiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Clauson was born in April 1609.

On the same page, four lines earlier, is recorded the death, on the 6th September, 1688, at 36, of his daughter-in-law, Sabina, who was the first wife of his son, Tiptiptipoldefar Hendrich Pedersen.

(Reduced in size).

1692
 Sept. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Octobr. Peder Clausen død 24. August 1692. Gammel 49. Aar.
 Maren Hjärens datter af Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 23. Aar.
 Novem. Peder Clausen død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 49. Aar.
 Decemb. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 1693
 Januar. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Februar. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Martius. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 April. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Maj. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Junius. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Julius. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Aug. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Sept. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Octobr. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Nov. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.
 Decemb. Margareta Hjertensdatter død 24. Aug. 1692. Gammel 22. Aar.

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland.

The second entry, in 1692, in the Church Book of Sct. Katharinæ Kirke in Ribe, in archaic Danish, records succinctly the facts about Tiptiptiptipoldemor Maren Hjärens datter in the following words: '1692 Maren Peder Clausøns dode den 23.. beg(ravet), den 29. Februari. Gammel 78 Aar.'

Surviving her husband by 3 years and 3 months. Maren, who was stated, when she died, to have been 78, must have been born in 1614.

(Reduced in size).



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet, 2. Afdeling.

Ribe Cathedral, about 1820.

On the 15th May, 1689, in this Cathedral, my widowed Tiptiptipoldefar, Master Shoemaker Hendrich Pedersen, was married to his second wife, Tiptiptiptipoldemor Anna Pedersdatter Trane.

why did Hendrich only obtain his then? Had there been a family feud in progress, involving two or all three of the trio of the ageing Peder Clausen and his two sons?

The arrangements made in 1685 may, however, also have been preparatory to Tiptiptipoldefar Hendrich Pedersen's first marriage. On a date unknown to us, he married Sabina Adamsdatter. She died, however, on the 6th February, 1688, leaving an infant daughter, Maren Henriksdatter, who seems unlikely to have survived her father. In the autumn of 1688, on the 14th November, old Peder Clausen died at the venerable age of 79 years and 7 months. At the subsequent probate, valuation of his house at only 250 Rigsdaler reflected the general deterioration of economic conditions in Ribe. Hendrich, next spring when he was 44, ventured into his second marriage. On the 15th May, 1689, he married, in Ribe Cathedral, Tiptiptipoldemor Anna Pedersdatter Trane. The first child of this union, at the christening on the 22nd February, 1691, was named Sabina, no doubt after Hendrich's first wife. Present at the christening may have been the infant's paternal grandmother, Maren Hjaresdatter, who died, aged 78, only on the 23rd February, 1692, a year and a day later.

Peder, the second child, my Tiptipoldefar, was christened on the 9th June, 1693. Two more children, making a total of four, arrived later, Sidsel Marie, christened on the 6th November, 1695, and Christen, who was christened on the 11th February, 1700. Ribe had entered a period of very rapid deterioration. On the 9th January, 1705, it is recorded, Tiptiptipoldefar Hendrich Pedersen was buried at Sct. Katharinæ Kirke, leaving his widow, Anna Pedersdatter Trane, and four children, Sabina, 14, Peder, 11, Sidsel Marie, 9, and Christen, 5. The fact that probate was already granted on the 5th February, 1705, would seem to indicate that little of consequence was left in the House at Nederdammen, then valued at a mere 150 Sletdaler.

Two months after her father's departure, however, the five hungry mouths were reduced to four by the death of Sidsel Marie, who was buried on the 7th March, 1705.

What happened to the widow and her three other children? The surviving records are incomplete. But less than a year after being widowed, Anna Pedersdatter Trane, is known on the 1st December, 1705, to have become betrothed to another shoemaker, Frederick Harchsen, born at Ødis, near Kolding. The date of her second marriage, if it materialized, is unknown to us, but neither Tiptiptipoldemor Anna Pedersdatter Trane, nor her daughter Sabina, appears to have been buried in Ribe. Both sons seem certain to have been indentured as shoemakers. By his fine Gothic handwriting, Peder reveals that he is likely to have completed his elementary school education. Christen, his junior by nearly seven years, never learned to write properly. Later in life, he executed or witnessed documents by helplessly writing in block letters, in Roman characters, the three initials of 'CHS'.

The probability is that, after his father's death, Peder Hendrichsen was indentured to a master shoemaker in his native city of Ribe. It is also probable that some time after 1711, when the plague had reduced the population of Copenhagen by a third, Peder, in his twenties, emigrated to the capital, attracted by its growing prosperity and greater prospects, compared to those of the decaying little city of his birth, could offer him. He is likely to have been followed by Christen, his seven-years-younger brother. Later, the name of Christen, occurring two or three times, helps in cross-identifying Peder Hendrichsen. It makes it a near certainty that the Peder Hendrichsen who was christened in Ribe, in 1693, was identical with the Ribe-born shoemaker who, in 1720, obtained his licence as a shoemaker in Copenhagen; who, in 1748, had a son christened in the Helligaandskirke in Copenhagen; and who, in 1760, executed the kinsmanship probate.

Table No. 1. (Second Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to Tiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Clausen and Tiptiptiptipoldemor Maren Hjaresdatter, their two sons, and the children of their elder son, including Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen. All the latter born and christened in Ribe.

Peder Clausen, Master Shoemaker (*Skomagermester*), b. 1609. †14/11/1688, aged 79 years, 7 months. Nederdammen, Ribe (1969 : The approx. site : Street No. 27, *Matrikelnummer* 475). m. Maren Hjaresdatter, b. abt. 1614. †23/2/1692, aged 78 years. Peder Clausen "sat in common estate with" ('*sad i Fællig sammen med*') one of his two sons, Hendrich Pedersen.

Children :

- 1) Tiptiptipoldefar Hendrich Pedersen, Master Shoemaker ('*Skomagermester*'), b. abt. 1644, obtained licence ('*Borgerskab*') in Ribe 27/11/1685. Buried: 9/1/1705, 60 years old, Sct. Katharinæ Kirke.
m. 1st time : Sabina Adamsdatter. †6/2/1688. One child : Maren.
m. 2nd time : 15/5/1689 Ribe Cathedral : Tiptiptipoldemor Anna Pedersdatter Trane.
Children : a) Sabina chr. 22/2/1691, b) Tiptipoldefar Peder chr. 9/6/1693 Sct. Katharinæ Kirke. †22/11/1765 Copenhagen, c) Sidsel Marie chr. 6/11/1695. †7/3/1705, d) Christen chr. 11/2/1700, must have emigrated to Copenhagen prior to the 1728 Fire ; obtained trading licence ('*Borgerskab*') as a Master Shoemaker in Copenhagen : 5/3/1731. Present at the christening in Copenhagen of his three nephews :
 - i) Henrich, 2/3/1748,
 - ii) Jens, 31/3/1750,
 - iii) Andreas, 18/5/1761.
m. (? prior to 1728) Dorthe Kulmans.
- 2) Claus Pedersen, Master Shoemaker ('*Skomagermester*').
(?) Referred to as '*Bisidder*' in 1675 in Ribe Bys Historie 1660-1730, p.207.

By an agreement dated 19/3/1685 between the brothers Hendrich and Claus Pedersen, the latter waived his claim, in favour of Hendrich, to any but a small part of the parental estate. In turn, Hendrich undertook to look after the maintenance of the parents until their deaths and to ensure that they both received decent burials.

On the 7th May, 1721, Shoemaker Peder Hendrichsen, described as a bachelor, is shown, in the Church Book of Trinitatis Kirke (next to Rundetaarn) in Copenhagen, to have married Kierstine Catrine Tønnesdatter, '*i Huuset,*' i.e. in the home of the bride. Neither details of her parents nor of her address are stated. Subject to qualifications similar to those stated regarding the identity of the bridegroom, she was the first of Tiptipoldefar's three wives. She seems to have been born in 1680 and, at the time of her marriage, must have been forty-one, while the groom was 28. Pointers, which became evident at her death, indicate that she was an heiress in a modest way.

Incomplete taxation census papers at the Copenhagen City Hall, record that, from Michaelmas 1722 to Easter 1724, Shoemaker *Peter Henrich* (note the slight differences in the names), presumably with his wife, lived in the annexe of *Matrikelnummer 57 Klosterstræde*. From Michaelmas 1726 until Easter 1727, Shoemaker *Peter Hendrichsen* is stated to have lived at *Matrikelnummer 68 Klosterstræde*. Notwithstanding minor discrepancies and inconsistencies, the statements quoted in this and previous paragraphs, it seems reasonable to assume, refer to Tiptipoldefar. If so, shortly before the Fire in October 1728, he must have moved to rented premises in Badstuestræde, which was one of the two principal streets in Copenhagen favoured by shoemakers. Not until September 1792, when my son, Patrick, came with me to see one of the Holberg plays at the Royal Theatre Festival, did any of our family again stay at Badstuestræde. Patrick then stayed in Badstuestræde at Hotel de France, the Hotel D'Angleterre being full up. In the census record of the 14th December, 1728, after the Fire, Tiptipoldefar is shown as resident at *Matrikelnummer 263 Laxegade*, where, until, and including, Easter 1732, he remained.

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Acknowledgments and Thanks :

- 1) To *Fuldmægtig* Jeppe Rasmussen, Københavns Stadsarkiv.
- 2) To *Ingeniør* J. Hostrup-Schultz and Arkitekt E. Harpøth.
- 3) To *Antikvar* Mogens Bencard, Den Antikvariske Samling, Ribe.
- 4) To *Herr and Fru* Preben Græsdal, Ribe Guidering.
- 5) To *Fru* Laila Cruddis, *née* Petersen, Dragør.

THIRD CHAPTER :

Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen, the Master Shoemaker, in Holberg's Copenhagen

1693-1765

The world in which Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen moved, and the kind of life which he is likely to have led, but for Holberg's plays, would have been largely a closed book to me. These comedies, impeccably produced and performed at irregular intervals at The Royal Theatre, attract appreciative audiences, and I have seen many of the 35 plays, some of them several times. Others I have only read. About 1913, I and other pupils in my form at Billes Skole were allotted the parts in "*Den politiske Kandestøber*" to read aloud, enjoying as we went along both the dialogue and the action of the play. Shortly afterwards, on my first memorable visit to The Royal Theatre, I saw "*Erasmus Montanus*." Much more recently, on the 15th January, 1968, accompanied by Eva, Ole and Agnes Heede, I greatly enjoyed Susse Wold's superb performance in "*Den Stundesløse*," on an evening when King Frederik IX, alone in the Royal Box, was also watching the play. Though I possess no scholarly knowledge of the Danish Molière, as the action of many of his comedies takes place in Copenhagen I feel very much at home in the surroundings in which Tiptipoldefar lived and worked.

During the eighteenth century, life in Copenhagen, in common with that in other European capitals, is likely to have presented "a conflicting scene of luxury and poverty, of refinement and coarseness, of licence and prudery, jostling each other . . ." (*C. Willett and Phillip Cunnington: Handbook of English costume in the eighteenth century, London 1957.*) Holberg, in 1735,



(1684-1754).

Ludvig Holberg

*By courtesy of Det Nationalhistoriske
Museum på Frederiksborg.*

Note the high, intellectual forehead of Denmark's Norwegian-born Molière, his half smile, his thin non-committal, upper lip and more sensuous lower lip.
Etching done by Chr. Fritsch in 1731, when Holberg at 47 had written most of his comedies.

wrote: "I live beautifully, dress neatly and purchase many books." ("*Jeg bor smukt, klæder mig sirligt og kjober mange Bøger.*")

No portrait is known to exist of Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen. In his heyday, he is likely to have sported a long, powdered wig and carried a three-cornered hat, the brim permanently turned up. Dressed in colourful garments, the material for some of which he may have obtained from the brother of the woman who was to become his second wife, Lauritz Gielstrup, the silk and cloth dealer in Vimmelskaftet, just round the corner, he was only a tradesman, but, in accordance with custom during the first half of the eighteenth century, may normally have worn his silver-hilted sword. In an age when men were expected to react to insult like fighting cocks, swords were not merely ornamental. The fatal outcome in 1720 of Tordenskjold's duel shows that even a nation's intrepid naval darling could be challenged and slain. In "*Jean de France*," Holberg provides a more grotesque and less gory example.

Promenading in the street, carrying in addition to his silver sword, a silver-knobbed cane, Tiptipoldefar must have cut a fine figure. Filigreed silver buttons would adorn his coat sleeves, the bottom of his breeches being held in position by silver knee buckles; with the latter he would wear stockings and silver-buckled shoes (the latter of his own make!). Ownership of these items is inferred by the inventory of his home, carefully recorded after his death.

Elegant as aspects of life in Copenhagen were it was not until 1788 that the emptying was prohibited of latrine buckets into the filthy gutters of the narrow, winding, ill-paved streets. Much work by artisans was carried on in the streets outside their dwellings, many of the approaches, to and courtyards of, the timber-framed houses being blocked by flimsy sheds and inflammable rubbish. After the introduction, in



By courtesy of Kraks Vejviser.
Contemporary etching (1770) of men who might
have been friends or relatives of Tiptipoldefar
Peder Hendrichsen.

1660, of the absolute monarchy, “Our Royal Residential and Capital City” had grown rapidly in size and importance. The large number of officials, soldiers, sailors, artisans, shopkeepers and their men, who were always in the city, meant that the male population outnumbered the female. Morals, as well as sobriety, suffered.

1728 Some knowledge of Tiptipoldefar's whereabouts we owe to the disastrous Fire which, starting on the 20th October, 1728, destroyed two-fifths of Copenhagen in three days. Within six months, by royal rescript dated the 12th November, 1728, a carefully prepared record was completed on the 13th April, 1729, of the destroyed properties, their sizes, owners' names and

the occupations of the latter. Included were the amounts of mortgages, as well as names, occupations and addresses of the mortgagers. A schedule provided details of the survivors and their occupations, as well as their former and new addresses. (*“Kjøbenhavns Huse og Indvaanere efter Branden 1728.” Printed, with alphabetical index of the inhabitants, in 1906.*) Until this century, there had not in the great European cities been a fire of comparable size, since London in 1666.

A wonderfully picturesque, often amusingly described, panorama emerges. In Badstuestræde and Klosterstræde, both totally destroyed, had been the homes and workshops of shoemakers. Of the 27 houses destroyed in Badstuestræde, nine had been occupied by shoemakers; of the 40 houses which suffered destruction in Klosterstræde, no less than 22 had been occupied by shoemakers! The name of Tiptipoldefar does not appear as the owner, or occupier, of any house in either street, or elsewhere in Copenhagen.

Cross-reference to the list of survivors reveals, however, that “Peder Hendrichsen, who before the Fire lived in Badstue Stræde, is now at *Matrikelnummer* 263 Laxe Gaden.” The street number of this site is now (1968) 14, behind the buildings of the Magasin du Nord and Den Danske Landmandsbank; the house in which Tiptipoldefar lived in 1729 was probably destroyed in the second large fire, which occurred in 1795.

In April, 1729, Peder Hendrichsen is reported to have been living there with his wife, no children, but six men and/or boys. The non-committal statement was made that of the six men or boys two of the journeymen intended to leave (*“de 2de Svenne agter at reysze bort”*). Interesting, though irrelevant, is the fact that in the same house, but in a separate household, was living, with three children, “a woman un-named, whose husband is to become Prince Carl’s postilion”! The number of the

members of the two households is correctly totalled as twelve.

Searching in the index for the name of Christen Hendrichsen, Tiptipoldefar's brother (who, in 1748, was to be present as a godfather at his nephew's christening, while in 1760 he was to be a witness at the execution of the kinsmanship probate), we find that, in 1729, someone of that name living, with his wife, at *Matrikelnummer* 185 Fyrens Gang. They had seven lodgers, five of whom were "burned out." Although this Christen Hendrichsen was probably Tiptipoldefar's brother, he was not described as a shoemaker, as was the person of the same name on Tipoldefar's christening certificate in 1748. Judging by his inferior address, he was not as successful as Tiptipoldefar who, in 1729, employed six males.

A few years before the Fire, in his 21st Epistle, Holberg had railed at the frequent and lengthy chiming of hymns by the Dutch clockwork in the old Helligaandskirke. In the principal room of the sugar baker's premises in Købmagergade, next to David Skolemester's house, Holberg had written his comedies. Now Holberg had been granted peace, but like many others, lost his home. As flames engulfed the church tower, causing it to crash, the mechanical clockwork played for the last time the tune of the hymn, 'Avert your wrath.' And *Assessor* Holberg who had to join the ranks of the "burned-out" victims, sought refuge in a house at *Matrikelnummer* 3 Langebrogaden, in Christianshavn. Poor Holberg! There, besides the owner, *Commerce Raad* Peder Keyszer, with his family and servants, were still living, in April 1729, 23 other refugees!

Large fires had occurred in Copenhagen before and were to happen again. But this was the worst. 1,670 houses out of 4,087 were destroyed, and so were many churches and other public buildings, while 15/20,000

Copenhagensers were rendered homeless. After the Fire, in Frimands *Qvarteer*, the district of which Klosterstræde formed a small part, the population consisted only of 344 inhabitants, and of these 88 were “burned-out,” i.e. refugees from this and other quarters of Copenhagen. What the population of this quarter had been before the Fire, we do not know. A period of poverty, depression and the spread of a puritanical spirit followed. Rebuilding progressed but slowly.

Apart from masons, joiners and others in the building trade, some of whom who were kept occupied after the Fire with rebuilding, other artisans suffered. It is undeniable that there were guilds which had decayed seriously, particularly the Guild of Shoemakers.” (*Danmark-Norges Historie*, by Edvard Holm. *Kjøbenhavn 1891. 1720-1730, vol. 1, p.465, referring to 1727-28.*)

Some men see only disaster, where others create or visualize opportunity. The mere fact that immediately after the tragic Fire Tiptipoldefar had obtained new premises in Laxegade, where, in a period of difficult trade for shoemakers, he employed six men and boys, identifies him as a man of enterprise. In Holberg’s case we know that notwithstanding the gift by him of all his plays to the performing actors, he subsequently became a very wealthy man. This he did not achieve merely by the writing of books on history and philosophy, or by sale of these direct to the public, as was his practice. The source of his considerable wealth is obscure, but much seems to have been accumulated between 1729 and 1735. (Already in 1731, he had granted a loan secured by mortgage on real property in Copenhagen.) One theory is that after investing in ‘burned-out’ sites, during the agricultural depression in the ‘thirties, he switched his money into landed property. In the ‘forties, he bought two manor houses and estates for 16.000 Rigsdaler each.

Did Tiptipoldefar, by industry and investment on a much more modest scale, aim at achieving something similar? Prepared after his death in 1765, the detailed inventory of his estate provides evidence of only moderate material success. Before the Fire, Tiptipoldefar, though enterprising, does not seem to have owned any real property, but from 1722 to 1727 to have lived as a tenant at addresses in Klosterstræde. He must have moved to rented premises in Badstuestræde shortly before the Fire in 1728. After the Fire, until, and including, Easter 1732, Tiptipoldefar remained at Laxegade. He then established himself in his own house in the best position in Klosterstræde, the shoemakers' street *par excellence*, as it had been before the Fire, and was to remain for long.

It seems fair to assume that Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen had left Ribe for Copenhagen, attracted by the prospects in the growing Capital. There was nothing unusual in this. On the contrary, of trading licences obtained ('*Borgerskab løst*') during the four years 1724-27, 29%, by far the largest group, stated their place of birth was Jutland. Applicants born in Copenhagen formed the second largest percentage, a mere 16%. (*O. Nielsen, Kjøbenhavn paa Holbergs Tid, Kjøbenhavn 1884, p.273*). Unfortunately, the period both before and during the long years which Tiptipoldefar spent in Copenhagen proved a difficult and troublesome time for shoemakers. From 1728 to 1798, the population of Copenhagen grew by 33%, but the number of master shoemakers by no less than 140%! The trade was becoming proletarianized. Moreover, to ensure and protect the supply of the principal raw materials the Guild, early in the Century, with logic but without skill, had attempted to organize tanning activities at three locations in Copenhagen. Some masters prospered, but the trade as a whole suffered financially. The debts, at one time, of the Guild amounted to over 9000 Rigsdaler. Dissension between masters and their journeymen

resulted. Many masters and journeymen of German origin, spoke little or no Danish.

During the terrible year of the plague in 1711, the number of master shoemakers dropped from 160 to 47. "One man's meat is another man's poison." If Tiptipoldefar had arrived in 1712, it seems likely that, from a short-term angle, his timing would have been the best but at that time he was only nineteen. Probably, he did not emigrate from Ribe to Copenhagen until closer to 1720, the year when he obtained his trading licence in Copenhagen and, shortly, married. And, by 1715, the number of master shoemakers had recovered to 112, in addition to 337 journeymen and 95 apprentices.

Long before Tiptipoldefar arrived in the Capital, the shoemaking fraternity had left its old haunt at Skoboderne (Skoubogade) for nearby Klosterstræde and Badstuestræde. From time immemorial, wherever shoemakers were located, masters, journeymen and apprentices had the reputation of being a restive and militant section of the community. The sedentary working position of shoemakers may have contributed to that. Away from their workshops, men and boys habitually carried their dangerous, sharp butt knives and pointed awls, both among their principal tools of trade.

One of the first trade disputes recorded in Denmark was in 1712, when without notice, a leather cutter left the employment of a shoemaker's widow. The widow's complaint resulted in the arrest of the cutter though soon he was released on bail.

Absenteeism on Mondays ('*Skomager-Mandag*'), for shoemakers, was an age-old tradition; so, on other days of the week, what was known as "promenading" ('*Spadsering*').

The reputation of shoemakers for lack of veracity is made plain by Holberg's ironic statement in "Without Head and Tail" ('*Uden Hovede og Hale*,' 2, 8.): "Shoemakers are honest people, but there is something human about them in that they often lie. Your shoemaker, sir, is so practised in this that he might well have been born in the centre of Klosterstræde in Copenhagen."

1718 On the 25th March, 1718, a street battle, starting with snowballs, between shoemaker apprentices and pupils at the nearby Latin School ('*Metropolitanskolen*'), resulted in broken windows. In 1728, another street battle between the militant shoemaker boys and, this time, the ropemaker apprentices, finished in victory for the former; not only was a barrel of beer exacted by the victorious shoemaker boys as a penalty from the ropemaker apprentices but also, by way of acknowledgment of defeat, the latter had to parade their standard of trade ('*Fane*') through Klosterstræde.

Yes, shoemakers were indeed an unruly lot. To this day, the equivalent expression in Danish of "raining cats and dogs" is that "it pours like shoemakers' boys." Violent behaviour of the latter, at the time when the saying originated, must have been regarded in the same light as, in England, that of fourlegged, ferocious animals of prey.

In spite of squabbles with some of his guild-brethren, difficulties with demobbed, unauthorized shoemakers of military origin, and problems with journeymen and apprentices. Tiptipoldefar, before, and for years after the Great Fire in 1728, evidently prospered.

This was the era of individual, pre-Industrial-Revolution manufacture: the income of a master artisan was largely determined by the number of journeymen and apprentices whom he could profitably employ. A record, prepared in December, 1730, by *Oldermænd* Niels Andersen Strømvold, provides details of regular master

shoemakers, their journeymen and apprentices. Of the 141 masters, 54 had only one-man businesses, while the 87 other masters employed 174 journeymen and 102 boys. One master shoemaker tycoon, Christopher Horn, employed eight journeymen and three boys Tiptipoldefar Peder Henrichsen (still in Laxegade), equal with another master, was employing five journeymen, and was the fourth or fifth largest shoemaker in Copenhagen. How he found profitable work for his men and when and why his trade started declining, we do not know. Most Guild records prior to 1728 seemingly were destroyed in the Fire. And in the records after that date, the name of Peder Hendrichsen appears less often than that of his semi-illiterate younger brother, Christen. The latter, who arrived in Copenhagen before the 1728 Fire, obtained his trading licence on the 5th March, 1731, but joined the Funeral Society of the Shoemakers' Guild only on the 5th March, 1741.

Maybe Tiptipoldefar's financial decline started about 1748/49, after his second marriage and the birth of his eldest son, Henrich. If so, it would have coincided with the one-man shoemaker strike that ended in victory for the journeyman, confirmed by judgment of the Supreme Court, on the 30th April, 1749.

1749

Seen through our eyes, the issue seems trivial. Traditional terms of journeymen's employment were that, although living on their masters' premises, the men were not normally provided with board by their master or his wife. The demand made by the journeymen was that, on Sundays and Holy-Days, they should receive one principal meal free, or 12 Skilling in lieu. A royal missive dated the 29th November, 1748, authorized and confirmed His Majesty's consent to this modest and reasonable arrangement. Seemingly, however, this decision was not accepted in the spirit of compromise

intended, a fact which became very evident in the case of a certain Josef Jansen, who, on the 18th May, 1748, after defying the customary method of engagement, was arrested and kept in gaol at the City Hall until the 10th June, 1748.

Meanwhile, however, the balance of the debt incurred many years earlier by the Guild had been hanging round the necks of "the old masters." These were the members of the Guild at the time of the tanning venture, who had been active in promoting it. If it had proved successful, they might have expected to benefit.

Appeals to the King on behalf of the Guild were made in September 1723 and in February 1732, explaining the miserable condition in which the Guild found itself. The former appeal resulted in authority being granted, in February, 1725, for the Guild to organize a lottery for the sale of 12,000 tickets of 1 Rigsdaler each, a venture from which it was hoped that the Guild would benefit to the extent of 1,200 Rigsdaler. Alas, by 1728, only 6,000 tickets had been sold. A three years' moratorium granted to the Guild in June, 1728, proved also of little value owing to the after-effects of the disastrous Fire, only four months later.

The party politics of the shoemaking fraternity of those years, being unrecorded, are largely hidden from our eyes and can only be deduced. Complaints had already been rife in the early 'thirties, of there being as many unauthorized shoemakers in Copenhagen as there were members of the Guild and trained journeymen. But the traditional loyalty towards guild-brethren and respect for their common interests were breaking down. On the 4th July, 1732, one of the more enterprising masters, Henrich Michelsen, whom we know from the 1730 record to have been at that time the second largest shoemaker in Copenhagen, employing six journeymen and three boys (and who also was shoemaker by appointment to the King!), was granted permission

to import tanned leather from abroad. Only on the 22nd October, 1734, the Guild, of which Michelsen was a member, was granted a similar privilege. Using the back entrance, Michelsen had jumped two years ahead of his colleagues!

Evidence remains also of other problems. Eleven (!) auditors, after two audits of the Guild's accounts for the period January, 1734, to March, 1736, were severe in their strictures on *Oldermand* Christopher Horn's expenditure! He admitted his shortcomings and mistakes. Pathetically, however, he stated: "I am ignorant of bookkeeping . . . I am a German . . . and do not master the Danish (language)."

Statements like these arouse one's sympathy. Economic forces which these men (who had been trained as artisans, but had no knowledge of accountancy, let alone economics) did not understand, had been set moving. Social and economic changes bewildered them, as it has done others before, and still bewilders many of us today.

During all the years of disagreement, argument and, one suspects, decreasing profits, what role, if any, did Tiptipoldefar play? Knowing his business to be important in size in 1730, one would have expected his name to have figured often in the Journal and other books of the Guild, which, from 1734, are still extant. The name of his younger brother, Christen, occurs several times, the first time doubtfully in 1736, but certainly in 1740, in 1745, and again in 1748. By his initials, Christen certifies the accuracy of the minutes of several meetings. (Being an attentive committee member, he benefited indirectly. From the Funeral Society, we know that Christen borrowed 200 Rigsdaler; on the 5th December, 1745, he is shown, by way of half-yearly interest on that sum, to have paid 5 Rigsdaler.) But, during those difficult years, where and how was Christen's literate,

1745

and previously successful, elder brother active? Obviously, neither a committee man nor an office seeker, the short answer is that we don't know.

The Journal of the Funeral Society provides details only of the dates when Peder and his first wife joined the Society at its start (26th February, 1731), and of when they, the second wife, and the infant son, died and the amounts paid to their dependants or estate.

1746 No details of the life of Tiptipoldefar and his first wife between 1732 and 1746 are known. Long working hours and compulsory church attendance, including holy communion, on Sundays at the Helligaandskirke, or at the Vajsenhuskirke (at both of which the couple had a private pew), are likely to have formed the pattern of their lives. Until the death in 1746 of the dreary Christian VI, the deadening atmosphere of pietism prevailed. At last relieved when, on the ascent to the throne of Frederik V and Queen Louise, his English-born first wife, the ethos of life became less oppressive, not to say positively gay, frivolous, and mentally, as well as physically, exciting.

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FOURTH CHAPTER :

The House in Klosterstræde

Within the fortified city of Copenhagen, space was at a premium already before the 1728 Fire. This explains why the magpie dwelling house, with its fourteen interaxalled ('*Fag*') windows, which before the Fire stood on the site later to be occupied by Tiptipoldefar's house in Klosterstræde, constituted a small block of seven differently sized apartments. These are likely to have been occupied by the tenant and six sub-tenants, together with their families. Insurance of real property against fire was not compulsory, or even feasible. Uncontrolled fire was not only dangerous to life and property. Depriving people of their homes and workshops, fire also often caused their financial ruin.

The pre-Fire property at 63 Klosterstræde was owned by the widow of Povel Gundersøn, a shoemaker, and by her let to Iokkum Ottren, another shoemaker. The property was mortgaged to Bendix Lund, who, by the Fire, lost most of the security for his mortgage of 800 Slettedalere.

New regulations dated the 18th March, 1729, prohibited the construction of the more inflammable timber-framed buildings. Retarding rebuilding, this wise but exacting requirement was, however, soon allowed to lapse. To encourage rebuilding and, in case of another similar fire,

save house owners from financial ruin, the formation of "*Brand-Cassen*," a fire insurance company, was ordered by royal decree on the 26th January, 1731.

Why is the name of Goldsmith Bendix Lund of interest in this record of my ancestors? Neither Lund nor his wife was any relative of mine. Born about 1667, Bendix Lund, who in 1695 obtained his trading licence in Copenhagen, must have been successful, both as a goldsmith and as a business man. In common with investors in other ages and places, wisely he decided not to place all his eggs in one basket. Considering, as he must have done, his stock-in-trade both safe and valuable, he invested other of his resources in real property. This he did both as an owner, and, in the case of the properties of his fellow-citizens, as a mortgagee. "It is as safe as houses," one might well have heard him say, as today, parrot-like, the saying is being repeated. Before the 1728 Fire, Bendix Lund lived at Ulfelts Plats, later to be renamed Graabrødretorv. After the Fire, with his wife, a child, and a maid, he sought refuge in the house of Peder Arvesen at 12 Nye Canall, in St. Annæ Østre Deel. Also known are the addresses of two non-mortgaged properties of his, viz. at 134 Løvstræde, and at 153 Tugthuusporten. In the case of another three properties, at 20 Skindergade, 63 Klosterstræde and 182 Lille Helliggeistes Stræde, Lund had made loans to their owners, secured by mortgages. By accident or design, Bendix Lund had obtained tenants and mortgagers of a diversified occupational pattern, one mortgager being, like himself, a goldsmith, another a shoemaker, while other occupations and trades were also mentioned or implied.

His investments appear to have been well spread, although, as far as we know, all within the ramparts of Copenhagen. The houses in which he had a financial interest were, however, fairly close to his own pre-Fire residence at Ulfelts Plats.

No. 111
1734. Mandag den 30 Aug. 1734.
 Pindens ieg indv. Panna Bendix
 Luid Borg og Guld fund, jernid thron
 kong. Residentz med Befavn, og jernid for alle til
 indlagt gior, at ieg vil paa viller og vildbrædd for, med min
 sidsen gindv. Panna Bendix jernid og affentet, saa
 som ieg og min jernid vilger, Panna og dervælt affentet
 paa mig, min gindv. Panna og Lagg. vovs. Panna vil
 Delagt. Mester Peder Hendrichsen, jernid gindv. Panna
 og Lagg. vovs. Panna, Lunda mig vilger
 affentet gindv. Panna, Lagg. vovs. i det for Panna
 vovs. Gøtharic Andersen Gerhard Panna gindv.
 paa den for og L. Hendrich Peder Werner vovs. Panna
 indplandt Panna paa den anden side, L. Panna i Lagg.
 og Panna, vovs. L. Panna. Conducteur L. Panna Dal.
 L. Panna Lagg. og affentings indvovs. af dato
 25 Aug. 1734. Gindv. Panna for Panna Panna,
 L. Peder Hendrichsen Panna, alle Panna.
 maans gior sig saa Nylig, til vovs. Panna og jernid
 som, som jernid. med, vil og vovs. Panna. saa
 Panna at Lagg. den Panna jernid vilger til vovs.
 vovs. Panna. Og som jernid mig vilger Panna
 og Lagg. vovs. Panna account 1734. Lagg. Panna
 Lagg. Panna. ieg for mig og alle mine Panna, Lagg.
 de og vovs, Lagg. Panna gindv. Panna Lagg. saa
 vovs. Panna, Lagg. Panna i nogen op Lagg.
 Lagg. Panna; Panna Lagg. Panna jernid, og
 Lagg. Panna for alle og Lagg. Panna Lagg. Panna

Mandag den 30^e Augusti - 1734.
 i Guld Panna vovs. Lagg. Panna noget af for.
 Panna Panna, med Lagg. Panna Lagg. Panna
 for mig Panna Lagg. Panna Panna Panna
 Panna, Lagg. Panna. ieg mig og Panna. Lagg. for
 alle og Lagg. Panna, Panna Lagg. af Lagg. Panna og jernid
 Panna. Panna Lagg. Panna Panna Lagg. Panna
 med Panna vovs. Panna. Lagg. Peder Hendrichsen
 Panna. vovs. Panna mig vovs. Panna Panna
 Lagg. Panna Panna. Lagg. Lagg. Panna
 og Panna. Lagg. Panna, vovs. min Panna
 Panna og Lagg. Panna, vovs. om Lagg. Panna
 vovs. Panna med mig til vovs. Panna at vovs.
 og Lagg. Panna Panna den 30 Aug. 1734
 Panna Lagg. Panna
 Lagg. Panna vovs. Lagg. Panna
 Lagg. Panna vovs. Panna Panna
 Lagg. Panna vovs. Panna Panna

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland, m.m.
Excerpt of the Deed and Mortgage Journal of the City of Copenhagen, 1733-34, certifying
the transfer by Bendix Lund of the two burned-out sites in Klosterstræde to Tiptipoldefar
Peder Hendrichsen.



In respect of one contingency only had Lund, however, failed to make adequate provision. And that omission caused him a heavy financial loss which, no doubt, nearly ruined him. The emergency against which he had not provided was that of the sweeping of fire through a major part of Copenhagen, or at least through Frimands *Qvarteer*.

“Who would have thought that fire could have hit me so badly?” must have been the rhetorical question heard then as often as today when a major conflagration occurs. The invaluable record of ‘*Kjøbenhavns Huse og Indvaanere efter Branden 1728*’ quotes the name of Bendix Lund in no less than six places, viz. on p. 26, 71, 77, 78, 81 and 258.

During the winter of 1728/29, following the initial shock, confusion and discomforts experienced after the Fire by many of the surviving, homeless inhabitants, keen bartering of partly or wholly ruined sites, accompanied by erratic re-building, both temporary and permanent, must have taken place. Many people, in common with Bendix Lund, must have been licking their financial wounds and scheming how to make the best use of the remnants of their properties and their legal rights.

Since his arrival in Laxegade, shortly after the Fire, Tiptipoldefar is likely to have been planning for an active and profitable career as a master shoemaker in Copenhagen. Could he, if he acquired a site and had the necessary means, build a house and let part of it? Was this a profitable and satisfactory way by which he could arrange to return to a career in the Mecca of the shoemaking fraternity in Copenhagen, i.e. Badstuestræde and Klosterstræde? For years, ‘burned-out,’ unutilized sites aplenty were to be available there.

The last of the Municipal Billetting Records in which the name of Tiptipoldefar appears, before 1732/33, covers the months from Michaelmas 1731 to Easter 1732, and

shows him to be the occupier of the first floor at 263 Laxegade.

A year or two later, during the period from Michaelmas 1733 to Easter 1734, the first floor room ('*Salen*') at 263 Laxegade was seemingly unoccupied. During the same period premises at 63 Klosterstræde were stated to be occupied by Peder Hendrichsen and Christen Hager, the latter being described as a tailor.

To explain, in logical and rational terms, what took place is impossible. The probability is that, somehow, Tiptipoldefar, before he had legally completed the purchase of the site(s) in Klosterstræde, may have put up temporary premises there for occupation by himself, his wife and his journeymen. Alternatively, during the first eight months of 1734, before having acquired any legal title to the site(s), he may have started building his house at 63 Klosterstræde. Anyhow, some time between Easter 1732 and Michaelmas 1733, it seems probable that he moved from Laxegade to Klosterstræde.

1732 The Klosterstræde site(s), almost certainly were derelict until the 26th September, 1732, when they were sold by public auction at request of Bendix Lund, as holder of his unsatisfied mortgage. The price which they fetched was 101 *Rixdaler Courant Mynt*. And the successful bidder proved to be none other than the holder of the original mortgage, to wit Bendix Lund!

1734 Further haggling and consequential delay must have occurred. It was not until almost two years later that, on the 30th August, 1734, Severin Michael Kuur, the *Auctions Directeur* of Copenhagen, in favour of Bendix Lund, in his capacity of a purchaser, executed a deed in respect of the two sites.

Promptly, on the same date in the same year, Bendix Lund resold the site(s) at 120 *Rixdaler Dansk Cour.*, to Peder Hendrichsen. Unnumbered in the deeds, the

site(s) sold to Tiptipoldefar, “his wife and both their inheritors,” were described as lying in “*Kloster Strøde* between, on the one side, the house of Gothardt Andersen Germand, the Shoemaker, and the hoarded site of Sr. Henrich Peter Werner, the Grocer, on the other.” (The mystery regarding how the two derelict sites eventually became only one, viz. old *Matrikelnummer* 63, has never been solved satisfactorily. In turn, the mystery may partly account for the discrepancy on Gedde’s Map, referred to on p.70.)

Reference in the deed to a map prepared on the 23rd August, 1734, only seven days earlier than the date of the transaction, by *Stads Conducteur* Søren Balle, suggests that minor readjustments in the lay-out of the “burned-out” sites in the narrow lane of Klosterstræde may have been one of the reasons causing delay in the completion of the purchase. A portion of the house which Tiptipoldefar had had erected on part of the site was obviously intended for the dual purpose of providing accommodation for his home and business. But the house was also largely for letting. This was the custom with many houses, elsewhere in the street and in Copenhagen generally. The house is likely to have been completed in the late summer of 1734. On the 17th September, 1734, Tiptipoldefar had the house valued for fire insurance. It is due to this valuation, an even more detailed, much later revaluation, on the 26th September, 1760, and yet another revaluation, on the 5th December, 1765, after his death, that so many details are known of the property in which Tiptipoldefar and his family lived from 1732 or 1733, and which he owned from 1734 until his death.

What was the house worth? When, on the 1st October, 1734, Tiptipoldefar gave written instructions to *Brand Forsikrings Cassen* for his property to be covered by fire insurance, it had been valued at 1800 Rigsdaler Courant. (This figure was close to the pre-Fire average price of 1700 Rigsdaler for each of 51

Jan mit Beccaten vns Bassis ^{der} Articul
 Ductererj Tücherer og Hingdraner for
 Eet Tünder, og Eet Hundred
 Rigsdaler Courant, som aet vordt 4000
 pänders i guld og sølv og 1000 R.
 København den 17^{de} Septemb^{er} A^o 1732.

P. Tiptipoldefar
 Forsikrings Cassen

P. Tiptipoldefar
 Tasterer

P. Tiptipoldefar
 Eet Hundred og Eet Hundred og Eet Hundred
 Rigsdaler Courant, som aet vordt 4000
 pänders i guld og sølv og 1000 R.
 København den 1^{ste} Octobr^{er} A^o 1734.

P. Tiptipoldefar
 Forsikrings Cassen

P. Tiptipoldefar

On the 1st October, 1734 (the transaction being confirmed by his signature at the right-hand bottom side of the valuation), Tiptipoldefar instructed *Forsikrings Cassen* to insure his property, incorrectly described, however, as *Matricul 20* Penny-wise, he limited the amount of the insurance to 1200 Rigsdaler.

Written in old-fashioned script, the figure '4' of the year '1734' (which is incorporated in the two dates shown in the document) may cause the assumption to be made that both years quoted were '1732.' Circumstantial evidence, however, discredits this deduction.

(Reduced in size.)

properties which, during 1722-24, had changed hands in Copenhagen.) Presumably for reasons of mistaken economy, Tiptipoldefar insured the property for 1200 Rigsdaler Courant, and only after its revaluation in 1760, raised the amount to 2000 Rigsdaler Courant. Revalued again, after his death, the property this time, however, was considered worth only 1700 Rigsdaler. And this was the figure finally accepted for probate.

How did Peder Hendrichsen raise the capital to purchase the site and pay for the construction of the new building? Possibly, partly by accumulation of earnings, since his arrival in Copenhagen, first as a journeyman, and later, as a master. However, on the 27th September, 1734, we know that *Peter* Henrichsen, on the security of the property in Klosterstræde, borrowed 800 Rigsdaler Kroner from *Hellig Geistes Kirkes Fattige Skole*. For reasons unknown to us, over twenty years later, on the 23rd June, 1755, the amount of the mortgage was increased to 900 Rigsdaler while the mortgager was changed to another school, *Holmens Kirkes Fattige Skole*. In both 1760 and 1765, this mortgage figured among his liabilities, still for 900 Rigsdaler, in favour of *Holmens Kirkes Fattige Skole*. Though title deeds in Tiptipoldefar's name are dated only the 30th August, 1734, the house must have been finished before the 17th September, 1734. From the 1st October, 1734, Tiptipoldefar made himself responsible for payment of the fire insurance premium.

Only timber-framed, the new 3-storied house on the eastern side of Klosterstræde, close to the junction with Amagertorv, seems to have been only marginally grander than the building which it replaced. In lay-out, however, no doubt it was substantially similar to that which had been destroyed in the Fire. Described, in 1734, as a 6-bedroomed house, two rooms being on each of the three principal floors, it had six major windows at the front facing the street, in addition to a minor one

in the peaked gable serving the attic, and the same number at the back facing the courtyard. Each so-called room in fact, was an apartment; the house could thus accommodate seven separate households, as had the previous building.



By courtesy of Bymuseet.

The property at Klosterstræde 4, Copenhagen, photographed, in June 1902, from the courtyard.

The timber-framed nature of the building, like that of other buildings still standing in the street, is concealed by the protective colour-washed surface. The only partially supported first-floor annexe to the right is likely to be where Tiptipoldefar had his workshop. The whole property was demolished in 1905, when it was replaced by the modern building shown on p. 5 of the First Chapter.

The two apartments on each of the property's three main floors were of slightly different sizes. Both consisted of a parlour (the only window of which faced the street), behind which was a kitchen, and behind that again, a bedchamber, the former with an open fireplace for cooking. The fireplace was in the centre of the building near the chimney. The window of the bedchamber, which originally was incapable of being heated, faced the yard. Three of the apartments also had a small chamber, seemingly in the annexe. The whole building was brick-built in a timber frame. The basement was divided first into five, and later seven, sections. These basement sections were no doubt used for storage of fuel, probably beech wood for heating, possibly supplemented by charcoal or peat for cooking. In 1734, heating was by large black enclosed iron stoves, one in the principal room of each of the six major apartments, the smoke from the fires escaping through the common brick-built chimney.

By 1760, the iron stoves had been replaced by more elaborate and useful variants (*'Bilæggerovne'*), and increased from six to ten. Decorated with plain or coloured tiles (*'Kakler'*), the new stoves would doubtless add to the comfort of the people living in the house, but standing on the wooden floors also increase the ever-present fire risk. Reference in the inventory to two iron-hooped wooden buckets serves as a reminder that all fuel had to be carried upstairs.

So did all water, from the iron pump in the yard next to the tiled-roof privy. (Single-seated, the latter must have been intended for use of all the twenty-odd people likely to have lived in the house !)

Dependent for its supply upon one of the 500 wells which furnished Copenhagen with water (which no doubt tasted and looked unpleasant), the pump was within 100 metres of the churchyard of the Helligaandskirke.

In this were cess-pools ('*Sive Brønde*') which drained the private burial chapels within the church!

In the eighteenth century, Copenhagen was an unhealthy city. From 1725 to 1793, 219,202 deaths were recorded, compared with only 188,341 births. The water available was virtually undrinkable. In 1759, the number of *aquavit* distillers ('*Brændevinsbrændere*') exceeded by a generous margin that of any other group of businesses, including those of bakers, butchers, and even brewers!

In that only semi-literate age, above the street door of Peder Hendrichsen's house is likely to have been dangling a red riding boot, to indicate the calling of the owner and principal occupant. The house was entered through a common doorway leading into a small entrance hall, partitioned off from the staircase by a door.

Except for a limited fire on the 22nd January, 1779, several years after Tiptipoldefar's death, in respect of which the insurance for fire damage was settled for 500 Rigsdaler, the house seems to have survived unscathed all other fires, including the second Great Fire of 1795, and that caused by the British bombardment of 1807. In spite of the misgivings expressed by Tiptipoldefar's third wife in 1766, after the house had been valued for probate, regarding the prospective life of the building, the property remained standing until 1905. It was then pulled down to accommodate a section of the large office building now owned, and partly occupied, by Haandværkerbanken i København. Nearby houses in the street of the same vintage are still (1972) occupied.

Imaginative examination of the exterior of that part of the building standing on the site of Tiptipoldefar's house suggests that in appearance the present structure may be a near replica of the house erected after the 1728 Fire, the granite taking the place of the timber frame. The houses standing higher up the street are

Table No. 2. (Fourth Chapter.)

*Some key data of the History of Denmark and Copenhagen,
1658-1864.*

- 1658 Loss by Denmark to Sweden of all three Danish provinces East of the Sound. Peace of Roskilde. In England, death of Cromwell.
- 1659 Siege of Copenhagen. Unsuccessful Swedish attempt to conquer Copenhagen and the rest of Denmark.
- 1660 Death of the Swedish King, Carl X Gustav. Peace of Copenhagen. Introduction in Denmark of Absolute Monarchy.
- 1689 Matriculation inside the ramparts of Copenhagen of all building sites. (Introduction of Old 'Matrikelnumre')
- 1699/1700 and 1709/20 Great Northern War.
- 1711 Plague in Copenhagen claims one-third of the population as its victims.
- 1728 Great Fire of Copenhagen (Søren Balle, as *Stads Conducteur* 1721-39, partly responsible for rebuilding.)
- 1756 New Matriculation (New 'Matrikelnumre') of Copenhagen, partly based upon Gedde's survey, in 1755, and reflected in Gedde's Map (1757) of Copenhagen. (Peder Balle, *Stads Conducteur* 1740-65.)
- 1770-72 Struensee Era and Palace Revolution.
- 1788 Adscription and villeinage abolished.
- 1795 Second Great Fire of Copenhagen.
- 1801 Battle of Copenhagen (Nelson).
- 1806 Present (3rd) *Matrikelnumre* introduced in Copenhagen (Rawert).
- 1807 British bombardment of Copenhagen. (Seizure of the Danish fleet.)
- 1813 Bankruptcy of Denmark.
- 1814 Peace of Kiel. Loss of Norway.
- 1814 Introduction of compulsory education for all children from 7 to 14.
- 1848-50 First German War.
- 1849 Absolute Monarchy superseded by Constitutional Monarchy. Introduction of General Conscription.
- 1853 Cholera Epidemic in Copenhagen.
- 1859 Present method of *street site numbering* introduced in Copenhagen.
- 1864 2nd German War. (Loss of Southern Jutland and Holstein.)

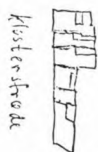
plastered, pleasantly colour-washed buildings, whose neo-classical exterior appearance conceals their magpie construction. Only when one enters some of the tiny courtyards does the timber-framed construction of the buildings become obvious.

Matriculation of real property in Copenhagen was originally carried out in 1689. This resulted in the allocation to each site of what has become known as an 'Old *Matrikelnummer*' ('title number'). The site of the property owned by Tiptipoldefar from 1734 until his death in 1765, had from 1689 been known as Frimands *Qvarteer*, *Matrikelnummer* 63. It was changed in 1756 to No. 53, and in 1806 to No. 82, only finally, in 1905, to become merged into its present *Matrikelnummer* 170. Street numbers were introduced only in 1859, the street number at that time allocated to the site being No. 4, and this it remained until 1905. This street number was then merged with that of No. 2 and, as a number, lost its separate identity. Effectively, therefore, Tiptipoldefar's site is the northern section of the present street No. 4. This combined building of Nos. 2/4 now adjoins that of No. 6.

Gedde's street map (1757) shows Peder Hendrichsen as owner of both *Matrikelnumre* 53 and 54. As the result of examination, and much thought backed with erudition, *Fuldmægtig* Jeppe Rasmussen of Københavns Stadsarkiv reluctantly has come to the conclusion that, in his 1757 map, Gedde showed the position wrongly for Nos. 53 and 54. Although stated in the 1734 deeds to have bought two 'burned-out' sites, Peder Hendrichsen, in 1757, owned only one site. By then it had become described as new *Matrikelnummer* 53.

In the side of the house nearer to Amagertorv, the larger ground floor apartment was occupied by Tiptipoldefar and his family. Reference in 1765 to the sealing of the house by order of the Court implies also the existence of a workshop for Tiptipoldefar, his

Geddes Kort 1757

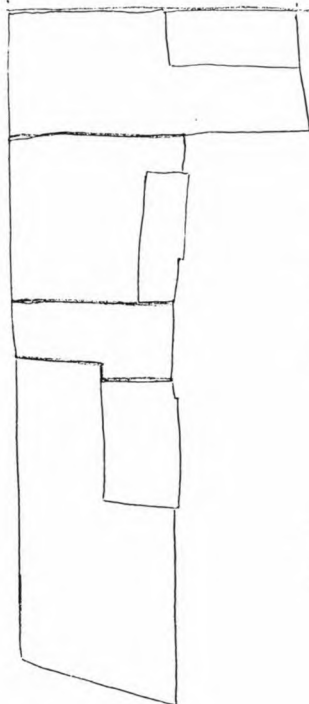


- 56 Knud Møller
- 55 Johan Christoph Kollatz (= Kollatz)
- 54 Peder Hendrichsen
- 53 Peder Hendrichsen
- 52 Hendrich Peter Werner
- 14 Hans Kinchel

Amagervej

Rekonstruktion efter stadsconducten Balles generale opmålingsbog 1755
(Frimands Kvartér)

Klosterstræde



- Nyt nr. 56 Knud Møller
- Nyt nr. 55 Jacob Thorsen
- Gl. nr. 64 Gothardt Andreas
- Nyt nr. 54 Johan Christopher Kollatz
- [1806: 83] [1859: gadenr. 6]

- Gl. nr. 63 Peder Hendrichsen
- Nyt nr. 53
- [1806: 82] [1859: gadenr. 4]

- Gl. nr. 20 Hendrich Peter Werner
- Nyt nr. 52

- Gl. nr. 20 Hans Kinchel
- Nyt nr. 14

[1806: 13]
[1859: gadenr. 2]

Amagervej

Drawn specially 1971 by Fuldmægtig Jeppe Rasmussen of Københavns Stadsarkiv.

Reconciliation of the identity of the two 'burned-out' sites in Klosterstræde, which, on the 30th August, 1734, were purchased from Goldsmith Bendix Lund by Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen, has been attempted. (Erroneously, in Gedde's Map (1757), the sites appear as two separate new *Matrikelnumre* 53 and 54. Seemingly, only 53 should have been shown.)

Since 1905, the correct description of the site has been the northern section of Klosterstræde Street No. 2, and part of *Matrikelnummer* 170.

journeymen and apprentices, if any. The whereabouts of the workshop and of the place where the employees slept, if on the premises, is not clear ; most probably they worked in the primitive annexe in the yard, which was not referred to in the 1734 valuation, but can be seen in photographs taken in 1900 and 1902. In 1765, judging by the number of five workstools listed in the inventory, Tiptipoldefar was still able to employ almost the same number of journeymen and apprentices as, in 1729, he had done in Laxegade.

Rents payable in 1765, and the names and occupations of the tenants in 1766, are stated, in Tipoldefar Henrich's letter of the 29th January, 1766, to the *Skiftekommission*, to be as follows :

Description :	Occupier in 1766 :	Half-yearly rent known to have been payable, or as estimated by Henrich :
Ground floor: Right hand apartment and workshop	Tiptipoldefar's widow and two sons (to be relet)	30 Rigsdaler
Ground floor: Left hand apartment	Undertaker (' <i>Bedemand</i> ') Sandrue. (Handy for the important churchyard of the Helligaandskirke.)	18 Rigsdaler
1st floor : Right hand apartment	The Jew Levin (' <i>Jøden Levin</i> ')	18 Rigsdaler
1st floor : Left hand apartment	The Jew Calmer (' <i>Jøden Calmer</i> ')	14 Rigsdaler
2nd floor : Right hand apartment	Goldsmith Reinicke	13 Rigsdaler

2nd floor :	Journeyman printer	
Left hand apartment	(‘ <i>Bogtrykkersvend</i> ’) Wejdemann	11 Rigsdaler
3rd floor :	Seemingly empty, but	
Garret	Henrich suggested that his stepmother (presumably with his half-brother) should move up there from the ground floor. An offer, he said, had been made for it, of	10 Rigsdaler
A small chamber	?	4 Rigsdaler

Total : 118 Rigsdaler
every half-year
or, say, 236 Rigsdaler p.a.

Preceding the names of two of the tenants, the description ‘The Jew’ (*Jøden*), implied religious tolerance in Copenhagen, as well as the absence of a ghetto. Until 1813, the word *Jøden* was officially treated as synonymous with a money lender, a dealer in second-hand clothes or other odds and ends, as well as being descriptive of the trader’s religion.

Tiptipoldefar never became a rich man. He died only just solvent. His investment in the Klosterstræde property, however, turned up trumps. Subtracting from the annual rental receivable of 236 Rigsdaler, the 60 Rigsdaler p.a. attributable during his lifetime to accommodation for himself, his family and employees, his rental income (provided all the apartments were occupied, as in a period of housing shortage they are likely to have been) would have been 176 Rigsdaler p.a. Interest on the 900 Rigsdaler mortgage, probably at 5% p.a., would have absorbed 45 Rigsdaler, leaving 131 Rigsdaler p.a. net. No allowance has been made for

depreciation, repairs and maintenance ; in the period before 1766 the two latter items, as Henrich's stepmother was not slow to point out, had been neglected. But the margin was adequate.

The 12 *Alen* depth of the house was slightly less than that of the 'burned-out' site(s). Well-proportioned, the principal rooms, as there was only one window in each, are likely to have been fairly dark. This defect was emphasized by the fact that both walls and ceilings were panelled, no doubt to prevent dampness and draught.

In the apartment occupied by Tiptipoldefar and his family an attempt to create an illusion of additional light or space may have been made by use of three mirrors. Two were standing (on the floor?), while one was hanging in a brown wooden frame embellished by a coronet! Red and white curtains would also brighten the appearance of Tiptipoldefar's apartment. The presence in the apartment of only two pewter candlesticks and three or four small portable pewter lamps speaks for itself. So, in a different way, does the absence of any instrument of ablution! Neither rugs nor carpeting being listed, it must be assumed that white-scrubbed wooden floors, possibly sand-strewn to facilitate sweeping, were the order of the day in all the rooms.

In the part of the inventory prepared in 1766 by the two authorized female valuers, five silver spoons, weighing 21 *Lod*, at 13 Rigsdaler rated highest of all items. In terms of value, however, they were closely followed by an item of 12 Rigsdaler for the inlaid clothes' chest ('*Kiste*'), the most elaborate of three or four.

The carmine coloured gown ('*Kiol*') and breeches, presumably worn by Tiptipoldefar on festive occasions, and likewise valued at 12 Rigsdaler, are followed in terms of value by a collective valuation of 12 quilts ('*Dyner*') and 16 pillows ; also scheduled is another item of no less than 106 *Alen* of tow-linen

(*'Blaarlæred'*). For what purposes was all that towlinen intended? More sheets, or for replacement of the twelve old towels, valued at a mere 3 Mark? Only six wine glasses are listed, but also six empty casks (*'Fustagier'*)! Little porcelain and stoneware are recorded, but numerous items are included of pewter and copper, the latter word, in archaic Danish, spelled *'Kaabber.'*

Two easy chairs, grouped in the inventory with a stool (*'Taburet'*), indicate perhaps the positions in which, in the evenings, the head of the household, his wife and one of the sons would relax. Six red, leather-seated chairs (*'6 Rydslæders Stoele'*) provide evidence of only modest entertainment at mealtimes, in spite of the existence of four huckaback tablecloths (*'Bygkornsduge'*)! But how can this be reconciled with the presence of 26 pewter plates, twelve of which are described as being of English origin?

The answer may be that journeymen and apprentices received some of their meals there, at least during some periods between 1734 and 1765. The original terms of employment seem to have been that the masters supplied their journeymen with lodging and paid them 2 Skilling for each pair of shoes which they made. Until 1711, the year of the plague, the journeymen had nearly always provided and consumed their own food at their employers' premises or had obtained it at the inn of the Guild (*'Laugshuset'*); although the latter was the collective property of the masters, the journeymen seemingly were also permitted to use it. Rumblings about provision of meals on Sundays and Holy-Days had already been heard as far back as 1685. In 1711, some masters, possibly for their own protection against the plague, had begun to supply meals to their journeymen on Sundays and Holy-Days. Over the next thirty-odd years, this question of meals was to prove a constant bone of contention. Indirectly, in 1748, it caused the one-man strike,

later in the same year it resulted in the issue of the royal missive authorizing the innovation of the supply of such meals, and, on the 30th April, 1749, resulted in the affirmative judgment of the Supreme Court. Whether or not Tiptipoldefar and his household were among the waverers against, or early supporters in favour of, supplying meals to journeymen on Sundays and Holy-Days is unknown to us. The presence, in 1765, of 26 pewter plates could, however, indicate that Tiptipoldefar's first or second, but almost certainly his third, wife had adopted the new custom of supplying journeymen with their Sunday dinners. The inclusion in the inventory of a pewter dinner pail with three compartments (*'1 Tin Madspand med 3 Rum'*), which was valued at 1 Rigsdaler 4 Mark, points also to the likelihood that meals were carried away for consumption elsewhere, possibly in the workshop in the annexe, or at the inn of the Guild. Forks were not yet in general use. Noticeable by their absence were also special meal knives (except for use in the kitchen) and spoons, bar the five precious silver spoons. Presumably, disregarding hygiene and etiquette, the useful shoemakers' butt knives were also used at meals.

The general picture of the parlour of Tiptipoldefar's apartment which emerges, however, is that, in addition to family use, it may partly have served both as a canteen and as a social shop. At all hours, welcome customers are likely to have called, been measured for shoes, tried them on, had them adjusted and finished, and finally, let us hope, paid for them. Description of some of the furniture as being convertible into beds makes it probable that, at night, the room was also used for sleeping!

At the oak bureau (*'Chatol'*), one of the fairly expensive pieces of furniture, valued at 5 Rigsdaler, Tiptipoldefar is likely to have kept the record of his debtors, who at the time of his death numbered 49.

Sitting at the bureau, Peder Hendrichsen will have checked his suppliers' invoices. Raw materials mainly consisted of hides and tanned leather of various types. Many, judging by their description, were of English origin, including calf and sheep skins. In 1760, at the Kinsmanship Probate, '*Den Engelske Garver Fabrique*,' the only obvious trade creditor, was listed for the large sum of 160 Rigsdaler. Tiptipoldefar's debtors were then returned as worth only 50 Rigsdaler, this latter amount, in view of the much larger figure of 350 Rigsdaler 4 Mark and 8 Skilling at the time of his death, may have been an understatement. Or perhaps the larger 1766 figure (in respect of the position at his death in 1765) reflects greater carelessness in granting credit or collecting accounts during Tiptipoldefar's years of decline?

Consisting only of four hymn books and six devotional volumes, including Møller's "*Hierte Speil*," the latter valued at 2 Mark, the small library, detailed in the inventory is certainly disappointing for the golden year of 1766. No works by Voltaire or Rousseau, nor any comedies, books of history or of philosophy by Denmark's own Holberg! No wonder that, in her submission to the Court, Henrich's stepmother considered the ten books more suitable for people like herself, than for students of the intellectual standard of her stepson! Or is the explanation for the paucity of the library that already, before his father's death, Henrich had pawned or sold some of his father's books? (This, by inference, is the allegation in the submission by his stepmother to the Court on the 25th March, 1766.) But time, quietness and sufficient daylight or artificial light for reading are all likely to have been sadly lacking. No musical instruments are listed. Neither is a single picture, the absence of both possibly being a reflection of habits of behaviour and thought formed by the long years of kill-joy pietism.

When the house was sealed, every item in it seems to have been carefully recorded (or rather, every item belonging to Tiptipoldefar, in the ground-floor right-hand apartment, the garret, the small chamber, the part of the annexe including the workshop, and the section of the basement belonging to the apartment, i.e. that portion of the house occupied by the family). The list included each piece of furniture, linen, kitchen equipment, Tiptipoldefar's garments, his stock-in-trade and his tools, but no garments of the widow, of Henrich, or of Andreas, Henrich's half-brother.

A spinning wheel, a wool winder, a reel, three tea kettles, a coffee grinder and a kneading-trough, tell their own story; so do the five chipped ('*søndre*') tea cups. The many utilitarian copper and brass objects would require frequent polishing. These and other domestic requisites no doubt reflected the tastes and aptitudes of the three women who, during thirty-odd years, at different times had lived in the apartment as the wives of Tiptipoldefar. In addition to the carmine coloured gown, Tiptipoldefar's garments included a green gown contrasted by a red waistcoat, and a brown woollen damask cassock ('*Casseqvin*'). In choice of parrot-like colours Tiptipoldefar was obviously a child of his time. But where were his own shoes (apart from that one pair of 'silver' shoes) and his stockings? Is the explanation for the absence of some expected possessions that, for a year or two before his death, when possibly no longer very active, he had given away some of his minor belongings? But why dispose of shoes and stockings? Was he bedridden long before, in October 1765, he sent for the doctor, only a month previous to his death? Or had Henrich 'borrowed' these?

In an age of sartorial elegance, Peder Hendrichsen's wardrobe, apart from 17 shirts (ten of which were of linen) and 18 cravats ('*18 adskillige Hals Klude*'), seems to have been modest for a man who wore a

powdered wig, and sported a silver-hilted sword as well as a silver-knobbed cane. Perhaps, however, due to physical frailty and for reasons of financial stringency, after his third marriage he mainly pottered about the house or the workshop, wearing one of his gowns.

At night, in the large double bed shielded by blue and white curtains (*Skackseng med blaat og hvid Lærrets Omhæng*'), Tiptipoldefar would lie on one of the two yellow-striped under-quilts (*Underdyner*') surrounded by a plethora of pillows and cushions, around, above and beneath him and his wife. In summer, when he would wear only his night jacket (*Nat Trøje*') over one of his many shirts, the former would serve as the equivalent of the top part of a modern pair of pyjamas; in winter it may have been reinforced by his skin night jacket (*Skind Natt Trøje*'), valued at 4 Mark. With his wig removed to the wig stand, next to other personal paraphernalia (*Peruque Block, 1 Natskrin og Hægler*'), his shaven head, both summer and winter, would need the protection of his lined cap (*I foret Hue*'). As he became older, did he also sometimes in bed wear the muff which, in the inventory, listed next to the other bedroom items, was valued at 1 Rigsdaler and 2 Mark? Judging by the muff's juxtaposition it would seem likely, in common with other men of the period, he may also have used it out of doors.

The presence in the bedchamber of a nightstool is likely to have saved Tiptipoldefar from nocturnal visits to the solitary privy (*Locum*') in the yard.

In that fire-prone age, it was also in the yard next to the privy that one had to look for the primitive fire fighting and fire escape equipment. In 1765, according to the valuers' report, this consisted of a fire lantern, two fire buckets (no doubt of wood), one hook and two small ladders (*en Brandlygte, tvende Brand Spande, een Hage og tvende smaae Stiger*').

Sources :

Manuscripts :

Extracts from documents in the custody of Landsarkivet for Sjælland, m.m. :

- 1) Skødeprotokol for Kiøbenhavns Byting 1733-34, Fol. 432a, 30. August 1734. Sale by Bendix Lund to Peder Hendrichsen of "tvende . . . afbrændte Huuses Grunder i Kloster Strøde . . . for 120 Rdlr. Dansk Cour."
- 2) Brandtaxation, Wurderings No. 1303, Police No. 1221, Frimands Qvarteer, Closter Stræde, Huusets Matricul No. 20, 17. September 1734 : 1800 Rigsdaler Courant. Countersigned 1. October 1734 by Peder Hendrichsen, making application for insurance for 1200 Rdlr. Courant.
- 3) Københavns Obligationsprotokol 1734, Fol. 530, 27. September 1734, mortgage for 800 Rigsdaler Kroner, in favour of *Peter* Hendrichsen.
- 4) Københavns Obligationsprotokol 1755, Fol. 355a, mortgage for 900 Rigsdaler, in favour of Peder Hendrichsen.
- 5) Fresh Brandtaxation for 2000 Rdlr. in respect of the property referred to under 2), dated "9. Septembris 1760, 26de September 1760" and "7. October 1760."
- 6) Københavns Skiftkommisions Samfrændeskifte 1760, Nr. 150. Mester Peder Hendrichsens Kone Maren Jensdatter *Gieldstrup*, død før 9. Maj 1760, "Hands iboende Huus i Kloster Stræde som det nu forefindes taxeris for 1500 Rdlr." (25. November 1760.)
- 7) Københavns Konceptskifter 1766 26/8, No. 158 :
 - a) Record of the sealing of the house, and its contents, of the late "Peder Hendrichsen i Klosterstrædet," on the "22de November 1765."
 - b) Record of the unsealing, registration and valuation of the contents of the "Stervboe Huuset i Klosterstræde" on the "18de January 1766."
 - c) No. 19. Valuation at 1700 Rdlr, on the 5th December, 1765, of the "Felleds Boes tilhørende og i Closterstræde beliggende Huus."

Københavns Stadsarkiv :

- 1) Den Generale Opmaalingsbog, Frimands Qvarteer 1755.

Printed :

Adresse-Avisen, 4. Januari 1760.

C. Nyrop : Kjøbenhavns Skomagerlav 1509-1909. København 1909.

E. Kroman : Skriftens Historie i Danmark, København 1943. (*From the example shown on p.63, it is evident how '1734' can be read as '1732.'*)

Chr. A. Bøje : Danske Guld og Sølv Smedemærker, København 1946, p.55 : Reference to Aagesen Lund Bendix.

Map :

Geddes Kort af Kiøbenhavn 1757. (Reprinted : København 1940.)

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FIFTH CHAPTER :

Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen's three Marriages and three Sons

1721-1761 Thrice married, Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen during his first marriage had no children. By his second wife he had two sons, the elder of whom became my Tipoldefar ; the younger died when only four months old. By his third wife, Tiptipoldefar had a third son, who, we know, survived to become an adult. Left a widower twice, Tiptipoldefar predeceased his third wife.

At the risk of repeating information inferred or stated elsewhere, it may be helpful to summarize the known data of the three marriages and three sons :

The first marriage is recorded to have taken place on the 7th May, 1721, between Peder *Henriksen*, described as a journeyman shoemaker and a bachelor, and Kierstine Catrine Tønnesdatter, a spinster ('*Pige*'). Details are in the Christening and Wedding Journal of Trinitatis Church in Copenhagen 1719-30. ('*Anno 1721 den 7. May blef Peder Henriksen, Skoemagersvøend, Ungkarl, og Kierstine Catrine Tønnesdatter, Pige, vied i Huuset.*') Evidence suggests that the bridegroom was born about 1693, so he would be 28, his bride, born about 1680, 41, or about 13 years senior to the young shoemaker from Ribe.

On the 26th February, 1731, when they joined the Burial Fund of the Shoemakers' Guild of Copenhagen (*Liigkassen af Kiøbenhavns Skomagerlav*), it was stated that the couple had no children. On the 7th May, 1746, they may have celebrated their silver wedding at the house in Klosterstræde. Within about three months, however, Tiptipoldefar's first wife had died. No record appears in the Church Book, but search in the Burial

Journal of the Helligaandskirke reveals the fact that after fourteen days of “weakness” (*Svaghed*), Kierstine Catrine, not having been attended by any doctor (*ei betient af Docter*), died from consumption (*døed af Brøstygge*), at the age of 66. On the 24th August, 1746, she was buried in the Herb Section of the Churchyard of the Helligaandskirke.

Thanks to the complicated laws of compulsory family inheritance operative at the time, we can deduce the fact that, even before his wife’s death, Tiptipoldefar was not only planning to remarry, but taking active steps to clear legal hurdles, almost immediately the period of six months’ compulsory mourning had ended.

Dated Monday, the 22nd of August, 1746, the following details extracted from Kiøbenhavns Byting’s Journal of Renunciation tell their own story :

Described as an armourer at the Arsenal (*Bosse Skjøtter ved Tøighuset*), Mogens Nielsen, by signing a declaration dated the 18th August, 1746, agreed to renounce any inheritance to which, when *Kirstine Cathrine* Tønnesdatter died, he might be entitled, in virtue of the fact that his wife, Johanne Sigbrandsdatter, was her niece. Judging by their surnames, both may have been descendants from Dutch settlers in the fertile island of Amager, near Copenhagen.

Compensation for the declaration of renunciation was provided by Tiptipoldefar, who paid the armourer 100 Slettedalere, certainly before his first wife had been buried, and possibly even before she was dead. For good measure, the document was also executed by the niece. Seemingly unable to spell her name, the latter attested only by her initials of I.S.D., which were followed by the explanatory statement : *‘ Nafn med trej Bogstaver.’*

What had been the tragedy, if any, before or during Tiptipoldefar’s first, long, and childless marriage? As



Photo. September 1970, by Tommy Frenning.

Did Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen's courtship of Tiptipoldemor Maren Gielstrup, in the 1740s, begin in, or outside, her brother Lauritz Gielstrup's fancy goods *boutique* at old *Matrikelnummer* 26 (1970: Street No. 30) *Vimmelskafte*? At the bend of 'Strøget,' the shop was strategically right for his trade, and over 200 years later the profile, attractions and ethos of the curving thoroughfare remain unaltered. The site of his business, now owned by Dansk Sygeplejeråd, is occupied by the white building next to the shop named 'Carmen.' (One of the two shops incorporated in the building is also today occupied by a fancy goods dealer!)

his first wife was still unmarried in 1721, at the age of 41, had the bait of a dowry or prospective inheritance seemed to provide to the 28-year-old shoemaker a reasonable *quid pro con*? Did Kierstine Catrine suffer from temperamental or physical shortcomings, such as a pock-marked face, some other repulsive bodily disfigurement, or sexual frigidity? The celerity with which Tiptipoldefar contracted a second, and then a

third, marriage seems to indicate his ardent desire to breed children. Having married his first wife when she was 41, it seemed almost safe to say that he would have none by her. Unlikely as it is that we shall ever know the reasons for his almost unseemly haste in 1746 to marry my Tiptipoldemor, we can only wonder.

Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, the second wife of Tiptipoldefar, seems, before her marriage, to have lived in Christianshavn. When, however, on the 3rd of November, 1738, her brother, Lauritz Gielstrup, had applied for his trading licence (*'løst Borgerskab'*) as a fancy goods dealer (*'Galanterikræmmer'*), he had stated that he was born in Jutland, about 1703. Establishing himself at *Matrikelnummer 26 Vimmelskaftet*, and by his accent no doubt revealing the province of his origin, Lauritz may soon have got to know the other Jutlander, Peder Hendrichsen. The Master Shoemaker, with his much older, childless wife, had been living around the corner, in Klosterstræde, since about 1734. Wearing his silver sword, and probably cutting a dashing figure, Peder may well by his male fellow-Jutlander have been introduced to Maren, the latter's younger sister. Born about 1710, she seems likely also to have spoken with the accent of a Jutlander.

Gielstrup is obviously a place name, first adopted as a nickname and later as a surname. It hence provides a clue to the origin or birthplace of the brother and sister, their father, or more remote ancestors. No less than three villages or hamlets in Jutland are named Gielstrup. Imaginative and careful research, however, has revealed that, in the town of Nibe, close to one of these three, Maren's father, Tiptiptipoldefar Jens Michelsen Gielstrup, must have lived. In 1721, at his death in Nibe, he is stated to have left five children, whose names and ages are all given. Not only do the names and ages of two of these, viz. Lars and Maren

Table No. 3. (Fifth Chapter.)

Summarized Schedule of

Tiptiptoldefar Jens Michelsen Gielstrup of Nibe (occupation and wife's name unknown), and his seven children, all presumably born and christened in Nibe, but Church Books are missing.

Jens Michelsen Gielstrup. Presumably †1721. Probate in Nibe begun and completed 22/9/1721.

Children :

- 1) Michel, of age in 1721. †1729.
- 2) Ane, b. abt. 1696. †before 22/9/1721.
- 3) Mette, b. abt. 1698, in 1721 in service in Pandum. †before 28/2/1770.
- 4) Kiersten, b. abt. 1700. †before 22/9/1721.
- 5) Lars (also referred to as 'Lauritz'), b. abt. 1703, emigrated to Copenhagen before 22/9/1721. m. 17/4/1744 Vor Frue Kirke, the Copenhagen Cathedral, Karen Jacobsdatter Berg. (Wife carried infants at christenings of Henrich and Andreas Petersen at Helligaandskirken 2/3/1748 and 18/10/1761. Also present at the latter was their daughter: Anne Margrethe.)
Obtained trading licence ('*Borgerskab*') in Copenhagen 3/11/1738 as a fancy goods dealer ('*Galanterikræmmer*') at various addresses at Vimmelskafet, trading, at one time, from his own property. Bankrupt: 12/1/1762. Became Henrich's guardian 22/11/1765, on his father's death.
1774: Book-keeper, Kræmmerkompagniet, 124 Kongensgade, Christianshavn. †24/7/1786, 83 years old.
- 6) Peder, b. 1707. Unmarried. †28/2/1770 Nibe. Probate: 28/2/1770 Nibe. His only beneficiaries stated to be: 5) Lars and 7) Maren. (The latter had died 10/4/1760, nearly 10 years earlier!)
- 7) Tiptipoldemor Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, b. abt. 1710 Nibe. †10/4/1760 Copenhagen. m. 1/3/1747 Copenhagen, Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen, as his second wife. (She seems to have been present as a witness at the christening, on the 15/1/1748, at Garnisons Kirke, Danish Congregation, of Peder Jørgensen Gielstrup.)

(at the time mentioned to be 18 and 10), tally with those of the adults who, we know, in 1738 and 1747 lived in Copenhagen, but in the case of Lars, it is expressly stated in the Nibe probate of 1721 that he was already living in Copenhagen.

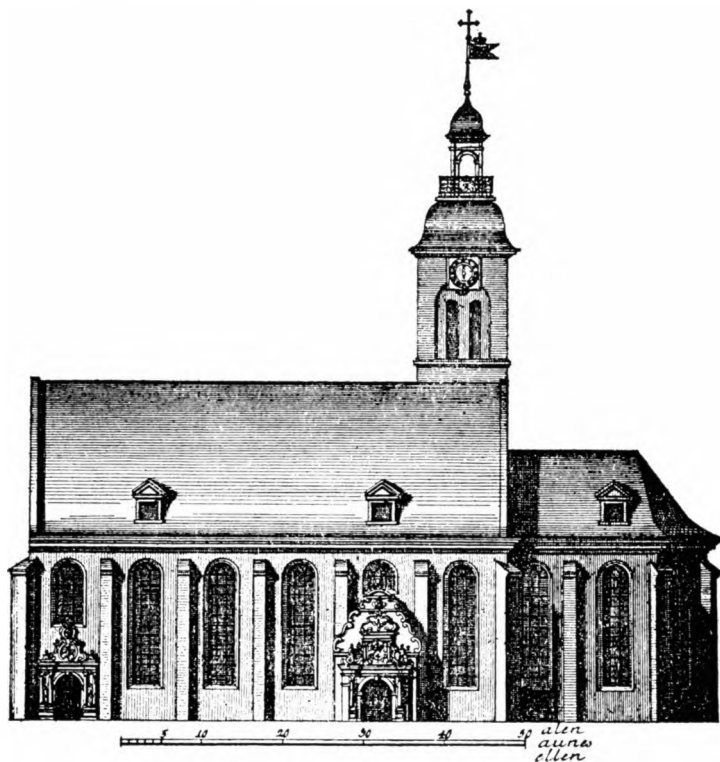
Before Tiptipoldefar's second wedding, special documents ('*Kongebrev Consumpt. Qvittering og skriftlig Caution*') had to be procured and produced in addition to the declaration of renunciation executed by the armourer and his wife.

On the 1st March, 1747, only just over six months after the death of his first wife, Tiptipoldefar's marriage to Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, a spinster ('*Pige*'), is recorded in the Church Book of Vor Frelzers Kirke, the lovely parish church of Christianshavn. The bride was given away by *Sr. Klitgaard*, while the best man of her widower bridegroom was another shoemaker, Jørgen Pedersen Sahn, stated to be living in Pistolstræde. (It is almost certain that this Jørgen Pedersen is identical with the shoemaker bearing a similar name who, on the 26th February, 1727, obtained his trading licence ('*Iøste Borgerskab*') in Copenhagen. (On that occasion he had stated his place of origin to be 'Nive,' the phonetically spelled name of the small home town of the bride and her brother.)

Maddening as it is to learn only that, like others of her contemporaries, Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup was married '*i Huuset*,' the obvious question to ask is in whose house was it that the eager lover of 54 and his bride of about 36 were married? In *Sr. Klitgaard's* behind the Bourse ('*Bag Børsen*')?

And, moreover, who was the person, obviously of importance, referred to as *Sr. Klitgaard*? The probability is that he was the merchant who before the 1728 Fire had lodged at *Kiøbmager Gade*. "Burned out" in the Fire, the latter, we know, with his man

servant, had sought refuge and lodged at 287 Laxe Gaden. The latter address was only a stone's throw from Tiptipoldefar's own hide-out after the Fire, at 263 Laxe Gaden. It is no surprise to discover that an entry in the useful *Borgerskabsprotokol* at the City Hall reveals that Jens Klitgaard, too, hailed from Jutland.



The Helligaandskirke, Amagertorv, Copenhagen, as reconstructed after the 1728 Fire, it appeared from 1732 to 1878. It was in this Church that, on the 2nd March, 1748, Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen was christened. On the 15th April, 1760, his mother, Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, was buried, in Urte Kirke Gaarden. So, on the 26th November, 1765, was his father, Peder Hendrichsen, in his case in the northern churchyard, on the opposite side of the Church.

Sr. Klitgaard must have prospered. The City Taxation Record of 1740/1 reveals that Jens Klitgaard, whose home was then at 84 Nye Børs, was assessed at 605 Rigsdaler. It also tells us that he owned a 'fisher-

house' at 19 & 24 Nye Bro ('*Nybrogade*'), Snarens Qvarteer, and, for good measure, that he also had a warehouse in Christianshavn. Could one imagine, in the absence of the bride's late father, a more suitable and splendid character to give away the bride at the wedding, almost certainly celebrated in Klitgaard's own house in the exclusive district between the Bourse and the King's Palace of Christiansborg?

1748 was a momentous year for shoemakers, because the first strike recorded in the history of their trade in Denmark took place in Copenhagen. Whether Tiptipoldefar was involved, we do not know. However, as Klosterstræde was one of the centres of the shoemaking fraternity, the events of the strike are hardly likely to have left him unaffected.

But of greater personal importance to him (and today to me!) was that a no doubt ardently desired event occurred :

On the 28th February, 1748, two days less than a year after the wedding, Tiptipoldefar's second wife gave birth to a male child, who was to become my Tipoldefar.

An entry in the Helligaandskirke Church Book, phrased in archaic Danish, records that on the 2nd March, 1748, Henrich, the son of Peder *Henrichsen*, shoemaker of Closter Stræde, and Maren Jens Datter Gielstrup, was christened in the Helligaandskirke. Mercer Gielstrup's *Kiereste* (archaic Danish for spouse) from Vimmelskafte, just around the corner, obviously the infant's maternal aunt by marriage, carried him to the baptismal font.

During the ceremony, the christening cap was held by *Jomfru* Klitgaard, whom we may assume to have been the daughter of *Sr.* Klitgaard. In addition to the two '*Forlovere*' who had been present the previous year at the wedding, the three godfathers included Christen *Henrichsen*, shoemaker of Lille Kongensgade, obviously the Ribe-born paternal uncle of the baby.



Amagertorv near Klosterstræde, in 1750, when Tiptipoldefar Henrich Petersen,
was two years old.

(On arrival in Copenhagen in 1712, 38 years earlier, Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie, to obtain his trading licence, is likely to have stayed at the home of Rendteskriver Søren Rasmussen in Amagertorv. In 1715, he still lived in Amagertorv when he became godfather at the christening of Skipper Knie's first-born child, Anders.)

U D S K R I F T

af

kirkebogen for Helligåndskirkes sogn i København - dåb - 1743-79 - 1748

1748

Den 2. Martij Peder Henrichsen, Skoemager i Closter Stræde
Henrich og Maren Jens Datter Gielstrup
Dr.5) Deris Søn.

Kremmer Gielstrups Kiereste fra Vimmelskaflet
bar Barnet. Jomfr. Klitgaard bag Børsen holdt
Huen.

Padd. S^r Klitgaard bag Børsen
Christen Henrichsen, Skoemager fra lille
Kongens Gade.
Jørgen Pedersen, Skoemager fra Pistol Stræde.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes

Landsarkivet, København, den 9. januar 1968

Grethe Ilsøe
Grethe Ilsøe

fg.

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gebyr: kr. 5.75

Extract from the Church Book certifies the christening, on the 2nd March, 1748, of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, who was born in Copenhagen on the 28th February, 1748.

By royal decree of the 19th May, 1745, celebration of any christening by party-giving had been prohibited. A much earlier royal decree dated the 13th March, 1683, had made presentation of gifts by a godfather punish-

able by a fine of 500 Rdlr. No doubt ways and means were still found, however, to celebrate the christening of the heir, and to enable the three godfathers to present gifts.

Two years later, on the 31st March, 1750, the christening of Jens, the second child of Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen and Tiptipoldemor Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup was solemnized in the parish church of the Helligaandskirke. The five witnesses included the infant's paternal uncle, Christen Hendrichsen, the latter's wife, Dorthe Kulmans, and Jens's maternal uncle, *Kremmer* Gielstrup. Alas, only four months later, on the 2nd August, 1750, an entry in the '*Protokol for Liigkassen*' for a payment of 3 Rigsdaler to Peder Hendrichsen to defray the cost of the burial of the infant, reveals the fact that Henrich's younger brother had died.

Starting as a pupil at Roskilde latinske Skole in 1759, Henrich may have escaped the scarlet fever and smallpox epidemics which raged through Copenhagen in 1759/60, causing the deaths of thousands of people. Henrich's mother was less lucky. An entry in the '*Protokol for Liigkassen*' reveals the payment of 35 Rigsdaler to her husband on the 10th April, 1760, this almost certainly being the date of her death. The Church Book of the Helligaandskirke records that on the 15th April, 1760, at the age of 50, following a violent fever ('*hidsig Feber*'), she was buried in the fashionable, northern part of the Helligaands Kirkegaard, known as the Herb Churchyard ('*Urte Kirke Gaard*').

Application made to the Absolute Monarch for permission for Tiptipoldefar to retain undivided possession of the estate, the written authority for this was signed personally by King Frederik V at Fredensborg on the 9th May, 1760, only 24 days after Tiptipoldemor's funeral! No matter of detail was ignored by the Absolute Monarch.

In applying for royal permission to retain undivided possession of the estate, Tiptipoldefar, now 67, must have

realized that he was, in effect, condemning himself to a state of celibacy.

Yet, within eight months, on the 25th November, 1760, a deed of kinsmanship ('*Samfrændeskifte*') was executed "*i Stervboets Huus*" by *Peter Henricsen*, in the presence of *Lauritz Gielstrop* and *Christen Hendrichsen*. Confirmatory signatures or initials and seals appear on the document with those of *Tiptipoldefar*, appointed guardian of *Henrich*, his own son, not yet of age. On the 26th November, 1760, the executed documents were handed to the *Skiftekommission* for registration. The third wife was obviously on the horizon!

Probably understated to reduce the stamp duty, which amounted to 5½ Rigsdaler, the total gross value of the assets, including the house in *Klosterstræde*, was only 1700 Rigsdaler. This was verbally confirmed at the time by *Tiptipoldefar*, presumably in reply to questions by a court official. Deducting all liabilities (including the mortgage of 900 Rigsdaler), the net value of the modest estate was reduced to 420 Rigsdaler. As the only child, *Henrich* was entitled to all of his mother's share of the parental estate. Moreover, in view of his father's age, *Henrich* might also reasonably have assumed that, but for his father's intended third marriage, he would fairly soon have been likely, on his father's death, also to have inherited all, or the major portion, of his father's share of the parental estate, modest as it was. Allocation of 250 Rigsdaler to *Henrich* by his father relieves the latter of any charge of lack of generosity. Seemingly, however, his father, as guardian, retained all of this amount until 1764/65, when, in dribblets, *Henrich* must have extracted from him some 150 Rigsdaler.

The date of *Tiptipoldefar*'s third marriage was the 18th December, 1760. This time, the wedding is known to have taken place in the home of the officiating clergyman,

Lauritz Gielstrop
Christen Hendrichsen
Peter Henricsen



Signatures and seals on the *Samfrændeskiftet*, executed in Copenhagen on the 25th November, 1760. (Original size.)

1760
 Copuleret (Hans Jensen Rasmussen End
 13 Novbr. } Anna Maria Claus datter B.
 1760 } Hofsbuid

Copuleret (Johan August Christ
 19 Nov. } Maren Karup B
 1760 } Jernmagt 33 i sin paa Amalienborg

Copuleret (Hans Andersen Lötz i
 21 Novbr. } Margrete Fredericksdatter Holm B
 1760 } Borromand, Vindhuus / Cloubygaard, Herff.

Copuleret (David Daniel P. Ewartz i
 26 Advent } Barbara Magdalena Vrede B
 1760 } Jernmagt 33 Comp. vindhuus paa Nørst. paa Herff. i Flom

Copuleret (Chas Eyerter Kiorulf End
 Dec. 1760 } Maren Christensdatter Lund B
 } Jernmagt Div. f. i Comp. vindhuus i Laxegade

Copuleret (Peder Hendrichsen End. Jernmagt Mønst
 18 Decbr. } Christiana Margrete Hegelund B.
 1760 } Vindhuus for Provst Bildsøe.

Copuleret i dant 1760 dca om i Guld
 som ind. Bøtten
 31 D. Kar.

The last entry for 1760 in the Journal of Holmens Kirke, covering publication of banns of marriages, which had taken place by special licence that year, at the residence of *Provst Bildsøe*, confirms that Tiptipoldefar's third marriage, this time to *Christiana Margrete Hegelund*, took place, on the 18th December, 1760, at the dean's residence at Holmens Revier, *Matrikelnummer* 405. The house was facing the canal, which was still in existence. Behind the house was Laxegade where, after the 1728 Fire, Tiptipoldefar, with his first wife, had sought refuge, and where, later, Erichsen's Palæ was built. Today (1973) it houses the head office of A/S Kjøbenhavns Handelsbank.

Dean ('*Provst*') Bildsøe. The record in the Church Book of the Holmens Kirke, the beautiful Naval Church in the centre of Copenhagen, which also serves as a parish church for the district, merely describes the bride as *Christiana Margrete Hegelund*, a Spinster ('*Pige*'), no witnesses being mentioned. The copulation tax payable to the City authorities had been discharged on the 16th December, 1760.

The date of the birth of Tiptipoldefar's second surviving son Andreas, Henrich's half-brother, and Tiptipoldefar's son by his third wife, is not known, but the christening took place on Sunday, the 18th October, 1761. The infant, according to the Church Book of the Helligaandskirke, was carried to the christening font by *Mad. Karen Gielstrup, Kræmmer-Koene i Wimmelskafet*. Amongst witnesses are stated to have been: Anne Margrethe Gielstrup, daughter of the mercer couple of Wimmelskafet, Shoemaker Daniel Clausen of Badstuestræde, Christen *Henrichsen* (presumably the baby's paternal uncle, but now of Skindergade), and finally Peder Blær, a journeyman employed by Mercer Nielsen of *Wimmelskafet*. Except for the last one, the reason for whose presence we do not know, the choice of the witnesses ('*Testes*') was diplomatic and well-balanced, two female members of Tiptipoldefar's late second wife's family being included.

For what reason, at the age of about 68 had Tiptipoldefar entered into his third marriage, to a woman obviously much younger than he? Infatuation, desire for companionship or sexual relationship, need for a mistress to run his household, or in order to obtain a stepmother to help him to look after Henrich, when he was at home on holiday? Perhaps a combination of all these reasons, but the household of a shoemaker employing and sometimes catering for several journeymen obviously needed a mistress. Whatever the bridegroom's principal motive, the effect of the marriage seems to have

been both an emotional and a material disaster to the ageing master shoemaker's elder son, by nature wilful and independent.

Six years within his mother's death, Henrich, who previous to his father's third marriage, had probably (and with reason) considered himself the elderly man's sole heir, was to lose threequarters of the small estate. This loss included deprivation of his share of the joint home in Klosterstræde and the real property there, as well as of the net income accruing from the rents paid by the tenants.

From Henrich's own statement, later, we learn that, possibly during his holidays in Copenhagen, and long before leaving school in Roskilde, he had the enterprise to act as a deacon ('*Degn*') at weddings and funerals at the Church of the Vartov Hospital. In this way, over the years, he earned an estimated total of 30 Rigsdaler, all of which he contended had been handed over to his father.

At the time of Tiptipoldefar's third marriage, his virility had still been sufficient to enable him almost immediately to father Andreas. Then Peder Hendrichsen, about 70 years old, started going downhill. In a monologue in Holberg's '*Barselstuen*,' it is suggested that, if a young woman marries an old man, he assumes an implied obligation to die within a year of their wedding day! Tiptipoldefar did not quite comply with that pattern, but his days were numbered.

Table No. 4. (Fifth Chapter.)

Summarized schedule of
Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen, his three wives and three sons, the second of whom died
at four months old. (The second wife was Tiptipoldemor Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, who
gave birth to Tiploldefar Henrich Petersen.)

Peder Hendrichsen, Master Shoemaker, chr. 9/6/1693 Sct. Katharinæ Kirke, Ribe, obtained
licence ('*Borgerskab*') in Copenhagen 7/10/1720. †22/11/1765 from lung disease at his
home in Klosterstræde. Buried 26/11/1765 in the northern churchyard of the Helligaandskirke.

<i>Names of Wives</i>	<i>Wives' parents</i>	<i>Birthplace of wives</i>	<i>Dates of wives' births</i>	<i>Dates and places of marriages</i>	<i>Dates of wives' deaths and burials</i>	<i>Dates of births, christenings and deaths of sons</i>
1) Kierstine Catrine Tønnesdatter, <i>Spinster.</i>	Unknown.	Most probably in Copenhagen.	abt. 1680.	7/5/1721 Trinitatis Parish, Copenhagen. (<i>'I Huuset'</i>)	†20/8/1746. Buried 24/8/1746 Urtekirke- gaarden, Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen.	None.
2) Tiptipoldemor Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, <i>Spinster.</i>	Father : Jens Michelsen Gielstrup, Nibe, Jutland. †before 22/9/1727. His wife's name and other data unknown.	Most probably in Nibe.	abt. 1710.	1/3/1747 Vor Frelser Parish, Copenhagen. (<i>'I Huuset'</i>)	†10/4/1760. Buried 15/4/1760 Urtekirke- gaarden, Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen.	1) Tiploldefar Henrich Petersen b. 28/2/1748, chr. 2/3/1748 Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen. †16/2/1827 Toksværd. 2) Jens Petersen, chr. 31/3/1750. †2/8/1750.
3) Christiana Margrete Hegelund, <i>Spinster.</i>	Unknown.	Unknown.	Unknown.	Municipal copulation fee paid 16/12/1760. (<i>'Gift hos Provst Bildsøe, Holmens Kirke Parish, Copenhagen 18/12/1760.</i>)	Unknown.	Andreas Petersen, chr. 18/10/1761 Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen. †after 11/10/1783

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- 2) Begravelsesprotokollen for Helligaandskirke i Kiøbenhavn 1713-56.
- 3) Kiøbenhavns Bytings Afkaldsprotokol 1740-53. Folio 718 a. 22/8-1746.
- 4) Kirkebogen for Vor Frelsers Kirkes Sogn i Kiøbenhavn 1747-59. Fol. 48a.
- 5) Kirkebogen for Helligaandskirkes Sogn i Kiøbenhavn -Daab 1743-79. 1748.
- 6) Begravelsesprotokollen for Helligaandskirke i Kiøbenhavn 1757-1813. 1760.
- 7) Kiøbenhavns Skiftekommissions Samfrændeskifte 1760 Nr. 150. (4 Sider.) Mester Peder Henrichsens Kone, Maren Jensdatter Gieldstrup, død før 9/5-1760. 2 Bilag, dateret 9de Maji Anno 1760 og 25de November 1760.
- 8) Ægteskabslysebog for Holmens Sogn i Kiøbenhavn 1748-63. 1760.
- 9) Kirkebogen for Helligaands Sogn i Kiøbenhavn 1760-1893. 1761.
- 10) Kiøbenhavns Skomagerlaugs Arkivalier; in particular : Protokol for Liigkassen 1730-62 I.

Københavns Stadsarkiv :

- 1) 2. Borgerskabsprotokol 1699-1723.
- 2) 3. Borgerskabsprotokol 1724-49.
- 3) Skattemandsregistre 1740/41. 1743-53.
- 4) Letter from Københavns Stadsarkiv dated the 25th September, 1969. Hoved-j no. 156/1969.

Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland :

- 1) Documents and records 1721-70 relating to Tiptiptipoldefar Jens Michelsen Gielstrup of Nibe. Traced and interpreted by *Arkivar* Henning Paulsen. (Nibe Vicarage burned down 1765, while Nibe had been created a *Købstad* only in 1727.)
- 2) Letter from *Arkivar* Henning Paulsen, Viborg, dated the 27th October, 1969.

Printed :

- 1) V. Richter : Dødsfald i Danmark 1761-90, p. 36. (Lars Gielstrup døde 24. Juli 1786, 83 Aar gammel.)
- 2) C. Nyrop : Kjøbenhavns Skomagerlav 1509-1909. Kjøbenhavn 1909. p. 93-98.
- 3) Kjøbenhavns Huse og Indvaanere efter Branden 1728.

Acknowledgments and Thanks :

- 1) To *Fuldmægtig* Jeppe Rasmussen, Københavns Stadsarkiv.
- 2) To *Forfatteren* Ib Koch-Olsen.

SIXTH CHAPTER :

Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen's schooldays at Roskilde latinske Skole

When Henrich was born in 1748, his mother was 38, *1759-1765*
his father 55. Jens, his younger brother by two years,
survived for only four months. Other "only children"
in similar circumstances often suffer from excessive
attention and care by indulgent parents. Likely to have
spent his early childhood in or near Klosterstræde, the
gifted but headstrong, and doubtless charming boy may
well have been spoiled by the idolatry of his middle-aged
parents. From the age of about seven, possibly he will
have attended a nearby prep. school ('*Pogeskole*').

Certainly for three generations, but possibly for
longer, his paternal family had pursued the same means
of making a living. His father was a shoemaker. So,
before him, had been both Henrich's grandfather and his
great-grandfather, in Ribe. The availability of a generous
supply of hides from oxen in transit, fed by the crops
grown in those fertile, seemingly endless, marshy meadows
which surrounded the ancient Cathedral City, may have
provided the pragmatic reason for creation of the
family tradition. In addition to Henrich's father, grand-
father and great-grandfather, Christen, Henrich's father's
brother and one of Henrich's godfathers, who also settled
in Copenhagen, was a shoemaker. So was Henrich's
other godfather. Henrich's grandfather's brother, Claus
Pedersen, had likewise been a shoemaker. Why was
Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, in his turn, not indentured

to become a shoemaker? Was it due to changed disadvantageous circumstances for shoemakers in Copenhagen? Confirmation that local raw materials were no longer all-important is shown by his own father's large purchases of English calfskins from *Den Engelske Garver Fabriqve*. Moreover, competition was increasing. In 1759, there were 227 master shoemakers in Copenhagen, compared with only 130 in 1727 and 197 in 1743. Or was the reason that Henrich's mental attributes were considered to be superior to those required for shoe-making?

The answers are unknown to us. Ribe is not only an interesting and beautiful city, whose slow decline as a trading city, since the end of the Middle Ages, largely explains the preservation of much of its ancient, lovely architecture and idyllic charm. It is also perhaps the oldest existing city in Denmark. In the 18th century, the city had lost much of its pre-Reformation lustre as a seat of learning, but we must assume that Ribe latinske Skole could still provide an adequate formal education. Had Henrich's father's attendance at Ribe latinske Skole been terminated, when he was only twelve, by the death of his own father in 1705? Was the decision taken in 1759, to enroll Henrich as a pupil ('*Pebling*') at Roskilde latinske Skole, due to any such traumatic experience of his father's? Alas, enquiry, in 1968, of Ribe Katedralskole provides no confirmation that Henrich's father was ever a pupil at its predecessor school there. But for Henrich's schooling, Metropolitanskolen, then located at Dyrkøb in Copenhagen, within a stone's throw of the house in Klosterstræde, at first sight would have been the obvious choice. Equally as well as at Roskilde latinske Skole, Henrich could there have qualified for admission to Copenhagen University. But in 1759, more than forty years after the event, the memories of school windows being broken in 1718 during the snowball feud between pupils at Metropolitanskolen

and the turbulent shoemaker boys in Klosterstræde, while faded, were unlikely to have been lost.

About 1912, in my own childhood, Metropolitanskolen remained the premier, scholarly snob school of Copenhagen. When, at Mor's instigation, I tried to imitate the success of her brother, Herman, in qualifying for admission as a pupil at Metropolitanskolen, I failed. Neither my scholastic nor social standards were up to the levels required.

In 1759, it was the reverse of a status symbol for a prospective pupil to be the son of a shoemaker, who carried on his trade and lived in restless Klosterstræde. If Henrich had been accepted as a pupil, the combined effect of his father's trade and address would almost certainly have made life disagreeable, not to say unbearable, for him at Metropolitanskolen. Other reasons are, however, likely to have influenced the choice which decreed that, in 1759, a year before his mother's death, Henrich started his six years as a pupil at Roskilde latinske Skole, today a mere 30 kilometres by road from Copenhagen. Then it was slightly farther away by road because of the detour necessary, via the village of *Waldbye*, as then spelled.

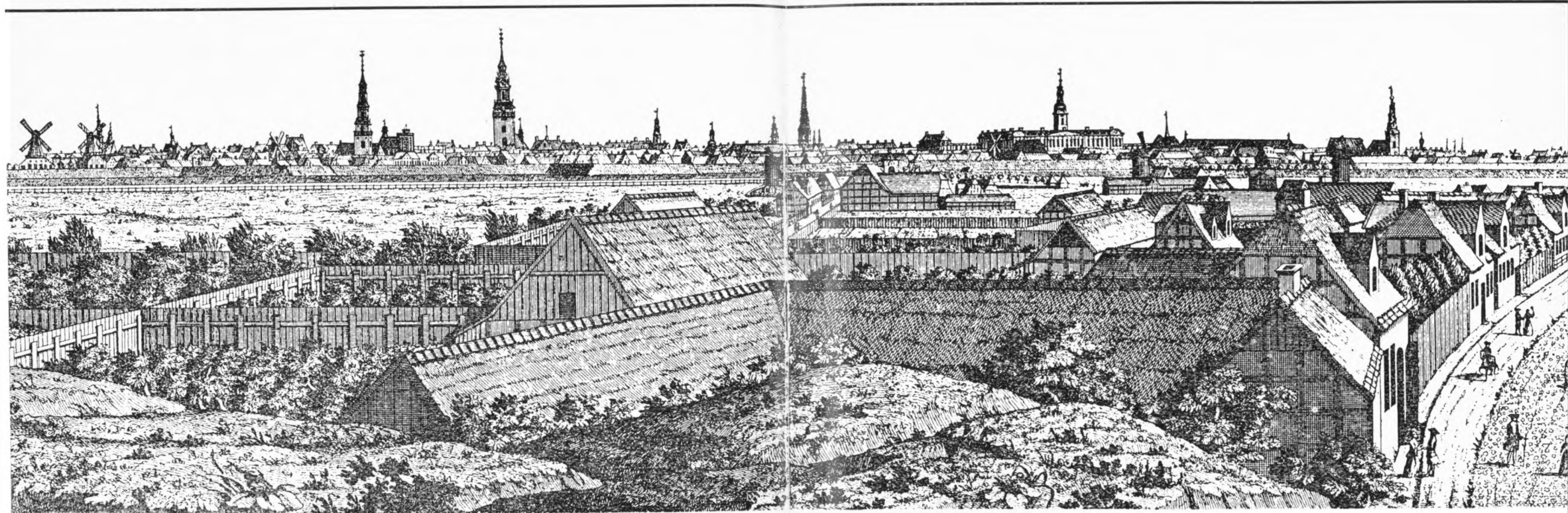
Judging by Henrich's behaviour and career in later years, one reason may well have been that while unwilling to become, or unsuitable for becoming, a shoemaker, his parents had already had difficulties in keeping him under control at home. Roskilde latinske Skole, or Katedralskole, as it is today called, was not a boarding school. Daily attendance there would necessitate Henrich's living in Roskilde, possibly at the home of a relative or, more likely, at that of one of the masters ('*Høre*'). Thus he would be kept away from the temptations of the Metropolis.

One further reason may have played a minor part in the decision. Established in the 11th century, Roskilde

latinske Skole, thanks to past benefactors, was a rich school, in fact largely a charitable institution. Attendance was encouraged by regular monetary payments to the pupils for nominal services. In Henrich's case, the payments, starting in 1759 at 15 Rigsdaler p.a. by 1765 had risen to 30 Rigsdaler p.a.

These amounts, which from 1759 to 1765 totalled 164 Rigsdaler, and which Henrich strongly contended (29/1/1766) had been paid over by him to his father, were by no means insignificant. Considering, however, the cost of board and lodging in Roskilde, for a total of six years, the payments alone could hardly have been sufficient to induce Henrich's father to make arrangements for his son's attendance at the School in Roskilde instead of in Copenhagen. And, no doubt, temptations were also present in Roskilde!

How did Henrich, during his years at the School, get to and from Roskilde? Sometimes, most probably, he will have walked, as on one occasion, in one direction, I did, in 1913. Not until 1799, long after Henrich had left the School, was a regular mail coach service from Copenhagen to Roskilde instituted by the Royal Post Office, already responsible for the distribution of letters in Copenhagen. Until then, letters were conveyed between the principal cities by sea or horse-mounted postal carriers. But other means of transport must previously have existed. On the 4th January, 1760, on the front page of an early issue of *Adresse-Avisen*, a statement appeared that the following day "the riding post" ("*den agende Post*") would be leaving Copenhagen for Hamburg and Jutland. *En route*, it would pass through Roskilde. And, as far back as 1723, in his play "11te Juni," Holberg dropped a hint that the coach for Roskilde left from the *Tre Hjorter*, a well-known inn in Vestergade, near Vesterport, the western exit from Copenhagen.



By courtesy of Krak.

*Copenhagen,
"The City of lovely Spires," in 1761,
as seen from Vesterbro.*

During the years from 1759 to 1765, while Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen was at school in Roskilde, this was the view which he would see from Vesterbro when, on returning home for holidays, he approached the Western Gate of his native city.

The ramparts and the moats which protected the fortified city can only be very partly discerned from the etching. But most of the graceful spires of Copenhagen, which still adorn the profile of the City, belong to churches referred to in this volume, either in relation to Henrich, his parents, his wife-to-be, Tipoldemor Dorothea Blech, or her ancestors.

Ignoring the windmills and other minor buildings, the larger spires shown are listed below, from left to right. First (1), we see that of Sct. Petri German Church, in the adjoining churchyard of which Henrich's father-in-law, 'Dorte's' father, Søren Andersen Blech, was buried on the 31st August, 1756. Built as if it were part of the Round Tower, and with only a very small spire, stands Trinitatis Kirke (2). In this, on the 15th June, 1691, Tiptiptiptipoldemor Dorrete Jensdatter was christened. It was also in the Church Book of Trinitatis Kirke that, on the 7th May, 1721, the first marriage of Henrich's own father, Peder Hendrichsen, to Kierstine Catrine Tønnesdatter, was recorded.

Following is the spire of Vor Frue Kirke (3). In this church, not only was 'Dorte' christened on the 9th May, 1752, but so had been her mother, Dorothe Madsdatter Knie, on the 15th January, 1726, and all Dorothe's nine sisters and brothers (1715-29). On the 19th March, 1749, 'Dorte's' parents had been married there, while on dates between 1713 and 1752, her maternal grandparents and two of her Great-grandparents had been buried in the adjoining churchyard.

The next spire (4) denotes the position of Helligaandskirken. In this church, on the 2nd March, 1748, as a 3-day-old baby, Henrich was christened, while, on the 10th April, 1760, in the adjoining churchyard, his mother, Tiptipoldemor Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, was buried. Next (5) is the smaller spire of the fourth City Hall in Nytorv. This,

in 1766, was to become the venue of the lengthy proceedings regarding Henrich's father's modest estate.

After the spire of the City Hall, but also in Nytorv, comes (6) the spire of Vaisenhuset, an orphanage, at the privileged bookshop of which Henrich, in 1765, a few days before his father's death, for his benefit and account, invested in a copy of the Bible, on credit. The adjoining taller spire (7) of Sct. Nikolaj Kirke shows the position of the church in which Henrich's eldest child was baptized Henriette Dorothea on the 19th February, 1780, only some seven weeks after the marriage of her parents, Henrich and 'Dorte,' on the 29th December, 1779!

The next spire (8) is that of the imposing and elegant royal residence, the first Christiansborg Castle. Here, in 1761, resided the chronic alcoholic, King Frederik V, with his second wife, Queen Juliane Marie. The smaller, distinctive corkscrew spire (9) following, is that of the Bourse ('Børsen'), not mentioned elsewhere in this record, but referred to in one of Holberg's plays. The last, taller, also twisting spire, to the extreme right (10), is that of Vor Frelsers Kirke, the parish church of Christianshavn. This was the parish to which Henrich's mother belonged at the time of her marriage to Henrich's father, on the 1st March, 1737, and it is in the Church Book of Vor Frelsers Kirke that their marriage was recorded.

The etching, executed by Johan Jacob Bruun (b. 1715 Slagelse †1789 Hillerød), was reproduced, in 1970, to commemorate the bicentenary of *Kraks Vejviser*. The publication of this globally known directory was started by Agent Hans Holck, who also established *Klasse-Skolen* in Copenhagen, at which, in 1779/80, Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen appears to have been the principal teacher.

(Identification of the spires shown in the etching are based upon information given in: Møllerup: "Danmarks Gamle Hovedstad," København 1912, in which a reproduction of the etching also appears.)

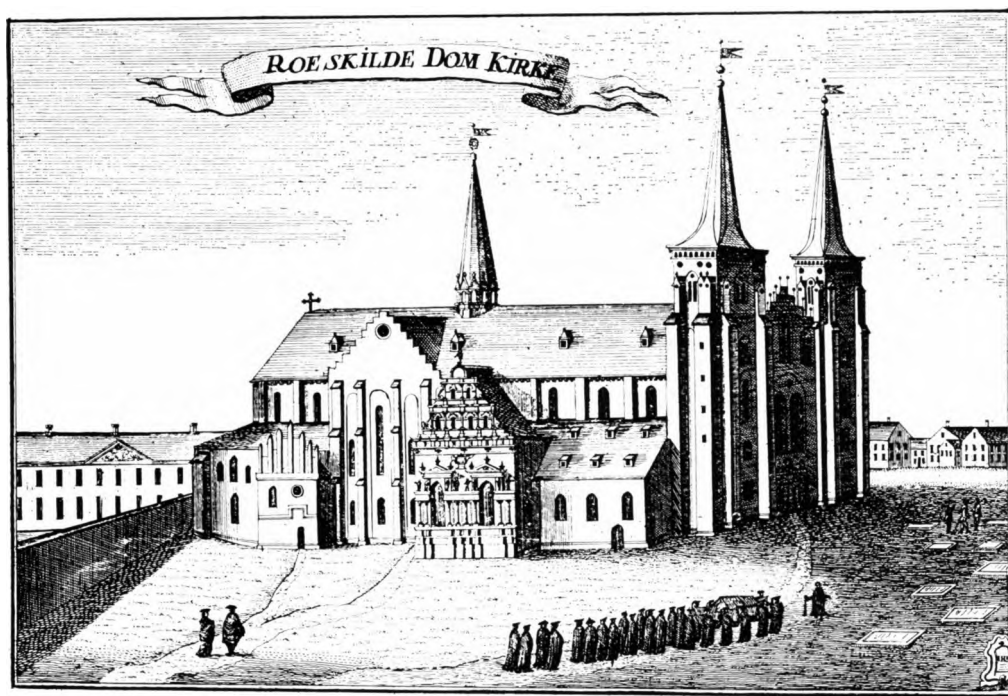
(Refer Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Chapters of this volume.)

Opportunities for getting lifts in the unsprung peasant carts would be limited, as there is unlikely to have been much through traffic. But, whether by foot or coach, the trip is likely to have occupied not less than four hours. And the arrival time at any of the four closely guarded entrances to the fortified city of Copenhagen, surrounded by ramparts and moats, was a critical factor. At dusk all gates were locked for the night. Solemnly brought to the King in his Palace, the keys were retained there during the hours of darkness, for safekeeping by his Majesty. And, incredible as it sounds, this practice was continued until 1821! Flitting to Copenhagen for gay week-ends would have been a physical impossibility for Henrich, disregarding altogether his probable sabbatarian duties in the Cathedral as a member of the choir.

Be that as it may, from Henrich's own statement we know that he attended the School in Roskilde from 1759 to 1765, when he was "*dimitteret*" to Copenhagen University, the latter year being also that in which his father died in November.

Henrich left no record of his life at the School. Physical conditions and methods of teaching were extremely primitive. The original six forms ('*Lectier*') were all held together in one large, forbidding-looking, dark and cold hall, each '*Lectie*' being only partly partitioned off from the others, though by 1760 the number had been reduced to three.

Born in 1732, i.e. 16 years earlier than Henrich, Fleischer, in his autobiography ("*Esaias Fleischers Liv og Levnets-Beskrivelse*," *Kjøbenhavn 1785*), provides a fragmentary account of his early life at the School in Roskilde, which he attended as a pupil, and where later, before and after his studies at Elers Collegium in Store Cannichestræde in Copenhagen, he was a master. A priggish but industrious and enthusiastic student who



Funeral procession in 1767 outside Roskilde Cathedral, two years after Henrich had left the attached School. The procession of cloaked mourners would be a familiar sight to Henrich during his years in Roskilde. A similar procession may have preceded his own father's funeral in Copenhagen, on the 26th November, 1765. Note the three grave diggers to the right.

claimed to have mastered, amongst other languages, Hebrew and Ethiopian, Fleischer, when Tipoldefar became a pupil at Roskilde, is likely, at the very meagre salary of 130 Rigsdaler p.a, to have been one of his masters ('*Hørere*').

Sharing a room with another alumnus at Elers Collegium in Copenhagen, Fleischer relates how, on alternate weeks, he would get up first in the mornings, and, after prayer, light the fire in the *Kakkelovn*, this being followed by a breakfast consisting of unsweetened tea and often only unbuttered bread before he started his studies to hear the night watchman's final call in the street at 4 a.m. To vary this routine, he would enjoy watching

the play of the water in the fountain below, or for exercise visit the nearby churchyard (? at Vor Frue Kirke), where he meditated in front of the inscriptions on the tombstones!

Compared with this sort of life, conditions when Fleischer returned as a master, to the School in Roskilde, where teaching started only at 7 a.m., and finished at 5 p.m., must have seemed paradisaical. Renting a small-holding, on which, before and after hours of instruction at the School, he would work energetically, he married fairly young. Five pupils at the school boarded with him and his wife. In addition to his linguistic and other academic studies, and delivering trial sermons from the pulpit in the Cathedral, he also wrote a learned book or two. In thirst for knowledge and self-advancement he may have set an example to Tipoldefar, although Fleischer's energy and powers of concentration must have exceeded those of my ancestor.

When Fleischer made application in vain for more than 100 livings as a clergyman, his biggest financial worry, not surprisingly, seems to have been the stamp duty payable on each of these applications. Only by switching to the study of botany and forestry did Fleischer pave the way to eventually getting away from his tedious and ill-paid post as a master in Roskilde.

As his father was a clergyman, Fleischer's background was marginally different from that of Tipoldefar. Moreover, later in life, he became both financially and socially more successful, no doubt partly because he was more industrious and flexible than was Henrich Petersen. But some of the experiences of his youth, and the atmosphere of his early years in Roskilde and Copenhagen, are likely to have been similar to those of Tipoldefar and of his early years.

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Acknowledgments and Thanks :

Rektor G. Tolderlund-Hansen, Roskilde Katedralskole.

SEVENTH CHAPTER :

Death of Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen

In Spring, 1765, the lime trees would be in blossom in the grass-covered churchyard which, studded with tombstones, surrounded the Helligaandskirke, almost next to Klosterstræde. In the leafy churchyard, however, the stench from the cesspools ('*Sivebrønde*'), which drained the waters from the burial vaults within the Church, must have mingled with the sweet smell of the blossom and the scent of flowers and grass. Lying buried in the fashionable northern herb section of the churchyard ('*Urte Kirkegaard*') was Kierstine Catrine Tønnesdatter, Tiptipoldefar's first wife, who had died in 1746. So was Marie Jensdatter Gielstrup, Tiptipoldefar's second wife and my Tiptipoldemor, who had died in 1760. Soon Tiptipoldefar was to join them both.

1765

Clouded by financial problems, the long life of Tiptipoldefar was drawing to its end. Only limited knowledge of his monetary position during the last twelve months of his life has trickled down to us. The first indication of his difficulties, we find, is that on the 20th November, 1764, in return for the acceptance of a bill of exchange, he borrowed 20 Rigsdaler from Shoemaker Daniel Clausen, to be repaid before the end of January, 1765. With this condition he evidently failed to comply. This financial transaction was followed by the acceptance of other bills of exchange and also the issue by Tiptipoldefar of I.O.U.s.

What was the cause of the liquidity problems of the old Jutlander, by then for 45 years a master shoemaker in Copenhagen? Was old age preventing him from doing as much work as formerly, or were his advancing

years causing him to exercise less effective supervision over his journeymen, if any, in the Klosterstræde workshop? Were his troubles due to carelessness in giving credit, or slowness in collecting accounts? Or could it be that, though at the time of his death he still had workstools for five, he was unable to find journeymen to man them all, or indeed any of them ; or was he unable to attract enough customers to keep employed five, or any smaller number of men? Alternatively, was expenditure by his third wife and his elder son excessive in relation to his current earning power? Perhaps his shortage of cash was due to a combination of all these factors. Since the late 1730s, it seems likely that Peder Hendrichsen had lived up to the hilt of his income.

During that last year of his life, Tiptipoldefar appears to have borrowed money from all and sundry. Though the names of the lenders, and the amounts of their loans not repaid at the time of Tiptipoldefar's death, are known to us, the relationship of most of them to him is difficult to identify.

Among them was *Studiosus* Palle Lund, a friend of Henrich's, and a frequent guest for meals at the home in Klosterstræde, who, on the 19th March, 1765, lent Tiptipoldefar 30 Rigsdaler. (Was he identical with the '*Studiosus* Lund,' shown, on Balle's Map (1757) of Copenhagen, as living in his own house at 313 Amaliegade, only three doors from one of the four noblemen's palaces which, collectively, in 1794, after the fire of Christiansborg Castle, became the royal Residential Palace of Amalienborg?) But already on the 13th June, 1765, the ageing shoemaker obtained a further loan of 20 Rigsdaler, this time from Christian Nicolai Preis. Lack of cash was also evidenced by the delay of payment to trade creditors. On the 25th June, 1765, by writing on an invoice from Jens Lauritsen, one of his suppliers, a signed promise to pay the large sum of 105 Rigsdaler and 44 Skilling by the New Year,

Tiptipoldefar had turned the statement into a promissory note.

Our only knowledge of what caused the constant drain on Tiptipoldefar's financial resources is derived from the bills unpaid and other liabilities outstanding at the time of his death in November, 1765. Of household purchases of foodstuff produced in Denmark, such as meat, fish, vegetables, milk, butter and other dairy products, we have no knowledge. These purchases would be made for cash, most of them in open-air markets or from itinerant vendors, often the picturesquely garbed, but bare-footed, wives of peasants and fishermen in villages near to Copenhagen, who eked out modest livings by selling their produce in the City. The quantities of wine vinegar purchased throughout the year of 1765 on credit from grocers seem surprisingly large. The explanation may well be that due to the impurity of the water supply, washing or soaking of meat, fish and vegetables in wine vinegar, in preference to water, was a common, sensible precaution.

What was the cost of living? The housekeeping allowance claimed by, and allowed to, the widow, after Tiptipoldefar's death, for the period before probate was granted, amounted to 2 Rigsdaler per week. This, seemingly, covered the cost of all food for herself, the two sons and a maid servant. The half-yearly cash wages of the latter were 2 Rigsdaler and 4 Mark!

No profit and loss account for 1765 in respect of the shoemaking business is available. It would have been reasonable to assume that Tiptipoldefar, during the year, allowed his debtors, his stocks, or both, to increase substantially; but when he died, the value of these amounted only to 350 and 55 Rigsdaler, respectively. Obviously, he did not do so.

“Cherchez la femme et le jeune homme!” Indirectly, all evidence points in the direction of excessive or

irresponsible expenditure, both by the wife and the elder son, at a time when Tiptipoldefar's net income seems certain to have been severely reduced, perhaps even to vanishing point. A statement still unpaid in November, 1765, when Tiptipoldefar died, included items dated the 16th December, 1764, totalling 64 Rigsdaler 5 Mark and 3 Skilling in respect of fineries from Messrs. Langhein *et* Lorentzen, described as Clothdealers ('*Klædekræmmere*'), bought by Sr. Peder Hendrichsen for what may have been some of the previous year's Christmas presents. These consisted of fine, clear lawn ('*Camerdug*') which cost 3 Rigsdaler 4 Mark and 8 Skilling, and black lace at the price of 1 Rigsdaler and 4 Skilling. Invoiced in March, 1765, further items from the same firm included damask at 14 Rigsdaler 7 Mark and 4 Skilling, while 25 Rigsdaler, and 1 Rigsdaler 4 Mark and 15 Skilling were in respect of materials described by such alluring names as *Pourtoy* and blue *Trille*.

Unpaid purchases of household items during the first ten or eleven months of 1765 included numerous items of coffee beans and brown sugar ('*Caffebønner og Candis*')

Vd Peder Hendrichsen
 A= 1765
 d 12^{te} Januarij
 d 20^{te} August.
 2 Pnd Flax 12 . . .
 2 Pnd Finest Flax 52 . . .
 Summa 64 R 5 M 3 S
 Købet barn d 12^{te} Januarij
 A= 1765
 J. S. Sævi

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m.

Evidence of domestic activity by Tiptipoldefar's third wife: Statement covering the supply, on the 12th January, 1765, of 2 pounds of flax, and, on the 20th August, 1765, of another 2 pounds, slightly more expensive, 'finest' flax. (Reduced size.)

supplied by Grocer ('*Urtekrømmer*') Carl Adolph Lund, whose bills also included moderate quantities of beer. (His name also appears amongst those of the debtors. So it seems that he, as well as one or two of the other creditors, had his footwear made by Tiptipoldefar.) But were all these and similar charge accounts incurred with the consent and knowledge of the head of the household? The fact that some invoices are marked '*Copie*' would seem to indicate suppression of the originals or careless or inadequate maintenance of bookkeeping records at the house in Klosterstræde. Other household accounts tell of moderate purchases of Bitter Orange Aquavit ('*Pommerantz Brændevin*'), a no doubt delicious, liqueur-like, alcoholic drink, today, however, not readily obtainable anywhere in Denmark.

At Midsummer, Henrich graduated from Roskilde Katedralskole. Almost 17½, his six years of residence in Roskilde are unlikely to have prevented him from having a gay time, in Roskilde and when, on holiday, he returned to Copenhagen.

The distinctive black cloak commonly worn by pupils in the higher schools, so unlike the different types of colourful outfits worn by other town-dwellers and peasants, seems sometimes to have been accepted for transport purposes as a *laissez passer* for the wearer, assumed to be a prospective clergyman. Shortly before finishing at the School in Roskilde, irresponsible Henrich, at the time when his father was unable to pay his trade creditors, had obviously enlisted the aid of his tailor, Michael Holmboe, to celebrate his '*Studentereksamen*.' On the 6th July, 1765, when he took delivery of a bespoke gown ('*Kiol*'), waistcoat and breeches, all described as having been made of green cloth, Henrich, at least temporarily, would be able to change from wearing his usual sombre garment. The considerable pre-arranged price of 25 Rigsdaler still

1765
 Tiptipoldefar
 Monsieur Henrich Pettersen Tiptip
 forlyndt for grøn drabsdied og vop
 af 25 Rigsdaler foraktet 25 R - Sines 25
 Michael Holmboe
 22. Decbr 1765

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m.

Statement from Michael Holmboe, a tailor, dated December, 1765, for 25 Rigsdaler, addressed to 'Monsieur Henrich Pettersen' for a bespoke green suit supplied on the 6th July, 1765. The liability was disputed by Henrich's stepmother, but ultimately, by order of the Court, the bill was paid by Tiptipoldefar's estate to the worthy tradesman.

(Reduced size.)

being unpaid at the end of the year, payment from the estate was claimed by the hapless tailor after Tiptipoldefar's death. How had Henrich ever hoped to pay for his sartorial *extravaganza*?

The next three or four months of that summer and early autumn must have been a period of tension and unhappiness at the Klosterstræde home, except perhaps for the new *Studiosus* and Andreas, his 3½-year-old half-brother. The yellowed records of the estate file, by implication, relate in detail some of the depressing events. More borrowing took place in August and again on the 12th October, 1765, this latter time of an amount of 40 Rigsdaler from Caren Anders Datter. Further supplies of *Caffebønner* og *Candis* were obtained from *Urtekræmmer* Christen Brasch, who was *Madam* Peder Hendrichsen's other grocer.

Madamme sal. Peder Hendrichsen.

	Debet
Sept. 3 - 1/2 P. Pommerantz Brændevin	2 - 8
7 - 1/2 P. Rusekøst vin, 1/2 P. Sello	4 - 8
3 - 1/2 P. Sello, 1/2 P. Pommerantz Brændevin	4 - 12
Octobr 15 - 1/2 P. Pommerantz Brændevin, 1/2 P. Sello	5 - -
Novbr 9 - 1/2 P. Rusekøst vin, 1/2 P. Sello	3 - 4
12 - 1/2 P. Sello, 1/2 P. Pommerantz Brændevin	4 - 14
Rigtigt afgj. d. Decbr. 1765.	Summa R. 37 14/8
	H. Kinckel.

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m.

Unless the beverages purchased were for the enjoyment of *Madamme sal. Peder 'Hendrichsen'*, this statement from Wine Tapster H. Kinckel shows that, during the last few months of his life, Tiptipoldefar, in addition to his large ordinary consumption of beer, sweetened his palate (and probably dulled his pains) with a modest intake of *Pommerantz Brændevin* and French wines.

(Reduced size.)

Was Tiptipoldefar's thirst above that of the average male of his time, both when faced by members of the other sex, and when tempted by the common national drink of Denmark? Tolerable for washing, and satisfactory for fire fighting, as water from the pump in his yard is likely to have been, it was evidently almost undrinkable. During the last six months of his life, Tiptipoldefar's water rate was a mere 3 Mark !

By way of contrast, the amount owing by Tiptipoldefar to Brewer Jens Lauritzen, was one of the most formidable liabilities of the estate. Not a loan, but expressly stated to have been in respect of goods supplied (though not over which period!), the amount was 105 Rigsdaler 2 Mark and 12 Skilling ! By comparison, Morten Lund's bill for beer supplied for consumption at the funeral,

can only be described as 'small beer.' Modest too, seems the bill for the months of September/November, 1765, rendered by Hans Kinchel, the wine tapster at the corner of Klosterstræde and Amagertorv, and amounting to 3 Rigsdaler, 3 Mark and 14 Skilling. It was mainly for *Pommerantz Brændevin*.

Rendered in German, the bill for 2 Rigsdaler from *Chirurgus Friederich Wilhelm Gensche* refers neither to surgery nor bleeding. It is stated to have been the cost of shaving Tiptipoldefar during almost the whole of the first eleven months of 1765. The modesty of the charge would seem to imply that only at infrequent intervals was shaving of the complete head necessary to enable Tiptipoldefar to wear his wig both with comfort and elegance. (In 1757, again according to Balle's Map,

27

W

Chirurgus Friederich Wilhelm Gensche
 Doctor der Chirurgen in hiesiger Stadt
 Nykøbing

1765

Sin igl. Octobr. 1765. 1. visiten
 44 visiten à 1/2 Rf. 22 - 0 - 0
 8 recepten à 1 Rf. 8 - 0 - 0

Mapp. d. 31 Decemb. 1765. 2 Rds. 0 Rf. 14 Sk.

Hans Kinchel
 Wineschreiber

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m.

Statement rendered on the 31st December, 1765, to Tiptipoldefar's estate by Dr. Garboe, providing summarized details of his first visit and 44 later visits, as well as of the cost of eight prescriptions.
 (Reduced size.)

Friderich Wilhelm Genske, described as a barber, lived at 94 Kiøbmagergade.)

On the 19th October, 1765, *Med. Doct. et Licent.* Garboe paid his first visit. During the next 34 days, the doctor's initial call was to be followed by a further 44 visits, fortified with eight prescriptions, at a total cost of 12 Rigsdaler and 3 Mark. Tiptipoldefar was lying on what was to prove his deathbed. The diagnosis was lung disease ('*Liunge Sott*'). In modern medical terminology, his illness would probably have been described as 'cardiac failure with predominantly pulmonary disease symptoms.'

Nearly immediately opposite the house of Hans Kinchel, the wine tapster, in Amagertorv, from 1620 to 1971, were the premises of the *Løveapotek*. The eight prescriptions made out by Dr. Garboe, in October and November, 1765, for the benefit of Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen, are almost certain to have been handed to the pharmacy there for preparation of the medicine. When, in 1971, the *Løveapotek* had been declared

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m.
Bogtrycker Saxtorph's statement, dated the 2nd January, 1766, addressed to Peder 'Henrichsen,' shows the purchase on his behalf by his son, on the 30th October, 1765, of a bound copy of a devotional book and of the Bible.

(Reduced size.)

redundant and was liquidated, the chemists' attractive Royal Copenhagen porcelain galipots, specially made in the 1700s, and showing on them, in Latin, the contents for which they were intended, were offered for sale to the public. My son, Patrick, and I, who both happened to be in Copenhagen, were fortunate in procuring one galipot ('*Apotekerkrukke*') each, these being slender and uncertain links with our remote ancestor, 200 years ago.

On the 30th October, 1765, the almost 73-year-old, thrice-married shoemaker made preparation to meet his Maker. Late in the day, and still only on account, he invested 1 Rigsdaler and 2 Mark in a copy of the Bible. For good measure, Henrich, who went shopping for him, also obtained from *Bogtrycker Saxtorph* at Det kongelige Weysenhuus, next to the City Hall in Nytorv, a copy of '*Sande Christen Dom*' ('True Christianity') by Johan Arents. The latter for which he was charged 1 Rigsdaler and 1 Mark, was leather-bound, but its value, two months later, was reckoned by the two female assessors to be only 2 Mark!

The sands were running out. And so was ready cash! On the 4th November, 1765, the helpful Caren Anders Datter, who on the 12th October had already lent Peder Hendrichsen 40 Rigsdaler, advanced him, against his I.O.U., a further 20 Rigsdaler. Slightly later, invoiced on the 9th and 12th November, 1765, modest supplies of red wine, French wine and *Pommerantz Brændevin* were obtained, largely or wholly, we may hope, for Tiptipolde-far's benefit and enjoyment.

Perceptively, the young wife realized that before long, she would be in need of widow's weeds. She already had a black coat, but a bill from Furrier ('*Bundtmager*') P. Bremer, dated the 11th November, 1765, relates to the furbishing of this with grey fur, at the agreed price of 3 Rigsdaler.

Equally far-sighted and tactless, was the action by the prospective widow of placing a large order for eight pounds of coffee beans and four pounds of brown sugar, invoiced at three Rigsdaler on the 17th November, 1765, i.e. five days before the death of Tiptipoldefar. Laying in stores was evidently in preparation for the entertainment of visitors of condolence when the expected announcement had been made. (Earlier orders for coffee beans had generally been for only two pounds.)

More ghoulish, Henrich, likely as always to have been short of money, took advantage of the general state of confusion no doubt prevailing in his dying father's house. On the 14th November, 1765, at *Assistenshuset* ('The Public Pawnbroker's') for 20 Rigsdaler and 2 Mark, he pawned his father's silver-hilted rapier, a silver jug and a silver lid. Left behind, by accident or design, was a silver-knobbed cane, which, at the post-mortem valuation, was listed at 3 Rigsdaler.

Winter set in. On Tuesday evening the 19th November, 1765, the temperature dropped and snow started to fall, followed on the Thursday by hail. all reported in the Friday's issue of *Adresse-Avisen*.

After his long years in Copenhagen, Tiptipoldefar is likely still to have spoken with his Jutland accent. Interrupted only by the bouts of coughing caused by his lung disease, down through two centuries they can almost be imagined. On the Friday a thaw set in. Perhaps with a sigh of relief on the 22nd November, 1765, Tiptipoldefar departed from this world. its problems and his three dependants.

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- 1) Documents relating to the estate of Peder Hendrichsen, 1765/66.

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- 1) Adresse-Avisen. 22nd November, 1765.
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EIGHTH CHAPTER :

Funeral of Peder Hendrichsen and the long, legal Battle of Probate between Henrich and his Stepmother

Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen, whose death took place on Friday, the 22nd November, 1765, must have died early in the day. In accordance with the custom of the period, the windows of the family apartment are likely to have been opened to enable his soul to fly out, while a hymn book may have propped up his chin to keep his mouth closed. If his death had occurred about half past twelve, it would have coincided with the arrival within the ramparts of the Capital, from Fredensborg, of King Frederik V and Queen Juliane Marie, his second wife. Their Majesties' safe return was carefully recorded in the issue of Adresse-Avisen later the same day. 1765-67

With jet-like speed, also on that very day, the late shoemaker's young widow took protective action. The news of her husband's death is likely to have been sent by messenger the short distance from Klosterstræde, via Vimmelskafdet and Nygade, to the City Hall in Nytorv. When the Court had been established at the Klosterstræde property, in the presence of Daniel Clausen, a former *Oldermand* of the Copenhagen Guild of Shoemakers, who was to act as the guardian of Andreas, her 4-year-old son, the widow applied to the Committee of Probate ('*Skiftekommissionen*') for the part of the Klosterstræde property occupied by the family, or used by her late husband as a workshop, to be sealed off, a legal procedure usual in such circumstances. The application, when granted, protected the assets, and thus the rights of any heirs, but also brought the business to a complete standstill.



Etching by J. J. Bruun, 1755.

The 4th City Hall of Copenhagen in Nytorv. This is likely to have been the venue of many of the legal events that occurred in the lives of Tiptipoldefar and Tipoldefar. It was destroyed in the 1795 Fire, but inscribed paving stones still (1968) indicate the exact position in Nytorv of the 3rd and 4th City Halls.

Until probate had been granted no one had authority to buy or sell anything on behalf of the estate of the deceased. An artisan's business, among its assets, had no good-will.

Henrich, who was not present when the order was made, though referred to in the application was not mentioned by name. This was notwithstanding the fact that both name and age of his much younger half-brother were recorded. The only person present, presumably as a witness, in addition to the young widow and Andreas's guardian, was Bailiff-Servant ('Fogedtiener') Lars Halvorsen.

Considering Henrich's unfortunate display of initiative, only eight days earlier, removing from his father's house some of the few valuables, and pawning them, the dramatic suddenness with which his widowed stepmother made the application seems to have been well justified. The court order did not deprive Henrich of any rights. It only prevented him from removing or disposing of any more assets. The feeble defence for his action later was that, as some (unspecified) persons were well aware, the valuables which he pawned had been presented to him by his dying father! Incorporated in the grant of authority to seal off the home, the workshop and their contents, was a preliminary schedule of the principal contents of the house.

The prolonged legal wrangle about the valuation and disposal of the modest estate was about to begin. Preceding the burial, however, came what must have been four busy days of increasing disharmony and tension. The wearing of garments of mourning for carefully specified lengths of time was compulsory, except in the case of very poor people. (*Royal decree dated the 14th April, 1752.*) Other legal, ecclesiastical and practical questions would have to be dealt with, no doubt accompanied by gossip aplenty. Innumerable cups of coffee would be made from the supply so providentially purchased by Tiptipoldefar's wife. Presumably the sealing off of the premises was only, or at least partly, a symbolic legal injunction. If, however, enforced physically, no doubt neighbours would be willing to provide accommodation for the coffee-drinking visitors of condolence. Likewise uncertain is whether the phonetically spelled "*Reining*" for 1 Rigsdaler and 3 Skilling from Morten Lund, addressed to the Master Shoemaker's widow (now described as "*Madame st. Peter Henrichsens*"), in respect of two half barrels of beer, refers to supply and consumption of beer before, at, or after the funeral feast. On the illiterate account the date

of the supply of the beer is vaguely expressed as “*Ved Mekelig tider.*”

To my knowledge no series of condolence visits or any funeral feast is featured by Holberg. But in “*Barselstuen*” (“The Childbirth Chamber”), Holberg, in superb dialogue, vividly brings to life the gossip, appearance and background, of about a dozen artisans’ wives, who singly or in pairs call in the bedroom of a mother of their own social standing, who has just given birth to a child. Conversation and appearance are both likely to have been similar to those of the women who undoubtedly visited Christiana Margrete Hegelund. The eight pounds of coffee laid in for their enjoyment were doubtless soon consumed.

Articles of mourning bought after Tiptipoldefar’s death, in addition to those already purchased during the lifetime of the late head of the household, included a lady’s dress, mourning gloves, shoe buckles, a mourning cape, and a pair of black shoes, all for the widow. With relief one finds included in one of the bills from Shoemaker Daniel Clausen, the modest amount of 1 Rigsdaler and 1 Mark in respect of a pair of black shoes “for the elder son,” i.e. Henrich. References occur in the accounts to the cost of laying-out or dressing the corpse, which no doubt remained in the house until the date of the funeral.

From the issue of *Adresse-Avisen* published in the evening of the very day when Tiptipoldefar died, we learn that, on the next Monday, the comedy of “*Jeppe paa Bjerget*” by Hr. Baron Holberg was to be performed “*Paa den kongelige Danske Skueplads.*” That was the day before the burial of Tiptipoldefar in the northern section of the Helligaandskirkegaard, close to the place where, in 1746, his first wife and, in 1760, his second wife, Tiptipoldemor Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, had both been buried, and within 100 metres of where, since 1732/4, he had lived and worked.

On Monday, the 25th November, 1765, a brief editorial announcement in *Adresse-Avisen* informed readers that *Sr. Peder Henrichsen*, aged 73, *Skoemager Mester i Klosterstræde*, had died on the 22nd November:

Dødsfald.

Ser i Staden. Er. Joachim Friedrich Schuster, Kongel. Hof-Trompeter, død meget hastig den 25 Nov. i sit 65 Aar. Er. Matthias West, Porcelainshandler i Hiolstræde død den 19 Nov. i sit 42 Aar. Er. Peder Henrichsen, *Skoemager Mester i Klosterstræde*, død den 22 ejusd. 73 Aar.

Adresse-Avisen, 25th November, 1765.
Brief editorial reference, in the last sentence of the paragraph, to the death of Tiptipoldefar *Peder Henrichsen*.

What was the reason for not instructing Undertaker ('*Bedemand*') Sandrue, one of the tenants in the house in *Klosterstræde*, to make arrangements for the funeral? The purchase of the coffin ('6 Rigsdaler 2 Mark') and the burial plot in the churchyard of the *Helligaandskirke* ('6 Rigsdaler 4 Mark') by another undertaker on the instructions of the widow, and the digging of the grave by two gravediggers (the cost stated to have been 3 Rigsdaler 4 Mark) would take place during the long week-end between the Friday and the Monday preceding the funeral. On the Tuesday, the day of the funeral, the lengthy pealing of the church bells (which had irritated *Holberg*, and for which the bellringer's fee was 1 Rigdaler 2 Mark) would be heard. The funeral procession, seemingly on foot, there being no bills for carriages or sedan chairs, started from the house in the nearby *Klosterstræde*. The short distance soon covered, the procession of mourners, the men probably in black capes, would follow the coffin to the church's ornate main entrance then facing *Amagertorv*, watched no doubt by the elderly, female inmates of the *Petersen's Convent for Virgins* ('*Petersens Jomfrukloster*'), immediately opposite. Greeted by the singing of hymns

by the privileged choir of local black-gowned school boys (collectively paid 3 Rigsdaler 1 Mark), the bearers with the coffin, followed by other mourners, would enter the Church. (cf. illustration on p.102 of the Sixth Chapter of a similar funeral in Roskilde in 1767.) The widow and the sons no doubt would be seated in the family's pew, for which the late head of the family had been paying an annual fee of 1 Rigsdaler 2 Mark. The foetid odours from the burial chapels inside the dark, candle-lit church would cause no comment by the members of the congregation. Those present would no doubt include relatives, friends, guild-brethren, former employees, creditors and debtors. In his black gown with frilled white collar, Dean ('Proust') Lindegaard, officiating in the church and at the graveside in the northern churchyard, would address the mourners with words of consolation, undoubtedly mixed with praise for the deceased husband and father. After the coffin had been carried out, feet first, and lowered into the grave, the clergyman would strew the three symbolic spadefuls of soil on the coffin. (The modest fee received by the officiating dean was only 2 Rigsdaler.)

Once the grave diggers had covered up Tiptipoldefar's coffin in the crowded soil of the churchyard, Undertaker ('Bedemand') N. Møller, with justification, could collect from the widow his fee of 4 Rigsdaler. Including this fee, his total bill, which the widow paid but recovered from the estate, amounted to 27 Rigsdaler 1 Mark 8 Skilling. The funeral over, the traditional party of the mourners no doubt was celebrated in the house at Klosterstræde.

Modest as, according to the standards of the time, Tiptipoldefar's funeral obviously was, the carefully itemized total cost yet seems considerable. Summarized, the principal amounts are stated to have been :

	Rigsdaler	Mark	Skilling
a) The coffin (' <i>Liig Kisten</i> '), as invoiced by Joiner (' <i>Snedker</i> '), Gundersen, plus tips (? for transport)	6	2	0
b) Undertaker Møller's bill (' <i>Bedemand Møllers Reining</i> '), which included the cost of the churchyard plot (6 Rigsdaler 4 Mark), payments to the school choir, the officiating clergyman, Dean (' <i>Proust</i> ') Lindegaard, both grave diggers, their assistants, the bell-ringer and other items	27	1	8
c) Garments of mourning, in addition to those ordered in anticipation of Tiptipoldefar's death	14	1	4
d) Paid to the widow in respect of unspecified expenses incurred by her (probably mainly to cover the cost of the large meal which, at the time, customarily was served after a funeral)	40	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total cost :	87	4	12
This amount was reduced by the receipt from the Shoemakers' Guild Burial Fund (' <i>Af Laugets Liig Casse bekomet</i> ') of	34	3	0
	<hr/>		

The net cost of the
funeral to the small
estate was therefore : 53R. 1M. 12S.

And yet Tiptipoldefar had not been buried inside the Church. Depending upon the proximity of a plot to the altar, the plot's price varied from 10 to 45 Rigsdaler.

Seemingly Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen died intestate, as, at the time, most Danes appear to have done. Knowledge and acceptance of the principles incorporated in Christian V's Danish Law would in most cases render will-making unnecessary, except where the deceased had no rightful heirs. Treated as an irresponsible minor, any woman, when she married, saw her dowry and other property merged with that of her husband. If and when he predeceased her, she and her children by him, were protected by their right to compulsory inheritance, in predetermined proportions, of her husband's estate.

On her husband's death, a married woman, becoming an independent minor, the appointment of a widow's guardian ('*Lavværg* ') to act for and on her behalf became essential. Appointment of a guardian or guardians ('*Formynder* ') to act for any children not of age, was equally necessary. These were seemingly well-known and accepted procedures. Modest as was Tiptipoldefar's estate, until assets had been valued and liabilities ascertained, the worth of his estate could not be agreed and divided among the beneficiaries. It is thanks to this need for valuation that we are aware of so many details. The esteemed Jacob Thorsen, who, in 1750-52, had been *Oldermand* of the Shoemakers Guild, was appointed *Lavværg* for Christiana Margrete Hegelund, the widow. Shoemaker Daniel Clausen became *Formynder* for Andreas, while Bookkeeper Lauritz Gielstrup, the brother of Henrich's late mother, became Henrich's *Formynder*.

Prompt action was in the interest of the widow. In response to her request to the Copenhagen Magistracy, at the City Hall in Nytorv, two master artisans, *Tommermester* Lars Hasselriis and *Muurmester* Henrich Brandemann, were instructed to carry out valuation of the real property in Klosterstræde. On the day following, i.e. on the 5th December, 1765, the valuers returned the value as 1700 Rigsdaler, at the end of their lengthy report, accompanied by a detailed description of the house.

Similar action in respect of the contents of the house, as well as of the other assets of the estate, took longer. Only on the 18th January, 1766, nearly two months after the death of Tiptipoldefar, did the Court, after unsealing the house in Klosterstræde, re-assemble there under the presidency of *Monsr.* Reersløv, seemingly a court official. The record of this sitting incorporates two detailed valuation schedules. One of the contents of the house (or more correctly, the part occupied by the family), was neatly and logically prepared under nine or ten headings by two authorized valuers, *Mad.* Schowert and *Mad.* Helmer. Jointly with servants of the Court, they were paid a collective fee of 10 Rigsdaler.

Stock of raw materials and small tools, requiring professional *expertise*, was scheduled and assessed by two shoemakers, Peter Norman and Knud Møller. Records extracted from the main account book ('*Hovedbogen*') provided details of the indebtedness of the trade debtors shown to owe 350 Rigsdaler 4 Mark 8 Skilling.

In his younger days my ancestor may have been an industrious and able artisan, but as he grew older he cannot possibly have been described as a successful or careful man of business. To-day, in any well-run or progressive concern, he would certainly not have qualified for the post as credit or collection manager !

The seven titled people counted among his 49 debtors included the wealthy, cultured and gay Count Christian Rantzau (1684-1771), owner of Brahesborg Estate and a former viceroy of Norway, who was a patron of the sciences and arts. Sad to relate, Rantzau, in his dotage, became possessed by a mania to destroy historical documents. His derangement may have extended to Tiptipoldefar's bill for 3 Rigsdaler 2 Mark !

Baron Gyldenkrone, another titled debtor, lived at 71 Skindergade, owed 10 Rigsdaler 2 Mark. Also among Tiptipoldefar's debtors were academics of the nearby University.

Where the majestic white official residence of the British ambassador stands today, at the corner of Bredgade and St. Annæ Plads (then called 303 Norgesgade), lived Justice Councillor von Lindenkrone. His footman, Lundrup, owed Tiptipoldefar 5 Rigsdaler 3 Mark. In granting credit, Peder Hendrichsen was unsnobbish — or careless! In some cases, the indebtedness to him of servants or subordinates was greater than that of their masters or superiors. Justice Councillor, President of the Court of the Castle (' *Borg Rets Præsident* ') Truels Ortwed, who lived at 46 Store Cannichestræde, owed only 6 Rigsdaler 5 Mark. Yet Mr. Ortwed's un-named footman owed 9 Rigsdaler 2 Mark. And the indebtedness of Crener, a messenger at the same court, was no less than 12 Rigsdaler 2 Mark 8 Skilling. Were these generous credit terms concealed *douceurs*, or merely the result of sloth? More probably, the latter.

That collection of all these debts realized only 207 Rigsdaler is hardly to be wondered at considering the incomplete names and addresses of some of the humbler debtors, such as: Ibsen Stoker (' *Fyrbøder* '); Footman Niels (' *Tiener Niels* '); the Painter in Vognmandsgaden ; and the Blacksmith (' *Smeden* ') Ambus.

Included in one of the schedules, assiduously prepared by the two female valuers, were details not only of Tiptipoldefar's furniture, linen, kitchen utensils, etc., but of his personal garments.

Yet the total net assets amounted to only 790 Rigsdaler 5 Mark 12 Skilling, including rents receivable up to the subsequent Easter. Records must have been largely compiled, or at least completed, while the meeting was in progress on January 18th. At the beginning, the absence of Lauritz Gielstrup, Henrich's guardian and maternal uncle, is noted. Later it is stated that he had turned up, but whether the meeting began only at noon and was carried on into the evening, is not clear. From Henrich's own account we are aware that his guardian was not present during the afternoon session to help and legally represent his 17-year-old ward. In an atmosphere no doubt stifling, there were present (presumably without Lauritz Gielstrup), throughout the lengthy proceedings in the small premises, no less than thirteen persons, all carefully named, including the maid servant, Johanne Willars Datter.

The opportunity afforded by the meeting in Henrich's late father's house to address a homily to the youth was evidently grasped by *Monsr.* Reersløv, no doubt inspired and prompted both by Henrich's stepmother and Henrich's own record and demeanour.

Drafted in judicial, carefully phrased officialese, the Court record reveals only a ripple of the angry outbursts, accusations and counter-accusations which probably were uttered during what seems to have been a very long session in the house in Klosterstræde. Neighbours undoubtedly watched from outside and, when voices were raised, also listened in.

Let us join them ! The event is the only one during the lives of any of my ancestors of two hundred years ago of

which we have a second contemporary account, composed in vivid terms by one of the actors. For a mixture of eloquence, self-incrimination, atmosphere and useful additional facts, we can turn to Tipoldefar Henrich's submission which, on the 29th January, 1766, he addressed to the Copenhagen Probate Commission (*'Kiøbenhavns Skiftekommission'*).

Written about four weeks before his eighteenth birthday, by way of riposte to *Monsr. Reersløv's* homily on the 18th January, 1766, addressed to Henrich, this gem of a missile was addressed to the Court by Henrich. With circumlocution and argumentative skill, in the grandiloquent terms called for by the legal etiquette of the time, like another Erasmus Montanus, Henrich, properly addressed his philosophical comments, sarcastic remarks and factual statements to :

“ The Right Noble, High and Worthy Gentlemen of Probate Commissioners (*Høyædle, Velædle og Welbyrdige Herrer Skifte-Forvaltere !*) :

It is human to err, but inhuman (: nay, more properly said Devilish :) to persist in one's Error. The Word Error I deem to be that of a Genus, which includes within itself several Species, so that One Person's Error is in one, while that of Another is in another Manner. I confess with Repentance, Contrition and Shame, before God and Mankind, that I had begun to assume the part of the Prodigal Son. I should have expected that this my offence, which I have admitted, and at this time still continue to admit with Disgust and Grief, would have remained shielded by the Mantle of Love, the more especially by her Who should be regarded as taking the Place of a Mother ; but instead I have ascertained that she has divulged, exaggerated, and presented my Offences and Defects under a Magnifying Glass

to divers persons, and most especially to *Monsr.* Reersløv, who therefore, on the 18th January, when the Hearing for Probate anent the Estate of my Father of Blessed Memory was opened, preached to me a Thunderous or Piercing Sermon of Confession, to the which I, being a youthful Person of calm, silent Patience, the whilst he an elderly, experienced Man, attended ; but I attended to him the more particularly out of Consideration and Respect for the High and Worthy Gentlemen of Probate Commissioners, on whose Behalf and Business he was charged withal, and since that day was a Saturday, on which the Sermons of Confession are customarily delivered, I took it as being something pertinent to the Day ; above all my Thoughts dwelt upon Sirach's Word 8 Chap : 6v :

“ Reproach not a man that turneth from Sin, but remember that we are all worthy of Punishment.”

Monsr. Reersløv asserted, or else did so the rather according to the design furnished by my Stepmother, that I should pay into the Estate 80 Rigsdaler, the which monies she has alleged that I had squandered in a lecherous and dissipated Manner, and which my Father of Blessed Memory had paid on my behalf ; the whilst I then (: since my Guardian was not present in the afternoon :) had to answer for myself alone, and had to request that an Account be rendered of wheresoever and to whomsoever my Father of Blessed Memory had paid out these 80 Rigsdaler, the which claim I, with a clear Conscience, knew to be fabricated, false, and without foundation ; moreover, my Stepmother, when we added up the monies which my Revered Father had had cause to pay on my

behalf, did not prove able to account for more than 6 Rigsdaler, 5 Mark, 8 β , whereupon I myself openheartedly and truthfully added up all the monies which my Father of Blessed Memory had paid on my behalf, aside from the said 6 Rigsdaler, 5 Mark and 8 β , making in all 20 Rigsdaler, 5 Mark and 8 β .

Yet now in order to prove that this aforesaid sum was from my own Money, and not from that of my Revered Father, I must specify the monies received from the School whilst I was there.

I received from the School

A.D.	1759	.....	15	Rigsdaler
„	1760	.....	15	
„	1761	.....	20	
„	1762	.....	24	
„	1763	.....	30	
„	1764	.....	30	
„	1765	.....	30	

Total : 164 Rigsdaler.

Which said 164 Rigsdaler, I can, in concert, with the Rector & Hearers, certify that, by his own Hand, my Revered Father has received from them. Moreover, on occasion I myself have handed over to my Father of Blessed Memory small amounts from divers Perquisites, which I have earned as Deacon to Vartous-Hospital at Weddings & Funerals, and this comes to a not inconsiderable Sum, which I cannot accurately and exactly determine, howsoever, I can in truth witness to its being, at the least, some full 30 Rigsdaler.

Furthermore, my Father of Blessed Memory has received interests on the Maternal

Inheritance apportioned me, which was 250 Rigsdaler. (: My Mother brought me into this World in 1748, on the 28th of February and She died in 1760 :)

My Father of Blessed Memory has received from my Maternal Inheritance :

A.D. 1761 ...	12 Rigsdaler	3 Mrk-β	in interest
„ 1762 ...	12	„ 3 Mrk-β	„ „
„ 1763 ...	12	„ 3 Mrk-β	„ „
„ 1764 ...	10	„ - Mrk-β	„ „
„ 1765 ...	5	„ - Mrk-β	„ „

Total ... 52 Rigsdaler 3 Mrk-β

Wherefore my Father of Blessed Memory has had in all from money belonging to me
246 Rdlr 3 Mrk -β

Now when therefrom is taken away the monies paid out on my behalf ... 20 Rdlr 5 Mrk 8β. I have in the Estate of my Father of Blessed Memory, aside from any inheritance which may befall me, an Evident Indebtedness to me still outstanding of 225 Rdlr 3 Mrk 8β.

At the Hearing, I had neither the Wit nor the Wisdom, inasmuch as to claim from the Estate of my Revered Father an obvious Debt from monies that came to me, both from and during my time at the School, and which were received by my Father of Blessed Memory, also, as previously stated, my Guardian was not in attendance in the Afternoon : but I have since spoken with legally-acquainted Persons about it, as well as having been told the same by my Guardian, and that is, that all the Monies which I obtained from and at the School, and have handed over to my Revered

Father, ought to be returned as a Debt to me, and be paid out from the Estate of my Father of Blessed Memory: Wherefore I do most humbly aver that the 194 Rdlr., which is the Amount I obtained from and at the School and at Vartous-Hospital and have handed over to my Father of Blessed Memory, should be repaid to me from out of his Estate, wherefrom should be taken away the 20 Rdlr. 5 Mrk. 8β, being the amount paid out on my behalf, and this means that there is an evident Indebtedness from the Estate of my Father of Blessed Memory, of 173 Rdlr. –Mrk. 8β, whereto should be added the Interests from my Maternal Inheritance of 52 Rdlr. 3 Mrk., making the whole of my proper Claim in the Estate of my Father of Blessed Memory, fully 225 Rdlr. 3 Mrk. 8β.

I am of the persuasion that a Father, by *Jus Naturæ* and by our Danish Law, ought to furnish his Son with Food and Clothing of wool and linen, as well as to provide for the Expenses incurred in the pursuance of his Studies until he attains his 18th year (: which, as is previously stated, I do not attain until the 28th February in the present year :).

My Father of Blessed Memory has given me the following (: As One Person and Another has heard him to say :) his Silver Rapier, One Danish Bible, the late Professor Ewald's 'Discourses' in 5 volumes, Brocmand's 'Household Homilies,' 'True Christendom' by Arentz, Which Items I do therefore pray and presume be delivered me from the Estate.

After and According to the Valuation I request that I may have the following Items (: as I am in need of both wool and linen :),

namely : my Revered Father's Casaquin, One Red Crimson Suit, Gown, Waistcoat and Breeches, One Black ditto, 10 Shirts belonging to my Father of Blessed Memory, 6 Cravats, 6 prs. of Half-Sleeves, 6 Pocket-Handkerchiefs. Moreover, as my Step-Mother has at divers times shewn me the Door, and speaking quite plainly, has said that so soon as the Probate was at an end, I should seek somewhere else to live, I may, as soon as I have sustained the Examination *Philosophicum* this Spring, ensure Entrance either in *Collegio Regio* (: also called Regentzen :) or at one of the other Colleges, and as when this happens I shall also need sundry Pieces of Furniture, I still, after and according to the Valuation, do request me the following Items, Namely : Two Under-Quilts, One Top-Quilt, Three Pillows, 2 prs. of Tow-Linen Sheets, 6 Hand-Towels, the Oak Bureau belonging to my Father of Blessed Memory (: as my Step-Mother has besides two Chests, one Treasure, and 3 or 4 Large Chests :), Three Russian Leather Chairs, One Folding-Table, One Pewter Tea-Pot, One Copper Tea-Kettle, 3 Pewter Plates, One Brass Candleplate with Scissor-Snuffers, One pr. of Knives and Forks, One Looking Glass from those standing in the Parlour, One Pewter Bowl, 3 prs. of Tea-Cups, One Silver Spoon, One pr. of Silver Sleeve-Buttons, and One pr. of Silver Knee-Buckles.

In order that the House, out of the Income from which my Revered Father only paid interest on 900 Rdlr. to Holmens Fattige Skole, shall not be retained by my Step-Mother for a Bagatelle, nor according to the Valuation, it should be stated that the Apartments within the House yield every Half-year 118 Rdlr. in Rent. The House consists of 7 Apartments

and to each of them belongs the Parlour, a Bed-Chamber, Kitchen & Cellar, and to three of them a small Chamber besides. There shall be paid for the Apartments in which we ourselves now dwell, from Easter till Michaelmas, the Amount of 30 Rdlr. in Rent. For the Apartments on the other Side.....18 Rdlr. For the first Storey.....18 Rdlr. For the first Storey on the Other Side...14 Rdlr. For the second Storey.....13 Rdlr. For the Second Storey on the Other Side11 Rdlr. For the Garret to which my Step-Mother will be moving there has been bid10 Rdlr. For a small Chamber there shall be paid in Rent from Easter till Michaelmas 4 Rdlr.

Total.....118 Rdlr.

Which is the Amount due every Half-Year in Rents for the Apartments within the House.

This is the statement, which I have found myself obliged to make, for the High and Worthy Gentlemen of Probate Commissioners. Because what I shall have, I shall have now, since I can expect nothing from my Step-Mother later.

I do finally request your Favourable Assistance, Remaining

The Right Noble, High and Worthy
Gentlemen of Probate Commissioners ’

Most Humble Client and Servant,
Henrich Petersen.

Copenhagen, the 29th
of January, 1766.”

Kiöbenhavn d: 29^{de} Januarij
 1766
 In Gjæld, Vindeldn, og Vindbyrdigs
 Gjørns Skjøn = Forvaltnis.
 Allnøjduiggstn Klient og Linnens
 Henrich Petersen.

The salutation and signature at the end of Henrich Petersen's memorandum of submission to the *Skjækommission* dated Kiöbenhavn d: 29de January 1766.

(Actual size.)

Henrich's resentment at the fact that three-quarters of the small estate were to accrue jointly to his stepmother and his half-brother is evident. The effect was that, with nothing but a few odds and ends, he would be called upon to leave what until his father's death he had rightfully looked upon as his home.

Amused at his sarcastic style as some members of the Court may have been, such an approach is unlikely to have helped his case, although sympathy for him was clearly evident. But by stating that his stepmother should have the House neither 'for a Bagatelle, nor according to the Valuation,' Henrich obviously overshot his target. Clever, as he was in his play with words, Henrich overlooked the fact that his approach was not logical and, by dismissing both alternatives, he was to prove his own worst enemy.

Considering that the Stepmother, in her own right, was entitled to 50% of the net value of the small estate, an impasse would have resulted, if his contention had been accepted. Unlike his stepmother, Henrich had nothing to gain by a quick decision. Already on the 18th February, 1766, the Stepmother who, under the jurisdiction of her guardian, appears to have acted as administratrix of the estate, delivered to the Court a complete record of the cash collected and the bills or claims still outstanding. Minor queries were enumerated by her, these being coupled with a heap of abuse (possibly justified) against Henrich, but no major point seems to have been at issue, nor to have arisen later from her conduct or remarks.

On the 28th February, 1766, on his eighteenth birthday, Henrich attained his majority. But it was not for almost another month (and two months after his written submission to the Court) that, on the 25th March, 1766, the Stepmother replied to his missive and put forward observations and suggestions of her own :

For a long time, she contended, Henrich had led a lecherous and wicked life . . . sold and squandered most of that which his father of blessed memory had given him . . . and since obtained as much on credit as he could . . . yes, behaved in such a manner that her husband of blessed memory several times had to save him from being conscripted as a soldier. And when eventually her late husband had had to pay accounts of Henrich's, he had found it necessary to announce in the newspapers that no-one should grant Henrich any further credit. Furthermore, subsequent to her late husband's death, it was alleged that Henrich had assaulted her both with abusive language, and with blows and buffets !

Difficult to handle as the tempestuous Henrich must have been in childhood and youth, proving then, as well as later in life, to be argumentative, and, at times, also irresponsible and dissolute, I am still conscious of a debt of gratitude to him. Left behind both written and printed material. Tipoldefar is the only one of my remoter ancestors whose personality and life one can attempt to piece together.

Some seven months from January to August, 1766, the legal battle was concurrently carried on by the contending parties in two separate, but overlapping manners : by way of three discursively composed written submissions to the Court, and at fourteen verbal hearings. Subject to two exceptions, both Henrich and his guardian figured in all these forays, including the hearings. Once Henrich failed to turn up in person at a hearing, leaving his guardian to represent him in Court ; conversely, on another occasion, he appeared unaccompanied by the guardian.

To us, the lengthily phrased written submissions (two by Henrich, interleaved by one by his stepmother) are the more interesting sources of information and entertainment. The significance of the fourteen hearings,

recorded separately in brief entries, written in a cramped handwriting in the Court Journal, is more difficult to interpret.

By its composition, grammar, and vocabulary, the solitary written submission by the Stepmother reveals that she must have enlisted professional aid. Her weakness for phonetic spelling shown elsewhere is not evinced in this document. Neatly, as well as accurately, written, the submission must have been composed by her professional adviser or scribe, who is likely to have been someone other than the invaluable Daniel Clausen, the guardian of Andreas, or her own guardian, Jacob Thorsen, the other shoemaker. The schizophrenic authorship of the Stepmother's sole communication to the Court is evident. Responsible for the strategy and formalistic phraseology of the submission, her professional draftsman ('*Concipist*') was obviously frequently interrupted in developing his reasoning, led astray and requested to emphasize the obvious, by his client. In its final form, beautifully calligraphed in Gothic lettering, and blemished only by a few mistakes of spelling and punctuation. Christiana Margrete Hegelund's submission to the Court must have resulted from one or several conferences between the scribe and his widowed, determined client. Traces of the Stepmother's indignant, emphatic phraseology intermingled with legal jargon, caused at least one inconsistency in reasoning, which the scribe must have overlooked.

Her submission to the Court, dated the 25th of March, 1766, and signed jointly, as it should be, by her and her guardian, reads:

“ The Right Noble, High and Worthy Gentlemen of Probate Commissioners!

When an Error is shewn in its proper Perspective, it can be explained thus: that through Want of better Persuasion Man's

Wisdom accepts the False for the True. My Step-Son, *Studiosus* Henrich Petersen, has for a long While, and that especially since he became a Student, led a most lecherous and wicked Life. He has sold and bartered away the most of what his Father of Blessed Memory has given him, and then has bought on Credit for as long as he could obtain any, indeed, he wrought such havoc that my Husband of Blessed Memory had to save him on divers Occasions from being impressed as a Soldier; at long last as my Revered Husband had had to pay his Debts for him with such frequency, he was obliged to announce in the Newspapers that No-Body should grant his Son Credit in the Expectation of receiving Payment from him. After the Death of my Husband of Blessed Memory, not only has he persisted in this Vein, but has gone so far of late as to assault me with Abuse, even unto Blows and Buffets.

Such Mode of Living and Behaviour can truly be said not to occur through Error, the more so as he, *qua* Student, ought to be in a Position to appreciate that it is wrong, and it must of necessity follow therefore that it happens from Malice aforethought.

Wherefore I reserve my Right as to Time and Place to sue and prosecute him by lawful Means, for what he has perpetrated against me.

What may have moved my aforementioned Step-Son, or his Draftsman (*'Concipist'*), thus to impugn *Sr.* Reerslev, as was done in the Plea submitted, is beyond my Comprehension, for All who know *Hr.* Reerslev, see in him a Person who discharges the duties of his Office as he should, and as one who does not meddle in such Particularities. It is therefore impossible

to conclude other than that either his malicious Humour, or that of his Draftsman, has not dared to express itself as much as it would have liked against me, for Fear of well-deserved Punishment, and has had to vent a part of its Spleen on an innocent Person, who is quite disinterested in the Estate and that Matter.

The great Effort that my Step-Son has made in his Plea to explain as to how much money his Father of Blessed Memory has received from the School, and as to how much the Interests amounted from his Maternal Inheritance, he could well have spared, because it is undeniable that the Money received from the School—as is wisely laid down by the Founder—is intended the rather to supplement (*'soulagere'*) the Parents of the Students somewhat with the considerable Expenses involved in the many Years of maintaining them at such Publique Schools in the Pursuance of their Studies.

And as my Step-Son cannot now deny that throughout this Time he has received the necessary Food and Clothing from his Father, it must be apparent that neither this School Money, nor the Interests from his Maternal Inheritance, have been anywhere near sufficient, without taking into Consideration that he has also had some of this School Money by way of Clothing from the School, and so it is only a little of this which his Father has had in Specie; furthermore, neither he nor his Guardian, Sr. Gielstrup, has previously made the very least little Murmur concerning these Monies arising out of the administration of the Estate of his Mother of Blessed Memory, and yet the first two Years following that Time have

already elapsed, since Probate took Place on the 25th of November, 1760.

I do therefore take exception to this unjust Claim, and demand that the Estate be wholly absolved from it.

It is quite unbeknown to me that my Husband of Blessed Memory should have given my Step-Son the aforementioned Silver Rapier, nor does it seem at all likely either, as in that case he would not have pawned the same at the Assistentz Huus. Consequentially, I cannot permit him this Claim, but in order to shew all possible Complaisance, I, for my Part, have nothing against letting him have it at its Valuation, once it has been redeemed.

So far as the Books are concerned, it is wholly incorrect that these have been given him. As it appears from the List of Items of the Estate that they are not all to be found there, nor indeed do they all exist, as he states, and such Books as are in the Estate, are of the Sort for which a Learned Man ought not to find much need, but are more useful to me, I do humbly claim possession of these Books, according to the Valuation.

Concerning the Clothing demanded and so forth, I, for my Part, do have nothing against allowing him, at their Valuation, his Father's Casaquin, his Black Raiment, Three Pairs of Sleeves, Three Cravats, and Four Pocket Handkerchiefs. Partly because he has no need of the Remainder, and in Part, because I cannot do without them, as I must have some Things for my own Small and unrealed Son, who shall soon be in want of the most necessary Articles, I cannot allow him to have these.

Should the Opportunity arise for my Step-Son to lodge at a *Collegio* or Regentzen, I have nothing against handing him, according to the Valuation, One Pair of Quilts, One Pair of Pillows, together with One to 2 Pairs of Sheets, although he must be content with the Bedding in whatsoever state he finds it, as the Bedclothes in the Estate are not very good and it is surely not to be expected of me that he shall have those, on which I myself lie.

Concerning the Remainder of his Demands on the Register of the Estate, the Articles referred to are of such a nature that I cannot possibly do without them, unless on the Day after I should buy them anew, or otherwise substitute them, which it was unfair to contend.

The Furniture and Effects which now remain, I do contend should be allotted me at the Valuation, as highly necessary Things in my (*sic!*) House, and as something which I cannot do without.

I know not what can have swayed my Step-Son to envy me the House of the Estate for the Sum at which it is valued, which is certainly all that it is worth. Be it admitted, that more than just the Interest may be obtained on this Sum, it is sufficiently well-known that in these Times, heavy Imposts are incurred by Houses here in this City ; moreover, the House is an old Half-Timbered House, which needs one considerable Repair annually, to which must be added that neither my Step-Son, nor his Guardian or Warden *Hr. Gielstrup*, disapproved of his Father of Blessed Memory assuming possession of this very House from his Mother's Estate, when it was valued at only 1500

Rigsdaler during the Administration of her Estate, which was granted Probate on the 25th November, 1760, and from which I humbly beg leave to enclose an Excerpt. If then it was only worth that Sum six years ago, it must now be worth far less, as in all that Time no repairs have been undertaken, and the older a Half-Timbered House becomes the lower its Price, and yet however, this notwithstanding, the same has now been valued at 200 Rigsdaler higher.

The Respected and Learned Court of Probate will appreciate therefore that the Remonstrances made against the aforesaid are wholly without Cause or Foundation, in addition to which the Estimation of the Rents is Exorbitant, as these do not amount to nearly so much. My most humble contention therefore becomes that this House belonging to the Estate be granted me in the Sum of Valuation for 1700 Rigsdaler. Moreover, it should be remembered that a Mistake was made in the Transcription of the Accounts, and that is, that 20 Rigsdaler 2 Mark were not included in the Estate, which is the Sum for which the Rapier and Other Items belonging to my Husband of Blessed Memory were pawned at the Assistentz Huus. The Estate ought not to be Debited for these 20 Rigsdaler 2 Mark, but on the contrary, should be Accredited with the Value of the Rapier and the Other Articles. Besides this, 4 Rigsdaler on the Debit Side have been forgotten, which is the Interest due on the Mortgage from the 11th December until the 11th April of this Year, as I have accredited the Estate for a full half Year's Rent until Easter Removal Day ('*Flotte-Tid*').

In Conclusion, I reserve my Right to debit the Estate further with Subsistence ('*Kostpenge*') until such Time as the Administration of the Estate be terminated.

I abide with deepest Respect,
The Right Noble, High and Worthy Gentlemen
of Probate Commissioners'

Most humble Servant,
Christina Margrete, Widow of Blessed
Hendrichsen.

As Widow's Guardian : J. Thorsen.
Copenhagen, the 25th day of March, 1766."

As a result of the delay experienced in obtaining probate, Christina Margrete Hegelund evidently reached a position where, out of his own pocket, Daniel Clausen, Andreas's guardian, advanced to her such sums as were necessary to cover her reasonable living expenses. Daniel Clausen's helpful action is revealed by the individual receipts signed and countersigned by her own guardian, Jacob Thorsen, the total being ultimately recovered by Daniel Clausen from her share of the estate. Henrich's two written submissions, in spite of a suggestion to the contrary by the Stepmother in respect of the first one, both appear likely to have been composed unaided by my then 18-year-old Tipoldefar.

Disregarding the young Stepmother's abuse of Henrich and her picturesque account of his past misdeeds and shortcomings, her attitude seems to have been not only reasonable but also constructive.

By way of response, Henrich, in his second written submission to the Court, dated the 14th April, 1766, repeats his self-incriminatory statement of his earlier life of lechery. Some of his stepmother's accusations he partly denies, others he ignores, while one he feebly attempts to explain away. Aware that the best form

of defence is attack, however, he in turn accuses his stepmother of inheritance fraud, and vaguely tries to impugn her character ('*Gemyt*'). For good measure he also attempts to blur the issues and to influence the Court in his favour by defending the reputation of his late father, who, he suggests, has been accused by his stepmother in her submission of being a rogue ('*Skielm*'). Finally, originating oddly from him, he presses the Commission for an early decision, "without further waste of time."

Henrich's second submission to the Court, dated the 14th April, 1766, reads :

"The Right Noble High and Worthy Gentlemen of Probate Commissioners!

Since the Nature of Philosophy is such that it can ever be further elaborated upon, it appears to me that the Interpretation of the Word Error ought not to be prescribed according to the Principles governing Philosophy. But the rather to invite Every-Man to retain his own individual Idea concerning it, that befits him best. Howsoever, it is well-known by All, that No-Body can rid himself from all His Failings at one and the same time, wherefore a Keen-witted Man in ancient days once declared :

Difficile est lacitos naturae abscendere motus

(It is difficult for the mind to spurn the provocations of Nature)

Difficile est ponere quae placuere diu

(How hard it is to cast aside what was once so pleasing).

And yet I still do not present this as a Defence before the weighty Indictment charged against me by my Step-Mother, namely that I

should have persisted in my lecherous Life, for that Accusation is false and unfounded, indeed solely fabricated so as to bring the Wrath of Every-Body down upon my Head ; of all Accusations the one that to me appears the most outrageous, is that I should have permitted myself to assault my Step-Mother with Blows, which is not at all what took place, though the Accusation is wholly founded in that. What did take place is that, since She was conducting herself in an improper Manner towards me (: namely by taking my Hat away from me :) I was obliged to push Her from me ; Every-Body can see as a consequence of this that such an Accusation is false, but nonetheless I offer to re-imburse Her for all the Harm that She claims to have suffered on this Occasion. But insofar as my Step-Mother (: as is manifest to All :) is employing False as well as Truthful Accusations, No-Body can deem it to be unjust, that I should in like Manner avail myself of every Means for the Purpose of my Defence, for which reason I must state three Charges against Her, to wit, the First is that She has committed Fraud by Inheritance (' *Arve-Svig* ') (: although this be but a somewhat slight Charge, yet do I mention it, Partly so as to reveal her Character, and in Part with a view to my Defence :) the second Charge is that She has, quite contrary to the Law, so dispensed the Estate as to suit Her own Convenience by selling some of the Items belonging therein. The Third Charge, which is the most shameful, is that She has bestowed the Name of Scoundrel (' *Skielm* ') upon my Father whilst he is but recently in his Grave. That such is not at all the way of it does not call for much Explanation here, inasmuch as

Every-Body who knew him knows that he followed the Life and Conduct which is meet and becoming to that of an Honest and Upright Man, and does not therefore deserve to bear the Name of Scoundrel.

These Three Charges do I offer to prove, Where and When it may be demanded of me, and I reserve my Right in Each and every Respect, insofar as I may be entitled in these Circumstances, so to do.

As to the Arguments (: set forth by my Step-Mother concerning my Pretensions pertaining to my School-Money, together with Her Arguments that She shall not retain the House according to the Sum of the Valuation, nor accede to my Request for the Effects according to the Valuation :) it should be stated that I do not in any way share Her views whatsoever, and it seems to me that they are not ones worthy of any Answer, wherefore my most Humble Request to the High and Worthy Gentlemen is that they shall pronounce Their Judgement in this Matter so as to avoid further Waste of Time, the more so as I have no Intention of forgoing the Pretensions made by me in the Plea previously submitted to the High and Worthy Gentlemen.

These are the facts which I have the Liberty of making known to the High and Worthy Gentlemen,

I remain,

The Right Noble, High and Worthy Gentlemen's Most Humble Client and Servant,

Henrich Petersen.

Copenhagen, the 14th
April, 1766.”

The previous autumn, shortly before his father's death, Henrich must have begun his studies at the University. On the 1st May, 1766, he passed his first minor exam ('*Filosofikum*'). His request for a speedy verdict by the Court was about to be granted, with greater celerity than the 18-year-old youth had perhaps expected. On the 13th May, 1766, engrossed in an imposing looking document, above the widely differing signatures of the four exalted commissioners, Messrs. F. Horn, N. Nissen, G. Hofgaard and O. Bruun, was delivered by the Court : '*Decision udi Peder Hendrichsens Stervboe.*'

The findings pronounced seem fair and reasonable. As Henrich had queried the valuation of the house, which was the principal asset of the estate, he was offered the opportunity to have the property re-valued, at his own expense. Sensibly, most of the wearing apparel for which he had asked, he was allowed, but none of the furniture, quilts, etc. and other contents of the house over and above those which, in her submission, his step-mother had already offered him, and the value of which in any case would be included in his quarter of the net proceeds of the estate. The same view was adopted by the Court in respect of the silver rapier pawned by Henrich. Some of his more ingenious claims were swept aside, but so were several of the arguments advanced by the Stepmother. The hapless tailor's claim was admitted to be payable by the estate and so, likewise, was the claim made by the bookseller, as well as that made by *Studiosus* Lund.

The document of the Decision was seemingly produced at the Hearing on the 13th May, 1766, when Henrich, who turned up alone, immediately applied for, and, in spite of opposition by his stepmother's two representatives, obtained, a fortnight's adjournment. In substance, because the findings of the Court were not accepted by Henrich, their implementation was suspended. What happened next? Disappointment, rage, a sense of

The image shows four handwritten signatures in cursive script. The top signature is the most legible, appearing to read 'Hans Nicolai Nissen'. Below it are three more signatures, the first of which clearly begins with 'Horn'. The signatures are written in black ink on a light background.

The bizarre and impressive looking signatures of the four commissioners, which appeared on the document giving the Decision delivered by the Court on the 13th May, 1766.

(Actual size.)

Of the signatories, Fr. Horn seems to have been a lawyer. The second signature was that of *Etatsraad* Hans Nicolai Nissen (1704-1771), a well-to-do flunkey, who had become a city councillor and, shortly before his death, was the subject of a lampoon.

Sigurd Jensen : *Lakajismen og Københavns Magistrat Omkring 1770. Historiske Meddelelser om København, p.29, Arbog 1973, Copenhagen 1973.*

injustice or of impotency caused Henrich, as alleged by him at the Hearing on the 15th July, 1766, to appeal direct to the absolute King. Once more, Henrich's persuasive charm did the trick. In spite of the protest by one of the Stepmother's representatives, the entry, for the umpteenth time, tells us briefly: "The Court granted the requested adjournment."

A synopsis of Henrich's petition to the King appears in the Journal of incoming communications of the Privy Council ('*Supplik Protokollen 1766, Ref. 205, Danske Cancellie*').

The substance of his complaint was that the Court of Probate had accepted the valuation of 1700 Rigsdaler for the house in Klosterstræde. Henrich suggested that the property should be sold at public auction to the highest bidder, so that he might benefit accordingly. This, he added, was needed by him all the more, as his stepmother had completely washed her hands of him and even tried to slander him!

The communication having been sent to the Magistracy for comments, the Privy Council (*Cancellie Collegium*), on the 4th August, 1766, was informed that the *Supplicant* had been prone to prolixity ('*Vitløftighed*') but that the decision had been given on the 13th May. If not satisfied with the valuation, it was open to Henrich, at his own expense, to have the House revalued, or to summon the valuation masters to appear in the Court of Probate to affirm their valuation on oath.

If the *Supplicant* would not acquiesce in the Decision pronounced, he could appeal to '*Oberretten*.' On the 14th August, 1766, the Privy Council in its journal, stated that it saw no reason for further consideration of this matter.

Elsewhere in the fortified Capital, drama had also been enacted. On the 14th January, 1766, a few days before the tempestuous session in the house in Klosterstræde. King Frederik V, who in his latter years had deteriorated into a physical and mental wreck, died at the age of only 42. By the grace of God and accident of birth, his 16-year-old son and hereditary successor, a gifted but spiteful and depraved character, had become, as Christian VII, the absolute monarch of the two kingdoms as well as duke of the twin duchies. This was the boy sovereign, a year or so younger than Henrich, to whom, by way of petition, Henrich, the young university student, appealed. Alas, as could almost have been foretold, the outcome seems to have been fruitless. Then, and later, Henrich was to prove another Don Quixote. Starting in mid-winter, the Hearings, even after the Decision had been pronounced on the 13th May, 1766, went on at roughly fortnightly intervals, resulting in the financial discomfiture of the Stepmother, her guardian and that of her son. The pattern of each Hearing was almost identical. The Stepmother's representatives would press for the Decision to be made operative; in turn, Henrich by charm or pretext would obtain another adjournment. The purpose behind these requests for adjournment is not clear. Were they merely reflections of chicanery? Intended only for official perusal, the journal of Resolutions of the Copenhagen Magistracy is more informative than the reply to Henrich's petition. The journal, seemingly written on, or shortly after the 14th August, 1766, by fourteen named members of the Magistracy for the guidance of the King's advisers, injudiciously commenced by stating that the petitioner, Henrich Petersen, was known to be both a boozier and a long-winded character ('dissipated, or had had several, rapidly following on another, affairs with members of the opposite sex') ('*henfalden til Sviren og Vitloftighed*'). Who was the helpful informant supplying the members of the Magistracy with such

Behandlingsprotokol XI - 1761-71 pag. 408

1766, den 15. juli blev udj Kiøbenhavn's Rådhuus foretaget
Session angaaende følgende Skifter:

17, Peder Henrichsen, Skoomagers. Sønnen mødte og begierede
Skiftet udsat til hånd erholdte Resolution paa een
til Hans Majestat indgived allerunderd. Anseegning.
S^r Müller mødte med S^r Thorsen og påsted Skiftet uden
Ophold sluttet.
Retten bevilgede den begierede Anstand.

18, - - - -

On the 15th July, 1766. when asking for another adjournment, Henrich supported his request with the statement that although he had appealed to the King, he had not yet, in reply, received the royal resolution. His stepmother's representatives opposed the request, but Henrich's persuasive charm again carried the day, and the Court granted his request.

The original of Henrich's petition to the King has not been traced. But references made to it on, the 28th July, and, the 14th August, in the correspondence journals of the Privy Council (*Danske Cancellie*) and the Copenhagen Magistracy indicate the commendable celerity with which the authorities dealt with such correspondence. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Henrich's statement, on the 15th July, that he had petitioned the King, was accurate. More likely it was only an expression of intent.

unflattering information, true as it possibly was? The inhabitants of Copenhagen still numbered barely 100,000. Seven months earlier, in his statement to *Skiftekommissionen*, Henrich, however, had referred to himself as 'a prodigal son.' This must have set tongues wagging. Do we need to look beyond Henrich's step-mother for the source of the unsparing description of Tipoldefar offered by the City fathers to the King's officials? Henrich must have realized that he was fighting a losing battle. Possibly because of this, at the Hearing on the

**Extract from the Copybook (summary of letters received) of the
Copenhagen Magistracy, 1766 B (2nd half-year) :**

p.44.

The 28th July, 1766.

Henrich Petersen, in a petition to the King, states that, at the probate after his father, shoemaker Peder *Hendrichsen*, his stepmother has been assigned the house at the valuation of 1700 rd ; But as this is of much greater value, he prays that it may be offered at public auction.

Submitted for declaration.

**Extract from the Journal of Resolutions of the Copenhagen
Magistracy, 11/6/1766—16/11/1768.**

p.57.

Most humble declaration. The 4th August, 1766 :

The petitioner, *Hendrick* Petersen, who has been addicted to boozing, verbosity and dissipation ('*Sviren og Vitløftighed*'), following probate of the estate after the death of his father, Shoemaker Peder *Hendricksen*, has contended that the house belonging to the estate should be sold by auction.

On the 13th May, last, the Court of Probate pronounced the Decision. If the petitioner is not satisfied with the valuation of the house, it is open to him either at his own cost to have this revalued or, to have the valuers called to appear before the Court of Probate and, on oath, confirm the valuation, according to the 4th section of the public notice of the 31st July, 1754.

When the petitioner will not acquiesce by this Decision he can appeal to the Higher Court ; we are most humbly of the opinion that there cannot in the application made by the petitioner be anything to reflect upon, as this would be an attempt to deprive the widow of the Country's law and justice.

We remain,

Most humbly,

With Devotion unto Death,

von der Lühe,

Schrödersee. Koneman, Fadder. Horn, Næsastor, Nissen, Falch.
Hace, Bachman, Hofgaard, Wiliebrand, Horn, Casse, Liunge, Suhr.

Reference to the names of the four signatures of the Decision by the Court of Probate which had been delivered on the 13th May, 1766 (p.150), indicates that some members of the City Magistracy are likely to have been identical with these judges. Their judgment of Henrich's personality and the simple issue raised by him in his petition is, therefore, unlikely to have been unprejudiced.

26th August, 1766, he expressed satisfaction with the Decision, as formulated in May. Probate being granted, the estate, after a further four months, was wound up on the 2nd January, 1767.

For the next two hundred years, the file, with all its documents, was probably left undisturbed and unread.

Not a rich man, Tiptipoldefar still died solvent. If he had survived for another two or three years, it is doubtful whether he would have done so.

The total assets, including the house, were proved as 2359 Rigsdaler 5 Mark 3 β . After the deduction of liabilities (including the mortgage of 900 Rigsdaler) of 1666 Rigsdaler 1 Mark 4 $\frac{1}{2}\beta$, the net value was a mere 693 Rigsdaler 3 Mark 14 $\frac{1}{2}\beta$.

Entitled to a quarter of the estate, Henrich, therefore, received only 173 Rigsdaler 2 Mark 7 $\frac{5}{8}\beta$, including the garments and other articles which he chose to accept. Deducting the estimated value of these, reduced the cash which he received to 133 Rigsdaler 5 Mark 7 $\frac{5}{8}\beta$.

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Kiøbenhavns Skiftekommissions Behandlingsprotokol 1761-71.

Hendrichsen, Peder. Skoemager, XI, 378, 382, 386, 389, 390, 395, 397, 400, 402, 405, 408, 411, 416, 417.

Kiøbenhavns Skiftekommissions Forseglingssprotokol 1765-67, p.173.

Helligaandskirkes Begravelsesprotokol 1757-1813. 26. November, 1765.

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København Stadsarkiv : Indkvarterings Mandtal 1748/49.

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Printed :

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Acknowledgments and Thanks :

To my son, Patrick Graucob, for suggestions about the translation from Danish into English of Henrich's and his stepmother's submissions to the Court of Probate.

To *Højesteretssagfører, Dr. jur. J. Günther Petersen*, Copenhagen, for advice on and information about Danish Law in 1765/66.

To the Rev. John L. Hudson, for identifying the reference in the Danish original to the extract from 'Syrach' and quoting the verse in the English of the Authorized Version of the Bible. (The quotation, he states, is from "The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach," commonly known in England as Ecclesiasticus, and appears in the Apocrypha, between the Old and the New Testaments. Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen refers to it as Chapter 8, Verse 6, but in the Authorized English (King James) version of the Bible, the statement appears in Chapter 8, Verse 5.)

To Mrs. Marie Louise Jørgensen, "Danmarks Kirker," Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.

NINTH CHAPTER :

Dorothea Blech (1752-1807) from Studiestræde, Henrich Petersen's Bride, who became my Tipoldemor

1681-1807 Until shortly after 1750, when the writings of Rousseau gradually began to make their influence felt throughout Europe, about 80% of the population of Denmark consisted of ignorant and downtrodden peasants. Most, slow in their mental reactions, were suspicious of their social superiors. Since 1660 the country had been governed personally by the absolute king through the medium of a small *élite* of officials, supported by most of the few large landowners, mainly of German origin, as well as by the royally-appointed clergy and officers of the navy and army. With a few exceptional yeomen and tenant farmers in the country, and artisans, minor shopkeepers, innkeepers and other members of the *petit bourgeoisie* in the towns (of which only Copenhagen was of consequence), constituted the minority of 20%. Possibly half of my maternal ancestors of that period belonged to the latter segment of the population.

With one exception, all my 32 *Tiptiptipoldefædre* (Great-great-great-great-grandfathers) probably spent almost the whole of their lives in one place: in Sjælland; in, or close to, Copenhagen or Ringsted; or in Jutland, Fyn or Holstein. None is likely, in intellect or in accumulation of worldly wealth, to have equalled Holberg, who, broadly speaking, was their contemporary.

The exception as far as property is concerned, was Mads Ibsen Knie, described both as a skipper and a

bargee ('*Skipper og Prammand*'). Shortly before the 18th August, 1752, he died in Copenhagen, at the age of about 75, leaving his three sons and four daughters the sizeable gross fortune of 6422 Rigsdaler. He was a man of enterprise and some importance, who during his long life had accumulated moderate wealth — whether by fair means or foul, we do not know. In Copenhagen, in 1759, there were 265 master skippers, but only 16 master bargees. And Mads Ibsen Knie, at the time of his death, for 30 years (1722-52) had been both. Amongst his assets was the house at old *Matrikelnummer* 27 Lille Cannichestræde (1969: Street No. 3), where until his death he lived with his youngest, unmarried daughter Iohanne, born in 1729.

What else do we know about this enterprising and successful ancestor of mine? He seems to have spent a more roaming and adventurous life than most of my other known forefathers. Before recording our knowledge of him, let us have a look at his father-in-law, Jens Andersen Bierring, another Jutlander. Bierring having also settled in Copenhagen, one of his daughters, Dorrete, married Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie.

In 1681, the first traceable reference to Jens Andersen Biering (also, later, referred to as Bjerre, Bierg, Bjerg and Bierring) appears in the Journal of the Copenhagen Guild of Wheelwrights (later renamed to include the trade of Coachmakers). Evidently two years behind with his clerical duties, the writer of the entry in the Journal states that, at Michaelmas 1679, a '*Dreng*' from Jutland, Jens *Biering*, had been apprenticed for three years to "the honest and well-esteemed wheelwright," Niels Clemmendsøn. Jens Andersen must have been about 25 years of age, but the description of him as a 'boy,' may merely have inferred that, up to then, he had served no apprenticeship. Entitled, in 1682, to discharge by his master as a qualified journeyman,

Mandagen d. 10 Sept: 1688

Jens Anderson Bierg huihmand blev Indtegnat at være
 Mester: Laugit efter at have indtegnat af Older Manden af de
 4 Elsted Mestere som dyctig fikend, hvorfor de pålayde til Older M.
 4 Rdlr, and de foruden at være Older Mand forny af Liudig
 M. J. den 10 Sept 1688

By courtesy of Københavns Stadsarkiv.

(‘Magistraten og Laugene i Almindelighed, No. 6.’)

(Actual Original size.)

Extract from the Journal of the Wheelwrights Guild, certifying that, on Monday, the 10th September, 1688, Tiptiptiptipoldefar (whose name was rendered as ‘Jens Anderson Bierg’) after inspection of his masterpicce, was admitted as a master to membership of the Guild.

Spelled incorrectly in archaic Danish, and written in Gothic script, the original reads :

‘Jens Anderson Bierg huihmand svend blev Indtegnat at være mester i Laugit
 efter at hans Mesterstycke af Older Manden och de 4 Elsted Mestere var
 dyctig Erkient, hvorfor hand Erlagde til Older M. 4 Rdlr, och der
 foruden at være Older Manden horig och Liudig.’

Tiptiptiptipoldefar must have been satisfied to continue to work for Niels Clemmendsøn. Whether the attraction to do so was partly or wholly the presence of Niels Clemmendsøn's daughter, we can only surmise.

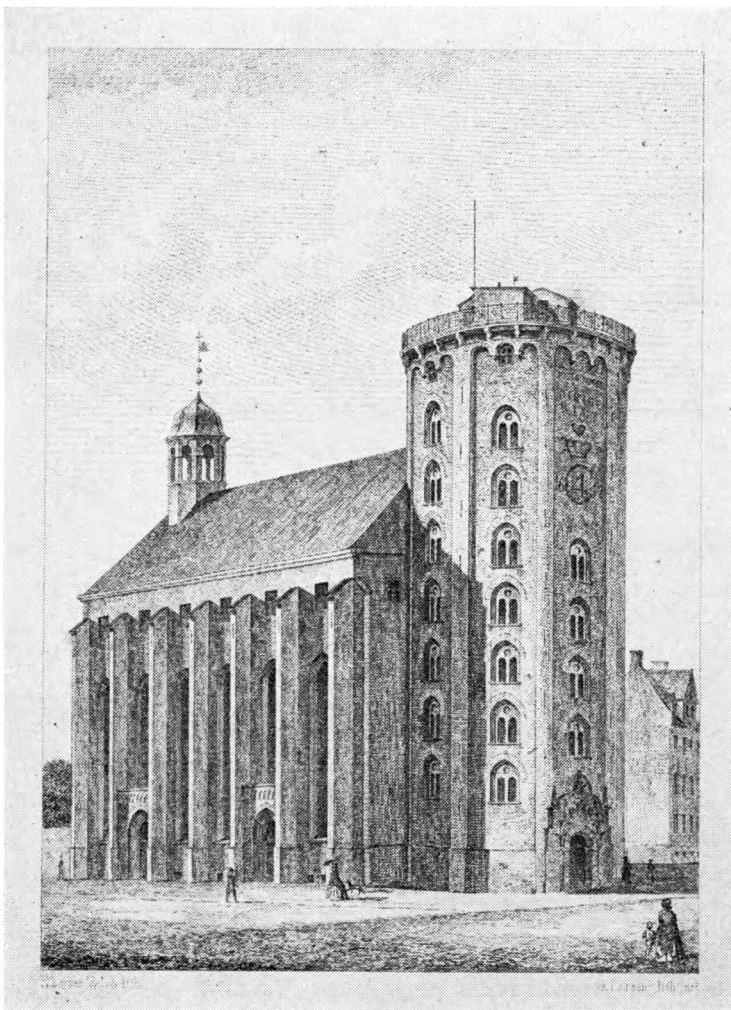
Not until 1686 did Bierring leave his employer. By doing so, he became entitled to work for other masters as a journeyman, for the confirmation of which privilege he is known then to have paid a fee of 1 Sletdaler to the *Oldermand*. 1686

Two years later, on the 10th September, 1688, submission by the wheelwright journeyman of his masterpiece took place. Inspection and approval by the *Oldermand* and the four oldest master wheelwrights resulted in the granting of membership as a master to '*Jens Anderson Bjerg*,' on payment of a further fee, this time of 4 Rigsdaler. 1688

When and where Jens Andersen Bierring was married, and when, as a master wheelwright, he established himself on his own account, is not known. The Church Book of Trinitatis Kirke (next to the Round Tower) tells us that, on the 3rd October, 1689, Jens Andersen and Bente Nielsdaatter of Springgaden had christened in the Church a son called Anders. (The street in which the couple evidently lived is now the northern section of Pilestræde, between Møntergade and Landemærket, but, until 1881, was known as Springgaden.) 1689

The surname of the child's mother, Bente Nielsdaatter, i.e. the daughter of Niels, suggests that she may have been the daughter of her husband's former master, Niels Clemmendsøn, and his wife Anne Clemmendsen, who, years later, in December 1699, was described as a widow, carrying on business as a wheelwright, at *Kiøbmagger Gaaden*.

If correctly indentified, Niels and Anne Clemmendsøn seem, going back another generation, to have been two of my 256 *Tiptiptiptiptipforældre*.



In Trinitatis Kirke (*the left portion of the building*), Copenhagen, Tiptiptipoldemor Dorrete Jensdatter Bierring (the wife-to-be of Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie) was baptized on the 15th June, 1691. The adjoining Round Tower (*'Rundetaarn'*), built some 50 years earlier as an observatory by King Christian IV, is mentioned in "The Tinderbox" (*"Fyrstøjet"*) by Hans Christian Andersen.

U D S K R I F T

af

Virkebogen - dåb og vielse - for TRINITATIS KIRKE i København 1660-92
fol.190^b

DORRETE

Anno 1691, den 15. Juny hafde JENS ANDERSEN og
BENTE NIELSDATTER i Springgaden et Barn til
Daaben kaldet D O R R E T E.

Katrins Peder Madsens holt det; Ricart Bagers Hustru
udj Compagnie Strede bar det; Lauritz Mouridtsen,
Renteschrifver Jøren Meinike Brøger og Hans Ollesen
Brøger Fadere.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 8. september 1970

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator



Gebyr: kr.6,50

Extract from the Journal of Christenings and Marriages, solemnized in Trinitatis Kirke. 1660-92, certifying the baptism, on the 15th June, 1691, of Tiptiptipoldemor Dorrete Jensdatter. Three male Copenhagen citizens were present, presumably as godfathers; also present were Ricart, the baker's wife, and Katrine, Peder Madsen's daughter. Was the Peder Madsen referred to identical with *Oldermand* Peder Madsen, whose name, for several hundred years, was commemorated in the name of the notorious lane of *Peder Madsens Gang*? (cf. caption below picture on p. 191.)

Whatever her parentage, however, Bente, indubitably, was another Tiptiptiptipoldemor of mine. The second of the four children to whom Bente is known to have given birth by *Hiulmand* Jens Andersen, was a girl, christened in Trinitatis Kirke. On the 15th June, 1691, this infant was given the name of 'Dorrete.' With minor variations in the spelling, the use of this Christian name by her female descendants was continued for another five generations. The last, direct bearer of the name in our branch of the family, was that of my own Moster Bertha. (Bertha Dorthea Otbøll, b. 15/12/1871, †24/1/1940.)

Let us, however, revert to the seventeenth century. Two years after the christening of Dorrete, on the 19th June, 1693, Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen Bierring bought for an unspecified sum, from all the inheritors of the late Christian Beverlin, the property at old *Matrikelnummer* 27 Lille Cannichestræde, near to Springgaden. Many years later, in 1729, the house was described as having had before the 1728 Fire, five inter-axialled timber-framed supporters facing the street and eleven similar supporters facing the yard. Records of the Municipal Billetting Census, dated the 23rd April, 1694, less than twelve months later, reveal that Jens Andersen Bierring was then living at his property at Lille Cannichestræde, where he was assessed for taxes and rates. In similar semi-annual or annual Municipal Billetting Census records, his name regularly appeared at the same address for many years, the last time in 1727.

The site of the wheelwright's property was later to remain in the ownership of his son-in-law, Mads Ibsen Knie until 1752, when shortly after the death of the latter, the property and site were both sold by auction.

As early as on the 28th April, 1690, we know that Master Bierring had had indentured to him his first apprentice. Over the next thirty-seven years (28/4/1690—27/4/1727), some thirty boys or youths were taught

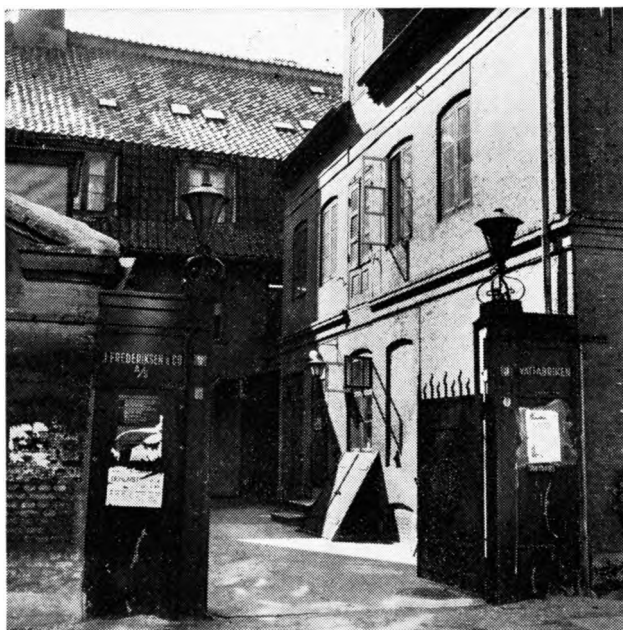


Photo August, 1970, by Tommy Frenning.

The property today (1970) standing on the site known as Lille Kannikestræde 3. (Old *Matrikelnummer* : 27, new : 26, present : 36.)

The house standing on this site was purchased on the 19th June, 1693, by Tiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen Bierring (b. abt. 1654, †1735). His daughter, Dorrete, married, on the 4th June, 1714, Tiptiptipoldefar Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie (b. abt. 1677, †1752). After Knie's death, the property was sold on the 28th September, 1752.

Bierring's property was destroyed in the 1728 Fire. By 1733, the property had been rebuilt by Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie.

In 1748, assessed for fire insurance at a value of 2000 Rigsdaler, the property was described as a three-storied brick-built building. This building, which faced the street, had a basement, and was fitted with nine iron stoves. Ceilings and wall partitions were fitted with painted panels and other coverings. In the yard behind the main building was a smaller and lower, cross-built, partly timber-framed building, which, provided with five inter-axialled supporters, terminated in two garrets. In the yard stood a fresh water pump.

Table No. 5. (Ninth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to
Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen (Bjerg) Bierring, master wheelwright, of Copenhagen, and some of his descendants.

Generation 1 : Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen (Bjerg) Bierring, b. abt. 1654 in Jutland, possibly in Bjerring Parish, Middelsom Herred, Viborg Amt. Apprenticed, Michaelmas 1679, apparently not until the age of about 25, to Niels Clemmendsen, a wheelwright, in Copenhagen; 1686 : journeyman; 10/9/1688 : master wheelwright; 1717 : *Oldermand* of the Guild. His name first appears in 1681 in the Journal of the Copenhagen Guild of Wheelwrights (later : *Karøemagerlauget*) ; Resident, in 1689, with his wife, Bente Nielsdatter, in Springgaden (200 years later to become known as the northern section of Pilestræde). (Bente Nielsdatter may have been the daughter of her husband's former master and Anne Clemmendsøn. In December, 1699, the latter, then described as a widow, carried on business in her own name as a wheelwright at *Kiøbmager Gaaden*.) Their (? first) child, Anders, was christened 3/10/1689, in Trinitatis Kirke. Bought, 19/6/1693, property at Old *Matrikelnummer 27 Lille Cannicestræde*; From 28/4/1690 to 27/4/1727 Jens Andersen Bierring engaged thirty-odd apprentices. Shortly before, during, or in consequence of, the Great Fire in October, 1728, when he was about 74, he seems likely to have become decrepit. Described, in 1729 as formerly a wheelwright (*Hulmand*), after the Great Fire he was evacuated with his married daughter, Dorrete, and his son-in-law, Mads Ibsen Knie, to Christianshavn. His name was not included in a schedule of the members of the Guild prepared in December 1730. His son-in-law, Mads Ibsen Knie, referred, 14/9/1733, to the rebuilt property in Lille Cannicestræde as "my house." m. probably abt. 1688 Tiptiptiptipoldemor Bente Nielsdatter, b. abt. 1653. She was buried 27/4/1713 at Vor Frue Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. The cause of her death, at about 60 years of age, following six months of illness, was described as consumption (*'Brystsye'*). She bore him at least four children, the youngest when she was about 43. He died aged 81, and was buried, 5/9/1735, also at Vor Frue Kirkegaard, Copenhagen.

Children :

- a) Anders Bierring, chr. 3/10/1689 Trinitatis Kirke, Copenhagen.
- b) Tiptiptipoldemor Dorrete Jensdatter Bierring, chr. 15/6/1691 Trinitatis Kirke, Copenhagen, m. 4/6/1714, Vor Frue Kirke. Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie (see under Generation 2 and refer

- also to Table No. 6). She died aged 50, and was buried 28/12/1741 at Vor Frue Kirkegaard.
- c) Marie, chr. 9/6/1694 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen.
 - d) Niels Bierring, chr. 15/6/1696 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen.

Generation 2 : Tiptiptoldemor Dorthea Jensdatter Bierring, as already stated in Generation 1b, chr. 15/6/1691 Trinitatis Kirke, Copenhagen, as 'Dorrete,' buried 28/12/1741 Vor Frue Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. m. 4/6/1714, Vor Frue Kirke, Tiptiptoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie, 'Icelandic' Skipper and Bargee, b. abt. 1677 in Jutland (probably in Djursland, near Grenaa), buried 18/8/1752 in the northern section of Vor Frue Kirkegaard. Residence: 27 Lille Cannichestræde (1969: Street No. 3). At his death, he also owned property in Strandstræde. Trading licences (*Borgerskab*) obtained in Copenhagen: 6/4/1712: as a Skipper; 24/10/1722: as a Bargee (*Prammand*). The couple had at least ten children, of whom 4 daughters and 3 sons were alive at the date of their father's death. Probate granted: 30/1/1753. Left: 6422 Rigsdaler gross, 5899 Rigsdaler net.

Children

(All christened in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen) :

- a) Anders Knie, chr. 27/9/1715. †before 16/8/1727.
- b) Marie Madsdatter, chr. 9/1/1717. m. 26/3/1738, Vor Frue Kirke Jørgen Paulsen, Ropemaker, Snaregade, Copenhagen. †after 30/1/1753.
- c) Anne Madsdatter Knie, chr. 3/6/1719. †4/8/1719.
- d) Jens Knie, chr. 26/1/1722, described as a '*Skibs Kapitain*' in the 1772 and 1775 editions of *Kjøbenhavns Veyviser*, and shown as resident at 193 Fiolstrædet. m. Margrethe Elisabeth Spotoft. At the christening, 23/6/1751, Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, of their son, Christopher, two captains (both of *Det Asiatiske Compagnie*) attended as godfathers. The parents' address was given as Lille Canichestræde.
Another child of theirs, Dorothea Elisabeth, was christened, 19/11/1762, in *Holbæk* Church. †? (Jens Christian Knie, a son of *Skibscapitain* Peder Jensen Knie and Maren Kirstine Knie, *née* Tange, b. 2/12/1791, chr. 3/1/1792, Chensura in Bengal, was his grandson.)
- e) Anne Madsdatter, chr. 14/8/1723, m. 18/10/1743, Vor Frue Kirke, Jørgen Lind, Goldsmith. From 1743 to 1748 lived at the property of her father at 27 Lille Cannichestræde. 14/12/1744 and 3/1/1748: their children, Johannes and Friderich were christened in Vor Frue Kirke. Godfathers who attended the former christening included the celebrated jeweller, Christopher Fabritius '*i Wimmelskaftet*.' Also present were: Rasmus

Knie, 'Skipper i Nye Hafn' (presumably the father of the slaving captain to-be), and the maternal uncle of the infant. *Reebslaer* Jørgen Poulsøn i Snarregaden, 1748-1756 at 195C Store Grønnegade. Trading licence as a Jeweller in Copenhagen 6/7/1740. Bankrupt Estate closed 25/5/1756. †1768. His works include Altar vessel ('*Alterkalk*') in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen.

- f) Cathrine Madsdatter Knie, chr. 10/2/1725. †before 30/1/1753.
- g) Tiptipoldemor Dorothe Madsdatter Knie, chr. 15/1/1726, m. 1st time 19/3/1745 and 2nd time 15/8/1759. †after 1767. (For details see below under Generation 3d, e, g and h.)
- h) Anders Knie, chr. 16/8/1727. †after 30/1/1753.
- i) Søren Knie, chr. 31/1/1728, Goldsmith in Kalundborg. †5/1/1816, aged 88, at 53 Toldbodgaden, Copenhagen, buried 10/1/1816. Unmarried, he left an estate of 13,861 Rigsdaler net, of which Henrich Petersen's 5 surviving children (plus the children of one who was dead) inherited 1,068 Rigsdaler. Trading licence : Kalundborg 26/1/1759—11/1/1797. His works include : Buckle in Kalundborg Museum, Sign of Blacksmiths Guild dated 1803, Danske Folkemuseum. (Nationalmuseets III. (Afd.) Teapot (Mark : SK). Chr. A. Bøje : Danske Guld- og Sølv Smedemærker, Copenhagen 1946, p.238.)
- j) Johanne Madsdatter Knie, chr. 14/9/1729, still unmarried 9/5/1752. †after 30/1/1753. Present 9/5/1752 at the christening in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, of her niece, Tipoldemor Dorothea Sorensdatter Blech.

Generation 3 : a) Not married to any descendant of Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen Bierring, Sophie Paasche (also referred to as Sophie Thomasdatter) provides an indirect, explanatory link-up in this genealogical account. She was the daughter of Thomas Paasche, the sexton ('*Graver*') at St. Petri German Church in Copenhagen. As her first husband, she married Aquavit Distiller Svend Erichsen, who lived, and owned the property, at *Nørre Qvarteer, Old Matrikelnummer 96 Studiestræde*. Resident within the parish of Vor Frue Kirke, Svend Erichsen was buried on the 13th October, 1727, at St. Petri German Churchyard in Copenhagen. Presumably, his father-in-law's occupation made the cost of the funeral there less than if he had been buried in the churchyard of his own parish.

Details of the Probate of his estate are dated the 11th October, 1727, two days before his funeral.

- b) Less than four months later, on the 4th February, 1728, his widow, described as Sophie Thomasdatter Søstrup, was recorded in Vor Frue Kirke Church Book as having been married at *her* house in Studiestræde, to Tiptipoldefar Søren Andersen Blich (or Blech), b. abt. 1703. Referred to as a footman or manservant ('*Tienner*'), the bridegroom is presumably identical with that 'Søren Andersen' who, on the 16th November, 1729, when obtaining his trading licence in Copenhagen, as a '*Brændevinsbrænder,*' stated that he had been born in Jutland.
- c) After 16 years of seemingly childless marriage, Sophie Thomasdatter died in 1744 from consumption ('*Schwindsucht*'). Written in German, an entry in the Funeral Journal of St. Petri German Church records that she was buried "*auf den alten Kirchhof,*" on the 12th October, 1744.
- d) Five months later, on the 19th March, 1745, the widower, Tiptipoldefar Aquavit Distiller Søren Andersen Blech, aged about 43 years, married as *his second wife*, my then 19-year-old Tiptipoldemor Dorothe ('Dorthe') Madsdatter Knie. The wedding, which took place three years after her mother's death, in the young bride's father's house in Lille Cannichestræde, was recorded in Vor Frue Kirke Church Book.
- e) Tiptipoldefar Søren Blech and Tiptipoldemor Dorothe Madsdatter Knie had three daughters and one son. On the 30th June, 1759, three years after their father's death, these children were described as follows:
 Mads Sørensen Blech, 5 years old,
 Sophie Dorthe Sørensdatter, 10 years old,
 Birthe Sørensen Daatter, 9 years old,
 Dorthe Sørensen Datter, 7 years old.
- The youngest of these daughters, Dorthe Sørensdatter Blech, who was born on the 5th May, 1752, (also called Dorothea) and christened on the 9th May, 1752, in Vor Frue Kirke, was my Tipoldemor. (For further details of her, see under Generation 4.)
- f) On the 31st August, 1756, Tiptipoldefar, described in the Funeral Journal of St. Petri German Church as '*Søren Blichs, Bierschenker in der Studiestr,*' is recorded to have been buried, also '*auf den alten Kirchhof,*' Additional details: '*53 Jahre. Schlag,*' obviously referred to his age and the cause of his death being a stroke.

- g) Nearly three years after Tiptipoldefar's death, Kinsmanship Probate ('*Samfrændeskifte*') was granted on the 30th June, 1759, at the request of the widow, Tiptipoldemor Dorothe Madsdatter Blech. The estate was insolvent; the liabilities were 1990 Rigsdaler, while the assets amounted to only 1874 Rigsdaler.
- h) Six weeks later, on the 15th August, 1759, as recorded in Vor Frue Kirke Church Book, Tiptipoldemor Dorothe Madsdatter Blech, after nearly three years of widowhood, was married to *her second husband*, Christian Friederich Møller, a Chandler journeyman ('*Hørkræmmer-svend*'). By him, Tiptipoldemor had at least two children, viz. :
 Charlotte Møller, b. 10th May, 1760,
 Søren Møller, b. 20th April, 1762.
 Tiptipoldemor's second husband, though known to have been alive when their second child was born, apparently died before Easter 1767, as the occupier of the house was afterwards shown as his widow. Details of the subsequent life, including the address(es) of Tiptipoldemor Dorothe Madsdatter Møller, and the date and venue of her death, are unknown to us.

By the 5th January, 1816, when her younger, unmarried brother, Søren Knie, the wealthy Goldsmith, died in Copenhagen, aged 88, she was obviously dead. In the detailed grant of probate after Søren Knie, which constitutes a mine of information regarding members of the Knie family, their spouses and descendants, no reference is made to her. Two of her deceased daughters, however, and their descendants, are mentioned by name. (*Another researcher, Orla Bakke (1899-1968), obviously also failed to trace the date and place of her death.*)

Generation 4 : Tipoldemor Dorothea Sørensdatter Blech, b. 5/5/1752, chr. 9/5/1752 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen. †1/9/1807 Toksværd. m. 29/12/1779 Garnisons Kirke, Copenhagen, *cand. theol.* Henrich Petersen, b. 28/2/1748 Copenhagen, chr. 1/3/1748 Helligaandskirken. †16/1/1827 Toksværd. They had 7 children, of whom 3 daughters and one son were alive at the date of their father's death.
 Refer to Table No. 9. (Eleventh Chapter.)

Generation 5 : Refer to Table No. 10. (Twelfth Chapter.)

Generation 6 : Refer to Table No. 11. (Thirteenth Chapter.)

the mysteries of his craft by Tiptiptiptipoldefar. The young prospective wheelwrights were from Jutland, Sjælland and the old Danish province of Halland, though oddly enough, never from Copenhagen.

Another two children were christened Marie and Niels, on the 9th June, 1694, and the 15th June, 1696, respectively. But the removal from Springgaden, across Kiøbmagergade, to Lille Cannichestræde, had resulted in a change of the family's parish church. Both these baptisms are therefore recorded as having taken place in Vor Frue Kirke.

On the 18th December, 1699, a request was made by the Director of the Police in Copenhagen, C. Rasch, to the *Oldermænd* of the Wheelwrights Guild, Andreas Rasmussen, "the sooner the better" ('*jo før jo bedre*') to render a return of the names and addresses of the master wheelwrights. Why the request? The need for haste must have seemed obvious, and prompt compliance no doubt resulted. The illiteracy of the *Oldermænd* (revealed by his inability to sign his name on the reply by more than his three initials, in block letters) must have impelled him to instruct a scribe to complete the requested schedule. This is confirmed by the undated draft or copy of the details submitted, in response to the missive. The request, the draft and the schedule are all still extant in the City of Copenhagen Archives. 1699

Listed, by way of a reply to the request by the Director of the Police are the names and addresses of eighteen guild-brethren, including Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen, and the widows of two master wheelwrights who carried on the trade of their late husbands; one of those widows, named Anne, the widow of Niels Clemmendsøn, may have been the mother-in-law of Jens Andersen Bierring. She would thus have been my Tiptiptiptipoldemor.

Once again, in 1699/1700, Denmark was at war. And, as so often in the past, it was with Sweden, the almost hereditary foe. The urgency of the request for information by the Police Director of Copenhagen was therefore reasonable, while the need for wheelwrights' products was vital. Earlier in 1699, on the 25th August, King Christian V had died, and his 28-year-old son, Frederik IV, who succeeded to the throne, had decided to commence his reign by covering himself with martial glory in a war of revenge and reconquest. In Sweden, his much younger, but also abler, cousin, Charles XII (b. 1682), who reigned from 1697 to 1718, had become monarch two years earlier, at the age of fifteen. It was, however, not until the 4th August, 1700, that the dashing, courageous, young king of Sweden, in personal command of a force of invasion, was to establish a bridgehead at Humlebæk, north of Copenhagen. To return to 1699, Christmas was approaching. Belatedly, the Danish authorities must have come to recognize the need, in preparing for warfare, to accord high priority to the output of wheelwrights. Brief and unsuccessful as were the Danish efforts during the 1699/1700 campaigns, *Tiptiptiptipoldefar* seems likely, during the winter of 1699/1700, as well as during the following spring and summer, to have taken a modest part in the Danish rearmament drive.

Executed on the 18th August, 1700, in Travental, (Holstein), the peace treaty between Denmark and Sweden terminated the war between them. The Great Northern War continued between other powers. The early years of the 1700s constituted a period of prosperity for Copenhagen. Increase in the number of applications for *Borgerskab* (trading licences) reveals this fact dramatically. In 1701 the number was only 165 ; by 1703 it had reached 243, but in 1704 it had jumped to 441. Later, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, the figure slumped, in 1705 to 195, and in 1706

to 199, but until 1715, the long-term trend remained upward. Even in the Plague Year of 1711, 203 applications were made, to be followed, in 1712, by no less than 332 applications. It was a certain sign that, pestilence or war, Copenhagen was a trading city, living up to its native name of *Kiøbenhavn*, where one could make money by buying and selling.

During these years, the young absolute monarch of Denmark was, however, not only a devotee at the temple of Mars, but as a gay monarch, also, a worshipper at the altar of Venus. In 1692, while crown prince, as a tourist, he had visited Venice and Rome. Why not indulge in another Italian trip? On his itinerary he could again include Venice and other Italian city states. *En route* through the Holy Roman Empire, he could by his presence, honour and be entertained by, cities and princes, at Nuremberg, Innsbruck, Dresden, Potsdam and Berlin. Thanks to the caprices of their absolute monarch, Tiptiptiptipoldefar and his wheelwright *confrères* were given the opportunity to appear in the wings of the stage of contemporary Danish history, while, on the European Stage, the inadequate Frederik IV tried to cut a dashing and consequential figure.

Preparations for the unwisely-timed overland visit to Venice, in 1708/09, by King Frederik IV must have provided profitable work for the wheelwrights of Copenhagen. Unable as we are to identify Tiptiptiptipoldefar's share, it seems highly probable that, directly or indirectly, prosperity must have accrued from the preparation of the vehicles necessary for the journey of the King and his 96 officials and attendants. On the 2nd November, 1708, they set out on the long continental journey in order that the King might enjoy the gaiety and festivities of the carnival season in the still sovereign and powerful State of Venice. A most elegant travelling coach had been designed and

constructed for His Majesty. Not until nearly nine months later, on the 27th June, 1709, did the King, on his return, reach Frederiksborg Castle at Hillerød.

Jens Andersen Bierring, we must assume, was enterprising, skilful and industrious, and over the years continued, almost annually, to engage low-cost apprentices. This included one boy indentured, on the 2nd August, 1711, during the year when the severe plague epidemic, sweeping through the capital, claimed as its victims one-third of all the population. Only a pious note which has crept into the phraseology of the entry regarding the apprentice in the Guild Journal of that dreadful year testifies to the fear and fortitude of Jens Andersen Bierring and some of his surviving wheelwright brethren. (*Anno 1711 dend 2 Augustj Hafver Erlig og Velagte unge Karll . . . Vinde sit Borgerschab til nestkommende fløttetid ved Michelj indeværende Aar, saa frembt den Gode Gud forleener hannem saalenge frit og Helsen . . .*)

Two years later, in 1713, Tiptiptiptipoldemor Bente *Jens Bierings Hiulmands* died at the age of 60, following six months' illness with consumption. On the 27th April, she was buried in the northern section of Vor Frue Kirkegaard. (This was the part of the churchyard which, following the destruction by the British bombardment in 1807, was laid out as, and today remains, the ornamental square between Vor Frue Kirke and the University.)

From 1712 (but possibly earlier) Bierring's life must have become increasingly intermingled with that of another Jutlander, Mads Ibsen Knie, often referred to as an 'Icelandic' Skipper, about 23 years younger than his future father-in-law. Who was he and what was his background?

The Scandinavian nations owe a debt of gratitude to Iceland for having preserved the pre-Christian cultural heritage of the Nordic nations. Iceland's remoteness



By courtesy of Københavns Stadsarkiv.

Written with a flourish, this signature of Tiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen (Bierring) appears in the Journal of the Guild of Wheelwrights, dated the 2nd August, 1711, the dreadful year of the Plague. The added word 'Bisidder' indicates the position of the signatory as an assessor.

(Original size.)

Table No. 6 (Ninth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to my probable Identikit Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jep Andersen and his two (or possibly three) sons and some of their descendants :

Jep (or Ib. these two names being synonymous) Andersen, smallholder (*Husmand*), is known to have lived in 1688 in the village of Kni (formerly spelled Kny and Knij), Ørum Parish, Nørre-Dyrs Herred, near Grenaa, in Djursland (Jutland). †1692, 62 years old.

Generation 2 :

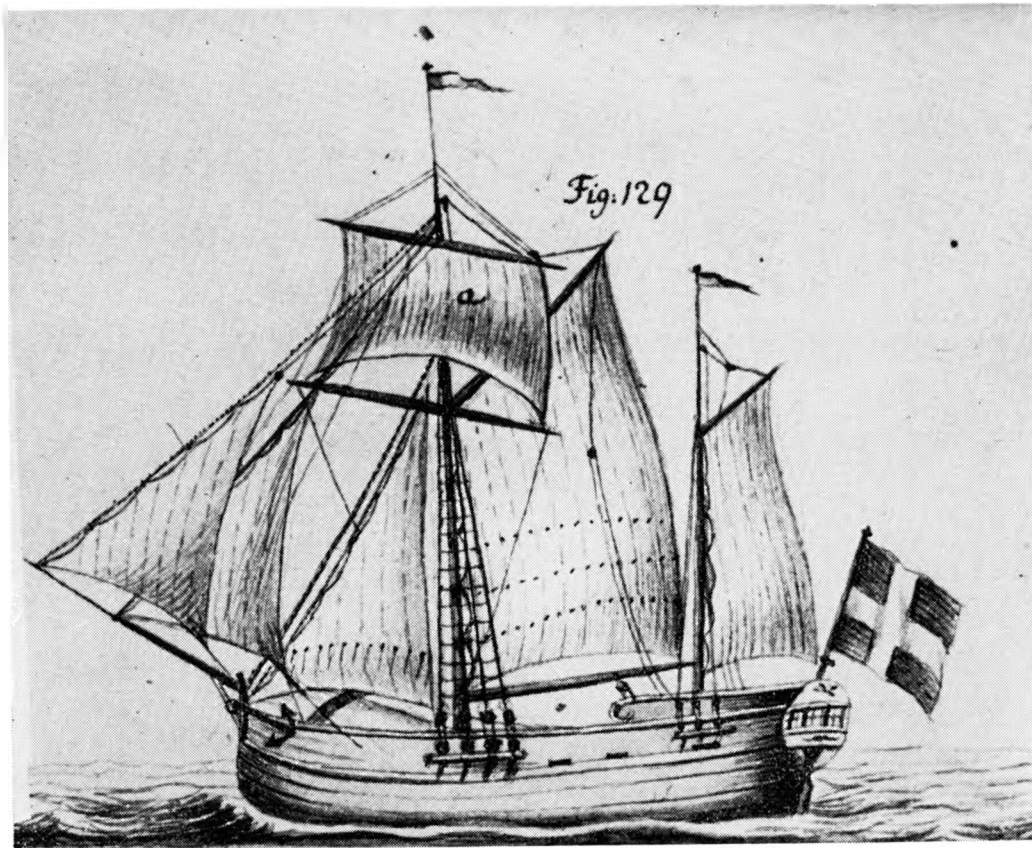
Children :

- A) Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie, 'Icelandic' Skipper and Bargee, b. abt. 1677 in Jutland, buried 18/8/1752 Vor Frue Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. m. 4/6/1714 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen. Tiptiptipoldemor Dorrete ('Dorthea') Jensdatter Bierring, chr. 15/6/1691 Trinitatis Kirke, Copenhagen, buried 28/12/1741 Vor Frue Kirkegaard, Copenhagen.

For further details of Mads Knie, his wife, and their ten children, refer to Table No. 5, and other parts of this Chapter. Of the three sons surviving him, only the eldest, in 1772/75 referred to as *Skibs Kapitein* Jens Knie, adopted a sailor's career. Jens (Madsen) Knie appears to have been in charge of three voyages to Tranquebar and China in 1742/3, 1748/50, 1761/4. (Refer to Sources quoted at the end of this Chapter. (*Rigsarkivet.*))

A maritime calling was also pursued by the son of the latter, Skipper Peder Jensen Knie, and by his grandson, Jens Christian Knie, who we know was christened on the 3rd January, 1792, in Chensura (Bengal), by a German Protestant missionary, and who, we know, have been still alive 27/1/1817, in Copenhagen.

- B) Rasmus Ibsen Knie is known to have been a brother, almost certainly younger, of the above Mads Ibsen Knie. But it was not until the 11th March, 1726, fourteen years after Mads had obtained his own trading licence in Copenhagen, as a skipper, that Rasmus made application for his '*Borgerskab*' as a skipper ('*Rasmus Knieg søed i Jylland vil være Skipper*'). Rasmus married Anne Jensdatter (who survived him), though when or where, we do not know. From the Kronborg Sea Records, we learn that twice, as captain in command, Rasmus passed Helsingør. The first time was in 1729, when he was in charge of the "St. Thomas," while the second time was in 1732, when he was in command of the galliot ('*Galliot*') "Kiøbenhavn," both small vessels of only 16 *Læster* (approximately 32 tons). After his death, which occurred on the 3rd February, 1751, in Copenhagen, some eighteen months before that of his prosperous, widowed brother, Mads Ibsen Knie, he was not, however, described as a skipper but as a bargee ('*Prammand*'). Rasmus left five children and an insolvent estate; probate was granted only on the 18th January, 1755, nearly four years after his death. His brother, Mads Ibsen Knie, had been the guardian of Rasmus Ibsen Knie's children. This



*By courtesy of Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg.
(MS : 'Forsøg til en Dansk Søe-ord-bog,' about 1750.)*

Photo 1971 by H. Hauch.

The vessel shown above, is similar in appearance and size to the galliots "St. Thomas" and "Kiøbenhavn," of 16 *Læster* each, which are known, in 1729 and 1732, to have been captained by Rasmus Ibsen Knie, a brother of Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie.

was a responsibility which, after Mads Ibsen Knie's own death, was assumed in respect of the minors by Jens, the elder son of Rasmus (see below).

Rasmus Knie, '*Skipper i Nyhafn*,' was described as one of the two godfathers, who, on the 14th December, 1744, was present in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, at the christening of Johannes, the elder son of Jørgen Nielsøn Lind, Goldsmith, of Lille Cannichestræde, and his wife, Marie Madsdatter Knie.

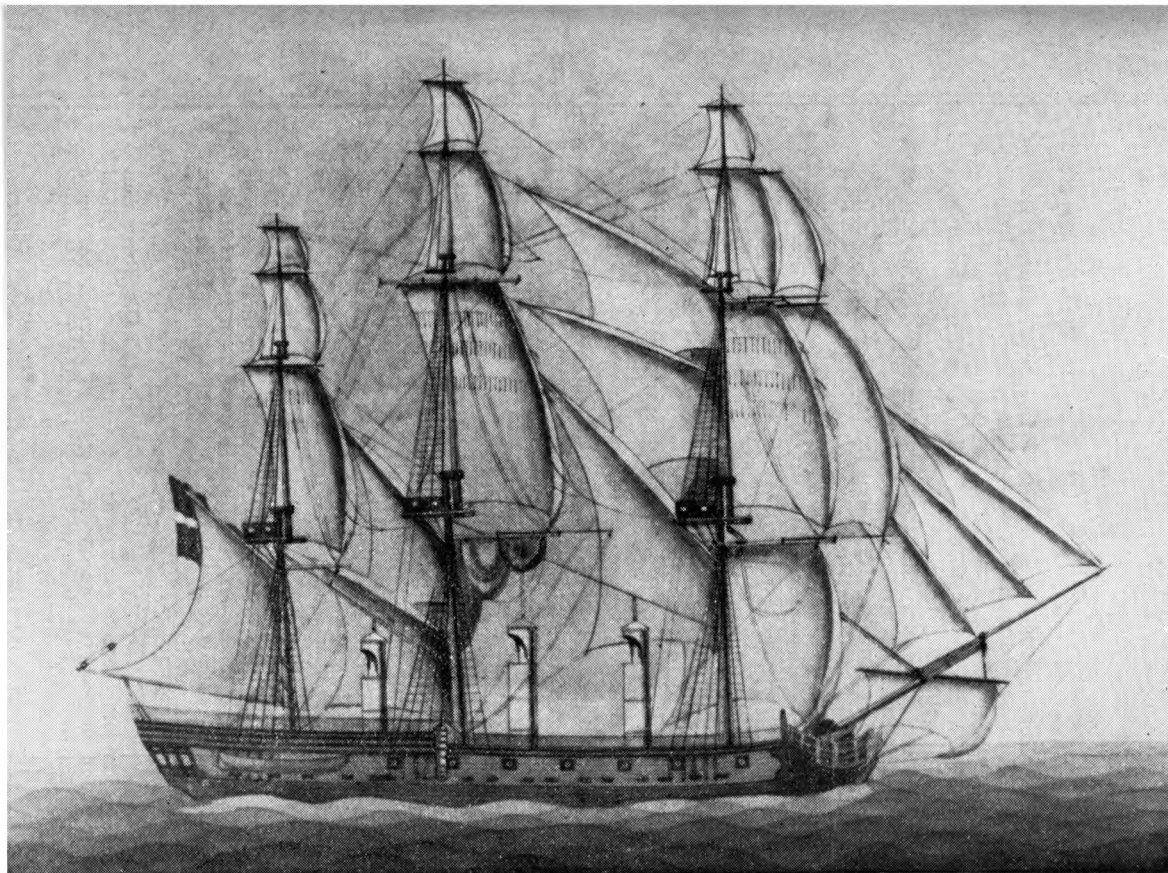
Children :

- a) Jens Rasmussen Knie, almost certainly the eldest of five surviving children, must have been trained as a sailor. Circumstances or temperament seem likely to have caused him, at an early age, to assume the part of the brutal maritime dare-devil of his day. In 1749, nearly two years before his father's death, and long before obtaining his trading licence in Copenhagen as a captain, he was given command of a large vessel of 96 *Læster*, the "Prindsesse Sophie Magdalene." On the 18th July, 1749, sea clearance was granted for the ship, under his command, to sail on the triangular voyage customary in the slave trade. From Copenhagen, via Guinea (now : Ghana), he went to St. Thomas (now : U.S. Virgin Islands), where his vessel, with its modest cargo of 80 surviving slaves, arrived in July, 1750. Customary, as it was, for the captain and the surviving members of the crew to share with the owners the profits of each slaving expedition, the financial results, due to the smallness of the ship's cargo, must have been disappointing. Only two years old, and specially constructed for the slave trade, the vessel had been built at Andreas Bjørns Skibsværft in Christianshavn, for account of the Vest Guineas Kompagni of Copenhagen.

Undeterred by the experiences of his first slaving trip, Jens Rasmussen Knie, after his father's death, though before the insolvent estate had been wound up, in 1752 accepted the command of another similar vessel, the size, mission and itinerary of which were almost identical with those of the Prindsesse Sophie Magdalene.

On the 21st July, 1752, sea clearance was granted for the Frigate "Jægersborg," built 1746-47, builder and owner being the same as in the case of the "Prindsesse Sophie Magdalene," only the loading capacity, at 95 *Læster*, being fractionally smaller. To the captain, crew and owner, the financial results of this voyage must, however, have been more satisfactory than those of the first expedition. Leaving Guinea with a cargo of 312 slaves, the "Jægersborg," on its arrival in the West Indies, could still report 231 slaves to be alive, 81 of its human cargo having perished en route. On the 9th June, 1754, nearly two years after its departure from Denmark, the "Jægersborg," under the command of Jens Rasmussen Knie, arrived safely in its homeland. Still not disheartened, Jens Rasmussen Knie, in 1754/5, undertook his third triangle slaving trip, this time as captain of the "Emanuel."

Whether the financial outcome of his second and third voyages enabled Jens Rasmussen Knie to provide generously



*By courtesy of Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg.
Photo 1971 by H. Hauch.*

The frigate slave trader "Fredensborg," shown above, seems likely to have been similar to the frigates "Prindsesse Sophie Magdalene" and "Jægersborg," which, in 1749 and 1752, with Jens Rasmussen Knie, the nephew of Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie, as captain, were engaged in the triangular Guinea—West Indies—Copenhagen Slave Trade.

Notice the three wind-funnels which led some air down to the slave-decks in the hold.

for his mother, his younger brother and sisters, as well as leaving something for himself, seems very doubtful. On the 18th January, 1755, the father's estate was wound up.

The assets amounted to only 32 Rigsdaler, while the liabilities were 62 Rigsdaler. The widow, at that date, was living in rented accommodation at Sergeant Carstensen's house 'udi Smedens Gang i Viingaards Strædet.' Transportation of black ivory had not resulted in white affluence!

But, on the 28th April, 1755, Jens Rasmussen Knie obtained his trading licence ('*Borgerskab*') as a skipper in Copenhagen.

The details which follow, which are all we know about Jens's brother, Jacob, who died as a young man, and his three sisters, are extracted from entries in the Journal of the Court of Probate dated:

- i) 18th January, 1755, relating to the estate of their father, Rasmus Ibsen Knie, and
 - ii) 30th October, 1764, relating to the estate of Jacob Rasmussen Knie himself, who was then described as a First Officer ('*Styrmand*'), and who left a modest estate consisting of assets amounting to 192 Rigsdaler and liabilities of 165 Rigsdaler.
- b) Jacob Knie, stated, in 1755, to have been 13 years old, but who must have died before the 30th October, 1764.
 - c) Anne Knie, married to Jacob Randers, sailor ('*Seglingsmand*'), who was stated, in 1764, to have become First Officer ('*Styrmand*').
 - d) Karen Knie, married to Jens Hansen Staarup, locksmith.
 - e) Kirsten Knie, stated, in 1755, to be 21 years old, and by 1764, to be married to Skipper Peder Suurballe.
- C) Ole Ibsen, who on the 12th December, 1718, obtained his trading licence in Copenhagen as a beer tapster ('*Øltapper*'), seems only marginally likely to have been a brother of Mads and Rasmus Ibsen Knie. Moreover, while both brothers, when applying for their trading licences, stated that they were born in Jutland, Ole Ibsen stated his place of birth as 'Cronborg Amt.'

Against the hypothesis that Ole Ibsen was *no* relative of the two brothers, the following inconclusive facts can be quoted:

- i) The same Ole Ibsen who, since the 12th December, 1718, had been licensed as a beer tapster, on the 16th June, 1723, obtained an additional licence as a '*Prammand*'. (That date was less than eight months after Mads Ibsen Knie, on the 24th October, 1722, had obtained his additional licence as a '*Prammand*.')
- ii) By the 16th April, 1725, '*Prammand*' Ole Ibsen had evidently become the owner of a 1/8th share of the Guild of Bargees, because on the strength of such security, he is known to have borrowed 1000 Rigsdaler from *Hjulmand* Jens Andersen (Bierring).

'Dorothea' (Dorrete), the daughter of Jens Andersen (Bierring), was also, it will be recalled, the wife of Tiptiptipoldefar Skipper and '*Prammand*' Mads Ibsen Knie.

Mads and Rasmus, we know for certain, were brothers, and, many years later, at the time of their deaths, were both referred to as bargees. If, as also seems certain, Ole had become a third one of the sixteen privileged bargees of Copenhagen, the profitable Guild of Bargees must have been dominated, or at least influenced, by the three brothers (or, if they were not all brothers, by the trio). Ole, at least, must have been partly financed by the elderly, prosperous father-in-law of Mads.

The origin and identity of this third contemporary 'Præmand' are as difficult to establish as is his blood relationship, if any, with the two Ibsen Knie brothers. (In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is, of course, conceivable that Ole Ibsen was not at all related to the two brothers, and that the identicalness of the first of their two surnames with his was only coincidental !)

'Præmand' Olle Ibsen is known, in 1731, to have lived at old *Marrikelnummer* 81 Pilestræde. Seemingly he was identical with Aquavit Distiller *Olle* Ibsen, who, from 20/2/1725 to 12/6/1741, owned and lived at that property. (Note that the date when he lost possession of the property was immediately after the 'Devil's Birthday.'). By 1741, Ole Ibsen must have fallen on evil days. In 1741/2, he twice, unsuccessfully, appealed to the Magistracy for employment as a night watchman ('*Vægter*'), or in any other capacity !

Of the trio, Mads Ibsen Knie seems to have been the leader. Were Rasmus (who originally was obviously only a small-scale skipper) and Ole (a beer tapster, turned bargee) merely henchmen, financed by, and under the thumb of, Mads and his father-in-law? If so, were they mainly valuable to Mads because, for twenty-five years (1726-51), they provided him with two additional votes in the Bargee Caucus of Copenhagen? In that case one wonders why, when Rasmus died in 1751, his estate was found to be insolvent, while Mads, dying only eighteen months later, left a sizeable estate, and was still acting as the guardian of his brother's children. Another query occurs: Did the difference between the two estates, the one sizeable and solvent, and the other insolvent, merely reflect improvidence on the part of Rasmus? Or was there a more sinister reason why Jens, the elder of Rasmus's sons, and obviously short of money, three times set forth on the inhuman slave transportation voyages from Guinea to the West Indies? Unlikely as it is that we shall ever learn the answers, we can only wonder.

(?)D) In addition to the two (or three) brothers referred to above, the confusing existence of yet another contemporary Skipper Mads Knie should be mentioned. In the Record of the Survivors of the 1728 Fire, compiled in April 1729, is shown, living in St. Anna Qvarteers Østre Del, at 9 Nye Canal: Mads Knie !

Located in the basement, he is described both as a skipper and a beer tapster. His relationship, if any, with that of the three other maritime men of his generation referred to above, I have left unexplored.

from, and inaccessibility to, the rest of Western Europe no doubt partly account for this survival. The militant pride and mental attitude of the twenty-odd thousand Norwegians, who, between 870 and 930, are believed to have settled in the barren, woodless island, is another reason. But for these factors, knowledge of the magnificent Scandinavian sagas, epics and mythology would have been lost to us. The destructive zeal of the men of the Church of Rome, which proved sadly successful in the principal Scandinavian countries, makes the fact self-evident.

But two centuries after the arrival in Iceland of the Norwegians, the Norwegian/Icelandic spirit had been cowed and the country's life of independence curtailed. Internecine warfare, epidemics, earthquake and famines had taken their toll. In 1262, the *Alting* agreed to the conclusion of a treaty with the parent country of Norway. In 1380, when Norway became one of the possessions of the Danish Crown, *de facto* Iceland became a hybrid between a province and dependency of Denmark.

By 1602, doing business with Iceland had become a Danish/Norwegian government monopoly, trading being permitted only to citizens of Copenhagen, Malmö and Helsingør. Yet, until the late 1600s, although their vessels flew the Danish flag, many of the skippers and crews were Dutch or German. But also English and ships of the Hanse League from Hamburg and Lübeck were active.

Between 1611 and 1720 the numerous intermittent wars between Denmark/Norway and Sweden provided a colourful, and often no doubt profitable, background for privateers, and also for legal and illicit trading by merchant vessels with Iceland. The Danish/Norwegian Royal Fighting Navy was the premier maritime force in the northern waters. But the Danish mercantile marine was in a poor state and most Danish merchant vessels

were small and grossly overmanned. Their crews consisted of from eight to fourteen men to provide a fighting force to defend vessels against boarding parties by acquisitive crews of foreign ships, mainly Swedish, but sometimes (until 1689) English or Dutch. Not without reason, many of these merchant ships were, therefore, armed.

From 1689 to 1709, wars were being fought in both the eastern and western parts of Europe, but with one year's exception in 1699/1700, Denmark enjoyed twenty years of peace. By a policy of Danish neutrality, Copenhagen prospered, although outside the capital economic life languished. During 1689-95, 274 applications were made in Copenhagen for a licence ('*Borgerskab*') as a skipper, more than half by Dutchmen. Since 1689, when Holland and England had joined the enemies of France, Dutch skippers had wisely preferred to sail under the Danish flag. It must have been during these years that Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie (1677 (approx.)—1752) learned his seamanship. Probably, he was taught this in Dutch, on board a vessel flying *Dannebrog*, but captained by a Dutchman.

At first, Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie may mainly have sailed the Kattegat, the North Sea and the Baltic. This assumption is not necessarily inconsistent with his concentrated interest later in the Icelandic trade. Less probably, Mads Ibsen Knie may have joined the crew of one of the few large Danish merchant vessels sailing to and from the Danish colonies in Africa, Asia and the West Indies. This is what his younger contemporary Peter Wessel (1690-1720) did in 1706, while impatiently waiting for his naval commission. Granted in 1708, this commission provided Wessel with the opening for his dare-devil naval career, during which he was ennobled under the name of Tordenskjold.



By courtesy of Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg.
Peter Wessel (1690-1720),
Vice-Admiral of the Royal Danish/Norwegian Navy.

Famous for his dashing and courageous exploits during the 2nd section of the Great Northern War, Wessel, when ennobled by King Frederik IV in 1716, assumed the name of Tordenskjold ('*Thundershield*'). In the painting he is shown wearing a miniature portrait of the King, set in diamonds.

Tordenskjold was a younger contemporary of Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie, but no contact can be traced or parallel drawn, other than that they were both sailors, between this dare-devil hero and my 'Icelandic' skipper ancestor. Tordenskjold's portrait is included because his character and behaviour are symptomatic of the period in which both men were active.

Radiating, in a slightly contemptuous manner, resolution and the will to be obeyed, Tordenskjold's eyes inspire confidence in his courageous and imaginative leadership. Unmarried, he was killed in a duel in Germany, almost immediately the War was over. Already in his lifetime, his initiative and courage made his name a household word both in Denmark and Norway, most of his successful exploits being directed against Sweden.

(Reproduction of portrait in oils by Balthazar Denners, 1719)

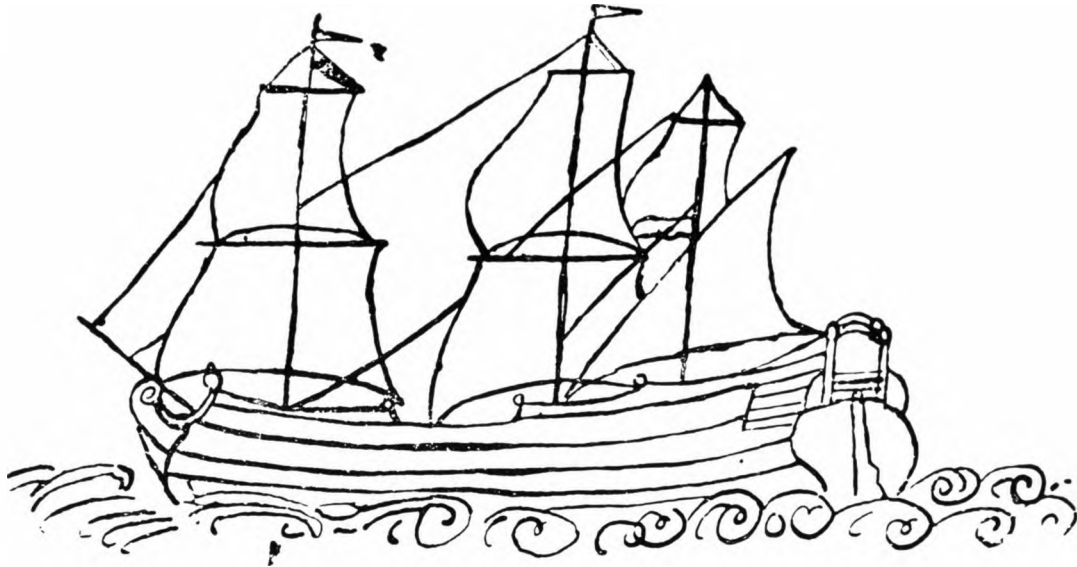
References in this book to Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie's initial maritime career are, however, all guess-work, being merely based on the law of probabilities. Of facts we know only that, in 1709, Denmark again became involved in the Great Northern War, and this was followed, in 1711, by the outbreak of the plague. Only on the 6th April, 1712, does Tiptiptipoldefar Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie make his modest *entrée* into the records of history. Then, when he was about 35, we meet him in Copenhagen.

First, though, another word or two about Iceland. Starting from Copenhagen, and sailing sometimes, in convoy, via Fladstrand (Frederikshavn) to Southern Norway, the twenty-odd tiny vessels which were engaged in the Icelandic trade could make only one voyage a year. Leaving Copenhagen in April, they would return to Denmark in October/December.

Most of the time during which Mads Ibsen Knie is likely to have had contact with Iceland is known first as the period of District Trading (1684-1732), followed by the period of the Icelandic-Finmark Company (1733-42). With Government consent, the privilege of trading with Iceland during the former period was invested in individuals, or groups of men, most of whom operated from Copenhagen.

Exports from Iceland consisted principally of salted and dried codfish, wool, down, feathers, tallow and sulphur.

Imports by Iceland were mainly corn, timber, tobacco, *aquavit*, beer, salt, tar, iron, articles of linen, and kitchen vessels or other articles of copper. Essential foods were needed to be imported to balance and supplement the meagre native Icelandic diet, derived from the riches of the sea and the numerous sheep. Lines of



*By courtesy of Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg,
Photo 1971 by H. Hauch.*

The type of ships which, about 1712, were engaged in the Icelandic trade, and of some of which Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie may well have been the skipper, seems likely to have been crayers ('Krejterer'). The drawing shows a crayer, 'St. Maria' of Fredericia, built in Lübeck in 1696.

transport were tenuous. Whenever ships failed to arrive famine in Iceland resulted. This happened in 1695-97 and, again, in 1699.

About 1690, when it seems likely that, at the age of about 13, Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie started his maritime career as a shipboy, life on board the small, cramped vessels sailing to Iceland must have been one of incredible hardship and danger. Yet in his younger days, Hans Nansen (1598-1667), the famous burgo-master of Copenhagen, had stuck such conditions for eighteen years (1614-32), sailing far beyond Iceland, well into the Arctic.

Where, in Jutland, Mads Ibsen Knie was born, and when, cannot be stated for certain. Judging by his second surname, it seems probable that he hailed from the peninsula of Djursland, in which lies the village of Kni (formerly also spelled Kny and Knij). The Christian names of Ib and Jep being synonymous, Mads could have been the son of somebody of the name of either Jep or Ib. It happens that a smallholder ('*Husmand*') known as Jep Andersen, who had lived in Kni, was buried, according to the Church Book, in 1692, at 62 years of age. He could therefore have been the father of Mads Ibsen Knie, but of the accuracy of such relationship, we have no proof. He will have been born about 1630. His wife, Anne Jeppis, very probably, but likewise impossible to prove, will therefore have been my Tiptiptiptipoldemor, buried in Kni Kirke, at the age of 82, in 1726. She must, therefore, have been born in 1644. The Church, which was burned down, is, however, no longer in existence.

Partly shrub-covered, the light, sandy soil of the hilly country round Kni, perforated by large and small bogs cannot have offered much hope of a lucrative return for hard work. The waters of Kolindsund (long since drained, the land now providing fertile

agricultural fields) at that time penetrated deep into Jutland. Their presence may have provided the geographical and functional reason for the landless son of the smallholder in Kni to adopt the dangerous calling of an Icelandic sailor. Possibly, when he grew up, such a career was the only attractive opening available to him. By the solitary specimen available to us of his signature, we know that Mads was not illiterate. (p.213). As he became a skipper, he must have learned to handle a sextant. The events of the impending long Great Northern War (1699-1700 and 1709-20) were to offer plenty of excitement and opportunity to a restless, impecunious and enterprising young man. In common with colonial and semi-colonial enterprises elsewhere, the Icelandic Trade offered pickings to both captains and crews of the vessels, to the resident officials in Iceland and, of course, to the Icelandic merchants in Copenhagen. Age-old tradition allowed the vessels to carry 'Føring,' this being a euphemistic term used to describe the free transportation to Iceland of tobacco and *aquavit*, sold by members of the crew. Sale of the goods in Iceland allowed the purchase there by the crew of export products, and, when the vessels returned, free transportation to Denmark. The practice had been tolerated for a very long time, and towards 1720 space occupied in the small ships by such goods was no less than 25%. And, in Hamburg, as well as other cities abroad, the crews were known to employ agents to dispose of, and purchase, goods for 'Føring'; sometimes, in their selling and buying, successfully competing with their masters.

The purpose of Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie's visit to Copenhagen in 1712 may have been three-fold. At least two purposes were achieved. The plague over, but the War still going on, it may, in view of the privileged position in the Icelandic trade occupied by the citizens of Copenhagen, have been necessary or desirable for him to obtain his trading licence ('*Borgerskab* ') there

as a skipper and also become a member of the Skippers' Guild in the Capital. After two months' interval, both objectives were achieved. Possibly planning his future, Mads was also looking for a bride.

Dated the 6th April, 1712, an entry in the *Borgerskabsprotokolten*, phrased in archaic Danish, relates that 'Mads Ibsen Kni, Skipper, born in Jutland, gained his trading licence and executed his oath of citizenship.' ('*Mads Ibsen Kni fød udi Jyllandt vandt sit Borgerskab og aflagde sin Borgerlig eed.*')

Spring was when, if bound for Iceland, one should have started one's voyage. Whether Mads Ibsen set forth on an unsuccessful voyage for Iceland or elsewhere is unknown to us, but it seems likely that he did. Two months after the grant of the trading licence, on the 2nd June, 1712, at the height of the Great Northern War, while the daring King Charles XII of Sweden was continuing his long sojourn in Turkey, an entry in the Journal of the Skippers Guild in Copenhagen records that, on payment by Mads Ibsen of 10 Rigsdaler, he was granted half (? limited) rights as a member of the Guild. As the space for the result of the examination, both of the skipper and his mate, provided on the printed form was left blank, the implied requirement of passing an examination seems to have been ignored or waived. This is notwithstanding that *Tiptiptipoldefar* was described as a 'shipwrecked skipper,' the vessel of which he had been in charge being the "*Commillionen*." Intending, however, to take charge of the "*S. Johannis*," he was also stated to be planning to proceed belatedly (or again?) to Iceland.

Of the 10 Rigsdaler paid by him, the entry shows 40% to have been in respect of '*Slavepenge*,' a reminder that piracy was another of the many perils facing the sailor of his day. During this period, pirates from North



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet, 2. Afdeling.

The exterior of the Skippers Guild building in Copenhagen in 1880.

At the headquarters of the Skippers Guild in Lille Kongensgade, on the 2nd June, 1712, Tiptiptipoldefar Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie, on payment of a total fee of 10 Rigsdaler, was enrolled as a member of the Guild. The large headquarters, of which only the frontage can be seen here, were built in 1691, by order of *Oldermand Peder Madsen*. On the 8th February, 1780, in a house in this street, Mads Ibsen Knie's granddaughter, Tipoldemor Dorothea Sørensdatter Blech, gave birth to her first child, Henriette Dorothea Petersen.

(Photo, 1945, of Watercolour, painted 1880 by Zeuthen.)



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet, 2. Afdeling.

The yard of the Skippers Guild in Copenhagen in 1879, shows the size of the property of 'Skippernes Laughuus' at Lille Kongensgade 33. By the rear entrance, seen in the background, easy access seems also to have been available to the alley of ill repute, known as Peder Madsens Gang.

(Photo, 1945, of Watercolour, painted 1879 by Zeuthen.)

~~1712~~ ~~1713~~ ~~1714~~ ~~1715~~ ~~1716~~ ~~1717~~ ~~1718~~ ~~1719~~ ~~1720~~ ~~1721~~ ~~1722~~ ~~1723~~ ~~1724~~ ~~1725~~ ~~1726~~ ~~1727~~ ~~1728~~ ~~1729~~ ~~1730~~ ~~1731~~ ~~1732~~ ~~1733~~ ~~1734~~ ~~1735~~ ~~1736~~ ~~1737~~ ~~1738~~ ~~1739~~ ~~1740~~ ~~1741~~ ~~1742~~ ~~1743~~ ~~1744~~ ~~1745~~ ~~1746~~ ~~1747~~ ~~1748~~ ~~1749~~ ~~1750~~ ~~1751~~ ~~1752~~ ~~1753~~ ~~1754~~ ~~1755~~ ~~1756~~ ~~1757~~ ~~1758~~ ~~1759~~ ~~1760~~ ~~1761~~ ~~1762~~ ~~1763~~ ~~1764~~ ~~1765~~ ~~1766~~ ~~1767~~ ~~1768~~ ~~1769~~ ~~1770~~ ~~1771~~ ~~1772~~ ~~1773~~ ~~1774~~ ~~1775~~ ~~1776~~ ~~1777~~ ~~1778~~ ~~1779~~ ~~1780~~ ~~1781~~ ~~1782~~ ~~1783~~ ~~1784~~ ~~1785~~ ~~1786~~ ~~1787~~ ~~1788~~ ~~1789~~ ~~1790~~ ~~1791~~ ~~1792~~ ~~1793~~ ~~1794~~ ~~1795~~ ~~1796~~ ~~1797~~ ~~1798~~ ~~1799~~ ~~1800~~

Commissionen, *3 E.*

Skibbet, S. Johannis sørende
 agter sig til *Illam*

Boende *Illam*

Skipper *Mads Ibsen*

Examineret efter fremviste Attest under No. *()*
 (ligeledes hans Styrmand
)
 examineret efter fremviste Attest under No. *()*
 haver i Dao rigtig clareret hans *hans* Laugs
 Rettighed efter Artiklerne med *100* Rigsd. og
 derforuden betalt

Slæbpenge . . . 4 Rigsd. — M — S.
 Sattigpenge . . . 1 Rigsd. — M. — S.
 Skipper. Laugets Forsamlings Huus udi Kiøben-
 havn den 2 *Juni* — Anno 1712

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m.

Extract dated the 2nd June, 1712, from the Journal of the Skippers Guild in Copenhagen, certifying the election as a member of the Guild on payment of ten Rigsdaler, of Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen, who was described as a shipwrecked skipper.

U D S K R I F T

af

kirkebogen for Vor Frue kirke i København - begravelser 1704-1726
fol.133^b

1713

A p r i l l i s


27. Taarsd. Bente Jens Bierings, Hjulmands
60 Aar gl. fra Canikestræde, paa Kirkegaardens
Nordre Plæds til 12 slet. Svag $\frac{1}{2}$ Aar af Brynctoyge.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 8. september 1970


Niels Rickelt
registrator

Getyr: kr. 6.50



This extract from Vor Frue Kirke Church Book in Copenhagen, certifies that on Thursday, the 27th April, 1713, at noon, Tiptiptiptip-oldemor Bente, the wife of Wheelwright Jens *Biering* of *Canikestræde*, following half-a-year's illness of consumption, having died at the age of 60, was buried in the northern section of the churchyard.

Africa are known to have made their appearance as far North as the English Channel. In the beginning of the 1700s, not only negroes were exploited as slaves. If Tiptiptipoldefar and any other merchant sailors were captured by the organized Moslem or Christian pirates of the Mediterranean, the prospect for them, whatever their race, religion or nationality, was grim. For the rest of their lives they would be forced as galley slaves, to provide man-power for the galley, which was the torpedo-boat of its day. Naked, chained six to a bench, they would be under the command of two under-officers, who flogged the slaves to keep them rowing. If they collapsed, they would be thrown overboard. Their one hope was payment of ransom from their homeland to buy their release. Hence the laudatory object of the compulsory contribution to the Release Fund of the Skippers Guild.

The address in Copenhagen, at which, in 1712, Skipper Mads Ibsen '*loserererrer*' is stated to be that of '*Renteskriver* Sørren Rasmussen.' '*Renteskriver*' was an important and highly placed government official whose predecessor, in 1695, with two others, leased all the King's taxes and income from Iceland, for ten years, for an annual payment of 6100 Rigsdaler. '*Renteskriver*' Søren Rasmussen is likely to have lived at '*Amagertorj*,' as he did, in 1715, the year after the marriage of Mads Ibsen Knie, when he became one of the godfathers at the christening of Anders, the first of Mads Ibsen Knie's and Dorrete Jensdatter Biering's ten children. It may be significant that while in the entry in the Journal of the Skippers Guild, the 1712 address of Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie is as stated, in the chronological register already appears as that of his future father-in-law, viz. '*Lille Kanicke Strede*.'

Enrolment into the Skippers Guild, according to the entry, took place at *Skipper Laugets Forsamlings Huus udi Kiøbenhavn*, the headquarters of the Skippers Guild

U D S K R I F T

af

vielsesprotokol for Vor Frue sogn i Kjøbenhavn 1714-1721, Fol. 4 b.

Junii 1714

4. Mandag Mads Ibsen, Skipper - Unckert
i Huset Dorthe Jens Datter - Pige 4 Rdlr.
Skindergade hos Mad. Giellerup ved 5 sløt

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 20. juni 1970

Niels Riechelt
Niels Riechelt
registrator



Gebyr: kr. 6.50

This extract from the Wedding Journal of Vor Frue Kirke in Copenhagen certifies that, on Monday, the 4th June, 1714, at 5 p.m., Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen, Skipper, and a bachelor, was married to Tiptiptipoldemor Dorthe Jens Datter, a spinster, in the house of Mad. Giellerup in Skindergade.

U D S K R I F T

af

båbprotokollen for Vor Frue Kirke i København 1722-1735,

fol. 76

In Jesu Nafr. Anno 1726

Januarium

15. Tiisdag Mads Knie, Skipper i lille Gasmiche-Stride
Hans Hustru Dorothe Jensdatter Bierckinck,
En Daatter kaldet: D o r o t h e
Faddere: Toldskriver Søren Rasmussen i Strandstræde.
Henrich Michelslund, Brevver i Magstræde.
Søren Pederken Islands Kiebmænd paa Hiærnet
af Adelgaden, Mad. Margrete Regelsen, Stads-Haupt-
mand Hans Stuves bar Barnet og holdt det over
Danben, Hendes Søster-Daatter Jomfr. Marie
Cathrine, varendes der i Huset holdt Christen
Huen.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 22. juni 1970

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gebyr: kr. 6.50



This extract from the Journal of Christenings solemnized in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, certifies the baptism on Tuesday, the 15th January, 1726, of Dorothe Knie, my Tiptipoldemor.

One of the godfathers, *Toldskriver* Søren Rasmussen, who was present at the christenings of at least six other Knie children, was no doubt identical with the official with whom Mads Knie stayed in Copenhagen in 1712.

Mad. Margrete Regelsen, who carried the infant to the font, was the wife of Hans Stuve, the Head of the City's Defence Force. Stuve, in 1722, as the guardian of Marie Cathrine Riegels, had lent Mads Knie 600 Rigsdaler.

in Lille Kongensgade. This, as one might have expected, was in a district of beer-tapsters and houses of ill repute. Entrance from two nearby brothels in Smedens Gang to the Assembly Hall of the Guild makes it evident that danger threatened sailors ashore, as it did afloat. The equally infamous lane of Peder Madsens Gang was nearby, between Østergade and Grønnegade.

The death, in 1713, of the mother of the bride-to-be may have accelerated the marriage of Tiptiptipoldefar and Tiptiptipoldemor. On Monday, 4th June, 1714, the Church Book of Vor Frue Kirke records that, at the house in Skindergade where *Mad.* Giellerup lived, the marriage took place at 5 p.m. of Skipper Mads Ibsen, a bachelor, and Dorthe Jensdatter, his 23-year-old bride. Their first child, Anders, was christened on the 27th September, 1715, in Vor Frue Kirke, though seemingly he died in childhood, as, in 1727, another son was christened Anders. Mads Ibsen Knie fathered altogether ten children (1715-29). Three sons and four daughters survived him and his wife. My direct ancestress of the next generation, Tiptipoldemor Dorothe, one of the younger surviving daughters, was christened on the 15th January, 1726. 1714

Judging by his tax assessment, Tiptiptiptipoldefar Bierring's income trebled from 1692 to 1727. Knie also prospered. By 1727, he was assessable on an amount equal to threequarters of that on which his father-in-law was assessed.

From the new Journal of the Guild of Wheelwrights, started in June 1718, we learn that, by then, not only had Bierring become the senior master wheelwright in Copenhagen, but the previous year had also occupied the post as *Oldermand* of the Guild. Membership was confined to 17 master wheelwrights, plus a similar number of journeymen and apprentices. 1718

1725 In 1725, we know that Bierring lent 1000 Rigsdaler to *Prammand* Ole Ibsen, the occupation and name of whom, as explained in Table No. 6 of this Chapter, may have been significant. Other investments of Bierring's include 400 Slettedalere, lent him to a mason journeyman, Hans Pedersøn Kyse, secured by a mortgage on the latter's property at Old *Matrikelnummer* 226 Teilgaardstræde. On another house, at 29 Lille Cannichestræde, next to Bierring's, a mortgage for 250 Slettedalere, in 1728, was due to Bierring, by Aquavit Distiller Ole Christensøn. Fire insurance not available, security for both Bierring's loans was destroyed in the 1728 Fire.

1723/24 In the Municipal Billetting Census Records of Lille Cannichestræde, Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie appears for the first time as resident only in 1723/24. Omission of his name since his marriage in 1714, one suspects, may have been due to action to avoid taxation, or caused by absence on voyages to and from Iceland or elsewhere. Unsupported by any evidence, my view is that his wife, Bierring's daughter, Tiptiptipoldemor Dorrete, with the growing number of her children, continued to live at her father's house in Lille Cannichestræde after her marriage in 1714, during her husband's long absences at sea; when Mads came to Copenhagen, he would join her and their children.

The property at Lille Cannichestræde was destroyed in the 1728 Fire, but the rebuilding had been completed by 1733, and must have filtered through to Mads Knie, probably by unrecorded kinsmanship probate ('*Samfrændeskifte*'); by 1733 (although his father-in-law remained alive until 1735), Mads Knie refers to the new property as "my house," and after his death in 1752, it formed part of his estate.

Names and addresses of godfathers and godmothers present at the christenings (1715-29) of all ten children

Table No. 7. (Ninth Chapter.)

Godparents and others known to have been present at the christenings (all in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen) of the ten children of Tiptiptipoldefar Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie and Tiptiptipoldemor Dorthe Jensdatter Knie, *née* Bierring, born and christened 1715-29.

Legend: M, Male Head of Household ;
W, Wife or Widow; MJ, Male Junior;
FJ, Female Junior (daughter, female
relative, visitor or servant).

	1715 27/9 Anders	1717 9/1 Marie	1719 3/6 Anne	1722 26/1 Jens	1723 14/8 Anne	1725 10/2 Cath- rine	1726 15/1 Tiptip- oldc- mor Dorothe	1727 16/8 Anders	1728 31/8 Søren	1729 14/9 Iohanne
1) Søren Rasmussen, 1715 : <i>Renteskriver</i> , <i>Amagertorv</i> 1719 : <i>Toldskriver</i> , <i>Lille Strandstræde</i>	M&FJ	M	M&FJ	M	M	W	M	M		W
2) Nicolaj Buurmester (1679-1742), powerful, esteemed and prosperous. <i>Iislands Kiøbmand</i> . <i>Brøgger</i> , <i>Raadmand</i> , <i>Vimmelskaftet</i>	M		W	W	M	M		W		MJ
3) Laurs Nielsen Fog, City Councillor 1693-1735. <i>Raadmand</i> , <i>Nygade</i>	M									
4) Niels Terkelsens <i>Iislands Kiøbmands Kiereste</i> , (i.e. wife) <i>Springgade</i>	W									
5) Krog (presumably Hendrick Krock (1671- 1738), appointed Court Painter in 1706), <i>Kongens Skilderer</i> , <i>Wigantes Gade</i>			M							
6) Hans Sigvardsen, <i>Brøgger</i> , <i>Farvergade</i>			M					M		
7) Madame Peder Regelsens <i>Negotiantes (Iislands Kiøbmand)</i> , <i>Kalleboed</i>			W&FJ			FJ				
8) Jonas Hou, <i>Renteskriver</i> , <i>Vimmelskaftet</i>				M						
9) Christen Pedersøn, <i>Iislands Kiøbmand</i> , <i>Ved Stranden</i>				M						
10) Morten Munch, <i>Commerce Raad</i> , <i>Christianshafn</i>					M					
11) Christopher Jenson Lund, <i>Iislands Kiøbmand</i> , <i>Ved Børsen</i>					M		M			
12) Mlle. Eleonara Christine Lange, <i>Mad. Regersens</i> , <i>Kallebodene</i>					W					
13) Niels Birch, <i>Iislands Kiøbmand</i> , <i>Admiral-Gaden</i>						M				
14) Mad. Marie Peder Arvedsøns <i>Iislands Kiøbmands</i> , <i>Nye-Hafn</i>						W&FJ				
15) Jens Andersen Bierring, <i>Barnets Morfader</i>						M				
16) Hans Christian (?Hendrich) Bech, <i>sl. Raadmand Bechs Søn</i> , <i>Ugift, Kiøbmagergade</i>							MJ		MJ	MJ
17) Henrik Michels Lund, <i>Brøgger</i> , <i>Magstræde</i>									M	
18) Søren Pedersøn, <i>Iislands Kiøbmand</i> , <i>Paa Hiørnet af Adelgaden</i>									M	
19) Mad. Margrete Regelsen (Margrete Riegels (1673-1748), wife of Hans Stuve, since 1719 Head of the City's Defence Force), <i>Stads-Hauptmand</i> <i>Hans Stuves</i> ,							W&FJ	FJ		
20) Jonas Klow, <i>Renteskriver</i> , <i>Christianshafn</i>									M	M
21) Jacob Nielsen, <i>Iislands Kiøbmand</i> , <i>Christianshafn</i>										M
22) Christopher Jens Lund, <i>Iislands Kiøbmand</i> , <i>Bag Børsen</i>										M
23) Mad. Anne-Marie Hans Munchs' <i>Iislands Kiøbmand</i> , <i>Ved Børsen</i>									W&FJ	
24) Jomfrue Amalia Elisabeth, <i>Sr. Hans Jørgen Soelbergs Daatter</i> , <i>i Stoere</i> <i>Strandstræde</i>										FJ

Explanatory note relating to Table 7 (Ninth Chapter).

Summary and conclusions :

Reported in the Church Book as present at the ten christenings are a total of 50 people. On every occasion, those listed consisted of a group of three godfathers, one godmother and an unmarried female. The duty of the latter, during the christening, was to hold the christening cap. At the christening, in 1723, of the second Anne, the names of six people present are shown. The extra name is that of the infant's maternal grandfather. Oddly phrased, the latter is stated to have "gone for the baby." (*'Barnets Morfader Jens Andersen Bierriing gich for Barnet.'*)

The number of people present at each christening was no doubt considerably larger than the records reveal. In the analysis on the preceding pages overleaf are shown only the names of those who appear in the Church Book, as taking part in the ceremony. More likely, those named, whether men or women, were accompanied by spouses, unmarried children, other, mainly female relatives, visitors and, in some cases, female servants. Christenings offered great opportunities for merry-making and present-giving, as evidenced by the royal decrees of 1745 and 1683 which prohibited both. It is significant that six of the ten christenings took place on a Saturday but none on a Sunday! In referring to the presence, in 1728, of *Hr. Bech, jr.* (possibly identical with the godfather of a similar name present in 1725 and in 1729), it is stated that he was a bachelor. And this was notwithstanding that his father had been a City Councillor while he himself lived in the important thoroughfare of Kjøbmagergade! Wherever was the enterprising damsel who (if all the three individuals referred to were identical), at one of the earlier christening parties, could have remedied his sad state of celibacy?

Covering a period of fourteen years (1715-29), the records in the Church Book of those present at the christenings mirrored the normal changes of life which will have occurred in the composition of the twenty households represented by the thirty-odd unduplicated individuals present at the ten christenings. The social circle of the Knies, it is obvious, largely coincided with that of the Skipper's useful and profitable business acquaintances. The latter obviously consisted mainly of Icelandic Merchants, numerically followed by the group consisting of City Councillors, a titled Councillor (*'Commerce Raad'*), and Customs and Exchequer Officials. Financially, however, some of the latter were undoubtedly outweighed by the three Brewers, one of whom, in addition, was both an Icelandic Merchant and a City Councillor.

No other name of those present at the christenings recurs as often as that of the indefatigable Søren Rasmussen, the civil servant. Already known to Mads Knie in 1712, prior to the latter's marriage to Tiptiptoldemor Dorthe Jensdatter Bierriing, Søren Rasmussen was present at seven of the first eight christenings; his wife twice took the part of a godmother, first in 1725, at the christening of Cathrine, and again, in 1729, at the christening of *'Iohanne.'* Moreover, Søren Rasmussen's daughter, in 1715, held the christening cap while, in 1719, his maid servant was similarly honoured.

Also well represented at no less than six christenings was the family in Vimmelskafet of whom Nicolaj Buurmester (1679-1742), for long a powerful, prosperous and esteemed City Councillor, Brewer and Icelandic Merchant, was the head. The christenings in question included those at which *Mad. Elsebeth Nicolaj Buurmesters'* acted as the godmother: in 1719, at the christening of the first Anne and, in 1727, at the christening of the second infant to be baptized Anders. For the final christening, in 1729, of '*Iohanne,*' Hans Buurmester, the son of City Councillor Buurmester, for the first and last time was the male representative of his family.

Allowing for a few uncertainties and overlaps, the thirty-eight individuals grouped occupationally, by household and sex, can be classified as follows:

	Males	Females	Total
1) Icelandic Merchants, including wives, widows trading on their own account, other relatives and servants	8	12	20
2) Counsellor, City Councillors, the Head of the City Defence Force, Customs and Exchequer Officials, including wives, relatives and servants	6	5	11
3) Brewers	3	—	3
4) Unidentifiable	—	2	2
5) The King's Painter (' <i>Kongens Skilderer</i> ')	1	—	1
6) Artisan Jens Andersen Bierring, the wheelwright and maternal grandfather	1	—	1
Total:	19	19	38

Quote: "The fashionable ('*fornemme*') citizens (in Copenhagen) were merchants, shopkeepers, brewers and wine merchants, and from a social point of view a wide gap existed between them and the artisans . . . In the register of ratepayers for 1722, 35 individuals are described as merchants, and of these, 15 are referred to as Icelandic (merchants)." (*O. Nielsen: Kjøbenhavn paa Holbergs Tid. Kjøbenhavn 1884, p.278.*)

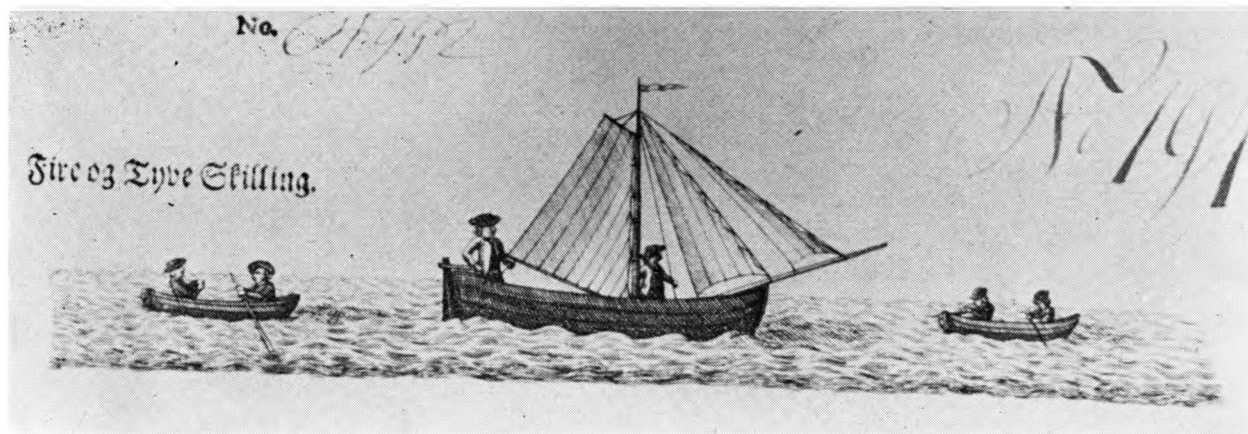
The odd man out seems to be 'Krog,' in the Church Book described as the King's Painter. (Presumably: Hendrick Krock (1671-1738), born in Flensborg and for many years, after his initial appointment in 1706, Court Painter.) If correctly identified, some of the ceiling paintings at Rosenborg, in addition to many other

paintings still extant elsewhere, are to his credit. But what was his connection, in 1717, with Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie, which caused the latter to ask him to act as a godfather at the christening of Marie ?

The thirty-eight Icelandic Merchants, their wives, or the widows of their predecessors, quoted as having been present, between 1715 and 1729, at the ten christenings of the Knie Family, infer the dominant position at the time occupied by Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie in the Icelandic trade.

of Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie and Dorrete Jensdatter, are detailed in Vor Frue Kirke Church Book. A colourful gallery comes to life, portraying the social and business background of the Icelandic Skipper, his wife and their circle. Nearly all the street names of the godparents' addresses remain unaltered today. Only the difficulty of rendering in English the archaic, sometimes to me, unintelligible, Danish vocational descriptions prefacing the surnames of the numerous godparents makes it impossible to convey the authentic atmosphere of the period transmitted by them. Some thirty-eight names and addresses are paraded, only few of which recur. Members of the prosperous segment of the Copenhagen *bourgeoisie*, minor (in one case modestly titled) civil servants, and other obscure, but no doubt useful-to-know officials, appear. Merchants, City Councillors, the titled Councillor of Commerce, Brewers, Customs Officials and Government Clerks, including a sizeable quota of Icelandic Merchants, their wives and daughters, are listed. Addresses show those present to have been living in Amagertorf, Vimmelskaftet, Nytorv, Springgade, Farvergade, Kalleboderne, Lille Strandstræde, Admiralgade, Nye-Hafn, Christianshafn, Ved Stranden, Kiøbmagergade, Ved Børsen and Magstræde, most of these addresses being near, or on the fringe of, the harbour.

Knowledge of the topography of Copenhagen almost enables one to smell the salty, tarry, fishy atmosphere of the restless cosmopolitan city, from whose maritime activities Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Knie and his family benefited. Relatives of either the father or the mother might have been at the ten christenings, but only the name of Jens Andersen, the infants' maternal grandfather, is mentioned in 1723. Included in 1717, as a godfather at the christening of Marie, is '*Mons. Krog,*' described as the King's Painter ('*Kongens Skilderer*'). Obviously misspelled, his name seems likely to have been Hendrick Krock (1671-1738).



By courtesy of Handels-og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg.

By modern standards, barges operated by members of 'Prammandslauget,' of which, in 1722, Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie became one of sixteen shareholders, are likely to have been tiny, among other reasons because the canals of the inner harbour of Copenhagen were both narrow and shallow.

(Reproduced on a share certificate for 24 Skilling in the Copenhagen Guild of Bargees, the etching is one of the few pictures extant of contemporary barges. 18th century.)



By courtesy of Fru Else Christensen.

The picturesque fishwomen's market at the Old Harbour ('*Gl. Strand*') in Copenhagen.

About 1908-10 I frequently went shopping there with my discriminating and critical mother.

Near the back was the approximate site of the headquarters of '*Præmmandslauget*', of which, from 1722 to 1752, Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie was a prominent member.

Still further back is the large, white building of The Public Pawnbroker ('*Assistenshus*').

This is where, in 1765, Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, a few days before his father's death, pawned the silver rapier belonging to Tiptipoldefar Peder Hendrichsen. (*Refer to Eighth Chapter.*)

(Photograph probably taken about 1925.)

Dorthe's (Dorrete's) numerous pregnancies do not necessarily imply that the days of Mads Knie's lengthy and dangerous voyages to Iceland had ceased or been severely curtailed. But in the changed circumstances of peace, following the many years of the second section of the Great Northern War (1709-20), in which Denmark was involved, Knie had to find a fresh outlet for his initiative and creative energy. This he seems to have done as a member of the Guild of Bargees.

Unlike most Copenhagen Guilds, the purpose of which was to protect the common interests of those engaged in the same craft, the Guild of Bargees ('*Prammandslauget*'), at least during Knie's lifetime, was a co-operative undertaking. The Guild traded as a partnership, the sixteen shares being bought and sold, in the same manner as shares of a modern company. The partners, however, seemingly had to have knowledge of nautical practice. In the age of sailing vessels, loading and unloading the numerous small ships by tiny barges was obviously a vital and, one suspects, profitable occupation. Combined were ancillary, quasi-official activities, including the provision and removal of ballast and stones to and from the vessels lying out in the main stream, beyond the protection of the harbour.

By agreement dated the 12th October, 1722, 1722 Tiptiptoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie bought from Johannes Jørgensen Gysting, a citizen of Copenhagen, a sixteenth share of the Guild of Bargees and its assets. The price was 2200 Rigsdaler. Of this, Knie borrowed 600 Rigsdaler from '*Stadthauptmand og Raadmand*' Hans Stuve, in the latter's capacity as guardian of Marie Cathrine Riegels. (The wife of Hans Stuve, Margrete Riegels, was to be present, on the 15th January, 1726, at the christening of Tiptipoldemor Dorothe, when she held the infant at the font.) Completion of the purchase by Mads Knie of the $\frac{1}{16}$ th share of the Guild must have taken place quickly, because it was not until after the purchase



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet, 2. Afdeling.

Gl. Strand in Copenhagen, about 1840.

In appearance, the harbour is likely to have been similar to the port for sailing-vessels which it was during Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie's membership of the Bargees' Guild (1722-52). The steep, cantilever bridge, in the foreground, leads to the eponymously named square of 'Højbroplads.' In the background, the large warehouse, 'Valkendorfs Vejerbod,' headquarters of the Bargees Guild, almost hides 'Assistenshuset.'

(One of the earliest Daguerreotypes taken in Copenhagen. Compare to the 1925 photo on p. 204.)

that he would be able to obtain his supplementary licence ('*Borgerskab*') to trade as a bargee, as well as a skipper. This he did on the 14th October, 1722.

The purchase, it seems reasonable to believe, was a shrewd investment. Many years later, in 1759, seven years after Mads Knie's death, there were in Copenhagen 265 master skippers, but still only 16 master bargees. And for thirty years (1722-1752), Mads Ibsen Knie had been authorized to trade as both! It is significant that Rasmus '*Knieg*,' whom we know for certain to be a brother of Mads Ibsen Knie, and who, on the 11th March, 1726, obtained his licence ('*Borgerskab*') in Copenhagen as a skipper, was also described, at his death on the 3rd February, 1751, as a '*Prammand*.'

Even more significant is the fact that *Prammand* Ole Ibsen, born in *Cronborg Amt* (though it is not known for certain that he was a brother of the two Knies), borrowed 1000 Rigsdaler on the 16th April, 1725, from Wheelwright Jens Andersen, the well-to-do father-in-law of Mads Knie. And the security on which the loan was granted was yet another one-sixteenth share in the Guild of Bargees!

Coinciding, as they did, with the dawn of the Age of Mercantilism, these must have been years of growing prosperity for Mads Ibsen Knie and his father-in-law. The foundation, on the 20th April, 1726, of the first Danish maritime insurance company ('*Det Kongelige Octroyerede Søe Assurance Companie*') reduced the risk to a skipper, owner or part owner of a vessel, of ruin by wrecking of an uninsured vessel. More positive day-to-day help to ships operating from Copenhagen was the fact that on the 1st June, 1726, by royal decree, the import into Denmark of salt, wine, tobacco and brandy, subject to one exception, was confined to the port of Copenhagen.

1726

Die Königl. Residenz und Festung Cöppenhagen in Dännemarc



1 Das Königl. Schloß 2 Unser Lieben frauen. 3 S. Peter 4 Heilig Geist Kirch 5 St. Nicolaj Kirch
6 Die Insel Axelhuus darauf das Königl. Zeughaus

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By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.

The Fire in Copenhagen, 1728.

(Although dated 1729.)

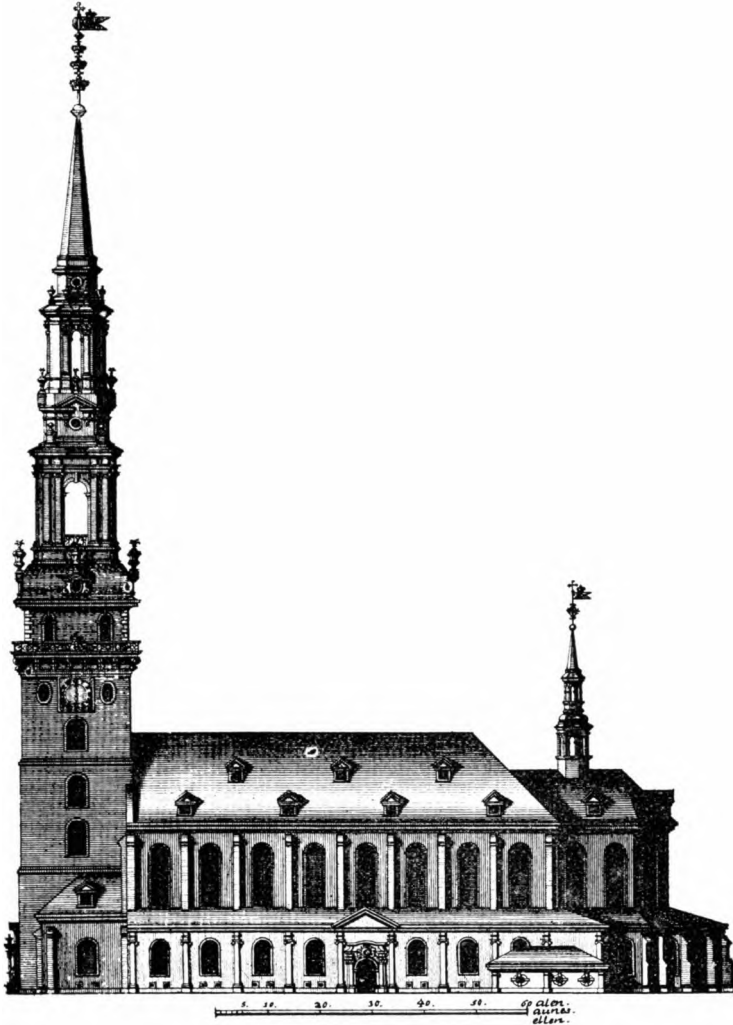
The premises at Lille Cannichestræde were virtually destroyed in the Great Fire in October, 1728. As no fire insurance had been available, many house-owners were not only rendered homeless, but also ruined. Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Knie was relatively lucky. He and his wife, with their children, (of whom, at the time, six were alive), two servant girls and Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens Bierring ('*som haver været Hiulmand*'), all found refuge in the undamaged, new, maritime suburb of Christianshavn.

Many tragedies must have occurred during those dreadful October days and nights of 1728. What happened to Jens Bierring ? 1728

In April of the previous year (27/4/1727) he had still accepted a three-year indentureship of an apprentice to qualify as a wheelwright. Shortly after the Fire, amidst all the confusion and disturbance, he seems to have transferred the ownership of the ruin of his house and the site to his son-in-law, Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie. Was Bierring physically or mentally injured during the flight from the blazing city, across the bridge of Knippelsbro to Christianshavn, where he and others sought refuge ?

In April, 1729, six months after the Fire, when records were compiled, their party of eleven were all still at old *Matrikelnummer* 30 Baadsmadsstræde, in the crowded house of Bodel Anders Datter. Their temporary hostess was the widow of a shipbuilder, Morten Olsen, of blessed memory.

Bierring, though surviving for more than six years, never seems to have recovered from the shock of the conflagration, coupled with the loss of his home and workshop. The difficulty of acquiring reasonably comfortable accommodation for the eleven evacuees in the ruined, crowded capital must have been considerable. Yet, as one of the sixteen master bargees of Copenhagen,



Etching done in 1743 of the elegant and majestic Vor Frue Kirke in Copenhagen, as it appeared prior to its destruction, in September 1807, by bombs, shells and the arrow-shaped so-called Congreve incendiary rockets, from the British bombardment.

The wedding, on the 4th June, 1714, of Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie and *Dorthe Jensdatter* is recorded in Vor Frue Kirke Church Book. So are the christenings of their ten children, which, between 1715 and 1729, took place in this Church.

So also, on the 19th March, 1745, is the wedding between Tiptipoldefar Søren Andersen Blech and Tiptipoldemor Dorothe ('Dorthe') Madsdatter Knie.

Tipoldemor Dorothea Sørensdatter Blech was christened, on the 9th May, 1752, in this Church.

Well over a hundred years later, on the 31st August, 1879, my own mother, Marie Henrica Rasmussen, b. 9/7/1879, was christened in its present, neo-classical successor.

Mads Knie no doubt had valuable contacts, and obviously had not put all his eggs into one basket !

Tiptiptipoldemor Dorothea (‘*Dorrete*’) Bierring’s pregnancy with Iohanne, her tenth and last child, called for protective action long before the house in Lille Cannichestræde could possibly be rebuilt. On the 25th April, 1729, Mads Knie, therefore, bought from Skipper Gregers Madvig a six-interaxelled house at Ny Vestergade on the islet of Frederiksholm, the name of which today survives only as part of a street name. The reasonable price of 1390 Rigsdaler reflects the modest size of the property acquired to accommodate the eleven members of the Knie household. 790 Rigsdaler appear to have been paid in cash, while the balance was settled by a mortgage.

1729

The replacement property in Lille Cannichestræde was obviously nowhere near ready, and most probably not even planned, at the time of the celebration, on the 14th September, 1729, of the christening of Iohanne. The record as phrased in the Church Book of Vor Frue Kirke, which the Knies obviously continued to look upon as their parish church, subtly confirms this; Mads Knie is referred to as being *from* Lille Cannichestræde, instead of, as in the case of earlier christenings, *at* Lille Cannichestræde.

Building the new house in Lille Cannichestræde obviously proved a slow process. For the whole district of Klædebo *Qvarteer*, which had been almost entirely destroyed, no Municipal Billetting Census Records seem to have been issued for the years 1728-30. Only in 1731 is the fact recorded that in the rear of the site at 27 Lille Cannichestræde (probably in part of the ruins) was living a solitary beer tapster by the name of Høy. Before the Fire recorded both as the owner and one of the two occupants of the old house, Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens

1731

Andersen Bierring was never mentioned again. Yet, he remained alive until 1735.

How long did Mads Knie and his family stay at *Matrikelnummer* 278B in *Vester Qvarteer* (Ny Vestergade)? As the new house at Lille Cannichestræde can only partly have been ready for occupation, it would seem likely that their removal from Ny Vestergade must have taken place about Michaelmas 1731. It was, however, not until the 1st July, 1737, that Skipper Mads Knie sold his property at Ny Vestergade to Gunmaker Andreas Gebauer, at 1380 Rigsdaler, slightly less than, about eight years earlier, he had paid for it. (The site forms a small part of the space on which, later, Prinsens Palæ was built, this palace today housing the justly world-famous historical collections of the National Museum of Denmark.)

Only indirectly do the Billetting Census Records in 1733/4 1733/4, tell us of the completion of the new building at Lille Cannichestræde, which by then was fully occupied. Utilizing the site profitably must have provided a challenge and opportunity to the entrepreneurial spirit of Mads Ibsen Knie. That year, four tradesmen, in addition to Skipper *Madtz* Knie, are shown to occupy the new property. Claus Byssing, a chandler ('*Hørkræmmer*'), was living on the ground floor, Johan Bittermand, a shoemaker, on the first floor, while Christian Høyer, possibly identical with the beer tapster who, in 1731, was referred to as 'Høy,' by then was in the basement. Finally, Peder Bröckmand, described as a 'heel-cutter' ('*Hæleskærer*'), was recorded as living in the rear house.

The tenants were all shown as being liable to modest taxes but as in the case of other 'burned-out' property owners, Mads Ibsen Knie's liability for taxes and rates, for the rest of his life, must have been waived or been non-applicable.

Shortly after the completion of his new house at Lille Cannicestræde, we owe the only traceable specimen of his signature. On the 14th September, 1733, a neighbour, Master Joiner Levin, excavating for a well to a depth of eight *Alen*, caused Mads Knie to express in writing, to the Copenhagen Magistracy, his fear that the excessive amount of excavation might affect the foundations of "my house, recently erected." The reaction was prompt. The next day, three surveyors were appointed to carry out an inspection. Two days later, on the 17th September, 1733, a report was issued recommending more effective shoring of the well, a precautionary step which we may hope satisfied Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Knie.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Mads Knie". The ink is dark and the handwriting is fluid and somewhat slanted to the right.

By courtesy of Københavns Stadsarkiv.

Signature of Tiptiptipoldefar Mads (Ibsen) Knie on his letter to the Copenhagen Magistracy dated the 14th September, 1733, in which he complained of the effect on his "recently built" house of a well dug by his neighbour.

Knie's father-in-law, Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen Bierring, lived to be a very old man. In a record of the 19 members of the Copenhagen Guild of Master Wheelwrights, dated the 18th December, 1730, the name of their former *Oldermand* was not included, although he was still alive. Widowed in 1713, he died only in 1735, at 81 years of age, and was buried on the 5th September, 1735, in the northern section of Vor Frue Kirke Churchyard, no doubt in or close to the burial plot of his wife, who, 22 years earlier, had left him bereaved.

1735

The new house in Lille Cannicestræde remained the property of Skipper Mads Knie for 19 years, from 1733 until his death in 1752; numerous changes must have

U D S K R I F T

af

Vor Frue kirkes begravelsesprotokol 1727-1776, fol. 58^b, 1735.

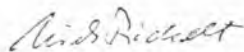
S e p t e m b e r 1735

Septembris

5. Mandag J E N S A N D E R S E N, Hieland, 81 Aar gi.
fra Lille Canichestrædet.
Paa Kirkegården til 12 Slet.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 8. september 1970



Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gebyr: kr. 6.00



This extract from Vor Frue Kirke Church Book in Copenhagen certifies that, on Monday, the 5th September, 1735, at noon, Tiptiptiptipoldefar Wheelwright Jens Andersen (Bierring) of *Lille Canichestræedet*, was buried in the churchyard, having died at 81.

occurred in the names and occupations of the occupants. One puzzling description is of somebody mentioned in the three Billetting Records covering the years 1735-39. Occupying the principal room on the 1st floor, but never assessed for tax, he is referred to both as 'Windter' and 'Winther.' Puzzling is his occupation, which at different times is given as '*Violung*,' '*Fiolunger*,' and '*Fiolung*.' Could the descriptive Danish words for his indeterminate calling have any link-up with the word 'Violin'? According to *Meyers Fremmedordbog* a '*Violon*' is identical with a 'Violinist.') If so, was the man who occupied the best room in the new house, but was not liable for the payment of any taxes, an impecunious teacher of music and possibly an admirer of Marie Madsdatter Knie? Born in 1717, she was the eldest of Tiptipoldemor Dorothe's sisters, and, during the period, was from eighteen to twenty-two years, until, on the 26th March, 1738, she married Jørgen Poulsøn, a ropemaker of Snaregade.

(Subsequent research has revealed that the mysterious musician no doubt was identical with *Hofviolon* Vinter. During the years 1735-39, as a member of the Royal Orchestra ('*Kgl. Kapel*'), is known to have received a salary ranging from 75 to 100 Rigsdaler p.a. (*Hof og Civiletatens Afregningsbog, Rtk. 222 714-18.*)

The era of the Icelandic-Finmark Company, which started in 1733, came to an end in 1742. Following the termination of the Company's monopoly to trade with Iceland, the management proposed that the Company went into voluntary liquidation. Shareholders, who regularly had been receiving 6% p.a. on their investment, were unlikely to question the wisdom of the action proposed by the management, particularly as the latter were faced with the agreeable task of dividing between

1742

the fortunate shareholders the Company's principal asset, which consisted of six barrels of gold! Was it likely that any of the investors would dissent? (*J. Aðils : Den Danske Monopolhandel paa Island, 1926-27, p. 191 et seq.*)

Whether or not Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie was a shareholder we do not know. It seems likely that he was. Some names of those pillars of society, who themselves or whose wives, sons and other members of their families had been present at the christenings of his ten children, recur in the list of people associated with the affairs of the Company, some perhaps only marginally.

Second-in-command of the Company was Nicolaj Buurmester (1679-1742) of Vimmelskaftet, Brewer, City Councillor and Icelandic Merchant. He or his wife was present, as godfather or godmother, at Vor Frue Kirke at no less than six of the ten Knie christenings. With Jutlandish shrewdness, Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie must early have realized the value of establishing close contact in Copenhagen with men of commerce.

1741 Tiptiptipoldemor Dorthea ('Dorrete') Jensdatter, wife of Skipper Mads Knie, survived her father's death by only six years. Probably exhausted by the many childbirths, she was buried at 50, on the 28th December, 1741, at 12 noon, in the northern churchyard of Vor Frue Kirke. Her death, coupled with the absence of any other senior female of the Knie household, may have caused Anne Madsdatter, one of the surviving elder daughters of the Knie family, who married Jørgen Lind, a goldsmith journeyman, to remain at her father's house when she married in 1743, and to remain there, with her husband, until 1748.

1743/49

Christenings, marriages and burials of the Knie family, will have taken place over the following years. We have



KLÆDEDRAGTER I KJØBENHAVN.

En Brændevinsmand. — Ein Brandweinstrenner.

fraas hos Lohde, Gøtthersgaden 22.

No portrait is known of Tiptipoldefar Søren Andersen Blech (about 1703-1756), *Aquavit* Distiller in Copenhagen. In his working garments, it is likely, however, that he will have appeared as shown in this etching, which is one of a well-known series of contemporary artisans in Copenhagen.

(Etching by G. L. Lahde. Photographed 1972 by Ole Woldbye.)

no record of all these. Two of the marriage partners chosen by the three marriageable daughters were not financially successful. Jørgen Lind's creative triumphs as a jeweller may, however, have influenced his brother-in-law, the Benjamin of the Skipper Mads Knie family, Søren Knie, to adopt the calling of a goldsmith. Staying single, and some six years after his father's death settling in Kalundborg away from the temptations of the capital, he died in 1816, after his return to Copenhagen, a wealthy old bachelor of 88.

1745 Only the marriage, on the 19th March, 1745, of the third surviving daughter of the Knie children, Tiptipoldemor Dorothe Madsdatter Knie, is, however, of direct interest to us. At a mere 19 years of age, Dorothe was married, in her father's house, to the 43-year-old *Acquavit* Distiller Søren Andersen Blech of 96 Studiestræde, as his second wife. Various known as Sophie Thomasdatter, his first wife, had died only six months before, after sixteen years of childless marriage. Søren Andersen Blech, by virtue of his second marriage, was to be my Tiptipoldefar.

First, however, came four years of childless marriage of the young bride and her husband, the middle-aged *acquavit* distiller. Once before, for long years he had been locked in a childless marriage.

By the end of the four years, did he look upon himself as impotent, or was his second marriage not consummated early, because of the repugnance of his young wife to the *acquavit* distiller? Unlikely, we shall ever learn the answer. in rapid succession in or about 1749, 1750, 1752 and 1754, three daughters and a son were born to Søren Blech and his second wife, Dorothe ('Dorthea') Madsdatter Knie. The youngest of these girls, Tipoldemor Dorothea Sørensdatter Blech, born on the 5th May, 1752, and christened in Vor Frue Kirke

on the 9th May, 1752, was my ancestress. Anne Blech, almost certainly the sister-in-law of the baby's father, must have travelled for the christening from Kornerup Gaard, near Roskilde, where her husband, Niels Blech, was the tenant. She carried the infant to the font. During the christening ceremony, *Jomfru Johanne* Knie, the youngest sister of the baby's mother, held the christening cap. A master mason, a dyer and a sculptor, all of Copenhagen, were the three godfathers. 1752

Not recorded as having been present at his granddaughter's christening, Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie was still alive, although, within about three months he died. On the 18th August, 1752, he was buried from the same church as that in which his granddaughter had only recently been christened. He was laid to rest in the churchyard where his wife and her parents had been buried, which adjoined their parish church of Vor Frue Kirke.

Only the Billetting Records tell us the little we know of Mads Knie's life from 1745, when his daughter, Tiptipoldemor 'Dorothea,' married her middle-aged husband, until August, 1752, when Skipper and *Prammand* Mads Ibsen Knie died. After 1749, his surviving grown-up children of three sons and four daughters, with the exception of Iohanne, the youngest daughter, had all, on marriage or later, left the parental home. Iohanne seems to have continued to live at home, caring for her prosperous and ageing father, until he died at 75, leaving her unmarried at the age of 22. (Was she mentally or physically handicapped? Already, on the 22nd November, 1745, when she was only 16, her eldest brother, Jens Knie, and her three brothers-in-law, consented, by the execution of a '*Revers*,' to make a gift to her of 225 Rigsdaler from the paternal estate after

U D S K R I F T

af

vielsesprotokollen for Vor Frue kirke i København 1722-74

1745

Martii

Den 19. - Fredag

I Huset

Søren Anderson Blech, Brændeviinsbrænder
i Studiestræde, Enke Mand

Dorthe Madsdaatter Knie Pige

Hos Hendes Pader Skipper Mads Knie

i Lille Canichestræde, Ved 12 slet.

4 Rdlr.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 31. oktober 1969



Andreas Jørgensen
Andreas Jørgensen
arkivar

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gejyr: kr. 6.50

This extract from the Journal of Weddings solemnized within the Parish of Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, certifies that, on Friday, the 19th March, 1745, at noon, *Dorthe Madsdatter Knie*, spinster, my Tiptipoldemor, was married at the house of her father, Skipper Mads Knie, at Lille Canichestræde, to *Acquavit* Distiller *Søren Anderson Blech*, widower, of Studiestræde, my Tiptipoldefar.

her father's death, prior, and in addition, to the inheritance of the 10% of the estate to which by statute she was entitled, daughters getting only half as much as sons. The total to which, in 1753, her guardian, on her behalf became entitled, and which was paid to the Public Trustee ('*Overformynderiet*'), was 780 Rigsdaler 5 Mark 6½β.)

Enterprising and energetic, as throughout his long life he had been, to the end Knie seems to have remained interested in, and in charge of, the management of his affairs. How otherwise explain the occupation, in 1751/2, of the best room in the house, on the 1st floor ('*Salen*'), by a clerk ('*Skriverkarl* ')? Another beer tapster, Erland Jensen, occupied the basement. Stationed with him there was the Fire Major's Engine No. 3, an attraction which no doubt provided a welcome excuse for frequent visits of inspection by thirsty firemen !

Buried on the 18th August, 1752, Mads Ibsen 1752
 Knie must have died a few days previously. A document headed 'Extract,' consisting of 11 calligraphed folio pages, on the strength of which probate was granted, is dated the 30th January, 1753, while the receipts at the end of it, signed by the inheritors, are dated only the 15th March, 1753. The author of the extract, an imposing, business-like document, was no doubt *Prokurator* 1753
 Tilmund Ewertsen, a well-known lawyer and former clergyman ! Immediately after Tiptiptipoldefar's funeral, Ewertsen, as called for by duty, must have taken charge. By the time the extract was prepared, most assets had been converted into cash.

No reference is made to the house in Lille Cannichestræde. As early as the 28th September, 1752, that property had been sold by auction to Master Tailor Johan Chr. Winholtz, at a price unknown to us. In 1748, it had been insured for 2000 Rigsdaler, although shortly before valued at only 1200 Rigsdaler. A

U D S K R I P T

af

dåbsprotokollen for Vor Frue sogn i København 1749-1767
fol.131

1752

M a j u s

Den 9. Tirsd. Søren Blech, Brændevisbrænder i Studiestræde
og Hustrue Dorothea Knie

En Datter kaldet: D o r o t h e a

Faddere: Søren Heinrichsen, Møllermester i
Adelgaden, Jens Mind, Farver, Ved
Nørre Port og Christian Hensel
Biedthugger i Prinsensgade.

Anne, Niels Blechs Forpagters paa
Kornerup Gaard ved Roeskilde bar
Barnet og Jfr. Johanne Knie, Mads
Knies Datter i L. Canichestræde
holdt Christen Huen.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 20. november 1968

Knud Frønge
arkivar

Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gebyr: kr. 6.25

This extract from the Journal of Christenings solemnized in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, certifies the baptism on Tuesday, the 9th May, 1752, of Dorothea Blech, my Tipoldemor.

The godfathers were three Copenhagen artisans. Anne Blech, presumably a paternal aunt of the infant, by marriage, carried her to the font. *Jomfru Johanne Knie*, her mother's youngest sister, held the christening cap.



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet, 2. Afdeling.

This is the site of the churchyard in which several of my Copenhagen ancestors lie buried. Destruction of Vor Frue Kirke by bombs, shells and incendiary rockets of the British bombardment, in 1807, caused a drastic change in the lay-out of the northern section of the churchyard adjoining. The square created between the Cathedral and the University in the middle of the 1800s became one of the favourite promenades for Copenhageners. My ancestors buried here include Tiptiptiptipoldefar Jens Andersen Bierring and his wife, and also Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie and his wife.

In 1820, in a house in Nørregade (part of which can be seen in the background), Hans Christian Ørsted (1777-1851) made the discovery of electro-magnetism, followed later by his discovery of aluminium.

(Lithograph about 1850 by Barentzen.)

house in Strandstræde, which formed part of the estate, had been sold to a Johan Bertelsen, though the purchase price of 1300 Rigsdaler remained to be paid. No mention is made of Tiptiptipoldefar's share in the Guild of Bargees, which he had bought in 1722. This and other assets must earlier have been turned into cash. At a separate auction of furniture and other effects, items were bought by a few of the inheritors, mainly Iohanne, but the total realized was merely some 52 Rigsdaler.

Only in 1736 the first royal bank in Denmark ('*Courantbanken*') had been established, and bank-notes issued by it. Royal promises, on behalf of the Bank, never to abuse the privilege of being able to *print* paper money were honoured only in the breach. The slippery path of the governmental 'con-man's' method of creating wealth by the way of the printing press was to prove too tempting. To find a safe home for one's surplus of silver coins was not easy. In accordance with common practice, Mads Knie therefore appears to have advanced some of his capital to members of his family, including his three sons-in-law, secured by mortgages on their properties or in other ways.

As he was a widower, the monies, on his death, would in any case, in pre-determined ratios, accrue to his seven legal inheritors, likely to be his surviving children, and/or their spouses.

A posthumous tribute must be paid to *Sr.* Tilmund Ewertsen for the perspicacity with which he disentangled the complicated interrelated financial affairs of the Knie family. Contradictory verbal statements and written details, including at least one dramatic revelation at a session held at the Court of Probate, must all by him have been reduced to dates, amounts, legal priorities and rights. Neither is resentment at the work involved inferred, nor is any criticism voiced, by this tactful and admirable lawyer.

1753
 Extract
 af
 Høje Dørettingere eller afsørgte Mads
 Ibsen Knie, søniges Arve og Pengestand,
 og hans hvedes og øls Skatte og Forbrø
 Røring, skattet den 30. Januar 1753. —

Den 30. Jan. 1753.
 Arve og Pengestand
 af Mads Ibsen Knie, søniges Arve og Pengestand
 med 6422 R 9ß

Den 30. Jan. 1753.
 af Søren Blech søn af Sørensen og Dorothe
 Knie, sønnes Arve og Pengestand 120 R 3ß
 af Søren Blech søn af Sørensen og Dorothe
 Knie, sønnes Arve og Pengestand 150 R 2ß

Den 30. Jan. 1753.
 af Mads Ibsen Knie søn af Mads Ibsen Knie
 sønnes Arve og Pengestand 100 R
 af Mads Ibsen Knie søn af Mads Ibsen Knie
 sønnes Arve og Pengestand 110 R

Den 30. Jan. 1753.
 af Søren Blech søn af Sørensen og Dorothe
 Knie, sønnes Arve og Pengestand

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m.
 Front page of the grant of probate dated the 30th January, 1753, in respect of the estate of Tiptiptoldefar Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie amounting to the gross value of 6422 Rigsdaler 9ß. Of this, his son-in-law, Tiptiptoldefar Søren Blech, is shown as being entitled to a refund of 150 Rigsdaler 2 Mark 14ß., in respect of funeral expenses defrayed by him, though this was small beer compared with the amount he had borrowed from Mads Knie. In theory, entitled to one-tenth of the estate, Tiptiptoldefar Dorothe Madsdatter Knie Blech, because of her husband's indebtedness to the estate, never received one Skilling.

(Reduced in size.)



Stating, in the extract, the gross assets to have been 6422 Rigsdaler 9 Skilling, he first makes sure of payment of his own modest fees and outlays, which amounted to 120 Rigsdaler 3 Mark. Next follows an item of 150 Rigsdaler 2 Mark 14 Skilling for funeral expenses, by way of a bill rendered by Tiptipoldefar Søren *Blick*. In addition to two other items, Ewertsen enumerates the courts dues, which total 131 Rigsdaler. These debits totalled 522 Rigsdaler 5 Mark 10 Skilling, the net value of the estate being 5899 Rigsdaler 15 Skilling.

In practice Ewertsen's task must have proved difficult. The three surviving sons and four daughters were entitled to Tiptipoldefar's estate in shares of 1/5th and 1/10th respectively, each of the daughters being entitled to only one-half of the share accruing to each of their brothers. Women being treated as minors, the daughter's portions were payable to their husbands or, in the case of the unmarried Iohanne, to her guardian, *Prammand* Niels Bagger. The three fraternal shares thus amounted to 60%, while the four sororal portions added up to the remaining 40%.

Money, having been advanced by Mads Ibsen Knie on different dates to the husbands of his three married daughters; a guarantee by him in respect of a loan obtained from his sons, Jens, by Jørgen Lind, one of these husbands, viz. the goldsmith *cum* jeweller, who, later went bankrupt; amounts due to the estate from two of the sons-in-law in excess of the those to which their wives were entitled; the preferential position accorded to Iohanne; the unpaid purchase price in respect of the house in Strandstræde; the rents collected on behalf of the estate by Tiptipoldefar Søren Andersen Blech; and the amounts owing by some inheritors for furniture and household effects purchased by them at the auction, must all have made the jig-saw difficult to fit together.

Captain Jens Knie, the eldest son (and, in his absence, his wife, Margrethe Elisabeth Spotoft), seems to have acted with responsibility and generosity. Søren Knie, the youngest son, presumably to facilitate a settlement, also acted generously or foolishly by agreeing to the advance of most of his inheritance to Jørgen Lind, his brother-in-law, the goldsmith. On the other hand, two of the three sons-in-law appear to have borrowed from the deceased more than they could reasonably hope to repay from their (or, more correctly, their wives') prospective inheritances.

Tiptipoldefar Søren Andersen Blech's behaviour is difficult to justify. On the 17th December, 1751, Tiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie *borrowed* 100 Rigsdaler from *Capitaine* Jens Knie's wife, but at whose instigation? The next day, the 18th December, 1751, the old man lent Tiptipoldefar Søren Blech, his son-in-law, a much larger sum, which, with interest figured in the extract as 1025 Rigsdaler. This deficit, thus becoming due from Tiptipoldefar Søren Blech to the estate, exceeded the inheritance of his wife, Dorothe. The eldest son, Jens Knie, therefore, as part of his own inheritance, had to accept the net amount due *to* the estate from Søren Andersen Blech. Only eight months earlier, this Tiptipoldefar of mine had extracted the amount from the old man, who probably he thought already at death's door.

Was this debt ever paid to his wife's brother by Tiptipoldefar Søren Andersen Blech, the beer tapster? It seems unlikely. The incident was an ugly portent of Tiptipoldefar Søren Andersen Blech's lack of financial providence, confirmed to other members of his wife's family only a few years later, after his own death, following a stroke, in August, 1756.

The net amounts receivable *from the estate* by the seven inheritors appear to have been as follows:

Each entitled to a 20% fraternal share:	1) <i>Skibs Capitaine</i> Jens Knie:	1123 Rigsdaler 3 Mark 7 4/5 Skilling
	2) Anders Knie, trade unknown:	1179 Rigsdaler 4 Mark 14 4/5 Skilling
	3) Søren Madsen Knie, Goldsmith journey- man ;	1179 Rigsdaler 4 Mark 15 4/5 Skilling
Each entitled to a 10% sororal share:	4) Dorothe ('Dorthe') Madsdatter Knie, married to Innkeeper Søren Andersen <i>Blick</i> :	Nil (her husband having borrowed more than the amount due to his wife)
	5) Anne Mads Datter Knie, married to Goldsmith Jørgen Lind:	Nil (do.)
	6) Marie Mads Daatter, married to Rope- maker Jørgen Paulsen:	533 Rigsdaler 3 Mark 15 9/10 Skilling
	7) Iohanne Madsdatter Knie, unmarried, whose guardian was <i>Prammand</i> Niels Bagger:	780 Rigsdaler 5 Mark 6½ Skilling

From the record of undamaged properties and survivors prepared after the Great Fire in 1728, we know that before and after the Fire Søren Andersen *Blick*, with his first wife (Sophie Paaske), was living in Studiestræde, that property being unscathed. The

couple had no children of their own, at least living with them. But not only did Tiptipoldefar Søren Andersen *Blick* and his first wife have with them his brother, a bachelor. After the Fire, hospitably, they opened their house to 27 other people, of whom eleven were children. Included in this batch of 'burned-out' refugees were Zacharias Zachariaszen, the *Oldermand* of the Rope-makers Guild, and his wife, and a pre-Fire competitor of Søren Andersen Blech, *Brændevinsbrænder* Jens Andersen, his wife and five children. The seven members of this family had all lived in the nearby Sct. Pederstræde, where the head of the household had carried on his useful activities.

In 1728, at the time of his first marriage, Søren Andersen Blich (or Blech), about 26, had been described as a footman or man servant ('*Tienner*'). By 1752, we know that his brother, Niels Blech, was tenant ('*Forpagter*') of the farm of Kornerup Gaard, near Roskilde.

According to Københavns Stadsarkiv, amalgamation in 1756, and again in 1806, of the old *Matrikelnumre* in Studiestræde, complicated by alterations, has had the effect that the site occupied by the present main entrance (street number 38) to Grundtvigshus is that which was occupied by the house in which, on Friday, the 5th May, 1752, Tipoldemor Dorothea Blech was born.

When Tiptipoldemor Dorothe Madsdatter Knie Blech gave birth to 'Dorte,' in Studiestræde, she could little have visualized that 168 years later, in a building on the site, her Great-great-great-grandson would score one of my early triumphs of business organization. During the Constitutional Crisis of Easter 1920, at Grundtvigshus, at a scout bazaar, otherwise unsuccessful, members of my T.G.L. patrol and I, dressed as chefs,



*By courtesy of Nationalmuseet and
Musæet for Holbæk og Omegn.*

Silver signboard for the Guild of Smiths, designed and made in 1803 in Kalundborg by Søren Knie (1728-1816), the third surviving son at the date of the death of his father, Tiptiptipoldefar Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie of Copenhagen.

(The shield belongs to Nationalmuseet but is deposited with Holbæk Museum.)

(Actual size. Søren Knie's mark, SK, appears twice on the back of the shield.)

Photo by Fris Meldgaard, Holbæk.

with cookery equipment, crockery and cutlery borrowed from the nearby ironmongers' of Bøgelund Jensen at Raadhuspladsen, tossed and sold pancakes by the

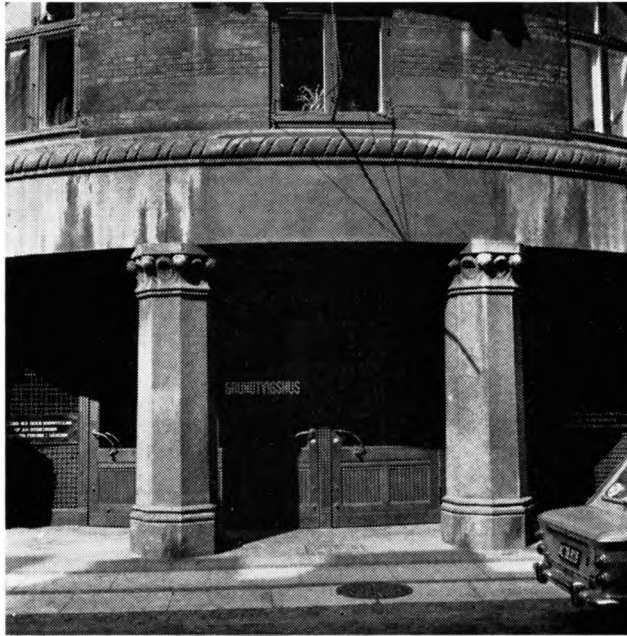


Photo 1970 by Tommy Frøning.

Tipoldemor Dorothea Petersen, *née* Blech, b. 5/5/1752 Copenhagen, †1/9/1807 Toksværd, was born in a house which formerly stood on this site in Studiestræde now occupied by part of Grundtvigshus. Known in 1762 as *Nørre Qvarteer Matrikelnummer 96*, the site, in 1806, was renumbered *Matrikelnummer 82*. Merged with other *Matrikelnumre* to its present *Matrikelnummer 78* (Grundtvigshus), the site roughly coincides with that of street number 36 in Studiestræde. (Entrance to Grundtvigshus is in No. 38.)

(Information given in letter from Københavns Stadsarkiv of 23/3/1971, Hovedjournal Nr. 81/1971.)

hundred. Profits converted into a collapsible tent, next year enabled six members of the patrol to undertake an adventurous camping expedition, across the desolate Telemarken in Norway, from Rjukan to Finse.

In August 1756, when Dorothea (or 'Dorte' for short) was only four years old, her father, died at 53, from a stroke. As his first wife's father had been sexton at St. Petri German Church, Tiptipoldefar, seemingly for no

other reason than that of economy was buried on the 31st August, 1756, in the churchyard adjoining the German Church. Left with her four young children, the business of the distillery and the house, 'Dorte's' mother, for three years, struggled along on her own. Kinsmanship Probate ('*Samfrændeskifte*'), applied for on the 30th June, 1759, nearly three years after her husband's death, when granted, revealed assets of the insolvent estate of only 1874 Rigsdaler, while liabilities amounted to 1990 Rigsdaler. The document ('*Skiftebrevet*') protecting the rights of the four children, which runs into five folio pages, was signed by the nearest responsible relative, Niels Blech, their father's brother. Already, on the 19th March, 1755, the eldest daughter, Sophie Dorte Sørensdatter, at the age of 6, had received from this uncle a mortgage for 315 Rigsdaler, secured on the property of Goldsmith Niels Lind in Holbæk. (Whether or not, and, if in the affirmative, how, this Niels Lind is related to the child's maternal uncle by marriage, Jørgen Nielsøn Lind, also a goldsmith, but resident in Copenhagen (*Refer Table No. 5*), is not clear. It seems probable, however, that they were related, if not identical.)

At a time when every fourth or fifth building in Copenhagen contained a place of refreshment, a beer cellar, an inn, a vintner's lounge, a distillery or accommodation for women of easy virtue, it is difficult to assess the nature of the business carried on at 96 Studiestræde. (In 1755, the *Matrikelnummer* of the house, which was both the business premises and the home of the widow and her four children, had been altered from 90 to 96.) On 'Dorte's' christening certificate, her father had been described as a "*Brændevinsbrænder.*" Within one year, on the 30th January, 1753, in another document, he was referred to as an innkeeper ('*Værtshusholder*').

Between 1703 and 1769, a sinister feature about the property at 96 Studiestræde was the short life expectancy



St. Petri German Church in Copenhagen.

Although the church was intended only for German-speaking Protestants in Copenhagen, Tiptipoldefar Søren *Blicks*, though seemingly a Jutlander, was buried in the adjoining churchyard on the 31st August, 1756, for no apparent reason than that of economy, his first wife's father having been (or still being) the sexton there.

of the innkeeper, whether male or female. Whenever he or she died, the surviving spouse soon found a fresh partner to wed, who, in turn, on becoming the survivor, took over the business and the property. After the death of his first wife, Sophie Paaske, 'Dorte's'


LANDSARKIVET FOR SJÆLLAND M. M.

U D S K R I F T
af
begravelsesprotokol for St. Petri tyske kirke i København 1728-67

1756
116. N. Søren Blicke, Bierschenker in der Stullistr.
begr. auf dem alten Kirchhof,
den 31. Aug. 53 Jahre - Seeler.

Udskriftens riigtighed bekræftes.
Landsarkivet, København, den 23. september 1870

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator



Gebyr: kr. 6.56

Extract in German from the Funeral Journal of St. Petri German Church in Copenhagen for 1728-67, certifies that the funeral took place on the 31st August, 1756, in the old churchyard, of Tiptipoldefar Søren *Blicke*, who had died at the age of 53, as the result of a stroke.

father, in this way had acquired the business and the house. In turn, on his death, this was how 'Dorte's' mother became the proprietrix. Names of seven owners are listed between 1703 and 1769, the average occupancy of each being less than ten years; and all interlinked by the chain reaction of marriage and death! Would it be unfair to suggest that cirrhosis of the liver played an important part, and that, for the occupier *pro tem* to join patrons in imbibing *Brændevin* was considered more important than distilling the innocent looking, but very potent *acquavit*?

In 1759, after three years of widowhood, the struggle for survival must have overwhelmed 'Dorte's' mother, who sought refuge in re-marriage. Still only 33 years on the 15th August, 1759, in her house in Studiestræde, she married Chandler Journeyman ('*Horkræmmersvend*') Christian Friderich Møller. For eight short years (1759-67), he thus became 'Dorte's' stepfather, during which period we know that her mother gave birth to at least two children by her second husband. The marriage certainly seems to have been a come-down for 'Dorte's' mother, no doubt before her father's death, assumed to have been an heiress of modest wealth! Shown in the census records from 1760 until 1764 as a beer tapster ('*Øltapper*') and also as the occupier of 96 Studiestræde, the former journeyman, quicker than the average occupant of this dangerous post, must have succumbed to the temptations or duties of his occupation. The date of his death is unknown. From Easter, 1767, however, the name of the occupier appears as that of his widow, i.e. 'Dorte's' mother. The pattern of the chain reaction of widower/widow had been reversed, though not broken!

Twice widowed, 'Dorte's' mother, presumably with the four of her six children shown on the return of

1769 inmates reproduced on p.237, stayed on at the house for at least two years, in 1769 still being at 96 Studiestræde. 'Dorte,' or more correctly, Dorothea Blech, was then about 17 years of age.

For about seven years, all trace disappears in Copenhagen of the whereabouts not only of my Tipoldemor but of her mother, sisters, half-sister, brother and half-brother, according to the Municipal Billetting Census Records of 1775 and 1778. No persons of the name of Blech, of any similar names, nor any persons of the name of Knie, can be traced in the billetting census records of Copenhagen. (*Letter dated the 19th December, 1968, from Københavns Stadsarkiv.*) Where and how did 'Dorte' spend those seven vital years from 17 to 24?

The environment of 'Dorte,' her childhood and early youth in Studiestræde, must be borne in mind. Close by the three narrow streets of Vestergade, Studiestræde and Sct. Pederstræde, in the Old City, run parallel, Studiestræde being the middle one. In Holberg's plays, the "*11te Juni*" and "*Det lykkelige Skibsbrud*," references make it evident that both inns and brothels abounded in Vestergade, the southernmost street, often perhaps under the same roof. ("Vester Paradiis," "Knopnæring," "Viinkanden," "Tre Hjorter" and "Rosen."). The 1728 Fire destroyed some of these establishments, but the district, soon rebuilt, retained its reputation and *clientèle*. Much later, in 1850, 24 addresses of residents in Sct. Pederstræde, the northern parallel street to Studiestræde, are included in police records of names and addresses of authorized, registered prostitutes ('*offentlige Fruentimmere*'). No similar details for the corresponding periods are available in respect of Studiestræde. but, about 1850, still extant, in Studiestræde, were establishments such as "Hvide Svane," "Tre Roser" and "Hvide Lam." (*O. Nielsen: Kjøbenhavn paa Holbergs Tid, Kjøbenhavn 1884, p.222.*)

Nørre - Qvarteer, No. 96
 Studii & Stræde -

Over-PRÆSI- DENT, samt

Borgemestere og Raad
 udi den Kongelige Residens-Stad
 Kiøbenhavn; Lader Endvær af Stadens Ind-
 vaanere herved advare, at de i allerunderdanigst
 Følge af den 4de Poit udi den Kongelige Aller-
 naadigste Forordning af 23 hujus, under deres
 Hænder herpaa tegner udførlig Esterretning:

Christian Frederich Møller fød i aare 1.
 Mies Anna Lørdens Datter - 1.
 1752. den 5 May Dorthea Blich fød i aare 1.
 1754. den 25 Januari Mad Blich - 1.
 1760. den 24 Decbr. Estotte Møller - 1.
 1762. den 28 April Loren Møller - 1.

Mies Anna Lørdens Datter 1.
 Mies Anna Lørdens Datter 1.
 Mies Anna Lørdens Datter 1.
 Mies Anna Lørdens Datter 1.

C. F. Møller

1) Huus-Værten (om han selv er boende et andet
 Stad, forklarer det) eller den der foreslaaer
 Huuset, Hans Navn og Haandtering, om
 han er gift eller ifte, hvor mange Børn han
 haver, deres Navne og Fødsels Tid, hvor
 mange Tjenestefolk han haver og holder og
 hvad deres Navne ere, samt hvem der er
 boende eller logerende i Huuset, eller hos den
 sig opholde, ingen undtagen og fornemme-
 lig at anføre de virkelige Militaire, at de
 siden i Mandtallerne sand blive fordiegaart.

2) De til Leveboende, hver for sig herved at
 forklare, deres Navne, Brug og Haand-
 tering, om er gift eller ifte, de der have
 Børn at anføre deres Navne og Alder,
 samt hvor mange Tjenestefolk have.

Af denne Placat bliver, ved de dertil bestyrelde
 Mænd, leveret et Exemplar udi hver Gaard og
 Huus, hvorpaa Værterne og de der til Leveboende
 eller logerende straxen tegner den behøvende For-
 klaring og Oplysning, saa sandfærdig og tilfor-
 ladelig som hver for sig vil faae til Ansvar for,
 under de i Forordningen dicterede 10 Rixdalers
 Straf og dog at betale for de forduigte, samt
 derefter uden Ophold sender den til samme ud-
 nævnte Mænd at Mandtallerne uden Ophold sand
 blive forfærdigede. Enhver Huus-Ejere, der
 have saadanne Fattige hos sig boende, der intet
 for-maaret at udrede den Allernaadigste paabudne
 Etat, ville og ved sin Paategning derom giere
 fuld-

By courtesy of Rigsarkivet.

In 1762, every citizen of Copenhagen was enjoined by this imposingly printed notice to render a return of all the inmates of his property. The purpose was to ensure correct assessment of the extra tax payable that year.

It is only thanks to this return, containing written details of the occupants of the house at *Nørre Qvarteer, No. 96 Studii Stræde*, signed by C. F. Möller, that we know the date of birth of his stepdaughter, Tipoldemor Dorthea Blich, viz. the 5th May, 1752.

(Reduced in size.)

And in 1969, near the site where Grundtvigshus now stands (and 'Dorte' was born), bars and pubs abounded.

In 1969, in a nearby second-hand book basement, exhibited for sale were publications and films in Danish, Swedish, English/American and German, with alluring titles and descriptions such as "Petting Boys," Lesbian Books, Sadistic Magazines and "Sex Movies in Color."

One day, in June, 1969, at 5 p.m., walking along Vestergade, I saw a drunken man stagger upstairs from a basement liquor shop. Nearer Raadhuspladsen, from a gateway, two fair-haired prostitutes were offering their attractions. In 200 years, the ethos of the area had not changed.

Reverting to the years of 1752-1779, not only must the life in, and the reputation of, the district be borne in mind. The commonly accepted implications of poor 'Dorte's' stepfather's occupation as a beer tapster are obvious, as evidenced by the statement of the harlot in Holberg's "*Det lykkelige Skibsbrud*," about to be married the next day: "My husband-to-be will have a beer bottlery, so you can visit me just as freely as before." (*Skiøgen*: "*Min Kiæreste vil holde Øltapperie og saa kand du besøge mig lige saa frit som tilførn.*")

Is it purely coincidental that the gap (1769-1779) in our knowledge of 'Dorte's' adolescent life roughly coincides with the gap (1768-1779) in our knowledge of the life of Henrich Petersen, her husband-to-be, after he had obtained his degree in theology until, shortly before he married 'Dorte,' he published the first edition of his *History of the World*?

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Manuscripts :

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- 2) Vielsesprotokol for Vor Frue Sogn i København 1714-21. Fol. 4b.
- 3) Døbsprotokollen for Vor Frue Kirke i København 1714-21.
- 4) Døbsprotokollen for Vor Frue Kirke i København 1722-35.
- 5) Begravelses Protokol for Vor Frue Kirkes Sogn i København 1727-76. Fol. 114a. (Funeral of Mads Knie 18/8/1752.)
- 6) Vielsesprotokollen for Vor Frue Kirke i København 1722-74. (Wedding of Dorthe Madsdaatter Knie to Søren Andersen Blech, 19/3/1745.)
- 7) Døbsprotokollen for Vor Frue Sogn i København 1748-67, Fol. 131. (Christening of Dorothea Blech 9/5/1752.)
- 8) Københavns Skipperlaug; Dagbog 1712-14, General Mandtall over Skipper Laugs Brødrene 1702 *et seq.*
- 9) Skødeprotokol for Københavns Byting Nr. III 1692-99, Fol. 35a. (Purchase by Jens Andersen, 19/6/1693, of property in Lille Cannichestræde.)
- 10) Skødeprotokol for Københavns Byting Nr. XIII 1722-24, Fol. 219a. (Purchase by Mads Ibsen Knie of share in *Prammandslauget* from Johannes Jørgensen Gysting 12/10/1722.)
- 11) Pantcextraktprotokol No. 8 1722. (Loan to Mads Ibsen Knie by Hans Stuve.)
- 12) Begravelsesprotokollen for Vor Frue Kirkes Sogn i København 1727-76, Fol. 67b. (Burial of Dorthe Jensdaatter Bierring 28/12/1741.)
- 13) Skødeprotokol 1728-32, Fol. 29a. (Purchase by Mads Knie of property in Ny Vestergade, 25/4/1729.)
- 14) Skiftebrev Nr. 8 (Extract) of Mads Ibsen Knie, 30/1/1753.
- 15) Skiftebrev of Jacob Rasmussen Knie, 30/10/1764.
- 16) Københavns Skiftekommissions Behandlingsprotokol Nr. X 1754-61, p. 93. (Grant of Probate: Rasmus Ibsen Knie, 18/1/1755.)
- 17) Begravelsesprotokol for St. Petri tyske Kirke i København 1728-67, 31/8/1756.
- 18) Samfrændeskifte 1759, Nr. 131: Søren Andersen Blech, 30/6/1759.
- 19) Garnisons Kirkebog 1814-20, Page 25 — Døde Mandkøn — Nr. 1816 Søren Knie, forhen Guldsmed — Død af Alderdom Toldbodgaden 53, 88 Aar, gl. død den 5. Januar, begr. 10. Januar 1816.

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- 2) Hiul- og Karetmagerlauget No. 11, 1666-1799, Diverse Dokumenter.
- 3) Hiul- og Karetmagerlauget, 1685-1718, Ind- og Udskrivningsprotokol for Læredrenge.
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Entries Nos. 765, 772 and 1036 refer to voyages to Tranquebar and China in 1742/3, 1748/50 and 1761/4, of which Jens (Madsen) Knie appears to have been in charge.

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 To Professor C. A. Bodelsen.
 To *Arkivar* Henning Paulsen, Viborg.

TENTH CHAPTER :

Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen's *Sturm und Drang* period before, during, and after the Struensee Era

The fourteen years from 1765, when Henrich began his *1765-1779* studies at the University of Copenhagen, constituted the beginning of a century of critical, economic and political changes in Denmark/Norway. The overture included the fantastic period (1769-1772) during which the formerly obscure, but brilliant German-speaking physician, Struensee, became both the virtual ruler of the twin kingdoms and the lover of the Queen. The Court, in fact, became '*une ménage à trois*.' In 1766, this English-born princess, Caroline Matilde, sister of King George III, had been married by proxy in London, at the age of 15, to the spiteful, lilliputian monarch of Denmark/Norway, King Christian VII.

The royal capital of the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, and of the twin duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, was a city of unbridled low morals and endless debauchery. Christian VII was the most absolute of monarchs in Western Europe. He it was who, following his father's pattern, set the pace of licentious behaviour in public before turning insane, his condition today being diagnosed as *dementia præcox*, the symptoms of which became obvious shortly after his marriage.

In many respects, life in Copenhagen must have been similar to that in the London depicted by Hogarth. Johan Hermann Wessel (1742-1785) and Johannes Ewald

(1743-1781), contemporaries of Tipoldefar and living or born within a stone's throw of Klosterstræde, were both great poets, Ewald perhaps Denmark's greatest. Rarely sober, before dying fairly young, they produced work of lasting worth and beauty. Tipoldefar and his cronies may well have joined them occasionally at one of the haunts at which these and other *beaux-esprits* met, such as the coffee house of *Madam* Neergaard in Badstuestræde, or in the shop of Vintner Juell in Sværtegade. (The witty Wessel, in 1772, wrote his satirical and elegant poem "Love without stockings" ("*Kierlighed uden Strømper*") at Graabrødretorv 3, where, 1772-77, he lived in a house still standing, which almost adjoins Klosterstræde.) Many of their circle were of Norwegian origin, others of French, German, Italian and, of course, Danish birth. From choice or necessity living in the Athens of the North, their presence in Tipoldefar's Copenhagen for 30 years (1765-1795), ensured the maintenance of a scintillating intellectual life. Only their absence of active political interest, in the years preceding, and during, the French Revolution, was noteworthy.

Henrich's academic career in a few words can be told on authority of a letter from the *Rigsarkivet* in Copenhagen, dated the 19th August, 1968, and based on '*København's Universitets Matrikel og Protokol over Teologisk Embedseksamen.*' Qualified for admission ('*dimitteret*') to Copenhagen University in 1765, Henrich, on the 1st May, 1766, passed '*Filosofikum*' and, on the 16th March, 1768, obtained his degree as *cand. theol.* He was '*dimitteret*' in 1765 and not 1770, as erroneously stated in the Erslew's *Almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon*. (Examined by Doctors P. R. Goiske and I. A. Cramer. '*Henricus*' Petersen obtained his degree '*Non Contemnendum*,' with similar marks to those obtained by most of his successful co-examinees.)

What did Henrich, doubtless having enjoyed life as a student to the full, do to earn his living after qualifying for his theological degree; did he pursue his studies; and where did he live during the eleven



RIGSARKIVET
Rigdagsgården

København K. den 19. august 1968

J. nr. 252-1552.

Ref. MW/JC - SD.

Mr. Find Graucob,
Ove-gate,
30 Hullen Edge Road,
Elland,
Yorkshire,
England.


I besvarelse af Deres forespørgsel af 15. juli skal Rigsarkivet meddele Dem følgende om Henrik Petersen.

Ifølge Københavns Universitets Matrikel og Protokol over teologisk embedseksamen blev han i 1765 dimmitteret til Københavns Universitet, tog filosofikum den 1. maj 1766 og teologisk embedseksamen den 16. marts 1768.

Opmærksomheden skal iøvrigt henledes på Henrik Petersens biografi i Anders Petersen, Sjællands Stifts Degnehistorie, København 1899, side 184. Heri meddeles det, at han var søn af skomagermester P. Henriksen i Klosterstræde i København, at han først var informator i "Klasseskolen" i København, og at han i 1780 blev kaldet til degneembedet i Toksværd sogn af kaptajn M. Friedenreich på Sparresholm. Henrik Petersen udgav: Den almindelige Verdenshistorie 1779, forkortet 1793. Tale i "Klasseskolen" 1780. Om Nationaloplysningen og dens Følger 1785. Han var gift med Dorthea Blick. Nærmere angivelse af hans litterære produktion kan findes i Thomas Hansen Erslews Almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon for Kongeriget Danmark, II, Kbh. 1847, s. 551.

I ovennævnte biografi meddeles det fejlagtigt, at Henrik Petersen blev dimmitteret til Københavns Universitet fra Roskilde Skole i 1770.

Med venlig hilsen


Sune Dalgård
overarkivar/dr.phil.
Rigsarkivets 1. afd.

Confirmatory letter from Rigsarkivet providing corrected data of "Henrik" Petersen's academic career.

subsequent years (1768-1779), most or all of which we may perhaps assume he spent in Copenhagen? The house at Klosterstræde is likely to have been closed to him, his stepmother having married Michael Simensen Zarbell, another shoemaker. Like many students of the age in a similar position, he must have been in danger of becoming a '*studiosus eternitas*' ('*Evighedsstudent*').

Contrary to Henrich's confident assumption, when in Spring 1766 he wrote to the *Skiftekommission*, he did not, according to surviving records, seem to have been successful in obtaining accommodation at the Regensen or one of the other three colleges in Copenhagen. As a so-called '*Gris*' he may, for a time, have lived as a sub-tenant at the lodging of one of the other students. This is possible, but cannot be confirmed. After 1768, Henrich may have acted as a professional writer of letters of business, supplication, or affairs of the heart, or obtained a post as a private resident tutor in Copenhagen or, less likely, in the country. Desperately phrased advertisements from young men in a similar position to his, offering their services in such capacities, appear in the *Adresse-Avisen*.

Henrich's statement in 1766 that, though not ordained, during his father's lifetime he had already performed the duties of a deacon ('*Degn*') at weddings and funerals celebrated in the Church of the *Vartous Hospital*, provides a pointer to one of his probable sources of income. There seems to be no reason why, after his father's death, he should not on occasions, in this manner, have continued to earn a few Rigsdaler.

Lauritz Gielstrup, Henrich's mother's brother, and until Henrich had reached his majority, his guardian, might have helped him, if he himself had prospered, but unfortunately he hadn't. In 1748, at the time of Henrich's christening, Uncle Lauritz ('*Lars*') Gielstrup, trader in fancy goods, was shown in the census record

as living at, and owning, the house at old *Matrikelnummer* 26 Vimmelskaftet. Later re-classified as *Matrikelnummer* 20, the property, still in his name in 1761, was assessed for taxation at 400 Rigsdaler. By 1762, however, the owner was shown as *Monsr.* Jørgen Ernst. No wonder! Sad to relate, records at the City Hall show that, on or before the 12th January, 1762, Lauritz Gielstrup was adjudged bankrupt. In a record of silk, woollen and linen traders, published in 1765, 1771 and 1772, the name of Lauritz Gielstrup still appears. Ignominiously, however, he is rated amongst those *without a booth*. 'Uncle Lars,' the fancy goods dealer born in Nibe, who, in 1738, had established his *boutique* in the fashionable street of Vimmelskaftet, to pander to the whims of the fair sex, had deteriorated into an itinerant pedlar. Only in 1775 did the surname of Gielstrup re-appear in any other record readily available today. This time, however, in *Kiøbenhavns Veyviser*, the name is shown at the address in Christianshavn of Kræmmer Compagniet's *Manufactur*, *Matrikelnummer* 124 Kongens Gaden, prefaced by the descriptive word of book-keeper ('*Bogholder*'). Did Henrich, during some of the years of the Gielstrups' decline, stay with them between 1766 and 1779, at one address or another, or at least obtain some of his meals at their table?

Absence of a regular income must have presented an ever-pressing problem to Henrich. One of his useful and interesting contacts was *Agent* Hans Holck (1726-1783), an older, restless man, to some extent one of his own type, who made a name for himself as a business man, philanthropist, journalist and witty poet. He initiated many ingenious enterprises ahead of their day, but only the Kraks Vejviser survives today. In an attempt to fortifying the bodies and improving the minds of the poor, Holck, in 1769, organized the supply of free meals, followed, in 1771, by the opening of five free schools for children. The fact that he went bankrupt in 1773

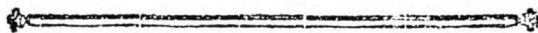
did not deter Holck from further philanthropic and educational activity. In 1775, he opened yet another school, this time, however, for middle class children, whose parents were able to pay fees.

As a prep. school for the latter children Holck, in 1777, established the so-called '*Klasse-Skole*,' and there, in the late 1770s, Tipoldefar found a temporary niche as a teacher ('*Informator*'). It is in the shape of the speech which Henrich Petersen delivered to the parents of the pupils at the public examination (1779), that his first literary work survives. Lacking any particular merit, it was first printed separately. Subsequently, but still in 1779, it was reprinted in a periodical "*Literatürens Paketbaad*," No. 49.

Reference to the 1779 10th edition of *Kiøbenhavn's Veyviser* reveals the residential location of *Petersen, Informator ved Classeskolen*, as *Vimmelskaftet 162*. Slightly differently phrased, this statement, was repeated in the 1780 edition. The address is the same as that of the *Aviscontoiret* at *Vimmelskaftet No. 162*, at which the directory published by Hans Holck was on sale, giving details of '*Anviisning til de flestes Boepæle*.'

Quotations from Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu in his books and pamphlets indicate that Tipoldefar was not a mere boozier and womanizer, but, in common with several of his literary Copenhagen contemporaries, a well-read man. From a schedule of his chattels, dated the 11th December, 1780, we know that Henrich possessed a library of "about 300 books in various languages and sciences." What happened to him at this juncture (1779/80)? Had he taken to heart the message that Rousseau had never lacked patrons? Or, having fallen seriously in love, did he decide to settle down; or had creditors made his life in Copenhagen intolerable? Whatever the answer, he succeeded, in 1779, in compiling and publishing (at his own expense?) for use in

Den
almindelige
Verdens Historie,
udi
kort Begreb
og
til Brug
for Begynderne,
forfattet
af
Henrich Petersen,
p. t. Informator ved Klasse:Skolen.



Kjøbenhavn, 1779.
Købt og sælges hos Johan Rudolph Schiele,
i store Helligestisstræde.

Title page of the first edition of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen's historical primer.

elementary schools, “The History of the World” (*‘Den almindelige Verdens Historie’*). Printed and offered for sale in Copenhagen by Johan Rudolph Thiele, of store Helliggeiststræde, near Klosterstræde, the Primer, starting from Adam and Eve yet had its contents condensed into 102 pages! Disproportionate space was allotted to Ancient History, the Collapse of the Roman Empire not being related until page 64. In the age of Absolutism, detailed description of more recent events might have introduced undue elements of controversy, and comparison with the current regime. On page 94, the English were gently chided for having beheaded Charles I, another anointed monarch who had reigned by the grace of God. (The French Revolution was still in the future!)

With prophetic insight, on page 102, Tipoldefar concludes his book :

“The war which for some years England has waged against her American colonies, and the share recently taken in this by France, threatens also Europe, and particularly the naval powers, with much disquietness; and if the Colonies in America should defend the freedom and independence which they have usurped, the consequences, in the course of time, will cause important changes, not only in Europe, but also in the other continents of the World.”

Possibly with his own future in mind, Henrich prudently dedicated his work to Ove Høegh Guldberg. From the fall of Struensee, in 1772, to 1784, he was *de facto* ruler of Denmark. Guldberg had written one of the three earlier similar brief Histories of the World, which later Henrich was accused by Abraham Kall of having plagiarized. In his foreword, however, Henrich makes an obsequious bow of acknowledgment to Kall.

The methods of imparting education inferred by Tipoldefar were those of the eighteenth century. They would have shocked modern educationalists. Only facts, dates and names were of consequence ; pupils were to learn these by rote and not encouraged to reason or query authority.

In April 1779, *Agent* Hans Holck suffered the first of several strokes. This occurrence, must have brought home to Tipoldefar the uncertain future facing him as an *Informator* at the Klasse-Skole.

Eight months later, on the 28th December, 1779, after payment to the City of Copenhagen Authorities of the oddly termed “copulation fee” enabled Henrich (equally oddly still described as a “*Studiosus*”) to be married the next day in the Garnisons Kirke to his bride, “Dorte Blix,” who was four years younger than he was.

The Church Book confirms the marriage on the 29th December, 1779. The entry, however, is silent regarding the addresses of the bride and the groom as well as about the names of any witnesses (*Forlovere*). Why? Still primarily a place of worship for members of the military land forces, Garnisons Kirke also served as a parish church. “Dorte,” my Tipoldemor, had been christened in Vor Frue Kirke, the Copenhagen Cathedral, on the 9th May, 1752. Unless the 27-year-old bride had become resident in the newer part of Copenhagen, for which Garnisons Kirke served as the parish church, one would have expected her marriage to have been celebrated in the church where her christening took place. Was the wedding an irregularly arranged affair? There are pointers in that direction. On her christening certificate the name of Tipoldemor (as we must now call her) had been meticulously stated to be Dorothea Blech ; the name of “Dorte Blix,” in which she was married, seems a mixture of a colloquial abbreviation of her Christian

V I E L S E S - A T T E S T

År 1779 - sytten hundrede syvtini - den 29.
- ni og tyvende - december viedes i Garnisons
kirken i København studiosus

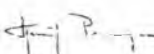
H e n r i c h P e t e r s e n

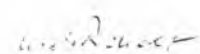
o g

D o r t e B l i x

At dette er i overensstemmelse med tilførselen
i den her opbevarede vielsesprotokol for den
danske og tyske menighed ved Garnisons kirken
i København 1769-1815, fol.51 a, bevidnes herved
på embeds vegne.

Landsarkivet, København, den 20.november 1968


Knud Frange
arkivar


/Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gebyr: kr. 1.00



This extract from the wedding journal of the Garnisons Kirke, Copenhagen, certifies the crucial marriage on the 29th December, 1779, between " *Studiosus* Henrich Petersen og Dorte Blix."

name, and a partly incorrect phonetic spelling of her surname. And as for her well-educated husband for more than eleven years, he had been entitled to

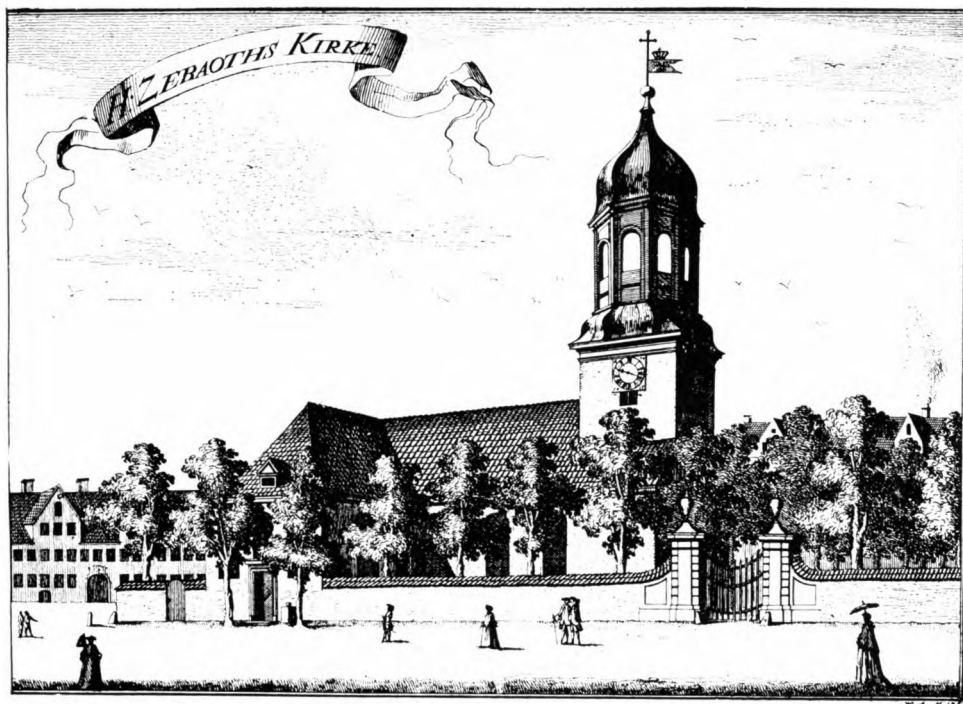
describe himself as a *cand. theol.*, a much more impressive designation than that of a mere *Studiosus*.

The choice of the Garnisons Kirke as the venue for the wedding is not likely to have been accidental. Secret or run-away marriages, or marriages under an assumed name, seem to have been a fairly frequent occurrence in Copenhagen in the eighteenth century. By a decree of 1738 the clergy attached to the army had been enjoined to arrange for the common so-called betrothal (*'Troløvelse'*) ceremony to take place at the clergyman's dwelling, in an attempt to cut the cost of the subsequent celebration. (*Carl Bruun: Kjøbenhavn, 1901, 3rd volume, p. 214 et seq.*) Betrothal, which had certain legal consequences, in practice was often considered almost equivalent to a civil marriage. And the military clergy soon acquired the reputation of being easy-going with their documentary requirements, as well as with those of identification.

Even the absence of the bride was not unknown! And in at least one case a widow complained that, in her *absentio*, and without her consent, she had been married to a soldier, on his *sole* application! At Ladegaarden, the local clergyman, Dietrich Rup, is reputed to have specialized in secret weddings, "like the Blacksmith at Gretna Green."

Love was obviously the reason which had caused Henrich and Dorothea to get married, as Henrich was under no legal pressure to marry the mother of his coming child. Both timing and venue of the wedding were clearly influenced by the age-old reason of the bride's pregnancy. With very limited financial resources at their disposal, the decision to get married in the near future may have been the cause of Henrich's pushing ahead, in 1779, with the publication of his *History of the World*.

Conventional standards of morals at the time were ignored by many, including theological students and



Garnisons Kirke in Copenhagen, the official name of which is 'Den Herre Zebaoths Kirke,' was built 1703-1706. On the 29th December, 1779, in this church, Tipoldemor Dorothea Blich was married to Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen. On the 7th October, 1917, I was confirmed in this church by *Pastor Olfert Ricard*; so, on the 10th April, 1921, was my sister, Eva.

after their marriage, ordained clergymen. Incurring no financial responsibility or affecting his future professional career, Henrich could have abandoned "Dorte." If this had happened during the years from 1771 to 1774, it would have been open to her, after the birth of her baby, to decide whether anonymously she would deposit the infant in the box which, during those years, was placed for this purpose outside the Royal Frederiks Hospital in Amaliegade. After 1774, this well-intentioned alternative to her caring for the infant was no longer available. If, however, Henrich had stood by her, but he and "Dorte" were married only after the baby's arrival, their marriage would not prevent the child from being stigmatized for life as illegitimate.

Furthermore, such evidence of Henrich's fornication would also have reduced his chances of ever becoming a *Degn*, leave alone a fully-fledged clergyman.

LANDSARKIVET FOR SJÆLLAND M. M.

U D S K R I F T

af

dåbsprotokol for Sct. Nikolaj kirke i København 1766-88, - 1780 -

1780

Den 19. Februar Studiosus Henrik Petersen i lille
Kongensgade og Dororthea Sorens Datter deres Datter kaldet

H e n r i e t t e D o r o t h e a

født den 8. Februar.

Faddere: Soren Nyegaard, Dreyer, Johan Wagner, Skræder Mester,
Christian Erichson, Pussementmager. Mad. Sidsel Cathrine Nygaard,
Blokke Dreyer Kone og Jfr. Anna Cathrine Berg, Præste Datter.

Udekriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, Købennavn, den 29. oktober 1969

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gebyr: kr. 6.50



Extract from the Journal of Christenings which were solemnized in Sct. Nikolaj Kirke, Copenhagen, certifying the baptism on the 19th February, 1780, of Henriette Dorothea Petersen, the eldest of Henrich and Dorothea Petersen's seven children.

Responsible only to God for his conduct, the King could have as many mistresses as he chose and ennoble those of his issue by them whom he thought fit. There was then, as there always will be, one law for the powerful and rich and another for the weak and poor. Even the guilds of artisans did not allow boys born out of wedlock to be indentured to their trades.

Wisely, almost necessarily, therefore, Henrich and “Dorte” attempted to create a smoke screen to conceal the venue and date of their wedding, as well as the birth and christening of their eldest child. Only patient, imaginative and persistent research, 190 years later, by Jeppe Rasmussen and Niels Rickelt, has disclosed to posterity the facts, and made the events of 1779/80 fit like pieces of a jig-saw.

On the 8th February, 1780, six weeks after her marriage to Henrich, “Dorte” gave birth to a daughter, at an unidentified house in Lille Kongensgade, Copenhagen, where, it is inferred in the Church Book, she was living with her husband. Eleven days later, on the 19th February, 1780, the infant, at her christening in the parish church of Sct. Nikolaj, was named Henriette Dorothea. Popular as the name of ‘Henriette’ was, it is tempting to believe that the name of their love-child also represented a symbolical contraction of the parents’ christian names of ‘Henrich’ and ‘Dorte.’

At the christening ceremony, however, the names of Henrich and “Dorte” were even more inaccurately spelled and incompletely recorded in the Church Book, than at the wedding. Also the failure to state Henrich’s theological qualification was repeated, the father of the baby being again described only as a “*Studiosus.*” The correct description of the qualified theological candidate as a *cand. theol.* might have attracted unwelcome attention in ecclesiastical

quarters. Apart from Anna Cathrine Berg, the daughter of a clergyman, the five godparents present consisted of a master tailor, a turner and a trimming maker. One of these three worthies, the turner (*Blocke Dreyer Søren Nielsen Nyegaard*), by cross-reference proved, to have resided, in 1778 and 1794, at 124 Strandstræde, was accompanied by his wife. The three men are unlikely to have been members of Henrich's circle of the junior intelligentsia of Copenhagen. In the record of the 1778 Billetting Census ('*Indkvarterings Mandtal*'), only the name and address of one of the godparents can be traced in full, viz. *Skræder Johan Wagner of Matrikelnummer 95 Landemerchet*.

The date of the christening, we must recall, was in the year following the publication by Henrich of the first edition of his *History of the World*, and later we know that he must have referred to himself as "*Øverste Informator*" at the snob prep. establishment of the "*Klasse-Skole*." Whatever the accommodation he and "*Dorte*" had in Lille Kongensgade, and whatever the reason for their living there, this thoroughfare then, and long afterwards, was one of the principal streets of brothels and prostitutes in Copenhagen. (*Grethe Hartmann: Boliger og Bordeller, København 1967 p. 112/113.*) In the 1778 census record, the names of no less than 12 beer tapsters are recorded: thirst of every kind could certainly be slaked in Lille Kongensgade! "*Dorte*," it may be assumed, was already living there, either alone or with Henrich, at the time of their marriage in Garnisons Kirke. They should therefore have been married in Sct. Nikolaj Kirke, the parish church of the bride, whose six or eight months' pregnancy at the time of her marriage came to the attention of the local clergyman. Deprived of his fee by their marriage elsewhere, in a letter of complaint to his dean, derogatorily he had referred to "*Dorte*" as a "*female*" ('*Fruentimmer*').



Sct. Nikolaj Kirke in Copenhagen, as it appeared about 1780. In this church on the 19th February, 1780, 'Dorte' and Henrich Petersen's eldest child was christened Henriette Dorothea. She had been born on the 8th February, 1780, only six weeks after the marriage of her parents, on the 29th December, 1779, at the Garnisons Kirke.

E K S T R A K T

U D S K R I F T

af

Konibog for Sjællands Bispæarkiv 1780 den 10. april - til provst Tybring

[Sognepræsten fra St. Nicolaj Kirke klager til sin provst over at præsterne ved Garnisons kirke har viet personer, der hører under St. Nicolaj kirkes menighed - der anføres en række konkrete vielser ³ n.l.a.]:

- 7) Studiosus Henrich Petersen nu Informator i Classe-Skolen
copuleret med et Fruentimmer fra Lille Kongensgade.
Copulations Seddel dat. 28. December 1779
-

On the 10th April, 1780, the incumbent of Sct. Nikolaj Kirke, in a letter to his dean, complained of the marriage of some of his parishioners by clergymen at Garnisons Kirke. The inference was that the fees which he rightfully considered due to him, instead went into the pockets of clergymen at the other church. Quoting, amongst others, the marriage of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, the indignant clergyman omits the bride's name. Instead he uses the derogatory term of 'a female' ('*et Fruentimmer*') from Lille Kongensgade.'

Throwing a party after the christening, for Henrich's socially more important and influential friends, would have been inopportune. It would have drawn attention of any valuable contacts to the arrival of the baby only six weeks after the wedding. Shortage of cash was another good reason for inviting to the Church only the socially unimportant artisans and their wives.

In the first edition of the History of the World, it is significant that on the title page, beneath the name of the author, but before the descriptive word "*Informator*," appear the letters "*p.t.*" The playtime of the 32-year-old *cand. theol.* was over. But how was Henrich

to qualify for a living yielding an income sufficient to provide for himself, “Dorte” and little Henriette Dorothea, and also pave the way for further advancement?

Other hungry applicants were touting for posts as tutors and clergymen. Nominations of qualified applicants to advowsons were at the discretion of landowners, though, after examination of the candidates by the Bishop, the final decision remained with the King. But the landowner had to certify the fitness of any candidate whom he nominated, even to the modest junior ecclesiastical office of *Degn*. The arrival of the baby could have presented awkward evidence not only of Henrich's, but also of “Dorte's,” pre-marriage lack of morals. By design or luck, Henrich's and “Dorte's” wedding had taken place in 1779, while the baby had been born only in 1780. At a time when events and ages were often only reckoned in years, it would have required a Paul Pry to disqualify Henrich's nomination to clerical office by disinterment of the fact that Henrich's and “Dorte's” first child had been born only six weeks after their wedding.

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- 3) Christening Journal Sct. Nikolaj Kirke, Kiøbenhavn 1766-1788. 1780.
- 4) Sjællands Bispearkiv 1780. Ekstrakt af Kopibog. (Brev til Provst Tybring 10/4/1780.)

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- 9) Grethe Hartmann : Boliger og Bordeller, København 1967.
- 10) The dates in 1780, of the birth and christening of Henriette Dorothea Petersen, were traced by Niels Rickelt by reference to Fr. Olsen : Den Danske Postetat 1624-1927, København 1927, p. 382, aided by cross-reference to : *Registerkort til Enkekassen No. 12723-16052, Antaget 1823.*
- 11) Københavns Raadhusbibliotek.

Acknowledgments and Thanks :

- 1) Overarkivar, dr. phil. Sune Dalgård, Rigsarkivet.
- 2) Fuldmægtig Jeppe Rasmussen, Københavns Stadsarkiv.
- 3) Kraks Vejvisers Forlag.

Note :

An inaccurate reference to Henrich Petersen's life appeared in "Det Bedste," the Danish edition of the Reader's Digest. (January 1971, p. 27, Peter Luffe : '*Slægtsforskning - en afslørende Hobby.*')

A wild goose chase : The ' other ' Henrich Pedersen :

During his attempts to help me in tracking down details of the life of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, *Fuldmægig* Jeppe Rasmussen, accidentally stumbled across the details of the life of Henrich Pedersen. He was born in Fredericia, on the 14th April, 1747, and on the 7th August, 1769, sentenced to death in Copenhagen for coining. Subsequently, he escaped from the primitive prison below the City Hall in Nytorv, and was never recaptured. The colourful story forms the subject of a monograph by Jeppe Rasmussen, 'Fire Falske Pengesedler,' published in the March, 1972, issue of 'Københavns Kronik,' 'Periodiske Meddelelser fra Selskabet for Københavns Historie.'

ELEVENTH CHAPTER :

Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen's 47 years as a *Degn* in Toksværd

Where did Tipoldefar meet, or attract the attention *1780-1827* of, Mouritz Friedenreich (1732-1798), who became his patron? The short answer is that we do not know. Most probably, in Copenhagen.

Tipoldefar's senior by 16 years, Friedenreich, a Stege-born clergyman's son, was a picturesque, enterprising and adventurous character. Having studied at the Universities of Copenhagen, Rostock, Lund and Jena, he had, in 1756, been present at the capitulation of the Saxon army at Pirna. After a short service in the Danish footguards, during which he wrote the first volume of a work on military history, Friedenreich went abroad again with the financial support of King Frederik V, and, in 1759, joined the famous Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick's English Legion. Following his second return to Denmark in 1761, this time with the rank of artillery captain, he wrote, and in 1765 had published, the second volume of his historical work, before retiring from the army in 1768. In 1766, Friedenreich had married Marie Knudsen. As she was the daughter of the sexton ('*Overgraver*') at the Helligaandskirke, it is probable that Henrich at least may have been on nodding terms with her, a fact which later possibly provided him with a welcome introduction to her husband, the then experienced army officer and military writer. In the eighteenth century, war service often supplied worldly wealth. Significantly, in 1778, Friedenreich had purchased the estate of Sparresholm, on which was standing one of

the minor stately homes of Denmark, of the same name. From 1528 to 1606 it had been a fief in the possession of members of the famous Daa family, referred to in one of his fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen.

The suggestion has been made that the real father of Henriette Dorothea was Mouritz Friedenreich. In that case, the semi-clandestine marriage of Henrich to 'Dorte,' when she was seven or eight months pregnant, could have been a *quid pro quo*, in respect of Henrich's nomination to the lowly ecclesiastical post which eventually became his for life. In my opinion this suggestion is incorrect. Reasons of compassion, friendship, or admiration may have caused Friedenreich, in the year after the publication of 'Tipoldefar's History of the World and his marriage to Dorothea Blech, to nominate Henrich, at the age of 32, to the office of Deacon, Choir Leader and Parish Teacher ('*Kordegn*') of the Parish of Toksværd, near to Sparresholm, Toksværd Church being also the parish church of the manor.

In this modestly remunerative office, living in pleasant rural surroundings, 10 kilometres from the market town of Næstved, Henrich remained until his death, 47 years later. Tipoldefar's creative and fighting years were, however, not yet over. Why did he remain? Possible explanations offer themselves, but the most likely may be that he accepted the office in the hope that it would lead to his preferment as an ordained clergyman. In "Per Degn," a character which recurs in several of Holberg's comedies, the popular and possibly reasonably accurate conception of a *Degn* is well illustrated. The office was of pre-Reformation origin. Originally the duties of a *Degn*, like those of a deacon, were of an ecclesiastical nature only. The *Degn's* primary duty was that of hymn leader,

but during services, he also had to assist the clergyman. Furthermore, in addition to keeping the church clean and tidy, the *Degn* was required, three times a day, as well as before each ordinary service and before each funeral and wedding, to sound the church bells ; of these, in Toksværd, there were two. As if that were not enough to keep him busy, by the royal decree of the 23rd January, 1739, the *Degne* were given the further duty (the imposition of which was resented by many) of imparting to the peasants' children, a modicum of repetitive instruction in catechism and reading.

Unlike the clergyman, the *Degn* was not ordained, though in some cases he had qualified at the University for the same theological degree as had the clergyman. As his basic remuneration, the *Degn* was entitled to the equivalent of only one-third of the tithe and other perquisites receivable by the clergyman of the parish, who was his ecclesiastical superior. Yet the position of *Degn* was in demand not only by theological candidates unsuccessful in being nominated for a living as clergyman, but also by unqualified laymen. The result was the creation of an intemperate intellectual proletariat, prone, we are told, to virgin violation! (*Anders Petersen* : "*Sjællands Stifts Degnehistorie*," *Kjøbenhavn, 1899*.) No widows' pensions being payable, the appointment of a fully-fledged clergyman, or of a *Degn*, was sometimes made conditional upon the young appointee marrying his predecessor's widow! Tipoldefar was spared this humiliating experience.

The death on the 20th April, 1780, of *Sr. Hiorth* deprived the congregation of Toksværd of its *Degn*. The opportunity presented itself for *Henrich* to press his claim. *Friedenreich*, by means of a document phrased with many flourishes and much circumlocution, dated the 1st June, 1780, exercised his *droit de seigneur* by "calling" (i.e. nominating) *Henrich* to the vacant post, subject to the Bishop's approval. Whether the statement

1780

were correct or not, Henrich grandiloquently was in this document described as “at present the Supreme Teacher at the Classe Skole in Copenhagen” (“*Nuværende Øverste Informator ved Classe Skolen i Kiøbenhavn*”) Though the Bishop’s sanction may soon have been forthcoming, Henrich seems to have been in no hurry to take up his post. However, some time in the autumn of 1780, accompanied by “Dorte” and little Henriette Dorothea, Henrich must have arrived in Toksværd.

Where and when Henrich and ‘Dorte’ met we do not know. Nor are we aware of the length and nature of their relationship prior to their marriage. But



*Specially drawn by Richard Natkiel, FRGS,
Head of the Cartographic Department of 'The Economist.'
Map of Sjælland.*



No. *JW*

No. 3.

En Rigsdaler.

Hø. Mauritz von Friedenreich de Spar-
roholm og Tøjsværdgaard hvalds Capitul-
 1780.
ne af de Kongl. Høiere Coppen hvi
re Kongl. de da lathid Argumen til Toksværd Hovning
indv. ved sønnen og alle ansette; saa i Kraft af
mine Røds Ansigende lathid sig fundet; den for
sin den hvide og lathid sig den anden bearbejdte
deres, og i Ministerens funde dative, en utvænke
form i form af en vidt hvide i Tøjsværd
til at søge funde den anden til hvide Toksværd
stavnende med hvide fundet; saa af Tøjsværd, at
saa i Kraft af hvide og lathid sig en ansette
den anden, indtil som til af mig lathid sig
Capellet lathid sig den anden lathid sig
magt og lathid sig og lathid sig den anden
den anden og i den anden, som saa af hvide
hvide hvide lathid sig, og i den anden
den anden lathid sig; den anden og i den anden
den anden den anden lathid sig den anden
den anden, en ansette sig den anden
til den anden den anden den anden
den anden den anden den anden
den anden den anden den anden
den anden den anden den anden
 - *Hø. de lathid sig*
 - *den anden den anden*
 den anden sig den anden den anden

Sparroholm 1 Jun.
1780.

Friedenreich

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m. The nomination by Captain Mauritz von Friedenreich of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen as Degn of Toksværd. The nomination, which was subject to the Bishop's approval and other conditions, was dated 1st June, 1780.

(Reduced from foolscap size.)

on taking up his duties in Toksværd, Henrich's intention was obviously that he and his small family should live in style. Not only that; they should also be able to entertain modestly, probably even his patron, as well as the clergyman of Toksværd parish, and stewards and bailiffs at Sparresholm and other estates nearby, with, or without, their wives. In a document of indebtedness executed on the 11th December, 1780, at what he describes as the Toksværd *Degne* Dwelling, Henrich acknowledges a loan of 150 Rigsdaler from "The Noble Mr. *Inspecteur* Søren Kirchhoff of Holmegaard."

Henrich's signature is witnessed by two local men of standing, his immediate ecclesiastical superior, "The Very Reverend and Highly Learned Mr. Thurman," being one, and "The Noble Mr. Steward Polder of Holmegaard" the other. No doubt it was with the sanction and approval of both that they were described as Henrich's friends. Immaterial as this was from a legal point of view, it illustrates Henrich's ability quickly to ingratiate himself with fresh acquaintances. As if the description of the two witnesses as Henrich's friends were not sufficient proof, what was the inducement, if any, to "The Noble Mr. *Inspecteur* Søren Kirchhoff," to lend Henrich the money, other than the modest rate of interest permissible? (The loan was not repaid until 1796.) Henrich was only a recent arrival in Toksværd.

Expressly stated to have made the loan at Henrich's "respectful request," the lender was given a lien on all the debtor's present and future assets, including Henrich's chattels specified in the document.

It is due to the existence of the lien that details of the principal items of furniture of the newly married couple are known to us. Of elegance, several of the chattels are described as new. And at a time when, in Denmark, much furniture was made of pine, it is noticeable that four pieces are described as made

of oak. As for the two colourful, large beds, they are vividly described in positively alluring, gay terms. Were visits from friends in Copenhagen envisaged? Descriptive details of the schedule, which obviously refer only to the principal items of furnishing in the house, are as follows :

One new French top-bed with red and white gingham curtaining, trimmed with red French ribbons, consisting, besides pelmet and blanket, of the items of bedclothes belonging to it, including :

One blue-and-white flock-bag (' *Kramvaars* ') under-quilt.

One ditto.

One fustian (' *Olmerdugs* ') over-quilt.

Two ditto draw-pillows with red and white covers.

One new inlaid oak draw-chest fitted with fashionable golden metal trimmings.

One small, new oak ditto.

6 silver tea spoons and one pair of sugar tongs.

One oak four-poster with green shirting curtaining, trimmed with white ribbons, and the items of bedclothes belonging to it, viz :

2 yellow-striped under-quilts.

3 blue-and-white-striped pillows.

One large black-striped over-quilt.

One large stove (' *Bilæggerovn til Kiøkken* ').

One half-barrel-sized copper boiler.

3 chairs with red-and-white gingham covers.

One blue-and-white tray-table.

One gilded mirror.

3 new, interaxalled (' *Fag* ') striped nettle cloth curtains with furbelows (' *Falbler* '), braids and tassels.

7 Russian leather chairs.

One oak folding table.

About 300 books in various languages and sciences.

The loan secured by the lien on these assets was obtained in 1780. Throughout his long life, Henrich seems to have suffered from a chronic shortage of money. On the 11th December, 1783, Henrich borrowed 100 Rigsdaler, which he repaid on the 20th August, 1789. Not until 1796 did he complete repayment of the original 1780 loan of 150 Rigsdaler. But other loans of which we have no, or incomplete, details, must have been obtained and repaid slowly. Of the loan which Henrich contended that he had had to obtain in 1793 to finance the unfortunate publication of the second edition of his *History of the World*, we have no details. But from the payment on the 11th December, 1810, of interest (plus repayment of half the principal), we know that, on the 11th February, 1807, Henrich had borrowed 40 Rigsdaler from a fund belonging to the Diocese of Sjælland. Was this latter amount to defray the cost of what we may assume was the fashionable wedding celebrated on the 5th June, 1807, of young Birgitte Sophie, the fifth child of Henrich and “Dorte”?

1780 In 1780, these events, however, were well into the future. In describing Henrich’s and “Dorte’s” prospective financial problems, we have leaped far ahead. The date of the execution of the document of indebtedness, viz. the 11th December, 1780, determined the half-yearly dates of payment of interest, and are still in Denmark known as the semi-annual birthdays of the Devil! The date was also a fortnight before Henrich and “Dorte,” with their baby, spent their first Christmas in Toksværd. Traditional Christmas customs no doubt were observed, both in the Church and at homes. The present-day custom of dancing round candle-lit pine trees, however, did not yet form part of the Danish Christmas celebrations.

Standing in a neat, stone-walled churchyard, on a moderately sized mound not far from the

important village pond, in the village of Toksværd (1331 : *Toxwærthe*, but in the 18th century generally spelled *Toxværd*), was the typical Danish white-washed village church, mainly built of hewn granite boulders. In the adjoining tower, roofed, as was the church, with red tiles, were the two important bells. These were one of Tipoldefar's numerous duties to peal frequently : the effect of their sound may have contributed to his complete deafness at the early age of 50.

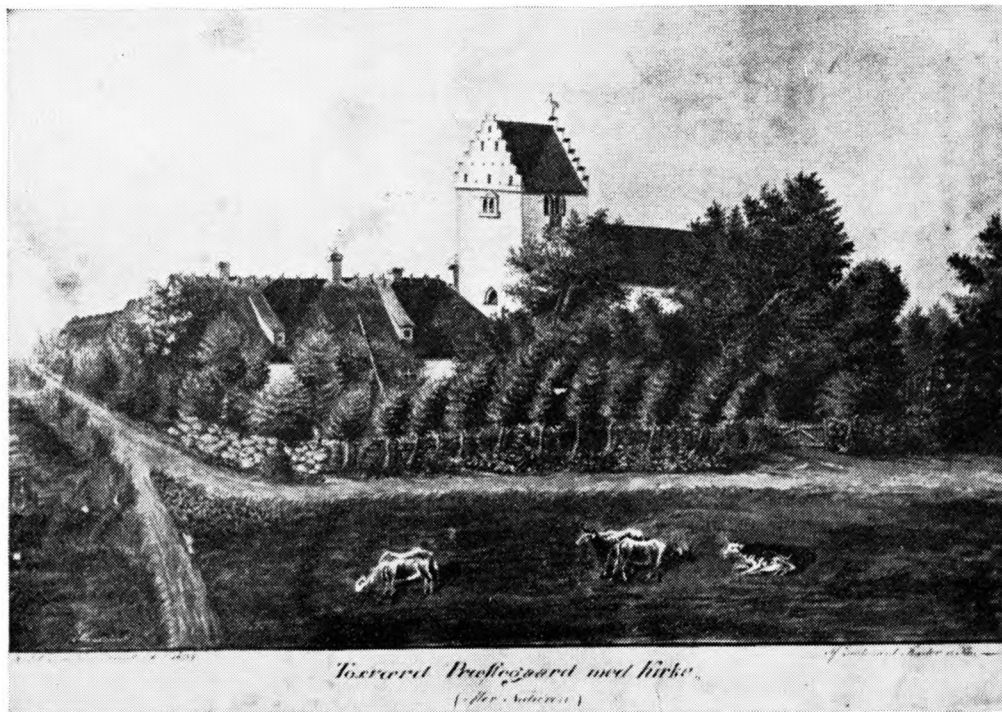
The two or three-winged thatched vicarage was on the western side of the open space in front of the church. Likely to have had the same appearance as nearby farmhouses were the residence of the *Degn*, his farm buildings and the village school, which, facing North, were adjoining the church. Only a stone wall divided the churchyard from the residence of the *Degn*, so both he and the clergyman lived close to their principal place of duty. To facilitate the crossing of the stone wall into the churchyard from his residence, Tipoldefar had a pair of fixed, wooden steps. (p.307.)

The clergyman was always, and the *Degn* often, a man of very superior education compared with the adscripted ('*stavnsbundne*') peasants of the village. Invariably the two men were also actively occupied in farming. Their emoluments included a right to use of a share of the common land of the village ('*Bymarken*'). Engaged in arable as well as in dairy farming, clergyman and *Degn* thus covered much of their subsistence requirements.

Tipoldefar, however, had had the appointment as a *Degn* conferred upon him only a decade before an important transitional period for farming began. The disliked and discredited law of adscription ('*Stavnsbaand*') was abolished in 1788. Other vital changes were also shortly to take place. A beautifully drawn, elaborate map, showing all the farms and fields of the village of

1791 Toksværd, testifies to the ordered but radical change which, about 1791, took place not only in Toksværd, but throughout the rest of Denmark. The old system of common strip tenancy farming was gradually abandoned in lieu of outright ownership by the peasants and separate working by them of their compact agricultural holdings. As is confirmed by the map, Tipoldefar first worked his farm land according to the common strip tenancy farming method, and later in the more efficient manner of compact land utilization, but not based on outright ownership. In 1791, Tipoldefar, instead of the numerous strips of land in different places previously available to the *Degn*, had allotted to him two compact fields of the most fertile land in the village. Known as *Matrikelnummer* 2 and 3, of these, 3 “barrels” (‘*Tønder*’) of land were in respect of the *Degn*’s clerical services (‘*Degnejord*’), while 5 8/14 “barrels” were by way of recognition of the *Degn*’s educational services (‘*Skolejord*’).

1787 Rent-free, the thatched ‘*Degnegaard*’ provided not only a dwelling section for Tipoldefar, his family, paying guests and private pupils, but a cattle shed and other farm accommodation, as well as school-room accommodation for the village children and Tipoldefar’s resident private pupils. In the 1787 census, and again in the 1801 census, twelve residents, including two maid servants, are shown belonging to Tipoldefar’s household. Only thatched, the buildings evidently were poorly constructed (almost certainly only half-timbered) and obviously badly maintained, it is hardly surprising that none of them survives today. During the intervening nearly 200 years, some have been demolished and replaced even twice. References in 1805, 1806, 1807 and 1808 by the Toksværd clergyman, in his *Liber Daticus*, to the ramshackle condition of the school, resulted only in 1830 in its partial replacement at the modest cost of 730 Rigsdaler!



By courtesy of Pastor Georg Bentzen, Toksværd.

Toksværd Church in 1843, the thatched vicarage being in front. Note the terrible condition of the emaciated cattle, the very poor state of the roads and the solitary stork on the church steeple. (The re-conditioned, primitive school building and the dwelling occupied by Henrich Petersen during his life-time, are concealed behind the vicarage.)

Water colour by Lieutenant Vilhelm Emile Laurent Pio (1806-1890), father of the early Danish Socialist leader, Louis Pio (1841-1894).

Photo : Jørgen Bernh. Larsen, Skee.

From the site of the original buildings a sizeable ornamental and fruit-growing garden, today largely overgrown, slopes down to the small but vitally important brook known as Huleaa. From this brook, drinking water, both for humans and animals, was obtained and carried up to the buildings, until 1815, when a well was dug in the farmyard (not far from the churchyard!). The well was lined and secured by granite boulders. About 1950, the well was filled in, but the circular pattern of weeds reveals where the well was from which, for nearly 150 years, Tipoldefar and his successors obtained water.

The property now (1969) standing on the site of the farm building, the dwelling house and the school building, in and about which Henrich Petersen spent the last 47 years of his life, is known as Lindely. Today's modern, splendidly equipped and airy school buildings are at the opposite end of the village. It was on my visit to Toksværd, on the 14th July, 1969, that for the first, and, I expect, also the last, time in my life, I was introduced by *Skoleinspektør* A. Strange Nielsen, who acted as a helpful and knowledgeable Cicerone, as the Great-great-grandson of Henrich Petersen!

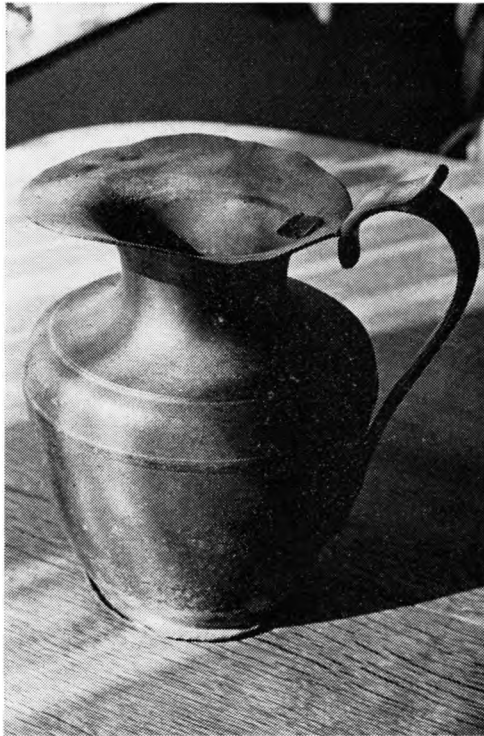
At the modern vicarage I was shown the discarded eighteenth century pewter jug, almost certain to have been used for many years by Henrich Petersen when helping the officiating clergyman at christenings. In the Church I inspected the brightly painted pews, the year 1629 appearing on each of them except the two front rows. The latter consist of unpainted, even older, exquisitely carved oak pews for the exclusive use, one assumes, of the Lord of the Manor of Sparresholm and his family. 150 years before my visit, those same pews would be seen by Tipoldefar several times daily when on his way to perform his duties as a bell-ringer.

1780 When, in 1780, Tipoldefar arrived in Toksværd, a Norwegian clergyman, Iver Nicolai Jacobsen Thurmann



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet.

Designed and made about 1630 for Toksværd Church, this carved door is likely, from 1780 to 1827 to have been used daily by Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen. Removed and laid aside in 1862, it was cleaned, restored and reinstated in 1970-72.



By courtesy of Pastor Georg Bentzen, Toksværd.

The 18th century pewter jug, still at Toksværd vicarage, likely to have been used by Henrich Petersen during his 47 years of office, when he assisted the officiating clergyman at christenings.

Photo by Jørgen Bernh. Larsen, Skee.

(1714-1781), had been the incumbent for 24 years. This slight connection of Toksværd with Norway may partly account for the presence, as revealed by the census in 1787 and 1801, of two or three Norwegian boys of ages varying from 13 to 17, being students living at the dwelling of the *Degn*.

Both from Henrich's own statements, and from reports on his tuition by his Bishop, after the latter's infrequent visits of inspection, we know that Henrich prepared these pupils, and possibly others of a higher social standing

for admission to the University in Copenhagen and to the “ *Academie* ” (? Sorø Akademi). In turn, this meant that to cope with his multifarious duties and activities, Henrich, in accordance with common practice at that time, had to engage an unqualified assistant to work in the village school. One of many who, over the years, served him in this capacity, Hans Lind, who survived him, was a former footman. Appointed a ‘ *Substitut* ’ after only three months’ training, Lind had not even mastered the catechism, the learning of which was considered Priority No. 1 for the peasants’ children. From the Inspection Report of 1824, we know that, at that time, there were no less than 87 peasant children attending the school in the cramped, and no doubt ill-ventilated, decrepit premises!

Moreover, in the modest thatched dwelling of the Degn’s domain, boarders other than the Norwegian students were also accommodated! The census record of 1787 reveals the presence of Andreas Peter Stibolt, 42, a pensioned naval lieutenant, while in 1801 reference is made to Anne Elisabeth Fleischer, 40, said to be maintained by her divorced husband in Copenhagen.

Friedenreich’s brief ownership of Sparresholm came to an end in 1781, by his sale of the estate, for 46,000 Rigsdaler, to Thomas de Beringschiold, whose father, Magnus, was infamously known and remembered as “ The Peasant Tormentor.” Seemingly, the son’s reputation was almost equally unsavoury.

As part of his life-long vain attempt to qualify for a living as a fully-fledged clergyman, Henrich on this occasion changed allegiance quickly, perhaps too rapidly for success.

At the confirmatory christening in the Church of Toksværd, on the 23rd April, 1782, of Henrich’s and “ Dorte’s ” second child, the infant was baptized

Maria Petronella. In the Church Book, the proud father, as *Degn*, recorded the fact that his child had been carried to the font by none other than the wife of the new owner of the estate, "*Fru Kammerherreinde de Beringschiold paa Sparisholm.*" Some social advance on the almost clandestine christening in Copenhagen, two years earlier, of Henriette Dorothea, attended mainly by artisans and their wives !

1787 During July 1787, Tipoldefar, throughout his life a hustling person, must have been even more occupied than usual. The occasion was the first comprehensive census covering the whole of Denmark, the detailed records of which are preserved. The responsibility for ensuring that accurate details were extracted from the population, and that the schedules were legibly completed, had been laid on the shoulders of the local clergymen. Issued on the 1st July, 1787, the schedules were returnable by the clergymen, filled in, on the 31st July, 1787. The difference between the entries and the signature of the clergyman of Toksværd parish gives the game away. Comparison of the handwriting of Tipoldefar on his submission in 1766 to the Court in Copenhagen, with the individual entries, made in 1787, for each of the inhabitants of Toksværd, all the latter in the same handwriting but different from that of the signature, makes it virtually certain that the exhausting task of obtaining and writing down the facts regarding each household had by the clergyman been passed to his hapless and already busily occupied *Degn*.

During what, in Denmark, is generally the sunniest and warmest month of the year, Henrich, in his black garb, had to visit *on foot* every inhabited house in the parish, including outlying, isolated dwellings. It was a long road ! With relief we realize that, except in the

Table No. 8. (Eleventh Chapter.)

Tipoldefar's literary output

Tipoldefar (Great-great-grandfather) **Henrich Petersen** (1748-1827), as the writer of books and pamphlets mentioned below, is referred to in the following articles :

1779/1794

- a) Th. H. Erslew : *Almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon*, Kjøbenhavn, 1847, volume 2, p.551 (the dates of his academic career and the date of his wife's death are all incorrectly stated).
- b) Anders Petersen : *Sjællands Stifts Degnehistorie*, Kjøbenhavn, 1899, p.184.

His publications are as follows :

- I) *Den almindelige Verdenhistorie. udi kort Begreb.*
Kjøbenhavn, 1779. 102 pages.
Dedicated to : Høivelbaarne Ove Høegh Guldberg,
Stats - og Geheime-Kabinetets Sekretair.
- II) *Den til Skolernes Brug udgivne almindelige Verdens Historie. Omarbejdet og forkortet, samt fortsat til den nærværende Tid og med synchronistiske Tabeller forsynet.* Kjøbenhavn, 1793. 126 pages.
Dedicated to : Nicolai Edinger Balle, Biskop over Sællands Stift.
- III) *Tale holden i Classe-Skolen ved den offentlige Examen,* Kjøbenhavn, 1780. Only traceable as printed in a contemporary publication : *Paketbaaden*, 1779, Nr.49.
- IV) *Tanker til mine Medborgeres Eftertanke om Tarveligheds Indflydelse paa en Stat og dens Lyksalighed. I Anledning af Forordningen om Overdaadigheds Indskrænkning.* Odense, 1783. 45 pages.
Dedicated to : Hr. Kammerherre og General-Adjoutant Thomas de Beringschiold til Sparisholm.
- V) *Om National Oplysning og dens Følger i en Stat.* Odense, 1785. 28 pages.
Lecture delivered on H.M. the King's Birthday, the 29th January, 1785, before "Det Kongelige Lærde og Typographiske Fyenske Selskab i Odense."

VI) Til Publicum, i Anledning af den udgivne Verdens Historie med Tabeller og Abr. Kalls Erklæring imod samme. Kiøbenhavn, 1793. 8 pages.

VII) Beviis, at Abr. Kall har Uret i Henseende til de af ham opgivne Feil udi den omarbejdede, forkortede og med Tabeller forsynede Almindelige Verdens Historie. Kiøbenhavn, 1794. 16 pages.

VIII) Fuldstændig og documenteret Oplysning om det. som i Anledning af den udgivne Verdens Historie har tildraget sig imellem Abr. Kall og Forfatteren. H. Petersen Kiøbenhavn, 1794. 23 pages.

With exception of the original mentioned under III, copies are all in the Royal Library, Copenhagen; so is a French translation of the publication mentioned under V :

IX) Discours sur l'eclaircissement national et ses suites dans l'état. Traduit du Danois par Gottsche Hans Olsen. Sorøe, 1785.

Apart from the pamphlets mentioned under III, IV, V and IX, all Tipoldefar's published literary work therefore consists of the two editions of his History of the World, referred to under I and II, and his three argumentative pamphlets VI, VII and VIII dealing with Professor Abraham Kall's accusation of plagiarism.

Kall's own version of the controversy is contained in a pamphlet (a copy likewise being in the Royal Library), unflatteringly entitled :

'Abraham Kalls Skrivelse til Høiædle og Høiærværdige Hr. Nicolai Edinger Balle, Biskop over Siellands Stift, hvori forklares paa hvilken Maade hans til Skolernes Brug udgivne Almindelige Verdens Historie er blevet forhutlet of Degnen i Toxverd Henrich Pedersen med mere om denne Mands øvrige Adfærd angaaende.' Kiøbenhavn, 1793. 30 pages.

fateful year of 1801, there was not to be another census during Henrich's lifetime.

The population of Toksværd village, in 1787, consisted of 205 people, but the total population of the *parish* was no less than 815. The population lived in 15 farms, 14 houses without land and 1 house with land. The owner with his family, resident at Sparresholm, accounted for only three individuals, but fourteen servants were also resident there.

Of more interest to us, perhaps, is one of the facts regarding the household of the tenant in charge of the sizeable estate ('*Forpagter*'). In a building separate from the owner's residence, the 38-year-old Michael Brixer lived with his 35-year-old wife, their 5 children and 6 servants. The maiden surname of his wife, Anna Margrethe, is shown as Knie. Highly probable, the latter was a relative of Dorothea Petersen, the wife of Henrich Petersen, the maiden name of Dorothea's mother having also been the unusual Knie.

During the years from 1779 to 1793, Tipoldefar fathered seven children ; three boys and four girls. Two sons and one of the daughters predeceased their father.

In the history of the world, 1783 is mainly known as 1783
the year when USA gained its independence. In the life of Henrich Petersen, two events of importance occurred. One was the birth of the first of his three male children. At the confirmatory christening which took place in Toksværd church on the 11th October, 1783, Henrich's half-brother Andreas, of Klosterstræde fame (who by then had become *Studiosus* Petersen), was present as a godfather to the infant. He was given the names of Andreas Ferdinand, the first of which obviously was meant to honour his godfather. The other event of 1783, important in the life of Henrich, was the publication of the first two small pamphlets by him. Consisting of

45 and 28 pages, these were published in Odense in 1783 and 1785.

The first was dedicated to the new owner of Sparresholm, *Kammerherre* Thomas de Beringschiold, son of the infamous Magnus Beringschiold, one of the conspirators responsible for Struensee's downfall in 1772. The subject of Henrich's pamphlet was a recent rescript aimed at "Reduction of Sumptuousness." Laudatory reference is, however, made to the issue in 1776 of the decree restricting future appointments to public offices to native-born subjects of the absolute monarch (' *Indfødsrettens Indførelse* ').

To any Dane living today, the cloying, simpering style adopted by Tipoldefar in his modest literary outpourings and dedications is degrading. The sanctimonious terminology employed, while possible to explain, is well-nigh impossible to defend. We are, however, all children of our age and environment.

The example was set by the absolute monarch and his obsequious advisers. Paternally phrased, the royal decree issued in 1783, in both Danish and German, and addressed to "Our dear and faithful subjects in Denmark, Norway and the Duchies," which sent Henrich Petersen into pæans of ecstasy, was aimed at "Reduction of Sumptuousness." (*V, Chr. VII, 1783.*)

Unlikely to prove enforceable and practicable, the decree attempted to prohibit or modify extravagant personal habits, methods of dressing and behaviour, including such as the number of courses permitted at different meals, the absolute prohibition of the wearing of velvet by men and the hair dressing of male servants, the wearing of ear-rings by maid servants, the types of buttons and braid permitted on garments made or worn, as well as numerous other petty restrictions. Psychologically, the issue and wording of the decree were as unwise as the effects of its invasion of the privacy of the

individual were repellent. Officialdom, as on other occasions, had run amuck in the name of the insane monarch!

Significantly, no penalties were prescribed, in the case of non-compliance by “Our dear and faithful subjects, who realizing the benefit accruing to them and the resultant simplicity of life, will (surely) ensure avoidance of the institution of police action!” For good measure, twice a year, the decree was to be read aloud from the pulpit of all city churches “in our Realms and Lands.”

If, in 1783, Tipoldefar really believed that this suggested state of a static society was worthy of so much praise, is it to be wondered at that, in his 1785 speech on education, there are early traces of fascism? Or, all along, was he merely trying to qualify for the role of a Vicar of Bray?

The pamphlet giving voice to such fulsome praise of the royal decree, is, however, likely to have been written to remind de Beringschiold of Tipoldefar's existence, in the hope that Henrich might receive nomination for the next living of a clergyman that became at the disposal of de Beringschiold. If this assumption is correct, Tipoldefar was to be disappointed. The abolition of adscription (*Stavnsbaand*) in 1788 cannot have been to the liking of de Beringschiold. In 1789, he resold the estate, six years after he had assumed the name of Wedelsparre, on being ennobled in 1783.

1785 On the King's birthday, the 29th January, 1785, a lecture by Tipoldefar was read aloud, in Odense, before “The Royal Learned and Typographical (*sic!*) Funish Society in Odense,” on the advantages of national (i.e. general) education, by a local bookseller, *Hr. Iversen*, seemingly also Tipoldefar's publisher. In conformity with the style of his age, towards the end of the lecture Tipoldefar made sycophantic reference to the insane, absolute monarch of the two realms of

Denmark and Norway, in flowery language addressing him in the second person singular: “ Yes, beloved Father of the People ” (“ *Ja, tilbedede Folkefader* ”)! Was such phraseology an attempt to curry favour with the regime which had followed the deposition of Høegh Guldberg in 1784 ? Reprinted, the lecture forms the substance of the second of two pamphlets by Tipoldefar. Translated by Gottsche Hans Olsen, one of Henrich’s fellow students from Roskilde, the French version of this masterpiece was printed, also in 1785, at *Sorøe*, prefaced by the translator with a dedication of his own.

On Lent Sunday, the 18th February, 1787, the home christening of the fourth child of Tipoldefar and Tipoldemor, Christian Friderich (Frederik), was celebrated. All the farmers of Toksværd acted as the baby’s godfathers ! *Mons.* Søren Møller from Copenhagen also attended as a godfather. (Was this Søren Møller, the half-brother of Tipoldemor “ Dorte,” born 20/4/1762 in Studiestræde, and briefly referred to in the Ninth Chapter?)

In his pompously phrased letter of nomination of the 1st June, 1780, referring to Henrich Petersen, Captain Mauritz von Friedenreich had stated that Henrich, when appointed, would be expected, in addition to his numerous other duties as a *Degn*, to preach when called upon, to him and his family in the Chapel of Toksværd Church.

How often was Tipoldefar called upon to exercise his histrionic talent? By temperament an actor, Henrich would doubtless enjoy the experience. The sequel may have been an invitation to dine and wine at Sparresholm, where the meal is likely to have been served by liveried footmen, silver and glass sparkling in the candle-lit dining room. (The fourteen servants, who we know from the 1787 census were in residence at Sparresholm, had, after all,

Calais, Hertil. Hans Instrøise har været forbundet med megen Fare. De have for ikke at falde i Hæbet, maattet kaste alle deres Ballast alle unyttige Siter af Maskinen, ja deres Klæder i Stranden. Hr. Jeffries har saa gar, som Hr. Blanchard med Eed har forsikret, villet styrte sig ud i Søen, for at give Maskinen disse mere Lethed. Hr. Blanchard havde al Umage behov for at holde denne ædle Engælænder tilbage, og at overbevise ham om, at de, da Maskinen var bleven lettet, uden Fare kunde tilbagelegge Maskinen. — Begge disse Venner have paa det uoploselige forbundet sig med hinanden.

Indenlandske Efterretninger.

Odense, den 1ste Februart.

I Lørdags Aftes blev vores allernaadigste Konges Fødselsfest, saavel paa den her værende Klub, som paa Postgaarden her i Byen udi 2de talrige Forsamlinger af Fornemmere og Ringere, imidlertid selv indbyrdes paa det sommeligste celebreret, og Kongens og det Kongelige Husets for Undersaatterne saa dyrebare Velgaaende høitidelig erindret. Endvidere bevidnede Klubben sin varme Glæde over en elsket Konges atter oplevede Fødselsdag ved at lade uddele 30 Rdlr. til de fattige i Byens 3de Kirkefogner. — I Aaft blev til Erindring af samme Fødselsfest her i Byen holdt 2de Aft. 1) Hr. Professor Bøghv holdt om Formiddagen paa Gymnasium for en anseelig Forsamling den første om Sæledskabets Ophævelse, en Tale, som formedelst sin Grundighed, Korthed og Velsælnhed vaandt et almindeligt Bifald, — hvor til ved et dansk Programma af Hr. Professor Seyditz om den oplyste Fornufts Bedris og Forsvar for Christendommen, (som en Fortsættelse, og det andet Hefte af forrige Aars udgivne Indbydelses Skrivt) Lørdagen tiifora, Høiere og Ringere, her af Byen og uden for, vare indbudne. Før og efter Talem blev af Skolens Cantor Hr. Sibbern efter de udfomne Cantater opført en smuk Vocal og Instrumental Musik. 2) I det typog-

grafiske Selskab blev om Aftenen Kl. 6 af Hr. Boghandler Iversen forelæst en smuk Tale om National Oplysning og dens Selger i en Stat, sendt fra en værdig Medlem, nemlig Hr. Petersen, Dega udi Torverd i Sieland; For og efter Talem opførtes Musik. 3) At der aldrig kunde siges nok til Erindring om vor dyrebare Konges glade Fødselsfest — saa tænkte Hr. Hoff, en af Byens værdige Borgere, en æret og agtet Mand, og holdt Kl. mod 8 for en talrig Forsamling i sit eget Hus en jættelig og vel udarbejdet Tale, om vores Fædrelands Lykfelighed under en fredelkende Regiering: For og efter Talem blev ligeledes opført en kort dog smuk Musik.

Selskabsforelæsen

Proclama

Den allernaadigste Konge Hans Kongelig Majestæts allernaadigste Bevilling, saaledes lydende:

Omus. " Vi Christian den Syvende,
4 Rdlr. " af Guds Naade Konge til Danmark,
1783. " Hersk og Norge, de Venders og Gøtternes Herting udi Slesvig, Holsteen, Stormarn, Dntmerken og Oldenborg,
giøre alle vitteligt: at Vi, efter os elskelige Kammerherre Hr. Christian Bengtson, Ridder, af Wed Kæbstad Odense, og Hans Jørgen Trojel, Vicebedommer og Skriver ved Baroniet Sjeelenborg i Vort Land Byen, derts herom allernaadigst giorte Ansigning og Begiering, allernaadigst have bevilget og tiladt, saa og hermed bevillig og tillade, at de, som Skifte-Commissarier efter afg. Kammerherre Schack Brockhoff, forrige Frieherre til Baroniet Sjeelenborg, maade udi de Kiøbenhavniske Verlingiske Tidender og de Byenske Aviser, samt den Aitonaaiske Mercur, 2de gange efter hinanden med Aars og Dags Varsel, indkalde alle dem, som maatte fornene sig at have noget at forbre hos fornævnte afgangne Barren Brockhoff, dermed at fremkomme, og saadan deres havende Krav inden bemeldte Tids Føsel, hos dem at anmelde og beviliggjøre; Og skal saadan Indtællelse i Aviserne ansees og være ligesaa gylbig, som om den var fæst ved Proclama efter Koen; dog skal denne Vores allernaadigste Bevilling lases for vedkommendes Værning, samt den Over-Ket, hvorefter samme henhører; hvorefter de Vedkommende sig bane at rette og for Stæde at tage vare. Givet paa Vort Slot Chri-

In the customary manner of its day, sanctimoniously phrased, this gushing account of the celebrations in Odense, on the 29th January, 1785, on the insane absolute Monarch's birthday, incorporates a brief reference to Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen's lecture, delivered on his behalf by his publisher, a local book-seller. ('Den til Forsendelse med Posten Odense Kongelig Allene Privilegerede Adresse — Contoires Efterretninger,' 1ste Februart, 1785.)

The local bookseller, seemingly a man of importancè, Christian H. Iversen, a godson of Ludvig Holberg, four years later, in 1789, formed the first, dramatic society in Odense.

to be kept busy!) Several times, my revered actor-clergyman ancestor appeared in the pulpit of Toksværd Church!

1784 The diocese archives provide confirmation. On the 4th June, 1784, the Rev. Elias Grüner, the incumbent at Toksværd, applied to his superior, Bishop Balle, for permission to absent himself on a visit to his father in Odense. In his absence, he added, the Parish *Degn*, Sr. Petersen, would preach. The arrangement must have proved satisfactory. Five years later, on the 6th July, 1789, a similar request was made by the same clergyman, to the same bishop. Henrich was still on the way upwards!

1789 The birth and christening of two more daughters,
1791 Birgitte Sophie and Adamine Olivia, followed in 1789 and 1791.

1793 Of greater interest to me personally is the birth of the seventh and last child, which occurred on the 10th May, 1793. As seems to have been common at the time, this male infant was first baptized at home, 100 metres from the Church, where on the 14th June, 1793, according to the Church Book, he had his home christening confirmed in Toksværd Church. The tenuous link between him (and therefore also his father, born in Klosterstræde in Copenhagen) and me, at first, was suggested only by the fact that the baby was given the unusual names of Herman Fabius. He was my Oldefar, and three of his four grandparents were born in Jutland.

1793 was an eventful year in the history of Europe. So it was to become in the life of Henrich Petersen, my restless, unsuccessful but intellectual Tipoldefar. The facts are far from clear. Unhappily, as it turned out, Henrich had persuaded himself that an up-to-date

edition of the condensed primer of World History, which he had had published in 1779, was required. In 1968, when I asked for a copy of the 1779 edition of the World History, the uncut yellowed pages of the copy in the Royal Library in Copenhagen revealed the fact that, after nearly 200 years, I was the first person to read it. And to improve its value, the new edition was to have incorporated in it what he termed "synchronological tables." His authorship and belief in the value of the book were backed with money which, he inferred, was borrowed. It was, one suspects, primarily in the hope that publication of the new edition would increase his income by regular sales to future school pupils, that Henrich undertook his task. He may also have hoped that it would remind those concerned of his claim for appointment as a clergyman; if so, his approach turned out to be positively harmful.

My knowledge of the spiritual, political and literary factions which, during the second half of the eighteenth century, were fighting one another in Denmark, is insufficient to enable me to disentangle the web of controversy in which Tipoldefar floundered, and the accusations levelled at him. Pugnaciously, with pamphlets, advertisements in *Berlingske Tidende* and *Adresse-Avisen*, and a letter of complaint dated the 29th August, 1793, to the Royal Danish Privy Council ('*Det kongelige Danske Cancellie*'), he fought back against the attacks of the establishment. His powerful principal adversary was no less than Professor Abraham Kall (1743-1821), himself son of a professor. In 1770, at 27, Abraham Kall had already been made Professor *Designatus* in Greek at Copenhagen University. And, in 1781, to this appointment had been added professorates in both History and Geography! Indeed a formidable opponent. Worse, in 1776, Kall had written, and published, his own *History of the World!* This was partly a translation, and partly

an adaptation, of J. M. Schröckh's '*Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Weltgeschichte zum Gebrauch bei dem ersten Unterrichte der Jugend*' (1774). Talk about the pot

LANDSARKIVET FOR SJÆLLAND M M.

U D S K R I F T
af
kirkebogen for Toksværd sogn, Hammer herred, Præste amt
1783-1813


Fra 1^{ste} Advent 1792 til 1^{ste} Advent 1793
D r e n g e

Den 14^{de} Junii lod Degnen Henrich Petersen
sin Søns Daab confirmere, som var født den 10^{de}
Maj om Morgenen Kl. 5 og ved Hjemmedaaben var
kaldet

H e r m a n F a b i u s

Han blev baaret af Madame Mariager i Nestelsee.
Fadderne vare: Hr. Forpagter Holm, Hr. Forvalter
Køller, Hr. Andresen og Hr. Schiern, alle paa
Sparresholm, og Mons. Birch paa Holmegaard og
Studiosus Hr. Suhr i Nestelsee.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes
Landsarkivet, København, den 6. november 1967


Grethe Ilse
Grethe Ilse
arkivar

1

Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gebyr: kr. 5.75

The confirmation of christening extract from Toksværd Church Book, which establishes the link between Oldefar Herman Fabius Petersen and my earlier ancestors in Copenhagen.



Abraham Kall.

*Skjönt født i Nord og huldt af Saga kaaret
 Til hendes Præst, han aarle dog i Løn
 Af Muser blev til Delphi's Lund henbaaret:
 Hvad Under! Var han ei selv Mnemosynes Søn?
 I. Möller.*

Henrich's formidable adversary, who accused him of plagiarism :
 Abraham Kall (1743-1821).

The solitary miniature elephant displayed on his coat does *not* indicate that he had had bestowed on him the knighthood of the Elephant, an order almost exclusively reserved for Royalty which, even today, is very rarely bestowed on others. The insignia, presumably, were merely worn by him in virtue of his position as the official historian of the Chapter of Orders.

Abraham Kalls
Skrivelse

til

Høledse og Høiærværdige
Hr. Nicolai Edinger Balle,

Biskop over Siøllands Stift,

hvori forklæres,

paa hvilken Naade hans til Skolernes Brug

udgivne

Almindelige Verdens Historie

er blevet forhullet

af

Degnen i Torverd

Henrich Petersen

med mere denne Mand's øvrige Udfærd angaaende.

Kjøbenhavn, 1793.

Trykt hos Johan Frederik Schultz,
Bogs- og Universitets- Bogtrykker.

Title page of Abraham Kall's letter of complaint to Bishop Balle regarding the alleged misdoings of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, the letter being published, as a pamphlet in 1793.

(Slightly reduced in size.)

calling the kettle black! Accused by Kall of plagiarism, insufficient knowledge and incorrect deductions, Tipoldefar, right from the beginning, seems to have fought a losing battle. Whatever the merits of the controversy and the characters of the adversaries, looking at the affair today it is difficult to suppress a smile at the formidable, but unscientific artillery aimed at trifles by Professor Kall. Printed as a 30-page pamphlet, in 1793, ostensibly Kall's communication was addressed to Tipoldefar's august ecclesiastical superior, the Bishop of the Diocese of Sjælland, Nicolai Edinger Balle (1744-1816). The almost unlimited liberty of the press which prevailed from 1770 to 1799 seems to have enabled the Professor (and also, in his pamphlets, Tipoldefar), to ignore the risk of libel. Quotations from the Pentateuch ('*de fem Mosebøger*') abound in the Professor's pamphlet, statements in the Bible still being advanced and accepted as incontrovertible facts. Nearly four pages, phrased in the Professor's scathing language, are devoted to attempting to prove the inaccuracy of Tipoldefar's incautious statement that the population of the world before the Flood was larger than it was in 1793!

Able to play on many different strings of his mental harp, Tipoldefar could have made, on the stage a good actor, on the hustings a demagogic politician, or in the pulpit a persuasive preacher. The whimpering tune that tinkles from the yellowed pages of his 1794 defensive pamphlet is almost worthy of a musical Dickens. The style of writing is reminiscent of the defiant note which, twenty-eight years earlier, had been struck by Henrich in his appeals to the Copenhagen Court of Probate!

1794

“. . . My vocation demands that I must sacrifice the hours of daylight to the instruction of the rural youth, and in order to enable me to educate seven little children I have had to

expend the evenings in providing foreign children with instruction for the Academy. Only the nights were left for me to satisfy my love for the sciences. It is in those from-health-and-rest-deprived hours that I have written this work and enjoyed thereby creating something useful, but hardly does it appear before it must be suppressed — and by whom ? — by the very man who, in this subject, is publicly remunerated by the State . . .”

(Extract from :

“Complete and documented information about that which, caused by the publication of the World History with tables, has taken place between Professor Abraham Kall and the author H. Petersen.” (Copenhagen 1794, p.7))

What was the outcome? Today remembered, if at all, only for his catechism, poor Bishop Balle, a man of melancholy disposition, had other problems troubling his mind and conscience than those of Tipoldefar’s squabbles with the learned and influential professor. The true authorship of all the material in the primer on the “History of the World” still seems dubious, there being no less than four contemporary variants of the insignificant little book, three in Danish and one in German. The times were momentous. In 1793/94, in Paris, the guillotine was working overtime. In 1796, Napoleon, having crossed the Alps, invaded Italy. But Bishop Balle was faced with weightier problems than these: the same year, a named lady of rank (!) is reported to have written to him that it was commonly alleged that there was no greater whorehouse in the capital of Denmark than the Church, of which the Bishop was the primate in Sjælland! Deeply shaken, Bishop Balle is reputed to have succeeded (how?) in refuting her statement!

After the second large Fire in Copenhagen, in 1795, Bishop Balle tried to restore the moral fibre of his flock, by conducting bi-weekly bible readings, the meetings

took place in Garnisons Kirke. This was the very church in which, in 1779, Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen and ‘Dorte,’ a few weeks before the birth of their first child, had hurriedly got married.

The Bishop being faced, as he was, with stirring issues, both at home and abroad, the question of Tipoldefar’s alleged plagiarism may simply have been ignored; more likely, after all the brouhaha, Tipoldefar was muzzled. Entries in Toksværd Church Book indicate that, in his official capacity, Bishop Balle visited and inspected the Church and the School on the 20th July, 1788, the 28th April, 1793, the 11th October, 1799, and the 30th April, 1805. Some of the episcopal reports have been lost. Whether Kall’s charge of plagiarism was ever discussed between Bishop and *Dejn*, and if so in what terms, we do not know. In any case, Henrich’s authorship came to an end. 1788/1805

The sentence of life-long exile from Denmark, imposed in 1799 on P. A. Heiberg because of his criticism of William Pitt, treated as *lèse-majesté* against King George III of Gt. Britain, carried an obvious warning to Henrich Petersen and others of his ilk, in spite of the French Revolution, to refrain from criticism of the authority of those appointed by the Absolute Monarch of Divine Grace. 1799

In Elizabethan days, the Earl of Bothwell, without trial, had suffered long years of imprisonment in the dungeons of Dragsholm Castle. And, even within Tipoldefar’s lifetime, as late as 1821, Dr. Dampe, for his childishly conceived revolutionary activities directed against the Danish Monarchy, was sentenced to life-long imprisonment in the Island of Christiansø. A remark in Kall’s pamphlet suggests that he knew of a back-door entrance to *Danske Cencellie*, where he could have made his influence felt, if Henrich did not stop his scribblings.

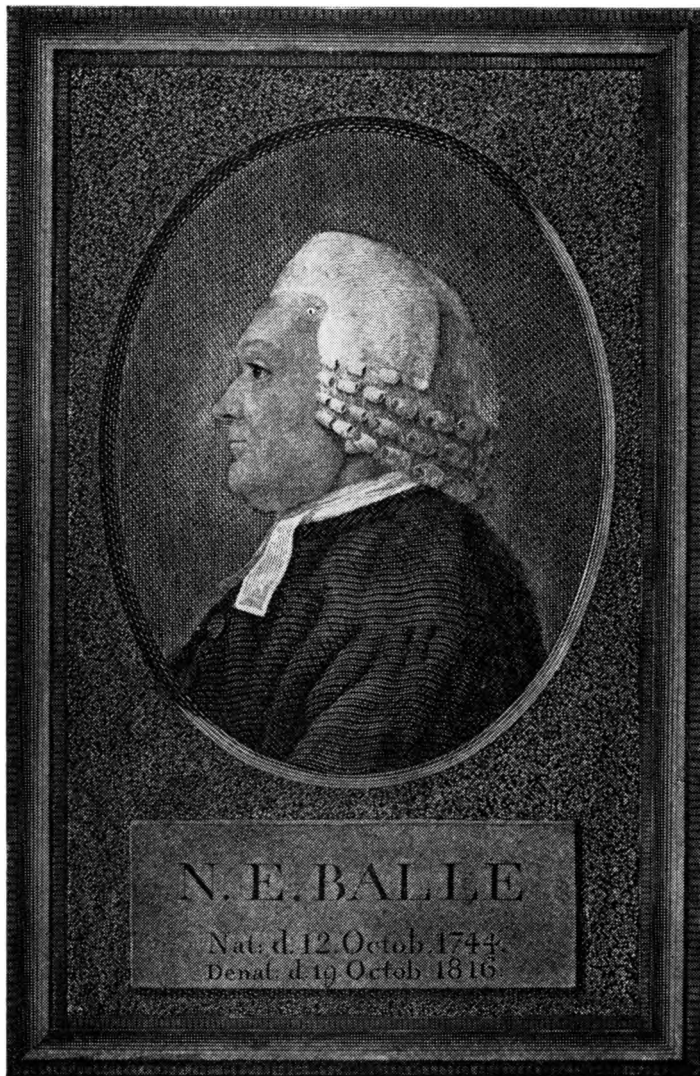
1795/1800

Entries in the Church Book reveal another of Henrich's numerous activities. The introduction in 1736, during the era of pietism, of confirmation in the Protestant faith of both boys and girls, roughly at the age of puberty, had lasting administrative and social effects. Spiritual preparation for the re-affirmation of the pledge given on the children's behalf by their godparents, at the time of their christening necessitated three or four months of bi-weekly lessons for the prospective candidates. During the period 1795-1800, these explanatory religious sessions appear to have been undertaken by Henrich, a fact which, however, we learn only indirectly. Next to the names of those confirmed by the clergyman are meticulously stated the marks by which, at the examination prior to the ceremony ('*Overhøring*'), they had qualified. These marks are in Henrich's handwriting. To avoid any prospective charge of favouritism, however, next to the names of his three eldest children, who were confirmed during this period, no marks were shown by the conscientious and careful *Degn* and father. On Palm Sunday (29th March), 1795, Henriette Dorothea was confirmed. So, on Palm Sunday (9th April), 1797, was Maria Petronella. And, again on Palm Sunday (6th April), 1800, so was the elder of the two surviving sons, Christian Frederik.

A distressing and poignant reason may, partly at least, have accounted for Henrich's lack of worldly success. After two of the rare routine inspections of the Village School at Toksværd by his Bishop, in 1799 and again in 1805, the Bishop's reports make it evident that the pupils' standard of reading, catechism and other knowledge was deplorably low. Poor Henrich *Degn*! On both occasions, he was reported to be stone deaf!

By the late 1790s, Tipoldefar, both as a teacher and as a choir leader, had become a complete

failure. The quality of his singing, in his capacity as hymn leader in the Church, was, in 1815, described as **1815** “abominable” (*‘Han synger afskyeligt’*)!



Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen's ecclesiastical superior, Bishop N. E. Balle (1744-1816), Primate of the Diocese of Sjælland, to whom, in 1793, Abraham Kall addressed his public letter of complaint.

The kaleidoscopic picture of Tipoldefar's character, which we can piece together from the odd facts known to us, is as inconsistent as, in similar circumstances, such a picture of us might well be to our descendants. The minimum Poor Law rate for the parish of Toksværd was based upon a combination of the quality and size of the land-holding ('*Hartkorn*') of each ratepayer. Self-assessment was, however, permitted, provided the amount payable did not become less than
1806 it would otherwise have been. In 1806, only three of the people living in the Parish of Toksværd in this manner, increased, their contribution towards the relief of poverty. Those were the estate owner at Sparresholm, who paid 18 Rigsdaler, Henrich Petersen, who paid 2 Rigsdaler, and the clergyman of the parish, who contributed 1 Rigsdaler and 1 barrel ('*Tønde*') of barley. Was the size of Henrich Petersen's contribution a reflection of the peacock streak in his character, which had made him, as a young man in 1765, order the expensive green suit at 25 Rigsdaler? Did he want to outshine his social, ecclesiastical and financial superiors by paying a larger proportion of his income than they did? Or was his contribution dictated purely by a feeling of charity? If the latter, considering the wretched state and crowded conditions of the buildings in which he himself lived and worked, his contribution was certainly creditable.

The period from 1780, when Henrich arrived in Toksværd, to 1807 was a golden age for Danish/Norwegian shipping and commerce. Thanks to Denmark's policy of armed neutrality during the British and French revolutionary wars in America and Europe, fortunes were made (and sometimes lost!) overnight. Newly acquired wealth was often invested in agricultural estates. After Friedenreich's short ownership of Sparresholm, the neglected estate was bought and sold no less than five times during the next 24 years,

suffering picturesque owners both of benevolence and get-rich-quick desires. 128 years later, a very indirect second link between the estate of Sparresholm and one of the descendants of Henrich Petersen was established. On the 11th December, 1935, Ruth, my younger sister, was married in the Copenhagen City Hall to Henrik Grandjean of Bækkeskov (b. 14/12/1899), a direct descendant of Carl Vincens (Vilhelm) Grandjean, who, for eighteen months in 1804 and 1805, was the owner of Sparresholm. After butchering the estate, ruthlessly felling the trees in several of its woods and selling both its deergarden and many of its farms, Grandjean, in August 1805, having made a handsome profit, sold, at 100,000 Rigsdaler, the stripped and impoverished estate, including the village of Toksværd. For several generations, the Grandjeans had been foresters, but the next purchaser was a young clergyman's son of limited legal training, *exam. jur.* Claus Friederich Seidelin. After nineteen months of riotous living at his stately home, he was forced to sell the estate in March 1807. (*'Han var en ung Mand, der førte et alt andet end eksemplarisk Liv her paa Gaarden, hvor han ofrede rigeligt baade til Venus og Bacchus !' (Danske Slotte og Herregaarde," Vol V, p.195).*) Notwithstanding his pending inglorious exit from Sparresholm, three months after the recorded date of the sale, Seidelin, at the age of only 23, described as a Coastal Home Guard Commander and Yeoman Farmer (*'Kystmilits-Befalingsmand og Proprietær'*) of Hiortholm, on the 5th June, 1807, entered into the estate of holy matrimony in Toksværd Church. At the wedding, by special licence (*'Kongebrev'*), the 17½-year-old-bride, Birgitte Sophie Petersen, Tipoldefar's and Tipoldemor's third daughter, was given away by her father, the *Degn*, Henrich Petersen ! Neither romance nor facts behind this climax of "The Rake's Progress" are known to me. But Seidelin was a name well-known in Danish history. In 1772, on the writ addressed to

Queen Caroline Mathilde, virtually accusing her of adultery, one of the many signatures was that of somebody named Seidelin.

LANDEARKIVET FOR SJEÆLLAND M. M.

U D S K R I F T
af
Sjællands Bispearkiv - Fjerde og femte Visitats-Tour 1799-1807.

Oct.	H a m m e r H e r r e d	1799
		Toxværd Sogn
		----- Toxværd Skole
	<p>Paa Born havde lært noget af Læsebogen, ikke med synderlig Indsigt. Nogle vidste Catechismus, men uden stort Begreb. Boglæsningen var god hos nogle faa, men for de fleste slet. Evidentlig blev gjort om, mangler Øvelse. 8 Bøger uddeelt.</p> <p>Degnen Petersen, som tillige er Skoleholder, kan ikke udrette noget fordj han er døv. Han har en Assistent ved Navn Becher, som ikke synes at være meget oplagt.</p>	
<hr/>		
Jun.	H a m m e r H e r r e d	1805
		Toxværd Pastorat
d.30.		----- Toxværd Kirke
	<p>----- Degnen Mar. Petersen gandske døv. Synger slet og hans Catechisation bestaaer i da han ikke kan høre.</p>	

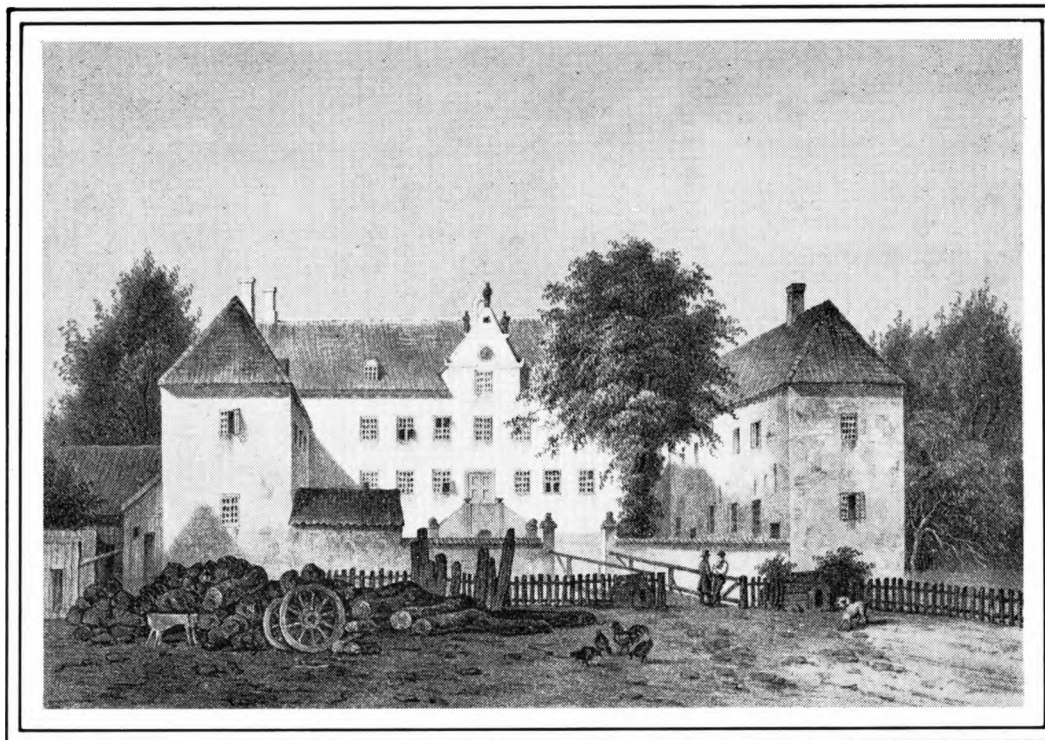
Unflattering extracts from the 1799 and 1805 reports of the inspecting Bishop on my deaf Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen's qualities as a village teacher and verger ('*Degn*') in Toxværd.

In one record of the members of the Seidelin family, the name of the young bride is not even mentioned. Her husband, after his sale of Sparresholm and settlement of mortgages and bills of exchange, was left with only 6000 Rigsdaler in cash. In the record of his family, he is reputed to have fathered the unspecified number of "many children," elsewhere defined as fourteen or fifteen, only six of whom, however, were with Birgitte, from whom he was separated in 1825.

58 years after the wedding of Birgitte Sophie and C. H. Seidelin, on the 18th November, 1865, the name of C. H. Seidelin occurs as that of one of the two witnesses at the wedding in Ringsted of my maternal grandparents. This Seidelin, who was described as a smallholder ('*Parcellist*'), was a cousin of the bride, and brother-in-law of the groom, being married to Morfar's sister, 'Tante Stine,' with whom he lived at Islemark, near Copenhagen. (*Refer to Fourteenth Chapter.*) And still fifty years later in my own childhood, the name of Seidelin recurs as the first of two surnames of one of Mor's innumerable girl friends (and, in this case, also a cousin), Henriette Christine *Sejdelin* Larsen, likewise of Islemark, b. 26/7/1880 Frederiksberg, and chr. 22/8/1880 Rødovre.

The Battle of Copenhagen in 1801, the British bombard-	1801
ment of Copenhagen in 1807, the loss of the Fleet, the	1807
Danish national bankruptcy in 1813, the loss of Norway	1813
in 1814, followed by severe, lengthy agricultural	1814

depression, not to mention the long years of Henrich's widowhood, deafness, and illness, must all have made the last twenty-six years of his life sad and difficult. A law suit brought against Henrich by two farmers who contended that Tipoldefar had extracted from them more tithes than was rightfully due to him must have caused much bitterness, both before and after it was decided in



The Farmstead & C. F. Seidelin.

SPARRESHJULM

forhen Padeberg, i Sælland, opført 1609.

The moated Manor House near Toksværd, owned and lived in at different times by Fridenreich and Tipoldefar's other patrons, including C. F. Seidelin, one of Tipoldefar's sons-in-law. Though the lithograph is dated 1858, note the inclusion, in the bottom left hand corner, of the wooden horse, an instrument used, prior to 1788, for the punishment of peasants.

Table No. 9. (Eleventh Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to
Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, Tipoldemor Dorothea Sørensdatter
Blech, and their seven children, all of the latter, except Henriette
Dorothea, being born and christened in Toksværd.

Henrich Petersen, *cand. theol., Degn.* b. 28/2/1748 Copenhagen,
chr. 2/3/1748 Helligaandskirken. †16/1/1827 Toksværd, buried
19/1/1827, m. 29/12/1779 Garnisonskirke, Copenhagen, Dorothea
Sørensdatter Blech, b. 5/5/1752 Copenhagen, chr. 9/5/1752 Vor Frue
Kirke, Copenhagen. Died or buried 1/9/1807 Toksværd.

Children :

- 1) Henriette Dorothea, b. 8/2/1780 Copenhagen, chr. 19/2/1780 Sct.
Nikolaj Kirke, Copenhagen, conf. 29/3/1795 Toksværd. Not shown
as living in Toksværd at the time of the 1801 census. †25/7/1838
m. 25/8/1811 in the Vicarage at Tingsted, Falster, by special
licence ('*Kongebrev*'), as his first wife, to Farm Manager
('*Forvalter*') Thomsen, both bride and bridegroom being
described as of Gamle Kirstineberg. Niels Tingberg Thomsen
(chr. 13/9/1778 Svendborg, †13/5/1858 Helsingør) was Postmaster
and Innkeeper in Ringsted from 1/10/1811 to 30/9/1830.
Between 2/7/1812 and 17/7/1818, the couple had four children
christened in Ringsted. From 1/10/1830 Niels Tingberg Thomsen
was Postmaster in Roskilde, from 10/5/1834 Postmaster in
Svendborg, 1836 *Cancelliraad*, 31/3/1849 Retired. 5 weeks later,
5/5/1849, at the age of 70, m. 2nd time, at Frederiksberg,
Jacobine Birgitte Frederikke Rasmussen, of Vesterbro, 25½ years
of age. He was buried 1858 in Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen.
- 2) Maria Petronella, home christening confirmed 23/4/1782.
Carried to the font by *Fru Kammerherreinde de Beringschiold
paa Sparisholm*. conf. 9/4/1797. †before 1827.
- 3) Andreas Ferdinand, home christening confirmed 11/10/1783.
Henrich's half-brother, *Studiosus* Andreas Petersen, was present
as a godfather. The child died 1796.
- 4) Christian Friderich (Frederik), b. 1787, home christening
confirmed 18/2/1787. *Mons.* Søren Møller from Copenhagen
and all the farmers of Toksværd were his godfathers. (This
Søren Møller from Copenhagen seems likely to have been the
half-brother, likewise born in Studiestræde, of the infant's mother.
(Refer to Ninth Chapter.)) conf. 6/4/1800. Married but died
before 23/3/1817. Left two children: Ludvig and Frederikke.
By 1827, his widow had married *Aquavit* Distiller Jensen of
Ringsted.
- 5) Birgitte Sophie, b. 19/10/1789, chr. 12/12/1789. †8/5/1830
Eggeslevmagle, near Skelskør. m. 5/6/1807 Toksværd: Coastal
Home Guard Commander and Yeoman Farmer ('*Kystmilits-
Befalingsmand og Proprietær*') Claus Friderich Seidelin of
Hiortholm, Forslev Parish, chr. 30/9/1784 Slemminge-Fjelde,

Lolland. s. of *Sognepræst* Berthel Seidelin (†1803) and wife Karen Green. *Exam. jur.* 22/6/1803. At the time of his wedding to Birgitte Sophie, the 23-year-old Seidelin, since 1805 owner of Sparresholm, was in financial difficulties. The sale by him of the estate was completed 30/6/1807. Separated from Birgitte 1825. m. 13/2/1831 Frederiksberg, as his 2nd wife, Johanne Christiane Lund. An advertisement in *Berlingske Tidende* 20/8/1827 announced the forthcoming compulsory sale by auction of his two farms in Hallagermagle. †28/4/1835 Brønshøj. Reputed to have had "many children," only six of whom were with Birgitte. Birgitte Sophie's last child, it seems probable, was Christian Henrich Seidelin, b. 10/8/1822 Eggeslevmagle, chr. 15/12/1822. After the separation of his parents, Christian Henrich moved with his father to Brønshøj, near Islemark, where in the 1855 census he is recorded as a farm labourer. His employer was my Morfar's father (i.e. Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen). Christian Henrich married, 15/6/1852, Brønshøj, the latter's daughter, Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter, b. 6/8/1825, and farmed the smallholding, first as an employee, and from 1862 until his death, 5/4/1879, from typhus, as the owner, being then described as a '*Dannebrogsmand*.' His widow, 'Tante Stine,' whom, in my early childhood, I vaguely remember having visited, died 82 years of age, 25/3/1907, in Brønshøj. (*Refer to Fourteenth Chapter.*)

- 6) Adamine Olivia, b. 28/10/1791, chr. 28/12/1791. m. 13/11/1812 Ringsted: *Forpagter* John Søbørg, later referred to as Farm Bailiff (*Gaardbestyrer*) Søbørg, living near '*Holbek*.' † after 1827.
- 7) Herman Fabius ('Oldefar'), b. 10/5/1793, home christening conf. 14/6/1793. †25/7/1871 Ringsted. m. 6/6/1828 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted: Stine Sørensdatter ('Oldemor'), b. Balstrup, chr. 2/11/1806, Ringsted. †30/3/1869 Ringsted. They left 6 children, of whom 'Mormor' was their youngest daughter.

Henrich's favour in 1815. Inconsistently phrased, the Bishop's reports charitably tried to cover up his shortcomings. A reference in one of these reports makes it evident that *Brændevin* had become the principal source of Tipoldefar's consolation. (1815: '*Petersen har været en meget duelig Mand, der har dimmitteret unge til Universitetet, nu er han stokdøv og drikker, dog forretter sit Embede upaaklageligt !*' (sic !)) 1815

On the 29th August, 1807, during a vain attempt to relieve Copenhagen from the British siege, untrained and badly equipped conscripted home guard forces ('*Sjællands Landsmilitis*'), which during the eighteenth century had not seen active service, were routed in an engagement near Køge, 30 kilometres from Toksværd, by superior, battle-experienced British troops, under the command of the future Duke of Wellington. Even if Henrich's hearing had still been normal, it is unlikely that he would have been able to hear the gunfire. Pursued by the British forces, the ineffective Danish soldiery fled southwards in confusion. On the 1st September, 1807, or perhaps even earlier, the town of Næstved, near Toksværd, was occupied by the British. On the next day, the 2nd September, 1807, the British bombardment of Copenhagen began. After causing immense damage and grievous loss of life, it resulted, on the 7th September, 1807, in the surrender of all the fifty-odd ships of the once powerful Danish-Norwegian navy. 1807

On, or about, the 1st September, 1807, at the age of 55, Tipoldemor Dorothea must have died and been buried in Toksværd. Whether her death was the result of the War and the occupation of much of Sjælland by the British forces we do not know. The date of her death, in Erslew's *Forfatterlexicon*, is inaccurately shown as the 28th November, 1808. In the Church Book for Toksværd, the date of her death or burial, is more likely to have been nearer the correct one, is first shown as the 28th August, 1807, only to have been 1807

amended to the 1st September, 1807. More extraordinary is the fact that the royal authority for Henrich, after his wife's death, to retain the joint parental estate intact ('*sidde i uskiftet Bo*') is shown as having been already granted in Copenhagen, above the royal seal, on the 28th August, 1807! This was a date before the official (corrected) date of Dorothea's death or burial and also prior to the British bombardment of Copenhagen and the surrender of the Fleet. The Enemy must have seemed to have been everywhere, and confusion, in some quarters allied to panic, obviously prevailed. The grinding machinery of governmental procedure sometimes, however, even in war-time, continues to turn with surprising celerity, and efficiency. Already, on the 11th October, 1807, receipt of the appropriate fee payable by Henrich for His Majesty's gracious permission was acknowledged, by endorsement on the document. At the time of his mother's death, Oldefar Fabius was fourteen years old.

1813 The national bankruptcy in 1813 may have played havoc with Henrich's financial affairs, as it did with those of many others. In addition, as much of his emoluments consisted of tithes and payments in kind ('*Degnetrave*'), the depressed world prices of agricultural products ruling for a decade from 1818, must have reduced the true value of much of his income.

1814 In 1814, a decree made education between the ages of 7 and 14 compulsory in Denmark. In Toksværd, however, the provisions of the decree were only made fully operative in 1827. Gradually, life must have been going downhill for Henrich. From the

1820 1st July, 1820, we know that Postmaster Thomsen of Ringsted, the husband of Henriette Dorothea, made his father-in-law a modest monthly allowance of 3 Mark. Perhaps more correctly described as loans, these payments, which at the time of Henrich's death totalled 39 Rigsdaler 40β, appear in the accounts of



i Christian
den Syvende,
af Guds Naade,

Ronge til Danmark og Norge,
de Benders og Gothers, Hertug
udi Slesvig, Holsten, Stormarn, Dytmerken og
Oldenborg; Giøre bitterligt: At Vi, efter *Joergens*

*Hendrich Petersen for Tidværd Brønde
i Proste Guel i det nord Land Læland*

Jens herom allerunder-
danligst giorte Ansøgning og Begiering, allernaadigst have bevilget og til-
ladt, saa og hermed bevilge og tillade, at *Jens*

maa, foruden Rettens Middels Forfejling, Registrering og Burdering
efter Loven med felles sammenavlede umyndige *Søn* i ukristet Bøe blive
hensiddende, saalænge *Jens* i eenlig Stand forbliver

Dg om *Jens* imidlertid skulle blive til Sinds at Skifte og deele, maa
Jens med Samfrænder slutte en Skifte-Forhandling om den Arv, som
bemeldte *Jens* *Gavn* efter *Sønns* *Moder* *Dorthea Petersen*
for Bleich, Jens appogner Jensens

kan tilkomme, saaledes som *Jens* med
dem til *Gavn* *Gavn* best kunne foreenes, foruden Rettens
Middels Dverværelse eller videre Registrering og Burdering efter Loven;
Dog have bemelte Samfrænder et skriftligt Document derover at forfatte,
som billigt kan være og de i Fremtiden naar *de* komme i myndig
Stand eragte at kunne forbare. Dg ville Vi herhos allernaadigst have
befalet dem, som dette Skifte i saa Naade forrette, at de i alle Maader

Betales med Tretten Rigsdaler Tre Mark,
skriver 13 Rdlr. 3 Mk.

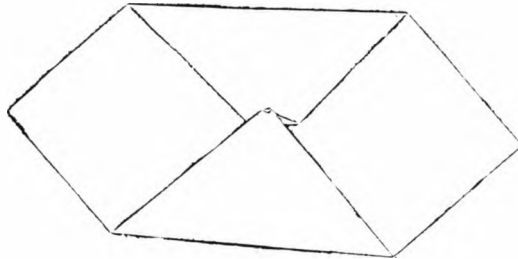
Englerting

Front page of royal authority granted to "Hendrich" Petersen to retain undivided possession of the estate after he became a widower.

(Reduced from foolscap size.)

holde sig Loven og Anordningerne, samt i Serdeleshed Forordning-
gen af 23de Augusti 1793 allerunderdanigst efterrettelig, hvilket og skal
skee, af den Øvrighed og Rættens-Betjent, som det ellers kunne tilkomme
samme Skifte at forvalte, forsaavidt disse dem angaaer, i hvis Rættig-
hed dog intet derfor skal afgaae. Forbyhnde alle og enhver imod det,
som forekrevet staaer Hinder at gøre. Givet i Vor Kongelige Resi-
dents-Stad Kjøbenhavn, den 28^{de} Augusti 1807.

Under Vort Kongelige Seigl.



Efter hans Kongelige Majestæts allernaadigste Befaling.

H. O. Aar

Anders Madsen

Mourad

Poerner Skjøtt

H. Hansen

Devilling at hvide i uskift Boe, og i sin Tid at skifte med Samfren-
der, for *Anders Petersen Droguden* for *200 rdl*
Omlygd i Christen Amd.

*I Recognition na mig Salall G. A. og Lic. Nels-Forskel
12. Okt. at somna levst, som skilde om de ordalme
to og salidans indskudt i den Skilling gæstansom.
Nelle Lun 11^{de} Octobr. 1807.*

*M. M. M.
Mourad - 200 rdl*

On the back page of the royal authority shown on the previous page, permission is stated, above the royal seal, to have been granted in Copenhagen, on the 28th August, 1807, several days before Tipoldemor Dorothea's (corrected) date of death or burial.

(Reduced from foolscap size.)

Henrich's estate as a liability due to Thomsen. Also shown is a loan of 15 Rigsdaler "in notes" made "with the knowledge of some other members of the family" by Henrich's youngest child, Herman Fabius, to his father "during his illness." Henrich's inability "owing to illness and other troubles" to continue his quarterly payments, to the Funeral Society, of which he was a member, evidently reflected the creation and growth of these debts. In a declaration dated the 9th March, 1821, 1821 Henrich stated that he had handed the funeral policy to Herman Fabius and Postmaster Thomsen. As these two men had "voluntarily" offered to pay future premiums as a loan, their claims for repayment of these amounts were to receive priority on Henrich's death. But, until his death in 1827, at the age of nearly 79, Tipoldefar, a lonely, 1827 useless and pathetic figure, was allowed to remain in his post. One can only hope that his sight remained good enough for him to continue to enjoy the contents of his library.

Perhaps he had not led such a licentious life as, 62 years earlier, his stepmother had attempted to make out, or at any rate did not continue to do so. Alternatively, he may have been of sturdier physique and greater mental stability than some of his more brilliant and successful contemporaries. The 1814 educational reform gradually brought the institution of *Degne* to an end; in Tipoldefar's case, as in others, when he died no successor termed *Deegn* was appointed.

On the 16th January, 1827, Tipoldefar died in 1827 Toksværd. In the Journal of Probate for Tybjerg *Herred*, an entry records that, the next day, his death was reported by Schoolteacher ('*Skolelærer*') Lind, Tipoldefar's so-called '*Substitut*,' and probably his *de facto* successor. The amount of 1 Rigsdaler 3 Mark for an "express" (?) reveals the fact that the news was sent by Mr. Lind to Postmaster Thomsen by this rapid means. Whatever this meant, it ensured that the announcement of

Da det kom ind i min Sjæle og under Tidsens sædvanlige ^{St. P.} galdt
 mig indfølelse at betale mine værelsesrenter til Kjøbmand
 i Nørrebro, hvoraf jeg er skilt, og da min Kone og jeg
 sønnesøn Thomsen og min søn Herman Fabius er vilde og lidet vilde
 tilbød mig at ville for min egen og sønnesøns og sønnesøns sønnesøn
 og jeg for mig, som overkommer mig den Sum i alle Betalinger
 1820. For hvilken Tid de har Skuld og for hvilken indtægter
 betaler dem til mig. I den Tid som jeg er af mig tilføjet og
 de Lovene, som det er at de, som vilde mig, som de har min Tid
 giv mig Skulden for den Tid de har givet til mig
 Forord af J. P. Marti 1821

Henrich Petersen



2 Skilling. For for J. P. Marti 1820

16. June 1827 med. indf. D. N. H.

Nr 673 A. Mønsens Betaling

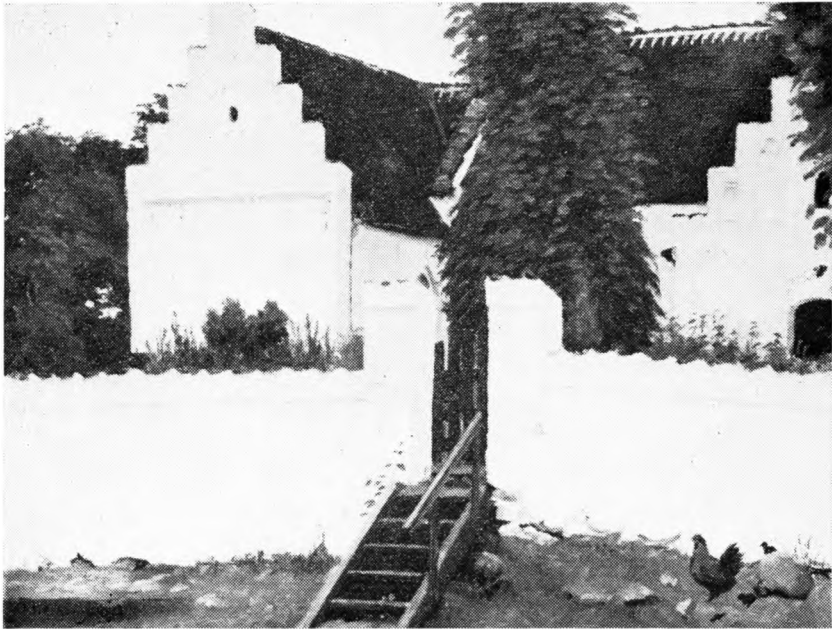
haver, som Interessent ubi det Tredobbelte-Foreneede Begravelses-
 Selskab, til mig, som Selskabets Boeholder, for det i den Maaned
 dette Aar af Portion betalt 8 Skill. Rigsh. N. D.,
 hvorefter quitterer. Kjøbenhavn, 1828

C. sal. Clausen,

boende paa Hjørnet af Rosenbergsøen og
 St. Gierstrædet No. 217, 2 Sal.

The above pathetically phrased note was written on the 9th March, 1821, to the *Tredobbelte-Foreneede Begravelse-Selskab* in Copenhagen by Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, then 73 years of age. Deaf, sick, intemperate, lonely and impecunious, he said (summarized): "As owing to my illness and other troubles I find it difficult to continue to pay the quarterly premiums, I confirm that my son-in-law, Postmaster Thomsen, and my son, Herman Fabius, have lovingly and of their own volition offered to pay future premiums. I have handed the policy to them and after my death they are to receive their outlay back."

A year after Tipoldefar's death, the total amount received by the estate from the Funeral Fund on the 28th May, 1828, was 144 Rigsdaler, of which, in turn, Herman Fabius received 15 Rigsdaler.



By courtesy of Frk. Betty Hartig, the artist's sister.

The wooden steps leading into the churchyard at Toksværd, likely to have been used regularly from 1780 to 1827, by Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen.

(Photograph of an oil painting executed about 1909 by D. Hartig. The steps have since been removed.)

Tipoldefar's death promptly reached all members of the family living in Ringsted. The funeral, according to the Toksværd Church Book, took place on the 19th January, 1827. The burial plot cannot be identified, but it is likely that Tipoldefar was laid to rest in the section of the churchyard in which his predecessors in office had been buried. This was only a stone's throw from his home, and near the wooden steps giving access to the door into the church, which, for 47 years, he had used several times daily.

The funeral and the attendant important catering arrangements were obviously organized by the useful busybody, Mr. Lind, subject to the overall command

of Postmaster Thomsen in Ringsted. None of the mourners who attended Tipoldefar's funeral is likely to have left hungry or sober. Gargantuan quantities of food and drink provided included 2 geese, 32 lb. ('2 *Lispund*') of finest rice, 37 lb. (*2 Lispund og 5 Pund*') of salted, dried codfish ('*Klipfisk*'), quantities of mustard, cinnamon and other spices, 2 lb. ('2 *Pund*') of both granulated and brown sugar, and 4 lb. ('4 *Pund*') of coffee. Most significant perhaps, is that, thirst having been whetted by the spices and the salty codfish, the generous quantity of nearly 6 gallons ('24 *Potter*') of the terribly potent aquavit ('*Brændevin*') was also made available. This was in addition to other liquids such as a barrel of beer, "supplied to the Town"! No wonder that the cost of the funeral absorbed 129 Rigsdaler 4 Mark and 4 Skilling. A good time must, however, have been had by all! And when the estate was wound up, none of the beneficiaries seems to have objected to the expense incurred.

In the Journal of Probate, the names of Henrich's heirs were stated to be the following six descendants :

a) Three surviving daughters :

Birgitte, married to Seidelin of Halager,

Henriette, married to Postmaster Thomsen of Ringsted,

Adamine, married to Farm Bailiff ('*Guardbestyrer*') Søbørg, living near '*Holbek*.'

b) The only surviving son: Herman Fabius ('*Oldefar*'), Coach contractor ('*Vognmand*') of Ringsted.

c) Two grandchildren, '*Lodvig*' and Frederikke, whose father, Christian (Henrich's son), had died, but who were living with their mother, his widow, who had since married *Aquavit* Distiller ('*Brændeviinsbrænder*') Jensen of Ringsted.

Regning

Eil Hoffmeyer Thomsen i Ringsted paa de Dødsfestens
 Anledning er indkommet for Indkjøbet og Modtagelse af
 Tøkkard, det Anvendte samt øvrige Penge Peterfred Sørens-
 selvs.

1827			Li	l	o
Januari	16	2 ^{de} 1/2 Sølvs. Vin a 4 ^{de}	8	-	-
		2 ^{de} 1/2 Sølvs. Sølvs. a 8 ^{de}	3	-	8
		Cancell.		1	8
		1/2 ^{de} 1/2 Sølvs. Vin		1	8
		1 ^{te} 1/2 Sølvs. Vin		2	4
		1 ^{te} 1/2 Sølvs. Vin		1	8
		1 ^{te} 1/2 Sølvs. Vin		1	8
		4 ^{de} Kaffe a 2 ^{de} 1/2		5	4
		2 ^{de} 1/2 Kaffe a 2 ^{de} 1/2		5	4
		2 ^{de} Kaffe a 2 ^{de} 1/2		4	0
		2 ^{de} Sølvs. Vin		1	8
		1 ^{te} Sølvs. Vin		1	-
		3 ^{de} Sølvs. Vin		1	-
		2 ^{de} 1/2 Sølvs. Vin		1	-
		1 ^{te} Sølvs. Vin		1	-
		6 Sølvs. Vin		5	-
Summa			20	5	12
Kopied den 10 Maars 1827. Buvallu Ojzen Rysgaard Tax Rader 5 ^{de} 12 ^{de} Engene i sin Løkke for den 9 ^{de} Maars J. N. Witte					

Bill showing details of some of the enormous quantities of food and drink which were consumed at Henrich Petersen's funeral at Toksværd on the 19th January, 1827. (The 24 Potter Brændevin and other items were invoiced separately.)

(Reduced in size.)

Winding up the modest estate proved a long-drawn-out affair, lasting over twenty months. Only on the 25th 1828 September, 1828, after 16 previous entries had been recorded in the Journal of Probate, did it prove possible

A F S K R I F T

af

bilag i degnen Henrik Petersens bo 1829 - Tybjerg herred -

ad K^o 2

R e g n i n g

over Aføde Dognedeegn Petersens Begravelse i Toxvort den 19. Jan. 1827.

	Rbdlr.	Mark.	S
Pekostat et Jagen, Skiorte og Hue at legges			
hans i Kisten i	8	-	-
For at grave Graven	-	3	-
Regningen paa Kisten fra Snekkeren følger			
nom er	10	5	8
Til Byen er givet en Tænde Cl	10	-	-
en Tænde Rugmeel til Bred	8	-	-
Ildebrændsel	1	-	-
24 Potter Brændevin 4 26 R Fotten, Regning			
følger	6	3	-
2 Pd. Lys	-	3	-
Ungten som Gaardsmand Niels Albrecht har havt. 1			
Det øvrige som er givet til Byen og Begravelsen			
fremlægges Hr. Postmester Witte Regning paa.			
En videre er kjøbt 2 Gims	3	2	-
en Søsterkage	1	-	-
en Exprez sendt til Postmester Thomsen i			
Ringsted for at lode Dem vide Dedsfaldet . . . 1			
Summa	52	1	8

Ovenstående Regning er mig betalt,
hvorfor taknemmeligst kvitteres.

Lind

Toxvort den 26. Februar 1827.

Afskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 10. januar 1970

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

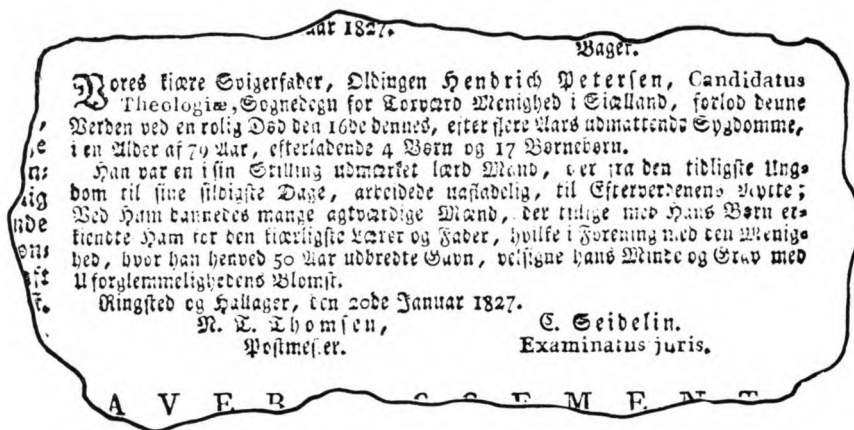


Gebyr: kr. 13.00

The second bill relating to the expenses incurred in connection with the funeral, on the 19th January, 1827, of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, is shown above. The coffin cost 10 Rigsbankdaler 5 Mark and 8 Skilling. The expense of supplying a sheet, a shirt and a cap, in which to place him in the coffin, is recorded as 8 Rigsbankdaler. A barrel of rye flour for baking bread is shown to have cost 8 Rigsdaler. The cost of a 'sister cake' was, however, only 1 Rigsbankdaler. Both ultimately paid for by the estate, and receipted, the two bills were rendered at about five weeks' interval.

to agree upon the closure of the estate of Henrich *Degn*. During those long months of delay, Postmaster Thomsen, in a letter to the Head of Herlufsholm College (*a boarding school similar in status and age to Eton*), told him that his late father-in-law had had in his modest library a manuscript in Latin on parchment. Henrich had often expressed the wish that, after his death, the book should be donated to Herlufsholm Library. Invited to indicate his willingness to accept the gift, if offered, the Head of Herlufsholm, Professor Melchior, on the 15th March, 1827, agreed to write to that effect to *Borgemester* Schönheider, the mayor of Næstved, who acted as probate commissioner of Henrich's estate.

The probate records include details of the cost, both of preparation, and display in Næstved and the surrounding countryside, of posters announcing the sale by auction, on the 16th March, 1827, of Tipoldefar's modest chattels.



In affectionate, but hyperbolic and slightly inaccurate terms, the announcement of the death of Tipoldefar 'Hendrich' Petersen appeared on the 22nd January, 1827, in *Statstidende*. Giving him credit for having been "since earliest youth to his very last days" a learned, industrious and loving teacher and father, it also tells us that he died after several years of exhausting illness, leaving 4 children and 17 grandchildren. The announcement was signed by two of his three sons-in-law (why was the name of *Gaardbestyrer* Søeborg omitted and that of Seidelin, who was separated from Birgitte Sophie, included?), but the cost of the insertion, viz. 1 Rigsbankdaler 3β, was paid by the estate some six months later.

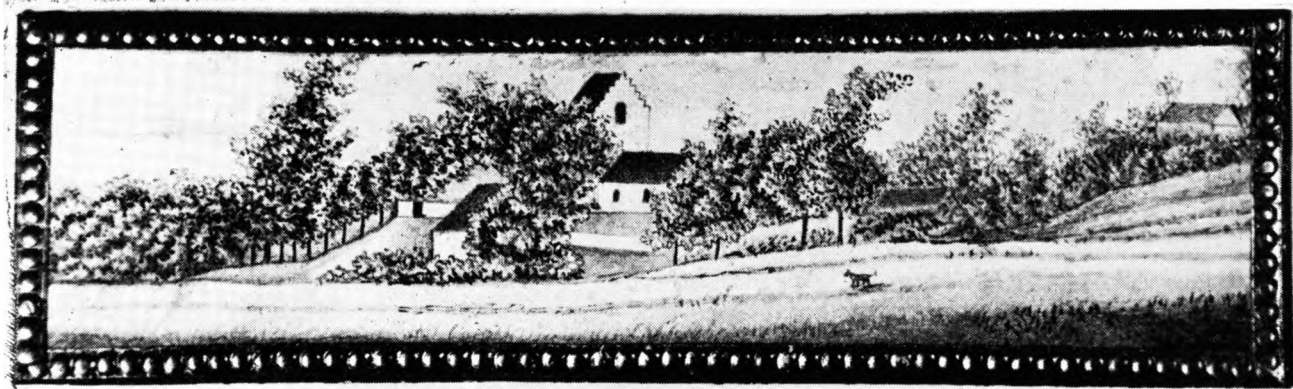
The town drummer, at a cost of 4 Mark, was also called into action, but the assets at the auction realized only 65 Rigsdaler 4 Mark 10 Skilling, half the cost of the funeral, if including eats and drinks !

One reason for the long delay in winding up the estate may have been the difficulty encountered in calculating the amount of the tithe due to Tipoldefar from some of his parishioners (' *Degnetrave* '). This proved to be no less than 219 Rigsdaler 1 Mark 10 Skilling, a substantial share of the assets of the small estate.

The net value proved to be 228 Rigsdaler, of which 144 Rigsdaler consisted of the funeral money from *Det tredobbelte forenede Begravelse-Selskab i Kjøbenhavn*. In accordance with the law of inheritance operative, Herman Fabius received two-sevenths, viz. 65 Rigsdaler. Another two-sevenths went jointly to the two children of Christian. Each of the three daughters, or their husbands, received one-seventh. But in the case of Birgitte Sophie, who, in 1825, had become separated from her husband, Claus Frederik Seidelin, was 3 Rigsdaler deducted, this small amount having already been paid on the 17th November, 1827, to the once prosperous owner of Sparresholm, on account of his wife's share of the modest inheritance. *Sic transit gloria!*

The liabilities of the estate were only finally settled at a meeting of the *Toksverd* School Commission, on the 19th Decmber, 1831. It was reported then that a mortgage of 100 Rigsdaler D.C., issued by Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen to Bishop Harboe, had been extinguished by means of a modest local extra tax, which had resulted in revenue of 72 Rigsdaler 1 Mark 2 Skilling *Silver*.

The innumerable descendants of Henrich Petersen include Ulla Ryum (b. 1937), the esoteric, *avant-garde* writer and granddaughter of my own lovable aunt, Birgitte Ryum, *née* Rasmussen (1877-1960). Unable, in my early childhood, to pronounce my aunt's Christian name, I



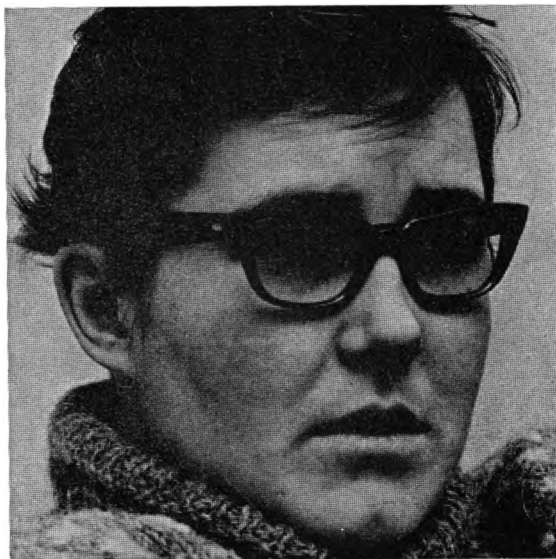
Toksværd Church, about 1840.

*By courtesy of Næstved
by og egnshistoriske arkiv.*

This penced drawing, if correctly identified, shows Toksværd Church, about 13 years after the death of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen. Unsigned and undated, the drawing shows, behind the bush in the centre, all that is left of his home, farm and school.

always referred to her as 'Moster Bitta.' And, for the rest of her life, universally she was almost known by that name to most of her friends and some relatives.

When, every summer, 'Moster Bitta,' Mor, her sister, and Morbror (Herman Remvig, formerly Rasmussen (1873-1962)), their brother, became sun-tanned, they acquired a slightly gipsy-like appearance. Possession by all three of modest barn-storming ability may have given rise to the suggestion that our ancestors included charcoal-burners of foreign origin, who reputedly had been living and operating in Gribskov. The reason why they should have worked in Gribskov does not seem



Ulla Ryum, b. 14/5/1937 Frederiksberg.

Lack of a formal academic education has not prevented Ulla Ryum from becoming a writer of distinction. The daughter of Sten Ryum, one of my maternal male cousins, she is also a descendant of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen.

An unmarried mother of two, at the General Election for the *Folketing*, in December 1973, as a Communist candidate. Ulla vastly enjoyed her honourable defeat in the ultra-conservative constituency of Fredensborg.

obvious, but this was the traditional site for charcoal-burning of men hailing from the Ardennes in the biggest forest near Copenhagen.

For the myth of our alleged charcoal-burning ancestry, I have been unable to trace any supporting facts. It is more interesting, to students of Mendel's theories of biological and mental inheritance, that Ulla Ryum's creative literary talent by critics has been compared to that of Hans Christian Andersen as well as that of Karen Blixen, the author of the fascinating 'Seven Gothic Tales.' Her name has likewise been mentioned in the context of Søren Kierkegaard and Sartre. Could some of the restless and unsuccessful literary talent of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen have leap-frogged four generations to appear again in the original and strangely creative personality of Ulla Ryum? The style common to both may suggest an affirmative answer.

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- 2) Bopakken vedr. Degnen Henrik Petersens Skifte af Toxværd, 1828. Tybjerg Herred.
- 3) Skifteprotokollen for Tybjerg Herred, 1824-1828. Fol. 372A. (Skifteslutning i Sognedegn Hendrich Petersens Stervboe.)
- 4) Sjællands Bispearkiv : Indkomme Sager 1770-89. Hammer Herred. Letters dated 21/4/1780, 4/6/1784, 16/7/1789.
- 5) Sjællands Bispearkiv : Fjerde og Femte Visitats-Tour 1799-1807.
- 6) Toksværd Skolekommissions Protokol 1816-51.

Others :

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Map :

Kort over Toxvere Byes Mark, opmaalt 1791 af N. Lund.

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Danske Slotte og Herregaarde, Vol. V, p.195.

J. Ræder : Danmarks Krigs og Politiske Historie 1807-09. Volume 1. Kapitel IV. (The battle at Køge on the 29th August, 1807.)

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Ulla Ryum's authorship and personality have been discussed and described, amongst others, by :

- a) Klaus Rifbjerg, in '*Den store sangerske,*' Politikens Weekly, 23-29/11/1963.
- b) Lis Thorbjørnsen, '*Hjertet på øen i søen,*' Kirkens Verden, 6, 1970.
- c) Esther Østergaard, in '*Ulla Ryum,*' Aktuelt Forfatterportræt 1969/70 : 6, Bibliotekscentralen, 1969.

Acknowledgments and Thanks :

For many items of information and helpful suggestions to :
Skoleinspektør A. Strange Nielsen, Toksværd.

To : Hærens Arkiv.

TWELFTH CHAPTER :

Oldefar Herman Fabius Pedersen, who settled in Ringsted where he became a mail coach contractor

Never has it been easy to grow up the child of a *1793-1871* successful man. Possibly less so, in the village of Toksværd, for Herman Fabius to grow up the seventh child of a talented, deaf, impecunious might-have-been, who was left motherless at fourteen, when his father sought consolation in the bottle for his disappointments. Being neither the son of one of the illiterate and, until shortly before, subservient and down-trodden peasants, nor of the landed aristocracy, Oldefar, with his brothers and sisters, is unlikely to have spent an easy childhood. Recorded in the Church Book (p. 286) are the names, occupations and addresses of the six respectable men, mainly of the tenant and steward class (three of them from Sparresholm, who acted as godfathers to the baby, who was to prove the Benjamin of the Petersen family. Recorded also is the name of *Madam Mariager* of Nestelsø, who carried the infant to the font. (*She seems to have been the wife of the parish clergyman in Nestelsø, the Rev. Rudolph Moth Mariager.*) These seven people, on the 14th June, 1793, were present at the confirmatory christening service in Toksværd Church, the baby already having been baptized Herman Fabius at home, on the 10th May, 1793, the date of his birth. On the christening certificate, the name of his mother is not stated, possibly indicative of masculine egotism, the entry in the Church

Book, from which it is copied, no doubt having been written by the infant's father, in his capacity as a *Degn*.

During the whole of his life, Henrich, father of the newly born baby, had correctly used and been known by the surname of Petersen, i.e. the son of Peder. Oldefar was given, or chose to retain, as his patronymic name, the surname of his father, before adoption of this practice became compulsory. (Inconsistently, however, he chose to spell his surname 'Pedersen.' His children, too, used this spelling, while at other times they preferred to render their name as 'Petersen.')

The Latin 'Fabius,' Oldefar's second Christian name, was obviously the product of Henrich's fertile mind. The unusual name, however, has helped me providing the identification link-up between the infant born in 1793 in Toksværd and my Oldefar, later known to have lived in Ringsted, 27 kilometres from the birthplace of Herman Fabius. Nothing is known of his education and development, but neither his handwriting, spelling, nor the composition of the one letter from him which I have been able to trace, approaches the standard of his father's.

Likely to have remained in Toksværd for a year or two, after he reached manhood, Herman Fabius probably continued to look after his ageing father's small farm, a job he may have done since childhood. Unlike most other young men in the parish, who were sons of peasants, Herman Fabius, being the son of a *Degn*, was not liable to conscription. The severe agricultural crisis, which after the Napoleonic wars plagued Denmark, must, however, have made Herman Fabius decide before his father's death to seek fresh pastures. Two of his four sisters, and his only surviving brother, who had all married, had settled in Ringsted. The choice by Herman Fabius in favour of Ringsted may have been influenced in particular by his eldest sister, Henriette 1810 Dorothea, who, on the 25th August, 1810, had been

married by special licence in the vicarage of Tingsted in Falster to Niels Thomsen. Described as an estate manager ('*Forvalter*'), Thomsen, on the 1st October, 1811, was appointed royal postmaster and innkeeper in Ringsted. Thenceforth he used also the additional surname of 'Tingberg,' which he inserted between his Christian name and his only original surname of 'Thomsen.' 1811

When did Herman Fabius leave Toksværd? The issue in 1812 of a decree, ordering Church Books to be kept in duplicate, coincided with the introduction of their amended layout, providing spaces for the names of those parishioners who had recently left the parish. Until 1824, however, these additional spaces in Toksværd Church Book were left unused.

From details submitted on the 2nd March, 1816, to the Court of Probate in Copenhagen, subsequent to the death of Herman Fabius's well-to-do Grand-uncle, Søren Knie (1728-1816), it is evident that, at the age of nearly 23, Herman Fabius at that time, was already living in Ringsted, probably with his brother-in-law, Postmaster Thomsen, who a year later, we learn, was acting as his guardian, and at whose inn-*cum*-postal headquarters Herman Fabius may have earned his keep as an ostler. 1816

Søren Knie, whom we have met before (*Ninth Chapter*), was a former master goldsmith, who for 38 years (26/1/1759—11/1/1797) was in business in Kalundborg. After the death in Copenhagen of his father, Tiptiptipoldefar Mads Ibsen Knie (1677 (approx.)—1752), Søren Knie, in 1753, had inherited 1179 Rigsdaler from his father's estate. Of this sum, 905 Rigsdaler was represented by a mortgage executed in his favour by Jørgen Lind, another goldsmith, who was the husband of Søren's sister, Anne Madsdatter Knie (chr. 1723).

Six years after his father's death, Søren Knie must have decided to establish himself as a master goldsmith in the small city of Kalundborg, about 100 kilometres north-west of Copenhagen. On the 26th January, 1759, appearing in the Council Chamber before two city councillors, he applied for his trading licence and, when granted, swore his oath of allegiance. The reason for his decision to settle in Kalundborg, though born and bred in Copenhagen, is not known. It may have been linked up with the indebtedness to him of his brother-in-law, Jørgen Lind. Another (by me unexplored) link with Kalundborg may have been provided by Ole Andersen Knie. The latter, also on the 26th January, 1753, is known to have sworn an oath of allegiance ('with upstretched fingers') both to the King and to the city authorities in Kalundborg Council chamber, stating that "*he was born in the city* and intended to support himself by fishing and work as a shipwright."

Whatever Søren's reasons for settling in Kalundborg, he obviously prospered. He appears to have remained in touch with other goldsmiths of the Knie clan, who settled in Copenhagen, in Horsetofte, near Ringsted, and possibly elsewhere.

Active in Kalundborg for many years, on the 13th July, 1796, at the age of 68, he appeared before the court of the magistracy, held in the Council Chamber, and produced a statement, renouncing, as from the 1st January, 1797, his trading licence, "because of age and weakness, though I intend to remain living in the city." As a businessman and creative craftsman, Søren Knie distinguished himself. Two of his works of silver are still in museums in Kalundborg and Holbæk. One of them is dated 1806 so it is obvious that his days of retirement were not spent in idleness. Before Easter 1814, however, he must have moved to Copenhagen, where, at the age of nearly 88, on the 5th January, 1816,

he died "from old age" at 53 Toldbodgaden and, according to the Church Book of Garnisons Kirke, was buried there on the 10th January, 1816.

Ascertaining assets and beneficiaries of the estate, proved a lengthy process. After nearly twelve months, on the 19th December, 1816, it was stated that all beneficiaries had been ascertained, but on the 28th February, 1817, the affairs of the estate were taken up for re-examination, before, on the same date, the estate being finally closed. Numerous family inheritors included three goldsmiths and four persons of the name of 'Lind,' though occupations and some names may have overlapped.

The net amount for distribution was the large sum of 12,817 Rigsbankdaler. Søren Knie's own modest inheritance from his father's estate, in 1753, of 1,179 Rigsdaler had certainly multiplied! Was this in spite, or because, of the inflation, coupled with the effects of the national bankruptcy in 1813? Until 1796, Søren Knie's assets may mainly have been represented by bullion or articles of precious metals. The events to many spelled disaster, but he may well have been a beneficiary.

After nearly two centuries, can we, probing into Knie's financial affairs, learn something in respect of that period of his life covering the years between 1796, when he announced his retirement in Kalundborg, and his death, twenty years later, in Copenhagen (1796-1816)? The period was momentous in the political and the economic history of Denmark.

Whether by skill or parsimony Søren Knie had accumulated his sizeable fortune, we are not aware. Not all Danish gold and silversmiths prospered. One of his brothers-in-law, Jørgen Lind, a silversmith, had gone bankrupt in the 1750s (*as mentioned in the*

Ninth Chapter), in spite of his distinguished association with a member of the famous *Fabritius* clan. In terms of depreciating paper currency, during much of his working life Knie had seen the increase in value of bars of gold and silver and other stock-in-trade. Knie's financial reactions during the years immediately following his retirement are difficult to explain. Yet the outcome seems to have turned out satisfactorily for him. In 1796, at 68, a retired bachelor, with no dependents, he had evidently decided to swap part of his stock of precious metals for the unstable and depreciating currency of the Danish/Norwegian Realm.

The purchase followed of a combined annuity and endowment policy in The Ordinary Maintenance Institution. ('*Den almindelige Forsørgelsesanstalt.*') A government-sponsored set-up, some of its records 1796 survive. These show that, on the 11th June, 1796, shortly before he announced his retirement, Knie made a once-and-for-all payment to the Institution of 1,454 Rigsdaler. Detailed terms are unknown to us, but interest was to be credited to him at the modest rate of $3\frac{3}{4}\%$ p.a., ensuring initially a half-yearly annuity of 100 Rigsdaler, payable to him the first time on the 11th December, 1796. This payment to the Institution was, however, to be only the first of six further capital payments of unequal size, made by him between 1796 and 1803, at a total cost of 5,160 Rigsdaler. The amounts of the annuities *receivable* by him gradually increased. From 1812 to 1815 (including the critical year of 1813, when the State declared itself bankrupt), the amount payable to him had risen to no less than 1,000 Rigsdaler p.a. Unknown to us, however, is the purchasing power of these amounts. The overall result is by no means clear. At Knie's 1816 death, on the 5th January, 1816, he lived in a house in Copenhagen, at 53 Toldbodgade (53 Sct. Annæ Øster Kvarter), for which, by way of rent, from Easter to

Michaelmas, 1814, he paid 121 Rigsbankdaler 5 Mark 4 Skilling. Chimney sweep, and other extras, brought the total up to 132 Rigsbankdaler 4 Mark. Still, the amount was only equal to 13% of his annual income from the annuities which he had purchased between 1796 and 1803.

Seemingly, the inflationary gallop of his day followed a pattern different from that which, in 1918-22, after World War I, destroyed the financial basis of the middle classes in Austria-Hungary, Imperial Germany and France. From the 13.4 mill. Rigsdaler, which was the total of the Danish/Norwegian *Courant* Bank notes in circulation in 1797, the nominal value, had jumped to 72.6 mill. Rigsdaler before, in 1813, reaching a peak of 144.8 mill. Rigsdaler.

When, in 1813, the State of Denmark/Norway 1813 declared itself bankrupt, it did not, as more than a century later happened in Austria-Hungary and Germany, effectively destroy the complete value of its bank notes. In 1813, in Denmark/Norway, *de facto* the obligations of the State were scaled down by a crude 90%, but because of the inflation, for years preceding, of the pre-1813 currency, the immediate effect of the devaluation in 1813 to many people must have been much less than 90%. Moreover, in 1813, obligations earlier incurred to creditors in terms of *Courant* Currency, were converted into the new Rigsbankdaler currency, but the rate of conversion applied was not uniform. The rate depended upon when the indebtedness had been incurred. The effective rate of devaluation is, therefore, impossible to express by an overall percentage. (Summarized from *Erling Olsen : Danmarks økonomiske historie siden 1750, København 1967, p. 248.*)

By luck or design, Søren Knie seems to have been one of those who escaped unscathed from the consequences of the financial disaster traditionally associated with the State Bankruptcy of 1813. During the years 1812-15, he does not even seem to have troubled to

collect the annuities, but allowed these to accumulate to his credit. When he died in 1816, the total nominal value due to his estate, *in new currency*, amounted to 13,573 Rigsbankdaler. This compares with the 5160 Rigsdaler, *in old currency*, which, during the years 1796-1803, he had paid into the Institution. Søren Knie's survival to the age of 88 must have made him an expensive annuitant to the Institution, though actuarial allowance, no doubt, had been made for this contingency.

1817 Delay in winding up the estate must have made some beneficiaries restless and suspicious. Jointly with others, Postmaster Thomsen had executed a proxy authorizing his brother-in-law, the hapless *Proprietair* Seidelin of Hallagergaard, to act on their behalf. On the 16th January, 1817, this proxy was revoked. Not until the 9th March, 1817, fourteen months after the death of the prosperous, artistically minded, old goldsmith, was Herman Fabius, jointly with his guardian (Thomsen) in Ringsted, able to sign a receipt for the amount of his share of the estate of his Grand-uncle, the goldsmith, viz. 305 Rigsbankdaler 1 Mark 4/7ths Skilling N.V.

1827 In days of mail coaches, Ringsted was a strategically important centre. Thomsen (b. 1778 in Svendborg), since 1811 was both postmaster and innkeeper ('*Gæstgiver*'). To Herman Fabius, who presumably had little vocational knowledge, except of farming, his brother-in-law could prove a useful contact for procuring mail coach contracts. At the time of his father's death, Herman Fabius was already described as a coach contractor ('*Vognmand*') settled in Ringsted. Four months later, on the 26th May, 1827, in a letter to *Etatsraad*, *Borgemester* Schönheider in Næstved, executor of his father's modest estate, Herman Fabius appeals for the inclusion among the liabilities of a loan of 15 Rigsbankdaler, which he states he made to his

late father during his recent last illness, adding : “ I have now started in business on my own.”

Only at 35, did Herman Fabius get married, described as a small tenant farmer and coach contractor (*‘ Avlsbruger og Vognmand ’*), in the Church Book of Sct. Bendts Kirke in Ringsted.

On the 6th June, 1828, in the lovely historic church, 1828
Oldefar Herman Fabius Pedersen was married to 21-year-old Stine Sørensdatter. Hailing from the village of Balstrup, 2 kilometres from Ringsted, Oldemor, by the descriptive word *‘ Pige,’* was inferred to have been an unmarried peasant girl. Witnesses were *Postmester* Thomsen of Ringsted and Freehold Farmer (*‘ Selveiergaardmand ’*) Søren Nielsen of Balstrup, the father of the bride.

Had the path of courtship of Herman Fabius and his 22 year-old bride, Stine Sørensdatter, the daughter of the prosperous farmer in Balstrup, been long and thorny ? On the 21st October, 1826, three months prior to his father’s 1826
death, Herman Fabius, by buying the property between those owned by *Kiøbmand* Monrad and Schurmann’s widow, at Nørregade, Ringsted, had shown his intention to settle for good in Ringsted. Why ? No obvious alternative was open to him, except to emigrate to the inhospitable and far-away continents of North America or Australia. The obvious deduction is that he had decided to start in business on his own ; in turn, this almost certainly presupposed marriage by the then 33-year-old bachelor. Had his decision to settle in Ringsted been mainly due to the attractions of Stine ?

Payable for the property to the vendor, Harnessmaker Mogens Peter Lønberg, was 1,404 Rigsbankdaler 25½ *silver*, of which 266 Rigsbankdaler 64½ *silver* was payable down, with mortgages for part of the balance, possession to be given before the end of the month.

The system of describing properties by *Matrikelnummer*, which, in Copenhagen, had been operative since 1689, was only on the 11th February, 1863, introduced in the boroughs of Denmark by Act of Parliament, the effect of which, in Ringsted, became operative from 1867/8.

The property which Oldefar Herman Fabius bought in 1826 was described as Nørregade *Matrikel* and Insurance Number 49, though sometimes referred to as Number 48. Only when, in 1868, the Act became operative was the property allotted the new, and official *Matrikelnummer* of 39. Subject to minor variations in the area of the property, the site retained this number until about 1946, when both the site and old-fashioned, house passed out of possession of Oldefar's descendants.

Described, in the census records of 1834, 1840 and 1845, as a one-family house, the property, if correctly identified and as shown in the photograph on p.335, in common with other similar houses in the street, occupied the street end of an oblong narrow site, the original area of which was described as being 2,150 sq. *Alen*. With garret bedrooms above, the otherwise single-storied dwelling house faced Nørregade. The site behind provided plenty of space for yards, sheds, horse stables, cowstalls, privies, dung heaps and also the inevitable, but very necessary, well.

Near the centre of Ringsted, Oldefar obviously never aimed at becoming, nor ever did become a farmer in a 1829 big way. On the 25th March, 1829, nine months after his wedding, but before the birth of the first of his and Stine's children, he leased farming land belonging to 'St. Bendz Kirke' in Ringsted. Many years later, on the 8th December, 1869, shortly before his death he sold to his eldest son, Christian Frederik 'Petersen,' at a price no doubt nominal, the house and land at Nørregade 49, included also not only chattels

and furniture but horses, cows, and other animals, carriages, ploughs, harrows, and other farming implements, as well as seeds, fodder and manure. Almost to the end of his long life, the son of the Toksværd *Degn*, who became the son-in-law of the Balstrup farmer, continued to farm as well as to trade as a coach contractor.

Vague tradition has it that Oldefar, whose father's reputation, as a deaf intemperate ne'er-do-well, may have leaped ahead of his son, married the daughter of the proud, well-off farmer, only with the reluctant consent of the latter and his family.

From his father's estate we know that, in addition to repayment of the 15 Rigsdaler, Herman Fabius received only 65 Rigsdaler. His wife's inheritance from her mother (who had died in 1817), which, on marriage to Stine, he would also have received, may have helped him to get his business under way.

The description of himself as a 'self-owner farmer' by Herman Fabius's father-in-law, was a status symbol. Only in 1799 had it been possible for Søren Nielsen's father, Niels Larsen, and the three other farmers in Balstrup to buy the farms of which previously they had been only tenants. Non-flattering words, one may suspect, throughout his long life, had been used regarding the hapless *Degn* and his activities, not only by his stepmother and Abraham Kall. During those years of acute agricultural depression, the attention paid by the largely unskilled suitor to the young girl was perhaps not welcomed by her family in Balstrup. Is it likely that, before or after their marriage, either a deliberate or an unconscious pact, or moral rectitude concerning the bridegroom's family was initiated by the newly married couple? Pointers are both *pro et con*. I am sure that, in my own childhood, Mor, talkative and knowledgeable as she was, and whose own childhood

Anmodning til Landsretten i København om
 Ophold i Kjøbenhavn M 7 30 Maj 1827

Høi Deres Høiærbønhængsel som ydligst forvalter
 i min alderede Fader Høiærbønhængsel Peteren Bør umiddelbar
 Jng. Gættard, at jeg end min Lære Dygtighed, og
 Trængende Forretning, saa Anmodning, saavel som 15 Ld
 Bødder, saa Villkaar at vilde tillægges mig Høiig naar
 Anstændigstidspunkt bliver Gindtaget, men da jeg ikke
 optraadte den Tid, saa jeg mig nu forlængere naar
 Bødder, for Samlet 15 Ld, og da endvidt af Samlet nu
 Høiærbønhængsel om, at jeg forlængere min Lære med Samlet 15
 og har den Lige, saa ender jeg Deres Høiærbønhængsel
 om: vilde der ikke noget tilkomme, at Lære mig
 forlængere kunne i Læretidning. Jeg har nu fuld Høiig i
 Høiærbønhængsel, den Lige som jeg vilde Læretidning
 Lige i min Lære Bør; Læretidning den 26 Mai 1827
 at

Høiærbønhængsel Herman Petersen
 for Klædning Bøymester Kønheider Høiærbønhængsel

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Sjælland, m.m.
 (Reduced in size.)

Inaccurately spelled, badly written and poorly composed, this solitary surviving letter, dated the 26th May, 1827, from Oldefar Herman Fabius 'Petersen' reveals the outcome of his poor schooling in Toksværd. Comparison with the aggressive and confident tone of some of his father's communications, written at a much earlier age, reveals also differences between characters of father and son.

had mainly been spent in the narrow streets and lanes of the old parts of Copenhagen, when we passed the Helligaandskirke or Klosterstræde, would have made reference to Tiptipoldefar or his son. Not a word was

ever uttered. I believe that Mor knew nothing of the identity of her tumultuous ancestor, born 1748 in Copenhagen. (Only in 1967, by Niels Rickelt's research, I learned of Henrich's and his father's names and identities.) Two of Mor's three sisters, Dorothea (Bertha), and Birgitte, are clearly family Christian names, intended to commemorate some of the Toksværd-born daughters of my Tipoldefar, Henrich *Degn*.

Be that as it may, seemingly a friendly relationship developed over the next years between the farmers in Balstrup and, after their marriage, with Oldefar and Oldemor, and their family in Ringsted. The presence at their wedding of *Postmester* Thomsen, the older and prosperous man, who must have been considered prestigious, increased Oldefar's standing locally.

In the centre of Ringsted still stands the impressive Hotel Postgaarden, next to its large adjoining former stableyard. In this house, we can be sure, were the bustling postal headquarters, the inn and the home of Niels Tingberg Thomsen (postmaster and innkeeper in Ringsted from the 1st October, 1811 to the 30th September, 1830) and his wife, Henriette Dorothea, the eldest sister of Herman Fabius. Thomsen, however, although occupying the dual position of a Royal Post Office servant and private innkeeper of a privileged inn (of which earlier there had been two in Ringsted), obviously never became the owner. Having adopted a professional postal career, on leaving Ringsted, in 1830, Thomsen became postmaster first in Roskilde, and, in 1834, in Svendborg, before, in 1849, he was awarded the honorary title of '*Cancelliraad*.' Henriette Dorothea having died 25/7/1838, the 70-year old retired civil servant married his second wife, 25½-year old Jacobine Frederikke Rasmussen, 5/5/1849, at Frederiksberg. He died the 31/5/1858. Reverting to 1828, the size of the building and the yard testifies to the value to the newly

married coach contractor of having the postmaster as his beneficent brother-in-law. This was an age when the transport of mail and passengers from one town to the next was farmed out by the Post Office to men who knew about horses !

Owing to the central geographical position of Ringsted, the town was the starting point of radial mail coach services to Næstved, Holbæk and Køge. This was in addition to Ringsted's being an important staging point on the trunk route from Copenhagen to Korsør.

To disentangle the complicated relationship between the Royal Postal and Conveyance Service (' *Det kongelige Post- & Befordringsvæsen* '), as the official title of the Danish Post Office remained in my childhood, and its officials and contractors, is beyond the scope of this book and my knowledge. Oldefar, his sister, and later his sons, were only small cogs in the postal machinery. Obviously, whenever the arrival of the four-in-hand in Ringsted, at the Royal Privileged Postal Headquarters and Inn, was announced by the resounding horn of the coachman, bustling activity ensued. The primary responsibility of the postmaster seems to have been to provide accommodation for the passengers, while the postal and freight office in Ringsted was at buildings nearby. On arrival of the coach the bodily requirements of passengers, coachmen and horses would require the attention of indoor servants and ostlers, under the control of Postmaster Thomsen and, no doubt, his wife, Henriette Dorothea, Oldefar's eldest sister. Much later during the reign of His Majesty King Frederik VII (1848-1863), when travelling in the island of Sjælland, halted at Postgaarden in Ringsted. Four relief horses were always stabled ready for the King. Similar arrangements no doubt applied from 1811 to 1830, while Thomsen was in charge.



Photo 1969 by Gunnar Jacobsen.

Early in the 18th century, Hotel Postgaarden (Freiesleben's House), in Ringsted, was obviously the centre, outside Copenhagen, of the mail coach system in Sjælland. (The House was built, it is believed, shortly after 1794, though it carries the monogram of King Christian VIII (1839-48), this, in the opinion of local historians, being due to additions and alterations in the 1840s.)

Niels Tingberg Thomsen, who in 1810 married Henriette Dorothea, Oldefar's eldest sister, was Postmaster and Innkeeper in Ringsted from 1811 to 1830.

Note the three fascinating *Tingsten* in the foreground.

Described at his wedding as a "small farmer and coach contractor" ('*Avlsbruger og Vognmand*'), while later Oldefar referred to only as a coach contractor, it can be inferred that, at the time of his marriage, he did not exclusively rely for his livelihood on his brother-in-law. With two strings to his bow, Oldefar, as a smallholder, rented arable land near Nørregade, within a few hundred metres of Postgaarden. When Oldefar married, the surname of his bride was correctly recorded as 'Sørensdatter.' Later it was rendered in the modernized,

but for a woman genetically incorrect, form of 'Sørensen.' Concurrently with attaining a modest standard of prosperity, Oldefar and Oldemor must have aimed at middle-class respectability of the early Victorian type.

With the almost clockwork regularity which, in the nineteenth century, was common, their six children (three boys and three girls) arrived, from 1829 to 1839, at intervals of roughly two years. Ill health may have accounted for Stine's having no more children after the age of 32.

1829 Their first child, a girl, was born on the 25th March, 1829, a little more than nine months after their wedding. On the first anniversary of their marriage, the 6th June, 1829, the infant was christened Ane, presumably named after her maternal grandmother, although later the girl became known as Anna. Karen Sørensdatte of Balstrup, the young mother's sister, carried the baby to the font, but she and another unidentified girl, Ane Marie Pedersdatte, seemingly were the only inhabitants of nearby Balstrup present at the christening. Was the absence of other members of the Balstrup clan a snub administered to Stine by her stepmother and her own generous father for having married outside the prosperous peasant circle, although the father had given his daughter away at her wedding? Of the three godfathers present in Ringsted at Ane's christening none was from Balstrup, and all of only modest social position ('*Ungkarl Hans Madsen, Slagtersvend Niels Jensen, Tjenestekarl Mads Pedersen*').

If Stine's stepmother were the cause of any feud, it is reassuring, only two years later, on the 18th June, 1831, at the christening of Oldefar's and Oldemor's second child, Christian Frederik, to find that the infant's maternal grandfather, Søren Nielsen of Balstrup, was present as a godfather. And if originally resentful,

Stine's stepmother must eventually have relented at the christening of Stine's fourth child. On the 27th May, 1835, the godparents at the christening of little Niels Johan are stated to have included Birthe Friderichsdatter of Balstrup, who was Søren Nielsen's second wife and Stine's stepmother. Pride and prejudice had both had their day.

All Oldefar's and Oldemor's children were born in Ringsted. I have met and known only two of them. The elder was Anna (always disrespectfully by Mor referred to as "Moster Medalje") who, born on the 25th March, 1829, died the 15th February, 1915. Her younger sister was my maternal grandmother, Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia ('Mormor'). Born on the 14th March, 1837, she died on the 24th August, 1918, at Brøndbyvester.

Determined (if my hypothesis of their partial suppression of Tipoldefar's life is correct) that their own lives and marriage should be respectable, Oldefar and Oldemor seem to have come out on top. The census records of 1834, 1840 and 1845 reveal that the couple lived, with children and a male and female servant, on the outskirts of Ringsted. Their house was on the right hand side of Nørregade before the main road, at Benløse Runding, forks right to Roskilde and left to Holbæk.

Which of the parents had the more determined and stronger character, and exercised the greater formative influence on their children? Frequent absences from home may well have rendered Oldefar's influence the less significant. A photograph of Oldefar H. F. Pedersen appears on p.339, while in the case of Birthe Friderichsdatter, who was both Stine's maternal aunt and her stepmother, we have an idea of her appearance from the photograph on p.379. Oldemor Stine Sørensdatter, who at the age of 21, thirteen years younger

than her bridegroom. had married the son of the intellectual and, in his younger days, no doubt charming. but also, one suspects, tempestuous, *Degn*, may well have been the more conscientious and ethically severe parent. It was her strict but generous, helpful and duty-conscious attitude that, I believe, I saw mirrored both in "Moster Medalje" and Mormor. But was it from

LANDSARKIVET FOR SJÆLLAND M. M.

U D S K R I P T

af

kontraministerialbogen for Ringsted købstad 1814-1849, pag.246

F ø d t e Q v i n d e k i ø n

No.	7.
Aar og Datum	Den 14. Marts 1837
Barnets fulde Navn.	Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivie Petersen
Daabens Datum enten i Kirken eller Hjemme.	Den 14. Juni 1837 i Kirken
Forældrenes Navn, Stand, Haandtering og Boepæl.	Vognmand Herman Petersen og Hustrue Stine Sørensdatter i Ringsted.
Fadderens Navn, Stand og Opholdssted.	Gaardmand Peder Jensens Kone i Qværkebye frembar Barnet. Gaardmand Søren Madsens Kone i Hjelmseemagle stod hos. Gaardmand Søren Nielsen i Balstrup Gaardmand Søren Madsen i Hjelmseemagle Skomagermester Lars Bergmann i Ringsted

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes

Landsarkivet, København, den 15. april 1971

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

Mormor's christening certificate.

Henrich *Degn* that some of the Rasmussen descendants inherited their didactic and histrionic qualities?

By the execution on the 10th June, 1843, of a document of renunciation, Herman Fabius received a



*By courtesy of
Midtsjællands Lokalhistoriske Arkiv.*

Nørregade 22. Matrikelnummer 39, Ringsted, the home and property of Oldefar Herman Fabius Pedersen, 1826-69.

This photograph shows, immediately to the left of the two larger houses, the modest, dark, single-storied house which Oldefar owned and which, with the large yard behind it, he sold to Christian Frederik Pedersen, his eldest son, on the 8th December, 1869, 20 months before his death.

(Photograph believed taken between 1895 and 1901.)

windfall of 500 Rigsbankdaler from his father-in-law, Tipoldefar Søren Nielsen of Balstrup. The document

also deprived me (in common with most of his many other descendants) for all time of any claim to Søren Nielsen's estate, including Balstrupgaard.

1848-50 The first of Denmark's two unfortunate German wars (1848-50), would cause a flurry of activity in Ringsted. Opened in 1847, the first railway in Denmark extended only from Copenhagen to Roskilde. Troops from Copenhagen had to march from Roskilde to Korsør, only officers enjoying the privilege of travelling by mail coaches and requisitioned peasant vehicles from Roskilde, via Ringsted, to Korsør, *en route*, by sea, for Jutland, principally to Flensborg and Sønderborg. Wars always provide opportunities for affairs of the heart as well as for tragedies. Amongst troops billeted at the house of Oldefar and Oldemor in Ringsted was Commander Sergeant Daniel Jensen. Twenty years of age, Anna, their eldest daughter, fell for his charm. When, after the War, modestly decorated as a '*Danebrogsmand*,' he returned, the suitor was accepted, and after marriage, on the 7th April, 1855, in Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, the couple settled in his home town, Flensborg, where they remained until 1864.

Helped by his son it must have been difficult for Oldefar, even late in life, to earn more than a modest living. The population of Ringsted, in 1855, numbered only 1,477. But while there were five bakers, there were no less than nine coach contractors ('*Vognmænd*').

Contrary to what one might have assumed, the completion of the railway from Copenhagen, via Roskilde and Ringsted, may not unfavourably have affected Oldefar's business as a postal contractor ('*Postcontrahent*'). On the 27th April, 1856, the opening of the extension of the rail trunk line caused the immediate discontinuance of the postal and passenger road service by the Post Office from Roskilde, via Ringsted, to Korsør. Mail

Hermann Petersen.

Kingsked.

Paa sin 50jendtve Arzige Fodfødsdag

110² etat. 1
1844

Yante Borger i dit Sæde!	Sine Børn sig glæde naare!
Dig vi hylde Dig vi glæde!	For en kjerlig Fader haare!
Paa sin Fodfødsdag!	I sin Virkekræds!
Du oprigtig er i Mandel!	De dig ei Dyrskeme vil!
Kedelig i di Din Haand!	Naar du alder tager til!
De har velkes du.	De dig Hjælp Tilbyder.

By courtesy of Fru Gerda Christophersen, my half-cousin and a Great-granddaughter of our joint Great-grandparents, Oldefar Herman Fabius Pedersen and his wife, Oldemor Stine Sørensdatte.

This memorial, evidently by friends and relatives, was addressed to Oldefar 'Hermann Petersen' on the 10th of May, 1844, when wrongly he was assumed to become 50. (Cross-checked, the entry of his birth in the Toksværd Church Book, quoted in the Eleventh Chapter, makes it abundantly clear that Oldefar was born on the 10th May, 1793.)

1844

Laudatory reference is made to his sincerity, integrity and paternal virtues. An indistinct statement on the back, obviously written by one of his children, adds nothing to our knowledge.

coach service by road from Ringsted to Næstved grew both in importance and volume, and time-tables of the trunk rail services from, and to, Ringsted, connecting with Copenhagen and Korsør, were advertised in the Næstved paper. The radial horse-drawn coach services from Ringsted were continued and even added to! In 1856, the mail service for Lolland was also routed via Ringsted, while in 1858 a mail coach service was initiated, via Køge, to Rønnede. Of the horse-drawn mail services radiating from Ringsted, only in 1870 was that to Køge and Rønnede discontinued; the other services were retained. As recently as 1912, in my childhood, I recollect seeing the remnant of these horse-drawn mail coach services. Starting from Haslev, picturesque, yellow horse-drawn mail coaches were pulled at a brisk trot down the main street, bound for Rønnede Kro, which had become their terminus.

In 1864, during the 2nd German War, when Denmark alone faced the combined might of Prussia and Austria, of Oldfar's and Oldemor's children, Niels, their second son, as a member of the 4th Dragoon Regiment, took part in the retreat from Dannevirke. In the then Danish city of Flensborg, Anna showed compassion and gave practical help, to the Danish P.O.W.s and the wounded and dying of all three nations. For her courageous actions and splendid behaviour she was, in 1865, by King Christian IX, awarded a solid gold medal in the form of a brooch. Unfortunately, according to The Chapter of Orders (*'Ordenskapitlet'*), the records of this decoration were destroyed, in 1884, during the fire of Christiansborg. In a manuscript, written only in 1901, headed "Minder fra '64," "Moster Medalje" gave a brief account of her sad experiences, during the retreat and captivity of the Danish soldiery.

The disastrous outcome of the war for Denmark, and the loss of both the twin duchies, caused a national setback, both material and emotional.

Shortly after the war, on the 18th November, 1865, 1865
Oldefar and Oldemor are likely to have been present
in Sct. Bendts Kirke in Ringsted, at the wedding of
Birgitte, my Mormor, to Peder Rasmussen. In 1828,
at her own wedding, the bride's mother, Stine
Sørensdatter, had been described as a maiden ('*Pige*').
Changes in terminology, and from peasant to citizen
status, account for the fact that Mormor at her wedding,
was referred to as a virgin ('*Jomfru*').

Witnesses ('*Forlovere*') at the wedding were
Smallholder ('*Parcellist*') C. H. Seidelin of Islemark
and Haulage Contractor ('*Vognmand*') N. Pedersen, the
second oldest of the bride's three brothers. The newly
married couple settled in Copenhagen at Halmtorvet (now:
Raadhuspladsen) 63.

On the 30th March, 1869, Oldemor died in Ringsted
at the age of 62, leaving Oldefar a widower. Wisely,



*By courtesy of
my maternal cousin,
Mrs. Benedicte Pedersen,
Maine (USA).*
Oldefar Herman Pedersen
of Ringsted
(10/5/1793—25/7/1871)
*On the back is written in
'Moster Bitta's' handwriting:
"Liddes og Stens Oldefar."*



*By courtesy of my half-cousin, Fru Gerda Christophersen,
a Great-granddaughter of our joint Great-grandparents, Oldefar
Herman Fabius Pedersen and his wife,
Oldemor Stine Sørensdatter.*

Ringsted-Næstved Mail Coach.

Neither of the two men seated on the coach seems likely to be Oldefar Herman Fabius Pedersen (1793-1871). More probably, the coachman (in mufti) is his eldest son, Christian Frederik Pedersen (1831-1892), who carried on Oldefar's modest business as a mail coach contractor. The legend on the coach confirms the route covered as being 'Ringsted & Næstved.'

(Date of the photograph is unknown, but probably about 1870.)



*By courtesy of Fru Proprietær Inger Margrethe Marcussen,
née Hansen, owner of Balstrupgaard 1936-64.*

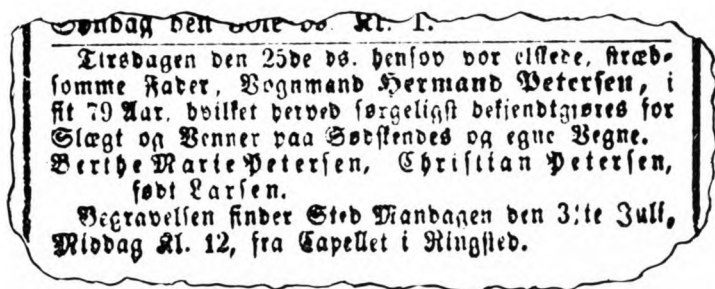
“Moster Medalje” (Anna Jensen. *née* Pedersen) in her cluttered, fascinating room, at the Treschows Stiftelse, Overgaden oven Vandet 80^{III}, Christianshavn, Copenhagen, possibly shortly after her 70th birthday, the 25th March, 1899.

later that year, on the 8th December, 1869, Oldefar sold all his real property, farm animals, chattels, furniture and farming implements, for 4,300 Rigsbankdaler to Christian Frederik, his eldest son, reserving for himself the right of maintenance and to remain in the house until his death (*‘Aftægtskontrakt.’*) The value of this right was assessed at 1,000 Rigsbankdaler. Oldefar died in Ringsted on the 25th July, 1871, 78 years old.

The property remained in the possession of his descendants certainly until the 4th November, 1929, but probably even longer. I found that, as recently

as. on the 25th April, 1906, one of the three co-owners was registered as *Jernbaneassistent* A. Olsen (later Otbøll), the husband of my Moster Bertha, though to me known as “*Onkel Dajs.*” Whether she was aware of it, Moster Bertha’s second Christian name of Dorthea indirectly commemorated our remote joint ancestress, Dorrete Bierring, who on the 4th June, 1714, had married Tiptiptipoldefar Skipper Mads Ibsen Knie in Copenhagen.

When, on the 18th June, 1970, my sister Eva and I called at the mainly rebuilt house in Ringsted, to my delight the present occupiers, *Herr and Fru Skræddermester* Rasmussen, who had lived there since 1937, told us that *Frk.* Christine Pedersen, a grandchild of Oldefar, had remained living in the house with them until her death, on the 4th January, 1946. They knew the names and recent, though incomplete, addresses of still surviving nephews of hers (and therefore also relatives of mine) living in Vemmeløse and at Søgård. Master Tailor Rasmussen, busily at work, sitting cross-legged on his table, and his wife were both able to relate how, in this century, the horse-drawn mail coach plying



This modestly phrased announcement (*slightly enlarged*) which, on the 29th July, 1871, appeared in the Supplement to Berlingske Tidende, in conventional terms, informed relatives and friends of the death of Oldefar Herman Pedersen. (Both his Christian and surname were slightly mis-spelled.)

between Ringsted and Næstved, used to pull into the yard of the property from the house of Dr. Bøllingsvej in the evening, only to leave the yard again next morning for its daily stint to Næstved and back to Ringsted.

Table No. 10. (Twelfth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to
Oldefar Herman Fabius Pedersen, Oldemor Stine Sørensdatter, and
their six children. The latter were all christened in Sct. Bendts
Kirke, Ringsted.

Herman Fabius Pedersen, Smallholder and Coach Contractor
(*'Aulsbruger og Vognmand'*). b. 10/5/1793 Toksværd, Præstø Amt,
home christening conf. 14/6/1793. †25/7/1871 Ringsted, m. 6/6/1828
Stine Sørensdatter of Balstrup. chr. 2/11/1806 Sct. Bendts Kirke,
Ringsted. Vaccinated 20/9/1812. Conf. 1821. †30/3/1869 Ringsted.

Children :

- 1) (Ane) Anna (*'Moster Medalje'*), b. 25/3/1829, chr. 6/6/1829.
(*'Karen Sørensd. frembar Barnet, Ane Marie Pedersdatter stod
hos, begge fra Balstrup.'*) †13/2/1915 Copenhagen. m. 7/4/1855
Ringsted, Daniel Jensen, *Commander-Sergent, Danebrogsmand*,
of Flensborg, 36 years old. She was decorated 27/10/1865 with
a gold medal in the form of a brooch, by King Christian IX,
for her courageous and compassionate nursing services in
Flensborg during the 1864 War.
In 1864, at the age of 11, Oscar, the adopted son, of Ane and
Daniel Jensen, acted as an interpreter to the German-speaking
troops in Flensborg. After her husband's death in the 1870s,
Anna, until 1894, acted as a district nurse in Sundbyerne,
Copenhagen. She retired on an annual pension of 280 Kroner.
- 2) Christian Frederik, b. 25/4/1831. chr. 18/6/1831. Godfathers
included his grandfather, Søren Nielsen of Balstrup. By
'Aftægtskontrakt,' 8/12/1869, 'Oldefar' transferred his real
property to Christian Frederik, who died 19/4/1892. m. 10/12/1869
Nordrup, Birthe Marie Larsen, b. 3/11/1838 Mulstrup.
†24/11/1898 Ringsted. One of their two daughters, Anna
Hansine Petersen. b. 28/2/1873 Ringsted, m. 20/5/1898
Frederiksberg, as his first wife, Søren Andreas Olsen (later :
Otbøll), *'Onkel Dajs.'* After her death, 16/3/1900, he married
as his second wife, 13/10/1905 *Taarbeck Kapel Lyngby*, his first
wife's cousin, Bertha Dorthea Rasmussen, *'Moster Bertha,'* b.
15/2/1873. †24/1/1940.
- 3) Dorthca, b. 26/5/1833, chr. 12/7/1833. †3/7/1864 Copenhagen.
m. Compositor (*'Typograph'*) Stecker, Aarhus. Left two
children : Herman. b. 1863, or before. and Anna, b. 1864.
- 4) Niels Johan, b. 26/2/1835, chr. 27/5/1835. (Godparents
included *Gmd.* Søren Nielsen's 2nd wife, Birthe Frederiksdatter
of Balstrup) †1907. m. Karen Sophie Christiansen. In 1864,
as a member of 4th Dragoon Regiment, he took part in the
retreat from Dannevirke. The wording on an engraved silver cup,
now (1972) in the possession of Ole and "Pippa" Remvig,
commemorates his 25 years service (1872-1897), as Chief Ostler
(*'Overstaldmester'*), at Trianglen, Copenhagen, with *Forstædernes
Sporvejselskab*. His daughter, Anna, married her cousin,
Herman Peter Rasmussen (13/5/1901, changed his surname to
Remvig), as his first wife. 1/10/1902, but died 1/1/1907 in Baden
Schwarzwald, without issue. Niels Johan's inheritors were :
Herman Fabius. Chr. Fabius and Herman Remvig.

- 5) Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia ('Mormor'), b. 14/3/1837, chr. 14/6/1837. Mormor's five godparents included farmers and their wives from Kværkeby, Hjelmsømagle and Ringsted. †24/8/1918 Brøndbyvester. Shown, in the 1860 Census Record, as resident at the Manor of Benzonsdal, near Thorslunde. she was then described as a lady's maid, and was obviously employed by Count and Countess Chr. Lerche, m. 18/11/1865 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, Corn Merchant ('Kornhandler') Peder Rasmussen ('Morfar'). b. 23/5/1827 Islemark, †6/5/1903 Copenhagen.
- 6) Søren Peter, b. 9/4/1839, chr. 17/6/1839. Godmothers included Emilie Seidelin. †12/5/1909 Ringsted. m. Anna, b. in Lund (Sweden). Described, in 1869/1871, as *Farver Peder Pedersen af Ørsløv*, he later settled in Copenhagen, where he was described as a Customs Officer ('Toldassistent'). Possibly he was identical with one of the godfathers present, 31/8/1879, at the christening of Mor, in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, who was described as '*De:ailhandler Petersen.*' The present owner (1972) of Balstrupgaard, Hanne Danvogg, is his direct descendant through his daughter, Elvira, as Hanne is Elvira's grand-daughter.

Sources :

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- 1) Kirkebogen for Toksværd Sogn, Hammer Herred, Præstø Amt, 1783-1813.
- 2) Bopakken vedr. Degnen Henrik Petersens Skifte af Toxværd, 1828. Tybjerg Herred.
- 3) Skøde- og Panteprotokol for Ringsted Købstad Litra B. 1825-1844. Fol. 40b. (Sale of property in Nørregade to 'Hermann Fabius Petersen.')
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- 5) Ringsted Kirkebog, Døde. 1863-92, Fol. 161, 1869. Stine Sørensdatter, 62 Aar.
- 6) Ringsteds Købstads Skifteprotokol 1866-84. Fol. 35b, 36, No. 12. Enkemanden i uskiftet Bo, Anmeldt 31/3/1869.
- 7) Ringsteds Købstads Skifteprotokol 1866-84. Fol. 79b, 80a, 80b. Pedersen, Hermann, Vognmand. Nos. 20/1861, 27/7-1871, 28/7-1871, 31/7/1871.
- 8) Ringsted Kirkebog. Døde. 1863-92, Fol. 19. Nr. 10 Herman Petersen. Død 25/7/1871. Begr. 31/7. Vognmand, 78 Aar.
- 9) Bilag til Guldsmed Søren Knie's Skifte, 5/5/1816-17, København.
- 10) Kalundborg Raadstueprotokol og Borgerskabsprotokol 1746-1804.
- 11) Garnisons Kirkebog 1814-20, Fol. p. 25 : Døde Mandkøn. Søren Knie, 88 Aar gl., Død 5. Januar 1816.

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Anna Jensen : Minder fra 64, 1901.

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- 1) A. Strange Nielsen : Sjællands Landsting i Ringsted, 1960.
- 2) Fr. Olsen : Den Danske Postetat 1624-1927, København 1927. p.382.
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- 4) Laur. Hansen : Gamle Ringsted-Minder, Ringsted 1940.
- 5) Erling Olsen : Danmarks økonomiske historie siden 1750, København 1967.

Photographs :

- 1) Midtsjællands Lokalhistoriske Arkiv, Ringsted.
- 2) Pressefoto graf Gunnar Jacobsen.

Acknowledgments and Thanks :

- 1) Inspektør J. C. Petersen, Danske Post- og Telegrafmuseum.
- 2) Dr. Thorsteinsson, Ringsted.
- 3) *Skoleinspektør* A. Strange Nielsen, Toksværd
- 4) *Overlærer* Niels-Jørgen Hansen, Ringsted.

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER :

Oldemor Stine Sørensdatter from Balstrup, the prosperous Farmer's Daughter, who married the impecunious *Degn's* Son

Almost in the centre of the island of Sjælland, on the eastern side of which today stands the ever-growing metropolis of Copenhagen, is the much more ancient, but also infinitely smaller, city of Ringsted. In prehistoric times, sacrificial rites to the pagan gods of Odin, Thor and Tyr are believed to have taken place in the surrounding countryside, then heavily wooded. Writing about A.D. 1200, regarding events believed to have occurred long before, but some of which are impossible to verify and date, Saxo Grammaticus, one of the first Danish historians, sometimes named Ringsted and at other times Lejre, as the capital of the prehistoric miniature kingdom of Frode IV. Later, the city of Ringsted became the central of the three provincial capitals of Denmark, as well as the meeting place for regional parliaments and courts. Three large, flat stones, lying in the square at Ringsted, mark the traditional site of its ancient outdoor parliament ('*Ting*').

After King Canute had become king of England, in 1017, Ringsted is known to have been one of the places in Denmark in which English-trained artificers struck coins to the order of the enlightened monarch of the Danes, the English and the Norwegians.

In the early Middle Ages, say in the 12th century, during the period of wise and realistic foreign policy

pursued in the Baltic by the elective kings of Denmark, Ringsted, possibly thanks to its superb strategic position, became these kings' preferred city of residence, after their election in the three provincial capitals of Viborg, Ringsted and Lund. For reasons of self-glorification, and as a

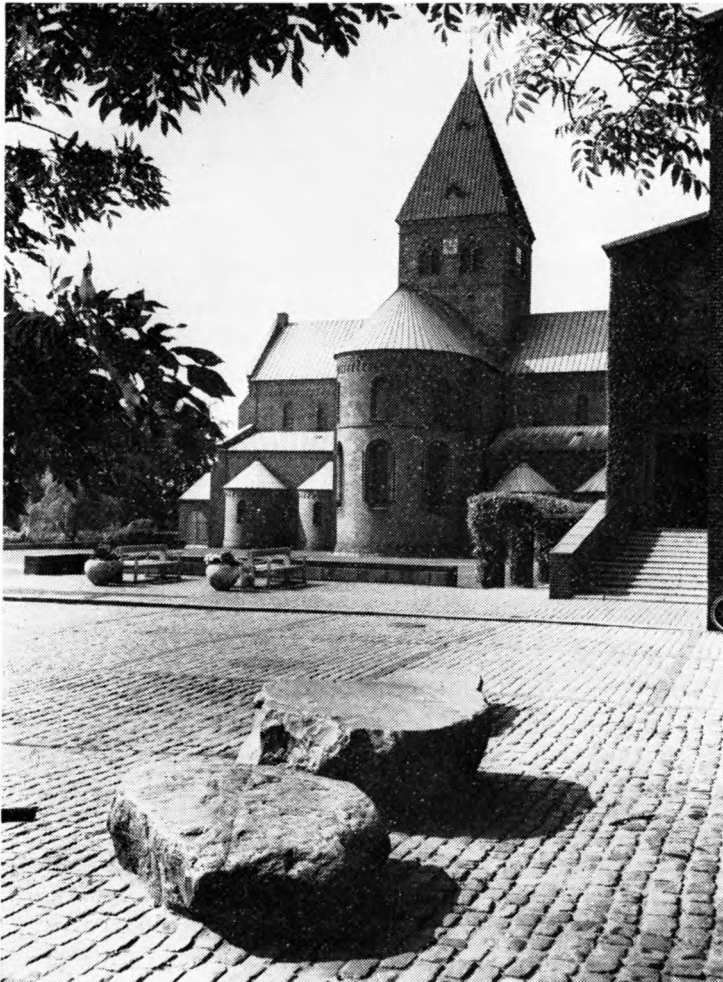


Photo : Gunnar Jacobsen, Ringsted.
Sct. Bendts Kirke in Ringsted.

My ancestors born in Balstrup were christened in Sct. Bendts Kirke, some in the building shown and one, at least, in the earlier building on the same site. Oldemor Stine Sorensdatter and Mormor were also married there.

symbol of power-assertion, the victorious monarchs gradually took over in Ringsted, as their own, the church of Sct. Bendts. Partly constructed and consecrated in 1170, it was originally attached to the nearby Benedictine cloister. This Church was restored after a fire in 1806, but on the same ground, although slightly higher than the surrounding countryside, on which the 12th century Church had stood. Built of red tiles, in Romanesque style, the latter church, for nearly 200 years (1170-1341), was the mausoleum of twenty warring kings and queens. The main capital of the whole realm or the official principal seat of the king, until the 1420s, remained Roskilde. The renowned Queen Margrethe I, reigning sovereign of the triple monarchies of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, on the 21st August, 1387, both at the meeting of the '*Landsting*,' and in the Church of St. Bendts, was acclaimed Regent.



Photo : Gunnar Jacobsen, Ringsted. 18/6/1970.

The hamlet of Balstrup.

Disguised in the garb of militant Christianity, ambition was the order of the day. Not until about 1357/60 was the fantastic plan for the re-conquest of England by Denmark finally abandoned. (*Summarized from the review by Peder Hansen of "Danmarks Riges Breve 1357-60" in Berlingske Tidende 11/6/1968.*) During the Middle Ages, Ringsted gradually was overtaken by its northern rival and ecclesiastical superior, the city of Roskilde.

Only 2 kilometres south-east of the centre of Ringsted (1231 : *Ringstath*), but still in completely open country, lies the possibly older, although tiny, hamlet of Balstrup (1170 : *Balstorp*). The former presence of a dolmen ('*Dysse*'), north-east of the hamlet, lends credence to the view that in the Late Stone Age, say, about 3000 B.C., human habitation had first become established, in or near the present village, by *pastoralists* (as distinct from nomadic *hunters*) of food. The site of the dolmen is still shown on some official maps. Unfortunately, the pre-historic stone structure suffered the same fate as that of another 3,000 of Denmark's original 5,000 dolmens. The stones of which the Balstrup dolmen consisted seem likely to have been removed only during the first half of the nineteenth century. Their presence in comparatively recent historical times is confirmed by the name of Dyssegaard, the farm nearest to the site on which the dolmen stood.

The etymology of the name of Balstrup is obscure. The modestly sized settlement may have been named prior to the introduction of Christianity into Denmark. (*Henrik Ussing: Stednavne i Sorø Amt. Aarbog for historisk Samfund for 1915, p.19.*) If so, the name of the hamlet may appear to be linked with that of Balder, one of the gods of Nordic mythology, although compared with the trinity of Odin, Thor and Tyr, Balder was only a young deity.

(Professor Kristian Hald, the erudite and authoritative expert on the etymology of Nordic place names in Denmark, Lincolnshire and elsewhere completely, however, dismisses any relationship between the name of Baldr and Balstrup. The first half of Balstrup, he suggests, may be the genitive of a personal name; alternatively, it may be an old Nordic nickname of 'Baltr.')

København d. 28. Okt. 1971

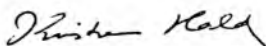
Kære Skoleinspektør Strange Nielsen.

Angående Balstrup: efter al Sandsynlighed er 1. Led Genitiv af et Personnavn, selv om dettes nøjagtige Form ikke kan fastslås med Sikkerhed. En Mulighed er et gammeldansk Tilnavn 'Eal(1)', der kunde være identisk med Adj. oldnord. ballr "farlig" (dansk bold er etymologisk samme Ord, men laant fra Nedertysk); Danmarks gl. Personnåne opfører ikke Navnet, men (Andreas) Bal, der forekommer i Aarhusbogen c. 1300 og som Personnavneordbogen opfører under Opslagsformen Bali, kunde maaske være et Eksempel. Det tilsvarende svagtbejdede Balli findes baade i Gammelda. og Oldnord. En anden Mulighed maa siges at være det gammelda. Tilnavn Balt, oldnord. Baltr, idet et oprindeligt [^]Balts- tidligt vilde blive til Bals- ved Svind af ~~ik~~ t-et i Trekonsonantgruppen.

Gudenavnet Baldr kan man utvivlsomt helt se bort fra som Forled.

Med venlig Hilsen

Deres hengivne



In this letter, Professor Kristian Hald dismisses the suggestion that the name of Balstrup is derived from that of the deity 'Balder.'

In the centre of Balstrup lies a pond, a feature common to most Danish villages, and until recently considered indispensable. Adjoining the north-western corner of the pond stood, until felled about 1948, an ash tree, the stump and other remains of which can still (1969) be seen. The significance of this must not be overlooked:

“ When the old ash tree sighs its autumnal tone above the hamlet, it brings a message from the distant past. The ash was the holy tree of Antiquity of the Danish village, known as *Ygdrasil*. The ash which sighs today is a descendant of a remote progenitor, in the shadow of which our forefathers gathered.” (Summarized extract from: *J. V. Christensen: Tider og Skikkelser i Midtsjællands Historie (VII), Ringsted 1925, p. 15.*)



Photo : Autumn 1969 by Gunnar Jacobsen, Ringsted.

The village pond at Balstrup.

In the foreground are seen the broken relics of the ash tree under which Hanne Danvogg (b. 25/10/1936), the present owner of Balstrupgaard, played in her childhood. (According to her, the tree was felled only about 1948.) *Ygdrasil*, the ash tree, was the holy symbol of life of Danish Antiquity, the World Tree that grew all the way up to heaven and covered all the world with its crown. Ash wood makes fine tool handles, while dry and fresh leaves can be used as animal fodder. According to folklore, the biggest tree, named ‘The Fir Tree,’ would not allow the house below it to be destroyed by the common, dreaded scourge of fire. Site of the tree, in pre-Christian days and for long afterwards, denoted the traditional centre and meeting place of the hamlet.

The symbolical meaning of *Ygdrasil* in Nordic mythology is the Tree of Life ; literally, however, it means “Odin’s Horse.” As, in the language of Skaldic Epic, ‘horse’ is synonymous with gallows, the word can also be rendered as “Odin’s Gallows.”

Emerging out of the mist of Danish prehistory, the first reference to Balstrup occurs in Saxo’s account of the battle between the Danish King Svend Estridsen and the Norwegians at Nisaa in Halland (1062), of the valor and strength of a certain Aslak. That section which in powerful, beautiful language, describes the incident in which Aslak is involved, ends by implying that the narrative is based upon the description related to Saxo by Absalon, the founder of the City of Copenhagen. The grandson of Skjaln Hvide, he was the commander of the Danish forces in the battle of Nisaa, under whom Aslak served :

In homage to Aslak, and partly narrative, the relevant section of Saxo’s Chronicle, translated reads: “ *I must here bring forth with Glory and Praise your name, Aslak, Helmsman of Skjaln Hvide, because by your rare Manhood you reaped unto yourself the chiefest Honours of the Battle. For in the Seafight between Danes and Norsemen you were not content to stay in honourable Battle within the ranks of your own Station ; nay, you threw everything aside with which you could keep your Body from harm, and taking only your Shield, leapt on board an Enemy Ship, thither where the Throng stood thickest did you hammer away by your Strength with an Oak-Spar, that beforehand you had grasped to keep fast the Rudder ; you smashed into all who came across your Path with many a fierce Blow, and by the mighty singing Strokes of your Club aroused the Wonder of the Warriors, so that they forgot their own Peril and only had Eyes for your Prowess.*

Aye, the most valiant Heroes in both Armies were so greatly astounded by your Labours, that the Battle in which they themselves were engaged quite fled their Minds; they forgot both Danger and Strife and were so busy keeping an Eye on you, that they thought not upon guarding themselves; yea, all the boldest Warriors took no heed of their uncertain Fate. Thus did you use your Club better than the others did their Swords, thus did you shatter everything to pieces with unshakeable Strength, and thus did you enlarge your Efforts, so that both Danes and Norsemen would not have believed it possible, but that they had seen it for themselves with their own Eyes.

You it was who levelled the Difference between the Few of your Fellow-Countrymen and the Many of our Foes, so that the unequal Struggle drew out until Nightfall, without the Victory falling to either Side, and it was you who made the two large, unevenly matched Armies just as equal. Moreover, when you had felled the whole Ship's Company with your Club or else toppled them into the Sea, you came back, covered with many a wound, but none too hard, and one Man alone had won a wondrous Victory over the Enemy Hordes. This were not to be believed, were it not that the Story was had from Absalon's own lips."

Robertus of Elgin (or Ely), an obscure British cleric writing in Latin, relates that in 1096, 34 years after the Battle at Nisaa, a yeoman by a name similar to that of Aslak ('*Asbeck Rustico Baulstrup*') received a revelation from the assassinated Knud the Holy, the first king of Denmark to be canonized. According to the ghostly royal command, the yeoman was to proceed from Balstrup to Roskilde, where King Erik Ejegod was staying with his Queen, Bodil, who was pregnant. The mission which the yeoman from Balstrup accomplished was to ensure that the child, who was born on the 12th March, 1096, at his christening should receive the name of Knud. (Some historians are of the opinion that Aslak, when

present in Roskilde at the christening of Knud, acted as his godfather.) This prince, when grown up, became famous in Danish history under the name of Knud Lavard. One of his numerous descendants today sits on the British throne. The modern Danish historian, Johannes Steenstrup (1844-1935), was of the opinion that the intrepid hero of the Nisaa battle, named Aslak, was identical with the yeoman whose name in the Latin record is rendered as 'Asbeck,' and who acted upon the revelation he received in Balstrup, as it then was called, 34 years later. Knud Lavard (later canonized, as was Knud the Holy) was also assassinated, on the 7th January, 1131, at nearby Haraldsted. It has been suggested that, *en route*, to Haraldsted, he spent one of his last few days visiting Aslak, who, if Saxo can be believed, must have been at least 90, in Balstrup. (*Hans Olrik : Knud Lavards Liv og Gerning, Kjøbenhavn 1888.*)

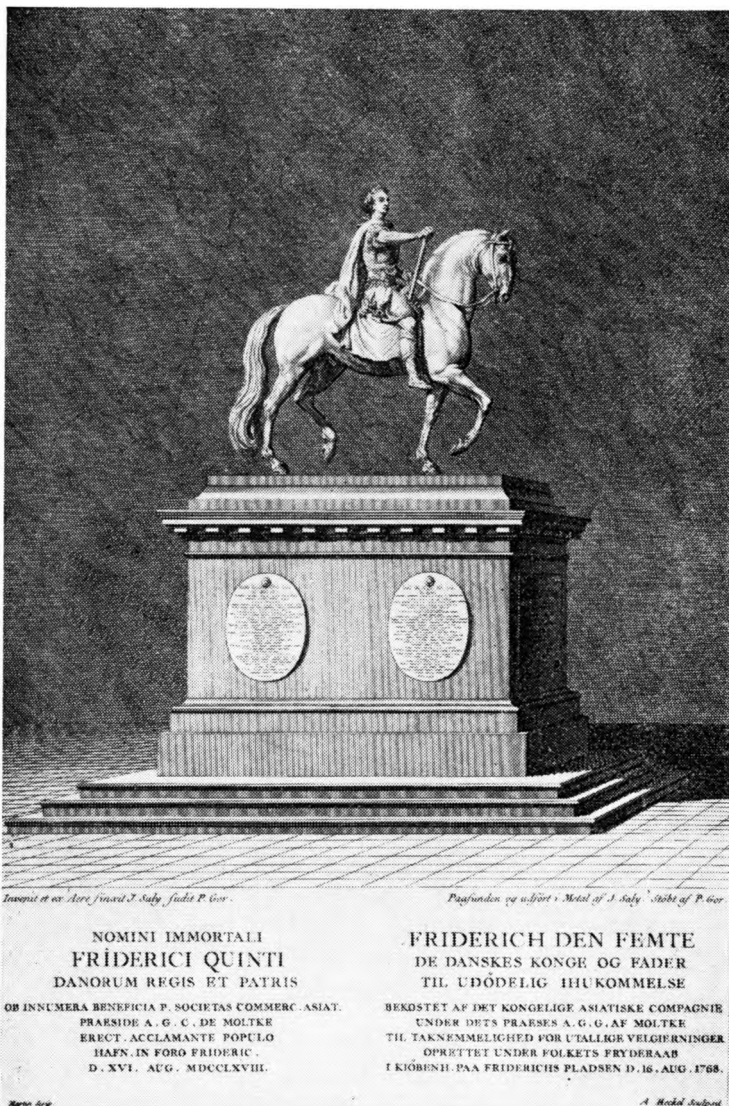
King Canute the Holy (1080-86), had introduced a physical tithe. Only, in 1810, this was changed to a monetary tax, finally, as recently as 1969, to be completely abolished.

Early in recorded history, the rural area near Ringsted, including Balstrup which possessed no church of its own, became known as the Rural Parish of Ringsted ('*Ringsted Landsogn*'). Prior to the Reformation, part of this estate was owned by Ringsted Cloister, the freehold of which, after the Reformation, became at the disposal of the Crown.

In 1654, the surroundings of Ringsted were described by Jens Lauritzøn Wolff as pleasantly wooded. Depredations by the enemy during two of the Swedish Wars of the seventeenth century (1658-60) resulted in the creation of the large woodless area north of Ringsted today known as the Agricultural Plateau of Central Sjælland. In the fertile lowland, south of Ringsted, which includes Balstrup, the transformation

from forest to arable land may well have extended over a longer period. After the Swedish Wars, the King sold the freehold of Ringsted Cloister to two Copenhagen tradesmen. On the death of one of these, the survivor the King's own butcher ('*Hofslagter*'), Niels Olufson, bought his partner's share, and therefore became sole lord of the manor of the estate, which included Balstrup. In the deed dated the 7th July, 1664, reference is specifically made to "the wooded stretch of land near Ringsted Cloister, which includes four farms in Balstrup, as well as an area known as Balstrup Egede." Felling the surviving magnificent trees of the forests gradually created the large, pleasant-looking though woodless, agricultural area, south of Ringsted, of which Balstrup today forms a small part. The scientific methods of intensive agriculture no doubt made the fertile land yield better financial results than the manner of farming in the forests. Oak trees had, however, yielded sufficient acorns to feed innumerable pigs wandering freely in the forests. Also horse breeding had been an important and profitable activity in the district. "Tumleren," the famous progenitor of what was later to become known as the Frederiksborg breed of horses, had been raised at or near Ringsted Cloister. Sculptured by Saly, on which the reproduction of a martial King Frederik V is still seen in Amalienborg Square in Copenhagen, the horse was a descendant of "Tumleren."

In 1664, the annual manorial dues ('*Landgilde*'), payable semi-annually by each of the four farmers in Balstrup, amounted to 2 barrels of barley, 4½ barrels of oats, 1 lamb, 1 goose and 4 hens. Jointly, the four farmers were responsible for the annual payment of 1 firkin (*Fjerding*, *d.v.s.* 28 kg) of butter. Depopulation resulting from terrible privations caused by the Swedish wars (in particular those of 1658-60) resulted in untilled land and unoccupied farms in much of Denmark. The re-intro-



By courtesy of the Royal Library.

In the square formed by the four royal palaces of Amalienborg in Copenhagen stands one of the loveliest equestrian statues in Northern Europe. Sculptured in 1768 by J. Saly, it depicts King Frederik V of Denmark, in the martial garment of a Roman emperor.

Early in the eighteenth century, Ringsted Cloister was famous as a horse breeding centre. The horse which Saly chose as his model was a descendant of *Tumleren*, the renowned horse bred, with many others, at or near Ringsted Cloister, close to Balstrup, and the progenitor of the Frederiksborg race.

(The etching photographed appears in *Beskrivelse over Statuen til Hest som Det Asiatiske Compagnie har helliget til Kong Frederik den Femtes Ære. Kiøbenhavn 1774, Folio.*)

(Reduced in size.)

duction of adscription followed. In 1682, only three tenant farmers lived in Balstrup, these being Peder Nielsen, Jørgen Hansen, and Laurids Rasmussen. Untenanted, the fourth farm was also farmed by Jørgen Hansen. The tilled area of the four farms consisted of 191.8 “barrels” of land. Differently expressed, this was equivalent to 35 “barrels” of *Hartkorn*. At the lenient hands of the bailiff of their superior landlord, the tenant farmers and their descendants prospered. Their families not only intermarried among themselves, but to a great extent also married into other prosperous tenant peasant families in nearby villages. These villages included Almstofte, Snesev, Hjelmsømagle, Frøselev, Haugbyrd, Høm, Vetteslev, Kongsted, Benløse, Tolstrup and Sigersted.

Refugees from the events of the Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618-48) are among the immigrants known to have settled in Denmark. Immigration into the district of men bearing German-sounding names, such as Keite and Insulman, is likely to have prevented unhealthily excessive inbreeding.

Few immigrants probably possessed advanced skill not readily available locally, such as that of milling corn. These men may have been brought to Denmark from the semi-feudal estates of Mecklenburgh in Northern Germany which belonged to members of the Danish aristocracy of German origin, created after 1660. An example of new huge landed estates owned by such nobility of German origin, was the Barony of Conradsborg. Created in 1743 by the Dowager Countess Ida Margrethe Knuth, the estate covered an immense part of Central Sjælland, including three manor houses and seven churches, plus an area of 1176 “barrels” of *Hartkorn*. The hamlet of Balstrup, including the tenant farmers and villeins living there, formed a small part of this quickly deteriorating empire, which survived just over 50 years (1743-1796).



Photo : Gunnar Jacobsen, Ringsted.

Balstrupgaard, 1969.

Ringsted Landsogn, Sorø Amt, Matrikelnummer 2. 3F, 7B, 8B, 12B, 4A. The farm buildings were rebuilt in 1909 and modernized in 1940-43. The recent dramatic change to arable farming is not evident from this picture. The farm is now run by Hanne and Gorm Danvogg, with no labour but their own. In 1799, the property was bought by Hanne's remote ancestor for 1400 Rigsdaler, but the growing Ringsted Kommune, in 1969, offered Hanne 3½ million kroner for it.

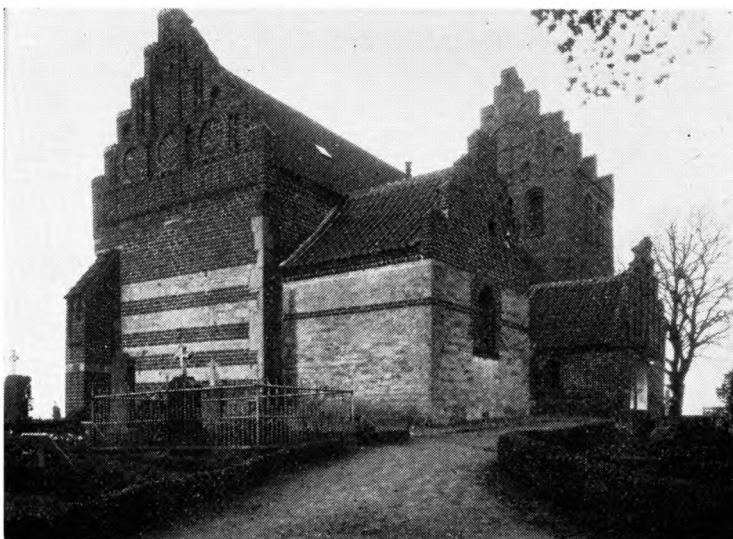
By frugality, careful selection of marriage partners, and birth control, the modestly prosperous Balstrup families retained the farms in their families for several hundred years. At the first comprehensive national census of which complete records are retained, in 1787, the total population of Balstrup consisted of only 45 people, made up of four farmers, their wives, relatives and farm hands. Included were seven day labourers, who ranged from 40 to 79 years. Of the four farms referred to in 1664, three, centred on the village pond,

are still (1969) farmed as family concerns. Only within the last century the fourth farm has been carved between three of the others, allowing the creation of a few small-holdings. Still extant are Havreholm, Dyssegaard and Balstrupgaard, the name of the last, now the largest, having been changed from Toftegaard about 1907/8. The total acreage was 36 *barrels* of Hartkorn or 192 *barrels* of tillable land.

From A.D. 793 to 1066, the able and courageous, but cruel and reckless Vikings of the three Scandinavian countries (many of whom, it is thought likely, were the younger, landless sons of yeoman farmers) had harried, plundered and terrified both Western and Eastern Europe. Danish and Norwegian Vikings, apart from some who, *en route*, settled in Iceland, Scotland, England, Ireland, Normandy, Sicily, and Constantinople, met their Swedish cousins; travelling via the rivers of Western Russia, they exploited part of that enormous country.

It is outside the scope of this account of my undistinguished ancestors to cover this wide field. One may wonder how descendants of men of *berserker* rage, such as Aslak, the intrepid fighter and independent Balstrup yeoman farmer of Nisaa fame, could by about 1720 have deteriorated into the type of cowed and exploited drunkard epitomized by Holberg in "*Jeppes paa Bjerget*." The transformation may have been started as early as 960 by King Harold Bluetooth's statesman-like action in accepting Christianity; the spirit and teaching of this Faith would have helped him greatly in taming his wild and unruly yeomen. But until about the fifteenth century, any farmer able and willing, in times of trouble, to rally to the support of his elected Sovereign could rise to the ranks of the tax-free nobility. The historic watershed occurred at the Feud of the Count ('*Grevens Fejde*'), in 1536, when after a twelve months' siege, the

City of Copenhagen surrendered to King Christian III. Linked up as the events of the Feud were with the Reformation, Danish peasants for 300 years lost the power to control their own destiny. Christian III proved to be Denmark's Henry VIII *sans* the six wives of the latter.



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet.

Unlike many Danish village churches, Sneslev Kirke in Ringsted *Herred*, stands on a hill, no village adjoining. Possibly, the building was begun 1150-1200 in the Romanesque style, and at least from the seventeenth century (but probably earlier), many of my ancestors were christened and married and, later, in the adjoining churchyard, buried.

Exploited, abused and maltreated as Danish peasantry became, the men in battle, could still fight like lions when hired by their royal master as mercenaries to the King of England. In 1702, at the Battle of Blenheim, the 7,000 Danish troops, under the command of Marlborough ('*Mallebrok*'), equalled a quarter of his English forces.

Earliest of my believed male ancestors to have settled in the parish of Sneslev seems to have been



By courtesy of Nationalmuseet.

The christening font in Sneslev Kirke, late Gothic style, about A.D. 1300. Those of my ancestors who were born in Hjelmsømagle and Almstøfte were christened here. The first one traceable, with certainty, was Tiptiptiptipoldefar Niels Pedersen Keite, chr. 26th April, 1668. (Søffren Keite of Almstøfte, most probably his grandfather, was one of the godfathers present.)

Tiptiptiptiptipoldefar Søffren (Søren) Olsøn Keite (Keithe). Reputedly a German immigrant (though there is no proof, nor of the birth, about 1631, of his son), he is believed to have settled at nearby Almstøfte Møllegaard. Whether before his marriage to Dorrete, probably a local girl, we do not know. At Almstøfte Møllegaard (first mentioned in 1370) was a water mill (or possibly two

Table No. 11. (Thirteenth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to Tiptiptiptiptipoldefar Søffren (Søren) Olson Keite (Keithe) and some of his descendants. (Tiptiptiptiptipoldefar's Great-great-grandson, Niels Larsen, became, through his marriage in 1767 to Anne Larsdotter of Balstrup, widow of Jens Sørensen, the previous tenant farmer, first the tenant, and, in 1799, the owner, of the property today known as Balstrupgaard and now (1972), owned by Hanne Danvogg, his direct descendant, the property being farmed by her and her husband, Gorm Danvogg.)

From A.D. 1100, for several hundred years, Denmark, in common with other West European countries must have installed numerous water and windmills to grind and crush corn. The know-how of some of the men responsible must have brought men in from abroad.

Generation 1 (-1) : Tiptiptiptiptipoldefar Søffren (Søren) Olson Keite (Keithe) b. ? Germany (? Hamburg); buried 28/4/1679 Sneslev; m. Dorrete of Almstofte Møllegaard, Sneslev Parish, buried 28/6/1679.

Generation 2 (0) : Tiptiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Sørensen Keite, b. 1631 Almstofte Møllegaard, buried 3/3/1700 Sneslev Parish; betrothed 21/6/1658 Sneslev Church and m. 1/8/1658 to Tiptiptiptiptipoldemor Anne Alexisdatter of Fridsgaard. (Note that, during the interlude between the two Swedish wars of 1658, the couple managed to get both betrothed and married, while all of Sjælland, except Copenhagen, was intermittently occupied by the ruthless and destructive Swedish soldiery. This was preceded by the plague, 1655-56, during which, the clergyman reports that, alone in Hjelmsømagle and Fridsgaard, 106 people died. Their son, Niels Pedersen Keite (*see below*), was only (? born and christened nearly ten years after their marriage.) His mother was buried 8/10/1689 Sneslev.

Generation 3 (1) : Tiptiptiptipoldefar Niels Pedersen Keite, of Almstofte Møllegaard, chr. 26/4/1668, Sneslev, buried (?) 22/3/1741 Sneslev, betrothed 21/4/1695, m. 30/6/1695 Tiptiptiptipoldemor Kirsten Nielsdatter of Almstofte, buried 2. s.e. Epiph. 1744, 73 years old.

Generation 4 (2) : Tiptiptipoldefar Lars Nielsen (Keite) of Almstofte, chr. 24/2/1709 Sneslev, †after 1789 but not buried in Sneslev. Peasant Bailiff ('*Bondefoged*'). Betrothed 31/10/1734, m. 30/1/1735, Tiptiptipoldemor Karen Clemmensdatter of Almstofte, b. abt. 1709, buried 2/6/1789 Sneslev.

Generation 5 (3) : Tiptipoldefar Niels Larsen, b. 1742 Almstofte Bye. chr. 4/1/1742, Sneselev. †27/11/1829 Balstrup. Betrothed 1st time 8/4/1767 Ringsted (copulated 14/10/1767), to Anne Larsdotter of Balstrup, widow of Jens Sørensen, who had been buried 14/3/1767 in Ringsted. She was buried, also in Ringsted, 25/11/1772.

Niels Larsen, for his 2nd wife, went in a different direction, to another village. Possibly through one of his father's contacts, he m. 26/6/1773, as his 2nd wife, at Gørslev, Bjæverskov Herred, Tiptipoldemor Kirsten Sørensdatter, b. abt. 1747 Gørslev. The contact of Mor's generation with Gørslev I have not explored, but no doubt it links up with Ingvorsens, who, 1810-1910, owned the large farm of Kildegaarden at Aarløse, where Mor and I, in my early childhood, spent many holidays. (*cf. p. 528.*)

Niels Larsen was tenant farmer of Balstrupgaard from 1767 until 2/1/1799, when he purchased the freehold for 1400 Rigsdaler, remaining the owner for three years until 16/4/1802, when he transferred the farm to his son, Søren Niels Nielsen. Niels Larsen continued, however, to live at Balstrupgaard until his death more than 27 years later, in 1829. So, until her death on the 25th May, 1830, at the age of 83, did his widow, Kirsten Sørensdatter.

At the census of 1/7/1787, the 45-year-old Niels Larsen was recorded as living at *Matrikelnummer 2*, Balstrup with his 2nd, 39-year-old wife, my Tiptipoldemor Kirsten Sørensdatter, and their two children, Anna Nielsd(atter), 13 (chr. 9/1/1774 Ringsted), and my Tipoldefar Søren Nielsen, five years of age (b. 1/2/1782 Balstrup, chr. 24/2/1782 Ringsted). Living at the farm were also three farm labourers or servants, one male (26) and two younger females.

Generation 6 and 7 (4 and 5) : Refer to Table No. 12. (Thirteenth Chapter.)

Generation 8 (6) : Refer to Table No. 10. (Twelfth Chapter.)

By the use of the two different generation numbers quoted in this table, an attempt has been made both to number, with the first set of figures, the eight generations consecutively; and also by the use, in parenthesis, of the second set of generation numbers, to correlate this table to the generation numbers used elsewhere in this volume.

Note :

Notwithstanding the family tradition, *Registrar* Niels Rickelt has expressed some doubt whether Tiptiptiptiptipoldefar Søren Oløn Keite (Generation 1 (-1)) hailed from Germany. The first two of his names, in Rickelt's opinion, both sound too Danish for German origin to have been likely. Moreover, the surname 'Oløn' presupposes the father's name to have been 'Ole,' another Danish, un-German name. At first sight 'Keite' may appear more German than Danish, but 'Keite' could have been a nickname, the word 'left-handed' commonly being rendered in Danish as '*kejthaandet*.'

The entries in Sneslev Church Book only start on Christmas Day, 1630. No proof is available of the christening in Sneslev of Tiptiptiptiptipoldefar Peder Sørensen Keite, believed to have been born 1630 or 1631. Between 8/4/1631 and 1639, five other christenings (three daughters and two sons) of *Søffren Øllesønn's* children are recorded in Sneslev Church Book; the entries all include either the surname of 'Keite,' or the place names of 'Aadstofte' or 'Almstofte.' These facts provide *no proof* for the family tradition of the German origin of the original 'Keite.'

In 1668, the name of Søffren Keite is shown in the Sneslev Church Book as that of a godfather. Next to his own name is that of 'Dorrette,' followed by the genitive form of 'Søffrens,' making it obvious that she is likely to have been Søffren's wife.

U D S K R I P T

af

kirkebogen for Sneslev sogn, Ringsted herred, Sorø amt 1630-1814
fol.341^b

A n n o 1789

Tiirsdagen den 2^{den} Juny begravet fra
Almstoft Bondefogdens Lars Keites
Hustrue Karen Clemmensdatter,
gl. næsten 84 Aar.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 12. september 1970


Niels Rickelt
registrator



Gebyr: kr. 6.50

This extract from the Church Book for Sneslev Parish certifies the funeral, on the 2nd June, 1789, of Tiptiptipoldemor Karen Clemmensdatter, of *Almstofte*, the wife of Tiptiptipoldefar Lars (Nielsen) Keite, Peasant Bailiff.

Stated, when she died, to have been nearly 84, she must have been born in 1705. As she was referred to as the wife, and not the widow, of Lars Keite, the latter (who was christened 24/2/1709) must still have been alive at the date of her death. Where and when Tiptiptipoldefar Lars (Nielsen) Keite died, is not known. In 1777, he was referred to in Sneslev Church Book (p.292) as the best man at a wedding. In 1788, in the Church Book, one of his sons, Mads Larsen (not a direct ancestor of mine), is referred to as Peasant Bailiff, presumably in succession to his father. In his extreme old age, Tiptiptipoldefar Lars (Nielsen) Keite, it is suggested by *Registrar* Niels Rickelt, may have found a home with one of his children not living in Sneslev Parish, which would account for his funeral not being recorded in the Church Book of Sneslev.

mills), near the stream of Lilleaaen, close to that of Susaaen. The birth of Tiptiptiptiptipoldefar's son and successor, Peder Sørensen Keite, is believed to have occurred in, or before, 1631, though no trace of his christening can be found in the Sneslev Church Book. Søffren Keite died in 1679. On page 322 B of the unusually stately Church Book of Sneslev Parish, the officiating clergyman recorded Søren's funeral in succinct terms: "*Anno 1679 28. Aprilis begrafv. jeg Søffren Keite aff Almstofte.*"

Of the third generation of the Almstofte miller Keites, Tiptiptipoldefar Lars Nielsen Keite (b. 1709 ; †after 1789), possibly a younger son, became a bailiff of the lord of the manor ('*Bondefoged*'), probably because he was a masterful and adaptable bully of the managerial type. His was the position of an intermediary between the adscripted, cowed peasants and their powerful landlords, who reputedly, however, tolerated a certain degree of outspoken address to them by their bailiffs.

In 1767, by one shrewd move, Tiptiptipoldefar Lars Nielsen Keite demonstrated his administrative resourcefulness in dealing with two apparently uncorrelated problems. One of the tenant farmers of the Conradsborg Estate, the 34-year-old Jens Sørensen, died, leaving his widow, Anne Larsdotter, as the occupier of one of the most fertile farms in the district, viz. the farm today known as Balstrupgaard. Lars Nielsen Keite had on his hands an unmarried 25-year-old son, Niels Larsen.

Gone were the days following the Black Death (1348-59), when villages had become depopulated through lack of suitable tenants. But only about a hundred years earlier, after the Swedish Wars, one farm in Balstrup had remained unoccupied for lack of a qualified, industrious tenant. Reintroduction of adscription had improved the position, and, by 1767, the shortage of people suitable for tenancies may have been less acute. The widow, Anne

Larsdotter, could not on her own do justice to the fertile farm. Probate after the death of her husband, Jens Sørensen, had been granted, as confirmed on the 3rd April, 1767, by the Steward of Conradsborg Barony, while *Bondefoged* Lars Nielsen Keite had his bachelor son, Niels Larsen, born in Almstofte Bye in 1742, living with him there. A package deal was the obvious solution, by the marriage of young Niels Larsen to the widow, who was about his own age and knew her way about Balstrupgaard, where she lived with her 5-year-old daughter, Karen. The couple, according to Ringsted Church Book, were betrothed on the 8th April, 1767, only 25 days after the funeral of Anne Larsdotter's husband. According to the same source, and in conformity with the practice and quaint terminology of the time, the couple *copulated* (i.e. were married) on the 14th October, 1767. Niels Larsen must then, or more likely had already done so in April, moved to the farm, much later to become known as Balstrupgaard. Their first (and seemingly only) child, Helvig (or 'Hedevig'), was christened on the 26th December, 1769. As early as the 25th November, 1772, Anne, having died at 30, was buried, this unhappy event being followed, on the 17th February, 1773, by the funeral of her 10-year-old daughter, Karen. Still only 31, my young widowed Tiptipoldefar, Niels Larsen (possibly again guided by his father), looked for his second wife in a village in a different direction from that of Sneslev, this time east of Balstrup. On, or about, the 26th June, 1773, Kirsten Sørensdatter of Gørslev, an unmarried, local girl of about 25, was married in Gørslev Church, between Ringsted and Køge, to Niels Larsen. She thus became a Tiptipoldemor of mine.

Possibly related to Kirsten Sørensdatter was the Ingvorsen family, who for more than a hundred years were owners of the large farm, Kildegaarden, in Aarløse. pr. Tureby, where I spent happy holidays before 1910.

U D S K R I F T

af

kirkebogen-trolovelser og vielser-for Ringsted sogn 1747-1814

pag. 46

1767

Onsdagen, den 8^{de} Aprilis 1767 blev ung Karl
Niels Larsen, barnefødt i Almstofte Bye under
Baroniet Conradsborg i Sneesløf Sogn, troloved
til Enken Anne Larsdotter i Balstrup.

At der efter hendes forrige afdøde Mand Jens
Sørensen er holdet og slutted Skifte, har
Forvalteren paa Conradsborg J. Saabye, sendt mig
sin skriftlig Attest, datered Conradsborg den 3^{die}
Aprilis 1767.

Forloverne for dette Par Fæste Folk ere Stephan
Jensen, Gaardmand i Balstrup og Lars Nielsen,
Bondefoged i Almstofte, som begge herunder skriver
hver sit Navn med trei Bogstaver.

Ringsted ut supra

S. I. S.

L. N. S.

Copulerede deb 14^{de} Octobr. 1767.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes
Landsarkivet, København, den 24. marts 1970

Andreas Jørgensen
Andreas Jørgensen
arkivar

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

Gebyr: kr. 6.50

This extract from Ringsted Church Book implies that my 25-year-old Tiptipoldefar, Niels Larsen of Almstofte, by his marriage in 1767 to Anne Larsdotter, widow of the previous tenant, became the tenant of the farm known today as Balstrupgaard. The two witnesses (including the bridegroom's father (who by then had obviously partly dropped the use of the family name of Keite)) certified their presence by their own initials.

(p. 528). Mor and 'Moster Bitta' spent childhood holidays in Gørslev. About 1910, Ingvorsens sold Kildegaarden, but their family relationship with us I have left unexplored. Contemporary with Mor was Christian Ingvorsen, a bachelor, who, in his note of congratulation on Mor's engagement (1901), described himself as her stove ('*Kakkelovn*'). In 1908, he became Ruth's godfather.

At the census on the 1st July, 1787, we find Tiptipoldefar Niels Larsen, 45, living at *Matrikelnummer* 2, Balstrup By, with his second wife, Tiptipoldemor *Kiersten* Sørensdatter, 39, and their two children, Anna Nielsd(atter), 13, and my Tipoldefar, Søren Nielsen, only five years old. Three unmarried farm hands (one male of 26 and two younger girls) made up the permanent labour force of the farm today known as Balstrupgaard.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, at the time of agricultural reforms, the pressure exercised by the progressively-minded government, combined with financial embarrassment, caused many estate owners to sell farms to the tenants. In or about 1799, the four farmers in Balstrup bought the freehold of their farms at the uniform price of 1400 Rigsdaler each, from the impoverished *Administrations Commission for Conradsborg*.

How did the peasants raise the capital? By royal decree of the 3rd November, 1797, the proposal mooted to grant loans by the owners, on moderate terms, to their tenant farmers, was approved. The ghostly vision of the guillotine, in what was to become Place de la Concorde, had been acted upon!

The farmers struck a good bargain. Tilled farm land of comparable quality is never known to have been sold cheaper in Denmark; a few years later the purchasers could have resold at prices three or four

times higher. (*J. V. Christensen : Tider og Skikkelser i Midsjællands Historie VII, 1925, p.73.*) Shrewd peasants the purchasers did not resell. Inflation, followed in 1813 by State Bankruptcy, seems almost certain to have made the purchases even more attractive. Identical in price, the farms, both in area and quality of the soil, are likely to have been very similar, though “ Lot 2 ” (today roughly Balstrupgaard) seems to have been the best of the four. Each farm consisted of $96\frac{3}{4}$ “ barrels ” (‘*Tønder*’) of land, or say $8\frac{1}{2}$ “ barrels ” of *Hartkorn*, the latter word being an untranslatable Danish term, embracing both area and quality of the soil. During the eighteenth century, peasants in Denmark had been subject to numerous disadvantages and disabilities, including villeinage (‘*Hoveri*’). Unlike many peasants elsewhere, those living in Balstrup and nearby villages seem to have enjoyed a relatively high standard of living, even before acquiring the farms of which they, or their predecessors for generations, had been tenants. Confirmation of their prosperity is a sizeable silver cup dated 1799. Evidently commissioned that year from the celebrated Copenhagen silver assayer Frederik Fabritius, by the owner of Havreholm, the cup until his death in 1971, was in the possession of *Sognefoged* Martin Larsen, who, from 1938 to 1966, was the owner of Havreholm (The initials of ‘UHS’ and ‘MLD’ on the cup above the year 1799, are interpreted as ‘*Ulrich Hansen*’ and ‘*Margrethe Larsdatter*’ of Almstofte.)

The first two maps of Balstrup and its fields, dated 1794/1805 and 1806, confirm and amplify such information as we have from other sources. The sites of the four Balstrup farms are shown, as are their ownership and the size and shape of each of the fields, as well as their colourful descriptive names. Of these, my own favourite is ‘The Lump of Butter’ (‘*Smørklumpen*’), but closely running names include the non-translatable ‘*Rakkerkulen*,’ ‘*Skidenagere*,’ ‘*Tverhumpen*,’ and

'*Hyreds Krogen.*' Names such as Balstrup Bog ('*Mose*') and '*Humlehæksagere,*' as well as others, referring to meadows, suggest the low-lying nature of much of the fertile land belonging to the four Balstrup farms. Clearly and appropriately indicated on the contemporary maps, these areas, in an earlier age, will no doubt have provided supplies of both peat and wood. By the time to which we are now referring, however, i.e. about 1800, we know from other sources that such fuel had to be bought by the inhabitants from outside the hamlet.

Earlier basic needs of life are reflected, e.g. by the name of the 12-*Alen*-wide '*Kirkevej,*' leading from the hamlet of Balstrup to the church at Ringsted. Another road of similar width, named '*Møllevvej,*' led to Høm Mill, while from the hamlet of Balstrup, a long circuitous road led to the village of Kværkeby, the three roads providing direct means of communication to important points of traditional contact. Shown on the map shortly, both in use and terminology, to become obsolete, the name of '*The Villeinage Road*' ('*Hoveriveyen*') reminds us that for long years Danish peasants had had to endure conditions of semi-slavery. Part of the main road shown on the maps from Ringsted, via Snesev, ran to Haslev. The origin of this may, however, have been at a later date than the age-old roads starting from (or terminating at) the Balstrup village pond. Pictorial representation on the map of the dolmen, since destroyed, indicates that this is likely to have been of the oblong type ('*Langdysse*').

Peasant families in Balstrup being strongly linked by marriage with each other, for up to ten generations, with families in nearby villages, their relationships also constitute an almost impenetrable maze. Individual members of families, before becoming husband and wife, sometimes were already not singly, but doubly, related to one another!



Photo : Gunnar Jacobsen, Ringsted. 18/6/1970.

On the first maps of Balstrup, about 1799, this road was described as '*Hoveriveyen.*' The uninspiring, straight lay-out of the Villeinage Road symbolizes the severe conditions of life of Danish peasants early in the eighteenth century. Today, in Balstrup (partly seen in the background), it is signposted '*Adamshøj,*' one of the local manors.

Members of the family which today (1972) includes Hanne Danvogg, the present owner of Balstrupgaard, as well as my sister Eva, me and our children and grandchildren, can be described as descendants of both the Keite miller family of Almstofte and the Johansen Insulman peasant family of Hjelmsømagle.

Among the descendants of these families are also those of Mor's sisters and brother, viz. the families named Raage, Otbøll, Remvig and Ryum.

Table No. 12. (Thirteenth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized, incomplete facts relating to Tiptiptiptipoldefar Otto Insulman (or Inselman), believed to have arrived in Denmark about 1690, and some of his descendants, born and lived in the village of Hjelsømagle, in the parish of Sneslev.

-
- Generation 1 :* Tiptiptiptipoldefar Otto Insulman ("Ry:ter") arrived in Denmark about 1690 from (?) Hamburg. Became a tenant farmer in Hjelsømagle in the parish of Sneslev, where he married a local girl, Margrethe Mortensdatter.
- Generation 2 :* Tiptiptipoldefar Johan Johanson Insulman, believed b. 1709. Buried 8/9/1786. Tenant farmer in Hjelsømagle. Married four times, the last time to Tiptiptipoldemor Karen Mogensdatter, b. abt. 1724 in Sneslev Parish, †after 1801. Amongst his first three wives was Maren Johansdatter.
- Generation 3 :* Tiptipoldefar Friderich Johansen (Insulman). of Hjelsømaglegaard, chr. 9/2/1749 Sneslev, conf. 1765, betrothed : 24/5/1778, m. 1/11/1778 Sneslev Church, †31/7/1831, Tiptipoldemor Giertrud Hansdatter of Horsetofte, b. 1757, conf. 1776 Førslev, †20/1/1836 Hjelsømagle.
- Generation 4 :* Tipoldemor Ane (Anna) Friderichsdatter, b. Hjelsømagle, chr. 9/10/1785 Sneslev. †2/10/1817 Balstrup, m. 25/10/1805, as his 1st wife : Tipoldefar Søren Niels Nielsen, Balstrup, b. 1/2/1782, chr. 24/2/1782 Ringsted. †30/6/1856. (Ane (Anna) Friderichsdatter's younger sister, Birthe Friderichsdatter (b. 9/1/1796 Hjelsømagle, chr. 17/1/1796 Sneslev, †12/10/1867), m. 20/12/1817, as his second wife, Tipoldefar Søren Niels Nielsen, Balstrup.)
- Generation 5 :* Oldemor Stine Sorensdatter, b. Balstrup, chr. 2/11/1806 Ringsted. †30/3/1869 Ringsted, m. 6/6/1828 Ringsted. Oldefar Herman Fabius Pedersen, b. 10/5/1793 Toksværd. †25/7/1871 Ringsted.

Birthe Hansdatter (Gen. 3), the mother of the two Friderichsdatter sisters (Gen. 4), who both married Søren Nielsen of Balstrup (Gen. 4), at first sight appears to have been an outsider. No fear! At the christening (9/10/1785) of the elder of her daughters, Ane (Anna) Friderichsdatter, the infant's two godfathers, named Hans *Johansen* and Johan *Johansen*, are described as the child's mother's father and father's father respectively! But were they brothers or cousins?

The bewildering nature of the internal relationship of the numerous members of the Johansen and Insulmann clan, born or married in or near Hjelmsømagle, is aggravated by the fact that, while remnants of the original early village church of Sneslev (A.D. 1150) are incorporated in the present church, the village of Hjelmsømagle (only 2 km from Sneslev Church) has never had any church building of its own. Sneslev Church is only an annexe to the parish Church of nearby Øde Førslev. Sneslev and Øde Førslev have, however, remained separate parishes.

Vital to our research efforts today, the separate Church Books of Sneslev and Øde Førslev parishes have both been kept and preserved from 1630, which is an unusually early date. The name of the *village* of Hjelmsømagle is first mentioned about 1370; that of the nearby manor house of Eskildstrup as early as 1328. Part of the estate of the latter included peasant-tenanted properties in the parishes of both Sneslev and Øde Førslev. *Registrar* Rickelt, of *Sjællands Landsarkiv*, helpfully suggests that various members of the prolific Insulman family may well as tenants have occupied simultaneously properties in both parishes.

A postcard birthday greeting sent on the 8th July, 1912, to Mor, signed by Maren Christensen of Hjelmsømaglegaard, indicates that the link of the two hundred years of ownership of the farm had not yet been broken.

In 1701 a record appears in the Førslev Church Book of a christening at which "Johan Inselman's wife from Ørsløf carried the infant "to the font." I am by no means satisfied that the statements in this table, in respect of the period before 1785, are either correct or comprehensive.



*A photographic print, re-photographed, June 1970, by Gunnar Jacobsen, Ringsted, by courtesy of the then occupier and owner of what is left of the old Hjelsømaglegaard.
Hans Nissen Pedersen.*

The old Hjelsømaglegaard in the village of Hjelsømagle.

From about 1710, for a century or more, this wing was the home and tenant farm of some of my ancestors, onwards from Tiptiptipoldefar Otto Insulman ('Rytter'), who, about 1690, is believed to have arrived in Hjelsømagle, from Hamburg. The identity of the two persons is unknown. The photograph was probably taken about 1915. A visit in June, 1970, revealed extensive recent interior modernization.

Out of a labyrinth of names, headed by Johansen Insulman, emerges that of Ane Friderichsdatter of Hjelsømaglegaard, who on the 9th October, 1785, was christened in Sneslev. Ane, another Tipoldemor of mine, was married on the 25th October, 1805, to Tipoldefar Søren Nielsen of Balstrup, the younger of the two children referred to in the 1787 census record, and born on the 1st February, 1782. By deed dated the 2nd January, 1799, his father, Tiptipoldefar Niels Larsen, had acquired the farm at Balstrup from the Barony of Conradsborg, but already, on the 16th April, 1802, transferred it to his son, Søren Nielsen.

He thus became entitled to, and generally did, describe himself as a self-owner farmer ('*Selveiergaardmand*'). The inscription on Søren Nielsen's gravestone in the section of Ringsted Cemetery reserved for occupiers of Balstrupgaard, their wives and near relatives, indicates that he died on the 30th June, 1856.

Two daughters, Stine and Karen, were born to Søren Nielsen and Ane Friderichsdatter before Ane died in 1817.

In addition to his two daughters by his first marriage, Tipoldefar Søren Nielsen had two sons and a further daughter, named Ane, by his second marriage.

Our knowledge of Stine Sørensdatter, the elder daughter of Søren Nielsen and Ane Friderichsdatter, is more extensive than that relating to her parents. At her christening, on Sunday, the 2nd November, 1806, in Sct. Bendts Kirke, those present included her father and four godfathers, all of Balstrup. Niels Jacobsen's wife "carried the baby," i.e. carried her to the christening font, while Peder Jacobsen's wife "stood by" ('*stod hos*'). The names mentioned confirm, if indeed confirmation were needed, the close relationship of the charmed circle of well-to-do farmers. Niels Jacobsen, whose wife carried little Stine, had been the tenant of Havreholm from 1779 until 1799, when he bought the farm, of which he was to remain the owner until his death in 1813. Niels Jacobsen, we also know, became, or at the time of Stine's christening, already was, the father-in-law of Christen Ulrichsen, his successor, from 1813 to 1842, as owner of Havreholm.

The daughter of the latter, Inger Kjerstine Christensen, was later to marry Stine's half-brother, Hans Christian Sørensen (1824-1875), the son of Søren Nielsen and his successor as owner of the farm today known as Balstrupgaard. As Hans Christian's mother was Stine's aunt, Hans Christian would be Stine's cousin as well as her half brother!

However, let us revert to Stine, newly-born and baptized in 1806. Her scheming parents and god-parents no doubt were mentally beginning to look for a prospective farmer husband of substance, preferably, not to say naturally, in or near Balstrup! They were to be disappointed!

Much of Stine's childhood and adolescence was spent during a period of national disasters followed by another of desperate agricultural depression, caused largely, from 1818 to 1828, by the British Corn Laws. Alas, at the early age of eleven, Stine was to lose her mother. On the 2nd October, 1817, Ane Friderichsdatter died. A farmer's household, as we have already seen, could not for long be left without a female head ('*Madmoder*'). Less than three months after her mother's death, Stine found her mother replaced by a stepmother, who was also her aunt. On the 20th December, 1817, her father, Søren Nielsen, was again married, once more to a girl from Hjelmsømagle, this time to Birthe Friderichsdatter, the younger sister of his first wife, Stine's mother. Our other knowledge about Stine during those years is gleaned from the ministerial counter-record ('*Kontraministerialbog*') of girls confirmed in Ringsted in 1821, when Stine would be 15.

From that record we learn that on the 20th September, 1812, Stine had successfully been vaccinated against the dreaded small-pox by Dr. Græbel, according to his certificate dated nine days later.

By 1817, at the time of the death of his first wife, Tipoldefar Søren Nielsen had certainly become a well-to-do farmer. In consequence, both the 11-year-old Stine and Karen, her younger sister, on their mother's death became well-off in their own right. This was notwithstanding, or perhaps partly because of, the State Bankruptcy in 1813. Our knowledge of the sisters' comfortable circumstances is derived from the grant of



*By courtesy of Hanne Danvogg,
the present owner of Balstrupgaard.*

*Re-photographed, in 1970, by Gunnar Jacobsen. The original is a
contemporary photographic enlargement still at
Balstrupgaard.*

Birthe Friderichsdatter.

b. 9th January, 1796 Hjelsmømagle.

†12th October, 1867 Balstrup.

Younger daughter of Tiptipoldefar Friderich Johansen and
Tiptipoldemor Birthe Hansdatter, of Horsetofte.

Birthe was the younger sister of Tiptoldemor Ane Friderichsdatter.
After the early death of Ane (2/10/1817), Birthe, on the 20th
December, 1817, as his second wife, was married, to Tiptoldefar
Søren Nielsen of Balstrup. She thus became the stepmother
of her niece, Oldemor Stine Sørensdatter.

probate dated the 15th December, 1817, prior to the second marriage of their father to their mother's sister, Birthe Friderichsdatter.

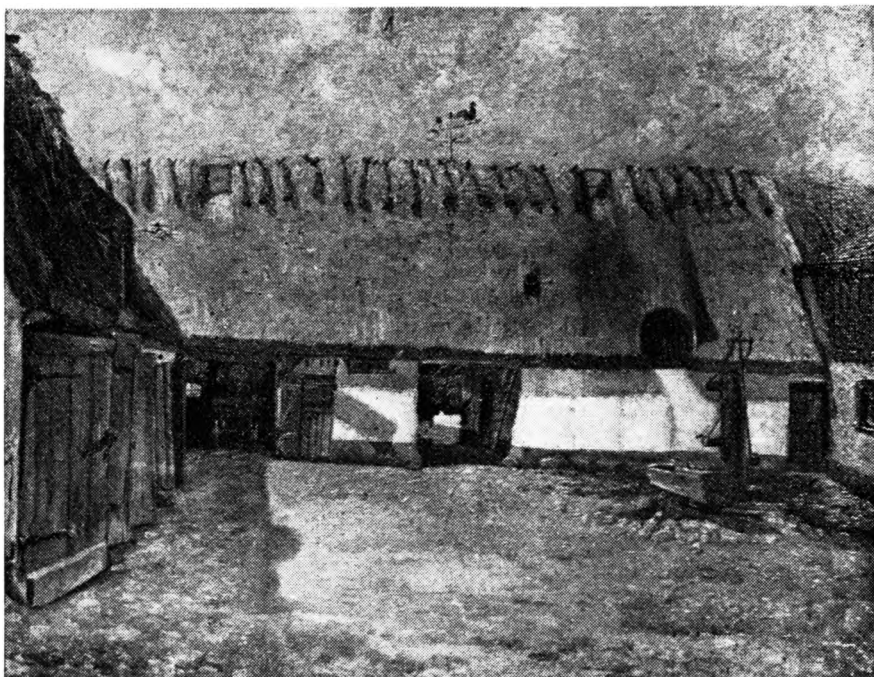
Both under age, the sisters, as beneficiary inheritors from their mother's estate, each became entitled to receive *in silver* 1215 Rigsbankdaler 60 β . This in addition to the gift in kind, was later to be made to each of them by their father, of a bedstead with cover, 6 quilts, 4 short cushions, 10 pairs of sheets, 4 cows, 4 sheep and one oak chest, and also, when they married, as dowry, either a wedding outfit or 200 Rigsbankdaler, *in notes*. The guardian appointed to take charge of their estates was their maternal grandfather, described as Farmer *Frederik Johansen* of Hjelmsømagle. The monies accruing to the sisters from their mother's estate were secured by mortgages on town properties in Ringsted belonging to third parties, but only by the 11th December, 1825, the amounts were paid in cash to the sisters' guardian.

The Bankruptcy of the Danish State, declared officially on the 5th January, 1813, resulted in the devaluation of the currency by about 90%. Deflation was pursued for the next 25 years. Until 1838, prices and monetary obligations were expressed either in silver or notes. As the conversion rate between silver and notes varied, it is impossible in constant terms, to express the value of Stine's and Karen's inheritances; compared to the dowries of other peasant girls, however, they were substantial. The amounts receivable from the grandfather acting as their guardian, on Stine's and Karen's respective marriages in 1828 and 1832, became at the disposal of their husbands. In terms of their peasant background, the girls were modest heiresses.

In common with other Danish peasants, Stine during the week at work, and on Sundays for church-going in Ringsted, is almost certain to have worn variants of the colourful national costume which for one or two

centuries had been the dress of well-to-do peasantry. Possibly, when church-going it was she met her future husband.

On the 4th May, 1827, more than twelve months before her marriage, Stine, by *Chirurg* Græbel, was re-certified to have had “the genuine cow small pox.” On the 21st September, 1827, her prospective bridegroom, described as ‘*Herman Petersen,*’ was given a similar certificate by the same surgeon, but to the effect that he had had “the natural pox.” Jenner’s discovery had been vindicated.



*By courtesy of Mrs. Hanne Danvogg.
Photograph taken 1969 of oil painting, still at Balstrupgaard, painted
in 1921 by Krog Pedersen.*

The interior yard of Balstrupgaard in 1921.

The traditional four-square farm buildings as they were then seen
from the residential wing.

*(Compare with the photograph taken from the reverse side in 1969 and
shown on p.359.)*

Table No. 13. (Thirteenth Chapter.)

Record of the ownership of Balstrupgaard (until 1907/08 known as Toftegaard), since the purchase, on the 2nd January, 1799, of the property for 1,400 Rigsdaler by Tiptipoldefar Niels Larsen.

Ringsted Sct. Hans Parish. Balstrup Hamlet. Ringsted Rural Parish, Sorø Amt, *Matrikelnummer 2*, plus several others. (Originally the farm was No. 3.)

The Principal Lot :

- 1) Administrations Commission for Conradsborg, by deed to Tiptipoldefar Niels Larsen, 2/1/1799, registered 9/7/1799.
(Konradsborgs Journal of Justice 1788-1833, Fol. 605b, comp. Fol. 535.)
- 2) Tiptipoldefar Niels Larsen, by deed to his son, Oldefar Søren Nielsen, 16/4/1802, registered 27/4/1802.
(Konradsborgs *Birk's* Journal of Justice, Folio 750.)
- 3) Oldefar Søren Nielsen, by deed to Hans Christian Sørensen (Søren Nielsen's elder son by his second marriage, i.e. Oldemor Stine Sørensdatter's half-brother), 14/11/1852, registered 17/11/1852.
(Ringsted *Herred* G.158.)
- 4) Hans Christian Sørensen's widow, Inger Kjerstine Christensens, by deed to her son, Hans Hansen, 29/5/1883, registered 13/6/1885.
- 4a) *Note* : Elvira Petersen, who, in 1887, married her paternal uncle, Hans Hansen, was the *de facto* ruler of the property, both before her husband's death in 1917 and until her own death in 1935, seemingly without ever, in her own right, acquiring any title to the property.
- 5) Probate Extract, registered 2/7/1936, as title for :
 - a) Elna Kirstine m. Skjoldgaard b. 27/11/1888
 - b) Bertha Else Christiane m. Uhre, b. 2/4/1894, (The three daughters of Hans Hansen and Elvira Petersen.
 - c) Inger Margrethe Elvira, m. Marcussen, b. 4/10/1899.
- 6) Inger Margrethe Elvira Marcussen, in marriage with Knud Valdemar Marcussen : Conveyance by assent, registered 2/7/1936.
- 7) Inger Margrethe Marcussen, in marriage with K. V. Marcussen, by sale to their daughter, Hanne Danvogg, *née* Marcussen, 14/5/1964, for 550,000 Kroner, registered 29/5/1964.



By courtesy of Mrs. Hanne Danvoeg, the present owner of Balstrupgaard.
The residential wing of Balstrupgaard about 1896.
Hans Hansen (1856-1917), the then owner of Balstrupgaard, his authoritative wife, Elvira (1866-1935), and their two elder daughters, servants and horses. (Inger Margrethe Elvira Hansen, who later, with her husband, Knud Valdemar Marcussen, became joint owner (1936-1964) of the property, was born in 1899.)



Photo 1970 by Gunnar Jacobsen, Ringsted.

Hanne Danvogg, *née* Marcussen (b. 25/10/1936, m. 8/6/1956 Jack Gorm Danvogg), shown at work in the autumn of 1970.

Hanne, the present owner of Balstrupgaard, is distantly related to me by being both the Great-granddaughter of Mormor's youngest brother, Søren Peter Pedersen, and also the Great-greatgranddaughter of our joint Tipoldefar, Søren Nielsen of Balstrup.

Danish Agriculture, which in 1945 consisted of 200,000 farms and provided employment for a quarter of the country's population of 3½ million (including 300,000 hired workers), by 1971 had contracted to 140,000 holdings, employing only 9% of the total population, the labour force consisting almost entirely of owners and their families. By 1980, it is estimated that this Danish economic revolution will have resulted, in terms of ownership, in a further reduction to 40,000 holdings and, in terms of labour, by a reduction of a further two-thirds. (*The Economist*, March 13th, 1971.) Employing no manual labour but their own, Hanne and Gorm, by increased mechanization and production of special quality farm products, hope to avoid the inevitable fate awaiting most Danish farmers.

Balstrupgaard has been farmed by Hanne's ancestors since 1767, when our mutual Tiptipoldefar Niels Larsen married Anne Larsdotter, a young widow. With slightly greater uncertainty, Hanne's and my joint ancestors can be traced back another four generations to a miller, Søffren (Søren) Olson Keite (Keith), believed to have lived at Almstofte Møllegaard, and buried, on the 28th April, 1679, in Sneslev Churchyard.

Since 1810, by royal decree, vaccination had been compulsory in Denmark.

In outlook and behaviour, Oldemor Stine Sørensdatter may have been independent. But her marriage was no runaway affair, though her suitor was outside the usual social circle of the well-to-do peasant girl of 21.

Seven years after her confirmation, Stine, by her marriage in Ringsted, on the 6th June, 1828, to Herman Fabius Pedersen, was to take the first step towards becoming another maternal Oldemor of mine.

Sources :

Rigsarkivet :

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- 2) Af en midtsjællandsk Bondeslægts Saga gennem ca. 300 aar. Udarbejdet af Laur. Hansen, Ringsted 1957.
- 3) Kirkebogen for Ringsted Købstad 1805-14, p.13.
- 4) Kontraministerialbogen for Ringsted Købstad 1814-49, Fol. 371 b.
- 5) Ringsted Herreds Overformynderiprotokol 1826-41, Fol. 15 : No. 166 Stine Sørensdatter, No. 167 Karen Sørensdatter.
- 6) Skifteprotokol for Ringsted Herred 1852-57, Folio 391B, Nr. 130. (Death 30/6/1856 of Søren Nielsen of Balstrup.)

Printed :

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- 19) Trap : Kongeriget Danmark. 4. Udgave, III. Bind, København 1921.
- 20) Sneslev- et Sogn i Midtsjælland, Sneslev 1974.

Maps :

- 1) Kort over Balstrup Bye og sammes tilhørende Jorder. Opmaalt og udskiftet Aar 1794 af I. C. Mathiesen, tegnet 1805 af T. W. Evers.
- 2) Kort over Balstrup Mark. Opmaalt, forsaavidt som Mærke-og Lodskiel samt Byplanen angaaer, den øvrige indvendige Situation er paaført efter det af det Høykongelige Rentekammer meddeelte Kort, i Aaret 1806, af Jacob Høgh.

Acknowledgments and Thanks to :

Nationalmuseet, First Department (28/1/1970 : The stones of the eponymous dolmen at Dyssegaard had been removed long before 1883).

Mrs. Elizabeth Bremner, Dunphail, Morayshire, Scotland, and my son, Patrick Graucob, in appreciation of their energetic, but vain, attempts to identify Robertus of Elgin (or Ely).

Førstebibliotekar Svend Gissel, Det Kongelige Bibliotek.

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The late *Sognefoged* Martin Larsen, Balstrup.

Hærens Arkiv.

Skoleinspektør A. Strange Nielsen, Toksværd.

Professor Kristian Hald.

FOURTEENTH CHAPTER :

Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter of Islemark, likely to have been the catalyst which caused Morfar Peder Rasmussen and Mormor Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia Pedersen to meet

The preceding chapters have been centred on the lives of ancestors of my maternal grandmother, *Mormor*. In the following chapters, an attempt has been made to record the more meagre facts known about her husband, my maternal grandfather, *Morfar*, and his ancestors, and explain how, and where, Morfar and Mormor probably met.

From the days of Athens and Rome, the citizens of a metropolis seem always to have looked down on the population of nearby rural areas. This unjustified arrogance may have been, and may still be, influenced by differences of dress and general appearance, behaviour, speech, and diet. Only now do I realize that, in my childhood and early youth, subconsciously I was guilty of a similar snobbish attitude towards the inhabitants of the sizeable, level and fertile, but seemingly uninteresting, area within some 30 kilometres of Copenhagen to the west.

Lacking the charm, the lovely wooded surroundings, numerous lakes and sandy seashores of Nordsjælland, the agricultural area between Copenhagen, Roskilde and Køge seemed almost a no-man's land, particularly in my early childhood, when most people, for their personal contacts, were mainly dependent upon public transport. Apart from fast main-line trains from Copenhagen to Roskilde and Køge, and *vice versa*, only slow, infrequent trains, and a solitary horse-drawn bus service, served the large, thinly populated, monotonous area west of metro-

politan Copenhagen. Rødovre, Islemark, Hvidovre and Glostrup. today large, progressive and pleasant suburbs of Greater Copenhagen, were only names to my sisters and me. and to us as remote as Tibet. although very occasionally we heard them mentioned by our elders.

The basic subsoil being moraine clay, the area was (and is) colloquially known as “The Heath” (*Heden*). Contacts between members of the communities living there (nearly all farmers and smallholders, there being no industry or commerce of consequence) and Copenhageners were obviously limited. Vaguely I remember, about 1906-08, in the parks and streets of Copenhagen, ruddy, buxom peasant girls, colourfully dressed, pushing prams with other women’s babies. These, I was told, were ‘wet-nurses’ from *Heden*.

For centuries, the boggy and low-lying parts of *Heden* had provided a modest supply of fresh water to the Metropolis for drinking and washing, and, until the late 1860s, by keeping the moats filled, for maintaining the defences of the fortified city. In the hamlet of Islemark, rates assessed were expressed in terms of hay harvested in the meadows adjoining the nearby artificial lake of Damhussøen, fed by the stream of Harrestrup *Aa*.

Uninteresting as the unbroken agricultural area (*Boeland*) appeared to my boyish eyes and mind, (as no doubt it did to many other Copenhageners of the same age), compared in particular to Nordsjælland, *Heden* was by no means devoid of geological, prehistoric and historic interest.

The presence of a large number of dolmens, still extant and undamaged, tells of settled human habitation as far back as 3000 B.C. In the Middle Ages, Bishop Absalon, founder of Copenhagen (1167), owned large areas of land in or near the City. Donating these properties to the episcopal see of Roskilde, Absalon



By courtesy of Trap's Danmark, 5th Edition.

Valhøj, a dolmen standing in Henrik Cavlings Allé, in a suburban district of Rødovre. The name of the iconoclastic Henrik Cavling, in my youth the revered editor of Politiken, and the man from whom, about 1923, I received in London a kindly phrased letter of rejection, links up with the incongruous site of the solitary surviving dolmen which was one of three in the area in which Morfar's childhood and early youth were spent. The other two have been demolished: Horshøj on Rødovre *Mark* and Tinderhøj on Islev *Mark*. In Morfar's youth, the dolmens, nearly 5000 years old, may all three have been intact. Did their presence fire the imagination of the young peasant? His youth coincided with the age of national romanticism exemplified by Oehlenschläger and Grundtvig. Never read any letter of Morfar's I have no knowledge of his intellectual and emotional outlook, and can only wonder.

shrewdly reserved the use of them during his lifetime. Keen on ensuring compliance with his wishes, on the 21st October, 1186, he obtained approval of this arrangement by Pope Urban III. In the papal document of confirmation, we learn for the first time of the place name 'Hawerthi.' Even earlier, the name may have been derived from the descriptive *aworð*, an enclosure next to the stream of Harrestrup.



Photo 3/7/1971 by my son, Patrick Graucob.

Rødovre Kirke.

For generations, some of the ancestors of Morfar were christened, married and buried at this church, the oldest traceable of such occasions being the wedding, on the 2nd July, 1718, of Tiptiptipoldefar Hans Jensen and Tiptiptipoldemor Ingeborg Pedersdatter. In this same church, on the 29th July, 1827, Morfar was christened Peder Rasmussen.

Built only in 1664, after the demolition in 1658 of its mediæval predecessor by the Swedish army during their siege of Copenhagen, the church is slightly lighter in architecture than the usual sturdy, white-washed Danish village church, built in large numbers about 1200. Its red, colour-washed finish gives it a distinctive appearance and may also have some connection with the first half of the name of the village.

'*Hawerthi*' was the name for what was later to be known as 'Ovre,' these being collective names for what was to be divided into the two parishes of 'Hvidovre' and 'Rødovre.' The parish of Rødovre included the hamlet of Islev (about 1370: '*Estløwa*'), which in turn included Islev Mark, sometimes shortened to 'Islemark.'

When, on the 3rd July, 1971, accompanied by my son, Patrick, I visited Rødovre and Islemark for the first time, I was astounded to find, from the kilometre stones that these large and flourishing suburbs are only 7 kilometres from the centre of Copenhagen! Islemark was part of the hamlet, within the parish of Rødovre, in which my maternal grandfather, *Morfar* Peder Rasmussen, is recorded to have been born on the 23rd May, 1827. Only on the 29th July, 1827, was he christened in the nearby Rødovre Church, according to the Parish Church Book.

Trying to trace *Morfar*'s ancestors and disentangle their often complicated family relationships, at an early stage, I was nearly defeated by their many similar names. Confusion was aggravated by the custom, prevailing until 1826, in accordance with which peasants' surnames, both in respect of males and females, rarely coincided with those of their parents. This erroneously first led me to assume that in their search for brides, my male ancestors rarely had gone beyond their own parishes. Their catchment area, was, however, larger than I had imagined. Their biological instincts, no doubt combined with their interest in real property, and in action, showing a behaviour pattern complying with local civic and religious *mores*, asserted themselves. The consequences of adscription, will also have been a powerful factor in their refraining from looking far afield.

For 200 years (1650/1700—1870), my '*Hedebo*' ancestors, all appear to have been born, christened, married and buried in the three parishes of Rødovre

(including Islemark), Hvidovre and Glostrup (including Hvissinge and Eybye).

For details of these mutual ancestors, I am indebted to Ida Rothe, the eldest daughter of one of my female maternal cousins.



*Photographed, January 1972, by Tommy Frenning.
Glostrup Church.*

On the 2nd Sunday after Easter, 1712, Tiptiptipoldefar Peder Michelsen, Farmer, from the nearby hamlet of Hvissinge, was married in this Church to Tiptiptipoldemor Marie Erichsdatter. A characteristic Danish village church, it is the place where many of my other local ancestors were christened, married and buried.

Generously, and unasked for, she offered me photostats of genealogical records, researched and accumulated by her late father, Orla Bakke (1899-1968), who was related to me only through marriage. In respect of most of the data shown in the top left-hand quarter-section of Table No. 14, I make grateful acknowledgment for the results obtained by his exploratory work.

Two of the earliest of my direct ancestors, tracked down by Orla Bakke, although not shown in Table No. 14, is Tiptiptipoldemor Marie Erichsdatter. On the 2nd Sunday after Easter, 1712, she was married, in Glostrup Church, to Tiptiptipoldefar Peder Michelsen of the nearby hamlet of *Hvissinge*. When, after 39 years of marriage, the latter was buried, likewise in Glostrup, on the 5th Sunday after Easter, 1751, he was stated to have been 81 years and 10 months of age. The year of his birth must therefore have been 1669. Of the seven other male ancestors of my Tiptiptipoldefar's generation, on Morfar's side, we have fragmentary knowledge of three, viz. Lars Nielsen of Hvidovre, Hans Jensen of Rødovre, and Peder Christensen of Hvidovre, local tenant farmers or smallholders.

Of the generation following that of Peder Michelsen and Marie Erichsdatter, we have fair, but incomplete, records of the names, christenings, marriages and burials of the four *Tiptipoldemødre* and their husbands.

Morfar's ancestors for the three generations immediately preceding him are shown in Table No. 14. Tiptipoldefar Farmer Lars Hansen (No. 48), was the eldest of these.

In 1736, fifteen farms, six other houses, the vicarage and an inn (*'Damhuskroen'*), constituted the inhabited buildings of the village of Rødovre. Nearly all the buildings were owned by the Crown and lay close together on the western slope, which gently led down to the large, artificial, but picturesque, lake of Damhussøen.

U D S K R I F T

af

kirkebogen for Glostrup sogn. Smerum Herred, Københavns amt,

1780-1814

pag. 546

1788

Dom. IX. p. Trinit. den 20^{de} Juli blev Gaardmand
Rasmus Hansen i Eybye begravet med Liig Præken og
Cerem. var født i Væssinge 1719. Faderen Hans Jensen
og Moderen Ingeborg Peders D, der havde Gaard i Væss.
var kommen for 40 Aar, havde 10 Børn, hvor af de 7
Døttre med deres Moder efterlever og alle vel
gifte. Han døde hastig, var 69 Aar.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 27. november 1971


Niels Rickelt
registrator

This extract from Glostrup Church Book confirms that Tiptipoldefar Farmer Rasmus Hansen of Eybye, who 'after a hasty death,' at the age of 69, on the 20th July, 1788, was buried with 'funeral sermon and ceremony,' in Glostrup. The entry also relates that he was born in 1719 in *Væssinge*, and thus was the son of Tiptiptipoldefar Hans Jensen and Tiptiptipoldemor Ingeborg Peders D.*(otter)*, who 40 years before had settled there, where they had a farm. Their seven surviving daughters were 'all well married.' Both Tiptipoldefar Rasmus Hansen and his widow Tiptiptipoldemor Margrethe Pedersdatter (who survived him for less than six months), are reported to have met with 'a hasty death.'

(Refer also to captions on pages 395 and 396.)

LANDSARKIVET FOR SÆLLAND M. M.

U D S K R I F T

af

kirkebogen for Glostrup sogn. Smørum herred, Kjøbenhavn amt

1780-1814

reg. 547

1738

Tiirsdagen den 23^{de} Dec. begravet Margrethe Pedersdatter
æftg. Rasmus Hansens Enke i Eybye var født i Hvidovre
Aar 1723 af Forældre Peder Christensen og Kirsten
Sørens Dtr.

I hendes Alders 25 Aar blev hun gift og levet i 40 Aar
i Ægteskab udj samme af Gud velsignet med 10 Børn, hvor
af de 3^{de} Sønner døde smaae.

Hun var 65 Aar. Død hastig.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 27. november 1971

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

The exhaustive entry in Glostrup Church Book confirms that Tiptipoldemor Margrethe Pedersdatter, who was buried in 1788 in Glostrup, was born 1723 in Hvidovre.

(For details, see caption on p.392, below picture of Glostrup Church.)



*Photographed, January 1972, by Tommy Frenning.
Hvidovre Church.*

This white-washed parish church is superficially similar to the red-washed parish church of Rødovre, only a few kilometres away. The tower was obviously added, or restored, in 1790. The partly concealed magpie construction, to the left of some of the building, reveals the much older origin of the church.

Several of my female maternal ancestors, born in the eighteenth century, seem likely, because of their ancestry, to have been christened and married in this church. Only the fact that the Church Book for Hvidovre Parish was not begun until 1747 prevents me from quoting data, from the first half of the century, in support of this statement.

Indirectly, however, the Church Book for Glostrup, another nearby parish, which was started earlier, helps us. The entry in this Church Book in respect of the burial in *Glostrup* of Tiptipoldemor Margrethe Pedersdatter, which took place on the 23rd December, 1788, describing her as the widow of Tiptipoldefar Rasmus Hansen of Eybye, states that she was born 1723 in *Hvidovre*. It seems therefore almost certain that she was christened in this church. Stated, at her death, to have been 65, and during her 40 years of marriage to have given birth to ten children, of whom seven daughters survived her, she was, we also learn, the daughter of Tiptiptipoldefar Peder Christensen and Tiptiptipoldemor Kirsten Sørens Datter.

Table No. 14. (Fourteenth Chapter.)

Concise, incomplete record of five generations of my immediate maternal ancestors.

With grateful acknowledgment to the late Orla Bakke (1899-1968), the husband of my late maternal cousin, Gerda, in respect of a similar table prepared by him.

<p>(48) Lars Hansen, Farmer = No. 52, b. (?) abt. 1709, buried 9/1/1772 with sermon Rødovre Kirke, presumably 63/64 years. 1736-1772 Tenant Nørregaard. <i>m. twice.</i></p> <p>(49) Elsebeth Larsdatter = No. 53, b. abt. 1713. †18/5/1796, buried 22/5/1796 Rødovre Kirke, 83 years. 1772-1783 hereditary tenant Nørregaard. <i>Left 4 sons, 2nd wife.</i></p> <p>(50) Rasmus Hansen, Farmer of Eybye, b. Vessinge 1719, chr. 15/1/1719 Glostrup, buried Glostrup 20/7/1788, with sermon, 69 years.</p> <p>(51) Margrethe Pedersdatter, b. 1723 Hvidovre, according Burial Journal, buried 23/12/1788 Glostrup Kirke, 65 years, 7 surviving daughters.</p> <p>m. abt. 1742 Hvidovre Kirke</p>	<p>(52) Lars Hansen, Farmer = No. 48, b. (?) abt. 1709, buried 9/1/1772 with sermon Rødovre Kirke, presumably 63/64 years, 1736-72 Tenant Nørregaard. <i>m. twice.</i></p> <p>(53) Elsebeth Larsdatter = No. 49, b. abt. 1713, †18/5/1796, buried 22/5/1796 Rødovre Kirke, 83 years. 1772-83 hereditary tenant, Nørregaard, Rødovre. <i>Left 4 sons, 2nd wife.</i></p> <p>(54) Jens Christensen, Farmer of Vessinge (Ejby), Glostrup Parish, 2nd husband.</p> <p>betr. 10/2/1752, m. 30/7/1752, Glostrup Kirke</p>	<p>(55) Johanna Peders Daatter, Farmer's widow of Eiby, chr. 15/10/1719 Glostrup (from Vessinge), buried 29/8/1779 Glostrup, 60 years. <i>m. twice.</i></p> <p>(56) Peder Hendrichsen, Master Shoemaker, Klosterstræde, Copenhagen, chr. 9/6/1693 Sct. Katharine Kirke, Ribe, †22/1/1765 Copenhagen, buried 26/11/1765 Helligaandskirken, 72 years, <i>m. 3 times, 3 sons.</i></p> <p>(57) Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, b. about 1710 Nibe. †10/4/1760 Copenhagen, buried 15/4/1760 Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen, 50 years, 2nd wife, 2 sons.</p> <p>(58) Søren Andersen Blech, Aquavitdistiller, Studiestræde, Copenhagen, b. abt. 1703 in Jutland, †Aug. 1756 Copenhagen, buried 31/8/1756 Sct. Petri Kirke, Copenhagen, 53 years, <i>m. twice, 1 son, 3 daughters, by 2nd wife.</i></p> <p>(59) Dorothe Madsdatter Knie, chr. 15/1/1726 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen. †? <i>m. twice, at least 6 children.</i></p> <p>m. 19/3/1745 i Huuset (Vor Frue) Copenhagen.</p>	<p>(60) Niels Larsen, Tenant Farmer and, later, owner of Balstrupgaard, b. Almstoftte, chr. 14/1/1742 Sneslev, †27/11/1829 Balstrup, buried 1/12/1829 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, 87 years, <i>m. twice.</i></p> <p>(61) Kirstine Sørensdatter, b. abt. 1747. †25/5/1830 Balstrup, buried 4/6/1830 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, 83 years, at least 2 children. 2nd wife.</p> <p>m. 26/6/1773 Gørslev Kirke</p>	<p>(62) Friderich Johansen (Insulman), Farmer, Hjelmsømagle-gaard, chr. 9/2/1749 Sneslev Kirke, †31/7/1831, buried 4/8/1831 Sneslev Kirke, 82 years.</p> <p>(63) Birthe Hansdatter, Horsetofte b. abt. 1758 (?), chr. (?), conf. 1776 Førslev, †20/1/1836 Hjelmsømagle, buried 29/1/1836 Sneslev Kirke, 78 years.</p> <p>betr. 24/5/1778, m. 1/11/1778, Sneslev Kirke</p>
<p>(24) Peder Larsen, Peasant and Smallholder, b. 20/3/1753 chr. 25/3/1753 Rødovre Kirke, †23/1/1826, buried 28/1/1826 Rødovre, 69 5/6ths years. 'Undertagsmand' Islemark. Granted, 1/5/1793, by the Crown 'Husmandsloed No. 13', which later became part of Matrikelnummer 16 Islemark.</p> <p>(25) Cathrine Rasmusdatter chr. 7/3/1756 Glostrup Kirke, †25/2/1838 Islemark, buried Rødovre 3/3/1838, 82 years, 3 sons.</p> <p>betrothed 9/1/1787, m. 1/2/1787 Rødovre Kirke.</p>	<p>(26) Lars Larsen, Peasant and Farm Occupier, chr. 29/7/1742 Rødovre, †3/7/1814 Rødovre, buried 8/7/1814 Rødovre Kirke, 71 years, with funeral sermon, <i>m. twice.</i> 1783-1814 Hereditary Tenant Nørregaard, Rødovre.</p> <p>(27) Barbara Jensdatter chr. 7/4/1754 Glostrup, †5/4/1790 Rødovre, 36 years, 1st wife.</p> <p>Kongebrev m. 6/11/1783 Glostrup Kirke.</p>	<p>(28) Henrich Petersen, <i>Deget, cand. theol.</i> Writer, b. 28/2/1748 Copenhagen, chr. 2/3/1748 Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen, †16/1/1827, Toksværd, buried 19/1/1827 Toksværd, 78 years.</p> <p>(29) Dorothea Sørensdatter Blech, b. 5/5/1752 Copenhagen, chr. 9/5/1752 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen. †1/9/1807 Toksværd, 55 years, 3 sons, 4 daughters.</p> <p>m. 29/12/1779 Garnisons Kirke, Copenhagen.</p>	<p>(30) Søren Niels Nielsen, Farmer, Balstrup, near Ringsted, b. 1/2/1782 Balstrup, chr. 24/2/1782 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, †30/5/1856 Balstrup, buried Sct. Bendts Kirke Ringsted, 74 years, <i>m. twice, 2 sons, 3 daughters.</i></p> <p>m. 25/10/1805 Sneslev Kirke.</p>	<p>(31) Ane (Anna) Friederichsdatter, b. Hjelmsømagle, chr. 9/10/1785 Sneslev Kirke, †2/10/1817 Balstrup, buried 17/10/1817 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, 32 years, 2 daughters. 1st wife.</p>
<p>(12) Rasmus Pedersen, Smallholder, Islemark, b. 28/8/1791 Rødovre, chr. 4/9/1791 Rødovre, †20/9/1869 Islemark, buried 25/9/1869 Rødovre, 78 years. <i>Married his cousin.</i></p> <p>m. 2/7/1824 Rødovre Kirke.</p>	<p>(13) Johanne Larsdatter, b. 7/8/1788 Rødovre, chr. 10/8/1788 Rødovre Kirke, †24/1/1865 Islemark, buried 31/1/1865 Rødovre, 76 years. 1 daughter, 1 son. <i>Married her cousin.</i></p>	<p>(14) Herman Fabius Pedersen, Smallholder and Coach Contractor, Nørregade 22, Ringsted, b. 10/5/1793 Toksværd. †25/7/1871 Ringsted, 78 years, buried 31/7/1871 Ringsted.</p> <p>m. 6/6/1828 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted.</p>	<p>(15) Stine Sørensdatter, chr. 2/11/1806 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, †30/3/1869 Ringsted, 62 years, 3 sons, 3 daughters.</p>	
<p>(6) Peder Rasmussen, Corn Merchant, b. 23/5/1827 Islemark, chr. 29/7/1827 Rødovre Kirke, †6/5/1903 Vesterbrogade 25BbII, Copenhagen, buried 11/5/1903 Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen, 75 years.</p> <p>m. 18/11/1865 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted.</p>	<p>(7) Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia Pedersen, b. 14/3/1837 Ringsted, chr. 14/6/1837 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, †24/8/1918 Holme-gaard Brøndbyvester, buried 29/8/1918 Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen, 81 years, 2 sons, 4 daughters.</p>			
<p>(3) Marie Henrica Rasmussen, b. 9/7/1879 Halmtovet 67III, Copenhagen, chr. 31/8/1879 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, †19/7/1963 Esbønderup Sygehus, ashes buried, after cremation, Assistens Kirkegaard, Copenhagen, 84 years, <i>m. twice, 1 son, 2 daughters by her first husband.</i></p> <p>(2) Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graucob, Master Tinsmith, Gas and Water Master, b. 28/7/1868 Svendborg, †6/6/1910 Copenhagen, buried Assistens Kirkegaard, Copenhagen, 42 years, m. 3/1/1902 Sct. Matthæus Kirke, Copenhagen, 1st husband.</p> <p>(1) Find Peter Justus Graucob, Chairman & Joint Managing Director of Nu-Swift Industries, Ltd., b. 16/11/1902 N.J. Fjords Alle 6III, Frederiksberg, Copenhagen, chr. 4/1/1903 Sct. Thomas Kirke, Frederiksberg, Copenhagen, <i>m. 3 times, 1 son, 2 daughters.</i></p>				

Notionally assigned to each farm, the strips of fertile soil were mainly farmed in common by tenant farmers, as they had been by their ancestors or predecessors from time immemorial. Of the fifteen farms, that which, during the next 176 years, at different times was variously described as *Krigsjordebogen* No. 2, *Gammel* No. 2, *Matrikelnummer* 15 and Nørregaard, was one of the six largest and most fertile. The inducement, if any (apart from payment, in 1736, of an *Indfæstning* fee of 16 Rigsdaler), by Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52), for him to be granted the tenancy of that farm, is not known to us. Nor are we aware when and where Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen was born and christened. It seems likely that he was born in Rødovre Parish, probably about 1709. Rødovre Church Book, although started in 1682, does not, until 1737, when his first daughter was christened, contain even any indirect reference to him. Neither do we know for certain when and where Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen was married, presumably for the first time, to Johanna Sørensdaughter; their wedding, it seems likely, took place in 1736, probably in Hvidovre Church. The christening of their three children is recorded in Rødovre Church Book: of Kiersten, on the 26th March, 1737, of Niels, on the 24th March, 1740, and of Bente, on the 22nd May, 1741. Alas, on the 4th July, 1741, only six weeks after the christening of the third of these children, the burial is recorded in Rødovre Church Book of their mother, Johanna Sørensdaughter, Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen's first (?) wife. Funeral dates of the three children have not been traced, but all the children seem likely to have died before their father's second marriage within a few months of their mother's death: in the eighteenth century, many children died in infancy. Infant mortality achieved a result similar to that of the contraceptive pill today.

As we have seen elsewhere of other of my peasant ancestors, no farmer, whether tenant or owner-occupier, without a wife, could carry on his calling for long.

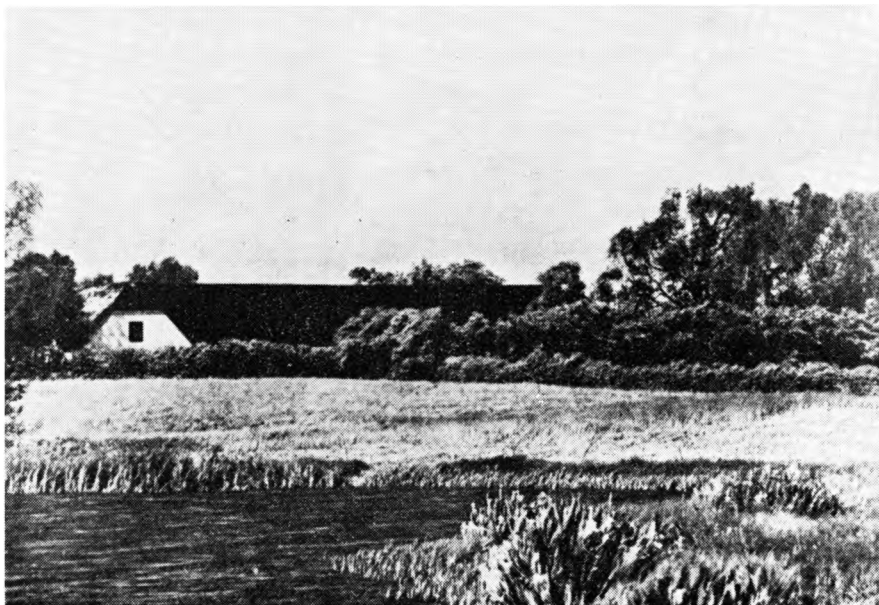
From the short-term angle, a farmer's wife was perhaps even more vital to the sex life of the animals on the farm, than to that of her husband.

The rapidly unrolling pattern of births, deaths, and the almost instant replacement of Lars Hansen's first marriage partner by his second wife, my remote ancestress, is shown by the following data:

Table No. 15. (Fourteenth Chapter.)

- 1737-1741 : Christening in Rødovre Parish Church of the three children of Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) by his first (?) wife, Johanna Sørensdatte.
- 4/7/1741 : Burial, in Rødovre Church, of Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen's first (?) wife.
- (?) 1741/2 : 2nd marriage of Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 and 52) (?) in Hvidovre Church, to Tipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter (Nos. 49 and 53), b. abt. 1713. Though not known, the wedding must have been after the burial of the first wife on the 4th July 1741, and presumably before the birth of Lars Larsen (No. 26), christened on the 29th July, 1742.
- 29/7/1742 : Christening, in Rødovre Church, of Tipoldefar Lars Larsen (No. 26), eldest son of Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) and Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter (Nos. 49 and 53).
- 4/4/1746 : Christening, in Rødovre Church of Hans Larsen, 2nd son of Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) and Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter (Nos. 49 & 53).
- 30/4/1747 : Christening, in Rødovre Church, of Niels Larsen, 3rd son of Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) and Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter (Nos. 49 & 53).
- 25/3/1753 : Christening, in Rødovre Church, of Tipoldefar Peder Larsen (No 24), 4th son of Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) and Tipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter (Nos. 49 & 53).

By royal decree of the 6th May, 1766, King Christian VII bestowed upon all the peasants in *Kiøbenhavns Amts Rytterdistrict* (which included Rødovre), as hereditary tenancies, against payment of annual amounts of *Landgilde*, the farms and land the peasants had held as short-term tenancies. 597 almost identically phrased deeds, in respect of such transfers,



*Re-photographed from the photograph on p.110
of Jul. Pedersen : Rødovre Sogn. 1948.*

Nørregaard, Rødovre, probably about 1900.

(Note the bog-like lake in the foreground.)

(Farmed and owned by Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen, his widow, their descendants and their spouses. 1736-1912.)

were authorized on that date (6th May, 1766), and registered ('*tinglæst*') within a year or two.

The master draft of the deeds must have been re-copied with no regard for local conditions. The many references to woodland granted to the tenants in the village of Rødovre, where for hundreds of years woods and forests had been conspicuous only by their absence, make this obvious.

On Monday, the 11th May, 1767, Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) became a hereditary tenant of the Crown. Henceforth, during the short time before he died, he was described as "self-owner" of the property, later to become known as Nørregaard, described as consisting of 8 *barrels* of *Hartkorn*, 5 *Skæpper* and 2

Fjerdingskar. By inheritance and intermarriage, the property (later increased both in size and value) until 1912, remained in the possession of his descendants.

But let us revert to the years just after 1767. Less than five years after Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) had become hereditary tenant of Nørregaard, he died, and on the 9th January, 1772, was buried in Rødovre Churchyard. During the momentous, for Danish agriculture, subsequent years, his widow, Tipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter (Nos. 49 & 53), a forceful character, took charge.

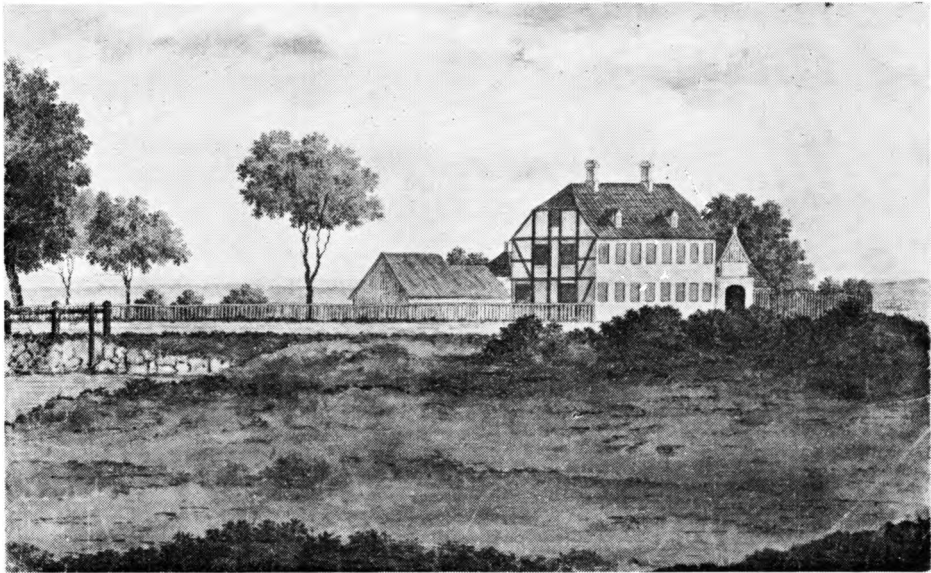
Retaining *de facto* possession of her late husband's estate by not applying for probate, she appears jointly with her four sons (all unmarried), to have been responsible for the negotiations and arrangements necessary for the removal of the farm, in common with the farms of most of the other peasants, from the village centre of Rødovre (*'Udskiftningen'*), which began in 1779. Rationalization of Danish farming, later adopted in most villages, had made an early start, in Rødovre. By swapping and re-arrangement, accompanied by only a moderate amount of friction, numerous odd strips of farmland attached to individual farms were re-allocated. Nine of the fifteen farmsteads were moved from the hamlet and re-constructed in the centres of their new, more functionally compact, holdings. Reduction of working time resulted. So did movement of human labour, and that of animals of burden and power.

The impact of Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter's personality during the matriarchial regime of her first eleven years of widowhood (1772-83) is self-evident. Like many peasants elsewhere, she seems to have been a realist, although slow in making up her mind regarding the future ownership of the newly reconstructed farm

buildings and surrounding fertile fields. She may also have been reluctant to abdicate her power of decision and direction.

Except in respect of entailed estate, primogeniture was inapplicable to peasant-occupied land. Each of the four sons was therefore entitled to a quarter of the parental estate. The conundrum facing Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter was identical to that of parents whose primary asset was a family farm. Nørregaard provided a comfortable living for one family, including the four single sons, but how would things work out in the next generation if and when the four sons all married? If a sow has one piglet more than her teats, the runt of the litter perishes from starvation. Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter's 4th son, Tipoldefar Peder Larsen (No. 24) appears to have been the runt of her four sons; he suffered a similar, although not identical fate!

Born in 1742, when his mother was about 29, Lars, the eldest son (No. 26), at least to his mother, was the obvious prospective hereditary tenant of the farm. As early as August-November, 1781, Lars is known to have been present, representing his mother and three younger brothers, at meetings held at the local inn (*cf. picture of Damhuskroen on p. 402*) to discuss complaints by one of the farmers about the re-allocation of the farmland of the hamlet of Rødovre, which was initiated in 1779. In 1783, the issue regarding the future management and ownership of the parental farm obviously came to a head, no doubt because the 39-year-old Lars decided to get married. Successfully he contended that though he had worked at the farm for 21 years, he had never, either from his father or mother, received any wages. An amount of 350 Rigsdaler was therefore claimed to be due to him.



By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.

Damhuskroen, near the hamlet of Rødovre, about 1800. During August-November, 1781, Tipoldefar Lars Larsen (No. 26) is known to have been present, in this inn, at discussions with other local farmers regarding the re-allocation of some of the farm land of the hamlet of Rødovre.

(Water colour by Elias Meyer.)

(About 1916, in the inn on this site, I was rewarded by a generous helping of Wienerbrød and tea for having successfully penetrated, as a boy scout, into 'enemy-occupied territory,' through a large, half-empty sewer.)

Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter, his mother, acted with circumspection. Details of the crisis and the endless discussions which no doubt preceded the arrangement between the ageing widow and her four sons, are unknown to us. They can only be surmised, partly from the date of the deeds by which, on the 30th October, 1783, she transferred the property to Lars, seven days before his marriage, on the 6th November, 1783, in Glostrup Kirke, to his first wife, Tipoldemor Barbara Jensdatter. Sparks may have flown, and threats uttered or implied. Otherwise, why did the crucial marriage take place without banns and with only short warning, by special licence ('*Kongebrev*')?

By agreement executed on the 3rd November, 1783, the elderly mother announced that, not having been granted probate until, eleven years after her husband's death, she had only had assigned to her the farm and estate of her late husband. Secondly, in sanctimonious language, she also announced that after consideration and her own decision, and with the written consent of her three other sons, she *sold* and transferred the farm to Tipoldefar Lars Larsen (No. 26), her eldest son, for the 350 Rigsdaler alleged by him to be owing for his 21 years of unpaid services. Thirdly, by their signatures, her three other sons confirmed that they were well satisfied with their 'dear mother's arrangements.' Fourthly, if this were not enough, Tipoldefar Lars Larsen, as the buyer of the farm, was to be treated by his three brothers as the sole *heir* of their parents' estate. Fifthly, as a further part of the arrangement, the old shrew stipulated that, for the rest of her life, she should not only be entitled to her keep at Nørregaard (in a separate house if necessary) but also receive attention, whether in good health or bad, as well as heating and cleaning, bed clothes, etc., all carefully specified, and when she died, a coffin, garments and a decent funeral. No farsighted and competent lawyer could have provided for more numerous contingencies than this old peasant woman. It seems improbable that she, who possibly could only just sign her name, compiled the document without professional advice; but her will-power and prescience, reflected in the inclusion of details, radiate from almost every paragraph of the harshly-phrased recitement. Whether she ever found it necessary to demand the erection of a separate house for her occupation, we are not aware. On the 18th May, 1796, at the age of 83, she died probably unloved by her three younger sons, and no doubt feared by her grandchildren. On the 22nd May, 1796, she was buried in Rødovre Churchyard, 24 years after the death and burial of her husband, Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen.

The involved relationship of the Larsen section of the *Hedebo* clan of my ancestors, who in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries were resident in Rødovre Parish, took another prospectively confusing twist, by the birth on the 28th August, 1791, at Nørregaard in Rødovre of Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13). The daughter of Tipoldefar Lars Larsen (No. 26) by his first wife, Glostrup-christened Tipoldemor Barbara Jensdatter (No. 27), this baby, who was christened on the 10th August, 1788, in Rødovre Church, was an Oldemor of mine. When she was less than two years old, her mother, at the age of 36, died on the 5th April, 1790, presumably shortly after the birth of another child. Already, however, on the 21st June, 1790, Lars Larsen was betrothed in Glostrup Church to Birthe Erichsdatter, a stepdaughter of Farmer Niels Nielsen from nearby Eybye. When, many years later, at the age of 72, Tipoldefar Lars Larsen died on the 13th July, 1814, he, like others resident in the parish, was buried in Rødovre churchyard, but also honoured by delivery of a mourning sermon by *Magister* Bach of *Søllerød*! Unfortunately, no record is known to exist of what the learned Magister, who was clergyman in Søllerød 1801-23, said to console the mourners, who must have included Tipoldefar's widow, Birthe Erichsdatter, and her 26-year-old still unmarried stepdaughter, my Oldemor, Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13).

By the marriage on the 2nd July, 1826, at the age of nearly 38, of Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13) to her cousin, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen (No. 12), two of the children of the youngest and the eldest of the sons of the old dominant grandmother at Nørregaard were united. Hence both the eldest (No. 26) and the youngest (No. 24) of Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen's (Nos. 48 & 52) four sons by his second wife (Nos. 49 & 53), rate as my *Tipoldefædre*.

What was the dowry, obviously much needed, which Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13), on her marriage

to her cousin, brought with her? The modest maternal inheritance which had accrued to her after her mother's death in 1790, and had since been looked after for her by her maternal grandfather, Christen Jensen of Eybye, was a mere 146-odd Rigsdaler. Only in 1815, after her father's death, did she become entitled to a further 385-odd Rigsdaler from his estate.

Let us try to look into the explanatory background and outcome of the marriage of the two grandchildren of Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52). Confusingly, the *parish* of Rødovre included both the fertile hamlet ('*Bye*') of Rødovre and the sandy, boggy, inferior fields of the adjoining Islemark, immediately to the North.

To understand the choice open to, and future life possible for, my disinherited Tipoldefar Peder Larsen (No. 24) in 1793, it is necessary to delve into the distant past. In 1574, by royal decree, the farmland of Islev, being Crown property, had been left as hay-producing meadows. More than 200 years later, in a memorandum dated the 1st May, 1793, to the King from the Chancery ('*Rentekammeret*' RTK 2411.35), phrased in the obsequious style invariably employed when addressing, or referring to, the absolute monarch of the Twin Kingdoms, the unsatisfactory state of the meadows of Islemark was vividly pictured.

Efforts made by the Chancery since 1787 to improve the growth of grass and accruing yield of hay in His Majesty's property in Islemark, had brought little result. Stagnant water was one of the problems; ploughing had proved of no benefit.

The memorandum provided a mixture of counterfeit philanthropy and opportunity for land-hungry prospective smallholders (but also for speculators) to qualify for ownership. It was implied in the memorandum that, in a generation or two, such land might be made tillable by physical work.

The duplicate memorandum submitted to the Archbishop of Copenhagen, purporting to be the original, was dated the 1st of May 1793, and addressed to the King, who, by his counter-signature gave executive effect to the recommendations made by the Chancery.

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Christianborg den 1^{te} Maj 1793.

Christian R.

2. *Christian R.*

ACC

Christian R.

Christian R.

By courtesy of Rigsarkivet.

Last page of the memorandum regarding Islemark, dated the 1st May, 1793, and addressed to the King, who, by his counter-signature gave executive effect to the recommendations made by the Chancery.

(Reduced from foolscap size.)

Backbreaking and heartbreaking, and from a short-term point of view also non-profitable, as this work was, the most satisfactory results (to the Crown?), it was suggested, could be achieved if the land were divided into 'Parcels.' Some sizeable parcels, might be subdivided into 'Plots.' By the sale of the Parcels by auction, His Majesty could help smallholders, by lending them capital to enable them to buy land.

The memorandum to the King compiled by the Chancery, and the resolution giving effect to its recommendations subsequently signed by His Royal Majesty, King Christian VII, seem to have been telescoped with an earlier untraced draft of the memorandum. Alternatively, in transcription of the memorandum, the reasoning had become muddled. Whatever the explanation, the absence of logical follow-through makes the prospective smallholders' *ca'canny* attitude more intelligible. Peasants were invited, by their Sovereign and his officials, to sell themselves into life-long economic servitude.

The decision to dispose of the boggy and unremunerative fields of Islemark, which for several hundred years had proved a white elephant to their royal master, seems to have been taken by the officials of the Chancery, before, on the 23rd April, 1793, they made their representations to His Majesty. Furthermore, in anticipation of the royal approval, the first (and principal) auction of the Parcels of the Islemark real estate had already taken place on the 17th April, 1793!

What occurred seems to have been that the 800-odd '*barrels*' of land had first been divided by the officials into fifteen sizeable Parcels. Ten of these Parcels ('*Parceller*'), no doubt the best, were offered for sale by auction. The remaining five Parcels, consisting of 166 '*barrels*,' were sub-divided into Plots of tiny hereditary tenancies. Free of any down-payment, but subject to

RTK 2422.574

Udsøgt med Høflighed!

Med Solodanserens Dahlen nu ang bekommer samtykke om
at opkrævet fra den gamle beboerens Peder Larsen om
Islemark som for: Etableringen af den nye for sig selv
nu, som der er i Tilsidelse af Landet No. 13
den gamle Islemark, som angiver at for Kongeriget som
Larsen som om, at der er et Land som angiver
Larsen.

Islemark den 20 Januar 1800

P. I. Lippke Kongeriget
Den gamle Islemark

Udsøgt med
Peder Larsen

Udsøgt med
Larsen

By courtesy of Rigsarkivet,
(RTK. 2.422.574.)

Signed 'with humble duty,' by Tipoldefar Peder Larsen, dated Islemark, the 20th January, 1800, and addressed to the High and Royal Chamber of Chancery ('Rentekammeret'), permission is sought to amalgamate Plot No. 13, which Tipoldefar Peder Larsen already owned, with threequarters of Parcel No. 12, which he had agreed to purchase from Solodancer (*sic!*) and Printer Dahlen, notwithstanding the general rule prohibiting amalgamation of individual plots. As Tipoldefar Peder Larsen already owned one quarter of Parcel No. 12, it was stated in an entry dated the 24th April, 1800, in the Journal of the Chamber of Chancery, that there would be no objection to the suggested amalgamation.

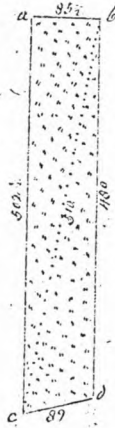
(Note: Tipoldefar Peder Larsen's personal signature.)

an annual fee for each load of hay produced in their fields, these lots were offered to individual smallholders ('*Husmænd*') in the hamlets of Rødovre, Vanløse, Ejby and Husum. One of these smallholders was Tipoldefar Peder Larsen. The infertile oblong strip described as Plot No. 13 was accepted by him. In quite a different way Tipoldefar Peder Larsen, slightly later, acquired part, or all, of the much larger Parcel No. 12. Finally, in 1802, he was granted permission to collapse the two areas of his land into one holding. And this notwithstanding the fact that the unification of two of the tiny Plots was expressly prohibited, leave alone adding part, or all, of a parcel of land to a smallholding.

By their administrative policy described above, the Chancery created in Islemark two groups of occupants, viz. a group of owners of sizeable Parcels ('*Parcellists*') and a group of smallholder tenants of sub-divided Plots ('*Husmænd*'). Favouritism and speculation may have played their part. Occupations of some recipients provide pointers. Neither a ballet dancer nor a customs' inspector is likely to have proved active as a hay grower, a potato grower or a peat digger in the boggy, infertile fields of Islemark, merely because, at a nominal consideration, he had obtained possession of a boggy or sandy field. Yet at least two men of such occupations are amongst those who, about this time, acquired land in Islemark. More than sixty years after Peder Larsen's petition dated the 20th January, 1800, in the Deed dated the 19th March, 1862, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, at the sale of his property (formerly his father's) in Islemark to his son-in-law, Christian Henrich Seidelin, described his property as *Husmandslod* No. 13 and a quarter of *Parcellen* No. 12. Simultaneous reference to the same property as *Islemark Matrikelnummer* 16 obviously results from the national rematriculation of agricultural land in 1844. Such description does not, however, infer that Oldefar's

Skib

Rödovre Huusm. Loddet
af Ilemarn Skib Amt
opmaakte 1798 ved Udsigand



ab --- 85 1/2
bd --- 502 1/2
cd --- 89
ac --- 502 1/2

Loddet No: 13
Peder
Larsen

Fladeindhold 43350 "al

Den værlige Afgift = 11 Rd

Hæstvorn = 1 St 1 Sels 1 1/2 Ellb.

Spørgsmål om Loddet No: 13, især om indholdet af Loddet
S. 272, 554 1798-99

By courtesy of Rigsarkivet.

Facing North, the tiny Plot, No. 13, of boggy land in Islemark, of which Tipoldefar Peder Larsen obtained legal possession in 1798, is shown on the map above.

two fields were contiguous although close to one another, as shown by the map on p. 416.

By dropping its original 1793 requirement that all the land should be purchased outright, the Chancery had slightly changed its tune. Possibly, the Chancery may have become conscious of the necessity for, or desirability of, attracting and retaining cheap part-time labour. The Chancery, in effect, made Peder Larsen the outright *gift* of the hereditary tenancy of Plot No. 13. Consisting of 4 *Tønder* and $7\frac{3}{4}$ *Skæpper*, Plot ('*Lod* ') No. 13 was bestowed upon Tipoldefar Peder Larsen, as a royal favour, by his insane sovereign, as a modest hereditary tenancy. Possession was subject to an annual fixed fee and feudal tax ('*Landgilde* '), expressed as 3 Rigsdaler for each load of hay. Converted into monetary terms, this annual obligation amounted to 11 Rigsdaler (*RTK* 2422.559). Though his hereditary tenancy was registered only on the 6th December, 1797, or the 15th January, 1798, Peder Larsen may, already on the 1st May, 1793, have had possession transferred to him.

The manner by which Tipoldefar Peder Larsen obtained part (or eventually all) of *Parcel* No. 12, is even more complicated and less intelligible. After the auction, one-half of this *Parcel*, which had been acquired by Albrecht Pedersen, had been sold by him, for 120 Rigsdaler, to Lars Berthelsen. Evidently sanguine about his prospects, and desirous of increasing the size of his domain, on the 6th September, 1794, my 41-year-old Tipoldefar Peder Larsen stepped into a new world as a very modest property investor by purchasing half of Berthelsen's half.

Three years after his eldest brother, Lars Larsen (No. 26), married his first wife, Glostrup-christened Tipoldemor Barbara Jensdatter (No. 27), on the 6th November, 1783, the disinherited youngest son Peder Larsen (No. 24),

married another Glostrup-christened girl, Tipoldemor Cathrine Rasmusdatter (No. 25), on the 1st February, 1787, in Rødovre Church. This followed their betrothal three weeks earlier, on the 9th January, 1787. At the census in 1787, we find Peder, described as a '*Husmand*,' with his wife and their two elder sons living at House No. 21 in Rødovre. These two elder sons (Lars, b. 5/11/1787, and Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen (No. 12), b. 28/8/1791) were both *born* in Rødovre. All three sons were *christened* in Rødovre Church, but the youngest, Peder (b. 6/10/1796), was *born* in Islemark. By 1796, this small family must therefore have moved from Rødovre to Islemark.

Location of their youngest son's birthplace links with the modest property purchase on the 6th September, 1794, by Tipoldefar Peder Larsen (No. 24), mentioned above. On that date, the Lars Berthelsen referred to resold his half of *Parcel* No. 12, in two further halves, to Tipoldefar Peder Larsen (No. 24) and *Husmand* Frederik Nielsen for 60 Rigsbankdaler each. Deeds for these transactions were not, however, executed until more than three years later, on the 5th February, 1798.

Between 1798 and 1802, Frederik Nielsen, in a manner unknown to us, must have disposed of his half of half of *Parcel* No. 12 (one-quarter of the total *Parcel*), possibly to *Toldinspektør* Muus. This seems likely because in 1802 the remaining three quarters of *Parcel* No. 12 were bought by Tipoldefar Peder Larsen (No. 24) from Solo Dancer Dahlen (*RTK.2422.574*). The latter, in turn, had bought this major portion of *Parcel* No. 12 from *Toldinspektør* Muus. When, and why, Muus had acquired the three-quarters of *Parcel No. 12*, previously owned by Albrecht Pedersen (one-half) and Frederik Nielsen (one-quarter), it has not been possible to ascertain. From 1802 (but possibly already from the 17th April, 1798), Tipoldefar Peder Larsen had at

his disposal at Islemark the small sandy and boggy Plot of No. 13, and part, or all, of the larger, and possibly slightly more fertile, Parcel No. 12.

The fields (the main crop of which, apart from hay, may gradually have become potatoes) will have been harrowed, seeded, weeded and harvested by Peder, his wife and their growing sons. Seasonally, the whole family may also have been kept busy at peat-cutting on their own land and in nearby bogs or in the fields of Nørregaard.

Until his death in 1814, in affluent circumstances at Nørregaard, in the hamlet of Rødovre, only a stone's throw from the poor fields of Islemark, lived Peder Larsen's eldest brother, Lars. This was in accordance with the decision made in 1783 by his mother. Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdatter. The four brothers had all agreed in writing!

The disparity between both size and quality of the fields of Nørregaard and those of the Plot and part of the Parcel acquired by Tipoldefar Peder Larsen, must have stood out a mile. So must the resultant difference between the life styles of the two brothers. In terms of *Hartkorn* (a standard of measure covering both area and quality of the soil), Nørregaard, after 1767, consisted of over 9 barrels; the corresponding figure in 1862, of Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen's poorer fields in Islemark was only just over 1 barrel of *Hartkorn*.

On the 18th April, 1821, after 23 years of struggling against nature in his smallholding, Tipoldefar Peder Larsen, at 68, no doubt nearly worn out, *sold* his cottage and smallholding to his second son, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, at the age of 30, still unmarried. Consideration for purchase consisted of payment, at a later date, in lieu of their parental inheritance, to Oldefar's two

[6/11-1971]

Matr.nr. 16 Islemark, Rødovre sogn

- 1.) kgl. Skøde lyst 15/1-1798 til PEDER LARSEN
[Litra D. fol.285]
skøde fra Albrecht Pedersen i Wridsløselille på et stykke jord
lyst 17/4-1798
- 2.) Peder Larsen til sønnen RASMUS PEDERSEN lyst 18/4-1821
[litra N. fol.334 nr. 168]
- 3.) Rasmus Pedersen til CHRISTIAN HENRIK SEIDELIN - skøde lyst 19/3-1862
[S.B. litra U.U. fol.135 nr. 234.]
- 4.) Skifteudskrift lyst 19/8-1885 for enken BARBARA KRISTINE SEIDELIN
[S.B. litra 4 U. fol.39 nr. 1484.]
- 5.) Skøde lyst 19/8-1885 til svigersønnen Christian Theodor Larsen
[S.B. litra 4 U, fol.40 nr. 1485.]
- 6.) Chr.Th.Larsen til KRIGSBESTYRELSEN lyst 4/7-1888
[Litra 5 C nr. 95]

This 1798-1888 record of the ownership of what, in 1844, became *Matrikelnummer* 16, Islemark, confirms the legal acquisition of the property, in 1798, by Tipoldefar Peder Larsen. It was here that Morfar was born in 1827. In 1888, the land was sold to the War Department and partly incorporated in the new fortifications of Copenhagen constructed towards the end of the nineteenth century, only more recently, in the atomic age, to be turned into a public park.

brothers, Lars Pedersen and Peder Pedersen, of 300 Rigsdaler *r.S.* and 450 Rigsdaler, respectively. Subject again to detailed provisions, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen also undertook, during their lifetimes to provide shelter, food and drink for his parents, and in certain contingencies, modest payments to his two brothers.

Eiby.

Hvislinge.



Hvidovre.

KAART

over

Brønshøj og Rødovre

Sognes Pastorat.

By courtesy of Civilingeniør Ole Mortensen of Rødovre.

Map of Rødovre (including part of Islemark), prepared and published, presumably after 1844, by Severin Stern of Magstrædet 30, Kjøbenhavn.

The tiny, perpendicular strip, Plot No. 13, and the larger, horizontal, rectangular section, being all, or part of, Parcel No. 12, after 1844 collectively became Matrikelnummer 16. Both, *de facto*, from 1793 to 1821, belonged to, and were farmed by, Tipoldefar Peder Larsen, and, from 1821 to 1862, to Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen.

Described, at his death, as an 'Under-Shelter Man' ('*Undertagsmand*'), Tipoldefar Peder Larsen who, was the first of the two parents to die, on the 23rd January, 1826. is stated to have left chattels to value of 50 Rigsbankdaler *silver*.

Twelve years later, Tipoldemor Cathrine Rasmusdatter, who died on the 25th February, 1838, at 82. left an even more modest estate of 10 Rigsbankdaler *notes*.

Unbalanced as the division of the parental estate by Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdotter was, between my older Tipoldefar Lars Larsen and younger Tipoldefar Peder Larsen, in 1783, it evidently did not affect the relationship between the brothers or their children.

Early motherless and brought up by her stepmother, Birthe Eriksdatter, Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13) could have been a shy simpleton who accepted in marriage her 3-year-younger cousin for lack of anybody else. Their marriage could certainly not have resulted from love at first sight. The daughter of one of the wealthiest farmers in Rødovre, from childhood she would have known her husband-to-be, who had been brought up in modest circumstances in nearby Islemark.

Whether she was indolent or simple-minded, we do not know, but the entry dated the 17th April, 1803, in the Journal regarding those resident in Brønshøj and Rødovre who were confirmed during the years 1740-1807, states that she "was neglected but learned the primer and some hymns in such a manner that she became acceptable." ('*Johanne, Lars Larsens Gaardmandsdatter, var forsømt men lærte Lærebogen saaledes og nogle Salmer at hun blev antagelig.*')

By the marriage, on the 2nd July, 1824, in Rødovre Kirke, between the 33-year-old smallholder Oldefar



*By courtesy of The Royal Library,
Picture Section.*

Damp, primitive and insanitary, as these non-identifiable cottages in Rødovre undoubtedly were, most probably they were similar to the modest dwellings in which my maternal grandfather, his parents and others of my *Hedebo* ancestors were born and lived during part of the nineteenth century.

(Photographed 1902.)

Rasmus Pedersen (No. 12) and his 36-year-old more affluent cousin from Nørregaard, Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13), the two branches of the family were united.

As my maternal Great-grandparents did not get married until the bride, Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter was 36, I was, until 1971, under the mistaken belief that Morfar was Oldemor's only child. This was ignoring the fact that, shortly before her death in 1963, Mor, on hearing of Nu-Swift sale successes in Queensland, made vague reference to her second cousin, one of the two daughters of her father's sister's son (i.e. her cousin), who, in the 1890s, had emigrated to Brisbane. Later I found that, about 1896-98, at intervals, Mor had exchanged a few letters with one of her cousin's daughters, Hjelma Eriksen, until 1898, her last letter being returned marked: "Gone away. Left no address." Discovery of the existence of Morfar's Sister, Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter, was due to my systematic perusal of details of children christened in Rødovre from the date of the marriage of Oldefar and Oldemor, viz. the 2nd July, 1824, until the 23rd May, 1827, when the christening took place of their only male child, Morfar Peder Rasmussen. In accordance with age-old custom (then just about to be abandoned), the patronym given to the baby, as he was the son of Rasmus Pedersen, was Rasmussen, i.e. the son of Rasmus.

The value of the discovery of the identity of Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter, stated to have been born on the 6th August, 1825, at Islemark, and christened in Rødovre Church on the 18th September, 1825, was not only that it provided evidence of the existence of Morfar's slightly older sister. In addition, as will be seen later, the family background of her husband almost certainly provides an explanation of how the contact occurred between Morfar and Mormor, which resulted in their marriage.

Moreover, my sister, Eva, in her collection of family photographs, found a picture of Barbara Kirstine (p. 421), taken in 1895, shortly before or after her 70th birthday. Also remarkable, when I came to realize it, was the fact that, as a young child, I had met '*Tante Stine*.' That was the name by which she was known to Mor and her generation, and hence, although I was much younger, by which she was known to me, though she was my Great-aunt. Checking dates, I confirmed it to be unlikely that my memory was at fault, but that, shortly before Barbara Kirstine died, on the 25th March, 1907, at the Kommunehospitalet in Copenhagen, I had, with Mor, visited her at her home at Frederikssundsvej 178, travelling by one of the brown-and-black sign-posted Service No. 5 tramcars. '*Tante Stine*' must have been almost 82, while I was just over four. At the Court of Probate, after her death, when described as the widow of Smallholder Chr. Seidelin, only her daughter, Sofie Larsen, appeared. She stated that her mother possessed no means of consequence, so, on her undertaking to defray the cost of the funeral, the Court adjourned.

'*Tante Stine*' was no direct ancestor of mine. Yet in view of her role as a catalyst, data of her long life have proved helpful to me. My main sources of information about her are the Church Book of Rødovre Parish and the census records of 1834, 1840, 1845, 1850, 1855 and 1860.

The 1834 record provides a fair example of the six quinquennial census returns. The total population of Rødovre Parish is shown as 495 persons, made up of 38 households and the inmates of 5 farms, the latter, *eo ipso*, being a descriptive term for the larger households. By 1855, the population of the parish had grown to 598



*By courtesy of
my sister, Fru Eva Heede.*

Was she the catalyst ?

Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter, Morfar's elder sister, b. 6/8/1825 Islemark, chr. 18/9/1825 Rødovre, m. 15/6/1852 Brønshøj Kirke, Christian Henrich Seidelin when he was described as a 'Dannebrogsmand.' She died 25/3/1907 Brønshøj. (Though always referred to as 'Tante Stine,' she was, of course, technically, my Grand-Aunt.)

(Dated on the back, in Mor's characteristic handwriting, October 1895, the photograph presumably was taken to celebrate 'Tante Stine's' 70th birthday.)

persons. (By comparison, on 1/1/1971, the total population of the modern and attractive suburb of Rødovre Kommune was returned as 44,629 persons!)

Reverting to the census on the 18th February, 1834, the household of Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen consisted

of the following six persons:

Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, 43, married, smallholder,
Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter, 46, married, his wife,
Tipoldemor Cathrine Rasmusdatter, 78, the husband's
mother,

(Barbara) Kirstine Rasmusdatter, 9. (the couple's
Peter Rasmussen, 7,) children,

Lars Christoffersen, 22, unmarried, employed by
smallholder Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen.

Six years later, at the 1840 census, Oldefar's real property, had been promoted, in description, to the classification of a 'half-farm' ('*Halvgaard*'). By then, the population of Rødovre Parish had grown to 503, but, owing to the death, on the 15th February, 1838, of Tipoldemor Cathrine Rasmusdatter, the number living in the Rasmus Pedersen household had shrunk from six to five. The solitary farm labourer, Lars Christoffersen, had been replaced by another *Tjenestekarl*, the 23-year-old Niels Jacobsen.

A similar pattern was revealed five years later by the February 1845 census. The strength of the household was further reduced from five to four, the occupants of the property being only the parents and their two children ; this time, however, the property was described as '*et Huus*.' Yet it was evidently the same smallholding which, later became known as *Matrikelnummer* Islemark 16, and which, in 1798, or earlier, Tipoldefar Peder Larsen had acquired.

The absence, in 1845, of a resident farm labourer, was perhaps significant, as it may have reflected rivalry between Barbara Kirstine's lover, Niels Eriksen, and the farm labourer, Niels Jacobsen, previously resident at the house. Anyhow, by deduction, we know that, in 1845, the 20-year-old Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter

became pregnant by Niels Eriksen, a state of affairs which, on the 12th June, 1846, resulted in the birth to her of a son. On the 28th June, 1846, at his christening in Rødovre Church, the child, though described as illegitimate, was allotted the surname of his putative father, and christened Peder Eriksen. Whether his reputed father, Niels Eriksen, a farm labourer, had ever been employed by Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, we do not know, but it seems likely. At the christening of the love-child of Barbara Kirstine and Niels Eriksen, the father does not seem to have been present, though stated to be resident at *Østerbroe* in Copenhagen. Barbara Kirstine's own father and five other relatives of hers were present, as godparents.

The five years until the next census in February 1850 included the period of the 1st German War (1848-50). The census record of 1850 was also the last covering Islemark, in which Morfar's name is mentioned as a member of the household. Not present in Islemark, Peder Rasmussen is recorded, as a conscript, being absent on military service. Nearly twelve months later, as a mounted guard hussar, he saw service in the duchy of Slesvig, but was not involved in any fighting.

On the 1st January, 1851, with 39 other mounted guard hussars, Morfar arrived in Jutland at the regimental headquarters at Skovby, 5 kilometres West of the City of Slesvig. The next few days he and others of the newly arrived contingent relieved outposts south of Dannevirke. Less than four weeks later, on the 26th January, 1851, the whole *élite* regiment returned via Flensborg, Nyborg, and Korsør, to its barracks in Copenhagen, arriving on the 10th February, 1851. The 1st German War (1848-50) over, the Slesvig-Holstein Rebellion petered out in 1851. Morfar remained, however, on the Army Cavalry Reserve, even after four years of full-time service, which expired on the 15th June, 1854.



*By courtesy of Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg.
In January 1851, as a mounted guard hussar, Morfar was on outpost, South of Dannevirke.
(Note the characteristic dolmen in the background.)*

*'Danish Hussars on the Heath outside Dannevirke 1850.'
(Reproduction of painting in oils by J. V. Sonne, 1872. Photographed by Sophus Bengtsson.)*

Absence from his former rural surroundings, coupled with contacts made in Copenhagen and elsewhere, may well have had a decisive effect upon the life of the smallholder's 27-years-old peasant son.

Shortage of labour always results from war. Apart from Oldefar and Oldemor (then 58 and 61), in 1850, the only members of the family resident at the small property (which, in the 1850 census record, was further promoted to the description of a farm ('*Gaard*')) were the still unmarried Barbara Kirstine and her 3-year-old, illegitimate son, Lars Peter *Eriksøn*. As a helper in the field, and at the farmhouse, the 81-years-old widower from Sweden, Svend Nielsøn Justberg, described in the census record as a pauper ('*Fattiglem*'), is unlikely to have been of much value.

Obviously, in Morfar's absence, an efficient farmhand was needed, to help Oldefar and Oldemor, as much as a husband was needed by Barbara Kirstine.

When and why he was engaged is not known, but it seems that about 1851 Christian Henrich Seidelin made his appearance at the farm at Islemark where he became employed, as an agricultural labourer, by Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen. The 1855 census discloses that another Seidelin (Frederik, aged 20, and born in nearby Brønshøj), no doubt the younger half-brother of the aforementioned Christian Henrich, was working, also as a farm labourer, elsewhere in Rødovre parish, at nearby Nørregaard, as an employee of Niels Larsen.

Details of their feckless and faithless father (if the two younger men were half-brothers, as it seems almost certain they were), Claus Friderich Seidelin, one-time owner of the manor of Sparresholm appear in the Eleventh and Twelfth Chapters. It will be recalled that, on the 5th June, 1807, in the church at Toksværd, Claus Friderich Seidelin was married to 17½-year-old Sophie, the third



By courtesy of Statens Museum for Kunst.

Dated 1855, this gay, colourful oil painting shows in progress a peasant party, such as my maternal grandfather may well have attended before, or even after, he settled in Copenhagen. As the party is expressly stated to have taken place in the area known as 'Heden,' which includes Islemark, Rødovre, Hvidovre and Glostrup, the painting confirms that my peasant ancestors and their relatives, who lived in the district west of Copenhagen, are likely, as late as in the 1850s, to have worn, both for play and at work, traditional, picturesque, silver-buttoned garments.

(Photograph of oil painting by Johan Julius Exner :

daughter of Tipoldefar *Dejn* Henrich Petersen, who gave his daughter away in marriage. Christian Henrich Seidelin, one of Claus Friederich Seidelin's many children, legitimate and illegitimate, who was born on the 10th August, 1822, at Eggeslevmagle, and christened on the 15th December, 1822, at the local parish church, was probably the last child of his father by his first wife, Birgitte Sophie Petersen. When, in 1827, after his father's farms had been sold by compulsory auction, Christian Henrich accompanied his father to live with him at Brønshøj, a village close to Rødovre, but slightly nearer Copenhagen.

Having stepped down the social ladder to the position of an agricultural labourer, but sexually evidently almost as enterprising as his father, Christian Henrich Seidelin, 30 years of age, was married by special licence, on the 15th June, 1852, in Brønshøj Kirke, to Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter. Pregnant, the 27-year-old bride was given away by her father, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, the address of her 30-year-old groom being already stated as Islemark. But why were they not married in Rødovre Kirke, the parish church of the bride? And why, having obtained a *Konzebrev*, were details of the marriage not entered by the clergyman in Brønshøj Church Book? Their first child, Frederik Seidelin (born on the 30th November, 1852, at Islemark) was christened on the 9th January, 1853, at Rødovre Church. Their second child, Sophie Birgitte Seidelin (born on the 22nd November, 1855, at Islemark) was also christened in Rødovre Church, in her case on the 23rd January, 1856. Four more children, who all died within a month of their births, were born in 1858, 1861, 1862 and 1863. Christian Seidelin, in 1855, was still described as a farm labourer. Not until the 19th March, 1862, seven years before his own death, did Oldefar transfer his modest real property to his son-in-law, Christian Henrich Seidelin, on terms of '*Aftægt*.' Until their deaths, both Oldefar and

Table No. 16. (Fourteenth Chapter.)

Summary of census ('Folketællingen') 1/2/1855. Rødovre Parish, Sokkelund Herred, Copenhagen Amt.							
1. District.	Farms (<i>'Gaarde'</i>)	Special Buildings	Half- Farms (<i>'Halv- gaarde'</i>)	Houses (<i>'Huse'</i>)	Total No. of Buildings	Total No. of House- holds	Total No. of Persons
I. Rødovre <i>Skoledistrict</i>		The Damhus Inn, The Toll House (<i>'Damhus- kroen,'</i>) 2 ' <i>Bomhuset'</i>) 2					
a) Rødovre <i>Mark</i>	7			4	13	78	489
b) Rødovre <i>By</i>	6	The School (<i>'Skolen'</i>) 1		16	23		
c) Islemark	6	The Mill (<i>'Møllen'</i>) 1	3	12	22		
II. Eiby <i>Skoledistrict</i> :							
d) Eiby	1			16	17	27	109
Grand Total :	20	4	3	48	75	105	598

Oldemor remained living at the farm with their daughter, their son-in-law, and their grandchildren.

Where was Morfar during those years, and why can we not trace his name in the Census Records of 1855 and 1860 for Islemark? The entry in the Rødovre Church Book, dated the 23rd January, 1856, of the christening of Morfar's sister's first daughter, Sophie Birgitte Seidelin, shows the presence of Morfar as a godfather, but he is (? incorrectly) described as '*Jordbruger Peder Rasmussen paa Islemark*' (i.e. a small-scale agriculturalist living and working in the hamlet in which he was born and bred). The entry indicates that Morfar, who was later generally referred to as '*Kornhandler*,' locally may have been looked upon as a smallholder as late as 1856. No doubt he was spending most of his time in the markets of Copenhagen, though occasionally giving a hand at the small farm in Islemark.

Mormor's father, Herman Fabius Pedersen, was the youngest brother of Birgitte Sophie Seidelin, *née* Pedersen, the mother of Christian Henrich Seidelin, the farmhand who, in 1852, married Morfar's only sister. Brother and sister (Peder Rasmussen and Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter) therefore married cousins, Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia Pedersen (Mormor) and Christian Henrich Seidelin, both grandchildren of Tipoldefar Henrich Petersen, the '*Dejn*' in Toksværd, she through her father, and he, through his mother.

Did Christian Henrich Seidelin prove to be a cuckoo in the nest at Islemark, who deprived Morfar of his implied moral right, as the only son of Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, to take over, before or after the death, Oldefar's farm which, since the 1790s, had been Morfar's grandfather's and, from 1821, his father's? Quite the contrary. Nothing indicates that Morfar resented the presence of his sister's husband. Morfar's absence, during the years 1850-54,

on military service, may have enlarged the outlook of the peasant boy, and made him realize that there was a world beyond that of the farming community of Islemark, Rødovre, Brønshøj, Hvidovre and Glostrup.

How did Morfar meet Mormor? In her old age, about 1913, vaguely Mormor mentioned to me the name of Count Lerche at the manor of Benzonsdal, near Taastrup, where she inferred that, before her marriage, she had been in service. In the 1855 census record of Benzonsdal, Mormor's name does not appear. But five years later, in 1860, the next census record shows, as resident at the manor, in addition to the 35-year-old Count Chr. Lerche, his 25-year-old wife and their 4-year-old child, the 23-year-old lady's maid ('*Kammerjæmfru*'), Sophie Petersen, born in Ringsted! Benzonsdal is also near the village of Thorslunde, where, much later, both in 1889 and 1895, Mor's parents and sisters are known to have visited unidentified farming friends or relatives. More important, in this context, both places are within 10 kilometres of Islemark! Could interest aroused in Morfar during a casual encounter with Mormor at Herman Fabius's busy coaching establishment at Nørregade in Ringsted have ripened into love by further meetings with her at Benzonsdal or at Thorslunde?

After 4½ years of cavalry service, Morfar was obviously an experienced horseman. To have covered, on a borrowed horse, the 10 kilometres from Islemark to Benzonsdal, to keep tryst with Mormor, would have presented no insuperable obstacle.



Part of *Matrikelnummer* 16, Islemark, Morfar's birthplace in 1827 (and the property which, in 1855, his father, Olddefar Rasmus Pedersen, mortgaged to enable his son, on his return after four years' conscriptive service as a guard hussar, to start in business on his own account) as it appears today, intersected by the Fortvej and Tindørthoj roads. (The name of the latter commemorates a dozen now demolished.) The rampart to the right conceals a large moat constructed about 1890 for the defence of Copenhagen. Absorbing, in addition to Morfar's modest birthplace, the low-lying boggy land nearby, the area became collectively known as the 'Western Entrance.'

(Photographed, January 1972, by Tommy Frøenbørg.)



BENZONSDAL,
i Sælland.

By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.
 The Manor of Benzonsdal, near Thorslunde, where Mormor then 23 and described as a
 lady's maid ('*Kammerjomfru*'), was living at the time of the Census in 1860.
 (*Contemporary lithograph.*)

U D S K R I F T

af

kirkebogen for Rødvre sogn, Sokkelunds herred, Københavns amt

1784-1814

fol.130

Æ g t e v i e d e

1787

den 9^{de} Jan .

blev ung Karl Peder Larsen i Rødvre troloved til
Pigen sammesteds Cathrine Rasmusdatter.

Forlovere: Hans Matsen fra Glostrup Sogn.

Hans Matsen Rødvre

Ægteviede den 1^{ste} Febr.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes

Landsarkivet, København, den 15. april 1971


Niels Rickelt
registrator

This extract from the Church Book for Rødvre Parish certifies that, on the 9th January, 1787, the bachelor ('ung Karl') Tipoldefar Peder Larsen of Rødvre was betrothed to the maid ('Pigen') Tipoldemor Cathrine Rasmusdatter, likewise of Rødvre. Their "Holy Matrimony" took place on the 1st of February, 1787, only three weeks later.

U D S K R I F T

af

kirkebogen for Rødovre sogn, Sokkelunds herred, Københavns amt,
1784-1814
fol.10

1791

11^{te} Søndag efter Trinitatis

den 4. September

<u>Rasmus</u>	Forældrene: Peder Larsen og Catrine Rasmus
født i Rødovre	Datter - Huusfolk.
den 28. August	Fadderne: Hans Madsens Hustrue Ane Larsdatter
	Pigen Magdalene Hans Datter
	Søren Larsen, Christen Andersen
	og Søren Madsen alle af Rødovre.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes

Landsarkivet, København, den 15. april 1971


Niels Rickelt
registrator

This extract from the Church Book for Rødovre Parish certifies that Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, born on the 28th August, 1791, the son of Tipoldefar Peder Larsen and Tipoldemor *Catrine Rasmus Datter* (collectively described as '*Huusfolk*'), was christened on the 4th September, 1791.

U D S K R I F T

af

kirkebogen for Rødovre sogn, Sokkelunds herred, Københavns amt,
1784-1814
fol.6

1788

Johanne Dom 12. p. Trinitatis [10. August 1788]
født den 7^{de} August Lars Larsen
Barbara Jensdatter

Niels Nielsens Hustr. fra Egbye
Karen Christensdatter, Rødovre
Christen Christensen
Hans Larsen
Peder Sørensen.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes
Landsarkivet, København, den 16. april 1971


Niels Rickelt
registrator

This extract from the Church Book for Rødovre Parish certifies that Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter, born on the 7th August, 1788, the daughter of Tipoldefar Lars Larsen and Tipoldemor Barbara Jensdatter, was christened on the 10th August, 1788.

One of the godfathers, Hans Larsen, was presumably the eldest of her father's three younger brothers, who himself was christened in Rødovre Church, on the 4th April, 1746.

U D S K R I F T

AF

kontraminiſterialbogen for Rødovre ſogn, Sokkelunds herred, Københavns
amt 1814-1839, pag. 129

C o p u l e r e d e

No. 1.
Brudgømmens Navn, Alder,
Haandtering og Opholdsſted. Rasmus Pedersen, Jordbruger paa
Islemark - 33 Aar.
Brudens Navn, Alder,
Haandtering og Opholdsſted. Johanne Larsdatter - 36 Aar.
Hvem Forloverne ere. for ham Lars Pedersen Husmand i Rødovre.
for hende Lars Larsen, Gmd. i Rødovre
begge med ført Pen.
Vielses-Dagen. 1824, den 2^{den} Juli
Om Vielsen er forrettet i
Kirken - - Efter Tillysning i Kirken.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 16. april 1971

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

This extract from the Counter-Ministerial Book for Rødovre Parish. 1814-1839, certifies that, on the 2nd July. 1824. the marriage took place of Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen. Smallholder ('Jordbruger') of Islemark, aged 33, and Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter. aged 36. The sponsors, Lars Pedersen and Lars Larsen. both of Rødovre (probably brother of the bridegroom and the bride respectively), signed their names by guided pen.

U D S K R I F T

af

kontraministerialbogen for Rødovre sogn, Sokkelunda herred, Københavns

amt 1814-1839

fol. 25

F ø d t e M a n d k i ø n

No.	
Aar og Datum.	1827 den 23. Maj
Barnets fulde Navn	P e d e r
Daabens Datum enten i Kirken eller Hjemme.	Den 29 ^{de} Juli
Forældrenes Navn, Stand, Haandtering og Boepæl.	Rasmus Pedersen, Jordbruger paa Islemark og Johanne Larsdatter.
Faddernes Navn, Stand og Opholdsted.	Madam Arps af Krogslyst og Elsee Pedersdatter af Rødovre. Lars Larsen og Niels Larsen begge Gaardmænd i Rødovre, Peder Pedersen af Brøndbyester.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 16. april 1971

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registrator

This extract from the Counter-Ministerial Book for Rødovre Parish, 1814-1839, certifies that, on the 29th July, 1827, the christening took place of Morfar Peder Rasmussen, who was born on the 23rd May, 1827, the son of Oldemar Rasmus Pedersen, Smallholder ('*Jordbruger*') of Islemark and Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter.

Niels Larsen, one of the godfathers, was presumably Oldemor's brother, and hence Morfar's maternal uncle. After the death, in 1826, of his father's second wife, Birthe Eriksdatter, Niels Larsen became the owner of Nørregaard from 1827 to 1856. Peder Pedersen, another godfather, presumably was the youngest of Morfar's paternal uncles.

Krogslyst, the address at which, in 1827, one of the godmothers, *Madam Arps*, lived, is today (1972) known as Roskildevej 526, Glostrup. This is now the residence of Harald Olsen, Chief Municipal Veterinary Officer ('*Stadsdyrlæge*') and his wife, Else Olsen, maternal grandparents of Synne Remvig, b. 2/9/1970 Copenhagen, a Great-great-granddaughter of Morfar Peder Rasmussen.

Table No. 17. (Fourteenth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen, Farmer, of Rødovre, and some of his descendants.

Generation 1 (3) : Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52), b. abt. 1709, probably in Rødovre, buried 9/1/1772 Rødovre, 63/64 years old, *m. twice*, presumably *1st time* abt. 1736 probably Hvidovre, Johanna Sørensdatter, buried 4/7/1741 Rødovre. Their 3 children christened Rødovre : A) 26/3/1737 Kierstin, B) 24/3/1740 Niels, C) 22/5/1741 Bente, *m. 2nd time* abt. 1741/2, presumably Hvidovre, Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdatter (Nos. 49 & 53), b. abt. 1713 presumably Hvidovre, †18/5/1796, buried 22/5/1796 Rødovre. (Of her 4 sons, Peder (No. 24), the youngest, and Lars (No. 26), the eldest, both became my direct ancestors ; see below.)

Tiptipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) paid in 1736 an *Indfæsting* fee of 16 Rigsdaler for what was later to become known as *Matrikelnummer* 15 (and still later as *Nørregaard*). On the 11th May, 1767, he was granted a hereditary tenancy of the farm, which consisted of more than nine barrels of *Hartkorn*. On his death in 1772, his widow, Tiptipoldemor Elsebeth Larsdatter (Nos. 49 & 53), retained *de facto* possession of the farm until 3/11/1783. By deed, at nominal consideration, she then *sold* the property to her eldest son, Lars Larsen (No. 26), with the written (but probably reluctant) consent of her three other surviving sons. Details of all four sons are as follows :

- A) Tipoldefar Lars Larsen (No. 26) chr. 29/7/1742 Rødovre (hereditary tenant of *Nørregaard* 1783-1814), †3/7/1814, buried 8/7/1814 Rødovre, 71 years, with funeral sermon by *Magister* Bach of '*Sollerød*'; *m. twice*. *m. 1st time* : By *Kongebrev*, 6/11/1783, Glostrup Kirke, Tipoldemor Barbara Jensdatter (No. 27), chr. 7/4/1754 Glostrup, †5/4/1790 Rødovre, 36 years. *At least one child* : Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13) (*See later under Generation 3 (5).*) *m. 2nd time* 21/6/1790 : Birthe Erichsdatter, b. abt. 1769, †13/9/1826, 57 years.
- B) Hans Larsen chr. 4/4/1746 Rødovre, † after 3/11/1783.
- C) Niels Larsen chr. 30/4/1747 Rødovre, † after 3/11/1783.
- D) Tinoldefar Peder Larsen (No. 24) chr. 25/3/1753 Rødovre. (*For details, see later under Generation 2(4).*)

Generation 2 (4) : Tipoldefar Peder Larsen (No. 24), Peasant and Smallholder ('*Bonde og Jordbruger*') Islemark, b. 20/3/1753 Nørregaard Rødovre, chr. 25/3/1753 Rødovre Kirke, †23/1/1826 Islemark, buried 28/1/1826 Rødovre; at his death described as an '*Undertagsmand of Islev*' 69 5/6th years; betrothed 9/1/1787 Rødovre, m. 1/2/1787 Rødovre, to Cathrine Rasmusdatter (No. 25), chr. Lent Sunday 1756 Glostrup, †25/2/1838 Islemark, buried 3/3/1838 Rødovre, 84 years. 3 sons, Lars, Rasmus and Peder. Peder Larsen (No. 24), who, 15/1/1798, had bought from the Crown and others the property later to become known as *Matrikelnummer* 16, Islemark (slightly more than 1 barrel *Hartkorn*), transferred this, 16/12/1820, to his son, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen (No. 12), by way of '*Aftagt*.'

Generation 3 (5) : Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen (No. 12), b. 28/8/1791 Islemark, chr. 4/9/1791 Rødovre, †20/9/1869 Islemark, buried 25/9/1869 Rødovre, 78 years, Smallholder ('*Jordbruger*'), m. 2/7/1824 Rødovre, Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13), b. 7/8/1788 Nørregaard Rødovre, chr. 10/8/1788 Rødovre Kirke, †24/1/1865 Islemark, buried 31/1/1865 Rødovre, 76 years. 1 daughter, 1 son. Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter (No. 13), who was a grandchild of Tipoldefar Lars Hansen (Nos. 48 & 52) was married to Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen (No. 12), another of his grandchildren. As a child, Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter must have been either simple-minded or indolent. In the Journal of those resident in Brønshøj and Rødovre, who were confirmed during the years 1740-1807, an entry relating to her, dated the 17th April, 1803, states that she "was neglected but learned the primer and some hymns in such a manner that she became acceptable." (*Johanne, Lars Larsens Gaardmandsdatter, var forsømt men lærte Lærebogen saaledes og nogle Sølmer at hun blev antagelig.*)

Generation 4 (6) : Morfar Peder Rasmussen, Corn Merchant ('*Kornhandler*'), b. 23/5/1827 Islemark (Rødovre Parish), chr. 29/7/1827 Rødovre, †6/5/1903 Vesterbrogade 25BbII, Copenhagen, buried 11/5/1903, Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. m. 18/11/1865 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted. Mormor Sofie Birgitte Adamine Olivia Pedersen, b. 15/3/1837 Ringsted, chr. 14/6/1837 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted. †24/8/1918 Holmegaard, Brøndbyvester. Buried 29/8/1918 Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. (*See Table 8, Twelfth Chapter, and Table 7, Eleventh Chapter, and for their descendants, refer to Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters.*)

(Morfar was the 2-years-younger brother of Great-aunt Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter, b.

6/8/1825 Islemark, m. 15/6/1852 Brønshøj,
Christian Henrich Seidelin. She had one
(illegitimate) surviving child by Niels Erikson
and two legitimate, surviving children by
Seidelin, viz. Frederik and Sophie Birgitte.
Dates are in the text of the Fourteenth Chapter.)

Sources :

Manuscripts :

Rigsarkivet :

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- 3) Rentekammerets Arkiv : Sjællandske Renteskriverkontor, Pakke : Jordlodderne paa Islemark 1794-1803 (*RTK 2422.574*),
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Hærens Arkiv :

Records regarding Peder Rasmussen.

Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m. :

- 1) Kirkebog for Rødovre Sogn 1682-1783,
- 2) Konfirmationsprotokol for Brønshøj og Rødovre 1740-1807 (Entry dated 17/4/1803 Rødovre Sogn, Rødovre By.)
- 3) Kirkebog for Rødovre Sogn 1784-1814,
- 4) Kontraministerialbogen for Rødovre Sogn 1814-1839,
- 5) Kontraministerialbogen for Rødovre Sogn 1839-64,
- 6) Kirkebog for Glostrup Sogn 1676-1738,
- 7) Kirkebog for Glostrup Sogn 1737-80,
- 8) Det Kiøbenhavnske Ryttergodsdistrikts Skifteprotokol (Amtsstueen) 1736-43, p. 762 et seq. (No. 98, Lars Nielsen, Hvidovre, 8/7/1740, Hvidovre),
- 9) Det Kiøbenhavnske Ryttergodsdistrikts Skifteprotokol 1726-32, p. 98 (No. 103 Kirsten Sørensdatte, wife of No. 102, gl. Peder Christensen),
- 10) Kiøbenhavns Amts Rytterdistrikts Skøde-og Panteprotokol, Litra D.2, 1762-1770, Fol. 398B, Deeds for No. 48, Lars Hansen,
- 11) Kiøbenhavns Amts Rytterdistrikts Skøde-og Panteprotokol, Litra F.1, 1782-1786, Fol. 100B,
- 12) Kiøbenhavns Amtsstue Skifteprotokol - 1. Halve Distrikt 1790-94 Fol. 10A (Probate 3/6/1790 Barbara Jensdatte),
- 13) Kiøbenhavns Amtsstue C, 1814-1818, Folio 179 (Probate 13/7/1815 Lars Larsen),
- 14) Søndre Birks Skifteprotokol 1826-29 and 1835-38 (Deaths of Tipoldefar Peder Larsen and Tipoldemor Catrine Rasmusdatte).

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- 1) Theodor Gliemann : Geographisk-Statistisk Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Danmark, Tredie Deel : Kjøbenhavns Amt, Kjøbenhavn 1821,
- 2) S. Stern : Statistisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavns Amt, Kjøbenhavn 1834,

- 3) H. Hertel : Det Kgl. Danske Landhusholdningsselskabs Historie, Volume 1, 1769-1868, København 1920,
- 4) Jul. Pedersen : Rødovre Sogn, København 1948.
- 5) Wiberg's Præstehistorie. (*Magister Bach was clergyman in Søllerød 1801-23.*)

Map :

Kaart over Brønshöi og Rödovre Sognes Pastorat, by Severin Stern, ca. 1840.

Acknowledgments and Thanks :

- 1) To *Fuldmægtig* Jeppe Rasmussen, Københavns Stadsarkiv,
- 2) To *Folkeregisteret*, Rødovre Kommune,
- 3) To Hærens Arkiv,
- 4) To G.E.C. Gads Forlag (Trap Danmark, 5, Udgave),
- 5) To Skoleinspektør A. Strange Nielsen,
- 6) To *Forskningsbibliotekar* Ib Grønlund, Danmarks Veterinær- og Jordbrugsbibliotek, Den kgl. Veterinær- og Landbohøjskole,
- 7) To *Civilingeniør* Ole Mortensen, Rødovre.

FIFTEENTH CHAPTER :

After 4 years military service, Morfar settles for good in Copenhagen and, eleven years later, marries Mormor

Whatever his motives, Morfar deserves a posthumous *1827-1903* tribute for uprooting himself from Islemark. For centuries, he and his forbears had been born, reared and moulded by the life of the restricted, almost static, rural society. The difference was vast between living conditions of the peasants, who, within seven kilometres of the fortified, sophisticated city of Copenhagen, led a primitive existence of their own, and those of the inhabitants of the Capital. In the country, traces of villeinage were still extant. In spite of the introduction, in 1814, of Compulsory Primary Education, there were still remnants of illiteracy. If born a generation or two earlier, it is doubtful whether Morfar would have learned to read and write properly. (Neither of the two male sponsors at his parents' wedding, on the 2nd July, 1824, could sign even his own name unguided !)

From a legal and practical angle, however, a greater handicap for peasants was that, with few exceptions, during the period from 1788 to 1848, a son of a peasant family (but he alone !) was subject to conscription. At birth details were carefully entered in the Official Rescriptive Record ('*Lægdsrullen*'). And, when he reached the age of 22, these particulars caught up with him. This happened to almost every country-born,

1849 able-bodied, young man including Morfar. When 1849, Morfar became 22, armed rebellion against the Central Government in Copenhagen had existed in Slesvig and Holstein, since the previous year, supported by war against Denmark by Prussia.

1850 This, however, did not cause the call-up of Morfar to be accelerated. Only on the 5th January, 1850, was he called up for the usual military service, which consisted of six months' training, followed by four years' active service, in turn, followed by another four years of compulsory inclusion in the Reserve.

Hand-picked, at the semi-annual session of the Medical Board, for service in the crack cavalry regiment of the guard hussars ('*Gardehusarregimentet*'), Morfar, who was 65½ old Danish inches tall (*171 centimetres*), is likely to have been a natural and capable horseman. (My own strong arms and thighs, of which I gave evidence during my fox hunting days in 1939/44, may be part of my inheritance from him.)

In 1848/50, the theatre of war was in Jutland, where the two principal squadrons of the guard hussars and one squadron of the horse guards were on active service. On the 21st June, 1850, of six months training, at Jægersborg Kaserne, 7 kilometres north-west of Copenhagen, Morfar, was transferred for service to the Depot Squadron in Copenhagen. This Squadron was quartered at the cavalry barracks, still in Toldbodgade, close to the corner of Store Kongensgade, and near the original Eastern Gate ('*Østerport*'). They were also near Amalienborg Palace, where the regiment was intended to protect the reigning monarch. In the desultory first German War (1848-50), the bloody, vital battle of Isted (25/7/1850) was still in the future.

1851 On the 1st January, 1851, nearly six months after the completion of Morfar's training, and after the end



*By courtesy of The Royal Library,
Picture Section.*

Drawing of a mounted guard hussar, which shows how Morfar is likely to have appeared from 1850-1854.

Spørgsmål.	Svar.
Hvad er den sidste Kavn?	Peter Rasmussen (Hullmark)
Hvilken Dag og hvilket Aar er De født?	Juli, 23. Mai 1827
A hvilket Aar har De deeltaget i Krigen?	1850
På hvilken Afdeling (Infanteri) havde De denang?	Garde Major Division
På hvilket Compagni, Eskadron eller Bataillon stod De?	1 ^{de} Eskadron
Hvilket Nummer havde De?	N ^o 27
Hva og på hvilken Dag var De tjenestgjørende?	fra 5 Januar 1850
Tjente De som Menig eller som Befalingsmand?	Menig
Hvad De saaret i Krigen? Naar?	Nei
Har De saaret paa Kjøretøj? Paa hvilket?	Nei
Hvad De fangen i Krigen? Naar og hvor?	Nei
Har De Pension eller Invalidforsørgelse? Hvilket Nummer har Deres Pension?	Nei
Er De Medlem af "De danske Vaabenbrødres Selskab"? I hvilken af deres Afdelinger og i hvilket Nummer staar De?	Vaabenbrødres Selskab N ^o 6307
Hvilken er Deres nuværende Tilstand?	Kornhandler
Hvor har De nu Bopæl? Hvor De ikke boer i en Aljehus, hedes Amt, Herred, Sogn og By angives.	Hjohannes
Hvilken er Deres nuværende Adresse?	Halmtorvet N ^o 67
B. Rasmussen Indsigelse	

By courtesy of Hærens Arkiv.

This application by Morfar, for award of the medal commemorating his war service in 1850, seems likely, in so far as his name and birth date are concerned, to have been filled in by himself. His occupation being shown as corn merchant, while his address is given as Halmtorvet 67, it is obvious that the application was not made until after 29/1/1879, when the Association of Ex-servicemen ('De Danske Vaabenbrødres Selskab') was formed.

(Reduced in size.)

of the War with Prussia, while the rebellion in Holstein was petering out, a reinforcement contingent of 40 mounted Hussars, from the Copenhagen-based Depot Squadron, arrived at Skovby, in Jutland, 5 kilometres west of the City of Slesvig. Morfar was one of these forty mounted guardsmen.

Next day, Morfar, (in the Army always known as 'No. 27 P.R. Islemark' (Peder Rasmussen)) was gazetted to the 1st Squadron, and on the 5th January, 1851, detailed to relieve one of the outposts, south of Dannevirke.

The contingent did not long remain in Jutland. Nor did Morfar get involved in any fighting. Political background manœuvres may have been the reason the whole regiment was soon ordered back to Copenhagen. Leaving Skovby on the 26th January, 1851, and via Flensborg, Aarøsund, Assens, Nyborg, Korsør and Frederiksberg-Valby, the regiment returned to its barracks in Copenhagen. For the next 3½ years, Morfar seems to have remained in Copenhagen, or at Jægersborg. This period included the dreadful months of June-October 1853, during which the cholera epidemic in Copenhagen claimed 4,737 victims. 1853

Only on the 15th June, 1854, after Morfar had been in the army for 4 years, did he obtain his release. And, for four more years, until the 2nd August, 1858, when more than 31, Morfar had to remain in the Army Reserve. During those final four years (1854-58), he had to report changes of address to the conscription authorities. We therefore know more about his whereabouts and occupations during that period than about his latter between 1858 and 1864. Immediately following his release from the army, Morfar seems to have returned to Islemark (in time to help his parents and brother-in-law with the haymaking, so important to them?). Still (and for another eleven years) a bachelor, 1854

1856

he seems to have been made restless by his experience in Copenhagen. In the conscriptive record for Rødovre for 1855, it is stated that, prior to 30/11/1855, when he obtained permission to move back to the Rødovre District ('*Lægd*'), Morfar was living in Copenhagen. But notwithstanding his return to Rødovre, in 1855 (in December for Christmas ?), once again he was in Copenhagen. Late in 1855, or early in 1856, apparently he was employed in Copenhagen as a resident outdoor servant ('*Gaardskarl*') by Provisiondealer ('*Høker*') O. W. Nielsen, at Norgesgade (today: *Bredgade*) 195. In the autumn of 1856, we find Morfar resident as a coachman ('*Kudsk*') in the service of *exam. jur.* J. Thomsen, at 129 AB Østerbro, Rolighedsdal. (This suburban residence, on the outskirts of Copenhagen, happened also to be the approximate address, viz. Rosendals Tværgade 8, at which, about 46 years later, my godfather, Harald Steenberg, was living when, on the 4th January, 1903, he attended my christening.)

But let us revert to Morfar's life as an ex-cavalry soldier in Copenhagen, where obviously, in a humble capacity, he was trying to earn his living. Why was he there? Why did he prefer life in Copenhagen to that in familiar surroundings of his home village of Islemark? Copenhagen was not yet a healthy or a clean city. Were the attractions of Copenhagen those of "*Wein, Weib und Gesang*"? Or did Morfar hopefully see an opportunity of becoming a merchant prince such as his contemporary. Odense-born and Manchester-trained C. F. Tietgen (1829-1901) was about to become? Few pointers are available by which we can attempt to answer these rhetorical questions. Attractive opportunities open to Morfar in Islemark were limited. Scientific farming was still in its infancy, certainly in so far as smallholdings, such as his father's poor water-logged property, were concerned. And in the management of the family smallholding, since Morfar's sister's marriage, in 1852, to Christian Henrich

Seidelin, the latter increasingly must have assumed a large share of the burden of the slow, heart-and-back-breaking task of extracting a modest living from the land. Increased returns by way of marling and drainage, for the small-holder, were still one or two decades in the future. On the other hand, since the early 1840s, Copenhagen had been growing with explosive force and speed. During the four years which Morfar had spent in the Capital, as a soldier, he must have seen and learned a lot, and not only about soldiers, horses and women. Søren Kierkegaard (1813-55), who had lived in Copenhagen during this period, died within 200 metres of the cavalry barracks; another striking Copenhagen personality of the period, N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872), a vigorous preacher, a religious revivalist and a titular bishop, could be heard every Sunday thundering from the pulpit in Vartov Church; a third contemporary, living in Copenhagen, was Hans Christian Andersen (1805-75), already world-famous. Unlikely as it is that Morfar met any of these men at close quarters, or at their intellectual level, collectively they provided a stimulating background for life in the City, more probable though it is that Morfar saw something of the seamier side of urban life, included touting by authorized and controlled prostitutes. But, in 1843, just outside the Western Gate of the City, Georg Carstensen, 'The Mad Englishman,' by virtue of his concession obtained from the King, had been able to enclose part of the formerly fortified area, which he had turned into a wonderful amusement park, known as 'The Copenhagen Summer Tivoli.' During Morfar's years of service in Copenhagen, even soldiers in uniform were admitted, and at a reduced rate of admission at that. This, indeed, was helpful, because everybody knew that the pay of conscripts amounted only to a pittance!

Yes, if Morfar were an extrovert (as I suspect he was), Copenhagen must have appealed to him greatly — it was both a trading and a maritime centre, while the ethos of

the Capital was lively and gay. But Morfar would also realize that for him to enjoy life there, an income higher than that likely to be earned by a hay-farmer would be needed. (Significant that, more than twenty years after his military service, Morfar, when he applied for his Military Medal, stated that he was a member of the Association of Ex-servicemen (*'De danske Vaabenbrødres Selskab.'*)

Moreover, Morfar may well have felt that, if he settled in Copenhagen, he would be likely to enjoy life more there, rubbing shoulders with, buying from and selling to, other men, than he would if tending the damp meadows in Islemark. On his parents' deaths, two-thirds of their tiny plot of land would become his patrimony. Without proof of the correctness of my diagnosis, it seems permissible to assume that he wanted to experience life from other angles than that of a poor peasant. In the absence of adequate documentation, a chronological account of cause and effect is difficult to present. Reversal of the British Corn Laws, the wave of political Liberalism which, in 1848, had swept Europe, the introduction in Denmark, in 1849, of the Constitutional Monarchy, the concentration in Copenhagen of the corn exports to England, all are factors which may have played their part. And, from the 15th April, 1854, two months before Morfar was released from his army service, trading in corn, by peasants or others, no longer required a trading licence (*'Borgerskab'*). On his arrival in Copenhagen from Manchester (1855) Tietgen was one of many who flirted with the idea of entering the corn trade. (*Marius Vibæk: Den unge Tietgen, København 1928, p.184 et seq.*)

But whatever the commodity in which he would trade, Morfar seems likely to have believed that he would need capital. And, until 1857, there was no commercial bank in Copenhagen, from which one could borrow money.

On the 19th February, 1855, his father, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, helped Morfar by executing a first mortgage on his modest property for 500 Rigsbankdaler, in Morfar's favour. By this, he partly anticipated his son's inheritance ; his own, and his wife, Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter's only other compulsory inheritor being Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter (' *Tante Stine* ').

That Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen raised the money for the benefit of his son, is a statement of fact. Whether Morfar wisely invested this money in stock, which he bought and sold at attractive prices, or whether he frittered the cash away by giving unwise credit, or incurring excessive or unnecessary overheads, is anybody's guess. Unlike Tietgen (who was trained as a *Handelsbetjent*), he lacked commercial training and experience and, one suspects, also profit-earning instincts. Having grown up in the country, Morfar in the army, had been used to handling horses and their food. After his army service, he may well have begun trying his hand as a merchant, buying and selling farm products.

Much of the world and certainly, until 1857, in Denmark, most of the 1850s were a boom period. No details of Morfar are included in the Islemark 1855 and 1860 census records of the household of 1856 Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen.

Even in our imagination we cannot hope to follow Morfar's movements and actions as he established contacts and made sales and purchases in the open-air markets of Copenhagen, which he seems likely to have done. In Spring 1856, peace having been concluded after the Crimean War, supplies of Russian corn flooded world markets, aggravated, in 1857, by an excellent American corn harvest. Days of crisis followed. Whether Morfar benefited or suffered is not known to us, but more capital, it seems likely, must have been

1859 claimed to be needed by him. On the 6th July, 1859, his father executed a second mortgage in his favour, this time for 200 Rigsbankdaler. Eighteen months later, on 1861 the 9th January, 1861, a third mortgage was executed by Oldefar, this time for 300 Rigsbankdaler, in favour of Farmer Anders Nielsen, but also secured by Oldefar's guarantee ; once again, Morfar have enabled to increase 1862 his working capital slightly. On the 8th January, 1862, a fourth mortgage, this time for 200 Rigsbankdaler, direct from Oldefar to Morfar, increased the latter's indebtedness to his father to 1200 Rigsbankdaler.

By 1862, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen, who was the owner of the smallholding, was 71, while his wife, Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter, was 74. Still a bachelor, living in Copenhagen, Morfar, was 35. His sister, Barbara Kirstine, who was 37, was living with her husband Christian Henrich Seidelin, 40, their two children, Frederik, 10, Sophie Birgitte, 9, and her love-child, Lars Peter Eriksen, 16, at the property in Islemark with Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen and Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter. But Morfar was still short of money!

On the 19th March, 1862, Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen sold his modest Islemark property (described, by size and quality, according to the new *Matricul*, as 1 Barrel *Hartkorn*, 7 Skæpper, 3 Fjerdingskar and 1½ Album). The purchaser was Oldefar's son-in-law, Christian Henrich Seidelin, and the purchase price 3000 Rigsbankdaler. This was in addition to provision for the maintenance for life of Oldefar Rasmus Pedersen and Oldemor Johanne Larsdatter, on terms of '*Aftægt*.' By way of payment of two thirds of the amount, Christian Henrich Seidelin, *inter alia*, executed a mortgage for 2000 Rigsbankdaler, in favour of Morfar Peder Rasmussen, referred to as "living in Copenhagen."



*By courtesy of
Mrs. Benedicte Pedersen,
my maternal cousin,
Maine (USA),
daughter of
'Moster Bitta.'*

Morfar Peder Rasmussen,
Corn Merchant,
b. 23/5/1827 Islemark
†11/5/1903 Copenhagen.

Probably taken in Copenhagen, most likely after the start of his commercial career in 1855, the photograph shows Morfar as a man of initiative and determination, different from the only other photograph which we have of him from 1890 (p. 473), showing a decaying, old man.

The 2000 Rigsbankdaler was described in lieu of both Morfar's paternal and maternal inheritances. But payment of this amount, less the 1200 Rigsbankdaler he had already received or been guaranteed, could not, it was stated, be claimed by Morfar from Seidelin until after the deaths of both Oldefar and Oldemor. Yet, within four months, on the 4th July, 1862, Morfar must somehow have persuaded Seidelin to raise and pay him the balance of 800 Rigsbankdaler. A deed confirms that, on that date, Morfar gave Seidelin a receipt for the 2000 Rigsbankdaler which eventually would have become his. 1000 Rigsbankdaler would become due to

Barbara Kirstine, from her husband, also after her parents' deaths. To her love-child, Lars Peter Eriksen, who, at his death, was not entitled to any part of Oldefar's estate, payment was promised of a mere 200 Rigsbankdaler.

1864 Morfar evidently remained in Copenhagen, although where and in what capacity he earned his living until 1864/5, we can only guess. In 1862-63, Morfar may have established himself as a wooden patten maker ('*Trætøffelmager*'), in the basement at Adelgade 52, but this by no means is certain. Almost certainly, however, Morfar is identical with the Dealer in Wooden Objects, *Trætøihandler* P. Rasmussen, who in the official printed annual tax record for 1863/64 (*published 20/6/1864*) is recorded as resident at Halmtorvet 63. And this supposition is reinforced by the appearance, the next year, in the 1864/65 edition of the same tax book (*published 23/5/1865*), at the same address, of *Kornhandler* P. Rasmussen. Having dabbled in dealing with wooden objects or clogs Morfar had become a Copenhagen-resident corn merchant. Under that vocational description he married, in 1865, Mormor in Ringsted and, for nearly 40 years, settled with her to a married life during which the couple lived in flats at or near Halmtorvet, the square today known as Raadhuspladsen, one of the principal centres of modern Copenhagen. But for more than fifty years, horses were to remain the principal means of traction in the capital and country of Denmark.

1865

But contact with his home village of Islemark and his relatives living in or near there was never abandoned by Morfar nor his children. Only early in my generation did the break gradually occur.

In 1855, three years after Christian Henrich Seidelin had become Morfar's brother-in-law, in Morfar's absence from Islemark, Seidelin was described as a farm

København V, den 10. marts 1972.

Hr. Find Graucob,
Elland, Yorkshire.

Kære hr. Graucob,

Jeg har eftersøgt Kraks vejvisere fra 1854 til 1865, men kornhandler P. Rasmussen forekommer ikke før end 1865 (på Halmtorvet 63).

Der findes imidlertid nogle trykte skattebøger (der første gang udkom for året 1861/62). I skattebogen for 1864/65 (udsendt 23. 5. 1865) ses kornhandler P. Rasmussen at bo Halmtorvet 63. I skattebogen for 1863/64 (uds. 20. 6. 64) ses Trætothandler P. Rasmussen på Halmtorvet 63. I skattebogen for 1862/63 ses ingen P. Rasmussen på den nævnte adresse.

I vejviserne for 1863 og 64 anføres ingen trætothandler P. Rasmussen, men i Adelgade 52, kælderen, ses en trætoffelbager P. Rasmussen. I skattebogen 1863/64 ses P. Rasmussen ikke i Adelgade 52, men i 1862/63 (udsendt 23. 7. 1863) står han der som trætoffelbager, og i 1861/62 (uds. 28. 7. 62) som trætoffelbager og grønthandler.

Så holder skattebøgerne op, og i vejviserne fra 1862 og bagud har jeg ikke fundet nogen grønthandler, trætoffelbager el. lign. P. Rasmussen. Desværre har han nok ikke holdt til i Adelgade 52 så langt tilbage som til folketællingen i februar 1860 (i rigsarkivet) - chancen er i hvert fald meget lille. Endelig er det jo heller ikke helt sikkert, at det er Deres P. Rasmussen i Adelgade. Til de nævnte næringsveje udkrævedes ikke borgerkab.

Det er lidt småt, men det er alt, hvad jeg har at byde på.

Mange venlige hilsener,

Deres

Jeppe Rasmussen

Fuldmægtig Jeppe Rasmussen, of Københavns Stadsarkiv, explains how, from Copenhagen Taxation Records, he has tried to locate the address and occupation of Morfar from 1861 to 1865, i.e. before his marriage. 18/11/1865, to Mormor. His conclusions are briefly :

- a) Residing at Halmtorvet 63, Morfar, in 1865, started trading as a corn merchant before he married Mormor.
- b) Earlier, probably in 1864, Morfar had, however, commenced trading from Halmtorvet 63 as a dealer in wooden objects.
- c) There is a possibility that, at a quite different address, viz. Adelgade 52, he may, in 1862, have started as a wooden patten dealer and greengrocer.

labourer. But nothing indicates that, between 1855 and 1862, Morfar resented the presence in Islemark of his sister's husband. And, in 1865, at Morfar's wedding in Ringsted, Christian Henrich Seidelin acted as his best man.

Born in Ringsted, on the 14th March, 1837, the youngest daughter of Herman Fabius Pedersen, the mail coach contractor and his wife, Stine Sørensdatter (referred to in the Thirteenth Chapter), Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia Pedersen was the girl whom, on the 18th November, 1865, Morfar married in Sct. Bendts Kirke in Ringsted, and who was my Mormor.

When, and where, Mormor and Morfar met, we cannot say. Nor do we know their attraction to one another. In youth Mormor had a well-shaped figure, but her thin-lipped, facial appearance mirrored perhaps her economical nature and behaviour pattern. Morfar's more sensuous lips, inherited by Mor, tell of a more generous nature, but perhaps partly explain his life-long lack of commercial success. (Judging by the character and behaviour of his only son who survived to adulthood, and whom I have known well, 'Morbror' (*Herman Remvig* 1873-1962), and assuming that he resembled his father), Morfar seems also likely to have been a gay, *insouciant* charmer.)

Brought up in the small, ancient, market town of Ringsted, Mormor may have had no social ambitions, and she certainly was no intellectual. But she was the granddaughter of the mentally restless *Degn* in Toksværd, Henrich Petersen, and all her children, as they grew up in Copenhagen, received the very best education available. The four whom I knew were all mentally alert, inquisitive and knowledgeable.

Before marriage, we know that Morfar lived at Halmtorvet 63¹, and for a short while after his marriage

U D S K R I F T

af

kontraministerialbogen for Ringsted købstad - vielser 1865-1891
fol.1.

C o p u l a r o d e

A a r 1 8 6 5

Nr.	13.
Brudgøttens Navn, Alder, Haandtering og Upholdssted.	Ungkerl, Kornhøndler Peter Rasmussen af Kjøbenhavn - 38 Aar gl.
Brudens Navn, Alder, Haandtering og Upholdssted.	Jomfru Birgitte Sophie Adewine Olivia Petersen - 28 Aar gl.
Hvem Forloverene ere.	Parcellist C. H. Seidelin af Kjøbenhavn. Vognmand H. Petersen af Ringsted.
Vielses-Dagen.	Den 18 ^{de} November 1865.
Om Vieslen er forrettet i Kirken eller Hjemme.	i Kirken.
Anmærkninger.	Lystes den 29. Oktober 1865 -"- 5. November s.å. -"- 18. s.K.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 20. marts 1972

Niels Rindholt
Niels Rindholt, konsulent

Certificate of marriage of Morfar and Mormor in Ringsted,
on the 18th November, 1865.

to Mormor, this may have combined their dwelling and
his business address, in the trading centre of Copenhagen.
Tradition has it that two miscarriages happened before
their first child, Johanne, was born on the 8th August,
1869.



*By courtesy of my sister,
Fru Eva Heede.*

Still childless, Mormor and Morfar, about 1867, indulged in the modest luxury of having this photograph taken in Copenhagen. Could it have been to celebrate, on the 14th March, 1867, my slim-waisted Mormor's 30th birthday? If so, Morfar would be nearly 40.

(Undated, the photo by Emil Møller, Nygåde 2, København, must have been taken between 1864 and 1869. The name and address of the photographer (handwritten by him on the back of the print) appear only in Kraks Vejviser in the years between 1864 and 1869.)

The decision, before his marriage in 1865 by my far from well-to-do Morfar to switch from agricultural production to trading in cereals, in principle, was both sound and well-timed. After the severe Danish agricultural crisis of 1818-28, Danish agriculture, from about 1830 to the late 1870s, enjoyed a long period of prosperity. Influenced by several factors, including, in



By courtesy of Bymuseet.

For 25 years (1865-90) Morfar's business activities were centred on Halmtorvet ('Haymarket'), just inside the ramparts at the Western Gate of the City, where peasants were allowed to stand with their wagons.

Some of the houses in which Morfar, Mormor and their children lived, and which are listed below, are shown. (Pulled down about 1908, their sites are now occupied by the Palace Hotel.) No. 65 (The very narrow two-windowed centre building): 1865. No. 75 (To the extreme right (not included in picture)): 1866-69. 'Jone' was born there in 1869. No. 61 ('Kaffebrønderi') in the centre: 1870-73. Bertha was born there in 1871. Farvergade 4 (not shown): 1874-75. (1874; Also private address: Lavendelstræde 16, where Herman was born in 1873.) No. 67 (The large house to the right (Basement and 2nd floor)): 1876-90.

Hans Christian, b. 1875, Birgitte, b. 1877, Marie, b. 1879.

1846, the repeal of the British Corn Laws, England for the next 30 years became the chief market for Danish-grown corn. From 1830 to 1870 the population of Europe, partly as the result of growing industrialization, increased by 40%. Between 1828 and 1877, the price of corn doubled. From 1865 to 1877, Morfar should have prospered, but obviously had neither the instinct nor approach of a true merchant.

In 1877 the fourth, and last but one, surviving child, Birgitte, was born, Hans Christian, born 1875, having died in 1876. That was the year when world prices for agricultural products, but in particular for corn, tumbled! The low prices were largely caused by the improvement of long-distance transport. Completion of railroads across the North American prairies and the Russian steppes, combined with technical progress in the field of shipping, reduced the cost of transport from distant growers to European consumers. Prices sagged; middlemen, such as Morfar, unless brilliantly prescient, courageous, or enterprising, suffered.

Mor, the youngest of her parents' surviving five children, was born in 1879, after the tail end of the long Danish period of agricultural prosperity, the benefit of which, however, never seems to have extended to the Rasmussen family. At the time of Mor's birth, Morfar was 52, while Mormor was 42. No wonder that, later in life, Mor referred to both her parents as always having appeared to her beyond middle age.

Three months before Mor's birth, Christian *Hendrik* Seidelin, *Jordbruger*, Tante Stine's husband, referred to as a *Dannebrogsmand*, died from typhus, 56 years old.

At Morfar's and Mormor's wedding in Ringsted in 1865, Seidelin, it will be recalled, had acted as Morfar's best man, and Morfar probably felt beholden to his widowed sister. At the death of her husband and breadwinner, ownership of the smallholding in Islemark

passed to her and her two legitimate children, Frederik and Sofie, both well over 18 years of age. My grandparents in Halmtorvet, and their five children, including my infant mother, who was born on the 9th July, 1879.

LANDSARKIVET FOR SJÆLLAND M. M.

U D S K R I F T

af

kontradsåbeprotokol for Vor Frue kirke i København 1876-1880

fol.243

F ø d t e Q v i n d e k i s n

Nr.	160
Aar og Datum	1879 9. Juli
Barnets fulde Navn	Marie Henrica Rasmussen
Daabens Datum enten i Kirken eller Hjemme.	31. August 1879
Forældrenes Navn, Stand, Haandtering og Bopæl.	Rasmussen, Peter, Kornhandler Hustru Sofie Birgitte Adamine Olivia Petersen, Halmtorv 67 (42)
Faddernes Navn, Stand og Opholdsted.	Enke Åne Jensen "etailhandler Petersen Forældrene
Anmærkninger	Debt af Pastor Paulli

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes
Landsarkivet, København, den 15. april 1971

Riis Rickelt
Riis Rickelt
registrator

Christening certificate of Mor, Marie Henrica Rasmussen, b. 9/7/1879 Copenhagen, †19/7/1963 Esbønderup, m. 1st time, 3/1/1902 to Far, *Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graucob*, b. 28/7/1868, †6/6/1910, 2nd time m. 22/3/1927, Hillerød, to Andreas Davidsen, b. 15/2/1860. †25/1/1941.



Birgitte Rasmussen and
Marie Rasmussen ('Mor').
1882, when they were five and
three years old.

may have been financially hard pushed. On the 31st August, 1879, Mor was christened in Vor Frue Kirke in Copenhagen by Pastor Pauli. Her second peculiar christian name, *Henrica*, was evidently intended to commemorate her mother's late brother-in-law. On the 13th November, 1879, when Mor was a mere five months old (her three sisters and one surviving brother being all less than eleven), the 23-year-old Sophie Birgitte *Sejdelin* of Islemark was married in Rødovre Kirke to the 24-year-old Milking Tenant, Christian Theodor Larsen. The price of the modest Islemark property, which, most likely for legal reasons, was *purchased* by the bridegroom from 'Tante Stine' and her children, was fixed at a mere 10,400 *Kroner*.

In the Rødovre Church Book Morfar is stated to have given away the bride, but this, we learn, was

done *by proxy*. Cost of attending the wedding at Rødovre Church, seven kilometres from Halmtorvet, must have seemed excessive. Since his own marriage, in 1865, this was the one occasion when Morfar was described as a retailer ('*Detailhandler*'), no doubt due to his ownership of the basement shop at Halmtorvet 67.

In 1884, when fire destroyed the nearby royal palace of Christiansborg Castle (3/10/1884), the Rasmussen family were still living at Halmtorvet 67. With many other volunteers, Morfar, at the age of 57, took part in salvaging much of the furniture and other movable contents of the palace.

Unlike agriculture in some other West European countries, farmers in Denmark, by instinct or adaptability, in the 1880s escaped relatively lightly the effects of the world-wide agricultural crisis. Rapidly, they switched from production of corn to that of animal products. But my poor, unenterprising Morfar continued to confine himself to trading in corn, although whether on commission or, on his own account. I do not know. Only in the late 1890s did prices of corn begin to recover. (*Summarized on the basis of Erling Olsen: Danmarks økonomiske historie siden 1750, Copenhagen 1967, p. 54 et seq.*)

By the late 1890s Morfar's children's childhood was past and their formal education largely complete, while Morfar, at least since 1889, had been ailing.

Dated the 29th August, 1889, in a letter to 'Moster Bitta' and Mor, who were absent from Copenhagen on holiday (in ? Gørslev), 'Moster Jone' wrote: "Daddy, who is deadly pale and ailing, is daily running round to (?) Aunty." ("*Far er ligbleg og gaar og skranter og render til (?) Tante hver Dag.*")



*By courtesy of my sister,
Fru Eva Heede.*

The three eldest of the surviving children of Morfar and Mormor, presumably about 1876 : Herman, Bertha and 'Jone.'

*(Photo by H. J. Barby, Gl.
Kongevej 178, Copenhagen V. No. 18019.)*

The erratic, downward movements of corn prices must have been reflected in Morfar's and Mormor's income and mode of life, little as I know about these, except by inference. For almost all the years from their marriage in 1865, until Morfar's death in 1903, my grandparents' addresses, at flats at or near Halmtorvet, were also where Morfar's business headquarters were. (*Refer to Table No. 18, Fifteenth Chapter.*) Only at three addresses during the years 1874-90 were there basements for storage in addition to the flat, in two cases being in the same building.

Tradition has it that before her marriage, at the age of 28, in 1865, Mormor permanently damaged her eyesight by making her bridal outfit by candlelight. Long after her marriage she maintained similar standards of frugality. After the monthly laundering process, she would rinse the family's linen in unheated water, in the open courtyard, before drying and ironing it upstairs. Yet my impression of the parents' and children's lives is that they were far from joyless. Within walking distance of their home, 'Moster Bitta' and Mor, and no doubt also the other children went swimming with Mormor in the harbour, at Kalvebod Strand. Owing, I suspect, to Mormor's enterprise and economical sense, all four daughters received the best humanistic and intellectually satisfying education of its period, at the Komtesse Moltkes Pigeskole, then lying at Linnégade, in the same building as Nat. Zahles Skole, in prestige and scholarship equal to the Danish version of Roedean.

In 1887, when, for the previous ten years, corn prices had been on the downgrade, the almost inevitable celebrations of the confirmations of Bertha and Herman (born, respectively, in 1871 and 1873) were telescoped into a double-event, on the 2nd October. The reason, we may assume, was one of economy.

Of the letters of their childhood, from one of the children to the others, only one has survived, viz. that from 'Jone,' the eldest daughter, written shortly after her twentieth birthday to Birgitte and Mor, who were twelve and ten years old. Neatly written, on elegant, brown-tinted notepaper, the letter incorporates in the top left-hand corner a bouquet of field flowers, printed in red and green. Translated into English, the letter reads:—

Copenhagen,
29th August, 1889.

'Dearest Children,

'A thousand thanks for your sweet letters. 'Nisen's letter was a bit wild, but she 'is also a tomboy. Gys, I want to tell you, we 'don't use any more. We cannot have them in 'a proper business, not a single one.

'Birgitte writes very sensibly but must not 'forget, or eat, half of her words. Well, you can 'hear I am critical but this is how one has to 'make one's living. (Johanne was training to become a compositor.)

'I am sitting in a tremendous fragrance 'of flowers. The whole house abounds 'in flowers. I was literally bombarded with 'them, not only with peasant roses, but with the 'finest yellow and dark-red roses and violets, and '16 letters. That was not bad, was it? And 'then I had the pleasure to receive a very elegant 'dark-red bow from two absent, young ladies, for 'which I thank you most humbly. You can 'imagine that, wearing a sailor's collar, I acted 'the part in the Circus. Red bow and yellow 'roses. There were no narrow passages there.'

'In the afternoon, Anna Poulsen called and I 'saw her home and talked a little with her through 'their telephone. What fun it was! Father is 'not at all well, he looks as pale as a corpse and 'is ailing and, every day, runs to Aunty. Do you 'understand? Then we are very quiet.

'Last Sunday, Petersens invited me for a trip 'to Skodsborg. Believe me, it was a lovely ride. 'We jolted all along with the steam tramcar. 'Just as it was there, it wasn't there, and yet it 'was there all the same. That mouthful you 'people from the country do not know, but

*'here it is the very latest. Can you teach this
'to Maren Christensen? But it has to be done
'quickly, you understand.*

*'Dare I ask, when the esteemed ladies are
'coming home? We thought you had informed
'us of your arrival yesterday, but perhaps you
'don't return at all, you little roamers!*

*'On Sunday, we are going to Thorsslunde, so
'you may well stay away. They hardly want
'to have turned over another haystack.*

*'Will you tell Lars Christensen that Uncle
'Niels has 50 brood mares for sale from 2-500
'Kroner?*

*'I have no more news but send love from
'Father, Mother and me to our small holiday-
'makers. One very tiny 'gys' for each of you.*

From yours

Johanne.

*'Give my regards to Lars Christensen, the
'other Maren and her father.*

*'Take these stamps up to Lassens and change
'them, as we cannot send the money. You must
'in no way ask Maren for the 4 Kr.'*

The only surviving son, Herman, graduated, in 1891, from the premier boys' day school in Copenhagen, the Metropolitanskolen at Frue Plads. Until, in 1898, he obtained his medical degree, he continued to live at home. The passing of his exams by Herman must have been an event of immeasurable pride to both parents, but in particular to my determined and self-sacrificial Mormor. To save cost, Mormor is credited with having sewn by hand the formal black suit necessary for Herman to wear at the examinations. For the same reason, she is also



*By courtesy of my sister, Fru Eva Heede,
and my maternal cousin, Johannes Raage.*

Johanne Rasmussen ('Moster Jone').

Mor's eldest sister who became a compositor died shortly after the birth of her second child. Her only extant letter reveals a sweet and lovable personality. b. 8/8/1869 †15. 3/1904, m. 9/3/1899 Mads ('Laurids') Jensen.

reputed to have learned French laundering. This enabled him repeatedly to appear in spotlessly white, starched shirts and collars, on such occasions considered *de rigueur*.

Of the four daughters, the name of the eldest, 'Jone,' appears in the 1892 edition of Kraks Vejviser as that of

a compositor ('*Typograf*'), resident at the parental flat in Vandkunsten. Bertha, No. 2, early qualified as a certificated teacher, but until her marriage in 1905, she continued to live at home, no doubt contributing more than her share to the slender family income. Excellent as the primary education no doubt had been at Komtesse Moltkes Pigeskole the two youngest daughters, 'Moster Bitta' and Mor, gained knowledge only by means of simple clerical jobs.

For the first 25 years of their married life (1865-1890), Morfar and Mormor, with the exception of two years (1874-75), lived in flats at addresses in Halmtorvet ('*Haymarket*'). The *raison d'être* for their home there was Morfar's trade as a corn merchant.



*Photograph by Central Atelieret,
Amagertorv 10, Copenhagen K.*

Two restless tomboys.

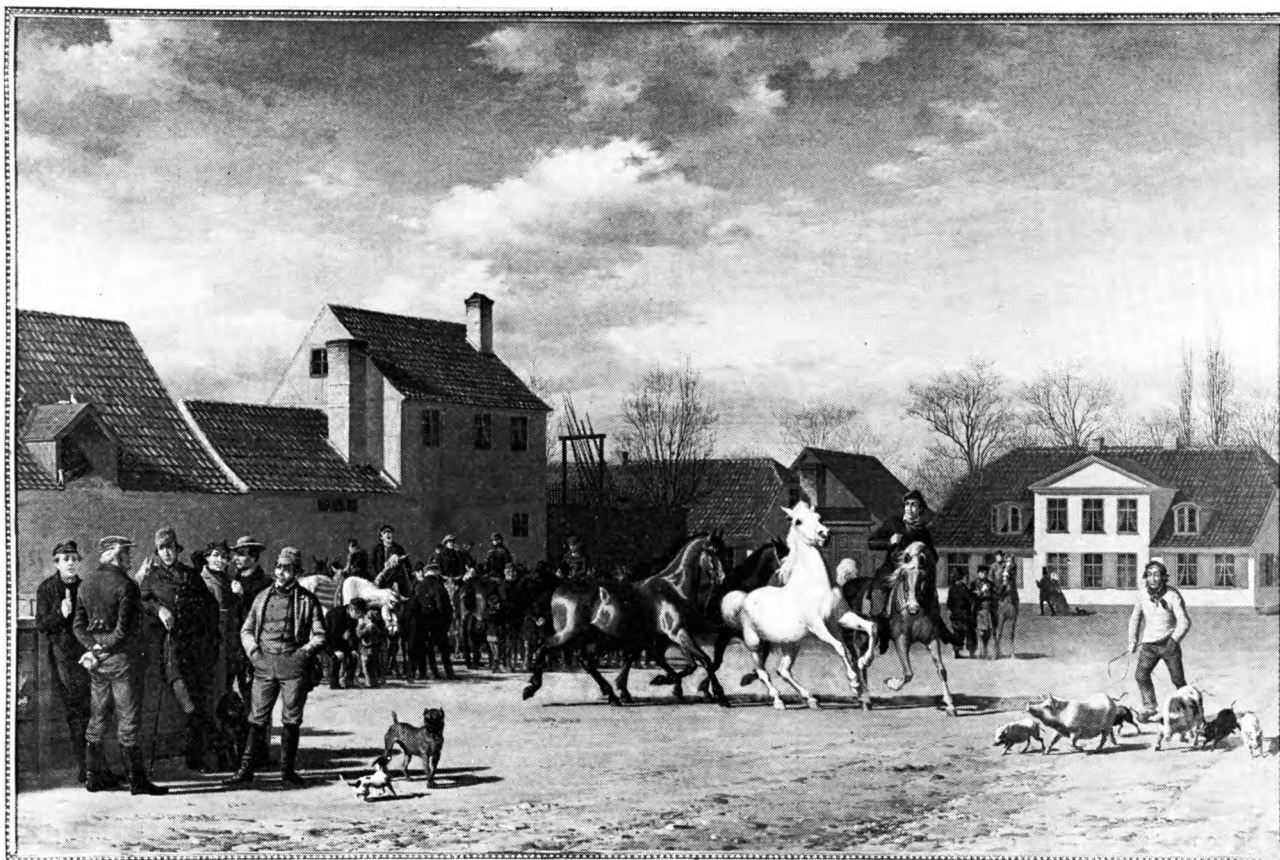
'Moster Bitta' and Mor, probably about 1889, when they were 12 and 10. Then, and later, they were often referred to, and addressed, by their nicknames of 'Drengen' and 'Nisen.' Note the lips of the former are reminiscent of Mormor's narrow lips. Mor's more sensuous mouth resembles Morfar's.



*By courtesy of the Royal Library,
Picture Section. (Photo No. 37,593.)*

This was the view, which in 1885, Mor at the age of six saw when looking towards her home at Halmtorvet 67.

(In the foreground, on Gyldenløves Bastion, is the windmill of Sct. Lucia, colloquially known as 'Lussemøllen.' The site, today, is occupied by the City Hall of Copenhagen.)



By courtesy of Bymuseet.

The Trommesalen Horsemarket facing Gl. Kongevej, now Vesterbrogade 10, in the centre of Copenhagen, oil painting done 1858, by Carl Bøgh.

In similar markets, in purchase and sale of grain. Morfar, as a corn merchant, must have spent most of his working life from 1854 to 1896.

Peasants, when they came to town, were permitted to stable their horses and vehicles in the square, just inside the ramparts adjoining the site of the original Western Gate. But starting in 1870 changes necessitated the removal of Morfar and Mormor after 1890. For many reasons the age from 1870 was a period of explosion. Until 1887, Vandkunsten was known as 'The Flea Market.' Even before then, changes had taken place, when the Western Gate was pulled down in 1857. After the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, other European capitals followed suit with similar exhibitions, including two, in, 1872 and 1888, in Copenhagen. Peasants' trade in hay and corn in Copenhagen was no longer permitted on its old site. The building of the new (present) City Hall necessitated re-christening of the square from Halmtorvet to Raadhuspladsen (8/10/1893).

The nearby, much smaller, square of Vandkunsten ('*Loppetorvet*') was no adequate substitute for the old Halmtorvet. From 1899 peasants were permitted only to feed and water their horses there. Corn trading not being permitted at Vandkunsten, however, what was the purpose of my grandparents' settling, with their five children, at Vandkunsten (1891-96) in a second floor flat, far from the new (*present*) Halmtorvet? Advantages, of which we are not aware, may have included connivance by the authorities enabling Morfar to trade with occupiers of vehicles temporarily in the small square.

Absence, at the Vandkunsten property, of any basement stock room (the first time, since 1874, that this had been missing in any house partly occupied by Morfar and Mormor) indicates that, about 1890, a serious shrinkage is almost certain to have occurred in Morfar's profits. In the letters from the Vandkunsten period (1891-96), included in the fifteen letters written over some eighteen years (1894-1912) by Mormor to Mor,



*(Photographs by Stratbocker, Frederiksberggade
21, Kjøbenhavn.)*

Morfar Peder Rasmussen, Corn Merchant
(‘Kornhandler’), b. 23/5/1827 Islemark
(Rødovre Parish), chr. 29/7/1827 Rødovre,
†6/5/1903 Vesterbrogade 25Bb^{II}, Copenhagen,
m. 18/11/1865 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted,
Mormor Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia
Pedersen.

*This photograph (and that on page 474
of Mormor) were probably taken 1890, to
celebrate the silver wedding of my maternal
grandparents.*

Mormor significantly, once or twice, refers to “the dreadful heat and flies.” One can almost sense the smelly and stifling atmosphere of the stuffy little rooms, in which six or seven people lived, slept, cooked, ate, urinated and entertained, while four or five of them also studied, or did their homework. In winter, for reasons of economy, only one room is likely to have been heated



Mormor Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia Pedersen, b. 14/3/1837 Ringsted, chr. 14/6/1837 Sct. Bendts Kirke. Ringsted, †24/8/1918 Holmegaard, Brøndbyvester, buried 29/8/1918 Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen, Row 4, No. 22, m. 18/11/1865 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, Morfar Peder Rasmussen.

by a coke-fired black stove. Illumination would be by gas, inefficient oxygen-consuming paraffin lamps, or candles.

Throughout life, Mor was an unconscious actress, as well as a devoted worshipper of the stage, although she mixed sometimes the Church of Denmark with its prominent preachers. During the Vandkunsten years, she and 'Moster Bitta' became acquainted with the brothers of Adam and Johannes Poulsen, their contemporaries, who lived at nearby Ny Kongensgade 10, and later both became famous and successful as actors at the Royal Theatre.

None of the five children married while the family lived in the flat at Vandkunsten 5^{II}. Mormor's irritable dislike of 'Moster Jone's' future husband, the ambitious and industrious Junior Tax Official is, however, evident from her consistent references to him only by his surname of Jensen. Records of the lives during this period, of my maternal grandparents and their children indicate, however, an undercurrent of gay, happy contentment and enjoyable social life. The number of visitors, to Morfar's sister 'Tante Stine' (? at Islemark), on her birthday in August, are reported by Mormor, in



*Photo by A Chr. Lassen,
Østergade 42, Kjøbenhavn K.*

Mor (i.e. Marie Henrica Rasmussen), at her confirmation, the 18th March, 1894, aged 14½.

a letter to Mor, one year in the 1890s, to be no less than thirty, including Morfar, herself, Morbror and 'Moster Bitta'; in another year, 1894, there were only (!) 23 visitors! "Even better" (Mormor's own phrasology), however, for consumption by the visitors there were well-nigh unlimited quantities of raspberries. I have been unable to trace any letter from Morfar; in a letter to Mor, probably written about 1895, she affectionately referred to her ailing, ineffectual husband by his nickname of '*Pelle*.'

In 1896, when Morfar was 69, the family again moved to another flat, this time at Vesterbrogade 25B b^{II}. Away from the Old City, this was nearer the new Halmtorvet. The removal may also have heralded the end of Morfar's active business life. But how could the ageing corn merchant retire, not having accumulated any revenue-producing capital? The last twenty years of his life must have been an exhausting period for him and Mormor.

The holy cow of their lives must have been the studies, leading to qualification for his medical degree of their only son, Morbror Herman. Old age pension legislation was introduced in 1891, but for many years payment of old age pension was subject to a means test, to which I feel sure that someone of Mormor's mental make-up, in common with many others at that time, would not have submitted. How did my grandparents get through those difficult years? Only the two eldest children, 'Moster Jone' and 'Moster Bertha,' during the years 1889-99, are likely to have had earning power in excess of their own necessities. A tribute is due to 'Moster Bertha' for her generosity and self-discipline during these and later years.

The marriage, on the 8th March, 1899, at nearly 30, of the brilliant 'Moster Jone' to 'Onkel Laurids,' one suspects, socially must have been a modest affair. Though authenticated, and carried out, by a clergyman within the parish in which the bride and her parents were resident, the wedding, no doubt to save expense, took place at Sct. Marie Church Hall. Worse from a financial point of view, was the fact that within ten months. 'Moster Jone,' 24/1/1900, gave birth to her first child, Agnete. Morfar's and Mormor's prospective income was thus further reduced.



*By courtesy of my
maternal cousin.
Mrs. Benedicte Pedersen,
Maine (USA).
'Moster Bitta'
(Birgitte Ryum).
Probably 1900.*

The 1896 removal of the family to the other flat at 1896
Vesterbrogade 25 Bb^{II}, may have had several causes and
implications. More modern, the flat is likely still to
have been modest in lay-out, fittings and the rent
payable. (The marriage of 'Moster Jone,' in 1899, from
the same garden block of backyard flats as that in which

the other members of the family lived, reveals that she was resident on the 1st floor, while her parents' address was that of a flat on the 2nd floor.) Not until the 1902 edition of Kraks Vejviser was published, however, did Morfar become reduced by description to a 'former' corn merchant (*'fhv. Kornhandler'*).



Shortly before her marriage, Mor at Prinsessestien, Kgs. Lyngby about 1900, at the age of 20, with Martha Riisc, later married to Jens Ludvigsen.

The announcement, on the 12th of May, 1901, of the engagement of '*Nisen*,' (my mother), youngest of the five children, to Bernhard Graucob (my father), her older suitor, was obviously a delightful surprise to most of Mor's relatives and friends, except to hesitant or unsuccessful admirers. The wedding and the celebrations in Copenhagen, attended by both the bride's and groom's parents (from Svendborg), were likely to have been modestly elaborate, but no doubt the cost was largely defrayed by my apparently affluent father. Deeply in love with his lovely young bride, Mor, the youngest of the children, was seemingly her father's

U D S K R I F T

af

vielseprotokollen for St. Matthæus sogn i København 1898-1902,
fol. 315

Æ g t e v i e d e - 1902 -

No.	416
Brudgomens fulde Navn.	Unckarl Gas- og Vandmester, Son af Skomager Johan Frederik Justus Graukop, Hustru Andersine Vilhelmine Hybel af Svendborg 29. Juli 1868. Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graukop. Nørrebrogade 120 33
Brudens fulde Navn	Pigen, Datter af Kornhandler Feder Rasmussen, Hustru Sofie Brigitte Adamine Olivia Petersen er født Kjøbenhavn 9. Juli 1879 Marie Henrica Rasmussen Vesterbrogade 250,2
Førlovernes fulde Navn, Stilling og Bopæl.	Brudg. Fader Brud. Fader.
Naar Tillyeningen bestilt?	7 December 1901 8 "
Vielses Dagen.	1902 3. Januar.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.

Landsarkivet, København, den 15. april 1971

Niels Richardt
Niels Richardt
registret

The certificate of Far's and Mor's marriage which took place in
Copenhagen, on the 3rd January, 1902.

*(Both Far's and Farfar's surnames are misspelled in the original
Low German manner. Also both addresses are incorrectly quoted.)*

favourite. On the 3rd January, 1902, at Mor's parish
church, Sct. Matthæus Kirken in Copenhagen, Morfar
gave Mor away in marriage. She arrived at the church
in a carriage drawn by two white horses, carrying a

1903 bouquet of lillies of the valley. As host at the wedding party, it must have been the last major physical effort of my poor, old, financially unsuccessful Morfar, who obviously was mortally ill. Gay, rhymed songs, written for the wedding, no doubt by Morbror Herman, I still find myself humming in my bath. On the 16th November, 1902, I was born in Copenhagen, but though Morfar's first male grandchild, he saw me only once, and was not present at my christening, on the 4th January, 1903. He is said to have expressed surprise at my unusual first Christian name. Dying at the age of 76, at his home in Copenhagen on the 6th May, 1903, when I was less than six months old, he was buried at Vestre Kirkegaard, on the 11th May, 1903.

The value of Morfar's and Mormor's common estate, revealed by Mormor on the 9th May, 1903, to the Probate Official, was a mere 100 Kroner, plus an inadequate funeral payment of a similar amount (p.483.)

In July, 1903, two months after she had been widowed, Mormor, with her sister 'Moster Medalje,' spent a holiday at Højslev in Jutland. Morbror Herman, who, on the 11th February, 1898, had qualified for his medical degree, the previous year (1/10/1902), had married his maternal cousin, Tante Anna, as his first wife, having practised in Jutland as a *locum*, and later in Højslev, October 1902—May 1905, as a general practitioner. As Mor was pregnant with me, there was evidently disagreement on the part of my parents, whether to attend the wedding of Morbror Herman and Tante Anna.

On Mormor's return to Copenhagen, dependent for her modest requirements upon the support of her children, Mormor, until they married in 1905 and 1906, lived with her daughters, 'Moster Bertha' and 'Moster Bitta,' at flats in the villa district of Frederiksberg,

Translation from Danish of a post card is below, sent on the 2nd September 1910, to Mor, Fru Marie Graucob, at Vintappervej 10 in Kgs. Lyngby, by Mormor, at the age of 73, less than three months after Far's death :

'G.K.

'Dear Marie,

'The cruel Death has once again stricken us, and called Bertha's little Boy away, and even if his end was premature they loved him fervently and are very grieved. He will be buried tomorrow at one o'clock from the Chapel and be placed in Father's Grave from the Hospital. They will not let any of Olsen's Family know.

'And think what great sorrow it is that Gerda has to go into the Hospital as soon as there is Room. The inflammation of the Bladder will not cease and she has much Fever, but she is only happy that she has to go there.

'It is really a pity that I write to you so sadly, dear Mie, but you will get to know it all the same. I hope that you are all well, be all kindly greeted from Mor. When you need my Help, write.'

U D S K R I F T

af

Københavns skiftekommissions forseglings og registreringsprotokol

1903- 1.afd. L.

N - Ø

Prot. 3 A, pag. 157

Aar 1903 den 9. Maj blev der af Skiftekommissionen ved Fuldmægtig Brock Hansen og Skifteskriveren ved cand.jur. L. Dobber med Betjent Sørensen afholdt Skifte:

240

paa Skiftekontret efter Kornhandler Peter Rasmussen, som den 6. ds. er død Vesterbrogade 25, Havehuset 2.Sal.

Medt var Afdødes Enke Sofie f. Petersen, som forklarede at Fællesboet kun ejer nogle Effekter til Værdi 100 Kr. som til- ligemed en Ligkassenhjælp paa 100 Kr. udlagdes hende til Erstat- ning for Begravelsesudgifter til større Beløb.

Brock Hansen Dobber S. Rasmussen
m.f.P.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes
Landsarkivet, København, den 25. februar 1972

Niels Rickelt
Niels Rickelt
registratør

Gebyr: kr. 7.00

This extract from the Journal of the Copenhagen Court of Probate states that the value of the joint estate of Morfar, who died on the 9th May, 1903, and Mormor, his widow, amounted only to 200 Kroner, less than the cost of his funeral.



Bertha Dorthea Rasmussen,
'Moster Bertha.'

14/12/1871—24/1/1940,

m. as his 2nd wife, Søren Andreas Olsen, who changed their surname, 6/1/1913, to Otbøll. Studying to become an elementary school teacher, long before this was common for girls, she was strict of principle and character, but proved her compassion in a practical manner by her help to others, including Mor, my two sisters, and me.

1912 at Monradsvej 21, and at Frederiksberg Allé 43^{II}. From 1906 to 1912, she shared with a woman photographer, Kirstine Høyberg, a neat, but no doubt badly heated and insulated top-floor flat at Gl. Kongevej 128, Havehuset^{III}. In 1912, at 75, she moved again, this time to Falkoner Allé 13. Until her death, in 1918, she lived comfortably there, in a room in this moderately sized flat, which was principally occupied by Moster Bertha, 'Onkel Dajs,' and their only surviving child, Gerda.



*By courtesy of Fru Proprietær Inger Margrethe Marcussen,
née Hansen, owner of Balstrupgaard 1936-64.*

Oldefar's and Oldemor's surviving daughters about 1912: "Moster
Medalje" (Anna) and Mormor (Birgitte Sophie).

(Mormor, although about 75 years of age, being the younger, was
made to stand respectfully, beside her imperious, older sister.)

1918 On the 24th August, 1918, during a holiday at Holmegaard in Brøndbyvester, she died, aged 81, and on the 29th August, 1918, was buried at Vestre Kirkegaard, in the same plot as Morfar. My cousin, Agnete Raage, and I, as the eldest, represented her grandchildren at her funeral, the first one which I had ever attended.

Though I have met all my four grandparents, Mormor was the only of them with whom I have had any real contact. And this was principally during the years 1910-13 when I was aged eight to eleven, while she was aged from 73 to 76.

During the more than fifty years which have elapsed since her death, my assessment of her personality has changed for the better particularly since, in later years, I have re-read and considered the contents of those few letters in my possession which she wrote to Mor. Individually insignificant, collectively they reveal her strength of character, her sense of compassion and humility, coupled with her desire, in their hour of need, to help her children.

Table No. 18. (Fifteenth Chapter.)

Morfar's residential and business addresses in Copenhagen,
1865-1903.

- 1865 : Halmtorvet 63^I (*Matrikelnumre 66 & 67, Vester Kvarter*),
1866-68 : Halmtorvet 75^I (*Matrikelnummer 73, Vester Kvarter*),
1869 : Halmtorvet 75^{III} (*Matrikelnummer 73, Vester Kvarter*),
1870-73 : Halmtorvet 61^{II} (*Matrikelnummer 65, Vester Kvarter*),
1874 : Lavendelstræde 16^I (*Matrikelnummer 88, Vester Kvarter*)
and basement at Farvergade 4 (*Matrikelnummer 121, Vester Kvarter*),
1875 : Farvergade 4^I (*Matrikelnummer 121, Vester Kvarter*)
and basement,
1876-90 : Halmtorvet 67^{III} (*Matrikelnummer 69, Vester Kvarter*)
and basement,
1891-96 : Vandkunsten 5^{II} (*Matrikelnummer 180, Vester Kvarter*),
1897-1903 : Vesterbrogade 25 Bb^{II} (*Matrikelnummer 76A, Udenbys Vester Kvarter*).

Occupational description :

1865-1901 : *Kornhandler P. Rasmussen.*

1902-1903 : *fhv. Kornhandler P. Rasmussen.*
(*formerly Corn Merchant P. Rasmussen.*)

Source :

Kraks Vejviser data extracted by Jeppe Rasmussen.

Sources :*Manuscripts :*

Rigsarkivet :

- 1) Census Record 1860 (Benzonsdal).

Hærens Arkiv :

- 1) Lægdsrullen 1847 for Kjøbenhavns Amt. Rodovre Lægd
- 2) Lægdsrullen 1856 for Staden Kjøbenhavn.
- 3) Letters 27/1/1972, J. Nr. 254-148, and 21/3/1972 re Peder Rasmussen's military service.

Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m. :

- 1) Skøde og Panteprotokol for Kjøbenhavns Amts Søndre Birk, Litra U.U. 1861-65, Fol. 135a & 225b.
- 2) Tilgangslister Kjøbenhavns Lægdsrulle E2992/1855 & F2856/1856.
- 3) Lægdsrulle K, Kjøbenhavn - 1860 I, Peter Islemark, aged 32, dismissed.
- 4) Vielsesprotokollen Sct. Matthæus Kirke, København 1898-1902.
- 5) Københavns Skiftekommissions Forsegling og Registreringsprotokol 1903- 1st AFD. L. N-Ø Prot. 3A, page 157.

Københavns Stadsarkiv :

Letters 25/9/1969 and 10/3/1972, both signed by Jeppe Rasmussen.

Printed :

- 1) Lov af 15. April 1854, dispensing with the need for trading licence for dealing in corn. ('Love og Anordninger,' samlede og udgivne af T. Algreen-Ussing, III Deel. Kjøbenhavn 1855.)
- 2) Skattebogen 1861/62-1864/65. (No title page, but printed copy at Copenhagen City Hall.)
- 3) Kjøbenhavns Vejvisere : 1856 & 1857 Thiesens Enke, 1863-1865 Kraks.

Acknowledgments and Thanks :

To Fuldmægtig Jeppe Rasmussen.

SIXTEENTH CHAPTER :

Morfar's and Mormor's six Children and their remoter Descendants

Summarized facts relating to
Morfar Peder Rasmussen, Mormor Birgitte Sophie Adamine
Olivia Pedersen, and their six children, (who were all christened
in Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen) five of whom survived to
adulthood, married and, in turn, had children.

Morfar Peder Rasmussen, Corn Merchant ('*Kornhandler*'), b. 23/5/1827 Islemark (Rødovre Parish) at *Matrikelnummer* 16 (part of which (Lot No. 13) had been granted his paternal grandfather, Peder Larsen, by the Crown) as a hereditary tenancy 15/1/1798, chr. 29/7/1827 Rødovre, vaccinated: 4/8/1830; conf. 1st Sunday after Easter 1842 Rødovre Kirke. In the 1834, 1840, and 1845 censuses, with his parents and his slightly older sister, Barbara Kirstine Rasmusdatter, he is recorded as living at the parental home at Islemark. In the 1850 census, he was absent on military service, called up, on the 22/6/1850, for 4 years military training and service, as a guards hussar conscript. On active service, he arrived on the 1/1/1851, with 39 other mounted hussars, at Skovby, 5 kilometres West of Flensborg, at the regimental headquarters. With others, he relieved outposts south of Dannevirke, but was not involved in fighting. Arrived, with his regiment, back in Copenhagen, 10/2/1851, but, as a conscript, continued military service until 15/6/1854. At the censuses in 1855 and 1860, no longer shown as resident at Islemark, as a member of the parental household. At the christening, 23/1/1856, Rødovre Kirke, of his sister's child, Sophie Birgitte Seidelin, as a godfather he is described, probably erroneously, as *Jordbruger* (smallholder)

Peder Rasmussen of Islemark. Thenceforth, with one exception in 1879, appears described as a corn merchant ; the first time, 18/11/1865 in Ringsted, at his wedding, †6/5/1903 Vesterbrogade 25Bb^{II} Copenhagen, buried 11/5/1903 Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. Nickname : 'Pelle.'

For details of Mormor and her parents, see Twelfth and Thirteenth Chapters. She was Birgitte Sophie Adamine Olivia Pedersen, b. 14/3/1837 Ringsted, chr. 14/6/1837 Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, †24/8/1918 Holmegaard, Brøndbyvester, buried 29/8/1918 Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. The 1860 Census Record reveals that, five years before her marriage, 18/11/1865, Sct. Bendts Kirke, Ringsted, she was described as a lady's maid ('*Kammerjomfru*'), living at the manor of Benzonsdal, near Thorslunde, where she was employed by Count and Countess Chr. Lerche.

Details of Morfar's and Mormor's addresses, during their long married life in Copenhagen, 1865-1903, are in *Table No. 17 (Fifteenth Chapter)*.

With their children, Morfar and Mormor moved often ; during the 14 years from 1865 to 1879, within very short distances, with their growing family they changed their rented abode (and, seemingly, that of Morfar's business) five times. In 1892, for the first time, appears a separate entry in Kraks Vejviser in the name of '*Moster Jone*' at the Vandkunsten address. In the 1896 issue of the Vejviser, again at the Vandkunsten 5^{II} address, are shown the names of Bertha and Herman, described, respectively, as a teacher and a *stud. med.* Brilliant, both the two eldest, gay girls, were at the top of their forms at school.

Separately in the Fifteenth Chapter are shown Mormor's addresses during her years of widowhood : 1903-1918.

Children :

- 1) Johanne ('*Jone*') Christine Rasmussen, b. 8/8/1869 Halmtorvet (now: *Raadhuspladsen*) 75, *Matrikelnummer* 73, Vester Kvarter, Copenhagen, chr. 12/9/1869, conf. 6/4/1884, *Educ. : Komtesse Moltkes Pigeskole*. 1892. In Kraks Vejviser described as a compositor ('*Typograf*'), resident, with her parents, at Vandkunsten 5^{II}, †15/3/1904 Copenhagen, buried Sundby Kirkegaard, m., as his first

wife, 9/3/1899 Marie Kirkesal, Copenhagen. Mads ('*Laurids*') Lauridsen Jensen changed his surname and that of his three children, 15/3/1913 to Raage. He was b. 4/6/1869 Sdr. Gørding. 11/1/1898: *exum. jur.*, Tax Inspector, †3/2/1924 Bispebjerg.

They had 2 children: Agnete and Johannes. (See below under A) and B).)

As a widower, '*Onkel Laurids*' m., 7/5/1907 Vor Frue Kirke, Aarhus, as his 2nd wife, Freja Hertha Laura Nielsen, b. 6/3/1879 Aarhus. †22/1/1941 Frederiksberg. By her, he had one daughter, Ellen Raage, b. 24/12/1907 Copenhagen, chr. Easter 1908 Brønshøj Kirke.

A) Agnete Raage, b. 24/1/1900 Copenhagen. *Educ.*: Komtesse Moltkes Pigeskole, Student (Zahles Skole) 1919. *Retired* Postmaster. *Unmarried*. Hostrups Have 27^{VI}, DK 1954. Copenhagen V.

B) Johannes Raage, b. 25/1/1904 Copenhagen. Student (Metropolitanskolen) 1922. *Retired* Administrative Taxation Manager ('*Kontorchef, Københavns Skattedirektorat*').

Jesper Brochmandsgade 17 St. Copenhagen N.

m. 1st time: 25/4/1926 Frederiksborg Slotskirke, Mary Julie Nielsen, b. 19/2/1908 Hillerød. Separated 31/8/1927, divorced 11/3/1929. *No issue*.

m. 2nd time: 18/8/1933 Copenhagen City Hall, Oda Lydia Petersen, b. 5/8/1915 Copenhagen. 3 children: Lise, Torben and Hanne.

a) Lise Raage, b. 18/7/1934 Copenhagen, chr. 18/9/1934 Rigshospitalet, m. 2/6/1956 Brønshøj Kirke, *Maskinmester* Georg Knøster, b. 10/7/1924 Aalborg. 2 children:



Agnete and Johannes Raage, maternal cousins. b. 24/1/1900 and 25/1/1904. both in Copenhagen.

- I) Peter Knøster, b. 11/10/1960 Frederiksberg, chr. 11/12/1960 Brønshøj Kirke.
- II) Merete Knøster, b. 3/8/1967 Copenhagen (Sct. Josefs Hospital), chr. 11/2/1968 Brønshøj Kirke.
- b) Torben Raage, b. 15/8/1938 Copenhagen, m. 3 times m. 1st time : 15/10/1957 Brønshøj Kirke. Elise Olsen (called *Karlsen*) b. 2/10/1938 Copenhagen. *3 children :*
- I) Johny Raage, b. 14/1/1958 Brønshøj.
- II) Annette Raage, b. 16/3/1962 Copenhagen.
- III) Susanne Raage, b. 30/9/1964 Copenhagen.
- m. 2nd time : 15/8/1966 Farum Town Hall, Yvonne Møller Larsen, b. (?). *Divorced* 10/7/1968. *No issue.*
- m. 3rd time: 25/10/1969 Sct. Jacobs Kirke, Copenhagen, Maria Agiula, b. 18/5/1943 Valparaiso (Chile). *One child :*
- I) Thomas Raage, b. 16/6/1970 Copenhagen. chr. 18/6/1970 Rigshospitalet.
- c) Hanne Raage, b. 10/4/1947, chr. 10/8/1947 Brorsons Kirken, Copenhagen, *Educ. :* Komtesse Moltkes Pigeskole, Copenhagen. m. 5/12/1964 (?) Copenhagen, Chiko Liang Wong (of Chinese origin), b. 18/8/1943 Copenhagen. *Divorced :* 28/3/1966. Shortly after her divorce, Hanne re-assumed her maiden surname of Raage, her infant daughter Charlotte, also being given permission to revert her mother's surname of Raage. Hanne, later lived with Bjarn Juhl Pedersen, b. 18/12/1934, and has a son by him.
- 2 children :*
- I) Charlotte Raage, b. 2/3/1964 Copenhagen, chr. 24/1/1965 Højelse Kirke, near Køge.

II) Mads Juhl Pedersen, b. 20/9/1973, chr. 27/1/1974
Avedøre Kirke.

- 2) *Bertha* Dorthea Rasmussen, b. 15/12/1871 Halmtorvet
(now : *Raadhuspladsen*) 61, Copenhagen (*Matrikelnummer*
61, Vester Kvarter), chr. 21/1/1872, *conf.* 2/10/1887 (Note :
The date of her confirmation was identical with that of her
2-years-younger brother, Herman. also at Vor Frue Kirke,



*By courtesy of
Fru Eva Heede.*

Soren Andreas Otboll (changed 6/1/1913 his
surname from Olsen), called 'Onkel Dajs,'
Traffic Controller at the Danish State
Railways (DSB) at Copenhagen, Skodsborg,
Gedser, and Næstved. b. 15/2/1873
†26/5/1927, from cancer. m. 1st time
20/5/1898 Anna Hansine Petersen †16/3/1900,
m. 2nd time 13/10/1905 *Bertha Dorthea*
Rasmussen b. 15/12/1871 †24/1/1940. Mor's
elder sister, 3 *children*, of whom only one,
Gerda, survived to adulthood. In 1915, he
tried, in vain, to teach me mathematics.

Their sense of equity and social justice
made them pink in politics long before left-
wing had become fashionable. He was a
regular reader of *Social-Demokraten*. In
their drawing room, one found *Gads Danske*
Magasin, while on the walls were golden-
framed photo portraits of *Georg Brandes* and
J. P. Jacobsen.

Copenhagen.) †24/1/1940 Copenhagen. 1896: In Kraks Vejviser described as 'Lærerinde,' later, for many years, before and after her marriage, employed as a primary school teacher by Frederiksberg Kommune ('Kommunelærerinde') m. 13/10/1905 Taarbæk Kapel (Lyngby Parish), as his second wife, Søren Andreas Olsen



*By courtesy of
Fru Eva Heede.*

Gerda Otthol. *née* Olsen. b. 23/10/1906 Frederiksberg, Copenhagen. †21/8/1966 Frederiksberg, Copenhagen. m. 28/5/1932 Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen. Orla Richard Bruun Bakke, b. 30/12/1899 †7/4/1968. 3 daughters.

Photographed 27th August, 1916.

Our maternal cousin and constant childhood playmate of her contemporaries, my sisters, Eva and Ruth.

(changed their surname, 6/1/1913, to Otbøll) Traffic Controller (DSB), b. 15/2/1873 Brøndbyvesterstrand, †26/5/1927 Sct. Peder's Parish, Næstved, buried 1/6/1927 Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. During their marriage, 'Onkel Dajs' and 'Moster Bertha' lived successively at Copenhagen, Skodsborg, Gedser and Næstved, where, as



*By courtesy of
Fru Ida Rothe.*

Our late maternal cousin, Gerda Bakke, *née* Gerda Olsen, daughter of Moster Bertha, with her eldest daughter, Ida Bakke.

1934.

a civil servant, 'Onkel Dajs' performed his duties at the local railway stations. Previously m., as his first wife, 20/5/1898, Anna Hansine Pedersen (see Table No. 10), b. 28/2/1873 Ringsted; chr. 15/6/1873 Ringsted. She †16/3/1900 Frederiksberg, buried 22/3/1900 Ringsted. No issue by his first marriage.

Of the three children by his 2nd marriage, only Gerda, the eldest, survived to adulthood. She m. Orla Bakke, by whom she had 3 daughters, Ida, Vibeke and Margit :

A) Gerda Otbøll, *née* Olsen, b. 23/10/1906 Frederiksberg, Student (Nykøbing F.) †21/8/1966 Diakonissestiftelsen, Frederiksberg, m. 28/5/1932 Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen, Orla Richard Bruun Bakke, b. 30/12/1899, †7/4/1968, Student (Akademisk Kursus) 1918, *cand. jur.*, 1924, Vice-Director of the State Institution of Life Assurance. ('*Statsanstalten for Livsforsikring.*') Knight, 1st Degree of Dannebrog.

3 daughters :

a) Ida Bakke, b. 9/6/1933 Trinitatis Parish, Copenhagen, Student (Holte), Dental Surgeon, m. 27/6/1956, Søllerød Kirke, Jørgen Rothe, b. 1/10/1932 Copenhagen, Student (Efterslægten), Dental Surgeon.

2 daughters :

I) Kamilla Rothe, b. 21/8/1960 Rigshospitalet, Copenhagen, chr. 6/11/1960 Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen.

II) Nathalie Birgitte Rothe, b. 14/3/1965, Rigshospitalet, Copenhagen, chr. 30/5/1965, Lyngby Kirke.

b) Vibeke Bakke, b. 10/9/1938 Trinitatis Parish, Copenhagen, Student (Holte), *cand. med., consultant child-psychiatrist*, m. 22/9/1962, Søllerød Kirke, René Vejlsgaard, b. 25/2/1937 Nykøbing Sj., Student (Stenhus), *cand. med., consultant clinical microbiologist*, 1968:

Kværkeby d. 16 Juli 1897.

Kære lille Nisen!

Di skal have Tak for Brevet til os; da jeg ikke véd, hvor Resten af dine Brødre er henne, må jeg di nøjes med min Tak og med et Brev fra mig. Jeg vil ikke ulejlige mig med at spørge om de andre, lad dem kinu sejle deres egen Sp. Mon ikke de er rejst til København for at overvære Blikkenslagerenes Generalforsamling? som di måske véd, afholdes den på Tirsday. Hvor kinude Bertha og Birgitte dog rejse hjemmefra, før den var overstået? Det vidner rigtig nok ikke om nogen stor Interesse for det gemene bedste.

Men lad dem nu kinu ligge ude i Gøvelov og kaldes med deres Samvittighed i den Anledning, men di Nisen, bliv på Ekansen til det bedste, svigt ikke Gøjes Far i Farens Strind. Når så Slaget er vundet og Generalforsamlingen havet, så kan

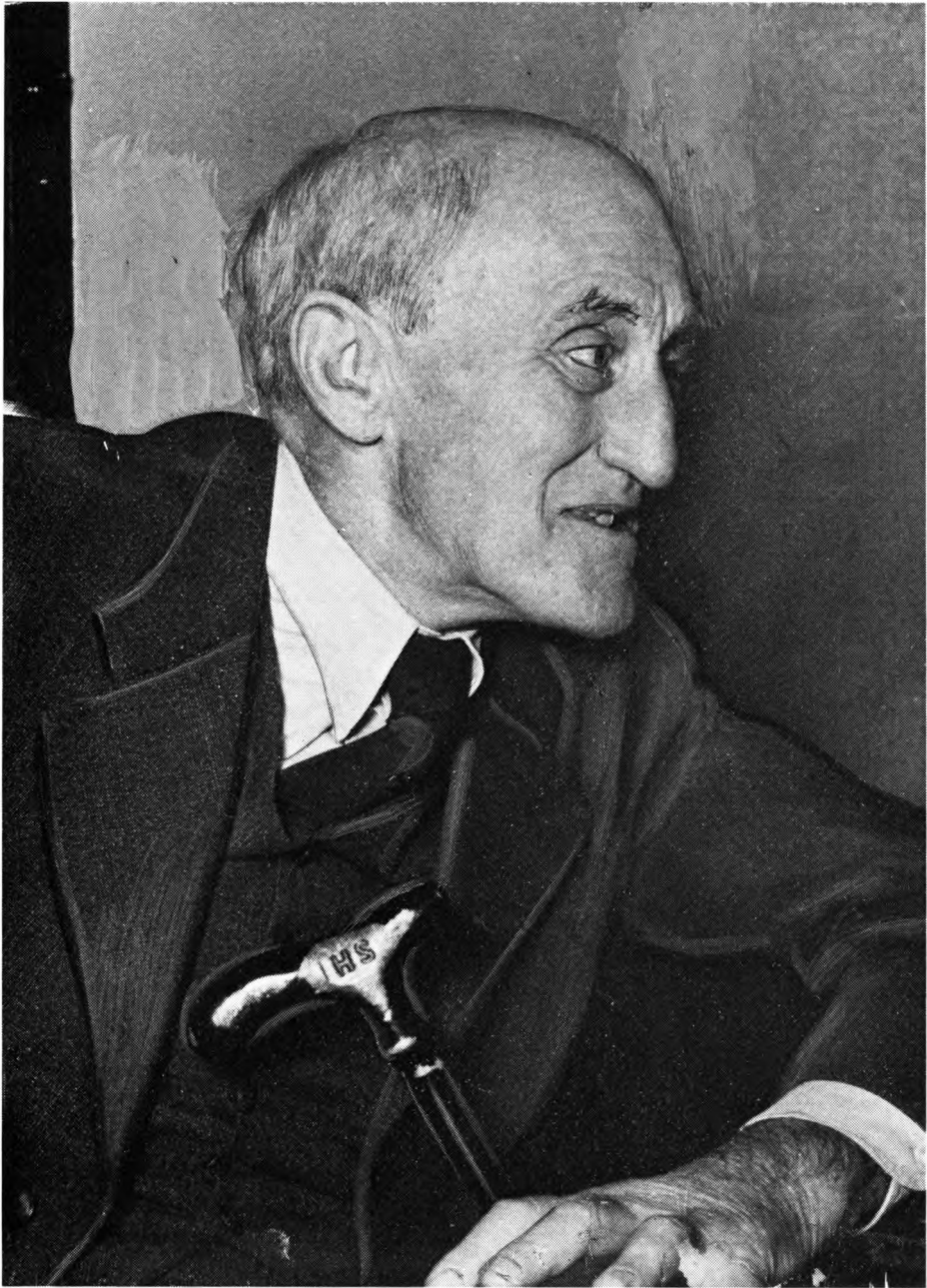
Di med rolig Samvirkethed trøde i den grønne Uniform og lagge dig i Cantonnement inde i Görslöv. Men bræk Rødebrøsten og Traskerne, thi det er vadt Vejr for tiden; og så må di kaste Broen helt af bag dig, ikke tro, at Görslöv er et København en miniaturby, nej se Virkeligheden i Gjennene og forbered dig på Spejesild og Stegefisk, Krimpræll og Hornbalksvalling. Så er di moder til at tage på Landet.

I Dag er det en Uge siden, at alle dine Brødre rejste; di skulde set en Forførelse her, da hele Flokken kom marscherende, men nu er som sagt kun jeg tilbage, så Lindene er allerede faldet lidt til No. Jeg véd godt i Grunden heller ikke, hvor de andre skriver sig fra; i tidligere Tid synes jeg, at jeg altid var ene Hane i Kjøven — når vi da ikke regner Jens Christian og den anden lille uld — hvor er de andre da komne fra? Mon de i Grunden ikke snarere er mine Nerver end mine Brødre? Thi jeg skulde tage meget fejl, om ikke di er Ophavsmand — på Dansk: Moder — til dem, så jeg altså er deres Onkel. Men lad os nu lade dem fare forselvig

og hellere snakke lidt om andre Familiefor-
hold: nu har vi tre Børn her i Kværkeby,
foruden den førstefødte (Johanne) og den
næste (Anna) har vi nu en Stamherre,
en overordentlig brøttet lille Herre med
starkt Anlæg til Coquille. // Som du
ser, er vi nu en stor Familie: først og
fremmest mig, dernæst tre Børn, to
Forældre og to Bedsteførelde: Summa 8.

Og vi har Lærkehund og Katte og Høns
og Heste, Høer, Fliser, Svin og Gæste-
Kammer og Tjenestefolk osv. — hvad
kan man så forlange mere af en vel-
ordnet og velstyrede Gård og Familie?
Nu behøver du vist heller ikke mere,
Farvel min Orne, hils den rigtige Orne
og hvem andre du ser af vore Gattes Be-
kendte — dig selv ikke at forglemme —
fra din Broder.

Characteristic of Morbror Herman, the above hilarious
nonsensical holiday letter was sent to Mor by him from
Kværkeby, near Ringsted, on the 16th July, 1897, on behalf
of himself and his non-existent brothers (p. 497-499) :



· Morbror · Dr. Herman Remvig,
b. 7/11/1873 — †13/11/1962.
80 years of age.



By courtesy of 'Pippa' Remvig.

The day when 'Pippa' made an honest man of Ole !

Ole Remvig, b. 29/7/1910 Haslev, m. 31/12/1937 at Copenhagen City Hall
Graciella ('Pippa') Ida E.nine Ho'msteen, b. 18/3/1914 Copenhagen.

Associate professor in microbiology at the University of Copenhagen, 17/5/1973: *dr. med.* Copenhagen University: *Thesis: Bakteriuri, 2 sons:*

- I) Jørgen *Ulrik* Vejlsgaard, b. 21/10/1966 Sct. Josefs Hospital, Copenhagen (Helligkors Parish), chr. 16/5/1967 Vedbæk Kirke.
 - II) Nikolaj Vejlsgaard. b. 17/12/1971. Sct. Josefs Hospital, Copenhagen (Helligkors Parish). chr. 10/9/1972 Vedbæk Kirke.
- c) Margit Bakke, b. 2/10/1942 Søllerød Parish, Student (Holte). Junior School Teacher (*Lærerinde*), m. 5/4/1963, Søllerød Kirke, Hans Roulund, b. 1/9/1939 Odense. Student (Odense), candidate of forestry (*Forstkandidat*). *3 sons:*
- I) Jonas Roulund, b. 1/8/1963 Sct. Josefs Hospital, Copenhagen (Hellig Kors Parish), chr. 9/2/1964 Johannes Døbers Kirke, Copenhagen.
 - II) Mikkel Roulund, b. 7/8/1968 Gentofte, chr. 10/4/1969 Holte Kirke.
 - III) Andreas Roulund, b. 1/12/1970 Gentofte, chr. 11/2/1971 Holte Kirke.
Solbakken 21, 2840 Holte, Denmark.
- 3) *Herman* Peter Rasmussen (changed his surname, 13/5/1901, from Rasmussen to Remvig), b. 7/11/1873 Lavendelstræde 16, Copenhagen (*Matrike!nummer* 88, Vester Kvarter), chr. 23/11/1873, conf. 2/10/1887 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen. (*Note: Date, year and location of his confirmation identical with those of his 2-years-older sister, Bertha Dorthea*), Student 1891 (Metropolitanskolen), 1896: In Kraks Vejviser described as *stud. med.*, resident with his parents and his sister, Bertha, at Vandkunsten 5^{II}, *cand. med.* 11/2/1898, †13/11/1962 Haslev.
- Adored by Mor, their only traceable *contretemps* seems to have been when she was unwilling to attend his first



By courtesy of my maternal cousin, Grete Jensen.

The Golden Wedding of Dr. Herman Remvig and Gudrun Remvig in Næstved, on the 25th October, 1959.

Back Row : Asger Holbech, 'Pippa' Remvig, Mette Lindgård, Mette Remvig, 'Mia,' Peter Remvig, 'Mor' (Marie Davidsen), Aksel Surland, 'Moster Bitta,' Jens H. Johansen, Gudrun Madié, Jens Ole Johansen, Hanne Surland, Lars Remvig, Ulla Lindgård, Lise Surland.

Centre Row : Ole Remvig, Ellen Lindgård, 'Tante Gudrun, 'Morbror Herman Remvig,' Inger Surland, Grete Johansen, Jørgen Remvig.

Front Row: Mads Remvig, Pernille Remvig.

wedding, possibly because she, always referred to as 'Nisen,' was pregnant with me.

Twice married ; no issue by his 1st wife.

He m., 1/10/1902, Sct. Andreas Kirke, Copenhagen, as his 1st wife, Anna Johanne Dorthea Petersen, who was his maternal cousin. (See Table No. 10.) She, who was b. 5/12/1875 Ringsted, died 1/1/1907 at Norddrach-Colonie, Baden-Schwarzwald (Germany), where he was a physician. After her death, he returned to Denmark, where he settled in Haslev. First attached to the local tuberculosis sanatorium, he soon also took up general practice and for many years acted as a general practitioner.

As his second wife, he m. 25/10/1909 Sct. Johannes Kirke, Copenhagen, Gudrun Madié, b. 26/7/1890 Frederiksberg, she †21/1/1962. *By his 2nd wife, he had 2 sons and 3 daughters, who were all born in Haslev, survived to adulthood, married and, in turn, had children.*

A) Ole Remvig, b. 29/7/1910, chr. 4/9/1910 Haslev Kirke, Student (Herlufsholm), *cand. med.* 1936, Consultant Physician Hornbæk Sanatorium, m. 31/12/1937 Copenhagen City Hall, Graciella ("Pippa") Ida Emine Holmsteen, b. 18/3/1914 Copenhagen, chr. 8/11/1914 Hellig Kors Kirken, Copenhagen.
Gl. Hellebækvej 61B^{VII}, 3000 Helsingør.

2 sons :

a) Peter Remvig, b. 1/7/1940 Copenhagen, Dental Surgeon, m. 26/9/1964 Gentofte Town Hall, Karen Pock, b. 1/3/1940 Gentofte, chr. 7/7/1940 Ordrup Kirke, both Dental Surgeons.

2 daughters :

I) Katja Merete Remvig, b. 10/3/1966 Maglegaard Parish, chr. 17/7/1966 Jægersborg Kirke.

II) Mikala Ina Remvig, b. 5/8/1969 Gentofte, her name being registered 20/7/1970.

Vcd Ermelunden 22, Gentofte, Denmark.



Lars Remvig, b. 23/3/1942, and Peter Remvig, b. 1.7/1940. sons of Ole, my cousin, and 'Pippa' Remvig.

- b) Lars Remvig, b. 23/3/1942 Copenhagen, *can. med.* m. 22/6/1968 Høje Taastrup Kirke, Hilde Kirstine Olsen, b. 23/12/1941 Frederiksberg, chr. 10/4/1942 Rødovre Kirke.

2 daughters :

I) Synne Remvig, b. 2/9/1970 Copenhagen.

II) Kirstin Remvig, b. 30/6/1973 Copenhagen.
Bakkedraget 16 3400 Hillerød, Denmark.

- B) Ellen Remvig, b. 31/12/1911, m. 1st time: 22/12/1937 Frederiksberg. Arne Lindgård, b. 7/6/1910 Frederiksberg. Marriage dissolved 1951. Both spouses *can. mag.* and High School Teachers. Ellen: 1/8/1946 : *Adjunkt*, Frederikshavn, 1/8/1963 : *Lektor*.

2 daughters :

- a) Anne-Mette Lindgård, b. 6/8/1938 Copenhagen. Student, Qualified Nurse, Stewardess (SAS), *Unmarried*, Kongelundsvej 61C, 2300 Copenhagen S.



By courtesy of her mother, Karen Remvig.
Katja Merete Remvig,
b. 10/3/1966, about 1973.



By courtesy of her mother, Karen Remvig.
Mikala Ina Remvig,
b. 5/8/1969 Gentofte.
Her personality is self-evident.

b) Ulla Lindgård b. 26/12/1942 Aabenraa, Student,
(Frederikshavn), Librarian, Copenhagen. *Unmarried*,
Ole Suhrsgade 6^v t.h., 1954 Copenhagen K.

Ellen Lindgård m. 2nd time : 3/12/1971 Asger Egil
Holbech, b. 1/7/1905, *can. mag. Lektor*.

Peder Skramsvej 44, Frederikshavn.

C) Inger Remvig, b. 25/12/1914, chr. 7/2/1915 Haslev
Kirke, Teacher, m. 4/7/1940 Næstved Town Hall, Axel
Surland, Director of Education in Næstved, b.
2/11/1915 Næstved, chr. 16/1/1916 Sct. Peders Kirke,
Næstved. Inger, twelve years my junior, at a critical
business stage of my career, in the autumn of 1931,
spent a lovely day tramping with me round Gribso.
Peder Syvsvej 20, Næstved. *2 daughters :*

a) Hanne Surland, b. 2/10/1942 Næstved, chr. 11/4/1943,
Sct. Mortens Kirke, Næstved, Teacher, m. 11/12/1965
Sct. Mortens Kirke, Næstved, *Otto David Jafet Sivert*
Steenholdt, b. 26/9/1936 Kekertarsuatsiak (Greenland),
chr. 11/10/1936 in the local chapel. Teacher, Member
of the Greenland Country Council ('*Landsraads-*
medlem'), Egedesminde.

2 sons :

I) Mikael *Samo* Steenholdt, b. 28/3/1968 Slagelse,
chr. 10/5/1968, Slagelse.

II) Frank Steenholdt, b. 28/5/1971 Egedesminde
(Greenland), chr. 18/7/1971 Egedesminde.

b) Lise Surland, b. 5/9/1944 Næstved, chr. 29/10/1944
Sct. Mortens Kirke, Næstved, Teacher. *Unmarried*.
Skagen, Denmark. She visited us in Elland, Spring
1964.

D) Grete Remvig, b. 19/9/1916, Occupational Therapist,
m. 1st time, 21/5/1942, Jens Holger Johansen, b.
18/4/1908 Haugborup, Taastrup Parish, †4/5/1963,
Army Warrant Officer ('*Major*').

One son :



By courtesy of my maternal cousin, Inger Surland.

A descendant of Morfar with mixed blood :
 Happy-looking Mikael *Sano* Steenholdt,
 half Greenlander, half Danish, about 1972.

a) Jens Ole Johansen, b. 1/11/1943 Næstved, m.
 6/4/1968 Fredericia. Jane Rousseau, b. 22/4/1943
 Assens. *I son :*

I) Gregers Rousseau Johansen, b. 6/6/1972.

Grete Johansen, *née* Remvig, m. 2nd time, 9/9/1969,
 Herlufsholm, Viktor Albert Jensen, b. 22/5/1909
 Copenhagen.

Erantisevej 21C, Næstved, Denmark.

E) Jørgen Remvig, b. 3/2/1925, chr. 5/4/1925 Haslev
 Kirke, Student (Haslev) 1943, Nazi Concentration

Camps (Dachau and Neuengamme) 1944-45, *cond. med.* 1953, consultant psychiatrist 1963, *dr. med.* Aarhus University, 1972. (*Thesis: Deaf-Mutism and Psychiatry.*)

m. 21/10/1952, Frederiksberg Kirke, Mette Merete Wulff Møller, b. 10/8/1930 Copenhagen, chr. 12/10/1930 Sct. Lukas Stiftelse. 3 children :

I) Mads Remvig, b. 2/5/1953 Sønderborg, chr. 9/8/1953 Tibirke Kirke,

II) Pernille Remvig, b. 13/2/1955 Frederiksberg, chr. 30/5/1955 Brøndbyøster Kirke,

III) Camilla Remvig, b. 5/1/1963 Gentofte, chr. 19/5/1963 Messiaskirken, Charlottenlund.
Trongårdsparken 113, 2800 Kgs. Lyngby, Denmark.

4) Hans Christian Rasmussen, b. 29/10/1875 Halmtorvet (*now: Raadhuspladsen*) 67, Copenhagen (*Matrikelnummer* 69 Vester Kvarter), chr. 26/12/1875, † as infant 17/7/1876.

5) Anna Sophie Birgitte ('*Moster Bitta*') Rasmussen, b. 11/7/1877 Halmtorvet (*now: Raadhuspladsen*) 67, Copenhagen (*Matrikelnummer* 69 Vester Kvarter), chr. 5/8/1877, conf. 28/4/1892 Helligaandskirken, Copenhagen, †8/10/1960 Karlebo, ashes buried, after cremation at Vestre Kirkegaard, Copenhagen.

'Next to my own mother, yours was the one woman of that generation, whom I looked upon with greater affection than anyone else.' (*My letter of condolence, 18/10/1960, to her children, Benedicte and Sten.*)

m. 9/1/1906 Brønshøj Kirke, as his 1st wife, Theodor Jens Ryum, b. 12/4/1873 Viby, J., conf. 17/4/1887. Before their marriage he had changed his surname from Sørensen to Ryum. He †12/10/1955 Allerød. He was s. of Station



*By courtesy of
Mrs. Benedicte Pedersen, Maine (USA).*

My two maternal cousins,
Sten Ryum and Benedicte Pedersen
About 1913.

Master Jens Sørensen and his wife, Ane Kirstine Bentzen. The marriage between Anna Sophie Birgitte Rasmussen and Theodor Jens Ryum was dissolved in 1920. They had 2 children: Benedicte and Sten.

A) *Benedicte* Esther Ryum, b. 16/2/1908 Frederiksberg. Educated partly (1920-23) in USA m. 19/9/1941 The Norwegian Seamen's Church ('*Den Norske Sjømanns Kirke*'), Montreal (Canada), as his 2nd wife, Arthur Jacob Pedersen b. 21/5/1897 Lødingen (Norway), †23/2/1972 Augusta, Maine (USA).

A war-time letter, written before Pearl Harbour, to my maternal cousin, Benedicte Ryum, still unmarried and living in Montreal.

Manor House,
Bodicote. nr. Banbury,
Oxfordshire, England.

16th June, 1941.

Dear Benedicte,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th April, and the copy of your letter of the 11th February.

I was glad that you had got fixed up in such an interesting and remunerative post. You certainly seem to have luck in getting one good boss after another. But then, as you put it, when you see one, you evidently recognize him !

I envy your chance of skiing. I used to go to Switzerland regularly. Most Danish people prefer Norway or Sweden, but the slalom runs in Switzerland are difficult to beat, and Davos offers more opportunities for long trips than any other place. Tell me more about winter sport in Canada in your next letter.

Your letter reached me in a nursing home in Leamington Spa. Hunting some time ago, I (or rather the horse) jumped a fence and a twig grazed the cornea of my one eye. I had to spend a week in a darkened room, and thought the abrasion had healed up, but suddenly the trouble started again, and I had to have the cornea scraped. Have you ever had this experience? You can watch the operation and estimate how long it will take before the carbolic acid drops into your eye.

Leamington is only five miles from Coventry. It seems absurd that so much trouble should be bestowed upon the cornea of one eye when people nearby are being killed and maimed, if not nightly, at least at short intervals. Yet I suppose the failing of looking at matters subjectively is a common human one.

Your long and racy letters have been amusing, but difficult to comment on. Most American women have an easy chatter,

which sometimes covers an empty brain, or sometimes is merely a mannerism. Having been brought up in the U.S.A. you evidently have acquired at least one of the Yankee characteristics, but, though your letters are so impersonal, and you obviously suffer from typewritis, you do not quite succeed in concealing your personality. Most women with whom I have carried on correspondence I have either been in love with or they have had some kind of maternal feeling for me. The impersonal relationship in our case, or the fact that I do not really know you, makes it harder and at the same time easier to write you.

Last time I saw you must have been about 1918 while you lived at Vanløse. My recollection is that of a plump little girl with plaits. When a year or two ago my Mother showed me your photograph as you are now, she described you as "rather interesting," with that peculiar flick of her eyes, which is a mannerism of hers when she is not quite sure of the situation or does not know how to describe someone.

The Canadians must be having the best of two worlds. They are in the war and yet, apart from petty additional taxes, and departure on active service of some of her young men, are still enjoying the comparative comfort and security of the American Continent. It is easy to sneer at the fact that the war gradually encompasses all one's interests and activities, but is this not inevitable? Few of us can emulate the eminent painter who, when asked what he had been doing in the autumn of 1870, replied that he had been finishing nice landscapes in the neighbourhood of Versailles.

To most people in this country the war, so far, has brought considerable changes, but, as in the case of your friend in Leicester, they are, I think, far more likely to die from boredom than enemy action. Modern war, as we have learned to our cost, is a matter of machines operated and controlled by the few, while the many non-combatants are merely standing by or getting maimed or killed.

When I was in a garage in London some while ago, there dropped out of the blue half a dozen incendiaries, one of which rolled in underneath one of the cars. For half a minute or so it did not dawn upon me what they were, but by the time an attendant had pushed out the bomb I had got hold of one of the ubiquitous sandbags and extinguished it, while others had done the same to the remaining incendiaries.

Another time near my hotel a high explosive bomb fell uncomfortably close, while I was standing by ; but bomb stories are getting so common that no one can be bothered to listen to them !

Punch had a cartoon in a recent issue where the hostess asked one of her visitors, " Do you mind if we put the wireless on while you are telling your bomb story ?"

The risk of being killed in any one air raid, on a mathematical basis, is infinitesimal, provided you take cover. High explosives are a washout, as they rarely destroy more than one or two houses at a time, though to make up for that they completely flatten those out. Incendiaries are more effective, if they are not put out quickly, as was shown in the City of London and elsewhere before fire watching was introduced ; but, all in all, the bombing of residential areas is far more unpleasant to your nervous system than dangerous to your life, while in actual volume of noise the A.A. guns are much worse.

What does London look like ? As you will already know, quite a number of houses have been knocked down, but with the exception of certain districts whole areas have not been laid waste, and it would be easy for an unimaginative Government Department to rebuild the ruined sections tomorrow with the same absence of plan as that with which London was originally constructed.

After a bad blitz one or two of the main streets may be closed for a day or two, and one popular store be shut, but soon life once more proceeds.

In my own case, the war has shaken me out of a certain state of material complacency. Hitler, I remember reading Neville Henderson's incredible memoirs, told him that he wanted to have the war now rather than in five years. In my own case, if a war had to come (which I presume was inevitable) I should have preferred to have waited two or three years, though, as I was not consulted, I could do nothing about it.

It may sound odd of anyone approaching 40 to confess that he is still immature, that his development is incomplete, and that another couple of years, or three, might have completed a cycle, which now has been broken. I feel that I shall be at least sixty or eighty before I come to terms with myself, and I should have to live until I was one hundred and twenty if I were to succeed in doing many of the things worthwhile.

Indirectly this handicap of retarded development may be due to *le petit bourgeois* milieu in which I grew up.

My home was a happy one, and my Mother, left a widow while still young, brought us up excellently, according to her lights. In our bookcase the collected works of Ibsen and Bjørnson, in leather bound volumes, occupied the position of the family Bible in an earlier generation. Poor old Ibsen — how even he would have laughed if he could have seen his plays turned into symbols of culture !

Although our means were very limited, we were never actually short of food. No attempt on my Mother's part to turn me into a mere money earner. Yet the cheap type of success stories, and a book like Smiles' " I will go forward " exercised a strange fascination, even though consciously I never set out to make a fortune or emulate financial heroes.

Have you patience to read on ? Your letters have been long but they have had about them an air of crispness commonly attributed to correspondents with a drop of Celtic blood in their veins. My style is slow and laborious. As

one of my friends put it " Your fault is that, whatever you undertake, you insist upon going back to Adam and Eve."

At 20 I was contributing articles on financial subjects to papers in three countries. At 24 I was still a virgin. The two facts have no direct relationship, yet indicate an odd lack of balance. Maybe I was a bit of a prig, but also undeveloped mentally.

About my marriage it is not necessary to say much. My wife was young and attractive, and I suppose that our relationship did not differ greatly from that of two other young healthy animals, accidentally thrown together.

Charms which belong to any woman, in a way of a lover, I ascribed as being peculiarly attributable to my wife. This blurred my vision and it was not until after years that I realized that, emotional differences apart, she and I had so little in common that to remain with her for the rest of my life would be like living in a mental desert.

A "*Sturm und Drang*" period followed. As I had had little contact with women before, it was inevitable that a number of affairs, which normally should have taken place at 20, in my case happened ten or twelve years later.

More important was the fact that I grew mentally. When the war broke out I was still growing.

Before the outbreak of war I was making £20,000 a year. However, I neither spent nor drew from the business more than a fraction. This was fortunate because it has enabled me to meet big losses inevitable since the war. In another way it was unfortunate because, though the war knocked me off one financial pinnacle, I did not land on the ground, but only on a pinnacle lower.

Complete upset would have forced me to take a job (if I had been accepted) as an Auxiliary Fire Service man, which emotionally would have satisfied me more than trying to carry on various businesses away from the centre of things, in which

I was not able to go ahead in an unrestricted manner. It would also, in so far as the war effort is concerned, have forced me into action. On a pinnacle lower, and without having completed my mental development, brooding over the war, the causes out of which it arose, and the possible results, remain unsatisfying.

Reiteration that Hitler is evil and Britain and the U.S.A. fight the cause of democracies almost makes even intelligent people believe that this is so, and that in fact there is a cause which can be called that of the democracies. I wish I could share this belief.

As I view the situation, the position is that, due to the development of the internal combustion engine in particular, and other inventions in general, the world has become one economic unit. All talk of sovereignty for the individual petty states, Denmark included, which used to make the map of Europe look pretty is nonsense. A unified continent, if, in fact, not a unified universe, is necessary.

The only question is whether such unification shall take place under the aegis of Germany or Britain and U.S.A. The ultimate result, after a century or so, must be much the same. With the German genius for organization and the neglect of the resources of the British Empire as a warning, there is every likelihood that the Germans would make a better job of it.

Everybody here believes that Britain will win. So do I, and obviously, as one's material interests are bound up with a British victory, it is difficult to take a completely dispassionate and unselfish view. But as for the contention that we are fighting for the cause of democracies, to my mind it is bunkum.

Democracy means government by the masses and must represent the natural extension of the policy of *laissez faire* to enable the individual to develop his inborn qualities to the best of his ability. The policy of *laissez faire* was not only

in its conception, an economic one but also ethical. Once it was abandoned, by the middle of the last century, although democracy has remained the watchword, the freedom of the individual has constantly been reduced.

As one writer shrewdly recently remarked in "Time and Tide," "The very watchwords of the French Revolution, 'Liberty, Fraternity and Equality' are self-contradictory and inconsistent. You cannot have Liberty for the individual if at the same time you want to ensure Equality. The only way in which you can make the blades of grass on your lawn the same height is by cutting the tall ones to the length of the short ones. Then you have equality."

It is commonly admitted that Britain, in carrying out her war policies, has to emulate the totalitarian states. It is frequently overlooked, however, that the maintenance of a two-party political system in Britain, since 1931, has been fictitious, and that the restrictions in this country do not, except in degree, differ from those in Germany and Italy.

Why do all these problems bother me, and why do they become mingled up with my personal affairs? The reason is that I still have some ideals and would like to have some more for which I could fight and, if it would further them, lay down my life. But the present war is not essentially a difference between two ideologies. It is only a fight for leadership. Moreover, the cause of Britain and the U.S.A. lacks the fervour of a sustaining faith.

For better or for worse Hitler's pseudo-religious mystic faith has inspired his followers to feats of which the democracies, at least until recently, thought themselves incapable. It has yet to be recognized by the democracies that adherents to a cause are found more readily by sacrifices being asked for than by material rewards being offered.

The early Christians at the time of Nero, the Mohammedans in North Africa and Spain, the Crusaders, the religious warriors of the Middle Ages, and the French Revolutionary

Armies of 1792 all had this in common — that they were prepared to sacrifice their all if their cause would conquer.

Henri Quatre, King of France, said that his ideal was that the day would come when every French peasant should have a chicken in his casserole on Sundays. Our own dear Stauning had almost succeeded in bringing about a similar static, well-contented state, in which people nearly died from boredom, had no ideals, and nothing for which they felt it worth fighting, when the challenge was flung at them.

Material factors, in other words, are not enough. Until a spiritual ideal is evolved, I think that others like I will feel increasing dissatisfaction and restlessness at the futility of the present war. Man is neither a wholly emotional nor rational creature. As the Romans realized, he needs faith to satisfy his soul as well as bread to satisfy his body.

Quo vadis? I can't tell. Christianity might be revived. Yet it is difficult to make a discredited courtesan once more assume the halo of an innocent virgin.

Forgive all these musings, if you have read that far. Probably, you will finish this letter by saying to yourself that I am still pretty young, still bewildered, or have too much time on my hands. The correct answer is possibly 'Yes' under all three headings. The probability is that I shall not evolve a satisfactory answer for another twenty or thirty years, if ever.

Meanwhile keep this letter, unless it is stopped by the censor and I am hauled before some Star Chamber tribunal! One day when we meet we might laugh at it together!

Let me have a breath of crisp Canadian air, and another packet of chatter when you feel like it. I do not even mind if you send a copy of any letter to your friend in Leicester.

When you write home to Denmark, give them all my love. I wrote to my Mother, via Red Cross, a week or ten days ago.

Yours very sincerely,

FIND.

Miss Benedicte Ryum.

After World War II, settling first in Norway, and later in USA, her husband was successively a captain in the Panamanian Merchant Navy, owner of Portland Fish Company, (the scallop dragger "Snoopy." in 1965, was blown up by a torpedo in the net), and also acted as a marine surveyor.

311, Ludlow Street, Portland Maine 04102, USA.

1 daughter :

- a) *Gerd* ('Gardi') Sigrun Pedersen, b. 16/3/1943 Halifax, N.S. (Canada), chr. 29/5/1943 Halifax (N.S.). *Educ.* : Smith College, Northampton, Mass., June 1965: B.A., m. 12/6/1965 Portland, Maine, U.S.A.: *Bruce* Arthur Hauck, b. 30/3/1943 Portland, Maine, chr. 23/5/1943 Portland, Maine, *Educ.* : University of Maine, Orono, Maine, August 1966 : B.A.

2 children :

- I) *Suzanne* Eleanor Hauck, b. 15/7/1967 Melrose, Mass. (USA), chr. 15/10/1967 Portland, Maine.
II) *Steven* Arthur Hauck, b. 31/10/1968 Melrose, Mass. (USA), chr. 4/5/1969 Portland, Maine.
88, Eliot Street, South Natwick, Mass., USA.

- B) *Sten* Ryum, b. 12/5/1910 Frederiksberg, chr. 21/6/1910 Sct. Thomas Kirke, Frederiksberg, Student (Frederiksberg Gymnasium), *cand. jur.* 1934, Administrative Government Official in the Ministry of Agriculture ('*Kontorchef i Statens Jordlovsudvalg*), Knight, 1st degree, of Dannebrog, m. 30/9/1936 Frederiksberg, *Elise* ('*Lise*') Kirstine Hammer, b. 8/6/1908 Frederiksberg.

Nivåvænge 4-6, 2990 Nivå.

2 daughters :

- a) *Ulla* Ryum, b. 4/5/1937 Frederiksberg, Author. Translator of plays and Broadcaster.

Fensmarks Allé 28, Farum, Denmark.

(Picture on p.314.)

Has written :

Spejl (Novel, 1962),
Natsangersken (Novel, 1963),
Latterfuglen (Novel, 1965),
Jakelnatten (Stories, 1967),
Tusindskove (Novels, 1969),
Noter om idag og igår (1971),
Myternel (1973).

She has received three literary prizes.

Unmarried, but mother of 2 sons :

I) Rasmus Adam Ryum, b. 24/10/1968 Virum.

II) Martin Ian Ryum, b. 6/3/1973 Copenhagen.

b) Anne-Ulrikka ('Sorte') Ryum, b. 16/5/1940 Frederiksberg, m. 17/1/1964 Lønholt, Karlebo Parish, as his 2nd wife, Tage Larsen, b. 25/7/1927 Brovst (Northern Jutland).

2 sons :

I) Mads Ryum Larsen, b. 6/6/1964 Virum.

II) Klaus Ryum Larsen, b. 19/7/1966 Virum.

Theodor Jens Ryum ('Onkel Theodor') m. 25/7/1923, as his 2nd wife, Marie Cordius-Hansen (née Sørensen), b. 29/5/1888 Frederiksberg, chr. at home. She m., as her first husband, 24/11/1912, Otto Cordius-Hansen, Merchant, but he † 12/12/1912.

6) Marie Henrica Rasmussen, b. 9/7/1879 Halmtorvet (Now : Raadhuspladsen) 67, Copenhagen (Matrikelnummer 69 Vester Kvarter), chr. 31/8/1879, m. 1st time 3/1/1902 Sct. Matthæus Parish Church, Master Tinsmith, Gas and Water Master, Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graucob, b. 28/7/1868 Svendborg, †6/6/1910 Copenhagen, buried Assistens Kirkegaard, Copenhagen, s. of Master Shoemaker Johann

Friderich Justus Graucob, b. 12/2/1833 Flemhude, (Holstein),
†27/10/1908 Copenhagen, m. 12/9/1860 Svendborg,
Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel, b. 7/4/1832 Svendborg,
†1/3/1907 Svendborg.

3 children : a) *Find* Peter Justus, b. 16/11/1902 Frederiks-
berg, b) Eva, b. 11/10/1905 Copenhagen, c) Ruth, b.
19/9/1908 Copenhagen, †21/10/1955 Copenhagen. All
married, in turn, the two elder ones had children.



Far,
in Copenhagen, probably about 1895, shortly
after his return from Germany.

Marie Henrica Graucob, married her second husband,
at Frederiksborg Slotskirke, Hillerød, 22/3/1927, as his
second wife, a widower Andreas ('*Fæus*') Davidsen,



Beaming with pride and joy, Far and Mor, presumably shortly after their engagement in 1901.

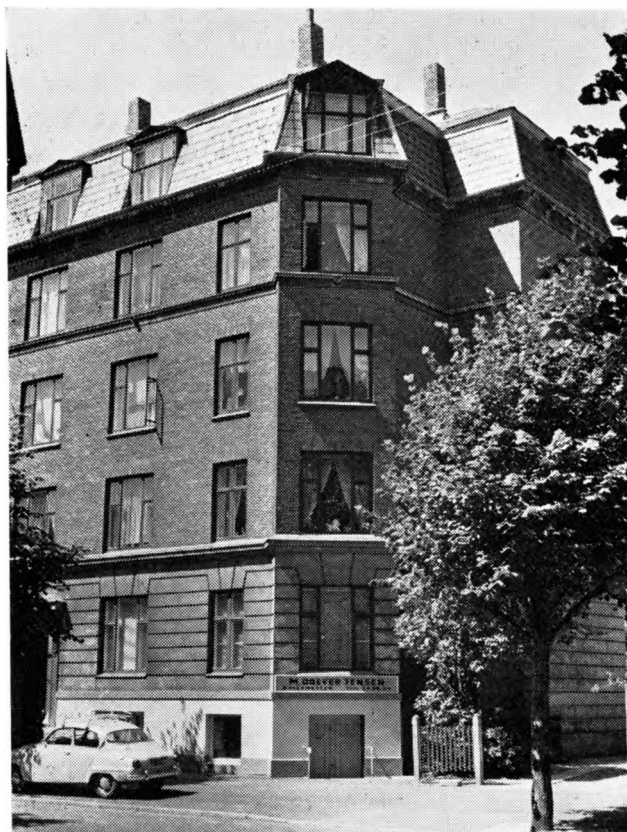
Sergeant in the Copenhagen Police Force, b. 15/2/1860 Rindom, Ringkøbing, †25/1/1942 Gentofte. Marie Henrica †19/7/1963 Esbønderup Sygehus, and buried, after cremation at Assistens Kirkegaard, Copenhagen.

On the 28th September, 1902, six weeks before my birth, evidently on a business trip to Kiel, Far in a *billet doux* to Mor, addressed her as 'my own beloved, little wife.' A leaf of the rose which she had given him when they parted, was enclosed and he expressed the hope that he would not have to leave her again before, by my birth, she had made him 'the happiest man on earth.'



Find Peter Justus Graucob,
early 1903.

- A) Find Peter Justus Graucob, b. Sunday 16/11/1902, 4.30 p.m., N.J. Fjords Allé 6^{III}, Frederiksberg, Copenhagen, chr. 4/1/1903 Sct. Thomas Kirke by Pastor S. Müller. My first Christian name I owe to Mor's enthusiasm for the legendary name of the *troll* in Lund Cathedral, while my two other names obviously were to commemorate my maternal and paternal grandfathers. Godparents included: '*Moster Bertha*',



My birthplace :

Block of flats at Fjords Allé 6^{III}, Copenhagen V.
I was born in the third-floor corner flat on Sunday, the
16th November, 1902.

Photographed in June 1968.

'*Farbror Julius,*' *Oldermand,* Master 'finsmith Harald
Steenberg, his wife, Christiane, and Mor.

Residences since my birth :

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) N.J. Fjords Allé 6 ^{III} , Copen-
hagen V. | Parents' rented flat:
16/11/1902-1903 |
| 2) Blaagaardsgade 21 ^{III} ,
Copenhagen N. | Parents' rented flat:
1903-1909 |



Christiane (b. 27/12/1859—31/12/1931) and Harald (b. 6,4,1846—30/4/1915) Steenberg, by whom Mor was employed (1896—1901) prior to her marriage. Almost certainly responsible for Mor's introduction to Far, Steenberg was *Oldermand* for *Kjøbenhavns Blikkenslagerlaug*. In appreciation of his authorship of the history of the Guild (1547—1898), beautifully copied by Mor in round handwriting (since printed), he was awarded membership of the knighthood of Dannebrog by the King. By Steenberg, who was my godfather (1903). I was always addressed as *Benfeldt*, a traditional Copenhagen tinsmith name. His wife was the godmother of Ruth, my younger sister (1908).

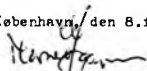
The mahogany tinsmith's ornamental hammer, in which two descriptive silver plates are incorporated, given me at my christening by my godfather, are once a year used by me at the General Meeting of the Shareholders of Nu-Swift International Ltd. to announce the formal opening of the A.G.M.


LANDSARKIVET FOR SJÆLLAND M. M.

År 1902 - nitten hundrede og to -
den 16. - sekstende - november -
kl. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ - fire een halv-eftermiddag
fødte fru Marie Henrica Graucob,
23 År gl., Fjords Allé 6,3', Frederiksberg,
en fuldbåret, levende dreng.

At dette er i overensstemmelse med
tilførselen i den her opbevarede, af
jordemoder Ellen Gerda Glæsel, Gl.Konge-
vej 78, stadsråden på Frederiksberg,
førte fødselsprotokol 1902-1908, bevidnes
herved på embeds vegne.

Landsarkivet, København, den 8. februar 1971


Harald Jørgensen
landsarkivar, Dr. phil.


/Niels Rickelt
registrator

Kr. 10.00
MOMS 1.50



The midwife's certificate of my birth, obtained nearly 70 years later.
Born slightly prematurely on a Sunday, I spent the first week-
end in a clothes' basket. Mor was assisted by Rigmor Mortensen,
who came a month before I was born and stayed about a year.
I did not see her again until 1958, when Sylvia and I called on
her at her small, white house at Sønderby, pr. Borre, in the island
of Møen.

Frederiksberg, d. 16. april 1971.

Til Landsarkivet,
Jagtvej 10,
2200 N.

I henh. til telefonsamtale af d.d. sender undertegnede
hermed en udekript af Sct. Thomas Sogns ministerialbog FMB 46/267:

Find Peter Justus Graucob,
der er født i Frederiksberg, N.J.Fjords alle 6 3.sal, B
d. 16. november 1902.

Døbt i Sct. Thomas Kirke af sognepræsten, S. Müller,
d. 4. januar 1903.

Forældre:

Blikkenslager, Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graucob,
og hustru Marie Henrica, f. Rasmussen,
boende N.J.Fjords alle 6, 3., Frbg.
Ægteviiede i Sct. Matthæus Kirke d. 3. januar 1902
af pastor E. Mygind.

Faddere:

Blikkenslager, Jul. Graucob, Nørrebrogade 120.
H. Stenberg og hustru, Rosendahls Tværgade 8.
Frk. E. Rasmussen, Vesterbrogade 25.
Moderen.

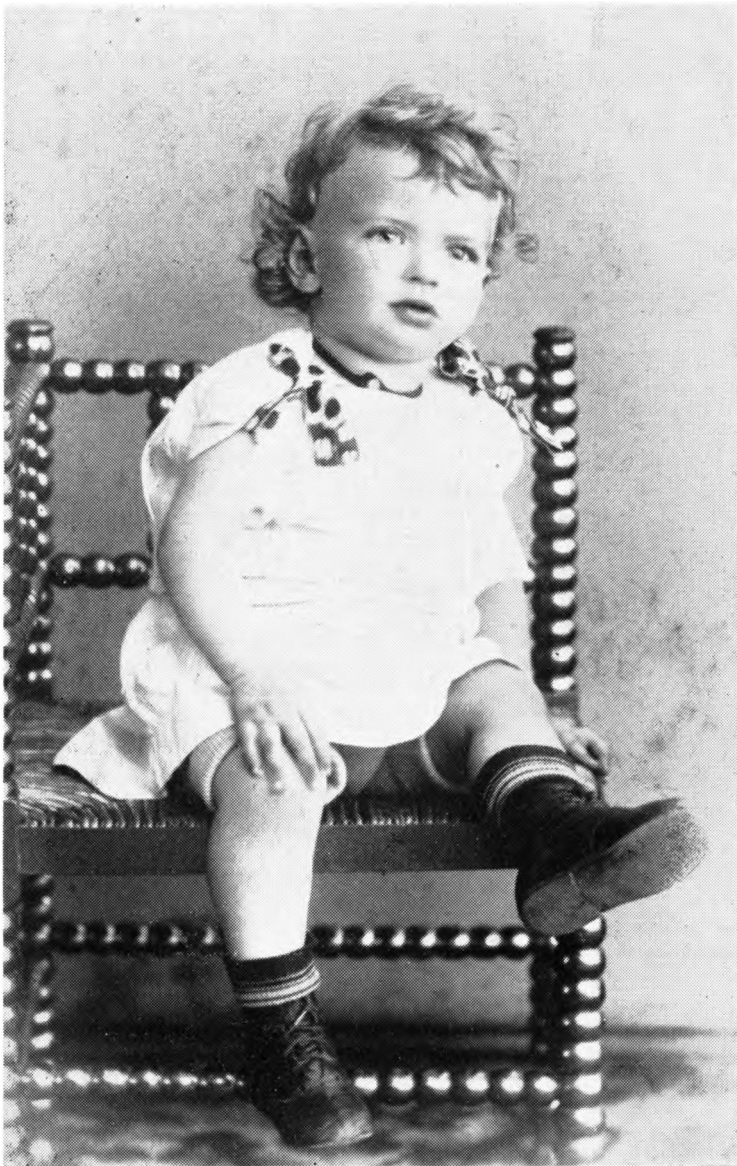
--oOo--

Sct. Thomas Sogns Kardegrekantler
Telm. (07) 35 52 98
L. L. Brandes Alle 2
1954 København V

Med venlig hilsen,
Aa. Meier Andersen
Aa. Meier Andersen,
konst. kord.

My christening certificate.

In my possession, is a silver napkin ring, which on the one side is engraved 'MG' and the other 'Fra Find 16-11-03,' reveals that Far's gratitude to Mor, he desired, through me, to express his thanks to her, on the first anniversary of the birth of their first child.



The aggressive, gay 'Finnemand,' about two years old (1904), when I must have overcome an attack of painful ear-ache, caused by ear polypus.

Dated the 4th August, 1904, in a letter to my parents, who were on holiday in Stockholm, 'Møster Bitta,' provided a characteristic of me, a translation in English of which appears below :

*'From Finnemand I shall write to his mother
'and to his father to remember him many times.*

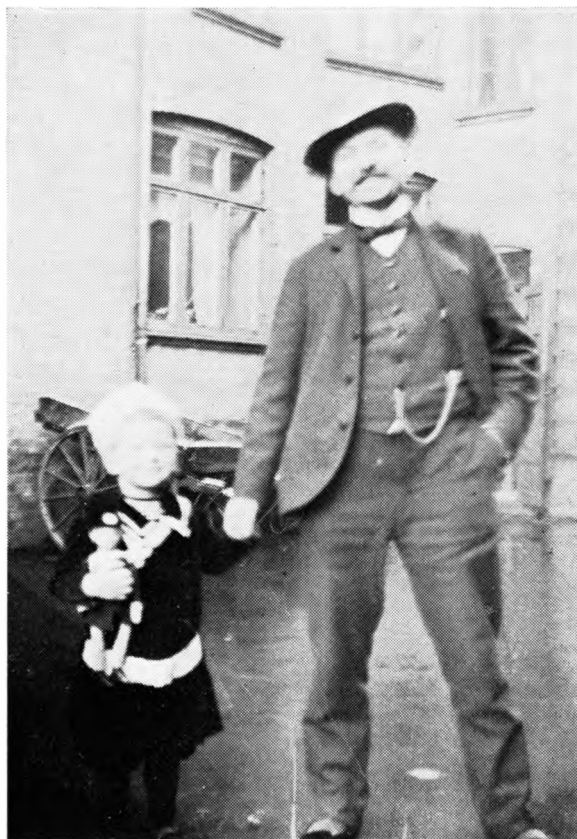
'This evening, with the Fox (nickname for her elder sister) and 'Nete,' I have visited him. He 'snaps his fingers completely at the whole world, 'marvellous as he is, the little German boy is the 'most touching play-mate. Hurry-skurry! With 'storm-wind, the play goes through rooms, hall and 'kitchen; nothing is holy for the 'Hen.' Woe for him who provides an obstacle; with a glance which 'a Napoleon would envy him he surveys with a 'furious speed the situation; a proper fist is aimed 'by him and any hindrances are as blown away. 'Yes, indeed, you have over here a real fellow, 'believe me. Havanna-brown in the face and, if 'possible, thicker than ever, thus you will find our 'boy; 'Faster Dine, unhesitatingly, he calls simply "'Mor,' because he hears Paul addressing her as this. 'There is a tremendous amount of fun about them; 'really something for Find; he cheers them properly 'and, last night, he used a mouth so that no one could 'introduce one word. No, he suffers no damage! 'A piece of liver paste of enormous dimensions 'disappears like a pussy cat into his little, fat 'tummy, but he overturns simply the German 'cousin and snatches his food, so you can see that 'he has not changed. When we came down in the 'street we heard a noise as a violent quarrel; it 'was 'The Hen' who from 'Faster Dine's arm 'screamed after us with joy. It was the last that

*'we saw of him, but a kiss which I stole from his
'silky-soft cheek, I send to you ! . . .'*

*'Hope soon to see you, forgive me that I must
'close but it is late. My regards to you two and
the gallant Swedes, if they can remember me.'*

'The Boy.'

(Nickname for 'Moster Bitta,' b. Birgitte Rasmussen.)



With Far, in the 2nd backyard of Blaagaardsgade 21,
probably on a Sunday morning about 1905.
Note my toy soldier and black stockings. Note also
Far's display of his Albert across his blue serge suit.

Ljótubævi 4. August - 04

Kæri Marie! Mange Tak for Brevet. Det
glæder mig at høre om jens indvaskede Tis.
Fra Finnmand skal jeg bilde hansen Mar-
tin og Tor-Tor mange Gange. I disse
Ålind har Karen, Nils og jeg besøgt
ham. Han klasser hele Verden et Pukke, &
straktet har han det. Den lille hyste Bræm
er den mest interessante Lægekammeret. Hæ-
ha! med Stomvend gæber Lægen gennem
Stier, Entie og Kikket; indet er helligt
for Høim. De der, der sover at stille sig
i Tjen; med et Blik, som en Napoleon
måtte misunde ham, overskue ham med
respekt Fart Situationer; en proper
Nave længe har ud, og alle Hænderne
en som bleste fort. Jo, jo en rigtig Gut

har I haaret, kan I ho. Flammestuen
i Ansigtet og som uuelig tykke med
noget Lunde sædan vil I finde jer
brug. Møder sine kalder han ganske
rolig Mor, fordi han hører houl sige
det. Der er jo en forfærdelig Lystighed
hos om, rigtig noget for Færd; han
muntre den ordentlig, og saa bryde
han en Anvend i Aftal, saa man
ikke kunde paa noget et Ord. Ny:
han lide ingen Nid. Et Stykke Lær-
proskymad af voldsomme Dimensioner
forstuder som en Mis i hans lille
lykke Mave, men saa valter han
ganske rolig den hvide Færd og higger
hans Mad, saa I kan se, hvad han
vild ikke forandret sig. Ja vi saa er
Rommene med paa Gæster, hører vi en
Støj som et voldsomt Skænderi, saa
er det Hoiene, der paa Møder Gines

Arne skryger efter os af Glæde. I
var det sidste, vi saa af ham, men
et Kys tog jeg paa hans slettbløde kind,
det sendte jeg over til Dig. Har du suget
at se god, undskyld at jeg slutter, men
Klokken er all for mange! Mange Hilsener
til jer to og de brave Forældre, som kan
hilske mig.

— Drungen.



The drawing room oriel of the third-floor flat at Blaagaards-gade 21III, Copenhagen N., where the Graucob family lived from 1903 to 1909. Seated near the windows, I kept a record of the numbers of the tramcars, Service No. 3, passing in the street below.

Photographed in June 1968.

- 3) Villa Rosenvang, Ny Taarbæk, Parents' rented
Strandvej 145, Taarbæk. summer residence:
Summer 1905

- 4) Traverbanevej 3, Parents' rented
Charlottenlund. summer villa:
Summer 1906



Eva and I. probably about 1907.

5) Ordrup Jagtvej 28,
Charlottenlund.

Parents' rented
summer villa:
Summer 1907

6) Vintappervej 10,
Kgs. Lyngby.

Parents' rented
summer villa:
1908-09
Property of Bernh.
Graucob & Co.,
1910



My farming holidays, pre-1910, were largely spent at Ingvorsen's Farm, Kildegaarden, Aarløse, nr. Thureby. (cf. p.370.)

In 1907, with our prosperous but primitive farming friends, Ingvorsens, at Kildegaarden in Aarløse, I refused to use their rough tin cutlery, which necessitated a telephone call to Copenhagen for my own silver spoon and fork to be forwarded.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 7) Frederiksborggade 34 ^I ,
Copenhagen K. | Parents' rented flat
<i>cum</i> Far's and his
brother's firm's
office : |
| 8) Dr. Abildgaards Allé 15 ^{III} ,
Copenhagen V. | Mor's rented flat :
Oct 1910-1912 |
| 9) Vesterbrogade 57 ^{II} ,
Copenhagen B. | Mor's rented flat
(partly used as a
boarding house):
Oct 1912-Apr 1914 |
| 10) Dosseringen 50 ^{III} ,
(Thorupsgade 13),
Copenhagen N. | Mor's rented flat:
Apr 1914-Apr 1918 |



As I was, probably at the age of almost four, during the summer of 1906, in Charlottenlund.

(April 1915-April 1916, Mor had a retail shop near our flat and we therefore had some meals in the back-room at: Blaagaards Kaffemølle, Blaagaardsgade 4, Copenhagen, N.)

11) Fælledvej 11^{II},
Copenhagen N.

Mor's flat, at which, acting as a *Vice-vært*, she collected the rents for the other 89 flats of the property and, in turn, we lived rent-free:
April 1918-1921



About 5½, and
Eva, about 2½.



About 6.



About 6.



About 6.

At 6, my father's bowler was too small for my head.



Our Edwardian Summer Villa at Vintappervej 10, Kgs. Lyngby, where, in our childhood, we spent three happy summers (1908-10).

During one summer, in the adjoining lake, we caught 1,000 crayfish. Shells and yolks of our four hens' eggs, in consequence, turned gorgeously red.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 12) YMCA (<i>KFUM</i>),
Tværgade, Nykøbing Falster. | Furnished room in
hostel : March
1921-Oct 1922 |
| 13) 2, The Avenue,
Brondesbury, London NW6. | Paying guest of
Mrs. Oxley:
16/10/1922-March
1923 |
| 14) 21, Esmond Road,
Bedford Park, London W4. | Paying guest of
Mrs Read: March
1923-February 1924 |
| 15) 28, King Edward Road,
Bushey, Herts. | Paying guest of Mr.
and Mrs. Upson:
February 1924- |



With Eva and Ruth, my sisters,
September 1912.

Shortly before our removal from Dr. Abildgaards Allé 15^{III}.
Ruth's forced smile does not reflect her usual friendly, but self-composed
and determined. countenance.

September 1927,
interrupted by stay
in France.

- 16) 96, Avenue des Ternes, Paris. Paying guest of
Comte and Comtesse de la Brosse:
October 1924-
March 1925, inter-
rupted by visits to
Chamonix and
Brittany

17) (?) Fitzjohns Avenue,
London NW3.

Furnished basement
rented flat:
Winter 1926-1927

18) 3, Broadway Parade,
Pinner Road, North Harrow,
Middlesex.

Unfurnished, mod-
ern flat, above the
shop of the firm of
cleaners of Beau
Brummel Ltd.,

8 Sider. 5 Øre.

VORT BLAD

Nr. 6. 13. Februar 1917. 1. Aarg.

PROGRAM

for

Gregersens Skoles Fastelavnsskolekomedie

Søndag den 18. Februar Kl. 7 og Mandag den 19. Februar Kl. 4 og 8.

„En Søndag paa Amager“.

Vaudeville i een Akt af Johanne Luise Heiberg.
Opfø t 1. Gang paa det kgl. Teater Fastelavns-Søndag
den 5. Marts 1848.

Isænesættelsen ved Hr. Hugo Gaam og Hr. Otto Bjørneboe. Dirigent for Orkesteret:
M. Zeitz Jeppesen. Sullor: Hr. Alex Bregen. Regissør: Hr. Jørgen Westergaard.

Jepsen, Amagerbonde.....	Paul Thaarup.
Inger } hans Døtre. {	Erik Biener.
Lisbet }	Thorkild Nissen.
Mikkelsen, Lods paa Drøger.....	Hans Ostenfeld.
Jokum, hans Son	Reinhardt Mortensen.
Hans	Christian Henriksen.
Rasmus	Carl Mungfeldt.
Peer	Niels Dahl.
Søren	Valdemar Hansen.
Lars, en gammel Mand	Find Graucob.
Hermansen, en Københavner	Bernt Christensen.
Amagerkarle og Amagerpiger.	

Handlingen foregaar paa Amager udenfor en Kro.

Musik: Før Stykket: Mendelsohn- Bartholdy: Præsternes Krigsmarsch.

Billetter á 75 Øre over hele Salen faas fra Torsdag d. 15. ds. hos Hr. Bestyrer Bjørneboe.

Den bedste Gave til enhver Familie er det ny patenterede **Gadespejl**, hvori man kan se **Flyveren i Luften** og den der gaar ind ad Ens **Gadedør**. Faas indtil videre hos: *De forenede Automat- & Metalvarefabriker, A/S, Svaneøegårdsvej 4. Hovedtelefon 5098.*

The front page of Issue No. 6 of 'Vort Blad' 13th February, 1917, provided the programme for "En Søndag paa Amager," in which I had a minute part.

18) continued

rented at 35/-
inclusive, p.w.
(Occupied, after
our marriage, with
Mrs. Ann Sophia
Graucob) :
September 1927-
19/1/1935

12 Sider.

5 Øre.

VORT BLAD

Nr. 7.

Torsdag d. 15. Marts 1917.

1. Aarg.

Fra Skolekomedien.



1. Kls
Kolonialvarer
Conserves,
Cigarer & Vine.
Billige Priser.

NØRREBROS VAREHUS
V. H. Jensen & Co. A S, Smedegade 2. Tlf. 10458.
Specialmarker i Cigarer fra A. M. Hirschsprung,
Horwitz & Kattentid og N. C. Nielsen.

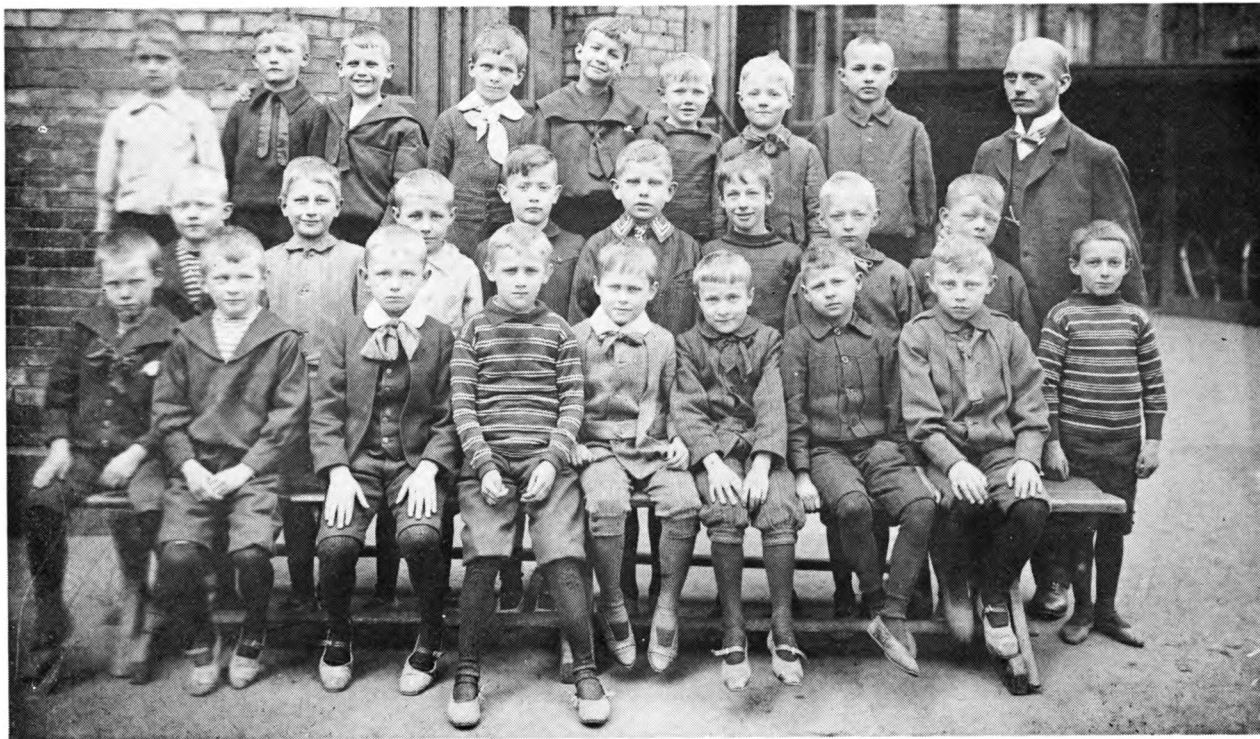
Ost, Kiks,
Biscuits,
Kaffe — The
Chocolade.

Den bedste Gave til enhver Familie er det nye patenterede **Gadespejl**, hvori man kan se **Flyveren i Luften** og den der gaar ind ad **Eins Gadedør**.
Eins Gadedør. Faas indtil videre hos: *De forenede Automater- og Artdrømfabrikker, A. S., Svanemosegårdsvej 4, Hovedtelefon 5098.*

The front page of Issue No. 7 of 'Vort Blad,' 15th March, 1917 (note size increased to 12 pages though the price, at 5 Øre, thanks to more advertisements, remained unaltered) provided a cartoon by the celebrated cartoonist, Robert Storm-Petersen, of all the boy actors, including Lars.

- 19) Hotel Pierre, New York, NY. At hotels, guest at
The Alumnia House, Vassar houses, and private
College, Poughkeepsie, NY. homes: January-
and at other addresses in New March 1935
England, Washington DC
and Virginia.
- 20) Gt. Eastern Hotel, London Hotels: Part of
EC2, Euston LMS Hotel, 1935
London NW1, and Royal
Palace Hotel, Kensington,
London W, interrupted by long
visit to Denmark for kidney
operation (June-September,
1935).
- 21) 17A, Queens Gardens Bays- Furnished, old-
water, London W2. fashioned, rented
flat: 1935-Autumn
1936
- 22) 154C, College Road, Old-fashioned,
Upper Norwood, London charmingly furnish-
SE19, ed, but poorly
insulated flat, at
the top of a Vic-
torian mansion,
which I rented
from Miss Ricketts.
Later, I bought the
contents from her
for £235 and rented
the flat direct from
the landlord:
Autumn 1936-1943
- 23) Manor House, Bodicote, Unfurnished house,
nr. Banbury, Oxon. leased, before
World War II, by
the Hon. Mrs.

- 23) continued
- Lyons, to F. Graucob Ltd., to provide evacuation living and working accommodation for my evacuated staff and myself at an exclusive rent of £100 p.a. plus the gardener's wages of 30/- p.w. :
August/September 1939-July 1944
- 24) Whitwell House,
Wistons Lane,
Elland, Yorkshire,
- Tenant of a partly furnished Victorian house, owned by Nu-Swift Ltd. :
1944-June 1951
- 25) Overgate,
30 Hullen Edge Road,
Elland, Yorkshire.
- Tenant of partly furnished modernized, late Victorian house, owned by Nu-Swift International Ltd. :
June 1951-
- 26) 25 Barrie House,
Lancaster Gate,
London W2,
- On the 6th floor in a block of flats built in the late 1930s, this 6-roomed furnished flat, though always available for my occupation, has never been in my ownership :
February 1943-



Kjær & Lyngbyes Realskole,
Ole Suhrsgade 10, Copenhagen, Winter 1909-10,
self top row No. 4 from the left.



Astrid Davidsen b. 27/5/1890, †24/7/1968, a clerk employed 1907/13 by Bernh. Graucob & Co. Of great moral support to Mor during the first few months of her widowhood in 1910, she lived with us in Kgs. Lyngby, and, in the difficult years ahead, remained a staunch friend of Mor's.

Shortly before my own first marriage, in 1927, Mor, as his second wife, married Astrid's father, Andreas ("Fæus") Davidsen, who died in 1941.

Chronological Record :

October 1905: Another of my earliest recollections was when, in our dining room, my wondering baby eyes watched Mor unbutton her blouse to allow the fortnight-old Eva, the elder of my two sisters.



Andreas ('Fæus') Davidsen, b. 15/2/1860
Rindom Ringkøbing, †25/1/1941 Gentofte,
Sergeant in the Copenhagen Police, m. 22/3/1927,
as his second wife, as her second husband, Marie
Henrica Graucob, b. 9/7/1879 †19/7/1963.

with whom she had just returned from the nursing home, to suckle.

1906 or 1907: An incongruously black-coated gentleman by Mor being pointed out as King Frederik VIII of Denmark, uninhibitedly, I offered my hand to him while he was promenading on the sandy beach, at Charlottenlund, addressing him: "*God Dag, Konge.*" Courteously, he replied, "*God Dag, min lille Ven.*"

- 1908: Fee-paying pupil at primitive working-class *kindergarten*, Vesselsgade, Copenhagen N.
- 28/7/1908: To my infinite relief, Far became 40, and was no longer I believed, in case of war, liable to conscription.
- 1909-10: Fee-paying day pupil at Kjær & Lyngbyes Realskole, Ole Suhrsgade 10, Copenhagen.
- May 1910: Part letter from 'Lam' in Argentina, my first foreign correspondent. (refer to page 549, opposite).



Mor, very likely shortly after she had become a widow at 31, with parental responsibility for her three children.

Bahia Blanca, de 19.....
31 May 1910.

Kære Find
Mange Tak for det Brev, jeg mod-
tog forleden. Det var saa smukt
skrevet og saa saa god og fornuf-
tig Besked om dig selv og jeres Klum,
saa jeg kunde lide og forstaa, at
du allerede maa vare en stor og dyg-
tig Dreng. Hjemme i Danmark har
vi gode Skoler, hvor alle Drengene og
Piger, der vil vare flittige, lærer mange
nyttige Kundskaber, de faar Brug for,
naar de bliver store og skal klare for
sig selv. Derfor er de Danske, hvorhen
de saa end rejser, altid blandt de dyg-
tigste Mennesker. Du kan tro, her till
lille Land kommer der fra Spanien
og Italien mange stakkels Mennesker,
der aldrig har gaaet i Skole, unge Mand
og ogsaa mange, der skal sørge for deres
Kone og Børn, men som hverken kan
læse eller skrive. Reane kan de naturlig-
vis heller ikke. Du kan forstaa, at det
er ikke meget saadanne Folk kan bruges
til, mange af dem bliver ogsaa stygge

Part of a letter in response to a request for stamps which, at the age of 7, I had written
to 'Lam' who, a couple of years before, had emigrated to Argentina.

(Reduced in size.)

Kbh den 16/11 - 1911.

Kære hillemin!

Skal jeg allerførst ønske Dem til lykke med Ders
store Dødsdag, og dernæst bede Dem hilsne Sind fra mig
og lykønske hende fra fødselsdagen jeg kommer ikke
fra til Dem før i Morgen, da jeg skal spille i Aften og
saa ikke kan naa fra til Dem før på D. og det synes
jeg er lovtig sent. Medfølgende kommer jeg fra
hans Johans, var det ikke saadan et han ønskede sig.
til De ogsaa hilsne Sind fra mig og sige: "At selv om
Vejet ikke er saa godt i Dag, saa kan jeg nu alligevel
at han har været en meget sød Dødsdag, i det han
der gik". Mange kærlige Hilsener til hele Familien,
Deres

"Barn"

Letter of congratulation to Mor on my ninth birthday, written on the notepaper of
my late Far's and his brother's firm by Astrid Davidsen ('Barn').
(Reduced in size.)

- Summer 1909 : Tickets to a children's circus in Kgs. Lyngby cost one Øre, i.e. the smallest copper coin of the realm. At 6½, I must have become aware of Far's financial difficulties from which, mortally ill, he died next summer. Generously, he allowed me, however, to buy a reserved *seat* at two Øre.
- 6/6/1910: On my return from School, Mor told me of Far's death that morning after an unsuccessful abdominal cancer operation at Platanvej. Widowed, at 31, with three young children, she promised, in the future, she to act as father and mother to us all. Faithfully, she kept that promise until her own death, 53 years later.
- 1908-09}
1910-15} As a paying pupil I attended Billes co-ed School at H.C. Ørstedvej, and later at Amalievej 20, in pleasant Frederiksberg park-like surroundings. Moderate fees. Academic standards irregular but enthusiastic interest aroused by the teaching of History, Geography, Danish and English. Described as a 'Native Londoner,' the English teacher had a terrible cockney accent. Unsuccessful in Mathematics, Geometry, Drawing, Carpentry and Gymnastics. I kissed daily Miss Bille, the young writing teacher. Pupils were mainly *petit bourgeois*. Friendly atmosphere. I never suffered any corporal punishment.
- 1911 & 1912: Summer holidays at Brabrand & Svendborg. Copenhagen visit of German Zeppelin caused stoppage of school lessons, m.s. 'Selandia,' the first diesel ship in the world, built in Copenhagen. Wrote to Henri Nathansen, and thanked him for his book.

- 17/11/1913: Joining I. Nørrebro Troop, as a boy scout, had a life-long influence upon me, and caused an idealistic development and sense of responsibility. Contacts with contemporaries, some of whom became my friends for life, were valuable by-products.
- As scouts in 1918, we harvested nettles to produce textiles, grew potatoes to relieve food shortage, burned sea-weeds to produce soda and, during the Spanish influenza epidemic, acted as unpaid domestic house helps.
- 1913/14: Racing by foot the last single horse-drawn tram in Copenhagen, *Linie 11*, to Universitetsbiblioteket in Fiolstræde, where for lack of intellectual guidance, I wrote the history of the Copenhagen Tramways since 1863, and a record of the Danish tropical colonies (both MSS lost). The horse tram, service No. 11, ran for the last time 14/6/1915.
- July 1914: First visit abroad, attended Baltiska Scoutlägret in Malmö. Later returned to Copenhagen, via Assens and Svendborg, by inexpensive DFDS deck passage.
- August 1914: My first foreign exchange transaction resulted from the purchase of a 100 Swedish Kronor note, which later I resold at a profit.
- July/August 1914: For a week or ten days, newspaper ('*Sidste Nyt*') street-vendor in Copenhagen, making Kr. 5 or Kr. 6 a day, a skilled man's wages. (Picture 5/8/1914 of me in Politiken.)
- September 1914: The outbreak of war in August caused an immediate increase in the cost of living.
- Shortly after having qualified for a job as a shorthand typist, Mor's unwise, but desperate, emergency remedy was for me to obtain a job as afternoon messenger. Working, after

school, six days a week from 2.15 p.m. to 8 p.m. for a bookseller (Mackeprang, Aaboulevarden), my princely salary was Kr. 2.50 per week. Eva reminds me in 1975 that I only stayed in the job for one week.

Spring 1915: The purchase, at Kr.55, of my first bicycle a second-hand German product, increased both my mental and physical horizon. About the same time, I met another scout, my contemporary, Einar Lund (b. 12/9/1902), who much later became both a national hero and a major-general in the Danish Army, and who was to remain a life-long friend of mine.

1915-17: Thanks to influences of acquaintances, I was accepted as a supernumerary non-fee-paying pupil at Gregersens School, H.C. Ørstedesvej 69, an idealistic Grundtvigean School of high scholastic standards. Seated in the form next to Thorkild B. Nissen, who became a life-long friend. †January 1968. Still unsuccessful at maths., chemistry and football, my English pronunciation improved. During the English lessons, though Denmark was neutral in World War I, we sang 'Tipperary.'

August 1916: Founded and promoted A/S Vort Blad, the share capital of which was Kr.16.-, to publish monthly a printed School paper. Managing director, editor, reporter and principal space salesman of this until July 1917, when at 14½, for financial reasons, after having passed the *Mellemskoleeksamen*, I was compelled to leave school. Printed in red, the final issue on the 6th July 1917, contained 14 advertisements.

Editorially weak, the financial foundation was healthy. The cost of printing 325 copies of the first edition was Kr.12. The ten

advertisements brought in Kr.20, so that a clear profit was Kr.8, plus the income of the 325 copies sold at 5 Øre each, i.e. Kr.16.25. On liquidation, the paid-up capital was repaid, plus 61% dividend for the ten months.

Summer 1917: At a gravel pit in the Deer Garden, near Copenhagen, Einar Lund and I met Emil Vodder and Knud Jensen, two 22-year-old idealists, with whom we struck up a life-long friendship. They opened our eyes to many humanitarian activities, provided us with an outlet for our adventurous urges and taught us shorthand and bookbinding.

7/10/1917: Confirmed at Garnisons Kirke by Pastor Olfert Ricard.

After months of bi-weekly sessions of spiritual preparation for my confirmation, in which I took considerable intellectual interest, for the superficial verbal examination on the Sunday prior to the confirmation (*'Overhøring'*), I turned up in the fashionable crowded church, regardless of sartorial etiquette. Hatless and in a black shiny sailor's mackintosh, my unstockinged feet in unshielded sandals, Fifty years ahead of my time, I was, a rebel against standards of convention, yet, thanks to the generosity of *'Moster Bertha,'* who a fortnight earlier made me a gift of ten 10 Kroner notes, on the date of my confirmation, to Mor's infinite relief, I disported myself in the dark-blue sailor suit, considered the correct garment for the important occasion.

1917-19: Office boy and junior cold-canvassing salesman (in shorts!) at *A/S De Forenede Automat- & Metalvarefabriker,* Svanemosegaardsvej 4,

Copenhagen. (Marketing automatic vending machines and rotating apartment window street mirrors.) For a 6-day week, working irregular hours between 6.30 a.m. and 9.45 p.m., totalling about 60 hours, I received a monthly salary of Kr.50. Not permitted by Hermann Jensen, managing director of the firm, to attend commercial evening classes. Having feigned an accident, I was taken by ambulance to Frederiksberg Hospital; later ran away from home, planning to live rough in Rold Skov in Jutland.

Achievements of long walks or runs included :

- 1913 : Roskilde—Copenhagen, alone, 30 km.
- 1917 : Helsingør—Copenhagen, 45 km.
- 1918 : Kgs. Lyngby round Gribsø and back, with Knud Jensen, Emil Vodder, Erik Nyholm and Einar Lund, 80 km in 20 hours.



At the age of 15, at 'Falkebo Tropshus,' Kgs. Lyngby, Winter 1917/18.

1918 :

The knightly virtues of truthfulness, courage, generosity, defence of the weak and elderly, patriotism, trust, chastity, courtesy and spirit of adventure were inculcated into us as scouts. The previous summer, our troop had been defeated at handball by 2 *Vesterbro Trop*. Knud, Einar and I, decided after reconnaissance that our defeat had to be redeemed by an inoffensive counter-action.

Our opponents, one summer week-end, tent-camped in hilly Danish Switzerland, at Brede, near a little used railway, only 10 km. from Copenhagen. In Scout uniform, we decided to take action. Not only were the tents, unscout-like, unguarded at night, but also unguarded was their fox brush pennant, the pride of every Scout troop in Denmark who had qualified for one. One evening, after midnight, we set out for Kgs. Lyngby where we left our bikes, and, via the little railway, stealthily and noiselessly set forth for our opponents' camp site, when, in six tents, we could hear the boys stirring and snoring.

Undiscovered, we reached the pennant and removed it. Only in the morning, when our victims woke up, did the boys discover the disappearance of their brush-tail pennant : " We came to play handball but as no one guarded your fox brush pennant, we played alone. *Tre fra 5. By Trop.*" The action caused commotion, but the pennant was only returned to its owners after the three of us had been photographed with it.

Another week-end, in the wood, at Ganløse Ore we kneaded from flour a loaf which we baked in a brick-built oven.

Yet, a third exciting scouting experience became ours, when one winter, following a heavy snowfall, we built an igloo in *Dyrehaven*. Having enjoyed a camp-fire sing-song, we kept warm during the rest of the night in our sleeping-bags, reinforced by toddies. At home, our comfortable warm beds were left empty. In charge of our arctic expeditionary venture, was the legendary *Sven Spejder*, a renowned footballer, who, about 1938, when he and his wife came for dinner at my flat in College Road, London, recalled with me our adventurous, inexpensive experiences 20 years earlier.

1918/19 : Copenhagen, via Hillerød to Ballerup, all-night walk-run, partly with Knud Jensen, 70 km in 12 hours.

Summer 1919 : Large scout association tent camp at Hindsgavl, from where we sailed by chartered steamer to Sønderborg to celebrate re-unification of Southern Jutland with rest of Denmark. Overnight slept in historic fortifications of Dybbøl Mill.

1917-22 : My thirst for knowledge was well-nigh unlimited. On way home from school, Mor often found me, when between eight or ten, reading long, crumpled newspaper articles, in the grilled areas, below street level. Not able to stay at school after 14½, let alone go to a University, for years made me feel mentally handicapped. Due to the outstanding quality of the feature articles in *Politiken*, and the knowledge and the character of the men and women who in those years daily wrote the inciting and scholarly articles, for five years this radical paper became my University.

The instructive articles written by philosophers, wits, economists, travellers, poets, thinkers, politicians and writers, including Nobel prize recipients, were ahead of their day, and still after more than fifty years, mirror the thoughts of these outstanding Europeans and others, in the faded pages of my scrap-book.

Essays included articles written by or about Georg Brandes and, his brother, Edvard Brandes, Otto Jespersen, Sigurd Ibsen, Marx and Lenin, Strindberg, Molière, Dante, Lloyd George, K. K. Steincke, Johannes V. Jensen, Thit Jensen Fenger, Lis Jacobsen, Northcliffe, Hugo Stinnes, Dr. Benes, Ludendorff, H. G. Wells, Emanuel Swedenborg, Walter Rathenau as Philosopher, Maxmillian Harden, Gregor Mendel, J. P. Jacobsen, D'Annunzio, Anker Kirkeby, Maxim Gorki, Karl Larsen, John Maynard Keynes : *Economic Consequences of the Treaty of Versailles*, Bernhard Kellermann: *Der 9te November*, Oswald Spengler : *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, and many more.

By thought-provoking essays, these writers, during the years when I grew from fifteen to twenty, opened my mental windows to the problems of humanity.

In my first letter to Mor, sent the day after my arrival in London (16/10/1922), significantly I asked her to cut out the daily essays from Politiken and weekly send them to me. That was the importance which I attached to them and Mor, for several years, complied with my request.

Only in the `thirties, when about 35, was I enrolled as a student for a short summer



The Man, who from 1915 influenced Mor and affected my life.

Hermann Jensen, exhibitionist, idealist, poor businessman and actor. From 1917 to 1919, he was also my boss.

school at Balliol College in Oxford, with a scout to look after me, in a miniature flat of two rooms, subject to the college discipline and privileges. But by then I had advanced to years of maturity.

1919-21: Shorthand-typist at an initial monthly salary of Kr.175 at A/S Vesterasmaskiner, Reventlowsgade 10, Copenhagen V. Evening classes at Købmandsskolen three times a week, totalling 10 hours, plus homework, in



By courtesy of my sister, Fru Eva Heede.

Eva and Ruth, my sisters.
about 1920.

English, Book-keeping and Commercial Law. Kept fit by cycling to and from work, scouting on Sundays, and in summer, before office hours, swimming in the Øresund. Sold to the clerk in charge of the small Office, *Smørrebrød* prepared by Mor, delivered dangling from my bike. Delivery job taken over by Eva, when I left for Nykøbing F.

1/1/1920: ' Your postal giro account No. 653 was introduced on the 1st January 1920, simultaneously



At 'Helgoland.' (Note newspaper !)
About 1918.

with the introduction of postal giro in Denmark.'

This synopsis, many years later, of a letter from *Postgirokontoret* revived the memory of my initiative in advertising and marketing colourful German emergency bank notes.

July/August
1920:

Thanks to financial help by Mor, herself still a whole-time office worker, I was able as a boy scout to take part in the team visit of the Danish contingent to the International Boy Scout jamboree held at Olympia in London, my first visit to England. With five other Danish scouts, I qualified, in the International Trek-Cart Obstacle Race, for the World Championship. A Danish-made silver match box commemorates the event. My failure, due to lack of knowledge and training, as referee in the game of handball played between Danish teams in the vast arena of Olympia was equally memorable. The unfortunate climax occurred when, after the game, I gave incorrect instruction to the players, intended to make them salute the occupier of the royal box, HRH the Duke of Connaught. Half the boys turned their backs at him !

1920:

At Marlborough House received by the King's Danish-born Mother, Queen Alexandra, widow of the 'Gay Monarch,' who, after 57 years in England, addressed us in fluent Danish. During our stay in London also presented to Lord and Lady Baden-Powell, at the acclamation of him in Olympia, as Chief Scout of the World.

March 1921-
September
1922:

In return for a modest increase in salary, I renounced my happy life in Copenhagen with Mor, Eva, Ruth and male friends and

settled as a book-keeper in Nykøbing Falster at Lolland-Falsters Kaffe & Thehandel ved J. P. Jeppesen, at a monthly salary of Kr.300. At a meal of welcome I tasted whisky for the first time.

Weekly private lessons, in English, by *Lektor* K. V. Olsen at Kr.5 each. Subscribed, through the Danish Post Office, to the London-published Morning Post, which I read daily, in addition to Politiken.

21/8/1921 : Capsized with Jørgen Dreijer in Guldborgsund. Turned up the next morning at the office in my still damp only suit, on which I had slept overnight. On arrival at the office, at 8 a.m., I immediately removed the damp jacket, on the pretext of a heat wave. The ruse was discovered only by Alma Petersen, now resident in USA, when the local evening paper reported the incident in their Monday edition.

1921/22 : My years in 1921/22 of *Sturm und Drang*, when I was 18 and 19, were spent without sex, in Nykøbing Falster, in a bed-sitting garret at the YMCA hostel. Ensnconced, when indoors, among piles of books, newspapers and magazines in Danish, English and German, during the summer I daily spent much time, in mornings and sometimes at night, swimming in lovely Guldborgsund. All the year round, I daily went bicycling in the attractive, wooded surroundings of Nykøbing Falster, the exercise supplemented during the brief non-working week-ends from Saturdays 6 p.m. to Mondays 8 a.m. Dressed in my only lounge suit which from necessity I wore at the office daily.

Mor's favourite clergyman, the Rev. Paulli, who had christened her, and, at Far's funeral, offered words of consolation, had died, when

I was due to be confirmed in 1917, after months of bi-weekly preparation of me in Garnisonskirken. In her mind, the Rev. Olfert Ricard had become Paulli's substitute. Not only an unctuous and eloquent preacher. Ricard was a fashionable clergyman, whose Sunday sermons were printed in Monday's issue of 'Dagens Nyheder,' a Copenhagen daily.

Chairman of YMCA in Denmark, Ricard, a bachelor, was the author of 'The Life of Youth' ('*Ungdomsliv*'), the popular and elevating style of which had made it a best seller as a confirmation gift. During the preparatory months before the Confirmation, while patiently and respectfully, in the presence of many boys and girls, I had listened to his words of spiritual guidance and experience, I yet, as a result of, my curiosity and reasoning powers, had crossed many verbal swords with Ricard. Three or four years had passed since my Confirmation during which we had not met, but my inquisitiveness, far from having been quenched, had grown.

After much self-examination, troubled by my disbelief, I travelled to Copenhagen for the express purpose of seeing Ricard, to seek his guidance and support. Vital to me, my questions had been carefully formulated, when I called upon him at his spacious, old-fashioned flat in Store Kongensgade. "Would you care for an Anthon Berg Chocolate?" was his opening question to the youth before him, who after months of lonely, spiritual struggle, had decided to give God another chance. More direct, well rehearsed and to me momentous

was my own opening question : “ Mr. Ricard, I have come to ask you, because I no longer believe in God, whether you can do or say anything to help me ?”

I had expected his answer either to be startled, angry or for him to begin an intellectual argument. My question seemed so bold that, emotionally, I half had expected the ceiling to fall down on me. Neither of these alternatives, happened. Turning his head Ricard, in that melodious voice, with which he had charmed tens of thousands, said slowly : “ This, I am sorry to hear, Find.” Sighing, after a few minutes, he offered me another of the rich chocolates, before he gently indicated that my brief audience was drawing to an end. Adding, however, as if to justify the cost of my return fare from Nykøbing Falster, which unnecessarily I had incurred, he consoled me with the statement “ I shall include you in my evening prayers.” (1872-1929).

Whether he did so, and for how long, or the effect of it I am unaware. But one of God’s premier servants in Denmark had failed to use a title of that salesmanship which later was devised by me and used in selling one solitary cigarette machine or fire extinguisher. I never heard from him again. My spiritual loneliness has remained for over fifty years. Inconsistently, I remain a member of the Church of Denmark, and at Sylvia’s request, we were married in the Danish Church in London, to which I continue to make a modest annual contribution.

When in Copenhagen, I am glad to see children playing in the garden next to the Garnisons Kirke. The smile on the face of

the bronze bust of Ricard, next to the entrance, seems as that of the man of my childhood. Or was it only that he was uncertain of his destiny, and this was why he had failed, fifty years ago, to guide my steps?

- 1922 : Restless, as I was, when Sir Ernest Shackleton advertized for volunteers for his South Polar Expedition, I applied, but merely received a printed note of regret.
- Oct. 1922 : Just before my departure for London, slightly disguised, Georg Brandes, appeared in an article, which, unwisely, I called with at the flat in Copenhagen of Poul Levin, editor of the high-brow periodical 'Tilskueren.' Well written, he rejected my article out of hand. (MS lost).
- 15/10/1922 : Arrived in England with a job permit as a Danish correspondent, to improve my English. For years, the date was celebrated as my English birthday. Anglo-Danish correspondent and junior foreign exchange *arbitrageur*, at British & North European Bank Ltd., 31/33 Bishopsgate, London EC2, at the initial monthly salary of £12.10.0, tax free. Two days after my arrival in London, I started work at the Bank at 8.50 a.m. Within ten days I 'staged' £5 worth of Swedish Match Trust shares. I attended evening classes at City of London College for Institute of Bankers examination, part of which I passed with distinction. Also I attended lectures by, and had discussions with, John Maynard Keynes.
- 17/10/1922 : In my first letter from London to Mor and my sisters, written after a long and exciting working day I told them of my many varied impressions and prospective financial problems:

London, 14th 1922.

Kære Mor [& Pårn]!

Klokken er 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ om Aftenen, og
jeg er meget træt efter den for-
ste Hønsedag, men føler dog
frang til at sende jer et Par
Ord, medens Indtrykket af
de mange Oplevelser er fersket.

Nu kommer det:

Fra Buckingham Palace
Road [The Headquarters] tog
jeg med Mr. Alhild [who is
a nice chap] per. Bus til Bron-
doby, hvor han kendte en
Dame, der havde et pænt lille
"boarding-house". Her er jeg fore-
løbig indlogget for en Pris
af 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Shillings om Ugen = 5 $\frac{1}{6}$.

Det er i et pænt, søjst London-
Villakvarter i den nordvestlige
Del af London. Der er kun par
stokke Pensionærer, der quiser
sammen: Brevfast 8. a. m.

1^o aften og Dinner 7 p. m.

Bordsfast:

- 1^o Helt Portvin Havergrød
- 2^o Bacon .
- 3^o Brød & Fløde-M.

Dinner:

- 1^o Kødssuppe el. lign
- 2^o en smukkelig Form for Kød
- 3^o Pudding etc.

Adressen for Pøtten bliver saa-
ledes indtil videre:

Frind Graeco

% Mrs. Oxley,

2, The Avenue,

Bronckbury,

London,

N. W. 6.

Efter at have spist Dinner
i Saer Aften tog Mr. Child
og jeg per. Underground til
Liverpool St., hvor vi fik min
Bagage udleveret, og da Kay
Petersen havde fortællt mig på
det onsdag var muligt at

III
faa nogen Dragerformning til
at besørge det Adbragtkurieren
end i Løbet af 6-7 Dage, var
vi nødsaget til at tage en
Taxi for at faa den Transportens
hvide. Det var en lang Tur,
1/6 Postede den.

M. 7^{de} Morges stod jeg
op, gjorde mig il Stand [til
at bære mig i fire jeg en
Kande "kold vand", hvad der
evident er almindelig her
i Landet. Skönt det er langt
varmen i Vejret end i Dan-
mark] og M. 8 spiste jeg
brødfast. Og M. 8^{de} tog jeg
pr. Undergrund fra København
tury Kibum St. til City,
hvad der koster 7 d, altsaa
1/2 Tur. Det var [og vil i
Morgen fortælle om Primm
paa a season dicker, som
vistnok er noget billigere]

7. H. Bantem var jeg saa glad
9 til 6's, da jeg efter bog her
sitvage til Bronaenbudy.

Endnu stemme overfaldet
mig fædlandsdig men her
lille om Bantem.

Yo er ansat i Korresponden-
deafdelingen, der er et
nyoprettet Department, som
hedes af Mr. Bradsford,
der er Danen. Han har
været siden 1916, er ca. 30 Aar,
gift med en dansk Dame,
og bor i Harrow, nordlige
end min Royal men sig-
lige end Kay Boydens
hjem Hus.

Arbejdet der er kolossalt,
hvad du vil forstå, naar
jeg fortæller dig, at der alene
er 240 Brev til
Bantem. Og dem der modtog
vi 7. Ugent [Efter] Tiden.

J' enver via "Great Northern" [^{Telegr.} H.
nordiske Telegrafseelskab] fra
en utvælt Udværelse som
Fiducitetsberg Bank, ^{foruden anden} ^{urgant Telegrammer}

Jeg er Per Falstich
foruden ham i Banken, og
han og jeg taler ligesaa meget
Bank indværd som Engelse,
og Couverts bliver til derfor
meget mærkeligt.

Handelsbankens Navn
næsten vi f. Eks. nu vil
kærligt: "Handelsbanken"
eller "The Landmandsbank". -
Du kan forestaa hvor anføle-
sunde det hele er, naar jeg
forestæller, at der bl. Posten i
København fra var Breve fra:
Paris, Madrid, Milano [dit er
uveladt i Engelse], Vienna
[Wien], Brussels [Bruxelles],
New-York, Copenhagen, Peking,
etc. etc. Avel, Danzig, Stockholm,
Göteborg, Berlin, Valparaiso,

²¹ Christiania d. 8. v.

Arbejdet i Dag har gaaet
ret rigtig voldsomt. Men end
er jeg. Jeg har skrevet 4-5
Adm. Breve, bl. a. nogle
for Director Kier, som var
meget megen imod mig og
bl. a. bad paa mig om god
Tilgaaelse.

Min Boyer fortæller mig
i Foredrag, at der naar
der blev gjort særlig Foran-
staltninger paa de Telegra-
mer [Telegrams kaldes de
til U.S.A.] gaa til N.Y. paa
2 Minutter, og Frakten var
sikkert i Løbet af 7 Minutter.
Det normale var dog, at
de først kom For at 20 Minut-
ter efter Afrejsen!

Og det maa man med
det hele se, at der stadig
- efter hvad Mr. Baadsgaard

fortælle mig - er Fremgang
overalt. Banken i London er
affiliens med Banken i
Paris, Warsjav, Wien og
Berlin, saa det hele synes
jo veldigt spændende. Der
kommer stadig Forbindelser
bløde her og der, saaledes
at det hele kan væn klop-
pet og klart, naar du eller
en Gang kommer Liv i
Verdenshandelen. - Jo saa
er den Bank jo blanda
Kun en af de mindste
Banker i Keiser, hele Postop-
gale og de nærliggende
Gade er fyldt med Banker
langt større, med fremmede
købingende Navne fra alle 5
Verdensdele.

Correspondence Dept. er
paa 2. Et., hvor ogsaa Secu-
rities Office er [Verdipapirer].

viii Det er formløst men rigtig
pænt. Og det var Raskhed
har vi den "messing" [Bank
piccolo] paa hver Finger

Følelsig er all altsaa
lyst og godt med Uddagen
af Raskhedsforholdene. Naar jeg
talte om Værelse, Mængde
og Timer skal betale 5 1/2
Om Ugen. og dertil kommer
Mængdegrund ca. 1/- ^{om dag} og
Lunch i Teide ca. 1/4 ^{om dag} det kan
jo vel gaa. Men jeg haaber,
naar du er gaaet nogle Uger
at kunne finde et lidet
gode boadingshouse, skont det
neppe kan blive meget billigt.
Du efter, hvad jeg har hørt.
Og jeg bryder mig ikke
meget om at støffe

Men, det gaar nok. Men
ryger det lige. Føj selvbetalt

De foreløbig i Vesten.

It should only be too
pleased if there, when I
one morning am entering
the Bazaar is a letter from
you. -

Drøste og Engelse sandt
mange indlyst bører vunde
i Nordens herre mig.

God Nat!

Frind.

P.S. En Takke Sig skulde
mig ogsaa blive glad for
snart at modtage. D.S.



Hospitable Erik Nyholm and lovely Margot, early in May 1961, in Copenhagen, neither of them knowing that, within three months, Margot, suffering from incurable cancer, was destined to die.

Erik Nyholm, b. 11/10/1903. Son of a Copenhagen Postmaster, Erik was a boy scout in the same troop as Einar Lund and I were. He appears first in my diary in 1917, as the fifth and youngest member of 'The Plot.' About the time I went to England, he went by ship to the remnants of Imperial China. In Peking and elsewhere he obtained employment by Danish Far Eastern companies, becoming *persona grata* of Chiang-Kai-Shek.

He prospered, acquired a temple in Peking, took up polo-playing, and married as first wife, to niece of the American ambassador in Tokyo. Occasionally, by rail, via Siberia, he travelled to Europe, where he visited me, amongst others, in North Harrow and at College Road.

In World War II, he became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the British army, and after the war returned to Denmark with his Chinese manservant, where, 2/7/1947, he married the charming and elegant Margot Lander, famous and lovely prima ballerina at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen.

He treated her like a Queen; built for her a chalet at Villar-sur-Ollon in Switzerland, acquired a flat in Rome, another flat in Copenhagen and a summer house at Tibirke near Copenhagen. Both Erik and Margot were very hospitable towards me and my wives, and we visited them at all their residences, and in winter went skiing with them. Through them, we met many interesting people. They also stayed with us in London (1948) and Elland (1960).

Margot retired from the stage in 1950. honoured by the King, whose three daughters she had taught dancing. She died from cancer in July 1961. Both Sylvia and I saw her in bed in their Copenhagen flat, and attempted to console Erik. That spring they had planned to visit Hong Kong and Formosa to organize the sale of Nu-Swift. Eighteen months later, Erik went alone.

18/4/1923-
17/7/1925 : Wrote from London and Paris, weekly or fortnightly, articles on financial, economic and political subjects, published in Copenhagen by 'Børsen' and 'Finanstidende,' in London by 'The Financial Times,' and, translated into Swedish, in Helsingfors by 'Finansbladet':

Engelske Finanser, 18/4/1923,
"Capital Levy," 25/5/1923,
Franske Finanser, "Den kalkede Grav,"
26/9/1923,
Den engelske Frihandels-Vimpel, 2/10/1923,
Inflationsfrygt, 28/10/1923,
Det engelske Parlamentsvalg, 29/11/1923,
P & O, 5/1/1924,
Guld og Diskonto, "Finanstidende," 9/1/1924,
Quo Vadis? 10/1/1924,
Francens Fald, 13/1/1924,
De nye Mænd, 10/2/1924,
Olie-Interesser, 13/2/1924,
Prisaftaler, Karteller og Truster, 18/2/1924,
Den engelske Industri, Kampen om
Verdensmarkedet, 5/3/1924,
Fra Marinebasis til Handelsbalance, 12/3/1924,
Francens Kamp paa Valutamarkederne,
27/3/1924,
Det engelske Verdensrige, 3/4/1924,
Den Første Krigslaans-Konvertering, 8/4/1924,
Englands Farveindustri, 20/4/1924,
Engelske Arbejderforhold, 27/4/1924,
Det engelske Finanslovforslag, 9/5/1924,

Mrs. M. M. M. Post Office
London E. C. 2
25. Jan. 1923.

Kære lille Mor!

Antagelig er det dig uforsædligt,
at du ikke i saa lang Tid har
hørt fra mig, men der i. januar
begyndte jeg paa de Praktiserings
[Study of London College] 3 Aftener
om Uger, og da de andre allerede
var begyndt for 3 Maanedes Tid,
maa jeg jo hængse vældig i
min Tid for at kunne følge
med de Programskolederne
jo selvfølgelig bliver det ogsaa lettere.

I Søndags begyndte jeg umiddel-
bart paa et Brev til dig, men da
jeg blev afbrudt og ikke fik fortsat,
sendte jeg som en lille Indikation
om, at jeg fremdeles var levende,
en Bog om den undervordiste
Kunstenes Diamantjubilæum. Jeg
haaber at den vil interessere dig.

Dette lille Kort skriver jeg i min
Lunch-Time men snart Søndag skal
Brevet følge. Mine bedste Hilsener
Sund

On a postcard, dated 25/1/1923, written in my lunch hour, three months after my arrival in London, I explain to Mor the reason for my silence being due to my three weekly evening classes but "latest on Sunday," I add reassuringly, "a letter will follow."

Imperie-Udstillingen i Wembley, 18/5/1924,
Interlocking Directorships.

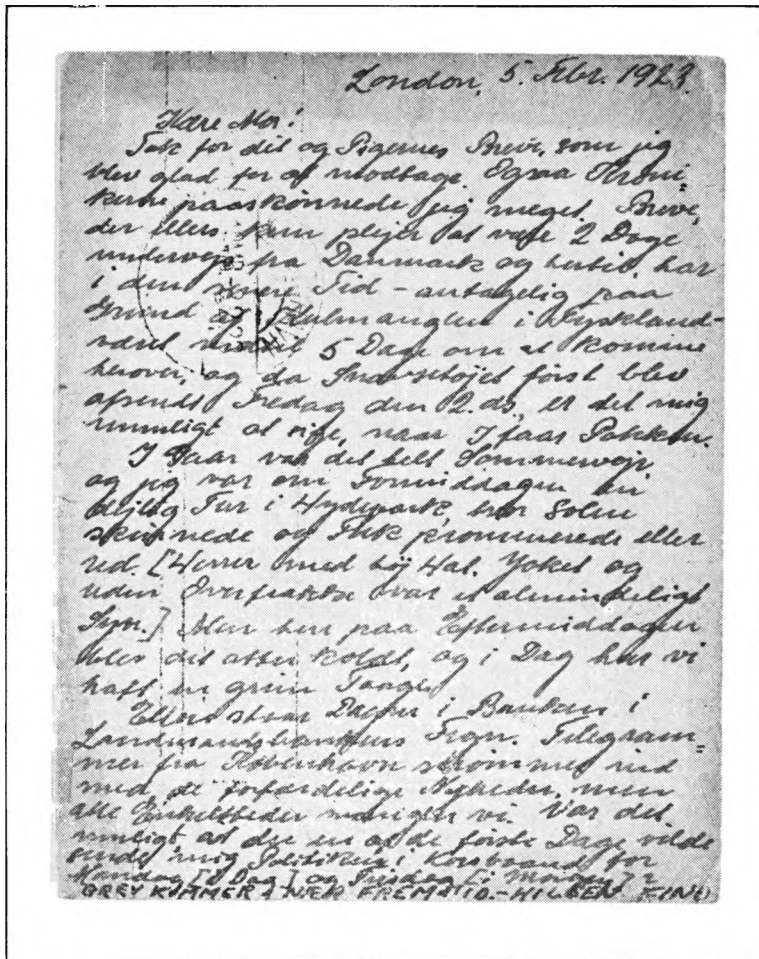
En Undersøgelse, 27-29/5/1924,

Engelsk Havnevæsen, 8/6/1924,

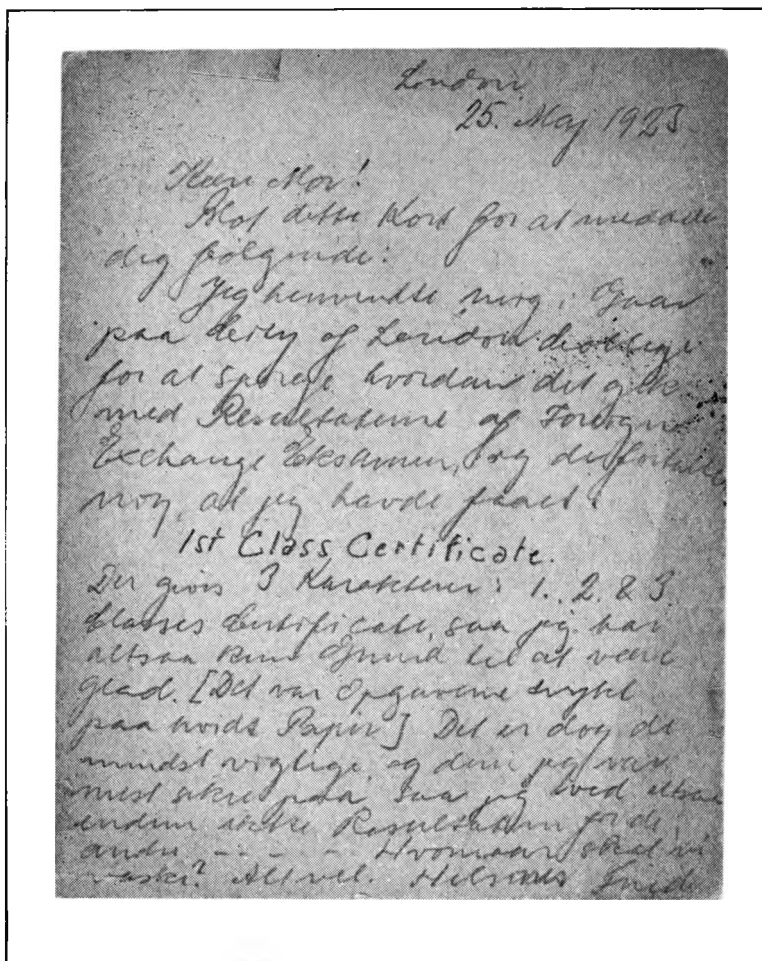
Engelsk Politik, 18/6/1924,

Wall Street eller Lombard Street,

Dollar kontra Sterling, 4/7/1924,



Review from the foggy Metropolis featuring spring weather with gentlemen in morning coats and top hats in Hyde Park, on Sunday, and my request for newspaper feature articles about the failure of the Landmandsbank. (5/2/1923.)



On a postcard, dated the 25/5/1923, I reported to Mor the result of my Foreign Exchange examination was a 1st class certificate.

Significantly, in the last sentence, I enquired: "When do we wash?" For the first two or three years, while I was in England, I returned all my laundry monthly for washing and repair. Returned clean in a tin, it was accompanied by home-made biscuits and feature articles from Politiken.

Engelsk Bankvæsen, 10/7/1924,
Terminforretninger i fremmed Valuta,
27/7/1924,
Londons Laanemarked, 23/8/1924,

Erstatningsspørgsmaalet og Londons
 Laanemarked, 23/8/1924,
 Engelsk Roesukker-Industri, 29/8/1924,
 England i en Nøddeskal, 4/9/1924,
 Gummi 1, 14/9/1924,
 Gummi 2, 16/9/1924,
 Efter Dawes Overenskomsten, 17/9/1924,
 Englands Traktat med U.S.S.R., 23/9/1924,
 Bliver det ny Firmanavn " Uld & Co " eller
 " Kunstsilke, Ulds Efterfølger," 1/10/1924,
 Til de med Udvé, 8/10/1924,
 Det tyske Laan, 14/10/1924,
 Parlamentsvalget i England, 15/10/1924,
 Englands Kuleksport & Tysklands
 Reparationsleverancer, 26/10/1924,
 From Paris : Det engelske Valgresultat gennem
 franske Briller, 7/11/1924,
 From Paris: Franske Finanser, 11/11/1924,
 From Paris: Det interallierede Gældsspørgs-
 maal, 19/11/1924,
 From Paris: Det ny franske Statslaan,
 27/11/1924,
 From Paris: En kommende Fragtkrig?
 7/12/1924,
 From Paris : England og fransk Nyorientering.
 13/12/1924,
 From Paris: Fundering af Den franske
 Krigsgæld til U.S.A.? 18/12/1924,
 From Paris : En Rekord-Emission i London.
 Det engelske Kapitalmarked, 25/12/1924,
 From Paris: Engelske og amerikanske Banker
 i Frankrig, 3/1/1925,
 From Paris: Vender England tilbage til
 Guldstandard i 1925? 6/2/1925,
 From Paris: Produktion og Efterspørgsel,
 12/2/1925,
 From Paris: Fransk Politik, 12/3/1925,

From Paris : Diamanter, 15/3/1925.
 From Paris: Frankrig som Industriland,
 15/4/1925,
 From London: Guldstandard og Folkeforsik-
 ring, 5/5/1925,
 From London: Kritik af engelsk Bankvæsen,
 7/5/1925,
 From London: Englands svigtende Eksport-
 overskud, 5/6/1925,
 From London: Guldets Æra, 6/6/1925,
 From London: Den engelske Bomuldsindustri,
 10/6/1925,
 From London: Englands Erhvervspolitik,
 17/7/1925,

The 61 articles written in London and Paris in Danish, were submitted to, and published by, the daily paper, "Børsen," in Copenhagen between April 1923 and July 1925. The one exception was "Guld og Diskonto," rejected by 'Børsen,' immediately re-submitted to the more respected weekly, 'Finanstidende,' in Copenhagen, and 9/1/1925 published in this.

No articles were rejected by the 'Børsen' thereafter. On the contrary, carbon copies of the articles were submitted in Danish to the Swedish weekly 'Finansbladet,' and by its staff translated into Swedish and published in Helsingfors. The 'Børsen' paid me a fee of 12 Øre a line.

Other articles submitted by me in English to the 'The Financial Times' in London, were published in this under the heading 'By a Special Reporter.' Only in the spring of 1925, included in the Annual Review of 'The Financial Times,' with banner headlines, was

an article published on 'Conditions in the Scandinavian countries in 1924;' erroneously, I was credited with being an employee of Banque des Pays du Nord instead of Banque Commerciale pour les Pays du Nord. On return to London, I was paid four Guineas. The modest amount had a significant influence upon my future.

- 1923 : Urgent. Baerbank, Zürich, were Marconigrams with the fluctuating French franc rate, of which we sent ten or fifteen a day, and which were picked up in a villa in Copenhagen, ahead of the competitors by L. Palsby, who for a year or two, beat his less orthodox and enterprising, other bankers in Copenhagen.
- July/August 1923: Unable during my fortnightly summer holiday, in 1923, to visit Denmark owing to shortage of money, I went on a continental holiday trip, on bicycle, borrowed from my departmental 'boss' Holger Christensen Baadsgaard (later to become known as 'Mac' (1894-1969), via Dover, to Brussels. 19/7/1923 : In Bruges, I met Albert Harland (1869-1957) of Sheffield, who, for eight or ten critical years (1925-35), was to provide me with financial assistance, all, however, eventually repaid by me.
- October 1924- March 1925: Foreign exchange clerk to learn French at Banque Commerciale pour l'Europe du Nord, 26 Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris. Private lessons in French in *Quartier Latin*, and, sometimes, in the evening, in Montemartre, by *Madame Alotte*.
- Christmas 1924- New Year 1925: By train from Paris to Chamonix for my first ski-ing holiday.

SCANDINAVIAN CONDITIONS.

By FIND GRAUCOB,
Banque des Pays du Nord.

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The outstanding event of the economic life of the Scandinavian countries during 1924 was the resumption by the Swedish Riksbank of specie payments. It was undoubtedly a bold step Sweden took when, as the only European country, she decided from 1st April, 1924, to return to the gold standard. However, though the policy doubtless has proved more costly than could be foreseen at its inception, the events have not justified the apprehensions of those who maintained that the return of a small country like Sweden to the gold standard, while even Great Britain still clung to the paper £, could only be described as a reckless adventure. What the advocates of a return to the gold standard principally feared was, indeed, not an outflow of gold, but rather an excessive import which, as has been the case in U.S.A., might cause dangerous inflation. For this contingency a special law was passed prohibiting the import of gold into Sweden, except when license was granted. The law, however, proved wholly unjustified, and it was recently stated that all import licenses applied for had, without exception, been granted.

The dangers were of a different kind. During the past year Germany returned once more to sound currency conditions, and the financial authorities in Berlin found themselves compelled, even before the Dawes Scheme had started working, to replenish the half-empty coffers of the German note issuing institution. With the dollar rather above par at Stockholm during spring and the early summer months it was found cheaper to obtain gold from Stockholm than from London, and the result was that the Swedish Riksbank's gold reserves fell from 77.2 mill. kroner on 31st March to 27.0 mill. kroner on 31st December last. In consequence thereof it was found necessary in Stockholm to raise the dollar rate to about 1/2 per cent. above par—that is, from 3.75 to 3.71—in order to protect the Swedish gold reserves.

NORWEGIAN AND DANISH CURRENCIES.

The currencies of the two other Scandinavian countries, Denmark and Norway, fluctuated rather heavily during the past year. The London quotations at the end of 1924 were, respectively, 20.83 and 31.37, compared with 24.44 and 22.02 twelve months previously. The depreciation of the two currencies was, however, more apparent than real owing to the recent appreciation of sterling; in point of fact, the quotation of the Norwegian currency in New York on 31st December, 1924, was about 1.9 per cent. higher than at the end of 1923. More serious were the wild fluctuations which these currencies experienced during the year, in the case of the Danish krone amounting to approximately 15 per cent., and in the case of the Norwegian krone to about 10 per cent. These fluctuations were, doubtless, accentuated by the failure in both countries of several banks, in Denmark including the smallest of the local "Big Five," Køben-

havn Diskontobank Og Revisionsbank, and a well known private firm, D. B. Adler and Co.

Urgently necessary as a stable currency seemed in Denmark, the past year was chiefly occupied with discussions and negotiations as to how this goal should be reached. The so-called "equalisation scheme," started in 1923, proved, as could have been foreseen, a failure. Towards the end of 1924 unanimity was, however, reached as to a new scheme, the chief provisions of which are as follow: The note-issuing institution known as the Nationalbank undertakes, during the first half of 1925, to keep the dollar rate at a maximum of 3.75, and from that figure gradually to bring the rate down until 3.25 is reached at the end of 1925. (The par of exchange is 3.75.)

To assist the Nationalbank in its endeavours to control the exchange market, the Government undertakes (1) to redeem its debt to the bank, amounting to 10 mill. kroner, and (2) to guarantee a credit of 20 mill. to be obtained in New York. As will be recalled, the 20 mill. has already been negotiated through the National City Bank, and the working of the scheme has begun. It seems likely that, with this credit at its disposal, the Nationalbank will be able to control the market during the present year, but a permanent improvement of the currency can only be looked for if an authorisation of the Danish trade balance takes place.

In Norway it seems as if a cure for the exchange troubles has not yet been devised. But, to cut a long tale short, one of the remedies appearing obvious when it is stated that during the financial year 1923-24 the Government debt increased from 119 mill. kroner to 160 mill. kroner, and that the deficit between revenue and expenditure during the same period amounted to no less than 22.9 mill. kroner. It is satisfactory to learn that the new Budget recently submitted to the Storting just balances, though, of course, this is not synonymous with that the final figures will be the same.

GENERAL IMPROVEMENT.

The year has in all the three countries been characterised by a general, though slow and uneven, improvement. The timber and wood pulp export trade, which is of vital importance to both Sweden and Norway, has been maintained, though at declining prices.

The Swedish export of iron ore has, in consequence of the new conditions ruling in the Ruhr district, increased compared with 1923. During the first half of the year Norway suffered from a protracted lock-out, comprising some 70,000 men engaged in the wood-refining, electro-chemical and electro-refining industries. This, of course, affected Norway's economic life adversely, but, happily, the fishing industry, on the other hand, was very successful during the past year. It is estimated that the value of the total catch of the cod fisheries during 1924 amounted to well over 100 per cent.

more than during each of the two preceding years.

In Denmark the agricultural industry prospered. Germans, which practically did not appear as a purchaser during 1923, took no less than 30 per cent. of the total agricultural exports during the last year. Great Britain, on the other hand, only received 50 per cent. against 84 per cent. The total butter, bacon and eggs exports were respectively 10 per cent., 11 per cent. and 5 per cent. higher than in 1923. The recent rise of the sterling dollar rate has been of considerable benefit to the Danish agricultural industry, as the bulk of its "raw materials" is obtained from U.S.A., while, as above-mentioned, the greater part of its exports goes to Great Britain.

The Danish trade balance, which for the first ten months of 1924 showed a deficit of only 150 mill. kroner, was highly unfavourable during the last two months, and the final result was a deficit of 299 mill. kroner for the year. This compares with a deficit of 340 mill. kroner for 1923. The Swedish trade balance for the last three years was as follows (in millions of kroner):—

	Imports	Exports	Surplus.
Jan-Nov. 1922	1,051.9	1,012.2	21.7
Jan-Nov. 1923	1,235.2	1,010.9	223.3
Jan-Nov. 1924	1,282.2	1,127.9	154.3

It was learned with satisfaction that the earnings of the Norwegian mercantile fleet, which largely cover the Norwegian trade balance deficit, was estimated to amount to about 550 mill. kroner for 1924.

THE SWEDISH MATCH COMPANY.

On the Stockholm Bourse much interest was taken in the Match Company shares, a great number of which was reported to have been sold to London. The Skandinaviska Kreditaktiesocietet's index of the shares, quoted on what is known as the A1 list, rose during the year from 1,211 mill. kroner to 1,269 mill. kroner. On the Copenhagen Bourse the local share index fell from 100 at its inception at the beginning of the year to 91 at the beginning of 1925, while the corresponding index for bonds dropped to 90 1/2.

The index price-numbers of the three Scandinavian countries during the past year followed, of course, the general upward tendency:—

	31/12/23	31/12/24
Sweden (total of Trade)	160	154
Denmark (Danmarksindex)	210	210
Norway	241.8	275.3

The Swedish Bank Rate was at the end of the year 61 per cent. The Norwegian Rate, which at the beginning of the year was 7 per cent., was, on the 22nd November, 1924, lowered to 61 per cent. The Danish Bank Rate, which on 16th January, 1925, was raised from 8 per cent. to 7 per cent., was still standing at the latter figure at the end of the year, and in certain quarters an even still higher rate was spoken about as being likely.

BANKING IN FINLAND.

By RISTO RYTI,
Governor of the Bank of Finland.

The market for stocks and shares is comparatively unimportant in Finland, the public preferring to deposit its savings in the banks rather than invest

and pre-war currency, we obtain a result of about 8,250 millions, which should, therefore, be the present figure for loans, if these are to represent the

An appreciable improvement has also occurred during the year in the position of the banks themselves with regard to other countries. Whereas, in May,

This article I wrote in Paris, at 22 1/2, but for which the 'Financial Times' fortunately paid me only four Guineas. Fleet Street, once again, had showed that it was a road to prosperity, if you knew when to leave it!

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In Bruges on cycling holiday. With Tom Cook of Sheffield, a member of the party of which Albert Harland was in charge.

19th July, 1923.

1/9/1925: Started in business on my own account and in my own name, at a furnished office, with communal telephone service, at an all-inclusive rent of £1 per week at Parksworth House, 30 City Road, London EC1. Selling automatic vending machines were very much in my mind

as a future mode of making a living. S. A. Dohm, one of my Danish bank clerk colleagues, had made a minor fortune by selling to the Imperial Tobacco Company a large number of Copenhagen-made Wistoft Cigarette Machines.



In London,
probably about 1926.

From 1917 to 1919 I had been employed as a junior clerk in Copenhagen by *De Forenede Automat- & Metalvarefabriker A/S*, who were manufacturers of vending machines, and later by Hermann Jensen, the original principal shareholder of that Company. After he had sold out to A/S Wittenborgs Automafabriker,

Odense, he became their sales concessionaire for Eastern Denmark. Still later, his son, Rob. Funck Jensen, living at Aarhus, had set up there as a vending machine manufacturer, trading as a limited company as A/S Rob. Funck Jensen. I offered my services as the London Representative of A/S Kjøbenhavns Handelsbank, Copenhagen, but the offer was only accepted many years later. After my banking experience in London and Paris, in the summer 1925, I arranged with him by correspondence for three or four machines, suitable for British silver coinage and cigarette packets, to be sent to me. Forwarded via Esbjerg/Harwich, they were stored by me in London at Bishopsgate Goods Station. Robert could give me no credit, except for a very short time, so what about capital? My savings were only £18, but a day or two after dinner at the House of Commons with Albert Harland, Member of Parliament for the Eccleshall Division of Sheffield, I received, unsolicited, a letter from him offering to lend me £100 to get my business under way. This action of a fairy godfather startled, thrilled and encouraged me. With the aid of a handyman, the first 3-column cigarette machine for the sale of three 6d. brands was erected on trial outside a tobacconist's at 25 Harrow Road, London W2. Reactions of the public, early and late, were watched carefully by me from nearby. The handyman's worst fears, viz. that the machine would be smashed or stolen, were not realized, nor did the suggestion prove correct that the display of the machine would lead to prosecution for contravention of the Children's Act. Sales, however, proved insufficient to make me

successful in inducing the tobacconist to buy the machine, even on deferred payment. Profits, moreover, were reduced by the failure of the primitive coin selectors to reject many of the brass discs and other dud coins inserted in lieu of sixpences. On my 23rd birthday (16/11/1925), I ceased to be employed by the Bank (which soon afterwards closed its doors). My sales experience in respect of another machine elsewhere proved just as disappointing. Harland was kept *au fait* with my lack of financial progress, while Rob. Funck Jensen, himself financially in a tight corner, gently started pressing for payment.

Dohm's rapid success had been due to bulk orders from the Imperial Tobacco Company. They placed the machines on loan outside the shops of principal tobacconists, restricting their use to the sale of their own brands. This I used as an excuse for my lack of success. And while I tackled the retail market, both my approach and pricing policy were weak and wrong. Other cigarette manufacturers existed, but the Imperial Tobacco Company had a near monopoly, and, by a bonus system, held in their iron grip most of the fair-sized retail tobacconists.

From the 1880s, the British Automatic Co. Ltd., a public company, later unfairly involved in the Hatry scandal, but in 1925/26 more likely to come to grief from hardened arteries than other causes, had had a monopoly of placing automatic machines on railway stations, and piers, their unit of sale being, however, only 1d. Articles on sale were mainly Victorian types of sweetmeat, including 1d. boxes of matches and 1d. cartons of one

anonymous cigarette. My machines were designed for 6d. and 1/- standard packets of 10 or 20 branded cigarettes. Here was a wholesale market worth going for. Imagine an order for machines for installation at all British railway stations!

My approaches to BAC were cordially received by their Mr. Devenish, but consideration of my suggestions dragged on for twelve or eighteen months. The Hatry debacle and what followed were needed to wake them up! But I was neither a Hatry nor did I have the technical or commercial experience of the BAC organization.

In December, 1925, Harland, at no request of mine, advanced a second £100, suggesting, however, that when I had also run through this amount, I should have got my ideas regarding the future clarified. Indeed I was in business on my own, but also in debt and no nearer to making a living, modest though my outgoings were, living in digs at Mrs. Upson's terrace house in Bushey, Herts. What was to be done?

In the early evening of New Year's Eve, the 31st December, 1925, I was standing alone on the wide pavement at Shepherds Bush, outside The Bush Hotel, a pub next to two music halls and a super cinema. During the intervals of their twice nightly performances, it drew much of its trade, from these. Christmas I had spent with Graham Kent at his parents' large, rambling, so-called cottage at Bexhill-on-Sea, enjoying an old-fashioned English Christmas, including playing charades and, on Boxing Day, on foot, attending my

first-ever meet of hounds, at Battle. I had hurried back to London to my little business in order to collect the sixpences, shillings and dud coins which made up the Christmas takings from my two machines, my only employee, J. Brandon, having been given more time off for the holidays than the boss. Equable of temperament and, by nature, optimistic, that evening I was feeling slightly depressed, and perhaps sorry for myself, as well as lonely. In Copenhagen, New Year's Eve, would be a festive occasion, while on New Year's Eve the previous year, dancing at the hotel in Chamonix, where I had stayed for my first skiing holiday. I had declared my love to the fair Gladys, youngest and loveliest of the three Langstaff sisters from Le Havre, a declaration which obviously made some impression upon her, though later we met only once or twice in Paris. Now, alone on the almost deserted pavement of the London suburb, I was weighed down by what seemed to be the millstone of my £200 debt to Harland, no business, no job, and no income.

That evening, however, became a turning point in my career. Outside the Bush Hotel appeared to be an obvious site on rental basis for one of my machines. Having briefly, in the noisy public bar, explained my novel proposition to J. Cranney, the manager, the next day, I was given permission to fix one machine there. Nor was that all. I was also invited to report on fixing machines in, or outside, some twelve or fifteen pubs elsewhere of Clarke, Baker & Co. Ltd. Ranging in location from the Manor House in North-East London, via the Hog in the Pound in

Oxford Street, and other pubs in the West End. they went to Shepherds Bush and beyond. Inside weeks, the outcome was that I found myself with a number of machines fixed. through which I was achieving a sizeable turnover. Moreover, this development gave me fresh courage ; during the next months I canvassed and procured, near or in between the pubs mentioned, other sites at garages, cinemas and fish and chip shops, as far afield as Watford, Wembley and Harlesden in the North-West and including in the South-West, Chelsea, Fulham, Putney and Wandsworth. Harland was delighted, although further loans would be needed from him with which to finance the purchase, both of cigarettes and machines. None of the other sites, in terms of takings, ever equalled that at the Bush Hotel, where eventually I had both a 6- and a 5-column cigarette machine, and two match machines, the record takings from the lot, one August Bank Holiday, reaching the seemingly large sum of £7-odd.

Every day of the year, including Christmas Day, either I or, later, faithful Arthur Ruck, the young, and to me devoted, ex-messenger from my banking days, had to call there, carrying the heavy parcels of cigarettes with which, after having collected and checked the takings, we had to refill the machines. I can still feel the strings of parcels cutting into my fingers when, Sunday and weekday, having arrived by tube from 30 City Road, I carried the loads across the Green to the Bush Hotel, where the electric tubing, until many years later, could still be discerned. No wonder that, in the absence of a car, I acquired encyclopædic

knowledge, superior to that of most Londoners, of the cheapest and fastest way to travel from one end of London to the other, by tram, tube, bus, underground or other railway. New sites had to be found, investigated and negotiated. Additional machines had to be forwarded from my small stock at Bishopsgate, and carefully fixed in my presence, by Joe Millington, my part-time mechanic.

An occasional watch to catch culprits had to be kept on machines where dud coins absorbed a large percentage of my modest profit. Two or three times I was involved in physical pavement fights with three or four men on top of me. Once, when physically I had 'arrested' a diddler, even two 'bobbies' who questioned my authority to do so, had difficulty in getting their release from my powerful grip. Naïve and inexperienced, I was learning the hard way by enquiry, experience and reflection. Not being a smoker, when looking for a machine site, I was surprised to learn from a commissionaire at a Bethnal Green cinema that, in spite of the butler image on the Kensitas cigarette packet, this brand was a best seller in the slum district.

Like Topsy, my business 'just growed,' there being no master plan behind these haphazard developments; but, thanks to Harland's financial and moral support, as well as my own initiative and industry, in terms of trade I survived and now had a business. Though after allowance for interest on Harland's loans and amortization of the machines, admittedly it was not a very profitable venture. The General Strike, in May 1926, did not cause me any setbacks; on the contrary, thanks to the

strikers who, idling about, still had last week's wages in their pockets, my turn-over went up, the main difficulties being those of obtaining supplies of cigarettes and getting about to refill the machines. The silent sigh of relief with which, at the Bank Tube Station, I greeted the announcement that the strike was over, was in inverse ratio to the size of my very modest business activities.

In retrospect, it is easy to see that this period represented Stage 1 of my independent business career. Concurrently, however, I was also continuing to attempt to sell, both in London and the Provinces, the 3-column Ilam (Illuminated Automatic Machine, Aarhus-made cigarette machines, through 'travellers,' with whom I had made contact by classified advertisements in 'John Bull' and similar publications. Both prices and rates of commission were ill-conceived, being based on the well-intentioned advice of Hancock, Albert Harland's London traveller, who had no more experience of, or flair for, speciality selling than the man in the moon.

Unfortunately on deferred payments, the first 3-column Ilam machine ever sold by one of my men was for delivery in Bristol to an address in Denmark Street, the latter fact seeming a happy omen. Non-payment of one of the monthly instalments, owing to mechanical trouble, soon, however, necessitated a non-economic 200 miles journey from London to Bristol and back, on the rear seat of Alex de Barnholt's motorbike, in order to get the machine going again. It also provided warning of the folly of selling on deferred payments, for installation far from

my GHQ in London, machines with imperfect coin selectors or which might give mechanical trouble.

Problems facing me, as in the case of any small business, where delegation is impossible, seemed overwhelming. Then, and for years later, the twenty-four hours of the day seemed insufficient for all the action necessary. It must have been about this time that, while waiting for 'Bobbie' one summer evening, I was attempting to balance my account books sitting on the steps leading into St. Marylebone Parish Church, where, during the previous century, Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett had furtively met to get married. In September 1926, without being married, 'Bobbie' and I for a week went to Brussels on our first memorable holiday. In my absence, trustworthy Arthur Ruck looked after all my machines placed in parts of Western London.

In the Summer of 1926, I was, however, getting into an impasse. The return earned by me from Harland's money, whether by sale of cigarettes or Ilam machines, was insufficient. Yet Funck Jensen was disappointed at the smallness of my orders. Then one day in 1926, when on the platform of a tube station I saw the mass of discarded red paper wrappers for 1d. packets of Nestlé's chocolate, a fresh idea came to me. Apart from the Copenhagen-made machines purchased by Dohm, and supplied on loan by the Imperial Tobacco Company to favoured tobacconists, most vending machines in Britain were owned by the British Automatic Company, on railway stations and piers. And of these most popular

were those for the sale of 1d. packets of Nestlé's chocolate. Not only was the profit on chocolate $33\frac{1}{3}\%$, compared with 20% on cigarettes, but the risk of spurious coins being accepted in copper coin machines was negligible. Funck Jensen proving co-operative, inside six months he had designed and produced an inexpensive single-column machine for 1d. packets of chocolate. Selling, on deferred payments, at £5-15-0, compared with £39-10-0 for the 3-column Ilam cigarette machine, the chocolate machine immediately proved a winner. 'Travellers' in London, on the South Coast, in Newcastle, in Scotland, and elsewhere, were attracted, while sales from the machines, as I had forecast, proved astoundingly large. In a whole-page advertisement in the Confectionery Journal (1/9/1927) prepared with much forethought and inserted at the considerable cost of £7, I even offered this 'Little Goldmine' machine on a 10-days' free trial. Coupon enquiries soon started arriving. They were followed up by mail, by my 'travellers,' or, if within 100 miles of London, by myself by train. Travelling to Aylesbury, Gamlingay, Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight and elsewhere, taking with me two or three machines, I would as travelling luggage smuggle them past ticket collectors. When I had sold the machines, preferably without trial, I would fix them on the spot, first plugging the wall, as I had watched Millington, my part-time mechanic, do. Selling myself these machines, generally for cash, I saved the 'traveller's' commission. One evening, arriving for dinner at Boysens' house at Rickmansworth, to meet 'Bobbie,' I was almost overwhelmed when I calculated

the profit which, that day, I had made in Aylesbury by the sale of no less than three machines. During my journalistic career, I had written about the business success of tycoons. Not yet a tycoon, I was beginning to learn, and to think in terms of, financial fundamentals ; mentally, as well as physically, I was becoming more adaptable.

During the return voyage, after one of my brief, essential business visits to the factory in Aarhus, being tossed about for twenty hours by the waves of North Sea, I was debating with myself in my berth the weaknesses of the set-up of the monetary structure of my sales policy in not offering sufficient inducement to my 'travellers.' Selling the chocolate machines at £5-15-0 on deferred payments over five months, or £5-5-0 for cash, I was buying them at £2-15-0 and at Hancock's suggestion, only paying my 'travellers' 15/- commission on each. During my lengthy homeward voyage, I arrived at the momentous decision to *increase* my selling prices to £8 and £7 respectively, and to offer my 'travellers' a weekly salary of £2, plus a higher amount of commission, this extra commission not applying to the first two machines sold every week. Bolder than my decision to incur the expense of £7 for the whole-page advertisement in the 'Confectionery Journal,' it was a soundly calculated risk which paid off. At the end of 1927, my business for the first time showed a modest paper profit, though the problem of illiquidity was to remain with me for years.

Imperceptibly, Stage 1 had passed into Stage 2, and, in turn, this now passed into Stage 3. The modestly priced single-column

chocolate machine had been easy to design, manufacture and sell. Could we not also supply a similar machine for the sale of 2d. packets of five Woodbines, the working man's cigarette *par excellence* and the fastest selling cigarette in Britain, for which no other automatic machine was on the market? Mechanical problems of design faced us. Partly thanks to Millington's ingenuity, after teething troubles, the factory in Aarhus started manufacturing a Woodbine machine operating, not on insertion of two pennies, but on the see-saw principle by insertion of every second penny. In effect, the machine was operated by the insertion of two pennies.

Wow! The 2d. Woodbine machine became an even bigger winner than the 1d. chocolate machine. Snowball-like, the events of 1928 made it my first big year of rapid expansion and moderate profits. This, however, caused larger overheads, as well as problems of selecting, training and controlling clerical staff. Until then 'travellers' were left to find out for themselves by discouraging trial and error, the best sales approach and methods of canvassing. My sales policy continued to be that of selling direct to shopkeepers, but mechanical and financial queries necessitated decentralization of control. Area representatives on commission were hence appointed in Brighton, Exeter, Bristol, Newcastle and Aberdeen. Later, I opened branch offices in Cardiff and Manchester, of which modestly salaried employees were in charge. (A. E. Cooper, still with us today (1975), started about this time as a service engineer in Newcastle for W. L. Struthers, my area representative there.)

Single-column machines of other makes were coming on the market, and both the Wrigley's Chewing Gum and the Sunmaid Raisin companies began marketing their products through these. A minor automatic machine boom on the Stock Exchange (1928) of public companies, such as Turner Automatic Machines Ltd. and Automatic Confections Ltd. brought unwelcome and unhealthy competition by companies with much larger financial resources than mine. (Woodbine machines were marketed by Automatic Confections Ltd. at an uneconomic price, until the company went bust, at roughly 50% of our model. About this time at the bottom of my notepaper I printed this quotation from John Ruskin: "There is hardly anything in the world that some man cannot make a little worse and sell a little cheaper, and the people who consider price only are this man's lawful prey.")

Woodbine and chocolate machines remained our best sellers, but gradually I extended my range of single column machines to include 6d. packets of 10 cigarettes, 1d. boxes of matches, and 1d. packets of Wrigley's Chewing Gum. Moreover, my 'travellers' sometimes would sell a 3, 4, 5 or 6-column Ilam machine; not only, however, were these machines relatively costly, but, designed for moving into the doorways of shops, after shopping hours in Denmark, they were also large and clumsy. Their depth of 8½ inches made them difficult to fit outside shops in Britain, without contravening bye-laws.

Thanks to my relatively large purchases, I enjoyed increased prestige with my suppliers

in Aarhus. A/S Rob. Funck Jensen. In 1930, they therefore brought on the market for me a newly designed 3-column machine of only 5 inches depth. Later, this narrow model was also made in other sizes ; named shortly after the recently launched Baby Austin car, which had become the darling of the man-in-the-street, it was christened the Baby Graucob machine.

Marketed with a generous margin of gross profit, and yet at a reasonably low price, mainly sold on deferred payments over twelve or eighteen months, the Baby Graucob, from the word 'go,' became a success. Liquidity-wise, it nearly wrecked my business. Sales proved so large that the factory at Aarhus got seriously behind with deliveries. Orders booked in June 1930 were not executed until October or November that year. Such delays, although few orders were cancelled, caused serious repercussions both to my 'travellers,' and my little company, as we all needed ready cash to meet our daily out-goings. Spring 1930, A/S Rob. Funck Jensen, having incurred large bad debts on their retail sales in Denmark, got into financial difficulties and, about April/May 1930, had to go into liquidation. By my selling over extended credit periods of 12 or 18 months, I was creating future liquidity difficulties for myself !

In 1927, I had begun daily typing with carbon copies, the Graucob Gazette, sent to each of my four 'travellers'. In this, in military terminology. I reported news of the 'captures' (i.e. individual sales) and 'promotions' in the

'Graucob Army,' as for long the Sales Force was referred to. Sales contests were also organized, though the very first overseas travel contest, scheduled to take the shape of a visit to the factory in Aarhus, in 1929, had to be abandoned, the Jydsk Handels- & Landbrugsbank A/S having appointed Viggo Meyn, jointly with my friend, Rob. Funck Jensen, to manage and control the affairs of A/S Rob. Funck Jensen, who was their large debtor. 1930 closed with a fine paper profit of almost 40% on my modest capital. But we were in a poor state of liquidity. How were we to cope with that headache ?

In a 12-page, single-spaced, quarto-page letter (three elaborate schedules attached!) written in English (3/12/1930) to J. Jensen, Manager of the Jydsk Handels- & Landbrugsbank A/S, Aarhus, a branch of A/S Kjobenhavns Handelsbank, who held the financial whiphand over my insolvent suppliers, comprehensively, but with brutal candour, I outlined my liquidity problems. Largely, these were due to the delivery delay of the new 3-column Baby Graucob machines.

The minute book of F. Graucob Ltd. (*still extant*) provides scant, indirect evidence of the struggle for liquidity which went on during 1930 and continued during the next few years, but in particular, during 1931 and 1932. My impression is that, in an attempt to raise capital, I spent most of 1931 in Denmark, but this cannot be correct. Although I had started the system still operating (1975) of having telegraphed to me daily the sales,

cash collected, goods invoiced and other crucial figures, the business was not sufficiently self-motivating to have enabled me to have been away from England for so long. The guest book at Gjessinggaard shows that, during 1931, I paid only three visits there (29-31/1/1931, 28-29/7/1931 and 17-18/10/1931). In May/June, accompanied by both Hans von Folsach and Service Engineer I. C. Twinney, I interviewed applicants and held sales' schools in Plymouth, Bristol and possibly elsewhere. (A hilarious evening discussion, while walking in the streets of Bristol with Hans, regarding the possibility of breeding future generations of salesmen, was recalled by him when, more than thirty years later, without explanation, I sent him a copy of 'The Passion Flower Hotel'). I was also in England when Sheila was born in North Harrow (24/6/1931.)

The minute book (16/12/1930) records guarantees by Harland and me to the Midland Bank Ltd. (£6,000) and the London Industrial Finance Trust Ltd. (£7,000). Allotment of further preferred shares paid for in cash by members of the Harland family, and a loan of £2,500 from J. & H. Wilson Ltd. (Harland's private company) are recorded (13/3/1931), £1,000 lent by Harland is also minuted (19/6/1931), interest on both being payable at 10% p.a. Harland and I also received commission of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ and $\frac{1}{2}\%$ on our guarantees to the bank and the finance companies. The limit, in respect of our joint guarantee for the loan from LIFT, was increased to £10,000, while authority was given for the payment to me of 2% commission

for signing, as an *avalist*, bills drawn by A/S Rob. Funck Jensen on F. Graucob Ltd.

The consciousness that these considerable loans and guarantees were outstanding kept Harland awake at night, while I lost my appetite. Ultimately, they were all repaid or discharged, at no cost to Harland or me. Without reference to me, but presumably to limit his financial commitments, to my regret Harland sold his lovely, but impracticable, tall Georgian terrace house at 4, The Esplanade, Scarborough. For years he retained his equally impracticable, though less lovely, Georgian house at 10, Psalter Lane, Sheffield, and his costly, inaccessible hobby pig farm at Sawdon-by-Brompton, near Scarborough. (At his death (25/2/1957), Harland left £150,000, of which only about half became payable in death duties. I neither expected, nor received, any bequest under his will.)

Sheila was born in our hour of financial crisis, when 'Bobbie' was emotionally unhappy. Two years earlier, at Pat's birth (13/6/1929) I felt so well off that I paid each member of my tiny staff a gratuity of one week's extra wages. Our own liquidity crisis in September, 1929, caused 'Bobbie's' milk supply for the three-months-old Pat to dry up. The first national Sterling crisis was brewing, though it came to a head only in September 1931. News of a more cheerful, confident and expansionary character, was provided by the removal of our offices from the first and fourth floors of the ramshackle building at 30, City Road to far superior

accommodation on the 1st floor of 70/74, City Road. (A 21 years' lease at £650 p.a. was sealed 2/4/1931. On a Sunday, the removal took place to our new premises, which included store rooms and a first-class sales school room.)

But, even before Britain went off the gold standard for the first time, 1931 was a year of crisis for me and F. Graucob Ltd., (formed on the 11th October, 1929), dominated by the names of A. I. Milne and H. M. von Folsach. The first of these two nearly wrecked my business, while by the aid of a modest financial investment of £5,000 by the second, I just managed to scrape through the winter of 1931-32. Britain imposed that winter two separate rates of duty of 10% (recommended by the May Committee.) And these had to be paid in the very currency of which I was short, viz. ready cash!

A. I. Milne, living, when I met him, in Aberdeen, but later in Glasgow, at that time was my premier area representative. In London, at our first Christmas dinner (21/12/1929) as 'Mac' was still working mainly for Auto-Dore Ltd. and only part-time for F. Graucob Ltd., Milne had been honoured to propose the toast to 'The Guv'nor.' With an endearing Scots accent, he did this with characteristic charm and eloquence.

During the six or seven years from 1926 to 1933, in the hard school of experience, I slowly learned how to make money. Not

expendable liquid cash, but profits, which after deduction of tax were represented by deferred payment debtors. In retrospect, making profits may appear to have been more difficult than it was. Whatever the answer, my task was clouded by vital secondary problems, some of which, at times, tended to overshadow my fundamental target. But, however difficult it proved to procure adequate capital, to maintain financial liquidity, to keep up sales and to hold down expenses, I never allowed these individual problems, frightening as their short-term impact occasionally was, to overwhelm me from my strategic object of making profits. More succinctly, I came to realise that the only way by which I could ever hope to get rid of the millstone of financial liabilities which I was gradually assuming, would be to make profits every twenty-four hours. To incur a loss any one day was to slide backwards; this explains why I became, and have remained, very figure-conscious.

In the true sense of the word, I never became a merchant, somebody who makes profits by both buying and selling. I developed first into a salesman, and later a sales organizer, when I taught and inspired others to sell, at fixed prices, articles which I had bought at lower fixed prices. Haggle, if the need arose, I could, and still can. But the courteous, analytical and truthful approach, with a touch of the actor in the background,

supported by a colourful vocabulary, became my tool, rather than that of a rapid mental calculator, commonly associated with the person able to make profit by both buying and selling.

The straight path, however, easy as today it may appear, and already did it in the early '40s, when I was forced to switch first to the sale of fuel economisers, air conditioners, and fire extinguishers, did not, at the end of 1925, seem at all obvious. And real financial success in the marketing of automatic machines was not achieved until 1934/37. Ahead of me, before I had found my feet financially, were two major phases of marketing, the second subdivided into at least seven minor ones. Financial success was achieved only by evolving the sales technique effective in relation to the different products available.

No doubt others could have done it quicker, but I never was a sprinter! The main factors which helped me to survive were : adaptability, imagination, luck, enthusiasm, pertinacity and mental honesty.

- 15/6/1927 : My first letter published in 'The Times.'
- 9/7/1929 : Pretended to have been written by Pat at the age of almost three weeks, the following letter, attractively-drafted in Bobbie's neat handwriting, was sent to Ruth, my youngest sister, on the 9th of July 1929 :

909

CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF BIRTH

The machinery for this certificate is in use. Where a search is necessary to find the entry, a search fee is payable in addition.

Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE,
SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON

Application Number 179415

REGISTRATION DISTRICT Kensington

1905 BIRTH in the Sub-district of Kensington Town in the County of London

No.	When and where born	Name, if any	Sex	Name, and surname of father	Name, surname, and maiden surname of mother	Occupation of father	Signature, description, and residence of informant	When registered	Signature of registrar	Name entered after registration
	<u>Teuth March 1905</u> <u>199 22</u> <u>Convent Road</u>	<u>Ann Sophia</u>	<u>girl</u>	<u>Henry Arthur Gearing</u>	<u>Mary Gearing formerly Weekly</u>	<u>Freocloest</u>	<u>At. M. Gearing</u> <u>22. Rowland Road</u>	<u>Inspected</u> <u>April 1905</u>	<u>L.P.</u> <u>Barnes</u>	<u>Registrar</u>

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a Register of Births in the District above mentioned.

Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON, under the Seal of the said Office, the 15th day of April 1917

*See note overleaf

This certificate is issued in pursuance of the Births and Deaths Registration Act, 1953.
Section 34 provides that any certified copy of an entry purporting to be sealed or stamped with the seal of the General Register Office shall be received as evidence of the birth or death to which it relates without any further or other proof of the entry, and no certified copy purporting to be given in the said Office shall be of any force or effect unless it is sealed or stamped as aforesaid.

CAUTION.—Any person who (1) falsifies any of the particulars on this certificate, or (2) uses a falsified certificate as true, knowing it to be false, is liable to prosecution.

18.4.17



Certified copy of entry of birth, 10/3/1905 in London. of 'Bobbie' (née Ann Sophia Gearing), whom I m. 16/4/1927 Watford Register Office, as my first wife. (The marriage was dissolved 16/9/1941 in Copenhagen. She died 5/5/1959 London.)

Pencilled self-portrait, drawn by 'Bobbie,' but signed 'Cynthia.' About 1926.

“Dear Faster Ruth,

At last I find time to write you. What wiv all dis fuss of washing, dressing, and changing, how can a man find time to write? You know Daddy, or the pater (as I should call him), had to go to Bristol the first Saturday after I arrived and sent me a telegram, so you see yours was not the first letter I had, though yours was the nicest gift I received. Matter of fact, it is the only one as yet, though I did hear my governor mention something to my mater about a spoon. But really you are a sport. I do love the fork and spoon from you. It's a top-hole Faster, I have got.

Mummy and I have been wading through our post each morning— telegrams, letters, bills, advertisements, samples. I told my parents it was all due to their putting the announcement in The Times. Of course, I shouldn't really grumble for I have benefited by it. I was rather touched by all the wires and letters. Mummy must know lots and lots of people and Daddy too. Very sweet of them all, don't you think?

Come to think of it, I's'pose I must have lots of Fasters. I must look them all up when I arrive in Denmark.

'Cos you know, though my parents are Danish, I am really English, having been born here, because I have the choice of becoming Danish when I reach my 18th birthday. My Aunties Ida and Eva visited me the other day and they had quite a

little argument over it. Not that it really troubles me.

It was like this. I was having my luncheon when they arrived and the mater and I not liking anyone to see us when I am being fed, told Daddy to ask them to close their eyes and sit by the windows with their backs towards us. 'Cos they both were very amused at our behaviour. But I made a stipulation from the moment I arrived. Well, then to carry on with the story. Daddy began entertaining them, showing them my telegrams and letters — (Cheek, I call it! Still he is an awfully nice old thing and I think we will get along with each other rather well. Seems full of beans, you know.) Then Daddy turned towards Faster Eva and said, “You know that baby is English, don't you?”. “Of course, he isn't,” Faster Eva replied. “Of course, he is English,” Auntie Ida chimed in, and then Daddy explained that one takes the nationality of the country in which one is born and that at the age of 18, has the option of becoming either Danish or English. And that ends all arguments.

Today I weigh 9 lbs. 3 ozs. My nurse seems very pleased with my weight. There now. I remember the scales by which I am weighed each morning. They were given to me by Daddy's employees. That was our first present, but wherever yours comes in, either first, second or third, I shall always prize it very, very much.

Has Faster Eva told you of the nice ring Daddy bought Mummy? It's a little beauty. Sparkles beautifully. It was given partly 'cos Mummy has never had an engagement ring and partly 'cos Mummy really gave me to Daddy. I think Daddy must spend a lot of money, for, also on my arrival he gave them all at the office an extra week's wages. I hope they thanked him lots and lots, for he is the best Daddy in the world and is good to everybody. Seems to me I shall have to check him rather when I can get about. I must tell him to put some furniture in the drawing room, when he can afford it. 'Cos later on I shall want to entertain my friends. By the way, Faster Ruth, a little surprise awaits you when you visit us next. You know that darling doggie you embroidered at Christmas for Mummy? Well, just before I decided to arrive, I whispered to Mummy, that it would be a splendid idea (as Daddy was at the time in Denmark), to have it made up as the seat for a stool. Mummy had the stool made in the exact shade of walnut, as the dining-room furniture is. It looks wonderful. Every-time we all three see it we are reminded of you, and think what a clever embroideress you must be.

It is very near my lunch time again and my tummy feels empty but before I leave you I must tell you that I am getting more like Daddy every day, though Nurse says I have mummy's temperament. Of course, all this remains to be seen. Though

I know I am awfully like Daddy. I haven't quite made up my mind whether to be curly or straight, or dark or fair. I had a lot of hair when I was born but am getting rather bald now. Well, really I must be off now. Be with you again in my next letter. Give my love to all relatives not forgetting Daddy Christmas, Toodle oo.

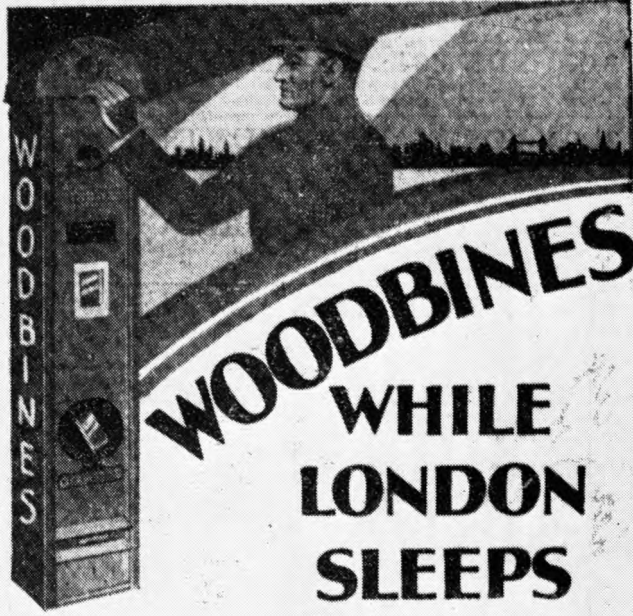
Son Graucob.”

- 13/6/1929 : Birth of Pat. All members of my small staff paid an extra week's wages.
- 11/10/1929 : Turned my business into a private limited company, F. Graucob Ltd. Harland's loans, totalling £5000, became converted into 8% participating preferred shares, while ordinary shares of £1000 were allotted to me, who retained voting control. Harland and Sir Dennis Herbert, KBE, MP, Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, both joined the Board.
- 1928/31 : Short of money, as I was, A. I. Milne, a super salesman, but also a 'con-man,' of Aberdeen and Glasgow, nearly wrecked my small business through fraudulence and misrepresentation. The Imperial Tobacco obtained an *interdict* against him. His last letter to me was sent from H.M. Prison at Peterhead. We lost money and reputation.
- Nov. 1928 : Sudden, painful attack at Baker Street Station of gravel passing through kidney. Attacks continued for six years.
- 1930 : Production of our first printed sales manual.

...ett burglar.
The police also alleged that he had taken nothing, but committed a burglary in Bury St. Edmunds, and he was remanded in custody to that town.

...handed ...
A constable ran towards the car but
Continued on BACK Page. Col. Six.

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WOODBINES WHILE LONDON SLEEPS

While London sleeps — you can obtain your 2d. packets of Woodbines from the Graucob All-Metal Machines outside shops in all parts of the great metropolis.

Enterprising traders instal these machines for your convenience and thereby warrant your custom—so make a practice of purchasing your Woodbines and other necessities from the shops with the Red Graucob Machines outside.

If you are unable to obtain your cigarettes after hours at the shop you usually patronize—write for the address of the nearest retailer with a Graucob Machine (postage refunded).

TRADERS in good positions are invited to write or telephone for particulars of the Graucob All-Metal Machines for the sale of Woodbines, Weights, the new 3d. packets of Cigarettes, Chocolate, &c. Attach this advertisement to one of your bill-heads and post to the address given below—or telephone CLERKENWELL 1651 or 6876.

F. GRAUCOB (Dept. E.N.), 30 CITY ROAD, E.C.1.

A front page solus advertisement in the Evening News (11/7/1929) was a bold, though unwise, attempt to market 2d. Woodbine machines by advertising instead of by cold-canvassing.



The flat above a shop at 3, Broadway, Pinner Road, North Harrow, where 'Bobbie' and I (later with Pat and Sheila), lived from 1927 to 1935.



Albert ('Bertie') Harland.

b. 6/9/1869. †23/2/1957.

Met Harland, a keen Scout leader, in Bruges (Belgium) on the 19th July, 1923. Harland's initial loan of £100 enabled me, on the 1st September, 1925, to start in business on my own account. Later, he became chairman of F. Graucob Ltd. and on Lord Hemingford's death, also of Nu-Swift Ltd. Harland was also Pat's godfather.

Managing Director of Joseph & Henry Wilson Ltd., Snuff Manufacturers ('S.P. No. 1') since 1749, in Sheffield. Member of Parliament for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield 1923-29. A nephew of Sir Edward Harland, Bt., one of the founders of Harland & Wolff Ltd., Shipbuilders, of Belfast.

About 1928.

- 24/6/1931 : Birth of Sheila. Critical business difficulties.
- October 1931 : Introduction by L. Palsby, a well-known Copenhagen private banker, Hans Michael von Folsach (b. 8/8/1901), (son of



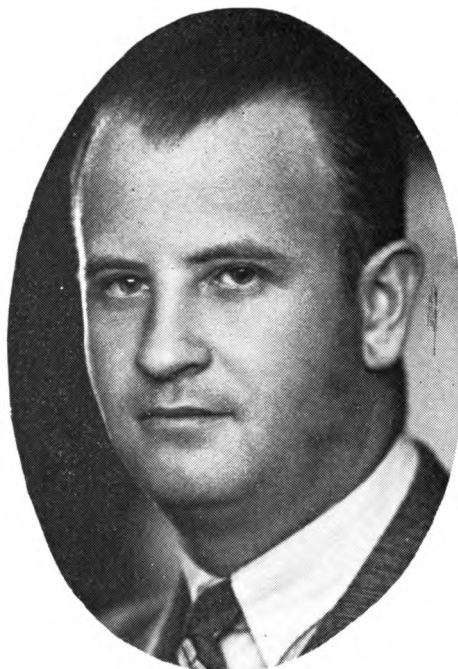
My first skiing trip in Chamonix.
Christmas 1924 and New Year 1925.



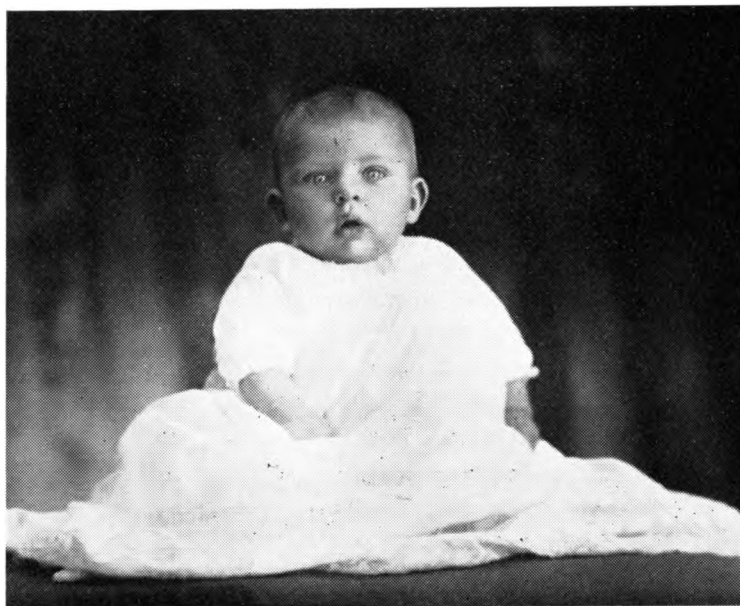
'Cynthia,' as 'Bobbie' preferred to be called, a year or two after I met her, say about 1924/26. 'Bewitching and lovely but not knowing the difference between fact and fiction,' was Eva's description of her.



Eva, my elder sister about 1928,
b. 11/5/1905 Copenhagen, m. 22/11/1930
Copenhagen City Hall, to *cand. pharm.*
Aage Heede, b. 5/7/1906 Copenhagen,
†24.5/1967 Copenhagen. 3 children.



Aage Heede, my sister's husband,
b. 5/7/1906 Copenhagen, m. 22/11/1930
Copenhagen City Hall, *cand. pharm.*
†24/5/1967 Copenhagen. 3 children.



Pat about five months old,
November 1929.



Sheila, near North Harrow.
About 1934.

Hofjægermester C. von Folsach, of Gjessinggaard, Randers), who joined the board, was appointed an assistant managing director, at a salary of £500 p.a. Invested a desperately needed £5000 in 8% participating preferred shares and, without consideration, received 15% of the equity of F. Graucob Ltd. In 1975 he still owns many of these shares.

The Winter Battle 1931/32 of liquidity and profitability

1931/32

The winter of 1931/32 was critical to me from two angles, that of sales but, even more, that of liquidity. During November/December 1931, Folsach's investment of £5,000, for which, during the first ten months of that year, I had fought so hard and paid dearly, vanished, almost like dew before the sun, in normal expenditure! Worse was to follow.

The very first sterling crisis of many, which, in September 1931, had scared Folsach, senior, had also frightened and confused governments and central banks all over the world, including HMG, of which the well-meaning, but muddle-headed Ramsey MacDonald was the nominal head. Soon followed the appointment by him of the May Committee which (about March/April 1932) with a brief interval, made two separate recommendations, each for the imposition of 10% duty on the import into Britain of all hitherto import-duty-free industrial products, including automatic machines. The effect to me of these recommendations, both of which were accepted and acted on, almost at once, was catastrophic. Waiting to midnight at a newspaper office in Plymouth for release of the first of these two recommendations (not knowing any more than seemingly, at the time the May Committee did, that, within a month or two, a second similar duty increase was to follow), I had, however, even before the arrival of the official announcement (which had been partly leaked), made up my mind that there was only one way in which boldly, but

effectively, I could deal with this fresh emergency. In depression-afflicted, crisis-struck Britain, we would not only have to increase, by the duty, our already high selling prices. We should also have to add our consequential higher sales costs, as the sales staff, being the kingpin of our whole set-up, in my opinion, could only be kept enthusiastic by being paid the full rate of commission on the higher gross sales price. Higher prices, however, were only part of my prospective difficulty, the problem of finding the additional cash in order to pay the duty, from a short-term point of view, being of even greater importance. How and where could I claw in the extra cash? The deposit on each order would have to be increased disproportionately to provide me with enough cash with which to pay the duty. This was equally vital because my additional paper profits on deferred payment agreements would not enable me to pay in cash H.M. Customs and Excise the 20% extra on the buying price which, suddenly, was called for. I still marvel at how I managed that winter to scrape through the triplefold crisis.

My own courage, imagination, enthusiasm, driving power and energy, supported by 'Mac's' loyal and never-failing practical help, provide the explanation. The idea and phraseology of the Standard Sales Presentation, was evolved by 'Mac,' and the extra sales obtained by the pupils from the first three whole-week sales schools held jointly by 'Mac' and me in Manchester, Nottingham and Birmingham, saved us. 'Mac's' work in the field with each

pupil subsequent to each of the three (and later other) schools, set a pattern for all time, still maintained in Britain by us and overseas by many of our concessionaires.

One scene, in particular, of the first of these weekly schools (January 1932) held in a private suite of the Midland Hotel, Manchester, in industrial Lancashire considered the acme of high-life living, stands out in my mind. After the initial introductory Monday session, at which, for the first time, the 30-year young, inexperienced, foreign managing director had expounded the principles of marketing automatic vending machines by the sale of increased profits, the seven pupils were enjoined overnight, word by word, to learn 'Mac's' Sales Presentation, inexpensively printed in blue soft cover. The thrill which, next morning, I experienced hearing "Hal" (W. H.) Page, with a noticeable Lancashire accent, on the small platform in front of the other pupils, repeating to me, almost verbatim, 'Mac's' very words and phraseology, I shall never forget. Like an alchemist, I felt that, at last, I had discovered the formula for making gold. So, in a way, I had.

Incautiously, the previous day I had, in front of the class, mentioned that each day, by wire from London, I would receive details of the day's orders, cash received, goods invoiced, etc. After two deliveries of the sales presentation, that second morning a pageboy turned up with the telegram on a salver which, in front of the class, I stupidly opened. To cover our ordinary

expenses we needed daily £200 worth of orders. Liquidity, however, was equally vital, Folsach's money having gone and incurring the additional expense of holding the sales school was a daring experiment. The first figure of the wire read: "10," indicating grossly insufficient sales for that day of only £10 to cover our normal expenses, let alone the cost of the School in those ritzy surroundings.

Actor-like, instantaneously and without a word, my face broke into a broad grin, as I handed the wire to Mac. Responding magnificently, he beamed back at me an equally jumbo-sized smile. Without a word, the situation, *vis-à-vis* our precious and costly pupils, had been saved.

Later, one of our pupils courteously commented "I could see that you had a good day today, sir." By my hypocritical "Why?" I extracted from him the statement that "I could tell from the smiles on your faces when you and Mr. Baadsgaard read the telegram." I then knew that not only had we both proved great impromptu actors but had also, in the minds of the pupils, created confidence in their future with my small company.

In January/February 1932 several members of the clerical and mechanical staff, including my inefficient office manager, were sacked without being replaced, while I reduced salaries and wages, including my own and that of the newly arrived Folsach. (In our case by 20%; in the case of those lower paid, by 15%, 10% or 5%). But in May 1932, the total daily value of orders procured and cash clawed in was sufficient to

show that the battles of liquidity and profitability had both been won. It was, however, to be another two years of profitable trading before, in 1934, I (or more correctly the Company), could spare the cash necessary to buy my first car.

And it was to be five years (1937) before F. Graucob Ltd. had repaid all moneys borrowed from banks and finance companies, the loans of which had been guaranteed by Harland and me.

My rate of speed in working and my general mode of life during the 1930/33 period are well illustrated by the 14-page letter, written piece-meal by hand to Mor (26/1/32—15/2/32) on the notepaper of the Midland Hotel, Manchester, during my interviewing prior to Mac's and my first whole-week sales school, referred to above.

- January 1932: Since 1927 I had daily typed and mailed the 'Graucob Gazette,' with the position list, to my four salesmen. About 1929, I published the first printed Sales Presentation and Sales Manual. Now began a 20-year period of intermittently holding week-long Sales Schools, first in Britain only, and later also in South Africa, based on tuition of our Standard Sales Presentation.
- 1933 : 'Your way to *increased* Profits,' a 80-page illustrated booklet, stressing the advantages of investment by shopkeepers in automatic Graucob machines, was published.
- 1933 : With Hans I flew to Malmö and Berlin (Hotel Adlon) for the début of the Nazis, business and fun. My new friend wrote me daily for nine months.

August 1933 : Met ' Mike,' an American University Graduate, on board a ship on the Zuider Zee and later spent half the night with her, crossing the 365 bridges of Amsterdam. She taught me to refer to my sales force instead of 'travellers.'



Celebration of Sales Competition March/April 1933/4 in our School Room at 70/74, City Road, London, E.C.1. 7 winners wearing laurel wreaths ; others included Leslie Brown, bewigged ego, Patrick Graucob. Rene Greenstreet with trumpet, Miss Dudman, Hans Folsach and 'Bobbie' Graucob.

16 & 19-20 February 1934 : The judgment in our favour, in the King's Bench Division, by Lords Justice Scrutton and Maugham, allowing the appeal of the defendant company in the case of L'Estrange v. F. Graucob Ltd., ensured, for the name of Graucob, a permanent, modest, niche in the legal history of England.

Nearly 20 years later (1951-54) Sheila, while at Oxford (one of the few places suffering from permanent shortage of women), was asked by a law student if she was related to



By courtesy of Irene Kerrod, née Greenstreet.
 Christmas Dinner, 22nd December 1933, at The Great Eastern Hotel, London, E.C.2., of Directors, Sales, Clerical and Service Staff of F. Graucob, Ltd., in some cases accompanied by their wives. Note next to Albert Harland, 'Bobbie' Graucob, my late first wife, Anne-Lise von Folsach, Hans's late first wife. Also present, include amongst others, in top row: Arthur Ruck, Service Engineer I. C. Twinney, 'andsome Charley Banks, Monica Jennings, Radiant 'Rene' Greenstreet; in 2nd row: 'The Brownies,' Violet Dudman and Salesman S. Grundland; in bottom row, to the extreme right: Mrs. and Mr. 'Mac' Holger Baadsgaard and Sidney Dowden.

the person whose name was incorporated in that of the defendant company, the case having become part of the Case Law of England. In 1964, I was introduced to HRS Jørgen Günther Petersen at Erik Nyholm's flat in Copenhagen, who also recalled the case.

The issue arose from the sale in Llandudno on the 7th February, 1933, of one 6-column Junior Ilam Automatic Machine by W. H. Page, our area manager, and S. Birse, one of our salesmen, to a local café proprietrix, Mrs. L'Estrange, who signed our sales agreement. To enable us, to assign the benefits (without any liabilities) of sales agreements to finance companies, by then, we had by trial and error, arrived at the following clause (now also, in slightly different words, incorporated in Nu-Swift order forms): 'This Agreement contains all the terms and conditions under which I agree to purchase the machine specified above, and any express or implied condition, statement, or warranty, statutory or otherwise, not stated is hereby excluded.' The judgment given in the l'Estrange's favour at Llandudno County Court, in the action initiated by the woman purchaser because she alleged that the machine did not work satisfactorily, was wrong in law. We appealed.

A. T. Denning (later to become an eminent judge, and raised to the peerage), though his brief may have been marked only a few guineas, did well on our behalf. Previously, it had not been thought feasible that an individual could override any statutory requirement laid down by an Act of Parliament, as we had done. The Sale of Goods



By courtesy of Irene Kerrod, née Greenstreet.

Mayor's Banquet at arrival in Odense of Graucob Sales Force, on the 6th August 1934.
 2nd row from bottom, Mor flanked by Albert Harland and Erik Wittenborg.
 Bottom row, only English woman participant in party, Violet Dudman, my
 invaluable secretary, near to whom was Alfred Tack.

(' Battle Song ' by L. S. Brown, p.628, was written for this occasion.)



Arrival at Copenhagen Railway Station.

The first Overseas Sales Staff Trip which materialized. All males but for Violet Dudman (not shown). (Ruth only received us.) Those shown included W. S. Pearson, S. Smeed, 'Ernie' Bowden, Sidney Dowden, 'Hal' Page, A. C. Stoddart and Alfred Tack.
6th August, 1934.

(Within hours of this photograph being taken, S. Smeed, a young London salesman and member of the party, was taken violently insane. The same evening I visited him out of control at the 6th section of *Kon:munehospitale*.)



Sheila, 'Bobbie' and Patrick.
October, 1934.

BATTLE SONG
sung on occasion of
BANQUET IN ODENSE.

Monday, 6th August, 1934.

To the tune of "TIPPERARY."

1. Now F. G. called Miss Dudmen and a letter he did write,
Telling dear old Erik of some records new and bright,
Saying "If 'twould be okay, I sure would like to bring,
A crowd of Den-Mark winners to tour the Isle of Fyn."

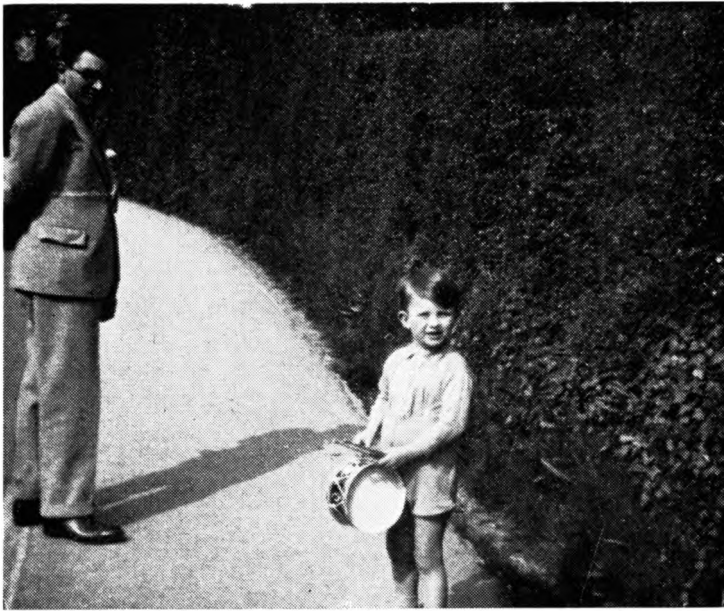
CHORUS.

It's a great life in Graucob's Navy, our machines are fine to sell,
It's a great life in Graucob's Navy, and Wittenborg's are swell,
Good-bye competition, farewell cancelled cheques,
It's a great life in Graucob's Navy, when the Navy clears the decks.

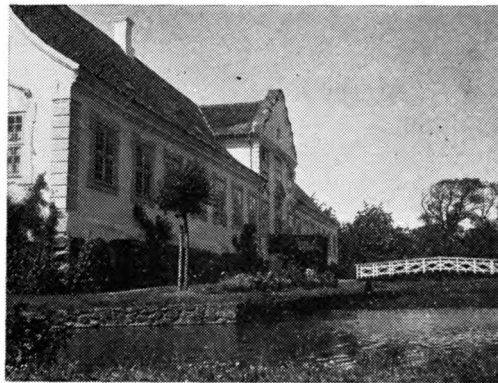
2. Then Erik called his favourite girl, "Now, Ingrid dear," said he,
"Tell Find, a greet welcome awaits in Fyn across the sea,
For him and all his winning lads, who start out on the tour
And leave Herwich for Denmark on the eve of August 4 (four)."
3. When F. G. opened up this note, he said to Mac, "Hey, hey,
I'm asking Mr. Folsach to go there and pave the way,
When August comes and lots of sales, oh, what a marry throng
There'll be on board for Esbjerg, all shouting loud this song."
4. Well, August came with lots of sales and here we are, you see,
All scoffing Danish food and beer in darn fine company,
With Mr. Erik in the chair and Mr. Harland, too,
Both telling us in words of praise, there's still lots more to do.
5. Besides F. G. and Office Staff, there's Commodores and Loots
(Lieuts.)
There's Admirals and Midshipmen and Capts., we have no doots,
Who are all out to put the name of Graucob far and wide,
And make the Wittenborg machine, one that's Old England's
pride.
6. For after all, the Danes and we are one big family,
Descended from the Vikings bold, who sailed across the sea,
So long ago on progress bent, to show, to teach, to free,
They're coming now with purpose changed, "SHOP AUTO-
MATICALLY."
7. And when the time to say good-bye comes all too soon, we'll say
That what we've learned and friendships made will help us on
our way,
To sell machines from east to west as well as shore to shore,
And then we'll send to Wittenborgs for more and more and
more.

L. S. B.

Ode by Leslie Brown for the first trip abroad by members of the Sales Force in 1934. Later incorporated in the printed, eight-page 'Graucob Song Book,' and, for a year or two, used at the 9 a.m. compulsory inspirational daily morning meetings at 70/74, City Road, London. E.C.1, attended by me and members of the Sales Force resident within Greater London.



With Pat, near Harrow.
About 1933.



Gjessinggaard, 10. August 1934

Klar Suppe
Høns à la Marengo
Vildænder - Salat og Compot
Østeret
Is med varm Chokoladesauce

Sherry - Solera Superieur
Hvidvin - Louis D'Or
Rødvin - Château Beausite 1920
Portvin - Vintage 1912

This elegant menu card featured the wonderful dinner at Gjessinggaard on the first Denmark Trip of the Graucob Sales Force, in 1934. In his speech of thanks, Chris. Galvin posed the question : " Why did the Vikings ever leave Denmark ?"



By courtesy of Irene Kerrod, née Greenstreet.

After Christmas Sales Conference and Staff Dinner on the 21st December, 1934, of Directors, Sales, Clerical and Service Staff of F. Graucob, Ltd., in some cases accompanied by their wives, was held at The Great Eastern Hotel, London, E.C.2, and presided over by the Chairman, Albert Harland. Amongst those present were the Commercial Counsellor of the Danish Legation in London; in the Front Row, Robert Dunn, who, in 1937, left for South Africa; attractive 'Rene' Greenstreet, wearing a wig; and Arthur Ruck, dressed as a policeman. The wall placards announced that our 1935 sales would reach £150,000.

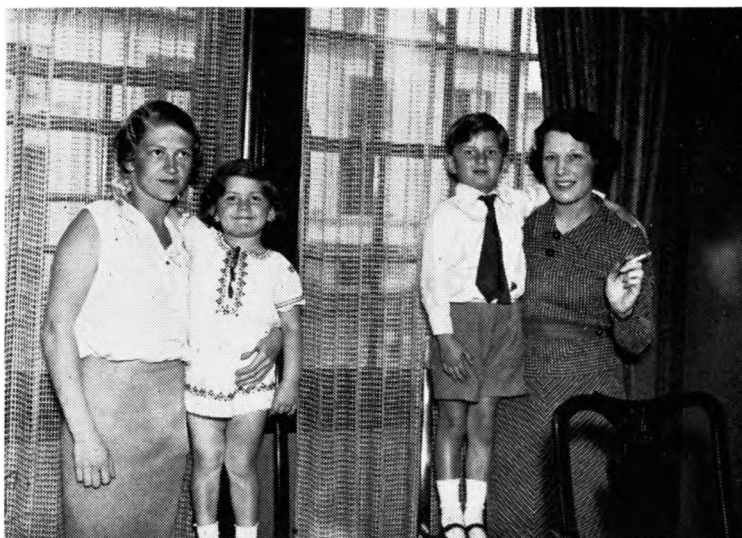


'Bobbie' with a protesting Sheila
on the sand dunes of Kikhavn,
1933.

Act, 1893, specified that an article should be reasonably fit for the purpose for which it was sold, for better or for worse was overridden by the King's Bench Division Judgment, which accepted the validity of the clause included in our agreement. In consequence, there could be no case for action against the vendor for breach of implied warranty of fitness.

Anthony Grabiner, Counsel for Nu-Swift, in defending the case brought against the Company in 1974, by Bill Pearson at the Leeds Tribunal, when he realized that I was *the Mr. Graucob*, whose name had been perpetuated in *L'Estrange v. F. Graucob, Ltd.*, was visibly impressed. He stated that Lord Denning, now Master of the Rolls, who had obtained the judgment for us, in his speeches and legal references often referred to the case.

- Spring 1934: Acquired my first car (16 h.p. Lanchester Saloon). Unable to drive, I had the previous year, before driving tests became mandatory, obtained a driving licence at a post office, at the cost of 5/-. For the first twelve or eighteen months, next to me, I had therefore a private chauffeur, Privett, from whom I gradually picked up enough knowledge to get along on my own.
- 4/8-9/8/1934: Organized and held the first of numerous Incentive Overseas Holiday Contests, by way of a trip, by boat, to Denmark for 30 salesmen, including visits to Esbjerg, Odense, Copenhagen Gjessinggaard and Randers. To the only woman present, Violet Dudman, I continued to dictate in the rumbling coach.
- 19/1/1935: Left permanently my first wife, Ann Sophia ('*Bobbie*') and my children by her, Patrick and Sheila, at our flat at 3, Broadway Parade, Pinner Road, North Harrow, Middlesex. Unbalanced, '*Bobbie*' caused much unhappiness to herself, our children and me. No doubt, until, many years later she most likely, committed suicide, though the coroner returned an open verdict, she continued to love me. If I had been less self-centred and selfish,



Ruth, Sheila, Pat and 'Bobbie' in the dining room at North Harrow.
Summer 1934.

I would not by leaving her and our children, have destroyed her mental sheet-anchor.

January 1935 : By the German m.s. 'Bremen' sailed for New York, when I spent two months in USA, including stays at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., where 'Mike' (i.e. Marion Gertrude Smith, b. 11/4/1903, †17/8/1969 Burlington, Vt.) was an assistant professor. At Cartier's in Fifth Avenue, we selected a lovely ruby ring, which suited her slim, elegant finger beautifully. Visited other places in New England, including memorable Springfield, Conn., and Washington, DC, Richmond Va., and New York, NY. (Vassar was the college, which, in 1963, was referred to in the best-seller, 'The Group,' by Mary McCarthy. The book purported to describe the lives of some of the female students of 1933.)



Birgit Taflin, b. 22/12/1915,
m. July, 1940. Bengt Winnberg.

Photographed in Stockholm, about 1937, this is my favourite portrait, far superior to the oil painting portrait, now at Barrie House, which I commissioned from a Swedish artist before the war.

August 1935 : Stayed for a week-end, near New York, with Alma and Christen Jespersen from Nykøbing Falster.

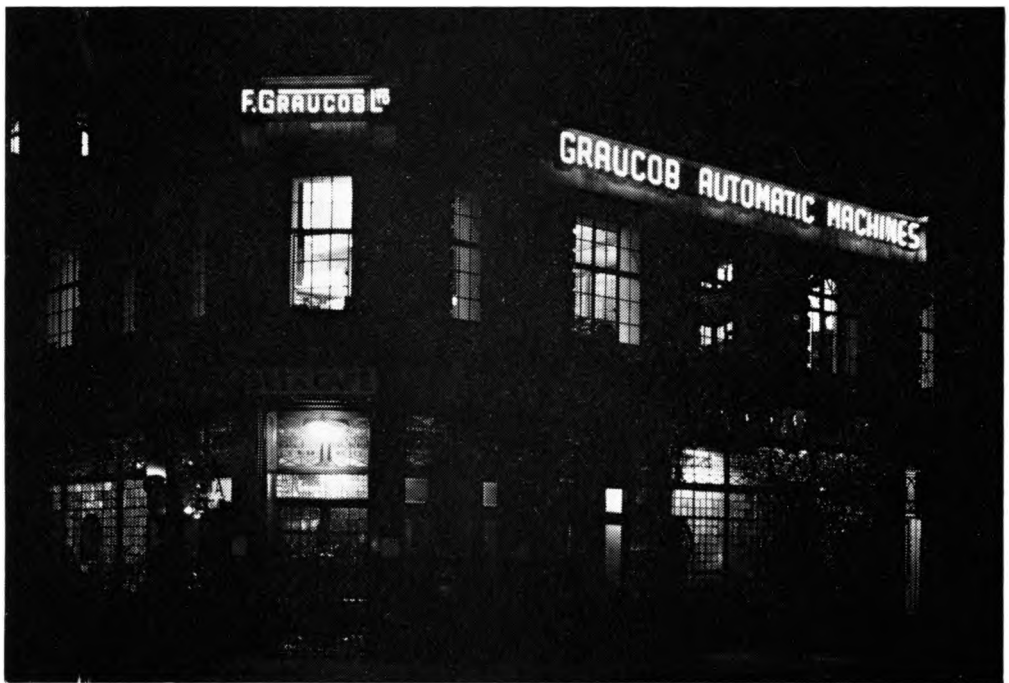
March 1935: On return to Southampton, at Balmer Lawn Hotel, Lyndhurst, in the New Forest, I dictated to Violet Dudman: 'America, you surprised me!'

'Dear Mor and Girls,

' . . . As you may have gathered from 'the Gazette, I went by car to Mr. 'Harland's farm in Yorkshire for the



'Mike,'
Marion Gertrude Smith, b. 11/4/1903, †17/8/1969.
About 1935.



1st floor offices and warehouse of F. Graucob, Ltd., at 70/74, City Road, London, E.C.1.
1931/7.



By courtesy of Irene Kerrod, née Greenstreet.

Erik Wittengborg's visit to London, on the 26th October, 1935. Gala dinner at the Euston Hotel, attended by directors, prominent members of the Sales Force, sub-executives of F. Graucob, Ltd., and my two female secretaries, Violet Dudman and Irene



The Right Hon. Sir Dennis Herbert (later Lord Hemingford), K.B.E., M.P., Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons and a director of F. Graucob Ltd., and me, at the 5th Sales Staff Contest Overseas Trip to Odense and Copenhagen. August 1937.



The hall at 154C, College Road. To the left, my bedroom, to the right, the principal guest room. The trap-door in the ceiling led to the bar above.
1937-39.



'Welcome home!' at Miss Ricketts' flat at 154C, College Road. procured for me by 'Brownie' and 'Russ,' fully furnished for £235.



Dinner for six by candlelight, at 154C, College Road. 1937-39.



'Dinner is served, sir.'
Mrs. Bennett at 154C, College
Road.
1937-39.

My housekeeper, who moved with me to Bodicote
and Elland, loved me dearly, provided no other women
were near me.



Lecturing to our Sales Force at a pre-Christmas
Conference at the Gt. Eastern Hotel 1934.
(Picture reproduced in the American magazine
'Sales Management'.)

'Easter Holidays. but on two occasions
'was taken ill with very painful kidney
'attacks, before I had to return to London.

' Mr. Baadsgaard was in Esbjerg for
'his father's funeral, so it was both
'inconvenient and painful that this week I
'had to do both his and my own job.
'Taken ill once more this Thursday, the
'Gazettes posted Thursday, Friday and
'Saturday, were all dictated by me in bed
'at the Gt. Eastern Hotel.

' . . . with the pain and inevitable
'weariness, in addition to the extra work.
'because of Mr. Baadsgaard's absence. the
'cheerfulness expressed in the Gazette was
'obviously somewhat forced . . . '

*Paraphrased from part of a letter, dictated
before my kidney operation on the 29/4/1935,
to Miss Dudman.*

17/6/1935: Operated upon at Dr. Roving's *Klinik*, in
Copenhagen, for the removal of an incorrectly
diagnosed stone in my right kidney, by Dr. Ole
Chiewitz, later famous as Head of the Danish
Underground Government during the Nazi
occupation of Denmark.

1936/1940: The many replies to my advertisement in 'The
Times' headed 'French without Tears.'
included one from a lovely, 21-year-old Swedish
girl, Birgit Taflin, from Jämtland, after a stay
at Tours, resident in London. The next four
years we saw a lot of each other in England
and elsewhere in Europe, until in July 1940
she married a Swedish lawyer.

In 1936, while living in London, near Marble Arch, she gave me the first news of the Prince of Wales' liaison with Mrs. Simpson.

- May 1936 : The first ever visit, at nearly 57, by Mor to England, where for a fortnight she was my guest, proved an unqualified success. Written in *imperfect English*, her diary which I read only after her death, gave vivid expression to her unbounded enthusiasm and gratitude.
- 1937 : Mission of peace to London and Berlin to Churchill and Goring by Knud Clausen Kaas, an impecunious Danish nobleman, adventurer and air pilot, who stayed with me. A Queen Anne rat-tail silver spoon remains my memento.
- 1937/1938: Formed South African sales subsidiary, Graucob Automatic Machines (South Africa) Proprietary Ltd., of which Bob and Elsie Dunn, in Johannesburg and later in Cape Town, were in charge. After a combined business and pleasure visit to South Africa, by Imperial Airways flying boat, flew back from Durban, via Cairo, to England, where I dictated: "It happened in Africa."
- 1938 : At Gainsborough Studio at Shepherds Bush, I made my début in a sales training film, financed by F. Graucob Ltd., and engineered by Tack Bros.
- Sagging Sales Curve restored during Coronation Month, partly thanks to Rene's Brain-wave*
- April/May 1937 Entering my pseudo-Elizabethan, leaded-windowed office, Rene, my devoted and efficient secretary of Irish extraction, viewed me quizzically, suspecting, or knowing, that I

was in a fix. Experience, however, had proved that, faced with seemingly impossible odds, both of us were always at our best.

Unemployment was still running high. *L'affaire Simpson* and the Abdication Crisis had done nothing to make business easier, nor did Hitler's aggressive speeches and actions help to boost the confidence of prospective customers.

For six weeks, early in 1937, for the first time since starting business in 1925, I had felt like a free man, repaid all bank, finance company and other loans, guaranteed by Harland. As a gesture of congratulation, and no doubt also as a sign of relief at his release from bondage, Harland gave me a silver replica of a Queen Anne sugar sifter.

But how long did Adam remain in paradise? Early in 1937, almost immediately after repayment of the last loan, increased sales resistance caused me, unwisely, to start offering to spread payment over twenty-four months, as an alternative to eighteen months, or on cash terms! The result, was a return to the terribly worrying years of 1930/32, when the actual, as compared with the estimated, cash yield from the portfolio of deferred payment debtors gradually being built up, had caused me many sleepless nights.

Yet, while almost at once, early in 1937, fresh loans proved necessary to finance sales over the longer period allowed for payment, the volume of orders which my men procured was still inadequate. What other inducement could I visualize as a fresh bait to prospective

buyers, or incentive to our sales staff? Moreover, late in April 1937, we were very conscious of the fact that, the following month, we should be faced with nation-wide celebrations of the Coronation in Westminster Abbey of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. Local holidays, marches, parades, festivals, ceremonies, public speeches, presentations by mayors and aldermen of commemorative mugs, crowded shops, garages, public houses and cafés not only on the day itself, but for a week or ten days before and after, were all likely to result in deflated Graucob salesmen working at half-cock, this depressing vision being uppermost in my mind. The outcome, I feared, would be a sales curve once more sagging, only more steeply.

By what means could I divert the attention likely, to be focussed on the royal couple, to the desirability of an investment in Graucob automatic shops, as we termed our glass-fronted cigarette machines?

Or, if no further inducement could be offered to the customer, wasn't there one prize that, more than any other, would just do the trick with my salesmen? Something that would spur a man on, during the critical month of the Coronation celebrations, not only to continue to work, but to do so with redoubled enthusiasm, energy and concentration, regardless of distractions? Something never tried by us before?

A few of my more successful salesmen had acquired modest-sized cars, mainly of the 7 hp baby size, but most men were still travelling to and from their territories by

train, tram or bus. Never myself a keen motorist, by then, however, I had slowly, during the previous two or three years, mastered the art of driving the fairly sleek 18 hp Lanchester Saloon.

Sitting at my desk, while my mind was working overtime, playfully I was turning an imaginary driving wheel in front of me. Could we offer a car to the salesman who, during the threatening Coronation month of May, scored the highest sales total? The criterion obviously would be that of cost versus profit on the additional sales. But supposing that the highest sales total did not yield sufficient profit to justify the cost of a prize costing £100? True, the profit on the additional sales by the also-ran salesmen, over and above the profit on those of the winner, would contribute towards the cost of the car. But surely a minimum amount of sales would have to be fixed. The highest amount ever obtained, in any one month, by any member of my sales force, was £750. Supposing I made the offer of a car conditional upon minimum sales by the winner of £1,000, surely it would be a safe bet. Unlikely, as it was, that the car would be won by anyone, by trying to qualify for it many of my men, in this way, would obtain additional orders. And if the incredible event did occur, that the highest previously monthly sales total exceeded £250, I should be covered by the additional profit merely on the sales by the winner.

This was the point at which Rene entered my office. I got ready to start dictating to her, in colourful language, the rules of the

contest, with a fanfare of hyperbolic adjectives and a plethora of exclamation and question marks, such as I had done on similar occasions in the past.

While I outlined to Rene the purpose and nature of my daring plan, she taking it all in, soon became visibly impressed at my imaginative initiative and courage. “But if the car is won, would that really pay you?” was her direct question. With a wealth of detail, I replied in the affirmative. “But in that case, why not offer a car to *every* man who sells £1,000 worth in May?” was her instant retort. Now it became my turn to be bowled over by the boldness of her counter-suggestion, obvious though, in retrospect, it seems.

Launched on the lines suggested by Rene, the competition became a roaring success, the first car being won already on the 17th of May. After that, one after another, during the second fortnight of May (the contest daily being nearly underpinned by inspirational comments and newsy items in the Graucob Gazette), cars were being qualified for at the rate of almost one a working day. By midnight on the 31st of May, no less than eleven cars had been won by members of the Graucob Sales Force, including Eric Higham who had started work for us, as a salesman, only a month or two earlier. As each of the eleven winners had qualified by obtaining sales at least 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % in excess of the previous highest individual monthly total, the result was successful beyond my wildest expectations.

In April, with difficulty, sales had been obtained of £14,000. During the Coronation month, I had feared that the total might sag to £8,000/£10,000, at which level we should not have covered our overheads. Instead, during May, sales leaped to £22,000, at an extra expenditure of a mere £1,100. Even better — in June, without the cost of a similar contest, sales remained above the high water mark of £20,000. My men had learned to think big, plan their work better, increase the average value of each order, and, with a background of glamour, work with greater enthusiasm.

Aided by 'Rene's' inspiring suggestion, my boldness was rewarded. During longer than the next two years, including August 1939, monthly sales never dropped below £20,000.

*Life in and about my attractive, ready-made,
furnished South London Flat*

Spring 1937 — It was love at first sight! Except for the staircase, the flat at 154C College Road, Upper Norwood, London SE19, on the 2nd floor of a Victorian villa, standing in its own garden near the burnt-out shell of the Crystal Palace, could not have been more delightful, or more interestingly furnished, than it was. Belatedly, I recognize that my introduction to Helen Ricketts, a dress designer in her thirties, owner of the flat and also the designer of its layout and furnishing, was thanks to 'Russ' and Leslie Brown, collectively known as 'the Brownies.' They were not only my employees, but also acted towards me as fairy godparents.

I rented the flat, from Helen Ricketts for six months, while she went to South Africa. On her return, for the first and only time, I entered the white slave trade ; from Helen Ricketts I not only bought the tenancy of the flat, its furniture, furnishings, carpets, curtains, radio, refrigerator, linen, cutlery, china, framed pictures and two paintings as well as other attractive incidentals for the moderate figure of £225, the price for which Helen Ricketts had asked ; in addition, I took over the services of the keen, efficient and clean housekeeper, Bohemian-born Trena Bennett. Although a grandmother, probably in her early sixties, Mrs. Bennett seemed comparatively young, and was an excellent cook, besides being respectful in behaviour and speech. Included in the bargain, as she was, from the very first day she obviously took to me and eventually came to love me dearly. Patiently, she put up with my whims, idiosyncracies, numerous last-minute postponements of return from the office for dinner, and other counter-instructions, provided always that no other woman, except Mor and Eva, came to stay for more than a night or two in one or both of the two guest rooms! Nearly thirty years later, with delightful candour, 'Russ' wrote that "Helen (Ricketts), who had been Brownie's friend, both here and in the States," had left "you to enjoy the fruits of her artistic and tasteful plan for living. Deep down, y'know, I never ceased to envy you your bargain, I don't now . . .".

From my eyrie-like flat high above the Thames Valley, in the wooded district of Dulwich (my Telephone Exchange romanti-

cally was Gipsy Hill!), on clear days, even Hampstead Hills could be seen on the horizon, from the windows in the pastel-coloured sitting room. Elegant and attractive dinners, with as many as eight courses, were prepared tastefully, efficiently and served by Mrs. Bennett, in an immaculate white smock, on the old oak table in the candle-lit dining room, beautifully and correctly laid with gleaming copper mats, cutlery and glasses.

Each room, including the small hall, the lounge with its black grand piano and the principal bedroom, had its own carefully attuned atmosphere and colour scheme; all inexpensively achieved, though perhaps for a male occupant a shade effeminate—but I just loved it all, this being the first real home of my very own. Arriving, by car from the office, generally well after seven, I would dine about eight, sometimes later, alone or with one or several friends. At least once every week (on Mrs. Bennett's afternoon off), but often more frequently, I would dine out, at the homes of friends or at restaurants in the West End or Soho, before going to the theatre, generally did not start until after 8.30. When alone in the evening, after dinner and coffee, with the small, shaded, cosy, electric lamps lit in the hall and all the rooms, the doors leading into them left open, I would just saunter from one room to another, re-arrange furniture, pictures, *objets d'art*, or carpets, or attempt new lighting effects; in between I might read new or old books of my own or some of the fine beautifully bound volumes of Helen Ricketts' (now at Barrie House), which I had taken over

from her with the other effects. Sometimes, with radio or gramophone softly playing selected music, I would go to bed with all lights on, to wake up, during the night, with a feeling of well-being and luxury.

Enthralled with the loveliness of my modest home, I had the rooms photographed, at night, the prints being inserted into an album, which, as a greeting one Christmas, I sent to selected friends. Included also were photographs from my daily drive through the rural surroundings of Dulwich Village, including the last London toll gate at which on passing through it, I had to pay the modest fee, before reaching the slums of South London.

Weekends were often spent alone in the cool, airy, flat, only Mrs. Bennett in attendance; sometimes, on Sundays, after I had been away, to get my correspondence up-to-date before I started work at the office, Rene would come to take dictation. She, and occasionally other young women friends, such as Birgit and Mike, or relatives, such as Mor and Eva, would stay for one or several nights, but such long visits were exceptions, communications with the West End and the City being poor, except by car. Discreetly tucked away in the hall was the ladder, which when pulled out, provided access to the bar on the spacious floor above. There, on three or four occasions, during the $2\frac{1}{2}$ years in which I occupied the flat, I gave sizeable cocktail parties without disturbance to the appearance of the flat below. The first such party took place shortly after I had bought the flat, when

Brownie in a white bartender's jacket, helpfully took charge of the bar. That occasion, I believe, was the first time that I met Daggie, who had been brought along by Eric. Later, she also came alone, at least on one memorable occasion, when, following me in her own car from the West End, she recklessly, *en route*, at a cross-roads, 'shot across' the red traffic-lights, in order to keep up with me.

The only major disadvantage from which the flat suffered was in winter, when coal heating from the open fireplaces always proved inadequate, even when supplemented with that of electric fires that, on Sunday afternoons, I often found it advisable to draw the heavy, dark-green curtains in the lounge. Toasted, buttered crumpets, or muffins, which Mrs. Bennett conjured up for afternoon teas, soon made one forget any such draughty or chilly discomforts, however. Delightful as were my living surroundings for a semi-bachelor establishment, the exposed position of the house, the poor insulation properties of the building, and the inadequate heating arrangements, although not troubling Mrs. Bennett, would have made all-the-year-round living there unacceptable to many English, and virtually all Scandinavian, women. If Birgit and I had ever married, changes would have had to be made for these reasons alone.

Three or four times, Pat and Sheila came with me for Saturday or Sunday afternoon teas (by Sheila described as 'scrumpy'), while Mor and Eva, on their visits to London, each stayed for a week or two. I also recall Saturday afternoon tea parties which, actuated

by idealistic and educational motives, I held for six or eight male junior clerks from our City Road headquarters, two of whom, E. Hogg and Frank Frost, at the ages of 16 or 18, each spent about a year in Odense and Copenhagen, at the firm's expense, in order to learn Danish. Among those who came for a meal, stayed the night, remained for several days, or for a week or two, during my occupancy, but in no particular sequence, were :

Mor, Eva and Aage Heede (separately), Pat and Sheila, Anne-Lise and Hans von Folsach (separately and together), Russ and Brownie, Rene, Violet Dudman, Daggie and Eric Higham (separately and together), 'Mac' and Ruth Baadsgaard, E. A. Hart and wife, Elsa Clarke (later married to Bob Dunn in South Africa), Arthur and Babe Ruck, Birgit Tafin, Mike and an American girl friend (? A.B.), Lulu Kathryn Wolf (later married to Harry Seers Hassenplug of Los Angeles), Maja Foget's New Zealand fellow-pupil, the daughter (who, shortly afterwards, died) of a Richmond, Va. department store proprietor, Betty and Erik Nyholm (on a visit from the Far East), Knud Clauson-Kaas, Erik Wittenborg, Arthur Driver (later knighted, as President of the Law Society) and his wife, Sven V. Knudsen and his wife, Pauline, Miss Goodman, Blyth and (?) Monica Jennings.

Other visitors included Mrs. Bennett's grand-daughters, Trena and Jill, who occasionally came to stay overnight with their grandmother. Encouraged by me, after I had

read an imaginative ballad written by Trena in medieval style. At the age of 17, Trena as her first journalistic job became a sob-sister and careers' adviser on a Jersey daily, before she married an Irishman, a journalist/writer.

I tried to live a full life. Even so, in retrospect, I am astounded at my physical and mental energy and capacity, as well as the range of my activities. The demands of the business, which came first, were enormous, but I relished the challenge which they presented. Morning meetings for the salesmen working in Greater London, were, at one time, held daily at 8.30, for half-an-hour, in the City Road school-room, ending up with one of the specially written Graucob songs, in the singing of which I joined heartily. Attendance was compulsory. The long working office day necessitated my starting from home well before eight o'clock, while I never left the office earlier than seven and often later. The day would be interrupted only by a sandwich lunch in my office with Folsach. When I had lunch appointments in the West End, I generally overcame the parking problem by leaving my car outside the German Embassy in Carlton Terrace. The two policemen usually on duty were anxious to avoid appearing inquisitive about anybody who might be a visitor to von Ribbentrop or his *entourage*. Until Violet Dudman got married, I sometimes worked in relays with her as my principal secretary and Rene as assistant secretary ; on one occasion immediately prior to one of our Giant Conferences at the Great Eastern Hotel, I dictated at the office until 2 a.m. to Violet

Dudman, then packed her off before dictating until 4.30 a.m. to Rene, who had been standing, or rather sitting, by. A few hours sleep at the Great Eastern Hotel followed before, with nerves brittle, I opened the Sales Conference at noon ; lectures, discussions and meals went on until late that evening. Similar all-night conferences of area managers and service mechanics (the latter conferences sometimes attended also by Erik Wittenborg from Odense) were held in provincial and Scottish cities, interspersed with my discussions, at the office or elsewhere, with executives. Since the autumn of 1934, when Sydney Dowden was appointed our first sales training manager, 'Mac' and I no longer interviewed for, or solely held, all the exhausting week-long sales schools, but whenever a breakdown occurred in the management of the important Sales Training Department, back I was, once again, on the job, this continuing at intervals, until, in 1952, I held my last Sales School at Morecambe. In the 30's, however, when, after our removal to 70/74 City Road, most sales schools were held there in the school-room, the vital, rousing, inspirational send-off speech was generally delivered by me personally on the Friday evening.

My income, while at College Road, must have been £3,500/£4,000 p.a., subject only to income tax, surtax and life insurance premiums ; roughly half of my net income, however, was paid over to Bobbie for the living expenses of her and the children, the rent of the North Harrow flat and school fees. I also made Mor a modest monthly allowance. Most running expenses of the

Lanchester car were justifiably defrayed by F. Graucob Ltd., and so were my reasonable, but considerable, expenses on business travels in the UK, to the Factory in Denmark, and to South Africa in order to nurse our subsidiary there. The cost of my skiing holidays and other trips to Switzerland, Italy, France, Copenhagen and Stockholm, I paid for out of my taxed income but that, of course, did not apply to the cost of my participation in our Overseas Sales Contest Trips, when I led members of the victorious 'Graucob Army' and (in most cases) their wives also, to Denmark, Norway, Paris, Madeira, Lisbon and Casablanca.

At West End theatres, I enjoyed the performances of John Gielgud, Laurence Olivier, Vivien Leigh and those of other actors and actresses of similar standing, in Shakespearean and other plays of quality. Included were also the performances of Gertrude Lawrence and Noel Coward in the series of one-act plays, written by the latter, and in which jointly they made theatrical history. A letter to 'The Times,' signed Winston S. Churchill, recommending the merits of 'St. Helena' by R. C. Sherriff, caused me (and, no doubt, hundreds of others) to witness the performance, at the Old Vic, of this remarkable and boldly conceived play by the author of 'Journey's End.' I bought and read interesting and worthwhile newly published books, generally of an intellectual or informative, though sometimes fictional, character.

Without social ambitions and graces as I was, and not wanting to enter even the fringe

of society, I did not get into circles or cliques of any socially well-known people, but attended parties in Mayfair, Kensington, St. John's Wood, Bayswater at Graham Kent's, and Cheyne Walk at the house of Vera Brittain and her husband, Professor George Catlin. With Folsachs and their friends, I occasionally played poker, at their house after dinner, but neither that game nor bridge ever captured my interest, and I barely learned the rules. Rationalizing this attitude of mine, I contended that there were already enough unsolved problems in the world, on the solution of some of which I would rather concentrate, than deal with any fresh ones cropping up as the result of, or during, a card game. At an evening reception at the Danish Legation, I was, wearing full evening dress, presented to the later King and Queen of Denmark, and privileged to look into the lovely fiery Bernadotte eyes of the then Crown Princess Ingrid, similar to those which, I recognized in her daughter, Princess Benedikte, when introduced to her many years later, in 1962, in Villars. Harland had got me interested in antique silver, but it was the beauty, neither the age nor value, of the early Georgian style, which made its appeal to me. On Saturday afternoons, I therefore occasionally went hunting, by car, in small antique shops in London and in the Home Counties. At prices of 30/- to 40/- each, I gradually picked up eight or ten lovely rat-tail spoons, and later other early Georgian silver items, but also six beautiful blue Bristol glasses, which for a song I purchased in a Gray's Inn Road antique shop. Late on Sunday evenings, for two or

three hours, I would, as for years had been my wont, telephone each of my four or five area managers, review with them their past week's work, and jointly decide with whom they were to work the following week.

To vary the places at which I could entertain I joined the decaying, but still useful, Raleigh Polo Club, near Hammersmith, The Danish Club in Knightsbridge, and also the Royal Automobile Club, at the Club House of which in Pall Mall, I sometimes dined or, late in the evening, came for a Turkish Bath, afterwards staying the night. The Players' Club, of which I also became a member, situated on the 3rd or 4th floor, above a fruit merchant's, in an old building off Covent Garden, at that time was a genuine meeting place for people of the stage. Produced nightly about 11 p.m. on a miniature stage, 'The Late Joys' mainly consisted of imitations of Victorian music hall performances, yet the atmosphere seemed more like that of Montmartre than that of London. Unable, since childhood, successfully to hit or catch a ball, I had never taken up tennis, golf, or other ball games; for a short period, however, at a club in the basement of the ICI building on the Victoria Embankment, I attempted to learn to play squash rackets from the professional, but as my progress satisfied neither him nor me, the idea of further lessons was soon dropped. Skiing was the one form of exercise in which I engaged and, at that time, became moderately good, but needing also exercise in Britain, I took up riding; in the mornings, once or twice a week, I would play truant, and arrive late at the office after

hacking, for an hour, on Streatham and Tooting Bec Commons. And when I had to go away, whether for a night or two, or a month or longer, to the provinces, to the Continent, or beyond, dear old Arthur Ruck, my devoted and faithful cashier at the office, miraculously would turn up at the flat and, like another Jeeves, carefully do my packing, Mrs. Bennett, like a clucking hen, keeping a watching brief in the background. Indeed I was a spoiled, though hardworking man!

My activities, though largely self-centred, were not wholly sybartical. Attending a week-end school in Oxford (1936) at the lovely, but primitive and old-fashioned, Balliol College, was an exhilarating experience. We pupils were treated as undergraduates, and the usual college scouts, who in their dual, traditional role of servants and spies watched "the young gentlemen," were keeping their eyes on us. (In an essay, "A Rose by any other name . . .", included in 'Uncongenial Bedfellows,' I referred to some of our stimulating lectures and discussions there.)

Amongst my contacts were the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, at which I remember having been invited to deliver, one or two lectures, or having had long discussions with Mrs. Raphael, one of the officials. At the large imposing building of the South East London Technical College at Lewisham, S.W.4, I certainly, in my capacity as a successful businessman, did deliver one lecture. Linked up, as some of these activities were with my business, after my first visit, in 1935, to the US, our use at business of intelli-

gence tests led us successfully to evolve aptitude tests for service mechanics. In addition, two London University psychology graduates were commissioned, at City Road, for their activities, allocated an office to enable them to evolve aptitude tests for pupils for sales schools. Their experiments caused expense and controversy, and amusement to Rene and others ; but the degree of correlation between the results of their tests and those of our men most successful in the field, proved too small to justify the continued expenditure so, after twelve months, these endeavours were abandoned.

In my search for perfection, and in an attempt to be of help to mankind, as well as acting in Mor's spirit, it is true, though retrospectively sadly amusing, to record that during the period of my College Road life, I also volunteered as a marriage guidance counsellor at a clinic at Streatham. I attended, as a "sit-in learner," only a few sessions, and was not responsible for any positive or negative, advice. Broken up as my own marriage was, my children having been left defenceless, in the care of their mother, and with my *affaires d'amour*, in retrospect, these added activities of mine seem incongruous. But, at the time, this never occurred to me. It was actuated by praiseworthy motives that, restlessly, I tried to help others.

By nature originally monogamous, my inability (Jan. 1935—Sep. 1941) to re-marry changed, for all time, my attitude towards sexual relationships with women ; yet I was still hoping for the perfect spiritual, intellectual

and physical union, on a conventional basis with one member of the opposite sex.

March/

April 1939

Breuil, Valtournanche, for skiing with Birgit, who came from Stockholm. We left for Florence after a week because of the *Foehn*. (Czecho-Slovakia was declared a German protectorate by Hitler.) Another week's skiing at Davos. Ascent with guide on skin-covered skis in terrific, blinding blizzard. Stemming on skis way down, with guide, icy Toboggan Parsenn run.

Spring 1939

The pre-war successes of Hitler's bloodless adventures, outside Germany, caused a world-wide sense of dissatisfaction and fear of the unknown. Business slowed down and became increasingly difficult. Still travelling extensively, but also continuing to work hard, one morning, on my desk, I found awaiting the 'Fairy Story,' quoted below. The style revealed Rene as the author of this anonymous, well-intended, protest against my frequent absences :

A Fairy Story

'Once upon a time there was a little boy. He wasn't a particularly wonderful little boy, although he was clever, in fact he was a little priggish. But he played and learned lessons like other little boys, and eventually grew to manhood.

By this time he was much more clever than he was when a boy and he determined to make a lot of gold for himself, so he sailed across the seas to a far-off land, where it was easier to make gold than in his native country.

He worked hard, day and night. His struggle was a bitter one against seemingly over-

whelming odds. But he won through, and his business prospered and he became a famous merchant. Men respected him because he was wise and clever and had worked hard for his success.

One day this merchant looked around and saw the world as a very fair place, especially for one with a little gold to spend. His nose had been so hard to the grindstone, he had not found much time for pleasuring. But now he started and found Life a gay, smiling companion, always ready to take him by the hand and lead him from the rigid confines of his work.

He travelled in other lands and saw their beauties. And meanwhile other merchants, as clever as he but not so scrupulous were stealing his trade from him. The business he had reared like some fragile, wayward child, was left in others' hands. And the merchant still played.

Then a time came when the world grew very dark and troubled. Nations warred, brother fought brother ; great armies were marshalled and small hapless countries trampled under-foot . . .

But the merchant played on !

30 March 1939 On my return to London, I dictated to
Rene this letter in English, to Mor :

70, 72 & 74, City Road,
London, E.C.1.
30th March, 1939

My dear Mor,

Very many thanks for your letter. I came back to London on Saturday night. In times like these, it sounds perhaps wicked to say so that I have had a marvellous holiday and am almost bubbling over with vitality.

The first week we were at Cervinia, one of the winter sports resorts developed by Mussolini. Immediately opposite the Matterhorn,

at an altitude of 6,000 feet, and difficult of access, it involved first a train journey from Turin and then a motor trip along tortuous roads through magnificent scenery. From Cervinia, a cable railway took us up to Plan Maison, from where, the day before our arrival, the Prince of Piedmont had opened another cable railway to Plateau Rosa, claimed to be the highest place in Europe, where skiing can be enjoyed all the year round. Technical difficulties had caused the Italians already the next day to close the extension and there was little to do there but to go up to Plan Maison and ski down. At first there being little snow, the mountain sides were merely ice-coated but this gave me an opportunity of practising Christiania and Stem Christiania. When, after a week, we left, I really felt that I knew something about skiing. What an illusion when later, in Switzerland, I tried my newly acquired knowledge in powder snow!

This was my first visit to Italy, apart from two stays of a quarter of an hour on my way back, by air, from Africa. As I was reading a new biography of Leonardo da Vinci while my ideas of Italian geography were hazy, I couldn't resist the temptation of suggesting to Birgit that together we should visit Florence, which I believed to be nearby.

En route we stayed one night in Turin, which I imagined to be an Italian version of Birmingham or Leeds. On the contrary, it was a splendid city and Via Roma, the principal shopping thoroughfare, built in marble, compared favourably with Rue de Rivoli or Fifth Avenue.

The railway journey from Turin by the Rome Express as far as Pisa, along the Italian Riviera, was an experience. Late in the afternoon we changed at Pisa to a local train for Florence. Almost in the spirit of a pilgrim the next day, with Birgit, I started doing the sights of Florence. Many visitors to that city no doubt know more about it,

its past glory and importance than we did, but as we only partly suspected what we were to see, the impression was all the greater.

It is extraordinary to imagine that a city as small as Florence in the 14th and the 15th centuries, could have produced so many men of genius. Marble plaques on houses in the narrow streets commemorated references by Dante in his works to this building, that tavern, or the residence of so-and-so. Evidence of the lives of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, Machaevelli, Savonarola, Boccaccio and Galileo, seemed everywhere.

As a background all the while we had the history of the amazing de Medicis whose riches and art treasures make their name live, hundreds of years after the family has become extinct. The very name of one of them: *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, stirs one!

Four days we remained during which we visited the *Pitti Palazzo*, the Chapel of the Medicis, the *Palazzo Vecchio* and all those splendid monuments of the Renaissance period. The collection of paintings in the *Uffizi* alone would have taken weeks to digest and appreciate.

It was on the impulse of the moment that we had gone to Florence. One day I hope to visit other cities in Italy and possibly return to Florence, but I am glad that on this occasion we did not go farther. Italy, I have begun to realize, is steeped in history, and has more to offer than one can absorb in months.

It was in the nick of time that we had left Cervinia. Situated as the town is, the wind from the Mediterranean sweeps through the valley, hits the Matterhorn and backfires so that for days after we had left, owing to snowstorms, no skiing was possible. The little community got all its news of Hitler's annexation of Czecho-Slovakia by telephone or wireless.

But the snowfall which accompanied the tempest was not confined to North Italy. It also benefited Switzerland. So when we left Florence, via Milan and Zürich, we went to Davos. Snow had been scarce. Now there was an abundance of it and for another week we enjoyed excellent skiing, going on tours, practising on the nursery slopes, getting as brown as berries and feeling as fit as fiddles. It was marvellous. One exciting trip in a snow-storm, I told you about in a postcard from the Parsenn Hütte. Davos is one of the very best places in Switzerland for skiing. The number of long tours you can make, I was told, is over 100.

Then Paris, Saturday morning! Arriving at half-past six at Gare de l'Est, I found that my train for Dieppe left Gare St. Lazare only at 10-30. But I enjoyed those four hours, as I have rarely enjoyed any visit to Paris.

In the mist of an early spring morning, any metropolitan city, I suppose, looks fresh and mystically alluring. But surely there never was a city, the centre of which was so majestic, so imposing and yet so elegantly lovely as that of Paris. I walked the whole distance from the Lazare, via Place de l'Opéra and over Place de la Concorde, to the Arc de Triomphe. Houses were decorated with French and English flags in celebration of the return from London of the President. Outside "*Le Figaro*" newspaper office, people were reading the crisp, interrogative leader of the day, significantly headed "*Assez parlé.*"

What I do like about Hitler's latest actions, is the fact that, at last, people have realized that he means business and has no regard for the feelings and property of others or opportunity to escape. Chamberlain is a nice old man but his policy has failed and he has neither the energy nor the driving power of the young men in Germany.

As you will have seen from our Daily Gazettes, sales which were going strongly to the time of the annexation of Czecho-Slovakia, have dropped. There seems little we can do in the way of fresh policies to stimulate sales. If another major *coup* is not attempted within the next few weeks, some kind of confidence will no doubt gradually revive, but the long-term outlook must remain unsettled until and unless the first check has been administered to Hitler's policy of expansion.

Conscription in this country would act as a deterrent. But it might be of even greater moral importance if Hitler attempted to bully a small nation like the Swiss and they were to show armed resistance. Hitler is too much in the position of Robespierre up to the time when he made his last speech. Everybody was afraid to oppose him until one man spoke. The next day Robespierre, the all-powerful dictator, was under the guillotine. Hitler and his gang at the moment must feel, at present, that they cannot go wrong.

To revert to our own position, you will be glad to hear that the Harland Manufacturing Company or, rather, Teather, has now produced a satisfactory automatic, cigarette machine. We shall go into production with it very soon. As far as possible, we shall, I consider, continue to carry on the businesses of F. Graucob Ltd., and the Harland Manufacturing Co. Ltd., until and unless war breaks out.

In the case of war, F. Graucob Ltd., shall have little to do but collect the money due from its debtors, as it seems unlikely that we shall obtain supplies from Denmark. If the Harland Manufacturing Co. Ltd., has become sufficiently well established, it may be able to get contracts for munition work.

Somewhere in the country we shall rent a house at which F. Graucob Ltd. can carry on its business or, rather, collect the money due to the company, give service, etc. It may

involve the immediate expenditure of £100 or £200 a year, but the cost is small, looked upon as an insurance premium, because the value of our ledger accounts is irreplaceable. Until 12 months ago, when Lloyds' were no longer willing to insure war risks, we used to pay nearly £100 p.a. in premiums on these cabinets; the expenditure is not likely to be much more, while the advantage may be great.

One of the reasons I went to Switzerland again was because I felt that in that country there were opportunities for forming another little subsidiary for the sale of machines. For that purpose I secured, from Wittenborg's, an option on Switzerland. My investigations confirmed that there would have been a good market. If Hitler had not marched into Czecho-Slovakia, I would have suggested that we should have done something about it. Allowing for the population of Switzerland being only 4,000,000, the people show surprisingly little fear of their Northern neighbour. If Switzerland is attacked, the Swiss say they intend to fight. I believe them, and, except in the case of a major catastrophe, that will save them. Yet it seems unwise for me to take any steps, although the market is a good one.

In the meanwhile I am doing my utmost to improve my German. From Linguaphone I have obtained a set of gramophone records which I play each morning while dressing. In Switzerland I insisted upon speaking German to the guides, the hotel staff, and the waiters, as well as to those German-speaking visitors, with whom I got into conversation. My German is neither idiomatic nor grammatical, but it is improving.

At the moment I am reading a biography in German by Stefan Zweig of Fouché, Chief of the Police in Paris during Napoleon. He seems to have had many traits in common with the present rulers in Germany. "*Plus ça change, plus c'est . . .*"

To counterbalance the reading of a biography of a Frenchman by a German, I bought in Paris a biographical novel by a Frenchman of "Goethe et Bettina," so I am trying to make sure that my French does not get rusty while I improve my German. If one day we have to run schools for salesmen in Switzerland, knowledge of both languages will be useful.

This letter, I fear, is far too long — I hope you will forgive me for having written at such length but I wanted to tell you about my trip and give you some idea of our future views.

Birgit is staying days with friends in Lugano. I am expecting her here in the course of a week or so.

*Mange kærlige Hilsner til jer begge
fra*

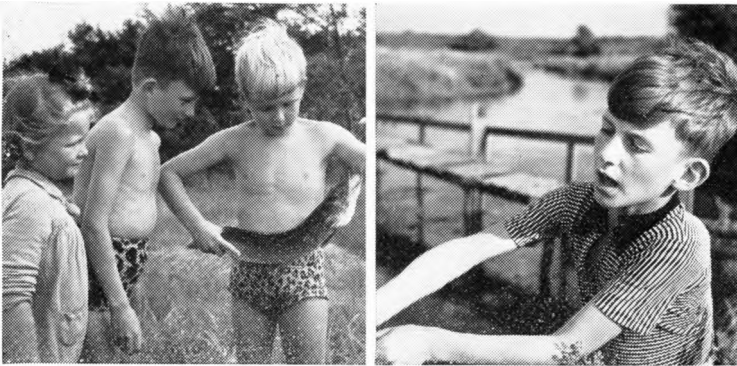
Find.

Mrs. M. Davidsen,
Ærenprisvej 1,
Gentofte, Denmark.

That Mor had carefully read and digested this letter is proved by 30 English words underlined in the original, the Danish equivalents of which she evidently had looked up in her dictionary as they appear in the margin.

For her last pre-War visit to England, Birgit, shortly afterwards, came to London, where she stayed with me at College Road. During Easter, when on Good Friday, Mussolini invaded Albania, we went by car to Cornwall. Later, before Birgit returned to Stockholm, we also visited the still uninhabited and unfurnished Manor House at Bodicote.

Massaged at Angleterre after being tossed while riding in Dyrehaven. Birgit at Angleterre for Mor's 60th Birthday (9/7/39) at Bellevue. Met Pippa 1st time.



Hanne Ludvigsen, Pat and Christian Ludvigsen at Holtumgaard.
August 1939.

'Armony' All or Love Ever New'

16 Nov 1952 Among the presents on my 50th birthday, few were more prized than two poems written, in English and Danish, by "Anon" and "Jas," respectively aliases of Rene Kerrod and Ernst Jensen. Mislaid for years, both MSS were, however, recovered, that of 'Armony 'All,' by Rene Kerrod, only on the 15th July 1967.

Based upon figments of her imagination, but amusingly composed with many names thrown in, the original, typewritten on foolscap paper, was beautifully bound in a white cover, the sheets held together with a red ribbon.

On or near my birthday, the poem was handed to me by Rene in the lounge at Overgate in the presence of Harold Kerrod, her husband, and others, following a grotesque, unique one-girl *can-can* performance by Rene,

which made those present nearly collapse with laughter. The full title of Rene's masterpiece, quoted below, is 'Armony 'All or Love Ever New':

This is the story, in poetry horrid,
(You may find it int'restin' though a bit torrid).
It started around November '02,
When out of the sky a snow-white stork flew,
Bearing so gently a new baby Dane,
Rosy and dimpled, Find Justus his name!
"What a darling," cried Mor, and started to coo,
Find opened one eye, winked, and murmured "Sez
You!"

From babyhood he quickly started to toddle,
With amazement they watched the growth of his
noddle,
Which, containing such brain, soon made him able,
At the age of ten months, to say his "Times Table"!
When he was four, so much had he learned
That all offers of tutorship scornfully were spurned.
He'd lie in his cot, bewitching in way,
Lisping "Saturday work always will pay."
His first pair of knickerbockers soon he'd donned,
And reams of sales talk already he'd conned.

But Denmark, so lovely, is yet rather wee,
"Fresh fields to conquer — England for me!"
He arrived on these shores, shy and endearing,
And soon lots of London shopkeepers were hearing:
"Have you thought, sir, of *profits* and how much
would come

From the sale of some Woodbines, or Wrigley's
Pure Gum?"

As his able lieutenants, he'd Arthur and Mac,
(In those days poor Ruck kept the cash in a sack),
But when they got offices over a *cafe*
They asked Mr. Milner to make them a *safe*.

Meanwhile, Find had wed, and, all in a trice,
A British stork came to visit them — twice!
Business was booming, machines getting bigger,
But what's this we see? In the woodpile a nigger!
Alas and alack, from babyhood's curls,
Find always had an eye for the girls!

As manhood approached, this aptitude grew,
He took as his motto "Love ever new!"
In vain did his seccy, poor Rene, exclaim :
"My address book won't hold even one more name"!

But still they poured in — Brus, Else and Memsie,
Mike, Birgit, Maja and a cute U.S. Nursie,
And then there came Joyce and Maggie and Fanny,
You'll probably think it's a damned sight too many !

One day, Find's thoughts did vividly roam
On a scheme for a sort of communal home,
To house all his girl-friends, past, present, unmet,
As well as their husbands, children and pets.
"What I want is a mansion, stately and tall,
I'll name it — let's see — ah yes ! 'Armony 'All !"
In the years that followed, house agents did comb
Their books for some such suitable home,
Gothic, Tudor, Georgian, Queen Anne,
Up and down the country they ran !

The war came, and went, and once more Find did
stand
On the threshold of marriage, hand in hand
With Ebba, fair as roses and cream,
And Find told her of his wondrous scheme
For 'Armony 'All, and she agreed
They'd go ahead with all possible speed.

Years passed, then one fine day in spring,
An agent, exhaustedly, did ring
And say he'd found the very thing.

At last Find's dreams came to pass,
And down he sat at once to draft
A form of application neat :
"Please complete back of sheet,
stating (a) and (b) and (c)
why you think that you should be
(oh ! don't forget sub-section (o))
included in my seraglio !"

The forms returned in number daily,
Even one filled in Swahili !
Till no more could Find instal
Within the walls of 'Armony 'All.

Fanny painted murals bright,
Russian angels all in white.
Maggie-Bee knocked at the door
Asking: "May I sit upon your floor?"

From a square in Dublin came,
Drawn like moth to candle-flame,
An Irish colleen — caused a stir —
Find muttered "God, don't remember her!"
Eric drove up fast with Daggie,
Saying that they'd just passed Aggie,
Toiling up the hill from town,
Slip, as usual, hanging down!

Rene in the hall did stand,
Notebook ready in her hand,
Checking them as they came in,
(Only stopping for a gin),
Saying, as she raised her glass,
"Why hello — you're from the '38 Class!"
'Armony was called the 'All,
But there was many a gutterbrawl,
And hair torn out and scratch by nail
Over the presiding male,
Till Find, by now quite desperado,
Sent post-haste for Ian Mikardo!
With extra-adenoidal charm
This Bevan Boy soon poured balm
on troubled waters, but said he:
"You'll never have them feeling mellow,
Till you're in the sere and yellow!"
"Then they've quite a time to wait,"
said Find, "for I'm to celebrate
My birthday and I'm gay and nifty,
Just a lovely lad of fifty!"

M.P. Ian smiled, benign:
"*Life begins at eighty-nine!*"

August/
September
1939: Transferred the business of F. Graucob Ltd.
and my private residence to the Manor House,
Bodicote, Banbury, Oxon., where I remained
until July 1944. In January 1941 we took
up the profitable marketing of Plomien Fuel
Economisers.



Birgit, in a determined mood.
1939.



Christian Ludvigsen and Pat,
near Holtumgaard.
Summer 1939.



Børge Ludvigsen, Pat and Christian Ludvigsen.
near Holtumgaard.
Summer 1939.

August 1939 : Ready for the War two days before Hitler, on the last occasion the Caledonian Street Market was open, I persuaded a street vendor to sell me six rat-tail dessert spoons 1718, at £18. Their lovely appearance daily gladdens my heart.

1939/40 : For the first six months after the outbreak of War, I believed that I was insolvent but felt strangely elated at no longer having to procure sufficient orders to cover our expenses during

the lovely autumn and severe phoney first war winter. When in Bodicote I took all my meals in the communal dining room with the decreasing number of my staff and, when my two children were there, I was joined by them. My income had been reduced to £2,000 p.a., of which to 'Bobbie' I paid £1,900 p.a. for her and the children's upkeep and schooling. In common with other members of the staff, for my own board and lodging, I paid only to the firm 15/- a week.

- 1940 : In June 1940, my prompt response to the stirring local appeal for volunteer Home Guards to defend the village of Bodicote, if, and when the invasion of England by Nazi Germany took place, was ignominiously rejected, because of my Danish nationality.
- 7/5/1940 : 'Half a Thick 'Un' was the exciting headline of the amusing leading article in 'The Times,' caused by my letter in the same issue relating to the claim of a silver sixpence received by us for a golden half-sovereign ! Never before, or since, have I been the cause of a leading article in 'The Times.'
- 3/6/1940 : Eric Higham, by letter informed me he had applied for commissioned rank in R.A.S.C. and asked me for the duration of the war to give shelter and support to 'Daggie' and Jennifer.
- June 1940 : The collapse of France, and the delivery of stirring speeches in Paris by General de Gaulle coincided with my receiving lessons in bow-tie tying by the former tie-maker to the Duke of Windsor, in Conduit Street.



Mockingly, soulful portrait of 'Daggie,' taken by Eric, after she and Jennifer had posed for fear of fire pictures for Nu-Swift.

During my stay in Bodicote, followed by our living together in Whitwell House in Elland (1939-1946), 'Daggie' (Dagmar) Higham, b. 18/6/1911, her husband, Eric Higham, our Sales promotion manager, and their daughter, Jennifer, were among my closest friends. Practical 'Daggie' was useful in a thousand ways. She acted as my chauffeur, located a factory in London for us and arranged removal for me from College Road to Barric House.

During most of our Bodicote stay, she looked after Sheila and Helle von Folsach, in addition to Jennifer, her own daughter.

1939/43 : 'Daggie' 'Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety.' (4 years of happiness.)

June 1941 : During three interviews in the public lounge of the Royal Empire Society in Northumberland Avenue, London, conducted by a khaki-uniformed minor ex-consular official, I was invited to take part in subversive

activities against “ a country with which we are not yet at war ” (i.e. Japan). His naive approach was exemplified by one of his questions : ‘ Have you forgotten Copenhagen?’ Only when, indignantly, I told him that having been born there and my mother and sisters still living there, I was unlikely ever to forget Copenhagen, did he explain that he had been referring to the British bombardment in 1807. In this subtle manner, he had been trying to ascertain whether I entertained any feeling of resentment against the British! My prospective employer and amateurish seducer was Sir George S. Moss, KBE of Bride Hall, Welwyn Hall, Welwyn, Herts. My logical and critical reply, by my letter of the 23rd June, 1941, possibly disturbed him. As his “ organization ” was to be based upon Singapore, the events, after Pearl Harbour, came as no surprise to me.

1940-1943 : Supported by Daggie Higham, Rene Greenstreet, Joyce Longley, Maj-Gen. Sir Digby Shuttleworth, C.B., C.B.E., and many others, in an attempt to make profitable business contacts, I spent 3 or 4 days a week at the Savoy Hotel, or in its underground air raid shelter.

The purchase of Nu-Swift

Nov 1942/
Feb 1943 : The long-term mental effect upon me of the success which we achieved in marketing Plomien was considerable. Like Topsy, the pre-war business of F. Graucob Ltd. had ‘ just growed.’ Erroneously, I had believed that organizing the sale of automatic vending machines, backed by Wittenborgs’ manufacturing expertise, was my *metiér*. It was for this reason that I had planned, and begun,

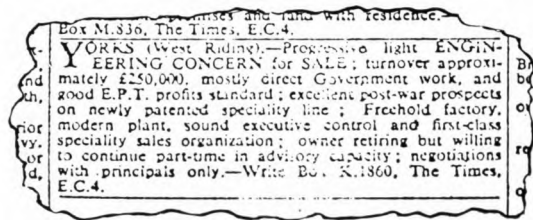
horizontally to extend my business beyond UK to Eire, South Africa, USA, Australia and Switzerland. By 1942, however, I had realized that my qualities as a sales organizer could profitably be utilized in marketing any other speciality, provided that supplies of labour and raw materials were obtainable to ensure regular deliveries of the finished product.

1942 : Lunched at RAC with J. Christmas Møller, Conservative politician, who from German-occupied Denmark, via Sweden, had escaped to England.

In the middle of November 1942, while scanning the front page of The Times, an advertisement under 'Business Offers' attracted my attention. My fortunes had changed. From believing, in September 1939, that I was almost ruined I had prospered, and it was not as a pauper that I responded to the advertiser's invitation, under a box number, to communicate with him. Profits of F. Graucob Ltd. for 1942 (after payment of my reasonable salary as managing director) proved to be £27,152, while for the year ending 28/2/1942, profits of Nu-Swift (after payment of Leech's salary) had amounted to only £3,080, both amounts less income tax.

But the all-important, unfavourable attitude of the authorities towards Plomien, particularly in war-time, made our position vulnerable, and prospects uncertain. Hence my search for another profitable speciality, preferably with post-war prospects; but in any case by government departments looked upon with favour. The partly misleading phraseology of the advertisement in The Times, which

attracted my attention, twice mentioning the magic word of 'speciality,' read :



Contacting the advertiser, I found him to be H. C. Leech. With his wife, he lived in a modern, draughty, detached house at Bradley Bar, Huddersfield, and was the majority shareholder, and managing director, of The Nuswift Engineering Co. Ltd., at Elland.

Sword in hand, having conquered the city of York in A.D. 867, some of the Danish marauders, it is assumed, meeting little further resistance, sailed up the River Calder (*'sejled op ad åen'*), along which they founded, or named, settlements, or townships, including that of Elland. By etymological deduction, it can also be assumed that *'Elant,' 'Åland,'* or *'Øland,'* mentioned in the Domesday Book (1086), was the Westernmost point reached, in this part of Britain, by my restless Viking ancestors.

In 1942, in my own case, having made an appointment with Harold Cayzer Leech I was, by *'Daggie,'* driven from Bodicote to Brackley. Thence, by through train, I travelled by the meandering, commercially non-successful, but comfortable old Great Central Railway, via Rugby, Nottingham, Sheffield and Penistone, to Huddersfield. Alighting

from the grimy, imposing Grecian-temple-style railway station at Huddersfield, I crossed the square to the George Hotel, where on this my first and many later visits, to the industrial West Riding, I stayed. The next morning, by Leech I was driven the four miles to Elland, where for the first time, from Upper Edge Top, I set my eyes on the valley in which Elland lies.

Notwithstanding the uninspiring war-time appearance of the factory, the offices, the town of Elland, the surrounding countryside and industrial Yorkshire, from a commercial angle I was very impressed by what I learned during my first visit. True, there was scope for improvement, but here was being produced an unrationed speciality, for the manufacture of which raw materials and labour were made readily available by the Government. Moreover, while in peace-time a desirable article virtually in war-time a 'must,' its advantages still had to be sold and explained individually to prospective users. Sales I could re-organize during the War for post-war marketing in Britain and abroad. at the time of the battles of El Alamein and Stalingrad, when a favourable outcome of the War for us seemed to be in sight, was an added advantage. Being contractors to the Navy would provide prestige and profit as well as ensure availability of material and labour to Nu-Swift, while I got busy improving the commercial sales approach and volume of business. And the black-out, during the hours of darkness, covering as it did the whole of the country, by night, at least, concealed some of the worst industrial scars in Yorkshire. More-

over, concentration in the most efficient mills of limited war-time textile production made the scourge of air pollution by filthy smoke from inefficient steam engines, seem almost negligible in the chilling, wintry Yorkshire atmosphere, the effect of which, on more occasions, I compared to that of champagne !

Many more Elland visits followed, accompanied on separate trips, for different purposes, by 'Mac,' 'Daggie,' Eric Higham and 'Renc,' all of which increased my basic interest and keenness in Nu-Swift. I took a liking to the helpful, courteous and conscientious, though indolent and slow, George Crosland, the impulsive and volatile Anna Fox and the painstaking, though stubborn, H. L. Walker. Just engaged as works manager by Lecch, Walker had been told that the projected transaction was an amalgamation of Nu-Swift with the Harland Manufacturing Co. Ltd., or F. Graucob Ltd. ! Introduced, on one of these visits to G. W. Smith, FCA, of Huddersfield, one of the directors of Nu-Swift, I also met by appointment at the Queens Hotel in Leeds, Lecch, Leo Fattorini and Samuel Bodlender. Fattorini, a Nu-Swift shareholder, was a director as well. Fattorini and Bodlender were joint owners of the Nu-Swift package of almost worthless patents, in virtue of which, on all sales, except to the Admiralty, they received 4½% royalty.

The re-action to my growing enthusiasm for Nu-Swift by my co-directors, friends and employees in the South, varied from irrelevant curiosity to respectful dismay. Sir Digby

Shuttleworth enquired whether worthwhile grouse moors were near Elland, while Sir Dennis Herbert knew Elland, because of the description of a former parliamentary constituency by that name. Higham soon grew interested in the technical problems of fire fighting and demonstration, while 'Daggie' became fascinated by, and in Bodicote vividly imitated, the manual operation of the capstan lathes by the female machine operators. But 'Mac,' Ruck, their wives and 'Rene' were all dismayed at the prospect of leaving delightful Bodicote for the grim, grey, grubby and harsh North. And though, for untold years, Harland had lived almost in the centre of grimy Sheffield, he obviously thought Elland not only infinitely less attractive, but practically beyond the pale. Graham Kent conceded that Nu-Swift might be a good war-time proposition, but what were we to make after the War? When I replied: 'Fire Extinguishers,' he seemed astounded. A newly patented speciality line, turned out to be a half-baked design for a dish-washing machine.

Meanwhile, whether in Elland, Huddersfield, Bodicote or London, I examined the position from every conceivable angle. If the deal materialized, the purchase would absorb all, or most of, our liquid assets, rescued from the wreckage of our pre-war business, or later made from profits by our sale of Plomien fuel economisers. What were the snags and why was Leech anxious to sell while I was becoming increasingly keen on buying?

Initial investigations and preliminary discussions over, by a resolution in writing

(18/12/1942), signed by all the five directors of F. Graucob Ltd., I was given authority on behalf of our Company to sign 'Heads of an Agreement' with Leech for the purchase by us of all the Nu-Swift shares owned by him and others. At a board meeting held later (7/1/1943) attended by all our directors, other than Sir Dennis Herbert, at the lovely Queen Anne house at 60, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn, London, WC2, (the official residence of Sir Dennis Herbert, as President of the Law Society) I was, after a report on my negotiations, "empowered to continue the negotiations on the lines proposed and to enter into an Agreement on behalf of the Company." Further investigations, careful consideration and hard bargaining remained, however.

Looked at through my eyes, there seemed no plausible reason for Leech, who held just over 50% of the capital of Nu-Swift, to be anxious to sell a business, which disregarding the Admiralty contract, appeared to possess both war-time and post-war potentialities. Why should a man, at 40, roughly the same age as I, wish to retire from such a flourishing concern? Where was the snag? Were uncertain post-war prospects, hidden problems with suppliers or trade unions, patent queries or technical problems, unrevealed to me? These were questions all pondered over and investigated. Recent years' profit and loss accounts of Minimax Ltd., which, incorrectly, I assumed to be Nu-Swift's principal competitor, revealed annually declining payments of patent fees, reflecting stagnant and unenterprising management, and certainly a bull point in Nu-Swift's favour.

Cold canvassing farmers in the Gower district of the South Wales by Eric Higham, before we had bought the company, resulted in him obtaining seven orders for Nu-Swift extinguishers from ten calls. This was shortly after indirect propaganda had been made for the protection by the *Luftwaffe* in a flattening out blitz of nearby Swansea! Careful perusal of Nu-Swift's minute book for the nine years 1933/42 revealed plenty of directorial squabbles and struggles for power, but nothing of a sinister nature. Only years later I came to the conclusion that one of the main reasons for Leech wanting to sell must have been his fear for the commercial future of the company. Records showed that, in pre-war days, even during the critical Munich crisis, modest Nu-Swift sales had been lacking buoyancy. Another factor partly responsible is likely to have been Leech's second marriage, his new wife who was from the South, no doubt disliking the climate and surroundings of industrial West Riding.

Be that as it may, the price and other conditions, became the subject of hard, intensive horse trading. At our first interview in November 1942, Leech had produced pencilled figures purporting to represent assets adding up to £54,000, or say, £4. 10. 0. for each of the 11,382 shares.

To me, the principal object of the proposed transaction was, that during and after the war, it would enable me to market fire extinguishers. I had no knowledge of, and interest in, their manufacture, except as a means to an end. Right from the start, I therefore insisted upon,

and it was soon, as a *sine qua non*, agreed between us, that for two years, Leech, hitherto managing director, should stay on, though termed general manager, at a slightly lower salary. Also, he was to be allowed to subscribe some preferred, and buy ordinary shares in F. Graucob Ltd.

Always sporting after his name the letters FSMA (Fellow of the Incorporated Sales Managers Association), I 'bought Leech,' hook, line and sinker.

After adulthood he had suffered severely from tuberculosis, but recovered and, after an apprenticeship near Cambridge, had become a draughtsman with J. Blakeborough & Sons Ltd., the valve manufacturers, at Brighouse, a few miles from Elland. About 1926, as a small part of their large business, Blakeborough's, as patent licensees from the inventor (G. A. Goodall), had taken over the manufacture of the original Nu-Swift Extinguisher, Model 1000. The trade mark of Nu-Swift was originally registered on the 16th June, 1924. Seemingly, Leech, ambitious, but always spluttering with bright, incoherent ideas, was promoted from the Blakeborough drawing office to take charge of the sales section of the Nu-Swift product only, in 1933, with the help of others, to form and promote the Nuswift Engineering Co. Ltd., of which he became managing director, and which started operating from a rented workshop in Elland Lane, Elland. About the same time Samuel Bodlender & Leo Fattorini, who also became shareholders in, and directors of, The Nuswift Engineering Co. Ltd., jointly acquired the

patent rights from the inventor, though at the outbreak of war, in 1939, Bodlender resigned his directorship. Only later did Leech become the majority shareholder.

Our negotiations in 1942/3 regarding the purchase of Nu-Swift went in fits and starts, with 'Mac' and Higham as my assistants, and George Crosland as Leech's. In the background were the members of our respective boards. Accustomed, as 'Mac' and I were to work right through the night and the weekend, if necessary, we were, both astounded, when one Saturday morning Leech announced that, that afternoon, though we would be in Yorkshire, he would be busily occupied refereeing a local football match, while we could be kicking our heels at the George Hotel in Huddersfield.

Going on for over two months, numerous counter-proposals and alterations were made. Getting cold feet at putting so many of our eggs into one basket, at one stage wavering, I toyed with the idea of buying only half the Nu-Swift shares with an option on the balance. Harland, however, strongly advised me against this, and the suggestion was dropped. Once, however, our negotiations were almost broken off and once completely terminated.

War-time staff shortages, travelling difficulties and postal delays complicated and hindered communications. Perhaps I was ultra-cautious, but the transaction was a large and critical one for us and, if completed, would drain F. Graucob Ltd. of most of its liquid resources. During a joint visit to London of the negotiators on both sides, we all stayed

at the Savoy Hotel, Leech attended by George Crosland and Sam Garsed, his Elland solicitor, and I by 'Mac' and 'Rene.' Negotiations culminated in a dramatic drawing-room scene, at which, about three o'clock in the morning, after being wakened in her bedroom, when we thought we had reached agreement, 'Rene,' in dressing gown, was brought in by me, and drowsily, but accurately, took dictation, to the surprise and admiration of George Crosland.

The next day, we all went to Major Beaumont, a partner of Beaumont & Son, solicitors to F. Graucob Ltd. Back the others went to Elland and Bodicote, while I stayed on alone at the Savoy, where, arriving from Surrey, Hans Folsach, as a director of F. Graucob Ltd., came into the picture. No formal agreement had yet been entered into, but Leech had stated that, while his minority shareholders were holding out for £3. 10. 0. per share, he was prepared to accept £3. 0. 0. for each of his shares. Suggesting that this meant that we could buy all the Nu-Swift shares at £3 each. Hans, using the usual poker technique, persuaded me, against my own judgment, to tell Leech, over the phone, that it was that or nothing. When, having consulted his principal minority shareholders, Leech came back, and, over the phone, told me that our counter-offer was unacceptable to them, my response to him, in a toneless voice, was that that meant the negotiations were off for good. This attitude was a tactical mistake, Leech having already declared his willingness to accept £3 each for his own shares. For our approach to succeed, therefore, he would have to act as a middle-

man, persuading his minority shareholders also to accept the lower price. In accordance with the unwritten rules of the bluff game, Leech should have come back to Hans and me but, not being the final principal, he was unable to comply with my demands, and hence both of us having in vain for two days waited for Leech, Hans merely departed for Surrey, leaving me alone at the Savoy, high and dry. Recovering my mental equilibrium, I argued with myself that, if Nu-Swift had been worth buying at £34,566, it was also worth purchasing at £36,633. I therefore got back to Leech, on the telephone, but by now he would not play, demanding £3. 5. 0. each for his 5,928 shares. The end result was that we had to pay £1,482 more for Nu-Swift.

Solicitors' work having been completed, the date and venue of completion were finally fixed for the 4th February, 1943, in Elland, at the Protector Works, as the Nu-Swift Factory was then called. But almost up to the last, technical difficulties persisted. Bankers' drafts in favour of the individual shareholders were in my possession, but the completion of documents made it desirable for board meetings of both companies, to be held at the same venue, immediately following one another. Physical infirmity prevented T. E. Baldwin, a solicitor's clerk in the employ of Beaumont & Son, and, since its incorporation in 1929, secretary to F. Graucob Ltd., from travelling to Yorkshire, while Beaumonts' were unable to send any other legally knowledgeable representative, in case any last-minute query or snag should occur. A. B. Bein, of Bein &

Lawrence, solicitors of London, who before the war had handled our contested debt collection court cases, consented, however, the night before the completion, to come to Yorkshire. On the day itself, Albert Harland, as Chairman of F. Graucob Ltd., came over by car from Sheffield. H. C. Leech, G. W. Smith and Leo Fattorini, as the principal vendors,



The rambling nature of the Manor House, Bodicote, is indicated by this photograph taken, in July 1968, from the back garden. The magnificent copper beech and conifer trees were there long before our arrival in 1939.

The grilled ground floor window provided daylight for the very cold stone-floored toilet, in which I shaved every morning. (My tiny bedroom was on the first floor in the front.)

and Samuel Bodlender, as well as George Crosland, as secretary of Nu-Swift, were also present. So was Sam Garsed of Elland, Leech's solicitor. The meetings went, however, according to schedule, all documents being completed in the late afternoon. The day after the nearly weaponless remnants of the Sixth German

Army had surrendered at Stalingrad (3/2/43) Nu-Swift had become ours. But the Battle of the Atlantic was still in the balance, while at Peenemünde the development of the V1 and V2 rockets was being progressed rapidly.

4/2/1943: Since 1929, a director of F. Graucob Ltd., Sir Dennis Herbert, just raised to the peerage under the name of Lord Hemingford, became the first chairman of our new subsidiary. It almost coincided with the German surrender at Stalingrad by Field Marshal von Paulus.

From the announcement sent to all members of the staff of Nu-Swift, after we had bought the company, my outlook was obvious :

“ The Nu-Swift business, in my opinion, has enormous potentialities. We propose to develop and extend it now and after the war. Those with the capacity and will to collaborate, I shall welcome and remunerate accordingly, irrespective of birth, race, nationality, age, education or sex.”

In the Chairman's Review, incorporated in the 1967 Accounts, I requoted this statement.

5/2/1943 : The day after the Nu-Swift purchase was completed, in a long letter to 'The Times,' published on the leader page, I advocated important changes in post-war taxation.

4/2/1944: 3-day trial at the Old Bailey, at a cost to us of £3,000, resulted from the issue by H.M. Government of 72 summonses, in respect of each of which, each defendant was liable to 14 years' imprisonment and a fine of £5,000. Before a war-time jury of



The Manor House, Bodicote, near Banbury, Oxon,
where during World War II (1939-44) I spent
five happy years with staff and friends.

My living room *cum* office was on the right hand
side, on the first floor.

Photographed July 1968.

seven, by direction of fair-minded Mr. Justice Stable, each of the three individual defendants was acquitted of the criminal charge of conspiracy. Chief witness for the defence was K. E. Shelley, K.C., who, long before the hearing, had confirmed in writing that it was the patriotic duty of those likely to be charged, to continue to defy the Board of Trade. The factual question at issue was whether the Plomien Fuel Economiser achieved a saving



Pat and self outside the Manor House, Bodicote.
About 1940/41.

of fuel by the method claimed by us, and confirmed by empirical evidence. The legal issue, and in respect of which the three *companies* (but not the individual defendants, of whom I was one) were convicted, depended on more semantic issues. Consistently, the Board of Trade had refused to carry out tests. In the witness box and in writing, K. E. Shelley, K.C., charged the officials with negligence and hidden motives. This charge he repeated to Sir Stafford Cripps, who, after his successful career as Minister of Aircraft Production, was British Ambassador in Moscow. After the trial, F. Graucob Ltd., with knowledge of the Board of Trade, sold all its remaining stock. Having been convicted of conspiracy and paid a nominal fine, the Board of Trade

reluctantly had to agree that in disposing of its remaining stock, the Company committed no indictable offence.

27/5/1942 : Ex-Indian army officer Sir Digby Ingles Shuttleworth, KCIE, CB, CBE, DSO, mentioned in Dispatches, resigned his directorship of F. Graucob, Ltd. He had had many dinners with me at the United Services Club, his parting shot being : ' You don't ever think of me as being a Colonel Blimp, do you, Graucob?'

1943 : In a subterranean cave in Wales, met Margaret Holgate, a young Celtic textile designer, who with her friend, Fanny, came to stay at the Manor House in Bodicote to illustrate in an imaginative manner the bare walls of the staircase. Soon I proposed marriage to Margaret, which, after some delay, she declined.

1 Dec 1943 : Miss Anna Fox appointed Head of the Export Department at £7 p.w.

1944-45 Flimsy reasons caused Nu-Swift to be expelled from F.E.T.A. (Fire Extinguisher Trades Association). At meetings, held in London in the Holborn Restaurant and at Grosvenor House, attended by me, Lord Hemingford and K. E. Shelley, K.C., we appealed in vain. About 1946, approval by F.O.C. (*Fire Offices Committee*) of all Nu-Swift 2-gallon extinguishers was withdrawn. Not only were we ostracized, we were to be destroyed. A writ was issued by Pyrene. This, however, proved futile and they had to pay their own costs and ours.

My hour of triumph came only 28 years later. On 14/2/1972, J. S. Hendry, the 35-year-old managing director of Walter Kidde & Co., Ltd.,

called on me, after informal approaches by other members. Inviting us to rejoin the Association, he stated that our accounts, products and success were the envy of their members. With the concurrence of Cawood and Ivan Dorr, I declined his invitation.

16 Oct. 1944: Birth of Vanessa, at Saddler's Cottage, Little Hadham in my accidental presence.

1944 : Ahead of the British Government, I introduced for all my workers, pregnancy and child allowances, payable to the mothers, whether married or unmarried.

23 Feb. 1945: A hand-written enquiry from George Bernard Shaw at Ayot Saint Lawrence, resulted from an advertisement in "The Times." head-lined : ' $\text{HO}_2 + \text{CO}_2 = \text{SAFETY} :$ '

"I live in a village where there is no fire brigade except Minimaxes."

"Is Nuswift any better? Can you oblige with a catalogue."

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'J. H. White', written diagonally across the page.

A lively correspondence followed. This included such gems as "Don't treat me as a back-chat comedian, but as a prospective customer."

April 1945 : Before World War II ended, the colourful Nuswift leaflet 'Confidence . . . or Panic,' designed and written by Eric Higham, was printed in London by H. P. White & Co., Ltd. Planning for export, versions of Form No. 93 printed in French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese followed.



The pebble-dashed front of the Nu-Swift Factory, shortly before we bought it in 1943.

May 1945 : To celebrate the German surrender, I had gala dinner with Highams and Folsachs at *Maison Prunier*, in St. James's Street, followed by a speech in public by me and a public asphalt dance in Trafalgar Square with a naval rating by Anne Lisc von Folsach.

1945-1952: Post-war export and pleasure trips to Dublin, Copenhagen, Oslo and Sweden (with Reynolds alone, with Pat and Sheila, and with Ebba), to Switzerland, USA, Canada, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Basutoland (with Ebba and Rene), and to Malta, Italy, France and numerous other places, in UK, Denmark and elsewhere. Met HRH Prince Bernadotte of Sweden in Stockholm, who nearly became our sales concessionaire for Sweden. Indirectly later, large exports to Eastern Australia resulted.



*Snap-shot at Bodicote, November 1940,
by Eric Higham, shortly after the Battle of Britain.*

‘Top o’ the Morning.’

Caught looking delightfully unposed, Irene Jones-Morgans *née* Greenstreet, leans from the window of my dining room at the Manor House in Bodicote. Mailing the photograph from Malvern, 28/11/1940. Eric Higham on the back of the card conveyed his message to Rene: ‘You blinked . . . I’ll try again and hope for better luck . . .’

August 1945 : Bryanston Fabian Summer School. (*‘And some are not!’*). Joyce, Joad and Pakenham. Hiroshima. Japanese war over.

September 1945 : Visited Gordonstoun, where in an outdoor production, Pat acted superbly as ‘Macbeth.’ Eric Cawood and Frank Tompkins attended Sales School at Halifax.

June 1946 : Visit of Birgit Winnberg to Bodicote, Huddersfield, Elland and London.

Oct. 1946 : Hope, Agar & Co. appointed auditors to F. Graucob Ltd. and most of its subsidiary companies.



Photo by : Sylvia.

View from Norland Moor, near Elland, on a sunny Sunday morning,
Autumn 1968.

Printed in colour, this picture was used by Sylvia for her Christmas
card in 1968.

- 1946: Alfred Tack published 'Selling's Murder,' the first of a number of thrillers, in which many people pretended to see Rene Greenstreet and me portrayed in pre-war days.
- 12 Nov. 1946: Married in Langerød, Denmark, to Ebba Rosenthal.
- 27 Nov. 1946: Cited in London as co-respondent, H. Bidmead v. J. W. Bidmead, without Joyce being aware that a fortnight before I had married Ebba. Agreed damages : £1,500, were paid into court. With generosity, when she heard the news, Joyce gave us a silver Georgian travelling

clock. Pat, who during Ebba's and my brief courtship in Copenhagen, unwittingly had been present, proclaimed: 'You sly, old fox.'

Dec. 1946: To celebrate Ebba's and my wedding, each of the employees of the three Graucob companies, including Nu-Swift, was paid a week's extra wages.

Winter 1947: How we overcame the shortage crises of 1947.

Memories of 1947 in Elland recalled in 1967 in New York by George T. Reynolds:

George T. Reynolds
The Wedgwood, Suite 4 G
North Broadway
White Plains, N.Y. 10603.

Dear FG: Aug. 16. 67.

I am so pleased, you are pleased, with my random remarks on our past history . . . no, I did not write any of it with the idea you should feel obliged to comment — unless anything I said requires elaboration.

I said I would write again, because in digging back in my memory to answer your specific questions, I disturbed a number of other experiences, which I thought might be worth a few words.

I haven't the least doubt you have more than enough exploits to fill a normal man's diary, but knowing your appetite for the complete story, undaunted by the volume of material involved, how about these items:

"We are all in the same ship and if it sinks, we go with it."

This was your opening gambit, one morning when you called me into your office. You were referring to the economic state of Great Britain under that first Labor Government after the war. *Coal*, being one of the few natural resources of the country, needed a salesman to get production going under the Nationalization program.

“ *I think we should take a hand,*” you said, after reviewing the situation.

. . . and so I was launched into a study of mining statistics which culminated in our producing a campaign of production incentives. Many things were rationed and I recall that some of the prizes were pounds of butter, football final tickets, and a trip to New York and *nylons* for the *gals*. We produced a dummy “bulletin” which we called *The Target* and displayed a pair of girl’s legs on the front page, featuring the nylon stocking prizes etc.

I think *Mikardo* was your contact on this matter. We read in one of the London dailies that MPs had been shewn in the “House” a suggested bulletin news sheet for the miners, displaying a girl’s legs clad in nylons!!!

But nothing came of our public-spirited effort — at least not directly — but later, of course, the Coal Board did adopt incentives — watered-down versions of the ideas we had submitted.

With a more effective promoter than *Mikardo* you *might* have taken over the Coal Board — and now it would be *Lord*

Graucob, or, would you have preferred something like *Lord Copenhagen* ?

As they say ‘You can’t win them all’ — which reminds me of the ambitious “*Fire Warden Service of the U.K.*” You surely have this episode in the diary. It was really a good try — a logical sequence of thought — but logic isn’t the key to success.

But generally speaking, during those early years of Nu-Swift under your guidance, and (I say it with all sincerity) your inspiration, we were invincible as a company.

In the era of shortages, when the public mentality was still to accept “There’s a war on” to explain non-delivery, and to put up with all kinds of limitations, we only needed to be told it was impossible to get anything for us immediately to produce that thing in abundance — by tackling the problem in a sales-minded manner.

For example :

The factory said they couldn’t get any more *labor*. By means of slides we advertised on the local cinema screens and soon had more applicants than Mr. Walker could cope with. We probably upset the local “National Service Officer” at the *Labor Exchange* whose job it was to tell us : “No bodies available.”

Then there was dear, old *Mr. Wise*. I shall always remember a Development Meeting when you asked him how much “production” he had achieved that week, with his foam concentrate. “A couple of saucepans” he solemnly replied. The upshot of the following discussion was that he couldn’t get hoof and

horn meal. The 'red light' went on again and you only called a halt when hoof and horn meal from the Argentine started to arrive by the shipload. I forget what happened. I seem to recall urgent meetings to decide how to store it — what to do about the rats and so on !!! I fancy Mr. Wise decamped about this time . . .

One of the shortages we overcame quickest was for *Wittenborgs*. Remember they couldn't get "agates" for the scales they had turned to manufacturing? We found a mine in Cornwall that undertook to supply their total requirements . . .

And in that winter of '47 your foresight in installing a "gas engine" enabled the Nu-Swift Factory to continue production when all the mills around us had closed owing to the power shortage. You were away in Switzerland when we had a call from the Halifax office of the Ministry of Power, I think it was, instructing us to discontinue use of the engine as it was some kind of violation of the Order in Council prohibiting factories from working during the shortage. The Order had not taken into consideration the possibility that a factory could operate on its own power. "So we should all starve together" seemed to be the policy of that crisis. We did not stop, various 'phone calls were initiated with London, and the official objections petered out as the snow began to thaw.

You gave all your 'sub-executives,' as you cared to describe us then, a paid holiday, upon your return — no you telegraphed us to start organizing ourselves while you were still away

— as reward for keeping the *Graucob flag* flying at “*The Fort*” — as Mac merrily referred to the *H.O.*

This spirit of '46 tolerated no obstacles to progress, and seemed to invite problems for the sheer delight of licking them. No doubt this spirit pervades the Nu-Swift atmosphere still, but I expect that in a more orderly world of computers and space-age technology the noise of progress sounds more like the ticking of a clock.

It must be tremendously gratifying to you to be able to re-live some of your many experiences, going back, I assume, to your early days with the automatic machines. You probably have some exploits to recount in the early struggle to create the Graucob Company that outweigh these I mention here from my personal knowledge of the Nu-Swift development.

You say you will be sending me some of your material — I am looking forward to this.

. . . and when you are *up-to-date*, what then?

Does Nu-Swift still hold for you the challenge and the roar of battle that your diary will be recounting . . .

If the money and success that Nu-Swift and your earlier enterprises have brought you, have taken the edge off achievement, perhaps you are thinking of tackling something different?

Not another sally at the Coal Board — but some national shortcoming that requires dynamic action to beat it . . .

And thank you for having Miss Marjory Crowther send me a copy of the new “acknowledgments” page and index of the Book of Knowledge. I teased her about using old-fashioned letterpress — it was a bit presumptuous of me. But . . . perhaps she showed you my reply . . . Probably the Marmaduke Pilling family still print for you, but if the Yorkshire folk take care of their brass — they also produce bonny lassies — Sylvia was always the prettiest girl at Nu-Swift — only you had her so close under your nose you didn’t notice soon enough. *WE* all noticed !

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

George Reynolds.”

- Spring 1947: Sent Hornby to USA to further Nu-Swift exports. Offered, for a nominal payment of £1 p.a., my services to the Ministry of Fuel and Power to stimulate coal production.
- 12 Sep. 1947: On a similar mission to Hornby’s, I sent George Reynolds to eight South American countries.
- 1947: Exchanging her dress in the suite of the House of Commons at Ottawa of Senator David A. Cross, Q.C., M.P., we crossed by rail the American Continent to Vancouver. *En route* Ebba fainting, thought she was pregnant, though, unfortunately, this was not the case.
- 1948: On Ebba’s, Rene’s and my return, next year, from South Africa, were met at Victoria by Pat, who told us that Sheila was in hospital, where I visited her at Highgate and Holloway.

- Christmas 1948 : Terminated with a cocktail party at Rubens Hotel, London, our joint sales arrangement with Alfred and George Tack, initiated in 1937.
- Jan. 1949 : Accidentally, by examination for life insurance, I was discovered to be suffering from hypertension. I divided my preferred shares



The view of West Vale from Elland, the town that became the centre of our world. (Sheila, in 1945, had counted 84 tall factory chimneys in Elland.)

of F. Graucob Ltd. equally between Ebba, Patrick, Sheila and Rene. (Seven years later the same doctor who had rejected me earlier, accepted me for a similar insurance policy by his casual statement that he must earlier have made an incorrect deduction.)



One of our 115 attractive service vans, covering the whole of the mainland of Britain, the Isle of Wight and Northern Ireland.

April 1949 : The Service Section was started under management of Donald Holmes, who with one service engineer, A. E. Cooper, by train, covered the whole country. By April 1975, we had engaged, trained and employed 100 service engineers, who under management of Peter Harrison, looked after 80,000 users, each engineer in his own service van, as one shown above.

9 July 1949: Celebrated Mor's 70th birthday with traditional dinner at the Bellevue Strand Hotel at Klampenborg. Pat made a 10 minutes' almost faultless speech in Danish.



DET EVIG-UNGE FØDSELSDAGSBARN



PIND



KVA



RUTH

TIL OS ER DU MOR



PAT



SHELLA



BIBSEN



OLE



JENS PIND

WE CALL YOU "FARMOR"

TIL OS ER DU MORMOR

Pictorial extract from the Menu when, on the 9th July, 1949, we celebrated Mor's 70th birthday, by dinner at the Bellevue Strandhotel, Klampenborg.

16 Nov. 1949: On my birthday, Peggy Vodrey, Nu-Swift welfare officer, committed suicide at her second attempt, in spite of Cawood's attempt to revive her, at Rene's little house at the top of Westgate in Elland.

Jan. 1950: Rene announced her engagement to Harold Kerrod, Peggy's former *fiancé*. Both left the Company and Margaret Thorpe became my Secretary.

June 1951: Removal from Whitwell House to Overgate.

- 19 Dec. 1951 : Henni Svendsen gave birth to her first child, who was given the second name of Ulla Aida Svendsen. The second name indicated the initials of Attention, Interest, Desire and Action.
- 3 July 1951 : Introduction of Nu-Swift Profit Sharing Scheme, providing for the surrender by me, as chief owner of Nu-Swift, of 10% in excess of profits of £50,000 p.a. Up to 1974, profit distributed amounted to £858,410.
- Oct. 1951 : Børge Ludvigsen's critical stay at Barrie House.
- Oct. 1951 : Sheila began at Oxford at Lady Margaret Hall.
- Feb 1952 : Appointment of H. G. Stage, our first overseas marketing manager, who stayed with us until 1960.
- 4 May 1952 : On a postcard from Copenhagen to Sylvia I wrote: "I need your advice."
- 1952: 2nd post-war Sales' Staff Contest Overseas
25-29 Aug. Trip to Copenhagen, by SAS 'plane in 3½ hours. Kystens Perle, etc. 19 participants. 5 days, Monday to Friday. Palace and Terminus hotels. Total cost: £1158. Average per participant : £61. Stages, Bensons, Tompkinses, Stoners, Dujardins, Margaret Thorpe. Banquet Bellevue, Thursday, 28 Aug : my 50th birthday celebration : Ebba, Mor, Ruth, Eva, Aage Heede, John and Rita Graucob. Speech and Presentation by Ray Orviss. Prolonged our stay at Palace Hotel after salesman's departure before returning by car (11-12/9/52) via Esbjerg/Harwich. after visits to Edith Ludvigsen and Inger Lund and my attempt over the phone to meet Børge.



Colourful and pleasant inside, Overgate is the externally ugly, semi-detached pseudo-Elizabethan house in which I have lived since 1951, and after our marriage in 1956, also Sylvia. She is seen outside the front entrance with Kimmie and Peter Anker, her two black miniature schnauzers who joined us in 1963.

- 1952 : Met Niels Bohr, the Physicist and Nobel Prize recipient, for dinner at Erik Nyholm's in Tibirke, Margot Lander acting as hostess.
- Autumn 1952: 'Pippa' at Overgate. (Letter of thanks).
- 16 Nov. 1952: For my 50th birthday at Overgate, Mor, Eva and Ruth came over from Denmark. Reception at Overgate and Party at New Hall. Met Sylvia at Overgate, wearing a cute hat ; Diane Cilento and Patrick jointly gave me two rat-tail spoons. Ebba present as hostess.
- 1952: The day after Boxing Day I selected our first Showroom at 25, Piccadilly, W.1.
- Aug. 1953: With Ebba to Scotland, where we visited Ebbe Heyman at Fasnaclloch Estate, near Appin, Argyllshire.



A happy looking picture, though my second marriage was breaking up.
Asserbo. Summer 1952.

- Sept. 1953: With Sylvia to France and Switzerland.
- 13 Nov. 1953: Caught at Hotel Vyrwy, in mid-Wales, by private detectives, after sales school held by Freddy Dakers in Liverpool.
- Jan. 1954: Fire demonstration at *Statsprøveanstalten* in Copenhagen.
- 5 Jan. 1954: Lecture in Copenhagen on “*Salgsvitaminer*,” transferred to “*Ingeniørforeningen*,” because of overflow audience.



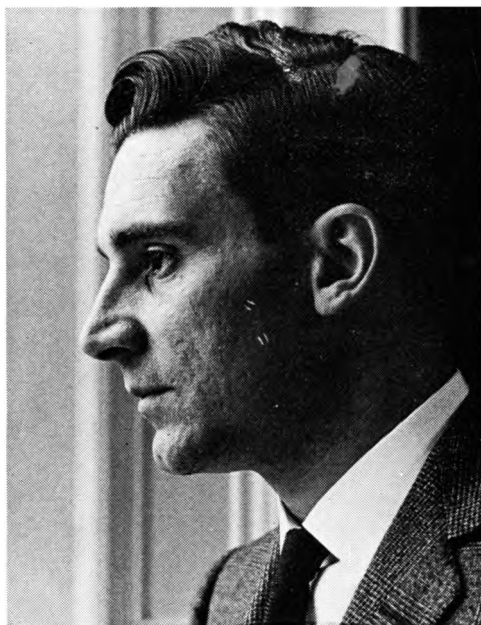
The front of the first Nu-Swift Showroom, Shop and Offices at 25, Piccadilly, London, W.1., shortly after their completion, in 1954.

- 3 June 1954: My 2nd marriage was dissolved in an English court.
- 6 June-
19 June
1954: Cawood's and my momentous negotiations in New York with Martin Fleming of Safety First Inc., triggered off by George Reynolds, managing director of Nu-Swift (Canada) Ltd., caused the launching in 1957 of our first dry powder extinguisher, Model 1604. Later, about 1970, with help of the late German scientist, Dr. Jordie, and others, came the successful 1800 range. Ebba saw me off at London Airport. Brief overnight visit to Washington, DC to Maja Foget. Dined with 'Mike' in New York.



A memento of my 50th birthday :
 'Blenheim Palace Piers,' an oil painting by John Piper, purchased
 with part of the presentation money subscribed by my Elland employees.
 16th November, 1952.

- 24 June 1954: Attended with Ebba and 'Bobbie' ceremony at New College Chapel, Oxford, after Sheila's and Alasdair's marriage ceremony. On return to London from their honeymoon to Italy, Sheila wrote: "Thank you for giving me away — it was worth it — from my side anyway! It was splendid you came all that way. Thanks a lot."
- 12 July 1955: Treated for the first time by Dr. Aage B. Westh of Copenhagen, who saved my legs.
- 21 Oct. 1955: Death of Ruth. at 47. in Copenhagen, after much suffering from breast cancer. With Mor to Renoir film preceded by dinner and claret. After funeral I drove Mor and Eva to Hillerød and left the next morning for London.



By courtesy of B.B.C.

Alasdair David Gordon Milne,
b. 8/10/1930 Cawnpore (India), m. 22/6/1954
Oxford, Ann Ruth Sheila Eva Kirsten Graucob,
b. 24/6/1931 North Harrow. *2 sons and 1
daughter.* Director of Programmes, Television.
B.B.C. 1972.

- 1955/56: Spent Christmas in Copenhagen with Sylvia, whom I introduced to Mor. Sylvia and I in Copenhagen executed deed of separate estate.
- 4 Jan. 1956: Sheila gave birth in London to her and Alasdair's first child, Ruairidh Ian Gordon.
- 16 May 1956: Sylvia and I were married in the Danish Church in London. Recently widowed, Holger Baadsgaard ('Mac') gave Sylvia away. Pat, Sheila and Thelma were present, at the reception, with others, at 25, Barrie House, followed by brief honeymoon in Paris and later by midday in Copenhagen, where Mor, Eva and many others were present.

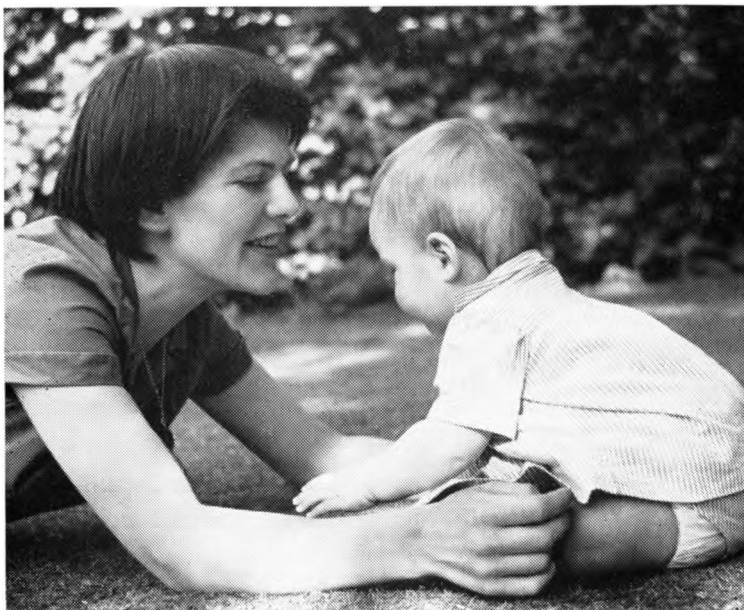


Ruth in her flat at Dr. Abildgaards Alle 13.
"Vel et år før Ruth kom på Radiumstationen 13 December 1954."
 (Letter from Mor 12/11/1955.)

- June 1956 : Sylvia and my 2nd honeymoon trip with Mor, Eva and Salesmen Contest Staff Winners, by m.s. 'Batory,' to Madeira, Casablanca, Gibraltar and Lisbon.
- 1 Sep 1958 : *Seumas* Patrick Charles Milne, born.
- 1958 : In the late Winter, with Ole, Pippa and their sons, Sylvia and I visited Hahnenkamm, later Pontresina and Glaurus. Still later, Jamaica, Bahamas, Bermuda and New York.
- 5 May 1959 : 'Bobbie' died in London.
- 7/8 May 1959 : Thriller-writer Dennis Wheatley and his wife stay at Overgate.
- Sep.—Oct. 1959 : Sylvia and I went cruising on m.s. 'Oslofjord' with Ragnhild and Andreas Meling, visiting Lisbon, Cairo, Israel, Greece and Tangier.
- 29/12/1959-2/1/1960 : First International Conference, in Copenhagen, of ten European sales concessionaires. (Vagn Dujardin and wife ; Carl-Magnus Kistner and wife ; Lennart Abrahamsson and wife ; Gösta



Ruairidh,
about four years old.
About 1959.



Sheila with Seumas.
About 1959.



'Moster Bitta,' Ole Heede and Mor.
April 1959.

Kelter and wife Kerstin ; Jack Feldman and wife ; Karl-Heinz Rapp and wife ; Leopoldo Armanni ; Fernand Ganser and wife ; Carlos Delrue and wife ; Wilhelm de Frijs and wife ; Eric Solar and wife.)

Also present :

Eric Hudson and wife ; Henry Stage and wife Barbara ; Bill Pearson and wife ; 'Wee Mac ' and wife ; Eva ; Sylvia and two female interpreters.

The three hours' business session at Wivex Restaurant justified the expense (£3000) of the whole conference, including New Year Revels at Hotel d'Angleterre, and Royal Theatre Ballet tickets.

18 Jan. 1960: Nu-Swift went public after eight years of consideration and negotiation. On the 18th January, whole page advertisements appeared



PRIVY PURSE OFFICE,
BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

3rd October 1955.

Dear Sir,

I am writing to thank you for your letter of October 1st, and for the prompt action you and the manageress of your Piccadilly Showroom took in regard to the matter about which I wrote to you.

Yours faithfully,

Assistant Keeper of
the Privy Purse.

The Managing Director,
Nu-Swift, Ltd.,
Elland,
Yorkshire.

Thanks to Sylvia's prompt action, our window display did not for long transgress the Court etiquette of Buckingham Palace.

in 'The Times' and 'The Financial Times.' A telegram from Copenhagen said: 'Tillykke, Mor.' The transaction was successful, the 1/- shares of the newly registered company opening at 7/-, soon showed only a yield of 0.9%.



With members of my Sales Staff, on the 5th Post-War Trip, Find being met by Mor, at Kastrup Airport, 23rd August, 1959.

- 27/5/1960— Visits to Barrie House, Glyndebourne and
 2/6/1960 : Elland by Margot and Erik Nyholm.
- 10-18 Mar. First Shipping Conference at Carlton Tower
 1961: Hotel, London, of sales concessionaires for
 four maritime European countries.
- 1961: A demagogue in action at the Nu-Swift Factory
 to my sorrow caused a confused short-lived
 strike.
- 3 Nov. 1961: Sylvia's grave peritonitis, was followed by
 emergency operation at London Clinic, but
 convalescence at Brighton soon brought about
 her recovery.
- 12 Nov. 1961: First insertion of commemorative Canute
 announcement brought me anonymous fame.
- 18-20/12/1961 London/Copenhagen, by air with Sylvia for
 -6/1/1962: Nile Cruise with Kistners, Abrahamssons and
 Hudsons to Assiut, and by s.s. ' Khassed Kheir '
 to Assuan.



'A Barbary Coast pirate with his captive,'
in the Mediterranean. Find on board m.s.
'Oslofjord,' with Sylvia and Andreas and
Ragnhild Meling of Oslo.
October 1959.

- 23 Jan. 1962: Change of trading name of company to Nu-Swift International Ltd.
- 15 Mar. 1962 : Bernt Sørensen appointed Overseas Marketing Manager.
- 4 Apr. 1962 : 2-column, chatty, personal article on leader page of 'Financial Times' with picture of me, under heading of 'Peace, War and Fire-proof,' featured 5% export bonus.
- 14 Apr. 1962: First visit of Vanessa Longley to Elland, by Sylvia's instigation.

My double-column appeal by letter in 'The Daily Telegraph' headed: "Knights-Exporter."

UNCONVENTIONAL EXPORT INDUCEMENTS

'Daily Telegraph,' 14/4/1962

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

KNIGHTS-EXPORTER

Awards on the Economic Battlefields

SIR—Increased exports, we are constantly told, are vital to the economic health of this country. In most such pronouncements, however, references are made only to dreary economic factors, disincentives and the like.

The mere mention of the much more cheerful subject of tax incentives is taboo. GATT wouldn't allow them we are told, though most of us still have a sneaking suspicion that they do play their part in some places.

Make conditions in the home market as unpleasant as possible, runs the argument, and the Economic Man of Adam Smith fame will automatically move into the export field and become an enthusiastic exporter, in spite of linguistic difficulties and many other handicaps.

Why not glamorise the job of selling abroad? In the more colourful Middle Ages, those who defended their Sovereign had honours bestowed upon them on the battlefield. Isn't it time, now that we are facing our third or fourth economic Dunkirk since the war, to offer a similar reward to those who to-day perform feats of equal value to the nation?

Britain has one unique arrow to her quiver, the use of which even GATT cannot stop and few other countries can imitate—bestowal of titles upon the men who fight and win, the economic battles of the country.

Supposing an announcement were made that during the next five years 50 knighthoods would automatically be awarded each year to the export sales managers and sales-

men who during the previous year had increased sales of British products abroad by the highest percentages. Can it be doubted that the effect upon Britain's export performance would be electrifying?

True, there would be an inflation in the value of titles but providing the result were to stop the inflation of the £ sterling, would this not be a price worth paying—even if all handicaps were to suffer and some of the new knights might habitually drop their pitches?

Should the idea commend itself to the country at large, it would be capable of almost infinite extension at negligible expense. Imagine if the wives of another group of successful export managers were promised that provided their husbands broke fresh records during the next 12 months an invitation would automatically follow to the wives to have tea with Royalty at the Palace; all Britain's export troubles might well disappear overnight.

From experience in my own organisation, extending back to 1934, I have learned that incentive schemes such as these if formulated and launched imaginatively can work miracles, though I have been able to offer neither knighthoods nor invitations for Royal tea parties.

A stick can sometimes be necessary—but watch a donkey move forward when tempted by a carrot!

Yours faithfully,

FIND GRAUCOB,
Managing Director, Nu-Swift
Elland, Yorks. International Ltd.

Cartoon from Covent Garden Programme attended by two contemporary sovereigns ; successors of Canute, both present at the gala performance.



King Canute, famed through annual announcement in 'The Times' on the anniversary of his death, i.e. the 11th November, the announcement being paid for anonymously by me.



The Board of Nu-Swift International Ltd.
 (left to right) : Frank Tompkins (Home Sales), Eric Cawood (Vice-Chairman, Technical), Find Graucob (Chairman and Managing Director), Sir Frederick Delve, Ivan Dorr.
 (The photograph taken in Tompkins' Office i.e. the front room of Whitwell House, appeared in The Yorkshire Post (25/2/1963) and also in our Annual Accounts for 1962.)



Sylvia at Barrie House.
About 1962.

10 Nov. 1962: Sir Frederick Delve, who during World War II had been responsible for thwarting the efforts of the *Luftwaffe* to set Britain on fire was

ected to the board of Nu-Swift International Ltd.

15-20 Nov.
1962:

To Paris by air from Manchester with Sylvia to celebrate my 60th birthday in a private suite at the historic Hotel de Crillon, Place de la Concorde, with seven attractive and witty Swedish, Danish and British girls, accompanied by their husbands.



My 60th Birthday, 16/11/1962, at Hotel de Crillon in Paris.
'Daggie' Higham, John Graucob, Sylvia, Eric Higham, Marianne
Graucob, Find, Merete Graucob, Hans Graucob.
In the foreground : Sheila and Thelma.
Temporarily absent : Patrick.

4 Mar. 1963: My blood pressure: 190 systolic ; 115 diastolic.

March 1963: Kimmie and Peter Anker, two black miniature *schnauzers*, on their arrival, almost made instant friends at Overgate, as Sylvia's pets, property and responsibility.

2-6 May 1963: To Stockholm for Farbror Carl's 100th birthday, when appointed an honorary citizen of Stockholm. At Sylvia's suggestion, he planted a rose tree and after dinner delivered a speech, smoked cigars, drank brandy, danced and was photographed with 18 girls. Exhausted, at 1.20 a.m. we retired, while the centenarian continued for another hour.



Sylvia. tempted with cherries the petrified satyr in our garden at Overgate.
About 1962.

12/5/-18/5
1963 :

Last Sales Contest at Venice, arranged and attended by me. Wonderful banquet at the 14th century *Ca* Guistinian Palazzo. Guests arrived by gondolas at private landing stage, flowers being handed by *bambini* in renaissance costumes. Announced by a liveried *major-domo* and accompanied by soft music, the banquet was served by white-gloved

waiters in candle-lit 17th century banqueting hall, adjoining the private theatre of the *palazzo*, which we visited after the meal when the dancing began.

19 July 1963: In a coma on her 84th birthday, Mor died on the 19th July, 1963, at Esbønderup Sygehus. The funeral service was conducted by Pastor C. D. Gautier at Bethehemskirken on the 26th July, attended by Einar, in gala uniform, and many others. I bowed to kiss Mor's coffin, before it was carried out by Ole Heede, Jens Find Heede, John Plesner Davidsen, Gregers Nielsen, Ole Renvig and me. Sylvia, Ole Heede, Jens Find and I followed the coffin for cremation at Bispebjerg.

On the 13th August, 1963, I sent out the following note of memoriam with Nu-Swift News about Mor :

“ The death of my Mother,

Mrs. Marie Davidsen

On the 19th July my mother, Marie Davidsen, died at Esbønderup Hospital, near Copenhagen, at the age of 84.

A week later she was cremated in Copenhagen, following a Service at the Church of Bethlehem with which my late sister had been associated. The urn will be interred at the Assistens Cemetery in Copenhagen in the grave of my father, who died in 1910, leaving my mother, at the age of 31, a widow with three small children to care for, maintain, and educate. Not until 1927, when we three children had all grown up, did she remarry and made also her second husband, Mr. Andreas Davidsen, a very happy man during his

later years until, at his death in 1941, she became a widow for the second time. For over 40 years my mother and I lived in different countries, but our relationship remained very close and her interest in everything which my sisters and I did was unimpaired almost to the end of her long and active life.

Keenly interested in the affairs of Nu-Swift and the men and women associated with the Company, many of whom she had met and knew, she was an avid reader of the Nu-Swift News.

Children were, however, her absorbing interest, and over the many years which have elapsed since her own children grew up, she acquired fresh generations of children of relatives, neighbours, and friends, in whom she took a very active interest and on whom she showered her affection and practical help. When, in turn, they grew up and their contacts with her waned, she did not resent this but found others on whom to lavish her affection and support. Many of these foster brothers and sisters of mine were present at the funeral or sent flowers.

The highlights of my mother's life during the last couple of years were provided by the receipt of snapshots of, and postcards sent by, her Great-grandchildren in New York. As my surviving sister, Eva, was visiting them when my mother died, it fell to me to read her private letters and to sort out her modest possessions.

The contents of her handbag which went with her to the hospital and were returned

to me, consisted mainly of photographs of her seven Great-grandchildren in three different countries, including England. A very small tattered photograph of my father, which she probably carried with her for over 60 years, was in her well-worn purse.

Most of her few pieces of jewellery, which I recall so well from my childhood, she had given away during recent years, but amongst her papers were letters written to her by my father during his periodical absences on business between 1901 and 1910 ; one of these referred to my impending birth. My mother must have meant my sister and me to read these or otherwise she would surely have destroyed them. Theirs must have been a happy marriage.

Shortly after School during the first World War, my mother and I attended evening classes in English at the Berlitz School of Languages, so that at one time she had a working knowledge of English. In recent years, the mental effort of speaking and writing the language proved too much and her letters to my wife and me were written in Danish for me to translate to Sylvia. Surprisingly, however, the last card, received two or three months ago, was in English ; it was only after her death that I learned from an accidental remark that she had said: " This is the last time I shall ever write to England. It has taken me all yesterday and today to compose this note, but I wanted my daughter-in-law to read it in her own language." Such was her capacity for love and mental self-discipline.

For better or for worse I am my mother's son, but though at times I may appear to have been cast in a sterner mould, I am glad that I have also inherited her capacity for laughter and for enjoying sheer nonsense and tomfoolery, qualities which, in turn, I believe my mother had inherited from her lovable father, who died when I was less than one year old.

Until three months ago, when my mother broke her hip and became bedridden, she kept a brief diary, and the last entries told of physical fatigue, while the slowing down of her mental processes had become apparent.

For a year or two she had often said that as she had no longer the strength to help others, her life was becoming a burden to herself and to those who looked after her, so she wanted to die. It was a blessing, therefore, that she passed away, and for her sake I am happy that she is no longer here. But I mourn the loss of a wonderful and generous mother while the departure of her gallant, gay and loving spirit has left an aching void in my life."

- Sept. 1963: Two-days visit to Overgate of the pregnant Sheila, accompanied by her two sons. ('What would Robin Hood have done?') Return to London by their first air flight.
- 23 Oct. 1963: Purchased for me at D.Kr. 480 (Receipt No. 1214), Burial Plot No. 1, Section VIII at Søllerød Churchyard, Søllerød, near Copenhagen.
- 1963: H. H. Monkhouse, Technical Director, temporarily superseded Cawood, November

1963—August 1965. (The Tool Room cheered Cawood on his return.)

- Nov. 1963: Pleasure trip by BOAC plane, immediately after Kennedy's assassination, to Beirut, India, Ceylon, Malaya, Thailand, Hong Kong, Macao, with Sylvia, Pat and Thelma. Christmas in Hong Kong, New Year in Kyoto. Later from Tokyo, via Anchorage, across the North Pole, by Japanese Air Lines to Copenhagen.
- 9 Jan. 1964: Large, elegant party at the Palm Gardens at Hotel d'Angleterre, Copenhagen. Over 90 relatives and friends were invited for supper, the replies were sent to us in Tokyo. Sylvia and Thelma received the guests in sari, with Pat and Find in dinner jackets, as co-hosts. List of invitees was as follows:

Acceptances:

- Ammitzbøll, Brandinspektør Jan & Fru Inger, H.C. Andersens Boulevard 23, Copenhagen V.
Baunøe, Dr. Jens-Henning & Fru Ellen, Godthaabsvej 7, Copenhagen F.
Buck, Direktør, Konsul Gunnar (Medicinalco) & Fru Marcelle, Kildegårdsvej 31, Hellerup.
Christensen, Fru Else, Nordre Fasanvej 33C, Stuen, Copenhagen F.
Davidsen Plesner, Grosserer Aage & Fru Gerd, Ved Bommen 12, Gentofte.
Davidsen Plesner, Grosserer John & Fru Jytte, Fredensvej 7, Charlottenlund.
Dreijer, Dr. Find & Fru Lis, Centralsygehuset, Hillerød.
Dujardin, Grosserer Vagn & Fru Else, Taarbækdalsvej 3D, Klampenborg.
Dujardin, Salgschef Flemming, Taarbækdalsvej 3D, Klampenborg.
Folsach von, Hofjægermester Hans & Fru Caritas, Gjessinggaard, pr. Randers.
Folsach von, Frk. Helle, Gjessinggaard, pr. Randers.
Gall, Tandlæge Aage & Fru Ann, Øresundsalle 59, Dragør.

Graucob, Grosserer John Edward & Fru Merete,
 Sandbjergvej 77, Trørød.
 Halkier, Grosserer Erik & Fru Vibeke, St. Kongensgade
 128, Copenhagen K.
 Harde, Fru Kaya, Strandboulevarden 44, Copenhagen Ø.
 (Jørgen unable to come).
 Harter, Fru Ulla Maud, Blegdamsvej 118, Copenhagen Ø.
 Heede, Fru Eva, Forhåbningsholms Alle 22^{II}, Copenhagen
 V.
 Heede, Læge Ole & Fru Agnes, Frugtplantagen "Baltica,"
 Bakkebøllevvej 130, pr. Nyråd.
 Heede, Herr Jens Find & Frk. Dianna Frøhlke,
 Forhåbningsholms Alle 22^{II}, Copenhagen V.
 Henriques, Bankier Henrik & Fru Barbro, Trørødvej 13,
 Vedbæk.
 Høgsgaard, Forstassistent Ole & Fru Marianne,
 Boholtehus, pr. Tureby.
 Jensen, Direktør Knud & Fru Helga ('Søs'), Vester
 Voldgade 8^{II}, Copenhagen V.
 Knudsen, Direktør Svend (Illums Bolighus) & Fru Tove
 Granhøj 3, Gentofte.
 Krogh-Lund, Dr. Gunnar & Fru Inga, Trianglen 2,
 Copenhagen Ø.
 Krogh-Lund, Frk, Inge-Britta and male friend, Trianglen
 2, Copenhagen Ø.
 Krogh-Lund, Frk. Lise & Hr. Søren Schrøder (Peru),
 Fysiurgisk Hospital, Hornbæk.
 Lund, Generalmajor Einar & Fru Skoleleder Inger,
 Strandparksvej 15, Hellerup.
 Nielsen. Bang, Vinduesdekoratør Gunnar & Mrs. Barbara,
 64, Queens Drive, Surbiton, Surrey.
 Palsby, Veksellerer Ewald & Fru Sigrid, Baunegaardsvej
 70, Gentofte.
 Remvig, Overlæge Ole & Fru 'Pippa,' Hornbæk Kurbad,
 Hornbæk.
 Remvig, Dr. Jørgen & Fru Mette, Trongårdsparken 113,
 Kgs. Lyngby.
 Remvig, stud. merc. Lars and friend, c/o Remvig,
 Hornbæk Kurbad, Hornbæk.
 Remvig, stud. dent. Peter & stud. dent. Frk. Karen Pock,
 Olfert Fishersgade 8^V, Copenhagen K.
 Remy-Jensen, jr., Disponent Ole & Fru Annemari (*née*
 Graucob), Snogegårdsvej 32, Gentofte.
 Rothe, Tandlæger Hr. Jørgen & Fru Ida (Gerda Bakke's
 daughter and husband).

Rubin, Folketingsstenograf Fru Birgitte, c/o Mrs. Else Rubin, Platanvej 15, Copenhagen V.
(Hans Morten absent in the Far East).

Rye, Grosserer Allan & Fru Kisser, Bernstorffsvej 175, Gentofte.

Ryum, Kontorchef Sten & Fru Lise, Dag Hammerskjölds Alle 3, Copenhagen Ø.

Ryum, Frk. Anna-Ulrikka (‘Sorte’) and fiancé, Grosserer Tage Larsen.

Ryum, Frk. Ulla.

Schou, Hr. Jules, Vesterbrogade 202B, Copenhagen V.

Svendsen, Flyverkaptajn Einar Fugl & Fru Annette (ex Bangkok).

Svendsen, Direktør Jørgen & Fru Henni, Strandvej 268, Skodsborg.

Wern, Kammerherre Eigil & Fru Grete, Hesselvang 9, Hellerup.

Winsløw, Grosserer Viggo & Fru Esther, Emanuel Olsensvej 3, Copenhagen F.

Zobel, Direktør Hermann & Fru Rigmor, Fredheimsvej 7, Vedbæk.

Zobel, Frk. Anne Lise & friend.

Zobel, Herr Peter.

Refusals :

Bakke, Vice-Direktør Orla & Fru Gerda, Solbakken 21, Holte. (Gerda's illness).

Cortsen-Møller H., Chef Ingeniør & Frue, Dansk Brandværens-Komite, Stoltensbergsgade 9, Copenhagen V. (Illness).

Heering, Fabrikant Peter & Fru Lissen, Overgaden neden Vandet 11, Copenhagen K. (Absence in London).

Heyman, Direktør Erik & Fru Rita, Redlands, South Holmwood, Surrey.

Nyholm, Direktør Erik, Svanevænget 10, Copenhagen Ø. (In Villars).

McCance, Mr. J. Neill, 41, Ilchester Place, London W14.

Sørensen, Eksportsalgchef Bernt. C., and Mrs. Patricia, pro. tem. Odense.

Tranegaard-Andersen, Frk. Ulla & Herr Søren Eyrih, Schioldannsvej 3, Charlottenlund.

Westh, Læge Aage B. & Frue, Strandvej 140, Hellerup.

25 Jan. 1964: Sheila, at Isleworth, Syon Park, gave birth to her first baby girl and third child, Kirsty Mairi.



The gas supply has failed. An imaginary emergency: "How would Robin Hood have cooked his food?" Ruairidh, self and Seumas at Overgate, Elland. September 1963.



H. H. Monkhouse, B.Sc.



E. E. G. Cawood, M.B.E., L.I.Fire E.

**APPOINTMENT OF MR. H. H. MONKHOUSE
AS FACTORY DIRECTOR
TO TAKE CHARGE OF NU-SWIFT FACTORY
MR. E. E. G. CAWOOD, VICE-CHAIRMAN AND
TECHNICAL DIRECTOR, ASSUMES DIRECT CONTROL OF
RESEARCH, DESIGN, DEVELOPMENT AND APPROVAL
OF OUR PRODUCTS, TO ACCELERATE NU-SWIFT PROGRESS**

The following announcement has been authorized for issue:

Due to the increased Exports of Nu-Swift International Ltd., Mr. E. E. C. Cawood, M.B.E., L.I.Fire E., Vice-Chairman and Technical Director, has, at his own request, relinquished responsibility for the day-to-day management of the Technical Division in order to assume direct control of Research, Design, Development and Approval of the Company's products by Authorities at home and abroad.

Mr. H. H. Monkhouse, B.Sc., who has closely collaborated with Mr. Cawood for the last eighteen months in a consultative capacity, has, with the consent of the Associated Industrial Consultants Ltd., his former employers, been appointed Factory Director, as from tomorrow, Thursday the 21st November, at 6 a.m. He has today been elected to the Boards of the two principal Companies of the Nu-Swift Group.

In a forward-looking, progressive Company, new problems and situations constantly arise. The last few years have been a period of intense activity and development for Nu-Swift. New models have been brought into production; methods of manufacture have been improved; and increased output per man-hour has resulted. Higher sales, both in the Home and Export Markets, bear testimony to the success of our marketing policy. Orders procured this year, as at the 7th November 1963, are 9.3% higher in the Home Market and 13.4% higher in the Export Market compared to the corresponding date last year.

At our Elland Headquarters, during most of the last two years, we have had the advantage of the critical and constructive assistance of the Associated Industrial Consultants Ltd. Two resident consultants are still with us: one dealing with the Technical Division, while the other is concerned with reorganization of clerical procedures. Installation of IBM data processing equipment, when completed, will be a vital factor in bringing about increased clerical efficiency.

The important announcement made today must be seen as part of all these efforts to improve the profitable operation of the Company to the equal benefit of users, employees, concessionaires abroad, and, last but not least, our shareholders.

No basic change of strategy is visualized, the same successful policy, which has been pursued since 1943, being continued, but we are sharpening our weapons. The value of our aggressive marketing policy, backed by the unexampled efficiency of our products, is shown by the

results obtained both at home and abroad. Vigilance and initiative are, however, the necessary price of constant advancement to save us from the fate of the dinosaur.

Now appointed Factory Director of Nu-Swift International Ltd., with a seat on the Board of that Company and also on the Board of the Parent Company, Nu-Swift Industries Ltd., 48-year-young Mr. Monkhouse comes to us after a successful ten-year career, first as consultant and subsequently as supervisor, with that well-known firm of Company doctors: Associated Industrial Consultants Ltd.

His contact with Nu-Swift has been established by his supervisory responsibility for the two resident AIC consultants still on our premises. This close contact has enabled Mr. Monkhouse to acquire an intimate knowledge of our Company. His advice, while offered in a diplomatic and helpful manner, has not always been palatable or wholly acceptable, but his training and experience have commanded respect, while his knowledge of industrial and operational conditions in other Companies has provided him with a wider background and outlook than those of many Factory Managers. As Factory Director he will take complete control of the day-to-day running of the Technical Division other than Research, Development, Design and Approval, and will be responsible direct to the Chairman and Managing Director.

Now for Mr. Cawood's future duties and position: It is to his genius and imaginative approach that we owe the enviable and well-deserved reputation which Nu-Swift occupies today in our chosen field of human endeavour. His encyclopaedic knowledge of fire fighting and his mental disregard of the conventional, coupled with his constant insistence upon reliability and safety, render him unique in the world of fire protection.

After a well-deserved vacation of some three months, Mr. Cawood, who is now 62, will continue to occupy the post of Vice-Chairman and Technical Director, but in the future will utilize his talents by taking charge of the Research, Design, Development Department; he will also deal with the difficult task of obtaining approval of our products from Authorities at home and abroad. Mr. S. B. Anderton, B.Sc. (Lond.) will continue in his post as Development Manager, under Mr. Cawood's direction, as before. Intensifying our R, D, D & A will, we hope, bring superior results faster.

The chain of command will be maintained and respected. The alterations made in the top management of the Technical Division of the Company, I feel confident, will prove to the benefit of everybody concerned.

Elland, Yorkshire.
20th November, 1963.

Eric Cawood
Chairman and Managing Director

Re-arrangement of Eric Cawood's duties is evident from this announcement. The change, however, proved only temporary. (20/11/1963—12/8/1965.)

FG/MT

10 Oct 1963

Dear Brigadier,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd October. I should have been glad to have seen you but it would appear to be a little unnecessary and, in the circumstances, in fact illogical.

The regime of the Conservative Party has, in my opinion, lasted long enough, and while it might hurt my pocket if Labour gets in, I think, for the country as a whole, it might be for the good.

The last twelve years have been a period of wasted opportunities.

Yours sincerely,

FIND GRAUCOB
Managing Director

Brigadier C. W. M. Timmis, D.S.O., O.B.E.,
Croft House,
BOSTON SPA,
Yorkshire.

The Conservative Party again appealed to me for financial support. Still a idealist, I refused, naively thinking it preferable to support Labour.



The Acrobats.

A piece of sculpture conceived and carved in black US walnut in 1964 by Shoji Ishihara at Kamakura, Japan. (One of five wooden sculptures which, towards the end of our visit to Japan, were commissioned from Ishihara by me. Others, also at Overgate, include 'The Dancers' and 'Hiroshima.') In 1967, during a brief visit to Overgate, the loveliness of 'The Acrobats' caught the eye of W. J. Thomas, Clerk of the Elland Urban District Council. Confused correspondence with Ishihara resulted in permission being granted by him for an enlarged bronze replica to be produced in England for presentation to the Township of Elland by Sylvia and me. Unfortunately, the project fell through.

1964 :

A minor catastrophe overtook me. In the Welfare Section of the Nu-Swift Factory, I suffered a cerebral haemorrhage, causing partial left-hand paralysis, and a slight impediment of speech. This followed a second muscular injection of an ampoule of 2 ml. Caprosem given by a local doctor. By Ivan Dorr taken in his car to Overgate, where Sylvia, seated in a chair, was faced alone, by a night-long vigil, watching her semi-conscious, vomiting husband. Next day, by ambulance, taken to Halifax General Hospital, where under the supervision of Sister Christy, Sylvia alone, twice daily, was allowed to visit me. Soon, however, I partially recovered. With Dr. Glick's permission, Marjory Crowther took notes for the annual Chairman's Review and, at my request, Sylvia profitably bought French liqueur shares from McCance. At a low price I sold a modest number of Nu-Swift shares to Mrs. Glick. A home-made *Fastelavnsris* from the Overgate garden was sent to the hospital by Birthe and Inge.

Daily physiotherapeutical exercises started at the hospital. After my return to Overgate intensified into hour-long, bi-weekly sessions under the enthusiastic and helpful control and guidance of Douglas Hutchison, M.C.S.P. were continued for 18 months. I remained on the first floor at Overgate, where, in pyjamas, I even presided over three board meetings. Guests, including Ole and Pippa Remvig, who came over from Denmark to check my treatment, were entertained at small, elegant dinner parties. On 1st May, 1964, however, I attended the Annual



Party in Copenhagen.
9th January, 1964.
Hans and Caritas von Folsach welcomed at the d'Angleterre.



Thelma,
About 1964.

General Meeting at the Savoy Hotel in London.
where we declared a scrip issue of 3-for-1.
Summer I spent on the French Riviera with

Sylvia, and Christmas, at Villars, with, five Milnes, two Highams and Erik Nyholm.

21 Feb. 1965 : In the sensational Sunday paper, "The People," appeared an article on our salesmen selection methods : " If you pick up girls, this boss is your man." (p.736.)

6 Nov. 1965 : Bought the property at Stockholmegade 55, Copenhagen, next door to the flat at the German Embassy, previously the residence of H. N. Andersen of the East Asiatic Company.



Convalescence in Sylvia's bedroom at Overgate after my stroke in January, 1964. Inge, Birthe and Ulla displaying their Easter bonnets to the donor.

If you pick up girls this boss is your man!

YOU are a bright young man and your idea of life is an energetic outdoor job, with a comfortable income of about £30 a week.

Come closer, son. . . It's just as well that you are reading this page today. I have exactly the opportunity for you.

But first I must ask you a couple of questions. Have you ever picked up a nice girl in a street or a pub? Do you always behave like a gentleman?

Well, I'm sorry. You don't pick up girls in pubs and you do try to behave like a gentleman. Then I am afraid you would be no use selling fire extinguishers for Mr. Find Graucob.

He is the managing director of Nu-Swift International, Ltd. and a man with the most modern ideas about the kind of chaps who are capable of getting orders.

You may be a qualified chemist with an expert knowledge of how to put fires out, but you would not appeal to Mr. Graucob if the thought had ever crossed your mind that you would like to become a monk. And this he will find out sure enough if you apply to Nu-Swift for a job as a salesman.

For you will then be set to answer a questionnaire specially set by Mr. Graucob himself. It has 17 separate sections under such headings as "Your Integrity" and "Your Personality".

Not so easy

It is when you get to the 16 questions in the section headed "Your Mental Attitude" that you come under the real Graucob probe.

Have you ever wanted to join the Salvation Army?

THE PAGE THAT PUTS THIS CRAZY WORLD IN FOCUS...

By Man-of the People

Are you in favour of capital punishment?

Is your behaviour influenced by your neighbours?

All this to decide whether you are worthy of having the chance to flood Nu-Swift fire extinguishers, on commission!

So here is yet another hazard in the horrifying rat race. It now engulfs our young people from the day they sit for the 11-plus until they scramble their way into a university or pass the Graucob test.

Except that he is not "looking for intellectuals."

He wants the type of young man who shows his initiative by picking up pretty girls in the street, who would hate to be a monk and who doesn't care a damn what his neighbours think about him.



And all this, he says, is revealed by his questionnaire.

The catch

Maybe, but judging from the answers he expects to get from it, I fear it could lead to Mr. Graucob choosing the wrong men.

He expects a candidate to say he would "like to be considered a gentleman."

He also expects him to admit that he doesn't always behave like one.

The sort of chap he is likely to get, however, is a

pretentious snob with a cheap-jack outlook and whose airs and graces cover up his willingness to act like a cad if it suits the book.

Mr. Graucob should be careful. This dabbling in psychological tests could end up by saddling him with some smart cookies.

For I calculate that his questionnaire could bring out on top an ex-Borstal boy who, having deserted his wife and family, has just left gaol after a sentence for false pretences!

© To sell fire extinguishers for this tycoon, Mr. Find Graucob, you must answer dozens of questions, including the one printed on the right. If these show that you don't like picking up girls in the street and always try to behave like a gentleman, you're likely to be out!

Have you ever picked up a nice girl in a street or in a pub? YES, NO

Are you in favour of capital punishment? YES, NO

Would you like to be elected as a Councillor or an M.P.? YES, NO

Reduced in size, this whole-page lay-out in The People linked up a sensational headline, partly based upon our salesman's selection questionnaire.

21st February 1965.

19/12/1965- By BOAC 707 'plane to Nassau, Bahamas,
7/1/1966: for holiday with Sylvia, Pat, Thelma, Ole and Pippa Remvig.

Feb. 1966: Contact with Thomas Armstrong: the author of 'The Crowthers of Bankdam' (translated into Danish as 'Herren til Bankdam',) indirectly induced me to tackle the history of my ancestors. The letters below (22/2/1966 and 26/2/1966) explain themselves:

22 Feb 1966

Dear Mr. Armstrong,

"Congratulations on the favourable notices which have appeared on "Our London Office" which I have just commenced reading.

“I am a ‘comer-in’ to Yorkshire, where I have lived only since 1943, but one of my first introductions to local life was through your wonderful novel “The Crowthers of Bankdam,” which I still dip into with much enjoyment. It would, no doubt, have attracted much more interest had it not been published in the momentous year of 1940.

My reason for taking up residence in the Calder Valley was because I acquired the Nu-Swift Company. As you may be aware, we are manufacturers of fire extinguishers, which we make here and sell in Britain through our Sales Force and all over the World through concessionaires who model their businesses on our set-up in the British Home Market. As an old naval man you may also be interested to know that the Royal Navy standardized on Nu-Swift during the last War and that our products are today used in more than 20 other navies.

Our business, which is rooted in the local Textile Industry, was started twenty years before I bought it because of the high fire risks in the Woollen Industry. We have had a colourful and chequered story and grown in size and stature over the 20-odd years during which I have been Managing Director and, more recently, also Chairman.

Since 1960, when we went public, our shares have been quoted on the London Stock Exchange. During the last few years it has occurred to me that, the history of Nu-Swift and the many men and women who have been associated with the Company during and before my regime might well be a challenge which, with your brilliant qualities as a writer and knowledge of the world of the Calder Valley, might like to tackle, in an accurate form or, if you deemed is preferable, fictionalized.

In Industrial Yorkshire we represent the modern marketing company with Sales Schools,

publication of a daily paper for our large Sales Force, and a lot of other paraphernalia, in addition to a first-class manufacturing organization which, in turn, is built on research and development. These factors make us in our own small field of fire fighting equipment, one of the World leaders of this industry. Elland has become the Mecca for visits by foreign Government delegations and our overseas sales concessionaires.

“For good measure, we have also had our internal struggles and rivalries, and when it comes to a romantic background, two of the directors (one being myself) have married local girls employed by the Company.

Finally, we have a copious supply of descriptive literature, which I believe is well above the standard of ordinary commercial printed matter. The copyright of this, much of which was written by me, belongs to the Company, but, if you are interested it would all, of course, be at your disposal.

A formal history of a commercial firm is generally a dull and uninteresting affair. Being an idealist, you will gather that if a project like this were to be advanced, I would wish to aim higher, and it is for this reason that I am writing to you. I confirm that if you felt it was something that you would like to tackle, we should be glad to agree to terms which I am sure you would consider generous, unless, of course, you preferred to write a book in a fictionalized form, and have it published purely on its merit as another contribution by you to the social history of modern, industrial Yorkshire.

“If you are at all interested, I should be glad to hear from you, and would suggest that you might care to have lunch with my wife and me at our home in Elland. Meanwhile, to give you some inkling of the background of the firm and myself, I enclose Chapter 2 of

our 38-chapter Book of Knowledge (which is our name for the Nu-Swift Sales Manual), most of which has been translated into six or eight other languages for use in our Concessionaires' Sales Organizations abroad.

Yours very sincerely,

FIND GRAUCOB

Chairman & Joint Managing Director

Thomas Armstrong, Esq.,

Lawn House,

Low Row, Swaledale, North Yorkshire.

February 26th, 1966.

Dear Mr. Graucob,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd. Your name, as the result of my coming across it many times in the financial pages of newspapers, is quite familiar to me. I must say that after reading that so-cleverly persuasive letter I am not in the least surprised about the immense strides your company has made. And, after reading the chapter you sent from your concern's Book of Knowledge, with its vignettes of yourself and your co-directors, I am even more impressed. So much so that had my lot been different, and had I had the opportunity, I can imagine myself digging in very happily amongst you. To carry that illusion further, I think by now, in that case, you would have been selling at least another major line, and if I hadn't put to the Board another half dozen proposals, then I don't know myself. I am often told that I am ingenious, and judging by the gadgets I have installed around this place of mine, coupled with suggestions which business friends of mine have adopted, I think this charge must be true.

And now, very regretfully, I come to the sad part of this letter. It's this — though I must emphasize how very much I appreciate your proposal I am afraid I can't fit in with it.

It really isn't an exaggeration when I tell you that, over the years, just about half of the greatest firms in the country, household names known both nationally and internationally, have asked me to write histories of their businesses. I suppose this derives from my interest in business, which is often reflected in my books. I certainly have a great interest in business, and I must have been shown over scores of factories altogether, for interest's sake only. I am not happy with present trends: profit to me is not a dirty word. It goes without saying that it is incumbent on all of us to do what we can for the sick and the needy, but I think that improved conditions for them can be best achieved through the hard work and enterprise of others. Levelling down can be carried too far, disastrously so, and I shall never accept that there is a stigma on a man because he uses his brain to benefit himself, for so often those benefits spread far beyond himself and his own family.

In all the cases I have briefly mentioned I have refused as nicely as I could, suggesting as an alternative to myself either recourse to a journalist in the very top flight, or to an author whose strength is in his prose rather than in his imaginative powers. For myself, to be frank, it would be a waste of effort to put aside my creative work for something more humdrum.

I realise that neither of the above suggestions will appeal to you enormously. In your letter you call me an idealist, but your own letter is an idealist's letter, so it is only the pot calling the pan grimy. That is why I am so sorry to be writing in this way to you, and it is why I have written at such length. But in your case I felt you were entitled to a full and honest explanation.

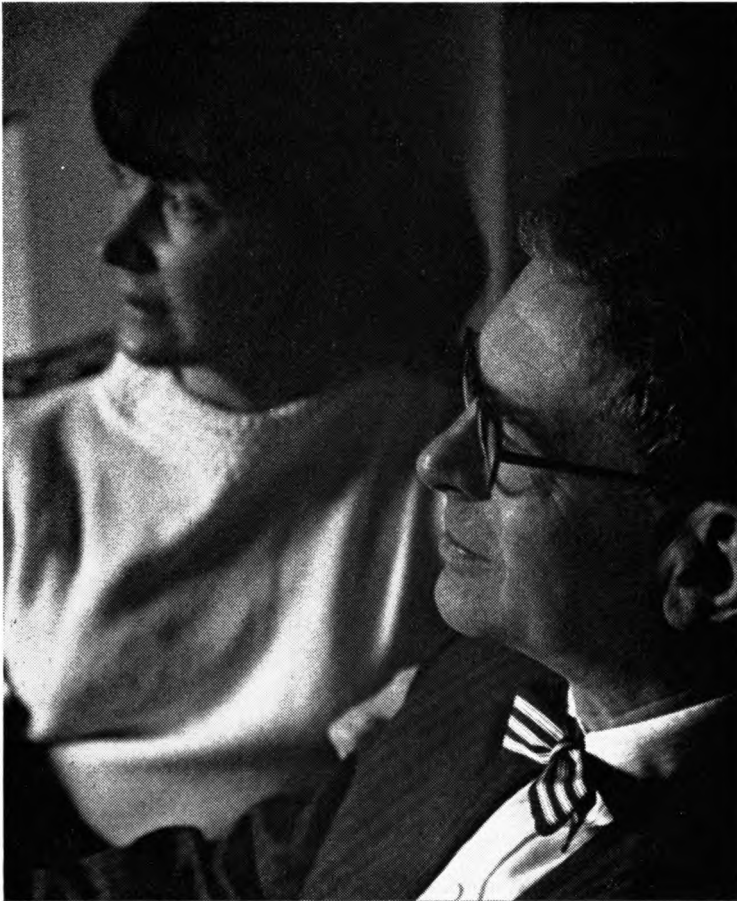
Before I close may I thank both you and your wife for your very kind invitation to have lunch with you at your place. That isn't

necessary now, unfortunately, but had I come down I would have shown you a copy, in two volumes, of *The Crowthers of Bankdam* in the Danish translation under the title of *Herren til Bankdam*. Unfortunately also, I have only two copies, and as these belong to the basic library of my books I would not like to part with even one of them. Published in Copenhagen in 1948, they are probably irreplaceable, but if you would care to read the book you write so highly about, in Danish, I will gladly lend the two volumes to you. You must let me know. On the other hand it may be just possible for me to obtain another copy, though this is doubtful, and if so it will please me to make you a present of it. I'll have inquiries made.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Armstrong.

- April 1966: Unofficial black-balling by Star Chamber procedure of Alfred Tack by a well-known West End London Club. "An obvious case of anti-Semitism," by faceless men, less than 21 years after the defeat of Hitler.
- July 1966: Found fame in a paragraph of 'The Director,' where 'Graucob' was mentioned as a generic expression.
- July 1966: Switch from Frank Tompkins to Bill Pearson as Home Sales Director.
- Sep. 1966: With great consideration, Patrick and Thelma informed me individually that they had decided to dissolve their marriage.
- 24 Jan. 1967: The day before her third birthday, Kirsty, my granddaughter, called with her mother to have tea at the Barrie House flat. Following medical overhaul at St. Lukasstiftelsen, Copenhagen, in spite of the many enemas, when I left I weighed 66.7 kg. On my return to Elland, the scale registered 10 st. 1 lb.



Sylvia and Find in the Lounge at Overgate.
Autumn 1965.

(Used for our Christmas card 1966.)

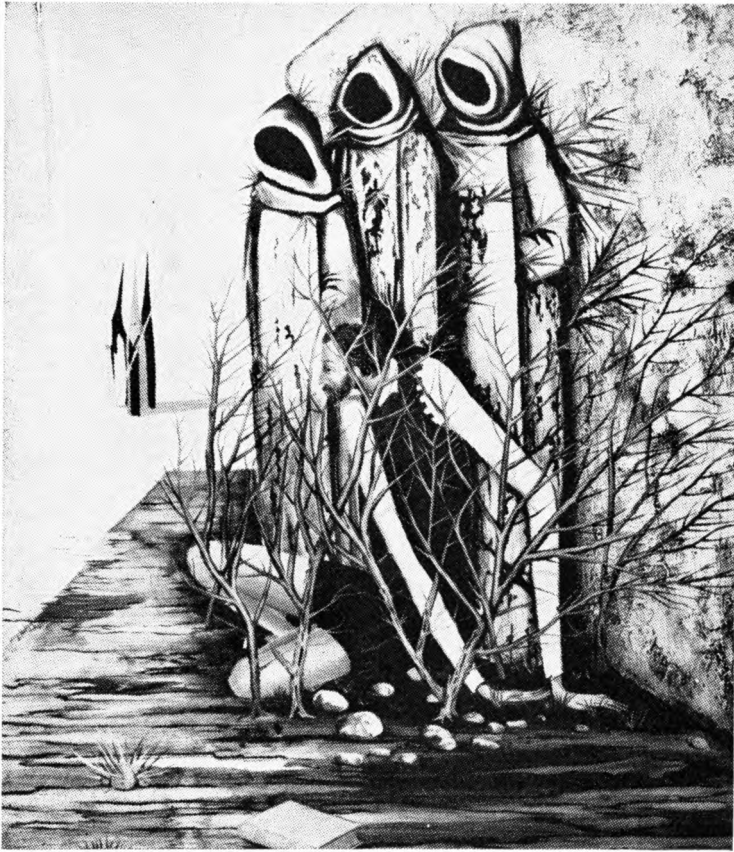
- 14 April 1967: Sylvia's nearly fatal accident at the Nile Hilton Hotel in Cairo caused by walking through a thin glass window in the presence of Thelma, during my absence on dental treatment in Copenhagen, was saved by the kiss of life by Dr. Halin Grace, a Coptic surgeon, in spite of the statement by another doctor that she was dead. After her stay in the Anglo-



Sylvia, on her birthday, in a motorized gondola between the Cipriani Hotel and the Piazza del Marco in Venice.
8th September, 1966.



Find. Autumn 1966.



Sylvia's and my
Tin Wedding,
16th May, 1966.

“ Thus it is.”

Oil Painting by Abel Vallmitjana, the Spanish Painter, 1965.

This picture was shown, in the autumn of 1965, at a London exhibition. “ Images of hallucinating and hallucinated Spain.” One of 15 paintings of the “ Solitude of Don Quixote ” Series, it is now in the living room at Overgate. This is my favourite of the three oil paintings by Vallmitjana, which, to celebrate Sylvia's and my Tin Wedding (16/5/1966), we bought, in June 1966, for £600 from the O'Hana Gallery in London. Note the superb, all-different, evocative expressions suggested by the open hoods of the three faceless monks.

American Hospital, she flew to London Airport with Thelma on the 22nd April, 1967, where, heavily bandaged, she was received by

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3rd June 1966

Find Graucob Esq.,
Overgate
Elland
Yorkshire.

Dear Mr Braucob,

Thank you for your letter of 2nd June,
and we are glad to hear that you like the three
VALLMITJANA paintings.

The frames were maybe slightly scratched
before they left, as these paintings had been in
the show as you know. We only put the gilt baguettes,
as nearly everyone finds they want to reframe any
painting they buy to suit the decor in their homes.

Concerning your offer of £550 for the
three, we were able to consult Mr O'Hana on this.
It is of course an extremely low offer, bringing
the individual cost of each painting well below the
market value. Mr O'Hana said that we could not accept
less than £600 for the three, providing that you are
interested in taking the three: otherwise, we regret
but we must get £250 each if you decide on taking one
or two of the three.

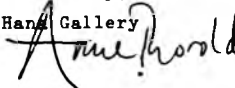
We feel sure that you appreciate that an
artist such as VALLMITJANA could never undersell his
works, and as his agents in London we keep the prices
in line with those asked in Paris, Italy, Spain and
America.

Please let us have your decision, and we
very much hope you will in fact decide to keep these
exceptional paintings,

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

pp. O'Hana Gallery





Stockholmsgade 55,
my property in Copenhagen bought on the 6/5/1965 for D.Kr. 1,047,950.
Modernised and the 2nd floor flat fitted for occupation by Sylvia and
me.

Pat and me for transfer to St. George's
Hospital.

On the preceding Friday, Eric Higham
unexpectedly, had died, leaving 'Daggie,' a
lonely widow.

After Sylvia's accident, Paul Wiis had tried
to get medical supplies and financial help
from Beyrouth, while Thelma, as usual, had
proved indomitable. At Barrie House Pat



Frontispiece of Nu-Swift News featuring our acceptance of the invitation for the Tunisian Sales Trip in June 1967. (Owing to Sylvia's Cairo Accident, we never went after all.)
2nd March, 1967.

bravely, with me, faced the handicap of his broken leg. Ulla Tranegaard Andersen made preparations for Sylvia, for the first time, to meet Joyce on the latter's 50th birthday, at a gala dinner planned by the fully alert Sylvia on her return from the hospital in Cairo. For two or three days my histrionic talents were extended to maintain the schizophrenic attitude of the six girls and five men. Sad as the events were, and many the pains and suffering.



Peter Anker and Kimmie.
(*'Hvem er det, der banker?'*)
Sylvia's favourites photographed on initiative of 'Ronnie'
Green. April 1967. for presentation. Whitsun 1967. after her
Cairo ordeal a few weeks earlier.



After the marriage service of Jens Find Heede and Dianna Frohlke
in Vor Frelzers Kirke, Copenhagen.

19th August, 1967.

(The Church Book of Vor Frelzers Kirke also records, on the 1st
March, 1747, the marriage "i Huuset" of Jens Find's Tiptiptipoldemor,
Maren Jensdatter Gielstrup, to his Tiptiptipoldefar, Peder Hendrichsen,
as his second wife.)

WJT/ET
FG/MT

25 July 1967

Mr. J. Thomas, Esq.,
Clerk of the Elland U.D.C.,
Council Offices,
Elland,
Yorkshire.

Dear Mr. Thomas,

This is to thank you for the friendly reception when I called yesterday, by appointment, to see you, Councillors Bairdow, Coldwell and Jones and Professor Harper, in connection with the offer put forward in my letter to the Council of the 2nd June last.

I confirm that the position now is that, having in the principle, accepted my offer, the Committee, with the aid of Professor Harper, and you will endeavour to ascertain the type of sculpture referred to in my letter which is possibly available, and if and when particulars (and possibly also photographs) are obtained, you will communicate with me and the question of a suitable site will then be further discussed.

While in my previous letter I mentioned the names of well-known, established, Yorkshire sculptors, such as Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore, I should like to say that I welcome with some enthusiasm Professor Harper's suggestion that a promising young sculptor might well be given a chance here, provided we were agreed upon the quality and the nature of his work. The world of tomorrow belongs to the young generation and it is sad to imagine that in most walks of life, you have to become established before your work is recognized.

By selecting work by established sculptors we shall play for safety and general approval, but while I prefer that the work should not become too controversial, encouragement which we can give to youth by affording a young man or woman recognition at an early age, would, in itself, be very exciting and satisfying.

However, the ball is now in your court and I shall look forward to hearing from you at an early date.

Yours sincerely,

(FIND GRAUDES)

In vain did I attempt to beautify Elland by offering the erection of Sculpture.

to the new plant now overcome.

Nu-Swift chief accepts pay revision

The emoluments of Mr. Find Graucob, the Danish chairman, from the Nu-Swift Industries fire-extinguisher group, for 1967 totalled nearly £31,000, the annual report reveals. For reasons arising out of the successful settlement of certain patent litigation, in 1947, his remuneration from the group up to now has largely been based on a percentage of sales in the home market. This arrangement would have expired on December 31, 1971, Mr. Graucob says in his annual review.

In today's changed circumstances, the chairman has, at the suggestion of his co-directors surrendered his rights under the 1947 agreement. This, in the main, he has agreed to do in consideration of an increase (from January 1, 1968) under his service agreement with the principal subsidiary, equivalent to about 60 per cent of the amount to which otherwise he should currently have been entitled. The effect at current levels, says Mr. Graucob, will be to save the group about £6,500 per annum.

The backlog of outstanding export orders for delivery in the first quarter of 1968 was greater than ever, while Nu-Swift also had in hand "considerable" firm export orders for delivery still farther head. From a longterm point of view, the board looks to the future with confidence. Subject to the usual reservations, the interim dividend next September is expected to be not less than that for 1967 (14.58 per cent).

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The Times 6/4/68

it was fortunate that Sylvia's accident occurred six weeks before the Six Days War between Israel and Egypt. Aage Heede, Eva's divorced husband †24/5/1967, Copenhagen.

19 Aug. 1967: Jens Find Heede and Dianna Frøhlke were married on the 19th August, 1967, at Vor Frelzers Kirke, Copenhagen. At my invitation and expense, they spent their honeymoon in Ireland. This was 220 years after the marriage of Jens Find's Tiptiptipoldemor, Maren Gielstrup, was entered in the same church book.

7th Oct. 1967: Margaret Thorpe, my personal secretary, was asked to leave after 18 years' service. On the 29th October, 1967, C. Kaye Kneen started as the chairman's assistant.

16 Nov 1967: Celebration of my 65th birthday started in Ivan's and my presence in Leeds by a clumsy, futile, American take-over bid, followed by dinner at Overgate attended by Pat and Thelma.

The arrival by Pan Am, from Shahrokh E. Kianpour, Nu-Swift Sales Concessionaire in Iran, of one kilogramme of caviare, turned the dinner into a banquet.

12 Feb. 1968: Described as having possibly had the largest turn-over of any of the thirty-odd Stockbrokers in Copenhagen, after he had been re-elected head of the Stock Exchange, Palle Palsby, trading as L. Palsby, went phut after fraudulent conversion. This caused me to write to R. Henriques jr. recommending his firm to be the first to publish audited accounts. He did not fall in with my suggestion, but, when I

visited Copenhagen next, treated me to an excellent luncheon with a bottle of splendid claret, in his private office.

- 1970: Birth of Multy-Purpose Dry Powder Extinguisher.
- 1970-73: With Kaye to Jersey, Dublin, Copenhagen, Cape Town, Biel, Rotterdam, Oslo, Stockholm, Copenhagen and Brussels.
- April and May 1970: Visit by Einar and Inger Lund to Elland and London, with printed letter of welcome p.768 and 769.)
- 20/6/1972: Attack of gout at Hotel Trouville, Hornbæk.



To mark the inauguration of the
YOUNG VOLUNTEER FORCE FOUNDATION
and the commencement of its first field projects

The Prime Minister

requests the honour of the company of

Mr Fred Jacob

at a Reception at 10, Downing Street, s.w.1
on Monday, 17th June, 1968, from 6.00 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.

An answer is requested to :
The Private Secretary,
10, Downing Street, s.w.1

The invitation from Harold Wilson, to which I sent a polite refusal, shown on page 754. owing to my intended absence in Denmark.

YC/CXX

3 June 1968

Dear Sir,

Please convey to the Prime Minister my appreciation of his courtesy in inviting me to the reception at 10 Downing Street, SW1, on Monday, 17th June 1968.

It is with regret that I have to inform you that owing to my absence abroad I shall be unable to be present.

I hope, however, that the Young Volunteer Force Foundation will meet with every success in its field projects. It is a praiseworthy attempt to increase international understanding between the peoples of all nations, and indirectly to reduce the material differences between the 'have' and 'have not' nations.

Yours faithfully,

FIND GRAUCCO
Chairman and Joint Managing Director

The Private Secretary,
10, Downing Street,
LONDON, SW1.

15 July 1968

Dear Neill,

During our frequent and often very interesting telephone conversations, unconsciously I believe that sometimes I attempt to equal your sparks of Irish humour.

It may have made no deep impression upon your mind, but in attempting the other day to wisecrack, I made some statement about the Japanese collective conscience, although immediately afterwards I retracted it with an expression of facetious regret.

In a world where, unfortunately, racial prejudice reigns high, I should like to put on record that the statement which I made was spontaneous and incorrect, and does not reflect my credo.

In my Chairman's Review for 1967, I quoted a statement which I had made on the subject in 1943, when we bought Nu-Swift. This represents my considered view. Please disregard my silly wisecrack which was merely due to a slip of the tongue.

Yours ever,

(FIND GRAUCOB)

J. Neill McCance, Esq.,
Vickers, da Costa & Co.,
Regis House,
King William Street,
LONDON, EC4.

c.c. Mr. Graucob

FG/CKK

27 Aug 1968

Dear Mr. Slocum,

This is merely a note to tell you what an experience it was to meet you last Tuesday at your splendid new offices. I thank you also for our long talk over luncheon at Claridges. Into your first 28 years, you have certainly managed to cram a tremendous amount of both physical and intellectual experiences, and I just wonder how much ground you will have covered when you reach my venerable age of 65 !

I left you, having almost developed an inferiority complex, because I realized how little I had succeeded in doing in my much longer life. And, believe me, that is not a sensation from which I often suffer !

Thank you for acting as my host, and though we barely discussed the tragedy of Czechoslovakia, it was poignant that our first meeting should take place on the very day that I became more conscious than ever that the whole of "Western Europe today is only an American protectorate ! So, whatever your personal feelings: "Please, Yankee, stay with us, subjectively, militarily and technologically !" We, however, have something to give you too.

I found our meeting stimulating and delightful, and hope that our business relationship will prove equally profitable from a material point of view - to both of us !

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(FIND GRAUCOB)

Mr. Peter S. Slocum,
Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith Ltd.,
25 Davies Street,
LONDON, W1.

"Please yankee. stay with us," was my plea after the tragic Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. to a successful U.S. stock-broker.

13 June 1969

Dear Mr. Koch-Olsen,

I am writing to you to express my most sincere appreciation for the wonderful experience it has recently been to me to read the two volumes of "Danmarks Kulturhistorie". In an imperfect world, you and your collaborators have created a marvellous work of beauty and instruction, the like of which I have not before enjoyed, either in Danish or in any other language.

The incomparable master design of your work of art, the mass of sheer knowledge, the elegance of your writing, and the choice of interesting and appropriate illustrations all make your book outstanding.

While, by its title, you necessarily limit the scope of your work, your masterpiece goes a long way towards explaining the world of today to every thinking person, who is fortunate enough to be able to read it. Is it likely that it will be translated into, and published in, other languages ?

Forgive me for writing to you in English. As a Dane, resident in England for more than 40 years, (but still able to read and speak Danish), by reading your monumental work, I have learned more about my country and myself than I thought it possible for anyone to teach me, at the age of 66. And, believe me, it has been a wonderful experience to absorb so much knowledge, in such an enjoyable, exciting and effortless manner !

Please accept my warmest congratulations and thanks, and kindly also convey these, if you think fit, to your many collaborators and assistants, without whose help I am sure you could not possibly have achieved so much.

Yours very sincerely,

(FIND GRAUCOB)

Mr. Ib Koch-Olsen,
Set. Ibs Vej 11,
4000 Roskilde,
Denmark.

My enthusiastic delight at reading "Danmarks Kulturhistorie" is evident from this letter to its author, Ib Koch Olsen.

f

TELEPHONE: OXFORD 57457-9, 55370
TELEX: 83231

Any reply should be addressed to the Secretary

PLEASE QUOTE 861103-6/Corrn/D.M.D.



*The Clarendon Press
Walton Street, Oxford*

OX2 6DP

7 January 1969

Dear Madam,

Thank you for your letter of 23 December about the word prestigious. The sense given to the word in the quotation you enclose is not yet in our dictionaries but it will have to be included in the new Supplement to the large Oxford English Dictionary and we may include it in the revised Addenda to the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary. In this sense the word is still rather journalistic, and one rather hopes that it does not gain too much ground in standard usage.

Yours truly,

D.M. Davin

Miss Marjory Crowther,
Nu-Swift International Ltd.,
Elland,
Yorkshire.

Marjory's contribution of 'prestigious' to the Oxford English Dictionary, was inspired by me. after she had queried my use of the word.

FROM
SIR FREDERICK DELVE, C.B.E.

53 ASHLEY COURT
GRAND AVENUE
HOVE
SUSSEX
BN3 9NL
TEL. BRIGHTON 774808

Personal.

Dear Find

28th April 1969.

I felt that I must write you a short note to congratulate you on the success of Friday's Annual General Meeting. You really were in excellent form. Your address to the shareholders on the subject of Economics, and how the National as well as Company interests are adversely affected by doubtful political dogma was both instructive and educational to all who listened to you.

I observed closely the faces of the shareholders throughout the forty minute period of your address, and you might be interested to know that you maintained their full attention from beginning to end. This was no mean feat and a tribute to your novel presentation of the subject.

It is a pity that your audience did not include some prominent politicians and planners. Had they been present they would have learned a great deal.

The evening's function was equally successful, and I am sure that reflecting on both events, you felt very satisfied.

It was nice seeing you, Sylvia, and your son again. You gave Sylvia a difficult mission in entertaining the Chairman of the Elland Council, but she dealt with it most successfully and in doing so proved herself to be a born diplomat.

My wife joins me in sending kind regards and best wishes to you both.

Yours sincerely
Frederick

Sir Frederick Delve's letter of congratulation on my extempore Chairman's speech in April, 1969.



The Right Honourable The Lord Hailsham, K.C.M.G.
requests the pleasure of the company of
Fred Graucob, Esq.
at The European Dinner at Guildhall, London, E.C.2
on Tuesday, 29th July, 1963

Reception 7 p.m. for 8 p.m.

Speakers - The Rt Hon. Harold Wilson, C.B.E., M.P.

The Rt Hon. Edward Heath, M.P.

Evening Dress (decorations), Dinner jacket

The Rt Hon. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P.

If unable to accept please advise Lord Hailsham, 3-4 Lincoln Inn Fields, London, W.C.2

Preparation of the entry for Britain into the Common Market by the
leaders of the three political parties.

JANE D. MCCARRELL
1111 FAIRVIEW AVENUE
FREDERICK, MARYLAND 21701

August 31, 1969

Dear Find:

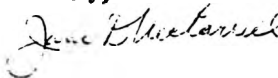
I know you will be saddened to learn that Mike Smith died very suddenly on August 17. She and I were visiting her good friend, Julia (Jerry) Grout, in Vermont and Jerry was taking us for an after-supper drive on a rural road near the shore of Lake Champlain and from which there is a lovely view of Mt. Mansfield. Mike remarked that she had taken a photo from that spot several years ago. A moment later, she slumped over unconscious without a word or gesture - and very shortly stopped breathing. Her heart, which first showed damage eight years ago, simply stopped, according to the doctor at the hospital in Burlington where we had taken her immediately. Although it was a terrific shock to her family and friends, it was the way Mike hoped to go. Her burial was in Richmond on August 20.

She had a happy and an active summer. We visited Liz Gilreath in S. Carolina and then spent a week at a rug hooking camp in N. Carolina. We were at her cottage on Cape Cod for ten days and had just spent two weeks visiting good friends in Maine before going to Vermont. Her health seemed to be fairly good and she was her usual enthusiastic and friendly self all summer. She was such an interesting and joyful person that her many friends have happy memories of her. I particularly feel fortunate to have shared a home here in Frederick with her for 20 years. I expect to remain in our home as I have not yet retired from teaching at Hood College.

Mike often mentioned you with fondness and enjoyed hearing from you. Her family at the time of her funeral recalled with pleasure your visit to Richmond many years ago.

I apologize for sending you this sad news via a typewritten letter but my handwriting frequently is very difficult to read.

Sincerely,



Mr. Find Graucob
Overgate, 30 Hullen Edge Road
Elland, Yorkshire
England

With much consideration. Jane D. McCarrell announced the sad news of the sudden death of 'Mike.'

nu-swift DAY BY DAY

PARTNERS



IN PROGRESS

Edition No 7771

WEDNESDAY 8th OCTOBER 1969



Holger Christensen Baadsgaard.

for many years affectionately known and referred to as 'Mac.'

The remarkable career, actions and sayings of our beloved Mac, who was born on the 8th October, 1894, in Denmark, have made him a legendary figure.

With a background, in London, only of banking experience, when the bank went bust in 1925 he was almost forced into adopting a sales career. Without any tuition, tongue-tied and, at that time, shy at expressing himself in a language not his own, he had to learn the art of salesmanship the hard way, in order adequately to provide for his wife, Rhode, and their two children. Those were tough times!

The need for getting orders for automatic machines forced him to evolve and use vivid word pictures, and also to adopt a histrionic pattern of behaviour. Thus, to his benefit and mine, were his latent qualities as an actor revealed.

During a long week locked up in a room at our offices in 1931, he wrote down, at my invitation, the verbatim statements which he made to prospects many times each day. These became the germ of our sales presentation, the underlying philosophy of which is still evident in the Nu-Swift Sales Presentation.

Nu-Swift sales schools, too, can trace their origin to the first-ever school which Mac and I held at the Midland Hotel in Manchester in 1932. Then, in the difficult inter-war period, Mac, as our first Area Manager, inspired his men, and with irresistible optimism and imagination, showed them how to obtain results comparable to his own. There is no single county in Britain or Northern Ireland which Mac has not cold canvassed successfully!

Appointed Assistant Sales Manager in 1934, following his help to me at the office during a severe illness of mine, he contributed immeasurably to our success. Until 1939, he was the father-confessor of our 100-man sales force, as well as being the inimitable editor of the Graucob Gazette.

The war did not immediately bring our business to a standstill, but sales declined by 80%! Early in 1940, when left with only three salesmen, Mac resolutely

"Mac-Baadsgaard," Creator of our Original Sales Presentation, becomes 75 years young TODAY!

re-started on the road as a salesman. Magnificently, he fought his own Battle of Britain, with only a handful of men, interrupted at least once by an aerial dogfight above!

Since Mac was appointed, first in 1944 Sales Manager, and in 1949 Sales Director, of Nu-Swift, he has been handicapped by his own indifferent health. A worse blow was to fall with the tragic illness of his wife, Rhode, from which she died in 1956. Almost unbelievably, Mac succeeded in hiding his sorrow at seeing the sufferings of the woman whom he loved, and presented to his sales force his usual optimistic and cheerful self. Daily he dictated the Nu-Swift News in the same spirited manner as he had always done, even to his individual little touches such as the "Chad" poking his long nose over a wall and asking some serious question in witty disguise.



"WOT, no quota busters today!"

Unobtrusively, in 1961, Mac retired on a pension, at a time when, thanks largely to his efforts, our business both in Britain and abroad had grown almost beyond belief.

Today, Mac remains as lovable an optimist as ever. In spite of failing eyesight, he is an avid daily reader of the Nu-Swift News, and mentally as alert as always.

He enjoys, as he always has done, the affection and esteem of everyone who has the privilege of knowing him. This naturally includes Erna, his present wife, his children Ruth and Peter, and his six grandchildren.

On his 75th Birthday, we send our most sincere congratulations and warmest greetings to him and to Erna, his wonderful wife, who lovingly looks after our very dear Mac in his hide-away in the Sunny South.

My gratitude to, and love for, Mac spring from our acquaintance which started 47 years ago on the 16th October, 1922, the day after my own arrival in England, when, for a year or two, he was to become my boss. His generous, cheerful and helpful friendship during these far-too-short many years has enriched my life.

FIND GRAUCOB.

Mac's address? — H. C. Baadsgaard,
107 Belle Hill, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.

How can you qualify for sending Mac a welcome birthday greeting? Read on!

Period Ten (15 Sept — 11 Oct 1969)

Week Four Day Three

Congratulations on Mac's 75th birthday, a short while before he died.

Gjessinggaard

Kilde nr. (064 2 6011) : Avngangene : Lunde 144 : Skarven : Lunde 115 : Skovrider, greve Ravenslev (064 - 2 6399) 8
Haven : Lunde 136 : Kalkbænk : Lunde 143 : Skovridergæstene besøgt : Lunde 146

fr. Randers

Telefon Lunde (064 - 2 6021) 123 og 142

24. Nov. -69

Kære F.G.,

tak for meddelelse om Mac's død, trist, men godt, at han fik sin fødselsdag med.

Han var en g o d mand - og en g o d hjenestem
for en g o d bygmester!

Og er der en Graucob-Gazette i Himlen, har han sikkert
allerede fået redaktionen overstilet - den vil lokke flere
til at nå deres himmelske quota end 187 paven!

F.G., kan Du huske, at Du engang nyltede mig som
litterar konsulent - eller forsøgskanin.

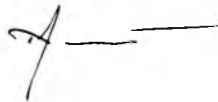
Nu er jeg fristet til at gøre gengæld.

Som Du måske ved, har jeg fra tid til anden skrevet
nogle kronikker, somme gælte nok til at blive trykt i Pressen,
andre for gode.

Nu har jeg lyst til at gamle noget af mit skribleri
og udgive det - formentligt for egen regning - og jeg
vedlægger de to indledende kapitler, som det ville være - og
gavne - mig, at få Dine kommentarer til. Gider Du?

Vi har det idvrigt godt, har haft en vidunderlig
sommer, også rent klimatisk, men nu har kulden sat ind,
gravene er tilfrosset, roserne dækket, strudsene sat ind - og
den såde løben, den har ventet Dig hele sommeren nu! Let sammen
for denne sinde.

Hvordan har Du det??



Hans Folsach's bizarre acknowledgment of my notification to him of the death of 'Mac' (H. C. Baadsgaard †18th November, 1969) resulted in his submission to me of the MS of his first very successful book, 'Scherzo.'

29 Nov 1969

Dear Hans,

I have enjoyed reading the two chapters of your proposed book, and return them herewith. In North Harrow in 1931, I told you that your style of writing was such that it had been impossible for me to translate into English, for the benefit of Bobbie, one of the amusing letters which you had sent me.

It is a style all of your own, perhaps in parts a little too sentimental, but linked up with your life at Gjesinggaard, and in some respects of course, similar to that of Karen Blixen.

The fact that you cannot resist the temptation to introduce a few irrelevancies as en passant remarks, makes your conversation all the more fascinating, but I doubt whether it would be wise to include such remarks in printed manuscripts. I have, therefore, crossed out two or three of these, though you may choose to disregard the proposed deletions.

Whether you should publish them or not, particularly if you do so for your own account, must ultimately be a matter of judgement on your part; but seeing that some of these essays have been accepted for publication in Berlingske Tidende, I certainly think you should have a shot at it. They will not be everybody's cup of tea, but of that you are, of course, well aware.

It is ^{interesting} ~~encouraging~~ to recall that if Karen Blixen had written "Seven Gothic Tales" in Danish instead of in English, I doubt whether her first book would have attracted as much attention in Denmark as it did after publication in America.

In my opinion, the most fascinating essay which you have written is that which you sent me some years ago, telling the delight of the stone-age girl living near Gjesinggaard, when looking into the clear water one day, and seeing her own image, and henceforth ~~making~~ ^{making} use of the water as a mirror.

cont'd..

29 Nov 1969

If you do decide to publish a collection of essays, you must certainly include that, which unfortunately I appear to have lost, but of which you no doubt have a copy.

Having asked my views, needless to say you are completely entitled (as I suspect in any case you will) to disregard my advice and opinions !

With all good wishes, and kindest regards to you and Caritas,

I remain,

Yours ever,

(FIND GRAUCOB)

Mr. H. M. von Folsach,
Gjessinggaard,
Pr. Randers,
Denmark.

Hans Folsach had asked my view whether he should publish some autobiographical essays. He did, and they were a success.

Five out of seven pass 10-year test

AS WE were ushering in a new decade ten years ago, seven ambitious men were birding themselves for a major milestone in their careers.

They were the bosses of the companies which for the first time had won a quote on the stock market in January 1960.

And if you had split £700 equally between these men, their portfolio would now be worth £1754. This 152 per cent rise would have comfortably cushioned 1960 against the ravages of a falling pound and rising inflation. But the arrivals of January 1960 were not without their disappointments.

BOTTOM

Two—Claid Rye and Dofas Ltd—have lost ground. Bottom of the class comes Dofas Ltd. In its storm-tossed history the shares have slumped from 28s to 3s 3d. It was the best performer of the 1960 property market—but only after it had fallen to 12s 6d the year before.

It has never returned to its 28s issue price, and pre-tax profits have fallen from £172,227 to £27,814 and earlier this week the share quote was suspended.

Meanwhile, fellow traveller Claid Rye has slipped from 4s to 4s 10d, a 26 per cent drop. Rye is a dealer in bearings, cars and motor cycles and trades in London and the south of England.

KEPT UP

One share which almost exactly kept up with the rising cost of living is GUTTS—Leiston and Universal Investments.

This was set up over twenty years ago to acquire 431,000 shares in the drapery group House of Fraser—which were then held by the late Lord Fraser.

But since then it has spread its net around printing, soft drinks, engineering, insurance and dry cleaners.

GUTTS' shares have risen from 12s 6d to 17s 6d over the decade. And it is reasonable to assume that they would be higher, but for the fact that 1½ million of them have been issued to pay for takeovers.

Two

year-olds have themselves been taken over—though one has retained its share quote.

It's James Estates, a small but thriving property company. Ten winners, 400,000 shares were offered for sale at 4s each.

In October 1963, Mr Maxwell Joseph's Union Property acquired an 80 per cent share, offering James shareholders one Union stock unit for each James share.

However, six years later these Union units are worth only 1s 4½ to a decade-old £100 investment in James would now be worth only £125.

But if you had refused the Joseph bid, your James shares would now fetch 12s 6d apiece: a handsome gain.

STARS

The other merger "victim" is Farley's Infant Food. Last year investors received a cash offer from the giant Glaxo food-and-pill group which valued their holdings at £180 for every £100 originally invested.

The two stars of our Ten-Year Test this month are Bright Holdings and Nu-Swift Industries.

Bright is a Birmingham-based building contractor and civil engineer. An almost unbroken rise in profits from £215,000 to £1,230,000 has tripled an early investment in the firm.

TOP

But the undisputed top performer is Nu-Swift. This 26-year-old company, famous for its portable fire extinguishers, has soared to 12s 10d from a price equivalent to 1s 6d in 1960.

Nu-Swift is still being run by its founder, Mr Fred Orscock. It reports its wares to 30 countries round the world, and in the chairman's interim report last August he announced that orders were a record and profits margins were undiminished. A success story indeed.

' . . . the undisputed top performer (over the 10 years from January 1960 to 1970) is Nu-Swift . . . '

15/10/1972: 50th anniversary of my arrival in England, celebrated by 'Rene' with an imaginary play. (p.775).

16/11/1972: Celebration of my 70th birthday.

27/3/1970

Marjory's successful marketing of the Multy-Purpose Extinguisher, Model 1826.

A brand-new model must be launched:
Just right in looks, performance, size.
But one thing puzzles - how to win
Admiring comment: "What a prize!"

The weeks go past and then the months.
Eyes look to heaven and tempers fray.
But slowly, and with ponderous tread,
The TIS gets under way.

One thing is lacking, something new,
To give the presentation zest.
At dead of night ideas come
To one who's often been hard-pressed.

He calls his helpers to his side
Next morning in his office "nest."
"I've got so much I want to say,
But how to fit it in's the test."

"Please let me play around," says M.,
"I'll do much better if I'm free."
And spends a fruitful afternoon,
Which gratifies her boss, F.G.

He passes on the news at once
To his co-boss and friend, I.D.
And both express to M. next day,
Their thanks, relief, and even glee.

But wait, the thanks are not just words.
A murmured "cheque" the lady hears.
She looks amazed, and both men smile
To see her doubt her startled ears.

But sure enough a letter comes,
In kindly words, sincerely meant.
And there's the tangible reward:
A cheque is with the letter sent.

A windfall unexpectedly,
But gratefully received by M.,
Calls out for more than just a word
Of thanks to two such generous men.

So here's a poem, which may not be
In style a patch on Stratford's son,
But may please those to whom 'tis writ,
And give them both a bit of fun.

Thank you!
M. G.
27/3/70

30/11/1972: The following letter of thanks was sent to a large number of well-wishers and donors of birthday gifts and congratulations :

70 years young, plus fourteen days, i.e. Thursday, the 30th November, 1972.

Overgate,
30, Hullen Edge Road,
Elland,
Yorkshire,
England.

April, 1970.

A WARM WELCOME TO ELLAND FOR TWO DISTINGUISHED GUESTS!

On Monday, the 20th April, 1970, 'Dannebrog' the Danish flag, and the 'Union Jack' will both fly above the Headquarters and Factory of Nu-Swift International Ltd. at Elland, Yorkshire. This will be a visible sign of welcome and joy on the occasion of the first visit to Elland as the private guests of Mr. and Mrs. Find Graucob of:

Major General (retired) Einar Lund, until recently Master General of the Ordnance and Head of the Technical Corps of the Royal Danish Army, and his wife, Mrs. Inger Lund, until recently Head Mistress and Owner of the Special School founded by her Mother at Hellerup, Copenhagen.



**Major General (retired) Einar Lund, K1, DM, MfæD, HTH, S.Sv.J1,
of the Royal Danish Army.**

The distinguished technical, commercial and personal guests from all over the World who, in a year, visit the Nu-Swift Headquarters in Elland, run into sizeable numbers. Written in various languages the many entries, which, since 1947, have appeared in our Distinguished Visitors Book, provide eloquent confirmation.

With the exception of the visit, on my 50th birthday in 1952, of my late Mother, accompanied by my two sisters, Eva and Ruth, no visit, however, could have been more welcome than that of my two friends referred to in the headlines. Paying only an overnight visit to Overgate, the Lunds, the next day, will make a brief inspection of the Factory, watch a fire demonstration or two, and then disappear from Yorkshire, only to re-appear in London on Friday, the 24th April. As observers, they will attend the Annual General Meeting of Nu-Swift, followed in the evening by an informal dinner. Need I add that both are as critical as are nearly all Danes, including myself, but that they are also both, in common with me, strong Anglophiles?

Fellow-boy-scouts in Copenhagen, Einar and I have known each other since May 1915, when we were both less than 13 years old. Later, in his teens, Einar, intent on an open-air career, became, as I found on my first return visit to Denmark, a dashing army officer, who cut as fine a figure on horse-back as he had proved to be an outstanding performer both as a sprinter and a mathematician.

Being seconded, as an artillery officer, to the Army Technical Corps, unlike your 'boss,' who barely knows one end of a lathe from the other, he became a highly qualified engineer. Our friendship endured and was renewed both in

England and Denmark by personal contact and by correspondence. In 1922, intent on 'perfecting' my indifferent English, I had left Denmark for England, where, for nearly 48 years, I have since temporarily enjoyed the generous and tolerant hospitality of the British in my vain attempt to master the bewildering rules of English grammar and syntax. This object I am still actively pursuing. Einar and I both remain natural-born Danish citizens, and when I have succeeded in my linguistic studies and other objectives, I shall, after my long exile, return to my native country where, in 1965, I bought a property in Copenhagen to secure a flat for the occupation of Sylvia and myself.

In the twenties and thirties, Einar had qualified, in Denmark, as an expert on explosives, explosion technique, and hence also on bomb disposal. Caught unprepared, Denmark, which owing to its geographical position was virtually indefensible in the military terms of 1939, was occupied in 1940 by the Nazis. The King was trapped in Copenhagen. The Government, Parliament, and all military personnel and Civil Servants in Denmark faced a cruel dilemma, because of their oaths of loyalty to their Sovereign. Only Danish merchant vessels afloat on the Seven Seas of the World were able, in response to Churchill's appeal, to steam to friendly British or other ports, where they joined the Allied cause. Many paid the supreme sacrifice.

Denmark was rightly declared, by Churchill, to be enemy-occupied territory. Soft-peddling in the beginning, the Nazis, nevertheless, compelled B. & W., then Denmark's largest shipyard and firm of Diesel engine pioneers (today a Nu-Swift customer!) to carry out work for them. When, one afternoon, Einar

was bicycling home from his exacting duties as a military factory director, the RAF, in a day-time surprise raid, struck at B. & W. and surrounding properties, almost in front of his eyes. Cleverly identifying himself to the confused Nazi officials as an explosives expert, Einar not only saved many Danish lives, but also defused, by means of a pair of pincers which he happened to have in his pocket, a few of the more harmless time-bombs. The more powerful bombs he left to effect the work of devastation initiated and intended by the RAF.

Nick-named 'Bombe-Lund,' Einar overnight, became a national hero. Kaj Munck, an internationally known clergyman-playwright, later assassinated at Nazi behest, wrote, and had published, a brief poem addressed to Einar, entitled: 'To the Man with the Pincers.' National morale, which had been at a low ebb, revived, Einar being decorated by the King with the 'Medal for Noble Deed,' a Danish decoration only rarely awarded.

The reaction of Birthe and Marianne, the daughters of Inger and Einar, was significant: "Why all this sudden fuss about Daddy?" they asked their mother. "He has been dealing with bombs for years and is only as usual doing his duty." Scars on Einar's hands testify to the accuracy of the children's statement.

The story of Einar's later wartime services, once he had escaped, heavily disguised, across the Sound to Sweden, then nominally neutral, but where his expert knowledge was utilized

by the Swedish Armed Forces (1943-44), is a chapter of its own. So is that of his services as an organizer in Sweden, and Chief of the Equipment Section for the Danish Brigade of Volunteers during the Occupation, built up in Sweden. Happily, the Brigade was never called upon to go into action, as it would quickly and fearlessly have done, if towards the end of hostilities, the Nazis in Denmark, had attempted to apply, as ruthlessly as they did in Northern Norway, their declared policy of Scorched Earth.

Hitler's contemptuous reference to Denmark's having become a harmless canary in a cage was rebutted by the canary proving a very destructive creature. After the liberation, 'Monty' paid tribute to the Danish Underground Resistance Movement by equating its fighting value to that of one or several Army Corps. The name of Churchill remains revered in Denmark.

Today Denmark is a NATO country, as are Britain, USA, Germany and most other countries on this side of the Iron Curtain. Before Einar's retirement in 1967, his service pre-occupation in recent years had been the re-organization of the Army Technical Corps, including the acceptance from USA of much valuable equipment.

Regrettably, though Nu-Swift is standardized in the Ships of the Royal Danish Navy (including the King's Yacht) and I, believe, also in units of the Danish Air Force, the Danish Army Units, as far as I am aware, have few, if any, Nu-Swift extinguishers.



Fru Skoleleder Inger Lund

The subject of their installation has never been discussed between Einar and me, though by others I have often been described as an aggressive and imaginative salesman. It would have been wrong, however, for me to have attempted to use our friendship as a base for my salesmanship. And if I had tried, I know that I could not have influenced Einar's judgment, if he had felt that his duty dictated another course.

Inger, Einar's lovely wife, also an individual of great personality and moral courage, is admired and respected by me as much as is Einar. Born the daughter of an educational pioneering mother, who, having lost her husband, founded her own school for handicapped children, compassionate Inger became a great admirer of, and was influenced by, the renowned English educationalist, A. S. Neill. Inger's life cannot have been easy. Highly self-disciplined, as she is, many years ago, in response to a question of mine, she instantly retorted: "But who said that life was ever intended to be easy?"

Mother of two delightful daughters, who, until a few years ago, helped her in running the School, this great, and in spirit still very young, idealist, has not only educated her own children during the long absences from home, on many dangerous missions, of her busy and industrious husband; she has also fought the never-ceasing economic battles of educating other people's children.

Running a non-profit-making institution, such as a school of this kind, means having both the ethical and the practical responsibility for the establishment. Recently retired, undefeated except by her own age, she has had the great joy of learning that the School founded by her Mother will be continued by one of her helpers, under the aegis of a Committee of parents of some of her pupils.

Can anyone wonder that Sylvia and I are happy to call these two splendid people our friends, and to have them as our guests in England, if only for a brief period?

Anda Bravetti

nu-swift DAY BY DAY

V.I.P. Edition No. 8388

Friday, 19th November, 1971

A CHIEF PETTY OFFICER TO THE ROYAL NAVY ... BUT TO NU-SWIFT, ERIC CAWOOD RANKS AS OUR DISTINGUISHED ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET!

Cawood becomes 70 years young!

A personal tribute by Find Graucob.

On the 19th November, 1971, Eric Cawood, M.B.E., L.I.Fire E., Vice-Chairman and Technical Director of Nu-Swift International Ltd., reaches the age of 70. He also completes 26 years of creative, critical and valuable association with Nu-Swift. Our contact started on the day he left the Royal Navy in 1945, when, after a week's attendance at a Sales School held in Huddersfield, he went on the road as a greenhorn salesman. Having profitably qualified for his spurs by cold-canvassing in Lancashire, in 1949 Cawood was appointed Factory Manager in charge of the Technical Division at Elland, where he immediately took up residence. His subsequent scintillating career is well-known, being inextricably linked up with the success story of Nu-Swift.

Previously, during his 27 years of service with the Royal Navy, Cawood had developed a compulsive interest in the subject of fire. Almost logically, it followed that not only did he become, in a more detailed, imaginative and thorough manner than any other man I have known, an intrepid and cunning fire fighter, but with equal fascination and industry, he pursued the study of the behaviour of uncontrolled fire and how to attack and tame it.

The ambivalence inherent in human nature was superbly featured in a recent television play by Terence Rattigan. Appropriately, the play dealt with the life of Nelson, another naval fighter. The subject of such a play could well be Cawood.

Unafraid of arriving at unpleasant conclusions, Cawood, occasionally, may appear to delight in controversy for its own sake. Beware, however, of the apparent ease with which you may sometimes think you have gained the day! With almost uncanny instinct, at an early, difficult stage in any negotiations, Cawood will have mentally explored and rejected all alternatives but that which logic dictates it is in your own interest to accept.

Formidable foe as he can be, in a different role he is also a staunch and resourceful friend, and I would rather be marooned on a desert island with him than with anyone else. Backed with his initiative and ingenuity, it would not be long before we got away! In the inimitable tradition of the RN, he would act first and apologise afterwards! Obstacles would not defeat Cawood. Only once have I had to remind him that even our late joint Sovereign, His Majesty King Canute of blessed memory, failed to make the waves roll backwards!

Over the twenty-odd years during which we have worked together, as may be guessed, Eric and I have not always seen eye to eye. Elsewhere, and in a different relationship, it is difficult to imagine that we should have qualified for the Dunmow flitch! Only after crossing the "Big Pond" did we drop into Christian name terms in the USA.

Outwardly a strict disciplinarian and a stickler for technical perfection, Cawood's personality, once you ask for his help, is revealed in his manner of dealing with any problem, personal or technical. If strong feelings are aroused in him, battle may ensue between his generous heart and his icy-cold logical brain, though it is often the former which proves the winner. Sometimes I have requested Cawood to imitate his illustrious compatriot when, before the Battle of Copenhagen, he put his telescope to his blind eye. "Is this a suggestion or an order, sir?" has been Cawood's immediate, courteous enquiry. On rare occasions, when his response has elicited the fact that my request was intended to be a directive, Cawood, by his reassuring exclamation: "Aye, aye, sir," has left me in no doubt that compliance will follow, both in the spirit and to the letter. Loyalty towards the Company and to our policy is part of his creed.

Years ago, someone who had no reason to be beholden to Cawood, referred to him as occasionally showing flashes of genius. But no genius was ever an easy man to live or work with! Irresoluble and difficult to deal with, as Cawood can be, I have never met any other man of his complex personality and extraordinary comprehensive mental keyboard.

By others, though rarely by me, it is sometimes forgotten how much I am indebted to Cawood. So is the fact that Nu-Swift is his brainchild, as much as it is mine.

In his eloquent way and subject only to a minute variation in phraseology, Shakespeare epitomizes the expression of my homage and appreciation to the remarkable personality, whom we know as Eric Cawood:

*"He is a man, take him for all in all.
I shall not look upon his like again!"*



The inimitable Eric Cawood, responsible for many achievements including the commercially attractive Multy-Purpose Dry Powder Extinguishers.

KEY DATES FROM ERIC CAWOOD'S PERSONAL 'LOG BOOK'!

1901		Born in Eccles in Lancashire.
1918		Joins the Royal Navy. On active service during World War I.
1929		Promoted to Chief Petty Officer.
1939-45		Serves throughout World War II in the Royal Navy in sea-going ships. As chief of damage control, responsible for training in fire fighting, especially with Nu-Swift Extinguishers.
1945	9th October	Retires from the Royal Navy. The same day joins Nu-Swift as a salesman, and start on the road in Morecambe.
1946	March/April	First face-to-face meeting with FG.
1949	19th October	Appointed Factory Manager of Nu-Swift Ltd., and settles in Elland.
1951	1st January	Awarded M.B.E. in recognition of his services to fire fighting.
1952	9th May	Elected a director of Nu-Swift Ltd.
1954	June	Epic trip to New York with FG (travelling by separate planes and staying at different hotels) resulting in manufacture in Elland of Dry Powder 1600 range.
1960	January	Nu-Swift goes public. Appointed a Director of Nu-Swift Industries Ltd.
1962	27th June	Elected a Licentiate of the Institute of Fire Engineers (L.I.Fire E).
1963	17th January	Elected Vice-Chairman of Nu-Swift Companies.
1964	24th January	Marries Doreen Beaumont, his former Secretary.
1970	May	Oslo Powder Mill completed. ABCE Multi-A 1800 range launched.

The role and income of the man at the top

"A SO-CALLED capitalistic society like ours depends for its survival and materialistic progress upon the marriage of the creative and acquisitive instincts," declares Mr. Find Graucob, chairman of Nu-Swift Industries Ltd., of Elland, in the company's annual report for 1970.

Danish-born Mr. Graucob adds, "In the long-term interests of the community it is unwise constantly to reward and applaud winners of tax-free pools prizes and premium bonds while the leaders are offered negligible financial encouragement for additional constructive success.



Find Graucob: an absence of effective financial incentives.

"The tragedy is that former cruel social injustice so, and disparities in living standards of, the working classes, has been changed for financial rigidity to the industrial and commercial leaders. It is on their initiative, foresight, and intellectual ability, that the future prosperity of today's so-called working classes depends.

"Whether the Government is termed Conservative or Labour, the country, suffering from a state of schizophrenia, is obviously unsure of its priorities. Nu-Swift could not run its marketing organisation successfully if it were wobbling in a similar manner."

Mr. Graucob has some interesting comments to make about his own salary. His personal emoluments amounted to £24,325 (1968 - £25,412).

"This is equivalent to £508 per week gross. After tax and income tax payable by me on this sum is likely to amount to £18,321, reducing my remuneration from the company to £6,004 net, equivalent to £154 per week," he says.

"Of every additional pound I may earn, 81p (i.e. 81 per cent) has to be paid by me in direct taxation. For myself, I make no complaint and I hope to continue for the rest of my life to take an active interest in the company which is virtually my brain-child, though others are increasingly taking over responsibility.

"My activities on behalf of the company will continue when I retire and return to my native country. I have other absorbing interests, but enjoy my work, even in the absence of effective financial incentives."

Mr. Graucob wrote his report in advance of the Budget. No doubt he will welcome the moves of the present Government aimed at giving more incentive to leaders of industry. To a certain extent the Government has set in motion machinery which ultimately should relieve the big earners of some of their tax burden.

Certainly, Mr. Graucob has proved a true man of enterprise since he first arrived in this country in 1922. He launched his first business in 1925 with his own capital of £18 and a loan of £180. Until the Second World War started, putting an end to his particular type of business, he built up a successful concern importing and selling automatic cigarette machines. He took over Nu-Swift in 1943 and has steered the company to increasing success.

Total dividends for last year reached 72.5 per cent, compared with 66.5 per cent the previous year.

11 Dec 1971

Dear Andreas,

The years between 1946 and 1971, to you and to me, will inevitably form an inextricable epoch, constituting a quarter of a century during which, with courage and initiative, you made full use in Norway of the opportunities which you have proved were available to you and us.

In my congratulatory letter to you of the 28th July, 1971, I have already given expression to the gratitude and admiration which everybody connected with Nu-Swift in Britain feels towards you and members of your staff.

Indeed, it is interesting to recall that our initial contact, made by Jens with Nu-Swift, was the result, not of the advertisement which I inserted specifically in 'Aftenposten' prior to my visit to Oslo in 1945, in the hope of attracting a suitable concessionaire, but, as Jens has told me, of the advertisement in an English paper known as "Business", in which appeared the significant words "In Every Ship of the Royal Navy".

Knowing of your great interest in the history of mankind as a whole, but in particular as exemplified by way of English silver made in the eighteenth century, my co-directors and I have jointly decided that we would like you to accept a commemorative gift from us, and this to-day has been sent you separately by registered post.

By way of explanation, you may like to know that the little tray which is being forwarded to you as a sign of our friendship and appreciation, is, we are told by Georgian silver experts, known as a 'snuffer tray', the year when it was made, according to the markings which appear on it, being 1780.

I hope that both you and Ragnhild will find a suitable location for it in your home, and that it will serve as a permanent sign of the success and victories which you have achieved in spite of many handicaps during the past quarter of a century in Norway.

Sylvia, who has taken an important part in finding and selecting the tray, joins me in sending our best wishes to you and Ragnhild for 1972 and all future.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

FIND GRAUCOB
Chairman and Joint Managing Director

Mr. Andreas Meling,
Messrs. J. Bassøe Meling & Co.,
Sognsveien 4,
Oslo 4,
Norway.

Congratulations to Andreas Meling, as our Norwegian sales concessionaire for 25 years.

Friday the 13th (BEWARE!)
October, 1972

Darling Guv'nor,

So it's the Guv'nor's English Birthday on Sunday. Well, how are you going to book an order for the Guv'nor's Birthday on a Sunday??? Aha! well, Saturday work pays and pays well at that!

FIFTY GLORIOUS YEARS since you came ashore in foggy, damp England (no wonder half the population are coughing and sneezing) to make your fortune, and capture the hearts of many English, Irish, Welsh(? Scottish, can't remember one!), women, not forgetting all the Scandinavians, Americans, etc. waiting in the sidelines.

I hope the lion has honourably sheathed his claws and is purring contentedly in his hearth (although remembering your Swedish uncle's antics in the lift, I doubt it).

What a happy chance for many of us that you sailed to Harwich and not some other shore. My life, and that of many others, has been greatly enriched by that fact - I'm not here referring to material things although that, too, applies, but to the happiness I've derived from knowing you. And you know that that isn't just Irish blarney, as I'm just as likely to be scathing and critical in what I say

Find: Er.... um..... (fumbling in his pocket and bringing out a scrap of paper with an address scribbled on it).... Rene..
Sometime in the 30's would you send flowers to Miss Ica Bedworthy?"

Me: (icily) And who, pray, is Miss Bedworthy ?
etcetera.....

Later you became bolder and told me to book the three tickets for you and Miss Bedworthy, or tables for candlelit dinners for Miss Bedworthy..... UNTIL ONE DAY....

The telephone rings - an anguished look crosses your face, you clap your hand over the mouthpiece and say in a stage whisper: "Rene, it's that bloody Bedworthy woman... will you take the call.... tell her I'm swimming up the Amazon, or riding a rhino in Africa.... anything....."

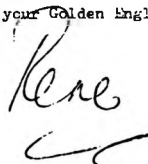
With a glint of triumph in her eyes (behind her glasses), Rene snatches the telephone and pours honeyed lies into poor Miss B's ears! She then runs a line through Miss B's name and address in the Book and composes a suitable epitaph.

And waits for the next scrap of paper to be fumbled out of a pocket!

Hush, hush - I'm only teasing. You worked like ten men (and I worked like ten women) in those days, so you deserved your Miss B's.

This is only a preliminary gallop to your REAL birthday next month. And what, you'll be wondering, is that sharp-tongued bitch dreaming up to say then ? Nothing but sweetness and light I promise you.

My love and congratulations on your Golden English Birthday.



FG/CKK

Dear Frederick,

This letter is being sent to you in the hope that it will reach you on your 70th birthday on the 28th of October, with the warmest congratulations of Sylvia and myself.

In spite of your physical age, you remain a surprisingly young man, both in body and mind; no doubt due to your self-discipline and desire to be of help and service to others. Your invaluable services before, during and after the war indicate the strength of your physical and moral courage.

I have only come into your life after the end of your professional career. Let me confess that it was with some hesitation that almost ten years ago I decided to approach you with an invitation to join the Board of Nu-Swift; but once you had consented, you soon made it obvious that as a leader of men, a negotiator and a technical expert, you had few, if any, equals.

I count it a privilege not only to have made your acquaintance, but to be allowed to call you my friend, and I am sure that during these years, which almost coincide with my own reduced activities and initiative, due to my stroke, the fact that Nu-Swift has continued to make unexampled progress, to a considerable extent is due to your backing and helpful advice and influence.

The flowers which I hope will reach you on the great day are being sent in a spirit of gratitude, and with the warmest wishes and congratulations of Sylvia, Ivan, Hudson, Pearson and myself.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

[FIND GRÆCOB]

Sir Frederick Delve, CBE, MCFire E.,
53 Ashley Court,
Grand Avenue,
Hove,
Sussex BN3 2NL.

Dear Find

28th October 1972.

Today is my birthday and it has been a most happy and memorable one. I have received good wishes from many friends, and throughout the day the telephone has constantly been ringing.

The letter you were kind enough to write me was I think, the nicest I have ever received. It gave me great pleasure and happiness. This was crowned by the gift of beautiful flowers delivered this morning. They really were beautiful and greatly appreciated by us both. Our only regret is that you and Sylvia were not here to see them.

I am not sure that I deserve all the complimentary things you say in your letter. But it was very nice to read them nonetheless.

My association with Nu-Swift has now extended over ten years and this period has been one of the most pleasant in my life. I joined your Company because I liked you when we first met. I then held a very high opinion of your business acumen and achievements. Since then, my admiration for Nu-Swift, its management efficiency, and excellence of its products has steadily increased. And this has been a continuing process. My high opinion of you was further enhanced at the time of your illness, albeit thankfully only temporarily. On that occasion the qualities you displayed of determination, and indomitable courage, deeply impressed all your friends and colleagues. Despite the minor physical disability suffered, your mental capacity and brilliance remained unimpaired, fortunately for the Company. This fact has been so clearly demonstrated at subsequent annual general meetings, and in trading results.

And so, in the quietness of our home at dinner tonight my wife and I together will drink a toast to you and Sylvia, and couple with it, the best of wishes for your continued good health and happiness in the years ahead. These now are the most important things in life, you having gained complete success and fulfillment in your work.

Again therefore, many thanks to you both. Believe me your thoughtfulness will never be forgotten.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely
Frederick

Find Graucob. Esq.,

Sir Frederick Delve's letter of thanks, in response to my letter of congratulation on his 70th birthday.

A warm note of thanks to YOU

My very dear friend, relative, associate or employee, whatever your sex, age, or location in this challenging, shrinking and exciting world of ours,

Forgive me for addressing you in such intimate, yet impersonal terms. I feared, however, that unless I communicated with you in this manner, I could not, within a reasonable time, if ever, hope to express my gratitude to you for having jointly with Sylvia and others made the 70th year of my life such a memorable and enjoyable epoch.

It is difficult to resist the temptation to recall the events and atmosphere of my birthdays of 1952 and 1962, when (while also living at Overgate, in between covering the world on business and pleasure) I became first fifty, and then sixty. It is a privilege of those ageing to recall past events. Can you bear with my reminiscences ?

50th Birthday Party

For my 50th birthday, my mother, still very much alive, both mentally and physically, undaunted by crossing the North Sea from Denmark in November, via London, came to Elland with my sisters, Eva and Ruth. The climax of our elaborately planned celebrations was the evening party in the baronial hall of the ancient architectural gem of Elland New Hall. Restored with loving care and patience by my dear friend, the late Robert Grotte, the whole building, for that memorable evening, was placed at my disposal by Robert and his wife, Hannah. In front of the huge blazing log fire in the fireplace, some of my guests, in between dancing, obviously became overcome by alcohol.

60th Birthday in Paris

For my 60th birthday, ten years later, Sylvia and I, striking an entirely different note, chose another location. After an exploratory trip by us to Paris a week or two beforehand, we invited for a long week-end seven of the prettiest, wittiest and best-groomed girls in Sweden, Denmark

and Britain, with their husbands, to stay with us at the historic Hotel Crillon. Pre-selected menus with vintage wines, served in five-star restaurants, a theatre visit (was it Folies Bergère?), and fun-shopping for the girls at my expense in Rue de la Paix and Rue de Rivoli, formed part of the programme. The second day started with a breakfast together in the Marie Antoinette suite in the Crillon, overlooking the magnificent Place de la Concorde, while the dinner that evening was a gala affair at Maxim's, the beautifully adorned girls of our party being all seated in a row, with their backs to the draped windows, facing the band, with their male partners opposite them. It was this glittering and breath-taking sight of so much elegance which caused my cousin, John Graucob, when, last of all, he and I sat down, to exclaim in an aside: "We Graucobs are really a pretty good-looking lot!" Sadly, I had to remind him that none of the attractive and amusing females present was born a Graucob. Sheila had left for London. Of my children, only Patrick was present both at my 50th and 60th birthday dinners.

70th Birthday this year

This year, when I am 70, though mentally feel nearer 17, celebrations have deliberately been extended over nearly a whole year, but kept in a lower key. The first special event was on the 19th April, when I had the privilege, at London Airport, to be introduced by his mother, Vanessa, to the ten-months-old, Australian-born Richard Patrick Find Gardner. Having on his trip from Canberra visited Sydney, Hong Kong, Karachi and Frankfurt, he greeted me affably before being whisked away to stay with his grandmother.

In June a further celebration took place by way of a party on Sct. Hans Eve, at Hotel Trouville, Hornbæk, in Denmark. As a status symbol, both for me and Nu-Swift, I displayed symptoms of gout, a privilege once thought of as being reserved for fox-hunting members of the English landed gentry, retired port-drinking colonels and '*Kaptajn Vom.*' My friend, Dr. Aage B. Westh, in Copenhagen, and my maternal cousin, Dr.

Ole Remvig, in Hornbæk, both diagnosed and almost instantaneously banished the painful disease. Regrettably my favourite drinks of Claret and Sherry became frowned upon, though white wine and whisky remained permitted ! (Nu-Swift shares, however, went UP !)

My first birthday present of 1972, although dated for the 16th of November, was as much a surprise to me, when, in September, I was handed it. By an act of serendipity, Registrar Niels Rickelt, in the records of the ancient Hanse City of Lübeck, had located details of four of my probable male ancestors, who, in 1332, and during the following twenty years, obtained trading licences. This find indeed was an exciting, felicitous and appropriate birthday present, though as we lack details of the intervening generations, proof of my relationship to any of the four worthy Lübeck citizens may never be obtained.

Coinciding with the production, on the 250th anniversary of Holberg's first play, of four of his most popular comedies at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, the birthday celebrations engineered by me, however, only started late in September. Marjory Crowther, Kaye Kneen and Patrick travelled from England for different plays, which, with them and my sister, Eva, and Marianne Reimer from Rigsarkivet, I attended. All those people had helped me with the preparation of the record of my ancestors, much of which coincides with the life in Copenhagen of many of the characters of Holberg's world.

Observance of my "English Birthday" (the date when I arrived in England "to improve my English," viz. the 15th October, 1922), was in the Graucob Company, popular in pre-war days. Wisely perhaps, the celebration has fallen into desuetude. 'Faithful Hanna,' also known as Miss Greenstreet, who to 1950 was my invaluable secretary and assistant, never forgets ! On that day a scintillatingly phrased letter arrived, incorporating a playlet of imaginary events,

which she pictured having taken place in the 'Thirties. The cast consisted only of her and me, was adequate, while the dialogue was true to style. The only other person to remember my English birthday was Darling Sylvia, who bought me a silver muffincer by Sami. Wheat, responsible for, in London 1769, made the exotic, useful instrument for spraying muffins with cinnamon.

On the 11th November, under 'In Memoriam' on the back page of 'The Times,' appeared, at my expense, as it has done for ten or fifteen years, on the nearest week-day of the anniversary of the death of King Canute, the announcement quoted below. (Cartoon on p.672). It constitutes my modest claim to anonymous fame :

“CANUTE (CNUT).—CANUTE (CNUT), known as “The Great” King of Denmark, England and Norway, at Shaftesbury, on November 12, 1035, in his 40th year. Conqueror, Law Codifier and Statesman.”

Pre-Birthday celebrations in Denmark.

In October, breakage of a front tooth necessitated another visit to Copenhagen, before the critical anniversary date of my birth, the 16th November. Cables and telex messages procured almost immediate appointments with my helpful Copenhagen dental surgeon, Erik Skieller of Østergade, near the Hotel d'Angleterre, the hotel which, since 1933, when during the winter months I have visited Denmark, has been my temporary home. Bound for Christmas shopping in London, Sylvia did not accompany me.

In Copenhagen, unassuming Danish-style 70-year Birthday celebrations soon re-started between two, and once three, daily visits to the dentist. Temporary porcelain crowns fitted on my teeth twice dropped out, but the splendid Erik Skieller, who had laid a battle plan worthy of a Napoleon, remained unperturbed. With military precision he finished the re-conditioning of my mouth.

Others of my numerous informal birthday parties in Denmark included luncheon in Copenhagen with Hanne Danvogg of Balstrup, near Ringsted, and her husband, Gorm, whose farm has been in the possession of a branch of our family since 1767. Other informal pre-birthday parties, at which I met relatives and friends, included dinner at Helsingør (of Hamlet fame), at the flat of my cousin, Dr. Ole Remvig, and his hospitable and amusing wife, Pippa, their other guests that evening being Anglophile *Dr. med.* Gunnar Krogh-Lund and his wife, the splendid Inga.

One night, for dinner, I had the pleasure of being with the two generation quartette of the members of the Dujardin family, whose name in Denmark, for more than 25 years, has been almost synonymous with Nu-Swift. Assistance with my maternal family records as usual was willingly given by friends and professional helpers, Niels Rickelt of Landsarkivet, Jeppe Rasmussen of Stadsarkivet and Marianne Reimer of Rigsarkivet. At their attractive house near Fortunen, one Sunday from eleven to six, Ida Rothe, my maternal cousin's eldest daughter, her husband Jørgen, and their charming daughters, Kamilla and Nathalie, not only entertained me regally for an informal luncheon, but Ida also placed at my disposal genealogical notes of her father's, allowing me, for their perusal, the run of the house. Later, Ida granted me the loan of the notes for their further examination in England. The acquaintance of her youngest sister, Margit Roulund, whom I have never met, I made over the 'phone.

Others whom I saw in between visits to my medical adviser, surgeon and friend, Dr. Westh, included my pre-war friends Maja Foget and Else Christensen, and the post-war addition of Merete Graucob, June's and Jan's fabulous mother.

Photographs featuring my impending birthday appeared on the 15th November, in "Berlingske Tidende" and "Politiken." Topical reference to my broken tooth was included. Such publicity resulted in birthday greetings from some of my boyhood friends in Denmark, including Tage Vöhtz and his



Photo by : Carl Magnus Kistner.
Eight weeks after peritonitis, Sylvia won a belly-dancing competition
on board the s.s. ' Khassed Kheir ' on the Nile.
Christmas 1961.



Inspection by Sylvia of *bambini* in colourful renaissance-period costumes, ready, on their arrival by gondola, to greet guests with flowers at Ca Guistinian Palazzo in Venice.
8th post-war Sales Staff Contest Overseas Trip.
May 1963.



After my stroke, convalescence, re-inforced by gastronomical delights, in the elegance of the Principal Guest Bedroom at Overgate with Sylvia.
About March 1964.

wife, Gunhild, with whom I had not been in touch for twenty years, and who, I believed, were in Delaware.

The gastronomical climax of my visit occurred, however, on my 'lillebitte' Birthday, i.e. two days before the date, when, at her flat, at my request Eva served a dinner of my favourite childhood dishes: Hot, sweet soup with plums, "Artificial Haresteak" of indeterminate sex, and applecake with cream! The others, Ole and Agnes Heede, and Kaya Harde, winced at these gastronomical horrors, but I consumed and enjoyed two helpings.

Return to Elland

Came 'der Tag'; or rather the day before my birthday, when, via Manchester, I returned to Elland, complete with teeth and new glasses. Simultaneously, Patrick and Thelma, my daughter-in-love, who, in wintry weather, had driven from their week-end cottage in Criccieth, set foot in Overgate, greeted by the barking of Sylvia's two black miniature *schnauzers*. Patrick and Thelma were to be our only guests for my birthday dinner the next evening. From then onwards, thanks to Sylvia's affectionate capacity for creating welcome surprises, I was no longer in control of the situation.

Events of my Birthday

When waking on my birthday, I drew the curtains, I saw that overnight unknown to me, a flagstaff had been erected in our front garden, from the top of which, in a gentle breeze, *Dannebrog* was fluttering. This wizardry was the work of Ronnie Green, but the architect responsible was Sylvia.

Only the second time since my stroke in January 1964, had I come down for breakfast. Warned by Sylvia that in addition to Patrick and Thelma, a third visitor was present, on entering the dining-room I was astonished when, in the furthest corner, I was faced with a life-sized photographic reproduction of the grinning Harry Worth, the TV comedian. Laughter nearly knocked me over.



Sicilian fishermen mending their nets, with Scylla and Charybdis in the background. Colourful oil painting by Nello Pachietto. Bought 1963 from the artist in his Venice Studio by Sylvia and me, framed by Robert Sielle and now in our living room at Overgate.

Opening the enormous heart-warming pile of letters, telegrams and parcels, had reluctantly to be pushed aside until later.

At Fort Nu-Swift

In the background Ronnie Green, standing by my side, disclaimed :

“
MR. NU-SWIFT

These facts are told — of days of old,
When fire just could not be controlled !
There came a man from the Danish land,
To put the “ Genii in your hand ;
He, and his brave, stouthearted men,
Tackled the gunroom fires, when
Nu-Swift “ Navy-type ” was born,
To see many a sullen battle morn !
The “ Navy-Type ” won battle scars,
Along with our heroic tars!
In the cordite fires’ living hell,
Served our stricken gunners well!
Then Find Graucob’s boffin team
Tested a magic powder beam.
Year of testing powders passed,
Came a super one at last !
“ Multy-Purpose is its name —
Spells the “ death ” of every flame.
With cooling action quite unique,
The safe extinguisher you seek.
To see is to believe, they say,
So see what Nu-Swift has today :
A mobile showroom’s been evolved,
To show Fire Problems — all resolved !
Our Unit’s made to kill your doubt,
and “ Nu-Swift ” any fire out !

Ronald Nobel Green
2 a.m. 11/11/1972 ”

Five years earlier, on my 65th birthday, I had attempted to visit all departments of the Nu-Swift Organization in Elland, where I had claimed my feudal right to kiss the girl employees. Exhausted, and suffering from chapped lips, I had had to leave two departments, but to these I had promised to return on my 70th birthday. An old scout, I had to keep my vow !

At the Nu-Swift Headquarters, where, above the factory and the administrative buildings, both *Dannebrog* and

the Union Jack were fluttering in addition to the usual Nu-Swift pennants, with Patrick, I visited my modestly furnished office, a room which I have occupied since 1944, first as a bedroom, and, since 1951, as an office. Thanks to the initiative and design of precious Kaye Kneen, my personal assistant during the last five years, it has gradually been spruced up. The replacement had been authorized of some of the higgledy-piggledy furniture, by fitted cupboards, made with the traditional craftsmanship associated with the name of Chippendale. Albert Rawnsley, another native of Yorkshire, one of our joiners and a Nu-Swift employee of 16 years' standing, due to retire in July 1972, but intent on providing his boss with the very best, had postponed his retirement for three months. With pride, Kaye who, jointly with Albert and David Holden had designed the cupboards to comply with my exacting standards, explained their functional design, to Patrick and me.

Dozens of attractive girls elsewhere were awaiting their rumoured fate. Accompanied by Patrick and Ivan Dorr, my 47-years-young Joint Managing Director, I first visited the two departments which constituted the missing links of 1967. Some of "the girls" could claim more than 30 years' service with Nu-Swift, while others were of more recent vintage. Geoffrey Moore, whom I know well, announced that it was also his birthday, though only a youngster of 48.

Limping along in the Factory, for the first time for two years, I visited the all-male key departments of Cawood Bay and the Tool Room, where I shook hands with many other employees of long service.

Time running short, it was not possible to call on everybody connected with the Nu-Swift Factory in Elland, leave alone our London Showroom in Regent Street, the numerous members of sales staff on the road in Britain and Northern Ireland, our 87 Service Engineers, as well as our important administrative

sections in Elland. Nor could I make contact with our many valuable overseas sales concessionaires and members of their staffs. Further stern duty was awaiting me!

Birthday Luncheon Party

Travelling by coach from our Headquarters, some thirty-odd members of our key personnel headed for lunch at the Nag's Head at Ainley Top, above Elland. Lying in a fold of the Pennines, close to the M62 Motorway, we are today able to claim that Elland is the centre of Great Britain. Our headquarters have become the centre of our world!

Haute cuisine, ordered from Copenhagen from the incomparable, French-speaking Yorkshire wench, Wendy, was served for the members of our Elland-based organization whose services could temporarily be spared. But following Christmas Pudding and Mince Tarts, light wine and brief speeches, we soon had to return to the valley below.

Presentation of new Mobile Fire Advisory Unit

Further exciting activity at Elland was, however, facing me after we had left the Nags Head. Inspection followed of the latest Nu-Swift Wonder! On the Demonstration Ground, near the Factory, was standing the impressive £20,000 Mobile Fire Advisory and Training Unit, intended, with a crew of four, to carry out fire demonstrations throughout the British Isles, for audiences of Fire Brigade Officers and Fire Prevention Officers of Large Prospective Users. Brief facts of the Unit are:

- 1) Overall length of the Mammoth Tractor and Trailer is 50 feet (15 metres).
- 2) Weight of the combined Tractor and Trailer is nearly 15 tons.

Enthusiastic Home Sales Director, Bill Pearson, explained the numerous gadgets cleverly incorporated in the long-awaited and specially designed Unit. It not only carries power sections, and its supply of $\frac{1}{2}$ ton of water, but also pre-cut timber, demonstration trays and portable supplies of different types

of inflammable liquid. Also incorporated is a well-ventilated and heated or cooled lecture room with seating accommodation for twenty-odd prospective users of our unbelievably efficient Multy-Purpose Dry Powder Extinguishers. In large, easily changeable letters on the back of the Unit, this message appeared : “ Happy Birthday to our Mr. Graucob.”

Messages from near and far

At my office and at Overgate, telegrams, other messages of congratulation, flowers and gifts kept arriving from the four corners of the earth, in some cases from people with whom I had not been in contact for twenty years or longer. None gratified me more than a personal telegram from the Danish Ambassador in London, His Excellency Erling Kristiansen.

Filed at 1 p.m. in London, a telegram indicated the shock that the realization that it was my birthday had caused to my friend and Nu-Swift's stockbroker, Neill McCance, pre-occupied, amongst other responsibilities, with the gyrations of the volatile Hong Kong and Tokyo Stock Exchanges.

Returning in the late afternoon to Overgate, I was greeted by masses of flowers, even more than those with which, on my arrival I had been presented with by members of my staff. Thanks to the influence of Sylvia's “ Flaming Sword,” I soon got into bed, where I enjoyed an hour's deep sleep.

Family Celebration

Still remained our Birthday Dinner *à quatre*. Sylvia, who had arranged and prepared it, was the personification of elegance in a forest-green shot silk taffeta, high-necked Victorian style evening gown. Thelma, who equalled her *chic*, wore a black lace dress, which she announced proudly was only two years younger than me and bought for £2 from a barrow-boy in Brighton!

Donning my burgundy velvet smoking jacket, I was twice interrupted by welcome long-distance calls. The first, from



Our pleasant view of Sylvia's and my garden in Elland seen through our picture window from our living room. 1972.

(The lovely and amusing Orrefors brandy flask, with my initials engraved on it, was a gift from Birgit, many years ago.)

Stockholm, from Hans and Marianne Graucob, and their four lovely children. The second came from my daughter Sheila in Scotland, who had sent an amusing hand-painted birthday card in which she had featured incidents of my life, and my hobbies. She conveyed wishes of all the five members of the Milne clan, reinforced by receipt by me of the impressive, recently published supplementary volume (A-G) of the inimitable Oxford Dictionary.

After dinner, when opening telegrams, letters and parcels, Sylvia provided another surprise, viz. a lovely framed pastel portrait of herself! Unknown to me, during sittings at Overgate in my absence, Harold Riley of Salford, in between doing portraits at Windsor Castle of members of the royal family, had done two pictures of Sylvia. One I have not yet seen, but that which I was given pictures in profile the soft loveliness of Sylvia's facial features, in particular the one eye visible and part of her mouth.

Patrick and Thelma's beautiful gift were of six gorgeous blue-green, Bristol type glasses, reputed to have been made about 1840, most appropriate for the daily imbibing of white wine, by a gout-afflicted man of 70.

My thanks to all

To describe in detail the many other presents and messages, would turn this note into a major volume. It was nearly 2 a.m. before we had finished opening the parcels and reading all the messages. Below I have tried to list the names of those who greeted me and to indicate briefly the nature of their messages and gifts. I hope that the many recipients of this duplicated acknowledgment will not consider it an ungracious way of responding and thanking them all for their signs of affection and generosity :

His Excellency Erling Kristiansen, Danish Ambassador in London to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. Telegram.

Sylvia. Flagstaff with *Dannebrog*; framed pastel portrait of herself by Harold Riley; loving care and affection.

- Eva Heede, my sister in Copenhagen. *Sødsuppe*, etc., letter, telegram and elegant, black leather wallet.
- Jens Find, her younger son, Dianna, Katja and 'Valde' Heede, Traisa, W. Germany. Letter, four hand-embroidered tablemats and photograph of Katja.
- Agnes, Ole, Dag and Tine Heede. Flowers.
- Kaya Harde, my paternal cousin, and her sons, Jørgen and Lasse, Copenhagen. Christian X 1935 Jubilee silver spoon, and telegram.
- Marie Rostgaard, Copenhagen, my paternal cousin. Telegram. (Marie had initiated me into tracing our Family Tree.)
- Hans, my paternal cousin's son, Marianne Graucob, Stockholm, and their children, Anette, Suzanne, Desirée and Peter. Two oil paintings of flowers by Marianne, card and telephone call. Also blue, red and green drawing by Suzanne, and monochrome drawing by Anette.
- Sheila, my daughter, and Alasdair Milne, her husband Imposing 1st volume of the Supplementary Oxford Dictionary, A to G ; amusing card drawn by Sheila featuring my exploits from childhood ; and telephone call.
- Ruairidh, Seumas and Kirsty Milne, my grandchildren. Promise of a ship's decanter for white wine, and a sweet letter from Kirsty.
- Patrick and Thelma Graucob. Six blue-green, gorgeous hand-made Bristol-type glasses for white wine, abt. 1840. Letter from Pat, with good wishes : "Chestnuts are for ever."
- Ebba Pedersen (*née* Graucob), my paternal cousin, Copenhagen, her husband, Svend, and their daughter, Marianne. Card.
- Grete Jensen (*née* Remvig), my maternal cousin, Næstved. Letter. (Grete has just become a grandmother.)

- Morten and 'Bibbe' (my sister's daughter and my god-daughter) Rubin, and their four children, Jacobe Pia, David, Casper and Marcus Nicolaj, of Fortunen. Telegram.
- Ulla Harter (*née* Graucob), my paternal cousin, Copenhagen. Card.
- Ole and Pippa Remvig (my maternal cousin and his dear wife) of Helsingør. Card and book: '*Krigen på Sjælland, 1807*,' by E. O. A. Hedegaard.
- Lars and Hilde Remvig, Ole and Pippa's son and daughter-in-law, Copenhagen. Letter. (Their daughter, Synne, is eagerly awaiting the arrival next summer of "her little brother.")
- Astrid Hermansson (*née* Graucob) (my paternal cousin), her daughters Monica and Gunilla, and her son-in-law, Gunnar Malmberg, Stockholm. Telegram.
- Aase Malthesen (*née* Graucob), my paternal cousin, Svendborg. Letter. ('The cousin whom I have never met, but only spoken to over the telephone.')
- Sten Ryum, my maternal cousin, and his wife, Lise, Nivå. Letter.
- Gerd and Aage Davidsen of Svendborg. Telegram. (Aage is my step-brother.)
- Kimmie and Peter Anker (Sylvia's two black *Schnauzers*). (Kimmie, for the second time, had just become a father, this time to five puppies.) Barking their congratulations, the dogs presented a much-needed bottle of "Equipage" by *Hermès*.
- Ida Rothe and her sisters, Vibeke Vejlsgaard and Margit Roulund (all three *née* Bakke, my maternal cousin's daughters). Telegram.
- Gerda Graucob of Stockholm. (*Widow of my paternal cousin, Sven, Gerda has been an invalid almost since she entertained regally the family of Farbror Carl, on his 100th birthday in 1963.*)

Hanne Danvogg, my distant but very dear, maternal relative, her mother Inger Margrethe, her father, her daughter, Susanne, and her husband, Gorm, from the ancestral farm at Balstrup. Telegram.

Merete Graucob, June Ann and Jan. Card. From Merete : An exquisite, decorative plate of oriental design. From June and Jan, two pairs of blue socks.

June Ann Graucob, my lovely godchild, with numerous drawings, almost amounting to a special edition of "Moda," including a coloured drawing of Dannebrog being hoisted with the caption reading : "Hurra for Onkel Find."

Karen Bay, Copenhagen, my almost-80-year-old paternal cousin. Letter and two boxes of chocolates. ("I shall before Christmas arrange for the graves of your mother and father to be covered with pine branches.")

'Daggie' Higham, Hitchin, Herts. Red roses and telegram. Elsie and Bob Dunn of Cape Town. Kruger gold coin cuff-links, letter and affectionately phrased note.

Inga and *Dr. med.* Gunnar Krogh-Lund. Book on touring in Denmark : "*Danmark dejligst*," and letter.

Jennifer, Julian Vivian and their children, Caroline and Nicholas. Flowers and letter.

Rene and Harold Kerrod, Selkirk. Engraved Caithness glass vase with Viking ship and "Find, 16/11/72," accompanied by a request for an invitation for my 80th birthday !

Erik Nyholm, my old and very dear friend from 1917, Copenhagen. Telegram.

Cynthia and Christopher Dunn, Johannesburg. Letter and card.

Bill ('*Wee Mac*') and Hildur Macdonald, Glasgow, renowned retired Area Manager, West Scotland. Letter.



Renaissance sculpture, placed by Sylvia in our Overgate garden, next to the lily pond.

(‘Daggie’ discovered the original in the Uffizzi Gallery in Florence.)

Knud Jensen, Copenhagen, another old friend from 1917, and his wife ‘Søs.’ Letter.

Niels Rickelt. Gift of a record of my four probable Lübeck ancestors in the 14th century.

- Marianne Reimer, Copenhagen. Card and Book : "*Vore Bedsteforældre.*"
- Lillian and Harry Franklin, Midgley. Card.
- Tove and Svend Knudsen of Illums Bolighus. Telegram.
(*"Svend Knudsen is one of the only two men who have presented me with an orchid."*)
- Attractive Miss Lykke, Chief Receptionist at Hotel d'Angleterre, Copenhagen, and her chic assistants. Telex.
- Caritas and Hans von Folsach, Gjessinggaard, Randers, Denmark. Telegram.
- John Rørvig, the renowned, creative silversmith of Bredgade, Copenhagen. Telegram.
- Else and Mogens Wade, Copenhagen. Card.
- Pat Beaver (Secretary to the new Chief Fire Officer of the West Riding, Mr. Horan). Card.
- Mrs. Erna Baadsgaard of Colchester (widow of my late boss, supporter, sales director and dear friend, Holger ('Mac') Baadsgaard.) Letter.
- Einar Lund (Major General, my very oldest friend from 1915, and his wife, Inger.) Letter. ('The man to whom Kaj Munk wrote his famous poem.')
- Douglas Hutchison, Northowram. Card. (The physio-therapist who, after my stroke in 1964, with Sylvia's help, got me into working order again.)
- John Kaye jr., Elland, Carole, his wife, and children. Card and key ring. (John and his father, John sr., since 1943 safely and promptly have driven me to catch trains and 'planes in Yorkshire and Lancashire.)
- Wilma Thomas of Elland. (My only birthday card in German.)
- Gunhild and Tage Vöhtz, now of Klampenborg. Telegram. (Not having been in contact since the 'forties, I believed they were still in Delaware.)

- Jean, Ivor and Dawn Creamer, of Plymouth. Card. (Jean was Sylvia's bridesmaid at our wedding in 1956.)
- Jules Schou of Copenhagen. (One of my friends in Nykøbing F., in 1922, before I left for England.) Telegram.
- Barbara Stage and Reg. Marshall. Telegram. (Barbara rendered invaluable service to Nu-Swift and me as the wife of Henry Stage, who, from 1952 to 1960, was our travelling Overseas Export Manager and Director.
- Højesteretssagfører* Günther Petersen, Copenhagen. (One of my valued Danish legal advisers.) Telegram.
- Jytte and Henning Koppel, Klampenborg. (Henning Koppel is the gifted sculptor and outstanding silver designer.) Telegram.
- Marmaduke, Derek and John Pilling, Elland. 'The best printers in the World!' Gold-plated yard-o-lead pencil and pen, accompanied by note, addressed "To our dear friend, Find Graucob . . ."
- Neill McCance, partner of Vickers, da Costa & Co., stockbrokers of London, Luxembourg, Bahamas, Tokyo and Hong Kong. Telegram.
- Else Christensen, Rungsted Kyst. Monochrome print and letter.
- Maja Foget, Copenhagen. Card.
- Hope, Agar & Co., by E. F. Tuffrey. Flowers.
- Ivan and Marjory Dorr. *Kosta* crystal ornament and flowers.
- Eric and Audrey Hudson. Georgian silver cream jug (Dublin 1812), with card showing Piccadilly Circus in 1902!
- Eric and Doreen Cawood. Magnificent flower arrangement, tin of Devon cream, and letter.
- Donald and Marguerite Holmes. Sheffield plate candle-snuffer and tray, 1835, with card: "To someone who is beginning another chapter in the fabulous book of life."
- Bill and Betty Pearson. Attractive metal cocktail sticks from Rome, and card.

- Joy Pearson. Card.
- Bernt Sørensen (Overseas Marketing Director) and his dear wife, Patricia, from La Paz, Bolivia, highest situated Capital in the world, at 6710 metres above sea level. Card.
- Gunnar and Barbara Bang Nielsen, London. Flowers.
- June and Eric Mosson, Liversedge. Wedgwood glass cut, paperweight, card and flowers.
- Marjory Crowther, Huddersfield. Crystal paperweight and card with message: "Dead but they won't lie down" may well be applied to all those Petersens, Bierings, Knies, etc. etc. But until they are finally imprisoned between hard covers, this may help to keep them down! With sincerest good wishes for this unbelievable birthday. (But what's 70 in your family?)"
- Kaye and Lawrence Kneen. Silk handkerchiefs and flower arrangement.
- Denis, Irene and Peter Martin, London. Flowers.
- Kirsten Evald Jensen and Yvonne Olesen at Overgate. Welcome chocolates for coffee and card.
- Ronald Green. "Love thermometer," self-composed poem and card.
- Helen Crothers. Flower Arrangement and card. (Employed by Graucobs' and Nu-Swift since 1942, Helen is still only like a 17-years-young girl.)
- Christa Holdsworth, German interpreter, Huddersfield. Letter.
- Hamish Webster, Chief Engineer, Huddersfield. Letter.
- Eric Davenport, Home Sales Manager, Greetland. Letter.
- Jack Whyte, C.I.C. Ulster, from Ballymena. Telegram.
- Mike Levy (Divisional Manager) and all members of his Central London Team. Card.
- John and Audrey Saxby (Senior Fire Protection Consultant). Card.

Anne Lucas, Barbara Nolan and Penny Winterbottom of Export Dept. Card addressed to: "Our Most Esteemed Chairman."

Anna Robinson (Switchboard). Card.

Donald Buchanan (Production Manager). Card.

Uncle Don's Harem : Card autographed by the girl clerical staff of the important Service Section :
Irene McCormick, Wendy Shaw, Rita Whittell, G. A. Titterington, Lynn Steele, Sylvia Helliwell, Irene Chesswas, Mary Gagen and Linda Reszke.

Bernard Ekers, (Senior Fire Protection Consultant), wife and children. Card.

Douglas Good, Welfare Officer. Card.

David and Brenda Wilkinson, Keighley. Card. (David is the valuable Chief of Braintree, Nu-Swift Research and Development Department.)

Mrs. Coleman, Mrs. Watton, Jane and Patricia of Wages Dept. Card.

Albert Cooper and wife, Elsie. Card. (Longest-serving and eldest employee, Albert was engaged by me in Newcastle in 1928.)

Adrian Brown. Letter.

Bob Williams (Senior Fire Protection Consultant of Dunstable and wife). Telegram.

Albert Malaney (ex-RAF pilot and successful Nu-Swift Divisional Manager in Yorkshire) and wife, Hilda. Telegram.

Divisional Manager Gordon Scott, his wife, Ina, and the Northern Lads. Telegram.

Divisional Manager Kenneth Foster and wife, Brenda. Telegram.

David Holden, Chief Factory Engineer, and his wife, Jean. Card.

Peter Harrison, Assistant Service Manager. Letter.

David Hunter, Sales Training Manager. Note.

Harry Pollard and wife. Card. (An amateur angler, retired, with years of Nu-Swift service to his credit.)

Peter and Iris Stott and children of Elland. Card.

Ivy Blanchard, husband and family of Halifax. Card

Margaret Thorpe of Huddersfield. Beautiful flower arrangement for birthday-night dinner table.

B. Norman Pedersen of Holstebro, Denmark. Card.

Gill Tedder (Invaluable housekeeper, chef and lady's maid to Sylvia and Thelma at Barrie House). Card.

Mrs. N. Haigh (Sylvia's mother) and husband, Norman. Card and Book: Elaine Morgan's "Descent of Woman."

Nellie Pullan of Halifax. Flowers.

Nu-Swift Sweden: Hald & Tesch Brand AB., Stockholm. Telegram.

Carl Magnus and Inger Kistner, Stockholm. Telegram.

Stine and Lennart Abrahamsson, Stockholm. Telegram :
 "To the man who has made it possible to protect human lives, farms, factories and ships and cars all over the world with the most rapid and reliable fire extinguisher of the world we send our very heartiest congratulations on his 70th birthday."

Dr. Michel Böhler and his wife, Susi, Vienna. Telegram.

Nu-Swift Vienna, all members of. Telegram.

From Copenhagen: "*Nu-Swift Danmark ønsker hjerteligt tillykke på dagen.*"

Vagn Dujardin (our valued Danish concessionaire for 25 years) and wife, Else. Amusing wall decoration in hand-coloured Rosenthal porcelain: *Drei Könige*, Studio Linie by Bjørn Wiinblad.

Dujardin's son and junior partner, Flemming, and his attractive, multi-lingual wife, Mari-Ann: Book on the Danish slave trade from Africa to the West Indies, by Thorkild Hansen: *Slavernes Øer*.

Marc R. Herren, with family and members of the Nu-Swift Organization in Switzerland. Telex from Biel-Bienne.

Gösta Kelter of Oy Torrex AB., Helsingfors, Finland. Telegram with whacking big order, for delivery before the end of 1972.

Erika Beaumont and three children. Card.

Jetta Bie, Laila and John Cruddis (*John, of English birth, but living in Dragør, married Laila*). Lovely yellow roses — how could you guess? Card from Laila and John.

Birthe Baunsgaard, Hedehusene, Denmark. Card and photographs of herself and her three lovely children.

Jette Holm (studying in Bradford, the only Danish girl of many at Overgate, who during twelve months insisted on my addressing her in English). Card.

Inge Skovsbøll of Horsens, Denmark, husband and two children. (*'Just bought a lovely new house and send greetings to the two black canine inmates of Overgate'*). Card.

Benthe and Michael Stokvis and children, of Orpington. Card.

Lovely, slim "*Tut*" of Nottingham. ('The girl who was forced to marry by the Home Office.') Card.

This year, on what I intended to be a quiet anniversary, by contrast with the glamour and gaiety which formed the celebrations on my 50th and 60th birthdays, I have been overwhelmed by the display of affection, not to say love, evinced by people, from many of whom I am separated by age, geographical circumstances or other factors. At times I may

appear rigid in approach and behaviour, but being my mother's son I am conscious of my need for moral support, and mental and physical signs of affection.

My gratitude is well-nigh limitless.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

FIND GRAUCOB

22/12/1972: Appointment of Alasdair Milne as director of TV programmes at BBC from 1 Jan 1973.

20/4/1973—
21/5/1973: To my dismay and sorrow, 45 female clerical workers, members of no trade union, without warning, at 10.30 a.m., stopped work, and left the Nu-Swift premises and began picketing the lane outside. Worse was to follow; 168 direct factory workers made common cause with the clerical workers and production stopped. The strike lasted over four weeks, the longest in the history of Elland, the issues, involving endless negotiations being ably dealt with by Ivan Dorr. The strikers went back on the 22nd May, 1973. No effective advantage was gained by them, other than that they could have achieved anyhow. Sales Departments, at home and abroad, kept booking orders, which resulted in unexecuted orders leaping above £600,000. To prevent violence, police cars guarded the premises and the clerical workers and executives willing to work. A spirit of cheerful co-operation and helpfulness was shown by all girls who continued work. The Correspondence columns of the 'Halifax Courier' provided evidence of local public interest, including letters from Kaye, her mother and others.

HALIFAX COURIER

ELLAND, 5/5/72

CENTRE OF THE WORLD

FOR NU-SWIFT International Ltd, Elland is the centre of Great Britain and of the world, said the chairman of the company, Mr Find Graucob, today.

We have daily communications from our Elland factory all over the world," said Mr Graucob.

So, he added, it was fitting that the annual meeting of Nu-Swift Industries should be held in Elland.

Mr Graucob told shareholders and guests at the Saxon Inn, Ainley Top, that the multi-purpose stored pressure powder extinguisher introduced by Nu-Swift was a revolutionary product. The powder was produced at a skyscraper mill in Elland which the company had designed and was believed to be unique in the world.

"This is the way the technical future lies," said Mr Graucob. "And both from a technical and commercial point of view we are very happy and confident in the future," he added.

This afternoon, a fire-fighting demonstration of the new multi-purpose powder extinguishers was being staged at the Nu-Swift factory in Elland.

The gradual implementation of the Fire Precautions Act would have important effects for many years to come, said Mr Graucob.

Re-elected directors were Mr Kenneth Wood, Mr Bernt Sorensen and Mr Eric Cawood, MBE.

Halifax Evening Courier
15/5/1973

OTHER PEOPLE'S OPINIONS

Veritable oasis in a desert of discrimination

21, Towngate, Midgley.

I WAS surprised and dismayed to read in Friday's "Evening Courier" that Mrs Tess Gill had seemingly found those members of Nu-Swift clerical staff who are at present on strike, worthy of active support in the name of Women's Lib. I sympathise with, and wholeheartedly support many of the aims of the Women's Liberation movement, but feel that Mrs Gill's support of the Nu-Swift strikers was both ill-considered and misjudged.

Disregarding altogether the pros and cons of the present strike, I would like to put forward the following points which I feel are pertinent in so far as concerns the status of women employees at Nu-Swift, where I, for one, have been happily and busily employed for some 15 years.

In so far as concerns the employment of women on equal terms with men, the Nu-Swift organisation is a veritable oasis in a desert of, discrimination, conventionalism, lethargy and misunderstanding.

At the present time, women at Nu-Swift occupy at least seven or eight executive or sub-executive positions (and are paid accordingly), and there is already one female associate director.

All these women, including myself, have attained their present positions through gradual promotion within the firm. In my case, I started as a junior in the service section, was promoted to another position in the export department and am now second-in-command of that same department.

Women have been employed in many sections of the Nu-Swift organisation for many years. Our London showroom is staffed by salesgirls, who work on the same terms as salesmen, that is basic salary plus commission, and female sales representatives have been successfully employed on the road in Britain, again on the same terms as male members of the sales force.

Child and maternity allowances were the norm at Nu-Swift long before the so-called Welfare State brought them into being on a national basis, and many Nu-Swift girls have returned to their former or higher positions after taking leave to have their babies.

Positive encouragement is readily given to any employee who wishes to take advantage of opportunities offered by further education, and to gain additional qualifications. In this respect the encouragement is also supported financially by way of reimbursement of technical college fees, examination fees, etc.

These points are taken into consideration when selecting staff for promotion, and in the calculations which take place during the twice-yearly salary reviews.

In a Nu-Swift report in 1967, the chairman of the company repeated a remark which he had made on acquiring control of the company in 1943: "... Those who have the capacity and will to collaborate, I shall welcome and remunerate accordingly, irrespective of birth, race, nationality, age education or sex."

I believe that this spirit is still prevalent in the Nu-Swift company today. It should be clear from the above that every opportunity, including that of equal pay, is offered to any female employee of ability and initiative, who by work and enthusiasm seeks to further her chosen career within the Nu-Swift organisation. Women's Lib is not new at Nu-Swift!

(Mrs) C. KAYE KNEEN

Cleverly and vigorously, Kaye, during the four weeks' strike, defended Nu-Swift against the supporters of Women's Lib.

(May 1973.)

' Fairy King ' stabbed in back

20, Towngate,
Midgley.

I MUST congratulate the "Evening Courier" on the coverage of the dispute at Nu-Swift International Ltd, Elland. The leader of the dispute must be rubbing his hands with glee.

But what about the other point of view, namely the management, as all through the dispute it has only merited a very small paragraph at the end of any news item?

How many of the "Prince Charmings" were really wholeheartedly behind the "Cinderellas"? How many "Prince Charmings" have reason to be grateful to the "Fairy King" of Nu-Swift, yet at the drop of a union hat they turn and stab him and his company in the back?

Have workers today no mind of their own at all? I don't think the union has scored any victory at all as there is only one addition to the terms offered four weeks ago.

(Mrs) LILLIAN FRANKLIN

As the Nu-Swift strikers had referred to their leader as the 'Prince Charming,' retorting Kaye's mother made reference to me as the 'Fairy King of Nu-Swift.'

(Halifax Evening Courier, May, 1973, after publication of her daughter's logical letter.)

13/11/1973--- Flushed with success in the Open Space
19/11/1973 : Basement Theatre, at Tottenham Court Road, acclaimed by The Times and other quality papers as Katharina in the re-written version, by Charles Marowitz, of Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew, Thelma, accompanied

by Pat, met us at London Airport, where the four of us together had a snappy, gay luncheon. Heading for Madrid for my first visit to Spain, where I had decided to spend my 71st birthday Pat and Thelma showered affection and presents upon me, including Charles Marowitz's new book: "Confession of a Counterfeit Critic," inscribed:

"For Find, without whom There would be no Thelma, without whom There would be no Open Space . . ."

Feeling almost guilty of incest I was yet flattered.

Goya and El Greco masterpieces at the Prado and at Toledo nearly overwhelmed Sylvia and me by their colour and composition. On my birthday, after late dinner at the Ritz, Flamenco at Zambro provided another stimulating facet of Madrid.

Family Record (m. 3 times. See below)

m. 1st time: 16/4/1927 Watford Register Office: Ann Sophia (also known as 'Cynthia' and 'Bobbie') née Gearing, b. 10/3/1905, 22, Lonsdale Road, Kensington, London. Only witnesses present at our marriage were: My part-time service engineer, Joe Millington of Watford, his wife, and Monica, their infant daughter. The only wedding gift received by us consisted of six silver tea spoons presented by Bravingtons', at King's Cross, the multiple silversmiths, from whom, for a pound or two, I bought 'Bobbie's' golden wedding ring. For our brief Easter honeymoon we went by train to Malvern. (Legally separated: 19/4/1938. Marriage dissolved 16/9/1941 Copenhagen, during the Nazi occupation of Denmark.) †5/5/1959 London.

3 children, 2 of whom were with 'Bobbie':

a) Henry Peter *Patrick* Graucob, conceived September 1928 at 10, Psalter Lane, Sheffield, b. 13/6/1929 3, Broadway

Parade, Pinner Road, North Harrow, Middlesex. chr. 27/9/1929 St. Clements Danes Church, Strand, London, WC. Present as godparents: Albert Harland, M.P., Kay and Ida Boysen, Eva Graucob. *Educ.*: Orley Farm Prep, Gordonstoun, Gl. Hellerup Gymnasium, Askov Højskole, St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, Royal College of Dramatic Art, London, Actor. July 1946: Outstanding performance, in eponymous part, in Gordonstoun out-door production of 'Macbeth.' 19/1/1948: As Guardian of the School, on behalf of his fellow-pupils, at Buckingham Palace presented their wedding present to HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, who, in 1939, had likewise occupied the post of Guardian. 1949: Obtained his 'Blue' at Oxford for hockey. For professional purposes, adopted surname of 'Parnell.' Has appeared in films and on TV. On the stage, in Bernard Shaw's last play: 'Far-fetched Fables' (Watergate Theatre), and, as Heathcliff, in 'Wuthering Heights' (Birmingham).

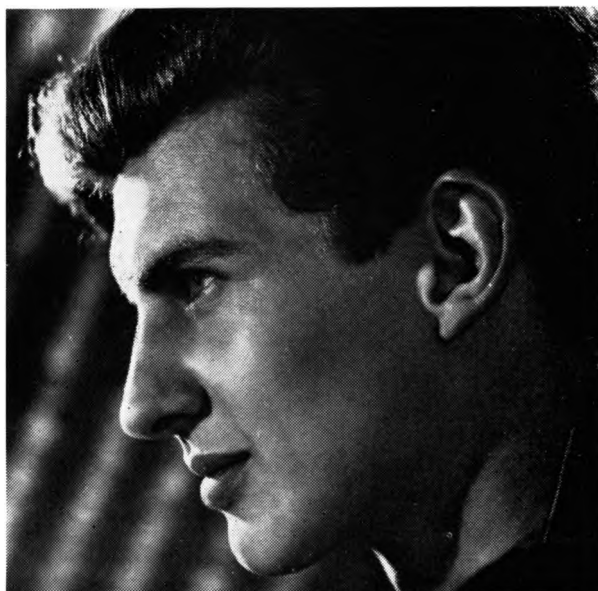
Council member of Research into Lost Knowledge Organisation Trust.



Pat. about 12 months old, 1930.



Pat, in Connie McDonald's care, during a Salesman's
Contest Trip to Stallheim (Norway),
April 1938.



Pat.
1950/51.



Pat as Sidney Carton in 'The Only Way,' the dramatized version of 'A Tale of Two Cities,' by Dickens. Berth-ddu, Llandinam. About 1943.

A life-long sufferer from asthma, who feels at his best at mountainous altitudes, he is, fortunately, an intrepid and enthusiastic skier.

REFLECTIONS

by

Pat Graucob, July 1943, when he was 14.

How oft have I seen this scene before
In some different shape or form?
The more I recall, I want the more
To know life beyond space unborn.
Oh God! Tell me now and truly why
Thou hast set me under this, thy sky
Oh God! Why we live and why we die
Why man kills man in murderous war

28, South Eaton Place, London, S.W.1.

m. 31/3/1955, Kensington Register Office, *Thelma Mary Holt*, Actress, b. 4/1/1932 Barton-upon-Irwell, Worsley, Lancs. (Her twin brother was still-born.) She was brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, but has long since left this far behind. *Educ.*: 1943-54; St. Anne's College, St. Anne's, 1954; Entry for Trinity College, Dublin, 1954-56; Royal College of Dramatic Art, London.

In West End productions, films and on TV, from 1968; as executive director of The Open Space, a non-profit distributing company operating from the basement at 32, Tottenham Court Road, London W1, where *avant-garde* plays are presented, this slim 5 ft. 3 in. girl, lacking business experience, by will-power and resourcefulness, and against well-nigh incredible odds, has survived physically as well as financially, in spite of only modest help by the Arts Council.

Still very much an actress, both on and off the stage, Thelma has found her *niche* as a theatrical manageress and *entrepreneur*, having, however, also appeared in some of the plays produced, including versions by Charles Marowitz of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet,' 'Macbeth' and 'The Shrew.' Profitably organized the production of these plays in English by her Company in Germany and Italy. (Thelma's

marriage to Patrick was dissolved 18/10/1966 in London. The decree was made absolute 11/1/1967, London. Thelma m. 2nd time: 6/10/1968 Mt. Nehoh Synagogue, 74th St., New York, NY: David Pressman, Actor, b. 10/7/1939 Cynthianna, Kentucky (U.S.A.). Her second marriage was dissolved 26/10/1970 New York, NY, the decree being made absolute 1/2/1971, New York, NY. 6/9/1971: At Harley Street Clinic, 35 Weymouth Street, London W1. Thelma underwent a total hysterectomy for removal of cervical cancer, an ordeal which she faced with a mixture of stoical courage and cheerful nonchalance.

- b) Ann Ruth Sheila Eva Kirsten Graucob, B.A., *English* 1954, M.A. 1955, conceived September 1930, at Hotel Terminus (now Plaza), Copenhagen, b. 24/6/1931, 3, Broadway



As Macbeth, 17 years old, Pat opposite the 42 year-old Lady Macbeth.
Gordonstoun open air performance.
Summer 1946.



Pat and Thelma on their wedding day, leaving
Kensington Register Office.
31st March, 1955.

Parade, Pinner Road, North Harrow, Middlesex, *chr.*
13/2/1932 Pinner Parish Church, Godparents present:
Sidney Graham Kent, Hans Michael and Anne-Lise von
Folsach. *Educ.* : St. Helen's, Northwood, Lady Margaret
Hall, Oxford.

Sheila, before Oxford, for two years, was a photographic
model and repertory actress. In Oxford, she undertook wide
variety of parts in college and University productions,
notably St. Joan (June 1952) in out-door evening production
of Shaw's play, at Cathedral Cloisters, Christ Church; Beatrice
Cenci in Shelley's 'The Cenci'; and (opposite Alasdair)
Cressida in O.U.D.S. production of 'Troilus and Cressida'
(reviewed, 11/6/1953, in 'Manchester Guardian'). 1953 :
First woman to be invited to speak at the Oxford Union.



Thelma, Patrick's former wife (to the extreme left), as Hamlet's Mother, in Marowitz's production, about 1970.

m. 22/6/1954 Oxford Register Office (followed, 24/6/1954, by a religious ceremony in New College Chapel) *Alasdair* David Gordon Milne, B.A., b. 8/10/1930 Cawnpore (India), *Educ*: Winchester, New College, Oxford. For years associated with B.B.C. Television, first in London, as Editor of 'Tonight,' later as Executive Producer of 'That was the Week, That Was' and, from 1968, in Glasgow, as Controller of B.B.C. Scotland. In 1973, promoted to Programme Director of the whole of B.B.C. Television, Alasdair, with Sheila and their children, returned from Glenmiln House to London.

30 Holland Park Avenue, London, W11 3QU.

... philosopher would think of it. But I do not believe in a philosophy with Logical Positivism is necessary to a total enjoyment of it. An average mind is sufficient to provide one with a most delightful evening.

There is still a fortnight left in which to see Thelma Holt's stunning Katherine in Charles Marowitz's recension of The Taming of the Shrew (Open Space). Steady-eyed, steely, here is a woman implacably opposed to conquest. Her defeat, cowed, broken, and in chains, is both terrible and grievous to behold. As a modern couple, Kay Barlow and Jeremy Nicholas, at the altar as Miss Holt whimpers grovelling on the ground, slip home lightly the irony of Mr Marowitz's tragic insight.

The whimpering grovelling performance of Thelma, reviewed to in the 'Sunday Times' by Harold Hobson, under her stage name of Thelma Holt, as Katherine in Marowitz's version of 'The Taming of the Shrew.'

The Guardian

OPEN SPACE

2/1/73

Nicholas de Jongh

Taming of Shrew

CHARLES MAROWITZ'S reassessment of Shakespeare's "The Taming of the Shrew" has the same devastating impact of his "Hamlet." It disturbs and challenges almost every basic assumption about the play and does so in a way which draws focus both upon Elizabethan and contemporary versions of marriage. Marowitz has done this by an act of excision and development. He has removed "The Shrew" sub or counter plot of disguised identities around the figure of Bianca and replaced it with a series of contemporary views of love in disarray.

But this is secondary to the thrilling fashion in which he has totally subverted and changed the tone of the original. "The Shrew" is in some hidden sense Shakespeare's cruelest play: a Tudor vision of women as property and reduced to attitudes of submission and humiliation. Humour is created in the original from that foundation, a suspect humour to our eyes and Marowitz as director removes it utterly.

On a bare grey stage a quiet menace and uneasy silence is established. The Katherine Petruccio scenes are as in the original but there is no sun. "Thou know'st not gold effect," says Petruccio, splitting the line with a baleful pause. Baptista's recognition of Petruccio as the son of an old friend is the frightened remark of a man confessing a friendship which does not exist.

In this context Thelma Holt's Katherine is vital. It is a major performance of astounding, tragic dimensions. She emerges first with a sour and rigid expression the scorned and waywardly unbeautiful older sister. And she maintains this through Nicholas Simmond's suave, smiling seduction and humiliation. She achieves a shuddering sexual tension, giving the idea of a woman who understands the game played and her attraction to him: scorn giving way to anxiety. Marowitz is able to bring this to a climax more legitimate than the original's uneasy reconciling mood. For this Katherine finally submits to rape and her final speech of supposed joy is here a masterpiece of dramatic irony. She delivers it haggard and handcuffed in chains before an inquisitorial Petruccio who prompts her words when grief and pain intermit. As she does this the contemporary young couple who have played their seduction games emerge before us, smiling at the altar. A set of parallels and questions begin. The novelty of conception and exposition is rare in our time.

Thelma's triumph reviewed as Katherine in Marowitz's "The Taming of the Shrew."

Mænds vold

Bente Engberg skriver fra London om Troid Kan Tømmes på Open Space Theatre:

HER GIK man og troede, at Troid Kan Tømmes var historien om mandige Petrucchio, der efter megen spøg vinder vildkatten Kate. Og så er det historien om en pengegrisk, mandlig sadist, der psykisk og fysisk voldtager en pige, til hun er et lallende vrage.

Det den drejning, Shakespeares fabel får i Charles Marowitz' spændende iscenesættelse på Open Space Theatre, hvor vi ser Thelma Hoits bevægende Kate forvandle sig fra spændt fjeder til slap sytråd i en verden regeret af mænd, der bruger vold.

I denne version har Petrucchios og hans hjælpers julelege mistet al venlighed: Kate vakler virkelig bag hesten og kravler efter kødbenet, manden har gnavet. Hun er sin mands ejendom, hest og æsel, som han siger. Det står alt sammen i Shakespeares tekst, men der plejer vi at grine. Marowitz' tillægger sorte dra-

perier, der anslår en anden tone og moderniserer stykkets andet elskerpar, hvor det er kvinden Bianca, der får krammet på sin bejler med katteagtig snedighed og urimelige krav. Hun når så ironisk alteret i hvidt slør, samtidig med Kates endelige fornedrelse laset og i lækker foran manden, der troner bag bordet.

Kate har været gennem på- og afklædningen som en dukke, mands og fars køb og salg af hende og grov voldtægt over et bord. Nu følger hendes undergang som menneske: Med vanvid i øjet, strømmende tårer og dødhvidt ansigt vakler hun rundt og efterplaprer, hvad manden befaler hende at sige til sine uvorne medsøstre om deres mænd, der er deres liv, herre, mester og hersker. Vi bløde svage kvinder er skabt til at tjene, elske, adlyde og være parat med hånden under mandens fod.

Shakespeare fandt det komisk, det gør Marowitz ikke. The Screw synes at være hans gave til rødstrømperne.

Review in Danish of Thelma's scintillating performance in Marowitz' shattering version of 'The Taming of the Shrew.'

THE OPEN SPACE THEATRE

PATRONS: Lord Birkett Peter Brook Bernard Delfont Peter Hall Arthur Lewis Harold Pinter

Charles Marmont (Artistic Director) Thelma Holt (Executive Director) (Deceased)

22, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.
044-4884 (office) 044-4878 (box office)

13/8/71.

Dearest Papa,

Just a brief note to let you know that we're bearing up very well under the strain of being alive, though I have noticed those around us are looking their usual peaky selves. We close this establishment on the 5th of September, and my little holiday commences on the 6th. They assure me that I should be right as rain in three months, and meanwhile its an ill wind etcetera. We have filled the foyer of the Open Space with collection cans for cancer relief. We empty them every night and bank it with the box office receipts. The Prince Consort says that this is unethical, but I believe that charity begins at home, and he always has inclined to be overdelicate, as we both know. I dined on Wednesday with little mother and stayed the night with her. She looks very well and made me laugh a lot.

They're repainting the front of house and calling it the Thelma Holt Memorial Theatre. Do you think that's good for a few successful benefit nights? We open at the Queens on Shaftesbury Avenue the week after next with our first west end production (as opposed to transfer). All goes well, and we are delighted. The Prince Consort will keep you posted. Meanwhile I send you lots of kisses.

Your daughter-in-love,



TH/ls

SPONSORS: Jonathan Clowes Anthony Geddes Ben Kany Jonathan Miller Margaret Ramsey Michael Winter

THE OPEN SPACE THEATRE is the trade-name of Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd, a non-profit distributing company and registered charity which receives support from The Arts Council of Great Britain.

With *sang froid*, Thelma, in a humorously written style, faced a cancer operation and the closure of her theatre, kept me posted about developments three weeks later. 'The Prince Consort' referred to is Pat while 'little mother' is Sylvia.

On the 31st December, 1972, above the signature of Deidre Macdonald, the following article appeared in the "Sunday Times":

TOMORROW'S TELEVISION MAN

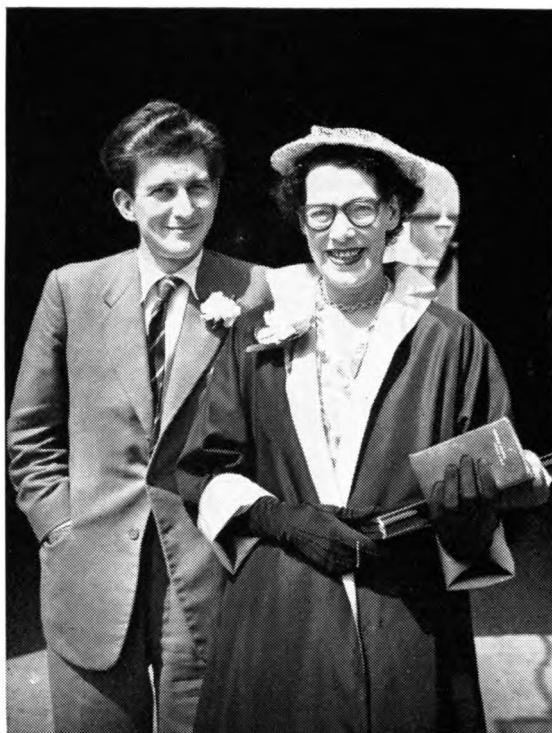
With all the fuss over a new Chairman of the BBC, another key appointment has entirely escaped attention. It could be as vital to the future of the BBC as the arrival of Sir Michael Swann as chairman.



Sheila with me, before her and Alasdair's wedding ceremony, at New College Chapel, Oxford, the 24th June, 1954.

When, tomorrow, 42-year-old Alasdair Milne formally takes over the job of Director of Programmes, Television, at the BBC he will automatically be into the running for one of the top jobs in the Corporation, Managing Director, Television—the post from which Huw Wheldon is due to retire in three years ; from there it would be a logical step to the Director-General's office.

Milne retains some of the legendary reputation springing from the days when he was Donald Baverstock's lieutenant on Tonight and from his own command of Tonight Productions—including that *enfant terrible* of ten years ago, That Was The Week That Was, though for the past five years, Alasdair Milne has been Controller of BBC Scotland.



Pat and 'Bobbie' before the wedding ceremony, at the New College Chapel, Oxford, of Sheila and Alasdair, the 24th June, 1954.

From his youth Milne has been an authoritative executive figure: at Winchester he was head boy. But when he joined the BBC as a "general trainee," selected along with one other out of 1,100 applicants as potential executive material, this was not his first choice of career.

Industry had apparently been shortsighted. After graduating in both modern languages and classics at New College, Oxford, Milne offered himself to British business: but he failed to put a bicycle pump together in a test for Tootal Ties; he failed to appreciate the significance of 5 million Hungarian rose leaves imported for Yardley's scents; and he failed to impress the

Metal Box Company. “ I really had to join the BBC. Nobody else wanted me,” he says.

Mrs. Grace Wyndham Goldie (then Assistant Head of Talks, Television) engaged him in November 1955, and he found himself thrown into “a bizarre set-up”—Donald Baverstock’s daily ten-minute magazine programme, *Highlight*, launching-pad for *To-night*, on which he and Baverstock were to form a remarkable working combination, with Milne providing the administrative and logical framework for Baverstock’s creative flair.

In 1964 Donald Baverstock left the BBC and Milne went too, out of loyalty, it was said, but he says himself, “ I needed a break, that’s all.” With Baverstock and Antony Jay, another *Tonight* stalwart, he formed a shortlived consultancy firm. At the invitation of Cyril Bennett he went to Rediffusion where he ran *This Week*.

Later, he was appointed BBC Controller for Scotland. That was the one job he said he had always wanted. He is a Scot, the son of an Aberdeen surgeon, and has always openly professed his love for Scotland.

In Scotland he raised standards. He also dealt skilfully with local sensitivities, and firmly with cant criticism, effectively proving quality much needed at the very top of the BBC. (Earlier he had successfully protected his team of satirists at *That Was The Week That Was* from numerous attacks.)

His Winchester manner gives him a certain briskness, sometimes an abruptness that caused resentment among the people working for him in BBC Scotland ; praise from him is hard-won. He is an eager, determined figure, less flamboyant than David Attenborough, his predecessor.

Milne realizes how delicate the situation is “The BBC,” he says, “ is increasingly under attack. We do know that a lot of people are not too taken with the notion of the Corporation

are well.


Best wishes for 1938!

Love

Dear Farmor,

Sheila,

Thank you ^{for} the lovely puzzle
Sheila liked her present
very much. I hope you had a
nice Christmas



A New Year letter written New Year 1937, by Sheila, when she was 6½, to Mor in Copenhagen, presumably by the help of Pat.



Sheila, near North Harrow.
About 1934.



Photo by : Ebba Graucob.
In the eponymous part of Shaw's 'St. Joan,' Sheila acted superbly in a short series of outdoor evening performances, at Cathedral Cloisters, Christ Church, Oxford.
June 1952.

continuing in its present form. And it is just three years until the existing Charter runs out. That does add to the dimension of the problem.

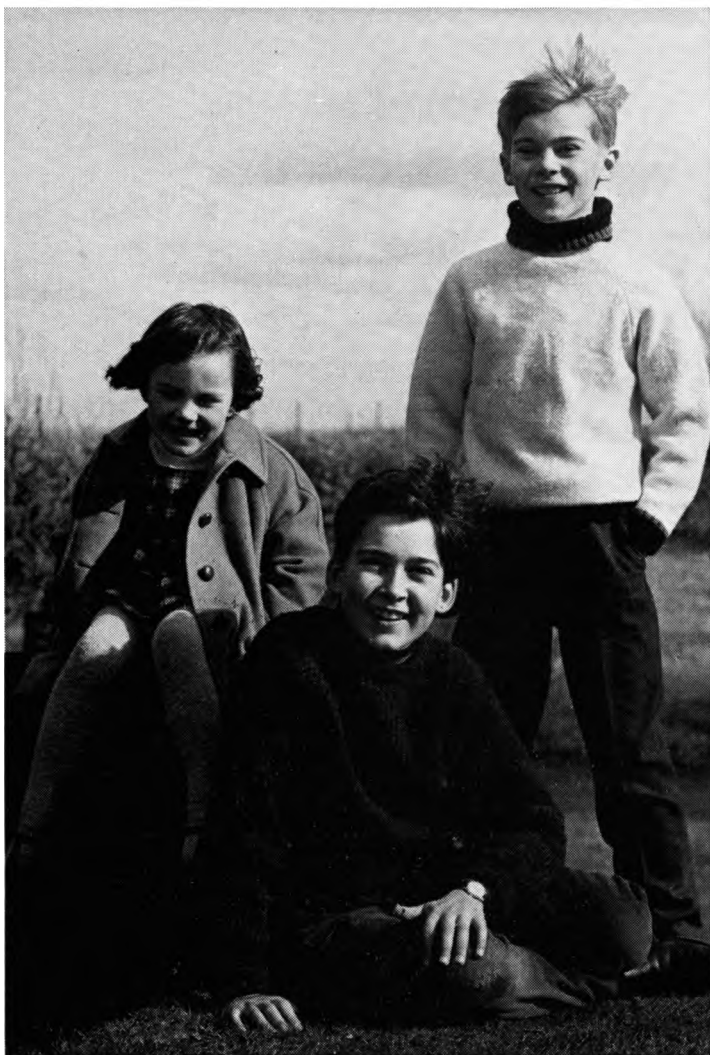
“It is more a question of talent than money now. None of us is clever enough yet at improving or advancing as dramatically or as quickly as we need to. We do improve, we do advance. But the scale of our output is so great that progress is not always immediately obvious. And there is enough slipshod, mediocre stuff for people to be able to get cross with us and attack us on that level.”

Children : 2 sons and 1 daughter :



- i) *Ruairidh* Iain Gordon Milne, b. 4/1/1956 Kensington, chr. Nov. 1957 St. Helen's Church, North Kensington, 1969: Scholarship Winchester College, 1970: Studied Gaelic in the Island of South Uist, 1972: Exhibition to Merton College, Oxford.
- ii) *Seumas* Patrick Charles Milne, b. 1/9/1958 Dover. 1971: Scholarship Winchester College, 1974: Scholarship for English, Balliol College, Oxford.
- iii) *Kirsty* Mairi Milne, b. 25/1/1964 West Middlesex Hospital, Isleworth, 1975: 1st year award, St. Paul's Girls School, London.

In January 1971, when Kirsty was not seven, her paternal grandfather, Dr. Milne, who called on me at the Mount Nelson Hotel in Cape Town, told me that, in view of Kirsty's keen interest in prehistoric animals, he felt sorry about her having, as yet, no ancient Greek!

Dated 18/2/1972, Sheila wrote about the histrionic achievements of members of her family: 'All three children act well. Of the five of us, only Alasdair hasn't played Mary in some version of the Christmas story; he breaks the family tradition!'



My 3 Scottish grandchildren,
Kirsty, Ruairidh and Seumas Milne, about 1970.

TELEGRAM  TELEGRAM  TELEGRAM

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success ruairidh winchester scholar Love from us
shiela

Wrongly addressed to Hotel d'Angleterre, the exciting news of Ruairidh's scholarship at Winchester reached me at the Reading Room of the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

storet

TELEGRAM  TELEGRAM  TELEGRAM

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10-34



Vanessa Longley, b. 16/10/1944.
About 1952.

I daughter by Joyce Bidmead, *née* Longley :

- c) *Vanessa* Margaret Petra Longley, conceived February 1944 Chiswick, b. 16/10/1944 Saddler's Cottage, Little Hadham, Herts.

(Born slightly prematurely, accidentally I was present at Vanessa's unassisted birth.)
Educ.: Ashford School for Girls, and Kingston-upon-Thames School of Art, Architectural Department. Architect. 18/2/1963: By her article '*Is Chastity outmoded?*' (Sixth Form Opinion' No. 6, 1963) Vanessa, at the age of 18½, caused a minor, nation-wide sensation, including editorials in 'The Times,' and 'The Daily Telegraph.' m. 15/7/1967 Epsom Register Office: Philip Gardner, M.Sc. b. 31/12/1944 Wembley, Middlesex. They emigrated, 7/8/1968, to Dundas, Ontario (Canada), and later to Canberra, (Australia). Vanessa continued her architectural activities, while Philip pursued



Richard Patrick Find Gardner,
b. 8/6/1971 Hughes, ACT, Australia.
with his mother *Vanessa Gardner, née Longley.*

courses for his master's degree and, jointly with others, prepared papers on abstruse subjects in advanced quantum mechanics and nuclear physics, accepted by the Department of Physics, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario and the Research School of Physical Sciences, the Australian National University, Canberra, where he was offered a scholarship.

2 children :

- i) *Richard* Patrick Find Gardner b. 8/6/1971, 5.00 a.m. Hughes, Canberra, ACT (Australia). Absent-mindedly, Philip having forgotten to tell the sex of the baby, Sylvia telegraphed: 'Congratulations to all 3, another twig for the Family Tree,—But is it a he, or is it a she?'
19/4/1972: Richard Gardner, at the age of ten months, after a flight from Sydney (NSW) covering three continents, arrived with Vanessa at Heathrow (London) for a two months' visit to England, where, at the airport, I saw him for the first time.
- ii) *Paul* David Philip Gardner b. 13/8/1975, Wantage Hospital, Oxon.

5, Edington Place, Grove, Wantage, Oxon.

Find Graucob m. 2nd time: 12/11/1946 Langerød, Denmark, in the candlelit drawing room of *Sognefoged* Otto Jørgensen, Ebba Kierulff Rosenthal, b. Copenhagen. *Educ.* : Ingwersen & Elbrecht School, Aurehøj Gymnasium, Commercial School, Commercial High School, Copenhagen. I had met my bride only two months earlier at the office at Amagertorv 31, Copenhagen, of my paternal cousin, John Edward Graucob, by whom Ebba was employed as his competent and enterprising secretary.

Guests at the wedding and at the subsequent dinner at Store Kro, Fredensborg, included: Mor, Eva and Aage Heede, Ruth, Dora and Ib Rosenthal, Gunnar Kierulff, Bent Rosenthal, the last four being members of the bride's family, Edith and Børge Ludvigsen, Inger Lund, and my 83-year-old Farbror Carl Graucob from Stockholm. (The latter, the day after the wedding, returning from Copenhagen to Fredensborg, almost insisted, that day and subsequently, on taking part in the brief honeymoon spent in Denmark, before the departure, by air, of the bridal couple for London (Northolt.))

The marriage was dissolved 1954 in London. *No issue.*

Later, Ebba returned to Denmark, where first she lived in

Jutland, and later in Copenhagen, where for years, she was secretary to the professor in charge of the Department of Microbiology (Polytechnical University of Denmark).

Find m. 3rd time: 16/5/1956 Danish Church, Regents Park, London NW1, by Pastor Hermansen:

Sylvia Tattersley, b. Elland, Yorkshire. Meeting my lovely young bride half-way down the aisle, to her obvious surprise. I slightly embraced her slim body, a gesture of homage suggested by the Danish clergyman. Sylvia was given away by the recently widowed Holger Christensen Baadsgaard ('Mac'). Bridesmaid: Jean Briscoe (later m. Ivor Creamer). Present in the Church and at the reception at 25, Barrie House, included: Mrs. Eleanor Haigh (Sylvia's mother), Mrs. Redfearn and her daughter, Jean, Mrs. Stella Duncalf, Doris Shaw, Mrs. Briscoe, Nellie Pullan. Patrick, Thelma, Sheila, Alasdair, Ruth Boex, Peter Baadsgaard, Margaret Thorpe, 'Daggie' and Eric Higham, Irene and Denis Martin, Gunnar Bang Nielsen, Mrs. Bennett, Mrs. Kaye.

Our brief honeymoon was spent in Paris, followed by a wedding dinner at the Wivex Restaurant in Copenhagen.

Educ.: South End School, Elland. 1944-52: Sylvia had been the able, courteous and charming receptionist/switchboard-operator at the Nu-Swift GHQ in Elland, before, 1952-54, becoming the first assistant manager at our first showroom in London, at 25, Piccadilly, W.1. Has written 1970: *Facets. Poems and verse.*

No issue.

Member of the following clubs or societies :

RAC, Danish Club, Anglo-Danish Society, Institute of Directors, Institute of Marketing, Friends of Tate Gallery, Glyndebourne Festival Society, Contemporary Arts Society, Arts Theatre, Open Space Theatre, National Trust. Ancient Monuments Society, Youth Hostel Association, One Parent Families, *Danmarks-Samfundet, Danmarks Samvirke, Selskabet for Københavns Historie.*



Sylvia and I, on our wedding day.
at Barrie House. 16th May, 1956.

President of The Anglo-Scandinavian Society of the Woollen District of Yorkshire, 1974.

Life Honorary Member of the West Yorkshire Anglo-Scandinavian Society, 1965.

Find is subscriber to the following periodicals :

The Times, Financial Times, Halifax Courier, The Economist, Investors Chronicle, New Statesman, *Politiken Weekly*, *Danmarksposten*, Sunday Times, The Observer, Fire, Fire Protection Review, Fire Prevention (Journal of FPA), The Director, America's fastest growing Companies.

Saturday.
Art Gallery, Huddersfield Art
Society exhibition (opens
next Saturday).

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Tears

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*The willow weeps,
And tears glisten
On each bough:
Tears for the world
Insane,
And all that's done
In God's name.*

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*Tears for the children,
The oppressed, and the
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Tears for the politic lies,
Forever being told.*

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*Tears for the summer
Which has sped away
Tears for the winter
Which has come to
stay. . . .*

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The winter of the world.

Sylvia Graucob

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**TING Halifax Evening
Courier. 22/8/70**

Books written by me and published privately :

i) America — you surprised me!

A trip to U.S.A. in 1935, of a naive and inquisitive Anglo-Dane. 159 pages. 1935.

Dedicated 'To M.G.S., in grateful appreciation of an inspiring friendship.'

Acknowledgments dated Spring 1935, The New Forest, Hants., and Copenhagen.

- ii) Uncongenial Bedfellows.
4 disparate essays. 61 pages. 1936.
Dedicated 'To my Mother.'
Introduction dated Christmas, 1936, London.
- iii) It happened in Africa.
61 pages. 1938.
Dedicated 'To Mr. Albert Harland, an English Gentleman.'
- iv) Physician, heal Thyself!, jointly with Joyce Longley.
A plea for the Development of the Individual through a
life of harmonious conflict.
Dedicated 'To those who suffer.'
111 pages. 1942.
- v) My Danish and Holstein Ancestors.
About 1000 pages. 1976.

Godchildren and other children named after me :

- 1) Find Dreijer, b. 4/2/1934, chr. 2/5/1934, s. of Jørgen and Nete Dreijer, Øster Tørslev,
- 2) — Steuerman. chr. Church of England church, Northampton, 1942-43, s. of Mark Steuerman, *Polish*, and his English wife; later changed his name to Sheridan.
- 3) Clive *Peter* Robert Dunn, b. 20/12/1944, †25/1/1952 from incurable disease, s. of Robert and Elsie Dunn, Cape Town,
- 4) Jens *Find* Heede, b. 6/4/1944 Skodsborg, s. of Aage and Eva Heede,
- 5) Derek William John Pearson, b. 26/10/1946, s. of William Pearson and wife, at Huddersfield.
- 6) *June* Ann Graucob, b. 13/2/1960 Hellerup, d. of John Edward Graucob and Merete Steensen-Leth, 2nd time m. Hvidt.
- 7) Jan *Peter* Graucob, b. 3/7/1967 Stockholm, s. of Hans and Marianne Graucob,

- 8) Richard Patrick *Find* Gardner, b. 8/6/1971 Canberra, s. of Phillip and Vanessa Gardner.

My female private secretaries and assistants :

- 1) About 1927 My first secretary (whose name I have forgotten), after a few months, when she realized the amount of work which I expected her to do, gave me notice.
- 2) 1928-30 Mrs. Violet Ray, b. 7/9/1888. (Struck up a life-long friendship with my sister, Eva, who, during her stay in England, lived with Violet and her husband, Fred, in Edgware.)
- 3) 1928-30 Miss Pat Pankhurst.
- 4) July 1929- June 1936 Miss Violet Dudman. Many years older than me, her devotion was absolute, while her industry and willingness to work incredibly long hours made her invaluable during these critical years.

(In June 1936 I gave her away in marriage to Fred Mounter. After years of marriage, most of which, after 1939, were spent by them in Somerset, he pre-deceased her. From 5/6/1957, she received from Nu-Swift (by whom she had never been employed) a nominal pension of £312 p.a. On or about 6/7/1962, she also died. She left her modest bungalow in Spaxton, near Bridgwater, "to my friend, Mr. F. Graucob." With help of her executor, a local bank manager, I sold it for £2,750. On Guy Fawkes Night, 1962, at an informal party at Overgate, I divided most of this money between eleven girls, ten of whom between them performed many of the duties which, many years earlier, Miss Dudman had discharged in such an

exemplary manner. Although, on her second marriage, Miss Greenstreet (see below) had left me for good, she, in addition to the following ten girls, was invited to be present to share Violet Dudman's bounty: Margaret Thorpe, Helen Crothers, Doris Yates, Marjory Crowther, Hazel Wigmore, Hetty Rawnsley, Christa Holdsworth, Doreen Beaumont, Audrey Mitchell and June Mosson.)

- 5) June 1936- "Horseface" (a London University graduate, Oct/Nov 1936 whose name I have forgotten).
- 6) 1933- Miss Dorothy *Irene* Greenstreet, b. 29/7/1913.
1 July 1950 Starting her Graucob career, 30/10/1933, as a shorthand-typist to W. S. Pearson, head of our



'Rene Greenstreet.'
About 1934.

service department, she attended, 26/7/1934, with him and me, our mechanics' conference in Stoke-on-Trent. Shortly afterwards promoted to the position of my assistant secretary, she acted in this capacity until after the marriage in June, 1936, of Miss Dudman. Following the short "Horseface" interlude, Rene with enthusiasm took over undivided and complete responsibility, and, except for two short intervals, for many years the duties as my sole secretary. m. 1st time, 2/9/1940, to Stanley Jones-Morgans, she continued, after her marriage, in Bodicote (and later in Elland) to perform, as before World War II she had done in City Road, with interest, speed and efficiency, her exacting duties. During the many years of service she left me, twice, for short intervals, but even during these periods, as a free lance, worked for me on special assignments, including, in 1942-44, the Plomien defence. In 1975, read and conscientiously checked the whole proof of this book from her hide-out in Scotland.

Rejoined me at Elland, February 1946, for the last time. Left me for good 1/7/1950, on her 2nd marriage, 8/7/1950, to Harold Kerrod.

- 7) May 1938- August 1938 Mrs. Elsie Dunn, b. 17/4/1914 London, my secretary in Cape Town.
- 8) 1941-1942 Miss Pat Martin at Bodicote.
- 9) 1943-1947 Mrs. Macrae at Bodicote and in Elland.
- 10) 1950-1967 Miss Margaret Thorpe, b. 15/2/1926.
- 11) 1957- Miss Marjory Crowther, b. 27/7/1927. Started her Nu-Swift career 9/4/1951. 1952-64 : Sales Department (including seven years as



Enchanting Elsie Clarke, later married to
Robert Dunn.
Probably 1937, shortly before her departure
for South Africa.
b. 17/4/1914 London, m. 25/10/1937 Durban,
1 surviving son.

assistant to 'Mac' Baadsgaard) and Publicity,
1964 : Publicity Mgr. 1971 : Associate Director.
Special assignments including, since 1961, the
Chairman's Annual Review. (Within a week,
after my stroke in January, 1964, I was allowed
by Dr. Glick to dictate to Marjory in Halifax
Hospital the first draft of my Chairman's
Review for 1963.)

- 12) 28/10/1967 Mrs. Christine *Kaye* Kneen, *née* Franklin, b.
31/7/1942 Halifax, m. 9/6/1962 Lawrence



Marjory Crowther,
b. 24/7/1927, with Nu-Swift since 9/4/1951. and
appointed publicity manager 1/4/1964. My very
critical. but also helpfully constructive. friend.
Appointed associate director. 26th May, 1971.

Kneen, *Educ.* : Leeds Girls' High School and
Brighouse Girls' Grammar School. Starting,
1/4/1959, as a junior in servicing, then in
Exports, Kaye was appointed 28/10/1967, to
the dual position of Export Assistant Manager
and Personal Assistant to the Chairman. when
a new and happier era began for me. Efficiently
and rapidly, Kaye performs the duties of a
secretary and a sub-executive with the outlook
of both.



Christine Kaye Kneen, *née* Franklin.
 b. 31/7/1942 in Halifax,
 with Nu-Swift since April 1959, first
 in the service section, then in the
 export department. Appointed
 1/11/67 export assistant manager and
 personal assistant to the chairman.
 Appointed associate director
 7/11/1973. m. 9/6/1962 Lawrence
 Kneen. After their marriage, jointly
 over five years, living in a caravan,
 they built by their own efforts, a
 bungalow, 'Parana.'

- B) Eva Graucob, b. 11/10/1905 Dr. Niels Muus Klinik,
 Rosenvængets Allé 43. Copenhagen Ø. *Chr.* 12/11/1905
 Sct. Johannes Kirke, Copenhagen. Godparents included:
 'Farbror Julius,' Anton Petersen (of Balstrup fame), and
 'Moster Bitta,' *Educ.*: Billes Skole, Komtesse Moltkes
 Pigeskole. conf. Garnisons Kirke 10/4/1921. Spent 16
 months (1928/29) as a shorthand/typist at the office of
 F. Graucob Ltd., at 30, City Road, London EC1, m.
 22/11/1930 Copenhagen City Hall *cand. pharm* Aage
 Heede, b. 5/7/1906 Copenhagen, †24/5/1967 Copenhagen.
Separated : 17/5/1960. 3 children :



Four Generations :
 'Bibbe,' 'Trolde,' Mor and Eva.
 About 1957.

Forhåbningholms Allé 22^{II}, 1904 Copenhagen V.

- a) Birgitte ('Bibbe') Heede, b. 20/3/1933, conf. 5/10/1947 Vedbæk Kirke, Student (Holte), m. 10/4/1954 Søllerød Kirke: Hans-Morten Rubin, TV Producer and Journalist, b. 1/4/1932 Holte; 'Bibbe,' for years was a stenographer in the *Folketing*, later 9 weeks a year, at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

4 children :

- i) Jacobe Pia Rubin (name registered 12/9/1956 as Pia Benedicte; changed 31/8/1963 to Jacobe Pia later nicknamed 'Trolde'), b. 7/12/1955 Hellerup, Student (Virum).
- ii) David Rubin, b. 3/7/1958 Hellerup,
- iii) Casper Rubin, b. 9/5/1960 Copenhagen,
- iv) Marcus Nicolaj Rubin, b. 20/3/1970 Gentofte.
 Olaf Poulsensvej 5, 2920 Charlottenlund, Denmark.



My godchild, Birgitte, ('*Bibbe*'), Eva's only daughter, her husband, Hans-Morten Rubin, and their four children: Jacobe ('*Troid*') b. 7/12/1955, David b. 3/7/1958, Casper b. 9/5/1960 and Marcus b. 20/3/1970.

- b) Ole Heede, b. 19/11/1935 Copenhagen, Student (Holte), specialist (X-ray) physician, (*cand. med.* 1961), m. 29/7/1961 Norwegian Church, Copenhagen: Agnes Nordstrand, qualified nurse, b. 10/2/1936 Stokmarknes (Norway).



Wedding of Agnes Nordstrand, b. 10/2/1936, with *cand. med.* Ole Heede, b. 19/11/1935, at the Norwegian Church, Copenhagen, on the 29/7/1961.

3 children :

- (i) Dag Ole Heede, b. 26/5/1962 Svendborg, chr. 7/10/1962 Sørup Kirke,
- (ii) Tine Heede, b. 26/5/1962 Svendborg, chr. 7/10/1962 Sørup Kirke.

(This was the *3rd* set of twins born in Svendborg, within 160 years, to members of the Hübel-Graucob-Heede clan, the other occasions being in 1803 and 1860.)

- iii) Grete Sakina Heede, b. 2/6/1975, Blantyre, Malawi, chr. 7/12/1975. Farum.

The original four members of this little Heede family spent 3 years (1964-67) in Greenland ; a second period of exile began in 1973, when they all four went to Blantyre, Malawi, for two years, returning to Denmark in 1975.

Queen Elizabeth Central Hospital, P.O. Box 95, Blantyre, Malawi.



The Twins of Dag Ole Heede, b. 26/5/1962, and Tine Heede, b. 26/5/1962, Eva's grandchildren.

- c) Jens Find Heede, *H.D.*, b. 6/4/1944, Copenhagen, Student (Akademisk Studenterkursus), m. 19/8/1967 Vor Frelsers Kirke, Copenhagen, Dianna Frøhlke, b. 2/2/1944 Copenhagen, Student (Akademisk Studenterkursus), Hospital Laboratory Assistant ('*Laborant*'), Glostrup Hospital Blood Bank, near Copenhagen. 1971: Jens Find accepted

ST. ANDREW'S SECONDARY SCHOOL

Report on the work of DAG HEEDE Year ending 1st FEBRUARY 1974
 Form 1C Average age of Form at end of year 12 years 5 months
 Number in Form 31 Pupil's age at end of year July 74 12 years 2 months
 Place in Form 3 Total Percentage 68 % Attendances: Possible 160 Actual 160

SUBJECT	No. in St.	Marks % Class		Position in Class	REMARKS AND INITIALS OF STAFF	
		Av	Exam			
English	31	50	57	6	Very good indeed <i>Red</i>	
English Literature						
History		50	57	4/30	Works well <i>E.H.O.</i>	
Geography	31	69	70	6=	Really good work and well done. <i>ff</i>	
Mathematics A set	33	64	63	16	Very good. <i>ff</i>	
French	1	73	88	3	An excellent start in this subject.	
1 General						
SCIENCE	2 Physics	29	33	56	2	Dag works very well & is making good progress. <i>ff</i>
	3 Chemistry					
	4 Biology	31	60	66	4	A good start
Housecraft						
Needlework						
Physical Education					Working well - good progress <i>ff</i>	
COMMERCIAL	1 Shorthand					
	2 Typing					
OTHER SUBJECTS	1 Technical Drawing					
	2 Workshop <i>Workshop</i>					
	3 Art					

GENERAL REMARKS:

A very pleasing report.

E. H. O.
Form Master or Mistress

HEAD'S REMARKS

Most encouraging

A. B. Rogers
Head of School

Next term begins at 7.30 a.m. on TUES. 30th APRIL 1974 when the Health Certificate pro-forma filled in, has to be brought to school by Boarders only. Boarders should be in residence not later than 5.30 p.m. on the day preceding the opening of term. Next term ends on FRIDAY 19th JULY 1974

Scholastic evidence of Dag Heede's academic progress in Malawi.
February 1974.

ST. ANDREW'S SECONDARY SCHOOL

Report on the work of Mrs. Tine Heede Half Year ending 1st February 1974
 Form 15 Average age of Form at end of year 12 years 8 months
 Number in Form 19 Pupil's age at end of year July 74 12 years 2 months
 Place in Form 1/15 Total Percentage 64.7% Attendances: Possible 160 Actual 160

SUBJECT	No. in St.	Marks % Class		Position in Class	REMARKS AND INITIALS OF STAFF	
		Av.	Exam.			
English	16	37	44	6 th	Tine has made progress during the term. She is very diligent.	
English Literature						
History	17	54	77	4 th	Has improved she will do well in the exam.	
Geography	17	29	50	3	A good result. Well done!	
Mathematics <u>Set A</u>	25	52	60	10	Has worked hard and made good progress.	
French	18	48	79	1	Tine works very well. She is always eager to learn and answer in class. Excellent result to be proud of.	
1 General						
SCIENCE	2 Physics	17	31	57	1	Very good. Tine always works very well.
	3 Chemistry					
	4 Biology					
	Housecraft					
Needlework	4	38	44	3 rd	Has tried hard but needs to be better.	
Physical Education					Has made steady progress.	
COMMERCIAL	1 Shorthand					
	2 Typing					
OTHER SUBJECTS	1 Technical Drawing					
	2 Metalwork					
	3 Art					

GENERAL REMARKS:

Congratulations Tine! Tremendous progress has been made this term.

S. S. B. Bwa
Form Master or Mistress

HEAD'S REMARKS

Promoted to 1c.

A. K. B. Bwa
Head of School

Next term begins at 7.30 a.m. on Tuesday, 30th April 1974 when the Health Certificate properly filled in, has to be brought to school by Boarders only. Boarders should be in residence not later than 5.30 p.m. on the day preceding the opening of term. Next term ends on Friday, 19th July 1974.

Scholastic evidence of Tine Heede's academic progress in Malawi.
February 1974.

a post as a technician with ESRO (European Space Research Organization) necessitating his residence at Traisa, near Darmstadt, Western Germany. (Dianna, who retained her responsible and well-paid post in Glostrup, commutes, once a month, with Katja and Jeanette, generally by train, between Western Germany and Denmark.) Began, in 1975, the study in Darmstadt, for three years for the American degree of Master of Business Administration (MBA).

2 daughters :

i) Katja Heede, b. 23/6/1970 Frederiksberg, chr. 6/9/1970
Luther Kirke, Copenhagen.

ii) Jeanette Heede, b. 19/3/1973 Darmstadt (Western
Germany), chr. 10/6/1973, Filipkirken, Amager.

Gothestrasse 29, D-6101 Traisa, W. Germany.



Katja Heede, b. 23/6/1970. nursing Jeanette Heede, b. 19/3/1973. her younger sister.



Ruth Graucob,
 b. 19/9/1908 †21/10/1955.
m. twice, both marriages dissolved.
No issue.

- C) Ruth Graucob, b. 19/9/1908 Rosenvængets Alle 43, Copenhagen, *chr.* 15/11/1908 Sct. Johannes' Kirke, Copenhagen. Godparents: 'Onkel Dajs,' Christian Ingvorsen from Aarløse, *Fru* Christiane Steenberg, Agnes ('Trine') Hybel. *Educ.*: Komtesse Moltkes Pigeskole. †21/10/1955 Finseninstitutet, Copenhagen. Leisure Home Teacher. *m.* 1st time: 11/12/1935 Copenhagen City Hall Henrik Grandjean, Gentleman Farmer, b. 14/12/1899 Stadager, Maribo *Amt.* (Separated: 24/1/1944. Marriage dissolved: 24/1/1946.) *m.* 2nd time: 20/6/1947 Bernhard Wismann, b. 27/2/1905 Copenhagen. Bernhard Wismann was the son of a foreman, by trade a tinsmith, who had been employed by Bernh. Graucob & Co., and who, being an admirer of Far's, named his son after the senior partner of the firm which employed him, and also apprenticed his son to his own and Far's trade.



My late sister, Ruth Graucob,
probably about 1924, when she
was 16.

(Ruth's and Bernhard Wismann's marriage was dissolved 23/2/1955. By 15/4/1952 Ruth, however, had already obtained permission to resume her maiden name.) *Ruth had no issue by either of her marriages.*



For brev jeg Dig en tak gi'er
 Og endnu mer for mine aktier!
 At jeg satte dem i back gear
 Den Gode Gud jeg tak si'er!

P.S. hils Fru Skov!

Hans

Versified. Hans Folsach, expressed to Elland his thanks for his investment in Nu-Swift shares.

His reference to 'Fru Skov' is intended for Sylvia.

**FREE
OFFER**

"AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA ON THE THEORY, DESIGN AND USE OF PORTABLE FIRE EXTINGUISHERS"

THE WORLD'S FASTEST AND MOST RELIABLE FIRE FIGHTING EQUIPMENT



Just published, after 2 years of preparation, the 3rd Revised Edition of the Nu-Swift 128-page Catalogue has been described by one Chief Fire Officer in the above flattering terms.

Another CFO writes: "In my younger days I would have pounced upon a publication such as your new catalogue and made of it a treasured vade-mecum."

The cost per copy of the catalogue, which is generously illustrated in three colours, is 5/-. To responsible Members of the British Fire Services, however, it is available free, on application to the Nu-Swift Fire Protection Consultant:

MR. ALAN GUY, A.M.I.FIRE E., F.I.C.D., M.I.I.S., NU-SWIFT INTERNATIONAL LTD., ELLAND, YORKSHIRE.

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ELLAND, YORKSHIRE.
Telephone: Elland 2852 (10 lines).
Telegrams: Nuswift, Elland.
Telex: 51.284 (24-hour Service).

Popularizing Nu-Swift through advertizing to Chief Fire Officers in 1964,
lay-out designed by Gunnar B. Nielsen.

MY HOME TOWN

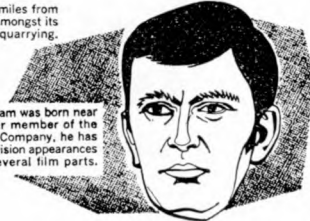
ELLAND

A DANDY PRIZE FOR EVERY READER WHOSE ENTRY IS FEATURED ON THIS PAGE.



An Elland company produces a very well-known brand of raincoat. Their product should be well advertised—the Prime Minister of Britain, Harold Wilson, often wears one.

ELLAND stands on the Calder River, three miles from Halifax, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Amongst its industries are textile manufacturing and quarrying.



Actor Barry Ingham was born near Elland. A former member of the Old Vic Theatre Company, he has made many television appearances and has had several film parts.



Any outbreak of fire in Elland should be very quickly dealt with. A famous brand of fire extinguisher is made in the town.



Near Elland is a huge quarry, over eighty feet in depth. Most of the stone taken from it is used to make paving stones.



The power station at Elland has an unusual distinction. It recently won an award for the best-kept, cleanest power station in the country.



The town is supposed to be haunted by a ghostly coachman named "Old Leathery Coit." According to the story, he drives his coach from the Fleece Inn through the streets of the town. The coach is drawn by headless horses!

THIS WEEK'S WINNER—

PETER HOLLAND,
17 PLAINS LANE, ELLAND,
wins a £1 Postal Order.



Another quarry at Elland produces a material known as fireclay. Because it can stand heat of great intensity without cracking, it is used for lining ovens and kilns.

The author Daniel Defoe is said to have written part of his famous book, "Robinson Crusoe," while staying at an inn near Elland.

Remember to put your name, age and address on your entry and say which prize you would like best from this list.

COMPLETE COWBOY OUTFIT, NURSE'S OUTFIT, BALL BEARING ROLLER SKATES, £1 POSTAL ORDER.

Does any famous person live in your town?

Do they make glass eyes in your town?

Is any kind of funny festival held in your town?

Write about your home town and win a DANDY prize. Anything interesting or out of the ordinary—that's what to write about. And just two or three items are enough.

SEND YOUR ENTRY TO—

"MY HOME TOWN"
"The Dandy"
18a Hollingsworth St.,
London N. 7.

Next week—My Home Town, Edinburgh.

Fame indeed: Elland was featured in the children's section of Halifax Courier as the home of the Gannex coats worn by Harold Wilson. Nu-Swift extinguishers and the nearby inn in Halifax, where Robinson Crusoe is reputed to have been written.



Death of the Fire Fiend.

Abstract conception in silver of the Fire Fiend being slain by Nu-Swift.
Designed by Henning Koppel.

Executed 1973 by Georg Jensen Ltd., of Copenhagen.

1974 : Nu-Swift orders procured from 82 countries,
including seven Middle East oil-producing
countries.

4/1/1975 : From Barbados on Thelma's birthday, the trio of my two fair girls and I sent congratulatory cables :

- 1) To Ruairidh Milne, Holland Park, London:
'Nineteen years. Oxford and life ahead
you are indeed a lucky boy.'
Thelma, Sylvia and Morfar.
- 2) To Ivan Dorr, Elland :
'My gratitude for 35 years of devoted and
intelligent service.'
Graucob.

19/3/1975 :

Evening Courier, H.A. & Co. 19/3/1975.

220 TO GO ON SHORT TIME

SOME 220 employees at the Elland fire extinguisher manufacturing firm of Nu-Swift International Ltd will be going on short-time next month.

They will be working one three-day week in every four-week period, amounting to an overall cut of 10 per cent. Men in the engineering department will be working normally.

"It is a bitter pill, but we have to live with it," said a spokesman for the firm. **(KEN)**

The short-time working was being introduced in the middle of April to avoid the possibility of redundancies, it was added. Shop stewards and union representatives had been consulted and arrangements had been made with their agreement.

"We have got growing stocks and production is running at a higher level than current orders," said the spokesman.

"The general economic climate throughout the world is bad and, of course, we in Britain have got the same problems, of which inflation is one of the biggest," he added.

"We are trying to retain as many people as possible and are hoping that before long we can get back to full production," said the spokesman.

The company employs nearly 500 people at Elland, and exports extinguishers all over the world.

Under-selling in the beginning of 1975 of Nu-Swift caused 220 employees to work short time.

In 1974, the British Conservative leader, and former Prime Minister, 'Ted' Heath, lost two General Elections to Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party. After his second defeat, the Conservative politician hesitated to resign as leader of his party.

Minor Conservative politicians offered themselves for competitive election by the Conservative MPs. as Leader of their Party in the House of Commons, and it was thought likely that one of these might be elected. Just before the votes were counted, the picture completely changed. Eight Conservative MPs. by vigorous lobbying concentrated their efforts on the Conservative *woman* MP, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, a comparatively unknown taxation expert.

February.
1975 :

She was elected, not only as the first woman leader, but prospectively the first British woman Prime Minister. As I imagined her election to be largely due to the work of the group of eight MP supporters, and as I believed I needed a similar, skilful Public Relations Officer for Nu-Swift, on the 24th February, 1975, I wrote to the Rt. Hon. W. J. M. Shelton, M.A., (Oxon), M.P., Member for Streatham. Congratulating him and his group on their success, I asked him whether he would consider becoming our Public Relations Officer.

Ten days later, he rang me, but explained over the telephone that “we were only amateurs,” a retort which I reciprocated with “I wish there were more amateurs in England.” Followed an invitation to me to have lunch with Shelton in the House of Commons when they had emptied all their Champagne bottles, but no acceptance of my offer for him to act as our Public Relations Officer.

5/12/1975 : **Resignation of Find as Chairman and Joint Managing Director of Nu-Swift International Ltd.**

At a Board Meeting attended by me, by friendly arrangement, I resigned as Chairman and Joint Managing Director of Nu-Swift International Ltd., but remained a non-executive Director.

In my place, Ivan Dorr was appointed Chairman and Managing Director.

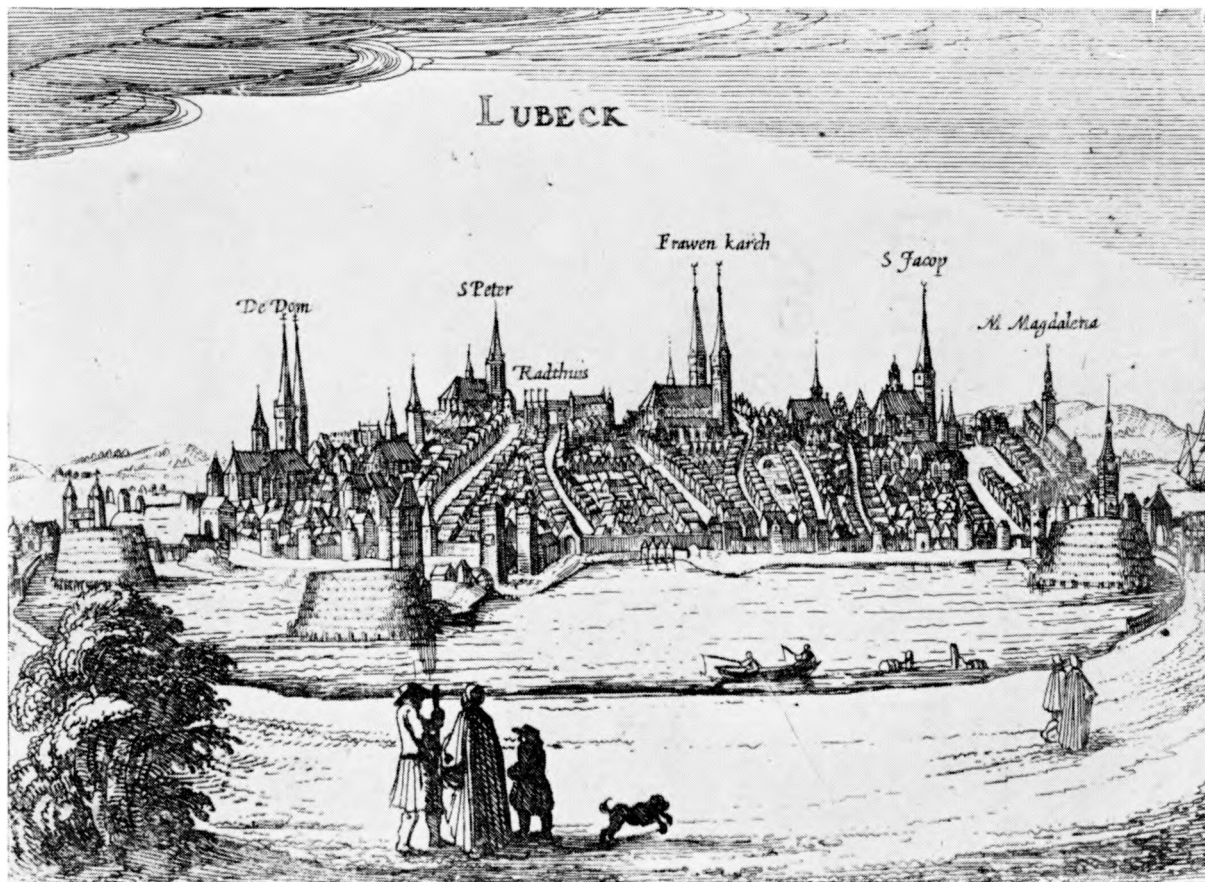
At a dinner party given by Sylvia and me on the 29th December, 1975, at the Millfold Restaurant in Ripponden, for 40-odd executives and sub-executives, many accompanied by their spouses, Sylvia handed to Ivan, as a symbol of his future authority and responsibility, my Christening hammer, which had been in my possession since 1903.

1976 : Early in 1976, Sylvia and I purchased " Fresh Springs," Les Charrières de Bonne Nuit, St. John, Jersey, C.I., on the North coast of Jersey overlooking the Channel and the French coast. We removed there from Overgate, which I had bought on behalf of the Company in 1951 and occupied with Sylvia for many of the intervening years.

II My Paternal Ancestors

(? 1332 - 1351)

—
1747 - 1975



By courtesy of the Picture Section of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.
 The first civil trading licences traceable in the name of Grawecop were issued in the
 Hanse city of Lübeck in 1332, 1339 and 1351.

Salt, Herrings, Lübeck and Rostock

The dynastic relationship of the three Nordic countries, after the glorious years of the early Thirteenth century Danish empire building, was extremely involved. To add to the confusion in the Baltic Area, Holstein, the province adjoining Denmark, and technically part of the Holy Germano-Roman Empire, was virtually a fourth independent Baltic country. Finally, the strange agglomeration of the 100 Hanse Cities associated under the leadership of Lübeck (founded 1143), justified, for that city, the poetic, title of “Queen of the Baltic.” 1143

Stretching from Cologne, via Amsterdam, Bergen and Visby in Gotland, to Riga, the association even maintained sub-agencies in London and in distant Nishni Novgorod. Originally, one of the two principal economic bases of the Hanse Cities was the enormous shoals of herrings which passed through the Sound. The herrings were dealt with in a market held on the soil of the Danish King at Skanör. The herring trading formed the *raison d'être* for the enormous autumnal gathering of cosmopolitan merchants, fishermen and adventurers. The other economic basis of the League was the salt mines at Lüneburg, carefully guarded by the City of Lübeck.

By diplomacy, and force, the powerful Hanseatic League, imposing their will on the Danes, 1368-70, 1368-70 antedated the Dutch and English commercial empires. In 1188, Lübeck became an Imperial German city, and *de facto*, remained so until 1937. Surrounded by the Duchy of Holstein, it never formed part of this.

The Goose Tower ('*Gaasetårnet*') built and so named about 1200, still stands in Southern Sjælland. It was intended to accommodate North German prisoners of war.

CIVILITATIS Lübecker Neubürgerliste 1317-1356

Herausgeber: Olof Ahlers

Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck Band 19.

Herausgegeben vom Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck.

Grawecop, Ge. 32.124⁺, Ja. 51, 9⁺, Jo 33.130⁺

Grawejacopes, Heyne 51.250

Ge. = Gerard, Gert, Gereke

Ja. = Jacob, Copeke

Jo. = Johannes

1332

Elisabeth (November 19.) 1332 nr. 124 Gherardus Grawecop (Neubürger)

Michaelis (September 29.) 1339 nr. 130 Johannes Grawecop (Neubürger)

Kathedra Petri (Februar 22.) 1351 nr. 9 Kopeke (Jacob) Grawecop (Neubürger)

Natiuitatis Marie (September 8.) 1351 Heyne Grawejacopes (Bürger)

Civilitatis = Borgerskab

The name of a *pepperer*, in charge of the trading posts, and not allowed to marry, became synonymous with the Danish expression, still in use, for a bachelor.

Details of the first four traceable citizens who could have been amongst my forefathers, and in the 14th century were granted rights of citizenship in the City of Lübeck, on the dates shown, are on page 858.

At that time Valdemar Atterdag, who was King of Denmark, colloquially was referred to as the wolf; his opponent, Duke Albrekt of Mecklenburg, was considered the smaller but craftier fox, able to procure his prey.

For the next four hundred and odd years, we are unable to trace the linear descendants of those four men listed above, likely as they are to have lived in or near Lübeck or in nearby Holstein or Hamburg. Those in the country outside the Hanse Cities are likely to have been Low German-speaking subjects of the King of Denmark and Norway. The King who in 1460, became the feudal master of the duchy of Holstein, also became its Duke in 1474.

In 1301, in Rostock civic documents, occurs Grawetog, as the first traced variant of our name of 'Greyhead.'

Only late in life has my Germanic sounding surname made me realize what could be the source of my inherent qualities of Teutonic thoroughness, while my Danish education and background may account for my partial antipathy towards much of German atmosphere and language. On the 21st August, 1970, I wrote to Karl Graucob in Eckernförde, of whose existence I had learned only a short while before on a visit to Copenhagen :

“Dear Mr. Graucob,

“As a namesake and no doubt also a distant relative of yours, I was very interested during a recent visit to Copenhagen (where the name of

Graucob is fairly well known), to learn of the book written by you: "Ernst Barlach's: Dramen."

"On my return to England, I ordered a copy from your helpful publishers. I gather that you have also written a biography of Wilhelm Lehmann.

"Born in Denmark, I have lived in England since 1922, and my German, which I learned at school in Copenhagen in 1915/17, has become rusty. After '*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*,' the last book which I read in German was '*Der Mann, der Greta Garbo liebte* !'

"I have not yet read your book, but from the introduction to your intellectual and stimulating work, I notice that you make acknowledgments, to both the Ministry of Culture of Schleswig-Holstein, and the '*Schleswig-Holsteinischen Heimatbund*.'

"From this, I gather that you are very conscious of your Holstein background.

"Being merely a successful businessman, I can only claim to be a middle-brow intellectual, but I have always wondered from which genetic source I inherited the histrionic talents which in my own case I have utilized as a sales organizer.

"Both my son and daughter by my first marriage and have been active on the stage, mixed with, and indeed married, people with similar interests, whom they met in London and Oxford.

"I have been inclined to believe that some of the sources from which we inherited these qualities were due to my mother's background, and also, in the case of the children, to the origin of their mother, my first wife being of Irish extraction.

“ Perhaps, however, as indicated by the nature of your books, I was partly incorrect, and our Low German-speaking ancestors from Holstein may have provided at least part of our histrionic ancestry.

“ My own intimate, emotional and practical links with Denmark will be evidenced to you by the enclosed Genealogical Family Tree. You will notice that my paternal grandfather, Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, was born in Flemhude on the 19th February, 1833, but emigrated to Svendborg in Denmark, where on the 12th September, 1860, he married my Danish paternal grandmother, Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel. Only three months later, she gave birth to twins !

“ Assuming that my ancestral record is reasonably accurate, I wonder how we are related? Would you care to return, in the enclosed reply envelope, one of the two copies which I enclose of my paternal tree? You have presumably been named after Karl Graucob, who in the schedule is referred to as 6L, and whose name I have underlined in red. Provided you have available the time and data, I should be glad if you would correct and annotate the copy intended to be returned to me.

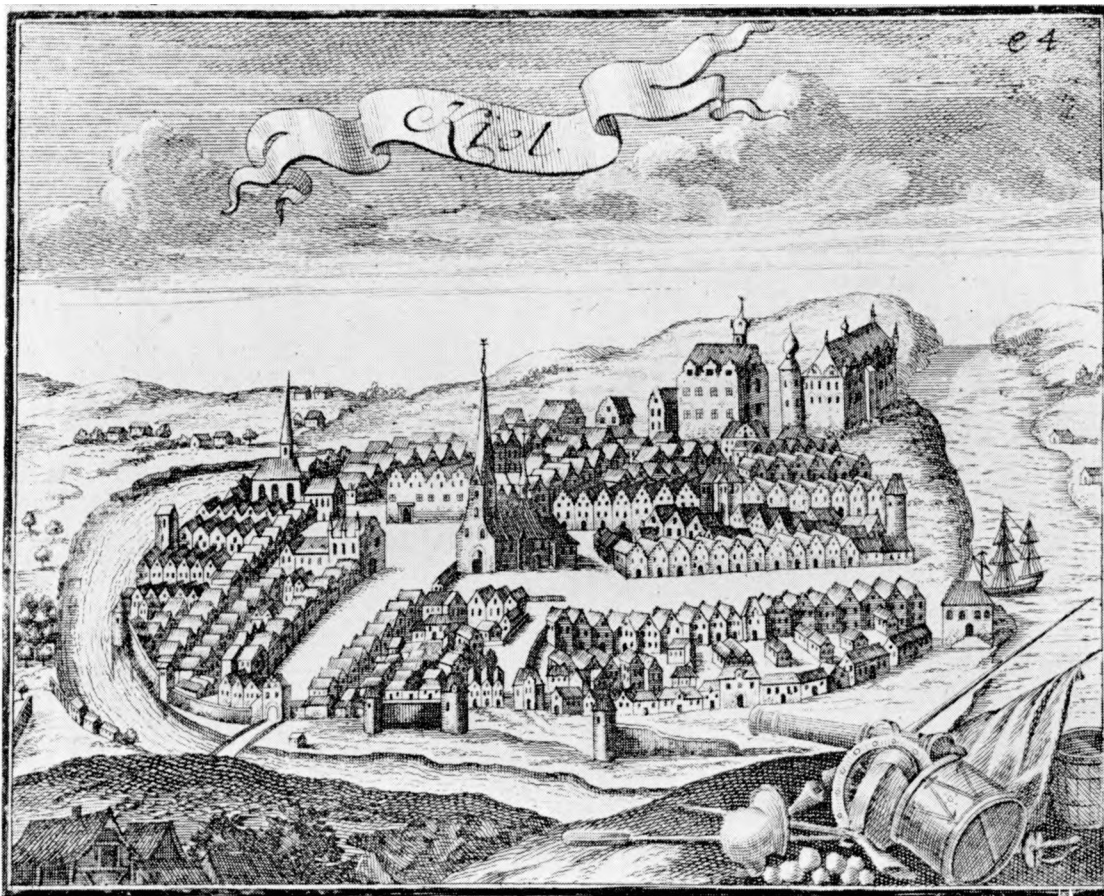
“ For the last few years, I have tried to compile notes of my ancestors, but have concentrated on those of my mother from 1609 to 1963, all of whom were born and lived in Denmark.

“ Compared to your book, my own, if ever completed, will be a pedestrian effort ; but if and when it is printed, I shall be happy to send you a copy.

“ You are welcome to write in German, which I can understand, though I hope you will forgive me for writing in English.”



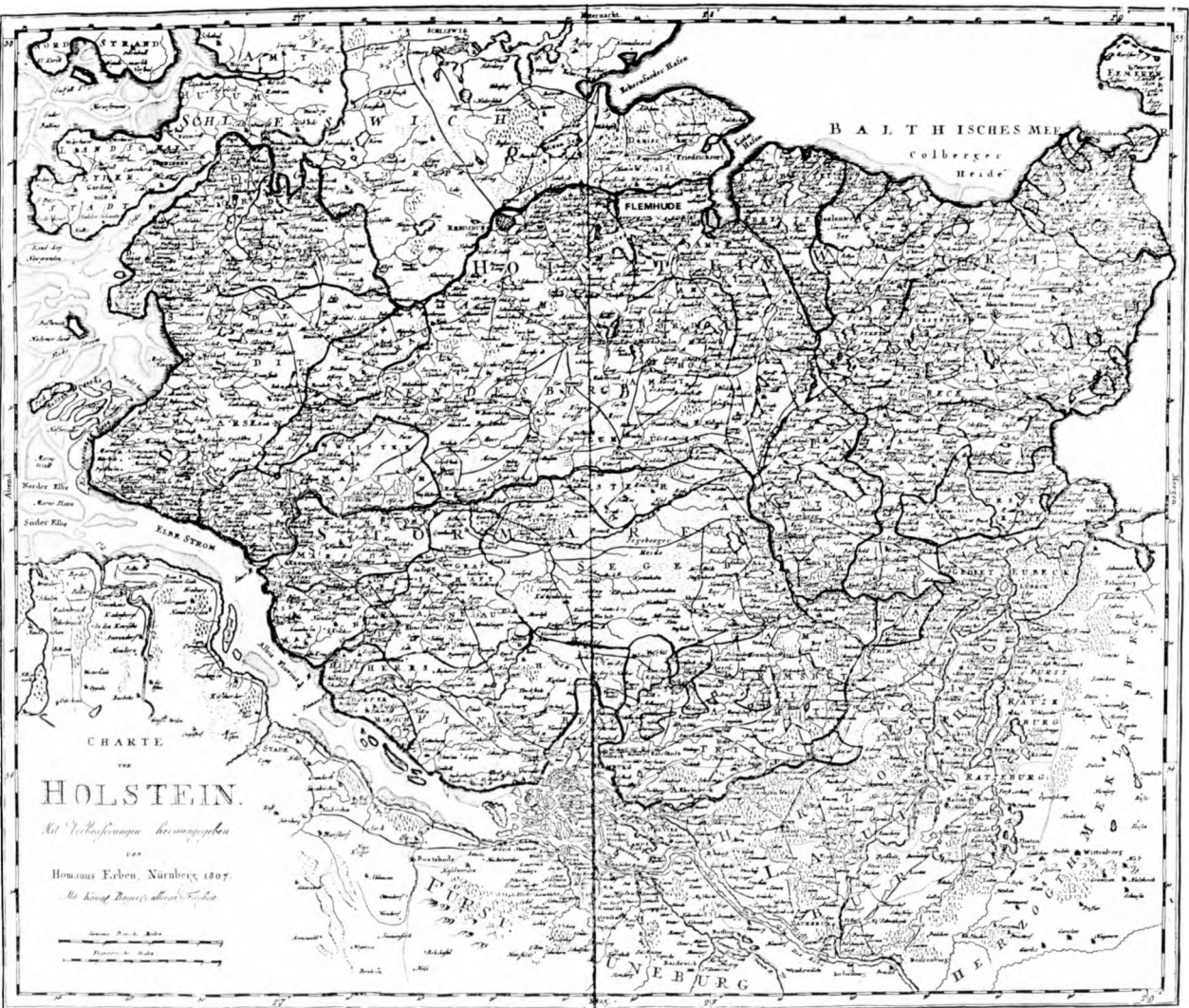
By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.
Rostock, whence Johann Joachim Graukop and his son, Johann Mathias Graukop,
emigrated to Kiel, in or after 1754.



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By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.

The City of Kiel, as it appeared towards the end of the 17th century. Tiptipoldefar Johann Joachim Graukop, a linen weaver, in or after 1754, arrived in Kiel from Rostock and settled in the Duchy of Holstein, the King of Denmark/Norway being also the reigning Duke of the twin Duchies of Schleswig/Holstein. Tiptipoldefar's son, Tipoldefar Johann Mathias Graukop, who was born in Rostock, was christened 20/1/1750 in St. Jakobi Kirche, Rostock.



1807 Map of the Duchy of Holstein.
 Flemhude, near Kiel, in the Duchy of Holstein, where Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, the son of a cooper, was born on the 19th February, 1833, and shortly afterwards christened and vaccinated.
 Flemhude Parish, within the Estate of Quarnbek Manor, is beside Flemhude Lake, which is connected with the River Eider.

Friendly letters in German from Karl Graucob, who turned out to be a sensitive, intellectual writer and a retired educational official, soon followed, the third one



Oldemor Christina Margaretha Johanna Graucob, *née* Lampe.
b. 5/1/1803, near Kiel, who lived all her life in Holstein. †30/12/1890.
Photographed about 1870 in the City of Slesvig.
To her grandchildren in Svendborg known as 'The German
Grandmother.'

being addressed to '*Mein lieber Vetter Find.*' I had struck oil. Our common Oldefar was Master Cooper
 1794 Johann Jürgen Graukop, who was born in 1794 in Kiel. His grandfather, Johann Joachim Graukop, a linen weaver, with his son, Johann Mathias Graukop, Oldefar's father, arrived in Kiel from Rostock, where on the 20th
 1750 January, 1750, Johann Mathias had been christened in Sct. Jakobi Kirche, Rostock. Described as a master linen weaver, he died on the 15th October, 1819, in Kiel. His son, likewise a master linen weaver, was twice married. Following his second marriage, he left a widow, Tipoldemor Anna, *née* Springer, and eight children.

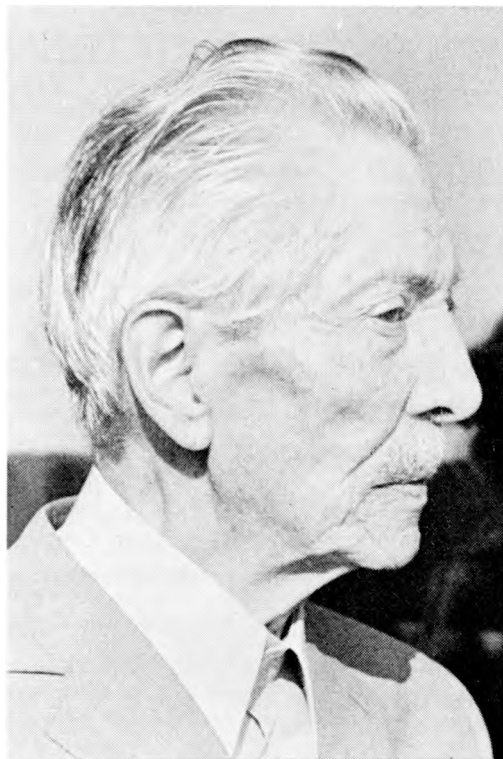
The inventions in England of Arkwright, Hargreaves and Crompton, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, benefiting almost exclusively the cotton-spinning industry, gave the linen trade a fatal blow.

Even the offer in 1810 by Napoleon I of a reward of 1,000,000 francs to the inventor who could devise the best machinery for spinning of flax, did not restore the prosperity of the linen industry.

Born in Kiel, on the 28th February, 1794, Oldefar
 1824 Johanna Jürgen Graucob, took up cooperage, instead of following the family tradition of linen weaving. On the 10th December, 1824, at Bovenau, near Flemhude, he married Oldemor Christina Margaretha Johanna Lampe, born close to Kiel. He died on the 12th February, 1851, while she survived until the 30th December, 1890, when she died in Kiel (*picture on p.865*). Of their nine surviving children, No. 5, Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, was born on the 19th February,
 1833 1833, in Flemhude, close to Kiel.

In one of his letters, Karl Graucob informed me that the original family name was '*Gragkopf,*' but because it proved difficult for natives of Kiel to pronounce the Mecklenburg dialectical word of '*grag,*' in the Church Books of the 19th century the family name was variously

rendered as “Graukopf,” “Graukop,” and “Graucob.” Only by a Government decree of the 25th September, 1895, was the latter version, long used by the family in Kiel, officially standardized. Niels Rickelt, the historian, maintains, however, that this “original” spelling (Gragkopf) is a sheer misunderstanding, perhaps, however, influenced by local pronunciation. The ‘Gragkopf’ spelling is not correct and never has been. Already in 1332, in Low German, the name was spelled ‘Grawecop’ (a ‘w’ counts as a ‘u,’ so the name *de facto*, in 1332 was spelled ‘Grauecop’). This Low German spelling presumably continued for some



Karl Graucob,
b. 15/6/1896, retired High School Inspector. His and
my common Oldefar is Master Cooper Johann Jürgen
Graukop, b. 1797. †1851.
2418 Ratzeburg, Schleswig-Holstein
Senioren-Wohnsitz, Block 5, W. Germany.

hundreds of years. Numerous other descendants of Johann Joachim Graukop were known to live in Lübeck and Hamburg. Karl Graucob was born on the 14th June, 1896, and pursued a scholastic government career, but we had to revert to our common Oldefar to establish the direct link between us. Sadly for my theories regarding the origin of my own and my children's histrionic talents, he added that these characteristics were not greatly evidenced by the Graucobs in Schleswig-Holstein. Only he, since his youth, had been attracted by the Theatre.

Examination of the Church Book of St. Jakobi Kirche in Rostock for the period of 1734-1875 revealed no Graucobs other than the following Tiptipoldefar :

1747 Johann Joachim Graukop, *ein Leineweber*, who had arrived as a journeyman from elsewhere, and on the 24th November, 1747, married Tiptipoldemor *Jungfrau* Anna Dorothea Behrens. Where he and she were born, and where they met, we do not know.

The following three sons of theirs were christened in St. Jakobi Kirche in Rostock :

- 1750 1) Johann Joachim Andreas Graukop, chr. 24/6/1748,
2) Tiploldefar Johann Mathias Graukop, chr. 20/1/1750,
3) Joachim Heinrich Graukop, chr. 7/3/1754 †24/4/1754.

The surname spelled 'Graukop,' in accordance with the contemporary spelling in Low German of 'Grey Head,' was no doubt originally a nickname.

Presumably the Graucob Family quartet, consisting of the parents and their two surviving sons, left Rostock after the death of the third son in 1754.

No other Graukop or Graucob appears in Rostock until a generation later. In 1788, a workman and *Leineweber*, Gottfried Friedrich Graukopp, married Catharina Marie Weidemanns *Witwe*, Meiers, i.e. the woman was born

Explanatory letters in German regarding the origin of the name of 'Graucob,' from and to Niels Rickelt.

12. Juni 1974

NR/

An das Stadtarchiv
Hinter dem Rathaus 5
200 85 Lübeck

In Zusammenhang mit einer genealogisch-historischen Untersuchung, die sich von Lübeck über Hestock nach Schleswig-Holstein, Dänemark und England erstreckt bin ich dabei auch Material aus dem Hestocker Archiv zu suchen.

Ich habe bisher festgestellt können, daß ein

Johann Joachim Graukop, ein Leineweber am 24. November 1747 die Jungfrau
Anna Borghard Behren geheiratet hat.
[St. Jakob's Kirche in Hestock]

Dieses Ehepaar hat in der St. Jakob's Kirche 3 Kinder taufen:

Johann Joachim Andreas Graukop, get. 24/6-1748

Johann Mathias Graukop get. 20/1-1750

Josaphat Heinrich Graukop get. 7/3-1754, verstorben 24/6-1754.

So viel ich weiß taucht der Name GRAUKOP/GRAUCOB - evtl. auch Gregkopf oder Grauekop u.ä. erst wieder mit dem Leineweber Gottfried Friedrich Graukopp auf, der 1768 die Witwe Catherine Marie Weidmanns geb. Meiers heiratet.

Dieses Ehepaar hat 2 Töchter:

Beide Töchter werden ebenfalls in der St. Jakob's Kirche getauft und zwar am 15/5-1769 und 2/1-1793.

Bereits im Jahre 1332, 1339 und 1351 taucht der Name Craucop in Lübeck auf - verschiedene Personen dieses Familiennamens werden in diesen Jahren in Lübeck Neubürger.

Meine Frage an das Stadtarchiv ist jetzt: Gibt es im Stadtarchiv Register, Namensverzeichnisse, Findbücher o.ä. worin man leicht Einträge finden kann, die auf Angehörige dieser Familie weisen und natürlich ganz besonders ihre soziale Stellung (Leineweber ?) Ich bin vorläufig an allen Personen dieses Namens interessiert und bin auch bereit nach Hestock zu kommen um selbst - wenn das Stadtarchiv das gestattet - Untersuchungen vorzunehmen. Aber da für einen Fremden solche Untersuchungen sehr zeitraubend sind, möchte ich gerne

wissen, ob es sich überhaupt lohnt. Ich würde Ihnen sehr dankbar sein, falls Sie so freundlich sein würden und mir einen entsprechenden Bescheid zukommen zu lassen.

Ich bin auch daran interessiert, wenn es möglich ist, etwas über die soziale Herkunft der Anna Dorothea Behrens (heiratet am 26/11-1747) etwas zu wissen zu bekommen. Werden die Eltern angegeben? Wer ist Trauzeuge. Kann man die Geburt (Taufe) finden.

Gibt es Bürgerrechtsprotokolle? Und Register dazu?

Sagen Nachlässe etwas? Gibt es Einwohnerverzeichnisse?

Ich bitte die vielen Fragen zu entschuldigen - aber wenn ich nach Postock komme, so werde ich leider kaum mehr als einen Tag dafür verwenden können und es ist für mich zu kostbar eine vergebliche Reise zu machen.

Ich wäre Ihnen auch dankbar wenn Sie mir mitteilen würden, ob ich überhaupt im Stadtarchiv arbeiten kann, und wenn gegebenenfalls die Öffnungszeiten sind.

Mit den besten Grüßen

Niels Rickelt
Archivregistrator

Sollten Sie selbstirgendwelche Wünsche oder Anfragen an mich haben, so bin ich natürlich sofort bereit Ihnen Hilfestellung zu leisten.

N.R.

ARCHIV DER HANSESTADT LÜBECK



Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, 39 Lübeck 1, Mühlendamm 13

Herrn
Niels Rickelt
Landsarkivet for Sjaelland
Jagtvej 10
2200 København N
Dänemark

Postfach

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Nach Dienstschluss: (0451) 70 41 94 44 - tel. Anrufbeantworter
Faksimile: 045 894 11106 J
Bankkonten: Bei allen Banken in Lübeck
und der Sparkasse zu Lübeck
Postcheckkonto: Hamburg 10400

L

J

Datum und Zeichen Ihres Schreibens
14.6.1974 NR

Datum und Zeichen des Schreibens der HL
428/74 Dr.Gr./s

Datum
18.6.1974

Betrifft

Sehr geehrter Herr Rickelt!

Zu Ihrer Anfrage nach dem Namen G r a u k o p f (mit Nebenformen) können wir Ihnen leider nur mitteilen, daß dieser Name in unseren Quellen (Kirchenbücher usw.), die in einer umfangreichen Kartei zusammengefaßt sind, nicht festzustellen war. Auch anderes personengeschichtliches Material versagte in diesem Fall.

Dagegen finden sich zu dem Namen Grautopf (Grautoff) sehr viele Hinweise. Die erwähnte Personenkartei enthält wohl über 200 Erwähnungen des Namens (17.-19.Jh.), auch in den hier vorliegenden Stammtafelwerken wird der Name Grautopf bearbeitet. Wenn dieses Material für Sie interessant ist, würde sich eine Reise nach Lübeck empfehlen. Das Archiv ist geöffnet: montags und dienstags von 8 - 17 Uhr, mittwochs, donnerstags und freitags bis 16 Uhr.

Hochachtungsvoll
i.Ä.

Gräßmann

(Dr. Antjekathrin Gräßmann)

Catharina Marie Meiers, but was the widow of somebody called Weidemann. How her husband was related to Tiptipoldefar, if at all, we are not aware. This couple had two daughters named Graukopp, christened in St. Jakobi Kirche in Rostock on the 15/5/1789 and the 2/1/1793.

No adult Graucob is known to have been buried in Rostock from St. Jakobi Kirche between 1734 and 1875.



Frau Angelika Koerner-Graucob,
b. 8/10/1928,
2nd m. 3/2/1961 Ingo, b. 16/6/1925 ;
d. of Karl Graucob b. 14.6/1896.
Holstein. 3 children.

Source :

Printed.

Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. 14. Chicago. Article on Linen.

Acknowledgments and Thanks to :

- 1) *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* Schleswig-Holstein, Der Landes-konservator, Schloss, 23 Kiel.
- 2) *Der Direktor*, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Land Museum, 2380 Schleswig, Schloss Gottorf.
- 3) *Frau Angelika Koerner-Graucob*, 2242 Büsum/Nordsee.

Table No. 18 (Seventeenth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to Tiptipoldefar Johann Joachim Graukop, Linen Weaver, who, some time, during, or after, 1754, emigrated from Rostock to Kiel, where he settled; and some of his descendants.

Generation 1(3) : Tiptipoldefar Johann Joachim Graukop, Linen Weaver, m. 24/11/1747 Rostock St. Jakobi Kirche, Anna Dorothea Behrens. Emigrated, 1754, or later, from Rostock to Kiel.

Generation 2(4) : Tipoldefar Johann Mathias Graukop, Master Linen Weaver, chr. 20/1/1750 Rostock St. Jakobi Kirche. †15/10/1819 Kiel. m. 1st time : 7/11/1780 Magdalene Sophia Johanne Mollern, m. 2nd time 5/4/1793 : Tipoldemor Anna Christine Springer, chr. 29/9/1763 Kiel, †20/6/1839 Kiel. Her father was a master tailor. *Left 8 children* : Christian Anna, Dorothea, Magdalene, Johann Jürgen b. 28/ /1833 Flemhude †27/10/1908 Copenhagen, Jacob b. 22/9/1836 Melsdorf †20/4/1922 Kiel, Therese, Hinrich *Baumcister*, Karl.

Generation 3(5) : Oldefar Johann Jürgen Graucob, Master Cooper, b. 28/2/1794 Kiel. †12/4/1851 Kiel, s. of 2nd marriage. m. 10/12/1824 Bovenau, near Flemhude: Christina Margaretha Johanna Lampe, b. 5/1/1803 Brux, Westensee, near Kiel, †30/12/1890. *Left 9 children.*

Generation 4(6) : Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, bespoke Master Shoemaker, b. 19/2/1833 Flemhude (Holstein), chr. Flemhude, †27/10/1908 St. Josefs Hospital, Copenhagen, buried in Svendborg, m. 12/9/1860 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg, Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel, b. 7/4/1832, chr. and confirmed in Sct. Nicolai Parish, Svendborg. †1/3/1907 Svendborg. *Left 10 children.*

Generation 5(7) : Far *Bernhard* Emil Heinrich Graucob, Master Tinsmith, Gas and Water Master, b. 28/7/1868 Svendborg, served as a naval conscript 21/3/1888 —15/10/1888. †6/10/1910 Copenhagen, buried Assistens Kirkegaard, m., *as her first husband*, 3/1/1902 Sct. Matthæus Kirke, Copenhagen, *Marie* Henrica Rasmussen, b. 9/7/1879 Copenhagen. †19/7/1963 Esbønderup Sygehus. *Left 3 children. She married twice.*

Generation 6(8) : *Find* Peter Justus Graucob, b. 16/11/1902 Frederiksberg, Copenhagen. chr. 4/1/1903 Sct. Thomas Kirke, Frederiksberg, m. 1st time : 16/4/1927 Watford Register Office, Ann Sophia (also known as 'Cynthia' and 'Bobbie') Gearing, b. 10/3/1905 London †5/5/1959 London. Separated: 19/4/1938. Marriage dissolved 16/9/1941 in Copenhagen during the German occupation.

m. 2nd time : Langerød. Denmark, Ebba Kierulff Rosenthal, b. Frederiksberg. Marriage dissolved in London.

m. 3rd time : 16/5/1956 Danish Church. London. Sylvia Tattersley, b. Elland, Yorkshire.

1 son, 2 daughters.

Overgate, 30, Hullen Edge Road, Elland, West Yorkshire. HX5 0QY, England.

Generation 7(9) : Henry Peter *Patrick* Graucob. Actor, b. 13/6/1929 North Harrow, Middlesex. England, chr. 27/9/1929 St. Clement's Danes Church. London. WC. m. 31/3.1955 Kensington Register Office *Thelma* Mary Holt. Actress. b. 4/1/1932 Barton-upon-Irwell. Lancs. *Marriage dissolved* 18.10/1966. *No issue.*

28. South Eaton Place, London. SW.1.

Table No. 18. (Seventeenth Chapter.)

Concise, incomplete record of five generations of Find Graucob's immediate paternal ancestors.

<p>32</p> <p>Johann Joachim Graukop, Linen Weaver Journeyman emigrated after 1754 from Rostock to Kiel. m. 24/11/1747 Rostock St. Jakobi Kirche.</p>	<p>33</p> <p>Jungfrau Anna Dorothea Behrens, 3 sons in Rostock. m. 28/12/1762 Kiel.</p>	<p>34</p> <p>Johann Jürgen Springer, Master Tailor. aus der Wik (Wiek) † before 1793</p>	<p>35</p> <p>Anna Margarethe Schlappkohl.</p>	<p>36</p> <p>Hinrich Lampe, Weaver, b. 1715, Krähenberg b. Westensee bei Kiel. †2/3/1805, 90 years old.</p>	<p>37</p> <p>Anna Magdalena Peters.</p>	<p>38</p> <p>Johann (Hans) Joachim Jäger, + Vogt, Hirte (=shepherd?) born 1730, †Klein-Königsförde 2/6/1795, some 60 years old.</p>	<p>39</p> <p>Anna Dorothea Blüsen. † after 1798.</p>	<p>40</p> <p>Friederich Wilhelm Hybbel, Gamekeeper, Kiærgaard, Brenderup, Nordfyn. m. Brenderup 21/2/1762.</p>	<p>41</p> <p>Kirstine Jørgensdatter, Kiærgaard, Brenderup, Nordfyn.</p>			<p>44</p> <p>Johan Gabriel Brandenburg, Button Maker, b. abt. 1712. †1764, 52 years old. Trading licence in Svendborg 7/11/1749.</p>	<p>45</p> <p>Anna Frølich, Svendborg. Married 2nd time 26/2/1786 to Peder Frederik Jantzen. Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg. †24/2/1802 Svendborg.</p>
<p>16</p> <p>Johann Mathias Graukop, chr. 20/1/1750 Rostock, St. Jakobi Kirche. †15/10/1819 Kiel, Master Weaver. Married twice. †69 years old. Freeman of Kiel: No. 4467, oath: 12/10/1780. m. 5/4/1793 Kiel.</p>	<p>17</p> <p>Anna Christina Springer, b. 19/9/1763, Wiek b. Kiel. chr. 29/9/1763 Kiel. †20/6/1839 Kiel. 2nd wife. Left 3 children.</p>	<p>18</p> <p>Hinrich Lampe, born 1768, †30/9/1838 Frauendamm, 70 years and 1 month, Gross-Nordsee (Kreis Rendsburg), Linen Weaver. m. 14/10/1796 Bovenau, Kreis Rendsburg.</p>	<p>19</p> <p>Anna Dorothea Jäger, b. 25/3/1772, Kronsburg, †23/3/1847 Frauendamm-Gross-Nordsee. Left 6 children.</p>	<p>20</p> <p>Samuel Andreas Hybbel, chr. 14/3/1764 Brenderup, Master Shoemaker. †27/1/1833 in Sct. Nicolai Parish, Svendborg, buried 1/2/1833. m. Sct. Nicolai, Svendborg.</p>	<p>21</p> <p>Anna Margrethe Nielsdatter b. ? abt. 1773, †6/8/1803 after birth of twin sons Svendborg.</p>	<p>22</p> <p>Anders Brandenburg, b. Sct. Nicolai Parish, chr. 31/5/1764. †Vor Frue Parish 8/7/1842. Button Maker, Skindresser, Night Watch Man and Pauper House Inmate. m. 21/2/1794 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg.</p>	<p>23</p> <p>Kirsten (Kirstine) Jespersdatter, b. abt. 1760 but not traced in Svendborg. †14/3/1840 in Sct. Nicolai Parish, Svendborg.</p>						
<p>8</p> <p>Johann Jürgen Graucob, Master Cooper, b. 28/2/1794 Kiel, †12/4/1851 Kiel, 57 years. Twice married. Son of his father's second wife. 1824: Achterwehr Dec. 1824: Bovenau 1828: Schönwohld 1830-40: Melsdorf m. 10/12/1824 Bovenau near Flemhude.</p>	<p>9</p> <p>Christina Johanne Margretha Lampe, b. 1/3/1803 Brux (Westensee, near Kiel). chr. 9/1/1803 Westensee. †30/12/1890 Kiel. Left 9 children.</p>			<p>10</p> <p>Friederich Wilhelm Hübel, b. 27/7/1803, Svendborg, chr. 3/8/1803 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, conf. 1818, †21/11/1856 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg, Master Shoemaker. m. 30/10/1828 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg.</p>		<p>11</p> <p>Beate Brandenburg, b. 6/12/1801 Svendborg, †29/6/1882 Svendborg. 4 boys and 2 daughters.</p>							
<p>3</p> <p>Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, Bespoke Master Shoemaker, b. 19/2/1833 Melsdorf, chr. 17/3/1833 Flemhude, conf. Kiel, †27/10/1908 St. Josephs Hospital, Copenhagen, buried Svendborg. m. 12/9/1860, Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg.</p>		<p>4</p> <p>Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel, b. 7/4/1832 Svendborg, chr. 31/5/1832 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg. †1/3/1907 Svendborg. Left 4 sons and 6 daughters.</p>											
<p>2</p> <p>Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graucob, Master Tinsmith, Gas and Water Master. b. 28/7/1868 Svendborg, †6/6/1910 Copenhagen, buried Assistens Kirkegaard, Copenhagen, 42 years. m. 3/1/1902 Sct. Matthæus Kirke, Copenhagen. Marie Henrica Rasmussen, b. 9/7/1879 Halmtovet 67^{III}, Copenhagen, chr. 31/8/1879 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen, †19/7/1963 Esbønderup Sygehus, buried, after cremation, Assistens Kirkegaard, Copenhagen, 84 years, m. twice, 1 son, 2 daughters by her first husband.</p>													
<p>1</p> <p>Find Peter Justus Graucob, Chairman & Joint Managing Director of Nu-Swift Industries, Ltd., b. 16/11/1902 N.J. Fjords Alle 6^{III}, Frederiksberg, Copenhagen, chr. 4/1/1903 Sct. Thomas Kirke, Frederiksberg, Copenhagen, m. 3 times, 1 son, 2 daughters.</p>													

Table No. 19. (Seventeenth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to the grandparents and parents (Tiptipoldeforældre and Tipoldeforældre) of my Oldemor. Christina Margaretha Johanna Lampe, who, in 1824, married at Bovenau, near Flemhude, Oldefar Johann Jürgen Graucob.

Tiptipoldefar Weaver Hinrich Lampe, m. Tiptipoldemor Anna Magdalena Peters Westensee near Kiel (no other details known). Their son was Tipoldefar Linen Weaver Hinrich Lampe †30.9/1838 Frauendamm, Gross Nordsee (Kreis Rendsburg), m. 14.10/1796 Bovenau (Kreis Rendsburg). Tipoldemor Anna Dorothea Jäger, b. 25.3/1772 Cronsburg, †23.3/1847 Frauendamm, Gross-Nordsee. She was the daughter of Tiptipoldefar Vogt Hans Joachim, Jäger, m. Klein-Königsförde Tiptipoldemor Anna Dorothea Bünsen. (No other details known.)

The daughter of the above, Tipoldemor Dorothea Jäger, was the mother of Oldemor Christina Margaretha Johanna Lampe, the wife of Oldefar Johann Jürgen Graucob.

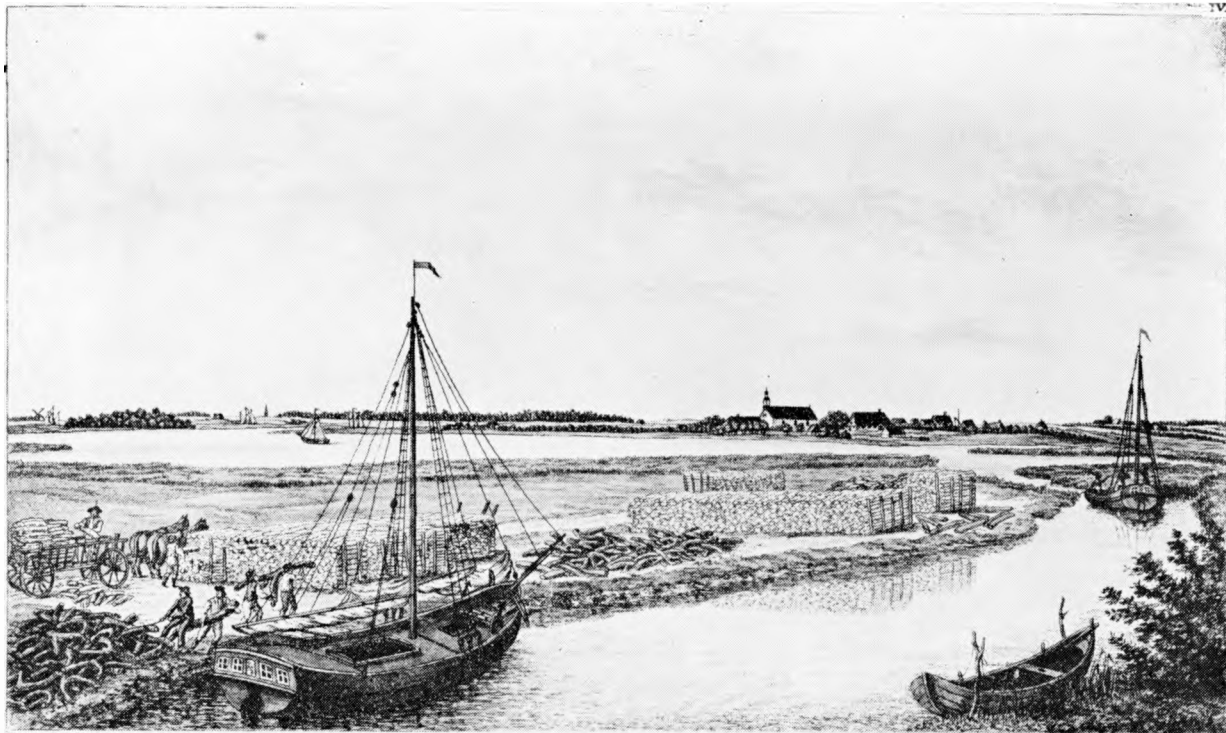
EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER :

27-year-old Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, my Farfar, a shoemaker from Holstein, settles in Svendborg, where he marries a deceased shoemaker's daughter, who three months later gives birth to twins

Only in some cases can my paternal Holstein ancestors be traced as far back as two or three generations. Those men and women were connected with the linen industry, at that time obviously important in Holstein ; but there our knowledge of them ceases.

The Industrial Revolution in Germany started later than in England, and, at the end of the eighteenth century, industry in Holstein was only a modest limited domestic activity. Flax and hemp growing and linen spinning at home were considered superior to the dirty manual work by other artisans, as exemplified by the song still popular : '*Die Leineweber haben einē saubere Zunft.*' The linen weavers were proud people, clean, neat and respected to a high degree.

1833 Born on the 19th February, 1833, in the village of Flemhude near Kiel, in the watery part of Holstein, where manor houses abound, Farfar was christened Johann Friderich Justus. Flemhude is a picturesque little village, where, when the Great-great-granddaughter of my Oldefar, Angelika Koerner-Graucob, visited it in the Summer of 1973, the name of Graucob was still remembered by very old people.



FLÄMHUDE MIT DESSEN SEE

Von der Eyderbrücke zu Achterwehre anzusehen.

N. B. Die unter dem Horizont auf den Lamm-Partien gehende Schiffe bezeichnen den Lauf des Canals nach Königsforde &c.

*Kolorierte Radirung von Caspar Daniel Voigts, Kiel 1805.
By courtesy of Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseum, Schleswig.*

Flemhude.

This picture of wood awaiting transport gives a clue to the reason for Oldefar's occupation as a cooper at the time of Farfar's birth.

The Church was one of several built in 1240 to commemorate the victory by Adolf IV over the Danes at Bornhöved. In it is the Roman style thirteenth century font, in which, in 1833, Farfar was christened, the exact date not known.

Working on various estates in the neighbourhood, Oldefar may well have spent most of his roaming life as a cooper, making barrels like those suggested on page 877. Although shown by the census record as living in Flemhude in 1835, the census records of Flemhude for 1803, 1860 and 1864, (kept at the castle of Schleswig), show no evidence of any Graucob having been resident at Flemhude in those years, though at the time of Farfar's birth, his father was employed on the Estate of Quarnbeck in the Kieler Estate District, near the River Eider, where he was living at a house termed the Gl. *Kethenwohnung*.



*Photographed in the Summer of 1973 by
Frau Angelika Koerner-Graucob,
a Great-great-granddaughter of my paternal Oldefar.*

The 13th century Font in Flemhude Kirche, Holstein, in which Farfar almost certainly was christened in 1833.



By courtesy of Otto Vollert, Kiel, Holtenauer Str.99.

The steeple of the small church in Flemhude, near Kiel, the design of which is very rare in Holstein, where Farfar was christened in 1833. Erected about 1805.

What did my Holstein ancestors look like? No portraits are available, except of photographs of my paternal grandfather and his mother. To Angelika Koerner-Graucob, a daughter of Karl Graucob, to whom I made reference in the Seventeenth Chapter, but had not then met, I sent at her request a picture of myself. Back came promptly her acknowledgment dated 14/10/1973: "I notice that you are blessed with the typical Graucob features of a lot of curled hair and smiling eyes."



*Photographed in the Summer 1973 by
Frau Angelika Koerner-Graucob,
a Great-great-granddaughter of my paternal Oldefar.*

The vicarage in Flemhude Parish in Holstein,
where Farfar was born and christened.

Farfar, whose ancestors, for three generations, since arrival, in or after 1754, from Rostock, seems to have lived in or near Kiel.

At the census in 1835, when Farfar was only two, the family is recorded as consisting of his parents and six children, including Johann Friderich Justus, who was

then the youngest: later more children evidently arrived, as their father is known at his death to have left nine. Quoting from the original records, the eight inmates of Gl. Kethenwohnung, in 1835, are described as: Johann Jürg Graukopf, 41 years, Cooper. His wife: Christ. Marg. Joh. Lamp, 33 years. Their children: Chr. Henr. Wilh., 11 years, Anna Marg. Wilh., 9 years. Dor. Mar. Chr., 7 years, Magd. Aug. Fried., 5 years and Joh. Fried. Just. Christened in Flemhude, Farfar, as we learn from his own statement when he got married, was later confirmed in Kiel, but apart from the names of his brothers and sisters, we do not know anything about the other members of the family.

The census records of 1845 of the City of Kiel, still kept in the Royal Archives in Copenhagen, show four entries of Graucobs, viz. those of two workmen, one servant girl and a smallholder, as resident in Kiel, though the name of Graucob was spelled in different ways.

At the 1845 census, neither Farfar nor any other member of his family is recorded as living in Flemhude, but Farfar seems likely to have been confirmed in 1847, when about 14, according to his statement, when he got married. For the next five years, no doubt he was apprenticed to a shoemaker in Kiel.

Low German-speaking, Farfar was perhaps a reluctant subject of the King of Denmark, in his capacity as Duke of Holstein. Possibly he even took part in the 1848/50 rebellion against the Danish Crown, when he was 15-17 years of age. For centuries, the German language had been used, not only in the completely Low German-speaking province of Holstein, but also to command the Danish recruits of the Danish Army.



By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section

Fruestræde. Svendborg.

In Vor Frue Kirke (seen in the background) the marriage took place, on the 12th September, 1860, between Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob and Farmor Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel.

The church bears the inscription that it was built after 1253, on the Bank, where the old Swineburgh had been !

Etching, before 1927, by O. Lundsryd.



*By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.
Photo probably about 1890.*

Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg.

On the 5th August, 1803, Oldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hübel was christened in this church. So, on the 13th December, 1801, was my Oldemor, Beate Brandenburg, destined, in 1828, to become his wife. Much earlier, Tiptiptiptipoldefar Anders Poulsen, City Councillor and Merchant, was buried here on the 13th October, 1711.

1860

When and why Farfar emigrated to Svendborg, we do not know, but by sea from Kiel it was neither far nor difficult. All the knowledge available to us, however, is that at the census on the 1st February, 1860, Farfar (his surname being misspelled "Gravkop") is shown as a 27-year-old bachelor and journeyman shoemaker, stated, but obviously wrongly, to have been born in Kiel. Living at Gerritzgade 30, Svendborg, he was evidently in the employ of the 45-year-old Master Shoemaker, Rasmus Frantzen, obviously a man of substance, who owned the property in which thirteen members of his family and staff lived.

In addition to Rasmus Frantzen and Tønder-born, and very probably Low German-speaking, Mrs. Frantzen, their children of fourteen, ten and seven, and a confidential clerk, the number within the household comprised two maidservants, and three other shoemaker journeymen, in addition to Farfar and an apprentice. Five years earlier, at the 1855 census, there had also been in the household a private teacher and a needlewoman.

Mainly Low German-speaking, as his employer and his wife may have been, politics, during the troubled years from 1848 to 1864, seem unlikely to have played a dominant part in Farfar's early years in Denmark in spite, or perhaps because, of the mercurial temperament of the girl who was to become his wife.

Lying in lovely surroundings of sea and undulating woodland, Svendborg, a 900-year old maritime city of much enterprise, provided, even in my lifetime, inexpensive freshly caught salt-water fish, a healthy and economical part of the diet. Moreover, to this day, the girls of Svendborg have the reputation of being easy with their favours. (*"Jeg kommer li'e fra Svendborg av, God Dav, god Dav, og hele Natten er vor egen."*)

Did Farfar, shortly after the census in 1860, leave the employment of Mr. Frantzen? Before long, he must obviously have taken the plunge. Socially, he probably mixed mainly with shoemakers and other artisans, likely to have included blacksmiths, glaziers, bakers, joiners and innkeepers. The father of his wife-to-be, Fridrich Hübel, another shoemaker, had died on the 21st November, 1856. Probably, Farfar became a partner or manager of the shoemaking business, running this jointly with his long-surviving mother-in-law-to-be, Beate Hübel, *née* Brandenburg. Responsible in the early summer of 1860 for the pregnancy of Beate's unmarried daughter, Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel, nevertheless, after his own marriage, as a godfather, he was invited to the christening on the 28th October, 1860, of Frederik Wilhelm Hübel, almost certainly a nephew of his wife. The morals of his tempestuous, but careful and industrious wife, Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel, to whom he was married on the 10th September, 1860, at Vor Frue Kirke in Svendborg, were perhaps, in the easy-going town of Svendborg, only of marginal significance.

Already, on the 26th December, 1860, his wife gave birth to twin girls, *Doris* Beate and *Augusta* Christine Frederica. (Andreasine Wilhelmine's father was also a twin.) Unable to cope with both children, the mother soon farmed out *Augusta* with her own mother, the baby's maternal grandmother, with whom she evidently stayed for a long time.

Farmor and Farfar had four boys and six girls, born between 1860 and 1876, all of whom I have met. (Farfar, one of nine, himself thus became the father of ten children.) All but two married (*Augusta* and *Ernestine*) and also all but two had children (*Augusta* and *Anna*). *Ernestine* in Copenhagen had a son, *Paul* Victor, out of wedlock. Restless and enterprising when they grew up, six of the brothers and

sisters settled in Copenhagen, two in Sweden and one in Germany. Only one, Doris, returned to stay in Svendborg, after having given birth in Copenhagen to her two children, *Carl Johan* and Marie.

LANDSARKIVET FOR SJÆLLAND M. M.

U D S K R I F T

af

hovedministerialteg for Svendborg, Sct. Nicolaj sogn, 1850-61
fol. 250

C o p u l e r e d e

Aar 1860

N^o 7.

Brudgommens Navn, Alder,
Haandtering og Opholdssted. Ungkarl, Skomsgermester Johann
Friderich Justus Graucob af Svendborg
St. Nicolai, 27 Aar.
Født og døbt i Flemhude, confirmeret
i Kiel - Vacc. af Rittersen - 29. Juni 1833.

Brudens Navn, Alder,
Haandtering og Opholdssted. Jomfru Andreasine Vilhelmine Hybel
af Svendborg, St. Nicolai - 28 Aar
Født, døbt og confirm. i Sognet
Vacc. af Ørnstrup 6. Juni 1845

Hvem Forloverne ere Værtshuusholder Jes Jensen,
Snedkermester Hybel, begge af
Svendborg.

Om Vielsen er forrettet
i Kirken eller Hjemme I Kirken (Frue-Kirke)

Vialsesdagen. 12. September 1860.

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.
Landsarkivet, København, den 7. marts 1973

Niels Richardt
Niels Richardt
registrator

Marriage certificate of Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, born and chr. Flemhude, conf. Kiel, b. 19/2/1833 Flemhude †27/10/1908 Copenhagen, and Farmor Andreasine Vilhelmine Hybel, born, chr. and conf.. Svendborg, Sct. Nicolai Kirke, b. 7/4/1832 Svendborg, †1/3/1907 Svendborg, m. 12/9/1860 Svendborg, Frue Kirke.

In the pleasant, fertile island of Fyn, on which Svendborg stands, Farfar and Farmor were rich only in children. Seemingly, all but one were born and christened in Svendborg, where the family lived at addresses in the prominent streets of Møllergade and Ørksilsgade. Carl, the exception, was born in Broager, some kilometres



*By courtesy of my paternal cousin, Karen Bay,
presumably photographed about 1860.*

Oldemor Beate Hübel. *née* Brandenburg,
b. 6 12/1801 Svendborg. chr. 13/12/1801 Sct. Nikolai
Kirke. Svendborg. m. 30/10/1828 Vor Frue Kirke.
Svendborg. †9/6/1882 Svendborg.

Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob.
b. 19/2/1833 Flemhude. †27/10/1908 Copenhagen. m.
12/9/1860 Vor Frue Kirke. Svendborg.

Farmor Andreasine Wilhelmine Graucob. *née* Hübel.
b. 7/4/1832 Svendborg. †1/3/1907 Svendborg.



Valdemar Slot, Taasinge.

The Estate was owned by Baron Carl Iuel-Brockdorff 1827—1859 and by Chamberlain
Baron Frederik Iuel-Brockdorff 1859—1876.

1974 transformed into Danish Maritime Museum.

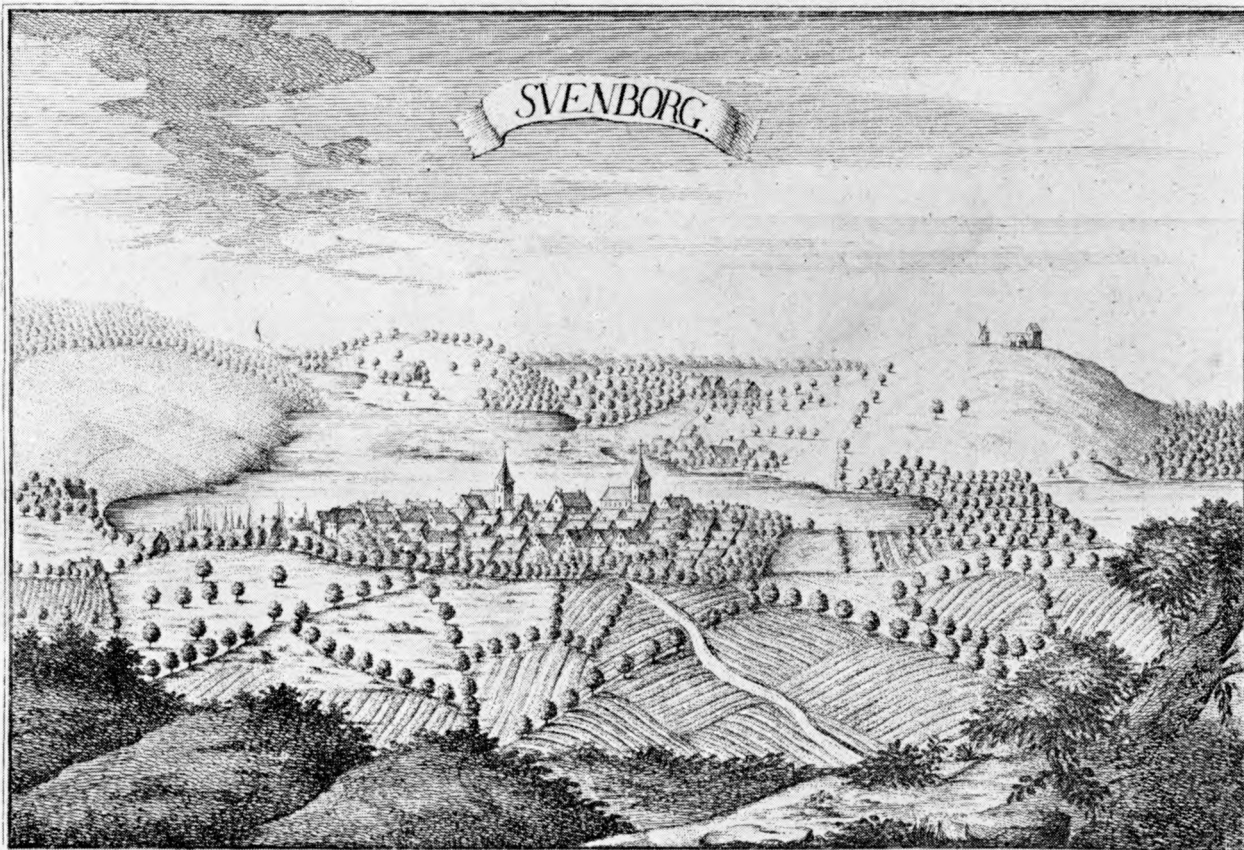
What was the nature of the latter's relationship with Farmor and Farfar ?

By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.

North of Svendborg, on the way to Nyborg. Apparently Carl was not christened as a baby, an omission only discovered some fourteen or fifteen years later, when he was due to be confirmed. The omission was then covered by episcopal dispensation.

Only after the arrival of his and Farmor's tenth child, Anna, did Farfar, on the 3rd November, 1873, buy from a Mr. Jørgensen for 1025 Rigsdaler, the modest property at the corner of Bagergade and Pjentemøllestræde (*Matrikelnummer 106-A*), built about 1840, which, during my holidays between 1911 and 1917, I came to know well.

Evidently skilled at making women's footwear, Farfar made shoes for the Baroness, the wife of *Kammerherre, Baron* Frederick Iuel-Brockdorff, who lived at the lovely and impressive estate of Valdemar Slot, on the nearby beautiful island of Taasinge. It is reported that the powerful and important Baron or his wife waived Farfar's obligation to undertake some hereditary feudal service. Details, however, are vague and unsubstantiated.

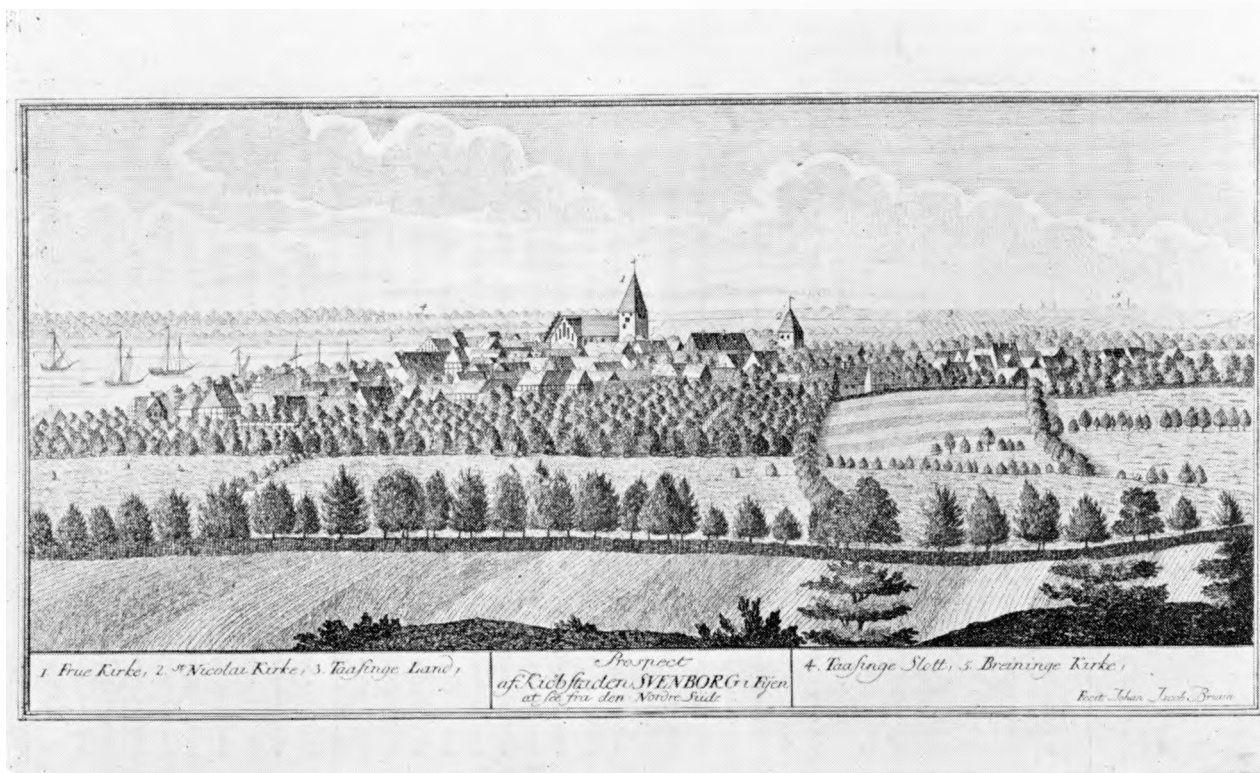


K. v. L. J.

NINETEENTH CHAPTER :

Some of Farmor's Ancestors in the Island of Fyn

By courtesy of the Royal Library, Picture Section, No. 99.289.
 The City of Svendborg, nestling among the surrounding hills.
 Both the two churches of the city are clearly seen, the taller left-hand tower being that of
 Vor Frue Kirke.



By courtesy of the Royal Library, Picture Section, No. 99.291.

The 800-year-old City of Svendborg, as seen from the Northern side.
 The Tower of Vor Frue Kirke is to the left side of the picture, the Tower of St. Nicolai
 Kirke, to the right.

Note the sailing ships in the Sound, between the city and the Island of Taasinge.

Documents of probate and other papers in *Landsarkivet for Fyn* in Odense enable us to trace and identify some of Farmor's ancestors. Earliest of these is Tiptiptiptipoldefar Anders Poulsen, City Councillor and Merchant of blessed memory, born about 1659, possibly

W. Limkilde,
Landsarkivat for Fyn,
Jernbanegade 36,
5000 Odense,
Danmark.

Odense, den 26. april 1973.

Mr. Find Craucob,
Overgats 30 Hullon Edge Road,
Eiland Yorkshire MK5 0QY.

I henhold til Deres brev af 18. ds. har jeg foretaget yderligere undersøgelser med henblik på at finde supplerende oplysninger til Deres an tavlo, men jeg må straks sige, at det er meget tidsroevende at foretage disse undersøgelser på den tid, der her er tale om, og ofte giver det ikke noget resultat.

Jeg har gennemset folketællingen for Svendborg 1787, og her har jeg fundet Anna Frølich samt hendes 2. mand, Peder Frederik Jantzen. Hun er gives at være 59 år og må altså være født ca. 1728. Hun er ikke fundet født i Svendborg Vor Frue kirkebøger 1726 - 1730, og Svendborg Sct. Nicolai kirkebøger fødte 1720 - 1735 eksisterer desværre ikke. Derimod eksisterer mod svd vane kirkebog for konfirmerede i Sct. Nicolai sogn fra 1742, altså fra det år hvor Anna Frølich omtrentlig skal konfirmeres. I 1743 i januar måned bliver en Anna konfirmeret, og hendes fader anføres som værende Samuel Frøling (Frøling er det samme som Frølich, thi på den tid tog man det ikke så nøje med bogstaveringen af særprægede navne. Da konfirmanders alder på den tid var fra 14 til 16 år, stemmer det udmærket med, at fornavnte Anna må være født ca. 1728, og der er ingen rimelig tvivl om, at det er Deres ane, der her er fundet konfirmeret. Ifølge Sct. Nicolai kirkebog blev Samuel Marcussen Frølich viet den 12. november 1717 til Karen Andersdatter Strømborg. Samuel Marcussen Frølich blev begravet i Sct. Nicolai sogn den 5. november 1746, 70 år gammel, og er altså født ca. 1676. Hans enke Karen Andersdatter Strømborg blev begravet den 29. november 1768, 84 år gammel, samme sogn, og hun må altså være født ca. 1684. Der er intet skifte efter nogen af disse 2 personer, ligesom det heller ikke har været muligt at finde ud af, hvad Samuel Marcussen Frølich har beskæftiget sig med. Nu har de imidlertid anerne nr. 46 og 47. Anna Frølich ses ikke at være død i Svendborg, og hun må sammen med sin anden mand have forladt Svendborg. Da gebyret for de hidtidige undersøgelser andrager kr. 150,00, har jeg stillet arbejdet i bero, således at De selv kan tage stilling til, om De ønsker at anvende yderligere penge på en fortsat undersøgelse, hvis resultat der ikke på forhånd kan siges noget om.

Med venlig hilsen
W. Limkilde

Verte

N. Limkilde,
Landsarkivet for Fyn,
Jernbanevej 35,
5000 Odense,
Danmark.

Odense, den 21. maj 1973.

Mr. Find Crauch,
Overgate 30 Huller Edge Road,
Elland Yorkshire HX5 0QY.

I henhold til Deres brev af 4. ds. har jeg fortoat de ønskede under-
oplysninger vedrørende Deres aner. Jeg nå først meddele, at oplysningen om nr. 46 og
nr. 47 kan misforstås. De anførte numre vil naturligvis ikke være de numre, der
skal angives på Deres stamtavle. Her vil de jo få betegnelsen nr. 90 og nr. 91. Det
er de uansetligvis klar over, men min første oplysning kunne måske misforstås.

Anna Frelchs død har jeg fundet. Ifølge Svendborg Sct. Nicolai sogns
kirkebog døde knapmager Peter Jantzens kone den 24. december 1802, 74 år gammel.
Kirkebogen angiver ikke Anna Frelchs navn, men kun at det er Peter Jantzens kone,
og derfor har det været vanskeligt at finde hendes død. Nu har De imidlertid også
denne oplysning.

Anna Frelchs fader, Samuel Frelchs beskæftigelse har jeg fundet. Han
var købmand. Det fremgår af et brev til stiftsamtmanden (stiftsufælingsmanden på
den tid) dateret den 23. december 1710. Det fremgår af dette brev, hvorfra kopi frem-
sendes, at han på grund af tyverier og andre fortrædeligheder må træde i likvidation,
og at han har drevet et mindre købmandskab.

Karen Andersdatters Strøberg fædel har jeg fundet. Ifølge Svendborg
Sct. Nicolai kirkebog blev rådmænd og købmand Anders Poulsens datter Karen døbt
3. søndag efter påske (5. maj) 1688. Moderens navn er ikke anført i kirkebogen, men
det fremgår af skiftet: den 13. november 1711 i Svendborg byfogeds skifteprotokol efter
Anders Poulsen, at han efterlod sig enken Ellen Clausdatter samt de fælles børn
Anna og Dorthe, hvis alder ikkes er opgivet. Kopi af skiftet vedlægges.

At det er de rigtige personer, der er tale om, fremgår af skiftet efter
Anders Poulsens enke, Ellen Clausdatter, den 21. februar 1729 i Svendborg byfogeds
skifteprotokol, hvorfra der vedlægges kopi. Det fremgår bl. a. heraf, at børnene nu
fører navnet Strøberg, og at de i øvrigt var: Claus Andersen Strøberg, sognepræst
for Gudme og Brudager menigheder, Povel Andersen Strøberg i Bergen i Norge, Carsten
Andersen Strøberg, om hvem man ikke ved, hvor han befinder sig, Johannes Strøberg
boende i Paris i Frankrig, Karen Andersdatter med sin mand Samuel Frelch, afdøde
Anna Andersdatter samt Dorthe Andersdatter.

Ved gennemsyn af Svendborg Sct. Nicolai kirkebog er Anders Poulsens ba-
gravelse fundet den 13. oktober 1711, 52 år gl, og han må da være født ca. 1659.

The fascinating game of tracing some of one's undistinguished ancestors
was never better illustrated than by the three letters of the 11th April,
1973, the 26th April, 1973, and the 21st May, 1973 (2 pages), written
by W. Limkilde, the able and knowledgeable official of Landsarkivet for
Fyn in Odense.

Anders Poulsen fik borgerskab som købmand i Svendborg den 11. november 1686.

Eller Clausdatter blev ifølge Svendborg Sct. Nicolai sogns kirkebog begravet den 27. januar 1729. Mens alder ved død er ikke oplyst. Hu har De så anetne 48 og 49, som på tavlen får numrene 182 og 183 og er så 8. generation. Længere kan man neppe komme for disse personers vedkommende.

Ved nr. 22 og 23, Anders Brandanborgs vielse til Kirsten Jespersdatter er der bl. forloverne anført en Jesper Rasmussen. Det kunne være faderen til Kirsten Jespersdatter, men desværre ses han ikke at være død i Svendborg og ej heller viet her. Jeg vil gerne forsøge at findes hendes fødsel i nabosognene til Svendborg, men må gøre opmærksom på, at en sådan undersøgelse kan ende uden resultat. Ligeledes er jeg villig til at søge nr. 21, Anna Margræte Nielsdatters fødsel i nabosognene til Svendborg.

Gebyret for undersøgelsen inklusive kopierne endrager kr. 225,00.

Jeg har modtaget det forrige gebyr på kr. 150,00.

Med venlig hilsen

F. Lankilde

F. Lankilde.

- in Odense, where at least one of his sons, Claus, qualified as a *Student*, before becoming a clergyman.
- 1686 Already on the 11th November, 1686, Anders Poulsen, the father, only about 27 years old, obtained a trading licence in Svendborg. Obviously enterprising and successful, he was doing business both in Denmark and abroad. With his wife, the '*Dydziirende Matrone Ellen Clausdatter*' he lived in Svendborg at his house in *Broegade*, between 'the late Chresten Baker's house on the one side, and Clemen Mortensen's house on the other.' He died early, only about 52 years of age, being buried on the 13th October, 1711, in Svendborg.
- 1711 Probate was applied for on the 13th November, 1711, when his widow stated that claims from a number of foreign creditors were to be expected. This statement was repeated and confirmed at further meetings during the next twenty months, attended by the City Bailiff of Svendborg and other officials, together with the widow and the eldest son, lastly on the 8th July, 1713, when

the City Councillor and Merchant of blessed memory was stated to have traded at home and abroad 'for many years.'

Years later, on the 13th January, 1729, his widow, Tiptiptiptipoldemor Ellen Clausdatter, evidently suspecting her own death to be approaching, wrote, in a note to the probate officials, that she had been a widow for nineteen years (*incorrect*, only 17), and 'as I do not wish the eyes of any stranger to view my bedclothes,' she had divided these between her two surviving daughters, Karen and Dorothea. She hoped that both the officials and her son, Claus, would agree. Less than a fortnight later, on the 27th January, 1729, she died, and was buried in Sct. Nicolai Parish. On the 21st February, 1729, when probate was agreed in the presence of her eldest son, the reverend gentleman agreed to her most reasonable request, and, moreover, also renounced the small deficiency due to him from her estate after her house had been sold by auction for 136 Rigsdaler.

From probates dealt with in 1711, 1713 and 1729, and other sources, we catch a glimpse of the prosperity of her late husband, the four sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Claus, who became a *Student* in Odense in 1705, was inducted in 1723 as a clergyman in Gudme and Brudager parishes (Farbror Carl, in 1863, was recorded born in Brudager); the second brother, Povl, lived in Bergen, Norway; the whereabouts of the third brother, Carsten, were obviously unknown in 1729; while the fourth brother, Johannes, was then living in *Pariis, Franche-Rige*. The three daughters were named Karen, Anna and Dorothea. Their surname and that of their brothers had at some time been changed to *Strömberg* or had the latter name added.

The eldest of the three sisters, Karen, who was my direct ancestress, was christened on the 6th May, 1688, 1688 in Vor Frue Kirke in Svendborg.

No 133186
Høyædle og Velbaarne Hr. Geheime Raad,
Ridder og Stiftsbefalingsmand!
høybydende
Gunstige herre!

Det er eenhver bekientd, at Jeg fattige Mand, formedelst tyve-aaand og andre tilslagene fortrædeligheder ved mit ringe kiøbmandskab her i Svenborg, Er saaledis kommen tilbage, at Jeg for at ske mine Creditorer saa vidt mueligt tilfredsstilled, har maatt lade giøre opbud i min boe, saa vidt det til eenhvers afbetaling kunde Streche, og som sidstleden d: 18 Novembr med samme opbud blef giortbegyndelse og da vider forfløtt, efter Creditorernis fuldmægtigers begiering til førstkommende d: 2 Januarij 1720: Til hvilchen tiid Jeg nødvendig behøver Assistance af een goed mand for at hielpe mig til rette ved afhandlingen Imellem mig og mine Creditorer, Altsaa bliver Jeg i dybeste ydmyghed til Deris Excellence bønfallen, det Deris Excellence af Deris høye formaaenhet og Naade, højgunstigst ville behage, til samme at forrette, at beordre Eyeskriveren i Nyborg, hans fuldmægtig Søren Lerche, der tillige med mig kunde forfatte beregninger og vider hvad Imellem Creditorerne og mig maatte forefalde, her om Jeg mig Deris Excellence højgunstige Resolution og ordre til ermelte Søren Lerche med fordeligste vil have udbedet, der Jeg udi dybeste Submission og med allerstørste Respect forblifver

Deris Excellence
høyædle og velbaarne
Hr. Geheime Raad
Ridder p.p.
og Stiftsbefalingsmand
højgunstige herris
allerydmygste
tiener
Samuel Frölich.

Svenborg
d. 23 Decembr 1719.

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Fyn.

Transcription of a petition, written the day before Christmas Eve 1719, two years after his marriage, by Tiptiptipoldefar Samuel Frölich, to the Lord Lieutenant for Fyn, appealing for legal assistance 'by one good man' to help him in sorting out his affairs.

Højreskønnede og Naade, Guds
 Gudsrigt Hjelpe, og som den
 ad Landet, ad Hørdre, og Højreskønnede
 om i Højborg, som fuldstændig
 Toren, Løse, og alle de med mig kunde
 forfærdige Lovens og alle de med
 Gudsrigt Hjelpe og mig, som
 Højreskønnede, som den Højreskønnede
 Excellente Højreskønnede og alle de
 om, og alle de Højreskønnede Toren,
 Løse, med fuld og alle de med mig
 Højreskønnede, som den Højreskønnede
 Submission og med alle de med mig
 Højreskønnede Højreskønnede

Deres Excellence

Højreskønnede og Højreskønnede

Højreskønnede

og Højreskønnede
 Højreskønnede
 Højreskønnede

Højreskønnede
 Samuel Frølich

Højreskønnede
 af 20 Decemb. 1719

By courtesy of Landsarkivet for Fyn.

Back page of the original of Tiptiptipoldefar Samuel Frølich's
 petition of the 23rd December, 1719.

(Reduced in size.)

On the 12th November, 1717, at the age of about 29, 1717
 Karen married the 41-year-old merchant, Samuel
 Marcussen Frølich, born about 1676, and who was my
 Tiptiptipoldefar. Two years later, in a petition written
 just before Christmas, on the 23rd December, 1719, 1719
 Frølich described himself as a poverty-stricken man. His
 lack of success he ascribed to theft and other troubles,
 combined with his limited knowledge of the craft of a
 merchant. This had caused his creditors, on the 18th
 November, 1719, to levy execution against him, and,
 the assets evidently being insufficient, this would proceed
 on the day after New Year's Day, 1720. '*If only one*
good man would help me,' was the prayer epitomized
 in his petition addressed to *Stiftsamtmanden*
 ('*Stiftsbejælingsmanden*'), asking, in his agony, for the
 assistance of Søren Lerche, Assistant to the Town Clerk
 in Nyborg. His humility is touching. The outcome of
 his efforts is unknown to us. Eight or nine years later,
 in 1728, a daughter, Anna, was born to Samuel and Karen.
 She was my Tiptipoldemor. Her parents were buried in
 Sct. Nicolai Parish : her father on the 5th November, 1746, 1746
 at 70 years of age, and her mother, surviving her husband
 by 22 years, on the 29th November, 1768, at 80 years 1768
 of age.

For centuries Svendborg and its surroundings had been
 one of the principal shipping centres in Denmark, ships
 built and managed there covering the seven seas.
 Many place names of islands and villages are of
 pagan origin. The large, fertile estates of Manor Houses
 required much labour, particularly at seedtime
 and at harvest. In Svendborg semi-skilled and
 poorly paid manual labour was required by prosperous
 merchants and other middlemen. During the next century
 or so, the lives of Farmor's ancestors must have been
 at a mere subsistence level. Born about 1728, Tiptip- 1728
 oldemor Anna Frølich was married on the 7th November,
 1749, in Svendborg, at the age of 21, to her first husband,

Johan Gabriel Brandenburg, whose family, judging by his surname, is likely to have emigrated from the Berlin area, in his own or an earlier generation. At the age of about 42, on the 28th October, 1754, he obtained his trading licence as a button-maker in Svendborg.

Alas, ten years later, on the 30th July, 1764, he died, only weeks after the birth of his son, Anders Brandenburg, who was christened on the 31st May, 1764. Before long, Anders' mother, *née* Anna Frølich, was married for the second time, on the 26th February, 1766, this time at Sct. Nicolai Kirke in Svendborg, to Peder Frederik Jantzen. 36 years later, on Christmas Eve, 1802, Anna, my twice-married Tiptipoldemor, was buried in Sct. Nicolai Kirke, 74 years old.

Her son, Anders Brandenburg, born in 1764 in Sct. Nicolai Parish and christened on the 31st of May, adopted the same calling of button-maker as his late father, whom he had never known. Probably due to the Industrial Revolution, cutting buttons may have become a dying trade. Be that as it may, Tipoldefar Anders Brandenburg from being a button-maker became successively a skin-dresser and a night watchman, before, in his old age, he finished up as a poor-house inmate. Married in Vor Frue Kirke, at nearly 30, on the 21st February, 1794, to Tipoldemor Kirsten (Kirstine) Jespersen, the erstwhile button-maker, whose fortunes had declined throughout his long life, was buried on the 12th July, 1842, at the age of 78. Tipoldemor Kirsten Jespersdatter, whose birthplace has not been traced, was born about 1760, and buried in Sct. Nicolai Parish, on the 18th March, 1840, two years before her husband, at 80 years of age.

On the 30th October, 1828, at Vor Frue Kirke, their daughter, Oldemor Beate Brandenburg, born on the 6th December, 1801, married Oldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hübel, Master Shoemaker, the survivor of twins. At

W. Linskilde,
Landsarkivet for Nyn,
Jærnbanegade 36,
5000 Odense,
Danmark.

Odense, den 11. april 1973.

Mr. Find Graucob,
Overgate 30 Eullen Edge Road,
Eiland Yorkshire BX5 0QY.

I besvarelse af Deres brev af 5. de., som er overdraget mig til privat besvarelse, meddeles, at Friderich Vilhelm Hybbel blev viet i Brenderup den 21. februar 1762 til Kirstine Jørgensdatter. De var begge fra Kiærsgaard.

Det barn der blev døbt Samuel Andreas i Brenderup den 12. april 1762 bliver begravet den 26. maj 1763, og han kan derfor ikke være en af Deres sønner. Friderich Vilhelm Hybbel og Kirstine Jørgensdatter får den 14. marts 1764 barn nr. 2 døbt i Brenderup. Dette barn får navnet Samuel Andreas, og det må være dette barn, som er en af Deres sønner. Den 22. juni får de barn nr. 3 døbt med navnet Jørgen Christophor. Herefter ses de ikke at få flere børn i Brenderup.

Friderich Vilhelm Hybbel nævnes blandt fædderne ved en dåbshandling i Brenderup den 21. november 1765 som ~~nytt~~¹⁷⁵⁵ på Kiærsgaard.

Brenderup kirkebog er gennemset 1765 - 1787, men uden at finde Friderich Hybbels død. Når jeg ikke har søgt hans død i Brenderup efter 1787 er årsagen den, at han ikke er opført på folketællingen 1787 for Brenderup. Heller ikke Landsarkivets store sødelregistre over skifter har givet noget resultat.

Hvor han er død kan næppe findes indenfor en rimelig tid, om det overhovedet lader sig gøre. Han var imidlertid i live 1777, for på dette tidspunkt kommer sønnen Samuel Andreas i lære som skomager i Odense. I lavsprotokollen står fædderen som en af garantterne for det indgåede lærforhold. Hybbel er ligeledes søgt død i Odense og Svendborg samt Århus og Middelfart, men er altså ikke fundet.

Gebyret for undersøgelsen andrager kr. 100,00, der venligst bedes tilstillet mig.

Med venlig hilsen
W. Linskilde
W. Linskilde

Tiptipoldefar Friderich Vilhelm Hybbel and Tiptipoldemor Kirstine Jørgensdatter, both of Kiærsgaard, were married 21/2/1762 Brenderup. Their second child, Tiptipoldefar Samuel Andreas Hybbel, was christened 14/3/1764 Brenderup. Tiptipoldefar Friderich Vilhelm Hybbel is mentioned as a gamekeeper at Kiærsgaard, 24/11/1765, and as a guarantor for his son, Samuel Andreas, in Odense, 1777.



By courtesy of the Royal Library, Picture Section.
The Manor of Kiærsgaard in North-West Fyn, where Tiptipoldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hybbel, Gamekeeper, and Tiptipoldemor Kirstine Jørgensdatter, Maidservant, both served at the time of their wedding, the 21st February, 1762.

LANDSARKIVET FOR FYN
JERNBANEGADE 36, 5000 ODENSE
TELE. 1255 85

J. nr. 504/73

Ref.: WL/AaS

Den 17. april 1973.

Mr. Find Graucob
Overgate 30
Hullon, Edge Road, Elland
Yorkshire HX5 0QY
England

Under henvisning til Deres brev af 12. d.m. fremsendes vedlagt xeroxkopi in duplo af kirkebogstilførslen vedrørende dåb af hr. Hybbels søn, Samuel Andreas, født den 14. marts 1764.

Transskriberet lyder teksten således:

" d: 14 baptiz Hybbels Barn i Brenderup ved
Nafn Samuel Andreas, frembaaren af Madame
Nordman, Fadderne vare Jomfrue Arreboe,
Monsieur Hunderup, Monsr Goldbech, Leutnant
Lund. "

Sagen har været behandlet tjenstligt, hvorfor der ikke er beregnet noget gebyr.

Med venlig hilsen



P. O. Nielsen

Transcription of the record in the Church Book in Brenderup Kirke showing the christening on the 14th March, 1764, of Tipoldefar Samuel Andreas Hybbel.
(Ref. 3 pages, viz. 892, 893 and 901.)



By courtesy of the Royal Library, Picture Section.
Brenderup Church, where on the 21st February, 1762. Tiptipoldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hybbel. Gamekeeper. and Tiptipoldemor Kirstine Jørgensdatter were married.



By courtesy of the Royal Library, Picture Section.
Korshøj Dolmen Chamber with corridor and forked lintel, near Brenderup, about B.C. 2500.

the time of her confirmation we know Beate had been employed by *Apoteker* Lacoppidan in Svendborg. As her third child, she gave birth on the 7th April, 1832, to Farmor Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel. Notwithstanding his German surname, Andreasine's father too originated from Fyn. The union of these two ancestors of mine, both bearing names associated with Germany or of German origin, viz. Brandenburg and Hübel, and both possessing tempestuous and fiery characters, had long lasting emotional effects to my own generation.

Photostat of entry (slightly reduced in size) recorded in the Church Book, of christening in Brenderup Kirke, of Tipoldefar Samuel Andreas Hybbel, on the 14th March, 1764, the second son of those names.

(Danish transcription quoted in letter, 17/4/1973, from W. Limkilde.)

Most of my grandmother's ancestors whom we can trace, hailed from, or near, Svendborg. The exceptions are Tiptiptipoldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hybbel, and his wife, Tiptiptipoldemor Kirstine Jørgensdatter, presumably a local girl, who, on the 21st February, 1762, when seven months pregnant, was married at Brenderup in the North-Western part of the Island of Fyn, well away from Svendborg. The child of this pregnancy died, however, at about one year old, and was buried on the 26th May, 1763. Kiærsgaard is a lovely estate, which from 1759 to 1770 was owned by Anne Gersdorff, whose father, Herluf Trolle, was Colonel and Chief of the Fyn National Regiment. Their presence, two months after the wedding, at the christening of his gamekeeper's first son, makes it evident that it was considered a joyous event by his employer, who very likely had brought Hybbel with him from Germany. A second male child was christened the

U D S K R I F T
af
kirkebogen for Brenderup sogn på Fyn
1762

1762

Den 12. April blev Daaben confirmeret over
F r i d e r i c h W i l h e l m H y b e l s
Barn nomine S a m u e l A n d r e a s:
frembaaren af Madame Crynen.

Faderne vare: Hr. Obrist Trolle paa Kistrupgaard
Mademoisellen Trolle,
Hr. Trolle i Labye,
Forvalter Hviid paa Asegaard

Udskriftens rigtighed bekræftes.
Landsarkivet, København, den 23. marts 1973

Niels Rickolt
Niels Rickolt
registret

Adelsårbog 1891 pag. 424

Herluf Trolle til Varbjerg (Vends Herred) f. 1715, 1720 Fødet,
1761 Oberst og Chef for fynske nationale Regiment, 1765 Kammerherre
1769 Chef for danske Livregiment, + 19/12-1770 København begr.
fra Holmens Kirke, g.m. Anne Trolle Gersdorff til Kistrupgaard. f. 1714,
+ 9. april 1761: Barn Frederik Christian Trolle f. 30. Aug. 1747
n.fl.

In spite of the presence at his christening of the parents employed by somebody bearing the historic name of Herluf Trolle, the first baby christened in Brenderup died only 12 months old. A second male child who survived, was given identical Christian names and became one of my *Tipoldefædre*.

14th March, 1764, and, confusingly, given the same name as his late, elder brother. When grown up, he settled in Svendborg, where on the 19th October, 1800, in Sct. Nikolai Kirke, he married Tipoldemor Anna Margrethe Nielsdatter. The latter, born about 1773, after having given birth to twins on the 3rd August, 1803, died. One of the twins, christened Friderich Wilhelm Hübel, became my Oldefar. He was a shoemaker, and on the 30th October, 1828, married in Vor Frue Kirke in Svendborg, Oldemor Beate Brandenburg, born on the 6th December, 1801, a picture of whom appears on p.909.



Photograph given to me by Farbror Carl, about 1960.

Oldemor Beate Hübel, *née* Brandenburg.
b. 6/12/1801 Svendborg, †9/6/1882 Svendborg.
Lived in Svendborg all her days.



The square in Svendborg about 1800. Oldemor Beate Brandenburg was born in Svendborg in 1801.

By courtesy of Svendborg Museum.

Table No. 21. (Nineteenth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to Tiptiptiptipoldefar Anders Poulsen, City Councillor and Merchant in Svendborg, and some of his descendants.

Generation 1 : Tiptiptiptipoldefar Anders Poulsen, City Councillor and Merchant, b. abt. 1659, probably Odense, obtained trading licence 11/11/1686 Svendborg, and was buried 13/10/1711. 52 years. His wife, Tiptiptiptipoldemor Ellen Clausdatter, buried 27/1/1729 (Sct. Nicolai Parish, Svendborg.) *Left 4 sons and 3 daughters.*

Generation 2 : Tiptiptipoldemor Karen Andersdatter Stromberg, b. abt. 1688, chr. 6/5/1688 m. 12/11/1717 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg to a unsuccessful merchant, Tiptiptipoldefar Samuel Marcussen Frølich, b. abt. 1676 and buried 5/11/1746. (A letter written and signed by him, 23/12/1719, survives.) His widow was buried 29/11/1768.

Generation 3 : Tiptipoldefar Johan Gabriel Brandenburg. Button-Maker, b. abt. 1712, 28/10/1754 obtained trading license in Svendborg, †52 years 30/7/1764 Sct. Nicolai Parish, Svendborg, m. 7/11/1749 Tiptipoldemor Anna Frølich, b. abt. 1728 m. 2nd time 26/2/1766 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg, Peder Frederik Jantzen. She † 24/12/1802 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg.

Generation 4 : Tipoldefar Anders Brandenburg. Button-Maker, Skin Dresser. Night Watchman, Poor House Inmate, b. 1764 Sct. Nicolai Parish, chr. 31/5/1764 †8/7/1842 Vor Frue Parish, Svendborg and buried 12/7/1842, 81 years (?). m. 21/2/1794 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg Tipoldemor Kirsten (Kirstine) Jespersdatter, b. abt. 1760, †14/3/1840, Sct. Nicolai Parish, Svendborg. 80 years. Buried 18/3/1840.

(Jens Martin Jørgen Brandenburg, who was born in *Kiel* at the Midwife Institution 15/12/1823, chr. 19/12/1823, was stated to be the son of Watchman Anders Brandenburg and his wife, Anne Kirstine (Hansdatter ?) and was confirmed in *Svendborg* (Vor Frue) 1838. The discrepancy cannot be explained.)

Generation 5 : Oldemor Beate Brandenburg, b. 6/12/1801 Svendborg, chr. 13/12/1801, Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg. When confirmed she is known to have been employed by *Apoteker* Lacoppidan in Svendborg, who from 1792 to 1831, was chemist and innkeeper there, and, in 1827 and 1832, in the latter capacity entertained royalty. †9/6/1882 Svendborg, m. 30/10/1828 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg. Oldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hübel, Master Shoemaker, chr. 3/8/1803 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg, †22/11/1856 Svendborg.

Table No. 22. (Nineteenth Chapter.)

Schedule of summarized facts relating to Tiptipoldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hybbel, of Brenderup, Fyn, and some of his descendants.

Generation 1(3) : Tiptipoldefar Gamekeeper Friderich Wilhelm Hybbel, m. 21/2/1762 Brenderup, Kirstine Jorgensdatter (both employed at Kjærsgaard Manor in the North-West of Fyn). (3 sons).

Present in Brenderup 24/11/1765, when he was described as a Gamekeeper. In Odense 1777, he was mentioned in the Book of the Guild of Shoemakers. Not included in Brenderup Census 1787.

Generation 2(4) : Tipoldefar Samuel Andreas Hybbel, Shoemaker, chr. 14/3/1764. †27/1/1833 Sct. Nicolai Parish, Svendborg, 70 years, buried 1/2/1833, m. 1st time 19/10/1800 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg, Tipoldemor Anna Margrethe Nielsdatter, b. abt. 1773, birth place not traced but not in Svendborg. †5/8/1803 after having given birth to twins, at the age of 30, was buried 9/8/1803 at Søndre Kirkegaard, Svendborg. He m. 2nd time 11/2/1810 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg, the widow Anne Thomasdatter, †5/10/1829, 67 years old, called Anne Thomsen, Sct. Nicolai Parish, Svendborg.

Generation 3(5) : Oldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hübel, Master Shoemaker, one of twins, b. 1/8.1803 Svendborg, chr. 5/8/1803 Sct. Nicolai Kirke, Svendborg. †21/11/1856 Vor Frue Parish, Svendborg. m. 30/10/1828 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg. Oldemor Beate Brandenburg, b. 6/12/1801, chr. 13/12/1801, †9/6/1882 Vor Frue Parish, Svendborg.

Oldefar Friderich Wilhelm Hübel and Oldemor Beate Brandenburg had ten children, in addition to my tempestuous and fiery Farmor. Five of them (including Farmor) were christened in Svendborg Sct. Nicolai Kirke, and six in Svendborg Vor Frue Kirke, as follows :

Svendborg Sct. Nicolai Kirke :

1. Farmor Andreasine Wilhelmine Hybel, b. 7/4/1832, chr. 31/5/1832 †1/3/1907. m. 12/9/1860 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg. Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, b. 19/2/1833 Flemhude, Holstein. †27/10/1908 Copenhagen.
2. Anne Kirstine Hybel, b. 17/9/1833, chr. 24/11/1833, m. 11/5/1860 Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen. Labourer, later Gunsmith Hans Jørgensen (Kay Boysen's grandparents):
 - a) Johanne Sophie Vilhelmine Jørgensen, b. 25/9/1860, Copenhagen, chr. 2/12/1860



*By courtesy of Astrid Hermansson,
my Swedish paternal cousin.*

Three Fyn Hybel Grand-Uncles (brothers of Farmor), photographed in Nyborg, possibly for the 80th birthday of their mother, Beate Brandenburg, on the 6th December, 1881.

(Left to right)

- 7) Johan Peter Hybel, Master Smith. Bagergade. Svendborg.
- 9) Carl Christian Hybel, Master Blacksmith. Brogade, Svendborg.
- 11) Hans Adolph Hybel, Hatter. Kongegade. Nyborg.

†9/6/1936 Copenhagen, 29/11/1882 Vor
Frelsers Kirke, Copenhagen, m. as his
2nd wife. her uncle, No. 10. Ludvig
Theodor Hybel.

3. Frits Vilhelm Hybel. Farmer. b. 23/1/1835,
chr. 15/4/1835, m. Marianne Hansen. b.
14/10/1840 Bostrup, Langeland, †27/1/1923,
82 years. †7/4/1899 Bostrup. Langeland.

Shortly after my arrival in London in
1922, the widow of one of Farmor's brothers,
Mariane Hybel. b. 14/10/1840 Bostrup
Langeland. Hansen, died 27/1/1923. She
was 82 years of age and had been married
to Farmer Fritz Vilhelm Hybel. who had
died 7/4/1899 Bostrup. As they had no
children. their modest estate was divided
between her late husband's eight brothers
and sisters or their descendants. As Farmor
had died in 1907, her share again was
divided between her surviving children.
Far's share. once more was divided. this time
between my two sisters and me. Thus I
received in London 12 kr. for which I
purchased a much needed hat. This is the
only one of two modest amounts, which I
have ever inherited.

4. Carl Christian Hybel, b. 5/5/1836, chr. at
home 16/7/1836, †16/7/1836.
5. Ernstine Frederikke Hybel, b. 15/8/1838, chr.
7/10/1838, m. ? Knud Kristian Hansen,
Shoemaker. Kogsbølle. near Nyborg.
After her husband's death. settled at
Nørregade 16, Nyborg. †21/1/1918 Kogsbølle.

Svendborg Vor Frue Kirke :

6. Andreas Bernhard Hübel, b. 2/5/1829.
†16/10/1830. bd. 21/10/1830.
7. Johan Peter Hübel, Master Smith, b.
20/10/1830, conf. 1845 Svendborg. m.
14/11/1857 Johanne Caroline Rasmussen, b.
1/11/1834.
8. Andreas Bernhard Hübel. b. 12/9/1839,
Master Sailmaker. Baadsmændstræde.
Copenhagen, †29/6/1893 Copenhagen
Kommunehospitalet. bd. 5/7/1893 Assistens
Kirkegård. m. ? Anna Marie Villumsen, b.
14/4/1838 Nyborg †9/1/1927 De Gamles By,
Copenhagen.
9. Carl Christian Hübel. b. 12/12/1842, chr.
9/4/1843. Master Blacksmith. Brogade,
Svendborg.

Billigt Hatteudsalg

i Grønnegade 15.

Ludvig Hybel, Grønnegade 15,

andefaler et rigt Udvalg af elegante Silkehætte i nyeste Façon, samt Billigst
i alle Hætte og i de moderneste Façon og Refører,
Alt til ualmindelig billige Priser.

Ludvig Hybel, Grønnegade 15.

Som påførende Tilbeholdninger anbefales:

Filtsko

i særdeleshed til ualmindelig billige Priser.

Et Udvalg af de nyeste og bedste

Ludvig Hybel,

15 Grønnegade 15.

"DAGS-TELEGRAFEN" 15/12/1870

By courtesy of Universitetsbiblioteket.

In the autumn 1870, the enterprising 26-year-old hatter, Grand-Uncle Ludvig Hybel, who had obtained his trading licence, 29 3 1870, began an advertising campaign. At first it was only for elegant silk hats but soon he also included felt shoes. The change in the spelling of his surname may have resulted from francophile attitude, during the 1870-71 Franco-German War.

- 10) Ludvig Theodor Hübel, b. 11 8 1844, chr. 13 4 1845, † 6 10 1890, Frederiksberg, buried 18 10 1890, Assistens Kirkegaard, Copenhagen. Hat Manufacturer at Grønnegade 15, Copenhagen. Residence: Lykkesholms Allé 16, Copenhagen. m. 1st time: Theodora Amalie

Tønnesen, †24/5/1877, 30 years old. 2nd time : 29/11/1882 Johanne Sophie Vilhelmine Jørgensen, his 22-year-old niece, who thus married her 38-year-old uncle.

Children :

By his 1st marriage :

- a) Theodor Ludvig Hybel, christened at home 13/5/1877 by Pastor Schnidt, exhibited in the Church on the 24/5/1877, †17/1/1878.

By his 2nd marriage :

- b) Johan Vilhelm Hybel (**Lam**) b. 5/7/1883, chr. 3/8/1883, † in Argentina.

From Bahia Blanca, Argentina, on the 14/6/1911, '*Lam*' (Vilhelm Hybel) wrote to his mother in Copenhagen, that he had been told of a recent visit of mine to her when I had proved very enthusiastic about his stamp collection. 2½ years earlier, when he had emigrated from Denmark, he had left his stamps with his mother, but I was welcome to have any of these, if I wanted them. Later, being already a keen reader, I would please him, very much, if I were to choose any of his books in his mother's library. Only his comments made by his sister, '*Trine*' (Agnes Hybel), that, 'Find is interested in everything,' are slightly restrained in their enthusiasm, though repeated by him. In a letter, two years earlier, (24/10/1909), '*Lam*' had asked Mor to convey her congratulations to 'her big son.' (I was only to become seven the next month!) and to thank me for my hand-written greetings to him.

- c) Agnes ('*Trine*') Hybel, b. 22/3/1885, chr. 26/4/1885, †21/4/1937 Copenhagen.

Their father, Ludvig Hybel, before his second marriage, indulged in at least one other avuncular sexual adventure, and had become one of the 'bloods' of Copenhagen, after having, in 1870, established himself as a hatter in Grønnegade, then a fashionable men's street. In 1870, he inserted a quarter page advertisement in 'Dagstelegrafen.' As a fashion chaser, is reported to have declared his willingness to become the second man in Copenhagen to wear a burgundy-coloured morning coat. '*Lam*,' his son, much later, had a 'crush' on my mother, before in 1912 he married Danish-born Johanne Tvedegaard in Argentina, to which country he had emigrated. '*Trine*,' about 1911, in vain, tried to teach me to play the piano.



*By courtesy of
Fru Eva Heede, my sister.*

'Lam' and 'Trine' Hybel,
presumably about 1890.



*By courtesy of
Fru Eva Heede, my sister.*

Johan Vilhelm Hybel ('Lam')
b. 5/7/1883 chr. 3/1883 Copenhagen † in Argentina.
m. about 1912 in Argentina to Danish-born
Johanne Tvedegaard.
Photographed 1901.



*By courtesy of
Fru Eva Heede, my sister.*

Agnes Hybel ('Trine')
b. 22/3 1885 chr. 26/4/1885 †21/4/1937
Copenhagen.
Unmarried.
Photographed 1901.

Never married, 'Trine,' had great affection for my father, her cousin, which on his death she transferred to me. Much older, as she was, financially, and in other ways, she showed this affection and, helped me in 1922 to get to England. With the assistance of her cousin, Kay Boysen, who was a grandson of No. 2, Anne Kirstine née Hybel, who had been in England since 1912, she visited us both there about 1923.



Johanne Sophie Wilhelmine Jørgensen.
 b. 25/9/1860 Copenhagen †8/6/1936 Copenhagen,
 d. of Anne Kirstine Hybel, one of Farmor's
 sisters. As his 2nd wife, she m. 29/11/1882 her
 maternal uncle, Ludvig Theodor Hübel, b.
 11/8,1844 Svendborg †6/1/1890 Frederiksberg.
 She had 2 children by her husband, who had had
 a hatter's shop in Copenhagen at Grønnegade
 15, which she carried on for about forty years
 after his death, residing in a tiny flat above the
 shop.

11. Hans *Adolph* Hübel. Hatter, b. 28/11/1849,
 chr. 10/2/1850, †6/2/1927. *Unmarried*.
 Kongegade 18, Nyborg. At the age of 48,
 Oldemor Beate Brandenborg had given birth
 to her handsome, last child, who never
 married. Before I went to England I visited
 him many times for a few days in Nyborg,
 where he had a hatter's shop. His house-
 keeper, Nora, as she grew older, became
 in appearance like Grand-Uncle Adolph.
 Much earlier, Grand-Uncle Adolph had
 taught his trade to his nephew, Carl Graucob,
 who settled in Stockholm. Very likely,
 Grand-Uncle Adolph was Nora's father.

In this page I of a letter dated 16/5/1923, from Grand-Uncle Adolph in Nyborg to Uncle Carl in Stockholm, reference is made to my start as a bank clerk in London, the arrangement for which 'Trine' had made from Copenhagen.

Nyborg 16/5. 23.

Kære Carl!

Da jeg i aften var medfølgende i vor
køis hører den indlydende til for om alle
Soldaterjubilæerne skjønder jeg mig at
sende dig det for om du berømmer dig
til at give stude, der er jo egentlig ikke
saa længe det til og Meldning om Hellegæst
skal, som du vil se, gøres d. 27 Mai.
Ja saa sender jeg et høre hvad du berømmer
dig til. Herfra er ellers at sætte, alt vel"
men for Forretningens Vedkommende er
det meget idøit og det er fornemligt tilpelt.
Styrtet Regn og Kilde hooet sig i Lange Tiden
har det været saaledes og Mai som juleen at
være vor bedste Maaned. Jeg af Graa hatte
er den idet ikke noget der heder men hele

sig for de naar at blive solgt det er den
største Mai jeg nogensinde har oplevet her.
Klosteret skaae til oore hos jer. Men i Bau-
mark er det vist en over det hele, vi skal jo
gemme det men brød er det.

Da jeg havde jeg et lille Brev fra Doris hvore
hun fortæller at hun i vinter ikke har følt
sig vel men maattet søge Læge, dog maa
hun at kunne føle Bedring og haaber igen
at blive rigtig rask og vi vil tænke det.

Forgangen jeg havde jeg Brev fra Alfred,
ja, han behøver sig naturligtvis over Forholdene
derude men Familien er dog raske og haaber
fra hvide Veder de har da faaet en del Ordre
fra Fabriken. I forrige Uge var jeg Blevet
og tilfale paa Familien Boyesen de skulde
til London paa Besøg i en Maaned hos deres
Søn Beskæftiget med deore det er jo en stor
Gode for dem. Vi vil maaske at Beurlaubt
Sine Fuld er kommet til London i Bauen

Hos Kay Boyesen det var nok uorment Agnes
& Høf. Enkelt som fik det sat igennem og
Kay skal oore ordets hjælp og end haave
som er meget glædeligt."

Ja, saa ikke videre denne Gang det er malet
op lidt høitlig. Min en høitlig Kærlig til
jer alle, ogsaa Sum og hendes Wied, haaber
som uvent at all skaae vel til jer.

Ederes hengivne Onkel A.

7. Bataillons Aargang 1883

afholder 40 Aars Jubilæum i
Nyborg Lørdag d. 2. Juni Kl.
12 $\frac{1}{2}$ paa Industrihotellet. Med
alle!

De, der ønsker at deltage i
Festen, bedes anmelde dette se-
nest 29. Maj til en af undertegnede.

Murermester A. Andersen,
Nyborg.

Sognfoged Bendixen,
Bovense pr. Ullerslev.

Gaardejer Carlsen,
Bovense pr. Ullerslev.

Gaardejer H. Jørgensen,
Kogsballe pr. Nyborg.

Gaardejer Lars Kjær,
Vindinge pr. Nyborg.

Vognmand L. Poulsen,
Dyrehaven pr. Nyborg. 6113

Grand-Uncle Adolph in Nyborg, in a letter dated the 16th May, 1923. to 'Onkel Carl,' his nephew in Stockholm, writes that the previous week he greeted at the railway station his niece, Mrs. Boysen of Copenhagen. With her husband, she was travelling en route to London to visit her son, Kay Boysen, the bank manager. Thanks to Agnes Hybel's influence, she had got Find, Bernhard's son, a job in his bank and Kay was very gratified with Find's services.

Terms of probate 1711 & 1713, of
TIPTIPTIPTIPOLDEFAR
ANDERS POVELSEN of SVENDBORG,

Udskrift
af Svendborg købstads skifteprotokol 1707-1760, folio
92ff.

Skiftes Forretning efter Sl. Anders Povelsen. Ao 1711 d. 13 Novembr. Mødt borgemester Evart Nielsen, Simon Povelsen Raadmand, Martinus Arlodt byfoged, Rasmus Jørgensen Caspar Flindt over formyndere alle her ibm., udi afgangne nu Sl. Anders Povel fordm Raadm. her samme steds, stervboe til et venlig Skiftes forhandling, Mellum for Ermt. dend Sl. Mands Hustrue dend Dydziiende Matrone Ellen Clausdatter med sin Egen tiltagne Laugværge, Cort Heldevad paa dend Eene side og dend Sl. Mands efterladte Børn. Navnl. Claus Student, Povel udi 26 Aar, Johannes gl. 12 Aar, og Carsten Povel sønner gl. 8te Aar. Item Karen, Anna og Dorthea Povel sødtræ, paa dend anden side, til vorderings Mænd er udmelt Jens Sørensen og Jens Hansen Graa som dend Sl. Mands efterladte Midler haver at Vordere og Taxere som de agter at ansvare, forrefant som følger :

Thin : 5 fader vog 14 pund a. 14 s. 2 rd. 4 s., lo tallerchen vog 12 pund og en liden Smør breche 14 s. 1 rd. 5 mk. 6 s. 1 pr. Smaa stager 1 mk. 8 s., Messing : 1 Løgte 4 mk., 1 gl. Sengebecken 6 s., Jern : 1 Jern Gryde 2 mk., 1 dito i Stocher 1 mk., 1 dito Ringere 12 s., 1 liden Stang i skorstenen med 2 Kiedels Kroge 1 mk. 8 s., 1 gl. Bog Saug 1 mk., 1 liden gl. økse 12 s. 1 Ildklemme 8 s., 1 Senneps Overn 1 mk. 8 s., 1 blech Rive Jern 2 s. Thrævahre : i dend dagl. Stuve 1 oval bord af Eg 2 rd. 1 Laaj Bench overtræched med Læder 4 mk., 1 Slaabench 3 mk., 1 lidet udgraved. skab 2 rd., 1 Skærm Bret gl. 3 mk., 4 Høye bagstoele med blaa Læret malede a 1 mk. 4 s. — 5 mk. 2 Høye træstoele a 1 mk. — 2 mk., 3 gl. dito Flamske overtræch a 1 mk. 4 s. — 3 mk. 12 s., 1 spegel med sort Rame 2 mk., 2 smaa Lauge Læderstoele a 1 mk. — 2 mk., 1 dito med flamsk overtræch 12 s., Kiøkened : 1 gl. Aaben bench 8 s., 1 førbord med lugt fod 3 mk., 1 Aaben før bench 12 s., 1 gl. Retter bench 1 mk., 1 gl. Lennestoele 12 s. 1 gl. fyrschab uden laas 1 mk. 8 s., 1 gl. benche Kiiste uden L. 1 mk., 4re løsse Hyller a 4 s. — 1 mk. Brygerset : 1 gl. førbord med aaben fod 12 s., 1 gl. Stand tønde 8 s., 1 gl. Rulle bord 2 mk., 1 Degne trug ub. 4 s., 1 gl. Kierne 6 s., 1 flødbotte gl. 4 s. 1 Malche botte 4 s., 1 gl. T : Natskrin lo s., lo stk. Siebotter a 3 s. — 1 mk. 14 s., 1 gl. Spand 4 s., Kielderstuen : 1 Sengested af før 4 mk., 1 Aaben Eege bord 1 rd., 1 lidet skilleri 4 s., 2 Høye bagstole overtræch med flamsk Læred gl. a 1 mk. — 2 mk., 1 lidet gl. førbord 1 mk., Kielderen : 2 øl halftønder a. 12 s. — 1 mk. 8 s. 1 gl. toe balle 6 s., Told Kammeret : 1 benche Kiiste uden Laas 3 mk., 1 Schillerii 8 s., 2 smaa overtæched af flamsch høye Stoele a. 1 mk. 4 s. — 2 mk. 8 s., Arnnee Stuen : 1 gl. aaben bench 4 s., 1 Lidet Spegel 2 s., 1 gl. stoeche opslagen Sengested 12 s., 1 gl. blechplade 4 s., 1 gl. før tønde paa Lofted 4 s., Gaarden : 1 gl. aflech færreds Vogn 2 rd. 4 mk., 1 gl. trævogn ubrugelig 1 rd., 1 gl. ploug med 2 Jern 1 mk. 8 s.,

Hønder og Omhenger : 2 Hønder af flamed gl. a. 12 s. — 1 mk. 8 s., 3 stk. og 1 Kape af trøcht Læred 3 mk., Glas og Steentøy : 4 Half potte Rømer a 4 s. — 1 mk., 2 hvide hollandsche fade a. 4 s. — 8s., 2 smaa blaa dito skaale a. 3 s. — 6 s., 3 gl. stk. blich former a. 1 s. — 3 s., Senge Klæder : No. 1, 1 gl. blaa Randet underdyne 2 mk., 2, 1 dito ligesaa overdyne 3 mk., 3, 1 Hvid underdyne 4 mk., 4, 1 gl. Hvid dito 3 mk., 5, 1 Hvid Hoved dyne 1 mk., 6, 1 dito gl. ubrugl. 12 s.,

7, 1 liden Hovedpude 12 s., Enchens Seng : 1 underdyne af hiemgiort 2 mk. 4 s., 1 dito gl. 2 mk. 2 s., 2 Hoveddyner blaarandet 4 mk., 1 dito pude hvid 1 mk. 8 s., 1 pr. Horgarns Lagen 1 rd. 1 mk., 1 Sengested af for 1 rd. 2 mk., 1 pr. borgarns Lagen 3 mk., 1 dito Ringere 2 mk., 1 pr. dito 1 mk. 8s., 1 pr. Horgarns Lagen 4 mk., 2 pr. Horgarns pudesvaar a. 1 mk. — 2 mk., 1 Drejels Dug 1 mk. 4 s., 1 dito Lidet bedre 1 mk. 12 s., 3 stk. gl. blorgarns Duge a. 6 s., — 1 mk. 2 s., 2 stk. Sarveter a 8 s. — 1 mk., Levendes Qveg : 1 gl. brun Hest 16 Aar 2 rd., 1 dito sort 18 Aar 1 rd. 4 mk., 1 Rød Koe 3 rd. 2 mk., 1 Kalf 1/2 Aar gl. 1 rd. 2 mk., Summa bedrager Sig for indførte Losøre Til Penge Siger 48 Rdr. 2 mk. 3 s.

Og som Enchen forregiver at ventelig Een deel uden Lands Creditorer udi boen haver at fordre og man der om ey videndes er hvo erre, alt saa for aarsages efter Loven, Proclama at lade udgaa, Eenhver til Efterretning, des Aarsag kand ej berames til nogen hvids tiid Skifted til fuldkommenhed at befordre, Men beroe til videre.

Actum ut Supra.

Evert Nielsen. S. Povelsen. M. Arlodt.
(LS) (LS) (LS)

Rasmus Jørgensen. Caspar Flindt.
(LS) (LS)

Jens Sofrensen Nibe. Jens Hansen Graa.

Ao 1713 d. 28 Martii Mødte Skiftes forvalterne udi Stervboen til videre skiftes befordring, efter at ved behørige Stæder var giort til Lysning og derom Proclamens indhold som er ord til andet som følger,

Borgemester og Raad udi Svendborg, Giøre Vitterligt, at saasom forige Raadmand Anders Povelsen ved Døden er afgangen, Saa haver vi strax hans efterlatte boe ladet forseigle der efter Registerne og Vordere, Mens som fornemes hand i mange Aar tilforne haver ført nogen Handel med Kiøbmands Vahre, og endnu uden rigs til Creditorer Eendeel penge skal være bortschuldig, Hvor forre mand til lovlig skiftes holdelse efter hannem er for Aarsaged denne Proclame at lade udgaa, og hermed at Incitere alle og Eenhver bemte dend St. Mands baade uden Rigs og Landes Creditorer, hvem noget efter hannem kand have at fordre og Prætendere at de være tiltengt saadant med Rigtig beviisligheder, som efter døød Mand skee bør, til Skiftes forvalterne her samme steds inden en dags forløb efter denne Proclames Lovlig forkyndelse at indgive, Hvor de skal blive imodtaget til paa følgende skiftes forhandling, derefter Een hver Creditor kand have sig at for efter deris fordringers Beskaffenhed og boens tilstand. Skulle ellers nogen findes forsømmelig med deris fordringers indgivende, haver de dennem selv at tilregne, dend skade de derover maatte tage, og tabe dend ræt til Stervboen ellers Havdes.

Tienstl. begieres denne Proclame for aaber og under retterne hvor dend fremviises, maatte læses paaskrives og Protocolleres og igien tilstilles.

Datum Svendborg Raadstue d. 21 Decembr. 1711.

Evert Nielsen. S. Povelsen.

No. 4. Lest inden Fynboe Landsting d. 23 Decembr. 1711.

J. Brahe. M. Rosenvinge.

Iligemaade Protokol. Test. N. Pedersen.

Lest paa Svendborg Byeting Mandagen dend 18 Januarii Ao 1712.

M. Arlodt.

og Protocoll. paa Folie 300 Test. Ott Povelsen.

Eyendomen.

Dend Sl. Mand sidst iboende og afdøde Gaard beliggende i broegaden, Mellum Sl. Chresten bagers Gaard paa dend Eene, og Clemen Mortensen iboende Gaard paa dend anden side, med tilliggende Hauge Rum, ialt Vordered ved 2de andre borgere Navnl. Jacob Cortsen og Hans Rider Murm. tillige de for hen i alt for penge saam dend nu er og forre finds Penge 450 Rixdler. Summa af boens Losøre og Ejendommen Sampt Enchens Seng Indbereignet til Penge 498 Rixdrl. 2 mk. 3 s.

Dend Sl. Mands Hoved bog tillige andre Klade bøger er tilsammen Sex igiennemseet, da der udi befindes efter følgende tilstaaende Gield Neml.

No. 1 Niels Hansen paa taasing 2 mk., Holger Glarm. her ibm. 1 mk., Niels federsen i Rudkiøbing 1 mk. 2 s., Pet. Brochsneider i Odense 4 rd. 4 mk.,

No. 2. Joesp Knudsen i Norup 14 s., Karen Jydens 1 rd. 5 mk. 12 s., No. 3 Jens Larsen i Kvarboe Molle 11 s., Niels Rasmussen i Steenst. 8 s., Margrete Nielsen i tved 10 s., Jacob Ross i fridericia 1 rd. 4 mk. 8 s., Jorgen Hiort Rector i faaborg 1 mk., Lars Jensen i Skaarup 14 s., Peder Jensen i Stioel 1 mk. 4 s., Anders Michelsen i Rudk. 1 rd. 4 mk., Chresten Skibs Karl 1 rd. 1 mk., Chrestof: i Vesterskierning 1 rd. 4 mk. 2 s., Jesper Larsen paa Eegeskovsgaard 1 rd. 3 mk. 6 s., Hans Jørgensen Visiteur 8 rd. 4 mk. 13 s., Steenvinchel 2 rd. 5 mk. 14 s., Jens Møller i Nærste Molle 1 rd. 5 mk. 14 s., Povel Dreyer i Langaa 12 s., Chresten Povelsen paa Langl. 2 rd. 5 mk. 10 s., Hans Rass. 4 mk., Jørgen Graa Skom. 3 mk. 14 s., Hr. Jørgen i Haarne 2 mk. Cap. Smechler 3 rd. 4 mk., Niels Skiotte 1 mk., Hans Post 2 mk., Rasmus Hansen i Raarud 1 mk. 2 s., Birgitte fogs 4 rd. 4 mk., Rasmus Pedersen i Gudme 3 mk. 4 s., Niels Larsen 2 mk. 4 s., Laurids flemmersen Rytter 1 mk. 8 s., Peter Petersen i Roskebolle 1 rd. 8 s., Anna Andersdatter 1 mk. 10 s., Oge Guldsmed 2 rd., Hr. Anders i Svindinge 5 rd. 14 s., Hendrich Laade Skollem. 1 rd., Hans Chrestensen Vever og Lille Peder Hansen i Langaa 1 rd. 4 s., Evad tiende paa broholm 2 mk., Knud Ollufsen skreder i Ottense 8 s., Chresten Soldatt 3 mk. 8 s., Pet. Jeppesen i Qverndrup 1 mk. 12 s., Chresten N: 2 mk. 9 s., Maren Samsbings 1 mk. 11 s., Jens Erichsen Rytter 1 mk., Ras: Skreder i skaarup 1 rd., Jacob Mortensen i Rudk. 1 rd. 2 mk., Anders Snedker paa taasig 3 mk. 12 s., Jørgen Pedersen paa taasing 1 mk. 12 s., Maren Clausen paa turoe 6 s., Christian skreder 1 rd. 2 mk. 8 s., Hans Kruskops datt: 12 s., Jomf. paa Hovgaarden 1 rd. 4 mk. 6 s., Tomas tolder i Rudkiøbing 3 mk. 8 s., Hr. Christian i Krarup 5 mk., No. 4. Povel Hansen her ibm. 6 s., Chresten Jacob Moller i Ottense 4 mk., Hans Soldat 2 mk., Peter Bremer 3 rd. 3 mk. 5 s., Søren Marchusdatter i Ottense 7 s., Jørgen Povelsen i færsløv 2 rd. 2 mk. 14 s., Jørgen Hansen Soldat 4 rd. 2 s., Cap. Smit i Ottense 2 mk. 14 s., Henning Riimand 1 mk. 2 s., Maren Hansdatter i Gestelev 12 s., Christian Norman 2 rd. 4 mk. 14 s., Rasmus Bærtelsen 8 s., Johan Jensen paa Heslegd. 1 rd. 4 mk. 8 s., Sl. Velb. fru Dorte Juuls 3 rd. 5 mk. 15 s., Hans Larsen i Ottense 13 rd. 13 s., Mag: Peder Biering 3 mk. 6 s., Lars Rasmussen i brylle 2 mk., Claus Ollufsen 5 rd. 5 mk. 7 s., Rasmus Clausen 1 mk. 8 s., Ras. Jørgensen i Ottense 1 mk. 8 s., Rasmus bang 2 rd. 10 s., Berte Olufsdatter 2 rd. 4 mk. Søren Smed i Aarslev 12 s., Erich Jensen 14 s., Hr. Mads Rostock i Mødelvard 6 rd., Erich Jensen 14 s., Hans Pettersen Rytter 3 rd. 7 s., Rasmus Jørgensen Skred: 4 mk., Knud Pedersen 3 mk., Hans Larsen og Jørgen Hansen 1 rd. 2 mk. 8 s. Maren Andersdatter 1 rd. 4 mk., Leut. Peder von Verbern 1 rd. 1 mk. 13 s., Mad. Anna Chatrine

Bang 1 rd. 5 mk. 4 s., Mathias Hansen 1 rd. 5 mk. Hans Christian i Skalb. 3 mk. 8 s., Karen smeds i Ottense 4 mk. 2 s. Mads Skreder ibm. 2 mk. 12 s., Peder Madsen ibm. 5 mk. 5 s., Chresten Hermansen 1 rd. 1 mk. 5 s., Hans Jensen Skred. 2 mk. 12 s., Hand. Hønne 1 rd. 5 mk. 5 s., Anders N : 1 rd. 3 mk. 6 s., Organist til Ste Knuds Kirche 4 mk., Else Johansdatt : 4 mk. 14 s., Jørgen Hansen i Ellerup 1 mk. 8 s., Niels Jensen 1 rd. 2 mk. 15 s., Laurs Hansen i Ottense 1 rd. 4 mk. 12 s., David Rasmussen 3 mk., Hans Jensen 3 mk. 5 s., gl. Peder Hansen 1 rd. 1 mk. 10 s., Hans Chrestensen 4 mk. 4 s., Hans Nielsen og Peder Hansen i Obye 1 rd., David Rasmussen i Ellerup 3 mk., Hans Jensen ibm. 3 mk. 5 s., gl. Peder Hansen i Ellerup 1 rd. 1 mk. 10 s., Hans Chrestensen ibm. 4 mk. 4 s., Hans Nielsen og Peder Hansen ibm. 1 rd. 1 mk. 2 s., Rasmus Hansen i Ellerup 1 mk. 2 s., Peder Hansen og Knud Rasmussen 2 rd. 1 mk. 8 s., Jørgen Hansen i Gudme 1 mk. 4 s., Hans Smed i tved 1 mk. 12 s., Rasmus Jensen i Brudag : 14 s., Niels Rasmussen fogd paa taasing 5 mk., Hans Pil og Povel Nielsen i Langaa 4 mk., Hans pil og Knud Rasmussen ibm. 1 rd. 3 mk., Niels Pedersen i brudager 1 mk. 14 s., Jens Erichsen ibm. 1 mk. 4s., Hans Ollufsen i Ollerup 3 mk. 10 s., Hans Jacobsen ibm. 4 mk. 14 s., Rasmus Erichsen i Søebye 3 mk., Niels Jørgensen i øster obye 3 mk. 4 s., bertel Knudsen i Gudme 1 mk. 2 s., Niels Hansen i bøsør 7 rd. 2 mk. 7 s., Anders Mortensen i Ottense 3 mk. 8 s., Marria i Skovsboe 1 mk. 12 s., Anna Hollenders i Odense 4 mk., Ped. Snedker i Langaa 4 mk. 4 s., Christian Softing 3 rd. 2 mk., Ras. Pedersen i Svendbo, 1 rd. 3 mk. 3 s., Johanne Amme ibm. 4 mk. 8 s., Knud Knudsen i Skaarup 1 mk 8 s., Jom. Anne Dorthea Seested 5 rd. 1 mk. 1 s., Leut. Vinterfeld 4 rd. 1 mk. 12 s., Niels Hansen turøe 8 s., Jacob Murm. i Ottense 3 rd. 2 mk. 10 s., Christian farver i Assens 9 rd. 1 mk. 15 s., Jens Kylling ibm. 2 rd. 2 mk. 14 s., Jacob skred. i Medelfar 1 mk. 4 s., Niels Pedersen og Ras. taarup 2 rd. 4 mk. 7 s., Leut. Kopleu i ølbolle 2 rd. 3 mk. Povel Smed i Vormk. 1 rd. 2 mk., Knud Hiulmand i ovbye 2 mk., Povel Ravn i Rudkiøbing 1 rd. 4 mk., Oluf Rasmussen i tved 3 mk., Clemens Rasmussen i ovbye 3 mk. 12 s., Christian Trompeter i Eignense 1 rd. 12 s., Bertel Sadelmag. i Aarslev 2 rd., Anders Jensen i Giesing paa taasig 2 mk., Jens Rasmussen i Vejstrup 1 mk. 8 s., Jørgen Rasmussen i tved 1 mk. 10 s., Anders Povelsen i Vormk. 4 mk. Hans Jørgensen i Oværnd. 4 mk. 12 s., Friderich Korf i Vejst. 4 mk. 3 s., Oluf Nielsen i Heselager 4 rd. 3 mk., Peder Jensen i Gudme 3 mk., Ditlev Rasmussen i Giesinge 1 rd. 4 mk. 1 s., Anders Hansen i obye 3 mk. 13 s., Hans Kroemand i Svindinge 2 mk. 4 s., Peder Rasmussen i Heslager 1 rd. 2 mk., Peder Hansen ibm. 5 mk. 14 s., Jesper Hansen i Søerup 3 mk., Jørgen Nielsen i obye 4 mk. 6 s., byøf : Lars Høy i Ottense 4 rd. 3 mk. 12 s., Hans pige N N 1 mk. 12 s., Peder Larsen i bosør 4 mk. 6 s., Chresten thomasen Rytter 3 mk., Hans Hansen paa turøe 1 mk. 14 s., Ped. Hansen og Lars Hansen 1 mk. 6 s., Hans Rasmussen i torentved 4 mk. 10 s., Stefen Pedersen i Ottense 2 mk. 4 s., Hans Jensen bogbind. ibm. 4 mk. 2 s., Ritm. Kaas paa Holsgaard 2 rd. 3 mk. 1 s., Lorens bogbinder i Ottense 1 rd. 3 mk. 2 s., Chresten Nielsen i bogense 1 rd. 13 s., Chresten Hansen i Ottense 1 rd., Margrette villas ibm. 3 mk. 6 s., Hans Klopm. ibm. 1rd. 3 mk., Volv Smechler i Nyborg 1 rd. 4 mk. 10 s., Peder Pedersen Skoem. i Ottense 3 mk. 4 s., Jørgen Jørgensen i blæsbirg 4 mk., Stads Snedker i ottense 4 rd.. 3 mk. 10 s., Niels Nielsen i albierg 6 rd. 4 mk.,

No. 5. Henning dreyer paa Langl. 13 rd. 4 mk., Rasmus Postrider her ibm. 6 s., Villum fogeds Svends i ottense 2 mk. 7 s., Jens Knudsen i Svendborg 4 mk., Niels Rasmussen i Svendborg 2 mk. 12 s.,

No. 6. Hans Jørgensen i Laaland 2 mk. 9 s., Hans Jørgensen i tved 5 mk. 4 s., Jesper Kandstøber Student 1 rd. 1 mk., Rasmus skreder

i skaarup 2 mk. 8 s., Maria i Veystrup 4 rd., Friderich Povelsen i Langskovs Kroe 4 mk., Jørgen Madsen i Steir 14 s., Klamur i Rudkiøbing 1 rd. 1 mk. 14 s., Niels Clausen i faaborg 1 rd. 4 mk. Johan Møller i ottense 1 rd., Niels Hansen i Egense 2 mk. 8 s., Rasmus Ras. ibm 1 mk. 14 s., Søren Degns datter i Steenstrup 2 mk. 6 s., Povæl Pedersen Degn i Espe 2 rd. 5 mk. 2 s., Christen Nielsen Skræder i Egeskov efter obligation 2 rd., Skip. Lars Nielsen i Marstal 1 td. Lynnborger Salt 5 rd. Summa bedrager sig Ermte til Penge 229 Rixdlr. 4 s.

Bortskyldig Giæld.

Jens Rasmussen i bierholm fordred efter Een den Sl. Mands udgifne obligation af dato 6 Sept. 1710 paa Capital 200 Rdr. Rester Rente til d. 6 April Aar er saa Capital oc Renter 225 rd. 5 mk. Skovrideren oluf Hansen fordrer efter en Obligation paa Capital 250 rd. de dato 1 December 1710, Rester Renter til 1 April 1713 er 2 1/4 oc er 29 Rdlr. er Cap. og Renten 279 rd. Enchen fordrede for hendes Sl. Mands begravelses bekostning som efter Specification. Ligstædet undtagen 37 Rdr. 1 mk. 4 s., Proclamens Bekostning med Stempeld papir Protocolring ialt 2 rd. 4 s., Byens Aarl. Skatt for 1710 4 mk. 11 s., for Ligesaa 1711 4 mk. 11 s., Kop og Heste skatter 5 mk., skierbaadsskatten 2 mk. 6 s., Tieneste Pigen Anna fordred for Eet Aars Løn 4 rd., Enchen fordrede Lige Vederlaug Imod hendis Sl. Mands begravelses bekostning 37 rd. 1 mk. 4 s., Iligemaade Karen Pedersdatt: fordred for 1/2 Aars Foster Løn forfalden til Paaske førstk. 2rd., Resterende organist Løn for 1711 og 1712 a 1 mk. — 2 mk., Byens Aarl. Skatt for 1712 4 mk. 11 s., Hans thomasens Fordring her ibm som Enchen tilstaar 3 rd. 3 mk. 4 s., Raalm. Simon Povelsen fordrede som Enchen tilstoed for Jordleye af nogle Parter Jord og andet tilsamens 23 rd. 1 mk. 8 s. Skiftes Forvalterne af Aarsag for flødted med dessens Endebringelse til d. 28 April om for enden nogen sig maatte indfinde fordringer at indgive.

Dutum Sterfboen d. 29 Marti 1713.

Efvart Nielsen.	S. Povelsen.	M. Tønnesen Rosenberg.
M. Arlodd.	Casper Flindt.	Søren Cortsen.
Jens Sørensen Nibe.		

d. 28 April

Mødt Skiftes forvalterne atter igien, til videre skiftes Endelighed, efter som det til dend Ende til i Dag var for flødt om nogen matte Indfinde, fordringer at giøre. Hvor nets skiftes forvalterne tilspurde Encken om hun meere vidende er, boen at kunde kome til Goede, end allerede forhen findes indført forden om nogen Creditor Siden dette Skifte tog enfang, sig hos hende haver Angived, hun paa alt ville give Svar, der har hun for det første svarede, ey meere vidende er end allerede forhen findes tilført boen at Kome til gode, 2, Siden hendes Sl. Mands død, har ej nogen Creditor sin Angived, fordring at giøre, videre end allerede tilført er, skiftes forvalterne for sine Aarsag skyld forflødte skifted til d. 8 Julij.

Raadm. Simon Povelsen forre gav at Sl. afg: Anders Povelsen ved Sl. Knud Knudsens dødsfald oppe bar for dennem som bar dend Sl. Karl bort. som var 16 Personer og hver 3 mk. som beløber 8 Rdr. hvorpaa dend Sl. Mand skal have betalt 8te Personer deres Anpart a. 3 mk. er 4 Rdr. de øfrige fiire Rixdlr. som di gode Mænd som hafver fordret til hielp at Kiøbe Een fane for til vor frue Sogen, and lovede Enchen ded forderligst skee Kand til Simon Povelsen at Lefvere til same fane 4 Rdr.

Byefoved en Arlodt forrede efter Landstings skriveren Edle Niels Pederss. Messive af Dato 1713 som dend Sl. Mand var tildømt til Landstinget at skulle betalle i dend Sag angde Consumptions forvalteren Otto Madzen tillige med Borgem. Evert Nielsen 2 Rdr. deraf dend Sl. Mands Andeel tilkomer at svare 1 Rdr. paa Skiftes Bekostning.

Skifteforvalterne 1 Rdr. Skifte Skriveren 3 Rdr. 2de Vorderings Mænd 4 mk. Byens Tierner 1 mk. 8 s., Summa Summarium bedrager sig ald Boens Besværing til dend Summa in alles Penge — 627 Rixdr. 5 mk. 7 s. Naar Boens inde beholdene Losøre med Eiendomen imod dend bortskyldige Gield blifr. Lignet befindes, da dend bortskyldige gield at være høiere og meere End som boens 129 Rdr. 3 mk. 4 s. Boens tilstaaende som for an er tilført Kand ej andet udi alt ej videre ansees end for gandske uvees Bedrager de til Penge 208 Rdr. 4 s.

Da I hvor vel at Boens tilstand iche saaledis findes nogen af de skyldige at gjøre udleg saa lofver dog Enchen, Een hver i sær af yderste Efne i tiiden at fornøye, som og Creditorerne og var tilfreds med, og som mand meener at dend Sl. Mand Inden og udenrigs Kund være bortskyldig, da om endskiønt at skiftet tiid efter anden i same henseende er forflodt, at de i Stærvboen skulde have sig indfunden, med deris fordringer, end de allerede for hen er tilført, saa viste skiftesforvalterne iche forsvarligen lengere at kunde opholde med skiftet, skulle imod forhaabning efter dags frem komme med Nogen beviislig fordringer Da Enchen saa viit Lovgen tillader at ansvare, og skifte forvalterne uden skade og skadesløs i alle maader, hvor med dette skifte udi ald Venlighed til Ende er Befordret.

Sterfboen udi Svendborg dend 8 Julij Anno 1713.

Efvardt Nielsen.	S. Povelsen.	M. Tønnesen Rosenberg.
(LS)	(LS)	(LS)
M. Arlodt.	Ellen Sl. Anders Povelsens Efterleverske	
(LS)	(LS)	
Rasmus Jørgensen.	Søren Cortsen.	Jens Sofrensen Nibe.
(LS)	(LS)	(LS)

Terms of probate 1729, of

TIPTIPTIPTIPOLDEMOR

ELLEN CLAUDDATTER OF SVENDBORG.

Udskrift

af Svendborg købstads skifteprotokol 1706-1760, folio
327ff.

Schifte efter Sl. Ellen Anders Povelsens ibdm.

Christopher Notlow Borgem., Mads thønesen Rosenbr. Raadm. og Anders Schiotte Constituerede Raadm : Martinus Arlodt Byefoged, Casper fl. og Jørgen brylle overformyndere, alle i Svenbr. forsamlede Ao 1729 den 21 febr. udi afgangne Madame Ellen Sl. Raadm : Anders Povelsens Hendis sidste iboende og afdøde Vaaning, for at holde schifte og deeling efter velbem. Sl. Madame, mellem hendes efter levende børn, Navnllig dend ærværdige Hederl. og Vell. Mandhr. Claus Anderson Strømbr. Sogneprest for Gudme og Brudager Meenigheder, Povel Andersen Strømbr. boende i Bergen i Norge, Johanes Strømbr. boende i Pariis. Franche-Rige, og Carsten Andersen Strømbr. ey vides hvor hand nu er, alle Myndige, Item Søstrenc Karen Andersdatter med sin Mand Samuel Frøylich, afgangne Anna

Andersdaatters børn Navnlig Ellen Kirstine Brinchm. og sin broder Knud Lerche gl. andet Aar, og Dorthea Andersdaatter, til Vorderings Mænd er taget Peder Flindt og Jacob Samsing, som haver dend Sl. Koenis efter ladte Midler at Vurdere. som de agter at vil være ansvarlig og da forefant følgende :

1 gl. før Himmel Seng for 4 mk., 3 stk. hvide omheng 2 mk., 1 schieren bret 3 mk., 1 gl laad bench 1 mk. 8 s., En bench Kiste med laas 2 mk., 1 gl thec trappe 4 s., 2 blech plader 8 s., 1 gl høy bag træstoel 1 mk., 1 lang dito 4 s., 1 liden schamel 2 s., 2 tin fadr. vog 6 pund a 14 s. er 5 mk. 4 s.. 2 Steen tallerchener 2 s. 3 dito fade 12 s., 2 dito smør bricher 4 s., 1 Jern Stang og Krog i schorsteenen 1 mk., 1 gl. Rist og 1 pande begge 7 s., 1 Ild Klemme 4 s., 1 liden gl. blech thec Kedel 2 s., 1 liden Messing Kedel 12 s., 1/2 td. og 1 flode bøsse 12 s., 1 Malche bøsse 2 s., 1 gl. Esche med noget gl. Jern udi er agtet for 2 s., 1 liden gl. aaben før bench 2 s., 2 Saald og 1 gl. asche tønde for 1 s., 1 gaaren hespe 1 s., 1 gl. Roch og 1 fod til en garn vinde er agtet for 1 mk., 1 liden gl. blech spand 2 s., 3 gl. Dynen, 3 hovedpuodr., 2 puodr. med Vaar, 2pr. gl. Hørgarns lagen alt for 5 rdr. 2 mk.

Hvilche Senge Klæder og Lagen Moderen efter hendis sedel, som fandtes i stervboen haver givet og foræret hendes 2 døttre Karen og Dorthea Marie, hvilche Seedel er saalydende ; Høy Gunstige øfrighed tillige med min søn hr. Claus Strømb. Jeg aller ydm. begierer af dem samtlig at dette maatte tillades at mine senge Kledr. som ieg liger paa maatte blive deelt indbyrdes hos og imellem begge mine døttre, saa som ieg nødig ville have for fremmede øyne, dig er icke af nogen verdi, dem er vel bevidst, at ieg haver Vaaren Enche nu en 19 Aar, og indtet stort Kunde haft forbedret mig, i mit Enche sæde. Jeg lever sambtlig det Høy gunstig øfrigheds tienerinde. Ellen Sl. Anders Povelsens. Svenbr. d. 13 Janr. 1729.

Denne sin Moders begiering hr. Claus, som til stæde var paa egne og de fra værende arfvingers Veigne samtychte

Der næst blev den Sl. Koenis afdøde Eyendom beliggende i brogaden, mellem det stræde til Klosters Kirche i øster og vester til Elisabeth hr. Erich Helms Eiendom, med tilligende Hauge og Gaards Rom, og indkiørsel til Closters Kirche, med tilliggende jord og Græsning i byens Marcher, i alt vorderet for 133 rdr. 2 mk. Summa bedrager sig saa for til førte og Vurderede løsøre og Eyendom til penge 137 rdr. 3 mk. 15 s.

Der imod blev angived bortschyldige giæld, saa som — Mejer Jøde fordrede for Reede laante penge, som tilstædeværende arvinger tilstod 13 rd. 5 mk., hr. Claus strømbierg som Eldst arving begierte at Auction paa for til førte løsøre og Eyendom maatte med forderligst schee Kunde forre tages. til den Ende var begierende Byefgd. vilde lade Plac : udgaae.

Er saa den forlangede Auction beramet at forre tagis den 4 Marti førstkommende Fredag 8 Dage. og blev saa ey denne gang forre taget videre end melt er.

Act : ut Supra.

Christophr. Notlow. M. Thønesen. M. Arlodt.

Paa egne og samtlig arfvingers vegne

Cl. Strømb.

Paa min Koennis vegne S : Frølich.

Caspr. Fl. Jørgen bryllr. Peder Flindt. Jacob Samsing.

Den 20de Aprill nest efter møtte schifte Forvalterne atter i stervboen, for at beforde dette schiftes videre endschab, efter at for til førte løssøre og Eyendomen ved Auctionen var bort solt, opløbende til Penge, saa som løssored er 7 rdr. 4 mk. 2 s., deraf fra gaard Auctions Salari 1 mk. 14 s., for Placat og Catalog 3 mk., Pengene baade for løssøre og Eyendomen at ind Cassere 6 mk., pante breved, som den Sl. Koene havde udgivet at annullede 2 mk. 12 s., placatr. at opslaae og tromen 1 mk. — Er 2 rdr. 2 mk. 10 s. beh. 5 rd. 1 mk. 8 s., Eyendomen efter Auctions protocollen 136 rdr. Herfra afgaar den Sl. Koenis pante Obligation til thomas Sørrensens med Capitl. og Rente 103 Rdr. torben Andersens fordring efter hr. Clausis sedel, forstracht til den Sl. Koenis begravelssis bekostning 24 rdr. Er 127 rdr., beh. 9 rdr.

Bliver saa i behold til den bortschuldig giæld 14 rdr. 1 mk. 8 s.

Paa hr. Claus strömbr. vegne indfant sig Anders Schiøtte i hans lovlig for fald, ved sidste samling her, og til Kiende gaf, at hr. Claus Strömberg her i boen haver tilgode, som hand tid efter anden hans Sl. Modr. haver forstragt over Hundrede og Halvfierdesindstve Rdr., men som her, dis var. lidet eller indted til dessens betaling findes. Vilde hand iche besverge schifte forvalterne med Dessens Special forklaring, men paastod udlæg saa hvit tilstreche Kunde, desuden forbeholdt hr. Strömbr. sig udførlig efter lovlig omgang at søge oplysning om den fordring som af Mejer Jøde her i Stervboen angives, og der Nest aller tienstl. vilde fornemme om schifte Forvalterne for deris U-mag og ofte samlinger vilde nøyes med 2 rd. 3 mk. Rodem. Magnus blegm. fordrede for byens aarl. schatt 1728 2 mk. 2 s., indqvarteringspenge til Paasche indeværende aar 12 s. Stempled papier til schifte brevet 4 mk. 8 s., Byeschrivers Salair 1 rdr. 3 mk., Vurderings mendene 1 rdr. byens tiener 1 mk. 8 s. — Summa 6 rdr. 2 mk. 14 s. Ved over slag befandis at være 7 rdr. 4 mk. 10 s., som leveris til Monsr. Anders Schiøtte paa hr. Claus Strömbergs Vegne. Hvad sig angaar den post som Schiøtte angaaende den Jern Kachelovn og dend Prætention Mejer Jøde haver gjort i stervboen, forbliver ved Schiøttes tilførte lovlig medfart at udføre. Hvor med dette schifte saaledis er sluttet og tilende bragt.

Act. ut Supra.

TWENTIETH CHAPTER :

The four Graucob sons, one of whom was Far,
and their six sisters, born in or near Svendborg,
who settled in Copenhagen, Sweden, Germany
and Svendborg

1873 Though Farfar was termed a *Master* Shoemaker, he
and Farmor must have lived from hand to mouth. In 1873,
Farfar bought the house in Bagergade, for 1025 Rigsbank-
daler at the corner of Pjentemøllestræde. To this, in
1896, Doris, with her husband, Niels Rostgaard, and their
children, Carl Johan and Marie, returned from Copen-



Far, probably when he was
confirmed in 1882.



Though colour-blind, Far served as a naval conscript from the 21st March, 1888, until the 15th October, 1888. It was the gay summer of the Great Exhibition in Copenhagen, where he was quartered in an old wooden naval vessel at the Admiralty. On the 25th October, 1888, he was granted travel permission for three years.

hagen. Until then, the ground-floor was let to a family of Mathiesens, partly as a dwelling and partly for running a small general retail shop, which, on their arrival from Copenhagen, the Rostgaards took over.

From 1873 to 1896 the Graucobs must have lived in cramped conditions, though the house at Bagergade no doubt represented an improvement on the previous accommodation available between 1860 and 1873 for the rapidly growing family in Møllergade and Ørkildsgade.



RIGSARKIVET
Rigsdagshjælpe

1218 København K. den 4. april 1973.

J. nr. 254-148.

Ref. MR/BP-ER.

Mr. Find Graucob,
Overgate, 30 Hullen Edge Road,
Ellland, Yorkshire, HX5 0QY,
England.

Som svar på Deres brev af 24. februar til Hærens Arkiv vedrørende Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graucobs militære løbebane kan oplyses, at han er opført i landlægsrullen 1886 for Svendborg købstad (3. udskr., lægd 60 K, nr. 53). Her er anført, at han er født i Frue sogn i Svendborg, og at han blev udtaget til Søværnet. Han mødte til tjeneste 21. marts 1888 og blev hjemsendt 15. oktober 1888, militærnummer er 1155. Den 25. oktober 1888 fik han rejsetilladelse i tre år. Ifølge samme rulle flytter han 1893 til København under nr. 6288. I denne rulle (1. udskr., lægd 1 R) er anført, at han går over til forstærkningen 1896.

Med venlig hilsen


Edit Rasmussen

arkivar

Rigsarkivets 1. afdeling.

Farfar, who died from cancer only in 1908, I saw several times that year, in Copenhagen, and I also saw Farmor, before she died in 1907. Vaguely I remember both. Farfar was henpecked, while Farmor was a stately-looking, small and strong-willed woman with a quick temper and beautiful, fiery dark eyes. Her common mode of addressing her husband in incorrect Funish dialect appears to have been: "Din gamle Esel" ("You old donkey").

Farmor suffered a stroke about 1904 before convalescing with my parents at their summer residence at Taarbæk during 1905, when Mor was pregnant with Eva. Marie Rostgaard remembers her grandmother's hysterical behaviour.

Utterly different in appearance from the other children, her third son, Alfred, dark-skinned and with hooded eyelids, was referred to by Farmor in the singing Finnish



Photographed in Kiel, no doubt about 1888.

Alfred Graucob.

*b. 21/5/1870 Svendborg, †15/1/1941 Hameln.
Settled in Germany, twice married, 6 children.*

dialect as : “ Det sorte Uhyre, ham gemmer vi væk, naar der kommer frem'de ” (“ *That black monster, we hide when we have visitors*”). Significantly, however, in her eyes, Alfred could do no wrong.

Until late in life, Farmor, to help the family exchequer, ran a small mangling business in one of the outhouses in the yard, next to the privy. As she grew older, she also, accompanied by Farfar, visited Copenhagen and Stockholm to stay with some of her many children. Marie Rostgaard remembers seeing her get ready for a trip to Stockholm to stay with her son, Farbror Carl, presumably about 1900. In her voluminous skirts, secret pockets had been fitted. Used on the outward journey for importing into Sweden small bottles of Danish *aquavit*, the pockets on the return journey were similarly used by the crafty, nearly 70-year-old smuggler, for getting into Denmark, likewise duty-free, treacherous and sweet Swedish Caloric Punch.

In her last affectionate birthday letter, which I have traced, written on the 3rd May, 1906, at the age of 74, to Carl in Stockholm, she refers to the physical discomfort, she had experienced due to inclement weather since Easter. She was still, however, able to express gratification at the favourable turn-over of the retail business, which she ran jointly with her daughter, Doris.

Seemingly a careful and able craftsman, specializing in ladies' boots and shoes, Farfar never became quite at home in Denmark. Nor did he fully master the Danish language. When the steamer from Kiel was due, he would saunter down to the quay to meet his Holstein compatriots, and to hear as much of the Low German language as his increasing deafness would allow.

During the 16 years from 1860 to 1876, Farmor gave birth to ten children in Svendborg, four boys and six girls, though Alfred possibly was not fathered by Farfar. One

Hvordan gaar det med lille Astor?
 Sitt i hinde fra jer skal haen ikke Rude
 vi haaber og foruds i alle med god Helse
 somme helbringe og i sig glad julefest
 med et taal Mener Kone og
 som vi beder Hilsen mange gange
 saa foruds gi: at det somme blev god
 at give i Sammenheng og haellighed
 vi har i længere tid haft god smil
 Klær og meget meget, for haaber det
 om hvad det da somme, Højtaler
 for Familien. Rostgaard skal sig Hilsen
 di er alle Rude. Niels har ikke haft
 beider i den sidste tid som haer ikke og glad
 mit i det skal men højest Hilsen
 med de alle bedste foruds om
 rigtig julefest med god Helse
 har for med alle jer Kone og
 Hilsen alle fra
 Sofus og Hensom

Linnaborg 15/12 04

Kjære Julia og Carl:

Som allerede det sig jo alle
 den her julefest, saa gaar det jo sandt
 at alle her har sin egen somme
 og takke sig for glæde af den her
 dit at høre fra hinanden om vi
 ikke har tænkt somme vi har
 det alle god somme vi jo bare for
 vi har den glæde at foruds et haer
 hinde haer for alle dage og blev her
 det med den dag saa fulgt vi med
 over til Christian og holder som selv
 haeligt julefest det. Gudsstake at vi
 et saa vakte at vi ender kan tage
 det over som jo et en skal glæde
 for os vi med jo ikke over lange tid

Farmor, in a letter to Stockholm, relates to her son Carl, and her daughter-in-law, Julia, another woman of strength, the celebration in Copenhagen of my 2nd Birthday, on the 16th November, 1904. Dated 15/12/1904, she died 1/3/1907, just over two years later.

Denske Gestue som end hat af at tjene
 have hat tænkt at gøre en Fremstilling
 om at det blev færdigt som en hvid
 spejls, som hat været at tjene en
 Fremstilling i Bred og Tjener fra Nørrebro
 som det samme. Skendensigelse
 viste det sig at det ikke hat holdt
 det kunne jo bringes frem sig her der
 er meget Stamtavle, og hat det alle
 gald, som hat hat for vigtighed
 af det tjener sin lille Søs Fødsel
 alle Børnen af Familien var om Efter
 middagen til Aften. Hat det d'g første
 som de sidste først gik til Mogen
 de hat stadig god v'rbende som jo at
 holdt, som færdigt det samme som
 i en tilfaldet hat gald, som hat af itema
 hvidt som svarer. Hatte huer hat sig
 og huer det af slækte at det er et godt
 Eftermiddag for sig. Hat det jo og bringer

meget for at have sig til hverdag
 end et ud Langes Tuberk Kommen
 i en som de end mit gald beder
 som hat det i Blodet at huer skine
 ofte Mogen og Kvinden til Tuberk
 de gamle Børne et nok Kommen
 det end yngre, som hat Ordet Carl
 og forstået mig som at sin sig
 for Lenge til stammen det jo
 kedeligt for huer slækte som hat
 hat holdt ikke holdt det end det
 Biggerne. Hat Eftermiddag som det
 side Huer til huer Kommen som et huer
 og det god. Huer huer huer huer
 det af Gestue end huer ikke sig
 som sin ikke forstået huer i
 Ordet Carl hat jo huer slækte til at
 Cautioner for det sin huer som
 Bestaat gald og huer huer huer
 hat at Lene i Haverdunk foringer
 hat huer

of her daughters, Ernestine, later had a child without being married to his father, as she was unsuccessful in persuading her lover to marry her before his child, Paul, was born anonymously and illegitimately in Copenhagen. Yet, respectability remained important, and after the unmarried Ernestine became pregnant, in 1892, she was not, for several years, allowed by her mother to visit her in Svendborg. The mother must have forgotten her own experiences 32 years earlier, when, in 1860, she gave birth to twins three months after her marriage.



Doris Beate Graucob. b. 26/12/1860, Twin, Svendborg †12/5/1925 Svendborg, m. 22/5/1891 Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen. Niels Peter Rostgaard, b. 30/9/1858, †27/4/1937. 1 son, 1 daughter. About 1891.

Two of the girls who married in Copenhagen, Margrethe and Marie, did so, less than nine months before their first babies were born. Only one of the twin sisters,



Ernestine Frederikke Bernhardine Graucob.
b. 1/3/1862 Svendborg, †17/12/1936 Copenhagen.
Unmarried Mother of Paul Victor Graucob,
b. 10/7/1892 Copenhagen, †27/3/1954
Stockholm. m. 22/5/1929 *Dovothea Marie*
Larsen b. 7/1/1892, †10/10/1966.

Augusta, sour and severe of facial expression as I knew her, though adoring her brothers, Bernhard and Julius, no doubt died a virgin. In fact, on her deathbed, she asked for her state of *virgo intacta* to be medically certified.

Of the four brothers, the most enterprising and intelligent one seems to have been my father. Little is known about his or his brother's relationship with the other sex. In their morals they were doubtless no different from their sisters. On my own wedding night, the 12th November, 1946, after my second marriage, the only male survivor of his generation of the family, Farbror Carl, at the age of 83, tried in the lift at Storekro, Fredensborg, to be amorous with my bride. As late as the 29th July, 1955, then 92, Carl went to a dinner dance



Far about 18.



Far about 22.



Far about 24.



Far about 28.

The resemblance of three of his descendants to Far is striking :
Patrick Graucob, Find Heede and Vanessa Longley.

at Berns in Stockholm, with his grand-daughter, Ingrid, then 26 years old, and another girl, of similar age, a foursome being made with Eric Cawood, of Nu-Swift.

The Graucob boys and girls, as a result of their mixed descendancy from the Hybels, Brandenborgs and Graucobs, were well-disposed and friendly, but easily aroused, fiery and passionate, as well as argumentative of character and behaviour, though not always arguing in a logical and intelligent manner. Far, too, was of a choleric disposition, though later softened by Mor's merry and sweetening influence. In my childhood, one morning when our maid did not get up at the appointed hour, entering her room Far emptied a pail of cold water into her bed. As late as Doris's death in 1925, her sisters quarrelled about the location of her burial place, and demanded that her body should be exhumed. Fortunately, the request was refused.

Until late in life, Farfar continued to work in his workshop on the first floor of the little house which he had bought in 1873 ; but neither he nor any of his sons, possibly apart from my father, was commercially minded. They were *petit bourgeois* artisans intent on enjoying life, unlike my maternal peasant ancestors, who were mainly keen on preserving and exploiting their family's landed properties.

Affectionate and helpful towards one another as the Graucobs appear to have been, they were also quarrelsome and not successful men and women of business. With his letter announcing the birth of my sister, Eva (12/10/1905), to his sister, Doris in Svendborg, Far accidentally enclosed an accommodation service bill of exchange intended for his 42-year-old elder brother, Carl, who already had lived in Stockholm for nearly twenty years. Doris redirected the bill from Svendborg to Sweden. Obviously Carl was in deep water ; three years later, the two Copenhagen brothers, Far and

Farbror Julius, were forced to make a composition with their creditors.

Disregarding minor differences in income and property, my maternal ancestors were moderately prosperous, independent peasants, while my recent paternal ancestors were urban, working-class artisans. It must have been a struggle for my grandparents to apprentice their four boys for five years each. Farmor, however, could both read and write Gothic, as well as Latin, lettering, an achievement which few Danes living today can equal.

The four boys, when they left school at 14, were apprenticed, for five years as artisans, to different trades. Carl learned his trade at the hatter's workshop of Adolph Hybel, his mother's youngest brother, in Nyborg. Far attended school with Johannes Jørgensen, the Svendborg-born mystic. Having left school, Far tried first working as a baker's apprentice, before becoming apprenticed to a tinsmith, Mouritzen, in Svendborg. Alfred was also apprenticed in Svendborg but in the textile trade, while finally, like Far, Julius became apprenticed to a tinsmith. Much later, Julius passed an examination to qualify as an authorized electrical engineer.

The six girls, in their younger years, were obviously taught to sew and launder, in addition to cooking and baking, no doubt in anticipation of marriage. But later, when the need arose, both Marie and Ernestine effectively exploited their talent for sewing by the friendly organizing of home labour for Moresco, a wholesale firm of high-class women's clothiers, where they supervised other working-class women sewing with them in their homes.

The necessity for earning their living was early instilled into the children. No wonder the magnet of the rapidly growing Copenhagen proved irresistible to all



The six Graucob Sisters from Svendborg, *left to right*, about 1891.

Augusta Christine Frederica, b. 26/12/1860 Svendborg †15/11/1942 Copenhagen.

Margrethe Christiane, b. 9/4/1867 Svendborg †7/10/1954 Copenhagen.

Doris Beate, b. 26/12/1860 Svendborg †19/5/1925 Svendborg.

Ernestine Frederikke Bernhardine, b. 1/3/1862 Svendborg †17/12/1936 Copenhagen.

Anna Christine, b. 11/3/1876 Svendborg †10/11/1942 Stockholm.

Caroline Marie Louise b. 31/1/1865 Svendborg †4/1/1929 Copenhagen.

these young Svendborg provincials both from the angle of earning power and fun.

About 1888, possibly with the exception of Anna, who was married in Stockholm only in 1900, they all seem to have been living in Copenhagen. Only after the birth in Copenhagen of her two children, did Doris, with her husband, Niels, return to Svendborg in 1896, when she was 36.

Carl may well have been the first of the restless and roaming brothers and sisters, to settle in Copenhagen, in his case after he had served as a conscript in 1883, in the 7th *Bataillon*. Recalled annually from Sweden to Denmark for army manoeuvres gave him opportunities to be put in charge of the vital *aquavit* horse-drawn cart. This, on one occasion, overturned in a farmyard where the contents were imbibed by farm labourers. Subsequently, Carl worked as a hatter for his maternal uncle, Ludvig Hybel, at his shop at Grønnegade 15, Copenhagen, where the latter died in 1890.

Having spent less than a couple of years in Copenhagen, at Bodeckers in Kongens Nytorv, Farbror Carl, with his younger brother, Far, decided to emigrate, via Halmstad and Stockholm to New York! This notwithstanding, Carl, who, in Stockholm, had settled as a hatter serving, amongst others, the Swedish playwright, August Strindberg, *Midsummer Night* in 1891, married Tante Julia. Alone, Far went to Germany, where at his trade as a tinsmith, possibly in Kiel, he worked from 1891 to 1895.

The first of the six sisters to get married was attractive Margrethe, who fell in love with a wine merchant, Søren Gregersen Bay, a Jutlander. Having first intended to become a vet., instead opened a wine shop in Dronningens Tværgade 6 (still there), which evidently became a meeting place for three or



*By courtesy of Gunilla Malmberg,
my Swedish cousin's younger daughter,
née Hermansson.*

Julia Augusta Jansson,
b. 21/1/1862 Blekinge. †9/10/1931, m. 23/6/1891
Carl Johan Frederik Graucob. b. 5/5/1863
†23/11/1965. 3 sons and 1 daughter.

four of the Graucob girls from Svendborg. Pregnant, Margrethe contracted, at the age of 22, a *civic* marriage on the 21st June, 1889, at the Copenhagen City Hall, a procedure evidently still considered unusual, having only been permitted from 1851. Her husband-to-be, before their marriage, declared himself to be an atheist, although the bride was still a member of the Danish People's Church. They therefore had to agree that any child resulting from the union would be brought up in the faith of the official Danish People's Church. At the christening of their first child, Margrethe's unmarried sister, Marie, acted as godmother, while her brother-in-law-to-be, Niels Rostgaard, was the godfather. Alas, the child, my cousin Gregor Sigurd Bernhard Graucob Bay, b. 16/9/1889, contracted meningitis six weeks after birth, and became deaf and dumb for life.

Margrethe became the Cinderella of the Graucob family. Mentally deficient, her seventh child, Bernhard, posthumously named after Far in 1910, proved a life-long burden for his mother and sisters, by returning for weekends from the home for the mentally deficient at Ebberødgaard. The only other son, Johan Frederik, a radio telegraphist who, as a British soldier, had fought in World War I in Palestine, was lost at sea in the Baltic 26/9/1929, at the age of 32 years. Yet, as an old woman of about 75, intrepid Margrethe, during the German occupation, when her German-born nephew, Karl-August, one of Alfred's sons, while in the uniform of the *Wehrmacht*, had publicly criticised Hitler in Danish, and was sentenced to imprisonment, she approached the Gestapo at Dagmarhus in Copenhagen. By Margrethe's intervention Karl-August's sentence was commuted to military service, unfortunately at the Eastern front. Captured by the Russians, Karl-August spent five years in captivity. Doubtful as it seems, Karl-August claims his release to have been due to a letter written by Karen Bay, Margrethe's eldest daughter, to Stalin.

Near the wine shop at the corner of Dronningens Tværgade and Bredgade, was the large, elegant town house of the wealthy Count Moltke, whose manservant, Frederik Nielsen, evidently frequented the wine shop, where he became attracted to gay Marie from Svendborg. On the 22nd May, 1891, already pregnant, she was married to Frederik Nielsen on the same day, and in the same fashionable church, Holmens Kirke, as her unpregnant sister, Doris, was married to her *fiancé*, Niels Rostgaard.

While working for the firm of Moresco, Ernestine became pregnant by the nephew of one of the directors (? Grønbeck), who jilted her. On the 18th July, 1892, she gave birth at the Royal Birth Institution, under cover of secrecy by that institution, to her child, *Paul* Victor Graucob, my cousin. Reputedly, his father skipped off



*By courtesy of my paternal cousin, the late
Henny ('Lene') Maxfelt.*

'Faster Anna,' the youngest of Far's six sisters, reputedly also his favourite.
b. 11/3/1876, †10/11/1942.

Emigrated to Sweden, where she settled in Stockholm, m. 15/4/1900 Bror Wilhelm Wallin, b. 7/5/1873. On the 3rd January, 1902, turned up in Copenhagen for my parents' wedding. Childless, she and 'Onkel Bror' adopted Stina.

to America, and the pledge of secrecy, given to the attractive, but stupid, Ernestine, was not waived by her until 21st June, 1928.

Of the four boys, Alfred, about 1888, left for Germany, supposedly to avoid conscription. Hence, until years later, he was unable to return to Denmark, except for temporary visits. It seems ironic that his fourth son, Otto, as a German soldier, was reported missing, believed



Five of my older paternal Copenhagen cousins.

Carl Johan Graucob Rostgaard. b. 5/5/1892 Copenhagen †30/5/1956 Svendborg.

Gudrun Jensine Frederikke Nielsen. b. 13/12/1891 Copenhagen †30 7/1967 Copenhagen.

Thora Marie Rostgaard, b. 8/7/1894 Copenhagen. *Unmarried.*

Paul Victor Graucob. b. 10/7/1892 Copenhagen †27/3/1954 Stockholm.

Kaya Augusta Wilhelmine Nielsen, b. 10/4/1894 Copenhagen †7/4/1973 Copenhagen.

Note : Illegitimate Paul is included, but none of the Bay children.

killed, at Stalingrad in January 1943, a few years after his father's death.

Spiritual questions are not likely to have troubled the children of the Graucob clan. They were christened and usually married in church, as a matter of course. While their names may have led some to believe that they were of Jewish origin, all ancestors of whom we know were christened. Only the marriage of Julius, in 1907, to Danish-born Erna Philipson, of undiluted Jewish blood, but of Christian faith, brought the first Jewish strain into the family.

Cocksure, but as temperamental as most of his brothers and sisters, Far, during the summer of 1888, served as a naval rating when with his cousin, Carl Hybel, also of Svendborg, he visited Iceland. Immediately on his discharge he applied for permission to go abroad.

1895 By 1895, however, Far was back in Copenhagen, and taking his younger and weaker brother, Julius, under his wing, established his own firm in Copenhagen under the name of Bernh. Graucob & Co. Only in 1904, however, did he admit Julius to partnership. The *Kraks Vejviser* reveals that in 1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899, he was carrying on his business at Nørrebrogade 18B. Privately, he was also shown as resident in the working-class district of Nørrebro in 1899 and 1900 at Birkegade 5^{IV} and at Egegade 7^I. The brothers, living together from 1901 at the flat, N.J. Fjords Alle 6^{III}, at which I was later born, must have had a gay time, spending part of the summers in Klampenborg at Bellevue Strandhotel where, many years later (1935-1972), I also stayed.

1902 However, in 1901, Far met Mor, fell deeply in love with her and, on the 4th January, 1902, they were married in Copenhagen. They spent the summer of their courtship, and the summer, after their marriage, when Mor was pregnant with me, at Christiansminde, near Svendborg. Marie Rostgaard still



Far, as I best remember him, no doubt shortly before his death in 1910.

remembers that during the second summer visit the two iron bedsteads in the modest guestroom of my grandparents' house in Bagergade, to her surprise, were pushed together. On the 16th November, 1902, Mor gave birth to me at the flat at N.J. Fjords Alle 6^{III}.

On the 15th December, 1904, Farmor, in a letter sent from Svendborg to Auntie Julia and Farbror Carl in Stockholm, wrote: "Bernhard (*i.e.* *Far*) recently celebrated the birthday of his little son (*i.e.* *16th November, 1904, when I became two.*) The children of the family were invited for the afternoon. In the evening

there were no less than 25 guests ; the last ones only left at three o'clock in the morning."

Vaguely, I seem to recollect the event. Tables for dinner were laid in the shop/office at Blaagaardsgade 21. Next morning, next to my bed, I found a hobby horse, the gift of one of Far's business associates.

1904 By way of a Christmas present, in a mockingly, solemn business-letter, dated 24/12/1904, Far instructed one of the leading fashion houses in Copenhagen, to supply a silk blouse and lining to Mor, a copy of which appears overleaf.

Printed sources :

Kraks Vejviser, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900 & 1901.

Verbal sources :

Statements by the late Farbror Carl, by my paternal cousins, Marie Rostgaard, Karen Bay and the late Kaya Harde.

BERNH. GRAUGOB & Co.
BLAAGAARDSGADE 21.
TELEFON 1859.

Kjøbenhavn N., d. 24/12 1904.

Forleden Dage fra Dato behager de
at udløve til Fru Marie Graugob
her af Staden, Silketøj til et Liv
og sende Regning til Bernh Graugob,
Blagaardsgade 21.

Ligeledes behager de at gøre tilbøj
med at det dertil hørende. For
en m udløves er en god og
holdbar Kvalitet.

Med sædets Tilbede
Bernh. Graugob

Til

Silkehuset.
Rimmelt No 39. K



Farfar and Farmor, on a visit to Copenhagen, about 1905, to see three of their daughters and seven of their grandchildren.

Top row :

'Faster Dine,' Paul Graucob, 'Faster Gusta,' Gregor Bay, Sigrid Bay, Farmor, Farfar.

Lower row :

Karen Bay, 'Faster Margrethe,' Erna Bay, Emma Bay, Johan Bay.

Note Farmor's determined, distinguished appearance.

TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER :

Farfar's and Farmor's ten children and their
remoter Descendants

Summarized facts relating to Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, Farmor Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel, and their ten children (all born and christened in or near Svendborg), and most of whom married and, in turn, had children.

Farfar Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, bespoke Master Shoemaker, b. and chr. 19/2/1833 Flemhude in the Duchy of Holstein, of which at that time the King of Denmark was also the reigning duke. Vaccinated by Rittersen 28/6/1835, confirmed in Kiel. Emigrated, before the 1864 War, to Denmark. At the census of 1/2/1860 recorded as living in Svendborg at the house occupied by the well-to-do master shoemaker Rasmus Frantzen and his Tønder-born wife at Gerritzgade 30. Bought 3/11/1873 for 1025 Rigsbankdaler the property at Bagergade 14 (*Matrikelnummer* 106-A). †27/10/1908 St. Josefs Hospital, Copenhagen. Buried in Svendborg. m. 12/9/1860 Vor Frue Kirke, Svendborg, Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel, b. 7/4/1832 Svendborg. †1/3/1907 Svendborg.

Children :

- 1) *Augusta* Christine Frederica Graucob ('*Faster Gusta*'), b. 26/12/1860 †15/11/1942 Copenhagen, Laundress, buried Assistens Kirkegaard, *Twin. Unmarried.*
- 2) *Doris* Beate Graucob, b. 26/12/1860 †19/5/1925. *Twin.* Retail General Shopkeeper, m. 22/5/1891, Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen. Niels Peter Rostgaard, b. 30/9/1858 †27/4/1937, Mason Journeyman. *2 children :*

A) *Carl Johan* Graucob Rostgaard, *Blikkenslagermester*,
b. 5/5/1892 Copenhagen, †30/5/1956 Svendborg.
m. 6/11/1923 Sigrid Frøsig, b. 8/2/1895.

Sold 1964 Bagergade 14 and afterwards resident at
Nannavej 15A, Svendborg.

2 children :

a) Niels-Jørgen Rostgaard, *Ingeniør*, b. 14/2/1927,
Svendborg, chr. 17/4/1927 Vor Frue Kirke,
Svendborg, m. 28/6/1953 Sct. Andreas Kirke,
Copenhagen, Gerda Neuhausen, b. 7/10/1930
Copenhagen. *2 children :*

I) Ida Rostgaard, b. 6/5/1954 Copenhagen, chr.
29/6/1954 Sct. Andreas Kirke, Copenhagen.

II) Henrik Rostgaard b. 29/6/1957 Copenhagen,
chr. 1/12/1957 Ølstykke Kirke.

Bakkevej 5, 3650 Ølstykke, Denmark.

b) Gudrun May Rostgaard, b. 3/9/1930 Svendborg,
Teacher, m. 19/10/1957, Svendborg, Erik
Katborg, *Arkitekt*, M.A.A., b. 20/4/1927 Paarup.
nr. Odense, *2 children :*

I) Søren Katborg, b. 24/4/1960 Glostrup,

II) Helle Katborg, b. 21/8/1968 Hørsholm.

Åtoften 1-5, 2990 Nivå, Denmark.

B) Thora *Marie* Rostgaard, b. 8/7/1894 Copenhagen,
Unmarried.

Østerbrogade 85^I, 2100 Copenhagen Ø.

3) *Ernestine* Frederikke Bernhardine Graucob (*'Faster
Dine'*), b. 1/3/1862 †17/12/1936 Copenhagen. *Unmarried*.
Domestic Dress Making Contractor. Left one child:
A) *Paul* Victor Graucob, b. 10/7/1892, anonymously,
Copenhagen, Royal Birth Institution. (*'Den Kgl,
Fødselsstiftelses' Afdeling B., Fol. 49.*) †27/3/1954
Stockholm. His father, reputedly Grønbeck, a nephew of

a director at Moresco's, is believed to have emigrated to America, Paul m. 3 times, the last time 23/5/1929 (?Stockholm) *Dorothea Marie Larsen* b. 7/1/1892 †10/10/1966.

- 4) *Carl Johan Frederik Graucob*, b. 5/5/1863 Brudager, near Svendborg. †23/11/1965 Stockholm, 102½ years old. Hatter. Emigrated, about 1886, to Stockholm. On his 100th birthday (5/5/1963) was made an honorary citizen of the city of Stockholm. At the age of 14 was apprenticed in Nyborg, as a hatter, to Adolph Hybel, his mother's youngest brother. Later he moved to Copenhagen as a hatter journeyman to be employed by an elder brother of his mother, Ludvig Hybel, at Grønnegade 15. Served in 1883 as a conscript in the Danish Army. Via Halmstead, he went to Stockholm, where in 1887, again as a hatter, he found employment at Hatter Almgren's shop in Drottninggatan, of which later he became the owner. Among his customers was August Strindberg, the playwright. Grand-Uncle Ludvig Hübel of Copenhagen, on the 5th September, 1888, two years before his death, in a letter to his nephew, Carl Graucob in Stockholm, acknowledged 'the sent money' which he had paid into the *Bikuben*, Copenhagen, in Carl's name, Account No. 90,921. Attended business regularly until he was more than 90, and returning by tram to his daughter's house in Bromma often sat chatting to the Prime Minister, who was also travelling by tram. Still in 1905, borrowed money from Far by way of a bill of exchange. During the German Occupation of 1940-45, and much later, came to Denmark regularly. At the age of 92, on the 29/7/1955, attended a dinner dance at Berns', with Eric Cawood of Nu-Swift, his grand-daughter Ingrid and another girl in her twenties. (Sources: *Stockholms-Tidningen* 3/5/1963 and *Berlingske Tidende* 3/5/1963.) m. St. Hans Eve 23/6/1891 Julia Augusta Jansson of Blekinge, b. 21/1/1862 †9/10/1931, by whom he had 3 sons and one daughter:

A) *Ludwig Carl Wilhelm Graucob*, Hatter, b. 18/10/1892, †24/8/1975.

m. 20/5/1923 *Astrid Linea Olsson* of Marstrand, b.

A. F. B O D E C K E R

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Kungl. Hofleverantör  Etablerad 1882

FELBHATTAR OCH UNIFORMSHATTAR

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Stockholm den 6. Juli 1974

Director and Mrs Lind Graucob
Elland Yorkshire
England.

Kära vänner,

Först nu har jag fått tid till att besvara Ditt vänliga brev och den mig sända becken anlända också hit till Stockholm fast först en månad efter det att min son Håkan Lennert Graucob hade fått sin bok från Bier.

För att nu söka fatta mig så kort som möjligt har jag också varit i förbindelse med min äldste son, Disponent Hans Graucob, 6 Slalomvägen., Saltjösbäcken, och föreslagit honom att vi skulle event. sända den boken som vi fått från

TOWN & COUNTRY, Illustrated Journal

Covering all Phases of Modern Life

Från London utgiven år 1954 Autumn Nummer - Year 1954

Autumn Nummer,

If you can get, om Du kan få fram denna gamla bok med three Generations Du finner alltså de tre på samma uppslag i denna bok annar kan Du också få låna mitt enda exemplar om jag får helst tillbaka det samma efter användandet. - Detta sista försälget är alltså att kunna förhjälpa Dig till en allsidig och riktig om huru det gått den i Sverige varande äldsta delen av familjen G R A U C O B,

Själv är jag född 18 oktober 1892

Student 20 Maj 1912

Jag har sedan genomgått Handels Högskolan i Stockholm åren 1912-1914

samt Kungl. Krigs Skolan vid Karlberg & Res Off vol åren 1914-1916

Efter andra världskriget jag tror det var år 1944 som jag blev

befordrad till Kapten i Kungl. Ingenjörskorpsens res.

Och sedan 1916 - 1919 anställd i Stockholm Anskilda Bank i Stockholm.

Efter år 1919 blev jag hattmakare och övertog helt firma A.F. Bodecker

år 1926 samt firma Carl Graucob den 20/5 1922 efter min svägers,

Erik Hermansson, som då innehade firman. - Sedan dessa har jag lyckats

hålla mig i skinnat och varit ställigen stillsam av mig. - Jag är mycket

riktig gift med Astrid Graucob 1923 den 20/5 och har tre-ne barn

Hans Sven Ludwig Graucob, Född den 19. Augusti

1924

Ingrid Marianne Graucob, Född den 23/9 1929

/Nu gift Sporreng. 1956/

& Håkan Lennert Graucob Född den 16. Oktober

Nuvara inneh. av firma 1932

Toni skoaffär 8 Drottningstan

Med många vänliga hälsningar till Er alla från tillgivna

Ludwig Graucob

Explanatory letter regarding himself and his family, written
in Swedish by my late Swedish cousin, Ludwig Graucob.

24/3/1898. Hatter by appointment to the last five Kings of Sweden, and to Nobel of Nobel Prize fame.

- a) *Hans* Sven Ludvig Graucob, Wholesale Ladies' Shoe Agent, b. 19/8/1924, m. 6/6/1959 Marianne Forsgren of Sundsvall, b. 24/4/1936. 4 Children : 3 daughters and 1 son :



Marianne Forsgren,
b. 24/4/1936 m. 6/6/1959 *Hans* Graucob, my Swedish
cousin's eldest son. Living in Saltsjöbaden, she is shown
with her second daughter, *Eva Suzanne* Elisabeth Graucob,
b. 29/3/1962.

- I) *Anette* Marianne Louise Graucob, b.
27/1/1960,
II) *Eva Suzanne* Elisabeth Graucob, b. 29/3/1962,
III) *Desirée* Christine Graucob, b. 17/1/1964,



Jan *Peter* Graucob,
b. 3,6,1967.
Find's Swedish Godchild. 1974.

IV) Jan *Peter* Graucob, b. 3/7/1967, my godson.
Slalomvägen 6, Saltsjöbaden, Sweden.

b) *Ingrid* Marianne Graucob, b. 23/9/1929, m.
22/9/1956 Claës-Olof Sporrong. 2 daughters :

- 1) *Astrid* Margareta Erika Sporrong, b. 13/1/1968,
- 2) *Ingrid* Birgitta *Anna* Sporrong, b. 3/3/1973.

c) Håkan Lennart Graucob, b. 16/10/1932, *Unmarried*. Continues his grandfather's business at Drottninggatan 8, Stockholm, under the name of Toni-Sko.

B) *Sven Robert Bernhard Graucob, Lawyer, b. 6/6/1894 †4/10/1941. m. 23/3/1922 Gerda Carlsson, b. 23/2/1892. †29/5/1975. No issue.*



Find embracing his Swedish girl cousin, Astrid Hermansson, *née* Graucob, b. 20/11/1896, daughter of Farbror Carl. *Shortly before Christmas 1973, in Stockholm.*

C) *Astrid Hanna Juliana Graucob, b. 20/11/1896, m. 10/11/1923 Revisor Erik Hermansson, b. 29/1/1896 †18/8/1954. Bralunden 5c, 16141 Bromma. 2 daughters :*

a) *Monica Charlotta Hermansson b. 18/4/1929, fil. mag. Uppsala, 1954, m. 21/6/1952 Lektor Lars Olof Rudström, b. 19/5/1928. Marriage dissolved 1973. 2 sons.*

i) *Lars-Erik Rudström, b. 25/9/1956,*

ii) *Sven Olof Lennart Rudström, b. 21/4/1959. Holmbodavägan 39, 191, 77 Sollentuna, Sweden.*

b) *Gunilla* Juliana Hermansson, b. 28/7/1933. m. 18/6/1955 Bromma Kyrka, Dental Surgeon Frey *Gunnar* Malmberg, b. 7/6/1927. 2 sons :

I) Per Gunnar Malmberg, b. 14/4/1956,

II) Jan Erik Malmberg, b. 21/11/1957.

Orevägen 17, S-161 40 Bromma, Sweden.

D) *Torsten* Julius Graucob, b. 4/6/1900. Lived in Argentina 1919-1969. m. 17/12/1927 Maria Wall, b. 27/5/1906 in Argentina by Austrian parents.

One son :

a) Carlos Luis Graucob b. 7/2/1931 m. 28/6/1956 Norma Linnéa Lindström, b. 2/3/1937.

Children : (2 sons and 1 daughter :)

I) Carlos Julio Graucob, b. 23/7/1957.

II) Alejandro Claudio Graucob, b. 13/12/1959.

III) *Adriana* Norma Graucob, b. 8/2/1968.

Torsten, his wife, Carlos and the rest of his family left Argentina for Sweden in 1969, where they settled in Södertälje, near Stockholm.

5) *Caroline Marie* Louise Graucob ('*Faster Mie*'), b. 31/1/1865 †4/1/1929, Domestic Dress Making Contractor ('*Systue*'), m. 22/5/1891 Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen, Christian Frederik Nielsen, b. 8/7/1862 Holmestrup †29/12/1925. (13/5/1911: Changed the surname of himself, his wife and their three daughters to Maxfelt). man servant to Count Moltke. After Far's death, 'Faster Mie.' in order to help Mor, sewed clothes for my sisters. 'Onkel Frederik,' her simple-minded husband, soled my shoes and, occasionally supplied Mor with venison from his employer, the 'Count.' 3 daughters :

A) *Gudrun* Jensine Frederikke Nielsen, b. 13/12/1891 Copenhagen, †30/7/1967 Copenhagen, m. 12/7/1919 Copenhagen, Captain of the Artillery Axel Meyer, b. 4/5/1887 Copenhagen, †27/10/1933.

- B) *Kaya* Augusta Wilhelmine Nielsen, b. 10/4/1894
Copenhagen, Mannequin, *Vendeuse*, †7/4/1973, m.
19/1/1921 Sct. Andreas Kirke, Copenhagen, Niels
Jacob Folmer Harde, b. 9/4/1894 Lang Kastrop,
†17/9/1959 Copenhagen, Commercial Traveller.
2 sons :
- a) Jørgen Harde, b. 19/5/1922 Frederiksberg.
Unmarried. Took part in the Danish underground
resistance movement during the Nazi Occupation.
Ved Kanalen 1, 1413, Copenhagen K.
- b) Ole ('*Lasse*') Harde, b. 9/6/1928 Frederiksberg.
m. 25/3/1961 Hune Kirke, Jutland, Vivi Jensen,
b. 27/12/1931 Ålborg.
2 children :
- I) Jaqueline Harde, b. 20/9/1961 Ålborg,
II) Niels Jørgen Harde, b. 24/7/1963 Ålborg.
Snerlevej 1, Ålborg, Denmark.
- C) Henny Margrethe ('*Lene*') Nielsen, b. 6/1/1900
Copenhagen, †30/7/1972 Kgs. Lyngby. *Unmarried*.
Telephone Operator (KTAS) for 52 years (1916-1968).
- 6) *Margrethe* Christiane Graucob, b. 9/4/1867 chr.
28/7/1867 †7/10/1954 Copenhagen. m. 21/6/1889, Copen-
hagen City Hall, Søren Gregersen Bay. b. 14/7/1860
Alstrup, Mariager, †26/1/1940, *Vinhandler*.
7 Children :
- A) *Gregor* Sigurd Bernhard Bay, b. 16/9/1889
Copenhagen, †5/12/1956 Copenhagen, m. 10/8/1923
Ølstykke Kirke, Ingeborg Kirstine Hansen, b.
5/7/1891 Copenhagen, †21/3/1969 Copenhagen. *Deaf
and dumb*. Joiner.
- a) Preben Gregor Bay, *Fuldmægtig* Lyngby-Tårnbæk
Kommunes Skattevæsen, b. 2/11/1926 Copen-
hagen, m. 4/5/1951 Simcons Kirken, Copen-

- hagen, Anni Ellinor Dagny Irene Madsen, b. 17/5/1929 Copenhagen. *2 children*:
- I) Søren Bay, b. 3/10/1953 Kgs. Lyngby.
 - II) Christian Bay, b. 5/4/1956 Kgs. Lyngby.
Plovvej 11, Kgs. Lyngby, Denmark.
- B) *Karen Signe Augusta Gregersen Bay*, b. 3/12/1892 Copenhagen. *Unmarried*. Retired Nurse. Strandboulevarden 18^I, Copenhagen Ø.
- C) *Sigrid Ernestine Margrethe Gregersen Bay*, b. 30/9/1895 Copenhagen. *Unmarried*. Jens Munksgade 24, 2100 Copenhagen Ø.
- D) *Johan Frederik Graucob Bay*, b. 30/8/1897 Copenhagen. Took part in World War I in Palestine, in the British Army, Radio Operator, †6/9/1929 (*lost at sea in the Baltic*).
- E) *Emma Sofie Marie Gregersen Bay*, b. 25/12/1899 Copenhagen, m. 16/8/1941 Aarhus Town Hall, Knud Ernst Jensen, b. 24/1/1907 Copenhagen. *No issue*. Duevej 1214, 2000 Copenhagen F.
- F) *Erna Beate Gregersen Bay*, b. 6/6/1904 Copenhagen. †16/9/1944 Copenhagen. Telephone Operator.
- G) *Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graucob Bay*, b. 22/4/1910 Copenhagen. *Unmarried*. *Mentally retarded*.
- 7) *Bernhard Emil Heinrich Graucob*, b. 28/7/1868, chr. 22/11/1868, Apprenticed: 1883, Journeyman: 1887. Conscript naval rating: 1888. Trading licence ('*Borger-skab* ') in Copenhagen, as a master tinsmith, at Nørrebrogade 18B: 8/8/1895. †6/6/1910 Copenhagen, m. 3/1/1902 Sct. Matthæus Kirke, Copenhagen, *Marie Henrica Rasmussen*, b. 9/7/1879 Copenhagen, as her first husband. †19/7/1963 Esbønderup Sygehus. Far became a member of Kjøbenhavns Blikkenslagerlaug only in 1901, although

he had already started in business on his own account in 1895. So had Farbror Julius, who, already in 1898, had become a member of the Laug, when he had given his business address as Nørrebrogade 18B. Both brothers also described themselves as authorized Gas and Water Masters.

In 1899, according to Kraks Vejviser, Far lived alone at Birkegade 5^{IV}; in 1900, still alone at Egegade 7^I, both in the working-class district of Nørrebro.

The bachelor brothers from about 1900, until my parents' marriage in 1902, lived together at N. J. Fjords Allé 6^{III}, according to Kraks Vejviser 1901.

Only in February, 1904, did they enter into a formal partnership as Bernh. Graucob & Co.

In the 1904 edition of Kraks Vejviser, the firm was also listed as authorized electricians. This was notwithstanding that Farbror Julius, only on the 13/8/1909, did himself qualify as an authorized, certified electrician.

In 1903, after Julius's marriage, but before Far's death, the brothers, as a firm, made a composition with their creditors.

It resulted in the sad sale of 'Tony,' our solitary horse, and the dismissal of 'Ludvig,' our coachman. In 1909, Harald Steenberg, my godfather, called at our home, as a valuer, to record all our silver spoons, no doubt in addition to other valuables. When Far died in 1910, Mor, the 31-year-old, unskilled widow with three young children, was by his late junior partner and brother, Julius, made a weekly allowance of Kr. 40, in addition to an annual rent allowance of Kr. 400 though only for a couple of years. Her only asset, apart from our furniture, were unencumbered life assurance policies in Far's name, worth about Kr. 8,000.

7/7/1909 : Letter writing must have been an early hobby of mine. On the 7th July, 1909, in a letter to Mor, who with me was on holiday at Aarlose, Far made this reference to some scribble of mine :

“ Will you give my regards to my big son and thank him for his letter. On Friday, when I join you with ‘ the Doll ’ (i.e. Eva), I hope the four of us will spend a few lovely days together.”

(This was to be the last birthday, which Mor spent with Far.)

Bernhard’s three children, who survived their father, grew up, married and the elder two of whom had children, were:

- A) *Find* Peter Justus Graucob b. 16/11/1902 Copenhagen, m. 3 times, 3 children.
- B) Eva Graucob, b. 11/10/1905 Copenhagen, m. once, 3 children.
- C) Ruth Graucob, b. 19/9/1908 Copenhagen. †21/10/1955 Copenhagen, m. twice. *No issue.*

(For details of their marriages and descendants, refer to p.521—p.854.)

- 8) Alfred Julius Graucob, Carpet Weaver, b. 21/5/1870, chr. 14/8/1870 †15/1/1941 Hameln (Germany). Emigrated, about 1888, to Germany, where he settled in Hameln. *Twice married, 2 children by his 1st wife, 4 children by his 2nd wife.* 1st time m. 1893-1894 Hildesheim Franziska Kosecka, b. 26/4/1868 Stargard, Pomerania. †11/6/1901 Hildesheim.
 - A) Maria Barbara Graucob, b. 28/3/1895 Hildesheim, entered a convent as a Nun 21/1/1915 (*Vinzentinerin*).
 - B) Bernhard Graucob, b. 23/5/1900 Hildesheim m. 8/7/1926 Hagen, Margarethe Findkeldey, b. 28/4/1903 Hagen. Played with me while visiting Denmark 1904, 1912 and 1914. Served in the Adriatic Sea (Pola)

in a German submarine during World War I. We sent food parcel to him from South Africa in 1948.

Lives in Krefeld. Retired local Government official ; car dealer.

2 children by Franziska Kosecka :

- a) Ruth Graucob, b. 17/11/1928 Hagen m. 2/7/1953
Hagen Karl Wilbrender, Book-keeper, b. 19/1/1923
Münster. *3 children.*



*By courtesy of Frau Ruth Wilbrender,
the daughter of Ruth Graucob, wife of
my German paternal cousin,
Bernhard Graucob.*

Find Graucob and Renate Wilbrender,
Student at Münster University, West Germany,
(*Germanistik & Historik.*),
b. 4/3/1954 Krefeld.

*Photograph taken in Düsseldorf, 23rd March, 1974,
at an informal gathering of German. Stockholm and
Danish/English Graucobs.*

I) Renate Wilbrender, Student at Münster University. b. 4/3/1954 Krefeld. (Germanistik & Historik),

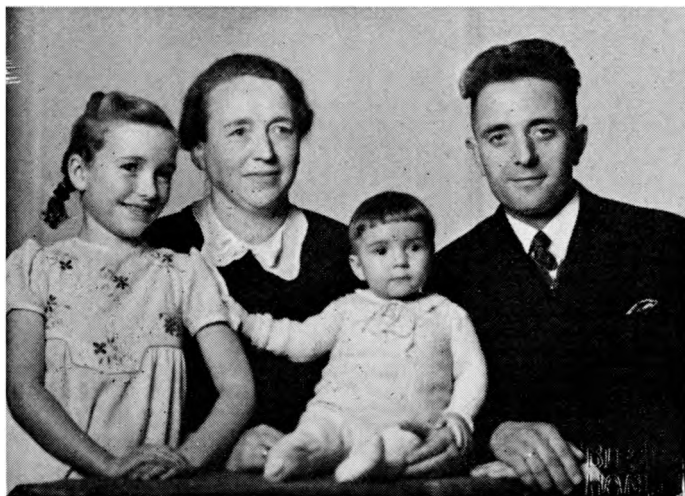
II) Bernd Wilbrender, (Abitur Mathematik & Physik), b. 2/1/1956 Krefeld,

III) Bärbel Wilbrender, Schoolgirl, b. 25/9/1961 Hagen.

b) Paul Graucob, b. 17/6/1933 Hagen, Verkäufer.

2nd time Alfred Julius Graucob m. 1902 Wilhelmine Möhle b. 15/12/1876 Everode, Kreis Alfeld, †11/8/1956 Hameln. 4 children by Wilhelmine Möhle :

C) Karl-August Graucob, b. 6/7/1903 Hameln, m. 30/5/1931 Helene Schank, b. 9/9/1906. Beethovenstrasse 21, Hameln, West Germany.



Karl-August Graucob, my German paternal cousin, after returning from long Russian captivity during World War II. with his wife and family.

Karl-August's 5-years long Russian captivity, at the end of World War II, was the unfortunate indirect result of Faste Margrethe Bay's courageous initiative. As a member of the Nazi forces of occupation in Denmark, Danish-speaking Karl-August was overheard by an informer, in a Copenhagen tram to criticize Hitler. At the age of about 75, Faste Margrethe Bay, by personal interviews at the Gestapo GHQ, at Dagmarhus, secured the release of Karl-August, her nephew, who had been convicted was reprieved, and sent to the Eastern front on active service. *2 daughters.*



Otto Graucob, my German paternal cousin,
obviously on an anniversary, between 1939 and 1943, during World War II.
(Believe killed at Stalingrad.)

a) Margret Graucob b. 29/5/1935, m. 28/5/1956
Friedrich Wilhelm Ragge, b. 7/7/1933.

325, Hameln, Walthusener Str. 3, West Germany.

2 surviving children :

- 1) Karen Ragge, b. 9/8/1961 †18/8/1964,
 - 2) Karsten Ragge, b. 17/2/1965,
 - 3) Maren Ragge, b. 22/3/1970.
- b) Monika Graucob, b. 27/2/1943, m. 10/10/1961
Horst Zozifiak, b. 1/6/1942. *2 children, one of whom survives :*
- 1) Kirsten Zozifiak, b. 3/1/1962
 - 2) Anke Zozifiak, b. 7/1/1964 †21/1/1964.
- D) Theodor Graucob, b. 25/5/1909 Hameln, drowned in the Weser 5/8/1931.
- E) Otto Graucob, b. 27/5/1911 Hameln, missing January 1943 Stalingrad, was married in the summer of 1940 to Dorette Steding.
- F) Gertrud Graucob b. 21/10/1915 Hameln. 2nd time m. 29/11/1957 Erwin Busc, b. 24/1/1905. *No issue.*
Hameln, Buchenweg 23.
- 9) *Julius* Andreas Graucob b. 21/7/1872, chr. 22/7/1872, †15/6/1932. Apprenticed : 1887, Journeyman : 1891, m. 11/4/1907 Erna Philipson, b. 29/2/1888, †20/1/1967. In 1912, when I called at the office of Bernh. Graucob & Co., ‘Tante Erna’ told me never to call there again. Only in 1963, at Farbror Carl’s centenary birthday celebrations in Stockholm, did I speak to her once more. *5 children :*
- A1) John Edward Graucob, Textile Wholesaler, b. 9/8/1909. “Skovbakken,” Sandbjergvej, 2950 Vedbæk, Denmark. m. 1st time 4/7/1936 Christiansborg Slotskirke, Copenhagen. Rita Gram, Dress Designer. b. 25/12/1910. Ordrupvej 133^{II}, 2920 Charlottenlund, Denmark. *3 daughters*, who all in turn married :
- a) Annemari Graucob b. 24/7/1938, m. 1st time 2/9/1962 Helleruplund Kirke Ole Remy Jensen, b. 8/11/1938. In September, 1974, I had a quick lunch with her in Copenhagen.

- I) *Marianne* Christina, b. 11/4/1964 chr. 19/7/1964.
- II) *Michael* Christian, b. 21/3/1967, chr. 2/7/1967. m. 2nd time 12/5/1971 Registry Office, Sydney, Australia, *Bruce* Edward Williams, b. 14/7/1933, 114 Springdale Road, Killara 2071, NSW, Australia.
- b) Suzanne Graucob b. 22/7/1940 m. 9/3/1963 Helleruplund Kirke, Jens Finderup, b. 30/6/1939 Copenhagen, with whom she lived first in Wiesbaden and later in Houston, Texas (USA): 6015, Bayonne Drive Spring, 77373, Texas, USA.
- I) Lotte Finderup, b. 16/1/1970 Houston, Texas, chr. 7/6/1970 Trinity Lutheran Church, Spring, Texas.
- c) Merete Graucob, b. 12/12/1942, m. 30/7/1966, *stud. jur.*, Jens Larsen, b. 2/8 Ruds Vedby, Ved Hegnet, 4291 Ruds Vedby, Denmark.
- i) Pia Larsen, b. 16/7/1967 Hørsholm.
- ii) Helene Larsen, b. 27/11/1969 Ruds Vedby.
- A2) John Edward Graucob, m. 2nd time 3/7/1959, Høsterkøb Kirke, Merete Steensen-Leth, b. 19/8/1936 Frederiksberg, *separated* 23/3/1970, *divorced* 8/6/1971. 2 children by Merete Steensen-Leth, she m. 2nd time 27/10/1973 Hørsholm Town Hall, Hugo Hvidt, b. 9/8/1920.
- d) June Ann Graucob, b. 13/2/1960 Hellerup, *my goddaughter*,
- e) Jan Graucob, b. 23/9/1961 Hellerup.
- Høsterkøbvej 61, Høsterkøb, Hørsholm.
- B) Ulla Maud Graucob, b. 14/3/1912 Copenhagen, m. 9/10/1943 Frederiksberg Town Hall, Villy Kristian Boe Harter, b. 2/5/1904, †1961. *No issue*.

Blegdamsvej 118, Copenhagen Ø.

- C) Aase Lissy Graucob, b. 9/9/1917, chr. 28/12/1917
Copenhagen Sct. Markus Parish, m. 3/2/1940 Gentofte
Town Hall, William August Peder Malthesen, b.
1/6/1911 Hamburg. *Separated 26/6/1954, divorced*
20/8/1957. *3 children.*

5 Maj Plads 1, 5700 Svendborg, Denmark.



Jan Graucob,
b. 23/9/1961 Hellerup, the only male
Graucob of his generation born and
living in Denmark,
about 1973.

- a) Bent Malthesen, b. 17/10/1939 Copenhagen, m.
6/4/1968 Gudme Kirke, Birthe Jensen, b.
21/6/1938.
- b) Jette Maud Malthesen, b. 9/2/1945. *Unmarried,*
Father to her son: Bernt Hylsebeck Jensen, b.
22/4/1947, Nyborg, stud. techn:
- l) Peter Malthesen, b. 28/5/1968 Svendborg.

- c) Lone Vibøke Malthesen, b. 1/12/1950, m. 2/5/1970 Sorup Kirke, Hans Haupt, b. 11/10/1946 Ellinge, Fyn. *1 daughter* :
- 1) Annette Haupt, b. 28/7/1972 Svendborg, chr. Sct. Nikolai Kirke, Svendborg.
- D) Ebba Graucob, b. 12/4/1919 Copenhagen, m. 5/10/1943 Messiaskirken, Hellerup, Niels Svend Aage Pedersen, b. 5/2/1912, Tengslemark, pr. Højby, Vedbæk Strandvej 342, 2950 Vedbæk, Denmark.
1 daughter :
- a) Marianne Pedersen, b. 27/3/1947 Valby, *stud. med.*, m. 1st time : 15/8/1970 Rødovre Kirke, *stud. scient.* Lars Skriver Rasmussen, b. 7/1/1947 Nykøbing Sj. Student (Stenhus), *divorced* 1972, m. 2nd time : 1/12/1973 Hvidovre, Peter Sylvest Larsen, *can. jur.* Lawyer, b. 28/9/1947.
1 daughter :
- i) Christine Larsen, b. 26/2/1975, Birkerød Parkvej 42, Birkerød.
- E) Annelise Graucob, b. 25/9/1920, m. 22/9/1951 Brønshøj Kirke, Hans Georg Hansen, b. 3/11/1897 Snese, Præstø. He †26/11/1965. *No issue.*
Stenlillevej 12, 2700 Brønshøj, Denmark.
- 10) Anna Christine Graucob b. 11/3/1876, chr. 23/4/1876, †10/11/1942. m. 15/4/1900 Bror Wilhelm Wallin, b. 7/5/1873, †10/11/1943, in Stockholm where she had settled, after having worked in the shop of her brother, Carl. *Childless*, she and 'Onkel Bror' adopted Stina, who married and, had six children (1925-1936) and, by 1972, also had 13 grandchildren.



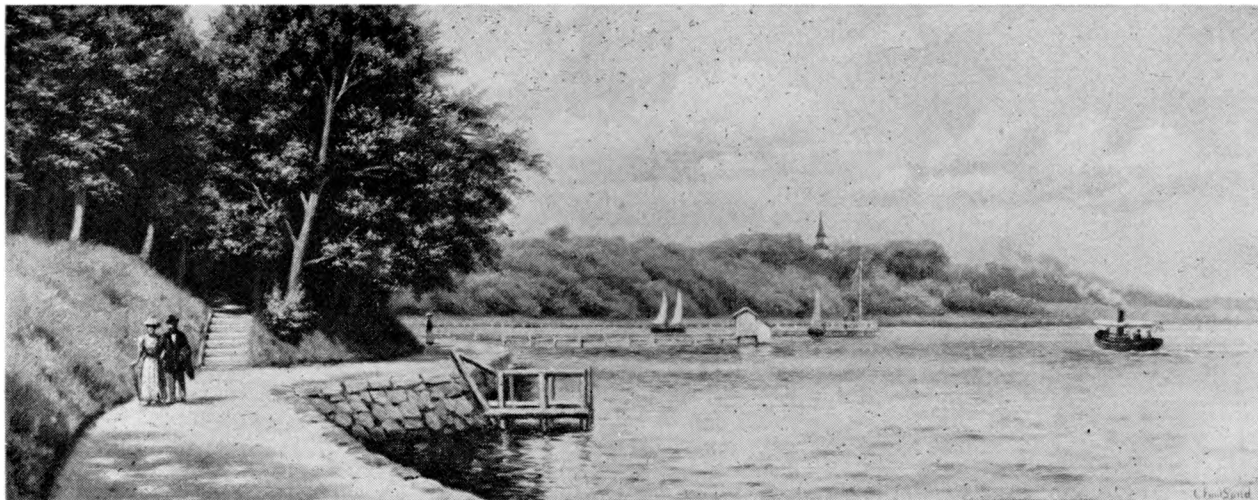
*By courtesy of my sister,
Fru Eva Heede.*

Happy days celebrating our parents' engagement in 1901.

Harald Steenberg (Mor's employer), Mor, Far. (?) Martha Rasmussen and
Christiane Steenberg, (later Ruth's godmother).

Posed, probably near Skodsborg. this sylvan photograph was no doubt taken
in Spring 1901. shortly after my parents' engagement.

(Photo by Chr. Monheim, Amagerbro 4.)



*By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section
and Alex Vincents Kunstforlag.*

Christiansminde, near Svendborg.
Mor and Far spent their first summer holiday in 1901 and their honeymoon in 1902 at Christiansminde. The sight of an enlargement of this uninspiring photogravure, on one of the walls of our dining-room, is among my earliest memories.

Etching, before 1904, by C. Emil Lund.



Photo probably about 1905.

Farmor and Farfar.

(Andreasine Wilhelmine Hübel, b. 7/4/1832 †1/3/1907, m. 12/9/1860, Svendborg. Johann Friderich Justus Graucob, b. 19/2/1833 Flemhude (Holstein), †27/10/1908 Copenhagen.)



Mor, Far, Farbror Carl, Farbror Julius and Find. Charlottenlund.
Probably Summer 1906.



Farbror Julius, Tante Erna, 'Faster Dine,' Mor, 'Trine,' Far and
Farfar, in the front garden at Vintappervej 10, Kgs. Lyngby.
Summer 1908.



'Faster Dine's' dining room. Hørsholmsgade 28, Copenhagen.
 'Faster Dine.' Find Graucob, 'Onkel Alfred.' Paul Graucob, 'Faster Gusta,' Marie Graucob
 (our German girl cousin). Farfar, Bernhard Graucob (our German boy cousin) and Farmor.
 August 1904.

(During the absence in Sweden of Far and Mor.)



Find pick-a-back on Far, presumably
 Summer 1908 or 1909.



*By courtesy of my sister,
Fru Eva Heede.*

Far, Agnes ('Trine') Hybel, Johanne Hybel, 'Farbror Julius,' Mor and Vilhelm ('Lam') Hybel.

Probably about 1907. The grouping for this posed photograph is slightly significant. 'Trine' and 'Lam' besides being cousins of Far's were also fervent admirers of both my parents. (Note that Far is carrying the silver-handled cane now (1974) at Barrie House.)

(Photo by Chr. Mouheim, Amagerbro 4.)

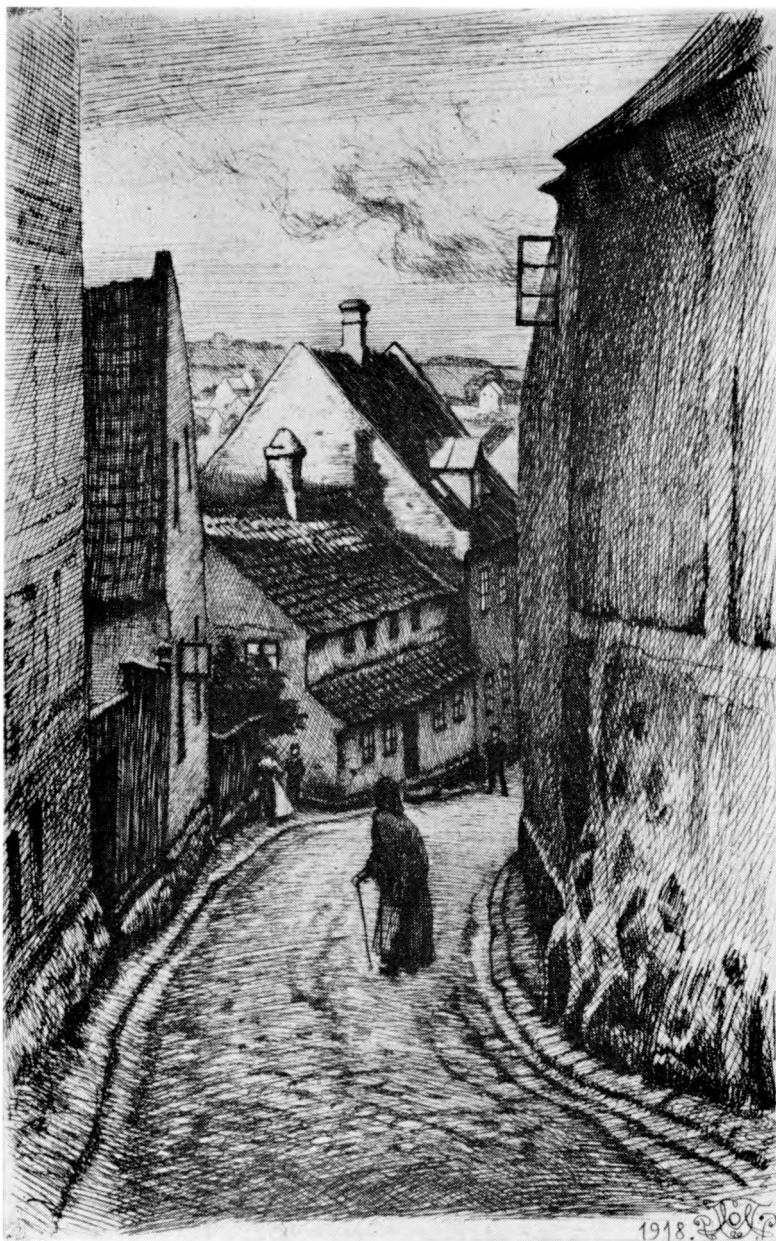


By courtesy of the late Kaya Harde, my paternal cousin.

Two of my fashion-conscious, pretty, 16-year-old cousins, photographed in Svendborg. Summer 1910.

Kaya Nielsen, b. 10/4/1894 (changed surname 13/5/1911 to Maxfelt), m. 19/1/1921 Niels Jacob Folmer Harde, widowed 17/9/1959, †7/4/1973 Copenhagen.

Marie Rostgaard, b. 8/7/1894 Copenhagen. *Unmarried.*
(Photo Holger Steffensen.)



By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.

Hulgade, Svendborg.

*In 1912, during my summer holidays, I fell in this steep, cobbled lane
and sprained my ankle.*

(Etching 1918 by Tom Petersen.)

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By courtesy of The Royal Library, Picture Section.

Bagergade, Svendborg.

Opposite the Rostgaards' modest, combined shop and dwelling-house in Bagergade, in this picturesque magpie building, was a baker's shop, which during my childhood holidays in Svendborg, I often visited.

(Etching 1922 by Peter Holm, b. 1890.)



*By courtesy of Ruth Wilbrender,
née Graucob, my German cousin's daughter.*

Svendborgsund 1912.
Find Graucob and Bernhard Graucob, my German
cousin, named after Far.



Outside Rostgaards' Retail Shop in Bagergade, Svendborg, about 1917.
Julius Graucob. Find Graucob (in scout uniform), Grand-Uncle Adolph
Hybel. John Graucob. Marie Maxfelt. Doris Rostgaard. Henny Maxfelt,
Niels Rostgaard. "Pølse" Sprogøe (Scout friend).



Photogenic Marianne and handsome Hans Graucob
(elder son of my Swedish cousin, Ludwig Graucob),
on their wedding day, the 6th June, 1959.
3 daughters, 1 son.



By courtesy of the Royal Library, Picture Section.
 Suzanne Graucob, b. 22/7/1940,
 Rita Graucob, *née* Gram, b. 25/12/1910, m. 4/7/1936,
 Annemari Graucob, b. 24/7/1938 and
 Merete Graucob, b. 22/12/1942.
 1st wife of John Edward Graucob, and their three daughters.
 About 1949.



My goddaughter, attractive, talented and colour-conscious
 June Ann Graucob, b. 13th February 1960, aged about 3½ years,
 daughter of John and Merete Graucob.
Photograph received by me in Hong Kong, Christmas 1963.



*By courtesy of Stockholms Tidningens och Aftonsbladets Bildservice,
lent by Frk. Karen Bay, my paternal cousin.*

'The Centenarian Danish Hatter in Stockholm, when he reached 100.'
Carl Johan Frederik Graucob, b. 5/5/1863, Brudager, near Svendborg. †23/11/1965,
Stockholm, 102½ years old. Hatter. On his 100th birthday, 5/5/1963, made an
honorary citizen of the City of Stockholm.
3 sons and 1 daughter.



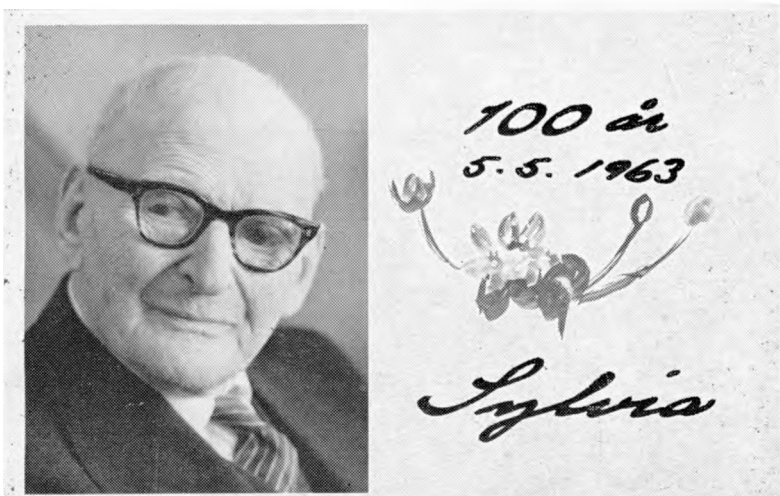
Not a mere peacock, Farbror Carl, surrounded by 18 peahens, on his 100th birthday,
the 5th May, 1963.

Back Row, standing :

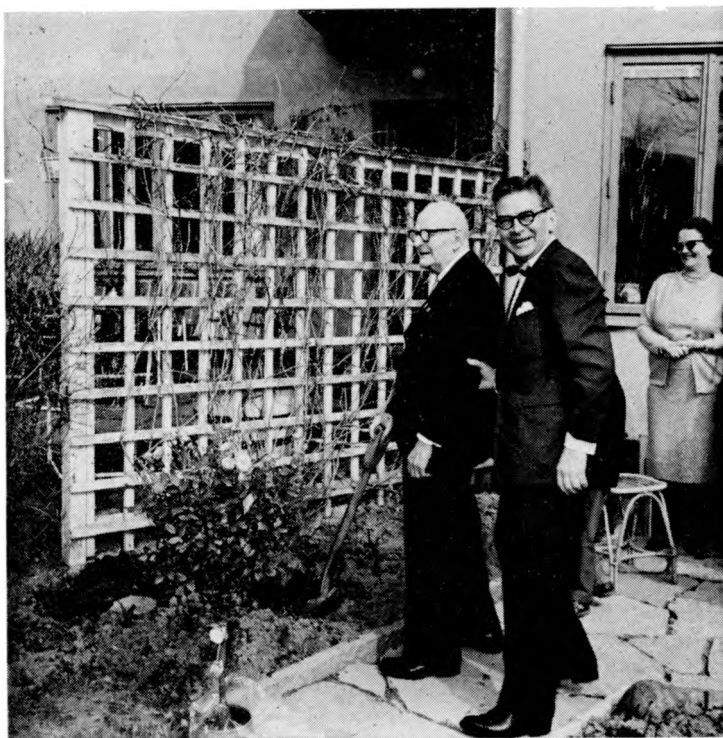
Ingrid Sporrang, Marianne Graucob, Ebba Pedersen, Gunilla Malmberg, Ulla Harter,
Eva Heede, Erna Graucob, Fru Berlin, Inez Ek, Lise Hansen.

Centre Row, seated :

Monica Rudström, Astrid Graucob, Gerda Graucob, Carl Graucob, Karen Bay,
Astrid Hermansson, Emma Jensen.



Shortly before the celebration of his 100th birthday Farbror Carl was made an honorary citizen of the City of Stockholm. This attractive table card for the gay Celebration Dinner, with the speech-making centenarian in the chair, was prepared and decorated in colour by Marianne Graucob, the wife of Hans Graucob, Farbror Carl's eldest grandson.



On his 100th birthday, the 5th May, 1963, Farbror Carl, at Sylvia's suggestion, planted a rose tree in the garden of the house of his daughter, Astrid Hermansson, at Ålstensgaten 92. Farbror Carl was held by me.



Maria Barbara Graucob, b. 28/3/1895
in Germany, d. of 'Onkel Alfred'
and his first wife, Franziska Kosecka,
who. 21/1/1915, became a nun
(*Vinzentinerin*).



Monica Charlotta Hermansson,
b. 18/4/1929 m. 21/6/1952
Lektor Lars Olof Rudström
b. 19/5/1928. 2 sons. Marriage
dissolved 1973.



Gunilla Juliana Hermansson,
b. 28/7/1933 m. 18/6/1955,
Gunnar Malmberg, Dental
Surgeon, b. 7/6/1927. 2 sons.



By courtesy of A/S Pressehuset, Copenhagen.
My only Danish Graucob male cousin. John Edward Graucob, a
brilliant International textile salesman, in front of one of his own
curtains. b. 9/8/1909,
Twice married, 1 son and 4 daughters.

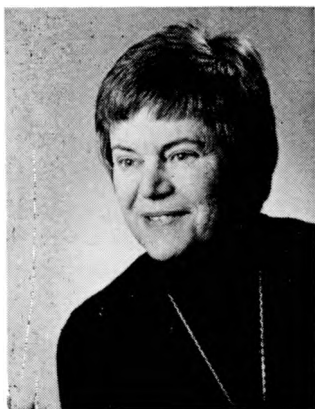


By courtesy of Nordisk Pressefoto A/S.

Jan Graucob, b. 23/9/1961,
June Ann Graucob, b. 13/2/1960,
Merete Graucob, *née* Steensen-Leth, b. 19/8/1936, m. 3/7/1959,
2nd wife of John Edward Graucob, and their two children.
Summer 1973.



Paul Graucob,
b. 17/6/1933 Hagen (Western
Germany), son of Bernhard
Graucob, my German cousin.



Ruth Graucob,
b. 17/11/1928 Hagen (Western
Germany) m. 2/7/1953 Hagen
Karl Wilbrender b. 19/1/1923.
Book-keeper. 2 daughters,
1 son.



Renate Wilbrender,
b. 4/2/1954. Student at Münster
University.



Black and white framed lithograph of Sylvia Graucob, given by her to Find, on his 72nd birthday, 16/11/1974.
Portrait 1974, by Harold Riley, sent in reduced size as a Christmas card.

Acknowledgments and Thanks

Over some nine years many people have helped in compiling this record. In addition to the appreciation for help and information expressed specifically at the end of each Chapter, I should like here to voice my warmest thanks to the many individuals and institutions whose assistance has extended beyond two or three chapters.

A happy coincidence caused me, a novice in the subject of Family Research, to be introduced at an early date to *Registrar* Niels Rickelt of *Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m.* To him, more than to any individual, I owe a debt of gratitude not only for such factual information as he has been able to track down and explain to me, but also for his numerous inspiring suggestions, discoveries, and confirmation of suspected facts. It was also, thanks to him that I discovered the delights experienced only by connoisseurs of the esoteric cult of serendipity.

The ingenuity and helpfulness of *Fuldmægtig* Jeppe Rasmussen of *Københavns Stadsarkiv* have been equally imaginative and valuable in the restricted, but very important, field of my ancestors' lives and doings in Copenhagen.

Fortunate in being introduced by Niels Rickelt to '*Haandbog i Slægtsforskning*,' I also wish to pay homage to Albert Fabritius and Harald Hatt, the co-authors of this invaluable manual with its wealth of helpful factual information. This book also instilled in to my research a much needed sense of mental discipline.

Of inestimable value to me has proved the fascinating '*Historisk Leksikon*' contained in '*Håndbog for Danske Lokalhistorikere*,' 1952-56, edited by Johan Hvidtfeldt. I am deeply indebted to many of the knowledgeable and learned contributors, too numerous to be mentioned individually.

In the case of the many other people, my warm thanks and appreciation must, from necessity, first and foremost be addressed to Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.m., Landsarkivet for Fyn, Odense, Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland, Viborg, Rigsarkivet, the Royal Library, Universitetsbiblioteket, Københavns Stadsarkiv, Nationalmuseet, and the courteous and knowledgeable staff of them all, including Frk. Grethe Larsen of the Royal Library, Fuldmægtig Jeppe Rasmussen of Københavns Stadsarkiv, and Hr. W. Limkilde of Landsarkivet for Fyn, Odense.

Constant consultation of numerous books of reference makes it possible that in some instances I have failed to make specific acknowledgment after each chapter to the sources consulted.

Needless to say, I have found invaluable frequent reference to Trap's Denmark. This also applies to Politiken's Danmarkshistorie *Hvornår Skete Det?* and the second edition of Politikens Danmarkshistorie, written and produced so imaginatively. To Salmonsens Konversations-Leksikon, I am also greatly indebted. This also applies to Dansk Biografisk Leksikon.

To the Editor of, and contributors to, the shorter Oxford Dictionary, which for many years I have consulted almost daily, I pay respectful homage.

This also applies to the superb second edition of Hermann Vinterberg and C. A. Bodelsen: *Dansk-Engelsk Ordbog*.

Cross-reference to my copy of *Engelsk-Dansk-Norsk Ordbog* by J. Brynildsen, which, during the *Blitz*, though soused at my London Office has on occasions proved helpful.

I am grateful to *Arkivsekretær* Frk. Marianne Reimer of *Rigsarkivet* for the painstaking and punctilious manner in which she has checked specific historical facts. She is, however, in no way responsible for the accuracy of the genealogical details, nor for the deductions in some cases drawn by me.

In addition to those mentioned here and elsewhere, I am grateful to my sister, Fru Eva Heede, my children Patrick and Sheila, my former secretary during many years, Mrs. Rene Kerrod, and my paternal cousin, Frk. Marie Rostgaard, for their patient and helpful enquiries and attempts at fact-finding in Copenhagen, London and Scotland; and to my wife, Mrs. Sylvia Graucob, for permitting for years mountainous piles of papers to accumulate in what was our bedroom.

Resident in England, since 1922, in a vain attempt to master the bewildering rules of English grammar, I also wish to express my warm thanks to Miss Marjory Crowther. With patience and thoroughness, laced with acerbity, she has repeatedly, in a critical but helpful spirit, read and corrected the growing manuscript, as well as pointed out terminological errors, inconsistencies and improbabilities.

The job of deciphering my almost illegible manuscript for the helpful compositor, Selwyn Washington, and correcting errors, sometimes written in a language not her own, has been carried out with intelligence, keen interest and imagination, by Mrs. Kaye Kneen, my assistant and secretary who in the process has become almost bilingual!

Part of the important task of preparing, cleaning and cutting the illustrations for the block-makers has been

dealt with by Gunnar B. Nielsen. The type-setting, printing and binding has been done by M. Pilling & Sons Ltd., of Elland, whose speedy, intelligent and helpful services I do not believe could be bettered by any firm of printers in Britain or elsewhere.

If, in spite of such efforts and application, extending over years, by so many people, the mountain has given birth only to a molehill, the fault is wholly mine. The overall value of the book relating the lives of my undistinguished ancestors in terms of the number of man and woman hours put in, is wholly disproportionate, except to me. To explore that which to me was almost a *terra nova* in respect of so many of my ancestors has been a fascinating experience. It has also, late in life, taught me much about the history of my native country. To everybody who has helped me, I offer renewed and sincere thanks.

To explain inconsistencies it may be helpful to state that the book has not been composed chronologically. Research, writing, editing and proof-reading have been carried out between 1966 and 1975.

And Hancock

Overgate,
Elland, West Yorkshire,
England, 1975.

POLITIKEN • Tirsdag 7. november 1978

Find Graucob

er død på Jersey
den 6. november 1978

Sylvia

Bisættelsen bekendtgøres
senere

Torsdag 9. november 1978

Find Graucob

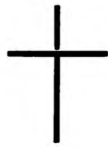
f. 16. nov. 1902

d. 6. nov. 1978

Sylvia

Patrick og Sheila

Begravelsen vil finde sted
lørdag d. 11. nov. kl. 11 fra
Søllerød Kirke



Ved

FIND GRAUCOB's

BEGRAVELSE

fra Søllerød kirke

lørdag den 11. november 1978

1. The Lord's my shepherd, I'll not want,
He makes me down to lie-
in pastures green, He leadeth me-
the quiet waters by.
2. My soul He doth restore again,
and me to walk doth make-
within the paths of righteousness,
e'en for His own name's sake.
3. Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
yet will I fear no ill,
for Thou art with me, and Thy rod-
and staff me comfort still.
4. My table Thou hast furnish-ed-
in presence of my foes,
my head Thou dost with oil anoint,
and my cup overflows.
5. Goodness and mercy all my life-
shall surely follow me,
and in God's house for evermore-
my dwelling-place shall be.

Scottish Psalter (1650)
(Crimond version)

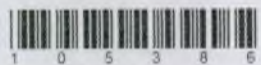
Altid frejdig, når du går
veje, Gud tør kende,
selv om du til målet når
først ved verdens ende!

Aldrig ræd for mørkets magt
stjernerne vil lyse!
Med et Fadervor i pagt
skal du aldrig gyse!

Kæmp for alt, hvad du har kært,
dø, om så det gælder!
Da er livet ej så svært,
døden ikke heller.

Chr. Richardt.

DIS-Danmark



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