

Danish Peace History



Danish titles translated in text, the original titles and names are in the notes or in the literature list.

Holger Terp
Editor, The Danish Peace Academy

Introduction

The first student rebellion

Danish Peace Literature

Danish history research and communication

Forced conscription during the Viking age

Light in darkness

Denmark-Norway during the dictatorship of the kings 1660-1849

War resistance in Slesvig during the Danish German war 1849

Liberal political antimilitarism 1849-1914

The war of 1864

Danish pacifism during World War One

Danish discovery of Mahatma Gandhi

Denmark and the League of Nations

Refugee work before World War Two

Non-violent resistance during WW 2

Flexible double standards policies during the cold war

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

New Cold war

After word: A Danish Peace Academy

Conclusion

Literature

Bibliographies

General history of Denmark

Absolutism and agricultural history of Denmark

History of the activists

Appendix 1

Meditationes Pacificæ

Appendix 3: Fredrik Bajer Bibliography

Introduction

When the history of peace disappears, myths are created. The most important is the myth that all agreed with the policy of their rulers, and yes, there was no opposition. The early Danish concepts of peace and pacifism have yet to be fully investigated.

Little has been written in the international academic literature about peace work in Denmark. "The Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders" has only two Danish entries¹. Professor Gene Sharp discovered one of many Danish publications on non violence². The history of peace work and pacifism in Denmark is nearly non-existent before 1849.

The much learned Canadian professor of history Peter Brock (1920-2006)³ fails to find one Scandinavian pacifist in his "Pacifism in Europe to 1914". The volume of Brock could have been titled, 'Religious Pacifism in Europe to 1914' from 1972 an update of Hirst's "The Quakers in Peace and War" from 1923⁴. Peter Brock knows the history of the peace movement including the history of the radical and political parts of the movement. He has read Bart de Ligt, Jacob ter Meulen and the learned publications from the Norwegian Nobel Institute⁵. In "Pacifism in Europe to 1914" there is on p. 508 one promising reference to Norway and one reference to a Norwegian publication: August Schou: "Historie de l'internationalisme" vol. II and III. Brock has no direct references to Danish and Norwegian pacifism, even though Schou in Vol. III refers to Fredrik Bajer and in the chapter §3 Le mouvement de la paix organisé Danemark, has a short history of Bajer and the Danish Peace Society. In vol. II August Schou and Christian L. Lange tells the story of Norwegian peace apostle Anders Kempe, but they also overlook the story of Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken.

Two years before the publication of "Pacifism in Europe to 1914", Peter Brock had discovered the Danish conscientious objectors law of December 1917: "In no country could non-religious objectors gain official recognition until in 1917 Denmark instituted an alternative service system for which no religious test was required".

Then Peter Brock did not ask the simple question: why was the Danish conscientious objectors law written as it was? Could the answer be because of great politically based

¹ Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders / Editor in chief: Harold Josephson. - Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985. - 1133 pp.

² Kamp uden Vaaben : Ikke-Vold som Kampmiddel mod Krig og Undertrykkelse / Niels Lindberg ; Gammelgaard Jacobsen ; Karl Erlich. 1937.

³ Brock, Peter: Freedom from War : Nonsectarian pacifism 1814-1914.

Brock, Peter: Pacifism in Europe to 1914.

- Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972 - 556 pp.

Brock, Peter: Twentieth Century Pacifism.

- New York: Van Nostrand Reinold, 1970. - 274 pp.

⁴ <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/hirst.pdf>

⁵ Lange, Christian Louis: Histoire de l'internationalisme : Jusqu'à la paix de westphalie (1648).

- Oslo : H. Aschenhoug & Co., 1919. - 517 s.

<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/lange.pdf>

objection? Twenty-one years later Peter Brock publish his “Freedom from violence”, wherein Fredrik Bajer is (rightly) turned down as pacifist, he was an internationalist. In “Freedom from violence” Peter Brock describes Scandinavian Christian pacifism. As in his former books we see that the main focus of Brock is the religious pacifism, as the appendix has the title “Christian Pacifism in Denmark and Sweden to 1914”. In the appendix appears the following to me unknown pacifists: Mogens A. Sømmer and Christian Hope, but the domestic and international Danish peace work has a long tradition, just as other countries.

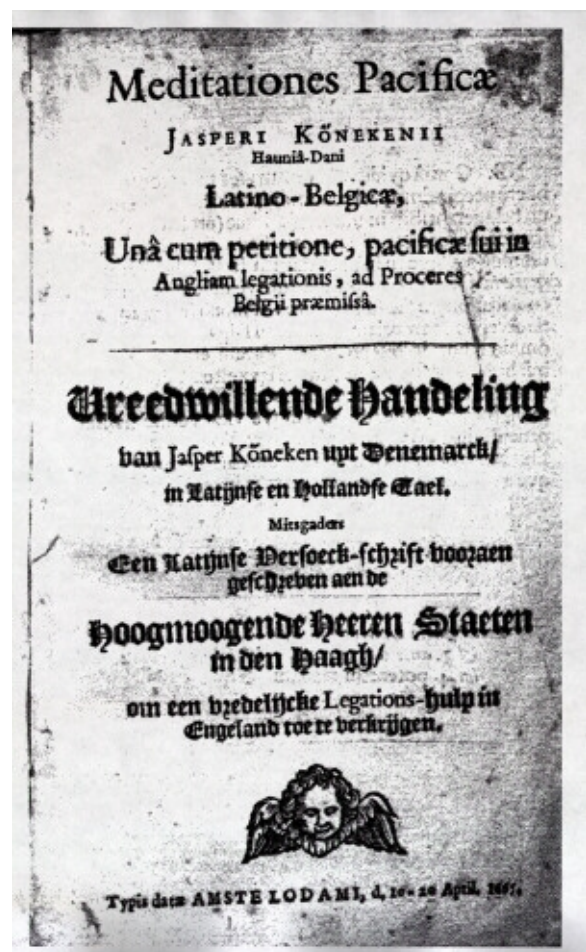
I am not a historian or peace researcher. I am an educated librarian with poor eyes, using the tools of my trade and here mostly historian thesis and printed primary sources. Secondary volumes are used mainly to check how the history had been used.

Thanks for the kind help and expertise from the employees at the Record Office, the Royal Library of Copenhagen and my local library at Friheden. Also many thanks to American professor in English Julianna Free for improving my poor English.

The first student rebellion

During the Nordic war between Denmark and Sweden 1657-59, while Copenhagen was the capital of the dual monarchy Denmark and Norway, Jesper Baltzarsen Kønecken or Jasper Könekenii (1629-1715) as he later was called in the Netherlands, in training for the ministry preached to the war-torn state. Among the audience in the pews were students from his own university, citizens and the defenders of Copenhagen. At that time people were allowed to speak in the course of the service who was not actually the minister of the church congregation.

Taken by surprise, the patriots heard from the learned young man, that according to the New Testament, wars for Christians were unlawful. Also, it was the view of Kønecken, that Christians should not be rulers⁶. And if war were unlawful for the Christian Danish monarch, so it also was unlawful for the Christian Swedish king Charles Gustav (1622-1660). Accordingly Kønecken wrote two letters to the Swedish monarch, demanding him to stop the war⁷.



⁶ The concept patriot is borrowed from the first volume of Dansk identitetshistorie. 1991. See also Ludwig Helweg: Den danske kirkes Historie efter Reformationen, Vol. 1, 1851 pp. 390-391.

Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken was not alone in his views, but disappeared from history, until the church historian Holger Rørdam (1830-1913) published a learned biography “the fanatic Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken” in his journal Church historical Collections in 1853; the second biography on Könecken⁸. Two years later Rørdam published his most important study on the Danish and Norwegian student’s participation in the defence of Copenhagen against Charles Gustav⁹.

On October 5th., 1658 all students at the University of Copenhagen were ordered by the king to “military service”; on the walls at day and guard duty at night. Of the 600 students less than 266 ‘volunteered’, even though the penalty for disobedience was both arrest and exile¹⁰. This means that more than three hundred forty students absented their military duty. In his name index Rørdam records “the students of the University of Copenhagen during the siege”; including the name of Könecken¹¹. However Rørdam publish “the newly found” university conscription registers from September 1658 and January 4th., 1659; without the name of Könecken¹².

Parts of the files of the University were destroyed during the British terror bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807¹³. As the war year 1659 passed the students

⁷ The first letter is dated September 16, 1658, the second is undated. Bishop Brochmand helped Könecken to become a student in 1648 and Könecken was a house teacher and friend of Professor M. Peder Spormand.

⁸ The first biography is in the article of Casp. Henr. Starkii: Kurße Nachricht von dem fanatischen Außtionario zu Lübeck Iasper. Könekenio. In: Dänische Bibliothec oder Sammlung von alten und neuen gelehrten Sachen aus Dännemarck. 1-5. Stück. Cph. u. Leipzig 1737-44. and 6-9. Stück. Cph. 1745-47. Vol. 8, 1746. pp. [663]-674.

⁹ Rørdam, Holger Fr.: De danske og norske Studenters Deltagelse i Kjøbenhavns Forsvar mod Karl Gustav: Et Bidrag til Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie 1658-60. C. G. Iversen, 1855. – 228 pp. See also: Rørdam, H.: Københavns Universitets Beskatning og Trængsler i Krigsaarene 1657-1660. In: Historisk Tidsskrift, 2. række VI pp. 478-481 and Matzen, H.: Københavns Universitets Retshistorie 1.

¹⁰ Rørdam 1855 p. 26. According to Rørdam, the 87 student witnesses in the court case of the student Niels Kragh, ‘hardly accounted for more than one third of the students who took to the walls at the beginning of the war, though Rørdam himself questions the high number: ‘A not insignificant numbers had evaded from the war service, though it cannot be accepted it is certain, that one and two abstained during a time when it had been more honourable for him, if he had laid down the book to catch the sword’.

¹¹ The citizens of Copenhagen are recorded in: Marquard, E.: Kjøbenhavns Borgere 1659. 1920. Marquard index 1) Census over those who can go to the walls January 10th. 2) Census over accommodated December 1659, 3) the students, including: conscription registers over the regiment of the students, list over the students January 1659 and the students receipts for financial assistance. No mention of Könecken.

The names of the students at the University of Copenhagen are recorded in: Birket Smith, S.: Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel I 1611-67. 1890. Birket Smith wrote that in the year 1659 ‘some confusion has entered into parts of the great report of the university’s headmaster R. E. Brockmand’. It has the character of a scamp draft. In the printed volume of the student register of the university of Copenhagen 14 close hand-written folio pages is missing! ‘Umiddelbart efter følger i Manuskriptet paa 14 tæt skrevne Foliesider en meget ordrig Skildring af danske, særligt Københavnske Tilstande ved begyndelsen af den anden svenske Krig’. Skildringen er oversat af Engelstoft og publiceret i tidsskriftet Skandinavisk Museum 1803.

¹² Four of the students are listed as dead! Konsistoriets Arkiv: Acta belli Svecici.

¹³ ”Konsistoriets Kopibøger for Aarene 1646-1671, der existerede dengang [Professor L.] Engelstoft udgav sine Analer, nu er forsvundne”. Fortegnelse over Konsistoriets Arkiv i Selmers Københavns

dissatisfaction with the military service grew, proved the later research of Holger Rørdam.

The total number of students in the University of Copenhagen in 1658 was 600 so the total given by Helweg is a misunderstanding. The drafted students were the subject of royal letters (orders) concerning “greater precision in the fulfilment of their military duties”, and, that “the professors ordered the students to be at their post”¹⁴. The rebukes did not work; so the students were drafted¹⁵. Neither did this help. A month later a new letter from the king shows, that even the conscription had failed. Again the professors were commanded to “order the students to diligent to stay at their posts yet some time”¹⁶.

The head master of the university, Rasmus Enevoldsen Brochman posted his resignation on May 21, 1659 thereafter he wrote two apologies to the King. On September 12, 1659, three days after the second letter from the king the Academic Council agreed to continue as usual! Therefore first after the drafting of the students in October 1659 the new head master of the university was appointed¹⁷.

Later next year, while the Kings Council agreed on a cut in the defence expenses in Norway¹⁸, the king commanded to the new head master of the university, that “the arms of the deserted students should be returned”¹⁹.

Because of his pacific and anti-authoritarian views in the newly absolute state of Denmark, Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken was condemned in 1663 by the Copenhagen University Academic Court and expelled from Denmark after spending some time in prison²⁰.

Universitets Aarbog 1842 pp. 20-26. Rørdam, Holger: De danske og norske Studenters Deltagelse i Kjøbenhavns Forsvar mod Karl Gustav p. 5. The 500 year jubilee volume of the University of Copenhagen is here only quoting Rørdam's De danske og norske Studenter...

¹⁴ Kongebrev, til Professorer om at tilholde Studenterne at varetage deres Poster, dated September 9, 1658. Ibid. p. 174.

¹⁵ Konfirmation paa Studenternes leges Militares, dated October 5, 1658. Ibid. p. 73-78.

¹⁶ Kongebrev, til Professorer om at tilholde Studenterne endnu nogen Tid flittigt at tage vare paa deres Poster, dated November 9, 1658. Ibid. p. 180.

¹⁷ Engelstoft: Nogle Fragmenter om Dr. Rasmus Enevoldsen Brochmans rectorat ved Kiöbenhavns Universitet i Aarene 1658 og 1659. In: Skandinavisk Museum, 1803, vol. 2 pp. 121-134. Brochman's two apologies to the King are dated June 16 and 30, 1659 regarding the university and the students: “At Universitetets Privilegier maatte fornyes, og at alt, hvad der i den sidste svenske Feide (1657-1658) var passeret i adskillige maader, særdeles med Vagt, Indqvartering og Rytterhold og andet, som Akademiet for sin underdanige Trofasthed at betee, sig saa godvillig paatog taalmodig leed og udstod, aldrig kulde komme Akademiet, dets Professorers eller Supposita, nærværende eller tilkommende, paa nogen af deres Privilegier, enten i Fred eller i Feides Tid”... Engelstoft p. 126.

¹⁸ Aktstykker og Oplysninger til Rigsrådets og Stændermødernes Historie i Frederik III's Tid, Vol 1 1648-50 / Editor C. Rise Hansen, 1959. See also: Aktstykker og Oplysninger til Statskollegiets Historie 1660-1676, 2 Vols. / Editor J. Lindbæk, 1903-1910.

¹⁹ Kongebrev til Universitetets Rektor om Afleveringen af de forløvede studenters Vaaben, dated September 19, 1659. Rørdam, Holger: De danske og norske Studenters Deltagelse i Kjøbenhavns Forsvar mod Karl Gustav pp. 200-201.

²⁰ Rørdam, Holger Fr.: Efterretninger om Sværmeren Jesper Könecken. In: Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 2. række, vol. 3. 1853, pp. [225]-261. [In: Southwest University Library].

Via Sweden he settled in the Netherlands, where he continued to express and publish his pacific views²¹.

Danish Peace Literature

The first Latin printed book in Denmark was on war²². The possible first pacific book in Denmark was printed shortly after the church reformation: Erasmus of Rotterdam's "Een christelig og nyttig bog om kongers, fursters riigts landes oc stoeders regimente digtighed ... och kaldet en christen fyrstis underwiisning och laere", printed in Roskilde 1534; a translation of "Institutio principes christiani saluberrimis referta

Könecken, Jesper Baltzarsen: *De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti*. Handwritten copy recorded by the court during his trial at the University of Copenhagen; filed in the Record Office: Konsistoriets Kopibøger 1656-58, No. 12.13.06 Fol. 333-336. See also Ludvig Helweg: *Den danske Kirkes Historie* 1855, vol. 1 p. 390.

²¹ *Bibliotheca Danica: Systematisk Fortegnelse over den danske Litteratur fra 1482 til 1830 efter Samlingerne i Det store kongelige Bibliothek i Kjøbenhavn. Med Supplementer fra Universitetsbibliotheket i Kjøbenhavn og Karen Brahes Bibliothek i Odense, Vol 1.1877 ; Vol 3. 1896.* <http://www.archive.org/details/bibliothecadani00denmgoog>

Bibliotheca Danica includes: "domestic published authors, Danish authors publications translated into foreign languages" and "foreign authors publications Danica he is headlined Jasp. Könecken under the subject theology and the name is spelled in Latin: Könekenius when indexed. In Vol. 3 his first name is spelled in Dutch: Jasper and his surname is spelled in Danish, under the headline history. In the online edition of *Bibliotheca Danica* there is a second Latin version of his surname: Könekenii. In the printed Latin student register 1611-1667 of the University of Copenhagen from 1890, he is spelled Casper Baltazar Køneche. All the Dutch publications of Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken was according to *Bibliotheca Danica* published within two years, 1665 and 1666. One of the publications *Pacifica Belgis* is recorded twice in the printed *Bibliotheca Danica*. Though aimed at being complete, *Bibliotheca Danica* fail to index six booklets of Könecken recorded by Jasp. Henr. Strackii in *Dänische Bibliothek*, 1746. Vol. VIII pp. 672-674. The volumes of Könecken in the nuclear safe box of the Royal Library of Copenhagen may surely be unique.

Könekenii, Jasperi: Mediationes Pacificæ Jasper Köneken Haunia-Dani Latino Belgicæ : Una cum petitione, pacificæ fui in Anglian legationis, ad Proceres Belgii premissâ. Wrede-willende Handeling aen de Hoogmoogende Heeren Staeten in den Haagh / ... Typis datæ Amstelodami, d. 10-20 April 1665. – [22+8+10+5] pp. *Mediationes Pacificæ* includes the first letter to the Swedish king Charles Gustav. In the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Könekenii, Jasperi: Pacifica Belgis per gratiam Dei, quoad ipsi modo pacem ita non nimium nolint, ad Angliæ Regem Carolum II : Oratio. Hagæ circa Idus Maji 1665. – 11+3 pp. [*Pacifica Belgis* includes Könecken's second letter to the Swedish king Charles Gustav. In the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Recorded in *Bibliotheca Danica* online; title only – title in *Bibliotheca Danica* slightly different from Rørdam's. Two editions?].

Könekenii, Jasperi: Testimonium Veritatis p. t. ad omnes imprimis in Belgio & Religionis & Literarum Præsules. Simpliciter scriptum Amstelodami d. 17/27 1665 a. Jasp. Balt. Könekenio, Daniæ Relegato Unctocharo atque Pacifico. In the Royal Library, Copenhagen? Recorded in *Bibliotheca Danica* online; short title only: *Testimonium veritatis p. t. ad omnes imprimis in Belgio et religionis et literarum præsules*. Dutch records in Koninklijke Bibliotheek <http://www.kb.nl/index-en.html> <http://www.kb.nl/index-en.html?> English records? No Swedish records: From: "Britt-Marie Lagerqvist" Sent: Tuesday, August 12, 2003 10:22 AM Subject: Angående Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken. Hej! Några handlingar som inkommit till Konung Karl Gustav från ovanstående person har inte påträffats hos Riksarkivet. Ej heller har sökning efter publikationer gett resultat. Med vänlig hälsning Britt-Marie Lagerqvist. Check Archiv der Hansestadt Luebeck Muehlendamm 1-3, 23552 Luebeck archiv@luebeck.de.

²² *Guillelmi Caoursin descriptio obsidionis urbis Rhodie per johannem snel in ottenia impressa anno dñi 1482.*

præceptis”, from 1515. The volume of Erasmus of Rotterdam is the first Danish entry in Jacob ter Meulen's Bibliography of the peace movement before 1899, 1480-1776. In the Royal Library in Copenhagen there are two copies of Een christelig og nyttig bog om kongers, fursters riigts landes oc stoeders regimente digtighed. The translator was the karmaliter monk, author and historian Poul Helgesen or Paulus Helie (1485-1534). Sebastian Olden Jørgensen wrote in the Royal Library's Danish Literature Archive's - “Poul Helgesen – author portrait”, that, “the translation in 1522 of Erasmus of Rotterdam's prince mirror were an attempt to shout to King Christian II and warn him against the tyranny, he were about to induce.²³” Also there is an early Danish publication of “The Praise of Folly”²⁴. This translation and publication is not in Bibliography of the peace movement before 1899, 1480-1776²⁵.

Around the same time as the sermon of Könecken a theological booklet was circulated: “A little track, how a just Christian soldier ought to warre against spiritual and carnal enemies. Also on some causes to War; thereupon, on the noble and precious gift of the peace of God”. This edifying booklet was an reprint of an edition from 1647, where the name of the author appears: Jens Søffrensen Nørnissom²⁶. According to Bibliotheca Danica, this is the only Danish published publication recorded in the national bibliography relevant here.

Foreign peace books were banned and burned in Scandinavia: Paul Felgenhauer's “Perspicillum Bellicum” was, according to Arthur Thuesen, published in German in 1656 and translated into and published in Swedish by peace apostle Anders Pedersson Kempe in 1664²⁷. The book was banned in both Sweden and Norway and on March 31, 1671 judged to be burned on the fire. It is not known, but likely, that this book also was banned in Denmark.

²³ Oversættelsen af Erasmus af Rotterdams fyrstespejl En cristhen førstis lære (SPH I 3-159) fra 1522 var et forsøg på at råbe Christian II op og advare ham mod det tyranni, han var ved at bevæge sig ud i). Een christelig og nyttig bog om kongers, fursters riigts landes oc stoeders regimente digtighed is republished in Skrifter af Paulus Helie vol. 5 (pp: I - 333). Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur has published Een christelig og nyttig bog om kongers, fursters riigts landes oc stoeders regimente digtighed on the Internet. There is a second early printing of The Education of a Christian Prince printed in Aarhus.

²⁴ http://www.archive.org/details/folly_erasmus_0811_librivox

²⁵ Erasmus, Desiderius: Moria eller Daarligheds Berømmelse / translated by [unknown, formentlig Barthold Johan Lodde]: med dedikation af Barthold Johan Lodde; med forord af oversætteren ; med anmærkninger og forklaringer ; med et kobberstik af ??? - Altona : Studenterforeningen, 1745. 32 + 199 pp.

²⁶ Nørnissom, Jens Søffrensen: En liden Tractat om den edle oc dyrebar Guds Gaffue, som er Fred, oc huor fra den kommer, oc om Wfred oc Krig etc. 1647. - 48 pp. Jens Søffrensen Nørnissom was a bookseller in Roskilde.

²⁷ Felgenhauer, Paul : Perspicillum Bellicum : Det ähr krigz-perspectiv : uthi hwilket man kenna kan, hwad krig är, hwadan det kommer, och om een christen wäl met gåt samwet kan krig föra, emot sina fiender, för troon och religionen. Item hwad alt detta kriget betyder, och hwad för en ända det tagande warder; så och huru ganska snart och lätteligen man til freden komma kunde, om man allena siälf wille. Därjemte en skrifwelse om kriget til en Leutnant. Alla Gudsälskande och fredsamma til tröst, alt krigzfolck, så och alle dem som kriget belliga, til trogen Warning uthur den helliga Skrift fremstedt. - Amsterdam: Printer Christophorus Conradus, 1664. - 118 pp.

See also Arthur Thuesen: Beslaglagte og supprimerte bøker vedrørende Norge. - Oslo : Gyldendal : 1960, pp. 153-157.

Danish-Norwegian censure, established during the church reformation in 1536, was not complete²⁸. Privileged could read Marsilius of Padua: "Defensor Pacis". Basle, 1522; which later was destroyed during the British terror bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807²⁹ and a Danish translation of Immanuel Kant's "Zum ewigen Frieden" published in 1796 and employees in the foreign office could read a copy of Hugo Grotius: "De Jure Belli et Pacis"³⁰ from 1696³¹. Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken explained to the court, that before he wrote "De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti", he had read one German book with the title "Irenicum" by an unknown author. If I read Jacob ter Meulen right, the author could be Daniel Zwicker, whose "Irenicum irenicorum" first was published in Amsterdam in 1658, short time before Könecken's sermon, but there are another English book by Jeremiah Burroughs from 1653 with the same title: Irenicum : to the lovers of truth and peace : heart-divisions opened in the causes and evils of them. I don't know if this volume has been translated into German³². The early Danish conception of peace and pacifism needs to be investigated.

The state gave up as late as in 1849 and with the new Danish constitution granted religious and political freedom, but according to a classic study by church historian Bjørn Kornerup: "Quaker propaganda in Denmark and Norway in older times", the Quakers were not accepted by the church of Denmark before 1924, when pacific bishop Valdemar Ammundsen (1875-1936) wrote the preface to Anne Vedde's book "the Quakers" and by then there even was a Christian peace group in Denmark; but on the other hand most of the fiction works of Count Leo Tolstoy was translated and published in Denmark from the 1880s onward to the first world war.

During World War One, youth socialist Niels Johnsen was rewarded two months prison for the authorship of the booklet "the Fight against Conscription"³³. This is as far as I know the last direct censorship of pacific publications in Denmark.

Danish history research and communication

Könecken is neither recorded in Jacob ter Meulen's "Bibliographie du mouvement de la paix, 1480-1776", in the "Catalogue de la bibliotheque l' institut Nobel Norwegien" from 1912, in Swinne's "Bibliographia Irenica 1500-1970", and to my knowledge Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken is not mentioned in the text books on the history of the peace movements, peace research and pacifism or in popular Danish history books³⁴.

²⁸ Iversen, Max: Forbudte bøger: To Aarhundredesbeslaglagte og konfiskerede Værker : En annoteret Bibliografi, 1948. - 200 pp.

²⁹ http://www.mik.dk/Din_guide/Fokus/Det_Kongelige_Bibliotek/Det_Kongelige_Bibliotek_defensor_paci_s.aspx

³⁰ <http://www.archive.org/details/hugonisgrottiide00grotuoft>

³¹ Kjølse, Klaus: Udenrigsministeriets historiske bogsamling i Eigtveds Pakhus : Det Griis-Bernstorffske Bibliotek. In: Spor - arkiver og historie: Afhandlinger tilegnet Nils Petersen på 65-årsdagen den 23. august 1987 p. 167.

³² <http://www.archive.org/details/irenicumtothelov00burruoft>

³³ Johnsen, Niels: Kampen mod Værnepligten, 1915.

³⁴ Arup, Erik: Danmarks Historie. vol. 2 1282-1624, 1932. pp. 184-185.

The early press of Denmark is recorded in the literature historian P. M. Stolpe (1832-1918): "The Press in Denmark". Stolpe's history of Danish newspapers also includes a commented bibliography of books and leaflets from 1482 to 1671 and mentions some 150 Danish and foreign newsletters published in the years 1657-1660. No mention of Könecken. Fr. Hammerich's historical lecture on "Christian II in Sweden and Charles X in Denmark" has a most important bibliography of contemporary handwritten and printed sources to the war between Denmark and Sweden. He even index "the most important" newspapers Stolpe not recorded³⁵.

Historical research and historical publications are indexed in the "Danish Historical Bibliography" and there is great interest in Denmark for writing about historical subjects. The Danish Historical Bibliography 1943-1947 alone index 9343 titles, two articles on political pacifists can be used in our study: one on Lars Bjørnbak and one on Viggo Hørup and two articles on Frederik III are useful³⁶. Diaries and biographies on Frederik III? The Danish historical Bibliography was taken over by the Royal Library and made online from 1990 at http://rex.kb.dk:4505/ALEPH/-/start/BGF01_DBH

Most Danish academic research fields have their own research guides and specialized magazines, with the exception of the peace movement. The history of the international peace movement is more or less left undone except for Danish historians studying parts of the Danish peace movement. There are some learned prefaces to a dozen or so academic theses.

The main cause of this unfortunate situation is the missing peace (research) education in Danish universities. According to Robin's "Directory of College and University Peace Studies Programs", there is only one International Peace University Programme c/o Copenhagen Peace Research Institute. <http://csf.colorado.edu/peace/academic.html>

Also there are no peace libraries and peace archives in Denmark, though some libraries and archives have publications and archives from the peace groups. The most important are The Royal Library, the Record Office and the Labour Movement Library and Archive all in Copenhagen and the State Library in Aarhus.

Danmarks Nationalleksikon: Dansk Udenrigspolitik historie, vol. I-III , 2001 + 2002 + 2003. Gyldendals og Politikens Danmarkshistorie. 16 Vols. 1988-1991 Politikens Danmarkshistorie 14 Vols. 1962-1966.

Schultz Danmarkshistorie: Vort Folks Historie gennem Tiderne skrevet af danske Historikere. 6 Vols. 1941-1943.

³⁵ Kilderne til Carl Gustav i Danmark. In: Hammerich, Fr.: Christiern II. i Sverrig og Carl X. Gustav i Danmark: Historisk Foredrag holdte i det Skandinaviske Selskab. - København : F. H. Tide, 1847. 268 p. ; pp. 255-261.

³⁶ Fabricius, Knud: Frederik III. In: Danmarks Konger, 1943.

Sørensen, V. K.: Stormen på København Natten mellem 10. og 11. februar 1659. In: Ad Fortids Veje II, 1943.

Even though it is possible through long and complicated studies of history, social movements, administrative history, agricultural history and so on it is possible to find single visionary individuals who have misunderstood the policy of the rulers, they are according to myth the exception, which proves that the myth is right³⁷.

However, reading of history prove, that Danes both before and after Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken protested against wars, conscription, the burden of militarism and that these protests are recorded in the most unusual places, some in criminal and military records. As early as 1584-1585 skilled labours deserted from conscripted service; the building of ships for the navy³⁸.

Forced conscription during the Viking age

Around the year 700 the Danes developed a ship building technique, which made it possible to travel long distances. Some predictably aggressive persons used the ships to plunder northern Europe. As time went by, records shows that it became increasingly unpopular to partake in the plundering. To get the Viking ships manned a national conscription register system called *leidang* or *skipæn*, was created³⁹. The Scandinavian country laws had punishment for neglect or absence from *leidang*.

Rich persons could by themselves to stay home during *leidang*. This was called *Qwærsæth*. Only 'learned men', priests were exempt from the duty of *leidang*. Even though there are no records of early conscientious objection, the creation of the conscription system proves, that the farmers and fishers did not volunteer.

As we move up in the European middle age before 1200, the printed research material about conscription become greater. The historian C. A. Christensen wrote in 1980, that the church in Roskilde became rich, because of local collective draft resistance. The only lawful way to avoid the draft was to give up land and farms to the church, which then was in charge of the draft. Even though Christensen is investigating only one bishopric, Roskilde, one could with caution conclude, that there were similar draft systems and resistance to them in the other countries of Denmark. However, this has still to be researched.

In the 13, century the country laws in Denmark (Sweden and Norway), which introduced the international laws of the church became effective³⁴. And with the new

³⁷ See also the introduction by Flemming Mikkelsen in: *Protest og oprør*. Århus 1986 pp. 3-8.

³⁸ *Køge Bys Historie / Udgivet af Turistforeningen for Kjøge og omegn ved Victor Hermansen; Povl Engelstoft*. 1932. pp. 100-101.

³⁹ Lund, Niels: *Kværsæde : Fast demobilisering eller almindelig ledingsafløsning*. In: *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1999:2 s. 376-385. 34 *Landskabslove ie Jyske lov*. Christensen, C. A.: *Roskildekirkens jordegods før år 1200: Fra skibengods til bispegods*. In: *Historisk tidsskrift*, 1980:1 pp. 29-39.

See also: Ulsig, Erik: *Landboer og byder, skat og landgilde: de danske fæstebønder og deres afgifter i det 12. og 13. Århundrede*. In: *Middelalder, metode og medier: Festskrift til Niels Skyrum Nielsen*, 1981, pp. 137-166.

laws came the growing influence of the church and the kings as the leidang system were later transformed into the *qwærsæth* (military) tax system.

Light in darkness

In 1095, *Treuga Dei*, the peace and truce of God was created for all Christians and some of the first peace groups like the English the Lollard's and the French Poor men from Lyon appears⁴⁰. The peace and truce of God was a part of an early Christian conflict resolution system.

During the synods of 1047 (*Synodus Helenesis*) and Narbonne 1054 the peace of God was expanded to include the clergy, monks, nuns, pilgrims, merchants, farmers, women, churches, monasteries etc. The peace of God meant, that violent conflicts had to cease from Wednesday night to Monday morning and also on holidays.

During the time of Queen Margrethe 1 (1353-1412), the Peace of God was developed into a complex Danish conflict preventing system of women peace; and also the peace of the king, the peace of houses, farms, fields, things and ships. The peace of women from 1396 meant, according to historian Erik Arup, that women should enjoy a particular peace and not be violated during times of war and with the offender being punished by death. This was way in advance of the addendum to the Geneva-protocol of 1977.

In Scandinavia there are two expressions for disarmament: "afrustning" which means complete disarmament and "nedrustning" which means partial disarmament. The following is the case of complete disarmament.

In 1631, King Christian IV commanded the rebuilding of the fortification of Ålborg by forced labour⁴¹. Thus the construction of the fortification was slow. Nine year later the

⁴⁰ Hirst, Margaret E.: *The Quakers in Peace and War*. London, 1923.

History of the Christian Church, Volume IV: Mediaeval Christianity. A.D. 590-1073. (i.vi.vi). the Christian Classics Ethereal Library at Calvin College.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/hcc4.i.vi.vi.html>

Goetz, Hans-Werner: Protection of the Church, Defence of the Law, and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God 989-1038. In: *Peace of God*, pp. 259-279.

Landes, Richard: *Peace of God : A Bibliography on the Peace and Truce of God*. In: *The Peace of God : Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000 / Richard Landes ; Thomas Head*. Eds. - Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press, 1992. The bibliography is online.

Less Favored – More Favored: Queenship and the Special Case of Margrete of Denmark, 1353-1412.

By Grethe Jacobsen Part of / Teil von: *Less Favored – More Favored: Proceedings from a Conference on Gender in European Legal History, 12th – 19th Centuries, September 2004 = Benachteiligt – begünstigt: Tagungsbericht einer Konferenz über Geschlecht in der Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte, 12. – 19. Jahrhundert, September 2004*. Edited by / herausgegeben von: GRETHE JACOBSEN, HELLE VOGT, INGER DÜBECK, HEIDE WUNDER. Copenhagen, The Royal Library, 2005.

http://www.kb.dk/kb/publikationer/fundogforskning/online/artikler/16A_Jacobsen-ENG.pdf

Kluckhohn, August: *Geschichte des Gottesfriedens*. Leipzig, 1857. p. 52.

⁴¹ Flindt, H. E.: *Byens veto mod at befæstes*. In: *Det ny Aarhundrede, 1905* p. 341.

Jørgensen, Chr.: *Det underjordiske Aalborg*. Indhold: Udgravninger i 1934 på Bispegårdens grund ; Et nyt fund, der fortæller om Aalborgs befæstning ; Det store gennembrud ved anlægget af det nye Vesterbro 1930-31 ; Hvor lå Aalborg Gråbrødrekloster? ; Aalborgs befæstning og Skipper Klemens

Kings Counsel granted two taxes more for the work. Too late. For the enemy a year later came to the town where the citizens opened the gate and asked the enemy colonel to show mercy. Shortly afterwards the fortification disappears so completely, that today there is no “trace left of it”.

The war in 1658 went bad for the Danes. The Swedes conquered Jutland. Danes in Jutland were drafted by the Swedes, but deserted and only Danish officers were in place in the island Funen. The peasants of the small island were drafted, but deserted helped by the landowners because all the officers were Dutch, and the peasants did not want to learn that foreign language, tells the military historian Th. Thaulow⁴². Thus deserting from the draft and deserting from war service was common in Denmark.

According to church historian Ludwig Helweg who preceded by two years Rødam's biography of the first student rebellion with “the History of the Danish Church after the Reformation” from 1851, during 1658 the king did not hope in vain for support by the bourgeois and the academic in Copenhagen for the throne: “The students and the citizens competed to give the promise, to defend themselves until the uttermost. Then the powers were not used; but soon the opportunity to honour the promise came”. “While the enemy was at the gate of the city, the promise to the king was given again. The students armed. They totalled 600 in two companies. Everybody was ready for the defence of the city, but first they congregated in the churches where the priests admonished the great gathering to serious prayer and penance to turn the threatening wrath of God. While everybody did their duties the priests and the bishop were on the walls strengthening the terrified and weak-hearted”.

One student, Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken inspired by the Quaker views of the sermons of Niels Svendsen, recommended the citizens to lay down their arms in order to not be defiled with the blood of the enemy”. “But his voice”, wrote Helweg “became silent in the common zeal”.

nederlag ; Aalborgs ældste havn, byens hoved In: Fra Himmerland og Kjær Herred. 1934,pp. 262-315.
Stenholm, J.P.: Skipper Klement og Aalborg Slot: Om Skipper Clement, slaget ved Svenstrup og det gamle Aalborg Slot. In: Fra Himmerland og Kjær Herred. pp. 131-147, 1918.
Aalborgs historie. - [Ålborg]: Aalborg kommune, 1987-1992. - 5 Vols. Vol. 2: Aalborg under krise og højkonjunktur fra 1534 til 1680 / Lars Tvede-Jensen, Gert Poulsen, 1988.

⁴² Thaulow, Th.: Den danske soldat gennem tiderne. 1946 p. 65. See also the learned thesis of Aage Fasmer Blomberg: Fyns vilkår under svenskekrigene 1657-1658. Odense University Press, 1973. 38
Helweg, Ludwig: Den danske kirkes Historie efter Reformationen, Vol. 1, 1851 pp. 390-391. See also:
Nyerup, Rasmus: Efterretninger om Kong Frederik den Tredje og de mærkværdigste i Danmarks og Norge under hans Regjering indtrufne Begivenheder. Printed in Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1817. - 456 pp.
Weibull, Carl Gustav: Freden i Roskilde den 26 februari 1658. - Stockholm : Gothia, 1958. - 206 pp.

Also in Norway, there was rebellion against the draft⁴³. On April 28, 1663 the king ordered eight named persons who had rebelled against the draft and killed an officer to be sent to the military prison in Copenhagen to labour in iron.

During the Scandia war 1675-1679 between Denmark and Sweden there were so many Danish draft absence cases and deserters, that they are described in the popular Politiken's History of Denmark⁴⁴. Even some Swedes deserted from their war duties.

The Swedish priest Nicolaus Petri and the Danish priest Mikael Colding living across the border of Småland in Sweden made together with their vassals and parochial church councils a peasant peace treaty in spite of the newly declared war: "No one in their parishes should fall upon each other and with murder, plunder and fire inflict one another damage, but just as before stand by a common good neighbourhood. There had earlier been similar peace treaties in 1611 and 1644"⁴⁵. The peasant peace treaty worked, until it was broken by the Danish guerrilla soldiers, called snaphaner, during the Swedish conquest of the Danish territory in Scania, Halland and Blekinge.

Denmark-Norway during the dictatorship of the kings 1660-1849

The ruling system of absolutism created a perverse system of oppression against the unpropertied persons, culminating with the adscription (registration of and forced labour of villeinages) in 1701.

To learn about the absolute society I am dependent on archival references of the administration of agricultural history, development of law & order and punishment, legal history and the history of taxation. Taxation could show the interaction between the military burden, taxes and protests against them

Denmark was a farming country then. Browsing in the encyclopaedic "Handbook for Danish local historians"⁴⁶ gave the article Hartkorn, a Danish unit for land valuation and the key words and the reference needed were given. The key words are: portion

⁴³ Kongelig ordre 'til Norges Kansler Ove Bjelke, at 8 navngivne Personer, som "formedest Rebellion i Udskrivningen, og Drab begaaet paa Lieutenant Wilhelm", vare dømte i Kongens Naade og Unaade, skulde fremdeles ned til Bremerholm for at arbejde i Jern'. Nyerup, Rasmus: Efterretninger om Kong Frederik den Tredje og de mærkværdigste i Danmarks og Norge under hans Regjering indtrufne Begivenheder p. 377.

⁴⁴ Politikens Danmarkshistorie, 1964. Vol. 8 pp. 202-204.

⁴⁵ Åberg, Alf: Striden om Skåne 1997 p. 25.

Hammerich, Fr.: Christiern II. i Sverrig og Carl X. Gustav i Danmark p. 143.

Helwg, Ludweg: Den danske kirkes Historie efter Reformationen. Vol. 1. 1951 pp. 388-389. Venge, Mikael: Bondefred og Grænsefred. In: Historisk tidsskrift, 1980:1 pp. 40-63 and p. 57. Check: Frederik II.s aabne Brev til Bønderne og Almuen i Småland vedr. Krigen mellem Danmark og Sverige. Hans Zimmermann, 1564.

⁴⁶ Håndbog for danske lokalhistorikere 1952-1956; reprinted 1965.

money⁴⁷, cavalry money⁴⁸, march money⁴⁹, food tax⁵⁰, all taxes that were part of the military burden. The reference is Nielsen and Thalbitzer's jubilee publication "Tax and tax administration in older times"⁵¹. It was the first breakthrough. The two tax historians wrote that by the time of the great Nordic war 1701-1720, the navy had to be rearmed and an expensive system of conscripted soldiers was introduced: "The share of military burden in the total state budget was so great, that changes in the military areas marked the total account (of public expenses). The preponderance of the military expenses of wars, armaments and changes in the military policy thus greatly influenced the states finances and was quickly manifested in the tax policy⁴⁸". And because it was the history of tax and tax administration, the different military related taxes and the protests against them was easy to find and prove; as the connection between tax administration and conscription also is the subject of the important philosophical doctor's thesis "Great Landowner and Public Administrator" of the archivist Birgit Løgstrup.

Law & order and punishment would possibly show non book printed protests especially regarding to the military, conscription and desertion. By 1701 a complex detailed adscription conscript registration system was enforced wherewith the agricultural workers became slaves of the landowners. The only time off was during military service⁵². Historian Finn Stendal Pedersen connects again the conscription register to the landowners from 1733 to 1793, when conscription was taken over by the military⁵³, resulting in a growing number of complains to the Danish Chancellery. This had been possible from 1687. By 1785 there were 5086 complaints. In 1795, there was 9546 according to the research done by Michael Bregnsbo. The files of Danish Chancellery are a new source to complaints about enlistment and conscription⁵⁴.

By the year 2000 Tyge Krogh was able to publish his second major empirical based thesis, "The Enlightenment and the magical: Executions and corporal punishments in Denmark in the first half of the 18th century"⁵⁵. Krogh analyses criminal cases 1719 to 1756 presented to military courts covered by the Provincial court of Zealand. Krogh's volume even has a database of military criminal cases⁵⁶! Soldiers drafted collectively.

⁴⁷ Portionspenge.

⁴⁸ Rytterholdspenge.

⁴⁹ Rytterholdspenge.

⁵⁰ Fourageskat, madskat.

⁵¹ Nielsen, Helge: Skatter og Skatteforvaltning i ældre Tider / Helge Nielsen; Victor Thalbitzer, 1948. Reprinted 1976. Another good historical research introduction to the history of Denmark in the 17th. and 18th centuries is the Handbook in Genealogy / Håndbog i Slægtsforskning by Albert Fabritius ; Harald Haat. 1963. Reprinted 1982.

Løgstrup, Birgit: Jorddrot og offentlig administrator: Godsejerstyret inden for skatte- og udskrivningsvæsnet i det 18. århundrede, 1983.

⁵² Krogh, Tyge: Staten og de besiddelsesløse på landet 1500-1800. Odense, 1987.

⁵³ Stendal Pedersen, Finn: Den ulige frihed: Studier i myten om stavnsbåndsløsningens betydning. Odense, 1990 pp. 48-51.

⁵⁴ Bregnsbo, Michael: Søens folk skriver til kongen. In: Søfart politik identitet tilegnet Ole Feldebæk, 1996 pp. 163-173.

⁵⁵ Krogh, Tyge: Oplysningstiden og det magiske: Henrettelser og korporlige straffe i 1700-tallets første halvdel, 2000. – 608 pp.

⁵⁶ Ibid.: Landmilitære straffesager i Sjællandsfar Landstings område m. fl. (1722) 1728-56. pp. 454-514.

The military historian Niels Friis wrote, that as late as July 21, 1783, 37 soldiers deserted, "possibly at the same time"⁵⁷.

Birgit Løgstrup proves in 1986 that general protests, disobedience, strikes and even civil disobedience, like boycotts was possible for the peasants, at least from 1781⁵⁸. She analyses in her thesis some of the conscientious objector cases: refusal to engagement up to 1741⁵⁹, bribery⁶⁰, complaints to the supreme court and the king⁶¹, deserting from the land owners⁶², refusal of church confirmation and communication to 1777⁶³, marriage, employment in towns and skilled employment as in the case of the musician Olle Larsen Esch (after 1755) etc.

In a later volume "Bound to the Earth", Birgit Løgstrup also describes immigration by conscientious objectors⁶⁴ and self mangle is seen as late as 1846⁶⁵, but it should be kept in mind that these learned historians only researched local cases and that similar research has to be completed in the rest of Denmark and Norway.

Conscription to the navy during time of war there have always been in Denmark, by 1688-1689 the admiralty introduced conscription in peace time for sailors, doctors and trumpeters with little success. By 1705 the navy again tried by forcing persons who wanted to become ordinary sailors to enlist with the result, that during the great Nordic war there were so many deserter cases, that the conscription system nearly broke down as the sailors emigrated to foreign countries. By 1722 the admiralty by it selves gave quarter to the sailors, shows a new study by Claus Rafner.

According to the Record Office's Militære fondsregnskaber, the army and navy departments established 1790-1871 funds by which salaries and pensions could be

⁵⁷ Deserters were guilty in two crimes: perjure and desertion. Friis, Niels: Slesvigske Fodregiment i Krig og Fred. Haderslev, 1953 p. 37.

⁵⁸ Løgstrup, Birgit: Bondeprotester på Lynderupgård 1781-1802. In: Protest og oprør. 1986 pp. 11-45.

See also:

Lind, Gunnar: Udskrivning og magt i det gamle danske landbosamfund. In: Mark og menneske : Studier i Danmarks historie 1500-1800 tilegnet Karl Erik Frandsen / ed Claus Bjørn ; Benedicte Fønnesbech-Wulff, - Ebeltoft, 2000.

Rafner, Claus: Flådeudskrivningen under den ældre enevælde : Bidrag til det sømilitære udskrivningsvæsens historie. In: Søfart Politik Identitet tilegnet Ole Feldbæk / ed. Hans Jeppesen et al. Helsingør: Handels og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg, 1996 ; Søhistoriske skrifter XIX. Struwe, Lars B.: Soldater er også mennesker: Om forskningen i dansk 1700-tals militærhistorie og New Military History. I: Historisk Tidsskrift, 2003:2 s. 384-403.

⁵⁹ Gårdfæstnægtene. Løgstrup, Birgit: Jorddrot og offentlig administrator p. 265.

Lind, Gunnar: Udskrivning og magt i det gamle danske landbosamfund. In: Mark og menneske : Studier i Danmarks historie 1500-1800 tilegnet Karl Erik Frandsen / ed Claus Bjørn ; Benedicte Fønnesbech-Wulff, - Ebeltoft, 2000.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 275.

⁶¹ Ibid. pp. 278-279.

⁶² Ibid. p. 301.

⁶³ Kassation p. g. a. "ej konfirmeret". Ibid. p. 301 61 Ibid. p. 300.

⁶⁴ Løgstrup, Birgit: Bundet til jorden: Stavnsbåndet i praksis 1733-1788. 1987. p. 173.

⁶⁵ Index finger missing. Thorsteinsson, Hjalmar: Sessionen i historisk perspektiv. Forsvarets Sundhedstjeneste, 1997 p. 63.

paid or supplemented. The income from those funds came from fines and fees from failing to appear at the session.

Now the pacific desertion cases and protests against conscription should be easy to record in the period up to the Danish constitution of 1849.

The intelligence work of the police began on May tenth 1780, according to the historian Kenn Tarbesen⁶⁶. The police intelligence should “control and put social clubs under surveillance”.

During the Napoleonic wars there was a rebellion in the Norwegian valley Lejrdalen or Lerdalen against conscription in January 1802. Also there was a similar rebellion in the island Karmø near the Norwegian town of Stavanger. The people in Lejr-dalen meet at the draft and were registered, but did not report for service in the army. An armed military expedition was sent from Denmark to the dale, and the citizens gave in; but formed only a light company with the explanation, that none of them “could ski”⁶⁷!

After the battle of Copenhagen, Danish and Norwegian prisoners of war were imprisoned in English prison ships (an early form of concentration camps) up to 1814, when they were released. Some of the imprisoned Norwegian sailors became Quakers and established Quaker communities in Norway, which came under Swedish rule after the Napoleonic wars⁶⁸. The British imprisonment policy during the Napoleonic wars needs attention, regarding the prisoners of war from countries other than Denmark and Norway.

In 1841 the Quaker Elizabeth Fry and her brother Joseph John Gurney visited Copenhagen, where they had talks with the king, recommending him to abolish slavery in the Danish West Indies Islands⁶⁹.

In the “strange year” of 1848 the Danish-German three year wars began⁷⁰.

⁶⁶ Politiets Efterretningstjeneste. Terp, Holger: Noter om de danske efterretningstjenesters historie. In: Elsk-værdig sikkerhed, 1998, Vol. II supplement 14.

⁶⁷ Reventlow, C. D.: Betænkning om Den nationale Hærreform og Forsvarssagens øvrige Udvikling i Perioden Oktober 1801-Juni 1803. In: Meddelelser fra Krigsarkiverne, 1883 pp. 289-290.

⁶⁸ Here Norway disappears in my article. London Meeting for Sufferings: Minutes 1807-1814. The archives of London Yearly Meeting (now Britain Yearly Meeting), including the minutes and other records of the Meeting for Sufferings are housed in Friends House in London. Friends Historical Library has microfilm of the minutes as well as microfilm of other records of London/Britain Yearly Meeting.

Roos, Carl: Prisonen : Danske og norske krigsfanger 1807-1814, 1954. - 233 pp.

⁶⁹ Alexander, G. W.: Om den moralske Forpligtigelse til og det Hensigtsmæssige af Strax og fuldstændigt at ophæve Slaveriet i de dansk-vestindiske Kolonier. Studenterforeningen, 1843. - 27 pp. Friis, Finn: Christian den Ottendes og Caroline Amalies forbindelser med Elisabeth Fry og andre kvækere. In: Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 1975 pp. 109-143.

⁷⁰ The concept strange year is borrowed from the anthology: 1948 – det mærkelige år / editor Claus Bjørn, 1998.

In August 1850 the third international peace congress was held in the German town of Frankfurt a/M. The congress asked Elihu Burritt (1810-1879), Joseph Sturge and Frederick Wheeler to mediate in the war between Denmark and Germany. The mediation offer was accepted as they were “reminded that an old treaty made provision for the settlement of disputes by arbitration”⁷¹ .

Burritt spoke Danish; one of his booklets was later translated into Danish⁷². This mediation case needs more research in Danish.

War resistance in Slesvig during the Danish German war 1849

During the mobilisation of the army in December 1849, which needed men from Slesvig, the military police officer Leerbeck asked for help from the Haderslev country house authorities to announce the draft⁷³, (recorded the Danish general staff 30 years after the war)⁷⁴. The country house in Haderslev declared that it could not accept the usual draft announcement, only that the parish executive officers made the draft announcement, leaving it up to each individual, whether he would co-operate or not . Then Leerbeck did not use the country houses, but himself announced the drafts in the whole of Slesvig.

Consequently not all the soldiers could be drafted at once so that enlisting men became difficult as the order had to be given to nearly every man individually; and in different areas the civil servants and agitators tried to sabotage the draft n pretending that the draft did not have the legitimacy of the legal authorities; even some of the persons sent out with the draft orders were arrested and enlistment campaign results were very small.

Announcement in pro-Danish newspapers resulted in most of the draft enlistment. However, some did not meet and on the other hand not a few people fearing draft enforcement by the army of Slesvig-Holstein left Slesvig for the island of Als. Thereupon the ministry of war decided, that they should be sent to the island Funen, and if they would not accept the military service during war, they had to prove to the civilian authorities that they were able to support themselves, they could take residence where they wanted.

⁷¹ Hirst, Margaret E.: The Quakers in Peace and War, 1923, pp. 255-256.

Verhandlungen des dritten allgemeinen Friedenskongresses, gehalten in der Pauls Kirche zu Frankfurt a/M. - Hirst, Margaret E.: The Quakers in Peace and War, 1923, pp. 255-256.

Verhandlungen des dritten allgemeinen Friedenskongresses, gehalten in der Pauls Kirche zu Frankfurt a/M. - Frankfurt a/M, 1851.

⁷² Burritt, Elihu: Et par ord til drenge om krig.

<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/boywar.htm>

⁷³ Amtsstue.

⁷⁴ Den dansk-tydske Krig i Aarene 1848-1850 : Udarbejdet paa Grundlag af officielle Documenter og med Krigsministeriets Tilladelse / udgivet af Generalstaben, 3die Del : Krigen i 1850. J. H. Schultz's Bogtrykkeri, 1880 pp. 154-157.

Liberal political antimilitarism 1849-1914

The political debate over the defence and security policy of Denmark began before and during the discussions over the new constitution in 1849.

This long and heated debate resulted in the creation of a radical political culture, which succeeded in the nearly complete disarmament of Denmark after World War One.

As early as in May 1836, counsellor of justice and land owner Malte Bruun Nyegaard (1789-1877), in the Viborg Assembly of the Estates of the Realm⁷⁵, argued against general conscription and a rise in military expenditures, “Because of the coming rule of reason, wars will become rare, and the best projection for the country is the diplomacy”. Expensive Danish armament would “not benefit against the great powers”⁷⁶.

Later prime minister, bishop D. G. Monrad (1811-1887) concluded the debate as being “about political dreaming”, when the Danish nationalists wanted a strong defence⁷⁷. Monrad immigrated to New Zealand.



⁷⁵ Viborg Stænderforsamling.

⁷⁶ Thomsen, Rudi: Den almindelige værnepligts gennembrud i Danmark, 1949. p. 48.

⁷⁷ Regarding Monrad See: Oldenburg, F.: Biskop Monrad og den politiske Partikamp. – Lehmann & Stage, 1882. – 94 pp.

During this debate the first liberal party the Society of Friends of the Farmers, was created⁷⁸, with the pacifist teacher and politician Lars Bjørnbak (1826-1878) as one of the leaders. In 1870 the Christian Lars Bjørnbak was the author of the first pacific protest to the parliament. Bjørnbak was active in the Danish Folk High School movement.



Journalist, publisher and liberal politician Viggo Hørup (1841-1902) is unknown outside Scandinavia, though he was the most important Danish anti-militarist politician in the last part of the 19th. century, when Denmark 1849 to 1894 was a militarised police state.

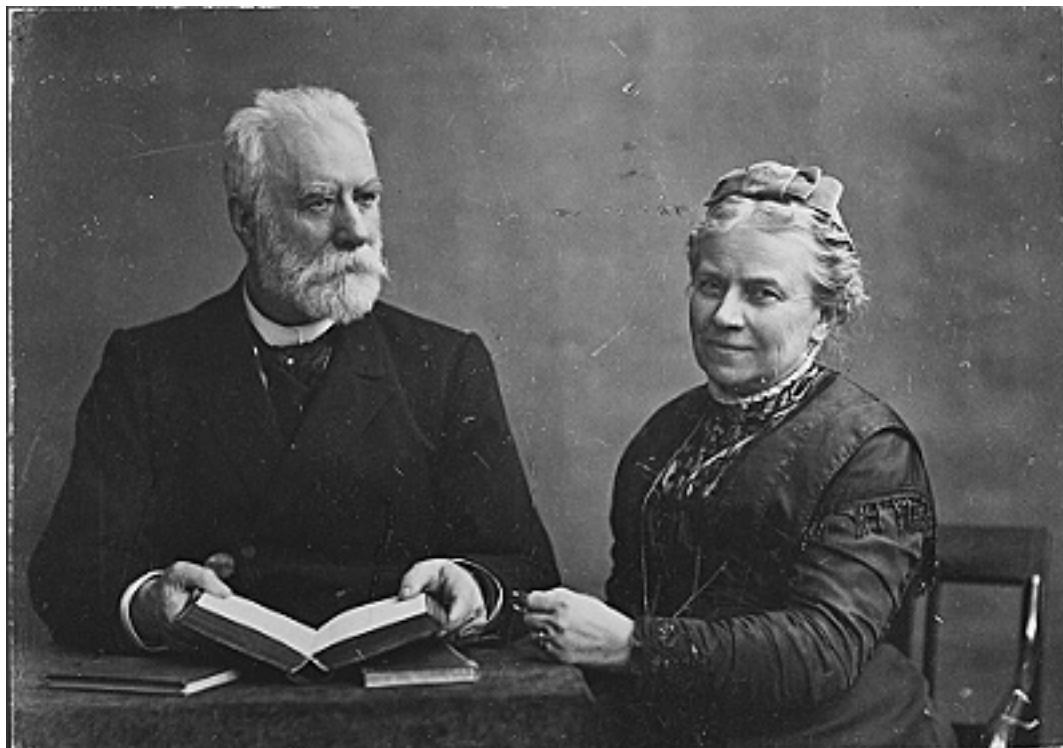
Viggo Hørup introduced the concept militarism in the debate over the fortification of Copenhagen and asked the simple but powerful question in the parliament: What should it [the military] benefit? As a part in the political struggle between the nationalists and the liberals, Hørup and journalist Edvard Brandes (1847-1934) founded the newspaper Politiken 1884 of which Hørup became the chief editor. The liberals founded many newspapers to conquer the public opinion⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ Bondevennernes Selskab.

Det radikale Venstres Historie / edited by Gunnar Fog-Petersen. Odense : Kulturhistorisk Forlag, 1938.

⁷⁹ Arup, Erik: Viggo Hørup, 1941. Hørup i breve og digte : Breve, digte og litterære prosastykker til belysning af Viggo Hørup og hans kreds / Publisher Karsten Thorborg, 1981. Krog, Torben : Viggo Hørup, 1984.

Viggo Hørup was the father of Ellen Hørup, herself a pacifist journalist. Most Danish biographies about Viggo Hørup are written by politicians, and only a couple by historians.



Fredrik Bajer (1837-1922) published his memories in 1909. This covers the period up to 1908. As one of the few Danes in international organized peace work he was awarded with a half Nobel peace prize in 1908⁸⁰. Bajer was a founding member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union⁸¹, The International Peace Bureau⁸² and the Danish Peace Society⁸³, a Danish biography covering the period from 1908 to 1922 is much needed and an English biography might highlight Danish peace work⁸⁴.

His wife Mathilde (1840-1934) is nearly forgotten today, even though she worked in international women peace groups in her own right⁸⁵, she were vice-president in Alliance universelle des femmes pour la paix. Also the couple established the first

⁸⁰ Nobels Fredspris: Hundre år for fred : Prisvinnere 1901-2000 / Øivind Stenersen ; Ivar Libæk ; Asle Sveen. Oslo, 2001.

⁸¹ Zarjevski, Yefime: The people have the floor : A History of the Inter-parliamentary Union. Dartmouth. 1989. See also vol. 2 of Alfred H. Fried's: Handbuch der Friedensbewegung. Berlin, 1913 ; 1972.

⁸² Allen, Devere: The Fight for Peace. New York, 1930 ; 1971 p. 473.

⁸³ Risskov Sørensen, Kurt: Fredssagen i Danmark 1882-1914, 1981 See also the volume of Sune Pedersen. In 1971 the Danish Peace Society became a part of the Danish United Nations Union, FN-forbundet

⁸⁴ § 3. Le mouvement de la paix organisé. In: Augsut Schou: Histoire de l' internationalisme III. Oslo: MCMLXIII pp. 510-516

⁸⁵ Rimmen Nielsen, Hanne: Bertha von Suttner i København 1906 : Et billede i Kvindehistorisk Samling. In: Rotunden, no. 16, 2001 pp. [4]-23.

women rights organization in Denmark. A biography of Mathilde Bajer might be needed. Also useful might be bibliographies on both Bajer's⁸⁶.

Though they were members of the same political party Bajer and Hørup didn't get along well. The rich Hørup wanted to conquer the political power in the parliament, while the poor Bajer was working a grass root.

The Danish Peace Union worked in the beginning for Danish neutrality with the hope that this policy could regain the in the 1864 war lost territories to Denmark. Within a couple of year the union changed tactic and added arbitration as it's main focus.

Browsing through the justice ministry's files in the Record Office revealed, that this ministry was in charge of the general conscription in the period 1851 to 1914; when conscription was taken over by the Ministry of the Interior, which still is the administrator of conscription, just recently taken over by the ministry of Defence⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ See Appendix 1.

Politikeren Fredrik Bajer (†1922) og hustrus [Mathilde Bajer] arkiv. 1963. - 28 pp. ; Foreløbige arkivregistraturer. Serie 8)

⁸⁷ Petersen, Niels: Justitsministeriet: Organisation og arkiv, 1982.

The war of 1864

Danes used civil disobedience⁸⁸, desertion and were conscientious objectors during the 1864 war with Germany-Austria. In the period 1863-65 the moulder Ove Petersen was sentenced four times for objection based on religious conviction. The military court used the same argumentation as in the case of Kōnecken: “because of religious fanaticism objected to dress in the uniform and conscription”, and because of religious fanaticism objected “duty” and “deserted”⁸⁹. This is but one of many cases during and after the war.

Some Danish prisoners of war were returned to Denmark years after the war. Their German prison experience made them insane⁹⁰. This subject is unknown even to military historians and needs more research.

The lost war of 1864 became an important subject in the continued Danish security debate.



One of Fredrik Bajer's booklets on the diplomatic negotiations after the war in 1864, “A serious drama of modern history: how Danish Slesvig was lost: a peep behind the veiled scenes of diplomacy, and a warning”, was translated by P. H. Peckover and published in 1867 by the London Peace Society. In his book Bajer documents that it

⁸⁸ Bajer, Fredrik: Livserindringer. 1909 p. 120.

Map source: Robert H. Labberton, New Historical Atlas and General History (New York, NY: Townsend MacCoun, 1886)

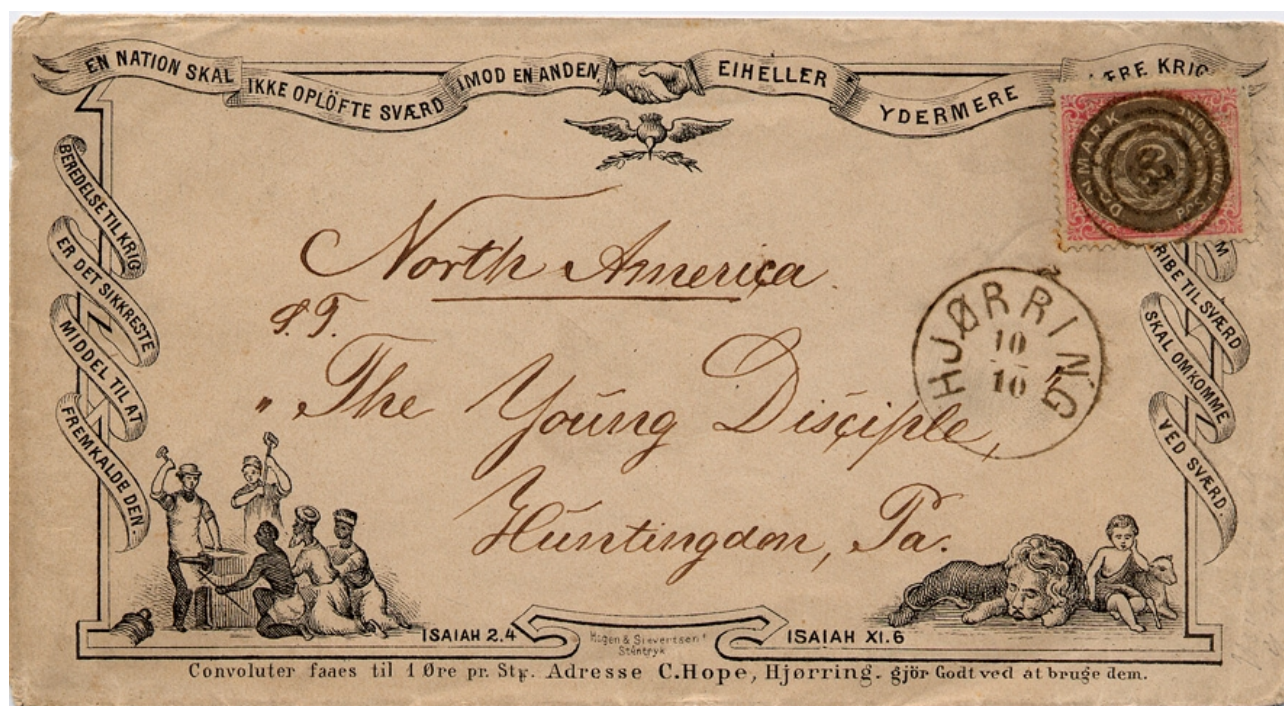
Map Credit: Courtesy The Private Collection of Roy Winkelman

<http://etc.usf.edu/maps/pages/6900/6926/6926.htm>

⁸⁹ Hansen, Peter Mikael: Militærvægning 1849-1917. Roskilde 2001 pp. 69-70.

⁹⁰ Politiefterretninger. Danmark. In: Adresseavisen, Kristiania [Oslo], 1869, No. 8 p. [3].

was not the Danish military that lost the war in the winter and spring of 1864. The war was lost later in the summer by the diplomats who would not give in to the stronger foes, because of popular support to the war from the big landowners, the politicians and ordinary people. Concluding Bajer lamented that the Danish militarism which boasted that it could get a military victory over both Prussia and Austria only was so strong because there were too few pacifists in the state of Denmark, but hope there was for the future. In the might and glory of the militant, romantic nationalism the first small voice of pacifism came from the Friends of the Farmers.



German military service was enforced upon the conquered Danes of South Jutland who only had one legal option to escape the draft: immigration. By 1870 nearly all conscripted Danes in the so called optant movement, emigrated⁹¹.

It is not known how many Danes immigrated to the United States, Canada and Australia⁹² because of the military conscription in the years 1849 to 1917⁹³. However the study of historian Peter Mikael Hansen suggests a strong connection with the abstention from the draft and the Danish immigration in the period 1880 to 1914⁹⁴.

Also during World War One more than 2.400 Southern Jutlander's with Danish sympathies deserted from the German colours by escaping to Denmark⁹⁵.

⁹¹ Indførelse af preussisk Værnepligt og Administration. In: Schultz Danmarkshistorie, Vol. 5 pp. 94-96.

⁹² Sjøquist, Sigurd: Danish Church Australia.

<http://danishchurch.org.au/showpage.asp?id=331574964>

⁹³ Hvidt, Christian: Flugten til Amerika. Århus, 1971.

⁹⁴ Hansen, Peter Mikael: Militærvægning 1849-1917 pp. 60 and 83.

⁹⁵ Falkner-Sørensen, Svend: Faneflugt? Dansksindede soldaters flugt fra tysk krigstjeneste 1914-1918.

- Aabenraa: Historisk samfund for Sønderjylland, 1989 p. 25.



The first Danish Christian Peace Union, Kristeligt Fredsforbund, was created in the spring of 1913. Its now rare magazine “Fredsvarden” named after the German magazine “die Freidens-Warte” / the “Peace Observation Tower”, is an invaluable source of information about Danish and international Christian peace work from 1913 to 1940. Today there is only one complete set of “Fredsvarden” in the State Library in Aarhus. After World War One the Christian Peace Union became a member of the International Fellowship of

Reconciliation. The Danish Christian Peace Union’s history needs to be written.

Danish pacifism during World War One

The First World War introduced women and workers to the Danish peace movement. After the inter-national women's congress in the Hague, the Danish chapter of the later Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was created; much to the dislike and debate of the men in the Danish Peace Society⁹⁶. Several Danish women attended the congress in The Hague.

The unknown printed record of the congress at the Hague was located in the Royal Library in Copenhagen by the key word women's movement, not under peace movement⁹⁷, and it is republished in the bibliography Peace in Print.

Some of the worlds first anti war movies was produced in Denmark during WW 1 by Ole Olsen (1863-1943) the owner of Nordisk Films Kompagni. The first anti war movie might be the Belgian "Maudite soit la guerre", which, according to Erich-Maria-Remarque-Friedenszentrum's online data base "Modern war on screen", had its first performance on May 22, 1914, shortly before the war. The first of several Danish anti war movies was based upon the novel of Bertha von Suttner: „Die Waffen Nieder“. It had its first performance on August 14, 1914 in New York. From 1914 four anti war movies were produced in Denmark⁹⁸.



⁹⁶ Terp, Holger: Danske Kvinders Fredskæde og Kvindernes Internationale Liga for Fred og Friheds historie i perioden 1915-1924. 1995.

⁹⁷ Bericht : Internationaler Frauenkongress, Haag – von 28. April-1. Maj 1915. – Amsterdam : Internationaler Frauenkomite für Dauernde Frieden, 1915. – 323 pp.

⁹⁸ Ned med Vaabnene 1914, Verdens Undergang 1916, Den evige Fred 1917 and Himmelskibet 1917. See:

Nørgaard, Erik: Levende billeder i Danmark: Fra Den gamle Biograf til moderne tider... 1971. - ISBN 87-15-08035-8 Olsen, Ole: Filmenes Eventyr og mit eget. Jespersen og Pio, 1940. - 226 pp.

The Danish Film Institute: <http://www.dfi.dk>

Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography: Ned med vaabene:

imdb.com has it listed as "Ned Med Vaabnene" and says it's also known as "Down with Weapons" (USA) and "Lay Down Your Arms." There's a little more information there about cast and plot as well.

Nancy Slator,

Ware (Mass.) High School

Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography:

Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography: Verdens Undergang ; Flammesværdet / The End of the World ; The Flaming Sword:

Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography : Pax æterna; Den evige Fred / Peace on Earth:

The World War One also saw the first Danish produced newspaper satire against the war. One of the first artists against war was Anton Hansen (1891-1960) whose illustrations first appeared in the daily Ekstra Bladet⁹⁹.

Also during World War One the Danish missionary teacher Karen Jeppe in Armenia was a eye witness to the genocide on the Christian Armenians during 1915¹⁰⁰. Another Danish eye witness on the Armenians was the nurse missionary Maria Jacobsen¹⁰¹.

Political conscientious objectors during WW 1 created the first conscientious objectors union on September 17, 1915¹⁰². The union's members of worker's pacifists and anti-militarist's were total objectors. Also there were abstention and deserter cases from "simple people" during the war¹⁰³. The heated debate over the imprisonment of the conscientious objectors led to the conscientious objectors law of December 1917.

At the end or soon after WW1 the German aid organisation: Deutscher Sonderausschuss für Kriegsgefangenenhilfe · Kopenhagen Deutsche Wohlfahrtstelle - Auslandstelle · Kopenhagen, / German Special Board for Support of War Prisoners, Copenhagen · German Welfare Board, Foreign Office, Copenhagen, was established. This organization had connections to the Christian Peace Society and aided German prisoners of war and German children who came on holiday in Denmark. The last mentioned country wide relief work for the starving German children lasted from August 1919 to April 1925, when the justice department closed down this aid work.

Also Danes aided starving children from Vienna after World War One.

Review: Vore Damer, 1918:22.

In the 1920s the Danish chapter of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom used Pax æterna in their meetings. Around February 1928 the organization were given a copy of the film by Nordisk Films Kompagni under the condition, that the Women did not charge money when showing the film at their meetings. Source: Pax æterna. Fred og Frihed, 1928 nr. 3 p. 8.

Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography: Himmelskibet or Excelsior / A Trip to Mars / Der Himmelschiff:

⁹⁹ Abilgaard, Hanne: Anton Hansen: Mellemløstidens sorte satiriker. Arbejdermuseet, 2001. - 484 p. - ISBN 87-88626-24-5

¹⁰⁰ Lous, Eva: Karen Jeppe – Danmarks første befrielsesfilosof. In: <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/jeppe.htm><http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/jeppe>.

Sick, Ingeborg Maria: Pigen fra Danmark : Et Rids af Karen Jeppes Liv og Gerning, 1945.

Witt, Rainer: Jeppe, Karen. In: Biographisch-Bibliographischen Kirchenlexikons, Vol. III, 1992. columns 36-39.

¹⁰¹ Dickran, Karekin: Maria Jacobsen and the genocide in Armenia.

<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/karekin/ukmaria.htm>

¹⁰² Foreningen for Konsekvente Antimilitarister.

¹⁰³ Klüwer, H.: Lejre Herred og Ledreborg Birk Herning Købstad og Hammerum Herred. In: De gamle Byfoed-Birke og Herredfuldmægtige, p. 133.

Danish discovery of Mahatma Gandhi

Danish foreign missionary work had began in 1714 in the Danish colony Trankebar in India. After the turn of the 20. century missionary Edvard Løventhal was advocating women missionaries to work in India, because men could not enter the houses, where the women were. In 1913 teacher and missionary Anne Marie Petersen (1878-1951) joined the elder Løventhal at his mission station, which she later took over.

While doing research on Indian education Anne Marie Petersen and Mahatma Gandhi met for the first time in January 1917, long before Gandhi was a popular politician in the West.

The Danish mission to India is a subject for the thesis “Dependency and Identity : Problems of Cultural Encounter as a consequence of the Danish Mission in South India between World Wars I and II” by Bent Smidt Hansen¹⁰⁴ .

The contact on the one side between Danish missionaries, Scandinavian supporters of the Indian liberation movement and on the other side Mahatma Gandhi is documented in the online anthology “Gandhi and Nordic Countries”¹⁰⁵ and in the book Friends of Gandhi.

The meeting of Mahatma Gandhi and Anne Marie Petersen resulted in her establishing of a national Indian school at Porto Novo in 1921. Within the framework of the struggle for Indian political and social liberation Anne Marie Petersen and Gandhi pioneered a South-South dialogue.

They were in India, but came from different cultures. Also it was an early North South dialogue including development aid, because Anne Marie Petersen couldn't have made her school as big as it became, without financial support from Christian friends and friends from the Folk High school movement in Denmark.

Some of the concepts and terms they used in developing an national Indian school system were later used in the development of the pedagogy of liberation, based upon the “ethical indignation, the preferential option for the poor and finally the liberation of the poor and oppressed - and of the oppressor”¹⁰⁶. Thus during the early 1930s Gandhi literature was published in Denmark¹⁰⁷; more than in the rest of the Scandinavian countries together. The Friends of India was organised by pacifist Ellen Hørup (1871-1953) in 1930 in Copenhagen, and the organization published one of the first magazines outside India, promoting the Indian non-violent political struggle for freedom.

¹⁰⁴ Aarhus University Press, 1992.

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/nordic/index.htm>

¹⁰⁶ Jacobsen, Marina: Fra Barbari til værdighed, RUC, 2001 p. 271

¹⁰⁷ Terp, Holger : Contemporary Nordic Gandhi Biography. In: Gandhi and Nordic Countries <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/nordic/ganbook.htm> Terp, Holger: Contemporary Danish Gandhi articles. In: Gandhi and Nordic Countries <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/nordic/gandhiart.htm>

Both Ellen Hørup and the Friends of India organization were under surveillance by British intelligence services in the beginning of the 1930s. After Ellen Hørup in 1933 moved to Geneva the International Committee for India was created. The Committee which had elected Ellen Hørup as secretary organised international conferences on the political situation in India and published a newsletter Indian Press to 1936.

The Danish debate over peace education from the late 19. Century was renewed in the inter-war period. In 1921 Quaker inspired teacher Peter Manniche (1889-1981) founded the International People's College as an expansion of the (Christian national oriented) folk high schools¹⁰⁸. The Nordic Teachers Peace Union was created in 1925 parallel to a growing debate amongst historians over nationalism and militarism in text books¹⁰⁹. The debate led to a reform of Danish school books in 1933.

The sixth International Montessori Congress on peace education was held in Copenhagen in August 1937¹¹⁰.

During the early twenties were founded Danish chapters of War Resisters' International, Aldrig mere Krig, and the religious international organisations the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches and Faith and Order¹¹¹ and around 1936 a Danish chapter of the International Friendship League was created, led by police chief C. R. Ege in Hobro¹¹².

In May 1933 the Danish chapter of the All Peoples Association's invited Sir Norman Angell to a lecture in the Women's Reading Society in Copenhagen¹¹³.

¹⁰⁸ Lawson, Max: The International People's College 1921-96.

¹⁰⁹ Nordiske Læreres Fredsforbund established in Helsinki, Finland.

¹¹⁰ Opdragelse til Fred. In: Fred og Frihed, 1937:10 pp. 81-82.

¹¹¹ Ammundsen, Valdemar: Kirkeligt Verdensforbunds Tilblivelse og hidtidige Virksomhed. In: FredsVarden, 1926:2 pp. 19-23. Verdensforbundet til Fremme af Venskab blandt Nationerne ved Kirkerne: Formaal. Ibid. 1926:2 pp. 30-31.

Verdensforbundet til Fremme af Venskab blandt Nationerne ved Kirkerne: Konstitution for den danske Afdeling. Ibid. 1926:2 pp. 31-32.

Ostenfeld, H.: Hvorfor og hvorledes skal Verdensforbundet Arbejde i Danmark? Ibid. 1926:2 s. 17-18.

Sparring-Petersen, G.: Kirkemøde i Lausanne: Hvad vil Faith and Order Bevægelsen? Ibid. 1927:4 pp. 49-53.

¹¹² Internationalt Venskabs Forbund. In: Fred og Frihed, 1936:7 p. 58.

¹¹³ Kvindelig Læseforening. In: Fred og Frihed, 1933:4 p. 8.

Denmark and the League of Nations



After Denmark joined the League of Nations in 1920, the Danish defence policy was adjusted accordingly. The Danish army and navy were disarmed; a policy even bourgeois politicians after much debate agreed on as no foreign threats were seen against Denmark¹¹⁴.

According to George Lansbury's *My Quest for Peace*: "Very little money is spent on war preparations [in Denmark in 1938]. It would in any case be absurd for Denmark to arm against her enormously powerful southern neighbour. She has moreover no empire to hold by force, or to excite the covetousness of other countries. Iceland has the same King, but is in no other way dependent on Denmark. The Danish West Indies were sold to America early this century. The sole trace of the imperialist habits of the early Danes is the Danish flag that flies over the inhospitable Greenland. The country is not out-and-out pacifist by any means. Conscription is still the law and there is a small "coast defence" which is hardly a real

navy. But the policy of Denmark ever since the war has been to support earnestly every move which seemed to help peace. Nobody who considers the Danes' record can deny that their efforts have been genuine and continuous"¹¹⁵.

Though the Danish military was small in the 1920s, it was in several times used against striking workers¹¹⁶.

Danish politicians and idealists got involved with the promotion of the League of Nations. Accordingly the Danish Peace Society changed its name to The Danish Peace and League of Nations Society. When Fridtjof Nansen received the Nobel Peace Prize

¹¹⁴ Larsen, Knud: *Forsvar og Folkeforbund: Et studie i Venstres og Det konservative Folkepartis forsvarspolitiske meningsdannelse 1918-1922*, Aarhus, 1976.

¹¹⁵ Lansbury, George: *My Quest for Peace*. 1938 pp. 105-106.

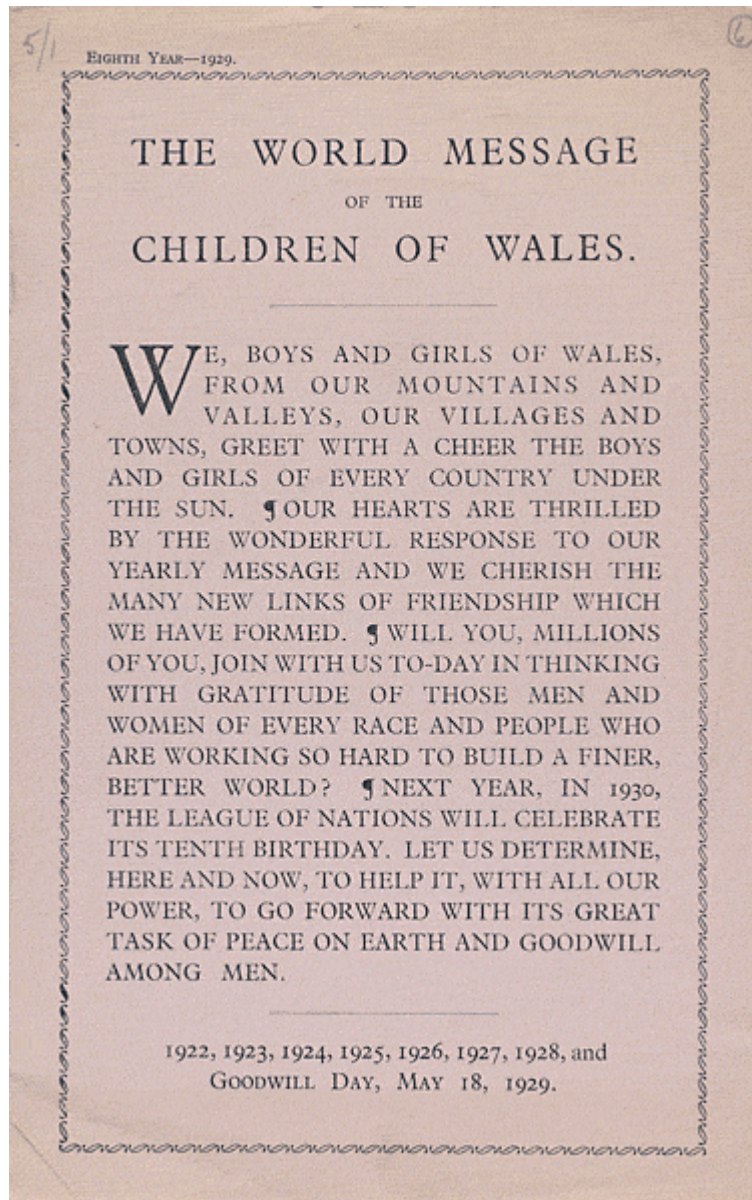
See also C. E. M. Joad's *Why War*?, mentioned in the article 'En udlænding ser paa Danmark'. In: *Fred og Frihed*, 1939:4 p. 33.

And: Communication by the Danish delegation to the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. - Geneva: the League, [1932]. - 7 p.; Series of League of Nations publications. IX, Disarmament; 1931. IX.15. Annex.

<http://digital.library.northwestern.edu/league/le000463.pdf>

¹¹⁶ Petersen, Carl Heinrich: *Fra klassekampens slagmark i Norden*. - Århus : Modtryk, 1976.

in 1922, the Danish publisher Christian Erichsen gave his whole fortune to Nansen, the matching amount of Nansen's Nobel Prize. Nansen gave the Nobel Prize money and the money from Erichsen to humanitarian work in the Soviet Union¹¹⁷.



The Day of Peace was one day a year, when the Danish Peace Society and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom collected money. The first League of Nations Day in Danish schools was celebrated on September 7, 1925. Also the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom broadcasted the world message of the Children of Wales.

¹¹⁷ Stensgård, Erling: En praktisk Idealist: En Bog om Chr. Erichsen. Århus, 1927. pp. 97-105.

While Germany was busy rearming and preparing for the Second World War, the War Resisters' International held its international conference in Copenhagen in July 1937¹¹⁸.



After the congress the Dutchman Bart de Ligt (1883-1938) published *The Conquest of Violence in English and Fight without Weapons*¹¹⁹ was published in Denmark a volume of which professor Gene Sharp later made good use of¹²⁰. Sharp wrote, "that Lindberg attempted, and appealed for, a comparative evaluation on practical grounds of the advances, disadvantages and consequences of non-violent action, military resistance, terrorist resistance and guerrilla war"¹²¹.

While responsible politicians declared 'peace in our time' the year following, informed pacifists, journalists and refugees knew better. Ellen Hørup established the international news agency: *Journal des Archives*, 1938-1939, in Geneva to communicate analyses of the current political situation in Europe to the rest of the world. It was described as "Service of international documentation. – Correspondents in London, Paris, Geneva, Zurich, Copenhagen and Chicago. Monthly Bulletin in three editions: English, French and German. Documents on political, economical and financial questions. Reproduction authorised and gratis, on condition of stating the source of origin and sending voucher numbers". There is a copy of the English version at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Because of criticism against the Swiss restricted policy towards German political émigrés, on February 2, 1939 the chief of the Swiss Police fédérale des étrangers

¹¹⁸ Four Days in Denmark: Triennial Conference, 1937. In: *The War Resister*, 1937. No. 43 pp. 1-48. Hørup, Ellen: *Disarmament or Rearmament*. 1937. – 14 pp. Lansbury, George: *My Quest for Peace*. London 1938. Conscientious objectors speak. In: Prasad, Devi: *War is a crime against humanity: The Story of the War Resisters' International*. - London: WRI, 2005. pp. 186-189.

In August 1979, WRI held its second triennial conference in Sønderborg, Denmark.

¹¹⁹ *Kamp uden Vaaben: Ikke-Vold som Kampmiddel mod Krig og Undertrykkelse / Niels Lindberg ; Gammelgaard Jacobsen ; Karl Erlich*. 1937.

¹²⁰ Sharp, Gene: *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston, 1973.

¹²¹ Sharp, Gene: *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action* p. 569.

recommended that the residence permission of Ellen Hørup not was renewed. She moved to France¹²².

In May 1938 Ellen Hørup took the initiative to a three days international conference in the French town Marseilles for prominent women on the subject "the morale in international relations". The conference was attended by 700 women¹²³.

I have failed to find research references to Journal des Archives in the international peace literature; so this subject awaits its historian.

Hitler in the eyes of the Danish John Heartfield, Marinus Kjeldgaard (1884-1964), printed in the French magazine Marianne.

¹²² Police fédérale des étrangers, Case no. 778792 G/L. In: the Swiss Public Record.

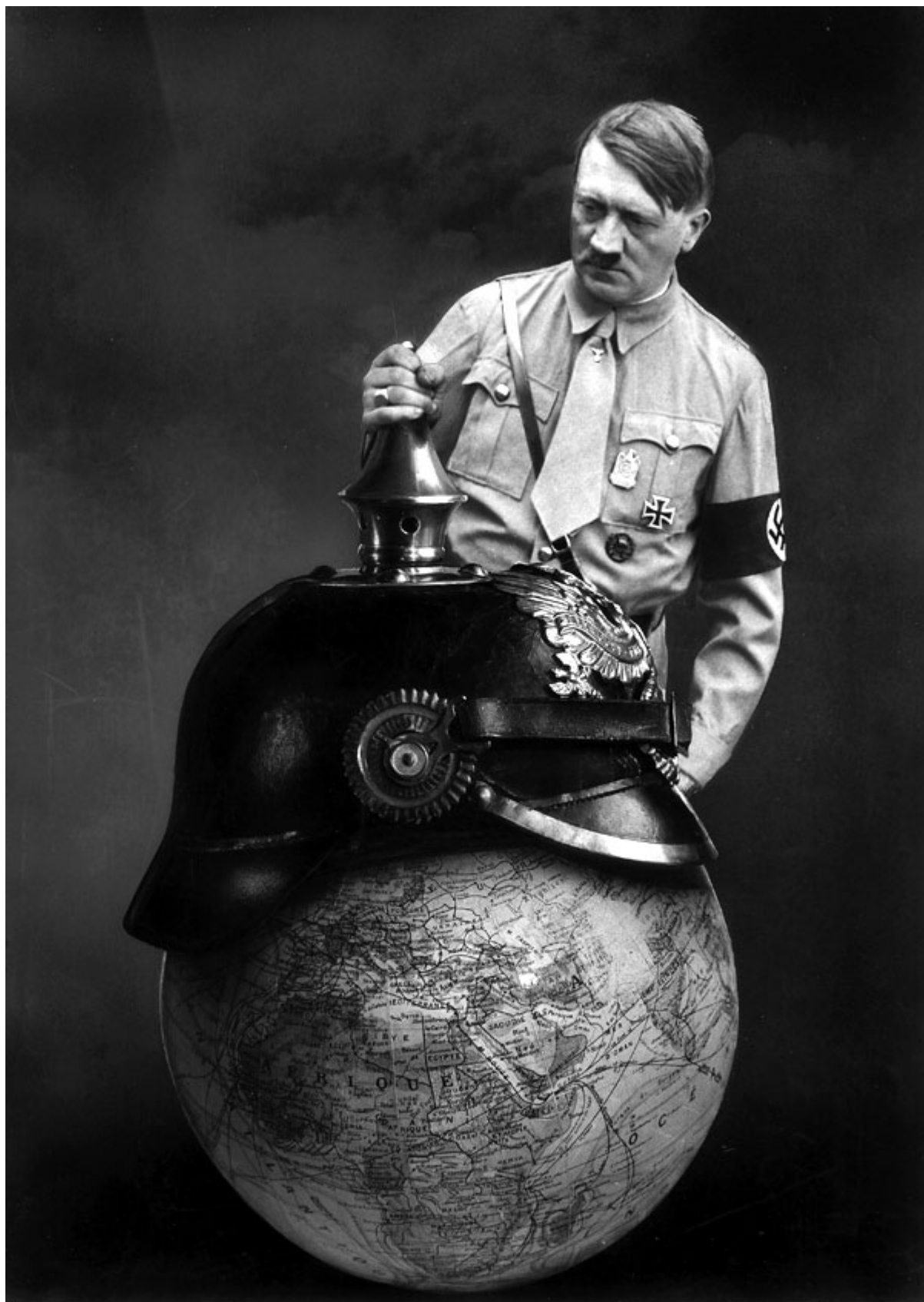
¹²³ Marseille-Kongressen. In: Fred og Frihed, 1938:5 p. 45.

Moralen i internationale Forbindelser. In: Fred og Frihed, 1938:4 p. 29. Some documents relating to the conference in Marseille are at the University of Colorado at Boulder: "I was able to find letters, registration, announcement, and newspaper articles about the conference in Marseille. Although I was unable to find any information about Ellen Horup. Most of the information is general and just describes the conference. There are still some folders though that I was unable to get to in the free hour, these include:

WILPF Collection Accession 1: Series I- Box 8 fd16 Box 6 fd 16-17 WILPF Collection Accession 2: Box 12 fd 8-11 Box 46 fd 4 Box 148 fd 2.

Sincerely,

Ashleigh Mayer Student Assistant



Refugee work before World War Two

In 1938 three Danish women, Melanie Oppenheim, Kirsten Gloerfelt-Tarp and Thora Daugaard from the Danish Women's Council and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, began the immigration of German and Austrian Jewish children to Denmark, which "needed agricultural students"! 325 Jewish children came to Denmark and in December 1939 most of them were shipped to Haifa in Palestine¹²⁴.

Shortly before the World War Two aid to the families of prisoners in German concentration camps was organized by the organization Skandia-Hjælp. Ellen Hørup as well as other Danes like Else Zeuthen had protested against the Spanish civil war 1936-1939, the battlefield of Capitalism¹²⁵. The Danish country wide collecting of aid in cooperation with Swedish and French refugee organizations to the suffering women and children of the Spanish civil war began in January 1936¹²⁶. The Danes and Swedes worked also together with the International Save the Children Fund at Geneva.

They might have been inspired both by the well known work of Nansen in Russia, the Danish refugee work for starving Austrian children after WW 1¹²⁷, and by a lecture held September 30, 1935 by Pierre Ceresole in Copenhagen on "Conscientious objection and reconstruction in ravaged areas"¹²⁸ and by aid work of the War Resister's International¹²⁹.

In April 1939 the Danish author and refugee friend Karin Michaëlis visits New York. She returns to Denmark in 1946¹³⁰.



¹²⁴ Hammerich, Poul: Valkyrierne: En nordisk kvindefront trodser valne myndigheder og rager jødebørn ud af Hitlers bål 1938-40. In: Undtagelsen: En krønike om jøderne i Norden. 1992. pp. 321-334.

¹²⁵ Hørup, Ellen: Spain the Battlefield of Capitalism. Geneva, [1936?]

– Online version: <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/disarm.htm>

¹²⁶ Den danske Landsindsamling til Hjælp for Kvinder og Børn i Spanien. In: Fred og Frihed, 1936:2 pp. 12-13.

¹²⁷ Jacobsen, Sigurd: Wienerbørn i Landflygtighed: En historisk Oversigt. 1943. – 319 pp.

¹²⁸ Ceresole, Pierre: Militærnægtelse og Genopbyggelse af hærgede Egne. In: Freds-Varden, 1935 no. 5 pp. 71-76.

¹²⁹ Lukowitz, David C.: Pacifists and Class Warfare: The Spanish Civil War. In: 50 Years of war Resistance: What Now? London: WRI, 1972 pp. 22-23.

¹³⁰ Michaëlis, Karin: Vidunderlige Verden I-III, 1948-1950. Michaëlis, Karin: Little Troll. New York, 1946.

The German professor Walther A. Berendsohn (1884-1984) from the University of Hamburg was living in Denmark after 1933. He collected German language émigré literature for his study *Die Humanistischen Front* (Zurich 1946 and Worms 1976)¹³¹.

Also the German educator Dr. Franz Mockrauer was living in Denmark in 1937¹³². Mockrauer offered lectures to persons interested in subjects related to peace.

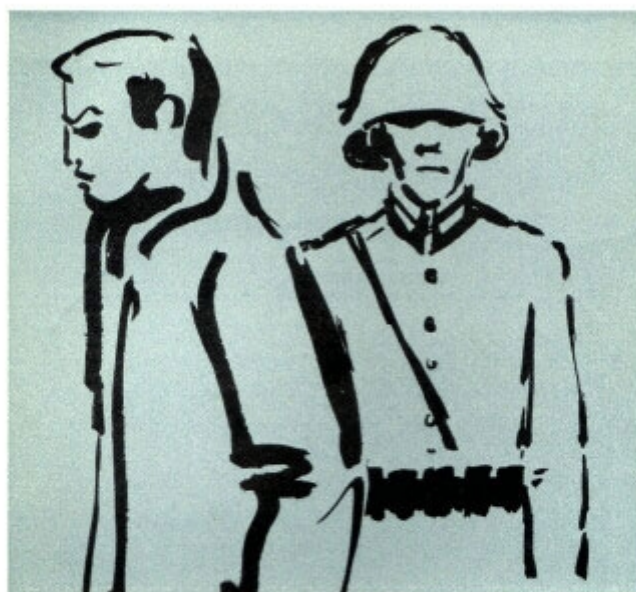
Non-violent resistance during WW 2

The civil Danish aid and solidarity work in support of German, Jewish and Spanish victims of fascism as documented earlier, came to a stand by situation with the German military occupation of Denmark in the morning of April 9th. 1940. The official Danish policy at the beginning of the occupation was cooperation with the powerful and by some Danes admired victorious Fascist Germans.

Thus the Justice Department ordered in March 1941 the dissolution of Danish the émigré organisations. The mostly German émigrés were placed in the Danish concentration camp Horserød. Thereafter the Danish Government deported the German political refugees and deserters back to Germany¹³³; who according to the Germans:

“werden wegen Vorbereitung zum Hochverrat von Deutschn Gerichten gesucht. Es besteht hier ausserdem der Verdacht, dass sie heute noch ihre staatsfeindlichen Betätigung fortsetzen. Sie bilden eine Gefahr für die Aufrecht-

Halfdan Rasmussen



SOLDAT ELLER MENNESKE

CARIT ANDERSENS FORLAG 1941

Nielsen, Birgit S.: Karin Michaëlis hjælp til tyske emigranter. In: Steffensen, Steffen: *Tysksprogede emigranter i Danmark*, 1987 pp. 33-58.

¹³¹ Steffensen, Steffen: Professor Walther A. Berendsohn. In: *På flugt fra nazismen: Tysksprogede emigranter i Danmark*, 1987.

¹³² *Fred og Frihed*, 1937:10 p. 84.

¹³³ VII Anholdelse, Internering, Udvisning eller Udlevering af fremmede Statsborgere. In: *Justitsministeriet og Retshåndhævelsen under besættelsen, Aktstykker 1*, 1950 p. 186-199.

terhandlung der öffentlichen Sicherheit und Ordnung und müssen daher für die Dauer der Anwesenheit der deutsche Truppen in Dänemark in Verwahrung genommen Werden“¹³⁴.

The German demand was „met“ so complete, that even the seized archives of the Danish émigré organizations were handed over to the Germans, who alas, “did not return them”¹³⁵. Also 61 British and French citizens were deported to Germany on May, 17th. 1940¹³⁶. Co-operation from the Danish police with the German police began even before the war in the International Criminal Police Commission¹³⁷.

Export of Danish produced weapons and food to Germany and her allies took place during the whole war. Also some Danish companies worked inside Germany and in Poland for the Nazi military using Russian and Polish concentration camps prisoners. Younger Danish historians experienced during their research in this matter that those companies had destroyed their files from the years of the occupation¹³⁸.



One of the first Danish resistance actions were the modern play of Aristophanes: Lysistrata renamed Dyveke, played at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen from May 1940. The play of Aristophanes Lysistrata was first translated and published in Danish in 1969.

On October 12, 1935, the fascist Germany had forbidden Negro Music, Unerwünschte Musik: jazz. Therefore jazz became a popular form of protest during the occupation, which later became known as the golden age of Danish jazz.

On the morning of August 29, 1943 the Germans banned the Danish State Radio from playing American and British music and the following day even Swedish music was banned: “No more Pan-Scandinavianism in the Danish Radio, no zoot suiting, no Jews, and no parlour bolshevism”¹³⁹.

¹³⁴ Ibid. p. 187.

¹³⁵ Ibid. p. 189.

¹³⁶ Ibid. p. 33.

¹³⁷ Den Internationale Kriminalpolitikkommission. Koch, Henning: Demokrati slå til! Statslig nødret, ordenspoliti og frihedsrettigheder 1932-1945. 1994, p. 232. See also: Madsen, Carl: Flygtning 33 : Strejflys over Hitlers Danmark, 1974 pp. 78-80.

¹³⁸ Lov nr. 246 om Handel med samt Tilvirkning og Besiddelse af Vaaben m.m. af 10. maj 1940. In: Besættelsestidens Fakta, 1945. Vol. 1 pp. 9-11. The Danish Arms producing companies and arms export during World War two are documented in the Danish Peace Academy: Dansk våbeneksport til Tyskland under besættelsen. <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/tid/1900/1940/tid9405.htm#50100>

¹³⁹ Frit Danmarks Hvidbog Vol. 2, p. 1407.



At the end of 1940 the yearly published Christmas stamp appeared. The only Danish Christmas stamp with a peace dove as illustration. This might be the only peace dove published on stamps during the Second World War.



One of the major accomplishments of the Danish resistance movement was the illegal press; even the German émigrés had their own news agency and communicated their documents to members of the German army, for instance *Offiziere, Soldaten und Matrosen/ Deutsche in Dänemark/ Macht Schluss. Die deutsche Freiheitsbewegung zur Zeit der Besetzung Dänemarks* documents were collected shortly after the war. The paper war of the illegal press and its news agencies such as *Information* was not only important sources of news and documentation for Danes and the rest of the world, but they also served as instruments for recruiting personnel to the militant resistance movement.

Thus the resistance work was partly non violent civil disobedience during war and partly violent, or as the Danish historians debate active and passive resistance. This is clearly exemplified by the medical profession.

The escape to Sweden of the 5.600 Danish Jews after October 1943 was only possible because the medical profession and students on a mass scale helped the Jews to escape¹⁴⁰. The doctors used hospitals to hide the Jews and their cars for

¹⁴⁰ Stræde, Therkel: *October 1943: The Rescue of the Danish Jews from Annihilation*, 1993. See also the introduction to: Steffensen, Steffen: *På flugt fra nazismen: Tysksprogede emigranter i Danmark efter 1933*. 1987.

transportation¹⁴¹. Also the Danish chapters of WRI and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom were active in the rescue of the Jews. However, not all the Jews were saved. Four hundred eighty-one Danish Jews ended in the concentration camp Theresienstadt.

After the escape of the Jews many of the doctors and students became active in the militant resistance movement.

In 1963 the Danish-American entertainer Victor Borge and the New York attorney Richard Netter founded Thanks to Scandinavia to commemorate the courage and decency of people who rescued Jews during WW 2¹⁴².

Members of the Other Germany, like Hiltgunt Zassenhaus (born 1916), tried to help the Danish and Norwegian prisoners in Germany during World War II¹⁴³. Her American autobiography was published in Danish in 1974.

The émigré Walther A. Berendsohn, the son of a Jew, escaped to Sweden in a small boat together with two German deserters from Luxemburg and a Danish saboteur¹⁴⁴.

On October 22, 1942 the German soldier Alfred Andersch deserted in Germany and sailed to Denmark¹⁴⁵.

Denmark was in the unique situation that it was the only German occupied country, where organised peace work could continue without German persecution and imprisonment of pacifists. Thus Denmark became a safe heaven for German peace literature during World War Two, because of close contacts between Danish and German pacifists.

A rare copy of Emil Flusser's "Krieg als Krankheit" from 1932 survived the German fascists book burnings of May 10th. 1933 and November 1938 in Denmark¹⁴⁶. Among

¹⁴¹ Den hvide Brigade: Danske Lægers Modstand / editor Aage Svendstorp, 1946.

Flugten Til Sverige: Aktioneren mod de danske jøder oktober 1943 / Rasmus Kreth ; Michael Mogensen.

Gyldendal, 1995. - 178 pp. - ISBN 87-00-20406-4

http://www.dchf.dk/pdf_filer/flugt%20DOC.pdf

Hong, Nathaniel: Sparks of Resistance: The Illegal Press in German Occupied Denmark April 1940 - August 1943. Odense University Press, 1996. - XI + 308 pp.

Hong has been investigating, for the first time, Statsadvokaturen for særlige Anliggende, indexing of the illegal press. One of Hong's findings was that the Danish Communists had nearly monopoly on the illegal press from October 1941 with the exception of Frit Danmark. Another of his findings was that by February 1943, the illegal press geographically covered the whole of Denmark, still with the illegal Communistic press as the dominating.

Hong is an American historian and media researcher; publisher during the Vietnam War.

¹⁴² <http://www.thankstoscandinavia.org>

¹⁴³ Zassenhaus, Hiltgunt: Walls.

¹⁴⁴ Steffensen, Steffen: Professor Walther A. Berendsohn. In: På flugt fra nazismen: Tysksprogede emigranter i Danmark, 1987, p. 257.

¹⁴⁵ Haase, Norbert: Deutsche Deserteure. - Berlin : Rotbuch Verlag, 1978. pp. 29-32.

¹⁴⁶ Dungen, Peter van den: Dr. Emil Flusser: Forgotten Precursor of the Medical Peace Movement. In: Medicine, Conflict and Survival, 1996:2 pp. 90-106.

other surviving books were Ernst Friedrich's: "Krieg dem Kriege" from 1925 (later reprinted in Germany) and Mathilde Vaerting's "Die Struktur des friedlichen Menschen" from 1933. Around 100,000 Jewish books at the Royal Library were hidden from the Germans¹⁴⁷.

The Danish peace groups continued to publish their magazines and other publications during the occupation. In 1941 the young poet Halfdan Rasmussen (1915-2002) published his first pacific poems in the collection "Soldat eller Menneske" / Soldier or Human. In the spring of 1943 the Christian Peace Union published in their magazine the Peace Prayer attributed to St. Francis; but according to the French professor Christian Renoux, this poem was written and published during World War One.

The important Danish aid work during and after World War Two began with the aid to Norway founded in 1940 at Copenhagen by the Norwegian Ladies Committee¹⁴⁸. During the war the aid work grew in size and importance. The peace groups organised nation-wide collections of money and clothes and training camps for volunteer skilled workers.

Even new peace groups like The Youths Peace Society¹⁴⁹ and the most important aid and relief organization the Peace Friends Relief Work¹⁵⁰ were established the latter in January 1944. The Peace Friends Relief Work was supported by all the Danish peace groups, the Quakers and Kirkeligt Verdensforbund.

At the end of World War II hundreds of volunteers Danish craftsmen organised by the Peace Friends Relief Work supported by the governments Liaison Committee Concerning International Aid Work established in September 1944; the Danish Red Cross and Save the Children¹⁵¹ were ready to begin aid- and reconstruction work in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland and



¹⁴⁷ Haxen, Ulf.: Det lille mirakel. Gyldendal 2003.

¹⁴⁸ Boken om danskehjelpen. Oslo, 1947. The Norwegian aid collecting in Denmark closed down at the end of 1945.

Poland. Food parcels relief was also sent to Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany and the Soviet Union.

The motives for participating in the aid and reconstruction work were for the pacifist reconciliation and for the government bridge building into the victorious allied countries which succeeded when Denmark in late 1945 joined the United Nations¹⁵².

When the Danish government in 1946-1947 closed the food aid programmes because of a poor balance of trade, the successful International Tuberculosis Campaign was created¹⁵³.

Danish United Nations societies organised the umbrella organisation Dansk Samråd for forenede Nationer and in November 1946 the Danish chapter of the World Association of World Federalists was created. In 1948 the United Nations Day replaced the League of Nations Day on October 25 in the first year only, as October 24, 1948 was a Sunday.

In 1947 Peter Manniche was a Danish delegate to the UNESCO conference in Mexico City. Manniche “aimed at education for international understanding” with “adult education as a way to peace”¹⁵⁴. According to the Australian education historian Max Lawson, Manniche was “instrumental in arranging the first UNESCO international course on adult education” in 1949. It marked the beginning “of an international adult education movement”¹⁵⁵.

In the meantime the military American bases on the Danish colony of Greenland changed the security policy of Denmark as she became a member of NATO in 1949 and the most important Thule Air base was created during the cold war.

¹⁴⁹ Ungdommens Fredsforbund. File in the private files of Holger Terp. Ungdommens Fredsforbund is described in the thesis of Peter Kragh Hansen and Sune Petersen.

¹⁵⁰ Fredsvennernes Hjælpearbejde. See: Haugaard, Svend: Fredsvennernes Hjælpearbejde. – Silkeborg: Aldrig mere Krig, 1947 and Kjeld Juul: Mod nye grænser : Fra europæisk genopbygning til ulandssamarbejde 1943-1963. Mellemløseligt Samvirke, 2002.

¹⁵¹ Red Barnet. The organization is now part of the International Save the Children Alliance. The organisation works today with children in armed conflicts and displacement.

¹⁵² Beretning til Rigsdagen: De Forenede Nationers første Plenarforsamling Afholdt i London 10. Januar –14. Februar 1946. – 115+131 pp.

¹⁵³ Krogh, Tyge: Humanitært hjælpearbejde og udenrigspolitik : Om den statslige styring af det internationale hjælpearbejde 1945-1948. In: Spor – arkiver og historie. Afhandlinger tilegnet Niels Petersen, 1987. pp. 183-201.

Krogh, Tyge: Mellem efterkrigshjælp og u-landsbistand : Den internationale tuberkulosekampagne 1947-1951. 1989.

¹⁵⁴ Manniche, Peter: Adult Education as a Way to Peace. In: The International Peoples College 1921-1971, pp. 18-75.

¹⁵⁵ Lawson p. 74. See also: Evald Gunnarsen: Die Entwicklung der Skandinavischen Volkshochschulen. In: Zehn Jahre Freundschaftsheim Bückesburg, 1958. pp. 43-50.

Flexible double standards policies during the cold war

The cold war in Denmark is the subject of both heated political debates and historical research. The main Danish contributions to the iron curtain of the cold war were the membership of NATO and the American Thule Air Base¹⁵⁶.

According to a study by Geir Lundestad, “it is impossible to study American-Danish relations without bringing in Greenland”¹⁵⁷; and the Danish governments top secret allowances of US nuclear weapons in Greenland, contradicting the official security policy of no foreign bases and no nuclear weapons on Danish territory.

This was made possible by a little known Danish-American agreement, dated January 27, 1950, which article III stated, that, “all military related information between the two governments should be classified”¹⁵⁸.

A new treaty on general security of military information was made February 27, 1981 after Scandinavian peace researchers discovered that the American archival rules were more liberal than their own countries restricted rules¹⁵⁹.

The much debated anthology: “Grønland Middelhavets Perle: Et indblik i amerikansk atomkrigsforberedelse” from 1983 is one of many samples of peace researchers who



¹⁵⁶ The concept iron curtain is traced to the beginning of World War One, where the Swedish politician Hjalmer Branting uses the concept to describe Germany during the mobilising in 1914: “The iron curtain went down around the great military power at the same moment Germany was declared in a state of war” – a kind of preparation for mobilisation. At once the isolation became complete”. News were censored by civilian and military authorities and nobody gets to know what is happening outside the borders of the realm. Though propaganda the citizens are given the impression that they are surrounded by enemies who aspire their lives and during these conditions they must guard themselves. It is only from this psychological chance, continues Branting, this mass psychosis, that the sudden change (the war fever) can come”. Hjalmar, Hjalmer: Arbetarklassen och världssläget. Stockholm, 1915. Quoted from: Boje, Andreas: Det tyske Socialdemokrati før og under Verdenskrigen, 1916 p. 92.

¹⁵⁷ Lundestad, Geir: America, Scandinavia and the Cold War 1945-1949. Oslo University Press, 1980.p. 1.

¹⁵⁸ Dansk-Amerikansk overenskomst om gensidig bistand på forsvarets område.

'Artikel III: Hver regering vil træffe sådanne sikkerhedsforanstaltninger, hvorom de to regeringer måtte træffe aftale i hvert enkelt tilfælde, for at hindre, at militære artikler, ydelser eller oplysninger af særlig (klassificeret) fortrolig karakter, leveret af den anden regering ifølge nærværende overenskomst, røbes eller prigsives'. Udenrigsministeriet: Dansk udenrigspolitik 1948-1966, II Bilag pp. 436-440.

¹⁵⁹ Headquarters United States European Command: Index of International Agreements, 1989.

were looking too close into the politicians cards. The Americans in Greenland have been investigated by the Danish Institute of International Affairs, Greenpeace and others, though not all yet has been said in this matter, neither by the historians nor the courts¹⁶⁰.

The American military facilities in the Faeroe Islands during and after the cold war need also a closer look.

After Denmark in the spring of 1949 became a member of NATO two communistic inspired peace organizations were created: the Danish Peace Conference and the Danish chapter of the international les Partisans de la Paix¹⁶¹. From March 1950 the Danish Peace Supporters collected signatures to the World Peace Council's Stockholm-appeal against nuclear weapons; while the Danish Peace Conference during the first part of the cold war in the 1950s held three conferences to get the labour movement into organised peace work with little success. Other initiatives were the Committee on an independent foreign policy established by the magazine "Frit Danmark" and Danish chapters of the One World Movement and Federation democratique internationale des femmes. The Federation democratique internationale des femmes held an international congress in Copenhagen at the same time as the new Danish constitution entered into force in 1953.

A good candidate for the first protest song against nuclear weapons is the American journalist Vernon Partlow's Atomic Blues or Talking Atomic Blues, written in 1945, published and recorded in 1950 by Sam Hinton. During the Newport 1963 Folk Festival

Sam Hinton made a new recording of the song. In the autumn of 1953 Atomic Blues was translated into Danish and performed by actress and jazz singer Lise Ringheim (1926-1994), together with composer Børge Roger-Henrichsen (1915-1989) in a Saturday Martine for the Partisans for peace in the Hall of the Student Union in

¹⁶⁰ The Danish Institute for International Affairs has been tasked by the Danish government to prepare a study (white paper) on the security policy situation of Denmark during the Cold War 1945-1990. The white paper is expected in 2004.

Brøsted, Jens: Thule – Fangerfolk og militæranlæg : En retslig historisk undersøgelse af Thule basens anlæggelse, Thules flytning og befolkningens erstatningskrav/Jens Brøsted ; Mads Fægteborg, 1978.

DUPI: Grønland under den kolde krig : Dansk og amerikansk sikkerhedspolitik 1945-1968, 1997.

Lidegaard, Bo: I Kongens navn : Henrik Kauffmann i dansk diplomati 1919-58, 1996. Lidegaard, Bo: Jens Otto Krag 1914-1961, Vol 1. 2001.

Mouritzen, Hans: Denmark in the post-cold war era : The salient action spheres. Pp 33-51. In: Danish foreign policy yearbook, 1997.

Mouritzen, Hans: Finlandization: Towards a general theory of adaptive politics. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1988.

Kaylor, William R.: The twentieth-century world: An international history Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

The following volume is being translated into English:

Villaume, Poul: Allieret med forbehold: Danmark, NATO og den kolde krig : Et studie i dansk sikkerhedspolitik 1949-1961. Eirene, 1997.

¹⁶¹ Fredens Tilhængere i Danmark and Dansk Fredskonference. Jørgensen, Jesper: Fredens Tilhængere. In: Årsskrift 2001. Arbejderbevægelsens Bibliotek og Arkiv, 2002 pp. 16-22.

Copenhagen. Atomic Blues was later published in the magazine Dialog in November 1953.

Danes protested against West Germany's admission in NATO.

The radical liberal Else Zeuthen (1897-1975) had become member of the executive committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1946. In 1954 Zeuthen was elected chairwomen of the organisation; also she had become member of the parliament in 1953¹⁶².

After the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 the umbrella organisation Danish Refugee Council was created for the Danish aid and refugee organisations¹⁶³.

Both official and private intelligence services surveyed and recorded opposition groups as well as peace groups during and after the cold war; contradicting official government policy statements of March fifth 1947, November 13, 1952 and September 30, 1968 on no intelligence filing of "lawful political activities". As one of many protests against the intelligence services huge files on political active persons, the Zealand Committee against the Card Files was established in 1965¹⁶⁴. The Danish intelligence services activities needs more research¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶² Pioneers for peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom / Gertrude Bussey ; Margaret Tims. London: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1980 p. 215.

¹⁶³ Den humanitære udfordring" <http://www.flygtning.dk/publikationer/boeger/flugt/kap1/index.php#1>

¹⁶⁴ Sjællandskommitten mod Kartotekerne.

¹⁶⁵ Jensen, Erik: De hemmelige tjenester: PET og FE gennem 40 år : En oversigt. 1998. The latest example of exposed intelligence during the cold war is by the journalist Niels Lillelund: "... til herr ministerens personlige orientering. In: Jyllands-Posten, Oktober 14, 2003. Wilhelm, Preben: Demokratiets vogtere: 50 års bestræbelser på kontrol med efterretningstjenesterne. 1999.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament



From the end of World War two the main focus of nuclear weapons had been on power and deterrence. Back in 1944 the Danish nuclear scientist Niels Bohr (1885-1962) recommended to the UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill the establishment of international control over the use of nuclear weapons.

Shortly before the beginning of the Korean War July ninth, 1950 Bohr wrote an open letter to the United Nations, because “The promise and danger involved in the technical advances have now most forcibly stressed the need for decisive steps towards openness as a primary condition for the progress and protection of civilisation”¹⁶⁶.

The Danish debate over nuclear weapons came after the North Atlantic Council in December approved a political directive to NATO’s military authorities. According to the historians Jonathan Søborg Agger and

Lasse Wolsgård, the political directive stated, “that all NATO forces should have the capability to respond quickly and with nuclear weapons to any type of aggressions”. The United States stated that “modern weapons with nuclear capability would be offered to all NATO-countries. Thus, the Danish government was forced to formulate a policy on nuclear weapons. The Danish government declared in December 1957, that “the government would not stockpile atomic warheads and deploy IRBMS on Danish soil “under the present circumstances”¹⁶⁷.

In the middle of the 1950s the general view on nuclear weapons policy changed with growing concern over health and environmental damages caused by atmospheric nuclear weapons tests¹⁶⁸. The Einstein-Russell-appeal of 1955 saw the creation of many campaigns for nuclear disarmament. Inspired by England the Danish Campaign against Nuclear Weapons was created in January 1960 by members of the Danish chapter of the WRI.

¹⁶⁶ The Challenge of an Open World: Essays dedicated to Niels Bohr, 1989. p. 7.

Christmas Møller, Wilhelm: Niels Bohr og atomvåbnet, 1985.

¹⁶⁷ Den størst mulige fleksibilitet: Dansk atomvåbenpolitik 1956-60 / Jonathan Søborg Agger ; Lasse Wolsgård. Historisk Tidsskrift, 2001:1 pp. 76-109.

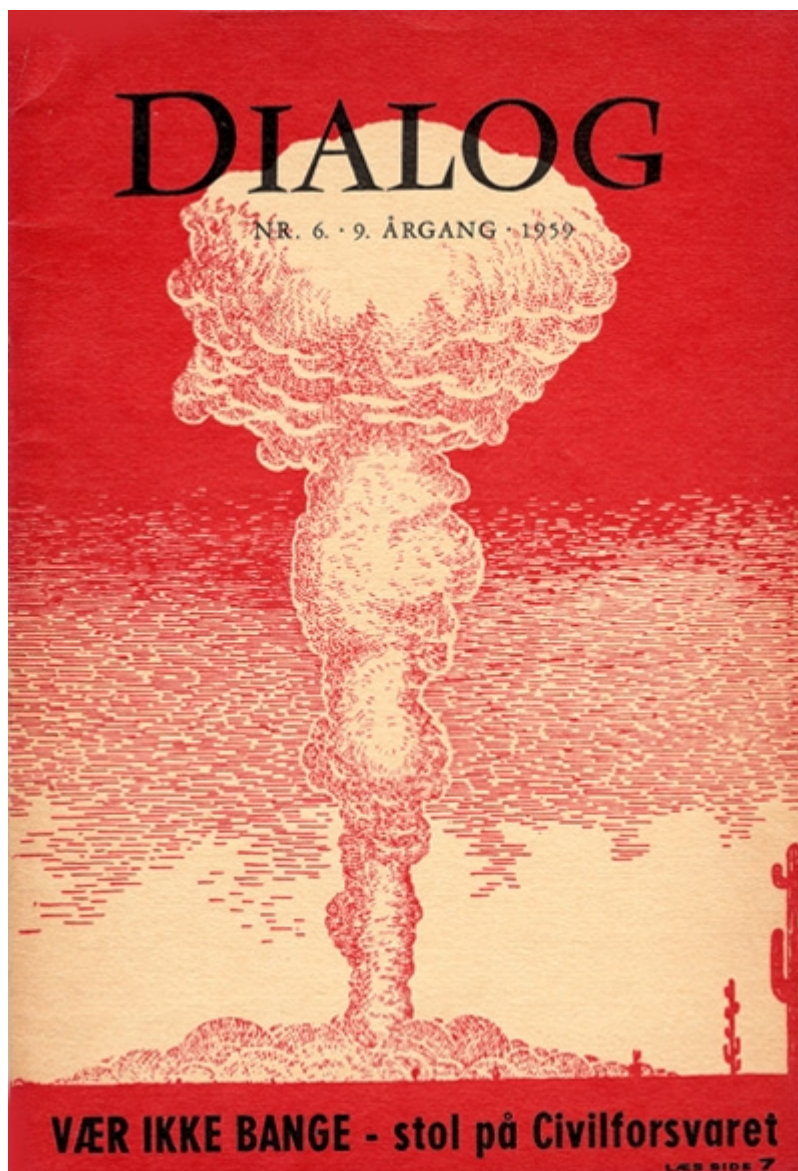
¹⁶⁸ Nuclear Wastelands, 1995. In 1979 Professor Bent Sørensen, Department of Plastic Surgery and Burns Unit, Hvidovre Hospital, University of Copenhagen published a study: Burns : Management of burns occurring as mass casualties after nuclear explosion. In Burns: The Journal of the International Society for Burn Injuries. Vol. 6 1979 no. 1, pp. 33-36.

By the parliamentary election of 1964, the nuclear pacifists were so strong, that a new liberal Peace Political Peoples Party was created; however it failed after the election to be represented in the parliament¹⁶⁹. In 1973 Klaus Jørgensen published the first academic thesis on The Nuclear Weapons Issue in Danish Politics, with Special Reference to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament¹⁷⁰.

Anders Boserup (1940-1990) and Claus Iversen published a study on the Easter marches in the “past eight years”¹⁷¹. By then they had established the short lived Institute for Peace and Conflict Research Copenhagen.

Boserup was a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Peace Research 1972-1974 and worked also for SIPRI on international law relating to chemical and biological weapons¹⁷² - as an example

from 1972: CBW and the law of war. From 1985 Anders Boserup played a key role in the European development of the theory on Non Offensive Defence¹⁷³. The work of Boserup and others sparked a growing interest for peace and conflict research in Denmark¹⁷⁴, culminating so far with the creation of the Working Group of the Academic Council of the University of Copenhagen on Peace and Conflict Research in



¹⁶⁹ Bertelsen, Aage: Her er dit våben, 1962. Bertelsen was a great inspiration for Jan Øberg. Nordendorf Olson, Peter: Fredspolitisk Folkeparti: Et pacifistisk forsøg på opnåelse af folketingsrepræsentation. Odense University Press, 1985.

¹⁷⁰ Jørgensen, Klaus: Atomvåbnenes rolle i dansk politik: Med særlig henblik på Kampagnen mod Atomvåben. Odense, 1973.

¹⁷¹ Demonstrations as a Source of Change: A Study of British and Danish Easter Marches. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 3, 1966 pp. [328]-348.

Jenkins, Robin: Who are these Marchers. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 4, 1967 pp. [46]-60.

¹⁷² Nield, Robert: Anders Boserup: In Memoriam. In: NOD, 1990, No. 16 p. 4.

¹⁷³ NOD & Conversion: Særnummer om 10 års dansk forskning i ikke-offensivt forsvar og om "Global Non-Offensive Defence Network", 1994, Vol. 30A, p. 3 and 5. See also: Hans-Henrik Holm : Science, Peace and Peace Research. - Århus : Institute of Political Science ; University of Aarhus, 1976. - 19 pp.

1983¹⁷⁵, the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute in 1984 (now a part of the Danish Foreign Policy Institute) and the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research in 1985 of Jan Øberg in Lund, Sweden.

The Easter demonstrations against nuclear weapons were followed by demonstrations against the Vietnam War. In January 1967 the Danish Bertrand Russell Committee was created to organize the second session of the International War Crimes Tribunal, which was forbidden to hold its session in Paris and Stockholm. Under much publicity and debate the second session was held at Roskilde, late November 1967. The report of the tribunal was published in 50 copies in English and in French each and 100 copies in Danish¹⁷⁶.

The Danish police attacked a huge peaceful demonstration against the Vietnam War at the American embassy in Copenhagen on April 27th. 1968¹⁷⁷. Afterwards the Danish anti-Vietnam war groups split over discussions about imperialism¹⁷⁸, but out of the Vietnam war movement grew the book shop Demos and its co-operation with the Danish chapter of the WRI on the analysing and mapping of the Danish arms industry and military research establishment¹⁷⁹. A work still undertaken by the Danish chapter of WRI.

The revolt of the youth culminating with the partly occupation of the University of Copenhagen in 1968 began in the camps of the conscientious objectors in the 1950s.

At the same time the numbers of discarded drafted personnel grew rapidly. The conscientious objectors began organising in 1965 and by January 1967 they established their own union¹⁸⁰. Up to 1973 the Danish numbers of conscientious objectors grew, and the politicians felt forced to change the conscription system to halt the growing political influence of the conscientious objectors.

¹⁷⁴ In 1982 several attempts to establish peace research institutions in Denmark were recorded by G. K. Wilson in his *A global Peace Study Guide*, including: the Danish Peace Research Group (Arbejdsgruppen for Freds- og Konfliktforskning) established in January 1977) and the Danish Peace Research Society. Some of the founding members of the Danish Peace Research Group were Maja Naur, Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, Hans-Henrik Holm, Jan Øberg and Jens Thoft. Jens Thoft were member of the International Working Group on Social Defence, established in July 1976. Rasmussen, Søren Hein: *Sære Alliancer : Politiske bevægelser i efterkrigstidens Danmark*, 1997. Rasmussen of the University of Århus describes careful and deeply social movements in Denmark after World War II: the peace movements, the movement against Danish membership of the EEC and the movement against nuclear power. Literature pp 289-299. Also references in notes pp 300-358.

¹⁷⁵ Konsistoriums Arbejdsgruppe vedrørende freds- og konfliktforskning. The working group published: *Fire forelæsninger om freds- og konfliktforskning på Københavns Universitet* 1983. See also: "Proposal for Establishment of an International Council for Research and Information on Conflicts" by K. Helweg Petersen, Danish Minister for Disarmament Questions in cooperation with Dr. D. W. Bowett. 1971.

¹⁷⁶ Tribunal, Nr. A1 C to N 2 C.

¹⁷⁷ Madsen, Carl: *Proces mod politiet*. 1969.

¹⁷⁸ *Kampagnen mod Atomvåben og Vietnambevægelsen 1960-1972 / Søren Hein Rasmussen ; Johannes Nordentoft*. Odense University Press, 1991

¹⁷⁹ DDVs Dokumentationsgruppe: *Rustningsindustri og krigsforskning i Danmark*, 1973.

¹⁸⁰ Militærnægterforeningen.

In 1973, the yearly meeting of the Conscientious Objectors Union was under surveillance by the military intelligence service¹⁸¹. The secret surveillance became the topic for investigations by two later commissions' law courts and a third might be needed¹⁸². This story needs more research.

New Cold War

The debate over the new 'European' tactical nuclear weapons began in the Danish newspapers during the spring of 1979¹⁸³. The double decision of NATO in December 1979 created a new fear for nuclear war. Both adults¹⁸⁴ and children¹⁸⁵ were worried over a potential third world war. Was it possible to prevent one?¹⁸⁶ Early 1980 saw the creation of the first two of the many new Danish peace groups: No to Nuclear Weapons (the Danish chapter of the European Nuclear Disarmament Appeal) and Women for Peace.

In the late 1980 the Danish chapter of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation publishes a translation of the article, "Reviving Unilateralism: Report on a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the Netherlands", written by the Dutch peace researcher Philip Everts. It was to be the organisations last publication. The booklet by Philip Everts was viewed as important by the new Danish peace groups, which all had to learn how to set goals, organize and work for disarmament.

In May 1981 a huge Nordic Peace Conference was held in Aalborg, organized by unions and the pacifist poet Carl Scharnberg¹⁸⁷ and this time succeeded in getting the labour movement and the unions into the peace movement, as a result the number of local and union based organizations grew rapidly, peaking with the much debated World Peace Conference in Copenhagen October 1986¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸¹ Forsvarets Efterretningstjeneste.

¹⁸² Kommissionsdomstole. Demos: Undergravende virksomhed: Beretning fra kommissionsdomstolen af 13. juli 1977. 1977.

¹⁸³ Kim Salomon: Fredsbevægelser from 1985 can together with the volume of Liversage be used as contemporary general introductions to the debate over the subjects of the new anti-nuclear peace movement.

¹⁸⁴ Conceptions of wars and fear of war. Krigsforestillinger og krigsangst. Jacobsen, Bo: Krigen, freden og danskerne: En undersøgelse af voksne danskeres opfattelse af internationale forhold. 1988 p. 47. Though published late in the debate over international policy, the investigation of Bo Jacobsen reflects the attitudes of the Danes during most of the second cold war.

¹⁸⁵ Børn og unges psykiske reaktion på kernevåbentruslen. Holst, Erik: Kernevåbenkrigens trussel mod sundheden. In: Kernevåbnets medicinske konsekvenser for Danmark. In: Journal of the Danish Medical Association, 1986, no. 35 pp. 2250-2251.

¹⁸⁶ Liversage, Toni: Den tredje verdenskrig – kan vi forhindre den? 1982.

¹⁸⁷ Scharnberg, Carl: 20 års kamp for fred : Artikler og taler gennem 20 år – fra atomkampagnen til Aalborg fredskonference. Ålborg, 1981.

¹⁸⁸ Eyes see what eyes want to see : Western Media and the Peace Movement : What actually happened at the World Peace Congress in Copenhagen / Eva Bendix ... [et al.]. - Prague : International Organisation of Journalists, 1987. - 125 pp.

Bach then the Liaison Committee for Peace and Security The umbrella organization for the Danish peace groups had been established in 1973¹⁸⁹. In 1977 it had launched a nation-wide campaign against neutron weapons, but after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 most of the non communists left the organization. Also the members of No to Nuclear Weapons and the Liaison Committee heated disagreements over tactics, slogans and policies especially over the idea of Scandinavia as a nuclear free zone disempowered the two groups.

In spite of the political disagreements the old iron curtain became rusty and peace began to move. The Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet Women's Committee had already seen the International Peace March-82 (Stockholm-Moscow-Minsk) organized by Scandinavian women peace organizations and the Bike-ride for Peace 83 from Moscow via Scandinavia to Washington DC¹⁹⁰. Also Danish youth organizations created the campaign: Next Stop Soviet¹⁹¹. In the summer of 1989 nearly 3.000 Danish peace activists demonstrated in Soviet Russia.

Military personnel organizations and the right wing created its own groups to fight the peace movement¹⁹². The Soviet nuclear submarines in Swedish waters and on the Swedish archipelago¹⁹³ was used by the growing right wing to claim, that the leaders of the peace movements indeed were Soviet and East German influential agents or spies, and as a result many left the peace groups.

The Danish politicians held the election of May 10, 1988 on the nuclear weapons issue, which "endangered the Danish membership of NATO"¹⁹⁴. The liberals and the conservatives won the election.



¹⁸⁹ Samarbejdskommiteen for Fred og Sikkerhed.

¹⁹⁰ Soviet Peace Committee: Report on the Participation of the Soviet Non-Governmental Organisations in the World Disarmament Campaign for the period 12. April – 20. October 1983. Moscow, 1983 p. 10.

¹⁹¹ Knudsen, Jørgen: I Sovjet: På rejse med next stop, 1989.

¹⁹² Teglers, Jørgen: Fredsbevægelsen – med og modspillere, 1988.

¹⁹³ Lindfors, Tommy: Under ytan: Ubåtar och svensk säkerhetspolitik. Göteborg, 1996.

¹⁹⁴ Petersen, Nicolaj: Sikkerhedspolitik og indenrigspolitik: Folketingsvalget den 10. maj 1988. In: Dansk udenrigspolitisk årbog 1988 pp. 30-54.

The summits between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev were seen as the end of history, where nuclear war and weapons had been defused by international treaties. The No to Nuclear Weapons split over the position to the Gulf war.

With the active participation in the Gulf war and by the creation of the inappropriately named Danish international Brigade (all the soldiers are Danes and they can be used wherever the US government wants them), the military policy was acceptable to the voters, according to several opinion polls during the late 1990s.

The disenfranchised peace movements began a long, but difficult successful campaign to aid draft evaders and deserters from the former Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in Denmark¹⁹⁵, while Danish racism was growing. The successful campaign against Danish export of naval ships and naval ship technology to Indonesia was begun by the Danish chapter of the WRI. Also Danish shipping companies worldwide transport of arms was stopped, after it was discovered, that the shipping companies were subsidised by low insurance premiums, funded by the partly state owned Foundation for War Insurance of Ships¹⁹⁶, established during World War One which permitted them to bid more competitively internationally. During the budget negotiations of 1997, the politicians were asked to privatize the foundation, which they did and Danish shipping companies no more transport arms, supported by the state.

The small peace movement became invisible in the media, though it had political success while the Danish governments acted as being a local American state by rearming and participating in the Gulf war.

The Danish peace and disarmament activist Ulla Røder, is a fine sample of Denmark's commitment to international solidarity, when the need is seen. She began her peace work protesting against the French nuclear weapons tests in the Pacific, became secretary for the Danish Peace Commission and later a member of the Trident Ploughshares 2000¹⁹⁷.

The Danish Peace Commission's members came from the Danish chapter of Artists for Peace, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Pugwash Conferences of Sciences and World Affairs, War Resisters' International and the Danish organisations: the Conscientious Objector's Union, the Peace Tax Foundation, Women for Peace and other organisations.

The war against terrorism and the US war against Iraq created many new Danish campaigns against the war and also a new umbrella organisation the Danish Peace Council was created in February 2003.

¹⁹⁵ Hvidbog udgivet af Kampagnen til støtte for desertører og militærnægtere fra det tidligere Jugoslavien, 1996.

¹⁹⁶ Krigsforsikringen for danske skibe. The last known case of Danish cargo ship carrying ammunition is Karin Cat, foundered south of Sicily on February, 18 2003. Danish Maritime Authority: Casualty Report: The Foundering of Karin Cat 18 February 2003. File. No. 01.40.01. - 22 pp.

¹⁹⁷ Zelter, Angie: Trident on Trail: The case for people's disarmament. Glasgow, 2001.

Many Danes are against the war in Iraq, and they get great help by few dedicated journalists and a couple of newspapers, with the daily Information being the most important. The Internet is used by the peace groups and campaigns to communicate ideas and information.

For the last 15 years the Danish government has had just as many problems in clothing its citizens in the uniform as the rulers had during the time of Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken. The difference from then and the present time is, that now the government is spending about £ one million/\$1,800,000 on military advertisements each year in vain.

After word: A Danish Peace Academy

War is the alternative to peace, not the other way around. On June 19, 2000 the Danish Peace Academy was established as an educational institution still under development.

We Danes knew much about war and too little about peace. Already the author Ludvig Holberg complained in his history of Denmark, that other authors 'only occupied themselves with wars, battles and sieges'¹⁹⁸.

The idea of establishing a Danish peace academy had developed from the wars in Yugoslavia, where army personnel dominated the news every night. Why not a civilian or better a pacifist explaining what was was going on?

A few friends of mine established a working group and we are trying to get Danish academicians to establish peace education in Denmark, so far, with but little response.

For many years I have had the idea that the history of pacifism and the peace movements were neglected within the Danish research establishment, where more important things were studied to get butter on the table. For me it meant that all historical and political text books were wrong, because they missed the peaceful corrective in long periods of Danish as well as international history and policy. None in Denmark had heard of Anthony Benezet (1713-1789), the French American inventor of social movements.

I started of by collecting a bibliography of the international peace movement, Peace in Print, and then I got the idea to write a documented world history and a Encyclopaedia on peace and security. Because of the Internet, I could publish there, not being ready to publish on paper, yet. There are still a few subjects which needs to be taken care of.

The peace academy has a time line where documented events can be followed as they develop both at the present, past and future. The time line is linked with the

¹⁹⁸ Struwe, Lars B.: Soldater er også mennesker : Om forskningen i dansk 1700-tals militærhistorie og New Military History. In: Historisk Tidsskrift, 2003:2 p. 384.

encyclopaedia so it is easy to read the definitions. And it is possible to go from the encyclopaedia to the time line. The documentation is printed publications, reprints and links. Also there are some few experimental lessons.

The idea with the peace academy has taken some 20 years of work to evolve. Most of the documents are in Danish, but there are some English and a few German pages.

The address is <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/index.htm>

Conclusion

When the published documents of social movements disappear, the communication of their history and ideas from primary sources prove to be difficult. Danish peace work has been and still is international oriented.

The online access to records of printed books in Denmark is surprisingly good. However, the same is not the case regarding articles in newspapers and magazines, though specialized bibliographies exist.

The cases here presented shows that protests against militarism in Denmark are much more common than recorded by the popular historians from the middle age to the present time, and that future historians of Danish peace history have many subjects to deal with. Danes have used all legal ways and some illegal means to stay civilians. The problems seem to be, that either the popular historians are victims of propaganda, asleep eyes wide open, or they are fabricating slick volumes which leave out the history of peace, the protests against armaments, wars and conscription. And by doing this, the popular Danish history books become lopsided. Military personnel take the floor every time present and historical events are explained in the mass media, especially radio and television.

Researchers in the field of peace history in other countries where written records of protest against militarism are sparse might benefit from using some of the methods used in this article. Old historical presentations as well as old sources are vitally important, especially while researching for events, which might only be described by local or specialised historians.

Comments, debate and critique is most welcomed.

Literature

Where nothing else is mentioned, the place of publication or publisher is Copenhagen.

Bibliographies

Bibliotheca Danica – online edition.

Danish Foreign Policy Institute: Dansk udenrigspolitisk Årbog, 1980-1994. From 1995 the yearbook is titled: Dansk udenrigspolitisk dokumentation.

From Erasmus to Tolstoy: The Peace Literature of Four Centuries; Jacob ter Meulen's Bibliographies of the Peace Movement before 1899: edited with an introduction by Peter van den Dungen. - London: Greenwood Press, 1990. - 145 pp. ; Bibliographies and Indexes in Law and Science ; 14). - ISBN 13-2682-7-4.

Kirkehistorisk bibliografi. 1979.

Scheuer Nielsen, Helge: Viggo Hørup: En litteraturliste. Birkerød. Own printing, [nd]. – ISBN 87-981372-0-4

Stolpe, P. M.: Bibliografisk Fortegnelse over Danske Flyveblade. In: Dagspressen i Danmark, vol. 1, addendum pp [I]-XCIV.

Swinne, Axel: Bibliographia Irenica 1500-1970. Hildesheim, 1977. (Swinne index 2061 publications).

Terp, Holger: Journalisten Ellen Hørup : En personalbibliografi. 1992. 148 pp. online edition:
<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/ordbor/refer/ellen.zip>
 (Terp index 603 mostly Danish publications and articles on and about Ellen Hørup).

Terp, Holger: Fred på Tryk : Bibliografi over dansk freds- og sikkerhedspolitisk litteratur. 1989. (Covers the period 1881-1988. According to Søren Hein Rasmussen, p. 10, there are more than 2.500 titles in Fred på Tryk.).

Terp, Holger: Peace in Print: The history of the peace movements: (1.567 titles) online edition:
<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/paxbib.zip>

General history of Denmark

Danmarks gamle love paa nutidsdansk I-III, 1945-1948.

Dansk identitetshistorie 1: Fædreland og modersmål 1536-1789. 1991.

Dansk teologisk tidsskrift.

Frost, Robert I.: The Northern Wars 1558 - 1721: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558-1721. Pearson Education Ltd./Longman, 2000.

Jørgensen, Poul Johs.: Dansk Retshistorie.: Retskildernes og forfatningsrettens historie indtil sidste halvdel af det 17. aarhundrede. Gad, 1969.

Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 1975.

Liljenberg, Carl-Gustaf: Ett blad ur Skånelands riksdanska(-1650) och Östdanska tidevarv(-1720). In: Osby Hembygdsförenings årsbok 1960,1963,1964 och 1970. Dansk-Skaansk Forening. 1975.

Manley, R.: The History of the Late Warres in Denmark : Comprising all the Transactions, both military and civil, during the differences betwixt the two northern crowns, in the years, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660. - London, 1670. – 146 pp.

Manley, R.: Copenhagen.

? London, 1670. – 1 p. (map).

Meadowe, P.: A narrative of the principal actions in the wars betwixt Sueden and Denmark. London, 1677.

Molesworth, Robert: An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692. 1694.

Nielsen, Helge: Skatter og Skatteforvaltning i ældre Tider Helge Nielsen ; Victor Thalbitzer. 1948. Reprinted 1976.

Nørgaard, Ellen: Lille barn, hvis er du? En skolehistorisk undersøgelse over reformbestræbelser inden for den danske folkeskole i mellemkrigstiden. 1977.

Rasmussen: Dagsregister fra 1601 til 1664.

Stolpe, P. M.: Dagspressen i Danmark, dens vilkaar og Personer indtil midten af det attende Aarhundrede. 4 vols. 1878. Reprinted 1977.

Thaulow, Th.: Den danske Soldat gennem Tiderne. Folmer Christensen, 1946.

Absolutism and agricultural history of Denmark

Krogh, Tyge: Oplysningstiden og det magiske : Henrettelser og korporlige straffe i 1700-tallets første halvdel. 2000.

Krogh, Tyge: Staten og de besiddelsesløse på landet 1500-1800. Odense University Press, 1987.

Københavns Universitet 1479-1979. 1980. 4 vols.

Stendal Pedersen, Den ulige frihed: Studier i myten om stavnsbåndsløsningens betydning. Odense University Press, 1990

Protest og oprør : Kollektive aktioner i Danmark 1700-1985 / ed. Flemming Mikkelsen. Århus, 1986.

Violence and the absolute state: Studies in European and Ottoman History / ed. Stephen Tyrk Christensen. 1990.

Pacifism and peace work in Denmark

Danmarks Nationalleksikon: Dansk udenrigspolitisk historie 1: Konger og krige 700-1648. 2001.

Danmarks Nationalleksikon: Dansk udenrigspolitisk historie 2: Revanche og neutralitet 1648-1814. 2002.

Danmarks Nationalleksikon: Dansk udenrigspolitisk historie 3: Fra helstat til nationalstat 1814-1914. 2003.

Danmarks Nationalleksikon: Dansk udenrigspolitisk historie 4: Lidegaard, Bo: Overleveren 1914-1945.

Gandhi and Nordic Countries : An anthology collected and edited by E. S. Reddy ; Holger Terp. Online edition:
<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/nordic/index.htm>

Hansen, Peter Krag: Pacifister i krig. Odense University Press, 1990.

Hansen, Peter Mikael: Militærvægring 1849-1917 : En geografisk og historisk undersøgelse af artikuleret militærnægtelse og ulovlig sessionsudeblivelse i Danmark 1849-1917. University of Roskilde, 2001. Online edition:
<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/pmhansen/index.htm>

Jørgensen, Klaus: Atomvåbnenes rolle i dansk politik: Med særligt henblik på Kampagnen mod Atomvåben. Odense University Press, 1973.

Kornerup, Bjørn: Kvækerpropaganda i Danmark og Norge i ældre Tid. In: Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 6. række, vol. 6. 1949 pp 216-271.

Larsen, Svend Erik: Militærnægterproblemet i Danmark 1914-1967: Med særlig henblik på lovgivningen. Odense University Press, 1977.

Nielsen, Henrik Kaare: Demokrati i bevægelse: Sammenlignende studier i politisk kultur og nye sociale bevægelser i Vesttyskland og Danmark. Aarhus University Press, 1991.

Pedersen, Sune: Kampen for fred: Den liberale fredsbevægelse i Danmark 1919-1960. University of Copenhagen, Historical Institute, 2000. – 106 pp. 197.
Risskov Sørensen, Kurt: Fredssagen i Danmark 1882-1924. Odense University Press, 1981.
Stender Clausen, Jørgen: Det nytter ikke at sende hære imod ideer : Georg Brandes kulturkritik i årene omkring 1. verdenskrig. 1984.

History of the activists

Bajer, Fredrik: Livserindringer. 1909.
Haugaard, Svend: Ikke ord uden gerning. 1989.
Juul, Kjeld: Mod nye grænser : Fra europæisk genopbygning til u-landsarbejde 1943-1963. 2002.
Sørensen, Henning: Fra mit livs skraldespand. Nimtofte, 1993.
Terp, Holger: Ellen Hørup : Et biografisk essay. Skive, 1989. Online edition:
<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/nordic/ellen.htm>
Vedde, Anna: Kvækerne og deres indsats i den nyeste Tid : Et 300 Aars Minde.1924.-260 pp.
Winther, Judith: Politik fra neden : Om 1980ernes fredsbevægelse. Gistrup, 1992.
Appendix 3 : Fredrik Bajer bibliography