

Teoriorienteret metode / Theory-oriented methods,

A - Digital Methods for Historians, w. Adela Sobotkova,

B - Nationalismeteori og national identifikation i Danmark omkring år 1900, m. Claus Møller Jørgensen

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The Fates of Women in the *Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster* 1699-1749

A data-driven, digital approach

By Silas Christian Wilhelm-Leth



- Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster ca. 1750, by Johannes Rach and H.H. Eegberg¹

Depicted we see a number of women, perhaps two conspicuously dressed *jomfruer* and some of the many female servants who lived with them behind the *Jomfrukloster*-wall. The perfectly smooth street, near perfect symmetry of the main building with the clouds above, and finally the pinkish hue doused over the painting, lends the scene a somewhat other-worldly feeling. Despite the romanticized style, the buildings themselves are true to life. In *Juelernes hus*, left hand side, a number of *jomfruer* slept. The imposing manor housed the *jomfruer*'s library, church, dining hall, lounge, the prioress' living quarters, and the rooms for the rest of the *jomfruer*. The single-story buildings on the right-hand side were part administrative and part housing for servants. The chambers of the personal maids were divided between the servant-housing and the main building. The trees left and center in the scene hint at the large park-like gardens. The artists managed to capture much of the physical everyday environment, that set the stage for experiences lived by the women, whose fates were so closely tied to this remarkable institution.

¹ Roberto Fortuna, CC-BY-SA, Nationalmuseet, Denmark

Keywords:

Proof of concept - RStudio – ggplot2 – csv – statistics – data visualization – prosopography – women – aristocracy – marriage – independence – Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster – 18th century

GitHub link: https://github.com/Digital-Methods-HASS/au715029_Wilhelm-Leth_SilasChristian

Introduction and historical background

Institutions providing unmarried women with a home and financial support, became a fairly widespread phenomena in the early-modern German and Scandinavian cultural spheres. They are sometimes referred to in English by the loanword, *Stift*. This same word, however, also refers to similar institutions for welfare of other social groups and genders. Therefore, we will use the more precise word *Jomfrukloster*. Many countryside *jomfruklostre* were exclusively for aristocratic women. We will be referring to these women by the Danish name *jomfruer*, as this word held more meaning than just the direct translation “virgins”.

The first *jomfrukloster-like* institution in the Kingdom of Denmark, was the formerly catholic monastery, for both nuns and monks, in Maribo. After the reformation this specific monastery (Danish; *kloster*) was allowed to live on, being gradually shaped by the king and high nobility, into a Lutheran institution for the support of unmarried young noblewomen. The rules were never very clearly defined, and the institution was eventually closed down in 1621.

After the absolutist coup in 1660, inheritance laws and practice among landholders shifted to increasingly favor only the eldest son – where as before, sons and daughters had split landholdings and other wealth between all siblings, with a system of double inheritance for sons². Whereas younger sons could still sustain themselves somewhat well through work for the state, aristocratic daughters without a husband to support them became more economically endangered and represented a “burden” for the other family members to bear. At the same time, the thought of marrying “below” one’s rank, even to support a family member, seems to have been generally frowned upon even by financially struggling members of the aristocracy. Combined with the expensive dowery expected with marriage in higher classes, these factors likely played a hand in why so many *jomfruklostre* were founded in the 1700s³.

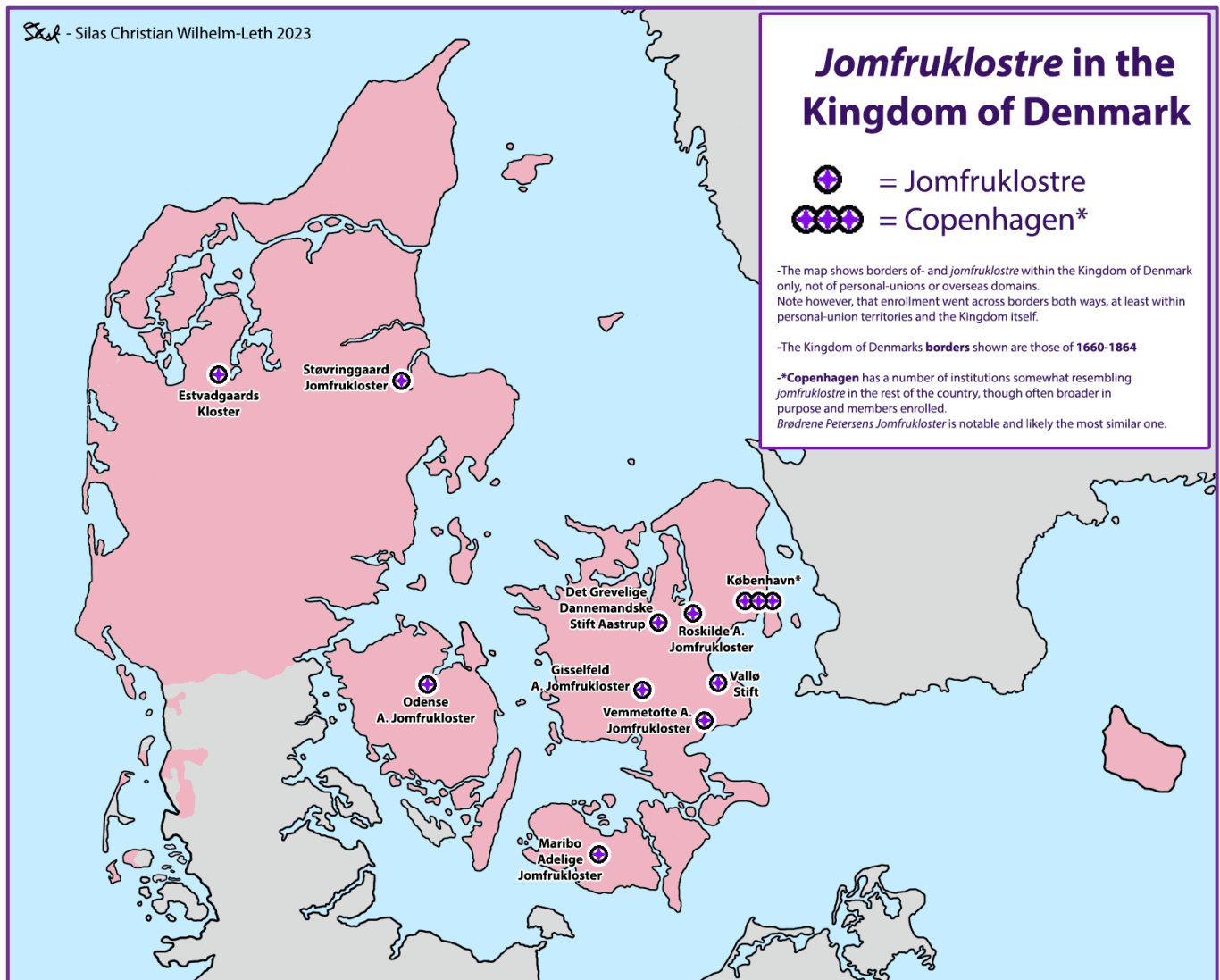
The first Jomfrukloster of this new post-absolutism wave in the kingdom⁴, was named *Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster*, and still exists under the name *Roskilde Kloster*. It was founded at the edge of

² As examples, 1 brother and 1 sister would split landholdings and possessions with a ratio of 2/3 going to the brother and 1/3 to the sister. 2 brothers = 2/5 and 1/5. 2 brothers 1 sister = 2/5, 2/5 and 1/5. Despite this uneven system, many of the country’s richest and most influential individuals before 1660 were as a result, women.

³ Zeuner, Jakob, 2021; Roskilde Kloster: Gods og kloster – jomfruer og bønder, (Historisk Årbog for Roskilde Amt 2021), p. 22-23

⁴ *Jomfruklostre* also existed in Sweden and in many German states, including those in personal union with Denmark (Schleswig, Holstein, Oldenburg & Delmenhorst), which were to some degree also taking in aristocratic women from the kingdom. In the semi-incorporated Norway, whose nobility was relatively poor and small in number, the institutions most often had a wider purpose, taking care of all estates, and not only unmarried women, but also homeless or sick citizens. In Copenhagen the socially strong non-noble citizens

Roskilde in the year 1699, by the two widows Berte Skeel and Margrethe Ulfeldt. The institution consisted of buildings and land holdings bought up by the two noblewomen⁵.



As mentioned, some women were not able to get married because of *physical, psychological, moral or pecuniary* reasons, among others. The Jomfrukloster's *main* objective was seemingly to support these unmarried women, guaranteeing a salary, a home and a community until death. The unmarried aristocratic women receiving a place to live, and a yearly salary, was financed mainly through the uniquely royally privileged landholdings of the institution. To receive a place in the Jomfrukloster, the family of the woman had to pay a fee, after which the financial safety of the *jomfru* would be held up by the institution, thereby also relieving the family of a financial burden. Despite this potentially lifelong support, enrolled women never marrying was **not** a sure thing⁶. In fact, as we will touch on later, marriage rates and with them the very purpose of the institution,

made for a similar situation to this. (Store Norske Leksikon, *frøkenstiftelse*, <https://snl.no/fr%C3%B8kenstiftelse>, retrieved 04. Dec. 2023)

⁵ Zeuner, 2021, p. 9-21, this manor, *Sortebrødregård* had succeeded a catholic monastery a century prior, known as *Sortebrødre Kloster*.

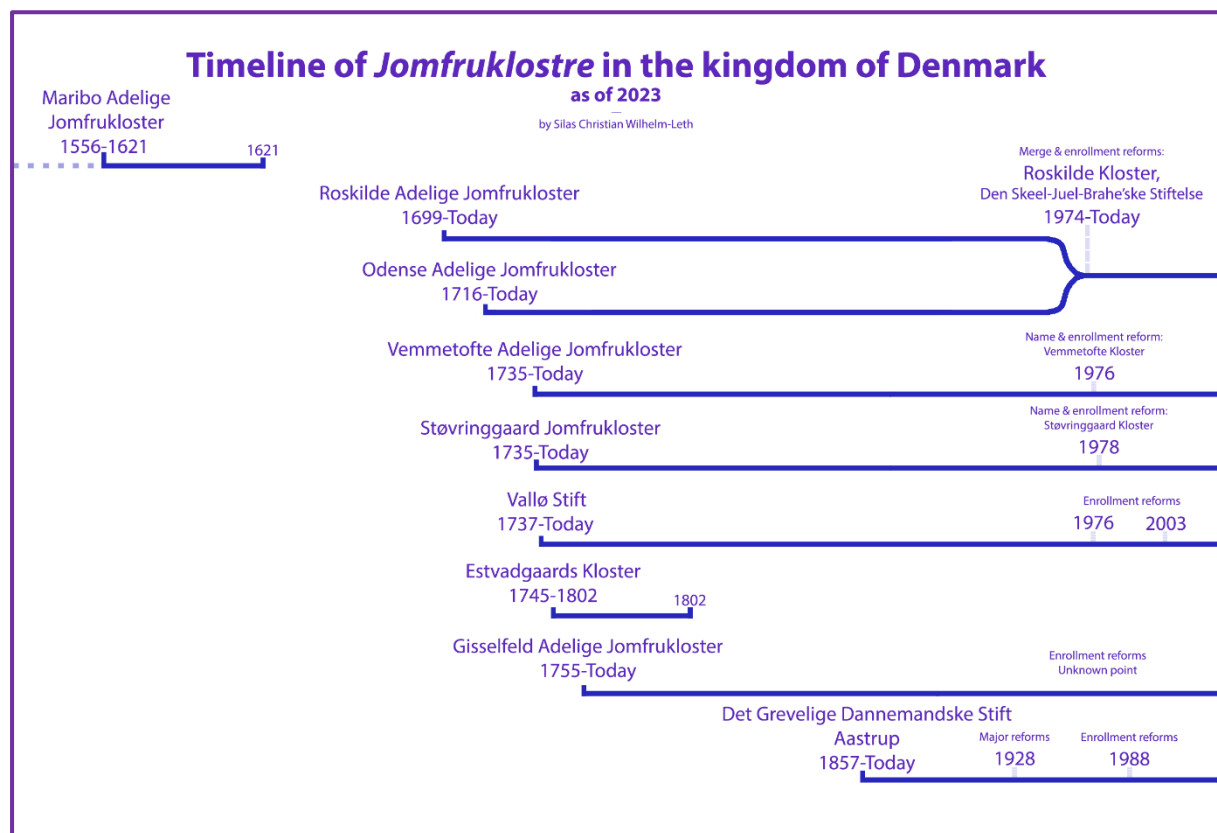
⁶ Same, p. 22-34 and *passim*, quote on page 22.

seem to have been significantly more nuanced and dynamic than the intentions reflected in the statutes and in the modern historical narratives, would often suggest.

The leading figure of the constitution was the prioress, an either never-married or widowed aristocratic woman, (often a *jomfru*). The prioress was elected by majority vote in which both the *jomfru* and the patrons voted.

The founding women might well have envisioned something more for the institution than just charity. Planned or not, *Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster* ended up providing not only financial safety, but a relatively independent female social space for the women calling it home. The Jomfrukloster provided artistic and cultural activities to pass the time and bond over, a large private library as well as a private church, and park facilities, nationally famous at the time. Roskilde became not only a center of noble culture and education, almost entirely female - it's patrons of multiple genders, it's *jomfru*-elected non-married prioress, and it's very much female community – also made Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster and its sister-institutions, remarkable enclaves in aristocratic society, granting many women, both young and old, a possibility for higher self-sufficiency, more equality, and finally, independent cultural learning as well as cultural production.⁷

Not only the large wave of new *jomfruklostre* 1699 and onwards, but also the eventual enrollment reforms from 1974 onwards, began in Roskilde. After 1974 enrollment was reformed drastically, some *jomfruklostre* today resembling rental apartments, taking in even married couples, others ending enrollment entirely. Both reform-types opted to focus on more general charity work. Though many keep some older elements such as the patrons in Roskilde, in practice Vallø stift is the only *jomfrukloster* still functioning as such.



⁷ Zeuner, 2021, p. 161 and *passim* in descriptions of daily life and *jomfrukloster* -facilities.

The institution was governed according to a founding deed laying out the purpose and everyday functions. The deed's statutes highly inspired many Danish *jomfruklostre* being founded throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

The statutes three through eight & 23-24, of the 36-statute founding deed, are of crucial importance to the questions posed and research done in this project.⁸ The statutes detail on what conditions and through which ways, the *jomfruer* were accepted and enrolled into the Jomfrukloster. There were 18 places in total. Six places were controlled directly by the patrons⁹, independently of the other statutes. The other places were filled through statutes 6, 7 and 8, - a system of waiting lists and payments when entering.

All *jomfruer* had to be unmarried, Lutheran, and either *adelig* or *rangadel*¹⁰.

Problems and goals

The institution is of great interest and importance in local history, but also, and moreso, interesting as a case study for the *Jomfrukloster/Stift*-institution's cultural and societal role in the scandinavian-german cultural sphere.

But here we are not so much interested in the institution, rather in the hundreds of women who came to call Roskilde their home and whose way of life was very much shaped by this longest-existing Danish Jomfrukloster.

Problem: Create a proof of concept researching as many data points / factors as is feasible, about the lives lived and fates endured by the women enrolled in Roskilde.

Then use openrefine and coding in R, first and foremost ggplot2, to compare statistics and visualize data collected.

Software framework

The project was completed on my Lenovo Legion Pro 5 16IRX8, the data were compiled manually from literature. The acquisition and reorganization in order for the data to be readable by R, was

⁸ See Zeuner p. 23-34. Statutes published in Scheel, Vilhelm Samuel, 1867; Optegnelser om Roeskilde adelige Jomfrukloster, & in Bobé, Louis, 1899; *Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster 1699-1899: Til Minde om Klostrets tohundredaarige Bestaaen; udg. paa Foranstaltning af Patronatet*, p. 57-67, & on danmarkshistorien.dk as *Fundats for Roskilde adelige Jomfrukloster, 18. april 1699*, <https://danmarkshistorien.dk/vis/materiale/fundats-for-roskilde-adelige-jomfrukloster-1699/#note10end>, retrieved 29. Nov. 2023.

⁹ The first patrons were the two founding women, the position was (and still is) inherited with one patron always being of the Skeel family and one being of the Juel family (the family of Margrethe Ulfeldts husband Niels Juel).

¹⁰ *Adel* was the inherited Danish noble status from before the absolutist takeover, or received through a royal favor any time after the start of absolutism. *Rangadel* was the name for non-nobles who however had a close living family member serving or having served the state in a high position (typically military officers and important administrative personnel).

done in raw text documents, openrefine-3.7.5., and finally excel-csv files. The program used for the processing itself was RStudio version 4.3.1., with tidyverse and ggplot2 activated.

Data acquisition

For the historical background and the shaping of research problems, the recent book by Jakob Zeuner was of great use.¹¹ Zeuner gives a good, fairly in-depth description of reality and daily life in the Jomfrukloster and presents more modern and insightful perspectives on the history of this unusual and intriguing institution. The older important histories used, Scheel¹² and Bobé¹³, are weaker on these fronts but do provide a good overview and some very important appendixes. The main body of data is built upon a merging of Scheel and Bobés respective lists of *jomfru*.

The list of the then patron Vilhelm Samuel Scheel,¹⁴ provides patron- or statute of enrollment, names of parents, year of birth and year of enrollment. Much less reliably, Scheel provides the name of the spouse and the cause and/or year of leaving the institution. Many comments concerning specific women, show up only rarely and seem to be more or less arbitrary personal points of interest to Scheel.

The second list¹⁵ is provided by the historian Louis Bobé, in his book “Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster 1699-1899”, written with funding by the patrons. Bobé is focused on providing the following information: Names of parents, date of birth, date of enrollment, date of death, date of marriage – as well as name, date of birth and -death of the spouse. Like Scheels list, a number of more or less random comments are sprinkled in, sometimes detailing geography of birth, of marriage and more, other times describing notable developments in the woman’s life.

The comments in both lists show potential for a large variety of factors to be researched – but so as to not overextend this proof of concept, only information somewhat reliably acquired was chosen. For the same reason only women enrolled in the first half-century of the institution’s long existence, are researched. The factors chosen to be researched and compiled are *place type*¹⁶, *enrollment year*, *name*, *birthyear*, *married*, and finally *death year*.

When birth and death years are different between the two, Bobé is prioritized, as his - likely more accurate - information also includes dates. When information is missing a third source is used to fill out the gaps, when possible. As these third sources mostly consist of genealogical data of poor historical quality/reliability, their information is never prioritized over the lists, only being included in the table where the lists offer no data. When a third source is used, it is always referenced directly in the table.

The first step was compiling the data manually into text, checking for any errors in OpenRefine, then exporting the file into excel. Finally, this excel file was exported as csv-8, equivalent to csv2 on my pc.

¹¹ Zeuner, 2021, *passim*

¹² Scheel, 1867

¹³ Bobé, 1899

¹⁴ Scheel, 1867, p. 97-111

¹⁵ Bobé, 1899; “Konventualinderne 1699-1899”, p. 0-42, appendix to Bobé 1899

¹⁶ By this I mean through which patron family or which statute the *jomfru* was enrolled.

```

RoskildeAdelgejmsfrukloster 169
File Edit View

Place-type%Enrollment-year%Name%Birthyear%Married%Marriage-year%Death-year%Scheel(source)%Bobé(source)%Third source%Comments
Juelsk%1699%Georgia Catharina Seefeld%1671%No%Unmarried%1700%Scheel%Bobé%
Juelsk%1699%Christence Rodsteen Sparre%1680%No%Unmarried%1758%Scheel%Bobé%
Juelsk%1699%Sophie Lindenow%Unknown%Yes%1725%1744%Scheel%Bobé%https://www.roskildehistorie.dk/stamtavler/adel/Lindenow/Lindenow.htm , retrieved 28
Juelsk%1699%Charlotte Amalie Due%1684%No%Unmarried%1705%Scheel%Bobé%
Juelsk%1701%Christiane Birgitte Juel%1667%No%Unmarried%1743%Scheel%Bobé%https://www.geni.com/people/Christiane-Birgitte-Henriksdatter-Juel/6000000
Juelsk%1706%Margrethe Sophie Sehested%1689%No%Unmarried%1764%Scheel%Bobé%
Juelsk%1725%Christiane Juel%1704%Yes%1733%1745%Scheel%Bobé%
Juelsk%1732%Frederikke Charlotte Juel Wind%1723%Yes%1755%1761%Scheel%Bobé%
Juelsk%1742%Beate Sophie Kruse%1690%No%Unmarried%1770%Scheel%Bobé%
Skeelsk%1699%Berte Elisabeth Due%1679%No%Unmarried%1716%Scheel%Bobé%

```

116 rows

Show as: rows records Show: 5 10 25 50 100 500 1000 rows

	All	Enrollment-year	Birthyear	Place-type	Name	Married	Marriage-year	Death-year	Scheel(source)	Bobé(source)	Third source	Comments
1.		1699	1671	Juelsk	Georgia Catharina Seefeld	No	Unmarried	1700	Scheel	Bobé	-	
2.		1699	1680	Juelsk	Christence Rodsteen Sparre	No	Unmarried	1758	Scheel	Bobé	-	
3.		1699	Unknown	Juelsk	Sophie Lindenow	Yes	1725	1744	Scheel	Bobé	https://www.roskildehistorie.dk/stamtavler/adel/Lindenow/Lindenow.htm , retrieved 2023-11-14	
4.		1699	1684	Juelsk	Charlotte Amalie Due	No	Unmarried	1705	Scheel	Bobé	-	
5.		1701	1667	Juelsk	Christiane Birgitte Juel	No	Unmarried	1743	Scheel	Bobé	https://www.geni.com/people/Christiane-Birgitte-Henriksdatter-Juel/6000000105978853154 , retrieved 2023-11-14	
6.		1706	1689	Juelsk	Margrethe Sophie Sehested	No	Unmarried	1764	Scheel	Bobé	-	
7.		1725	1704	Juelsk	Christiane Juel	Yes	1733	1745	Scheel	Bobé	-	
8.		1732	1723	Juelsk	Frederikke Charlotte Juel Wind	Yes	1755	1761	Scheel	Bobé	-	
9.		1742	1690	Juelsk	Beate Sophie Kruse	No	Unmarried	1770	Scheel	Bobé	-	
10.		1699	1679	Skeelsk	Berte Elisabeth Due	No	Unmarried	1716	Scheel	Bobé	-	
11.		1699	1677	Skeelsk	Elisabeth Fris	No	Unmarried	1763	Scheel	Bobé	-	Priorinde 1734
12.		1714	1684	Skeelsk	Elisabeth Ulfeld	No	Unmarried	1769	Scheel	-	Personalthistorisk Tidsskrift 1900.1 p. 76	
13.		1714	1691	Skeelsk	Else Cathrine	No	Unmarried	1743	Scheel	Bobé	-	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T		
1	Place-type	Enrollment	Name	Birthyear	Married	Marriage-year	Death-year	Scheel	Bobé	source	Third source	Comments										
2	Juelsk	1699	Georgia C	1671	No	Unmarried	1700	Scheel	Bobé	-												
3	Juelsk	1699	Christence	1680	No	Unmarried	1758	Scheel	Bobé	-												
4	Juelsk	1699	Sophie Lin	Unknown	Yes	1725	1744	Scheel	Bobé	-	https://www.roskildehistorie.dk/stamtavler/adel/Lindenow/Lindenow.htm , retrieved 2023-11-14											
5	Juelsk	1699	Charlotte	1684	No	Unmarried	1705	Scheel	Bobé	-												
6	Juelsk	1701	Christiane	1667	No	Unmarried	1743	Scheel	Bobé	-	https://www.geni.com/people/Christiane-Birgitte-Henriksdatter-Juel/6000000105978853154 , retrieved 2023-11-14											
7	Juelsk	1706	Margrethe	1689	No	Unmarried	1764	Scheel	Bobé	-												
8	Juelsk	1725	Christiane	1704	Yes	1733	1745	Scheel	Bobé	-												

To avoid cluttered data and errors of R attempting to read the file, caused by the special characters in the internet links, another table with the last four columns removed, (*RosTableNoComments*).

Lastly, using the mutate function to change the columns into numeric, readable by R, and calculating differences, let us effectively create new very useful columns.

```

110
111 #Calculating the "levealder" (age at death), and more
112 RosTable %>%
113   mutate(Birthyear = as.numeric(Birthyear)) %>%
114   mutate(Death.year = as.numeric(Death.year)) %>%
115   mutate(Marriage.year = as.numeric(Marriage.year)) %>%
116   mutate(Enrollment.year = as.numeric(Enrollment.year)) %>%
117   mutate(AgeAtEnrollment = Enrollment.year-Birthyear) %>%
118   mutate(AgeAtMarriage = Marriage.year-Birthyear) %>%
119   mutate(YearsEnrolledUntilMarriage = Marriage.year-Enrollment.year) %>%
120   mutate(AgeAtDeath = Death.year-Birthyear) -> RosTableAge
121

```

Result:

	Place.type	Enrollment.year	Name	Birthyear	Married	Marriage.year	Death.year	AgeAtEnrollment	AgeAtMarriage	YearsEnrolledUntilMarriage	AgeAtDeath
1	Juelsk	1699	Georgja Catharina Seefeld	1671	No	N/A	1700	28	N/A	N/A	29
2	Juelsk	1699	Christiane Rodsteen Sparre	1680	No	N/A	1758	19	N/A	N/A	78
3	Juelsk	1699	Sophie Lindenow	N/A	Yes	1725	1744	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4	Juelsk	1699	Charlotte Amalie Due	1684	No	N/A	1705	15	N/A	N/A	21
5	Juelsk	1701	Christiane Birgitte Juel	1667	No	N/A	1743	34	N/A	N/A	76
6	Juelsk	1706	Margrethe Sophie Sehested	1689	No	N/A	1764	17	N/A	N/A	75
7	Juelsk	1725	Christiane Juel	1704	Yes	1733	1745	21	29	8	41
8	Juelsk	1732	Frederikke Charlotte Juel Wind	1723	Yes	1755	1761	9	32	23	38
9	Juelsk	1742	Beate Sophie Kruse	1690	No	N/A	1770	52	N/A	N/A	80
10	Skeelsk	1699	Berte Elisabeth Due	1679	No	N/A	1716	20	N/A	N/A	37
11	Skeelsk	1699	Elisabeth Friis	1677	No	N/A	1763	22	N/A	N/A	86
12	Skeelsk	1714	Elisabeth Ulfeld	1684	No	N/A	1769	30	N/A	N/A	85
13	Skeelsk	1714	Else Cathrine Arenfeld	1691	No	N/A	1743	23	N/A	N/A	52
14	Skeelsk	1716	Baronesse Vibekke Cathrine Krag	1696	No	N/A	1755	20	N/A	N/A	59
15	Skeelsk	1734	Mette Wind	1715	No	N/A	1756	19	N/A	N/A	41
16	Skeelsk	1743	Sophie Hedevig Holstein	1712	Yes	1751	1798	31	39	8	86
17	Statute6&7	1704	Dorthe Kruse	1665	No	N/A	1727	39	N/A	N/A	62
18	Statute6&7	1704	Inger Dorte Schacktaul	1700	No	N/A	1751	4	N/A	N/A	51
19	Statute6&7	1704	Elisabeth Sophie Arenfeld	1686	No	N/A	1710	18	N/A	N/A	24
20	Statute6&7	1710	Margrete Marie Wibe	1686	Yes	1719	1750	24	33	9	64
21	Statute6&7	1714	Berte Scheel Seefeld	1694	No	N/A	1776	20	N/A	N/A	82
22	Statute6&7	1714	Karen Juel	1688	No	N/A	1749	26	N/A	N/A	61
23	Statute6&7	1715	Mette Sehested	1700	No	N/A	1779	15	N/A	N/A	79
24	Statute6&7	1715	Elisabeth Trolle	1697	No	N/A	1728	18	N/A	N/A	31
25	Statute6&7	1715	Rise Sophie Trolle	1699	No	N/A	1721	16	N/A	N/A	22
26	Statute6&7	1715	Helle Trolle	1700	No	N/A	1728	15	N/A	N/A	28
27	Statute6&7	1715	Ane Cathrine Trolle	1701	No	N/A	1728	14	N/A	N/A	27

Showing 1 to 27 of 116 entries, 11 total columns

This table serves as the practical one for the processing/work. The name *RosTableAge* discerns it from the previous versions, still useful in order to see the process and details.

Data processing and empirical results

To visualize and compare across time and between women of different place-types and marriage status, the R functions of ggplot2 are used – the functions for the types used here are; `geom_point`, `geom_smooth` and `geom_dotplot`.

The following graphs will be only a selection out of the plots created. The main purpose is highlighting developments, perhaps already known, but hidden in the data.

Marriage, enrollment and place type, 1699-1749 – overview

Overview of the most basic factors:

(116 *Jomfru* enrolled, 9 *Juelsk*, 7 *Skeelsk*, 20 statue six & seven, and 80 statute eight)

(49 *Jomfru* never got married, for 10 it is unknown, and 57 did get married.)

Figure 1)

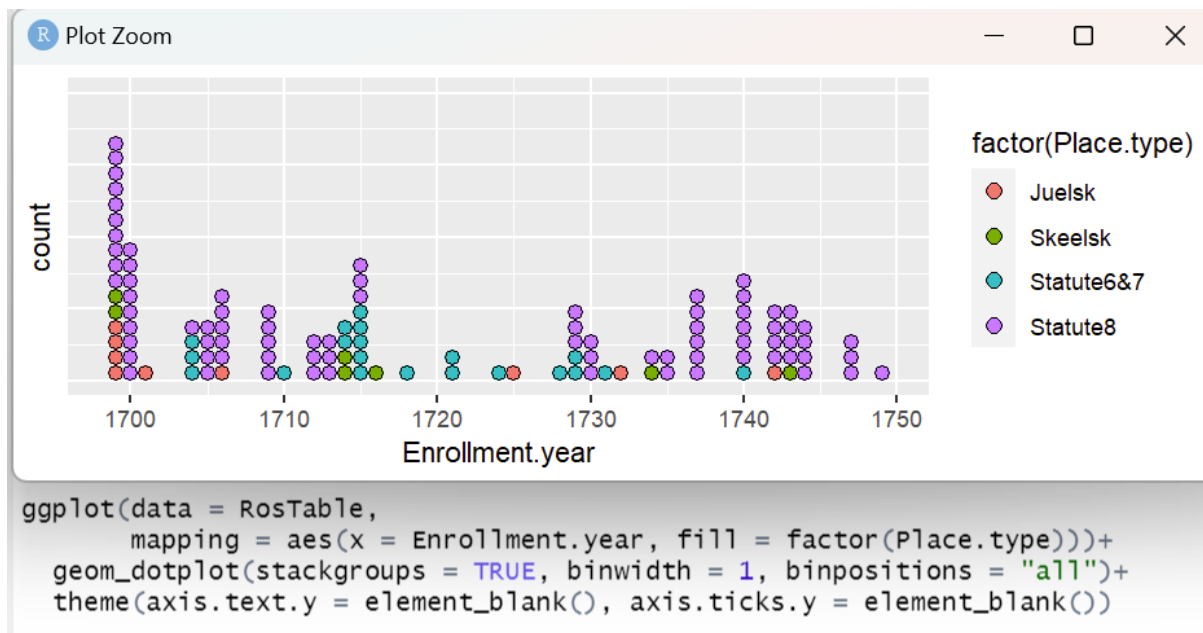
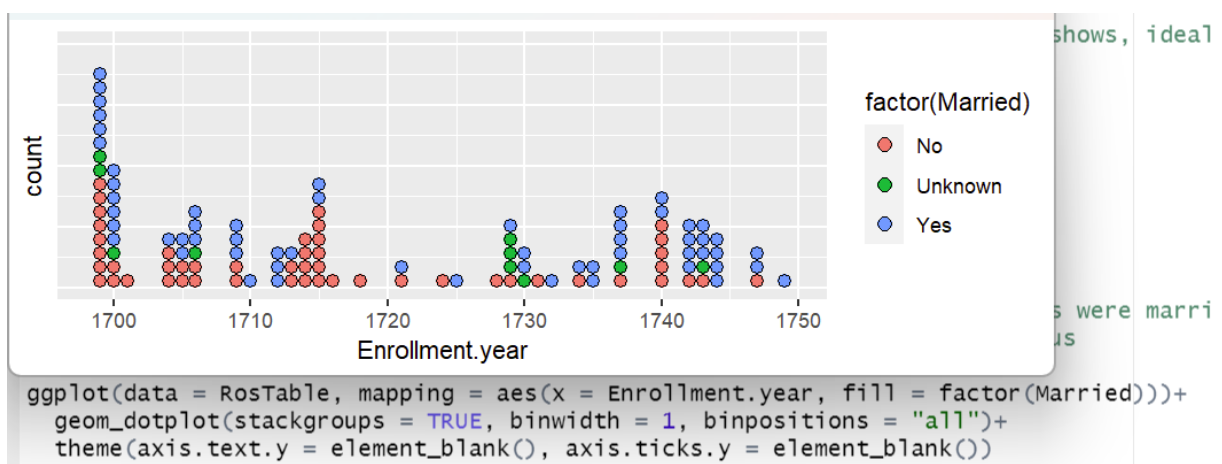


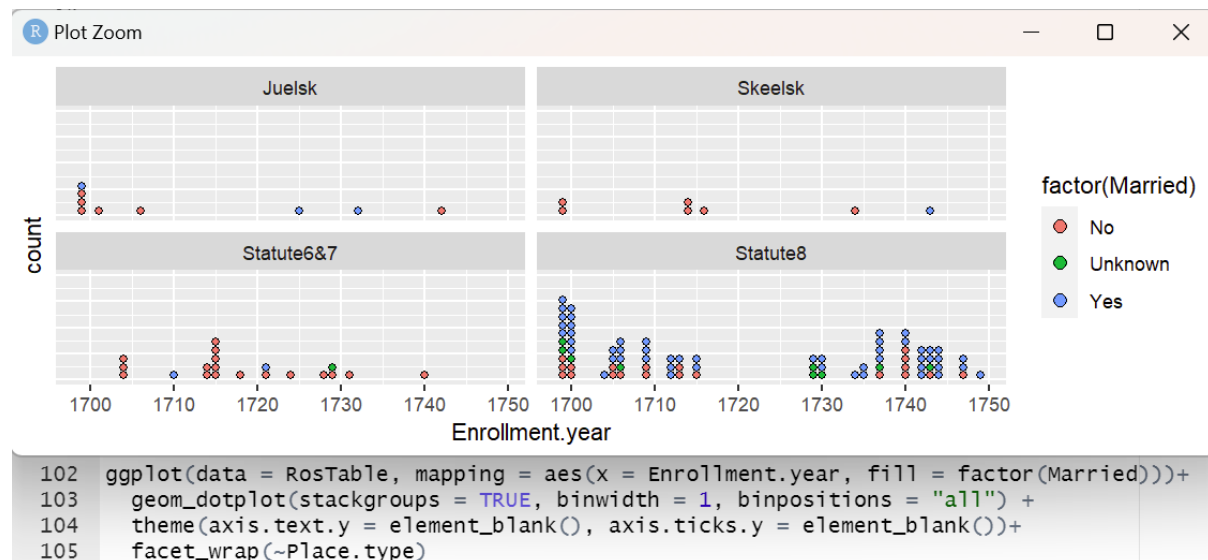
Figure 2)



Processing: It has been a key principle in this project that the lives of these historical women are represented as individuals, however simplified our data might be. The dotplots with stackgroups turned on, are therefore very fitting to show the individuals as well as a column-/bar-like graph at the same time.

Dotplot does not allow aesthetic changes to the y axis, therefore it is best to remove the arbitrary number using the theme function. It also does not allow for shapes to change, so if we want to combine the two plots above, one possibility is to separate the factors using facet wrap:

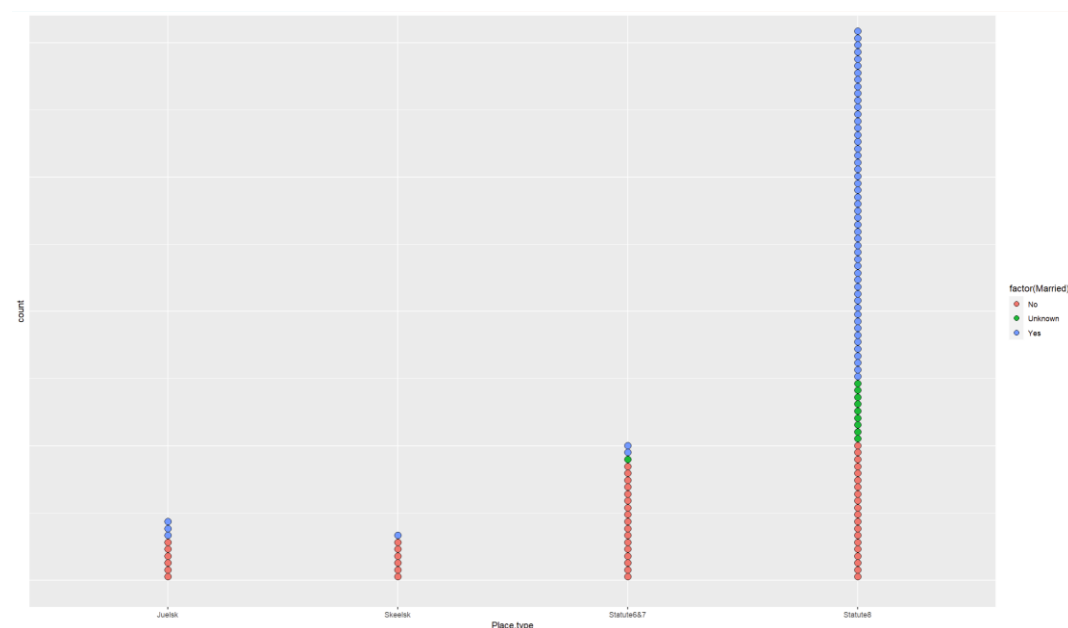
Figure 3)



Thoughts: The plots visualize the large gap in statute 8 enrollment in the mid-years, which will impact most upcoming plots visibly. The plot seems to show a much higher chance of individuals enrolled through statute 8 marrying. We should however be careful when comparing smaller amounts of data, certainly concerning the patron-enrolled women. These dotplots also bring to our attention how the *jomfruer* were often enrolled in groups. A closer look at the names in our table shows how these groups often consisted of two or three siblings being enrolled at the same time, likely at least partially, as a direct result of the “volume discount” in statute 8. This result would also be interesting to use as empirical evidence in larger or entirely different studies, as it raises questions of *why* some families decided to have even one, let alone three of their daughters enrolled in the Jomfrukloster. This and other upcoming results/plots rarely show much on their own but could be used to nuance or supplement research about the families of the *jomfruer* and in a greater sense, of the societal classes they originated from. The enrollment and eventual marriage status might reflect or even affect a family’s economic status, social status, image, connections and family culture.

The marriage rate of different place types without the dimension of enrollment-year:

Figure 4)



Thoughts: This would be better represented in percentages; bars or pie charts, but in contrast to dotplot, those functions are unable to count text factors.

Age at different life events

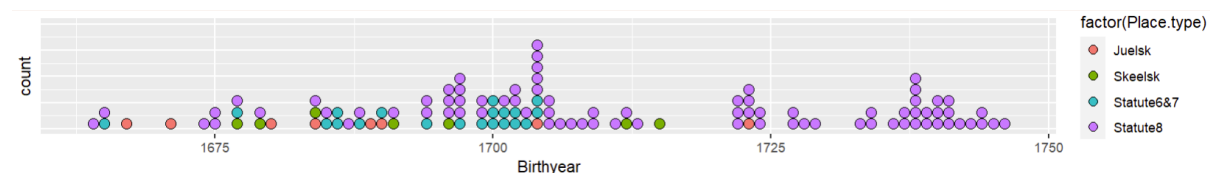
Age at death

Figure 5)



Birthyear

Figure 6)



Thoughts: These two plots are mainly to get an overview when seeing the other graphs. The gaps in the age of death, as well as the general spread, could be useful and interesting combined with other historical methods, such as close reading or comparisons with general age at the time. The place types don't seem to have much of any impact, although the fact that patron- and statute- placed *jomfruer* are more balanced at the top is interesting – (hard to imagine why though, likely random). The young deaths being made up of only statute 8 -*jomfruer*, seems to be closely tied to these women usually being enrolled at a younger (dangerous/fragile) age, whereas the other place-types had often already lived past this age when they were enrolled (compare with figure 8).

The age at death is unknown in 4 cases. The birthyear is unknown for 1 *jomfru*, enrolled 1699.

Age at enrollment, whether married and which place-type

Figure 7)

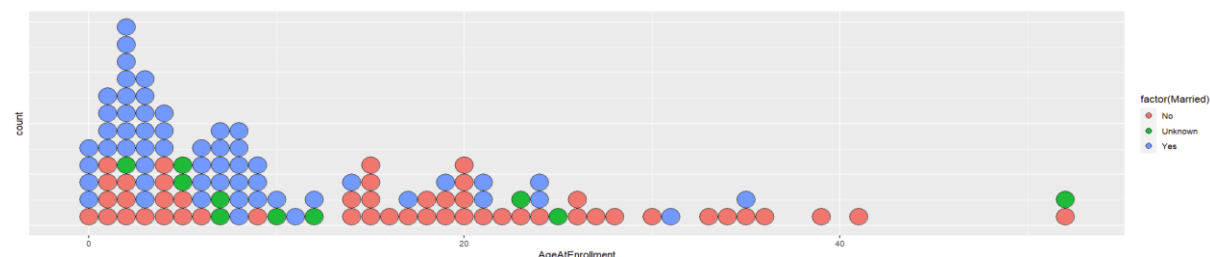
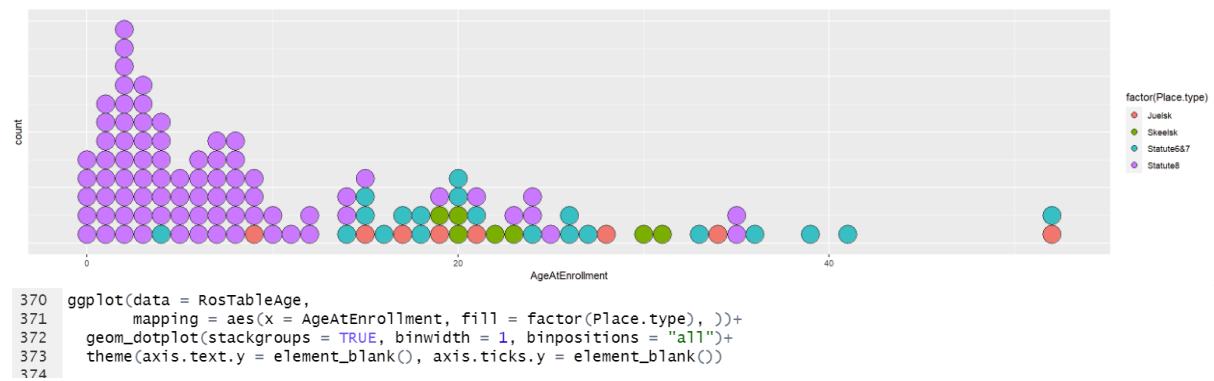


Figure 8)



Thoughts: Figure 8 should be compared to figures 2, 3 and 4. Correlation in data does not mean cause, but pulling in figure 7 and 11, it is not unreasonable to assume that a *jomfru*, past a certain age, was less likely to get married precisely *because* of her age. Crucially though, less likely very much did not mean impossible, as some of the women found a spouse even in their 40s. What is more difficult to explain, and what would likely be more interesting to get insight into, if possible, is: Why did young girls enrolled at ages 6-12 much more frequently end up marrying, than those enrolled at ages 14 till their early 20's, even though *jomfruer* who married, most often did so between the ages 20 to 30? (Meaning both groups were already enrolled at the most common age of marriage - see figures 11, 12, 13). The answer to *why* cannot be given based on the data alone¹⁷, but the fact that there even was such a trend in who got married, is in itself of historical interest to document.

Finally, the spike in never-married *jomfruer* in the low enrollment-ages, is a direct cause of the high child mortality seen in figures 9 and 10.

Age at death and whether married or not

Figure 9)

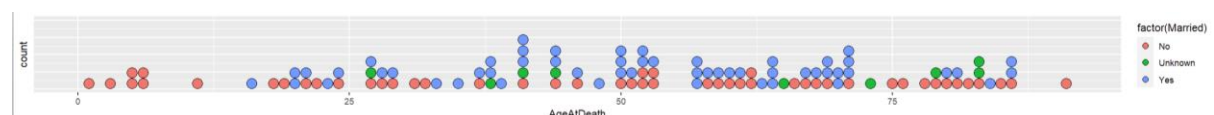
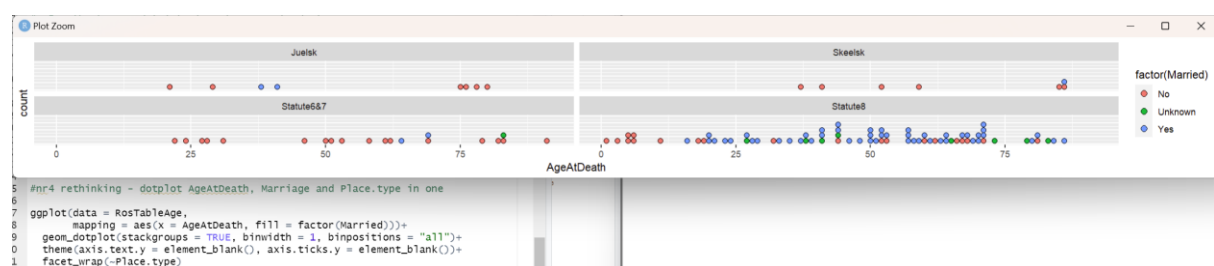


Figure 10)



Thoughts: Apart from the aforementioned child mortality, there does not seem to be much apparent correlation between the length of a woman's life and whether they were married or not.

¹⁷ A hypothesis could be that it might have to do with patriarchal culture of betrothing minors to each other. It could also relate in some way to the Jomfrukloster itself – or any number of unexpected explanations. As always with relatively limited data, it could be pure coincidence.

Age at marriage and place-type across marriage years

Figure 11)

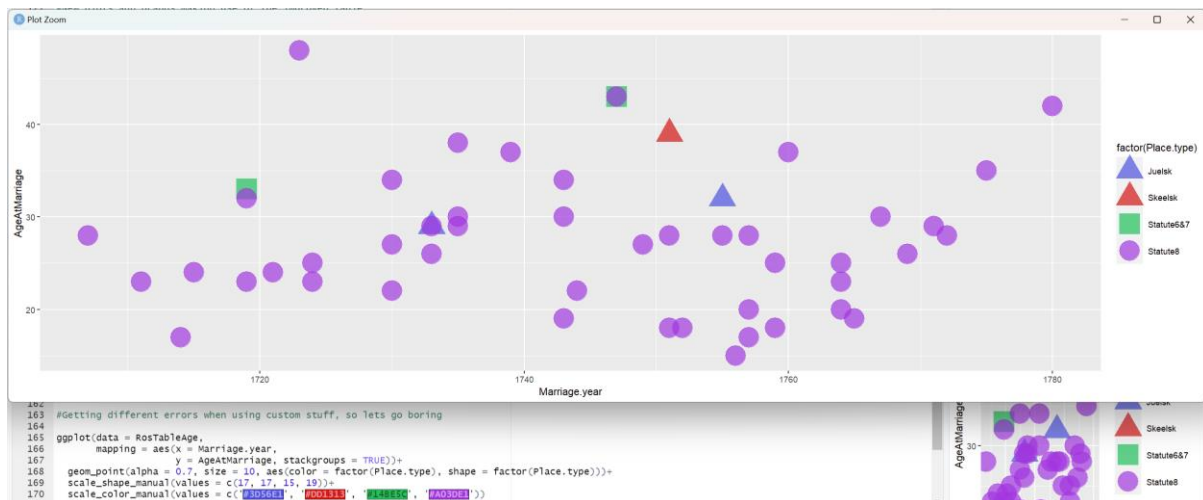


Figure 12)

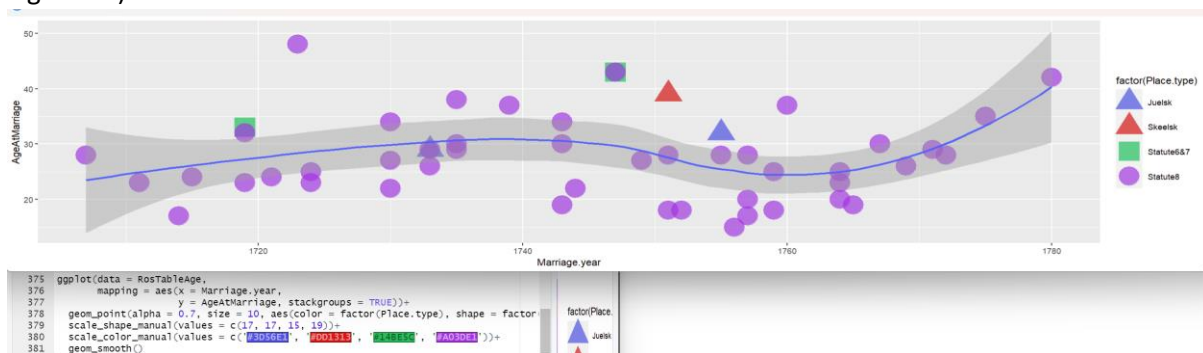


Figure 13)



Processing: For this plot, points rather than dotplot are used, as two axes are needed. For better visualization the points are made slightly transparent and assigned custom shapes. Going forward, the jitter function has sometimes been useful in showing overlapping points of the same shape and color (sacrificing some accuracy). `geom_smooth` and `geom_smooth(method = "lm")`, are useful in drawing trend lines, improving readability of some developments.

Thoughts: The average age at which *jomfruer* were wed, if ever, and the outlying group of young >20 *jomfruer* marrying in the 1750's, are some of more notable observations, both interesting by themselves and with large potential for more research.

Enrollment and marriage across

Figure 14)

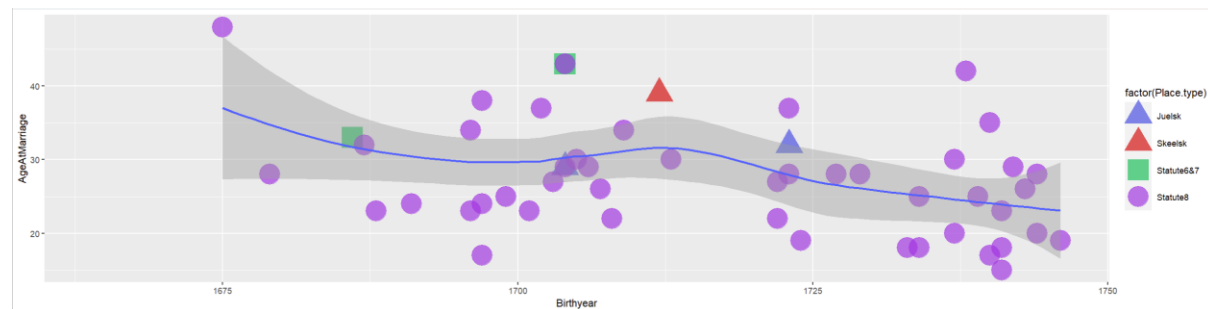
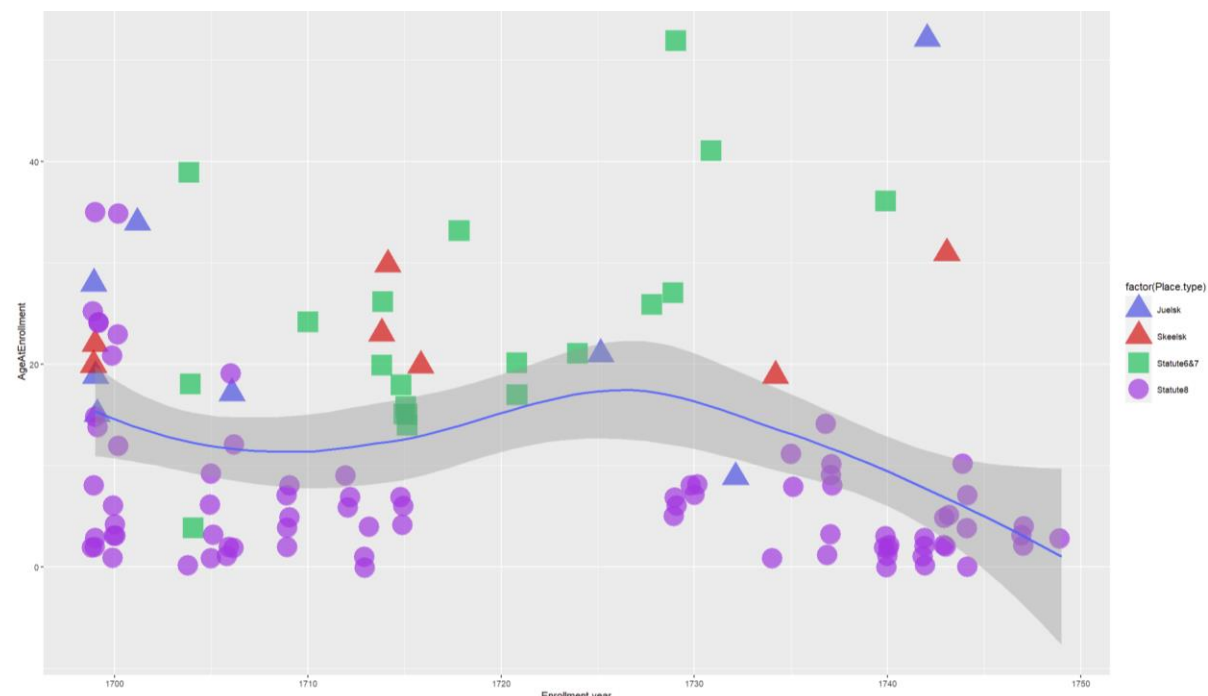


Figure 15)



Thoughts: As mentioned in the historical introduction, a woman being enrolled did not mean they would never marry.¹⁸ As figures 1-4 show, perhaps more than half of the *jomfruer* in our chosen 50-year period, did in fact marry sooner or later.

Thus, the reasoning behind a family's choosing to have a daughter or sister enrolled, was likely often more nuanced or entirely different to the situation of a woman being unable to marry. Other motivators, perhaps culture, mentality, or less conspicuous functions of the institution might well have played roles as important as the financial support. A more nuanced reality likely also saw large change occur over time. Change is especially to be expected in the shift from a fairly balanced mix of adults and minors enrolled in the founding year, to the younger ages later on. Considering the generally higher ages of *jomfruer* enrolled by the patrons and through statutes 6&7, observed throughout the period – differences in reasoning/motivation behind the enrollment were likely also present between these and the cases of statute 8 *jomfruer*.

¹⁸ Zeuner, 2021, s. 23

Comparing figures 14-15 with figures 7 and 8 also adds a dimension to each.

Figure 16)

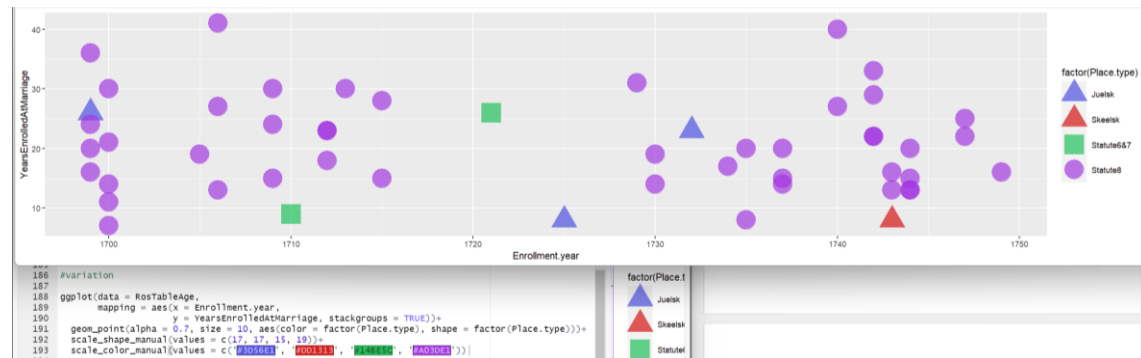


Figure 17)

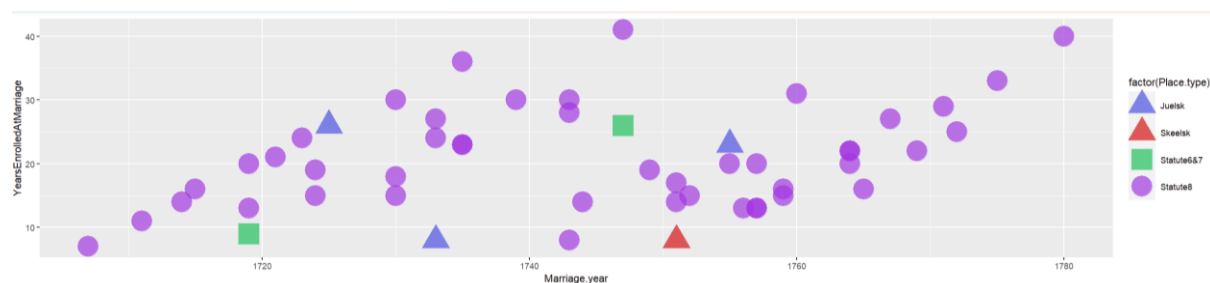


Figure 18)



Thoughts: The developments here mostly just visualize, in a different way, what we already know – that relatively more *jomfruer* were being enrolled through statute 8 towards the end of the period, (see figure 1), that there was a large gap in this type of enrollment, and that women enrolled through this statute were usually of a younger age (see figure 8), especially after the first large wave of enrollment with the founding in 1699. This large wave being generally older is likely also what causes the change in figure 18 of women passing away above the age of 75 at first being mostly unmarried, then mostly married.

Critical evaluation

Historical significance of the processed data

When dealing with historical data, it is important to be very careful. Accuracy of the source of information and the degree to which it has survived and is understood – are all very irregular and difficult to spot. Attempts to explain observations made should for these reasons, and the large number of possible explanations or coincidences - be viewed as critically if not more so, than the data itself. The nearly automatic theories created to tag along with the actual known facts in our data, might well differ greatly from expectations. Even so, a few quite concrete bits of knowledge are gained:

Enrollment was fairly stable, except for the large wave at first, and for a large gap in only statute 8 enrollment in the middle of the period.

Jomfru enrolled through statute 8 were from the very beginning younger on average than their counterparts of the other place-types, and after 1700 not above the age of 20. *Jomfru* enrolled at young ages were, if they survived the high child-mortality, a lot more likely to marry. Curiously, the women enrolled between the ages 6 and 12 ended up marrying more often than those enrolled in the later teen years – despite most *jomfru* marrying in their twenties or older, where both groups would already be enrolled.

Contrary to what might be expected based on the statutes and modern views on these institutions, and marriages chances more generally, about half did eventually marry. The average age of marriage, only counting those who did get married, was in the late 20's – but crucially, a few were able to marry as late as their 40's. It seems that marriage became increasingly likely as time went on – hinting at changes in the institution's purpose and motivations for enrollment. An outlying group of multiple <20 marriages is very visible in the 1750s.

Except for the high child mortality, ages at death are a wide range. Place types and marriage status don't seem to correlate very strongly with ages at death.

Reflection - potential

Though this research has yielded some historical insight, the importance of these results should not be overstated. The real worth of the project lies in its potential. Firstly, the potential for the table and graphs as empirical sources for well-rounded historical research, combining them with qualitative sources read through other methods, namely close reading. This type of more nuanced approach would help to solve the main difficulty: Data taken on their own can grant facts, but not explanations. Secondly, the research model, methods of tool use and critique of results, built up in this research, all show the potential to be expanded or used on different source material.

The mutate-calculations and ggplot graphs in R, have been effective tools, both acquisition and processing. Using the very same functions, these digital tools could save much more time, if used on an expanded dataset. With the current sources, the table can be widened chronologically until 1899, there are also more factors to be researched. Through a deeper approach based as much on primary sources as on literature, it might be possible to create separate columns for a number of factors. One being why and when a *jomfru* left the institution (some became prioresses, continuing their unmarried life in Roskilde, but also opening up space for a new *jomfru*, a very few were kicked out or had refused directly membership). These columns would bring detail and nuance, especially

combined with factors of marriage and death. Also of interest would be estate and class backgrounds over time, in relation to place-type and marriage status, and in combination with qualitative sources suggesting social and/or cultural changes. Here, it would be interesting to explore social developments and the general situation of where in society the *jomfruer* originated; more so old nobility or *rangadel*, more so middle-rich aristocracy, struggling or status-seeking/consuming gentry? Answers to this would contribute to clearing up questions of purpose and motivations asked in this project.

Jomfruklostre were more densely concentrated on Zealand (see map, in historical background). Therefore, the question of where in the country enrolled women originated (birthplace, previous residence) in relation to the location of Roskilde and other *jomfruklostre*, is an interesting one. With R mapping tools, among them ggplot, this would be one of several geographic problems to be researched. Extending the period and including more factors might thus help answer broader questions of changes in social structure, estate/class culture and the distribution of *jomfruklostre* in the dano-german cultural sphere.

As this can in some ways be classified as a prosopographical study, it would be natural to expand work in this field, mapping out networks or connections of the *jomfruer's* families.

In short, close reading and further data, exploring connections/networks, class, geography, economics, possible personal relations to patrons, and cases and trends of simultaneous enrollment and marriage – would all have great potential in combination with this study.

Conclusions

The project has successfully combined historical insight and digital tools. The projects have helped plot out and draw attention to a handful of trends in major life events and the fates that met the women of Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster.

As this is just a proof of concept – a somewhat smaller time period and only the most well-known and easily researchable factors were chosen. Limited as the knowledge gained might be, the clearly positive results of the study's methods confirm the great potential for this method and for this very same project, if expanded upon, to yield much richer results.

Words: 4578, **Characters:** 28738 (= 12 **pages**) (not including bibliography and list of contents.)

References

Historical works and sources:

Bobé, Louis, 1899; Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster 1699-1899: Til Minde om Klostrets tohundredaarige Bestaaen; udg. Paa Foranstaltning af Patronatet

Scheel, Vilhelm Samuel, 1867; Optegnelser om Roeskilde adelige Jomfrukloster, [with supplements to data 1877, by the same author, and in 1917 by Christian Scheel]

Zeuner, Jakob, 2021; Roskilde Kloster: Gods og kloster – jomfruer og bønder, (Historisk Årbog for Roskilde Amt 2021)

Store Norske Leksikon, *frøkenstiftelse*, <https://snl.no/fr%C3%B8kenstiftelse> , retrieved 04. Dec. 2023.

Statutes in Bobé, Scheel and on danmarkshistorien.dk:

<https://danmarkshistorien.dk/vis/materiale/fundats-for-roskilde-adelige-jomfrukloster-1699/#note10end> , retrieved 29. Nov. 2023.

Further sources only used for the data acquisition are all referred to in the original full table.

For further reading on other important *jomfruklostre* such as Maribo and Odense, topographical resources are often digitized and a good starting point. To mention some: lex.dk & Trap Danmark 6., danskeherregaarde.dk, kroneborg.dk and historiskatlas.dk. The relevant “Danmarks Kirker” articles, for instance Maribo and Roskilde which had quite remarkable churches attached and have where more general history is also covered. The still existing institutions often have history sections on their websites, and/or have conducted interviews with news media. The word *kloster* post-reformation, has been and still is used about generally charitable institutions in other cities than Copenhagen as well – often reformed catholic hospitals; <https://www.klostre.dk/aarhus-vor-frue-kloster/> , retrieved 11. Dec. 2023. The **map** and the **timeline** were created by me in photoshop, based on a plethora of the just mentioned types of sources.

Technical resources:

<https://ggplot2.tidyverse.org/reference/> , retrieved 29. Nov. 2023.

<https://stackoverflow.com/questions/47955292/visualizing-two-or-more-data-points-where-they-overlap-ggplot-r> , retrieved 29. Nov. 2023.

<http://www.sthda.com/english/wiki/ggplot2-point-shapes> , retrieved 29. Nov. 2023.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FdVy57oGJuc&ab_channel=RforEcology , retrieved 29. Nov. 2023.

<https://ggplot2.tidyverse.org/> , retrieved 29. Nov. 2023.

<https://www.statology.org/remove-axis-labels-ggplot2/> , retrieved 29. Nov. 2023.

Homework, digital methods for historians

1. Week 37:

1. What regular expressions do you use to extract all the dates in this blurb: <http://bit.ly/regexexercise2> and to put them into the following format YYYY-MM-DD ?

<https://regex101.com/r/PIVfYw/1>

I use \d to match one or two and four digits, curly braces {} to match the value, parentheses () to create groups, and the \$ anchor in substitution to capture the groups (numbers) and swap them around.

2. Write a regular expression to convert the stopwordlist (list of most frequent Danish words) from Voyant in <http://bit.ly/regexexercise3> into a neat stopword list for R (which comprises "words" separated by commas, such as <http://bit.ly/regexexercise4>). Then take the stopwordlist from R <http://bit.ly/regexexercise4> and convert it into a Voyant list (words on separate line without interpunction)

Voyant list into R / comma list:

<https://regex101.com/r/nO6pvq/1>

I use the Newline \n and in substitution write the quotes, comma and space, which I want instead of the Newline. I will need to fix the missing quote at the first and last letter manually.

R list into Voyant / Newline list:

<https://regex101.com/r/Ek4MwT/1>

Here I do the same just in the opposite order. I will again need to manually fix the start and ending. This time by removing the quote “.

3. In 250 words, answer the following question: "What are the basic principles for using spreadsheets for good data organisation?"

Det er vigtigt at opstille ens data så det også er læseligt og tydeligt for computeren. Først og fremmest bør man adskille sine beregninger og fremstillinger fra selve dataene. Enten hvor dataene behandles i et helt andet program/med kode, eller sådan at man får to dokumenter. Det vigtige er at dataene ikke bliver ændret pga. behandlingen i ens spreadsheet. Det er også vigtigt at følge diverse mindre standarder for hvordan data der skal læses med kode typisk opstilles. Datoer bør skrives i formatet år-måned-dag, hver kasse i tabellen bør kun have en information i sig, og data bør placeres i lodrette søjler under kategorier på den vandrette led. Endelig skal man huske at tage godt med backups.

2. Week 38:

Kongerækken - Oldenborgerne

Jeg skriver fødsels- og dødsdag plus regeringsstart og slut i excel og gemmer filen som CSV - husk N/A i stedet for tomme celler på interregnum og Margrethe d. 2.

Jeg uploader CSV-filen i Openrefine og konverterer tekstboksene til datoer. Vi kan nu få timeline-facet på alle fire søjler.



Kongerækken-Home
work-csv.openrefine.t

OpenRefine Kongerækken Homework csv [Permalink](#)

Facet / Filter Undo / Redo 6 / 6

Refresh Reset all Remove all

22 rows

Show as: rows records Show: 5 10 25 50 100 500 1000 rows

Birthdate change reset

1426-01-01 00:53:28 — 1940-04-16 02:00:00

☒ Time ☒ Non-Time ☐ Blank ☐ Error

Deathdate change reset

1481-05-30 00:53:28 — 1972-01-14 01:00:00

☒ Time ☒ Non-Time ☐ Blank ☐ Error

Reignstart change reset

1448-01-01 00:53:28 — 1972-01-14 01:00:00

☒ Time ☒ Non-Time ☐ Blank ☐ Error

Reignend change reset

1481-05-30 00:53:28 — 1972-01-14 01:00:00

☒ Time ☒ Non-Time ☐ Blank ☐ Error

	Name	Birthdate	Deathdate	Reignstart	Reignend
1.	Christian_1	1426-01-01T00:00:00Z	1481-05-30T00:00:00Z	1448-01-01T00:00:00Z	1481-05-30T00:00:00Z
2.	Hans	1455-02-11T00:00:00Z	1513-03-02T00:00:00Z	1482-01-01T00:00:00Z	1513-03-02T00:00:00Z
3.	Christian_2	1481-07-10T00:00:00Z	1559-02-04T00:00:00Z	1513-01-01T00:00:00Z	1523-01-01T00:00:00Z
4.	Frederik_1	1471-07-19T00:00:00Z	1533-04-20T00:00:00Z	1523-01-01T00:00:00Z	1533-04-20T00:00:00Z
5.	Interregnum	N/A	N/A	1533-01-01T00:00:00Z	1536-01-01T00:00:00Z
6.	Christian_3	1503-08-22T00:00:00Z	1559-01-11T00:00:00Z	1536-01-01T00:00:00Z	1559-01-11T00:00:00Z
7.	Frederik_2	1534-07-11T00:00:00Z	1588-04-04T00:00:00Z	1559-01-01T00:00:00Z	1588-04-04T00:00:00Z
8.	Christian_4	1577-04-22T00:00:00Z	1648-02-28T00:00:00Z	1588-01-01T00:00:00Z	1648-02-28T00:00:00Z
9.	Frederik_3	1609-03-18T00:00:00Z	1670-02-09T00:00:00Z	1648-01-01T00:00:00Z	1670-02-09T00:00:00Z
10.	Christian_5	1646-04-15T00:00:00Z	1699-08-25T00:00:00Z	1670-01-01T00:00:00Z	1699-08-25T00:00:00Z
11.	Frederik_4	1671-10-11T00:00:00Z	1730-10-12T00:00:00Z	1699-01-01T00:00:00Z	1730-10-12T00:00:00Z
12.	Christian_6	1699-11-30T00:00:00Z	1746-08-06T00:00:00Z	1730-01-01T00:00:00Z	1746-08-06T00:00:00Z
13.	Frederik_5	1723-03-31T00:00:00Z	1766-01-14T00:00:00Z	1746-01-01T00:00:00Z	1766-01-14T00:00:00Z
14.	Christian_7	1749-01-29T00:00:00Z	1808-03-13T00:00:00Z	1766-01-01T00:00:00Z	1808-03-13T00:00:00Z
15.	Frederik_6	1768-01-28T00:00:00Z	1839-12-03T00:00:00Z	1808-01-01T00:00:00Z	1839-12-03T00:00:00Z
16.	Christian_8	1786-09-18T00:00:00Z	1848-01-20T00:00:00Z	1839-01-01T00:00:00Z	1848-01-20T00:00:00Z
17.	Frederik_7	1808-10-06T00:00:00Z	1863-11-15T00:00:00Z	1848-01-01T00:00:00Z	1863-11-15T00:00:00Z
18.	Christian_9	1818-04-08T00:00:00Z	1906-01-29T00:00:00Z	1863-01-01T00:00:00Z	1906-01-29T00:00:00Z
19.	Frederik_8	1843-06-03T00:00:00Z	1912-05-14T00:00:00Z	1906-01-01T00:00:00Z	1912-05-14T00:00:00Z
20.	Christian_10	1870-09-26T00:00:00Z	1947-04-20T00:00:00Z	1912-01-01T00:00:00Z	1947-04-20T00:00:00Z
21.	Frederik_9	1899-03-11T00:00:00Z	1972-01-14T00:00:00Z	1947-01-01T00:00:00Z	1972-01-14T00:00:00Z
22.	Margrethe_2	1940-04-16T00:00:00Z	N/A	1972-01-14T00:00:00Z	N/A

Interview

Ryk "months no water" til start,

Custom text transform on column months_no_water

Expression Language General Refine Expression Language

```
value.replace("[", "").replace("]", "").replace(";", "").replace(" ", "").replace(" ", "")
```

[Preview](#) [History](#) [Starred](#) [Help](#)

	From	Expression
☆ Reuse	This project	grel: value.split(";")
☆ Reuse	This project	grel: value.replace("[", "").replace("]", "").replace(";", "").replace(" ", "").replace(" ", "")
☆ Reuse	This project	grel: record
☆ Reuse	This project	grel: row.record.rowCount
☆ Reuse	This project	grel: value
☆ Reuse	This project	grel: cell

On error ☒ keep original ☐ set to blank ☐ Re-transform up to times

Fjern square brackets med replace på transform.

Tryk split og separator ; og så sorter efter count.

OpenRefine 2023.09.19 Interview SAT OpenRefine CSV [Permalink](#)

Facet / Filter [Undo / Redo 6 / 6](#)

Refresh [Reset all](#) [Remove all](#)

months_no_water [change](#)

11 choices Sort by: name count [Cluster](#)

- Oct 74
- Sept 70
- Nov 51
- NULL 45
- Aug 33
- Dec 11
- Jan 2
- July 2
- Apr 1
- June 1
- May 1

291 rows

Show as: **rows** records Show: 5 10 25 50 100 500 1000 rows

	All	months_no_water	no_enough_water	interview_date	quest_no	
1.	Facet	NULL		17-Nov-16	1	201 23T
2.	Text filter					
3.	Edit cells			16	1	201 02T
4.	Edit column					
5.	Transpose					
6.	Sort...					
7.	View					
8.	Reconcile			16	3	201 02T
9.				16	4	201 02T
10.				17-Nov-16	5	201 02T

Oktober og September er de to måneder der oftest er tørre.

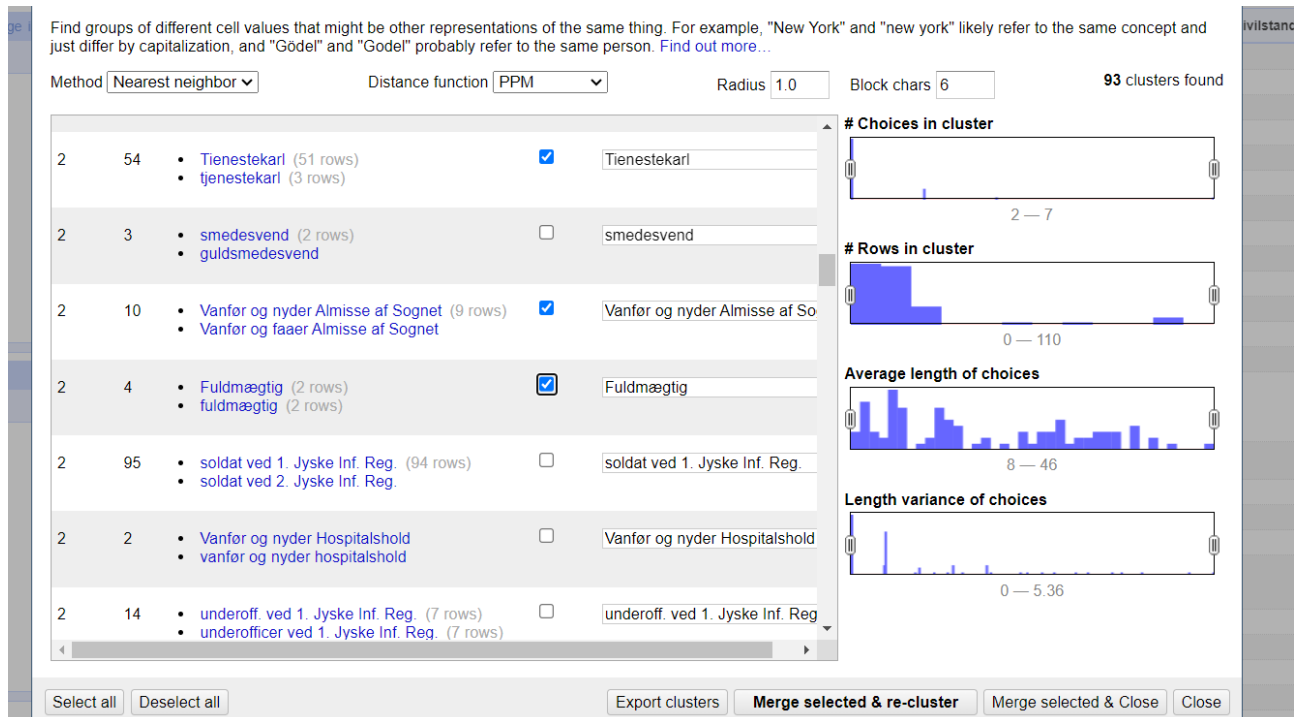
Folketælling i Aarhus 1801

Jeg kopierer github-siden med ctrl-a ind i et notesblok-dokument, som jeg så uploader i Openrefine.



Så click "ugift" i facet'en for at udelukke andre civilstande

Derefter lav en text facet i søjlen "erhverv", tryk "cluster" i facet'en.



Der skal formentlig ændres lidt på Radius, men det centrale er at merge de clusters der faktisk betegner samme erhverv. Hvor grænsen mellem erhverv bør sættes er selv. op til fortolkning.

Retresh

Reset all

Remove all

×

civilstand

change invert reset

6 choices Sort by: **name** count

Cluster

enke 1531

enkemand 694

gift 16617

separeret 5

skilt 6

ugift 25440

exclude

(blank) 266

Facet by choice counts

×

erhverv

change

795 choices Sort by: **name** **count**

Cluster

National Soldat 207

soldat ved 1. Jyske Inf. Reg. 103

Landsoldat 69

Tienestepige 67

Tienestekar 54

læredreng 51

hospitalslem 36

Væver 36

Bonde og Gaardbeboer 34


Tienestedræng 32

tjener faderen 31

gårdskar 30

Det er jo meget op til fortolkning og historisk viden om National Soldat og Landsoldat, og Tienestepige og Tienestekar, skal ses som de samme eller forskellige erhverv.

3. Week 39:

 Indsendelse

Start with R

☐ Klar til at fuldføre

For this assignment, you need to present the results, the code you used to answer a few questions, and then take a screenshot of your working environment.

Submit a textfile with typed up solutions here OR upload the document with solutions and the screenshot to your repository on Github and provide here only your Github URL. Make sure your homework files are clearly marked and readily findable there.

1) Use R to figure out how many elements in the vector below are greater than 2.

```
rooms <- c(1, 5, 2, 1, 3, 1, NA, 3, 1, 3, 2, 1, NA, 1, 8, 3, 1, 4,  
NA, 1, 3, 1, 2, 1, 7, 1, NA)
```

```

1 rooms <- c(1, 5, 2, 1, 3, 1, NA, 3, 1, 3, 2,
2 rooms < 2
3 #removing NA
4 rooms[!is.na(rooms)]
5 new_rooms <- rooms[!is.na(rooms)]
6 #
7 new_rooms
8 value[new_rooms]
9 length[new_rooms]
10 lengths(new_rooms)
11 new_rooms
12 #sorting out the numbers lesser than 2
13 new_rooms[new_rooms > 2]
14 new_rooms
15 #
16 newest_rooms <- new_rooms[new_rooms > 2]
17 newest_rooms
18 #final step
19 length(newest_rooms)|

```

new_rooms	num [1:23] 1 5 2 1 3 ...
newest_r...	num [1:9] 5 3 3 3 8 3...
rooms	num [1:27] 1 5 2 1 3 ...

```

> new_rooms
[1] 1 5 2 1 3 1 3 1 3 2 1 1 8 3 1 4 1 3 1 2
[21] 1 7 1
> new_rooms[new_rooms > 2]
[1] 5 3 3 3 8 3 4 3 7
> new_rooms
[1] 1 5 2 1 3 1 3 1 3 2 1 1 8 3 1 4 1 3 1 2
[21] 1 7 1
> newest_rooms <- [new_rooms > 2]
Error: unexpected '[' in "newest_rooms <- ["
> newest_rooms <- new_rooms[new_rooms > 2]
> newest_rooms
[1] 5 3 3 3 8 3 4 3 7
> length(newest_rooms)
[1] 9
> |

```

Jeg tappede lidt rundt i mørket, og formentlig er der en mere effektiv metode, men kerneskriderne var at frasortere NA og tal under og = to. Vi bruge length-function'nen til at tælle enhederne i vektoren.

2) Which function tells you the **type** of data the 'rooms' vector above contains?

```
#opgave 2) "type of function"
typeof(newest_rooms)|
```

```
[1] "double"
> typeof(new_rooms)
[1] "double"
```

Svaret er double (det gælder også vores originale "rooms" vector), et andet ord for numeric. Hvis NA havde været med ville vektoren nok have været anderledes.

new_rooms	num [1:23] 1 5 2 1 3 ...
newest_r...	num [1:9] 5 3 3 3 8 3...
rooms	num [1:27] 1 5 2 1 3 ...

3) What is the result of running the **median()** function on the above 'rooms' vector?

```
#opgave 3, median() function
median(rooms)
median(new_rooms)
median(newest_rooms)
|
```

```
> median(rooms)
[1] NA
> median(new_rooms)
[1] 2
> median(newest_rooms)
[1] 3
```

Svaret bliver 2 med 1 og 2, og 3 uden.

4) Submit the following image to Github: Inside your R Project (.Rproj), install the 'tidyverse' package and use the `download.file()` and `read_csv()` function to read the `SAFI_clean.csv` dataset into your R project as 'interviews' digital object (see instructions in <https://datacarpentry.org/r-socialsci/setup.html> and 'Starting with Data' section). Take a screenshot of your RStudio interface showing

- a) the line of code you used to create the object,
- b) the 'interviews' object in the Environment, and
- c) the file structure of **your R project** in the bottom right "Files" pane.

Save the screenshot as an image and put it in your **AUID_lastname_firstname** repository inside our Github organisation (github.com/Digital-Methods-HASS) or equivalent. Place here the URL leading to the screenshot in your repository.

https://github.com/Digital-Methods-HASS/au715029_Wilhelm-Leth_SilasChristian/blob/27c127aaaae4499ad2e79918be3ba2774bcc90b0/2023_09-26_homework_SAFI_clean_Screenshot.png

5) **Challenge:** Tidy up your Danish monarchs dataset (you created last week) sufficiently so that you can load it into R as a tibble using the `read_csv()` and calculate the `mean()` and `median()` duration of rule over time.

...

Forstår ikke rigtig hvorfor jeg ikke kan fjerne NA - min csv er nok lavet på en anden måde end tibble har brug for?

```

44
45 # Opgave 5
46
47 read_csv2("data/Kongeraekken.csv")
48 Konger <- read_csv2("data/Kongeraekken.csv")
49 Konger[!is.na(Konger)]
50 ?is.na
51 mean(Konger)
52
53 median(Konger)
54
55 read.delim(Reignstart)
56
57
58

```

57:1 (Top Level) R Script

Console Terminal Background Jobs

R 4.3.1 · C:/Users/silas/Desktop/Uni/3. semester/TOM 3. sem første blok m. Adela/RStudioProjects/DM02/

```

1 Christian_2 1481-07-10T00:00:00Z 1559-02-04T00:00:00Z 1513-01-01 00:00:00 1523-01-01T00:00:00Z
4 Frederik_1 1471-07-19T00:00:00Z 1533-04-20T00:00:00Z 1523-01-01 00:00:00 1533-04-20T00:00:00Z
5 Interregnum N/A N/A 1533-01-01 00:00:00 1536-01-01T00:00:00Z
6 Christian_3 1503-08-22T00:00:00Z 1559-01-11T00:00:00Z 1536-01-01 00:00:00 1559-01-11T00:00:00Z
7 Frederik_2 1534-07-11T00:00:00Z 1588-04-04T00:00:00Z 1559-01-01 00:00:00 1588-04-04T00:00:00Z
8 Christian_4 1577-04-22T00:00:00Z 1648-02-28T00:00:00Z 1588-01-01 00:00:00 1648-02-28T00:00:00Z
9 Frederik_3 1609-03-18T00:00:00Z 1670-02-09T00:00:00Z 1648-01-01 00:00:00 1670-02-09T00:00:00Z
10 Christian_5 1646-04-15T00:00:00Z 1699-08-25T00:00:00Z 1670-01-01 00:00:00 1699-08-25T00:00:00Z
# i 12 more rows
# i Use `print(n = ...)` to see more rows
> View(Konger)
> mean(Konger)
[1] NA
Warning message:
In mean.default(Konger) :
  argument er ikke numerisk eller logisk: returnerer NA
> Konger[!is.na(Konger)]
Error in `vec_c()`:
! Can't combine `Name` <character> and `Reignstart` <datetime<UTC>>.
Run `rlang::last_trace()` to see where the error occurred.
> Konger <- [is.na(Konger)]

```

4. Week

The screenshot shows an RStudio interface with the following components:

- Source Editor:** Contains R code for downloading a CSV file from a GitHub repository and reading it into a data frame named 'interview'.
- Environment:** Shows the 'interview' data frame with 131 observations and 14 variables.
- Files:** Lists files in the project directory, including 'SAFI_clean.csv'.
- Console:** Displays the output of the R code, showing the first 10 rows of the 'interview' data frame.

Source Editor Code:

```

30 #oppgave 4
31 library(tidyverse)
32 library(here)
33 download.file(
34   "https://raw.githubusercontent.com/datacarpentry/r-socialsci/main/episodes/data/SAFI_clean.csv",
35   "data/SAFI_clean.csv", mode = "wb"
36 )
37
38
39
40 read_csv("data/SAFI_clean.csv")
41
42 interview <- read_csv("data/SAFI_clean.csv")
43 interview
44
45

```

Environment Data:

Variable	Class	Values
new_rooms	num	[1:23] 1 5 2 1 3 1 3 1 3 2 ...
newest_rooms	num	[1:9] 5 3 3 3 8 3 4 3 7
rooms	num	[1:27] 1 5 2 1 3 1 NA 3 1 3 ...
rooms2	logi	[1:27] FALSE TRUE FALSE FALSE TRUE FALSE ...

Files:

Name	Size	Modified
SAFI_clean.csv	23 KB	Sep 25, 2023, 3:04 PM
Kongerækken.xlsx	64 KB	Sep 22, 2023, 2:37 PM
Kongerækken.csv	2 KB	Sep 22, 2023, 2:38 PM
Kongerækken-Homework-csv_tavKopi.tsv	2 KB	Sep 16, 2023, 2:12 PM

Console Output:

```

R 4.3.1 - C:/Users/silas/Desktop/Uni/3. semester/TOM 3. sem første blok m. Adela/RStudioProjects/DM02/
Use 'spec()' to retrieve the full column specification for this data.
Specify the column types or set 'show_col_types = FALSE' to quiet this message.
> interview
# A tibble: 131 x 14
  key_ID village interview_date no_membrs years_liv respondent_wall_type rooms memb_assoc
  <dbl> <chr> <dtm> <dbl> <dbl> <chr> <dbl> <chr>
1 1 God 2016-11-17 00:00:00 3 4 muddaub 1 NULL
2 2 God 2016-11-17 00:00:00 7 9 muddaub 1 yes
3 3 God 2016-11-17 00:00:00 7 15 burntbricks 1 NULL
4 4 God 2016-11-17 00:00:00 7 6 burntbricks 1 NULL
5 5 God 2016-11-17 00:00:00 7 40 burntbricks 1 NULL
6 6 God 2016-11-17 00:00:00 3 3 muddaub 1 NULL
7 7 God 2016-11-17 00:00:00 6 38 muddaub 1 no
8 8 Chirodzo 2016-11-16 00:00:00 12 70 burntbricks 3 yes
9 9 Chirodzo 2016-11-16 00:00:00 8 6 burntbricks 1 no
10 10 Chirodzo 2016-12-16 00:00:00 12 23 burntbricks 5 no
# i 121 more rows
# i 6 more variables: affect_conflicts <chr>, liv_count <dbl>, items_owned <chr>,
# no_meals <dbl>, months_lack_food <chr>, instanceID <chr>
# Use 'print(n = ...)' to see more rows
>

```

Peer-reviews / feedback on homework

I clearly remember receiving feedback for at least some of the homework, however I didn't save it to the computer, and now it isn't available anymore.

- end of subject -

Ideologi og nationalfølelse omkring år 1900

Af **Silas Christian Wilhelm-Leth**

Indledning

I årtierne inden første verdenskrig, skabte en række spørgsmål, navnlig om samfundsstruktur, politisk system, økonomisk system, Danmarks stilling i Europa, forholdet til Tyskland og oprustningens nødvendighed eller unødvendighed og dens mulige konsekvenser – politisk-ideologiske modsætninger og grupperinger, der nødvendigvis måtte tage stilling til både det internt nationale og det internationale. Ideologierne divergerede med denne også internationale stillingtagen, som resultat også i deres identitet.

Det er i situationen om det "ydmygede" Danmark, der stadig diskuterer det sønderjyske spørgsmål. Samtidig er der forsvarssituationen over for den store nabo, der nationaliseres som patriotisk og meget nødvendig, mens der samtidig eksisterer en omvendt opfattelse af Danmark som et for svagt eller dårligt placeret land, hvor forsvarsværker derfor ville være spildte penge og en unødigt provokation - imod ønsker om mere europæisk samarbejde blandt de mindre nationalt lukkede ideologier. Disse to store politisk- nationale spørgsmål, samt andre mindre, danner rammerne for vores undersøgelse, idet standpunkter ofte flugter ideologier på ellers rent interne emner som økonomi og velfærd.

Det står fra et kort syn på kilderne klart, at der fandtes en nationalfølelse på modsatte sider af det politiske spektrum, trods anklager om modstanderens mangel herpå. Måske ville det dog være bedre at tale om nationalfølelser i flertal. Forskeren Freedens har beskrevet områder hvor der sameksisterede flere syn eller fortolkninger af det nationale, hidrørende fra og/eller tilpasset efter individers politiske overbevisning og omgangskreds. Freedens teoretiske standpunkt vil i nogen grad overtages her.

Problemet bliver med denne antagelse som udgangspunkt; *at undersøge hvordan nationalfølelse og syn på nationalisme divergerede mellem politiske ideologier i Danmark omkring år 1900.*

Indføring i forskning og teori

Knud J. V. Jespersen fremfører i sin bog *Historien om danskerne 1500-2000* en lang sammenhængende historie og årsagsforklaring, på hvad han betragter som værende den danske nation i moderne tid. Han kommer ind på et grundlag i en ethnosforståelse frem for politik, der først spiller en stedse større rolle for Jespersen efter den lutherske reformationens sammenkobling af stat og kirke. Også Grundtvig tillægges en rolle, mens det for Jespersen ellers mere handler om lange

udviklinger i samfund og mentalitet, mindre enkelte aktører.¹⁹ Mest relevant for vores kontekst er hans berøring af det såkaldte 1864-syndrom, forsvarssagen og den ideologiske kamp – der alle kobles sammen med Jespersens klassebaserede narrativ om gårdmændene.²⁰

Ove Korsgaard benytter sig i *Kampen om folket: Et dannelsesperspektiv på dansk historie gennem 500 år* af begreberne ethnos og demos, fra et diskursivt syn på staten og folkekirkens ideologisk-kulturel-uddannelses baserede indflydelse på nationalismen. Det teoretiske standpunkt ligner også i brugen af kontinuitets-synet Jespersen, men resultaterne er noget anderledes. På området omkring år 1900 taler Korsgaard især om klassernes betydning, og fortsat om skolen m.fl. talerum, med den teoretiske forudsætning at mennesket skaber historien og identiteten - hvor demokratiets og dermed talerummenes udvidelse får betydning.²¹

Også Leif Laszlo Haaning bruger begreberne ethnos og demos i hans undersøgelse *Kampen om det nationale – nationsbegrebet og dets anvendelse i Danmark 1885-1915, ...*²² Haaning undersøger her ved brug af den givtige analyse af *andengørelsen* ikke bare mod tyskere, hvordan grupper eksternt men også internt, definerede andre ud fra hvad de ikke var – således sluttede en del folk på højrefløjen eksempelvis fra at det europæiske/radikale venstre ikke var for oprustningen, til at de ikke var nationalistiske, *anti-nationale*. Denne for os meget relevante undersøgelse, hvis resultater kan jävnføres med Freedens påstand at ideologier vælger og til dels skabes af (i en selvforstærkende proces) deres egen nationale idé²³. Sammen vil de to teorier betyde at dette "valg" af egen identificering (frem for den mere stabile identitet), også influeredes af en afgrænsning fra andre grupper, i et komplekst politisk og kulturelt samspil. Haanings synspunkter overtages mere eller mindre direkte af Knud J. V. Jespersen.²⁴

Ligeledes emnet nærliggende, er Povl Bagges undersøgelse *Nationalisme antinationalisme og nationalfølelse i Danmark omkring 1900*.²⁵ Bagges tilgang har en vis induktiv karakter, men da han er meget mere empirisk end andre forskere på emnet, får bekræftet sine teser med et stort belæg i kildemateriale og kildenære argumenter. Dette gør hans resultater betydeligt mere sikre, men teorien bag især årsagsforklaringer er stadig meget afhængig af forfatteren. Bagge tegner et sammenhængende forløb hvor forandring er et stort element. Han taler om antinational-begrebet, som han ser som et spektrum, selvom der især i perioden 1864-1890 er relativt skarpe modsætninger heri. De mest antinationale er ifølge Bagge ikke internationalt sindede, men nærmere de ligegyldigt indstillede som fx indremission. Den internationale ideologi styrkes efter 1871, fordi det pga. Tysklands samling bliver sværere at være revanchist. Den antityske og antieuropæiske (ofte samtidigt ideologisk højreorienterede) ideologi består dog, ikke mindst pga. en følelse af at være truet og svækket. De såkaldte "antinationale" med international tankegang, tænker stadig nationalt, de er blot mere kritiske, de virkelige antinationale er som sagt de ligegyldigt indstillede²⁶.

¹⁹ Jespersen, Knud J. V., 2007, *Historien om danskerne: 1500-2000, passim*

²⁰ Jespersen, 2007, s. 271-279

²¹ Korsgaard, Ove, 2004, *Kampen om folket: Et dannelsesperspektiv på dansk historie gennem 500 år*, s. 311, 377-81, 320 og *passim*

²² Haaning, Leif Laszlo, 2002, *Kampen om det nationale – nationsbegrebet og dets anvendelse i Danmark 1885-1915*, i *Den Jyske Historiker*, nr 96, (s. 53-77), *passim*

²³ Freedon, Michael, 1998, *Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?*, i *Political Studies*, XLVI, (s. 748-765), *passim*

²⁴ Jespersen, 2007, s. 271 "Voksende dæmonisering af tyskerne og alt tysk [...] og omvendt en stigende optagethed af det fællesnordiske og det engelske", og s. 272-73 – det skal dog ikke forstås således at denne relativt tydelige ide ikke eksisterede før Haaning, men således at det blev præciseret og dets årsager søgt forklaret af denne.

²⁵ Bagge, Povl, uvist år, *Nationalisme antinationalisme og nationalfølelse i Danmark omkring 1900*

²⁶ Bagge, s. 446-59 & *passim*

Selvom Bagge ikke inddrager megen teori, må man grundet empirien klart tage den seriøst og inddrage den i sine overvejelser. Den ikke erklærede men implicitte teori er også relevant for mine overvejelser, særligt den om ideologier og enkeltpersoners dynamiske holdninger, samt ideologiers betydning for og (i samtiden) association med identitet og identificering. Også Haanings teori (suppleret med Freeden), vil blive brugbar i denne undersøgelse, på grund af resultaterne og brugbarheden på området ideologi og nationalisme.

Generel nationalismeteori

Der har inden for nationalismeteori været forsket meget fra et teoretisk frem for empirisk punkt, hvilket sammen med emnets vigtighed har sørget for et enormt antal artikler og bøger. Den her valgte historiske situation lægger med dens diskussion af det nationale, op til mere konkrete kildebaserede og dybdegående undersøgelser som de ovenfor beskrevne, dog stadig med udgangspunkt i den for emnet meget vigtige teori. Det er en sådan undersøgelse der også her skal foretages.

Et storværk i den nationalismeteoretiske forskning, er Benedict Andersons *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*²⁷ der i bund og grund argumenterer at alt fællesnationalt blot er forestillinger – og det eneste fælles er at nationerne mener at være en samlet gruppe. Andersons grundtanker vil også blive relevante i nærværende opgave, de vil dog ikke overtages direkte. En ældre mere nuanceret teori, der med fordel lader sig kombinere med Anderson, blev fremført af Karl W. Deutsch i *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. Trykket lægges på kommunikationsfællesskaberne og den høje omskiftelighed.²⁸

Forskerne David McCrone og Frank Bechhofer har relativt nyligt søgt at omdefinere det historiske begreb af *identitet* til *identifikation eller identificering*, det vil sige, lidt som Anderson mener, at individet vælger eller helt automatisk identificerer sig med noget, uanset om der er en definition af denne identitet, der passer til individet. Der er samtidig mange identificeringer i et spektrum, der desuden konstant er til forhandling. Her er der stor forskel mellem Bechhofer og McCrone, kontra Andersons noget absolutistiske, mindre nuancerede syn²⁹.

Michael Freeden diskuterer hvorvidt nationalisme, som idé eller følelse, kan opfattes som ideologi. Han konkluderer ikke hvorvidt det er en sådan, men fortæller hvad det kunne betyde. Hvis nationalisme er en ideologi, så er den *thin-centred* dvs. med et smalt fokus. Andre ideologier, mener Freeden, fx socialisme og liberalisme, forsøger at tage stilling til alt, og kan til en vis grad defineres i deres gensidige kontrast. En *thin-centred* ideologi kan dårligere diskutere, da den ikke tager stilling bredt – hvilket dog også kan gøre den mere udbredt, da den er nemmere at føje sammen med andre ideologier. Er nationalisme en ideologi, er det i så fald en ekstremt udbredt én af slagsen. Denne grad af udbredelse taler ifølge Freedens opfattelse af ideologibegrebet, imod at nationalisme bør opfattes som ideologi, men det er ikke nok til at Freeden helt forkaster ideologi-forståelsen. Freeden mener at se to tydeligt forskellige former af nationalismens karakter, nemlig fredstid kontra krisetid – hvor sidstnævnte nationalismeform ligner en ideologi betydeligt mere (jf. Bechhofer og McCrone). Er

²⁷ Anderson, Benedict, 1983/2006, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, passim

²⁸ Deutsch, Karl W., 1966, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, passim

²⁹ Bechhofer, Frank, & McCrone, David, 2015, *Understanding National Identity*

nationalismen derimod *ikke* en ideologi – en opfattelse Freedens ser mere positivt på – så må det være et idésystem, der ikke har brug for at blive fyldt ud af andre idéer, men derimod hjælper med at fylde *dem* ud. Det vil sige at nationalismen gennem en kamæleonagtig effekt, forvandler sig i overensstemmelse med forskellige opfattelser og behov, således med ideologiernes politiske kontekster. Nationalismen får her i vidt forskellige formål i lige så forskellige kontekster. Således til skabelse af sammenholdsfølelse hvor der intet er (liberalisme), til legitimering af politikker som fremmedfjendskhed (fascisme), til legitimering af statiskhed i samfundet og skabelse af en følelse af kontinuitet (konservatisme), til underbyggelse af statens både sociale og nationale rolle i fællesskabet (socialisme) samt til meget andet. Ud fra disse forskellige tilpasningsformer af nationalismen, understreger Freedens alvorligheden i fejlen at simplificere nationalisme til kun én bestemt form. Nationalismen er nærmere et komplekst, varieret, dynamisk og næsten arbitrært kompleks af mere-eller-mindre politiske tankegange.³⁰

Teorikonstruktion

I kildeanalysen vil jeg gå ud fra en række teoretiske grundprincipper. Først og fremmest er så godt som alle historiske "sandheder" og situationer et nuanceret spektrum, der desuden er meget dynamisk gennem den historiske tid, geografi, miljøer og andre omstændigheder.

Efter min anskuelse må der lægges vægt på empiriens styrke, da alle argumenter ellers falder til jorden som lidet mere end ej undersøgte hypoteser. Der vil her blive brugt både levnsslutninger og sluttet fra indholdet, med kildekritik og hermeneutik i tankerne. Også begrebshistorie som beskrevet af Jussi Kurunmäki³¹ vil til en vis grad blive brugbart. Begrebshistorie er i denne udlægning en metode der ser historie ud fra begrebers kontekst, det vil sige det skiftende omstændigheder for deres brug.

Freedens ikke-ideologiske nationalismeopfattelse er som beskrevet ovenfor, en vigtig grundtanke for selve problemformuleringens eksistens. Denne opfattelse af nationalismens forskellige indhold alt efter ideologi samt den politiske situation på tidspunkterne for de enkelte nedslag (kilderne), vil følgende også blive overtaget i store træk.

Kildeanalyse

Avisartiklerne *Socialisme og Nationalfølelse* og *"Danskhed"* fra hhv. 1912 og 1907 i Fyens Stiftstidende og Bornholms Social-Demokrat, udgør to kilder af lignende karakter men fra forskelligt ideologisk synspunkt. Indholdet kan med fordel sammenlignes gennem komparativ analyse.

I artiklen *"Danskhed"* svarer den Bornholmske Social-Demokrat på en udtalelse i det Venstre³²-venlige blad Bornholms Tidende. Det er værd at bemærke, at Bornholms Tidendes udtalelse, at partihensyn måtte vige for danskheden, specifikt gælder for Sønderjyder, noget Bornholms Social-Demokrat bekvemt "overser", måske en aktiv misforståelse. Kilden er også tendentiøs i dens fortolkning af Tidendes udsagn om at der findes sæder osv. der er *danske*, som retorisk, mere eller mindre bevidst,

³⁰ Freedens, 1998, s. 751 & *passim*

³¹ Kurunmäki, Jussi, uvist år, *Begreppshistoria*, i red. Göran Bergström & Kristina Boréus, *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok i samhällsvetenskapelig text- och diskursanalys*, *passim*

³² Når Venstre skrives med stort refereres der ikke til den moderne røde forståelse af venstreorienteret ideologi, men til det liberale bondeparti Venstre.

piskes op til et enten-eller spørgsmål, mens Tidendes opfattelse egentlig vel kan have været nuanceret. Således mener Social-Demokraten at "Man kan ikke mellem de mange Slags Sind og Tankegange, som findes her i Landet, tage en enkelt og sige: "Denne er "dansk", de andre ikke".³³ Ved at gøre "modstandernes" holdning mere ekstrem, forstørres den grøft der i Tidendes udsagn om socialdemokratisk ligegyldighed over for den sønderjyske danskhedsfølelse, allerede er gravet. Herefter forsvarer BSD forsonende socialdemokratismens tankegang som værende "akkurat lige saa "dansk", som Højres og Venstres", men går så tilbage til en dekonstruktion af danskhedsbegrebet. I stedet for at forsvare sig over for kritikken, der i øvrigt som nævnt med den aktive misforståelse, til stor del er selvkonstrueret, nærmest fiktiv, vælger forfatteren altså at give kritikken ret i anklagen om manglende nationalfølelse, men at forklare denne mangel.

Der er kraftig politisk motiveret tendens der taler i artiklen, men udover de direkte forkerte udsagn/løgne, såsom misbrugen af Tidendes udsagn, kan man formode at nationalismeopfattelsen her er en oppustet, men stadig delvist virkelig tankegang. – måske.

Mit valgte udgangspunkt i Freedens teori har altså i dette tilfælde vist sig at være forkert, eller i det mindste kun at gælde for nogle ideologierne hos nogle personer. Den socialdemokratiske forfatter fraskriver sig nationalfølelsen og fremstiller den som en del af Højre og Venstres ideologi. Den andengørelse der finder sted i Tidendes anklage om manglende socialdemokratisk støtte for Sønderjyders nationalfølelse – godtages altså af forfatteren, og digtes endda videre på med fejlfortolkningen af Sønderjysk danskhedsfølelse, til almen danskhedsfølelse. Der foregår en slags omvendt andengørelse hvor BSD opstiller to grupper, en oplyst internationalistisk gruppe, og en vildledt nationalfølelse-gruppe.

Artiklen *Socialisme og Nationalfølelse* i den Konservative Fyens Stiftstidende, den 5. marts 1912, er et vigtigt indlæg i at bestemme ideologierne nationalfølelse-syn. Socialdemokraterne fremstilles som nationalfølelses-løse trusler mod danskheden. Det sker på baggrund af en udtalelse fra "en socialistisk Folketingsmand" der i forfatterens udlægning har sagt, "at de Danske Arbejdere føler sig mere knyttet til Meningsfællerne i Tyskland end til deres egne Landsmænd", hvilket også får avisskriveren til at, beskrives den socialdemokratiske tankegang, som han ser den, med ordet "anti-national".³⁴ Som i BSD-artiklen er der i den parafraserede socialistiske udtalelse egentlig plads til nuancer så som at en stor tilknytning til tyske arbejdere ikke automatisk medfører at der ingen nationalfølelse er hos arbejderne. Såfremt parafrasen da er nogenlunde korrekt i sin ordlyd, må den omstændighed at udtalelsen skete i nærvær af en "tysk socialdemokratisk Foredragsholder", ikke overses, da folketingsmedlemmet kan tænkes at have overdrevet lidt for at understrege samarbejdsviljen.

Begge avisartikler beskriver fra hver deres ideologiske standpunkt en mindre eller ikkeeksisterende nationalfølelse hos socialdemokraterne. Omvendt fremgår indhold og eksistens af en nationalfølelse på den politiske højrefløj, gennem hhv. kritik af nationalismen, og kritik af manglen på samme. Fælles for begge fremstillinger er trykket på modersmål, hvortil kommer dels danske sæder og skikke (eksisterende eller ej), dels historie- og afstammings-betingede skel, samt en sjæl med "usynlige rødder".

³³ "Danskhed", i Bornholms Social-Demokrat, 04-02-1907, forside

³⁴ *Socialisme og Nationalfølelse*, i Fyens Stiftstidende 05-03-1912, s. 2

En artikel, *Er vi socialdemokrater fædrelandsløse?*³⁵ i Socialdemokraties nordslesvigske Folkealmanak, giver derimod et noget anderledes svar på spørgsmålet om socialdemokraters nationalfølelse eller eventuelle mangel herpå. Den svarer på det egne spørgsmål, ved at påpege det internationale i andre ideologier og systemer, således kapitalismen. Højrefløjens nationalisme kritiseres ved at erklære den for ligegyldig eller underordnet, så længe systemerne undertrykker størstedelen af folk. Socialdemokrater mener ifølge denne artikel altså at højrefløjens anti-folkelighed er antinational, og at kampen for det sande fædreland, der i øjeblikket ikke eksisterer for arbejdere – er mere patriotisk end noget andet – og socialdemokraterne således er mere nationalistiske end højrefløjen.

BSD's insidersyn samt Fyens stiftstidendes eksterne syn, har viser således to forståelser der kun afviger på et, til gengæld meget vigtigt, punkt. Mens det ene syn helt afviser det nationale, følger det andet syn det der jf. Freedens teori måtte forventes, nemlig en nationalfølelse, der blot er ideologisk betinget, nemlig folkeligt og statsligt, ligesom højrefløjens har en mere sprogligt og historisk baseret, ideologisk tilpasset opfattelse.

Konklusion

I teoridiskussionen er der her gennemgået et udvalg af de vigtigste nationalismeteoriske forfattere, og om de har relevans for opgaven. Først og fremmest Freedens men også Andersens teorier har haft nogen indflydelse.

Opgavens teori er en kombination af Freedens og grundtanker omkring historisk virkelighed. Herefter er der udvalgt tre kilder som case studies.

Kildeanalysen viser ét rimeligt stabilt nationalismesyn fra højrefløjen, der vel og mærke kun er baseret på meget få kilder. Hos socialdemokraterne viser kilderne dog både en national og en "anti-national" opfattelse, der begge afviser indhold i den høje-ideologiske nationalfølelse, men hvor kun den ene også mener selv at have en nationalfølelse, blot anderledes én.

De meget få kilder benyttet gør repræsentativiteten tvivlsom, dog viser de med høj sikkerhed i det mindste forfatternes nationalfølelser. Da det er avisartikler der skal appellere til partifæller, er udtalelserne formentlig temmelig tilpasset til større ideologiske holdninger.

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Benyttede kilder

Dag-måned-år

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³⁵ Gerd Callesen (red.), 1906-1924, *Kilder til belysning af det danske socialdemokratis syn på det slesvigske spørgsmål 1906-24*, s. 10-12

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