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Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter: Between Farm and Smallholding

Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter was something of an anomaly among Tang Kristensen's informants. She came from a relatively well-to-do family although she, like so many other daughters of farm owners, married down into the cotter class (*husmand* or smallholder). Despite her economic step down, she always kept her eye—and her thoughts—on the farm owners, and was keenly interested in social advancement and economic class distinctions. Tang Kristensen notes, significantly, that one of her daughters, Dorthea Kirstine, took the teacher's exam. Becoming a teacher was one of the few opportunities for a person—particularly a woman—to move out of the clearly defined bounds of the farming classes. By the end of the nineteenth century, teachers were considered more to be public servants (*embedsmænd*) than members of the local farming economy. That Kirsten Marie mentions her daughter's achievements to Tang Kristensen can also be read as a gesture toward newly emerging gauges of individual success: Kirsten Marie's children were not only educated, something that was highly valued in the farm owning class, but also successful in their academic pursuits.

The comment also drew an implicit connection between her and the schoolteacher Tang Kristensen.

Tang Kristensen wrote a short biography of Kirsten Marie during his last visit, which he expanded on later in *Jyske almueliv*:

> Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter er født den 27. oktober 1827 i Bodholm i Nielstrup, Rud sogn, sønden for Rud kirke. Faderen var fra Nielstrup fra noget, der kaldes Sahule. Stedet blev af bedstefaderen flyttet ud fra byen og op til Sahulested. Moderen er født i det sted, der endnu er lige ved kirken. Senere kjøbte faderen en gård i Villendrup, som Kirsten Maries Broder (Rasmus Kjær Pedersen) endnu har, og derfra er hun bleven gift. Sine historier og sagn har hun fra moderen, der atter havde dem fra sin fader, som også var fra Nielstrup. Ved gilder kunde han samle alle folk om sig, da han var så udmærket til at fortælle. Kirsten Marie blev gift med Niels Møller, og de boer endnu (1895) på Hornslet mark vesten for stationen. En af hendes døtre har taget lærerindeeksamen.[1] (JAT vol. 6, 865)
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> [Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter was born the 27th of October, 1827 in Bodholm in Nielstrup, Rud parish, south of Rud church. Her father was from Nielstrup from a place called Sahule. The buildings had been moved by her grandfather from the town and up to Sahulested. Her mother was born at the house, which is still right next to the

> church. Later, her father bought a farm in Villendrup, and Kirsten Marie's brother (Rasmus Kjær Pedersen) still has it, and she was married off from there. She has her stories and legends from her mother, who had learned them in turn from her father who also was from Nielstrup. At parties, he could gather everyone around him because he was an excellent storyteller. Kirsten Marie married Niels Møller, and they still (1895) live there on Hornslet Mark, west of the station. One of her daughters has taken the teacher's examination.]

This biography speaks of Kirsten Marie's close connection to the local area, and a long history for her family as part of the dynamic farm owning class.

Her characterization of her maternal grandfather as an exceptional storyteller echoes descriptions in other informant biographies, in that it proposes a narrative genealogy. The genealogy that Tang Kristensen traces is further echoed in the narrative attributions that Kirsten Marie makes during her storytelling. These narrative attributions serve multiple purposes: they anchor the stories in local geography and history; they emphasize Kirsten Marie's close connection to other farm owners, both contemporaneous and historical; and they confirm her pedigree as a performer. Although she might not rise to the apparent gold standard of her maternal grandfather (a Romantic positioning of the storyteller of yore), she achieves a degree of success as a storyteller by association, or perhaps by self-attribution.

Family Background

Kirsten Marie emphasizes family relationships in many of her stories. Of her one hundred and three stories, cures, spells, jokes, sayings and descriptions, more than twenty percent (twenty-two records) include some mention of a family member. Kirsten Marie was born on October 27, 1827 in Nielstrup in Rud parish, the oldest of four children. Her brother Rasmus Kjær was born six years later, on October 24, 1833, and her twin brothers, Niels and Anders were born July 18, 1842. Sadly, Niels died several days after birth. Their father was Peder Andersen Skriver who was also born in Nielstrup, on March 20, 1796. Their mother, Anne Rasmusdatter, was born in Rud, December 4, 1803. The family moved from Nielstrup to Villendrup in Halling parish in 1843.

Peder Andersen Skriver's marriage to Anne Rasmusdatter in September 1827 was a union that solidified the upward trajectory of both families in the period immediately following the land reforms of the late eighteenth century. Anne Rasmusdatter's father, Rasmus Kjær Nielsen (the namesake of Kirsten Marie's brother), had become a copyholder on a farm, "Sandhule," in 1783. Because of his loyal service as the carriage driver at the manor farm, Clausholm, he was excused from all the burdens of his lease including villeinage. Over the years, using timber given to him by the manor lord, he was able to build a farmhouse on other land that he had acquired as a result of the land reforms. By 1801, he was listed as a cotter with land (rather than a copyholder), and was well on the way to becoming an independent farmer. Anne Rasmusdatter was, accordingly, a daughter of a family whose social and economic trajectory was on a sharp upward curve.

Peder Andersen Skriver's own trajectory was headed in a similar direction. His father, Anders Pedersen Skriver, had received a copyhold on a farm after his father's death in 1794, soon after he had married Kirsten Christiansdatter. After Anders died, the farm was parceled out into four lots in 1812. Yet an interesting thing happened soon after his death that may have been tied to the future economic prospects of the farm, and his widow Kirsten's aspirations for her children. It was fairly common practice for people to remarry quickly after the death of a spouse, because running a farm required far more work than a single person could handle. Consequently, legally binding betrothal agreements prior to an actual wedding became common. Kirsten entered into such a contract soon after Anders died, but apparently thought better of it before making it to the altar. Church records include a document dissolving the betrothal agreement between her and Jens Rasmussen, a local bachelor. The witnessed dissolution states, "at de for splid og modbydeligt for hverandre, er lige tilbøjelige og opsat paa at de ikke vil forenes ved kirkens baand, men at tillysningen til deres ægteskab herved skal være ophævet eller tilbagelyst" [because of discord and a deep dislike for each other, they have agreed and decided that they do not want to be united with the church's bonds, but rather that their engagement shall hereby be dissolved] (Rud Kirkebog 1812). Through the dissolution, Kirsten dodged this personally—and almost certainly economically—unfortunate alliance, and maintained control of her farm. Despite this evasion, she soon moved to another farm along with her son Peder Andersen, who had managed to purchase a smallholding in Nielstrup known as "Bokjærhus."[2]

Peder Andersen now began his march out of smallholder obscurity and into the ranks of *boelsmænd* and farm owners.[3] In 1827, at the age of thirty-one, he acquired a second

smallholding, "Boeholm," and thus could combine his two smallholdings that had been split in the earlier reapportionment of farms.[4] By 1843, he had amassed enough capital to purchase Villendrup Nørregård, in part by selling off one of his two smallholdings to Christen Lassen Nielsen.[5] The apple never falls far from the tree, and Peder Andersen, as his mother before him, was keenly aware of the need to keep acquired wealth in the family: he eventually deeded the other smallholding to Kirsten Marie's niece, Nicoline Pedersen (Rasmus Kjær's daughter) in 1875.

The purchase of Villendrup Nørregård was a watershed event in the family's history, and marked a decisive move up from the smallholder class onto the bottom rungs of the farm owning class. The first mention of Villendrup Nørregård is found in "field books" in 1683.[6] The farm was already an independently owned enterprise, at the time held by Peder Nielsen, with a *hartkorn* valuation of 8-4-0-1. It had been handed down through three generations of the same family, with Niels Pedersen taking control of the farm in 1716, and his sons Peder and Mogens Nielsen taking the reins in 1731. Mogens was unable to make a go of his part of the farm, and was forced to leave it. At that point, the farm became a copyhold and, in 1736, Rasmus Andersen from Villendrup acquired the copyhold. The farm once again changed hands in 1753, when another victim of bankruptcy was forced off the land. The successor, Simon Nielsen, held the farm for seven years until he too was forced from the land because of poverty. By that time, the farm's valuation had risen to 9-4-1-5/6, a fairly high valuation, but with a staggering annual payment (*landgilde*) of 10 rixdollars, 4 marks, 12 shillings.[7] Despite this heavy burden, a soldier by the name of Jens Christensen acquired the farm. After his death in 1786, his wife married Jens Jensen, who took over the farm. When he died in 1797, his wife, Zidsel, maintained possession of the

farm and ran it with the help of her children, Peder and Niels. The two boys bought their mother out of the farm in 1808 and split it into two lots—Niels took the western part of the fields and built a new set of farm buildings north of the town (Villendrup Nørregård), and his brother took the remaining eastern part of the fields and the old farm buildings.

The history of the two havles of the farm diverges slightly at that point. In 1830, Niels Jensen sold his farm to Peder Chr. Møller, who sold it soon thereafter to Mikkel Jensen. In 1843, Peder Andersen Skriver, Kirsten Marie's father, acquired the farm, and moved the family there. The valuation of the farm at that point was 4-6-0-0, a little more than half of its original valuation. Kirsten Marie was a young woman of sixteen, and her social and economic prospects were good.

The other half of the farm has a more convoluted history. In 1834, Peder Jensen sold this part to his brother Niels Christian Jensen who immediately sold one parcel to the local school district and another parcel to the local teacher Serup. Apart from raising money for Niels Christian, the sale reflected the rapid growth in local schools—the school law required that each teacher have a residence with land because teachers were expected to supplement their otherwise meager wages with (exemplary) farm work. Although the parish's purchase of land was to comply with the law, the schoolteacher clearly intended through the second purchase to further augment his growing land holdings. In 1850, Niels Christian sold the remaining parts of the farm to his son Niels Christian Nielsen. However, this son died in 1856 unmarried and without children. Consequently, his sister Pedersine inherited the farm. Ten years later, Kirsten Marie's brother, Rasmus Kjær, married Pedersine and effectively took control of the farm. Two years later, when Peder Andersen Skriver died, the two Villendrup farms were reunited after fifty years as two separate farms. With the two halves of the

farm reunited, Rasmus was on the cusp of becoming a large-scale farmer (*proprietær*). Rasmus's daughter, Nikoline, eventually took over the farm with her husband Rasmus Poulsen. He in turn took over Halling Højgård after his father's death in 1895. Rather than run two large farms, he sold off Villendrup to another family.

Kirsten Marie, by virtue of being a woman, did not share in the considerable wealth that her brother was able to consolidate during the last decades of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, she did not suffer an abrupt change in social standing when she married. She remained close to her brother, and one can only assume that he kept a close and helpful eye on her, both economically and socially. Like many of her farm owner class cohort, Kirsten Marie waited until her mid twenties to marry. She finally married Christen Nielsen (b. 1826) on April 15, 1853. She was twenty-five and a half, and he was twenty-seven. Christen was the son of Niels Jensen Selling (b. 1794) and Karen Jensdatter (1795-1850). Niels Jensen owned a small farm, most likely a *boelsted*. He had been married several times and, at the time of the 1834 census, a very large extended family and a single farmhand lived under a single roof, an indication that the farm was a reasonably large undertaking. One of the clearest distinctions between smallholdings and farms up through the nineteenth century was that farm owners had the means to hire labor, whereas smallholders often had to hire themselves out as labor.[8] Since the older children living in the household in 1834 were Niels's stepchildren and not in line to inherit from him, it is likely that his oldest son, Christen Nielsen (Kirsten Marie's future husband), was given the farm when his father partitioned his holdings. By the 1845 census, Niels Jensen was listed as the parish bailiff (*sognefoged*), a position of considerable local importance.[9]

Soon after Kirsten Marie and Christen wed in 1853, they moved onto a smallholding on Hornslet Mark, with a valuation of 0-2-3-0, and began raising a family.[10] They eventually had eight children, but tragically three of them died in infancy or childhood. The first child was a son, Niels Christensen, born in 1853. Their second son, Peder Christensen, was born the following year; he emigrated to the United States in 1882, and was followed soon after by his much younger brother, Niels Knudsen (b. 1866). Carl Christensen, born in 1858, barely made it to his first birthday before dying, probably succumbing to influenza or one of the childhood diseases that claimed huge numbers of children in the middle part of the nineteenth century. Kirsten Marie and Christen's first daughter, Ane Caroline, born in 1861, also died in childhood, but not until she was eleven years old. They named their next son, born in 1863, Carl as well; he fared much better than his namesake. They had three more children: Dorthe Kirstine, born April 1865, who died several months later; Niels Knudsen, born 1866, who followed his brother to the United States, apparently in 1886; and Dorthea Kirstene, who was born in 1869. Just as her older brothers had before her, Dorthea Kirstene petitioned to have her last name changed to Møller in 1905, a petition that was approved in September of that year. It is she who eventually became a schoolteacher. Kirsten Marie lived to be seventy-six and a half. She died on August twelfth, 1904 and was buried five days later in the Rud church cemetery. Christen outlived Kirsten Marie, dying on March sixth, 1915.

The Local Environment

Hornslet Mark, where Kirsten Marie and Christen had their smallholding, was a small village approximately six

kilometers to the west of Villendrup, and ten kilometers southeast of Nielstrup, the two villages where she grew up. Nielstrup and Villendrup were in Rud prarish in the Galten district, while Hornslet Mark was in Hornslet parish in Øster Lisbjerg district; both districts were in Randers county.

The southeastern part of Hornslet parish is characterized by rolling hills, in particular a series of hills leading down to the bay (Flinthøj 77m., Bihøj 75m, Assenbakke 67m) (Trap 1958, 1038). There are several hills in the southwestern corner of the parish, including the highest point, Tyvhøj (94 m) (Trap 1958, 1038). The agricultural land in the area is good due to glaciation thousands of years ago. There are several large forests in the parish, including Sophie Amaliegård forest in the west, parts of Rosenholm forest in the northwest, and Rodskov forest in the south.

The main town in the parish is Hornslet, and first mention of such a town appears in 1310. There are several other, smaller settlements in the parish, including Tendrup, Rodskov, Eskerod, and Krajbjerg and several named groupings of houses, including Rosenholm mark, Damsgård, Havhuse, Frankrig, and Krajbjerg hede. There are several large farms in the parish, including the manor farm Rosenholm, with a valuation of 38.8 barrels of *hartkorn*, Teglvang (9.6 barrels *hartkorn*), Elkærgård, Rævholt, Rodskovgård, Rodskov Strandgård, Sophienlund, Sønderholm, Skrald, and Solgård (Trap 1958, 1039).

Rosenholm was one of the two large manor farms in the area. Originally, it was named simply *Holm*, a word that means island, probably because the main building was built on a small island. It was first mentioned in 1349. After the Reformation, Rosenholm became part of the royal estates and, in 1559, it was deeded by the Danish king, Frederik II, to Jørgen Ottesen Rosenkrantz. He changed the name from Holm to Rosenholm, built a new main building, and acquired

numerous surrounding lands to develop the property into a significant manor. His son transformed Rosenholm into a center of learning for young noblemen, a tradition that continued into the next generation. During the eighteenth century, the manor changed hands numerous times, but was made into an entailed estate (*stamhus*) in 1743, a privilege that allowed the manor a great deal of autonomy and control over the local peasants. By that point, the estate's land was valued at 67 barrels of *hartkorn*, with associated lands valued at 521 barrels. Earlier, in 1574, a district court (*birkeret*) with unusual reach had been established at Rosenholm: its jurisdiction included the areas of Skovlkær, Hornslet, Tendrup, Rodskov, Krajbjerg, the farms Kirkholt and Segalt, Lindå and Balle in Todbjerg parish, Krannestrup in Mejlby parish, as well as Karlbu and Skørring. In 1668, the district (*birk*) was expanded to include Mørke, Bale and Balskov. By 1820, the bailiff for Øster Lisbjerg district was also the bailiff (*birkefoged*) for Rosenholm's district court, and the district assembly (*birketing*) was relocated to Randers. Finally, in 1856, as with all *birk,* Rosenholm's *birk* was eliminated and its former jurisdiction placed under the various districts it had touched—Rougsø, Sønderhald and Øster Lisbjerg (Trap 1958, vol. 7.2, 1042-5).

Hornslet church is first metioned in 1355, as "Vor Frue og alle helgeners kirke i Hornslet"(Our Lady's and All Saints' Church in Hornslet), a name that was changed in 1516 to "Skt. Nicolai sognekirke i Hornslet" (St. Nicholas Parish Church in Hornslet), to reflect its expansion. Jørgen Rosenkrantz of Rosenholm (d. 1596) built or rebuilt large parts of the church from 1560 onwards. The church is still the burial church for the aristocratic Rosenkrantz family, and accordingly has many inscriptions and other memorials to the family (Trap 1958, vol. 7.2, 1039-42). It also highlights the close connection up through the mid nineteenth century between the local aristocracy and the church.

Hornslet was not only a major center for the Rosencrantz family, but also an important town in the local economic landscape. A train spur, Århus-Ryomgård, was built through Hornslet in 1877, and the station was placed in the northwestern part of the town.[11] Up through the early twentieth century, Hornslet was connected to the greater economic spheres of both Randers and Århus, a market center that was quickly becoming the major trading and cultural center for all of Jutland.

Hornslet Mark, however, had little prominence in Kirsten Marie's stories. In the fifty-three stories that included some form of geographic referent, Hornslet Mark appears only twice. While it is likely that Kirsten Marie used her stories as part of her understanding of the general local geography—and the changes wrought by social transformation, demographic shifts, and legislative reform—the frequent references to Nielstrup and its immediate area suggest a persistent historical return to the landscape of her childhood. Nielstrup thus stands in a contrastive, and perhaps normative, relationship to Hornslet Mark in her storytelling. She mentioned Nielstrup, for example, in eighteen stories, or nearly twenty percent of her entire repertoire.

Nielstrup (Rud parish) was first mentioned in records in 1445, appearing in records as Nielstorp. The town has always been small but that did not mean it had little import in the surrounding area—quite the contrary. For instance, a cooperative dairy was established there in 1888. There are several large farms in Rud parish, including Alstrupgård (24 barrels *hartkorn*), Ruddalsgård, Højholt and Skovlund. The farmland is good, and the glaciated landscape rises toward the southwest, where the highest point, Stobdrup mound, stands eighty-two meters high (Trap 1958, vol. 7.2, 817). Perhaps of more importance is the proximity of the imposing manor

farm Clausholm in the neighboring parish of Voldum (first mentioned in 1428 as Wollum).

Voldum parish also plays a notable role in Kirsten Marie's repertoire. Like Rud parish, the farmland in Voldum is good, but the parish also has several forested areas, the largest of which belongs to Clausholm manor. The manor was at one point the largest estate in the area by any measure. At its high point, its total valuation including land that tithed to it approached 1100 barrels of *hartkorn*. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was more comparable in size with Rosenholm, with a valuation of 55.6 barrels for the estate, and 121.2 barrels for the associated farms, not including Schildenseje, a farm under the direction of Clausholm with a valuation of 30 barrels. Clausholm belonged in 1368 to Lage Ovesen, who was a member of the Jutlandic revolt in 1350 against King Valdemar IV Atterdag. The estate remained in the family until 1500. By the mid sixteenth century, the manor included eighty-three farms and small farms (*boel*), and three mills. The estate was transferred to Chancellor Conrad Reventlow of the Reventlow family in 1686, at which point its holdings were valued at 95 barrels.[12] These holdings also included five churches and associated farms valued at 1028 barrels of *hartkorn*. A baroque castle was built in the 1690s according to the plans of Ernst Brandenburger on a man-made island to replace an earlier main house. The entire estate was sold in 1718 to King Frederik IV, who had kidnapped Anna Sophie Reventlow from Clausholm several years earlier, and to whom he was "married to the left hand."[13] After the king's death, Anna Sophie was banished to Clausholm where she died in 1743. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the manor belonged to the Huitfeldt family, and later was transferred into the Holstenhus baronship (Trap 1958, vol. 7.2, 811-2). Barons were notoriously conservative politically.

Hornslet Mark and Nielstrup were both part of Randers county, a bastion of the farmers' party, *Venstre*. An overview of the parliamentary representatives for the various districts of Randers reveals an overwhelming majority of *Venstre* representatives. Two exceptions to this were the market district of Randers (predictably overwhelmingly *Højre*) and the Ebeltoft district, which was evenly split between the two parties from 1849-1869, when the communal reforms solidified the power of *Venstre* in that part of the county as well. For most of the nineteenth century, the only newspaper in the county was *Randers Amts Avis*, founded in 1810. The newspaper unabashedly promoted the conservative political agenda of the party *Højre* [Right]. In 1870, however, the political pendulum began to swing toward *Venstre* [Left], in part because of the work of C. Berg and I. A. Hansen, both firebrands who argued for the rights of the farming class. In 1874, the newspaper *Randers Dagblad* (Randers Daily) was founded, and this *Venstre* dominated newspaper offered a counterpoint to the more conservative *Randers Amts Avis* (Randers County Newspaper). By the 1880s, the Social Democrats had also begun to make inroads in the county. Their magazine, the *Socialdemokraten for Randers og Omegn* (The Social Democrat for Randers and Surrounding Area) established itself as an independent outlet in 1899. By the last decades of the century, the political landscape was far more diverse, and significantly more polarized than it had been in the decades leading up to the elections for the constitutional assembly in 1848 (Trap 1958, vol. 7.2, 559).

As in many other parts of the country, numerous folk high schools (*folkehøjskoler*) were established in the wake of the promulgation of the constitution and the attendant increase in political awareness among the general population. These folk high schools included Voldby (1868), Hadsten højskole in Galten (1876), Dalbyneder (1884), Rønde (1894),

Djurslands folkehøjskole in Lyngby (1897), and Vivild (1903). The best-known folk high school in the county was Mellerup, founded in 1880 by Jens Bek. Bek, who came from Hørning, had been educated at Lyngby teachers' college by M.A.S. Lund. He married a daughter of H. Laurent, one of N. F. S. Grundtvig's closest friends. Even during his early career as a teacher, he was interested in adult education. By the time he moved to Mellerup to begin his folk high school, he was a well-known speaker, and the school became one of the most popular in Denmark. Mellerup was a community at the bleeding edge of political reform. Apart from the folk high school, which was denied economic support because of its overtly political nature, the town also supported a free school (*friskole*) and a church congregation with an elected minister (*valgmenighed*).

Although the Grundtvigian movement was well established in the districts of Støvring and Gjerlev, both in the northern parts of Randers county, the Inner Mission attracted a large following in the eastern part of the county (*Djursland*) and the southwestern districts of Øster Lisbjerg (where Kirsten Marie and Ane Margrethe Jensdatter lived) and Sønderhald. In fact, the Inner Mission was able to take control of the folk high school in Rønde in 1897. Along with various religious movements such as the Inner Mission, the temperance movement (*afholdsbevægelse*) also gained a strong foothold, particularly in the larger towns and cities, including Randers and Mariager in the northern part of the county. The success of the temperance movement led to the establishment in 1881 of Denmark's Absolute Temperance Society (*Danmarks Totalafholdsforening*).

Village Administration

Local politics—and the reaction of local political institutions to larger regional and national trends—played an increasingly significant role in the day-to-day life of farmers and smallholders during the last decades of the nineteenth century. While the "Assemblies of the Estates of the Realm" (*stænderforsamlinger*) of the earlier part of the century were crucial in bridging the gap from a centrally controlled absolute monarchy and manorial system to an increasingly open, and democratically controlled modern, capitalist and industrial society, most of the earliest political capital was concentrated in the hands of the land owners, and the larger land owners at that. Along with the freedoms guaranteed by the constitution, the loosening of restrictions on voting rights and changes in the standard voting method from "show of hands" to secret ballot, led to an increasing level of participation among farm owners and smallholders in both national and local politics. The communal reforms of 1867, however, were perhaps the most important factor in the development of local democratic institutions and the participation of a much wider group of people in the political process.

Women, despite all the reforms and the burgeoning women's rights movements across the Nordic countries in the 1870s and 1880s, were excluded from the political system, at least overtly. They did not acquire the right to vote in national elections until 1915. This late date for women's suffrage was not for lack of trying—already in 1888, the *Dansk Kvindesamfund* (Danish Women's Society), established in 1871, presented a petition with 20,000 signatures asking for the right to vote in local elections. Not until 1893 did women get the right to vote in elections for church councils, followed by the right to vote in local elections in 1908, and finally full

suffrage in 1915. Although excluded from the polling place, women probably had some influence on decision-making, particularly in regards to local politics. Local politics were focused on parish and church councils. Since women in the community knew the players and were well-informed through their informal social networks, they could acquire the necessary information to participate, albeit informally, in the political process, despite being disenfranchised. Their incentive to participate in the informal aspects of the political process was bolstered by the fact that any local decisions would directly affect their daily lives. Kirsten Marie's storytelling had a significant local political component to it, and it may well have been that storytelling was one of the forums that women could use to comment on aspects of local political debate. Because of women's powerful local social networks, and because of their equal engagement with local issues, the resistance to women's suffrage was probably most vigorous on the local level as well.

One of the most important developments in rural political life during the latter half of the nineteenth century was the increasing role of the parish council in deciding local affairs. Up through much of the first half of the nineteenth century, the local minister, who was in many ways a representative of the central administration of Copenhagen, controlled most of the decisions that did not fall under the immediate purview of the manor lords or the crown (Nørr 1981). As the power of the manor lords decreased subsequent to the systematic dismantling of the manorial system, ministers were able to concentrate more and more local control in their office. In the wake of the constitutional reforms, however, the local minister lost control of most of the local governing boards and councils. At the very least, the ministers now had to share decision-making power with locally elected officials (Nørr 1994). As Nørr notes, "præsten

ikke længere skulle være sognepave, men kun menighedens tjener" [the minister was no longer to be the parish pope, but rather simply the congregation's servant] (1994, 78).

The diminution of the power of the minister started already in 1841, when people were released from the requirement to attend church in their local parish. The minister's power was further diminished by a series of reforms that transferred control of budgetary decisions concerning the schools, poverty assistance, and other communal expenditures to the parish director's office (*sogneforstanderskab*), and later by the parish council (*sogneråd*).[14] The juridical organization of the rural districts was fundamentally changed with the dissolution of the special judicial districts (*birkeret*), beginning in 1848. These privileged jurisdictions had allowed the landed aristocracy to appoint their own judges and subsequently to enforce laws capriciously and to their advantage. The latter half of the nineteenth century thus saw the transfer of local control from the hands of the aristocracy and the centrally appointed church ministers to the hands of the increasingly powerful farm owners. That is not to say that the previously powerful groups lost all their say in political decisions; rather, politics had now become the stomping ground of a much greater number of people. Farm owners, millers, and schoolteachers had become players on this ever-widening field.

The parish council was the focal point of local political action. While the actual purview of these local administrative boards was limited, and mostly constrained to decisions concerning the schools, the poor and the roads, even those topics could become flashpoints for debate. Membership on the parish council often led to positions on other, newly forming committees, including those governing the local savings association (*sparekasse*) and, in the 1880s, the newly forming cooperatives. Foremost among these cooperatives

were the dairy cooperatives (*andelsmejerier*) and the purchasing cooperatives (*brugsforeninger*).[15] During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the folk church lost even more control over its parishes with the establishment of church councils (*menighedsråd*) and elective parishes (*valgmenigheder*).[16] Members of the local parish council often played critical roles on these new councils. Furthermore, representatives to larger, regional committees, such as the railway commission, were almost always chosen from the members of the parish council. Finally, membership on the parish council could be used as a launch pad for national political office, such as parliament.

Despite the seeming allure of parliament, ambitious local political figures were often happy to consolidate power on the parish level. By the end of the nineteenth century, the phenomenon of the *sognekonge* or "parish king" was a well-known one. These parish kings were individuals who had managed to consolidate virtually all local power in their own hands, and had gained a stranglehold on local decisions in much the same way that some manor lords had had during the manorial period. The power of these local figures was significantly greater than that of ministers in the earlier part of the century, because most decisions taken by the parish council, the board of directors of the local savings bank, and the local cooperative boards were final, and did not need to be vetted by others. The resume of a parish king from Ugilt parish underscores how an ambitious and politically active farm owner could control essentially every aspect of a parish:

> Medlem Ugilt sogneraad 1895-1901 og 1907-1937; Formand 1907-1937; Medlem af skolekommissionen siden 1898; Kasserer for Linderum andelsmejeri i 20 år; Medlem af bestyrelsen for Hjørring amts sognerådsforening fra 1908, Formand 1910-

1937; Medlem af Hjørring amtsråd 1910-28; Medlem af bestyrelsen Hjørring amts andelsslagteri 1914-1927 og fra 1931 (Formand 1924-1927); Landvæsenskommissær til 1942; Formand for Hjørring amts og bys sygehus til 1935 samt Medlem af bestyrelsen for Hjørring-Hørby banen 1913-1938; Medlem af representantskaberne for Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger og for andelsbanken 1923-1925; Medlem af andelsbankens bestyrelse fra marts 1925 til dens lukning; Medlem af andelsbankens representantforeningernes ulykkesforsikring fra 1925 og Formand for selskabet fra 1929; Medlem af centralbestyrelsen for Nationalforeningen til Tuberkulosens Bekæmpelse fra 1926; Formand for Hjørring og omegns afholdskreds 1908-1924; Medlem af hovedbestyrelsen for Danmarks Afholdsforening 1919-1925 (Ugilt 1980, 18-19).

[Member of the Ugilt Parish Council 1895-1901 and 1907-1937; Chairman 1907-1937; Member of the School Commission since 1898; Treasurer for Linderum Cooperative Dairy for 20 years; Member of the Executive Committee of Hjørring Amt's Parish Council association since 1908, Chairman 1910-1937; Member of the Hjørring Amt Council 1910-1928; Member of the Executive Committee of Hjørring Amt's Cooperative Pig Slaughterhouse 1914-1927 and from 1931 (Chairman 1924-1927);

> Agricultural Commissioner through 1942; Chairman of Hjørring Amt's and City's Hospital through 1935 and Member of the Executive Committee of the Hjørring-Hørby railway 1913-1938; Member of the representatives to the shared Committee for Denmark's Cooperative Stores and for the credit union 1923-1925; Member of the credit union's executive committee from March 1925 until its closure; Member of the credit union's representative's association's accident insurance from 1925 and chairman of the company from 1929; Member of the central executive committee of the National Society for the Fight Against Tuberculosis from 1926; Director of the Temperance Society for Hjørring and environs 1908-1924; Member of the central executive committee for the Danish Temperance Society 1919-1925.]

While this degree of control was a little unusual, it does reveal the extent to which the parish council members influenced the contours of daily social and economic life.

Along with the chairman (*formand*) of the parish council, the parish bailiff (*sognefoged*) was one of the most powerful figures in the local political landscape. While some parish council chairmen also served as parish bailiff, the offices were usually split. Christian VII had established the position of the parish bailiff at the end of the eighteenth century. In an ordinance promulgated on November eleventh, 1791, he required that, "duelige Mænd af Bondestanden [skal beskikkes] til at være Sognefogder" [capable men from the peasant class shall be chosen to be parish bailiffs] (Poulsen og

Jørgensen 1940, 95). Because it was often difficult to find men willing to take on the duties of the parish bailiff, the king further declared, "Sognefogderne skal anses som de mest agtede af Almuens mænd og sidde øverst til Bords. De skal være fritagne for Indkvarteringer og en del offentlige Arbejder, og de skal for hver Udpantning de foretager, have 12 Skilling, der kan pantes hos de skyldige" [The parish bailiffs shall be considered the most respected of the peasantry's men, and shall sit at the head of the table. They shall be excused from quartering soldiers and certain public work, and for each levy they enforce, they shall be given twelve *skilling*, which shall be charged to the party on whom they are serving the levy] (Poulsen and Jørgensen 1940, 95). The parish bailiff soon became charged with most local law enforcement duties and acted more as a sheriff than as a bailiff. These duties included censuring people who disturbed the peace, arresting criminals, making sure that the "foreign poor" spent no more than one night in the parish, overseeing the maintenance of the local roads (particularly snow clearing during the winter), protecting against trespassers and, during epidemics, acting as the public health official, limiting access to the sick and insuring quick and proper burial of the dead. The parish bailiff also acted as the process server, collections officer, and inspector. Consequently, the parish bailiff was one of the most powerful people in the parish (and often quite feared). It was this office that Rasmus, Kirsten Marie's brother, occupied in the neighboring parish, Rud.

Although public decisions of a local political nature were concentrated in the hands of men—and particularly in the hands of farm owners—one must be careful not to overstate the one-sidedness of this system. To be sure, the farm owners on the parish council made the decisions concerning budgets and local projects. But none of these men would have survived long if they had made decisions that did not align

with the general sentiment of the majority of people living in the parish. And even though men may have controlled the public political sphere, and along with it the extra-domestic space, women controlled the domestic space. Their work and their opinions must have had some impact in the political behavior of their husbands. Women were also well-connected in other types of networks, including work, social and church-related networks. Ideas developed and debated in these networks would have been yet another forum in the greater parish landscape for the development of "public opinion." It would be simplistic to say that women's voices were not heard. While there was a great need for additional reforms regarding women's access to political institutions, if women had not played any role whatsoever in the political process—even if that role were informal and "away from the table"—the very real reforms that took hold in the latter part of the nineteenth century would never have been realized.

Farmers' Wives

That said, many women occupied a marginal situation similar to that of cotters and day laborers, and had little time to dedicate to questions of local, regional and national politics. Life on a farm, from the smallest smallholding to the largest *proprietær* farm, relied on a well-established division of labor, and required significant contributions of labor from both men and women.[17] Perhaps on the very largest manor farms, the owner's wife could play more of a managerial role, if any at all. But on the majority of farms, the farmer's wife was intimately involved in the daily work, and oversaw all of the hired women and girls. On smallholdings such as Kirsten Marie's and her husband's farm, the farmer's wife not only

played a crucial role in insuring the success of the farm, but did so by working from morning until night, year round.

Food preparation—and proper food storage—took an inordinate amount of time. It was not until 1856, when reforms of the commerce laws began to be enacted that small grocery stores (*høkere*) were allowed to open outside of market towns. Prior to that period, nearly all foodstuffs had to be produced locally. The opening of the small grocer stores made certain wares more available, but did little to change the way food was made on the farms. This local production meant, in effect, that almost all farms did their own baking, slaughtered their own animals, and brewed their own beer. The few vegetables that were to be had were grown in small kitchen gardens. It was mostly specialty goods that were purchased at the grocers (sugar, salt, etc.).[18] With the advent of rural bakeries, certain breads such as French bread and cakes that were difficult to bake at home (particularly in smaller quantities), were also bought at these small stores. Even with the establishment of the cooperative stores (*brugsforeninger*) in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, most food production remained in the house.

Because of problems related to food storage, meals differed according to the time of year. They also differed greatly dependent on the economic class of the family. Farm owners and the more prosperous cotters were usually able to feed their families and their workers consistently; in many of the cotter families, the food was poor in quality, varied greatly in quantity and was relentlessly the same, consisting mostly of bread. The only upside to this sorry state of culinary affairs was that the food was easy to prepare. On the larger farms, there were more mouths to feed and, with a greater variety of available foodstuffs, food preparation, almost exclusively the task of women, was more laborious. During the summer months, people ate four to five meals a day. Many meals

consisted of *mælkemad*—cheese, butter, sour milk and milk porridge (Graves 1921, 65). Salt herring, which could last up to a year when stored properly, was bought in large barrels and was a frequent side dish at mealtime. Along with cow's milk, sheep's milk was also a frequent supplement. Sheep were plentiful because of the extensive reliance on wool for clothing. An overview of the animal herds in Mejlby, a nearby parish, shows that in the 1870s, the number of sheep in the parish was almost as high as the number of cows. Over the course of the next several decades, the cow herds grew rapidly while the sheep herds declined, essentially disappearing by the 1930s (Poulsen and Jørgensen 1942).

During the harvest, people were fed better, both because the work was arduous and because the harvest was a festive occasion. Beef was added to the soups that were a staple of the diet, and dishes based on rice—*risengrød* and *risenvælling*—along with omelets and sweet dishes such as sweet soup (*sødsuppe*) were served (Graves 1921, 66). Harvest time also meant that the baking could begin again. By St. Olaf's day (July twenty-ninth), people were often running low on grain, and they had to supplement their rye with barley and even potatoes to get enough flour with which to bake (Graves 1921, 68-9).

Baking was one of the most labor-intensive endeavors in rural food production, and it required the help of men as well. Several days before a farm was going to bake, rye would be driven to the local mill. Most farms including small cotters' cottages had their own baking oven, and it was usually the men who were in charge of firing the oven, and warming it up to baking temperature. Baking, just as brewing, usually took place early in the morning because people did not want to interrupt the day's normal work with these additional tasks (Graves 1921, 70). The dough was prepared the day before, and the sourdough starter was added; the dough then sat

overnight. In the morning, more flour was added and it was kneaded several times while the oven warmed to the proper temperature. Small breads, known as *skoldkager*, were often baked on the front part of the oven in order to bridge the gap between being breadless and the new baking. Once the bread had been baked, rye was placed in the oven to dry, because dry rye could be milled finer, and finer milled flour gave better bread. The newly baked bread could last for three to four weeks, at which point the process would have to begin again.

At the onset of winter, several animals would be slaughtered—pigs, sheep and geese—and the fat from these animals was used through the winter months instead of butter. Much of the meat from these animals was saved for occasions such as baptisms, weddings and funerals (Graves 1921, 67). Milk production was generally low during the winter months because of the cows' poor diet, consisting mostly of hay. During the winter, the daily fare turned away from porridge and *mælkemad* and more toward soups. Pork stock was often used as a base, to which was added cabbage and peas. By the middle of the nineteenth century, potatoes had become a staple of the Danish diet, helped along by an economic crisis from 1818-1828. Prior to that, despite repeated attempts by government agencies to convince farmers throughout the Nordic countries to plant potatoes, the potato had never gained much popularity. Since milk was scarce during the winter months, beer was often used as a substitute, particularly for cooking porridges.

Brewing beer was almost as labor intensive as baking and, like baking, was usually done once a month. Malt was milled at home in a mechanical grinder, rather than at the local mill, as it did not need to be ground as fine. Also, millers did not want the malt to be mixed with other grains milled at the mill (Graves 1921, 70-1). Hops grew wild in many places, and

people simply used wild hops for their brewing (Graves 1921, 68). A large tub was used for brewing. The malt was mashed in the tub, and boiling water was poured over it. Hay was used to form a sieve in the bottom of the tub and, after an hour, the wort was tapped from the tub into another container. The wort was cooled, and then yeast was added to it. The next morning, the yeast was skimmed from the top of the beer and the hops were added. The yeast was wrapped in a cloth and placed on dry ash; once it had dried, it was saved for the next brewing. The beer was put into wooden kegs that had been carefully washed and dried to remove any remaining yeast from the previous brewing and sterilized with boiling water (Graves 1921, 71). Beer was as much a food as it was a drink. The alcoholic content was low, perhaps only two or three percent, and it figured prominently in many porridge recipes, the best known of these being *øllebrød*, a porridge made from beer and bread.

The job of caring for small domesticated animals, such as chickens, also befell women. Even more time-consuming were tasks related to dairy production. Many farms made their own rennet for cheese, and butter churning, as long as there was milk, was a constant part of the workday. Milking was done three times a day during the months that the cows were grazing. Once the cows were brought inside in the late fall and had begun to eat hay, the milk production dropped markedly. At this point, the cows were only milked once or twice a day.

Milk production jumped in the last decades of the century when fodder beets became a staple of the cows' diet, replacing hay during the winter months. At the same time, cooperative dairies came storming onto the scene. The advent of the cooperative dairies meant that most butter and cheese production was taken out of the home. The workload at home did not diminish, as dairy herds grew rapidly, and the

amount of milking grew accordingly. In the last three decades of the century, for example, the dairy herds in Mejlby grew by nearly 70% even though arable land increased by less than 5% (Poulsen and Jørgensen 1942, 156).

Along with food preparation, and animal husbandry, making clothes was an important domestic task. Clothes were made both from wool and from flax. Women would card wool and spin both wool and flax into thread. The thread would then either be brought to a weaver to be made into cloth or, in the case of wool, be made into yarn for use in knitting. Women's work at the spinning wheel generally started at Michaelsmas (*Mikkelsdag*), once the sheep had been sheared (Graves 1921, 84). Informal social networks between farms and cottages were reinforced by this work, because women from the community often gathered for carding parties (*kartegilde*), where a good carder could card a pound of cleaned wool in an evening. According to Graves, these get togethers "gik lystigt med Snak, Skemt og Sang, men der maatte sandelig ogsaa arbejdes" [were merry with lots of talk, fun and songs, but one had to work hard as well] and therefore stood as one of the obvious contexts for women to tell stories to one another (Graves 1921, 84). Unfortunately, there are no ethnographic descriptions of any of these get-togethers. If any of the thread or yarn was to be dyed, it was sent to a dye works in the local market town.[19] While many women (and men for that matter) did their own knitting, weaving was usually sent out to specialized weavers (such as Ane Margrete Jensdatter). Otherwise, women sewed most of their family's clothes in the home (Graves 1921, 90). Local or wandering tailors would come by to sew more elaborate clothes or to do finish work on the rough sewing that the women had done.

Women were also critical in the fields at planting and harvest time. During harvest, women would wake up first and

take care of the milking and other household chores including preparing the first morning meal. The hired girls would head out to the fields, while the farmer's wife would stay at home to prepare the midday meal and make food to be brought out to the fields for the in-between meals (Graves 1921, 112). Out on the fields, the men would lead the way, mowing with their scythes, while the women would follow along behind, gathering and binding the sheaves. A strict hierarchy governed the order in which people worked in the field—the head farmhand would lead, and the head hired girl would gather behind him, and so on down through the farm's hired hands and day laborers. During other times of the year, women could be pressed into service to help with the preparation of the fields for planting, the actual planting itself and, once beets became common, the endless weeding that they required. At least, at the end of the harvest, there was always a big party. And people would always tell stories at these parties.

Overview of Kirsten Marie's Repertoire

Kirsten Marie sang no ballads, preferring instead to tell stories. Many of the stories she told were legends and descriptions of local beliefs and practices. Like Margrete Jensdatter, she was also skilled at telling folktales (Holbek 1987, 128-9). The positive outlook of the fairytale genre influenced her legend telling as well. Her legends, unlike that of other members of the farm owning class, tended to be resolved positively (Tangherlini 1994, 252). Kirsten Marie's perception of herself as a member of the farm owning class also influenced her storytelling. In an analysis of her legends, it is clear that land, farm buildings and tools related to farming occur with greater frequency than would be expected.

Unlike most farm owners, who narratively favored cunning folk as mediators of supernatural threats, Kirsten Marie favored, albeit only slightly, the minister (Tangherlini 1994, 252).[20]

First Meeting—1890

Tang Kristensen first visited Kirsten Marie in May of 1890, during a trip to what he labeled "Østeregnen," or eastern Jutland. The trip, which lasted for three weeks, from the first through the twenty-fourth of May, took him on a looping path up through the eastern regions of northern Jutland and brought him into contact with a large number of informants (MO vol. 3, 311-17). The places he visited are easy to determine but, given the length of the trip and the imprecise nature of some of his notes, the dates of those visits are much more difficult to determine. His initial interest in Villendrup was with Kirsten Marie's brother, Rasmus. At first, Tang Kristensen had a hard time finding him, but he finally located him, describing this first meeting as follows:

> Nu gik jeg over til Villendrup for at tale med Rasmus Kjær. Der blev strags sagt, da jeg kom ind i Gaarden: Manden er ikke hjemme. Men da jeg udforskede videre, viste det sig, at han blot var gaaet ned i Engen for at se til sine Folk, der var ved at grave Grøfter op. Han fulgte dog snart hjem med mig, og saa fortalte han en Del for mig og var i det hele meget flink. Jeg fik ogsaa Mad hos ham. Han mente nu, at det var bedst, jeg kom hen til hans Søster, der boede i Hornslet, for hun var meget bedre til at fortælle end han, og

> jeg besluttede mig da til at besøge hende med det samme (MO vol. 3, 312).
>
> [Now I went over to Villendrup to talk with Rasmus Kjær. As soon as I came into the farm, someone said: He isn't home. But when I researched the matter a bit, it turned out that he'd simply gone down to the meadow to see to his workers who were digging ditches down there. Soon I accompanied him home, and then he told me some things and was quite nice to me. I also was fed there. He thought it best that I go out and visit his sister who lived in Hornslet, because she was a much better storyteller than he was, and I immediately decided to visit her.]

Tang Kristensen caught a ride with Rasmus the next morning and met with his sister, Kirsten Marie, for the first time:

> Nu slog jeg mig til Ro foreløbig hos Søsteren Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter, og det var heldigt, jeg kom til hende, for hun var den bedste Kilde for mig af alle dem, jeg traf paa denne Rejse. Jeg var endda vidt omkring og i mange Byer og Steder. I det hele maa jeg sige, at naar jeg undtager Kirsten Maries Ydelser, gav denne lange Rejse et meget magert Udbytte (MO vol. 3, 313).
>
> [Now I settled down for a while with the sister, Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter, and it was fortunate that I had come to her because she

> was the best source I met on this trip. I had been widely about and in many towns and farms. On the whole, if I exclude Kirsten Marie's performance, that long trip yielded meager results.]

The meeting broke over two days, because Kirsten Marie had so many stories to tell. In fact, between his visits with Rasmus and Kirsten Marie, Tang Kristensen, over the course of three days, recorded well over a third of what he managed to collect during the entire, lengthy trip.

Kirsten Marie's first session is one of extraordinary scope. Over the course of two days, she told more than sixty-two different legends and jocular tales, and described local custom, dialect and other aspects of folk belief. Even though her genre range was very broad, she did not sing a single ballad. This is somewhat surprising, given Tang Kristensen's zealous efforts to wring ballads from his informants. One can discern several preoccupations in her stories, including an abiding concern with beggars, gypsies and wanderers. She was also quite interested in supernatural threat, particularly when it appeared in the guise of ghosts and witches.

Tang Kristensen's first day of collecting from Kirsten Marie probably ended with story 1.25, confirmed by a solid line across the page in the field diary. Elsewhere, I have pointed out how narrators often ended their sessions with a series of humorous tales (Tangherlini 1994, 262). About that evening, Tang Kristensen wrote, "Om Aftenen gik jeg ind til Stationen og opsøgte Læge Feilbergs Bolig—nu var han nemlig bleven Distriktslæge der, og saa fik jeg Nattely hos ham" [In the evening, I walked down to the station and looked up Feilberg's house—he had become the district physician there, and I got lodgings at his place] (MO vol. 3, 313). The next day, his collecting was equally successful, and

he managed to collect another thirty-seven stories from Kirsten Marie: "Næste Dag gik jeg igjen ud til Kirsten Marie og fik atter en Del skrevet op, og det var gode Ting, hun kunde. Det var i det hele et rart Sted at komme, og Manden og Datteren var ogsaa flinke imod mig" [The next day, I walked once more out to Kirsten Marie and managed to record some more things, and they were good things she knew. All in all, it was a pleasant place to visit, and the husband and daughter were also nice to me] (MO vol. 3, 313). It is interesting to note that the events in Kirsten Marie's stories were usually located in the immediate community, and many of them included a transmission link that brought the story into her immediate family—brother, father, uncle, grandparents, or the like.

Second Meeting—1892

Several years went by before Tang Kristensen was able to visit Kirsten Marie again. In mid October 1892, however, he returned to Hornslet Mark. The trip was short, as he describes in *Minder og Oplevelser*:

> Jeg tog først til Aarhus, og derfra gik jeg ud til Skejby. Det var d. 9de Oktober. Her fik jeg først Snedker Møller og siden Rasmus Elgaard til at fortælle for mig, og det gik helt godt med at tegne op. Derefter gik jeg over til Hasle, hvor Mette Marie Povlsdatter fortalte noget for mig. Derfra gik jeg tilbage til Aarhus og tog med Banen til Hornslet, for jeg havde Mod paa igjen at komme ud til Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter der ude paa Marken, og saa fik jeg jo besøgt Læge

Feilberg med det samme. Hun kunde endnu en hel Del, og Feilberg ymtede spøgende, at hun nok var min særlig gode Ven. Fra Hornslet gik jeg saa op til Hvilsager, hvor jeg besøgte Pastor Andresen. Han fortalte selv lidt og hjalp mig godt til Rette. Baade Ras Thomsen og Peder Thomsen fortalte for mig, og derfra gik jeg saa til Rasmus Hornbæk i Bendstrup, som var en helt god Fortæller. Saa kom jeg til Karlby, hvor jeg besøgte Lærer Nielsen. Hos Peder Kristian Kristensen fik jeg da en Del at vide. Efter at denne Rejse havde varet nogle Dage, rejste jeg saa hjem igjen, da jeg tænkte paa at gjøre en længere Tur op til Vendsyssel og helst maatte komme derop, inden Dagene blev alt for korte, og Vinteren maaske indfandt sig (MO vol. 3, 346).

[First I went to Aarhus, and from there I walked out to Skejby. It was October ninth. Here I got Cabinetmaker Møller and then Rasmus Elgaard to tell stories for me, and things went well with the recording. After that, I walked over to Hasle, where Mette Marie Poulsdatter told some things to me. After that, I walked back to Aarhus, and took the train to Hornslet, because I had decided that I wanted to come out to Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter out there on the field, and so I managed to visit Dr. Feilberg right away. She could still tell quite a bit, and Feilberg teased me that she was now my special friend. From Hornslet, I walked up

> to Hvilsager, where I visited Pastor Andresen. He told some things himself and then helped me to get set up well. Both Ras Thomsen and Peder Thomsen told some things to me, and from there I walked up to Rasmus Hornbæk in Bendstrup who was a good storyteller. Then I came to Karlby where I visited Teacher Nielsen. I also learned quite a bit at Peder Kristian Kristiansen's place. After the trip had lasted for several days, I went home again, as I had started to think about making a longer trip up to Vendsyssel, and had better get up there before the days got too short, and winter perhaps began.]

In his description of this trip, Tang Kristensen made little mention of Kirsten Marie, apart from Feilberg's joking. Tang Kristensen was apparently fond of Kirsten Marie and her family—particularly the warm reception he was given there. Part of this fondness may be because Kirsten Marie was better off than many of his other informants. In other notes in his memoirs, it becomes apparent that, while he felt the best materials were to be collected from the very poor (a notion not borne out by his actual collection), he was much more comfortable collecting from people who lived in reasonably clean, dry and warm houses (Tangherlini 2002).

Kirsten Marie continued to be an excellent storyteller, although she told far less on this second visit than she had during her first encounter with him several years earlier. Of the nineteen stories and descriptions she told, the majority were legends. She had told several of the stories to Tang Kristensen before, and this offers excellent comparative material for the consideration of variation over time.

Third Meeting—1894

Although Tang Kristensen visited Kirsten Marie a total of four times, the fourth visit was part of his first photographic odyssey with Peder Olsen in August of 1895 and he collected no stories during that visit. Describing that trip in *Minder og Oplevelser*, he wrote:

> Den første Tur omfattede kun fire Mennesker og var da egentlig at betragte som en Prøvetur. Vi gik over til Villendrup og tog Billede af en Gaardmand der, Rasmus Pedersen, som havde fortalt mig nogle Sagn. Saa gik vi til Mejlby og tog Margrete Jensdatter. Paa hende blev der ofret 2 Plader. Saa gik vi til Hornslet Mark og tog Rasmus Pedersens Søster, Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter, og endelig kom vi til Torsager, hvor vi overnattede hos Provsten, som var meget elskværdig imod os. Jeg husker, at Olsen om Aftenen sad og fremsagde Digtet Terje Vigen, som han kunde uden ad, og det kom han ualmindelig godt fra. Saa gik vi ned til Rostved og fik Anders Jørgensen Sams taget. Det var et særlig godt Billede, vi fik af ham, og saa tog vi hjem (MO vol. 4, 71).
>
> [The first trip included only four people and was actually considered a test trip. We walked over to Villendrup and took a picture of a farmer there, Rasmus Pedersen, who had told me some legends. Then we went over to Mejlby and took Margrete Jensdatter.

> Two plates were used for her. Then we walked to Hornslet Mark and took Rasmus Pedersen's sister, Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter, and finally we came to Torsager, where we stayed the night with the Dean, who was quite nice to us. I remember that Olsen sat there in the evening and recited the poem "Terje Vigen," which he knew by heart, and he was quite successful with that. Then we walked down to Rostved and took Anders Jørgensen Sams. It was an especially good picture we got of him and then we went home.]

The third visit with Kirsten Marie, in late January or early February 1894, was his last collecting visit with her, and took place during a long collecting trip that stretched until February nineteenth.[21] Describing the motivation for this trip, Tang Kristensen wrote: "Vi fik Meddelelse om, at Fru Feilberg i Hornslet var død lidt hen i Januar, og saa tænkte jeg paa at komme der om ad, da jeg skulde ud at rejse alligevel, og min næste Tur gjaldt Østeregnen, særlig da Egnen omkring Grenaa" [We got the news that Fru Feilberg in Hornslet had died in early January, and so I thought about going by there, because I was going to go out traveling anyways, and my next trip was to be to the eastern districts, especially the district near Grenaa] (MO vol. 4, 3). Tang Kristensen provided no start date for the trip, mentioning only, "Min Fødselsdag holdt jeg dog hjemme" [I celebrated my birthday at home however] (MO vol. 4, 3). The earliest he could have left, then, was January twenty-fifth. Even though the trip stretched over many days, he did not collect from many informants and provided little in the way of a summary of the trip's outcome. Kirsten Marie was, nevertheless, one of

the most prolific storytellers that he encountered on the trip. During this last meeting, she told another twenty stories, descriptions, sayings and provided him with several recipes. She paid special attention to local area customs, including detailed descriptions of celebrations.

Notes

[1]It is unclear where Tang Kristensen found this additional biographical material, although he may have supplemented her comments with archival research of his own.
[2] The farm is listed as "Boelkjærdsholm" in the 1834 census.
[3] A farm valued between one and two barrels of *hartkorn* was commonly known as a *boelsted (bolsted)*, and the farmer as a *boelsmand*. The term (O.Ic. ból) derives from the earlier organization of rural areas, in which some villages were divided into *bol*, each with an equal amount of land, forest and grazing commons (*overdrev*); a *bol* could consist of a single farm but, more commonly, several farms together comprised a *bol* (often with a half *bol* and several quarter, eighth and twelfth *bol*). A farm could belong to more than one *bol*. In 1682, the size of a *bol* was approximately 100 acres of land.
[4] Boeholm is listed as "Ploholm Hus" in the 1834 census.
[5] Although the name suggests a possible familial connection (Peder Andersen's maternal grandfather is Christian Lassen), it has been impossible to confirm any such connection.
[6] Field books or *markbøger* were books that provided detailed descriptions of the dispensation of the agricultural fields in Denmark. These measurements were made between 1682 and 1684, as a result of general dissatisfaction with the *matrikel* of 1662 and 1664, and in preparation for the *matrikel* of 1688.

The descriptions of fields included measurements of the length and width of fields, the area of the field and the valuation of the field, along with the name of the field's owner (Frandsen 1998, 82-3).

[7] The *landgilde* was an annual payment that a copyholder had to make on their lease. In earlier years, the payment was made in kind, or incorporated into the peasant's villeinage obligations. In later years, the payment was made in cash and could be as high as one quarter of a farm's output.

[8] By 1860, after all Niels's grown children had moved out, he employed three farmhands and a hired girl. This fairly large group of servants reflected Niels's increasing age, the size of the farm and his stature in the community.

[9] Kirsten Marie's brother Rasmus Kjær served as *sognefoged* later for a different parish.

[10] The house first came into being in 1854 and so there must have been several months at least between the wedding and their move.

[11] The spur was extended to Gjerrild in 1911, and finally to Grenå in 1917. Although the railway stretch Ryomgård-Grenå was eliminated in 1956, Hornslet station is still in operation.

[12] As noted, the Reventlow family was one of the most powerful aristocratic families in Denmark.

[13] Since divorce was not a possibility, Danish kings who had lovers occasionally married them unofficially. This type of marriage was referred to as "gift til venstre hånd," or "married to the left hand," and meant, among other things, that any children from the union had no inheritance claims on the king, and the wife did not receive the title of queen.

[14] The parish director's office was established by an ordinance August 13, 1841. The parish councils were established by the county reform (*kommunalereform*) in 1867 (Poulsen and Jørgensen 1942, 96).

[15] The *brugsforerninger* or grocery cooperatives were united in 1896 as Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger (General Society of Danish Grocery Cooperatives), or FDB. Among the many stores currently in operation that are owned by FDB are Irma, Kvickly, SuperBrugsen and Fakta, a reflection of the pervasiveness of the cooperative movement even in contemporary Denmark.

[16] The *menighedsråd* were established in 1856 on the basis of a circular, and the *valgmenigheder* were established in 1868.

[17] A *proprietærgård* was a farm with a valuation of at least twelve barrels of *hartkorn*. A farm with a valuation over twenty-four barrels of *hartkorn* was generally considered a manor farm (*gods*) (Ugilt 1980, 18). Jens Christensen provides an excellent discussion of the change in the status of women in the latter decades of the nineteenth century on different types of farms (Christensen 1988, 387-391).

[18] See Baad Pedersen for a discussion of the role of small grocers (*høkere*) and grocers in rural Denmark at the end of the nineteenth century (Baad Pedersen 1983).

[19] After the reforms to the commerce laws, dyers could relocate to the rural areas.

[20] A more thorough analysis of Kirsten Marie's repertoire can be found in my earlier study of legend tradition in Denmark (Tangherlini 1994, 247-79).

[21] Notes in *Minder og Oplevelser* suggest that Tang Kristensen may have visited her later on as well. Unfortunately, the records from that possible visit do not appear in the field diaries.