THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION

The most intricate and interminable question that has vexed Europe for two centuries and a half.

James Bryce.

by

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The Schleswig-Holstein question is said to be proverbial for obscurity. James Bryce calls it the most intricate and interminable problem which has vexed Europe for a century and a half. Most historians agree that it is an exceedingly difficult problem to state; and, so far as American textbook writers of modern history are concerned, it may be said that they have practically all failed to state it correctly. Even so accurate and scientific a historian as James Harvey Robinson makes the amazing statement about Slesvig that it was no more a part of Denmark than Hannover was a part of England during the Georges. (1)

In view of these considerations, the ordinary student of history might well hesitate before he undertakes, not only to state the question but to explain it as well. Yet this is what has been attempted in the following pages. While the question does involve many intricate details, the broad lines of it are comparatively easy to draw and easy to explain if the great central fact of the question, the union of Slesvig and Holstein beginning in 1326, is constantly kept in mind. Under the protection of this union the Germans, tho scarcely with any set purpose, succeeded in Germanizing about half of Slesvig before 1848, when the great national as well as political awakening of Europe, occurred. This awakening was especially intense in Slesvig which became the battleground of two nationalities; the Danish and the German. Backed by two
empires the Germans won the appeal to the sword in 1864, temporarily at least, but the sentiment of the world reversed the decision partly in favor of Denmark by the Treaty of Versailles and the Plebiscite of 1920.

There were other factors which made the question so "intricate and interminable": the succession, the Augustenburgers, the Danish kings, the unscrupulousness of Bismarck, the European situation—but the union of the duchies with the resulting "peaceful penetration" of Slesvig by the Germans, remains the central fact and the great determining factor in the final settlement of this thousand year old dispute.

1. Robinson, James Harvey, Medieval and Modern Times p. 615.
Denmark and the Holy Roman Empire.
"Eidora Romani Terminus Imperii."

When Caesar had forced Ariovistus east across the Rhine, that river became the permanent boundary between the Roman and Teuton worlds; it remained so for nearly five hundred years. Often, indeed, did the Roman armies carry fire and sword into the Teuton forests, but always to fall back upon their safe defenses along the Rhine.

With the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire the territories on both sides of the river were united, and, when Charlemagne by fierce, relentless onslaughts had subdued the equally fierce, relentless, blue-eyed Saxons, his Empire touched the banks of the Elbe threatening the independence of the Danish tribes who at that time had been united by the viking Godfred, the first great king to loom up in the mythical background of Danish history.

Alarmed by the conquests of Charlemagne, Godfred and his vikings hurried to strengthen the natural defenses of their southern boundary at a place where the fjord Sli and the Trene River almost cut across the peninsula of Jutland. This was done by throwing up a wall between the river and the fjord about 8 miles long tho only a few feet high, forming the famous Dannewirke.

1. La Cour, Dannewirke, pp.29-59. Dannewirke is the Danish form of Dannewerk, which is German and a better known form in the United States. Throughout this monograph the Danish forms of Danish historical names have been used.

The Godfred built the first wall, Queen Thyra, the wife of Gorm, is popularly known in Danish history as the first builder of Dannewirke. All that Queen Thyra did, was to strengthen the wall of Godfred.
which was later strengthened by successive Danish queens and kings and served for a thousand years as a bulwark against southern foes of Denmark. Godfred's Dannevirke was built in 808. In 810 he was killed by one of his men during an expedition against Charlemagne.

A period of disorder in Denmark followed. A successor of Godfred concluded an armistice with Charlemagne in 810 and the next year Danish and Frankish chiefs, twelve of each, met on the banks of the Eider and by oath declared that henceforth the Eider should be the boundary between the Empire and Denmark. So it remained over a thousand years, until Prussia in 1864 conquered Slesvig as far as King's Creek, which was the boundary between Denmark and the German Empire then until the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, provided for a plebiscite which moved the line south, tho not more than halfway towards the Eider.

The disorder that followed the death of Godfred naturally weakened the defensive strength of Denmark and invited attack. Thru the instigation of a fugitive Danish chief at the court of Emperor Louis the Pious, an imperial army of Saxons and Abotrites, (Slavs) in 815, invaded Jutland, crossed Godfred's Dannevirke and marched north for seven days without effecting any defeat of the Danish chiefs, who, even at that time, were strong on the sea. Having raided the country, Louis' army returned.

The emperor was soon at loggerheads with the Abotrites. This at once made them allies of the Danes and both invaded the imperial territory in 817, tho very little was accomplished. (1) Chaos in Denmark continued during the ninth century but the weak Carolingians were not able to take advantage of it. The Eider continued to be the boundary, tho the earthen defenses of Godfred were neglected.

1. La Cour, Dannevirke, p. 63.
In the first half of the tenth century, Denmark again became a strong and united country under Gorm the Elder, and Dannevirke was greatly strengthened by his Queen Thyra Dannebod, or "Denmarks Bod", who has ever since been adored in Danish song and story. The wall of Thyra was built on Godfred's wall; unlike the latter it was made of granite bowlders. It was not quite so long, but higher and wider.

The circumstance that made the rebuilding of Dannevirke imperative must have been the reorganization of the Holy Roman Empire under Otto I. There was, however, no immediate danger of a Saxon invasion for the son of Gorm, Harold Bluetooth, raided the country (Holstein) south of the Eider and ruled it until Emperor Otto II led an army against Harold, who had to take refuge behind the Dannevirke. Otto, in 974, either forced a passage of the wall itself or marched his army to the eastern end of it and crossed the Sli, and, attacking Harold's rear, defeated him. (1)

(1) Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, Note B, p. 523, says that Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great subdued the Danish kings early in the ninth century.

Widuking says that Henry conquered Danoes ... regem eorum nomine Chnuban, etc.

In the old Reichnow annal, this Danish king is called "rex Nordmannorum". The Scandinavian scholars, Storm, Steenstrup, Wimmer and LaCour have made it quite certain that Chnuba was not king of Denmark but perhaps of just the old Danish city Sliestorp, Slesvig or Hedeby (it is known under various names. Today it is the German city Schlesvig.) Weibull and Sax have reached similar conclusions.

Otto the Great, who died 973, did not make any raid into Denmark. His son Otto II. raided Denmark in 974 without permanent results. The location of the castle he built "in his Finibus" is not known. It is a muchmooted question as it bears on the political status of Slesvig in the tenth century. The Reichnow-annal gives 931 as the date of this raid. It is not considered as correct as Widuking who gives 974.
During these troubled centuries Slavic tribes, notably the Wends, pressed farther west along the Baltic, burning and plundering as far east as Holstein. They remained a menace to the peace of both Saxony and Denmark for more than two centuries. They probably destroyed the oldest important commercial town in Denmark, viz., Slesvig or Hedeby on the Sli. In 1043 they suffered a severe reverse in the great battle on Lyrauskov Heath north of Dannevirke.

The Slavic invasion destroyed whatever shadowy imperial claims that may have remained to territories north or south of the Eider, tho they were not officially relinquished until 1028, when Conrad II and Cnute of Denmark and England agreed that the Eider again should be the boundary between the Empire and Denmark.

The Holy Roman Emperors, however, may have retained a certain shadowy supremacy over the Danish monarchy. In the twelfth century several of the Danish kings did homage to them. The last of these was King Valdemar the Great, who became the vassal of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The terms of the vassalage, however, were quite vague and the king never followed the emperor in war or otherwise rendered him military service. The son of Valdemar, Knud VI, refused point-blank to render homage to Barbarossa and in 1154 defeated the army under Duke Bugislav, who was sent to enforce the imperial claims. The holy Roman Emperors never again threatened the independence of Denmark or attempted to move the boundary between the Danish kingdom and the imperial dominions.

(1) The Eider remained, as in the days of Charlemagne, the northern boundary of the Holy Roman Empire and later of the German Confederation until

1. In 1424 Emperor Sigismund of the Holy Roman Empire as arbitrator between the counts of Holstein and the king of Denmark decided that Slesvig as far as the Eider was a part of Denmark. Haandbogen, 93-94.
1864 when Prussia and Austria pushed it north to King's Creek. This was made possible by a union of the Danish Slesvig and the German Holstein under which a "peaceful penetration" of Slesvig by the Germans took place. By this means half of Slesvig was won for Germany and the Germans.
Slesvig and Holstein are "eternally" united.

"Ewich ungedelt."

Runic stones, names of localities, as well as the old Latin histories, show beyond a doubt that Slesvig was Danish as far south as Dannevirke before the ninth century. The southern part of the province, which lies between this famous wall and the Eider, was at that time not inhabited. Later it was settled by German colonists but, as already shown, remained a part of the Danish kingdom. Because of the exposed location, the whole province -- or the greater part of it -- (1) became a Danish "march" about the time of the building of Dannevirke in 808. The "margrave" or leader of the troops guarding the wall, was at first called "Jarl" (earl), later duke. The earls were appointed by the king and served during his pleasure.

After the introduction of feudalism these dukes became hereditary rulers and after dangerous rivals of the Danish kings. One of these was Duke Abel, the son of Valdemar the Victorious. He was the founder of a ducal dynasty that ruled Slesvig as a fief of Denmark, tho quite independently, from 1252-1375. A descendant of him married the sister of Count Gert or Gerhard of Holstein. This marriage served to unite the interests of the rulers in both duchies and paved the way for that fatal union of Slesvig and Holstein which became the tap-root of the Slesvig-Holstein question of the nineteenth century.

The union came about in this way. In 1325, Count Gerhard of Holstein, whom the Danes contemptuously nicknamed Count Gert "The Bald", while his more admiring Holsteiners have always known him as "the Great", became the guardian of his ten-year-old nephew Valdemar, who was the

1. The boundary between Slesvig and Denmark was very definite before 1864.
hereditary duke of Slesvig. Count Gert had secured this appointment in spite of the opposition of the Danish King, Christopher II, who figures in Danish history as King John does in English history. The ambitious Gert thereupon allied himself with certain rebellious nobles of Denmark and drove Christopher into exile; then they deposed him and crowned the young Duke Valdemar of Slesvig king of Denmark. Count Gert for these "innumerable acts of generosity towards the realm, king (Valdemar) and subjects of Denmark" was invested with Slesvig as a hereditary fief of the kingdom of Denmark, and King Valdemar promised that Slesvig never should be incorporated with Denmark with one man ruling both. (1).

Formerly both Slesvig and Holstein had been temporarily ruled by the Danish kings Harold Bluetooth and Valdemar the Victorious while now, for the first time, a German held both permanently united a his hereditary possessions. Altho Count Gert later lost his ill-gotten gains in Slesvig, he acquired them again and his descendents never entirely lost their hold on Slesvig. In 1375 the last scion of the house of Abel died as duke of Slesvig, and in 1386 a grandson of Gert became his successor; he was invested with the ducal power in Slesvig at the meeting of the Danish parliament in Nyborg on the island Fyn. (2) Thus once more a count of Holstein became duke of Slesvig.

In 1459 the last direct heir of Count Gert's grandson died and both Slesvig and Holstein passed to the Danish King Christian I. who was his nephew. When Christian I, in 1448, became king of Denmark, he repeated the promise made to Count Gert in 1526 that Slesvig never should be ruled by the king of Denmark or be incorporated with it. This, of course, was flagrantly violated when King Christian became

duke of Slesvig and count of Holstein, but it was only half of the promise that was broken; the other half was not repeated, but confirmed when he on March 5, 1460, in Ribe proclaimed the "eternal" union of the duchies (laven wy -- dat se bliven ewich tosamende ungedelt: we promise that they shall remain forever united." (1). The words "forever united" became the rallying cry of the Germans four centuries later in their attempt to wrest all of Slesvig from Denmark; they regarded the promise as sacred and binding on Denmark forever.

From 1460 up to 1864 the Danish kings ruled both Slesvig and Holstein or parts of them as counts and dukes. Several divisions of the duchies were made for the sons of the kings; one in 1490 and another in 1544. These parts were again divided into several minor duchies each with its duke, but Slesvig always remained a fief of Denmark, and Holstein of the Holy Roman Empire and later a part of the German Confederation. The union of the duchies also remained intact; the successive Danish kings confirmed it (2) and the government of all the duchies was carried on in the name of the king, as duke, and one or more of those petty dukes. The most powerful of these ducal dynasties was the Gottorpers. Duke Frederick of that house allied himself with the enemies of Denmark, and became as a result of it a sovereign ruler in 1658. From that time until 1721 Slesvig was independent, tho under certain obligations to Denmark. In 1721 the fortunes of war enabled the Danish king to re-incorporate Slesvig.

This incorporation of 1721, to some extent undid the unions of 1326 and 1460. It made Slesvig again an integral part of the

(1). Haandbogen, 95-96.
(2). Barfod, 2481
Danish monarchy; and, it was thought, with the same succession. Sweden, England and France became guarantors of this arrangement, (1) but in spite of the incorporation Slesvig remained for administrative purposes united with Holstein. Both had a common supreme court at Gottorp, and also some common laws which differed from the rest of the monarchy; but the courts in Slesvig used Danish laws, while those of Holstein used Saxon.

The Entangling Succession.

The incorporation of 1721 should have put an end to all misunderstanding concerning the difference between the succession of Slesvig and the rest of the Danish monarchy. According to the Danish lex regia, which by the incorporation of 1721, also became the law of succession for Slesvig, both the male and female heirs of the ruling house of Denmark would inherit Slesvig with the rest of Denmark. (1) The dukes of Slesvig called the legality of this in question since all the possible heirs had not been consulted, and at the same time declared that the succession for Slesvig and Holstein was in the male line only by act of 1608. This act the Danes declared illegal since the estates of the duchies had not approved it.

To make the succession in accordance with the lex regia certain, all possible claimants were bought off by the Danish government. One of these claimants, nevertheless, maintained that he would be the legal heir of both Slesvig and Holstein if the male line of the ruling house of Denmark died out. This was Duke Christian August of Augustenburg (1798-1869) who upon the death-bed of his father had promised him never to give up their dynastic claims to the duchies.

The Augustenburgers based their pretensions upon the rule of succession which had been established during the period of Slesvig’s independence by act of 1608, (2) and asserted that this act had not been repealed by the incorporation of 1721. The succession for Slesvig, therefore, they said, remained as before 1721, only in the


male line. The German jurist Sammer in 1844 wrote Die Staatserbfolge der Herzogthumer Schleswig und Holstein in which he tried to prove this with much learning and legalistic acumen.

As the Danish king in 1844 was an elderly man with just one son, the later popular King Frederick VII, who, tho married, had no children, there seemed to be some hope for the duke to become ruler of both Slesvig and Holstein. He was immensely encouraged in this by a liberal-national movement, which had been gaining headway since the Napoleonic Wars, and more especially since 1830, under, the spirited leadership of Uve Lornsen. This liberal-national party demanded a constitution, and, at first, a closer union between Slesvig and Holstein, and merely a personal union with Denmark. While the party was unable to realize its ideal, its activities hastened the introduction of district assemblies with advisory powers in the whole Danish monarchy.
The Awakening of the Danish and German Nationalities.

To Slcavig these representative bodies meant that all her people would henceforth have a voice in deciding their own destiny; formerly that had been a matter mainly between the kings of Denmark and the dukes and nobles of the duchies. It would have been quite easy for the Slesvigers to have decided their political status if they had all been Danish in speech and sympathy as far south as the old boundary the Eider or even Dannevirke; but the union of Slesvig and Holstein had afforded the Germans an opportunity of affecting a "silent penetration" and a peaceful conquest, which by 1830 had resulted in making the southern half almost entirely German.

This "silent penetration" had been accomplished by German officials, doctors, lawyers, preachers, teachers, nobles, merchants and farmers, who, under the protection of the union, had been favored by its government. This, tho carried on in the name of the Danish king since 1721, nevertheless, had been essentially German. Slesvig had, moreover, been a sort of highway for cultural movements from the south. Christianity and the Reformation had first taken root there, the latter especially spreading the use of the German language among the Slesvigers. The development of the common school system in Slesvig, during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, opened the duchy to another wave of Germanization, in that the teachers in these schools were drawn from the south and generally did not understand Danish. Under their influence the Danish farmers between the cities of Schleswig and Flensburg, became German in speech, sentiment, and national aspirations. The Danish government had let this "silent penetration" take place without practically any opposition until 1840
for the reason, that the Danish government, since the introduction of absolutism in 1660 and up to its abolition in 1848, had given more attention to the interests of the king than to the needs of the people.

The country districts in the northern half of Slesvig remained Danish to the core, but the cities already had forerunners of the German "silent penetration." These Germans in the towns and cities of northern Slesvig complicated matters immensely during the next troubled century, not the least during the late Plebiscite, since they gave the impression to the outside world that even northern Slesvig was German.

When the national consciousness of the Danes in North Slesvig and Denmark in the 40's of the nineteenth century, had a rebirth together with a demand for constitutional government, the people were not always able to distinguish between their own interests and those of the king. It is clearly now that it would have been to the advantage of the Danish people in 1848, to have let Holstein take the southern half of Slesvig and have allowed it to be incorporated with the German Confederation, no matter how clear the king's and the country's title to Slesvig, as far south as the Eider, might have been. There were a few Danes at that time even so far-sighted (1) as to understand this, but the government and most of the people considered the proposal for such a surrender of Denmark's historic right to all of Slesvig, including the old beloved defenses, Dannevirke, as well-nigh treason. They could hardly then look at it otherwise for self-determination was at that time an unheard-of method of settling a

1. Jørgensen, Historiske Afhandlinger, 4:5-10, 188
   Bøstrup, Det danske Folks Historie, 3:37.
boundary dispute. The Schleswig-Holsteiners (the Germans of Holstein and southern Schleswig) with a few exceptions were equally zealous in proclaiming the "eternal union" of the duchies and in claiming all of Slesvig for the new independent Schleswig-Holstein, which they hoped to establish, as a member of the Confederation.

The main currents and cross-currents in the Schleswig-Holstein question during the 40's of last century were: the Danish government trying to preserve the whole monarchy: Denmark, Slesvig, and Holstein and willing to make concessions Schleswig-Holsteiners; the Danes in northern Slesvig and the National-Liberals in Denmark not interested in Holstein and uncompromising with regard to any division of Slesvig; the Schleswig-Holsteiners demanding independence for Schleswig Holstein; the Augustenburger insisting upon their right following the death of Frederick VII, to rule this state, allied with the Schleswig-Holsteiners against Denmark.

Popular demands put the dynastic claims in the background and the question of political status of Slesvig formerly a matter of princes and diplomats, now became an issue of the people, to be fought out in the newly established provincial assemblies. The meetings of the Slesvig assembly (1) became particularly exciting when one of the representatives, P. Hjort Lorenzen, from northern Slesvig on November 11, 1842 arose and in the words of the journal of the assembly: "spoke Danish and continued to speak Danish." tho the official language of the assembly heretofore had been German. An appeal was made to the king, who, fearing the wrath of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, decided that only those of the representatives who could not speak German might address the assembly in Danish. As

1. Each of the two duchies had its own provincial assembly.
most of the representatives of northern Slesvig also spoke German, this was clearly a concession to the Schleswig-Holsteiners and a slap in the face of the Danish patriots.

But the wrath of the Schleswig-Holsteiners was aroused two years later when the king announced by proclamation that the succession for Slesvig and Denmark was identical and perhaps that of Holstein also. (1) Their storm of protest, reverberated from many parts of Germany and so emboldened them that they two years later March. 18, 1848, following the death of Christian VIII, proclaimed the independence of Schleswig-Holstein.

The Appeal to the Sword and The Danish Attempt to "Danize" Central Slesvig.

With the aid of Prussia, the Schlesvig-Holsteiners were able to carry on a war with Denmark lasting over two years (1848-1850). Finally, when Prussia had withdrawn, they fought alone, and lost the last battle of the war at Isted. This was decisive. The victorious Danish army returned "in glory". Slesvig now seemed permanently won for Denmark.

A diplomatic war, however, remained to be fought and won, to make the fruits of the battle of arms secure; in this battle Denmark lost when she agreed to a "status quo" with Prussia and signed the London Protocol of 1852. According to these agreements Slesvig was to remain united with Holstein and Prince Christian of Lyksborg, the later King Christian IX, was to succeed King Frederick VII. The succession as settled by the London Protocol was guaranteed by Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, France, Norway and Sweden, and most of the other important European countries, except the German Confederation.

(1) To extinguish whatever hereditary rights the Prince of Augustenborg might have, the Danish government paid him 6 million crowns for his estates in Slesvig even tho he had forfeited them by his participation in the rebellion of 1848-1850. He promised to reside outside of the Danish monarchy and not to interfere with its succession. (2)

These matters were settled with a great deal of difficulty, but the language question in Slesvig was far more difficult to adjust.

1. Haandbogen, 113
2. Rosendal, 1, 285.
Northern Slesvig was mainly Danish, the southern part entirely German, while the central part was becoming German in speech and sympathy; the many of the people in that part of the duchy understood and spoke Danish. It was quite satisfactory to the Slesvigers that Danish should be the language of the schools, churches, and courts of northern Slesvig and German that of the southern part; but when the Danish government made both Danish and German, with Danish predominating, the languages of the schools, churches and courts in the central part, a storm of protest again arose and again reverberated from many parts, of Germany.

These Danish language laws of 1850-1851 were more unwise than unjust. They did not suppress the German language in private schools, but they did make Danish compulsory in public state schools and state churches where people were accustomed to German, and in many instances the change was made against the wishes of the people. The Danes in North Slesvig, since 1864, however, would have considered it a boon if they could have had the privilege of private instruction in their own language which the Germans of central Slesvig had between 1850 and 1864 under Danish rule (1).

The discontent aroused by the language laws festered hopes of secession from Denmark and strengthened the opposition of the Schleswig-Holsteiners to all attempts that Denmark made to separate Slesvig from Holstein, and consolidate it more closely with Denmark. Yet such a consolidation was the burden of Danish politics between 1850 and 1863. First an attempt was made to unite Slesvig, Holstein, and Denmark in a confederation with a common government and yet a separate constitution for each. When this failed, a movement started for a constitution for Denmark and Slesvig and another of Holstein. This

1. Rosendal, 1:290-297
resulted in the so-called November Constitution uniting Slesvig and Denmark. Frederick VII died before he could sign it, but the National-Liberals forced his successor, Christian IX, to sign it on November 18, 1863.

The Danes by that demanded a national settlement of the political status of Slesvig rather than a dynastic one. Since they wanted not only the Danish half of Slesvig, but also the German, it was not a true national settlement. They knew that this meant war; but since well-nigh all the important European countries, tho not the German Confederation, had approved of King Christian's accession to both Slesvig and Holstein, and feeling assured of the friendliness especially of Norway, Sweden, England, and France, they confidently faced the issue.

Most of the German states were in sympathy with their "opressed" brethren in Central Slesvig and even with the Pretender Augustenburg; but, as the leading state, Prussia, had approved of the accession of King Christian IX to Denmark and the duchies, Bismarck could not well interfere on the score of succession. He, however, saw an opportunity in the November Constitution which might be construed to mean a violation of Denmark's promise to Prussia not to break the union of Slesvig and Holstein. Backed by reluctant Austria, Prussia, therefore, demanded the recall of the November Constitution, which Denmark refused.

1. Thereupon German troops at once invaded Holstein and southern Slesvig

1. Begtrup; 3:475. Bismarck gave Denmark 48 hours in which to recall the constitution. The Danish government answered that it was willing to recall the constitution, but that it could not be done legally on so short notice.
where the Danes for the last time made their stand against southern foes at the old historic wall Dannevirke.

Few armies, if any, ever had more, what Theodore Roosevelt called "fighting edge" than this Danish army of 1864. It was determined to win and confident of its ability to achieve victory; so was the whole country. But Norway-Sweden held back, likewise France and England. (1) The expected and necessary foreign aid never came and the position of the Danish army of 40,000 armed with old muzzle-loading rifles against a German army of 60,000 armed with new breach-loading rifles, soon became untenable. Tho several German assaults had been easily repulsed, a general retreat was ordered February 5th.

A deep gloom settled down on the Danish army and people. The common soldier could not understand why he, who was so willing to face the enemy, should almost immediately turn his back to him surrounded as he was by the memories of Godfred and of all the defenders of Dannevirke; the common man at home could understand that such a disgraceful retreat could have been ordered without treason, and even the king who had unwillingly signed the November Constitution that brought on the war, was suspected of it, tho such suspicions were without any real foundation.

The retreating army "dug itself in" on "Mount" Dybbøl in northern Slesvig, which position it doggedly held for ten weary weeks. On April 18, 1864, the Germans carried it by assault. For this feat the Prussian king sent a message to his "glorious army" thanking it "next to the Lord of Hosts" for the victory. Some of the officers

1. Bryce Holy Roman Empire, 344. Bryce thinks England hesitated because her statesmen and public writers thought Denmark was in the wrong. The reason must have been that England disapproved of the language laws in central Slesvig. Several noted Englishmen had expressed their disapproval of them strongly.

The Prince Consort is said to have influenced Queen Victoria in favor of the Germans. Begtrup, 3, 90.
were indignant because the commander-in-chief, Prince Friederich Carl was not named in the message also. But the Prince Friederich Carl could understand it that way, "for" as he said, "I am the Lord of Hosts."

What the German and Austrian troops had won at Dannevirk and Dybbøl, German diplomats secured and obtained legal title to at the conferences in London and Vienna. If the Danish people in 1864 could have understood that half of Slesvig was already lost to the Germans before the war started, they might have kept the northern part. But the Eider was fixed so firmly in the people's mind as the southern boundary, and the old Dannevirk was so dear to all, that the Danish representatives at the peace conferences fought for all of Slesvig till all was lost. The treaty of Vienna, October 31, 1864, (1) to the joy of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, sealed the "eternal union" of Schleswig-Holstein, but to their dismay the crown jurists (2) of Prussia by only one dissenting vote declared that King Christian IX in 1864 was the only legal heir to both duchies. By the Treaty of Vienna he had transferred those rights to Prussia and Austria, and Austria again, her rights to Prussia by the Treaty of Prague, 1866, (3) Prussia and Prussia alone henceforth, backed by her "glorious army," presided over the destinies of "meerumsch-lungen" Schleswig-Holstein. Bismarck laughed to scorn the "dynastic intrigues" of the Duke of Augustenburg (a son of Christian August) and refused to recognize him as ruler of the duchies. By winning the best-planned diplomatic game ever played in modern politics, he had secured the duchies for Prussia and solved

1. Haandbogen, 205-216.
the tangled Schleswig-Holstein problem, which, he jestingly declared, only two men had ever understood and of these one was dead and the other crazy.
The Attempted Germanization of North Slesvig by the Prussians 1864-1920.

According to Article 5, (1) of the Treaty of Prague northern Slesvig was given the privilege of voting on her political status. This article had been made a part of the treaty at the suggestion of Emperor Napoleon III, actuated perhaps not entirely by unselfish motives. It made the Danish Slesvigers, as well as the people in Denmark, hopeful of a just settlement of the new boundary; perhaps the return of the whole of North Slesvig, which they now saw was really all that they, according to the theory of the consent of the governed, had any "historic" right to. Bismarck was not indisposed toward such a plebiscite, (2) but the army, which had won all of Slesvig, balked at giving up any part of it. In 1878 with the consent of Austria and in exchange for Prussia's connivance at Austria's absorption of Bosnia and Herzegovinia, this part of the Treaty of Prague was cancelled. (3) The Germans then did not regard the treaties concerning Slesvig as sacred as formerly.

Meanwhile the Germanization of North Slesvig was pushed and its people subjected to all kinds of petty persecutions. (4) The teaching of German became compulsory in 1871 in all schools. In 1878 it was made one of the mediums of instruction and in 1888 Danish was excluded altogether except for two lessons a week in Danish Bible history. Private schools were entirely forbidden. In 1864, 121 parishes had

1. Haandbogen, 270
3. Verrier, Slesvig.
Danish services, in 1906 only 26. German services were sometimes introduced at the request of a single official. It became a culpable offense to sing Danish patriotic songs even of a quite innocent nature. The use of the old Danish name for Slesvig, South Jutland was forbidden. Danish singers, players and lecturers were denied admission to the province. Red and white (colors of the Danish flag) were under taboo; it is even said that the German officials scowled at red and white cattle.

But those subjected to the most savage persecutions were the Optants. According to Article 19 of the Treaty of Peace at Vienna, 1864, (1) all Slesvigers who emigrated to Denmark between 1864 and 1870 might remain Danish citizens and yet retain their rights as native-born Slesvigers, even upon their return to Slesvig from Denmark. The children of these Optants who returned to Slesvig were without the treaty rights of their parents; and, therefore, politically "homeless" as they were neither citizens of Denmark, where citizenship is obtained by birth or naturalization as in the United States, nor of Germany (Slesvig) where the children's citizenship is determined by that of their parents. Many of these Optants and their children, as well as many Danish subjects were exiled between 1898 and 1907. In the latter year an agreement was made between Denmark and Prussia, permitting the Optants to become Prussian subjects. This agreement was substantially a victory for the Danes in North Slesvig as it increased their voting strength. Before 1878 many (50,000) Slesvigers had emigrated; but, when Article 5 had been cancelled, they

stayed at home and fought for their soil, their language, culture, and nationality, with such persistency that they even won converts from the German colonists who came under the special protection of the Prussian government.

The forced Germanization of North Slesvig thus failed. German colonization was sporadic and unimportant. The uncompromising attitude of the government officials, with a few exceptions especially among the ministers of the state church, simply served as a constant reminder to the people that they were ruled by conquerors. The harsher methods Prussia used, the stronger and more frequent were the expressions of sympathy for the Slesvigers by prominent men and women in all the Scandinavian countries. Occasion ally too a German scholar would voice the same sentiments, but the great mass of highly trained, scientific Germans remained impervious to sense, common or otherwise, in the matter of North Slesvig. (1) So the policy of force was continued.

What the army had taken, the army could hold. The German minister of the gospel, who, in answer to a statement by a Danish colleague that the Danes were still praying for the return of North Slesvig, replied: "Just pray on. We've got the cannon." aptly "summed up the case" for Germany.

1. Professor Hans Delbruch in Preussische Jahrbucher 1899.
The Resurrection of Article 5 and the Plebiscite of 1920.

When the World War broke out, there was a compact body of more than 160,000 Danes (nearly all Prussian citizens) in North Slesvig, well organized in free churches, educational, political and credit societies, hoping constantly that a reunion with Denmark sometime and somehow might be possible. Of these 160,000 there were 30,000 who had to fight for the oppressors against their benefactors, the Allies, because they felt bound by their flag-oath as Prussian soldiers. Not less than 6,000 were killed or died of disease and thus paid the supreme sacrifice -- for what? --Denmark--of which they were spiritually a part. Numerous desertions from North Slesvig to evade military service might have been the cause of Germany's making another "Belgium" out of Denmark.

When the Germans killed Article 5 in 1878, they confidently declared that they had made an end of all hopes of North Slesvig based on the Treaty of Prague. The Slesvigers protested that they believed in the resurrection of the dead. Article 5 did arise when the German revolution took place immediately before the signing of the Armistice on November 18, 1918. At a meeting of the Reichstag, October 23, the Danish member from North Slesvig, Mr. H.P. Hansen, demanded the solution of the North Slesvig question (the Slesvig-Holstein question after 1864 became the question of North Slesvig only) in accordance with Article 5 of the Treaty of Prague. Amid the applause of the Reichstag, particularly the Social Democrats, and the members from Poland and Alsace Lorraine, he eloquently pleaded the cause of North Slesvig, the justice of which he pointed out both Bismarck and Windthorst had conceded. (1)

On the next day Dr. Solf, the minister of foreign affairs, presented the reply of the government. It was a curt denial of any right under Article 5, but it admitted that North Slesvig in accordance with Wilson's Fourteen Points might demand a plebiscite, which really meant the same as carrying out Article 5.

On November 16, 3000 Slesvigers met at "Polkehjem," Aabenraa and adopted a resolution asking for a reunion with Denmark of the part of Slesvig which later became known as the First Zone. This resolution was sent to the Danish government together with a request from the minister of foreign affairs of the German Republic, to the effect that Denmark should make the Danish Slesvigers and Denmark's wishes known concerning North Slesvig to the Peace Conference at Versailles. This communication was joyfully received by the Danish government. (1)

The Peace Conference did not meet for four and a half months, thus giving both Danes and Germans ample time for discussing methods of conduction of plebiscite. The German Slesvigers asked for an "en bloc" vote of the whole province which could then easily be won for Germany since the population of North Slesvig was only about one third of the whole province. Danish expansionists "falled with all the patriotic associations of Dannevirke, but forgetting that Denmark since 1864 had based her right to North Slesvig on the sentiment and nationality of the people, demanded Slesvig as far south as the old historic wall of Godfred and Thyra." This "Dannevirke Movement" waxed strong enough to send a special delegation to the Peace Conference confusing the counsels of the regular Danish delegation consisting of both members

from the Danish political parties and the political societies in Slesvig, as well as experts in the North Slesvig question.

As this special delegation worked somewhat secretly, the terms of the Peace Treaty dealing with Slesvig was a surprise to Denmark. In accordance with the advice of the regular delegation there would be voting "en bloc" north of a line drawn from a point on Flensburg Fjord, a few miles north of the city of Flensburg, to point on the North Sea a few miles to the southwest of Tønder. This was the First Zone. In harmony with the regular delegation's recommendations, a belt south of First Zone, the Second Zone, would vote for or against reunion with Denmark by townships; but contrary to those recommendations a Third Zone was established south of the Second Zone, where voting would also be "en bloc". The Third Zone reached as far south as Dannevirke.

All men and women of at least 20 years of age born in Slesvig including those who had been expelled by the German authorities, were granted the right to vote. Unfortunately the words "and having their homes in the zones where their votes are cast" had been left out after "born in Slesvig." (1) By this omission the German votes were greatly increased, since many children of former German officials could qualify under the requirement of "born in Slesvig". Finally the Treaty provided for the withdrawal of the German civil and military authorities and the appointment of an Allied commission to take charge of the administration of the different zones during the plebiscite.

By a vote of 124 to 30 the Danish Parliament expressed itself against the Third Zone where there were very few who spoke Danish, tho it was rumored that many would vote for Denmark because of economic

1. Mørgaard, Danmark fra 1864, 109-110/
considerations. Since many Germans also opposed the establishment of the third zone, it was withdrawn from the plebiscite.

First zone voted on February 10, 1919. Immediately before the election, the voters league (Vaelgeforeningen) in Slesvig published a touching appeal to the Danish Slesvigers of that zone: "Slesvigers! The day has come, we are going home. What a generation has believed in; what our fathers have fought for, and what our mothers have wept and prayed for; the hope that has carried our sons thru war and death, has come true. They have given us the key to the locked door on which we have knocked a half century -- but we must open it ourselves."

They did by a vote of 72,431 to 25,329. Not less than 862 votes were declared illegal and rejected. In the cities there were, however, German majorities, in Tønder, Aabenraa, and Sønderburg, but the largest city Haderslev voted Danish by 5208 to 3271.

The second zone voted on March 14th. The result was a victory for Germany, 48,618 voted against reunion with Denmark and only 14,014 voted in favor of it. The plebiscite in this zone was a clear proof of the thoroness of the work of Mr. H.P. Hansen, the Danish member of the German Reichstag from North Slesvig, and his colleagues in ascertaining the true national boundary so far as it could be determined between Denmark and Germany. The southern boundary of First Zone, which they had fixed as such, the Inter-allied Commission sanctioned as the just national boundary in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

All fair-minded people north and south of the new line have reasons for rejoicing. There are still Danes under German rule, but there are also Germans subject to Denmark. As it is, Germany is really the victor for she has had her title to half of Slesvig approved by the world, tho this half was entirely Danish a thousand years ago, and partly so even less than a century ago. Denmark has lost Dannevirke rich in memories
of past achievements and disappointments, but she has won back 160,000
of her children, who a few short years ago, were thought to be in the
eternal bondage of their oppressors. --These are indeed days of dreams
come true.

Long before the World War the great Danish authority on the Schles-
wig-Holstein question, A.D. Jørgensen, thus voiced the hope of Denmark
for the return of Danish Slesvig: "The ages as well as the minds of
men change; we cannot cease hoping that the unhappy fate of Danish Sles-
vig once will be mitigated, and that the decision to divide Slesvig be-
tween Denmark and Germany which failed in 1864, once may be attained as
an ultimate conclusion in the everchanging history of that country. Then
it must be a pledge of lasting peace and good will between the kindred
people north and south of the national boundary, which the evolution of
countries has set, and upon which we are not called to sit in judgment."
APPENDIX

The Names of Slesvig.

Present Danish names.
1. Slesvig.
2. Sønderjylland.

Present German name.
1. Schleswig.

The Prussians forbade by law the use of the Danish name Sønderjylland after 1864. The Danish Slesvigers then used two horizontal bars, one following the other instead.

Older Forms of Sønderjylland.
1. Syndhrae iutlandh—Danish.
2. Sundaer iutlandh "
3. Sunderjutland "
4. Syndre Julland "
5. Sunder Jutlant "
7. Sud-Jutland "

Older Forms of Sleswig.
1. Sleswick.
2. Sleswyk.
3. Slesewich.
4. Slesvig.
5. Slessewik.

Sønderjylland is the older name and still dear to Danish hearts.
It is used more in Denmark than Slesvig both for patriotic and euphonical reasons. Slesvig was originally the name of the oldest larger town in Slesvig and Denmark.
Clause from Constitutio Valdemariana separating Slesvig from Denmark, June 7, 1326:

"The dukedom South Jutland shall likewise never become united with the realm and crown of Denmark nor be incorporated with it so that one is lord of both." Haandbogen, p. 92.

Excerpt from the Proclamation of Ribe, March 5, 1460.

We, Christian, King of Denmark, etc. . . . . testify that the venerable prelates, the dread nobility, the honorable cities and inhabitants of the dukedom Slesvig and the county Holstein . . . . have elected us duke in Slesvig and count of Holstein . . . . not as king of Denmark, but because of the esteem in which our person is held by the inhabitants of the countries; and these countries are not to be inherited by our children or relatives, but just as we have been elected, so they and their descendants.

We promise to keep the peace with all our power in these countries and that they shall remain eternally united. Haandbogen, p. 95.

Excerpt from the Document granting Sovereignty to Duke Frederik of Gottorp, May 2, 1658, showing that even during the time that a part of Slesvig was independent, it was under obligations to Denmark:

"Furthermore it is understood that the dukedom Slesvig, entire or in part, is not to be disposed of to the hurt of us, (Frederik III of Denmark) the crown, or our successors."

Excerpt from the "Patent of Incorporation," August 22, 1721.

"Because of the treaty of peace between us (Frederik IV of Denmark) and the king of Sweden (whom the duke of Gottorp had helped) which by the aid of God has been signed and ratified, and because of the formal and solemn guaranties of the mediating kings for us and our royal successors to possess forever quietly the rule of the whole dukedom of Slesvig" . . . .
The Duke accepted the above incorporation: "I promise for myself and my heirs and successors... that I will acknowledge and consider his royal majesty of Denmark... our only sovereign, to lex regia." Haandbogen, pp. 103-104.

Article V of the Treaty of Prague, August 23, 1866.

"The Emperor of Austria cedes to the King of Prussia all his acquired rights to Slesvig and Holstein by the Treaty of Peace in Vienna, October 30, 1864, with the reservation that the people in the northern districts of Slesvig are to be united with Denmark if they by an election freely express themselves in favor of it."
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