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Pedagogical Journeys or Pleasure Trips: Danish Schoolteachers' Educational Journeys, 1898–1932

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Abstract • In the last decades of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries, a wide range of pedagogical ideas were disseminated in Denmark, influencing both primary schooling and everyday school life. Many of these ideas, along with the desire for educational reform, originated in other European countries and were transferred into a Danish context. During the period 1898–1932, the Danish Ministry of Education awarded 874 grants to Danish male and female primary schoolteachers, enabling them to embark on educational journeys at home and abroad. The author analyses these journeys as an example of educational borrowing to determine the exact nature of the new, inspirational concepts and knowledge to be acquired and to ascertain which countries were perceived as being educationally progressive. From a broader perspective, this article contributes to our understanding of how academic and professional discourses of education crossed borders and contributed to national educational systems becoming more and more alike. The article concludes that the majority of teachers wanted to embark on a *Bildung* journey, visiting Nordic countries and Germany, with the experience of foreign culture, language and education as their desired purpose. These teachers did not seek big changes, but rather sought to incorporate new concepts and practices into their daily work. Only a minority of the group applied for grants in order to obtain inspiration for widespread reforms or pedagogical renewal. These teachers were national experts in a particular field and belonged to a wider international group, which contributed to the construction of international grammar of school reforms.

Keywords • educational borrowing, educational journeys, teacher education, transnational knowledge transfer

Introduction

In 1925, Sigfred Degerbøl received a travel grant from the Danish Ministry of Education so that he could go to Germany to study the new German educational ideas. He was a teacher at Vanløse School in Copenhagen, where pedagogical reforms were being piloted. He visited, among other institutions, the Odenwald School in Hessen, led by the German reform pedagogue Paul Geheeb, where he saw that the "principles of the new free school ideas actually can be implemented and that they are implemented means an extremely high educational progress."[1] In the same year, the village teacher, Hans Jørgen Hansen, from the small school in Frederiksberg in West Zealand was also granted a scholarship. It was a different kind of foreign inspiration he wanted to experience. He chose Sweden, but as he travelled during the summer holidays, schools were closed. Nevertheless, he noted in his travel report to the Mi-

1 Travel report from S. Degerbøl, September 3, 1925, Danish School Museum (DSM): Travel reports 1925–28, Danish National Archives (DNA). On Geheeb and his school see Martin Näf, *Paul und Edith Geheeb-Cassirer: Gründer der Odenwaldschule und der Ecole d'Humanité: Deutsche, internationale und schweizerische Reformpädagogik 1910–1961* (Weinheim: Beltz, 2006).

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nistry that he benefitted from seeing Swedish schools and exchanging thoughts with Swedish schoolmasters.[2]

These two teachers were employed at Danish public primary schools, which, according to the 1814 School Acts, were divided into three categories of institution according to their location. Each was governed by different legislation and taught different curricula: the capital's primary school (*almue– og borgerskolevæsenet i København*), the market town schools *(almueskolevæsenet i købstæderne*) in the cities and the village schools in the country side (*almueskolevæsenet på landet*), had created three kinds of teachers.[3]

In the capital of Copenhagen, there were both public schools with better-educated teachers for the majority of children and private schools for parents who could afford to pay for their children's education. Outside of the capital, in market town primary schools, many of the teachers were educated beyond the basic teacher exam and provided children with longer school days and an extended curriculum compared to the village schools that the majority of children attended every other day, which had a shorter school day and offered fewer subjects, and since the majority of teachers had achieved no education except basic teacher training.

The overall purpose of all three divisions of public schooling remained, in the words of the 1814 School Acts, that children should be moulded into "good and righteous people, in accordance with the Evangelical–Christian doctrine, as well as giving them the knowledge and skills necessary for them to become useful citizens in the state."[4] They were to become good human beings and acquire basic skills.

However, in the years around 1900, a number of educational ideas emerged which, combined, might be described as 'new pedagogy' (*nypædagogik*)—a precursor to the reform pedagogy of the 1920s and 1930s—which gained support amongst teachers in Copenhagen and the cities. New pedagogy was not a coherent theory of childhood and upbringing, but rather a mosaic of educational thoughts and practices. The new pedagogy promoted an alternative view of what was useful for children to learn, in opposition to the 1814 School Acts' narrow focus on basic skills. The child should develop his or her senses and 'learn to learn,' rather than being taught factual knowledge such as hymns or king dynasties. Exploring and understanding the child's soul life was vital; there was, therefore, a close connection between psychology and pedagogy.[5] Moreover, Danish schools' political framework and curricula underwent revision during the first third of the twentieth century, especially due to the Danish Social Democratic Party. The party emphasised school reforms and new school legislation as important tools for implementing their social welfare policy and thereby improving conditions for the working class.[6]

2 Travel report from H.J. Hansen, January 19 1926, DSM: Travel reports 1925–28, DNA.

3 This paragraph is based on Anne Katrine Gjerløff and Anette Faye Jacobsen, *Da skolen blev sat i system: 1850–1920* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2014), 31–58; Ellen Nørgaard, *Lille barn, hvis er du?: En skolehistorisk undersøgelse over reformbestræbelser inden for den danske folkeskole i mellemkrigstiden* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1977), 21–27; and Anne Katrine Gjerløff et al, *Da skolen blev sin egen: 1920–1970* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2014), 14–17, 52–55.

4 Joakim Larsen, *Skolelovene af 1814 og deres Tilblivelse, aktmæssig fremstillet* (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1914), 420.

5 K. Grue-Sørensen, *Opdragelsens historie, vol. 3* (Copenhagen: Gyldendals pædagogiske bibliotek, 1959), 196–210; Gjerløff and Jacobsen (2014), 272–77.

6 Ning de Coninck-Smith, *For barnets skyld: Byen, skolen og barndommen 1880–1914* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2000), 33–34, 254–60, 283–88; Gjerløff and Jacobsen (2014), 326–49.

After World War I, an educational reorientation took place in Denmark, where alternative forms of education were advanced under the term 'reform pedagogy' (*reformpædagogik*).[7] The core of the pedagogical–psychological new orientation was a belief that the child was able to take care of his or her own development. Schooling should therefore exploit children's inherent potential to mould themselves into future citizens rather than transforming them into obedient soldiers. This new orientation gave rise to debates in academic and educational journals exploring the 'working school' (*Arbeitsschule*) and the 'free school' (*freie Schule*),[8] as well as discussing the experimental schools which had sprung up in major Danish cities.[9] This period was also characterised by the emergence of the practice of school psychology in Denmark.[10]

Aim and research questions

These pedagogical reform movements influenced the content of primary schooling, everyday school life, didactics and working methods. However, how the new ideas were disseminated to and received by the thousands of male and female Danish teachers is difficult to establish. One approach would be to examine school journals and other periodicals to see how the new ideas were presented to a Danish audience of teaching professionals.[11] Another approach would be to examine which new ideas teachers sought to learn more about, or even 'borrow,' and to identify how they went about this. Several teachers embarked on educational journeys as a way of improving their skills and many were involved in school experiments. In Denmark, between 1898–1932, teachers were, by means of grants from the Danish Ministry of

7 Nørgaard (1977); Gjerløff et al. (2014), 113–27, 380–82; Ove Korsgaard, Jens Erik Kristensen and Hans Siggaard Jensen, *Pædagogikkens idéhistorie* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2017), 286–307. On German reform pedagogy, see Wolfgang Keim and Ulrich Schwedt, eds. *Handbuch der Reformpädagogik in Deutschland (1890–1933)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), vol. 1–2. On progressive education in the Nordic countries, see Ulf Blossing, Gunn Imsen and Lejf Moos, "Progressive Education and New Governance in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden," in *The Nordic Education Model: Policy Implications of Research in Education,* ed. Ulf Blossing, Gunn Imsen, and Leif Moos (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 133–54; Trine Øland, "The Diversity of 'Progressive School Pedagogues' 1929–1960: A Space of Opposites Making Society Making the Child," *Praktiske Grunde: Tidsskrift for kultur- og samfundsvidenskab* 7, no. 4 (2015), 5–24.

8 Nørgaard (1977), 60–61; Gjerløff et al. (2014), 113.

9 The experiments are analysed in Nørgaard (1977), 66–99, 116–43. See also Gjerløff et al. (2014), 118–22.

10 On Danish school psychology and testing in the interwar period see Carsten Bendixen, *Psykologiske teorier om intelligens og folkeskolens elevdifferentiering: En analyse af transformationen af psykologiske teorier om intelligens som baggrund for skole-psykologiske og pædagogiske afgørelser vedrørende elevdifferentiering i det 20. århundredes folkeskole: En Ph.d.-afhandling fra Forskerskolen i Livslang Læring* (Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetscenter, 2006), 46–71; Bjørn Hamre, *Potentialitet og optimering i skolen: Problemforståelser og forskelssætninger af elever – en nutidshistorisk analyse: Ph.d.-afhandling* (Copenhagen: Aarhus Universitet, Institut for Uddannelse og Pædagogik, 2012), 35–119; Christian Ydesen, *The Rise of High-Stakes Educational Testing in Denmark (1920–1970)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 45–113; Christian Ydesen, "The International Space of the Danish Testing Community in the Interwar Years," *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 4 (2012), 589–99; Trine Øland, "A State Ethnography of Progressivism: Danish School Pedagogues and their Efforts to Emancipate the Powers of the Child, the People and the Culture 1929–1960," *Praktiske Grunde: Nordisk tidsskrift for kultur- og samfundsvidenskab* (2010), 1–2, 57–89. Cf. Nørgaard (1977), 153–73 and Gjerløff et al. (2014), 243–48.

11 See, e.g., Jürgen Schriewer and Carlos Martinez, "Constructions of Internationality in Education," in *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending,* ed. Gita Steiner-Khamsi (New York and London: Teachers College Press, 2004), 29–53.

Education, given the opportunity to cross national boundaries and seek inspiration and new methods abroad. Although it was just a tiny proportion of the total number of teachers who actually travelled—even fewer who took part in school reforms—the influence they exerted on the public debate and their local environment was somewhat impressive.[12]

This article aims, firstly, to analyse these educational journeys as an example of educational borrowing by examining the attraction of Danish schoolteachers to foreign educational systems and pedagogical ideas deemed worthy of consideration and replication. Secondly, in a broader sense, this article will contribute to the existing research by demonstrating the transposition of international academic and professional educational discourses to nations in a period of the emergence of mass schooling. It will, additionally, illustrate the long-term contribution of educational borrowing to national educational systems, which, over time, came to closely resemble its international counterparts.[13] This case study also highlights how governments could assume a strategic role in facilitating planned knowledge transfer, and focuses specifically on identifying what kinds of knowledge the Danish government actually wanted the teachers to borrow. Indeed, the source material reveals whether it was ideas conducive to pedagogical and educational reforms, or rather the increased exposure of teachers to wider-ranging, general educational practices, that the government strived for. The article is, however, not a study of the actual transfer per se, as this would access to alternative types of source materials and adoption of a different theoretical framework.

The Ministry of Education's facilitation of foreign travel for Danish teachers can be understood as an expression of 'governmental internationalism'—that is, a government or an institution's strategy of organising the exchange of information by offering subsidies to their most interested members (experts, foremen, apprentices).[14] The teachers wanted to borrow policies, philosophies and concepts and transpose them into a Danish context—some openly by declaring that their ideas and reform plans were influenced by international debate; others through the subtle process of 'silent borrowing,' where international influences are not openly acknowledged by policymakers and educationalists.[15] For the first group, it is easy to identify the borrowing, as it was—more or less—openly declared; for the latter group, it can prove more difficult to identify 'silent borrowing.' One way to attempt this would be to examine the isomorphisms and equivalences between the teacher's praxis and international educational discourses, a method previously employed by German educa-

12 Nørgaard (1977), 53–58.

13 On the emergence of mass schooling in the Western world, see Johannes Westberg, Lukas Boser and Ingrid Brühwiler, eds. *School Acts and the Rise of Mass Schooling: Education Policy in the Long Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

14 Damiano Matasci, "The International Congresses of Education and the Circulation of Pedagogical Knowledge in Western Europe, 1876–1910," in *Shaping the Transnational Sphere: Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s,* ed. David Rodogno, Bernhard Struck and Jacob Vogel (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 225; Madeleine Herren, "Governmental Internationalism and the Beginning of a New World Order in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War,* ed. Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 121.

15 Florian Waldow, "Undeclared Imports: Silent Borrowing in Educational Policy-making and Research in Sweden," *Comparative Education* 45, no. 4 (2009), 477–78.

tional researcher Florian Waldow, for example, to examine the equivalence between the international and the Danish school garden movement or to explore the foreign travels of educational forerunners.[16] Common to both groups was their openness to seeking more 'modern,' efficient or effective educational reforms already practised in other educational systems and to import these educational reforms and institutions.[17]

Thus, the research questions are as follows: Why did Danish teachers and borrowers seek inspiration and new knowledge abroad? Which countries were perceived to be progressive by the Ministry and the teachers? And which subjects did the Ministry and the teachers want especially to examine and borrow?

I will analyse the teachers as a group because it is their collective, rather than individual behaviour, that is primarily of interest. However, the source material does allow us insight into the lives of the individual teachers and also enables us to examine trends within the sub periods of the years under investigation. The grants extended for domestic journeys between 1918–32 are not discussed in this article because they afforded travel only to national schools, especially for teachers from the southern part of Jutland (Sønderjylland) which became a part of the Danish primary school system after the reunification in 1920.[18] For budgetary reasons, the Copenhagen School Administration's travel grants from 1919/20 onwards are not included in this article.[19]

After the introduction, I will describe the formal rules of the grant system and the process by which teachers were chosen within a selection system often biased by the personal convictions and the preference of the overseeing minister. In section two, I will examine which countries the applicants and the Ministry perceived to be progressive or expressed to be of potential educational interest. Thereafter, I will analyse the kinds of knowledge or subjects the teachers desired to borrow, that is, those which formed the purpose of their educational journeys. Finally, I will summarise the Danish educational journeys undertaken between 1898–1932.

Literature review and theoretical approach

As noted by Florian Waldow, educational transfer—with a focus on 'lending' and especially 'borrowing' across national boundaries—is one of the main concerns of comparative education. Research into educational borrowing can be divided into two overarching categories: the first has tried to answer the question "What can we learn from abroad?", whilst the other has been more focused on *how* and *why* knowledge crossed national boundaries.[20] The German educationalist Jürgen Schriewer has ex-

16 Waldow (2009), 481–483.

17 Gita Steiner-Khamsi, "Transferring Education, Displacing Reforms," in *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education,* ed. Jürgen Schriewer (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 165–79.

18 From the Danish state budget for 1918/19, we learn an amount of 5,000 Danish kroner was granted to male and female teachers who wanted to visit domestic schools. This grant ceased with the state budget in 1931/32. Cf. Nørgaard (1977), 58.

19 *Københavns Borgerepræsentations Forhandlinger* 1919/20 (Copenhagen, 1920), 611–12. The purpose of these grants was to give male and female teachers the opportunity to study abroad. Cf. Nørgaard (1977), 58–59.

20 Waldow (2009), 477–78. Cf. Jason Beech, "The Theme of Educational Transfer in Comparative Education: A View over Time," *Research in Comparative and International Education* 1 (2006), 2–13.

amined the politics of educational borrowing and lending to ascertain why and how references to foreign educational systems are used to advance domestic educational reforms. According to Schriewer, references to external systems (externalisation) are mobilised to add meaning, weight or legitimacy to domestic reforms.[21]

The reformist movement, at the end of the nineteenth century, was characterised by the circulation of educational information and pedagogical ideas between Western European countries.[22] Therefore, educational journeys, world exhibitions and school assemblies as forums for sharing professional and specialised knowledge have been the focus of studies in recent decades concerned with mapping the 'international argument' and transnational knowledge transfer.[23] Focusing on social or imagined educational spaces, the German historian Sylvia Kesper-Biermann highlights the exchange and transfer of knowledge on pedagogical trips.[24] She shows how there was interaction between the international space and the local space when, for example, a schoolteacher travelled to a foreign educational institution and returned with experiences, which he possibly published in a regional periodical and eventual-

21 Jürgen Schriewer, "The Method of Comparison and the Need for Externalization: Methodological Criteria and Sociological Concepts," in *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education,* ed. Jürgen Schriewer and Brian Holmes (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990), 62–72. Cf. Steiner-Khamsi (2009), 67.

22 Matasci (2015), 218.

23 For example, Sébastien-Akira Alix,"Transnationalising American Progressivism and Emancipation: Frances B. Johnston and Progressive Education at the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition," *Paedagogica Historica* 55, no. 1 (2019), 55–69; Klaus Dittrich, *Experts Going Transnational: Education at World Exhibitions During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: PhD thesis* (Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth, 2010); Eckhardt Fuchs, Peter Drewek and Michael Zimmer-Müller, *Internationale Rezeption in pädagogischen Zeitschriften im deutsch-amerikanischen Vergleich 1871–1945/50* (Berlin: Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung des Deutschen Instituts für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung, 2010); Philip Gonon, *Das internationale Argument in der Bildungsreform: Die Rolle internationaler Bezüge in den bildungspolitischen Debatten zur schweizerischen Berufsbildung und zur englischen Reform der Sekundarstufe II* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998); Philip Gonon, "Les Expositions universielles, stimulant des réformes scolaires au 19e siècle," in *Une Ecole pour la Démocratie: Naissance et développement de l'école primaire publique en Suisse au 19e siècle,* ed. Rita Hofstetter, Charles Magnin, Lucien Criblez and Carlo Jenzer (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), 301–22; Joakim Landahl, "Det nordiska skolmötet som utbildningspolitisk arena (1870–1970): Ett rumsligt perspektiv på den moderna pedagogikens historia," *Utbildning & Demokrati* 24, no. 3 (2015), 7–23; Joakim Landahl, "Aesthetic Modernisation and International Comparisons: Learning About Drawing Instruction at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900," *History of Education* 48, no. 1 (2019), 41–59, Christian Lundahl, "Swedish Education Exhibitions and Aesthetic Governing at World's Fairs in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 3, no. 2 (2016), 3–30; Matasci (2015); Damiano Matasci, "Les peuples à l'école. Expositions universelles et circulation des innovations pédagogiques en Europe, 1863-1878", *Revue d'histoire du 19e siècle* 2, no. 55 (2017), 125–36, Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer, eds. *Transnationale Bildumsräume: Wissenstransfer im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); N.W. Sobe and D.T. Boven, "Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs as Accountability Systems: Scopic Systems, Audit Practices and Educational Data," *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 22, no. 118 (2014), 1–14, Christian Ydesen and Karen E. Andreasen, "Transnationale dimensioner i dansk uddannelseshistorie: en historiografisk analyse," *Uddannelseshistorie* (2016), 74–88; Christian Ydesen and Karen E. Andreasen, "Koblinger mellem økonomi og uddannelse: et rids af dansk transnational uddannelseshistorie," *Educare* 1 (2019), 18–42.

24 Sylvia Kesper-Biermann, "Kommunikation, Austausch, Transfer: Bildungsräume im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Transnationale Bildumsräume: Wissenstransfer im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion,* ed. Eckhardt Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 21–41. Cf. Sylvia Kesper-Biermann, "Die Netzwerke der "Schulmänner": Pädagogische Reisen im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Netzwerke in der Bildungsgeschichte,* ed. Hans-Ulrik Grunder, Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon and Peter Merz (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2013), 214–21.

ly converted into praxis at their own school.[25] In a Danish context, the historian Ellen Nørgaard has analysed the school reform and reform pedagogy of the 1920s and 30s, including these exploratory journeys, to map why and how the new reformist orientation was spread amongst, as well as received by, teachers.[26] The historian Christian Ydesen has made similar use of the reports in his dissertation on tests conducted in primary schools designed to identify the countries from which teachers gained pedagogical knowledge.[27]

Two British scholars, Kimberly Ochs and David Phillips, developed a model for understanding why educational borrowing became attractive to potential borrowers, which constitutes the theoretical framework underpinning this article.[28] Educational borrowing is defined by Ochs and Phillips as the borrowing of ideas from one or several foreign educational systems ('educational borrowing'), by a teacher, politician or government official, in order to transpose the ideas into a domestic context ('educational transfer').[29] In a Danish context, the focus is on teachers' planned borrowing from foreign educational systems with the aim of transposing concepts and practices into a domestic context.

In this article, I focus on a particular category of educational borrowing. Ochs and Phillips operate with five different categories of educational borrowing: 1) imposed by an authoritative regime; 2) required under constraint in a defeated or occupied country; 3) negotiated under constraint, that is, mandatory through a bilateral or multilateral agreement; 4) borrowed purposefully with planned copying of policies and practices observed abroad; and 5) introduced through influence, that is, discerning the general impact of educational ideas and methods.[30] In this case study, the focus will be on categories 4 and 5 because the purposes of Danish schoolteachers' educational journeys were planned ahead and exploring the general impacts of ideas was a priority.

This article will also address a specific stage of educational transfer. According to Ochs and Phillips, educational transfer takes place in four stages: 1) transnational attraction: why is a country's educational system interesting to imitate?; 2) how is the foreign example used in the decision-making process?; 3) implementation; and 4) internalization, being the adopted policies or practices integrated into the existing system.[31] The first stage, transnational attraction, is the focus of this article, as its purpose is to examine which countries and subjects Danish teachers planned to borrow from and visit.

25 Kesper-Biermann (2013), 24, 27.

26 Nørgaard (1977), 58–59. Cf. Gjerløff et al. (2014), 113.

27 Ydesen (2011), 60, note 41.

28 Kimberly Ochs and David Phillips, "Processes of Educational Borrowing in Historical Context," in *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives,* ed. David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2004), 7–23. Cf. Kimberly Ochs and David Phillips, "Researching Policy Borrowing: Some Methodological Challenges in Comparative Education," *British Educational Research Journal* 30, no. 6 (2004), 773–84; and Kimberly Ochs and David Phillips, "Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education: Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices," *Comparative Education* 39, no. 4 (2003), 451–61.

29 Ochs and Phillips (2004), 7.

30 Ibid., 9.

31 Ibid., 9–11.

Travel grants conferred at the Minister's pleasure

The second half of the nineteenth century featured numerous educational journeys, from visits to foreign educational institutions to attendance at world exhibitions.[32] This was also the case in Denmark as such experiences were recommended by proposed reforms, such as the 1845 Gymnasium Ordinance, the 1894 Teachers Training Act, as well as by teacher training colleges with an extended curriculum in 1895.[33] In this regard, a series of countries were regarded as especially interesting to visit: the Nordic countries, German states such as Prussia and Bavaria (as the German school system was seen as exemplary),[34] and France. However, far-flung destinations, such as the United States, also were visited.[35] These kinds of knowledge exchange activities belong to Ochs and Phillips' categories of planned copying and general impact, as the visitor either intended to adopt the policies and practices they observed and apply them to a domestic context, or was influenced to pilot foreign ideas and methods in their home country.[36]

From 1898, the annual support awarded to teachers by the state for the funding of educational journeys assumed a more permanent character. In 1894, a new Teacher Training Act was introduced, closely followed by the 1895 reorganisation of continuing and further education programmes for teachers (*Statens Lærerkursus*).[37] Travel grants were proposed by the Danish Teachers' Association to the Conservative Minister for Church and Education, H.V. Sthyr, in 1897, as an initiative designed to improve the skills of teachers.[38] The minister brought the proposal before Parliament.[39] After negotiations with the leader of the opposition party (The Farmers' Party), the teacher J.C. Christensen, the minister was able to secure an amount of 3,000 DKK (28,000 euros today) for travel grants to primary and folk high schools.[40] The original amount, as well as the subjects covered by the grants, was continuously increased and by the 1920s, the grant amounted to 10,000 DKK (38,336 euros today)

32 Philip Gonon, "'Travel and Reform: Impulses Towards Internationalisation in the Nineteenth-century Discourse on Education," in *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Pperspectives,* ed. David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2004), 134–36. Cf. Dittrich (2010).

33 Erik Nørr, "Første hovedafsnit: 1848–1888," in *Kvalitetens vogter: Statens tilsyn med gymnasieskolerne 1848–1998*, ed. Hary Haue, Erik Nørr and Vagn Skovgaard-Petersen. (Copenhagen: Undervisningsministeriet, 1998); Vagn Skovgaard-Petersen, "De blev lærere: – Læreruddannelsen mellem 1860 og 1945," in *– for at blive en god lærer: Seminarier i to århundreder*, ed. Erik Nørr and Vagn Skovgaard-Petersen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2005), 217–26. Christian Larsen, "En realskolelæreruddannelse?: Uddannelsesmuligheder for realskolens lærere," in *Realskolen gennem 200 år: Kundskaber og erhvervsforberedelse*, ed. Christian Larsen (Copenhagen: Danmarks Privatskoleforening, 2010), 214–15.

34 Cf. Matasci (2015), 226.

35 Hans Prieme, "'De kom, så og lærte': Fire danske pædagoger på besøg i USA før 1900," *Uddannelseshistorie* (1991), 221–34.

36 Ochs and Phillips (2004), 9.

37 Erik Jensen, *I fordums tid: Fortællinger fra de første hundrede år af Lærerhøjskolens historie* (Copenhagen: Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 1999), 77–84.

38 *Danmarks Lærerforenings Medlemsblad* 1897 (Copenhagen: N.C. Roms Bog- og Stentrykkeri, 1897), 92, cf. Danmarks Lærerforenings Medlem 1898 (Copenhagen: N.C. Roms Bog- og Stentrykkeri, 1898), 11.

39 Letter from Secretary of State V. Sthyr to the Folketing's Finance Committee, December 20, 1897, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office, case file 1897/ZZ 1606, DNA. The letter is printed in *Rigsdagstidende 1897/98*, volume B (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz, 1897–98), 426.

40 *Rigsdagstidende: Forhandlingerne paa Folketinget 1897/98* (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz), 2451–52.

and covered eight subjects. The grant ceased in 1932, due to general cuts to the ministerial budget.[41]

For each financial year, a clerk in the Ministry noted the name, position and school name of each grant recipient, together with the amount awarded, in a small accounting book.[42] The accounting book can be used to identify grant beneficiaries between 1898–1932 since it provides a complete overview of recipients in this period. Each year, clerks at the Ministry read the applications and included the main relevant points into a schematic overview, supplying information on applicant, destination, desired purpose, recommendations and remarks. Additionally, one also finds accounts of the internal discussions within the Ministry and the Minister's final approval of the grant application.[43] I use the clerks' application résumés, rather than exhaustively reading each application, since each résumé reflects facts which the clerks felt pertinent to emphasise. Moreover, the applications are often so short that one cannot extract more information by reading the applications themselves.[44]

There were no formal guidelines on how to write a grant application; the applications therefore varied in style and format. They were usually brief, conveying their intended journey in general terms and not detailed descriptions of the intended journey. However, they all displayed a reverent, almost submissive tone towards the Ministry in order to convey respect; they are written in a way designed to elicit financial support, that is, the teacher included only information, which he/she suspected would probably trigger conferral of a grant.

One of the Ministry clerks then drafted a schematic overview, which, together with the applications, was handed to the Ministry's national consultant for primary school affairs. Sophus Sørensen, the consultant between 1899–1903, merely commented on the applications,[45] but his successors N.A. Larsen (1903–30) and F.C. Kaalund-Jørgensen (1930–48) took a more active part in the process. Larsen pointed out those teachers who deserved a scholarship. Applications that were not submitted through the official line of command were not considered.[46] The same was the case with young applicants. On the other hand, teachers with good recommendations

41 *Rigsdagstidende 1931/32,* volume A (Copenhagen J.H. Schultz, 1931–32), 347. *Folkeskolen 1932* (Copenhagen: Danmarks Lærerforening, 1932), 183.

42 Accounting book for travel grants to teachers in the public school in 1898–1932, The Ministry of Education, the Treasury, DNA. The annual grant was divided between different groups: Copenhagen schools 1898–1932, market town schools 1898–1932, village schools 1898–1932, teacher training colleges and folk high schools 1910–32, diverse groups 1919–32, schools for disabled children 1919–24, reformatories 1919–24, and home economics schools 1920–31.

43 Case files under the number 83 in the period 1898–1915: The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office, DNA, in the period 1916–32 under the numbers 233, 235 and 236: The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: Case files, DNA. The grant files cannot be located for the financial years 1910/11–1914/15.

44 Available information from the accounting book and the case files was entered into a database. It contains information on all grant applications and all recipients from 1898–1932 with extracts of the case files (1,507 grants) and extracts of all travel reports for 1917–31 (212 reports).

45 Priority list, April 11 1900, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office, case file 1900/AB83, DNA.

46 Note from N.A. Larsen, May 4 1908, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office: case file 1908/AK83, DNA; note from N.A. Larsen, April 20 1914, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office: case file 1914/AQ83, DNA; note from N.A. Larsen to the 1st Department, May 15 1920, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1920/233, DNA; note from N.A. Larsen to the 1st Department, May 2 1929, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1929/233 (enclosed in 1930/233), DNA.

were prioritised, especially "the elderly and very well-deserved and those who have a keen interest in a particular school subject."[47] Thus, it was a subjective (non-neutral) evaluation of which subjects the national school consultant prioritised and which teachers he felt deserved support.[48]

On the basis of the recommendation of the national consultant, the deputy head of the department devised a priority list, commented upon by the head of department and the Minister — a list that could result in the selection of a different group of candidates from those suggested by the consultant.[49] This was especially so after 1901, when J.C. Christensen, the first Minister from the Opposition, was appointed Minister for Church and Education. Christensen was keen on demonstrating that *he* was in charge. If the civil servants tried to influence his decision, he obstinately chose the opposite course of action to that suggested.[50] In his capacity, Christensen did not merely approve the candidate list; rather, he changed the names on the final list, as well as the proposed amounts.[51] Subsequent ministers acted in the same way when they wanted to prioritise a particular field or a certain educational movement.[52] Thus, grant conferrals were determined more by Ministry's priorities, in respect of subjects and applicants, and less by the wishes of the applicants.

The Ministry awarded 872 grants during the period 1898–1932 (see Figure 1). There were more market town schoolteachers represented among travel grant applicants than there were village schoolteachers.[53] Whether it was because market town teachers were more interested in learning about foreign impulses, or could more easily request a colleague to take over their position for a short while than a village teacher, who was often the only teacher in the small village school, is not known. Even though there were more market town teachers (408 grants) who received scholarships than their village counterparts (382 grants), the distribution evened out during this period. The low number of participating Copenhagen teachers (82 grants) was due to the fact that the City of Copenhagen also financed educational trips; therefore, the Ministry allocated only two or three grants to the capital's teachers. The gender distribution was unequal throughout the period, as only 10 percent

47 Note from N.A. Larsen to the 1st Department, May 16 1925, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1925/233, DNA.

48 Note from N.A. Larsen to the 1st Department, April 27 1926, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1926/235 (enclosed in 1930/235), DNA.

49 Note from head of section K. Paludan-Müller, May 21 1928, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1928/235 (enclosed in 1930/235), DNA.

50 Poul Duedahl, *J.C. Christensen: Et politisk menneske* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2006), 160–61.

51 Note from Secretary of State J.C. Christensen, April 28,1902, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office: case file 1902/AD83, DNA.

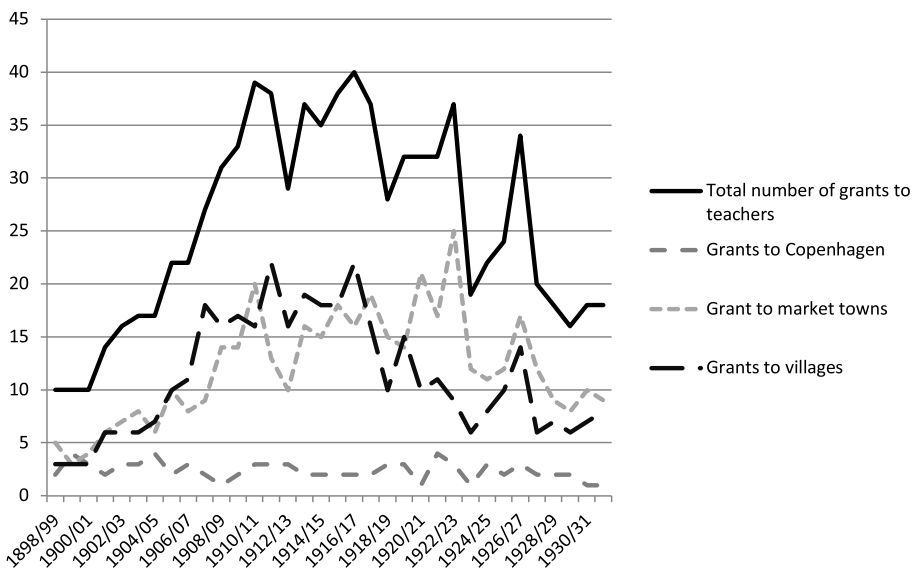
52 Note from Secretary of State J.C. Christensen, April 8 1904, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office: case file 1904/AF83, DNA; note from Secretary of State Enevold Sørensen, May 3 1907, written by the Secretary himself, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office: case file 1907/AJ83, DNA; note (undated) from head of department V. Aagesen, 1926, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1926/235 (enclosed in 1930/235), DNA; departmental note, April 27 1931, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1931/233, DNA.

53 In 1921 there were 13 applicants from village schools and 42 from market town schools (The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case files 1921/233 and 1921/235, DNA), in 1925 38 village school applicants and 77 market town school applicants (The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case files 1925/233 and 1925/235, DNA), and in 1930 42 village school applicants and 80 market town school applicants (The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case files 1930/233 and 1930/235, DNA).

of the funds went to women, mainly from Copenhagen and the market towns, where they enjoyed more favourable employment opportunities than in the countryside (where usually the village teacher was a man).[54]

There was a huge demand for travel grants. At least 2,000 teachers wanted to travel abroad during the investigated period and, especially during the latter half of the 1920s, there seems to have been a great deal of interest, which might be interpreted as evidence of an increased interest in learning about foreign school matters and becoming more skilled in one's own subjects. On average, around 25 grants were awarded yearly. In the years 1908/09–1922/23, during which the central government's finances were beneficial, some 35 persons were awarded a grant every year; in the late 1920s, with the onset of recession, the number decreased to between 15 and 20 persons.[55] Thus, only every third applicant received a grant. Bestowal of a grant, therefore, seems to have been perceived as a sign that one's efforts at the school were appreciated; indeed, many teachers emphasised that they were awarded this form of funding.[56]

Figure 1: Travel grants awarded to male and female primary school teachers, 1898/99–1931/32



Source: Accounting book for travel grants to teachers in the public school 1898–1932, the Ministry of Education, the treasury, DNA, together with information from case files 1898–1915 from the Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office, case files 1916–32 from the Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office.

54 Gjerløff and Jacobsen (2014), 158.

55 Jørn Henrik Pedersen, Klaus Pedersen and Niels Finn Christiansen, eds. *Dansk velfærdshistorie: Mellem skøn og ret: 1898–1933* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2014), 63–65, 68–81.

56 For example, N.A. Larsen, *Dansk Skole-Stat* (Copenhagen: Arthur Jensens Forlag, 1933–34), vol. III, 153, 368, 476 and 698.

Leading nations and old-fashioned countries: desired destinations

As Ochs and Phillips have noted, some countries (or lending systems) held cross-national attraction for a teacher planning a visit and for the Ministry selecting candidates.[57] Indeed, Kesper-Biermann argues that there was a hierarchy wherein certain states were perceived to be leading nations and others were regarded as old-fashioned.[58] This seems also to have been the case for both Danish teachers and the Ministry. In their applications, the teachers listed the country or countries which were their preferred destination. There are 1,068 destinations listed (see Table 1). Some teachers wanted to visit a particular country, such as Norway, while others wished for a journey incorporating the visit of two or more countries, for example, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Therefore, when one lists the number of planned destinations, the number of destinations is necessarily higher than the grants awarded.

Table 1: Planned destinations for study trips 1898/99–1931/32

Country	*Number of planned visits*	*Percentage*
Sweden	195	18.4
Germany	194	17.8
Denmark	164	15.0
Norway	150	13.7
Great Britain	92	8.4
Switzerland	42	3.8
France	21	1.9
Finland	15	1.4
The Netherlands	11	1.0
USA	10	0.9
Austria	7	0.6
Italy	5	0.6
Czechoslovakia	5	0.6
Belgium	4	0.4
The Nordic countries	3	0.3
Iceland	2	0.2
Greece	1	0.1
Latvia	1	0.1
Argentina	1	0.1
Unknown	139	13.1
Total	1062	100

Source: Information from case files 1898–1915 from the Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office, case files 1916–32 from the Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office.

57 Ochs and Phillips (2004), 9–11.

58 Kesper-Biermann (2013), 29–30.

The country most often cited as the preferred destination was Sweden (195 destinations), closely followed by Germany (194), Denmark (164) and Norway (150). This distribution of 'interesting' countries was also shared by those who did not receive travel grants.[59] Indeed, 61 per cent of village teachers stated the Nordic countries (Denmark, Norway and Sweden) as their favoured destinations, whereas the percentage for teachers from Copenhagen and the market towns was only 37 percent. Teachers did not undergo lessons in foreign languages (German, English and French) at the teacher training colleges;[60] therefore, village teachers with fewer language skills, could more easily travel to the Nordic countries. Market town teachers wanted to visit Sweden, Germany and Great Britain, as they were able to speak German and English because they taught at middle and secondary schools (*mellem– og realskoler*), the majority of which were established in market towns and taught English and German as part of the curriculum.[61]

Travelling within Denmark, most teachers were curious to see different parts of the country, or to visit other schools in order to learn about specific subjects and didactics, while others embarked on journeys to "historical places" in Southern Jutland (Sønderjylland), which had been a part of the German Empire during the period 1864–1920, but in 1920 was subsequently reunited with Denmark.[62]

With regard to why Sweden and Norway held greater attraction for applicants than other countries, several factors must be considered. The Swedish and Norwegian influence on the Danish primary school was limited. However, there was a linguistic and cultural overlap between such countries (the unification of Denmark and Norway ended in 1814) and the school systems in Sweden[63] and Norway[64] resembled closely those in Denmark. It was also easy for a Danish teacher to travel to Sweden or Norway, as he could speak Danish; besides, a trip to Sweden was cheaper than journeying to London and Berlin. The Ministry granted 150–250 DKK for study trips in the Nordic countries, and 250–300 DKK for more remote trips.[65]

59 Overview of applicants, April 1905, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office: case file 1905/AG83, DNA. Nørgaard (1977), 58.

60 Vagn Skovgaard-Petersen, *Dannelse og demokrati: Fra latin- til almenskole: Lov om højere almenskoler 24. april 1903* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1976), 225–26. From 1908, some teacher training colleges offered additional exam in Swedish, Chemistry, English and German, as well in French and Latin, cf. *Lovtidende 1908* (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz, 1908), 1021–22, and Skovgaard-Petersen (1976), 246–47.

61 *Lovtidende 1903* (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz, 1903), 274. Regarding the Danish middle and secondary school *(mellem- og realskolen)* see Christian Larsen, ed. *Realskolen gennem 200 år: Kundskaber og erhvervsforberedelse,* vol. 1–2 (Copenhagen: Danmarks Privatskoleforening, 2010).

62 For a general introduction to the Danish reunion with Southern Jutland see Troels Fink, *Da Sønderjylland blev delt 1918–1920* I-II ([Aabenraa]: Institut for Grænseregionsforskning, 1978–79).

63 For a short introduction to the Swedish primary school in this period see Esbjörn Larsson and Johannes Westberg, eds. *Utbildningshistoria: En introduktion* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011), 109–14.

64 On the Norwegian primary school in this period see Harald Thuen, *Den norske skolen. Utdanningssystemets historie* (Oslo: Abstrakt forlag, 2017), chapter 3.

65 Note from N.A. Larsen, April 19 1913, The Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office: case file 1913/AP83 (enclosed in 1916/234), DNA; note from N.A. Larsen, April 21 1917, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1917/237, DNA; departmental note, May 12 1919, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1919/235, DNA; note from N.A. Larsen, April 27 1926, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1926/235 (enclosed in 1930/235), DNA.

Due to the infrastructural expansion, it became easier to travel,[66] and the Swedish rail network made it possible to visit major cities anywhere in the country. Perhaps for this reason, many teachers chose to visit cities that lay along the main Swedish railways.

Germany also proved an attractive destination for applicants.[67] In the nineteenth century, the German educational system was perceived by most European educationalists to be exemplary, as the system had proved itself to be a successful scientific model due to its renowned universities and because it offered thriving practical examples of higher and secondary education.[68] During the 1920s, the German school experiments attracted much attention.[69] The great neighbour in the south had for centuries influenced development within the Danish church and educational systems. Many Danes embarked on study trips during the nineteenth century—when the government planned school reforms—seeking inspiration or to avail themselves of lessons learned (as mentioned earlier). In addition, German was one of the main languages taught in the middle and secondary schools and also in many market town schools. Finally, all of the major German cities were easy reach by train from Denmark.

Great Britain was also a desired destination for a great number of teachers, especially during the 1920s. The British school system had a different structure and history compared to the Danish.[70] Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the English language was part of the attraction, since English was also one of the main languages taught at middle and secondary schools, as mentioned earlier. It may have also been the reason why Great Britain was chosen by 75 out of 92 market town teachers as their preferred destination.

Other Western European countries also generated considerable interest, including France and Switzerland. France was the choice of Danish teachers embarking on language studies.[71] The reasons why Danish teachers wanted to visit Swiss schools are ambiguous, yet it is noteworthy that the major proportion of teachers who visited Switzerland combined their trip with a visit to Germany, with the latter being their

66 Cf. Gonon (2004), 139.

67 The German educational system until 1918 is described by Christa Berg, ed. *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte: Band IV: 1870–1918* (München: C.H. Beck, 1991); Reinhardt Dithmar and Hans-Dietrich Schultz, eds. *Schule und Unterricht im Kaiserreich* (Ludwigsfelde: Ludwigsfelder Verlagshaus, 2006); and Gert Geissler, *Schulgeschichte in Deutschland: Von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), chapters 4 and 5.

68 Matasci (2015), 226.

69 On German reform pedagogy see Wolfgang Keim and Ulrich Schwedt, eds. *Handbuch der Reformpädagogik in Deutschland (1890–1933)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), vol. 1–2.

70 The British primary school in 1870–1940 is analysed by the Marxist historian Brian Simon in *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870–1920* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1965) and *The Politics of Educational Reform, 1920–1940* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974), and by Andy Green in *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France, and the U.S.A.* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990).

71 On the French primary school in this period see Françoise Mayeur, *Histoire générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France. III: De la Révolution à l'école républicaine (1789–1930)* (Paris: Perrin, 2004); Jérôme Krop, *La méritocratie républicaine : Élitisme et scolarisation de masse sous la Troisième République* (Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014), and Sébastien-Akira Alix, "Citizens in Their Right Place: Nation Building and Mass Schooling in Nineteenth-Century France," in *School Acts and the Rise of Mass Schooling Education Policy in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Johannes Westberg, Lukas Boser and Ingrid Brühwiler (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 145–69.

primary choice of country.[72] With regard to the new countries in Central and Eastern Europe, there was a limited amount of interest, as these countries possessed a very different school structure, wherein there could be language barriers.

Fruitful impulses or reform ideas

The Ministry's application extracts reveal which what the recipients of the 874 grants wished to borrow from and observe (see Table 2).[73] For almost six out of ten of the grants (56 percent or 489 grants), the planned journey can be characterised as an introduction through influence, that is, the teachers wanted to experience the general impact of educational ideas and methods in the visited country.[74] In such cases, the teacher was awarded a grant for a *Bildung* (*almendannende*) journey, which emphasised the exploration of other cultures and languages. Such trips afforded the teacher the opportunity to develop their linguistic abilities, or to fully immerse themselves in the values, lifestyles and customs of the country visited. There was not necessarily a desire to influence, or reshape, the domestic school system after a particular educational model. As Hakon Olsen — a teacher in the market town of Hjørring in Northern Jutland — wrote in his travel report: "I did not travel to import systems or methods but more to get a personal insight into our neighbour's school system and perhaps bring fruitful impulses back to my work."[75]

Most of the grant recipients embarking on *Bildung* journeys undertook holiday language courses and study trips. The courses presented an opportunity to build upon the language skills the teacher had developed at the teacher training college, as well as to experience the country's culture. Several German and British universities offered holiday courses aimed at foreigners, such as the University of London (which made such courses available from 1903).[76] The purpose was to provide opportunities to persons outside of the university — who would otherwise be unable to access them — to enhance their working lives and prospects by learning the English language, culture and history.[77] Danish teachers attended these courses, especially after World War I (with 489 enrolments in the period 1919–35).[78] In Germany, Danish teachers preferred the holiday courses provided by the University of Jena (*Deutsch für Ausländer*), which was established in 1889.[79] From 1920, there was a holiday course designed only for Scandinavian persons, which included lectures, theatre and concert visits and excursions to historical attractions.[80]

72 On the Swiss educational system see *Schweizer Bildungsgeschichte: Systementwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ingrid Brühwiler et al. (Zürich: Chronos, 2019). I would like to thank Dr. Lukas Boser, Fachhochschule Nordwestschweitz, for supplying this reference.

73 The purpose of 18 percent (160 grants) of the journeys is unknown due to the lack of case files.

74 Ochs and Phillips (2004), 9.

75 Travel report from H. Olsen, September 2 1927, DSM: Travel reports 1925–28, DNA.

76 The history of the summer holiday courses has been written by Etain Casey, *Walter Ripman and the University of London Holiday Course in English for Foreign Teachers 1903–1952* (Oulu: University of Oulu, 2017). See also Nicola McLelland, "The history of Language Learning and Teaching in Britain," *The Language Learning Journal* 46, no. 1 (2018), 13–14.

77 Casey (2017), 59, 64.

78 Casey (2017), 177–78.

79 The Jena holiday courses were analysed by Will Lütgert, "Wilhelm Rein und die Jenaer Ferienkurse," in *Der Herbartianismus – die vergessene Wissenschaftsgeschichte,* ed. Rotraud Coriand and Michael Winkler (Weinheim: Dt. Studienverl, 1998), 219–29.

80 Volker Wahl, "Jenaer Ferienkurse und 'Weimar-Jena Summer College,'" *Weimar-Jena: Die grosse Stadt,* 2010, 3/2, 146–57.

N.A. Larsen, the national school consultant, did not think much of these holiday courses. During the 1921 grant distribution, he wrote that the applicants again were persons who

> […]wish to travel in order to enhance their impressions and promote their personal development or study everyday life or language studies; all this is nothing but a pleasure trip [...] a regular holiday trip with a little addition of school visiting or course attending [...].[81]

One may counter Larsen with the argument that the holiday courses were not conceived as extensive pedagogical journeys to facilitate the teacher's methodical examination of a country's school system in order to identify solutions to a domestic educational issue. Teachers nevertheless were convinced that their experiential impressions could usefully inform their teaching of English history or the French language. As the teacher L. Schmidt wrote in 1923: "It was not only necessary for a language teacher to know the language; he should also know 'Realia' (facts), which one did not get if one had not visited in the country in question."[82] This seems to have been the reason that the Ministry allocated grants for these types of journeys year after year, even though they did not directly result in new educational initiatives or reforms. Such trips, however, would likely have enhanced the competence of the teacher in a market town, or a small village, school in performing their core duties.

In only in around a third of the grants (228 teachers or 26 percent), can the expressed travel purposes be categorised as the desire to *borrow purposefully*. In such instances, the teacher visited countries and institutions in order to copy/translate foreign school policies or practices into a domestic context,[83] for example, visiting a British high school, a Swedish youth school or experiencing the implementation of new educational ideas in German schools. Many of the teachers that undertook such travels were national experts in a particular subject. Collectively, they formed a wider social and cultural group, which gradually constructed an international grammar of school reforms on the basis of the expertise and knowledge they had acquired regarding foreign systems of schooling. This experiential knowledge also helped legitimise their suggestions for reform.[84]

One of these Danish experts was the female teacher Eline Hansen from Copenhagen public schools, who was one of the pioneers of Danish culinary (school kitchen) education. She lobbied for the introduction of teacher training courses in culinary education and was appointed head of pedagogical guidance and school kitchen methodology at the Royal Danish Teachers' School (*Statens Lærerhøjskole*). In order to build the case for introducing school kitchen education in Denmark, Hansen embarked on educational journeys to Belgium, Germany and Great Britain, where the subject had been taught for decades. She thereby gathered experience from an array of international educational practices and used this as the basis for her innovative campaign and further work.[85]

81 Note from N.A. Larsen to the Ministry, May 12 1921, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1921/235, DNA.

82 Travel report from L. Schmidt, August 26 1923, DSM: Travel reports 1916–25, DNA.

83 Ochs and Phillips (2004), 9.

84 Matasci (2015), 227.

85 Jytte Larsen et al., eds. *Dansk Kvindebiografisk Leksikon* (Copenhagen: Rosinante, 2001), vol. 2, 9–11. On

However, as noted by Swiss educational historian Daniel Tröhler, although one did borrow quite consciously, this did not mean that foreign ideas were uncritically transposed into local settings. Indeed, foreign educational ideas and practices were actively 'translated' and reshaped to ensure their felicitous application into local contexts.[86] Such was the case for the 11 teachers (out of 874 grants) who, according to their application, ventured abroad to study pedagogy and psychology. Before 1920, only one teacher seemed to have studied psychology; this was Jens Olsen, a teacher in the market town of Varde in Western Jutland, who was awarded a grant to journey to Great Britain in 1903 in order to study child psychology and language. He subsequently introduced American 'child studies' to Denmark as a precursor to child psychology. In child studies, one examines the thoughts of children, expressed in the form of a questionnaire, within their immediate social and cultural context. Olsen derived his inspiration from travels to Great Britain, translating the ideas he acquired there into a Danish context.[87]

Table 2: Stated purposes for travelling between 1898/99–1931/32

Subject	*Number of stated purposes*	*Percentage*
General impact of educational ideas	486	55.6
Curriculum subjects, e.g., history, geography, natural history, school kitchen etc.	76	8.7
Youth schools and continuation schools	39	4.5
School buildings and the physical environment of the school, e.g., school gardens, school museums etc.	26	3.0
Pedagogy, psychology, didactics	25	2.9
Libraries	12	1.4
Teacher training	9	1.0
Diverse purposes	40	4.6
Unknown	160	18.3
Total	874	100

Source: Information from case files 1898–1915 from the Ministry for Church and School Affairs, 2nd Office, case files 1916–32 from the Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office.

Danish school kitchen education see Svend Skafte Overgaard, "Mellem ord og bord," *Historisk Tidsskrift* (2005), 126–63 (especially 151–54), and Jette Benn, "Home Economics in 100 years: Pedagogical and Educational Trends and Features," in *Home Economics in the 21st Century: History – Perspectives – Challenges,* ed. Jette Benn (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2000), 13–29.

86 Daniel Tröhler, "Curriculum History or the Educational Construction of Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century," *European Educational Research Journal* 15, no. 3 (2016), 283.

87 Ning de Coninck-Smith, "Overlærer Jens Olsen (1840–1911): Praktiker og pioner: – en skolehistorisk biografi," in Ning de Coninck-Smith, *Skolen, lærerne, eleverne og forældrene* (Aarhus: Klim, 2002), 25–48.

Only few recipients stated directly in their application that they wanted to learn about reform pedagogy in the 1920s and 30s. There may have been others who wanted to learn about the new school ideas, but these applications singularly indicated that they would study, for example, 'only' German school matters. The Ministry seems also to have rejected applications expressing their purpose in terms of pedagogical reforms. When the county school inspectors for Southern Jutland wanted to study modern school ideas, the national school consultant, N.A. Larsen, wrote: "There is so much written about the so-called new school ideas that anyone who wants can become familiar with them. Dr Næsgaard will keep us updated on what appears in this regard."[88] He referred to the Danish psychoanalyst Sigurd Næsgaard, who was a great supporter of the free school ideas and wrote about such ideas in school journals.[89] Two other teachers wanted to study the pedagogy of Italian Maria Montessori. The first was Miss Anne Marie Ventegodt, a teacher at a kindergarten, based on Montessori principles, in Frederiksberg (near to Copenhagen).[90] The other visited Belgian psychologist Ovide Decroly's school in Brussels, where the pedagogy was based on a psychological understanding of children's development.[91]

Thirty-nine out of 874 grant recipients wanted to see youth schools (*ungdomsskoler*) and continuation schools (*fortsættelsesskoler*) in order to examine whether the ideas underpinning these forms of schooling could be translated into a Danish context; indeed, the Danish youth school was the subject of much debate from 1910 onwards. The aims of the Danish youth school were to maintain and enhance the primary school curriculum and to assist the youth in obtaining future employment.[92] The work school (*Arbeitsschule*) pedagogy of Georg Kerschensteiner was introduced in Denmark in 1909 and became the topic of Danish parliamentarian debate, receiving public funding from 1914.[93] Teachers began visiting youth schools abroad, especially from 1916, with Sweden and Norway being the favoured destinations. Sweden was obvious choice for travel because the country had introduced two years of compulsory continuation schooling in 1918 as preparation for the practical youth school.[94]

Many teachers, the vast majority of whom were village teachers, were interested in actual school buildings and the school's immediate surrounding environments, espe-

88 Note from N.A. Larsen to the department, April 29 1927, The Ministry of Education, 1st Department, 1st Office: case file 1927/235 (enclosed in 1930/235), DNA.

89 Nørgaard (1977), 54.

90 On the Danish kindergarten and the Montessori influence in the interwar period, see Jens Erik Kristensen and Søs Bayer, eds. *Pædagogprofessionens historie og aktualitet* (Copenhagen: U Press, 2015), vol. I, 146–65, and vol. II, 79–118.

91 For an introduction to Ovide Decroly, see Wagnon Sylvain, *Ovide Decroly: Un pédagogue de l'Éducation Nouvelle: 1871–1932* (Bruxelles, Peter Lang, 2013).

92 Søren Ehlers, "Ungdomsskolens oprindelse," *Årbog for dansk skolehistorie* (1983), 31–36; Søren Ehlers, *Ungdomsliv: Studier i den folkeoplysende virksomhed for unge i Danmark 1900–1925* (Copenhagen: Alinea, 2000), 195–98.

93 Ehlers (2000), 99–102.

94 Ingrid Lindell, *Disciplinering och yrkesutbildning: Reformarbetet bakom 1918 års praktiska ungdomsskolereform* (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1992), 191–209; Åsa Broberg, *Utbildning på gränsen mellan skola och arbete: Pedagogisk förändring i svensk yrkesutbildning 1918–1971* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitetsbibliotek, 2014), 22–34.

cially school gardens.[95] The Danish school garden movement was established around 1900 and reached its peak in the 1920s and 30s.[96] Furthermore, school buildings and school inventories attracted interest.[97] This included visiting school museums. In the early twentieth century, these were not actual museums in the modern sense, but rather exhibitions on state of the art of school inventories, as was the case with the Danish School Museum 1887–1934.[98] Amongst the grant recipients was Frederik Thomassen, Museum Curator between 1899–1918, organiser of Danish and Nordic school assemblies and participant in foreign educational conferences. He journeyed abroad to visit school museums in the Nordic countries, as well as in Europe, in 1901, 1909, 1914 and 1917 and wrote about foreign school museums in the leading Danish educational journal "*Vor Ungdom*."[99]

The subject for which the Ministry awarded most of its grants was educational handcrafts or sloyd (*sløjd*). In total, 23 teachers wished to see how sloyd was practised in other countries. Taking considerable inspiration from the Swedish sloyd training college in Nääs,[100] sloyd was introduced in Denmark from the 1880s as a way of developing the (male) child's spiritual and physical abilities. By teaching the child to stand in the correct position and work in a systematised way, sloyd shaped the child's body and personality.[101]

The Ministry also awarded grants to teachers who wanted to specialise in a topic of interest, for example, churchyards, buildings, music, Danish nature, geography and geology, or to visit the old 1721 crown schools (*rytterskoler*) and publish their findings in a book.

Conclusion

During the period 1899–1932, the Danish Ministry of Education awarded 874 grants to Danish male and female primary schoolteachers, enabling them to embark on educational journeys both at home and abroad. This article, firstly, analyses the journeys as a case of educational borrowing by examining Danish schoolteachers' attraction to foreign educational systems and pedagogical ideas. Secondly, this article contributes to the existing research by shedding light on the transposition of academic and professional discourses of education from abroad into a domestic educational system, thus contributing to the assimilation of national educational systems over time.

95 On the international school garden movement, see Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "'A Better Crop of Boys and Girls': The School Gardening Movement, 1890–1920," *History of Education Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2008), 58–93.

96 Gjerløff and Jacobsen (2014), 323, 325.

97 For an analysis of Danish school buildings, see Coninck-Smith (2000), 260–82; Ning de Coninck-Smith, *Barndom og arkitektur: Rum til danske børn igennem 300 år* (Copenhagen: Klim, 2011), 19–24, 85–119.

98 Keld Grinder-Hansen, "Dansk Skolemuseum 1887–1934: materialesamling og museum," in *Institut Selskab Museum: Skolehistorisk hilsen til Vagn Skovgaard-Petersen,* ed. Inger Schultz Hansen and Erik Nørr (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Dansk Skolehistorie), 45–61.

99 Carl Poulsen and W.Th. Benthin, eds. *Lærerne og Samfundet: Folkeskolens kendte Mænd og Kvinder: Jubilæumsskrift 1814–1914* (Copenhagen: Fr. Bagge, 1913), III, 683–84.

100 On the Nääs sloyd college and educational sloyd, see Anna Alm, *Upplevelsens poetik: Slöjdseminariet på Nääs 1880–1940* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2012); David J. Whittaker, *The Impact and Legacy of Educational Sloyd* (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), chapter 6.

101 Gjerløff and Jacobsen (2014), 338–340; Curt Allingbjerg, *Sløjd i Danmark 1883–1983* (Copenhagen: Dansk Skoleløjds Forlag, 1983), 40–79.

The purpose of this article is, therefore, to analyse the funding of teachers' educational journeys as an expression of 'governmental internationalism' by the Danish Ministry of Education. The article explores the first stage of educational borrowing, that is to say, the attraction to foreign educational systems and ideas. Thus, the article does not seek to examine the perceptions of the visited institutions or demonstrate the actual impact of the journeys on schooling and school policy in Denmark. Instead, this article presents the specific kinds of knowledge and ideas that the Ministry and the teachers planned to transpose into the Danish national educational system. The teachers wanted to borrow policies, philosophies and concepts to adapt and apply to the Danish context — some were open about their intent; others did so through a process of 'silent borrowing.' Based on case files and travel reports from the Ministry's archives, the article analyses which countries were perceived to be 'progressive' by the Ministry and the teachers, as well as which subjects the Ministry and the teachers were keen to examine and borrow from.

This article has shown that some countries were favoured as destinations, having cross-national attraction, both by the Ministry and grant applicants. The vast majority of visits were to Sweden, closely followed by Germany and Norway. This result is not unexpected. There was a linguistic and cultural connection shared by the Scandinavian countries and their school systems were very similar. The German educational system was perceived by most European educationalists to be exemplary. In addition, the German school experiments during the 1920s attracted much attention. The selection of Great Britain seems to be attributable to the desire of some teachers to improve their linguistic skills, as English was also one of the main languages taught in middle and secondary schools.

For a smaller number of teachers, the purpose of their journeys was to visit foreign countries and institutions in order to copy or translate school policies or practices into a Danish context. These teachers were national experts in a particular field whilst belonging to a wider international social and cultural community of experts. The vast majority of the grant applications, however, came from teachers wanting to embark on a *Bildung* (*almendannende*) journey, affording them the opportunity to experience the culture, history and traditions of their chosen country, or to use their travels to enhance their linguistic abilities, whilst also observing foreign systems of schooling. That was particularly the case with the many teachers who applied for holiday courses.

The difference in expressed travel purposes can be understood as representing two different ways of fulfilling the role of schoolteacher and relating to one's local community, according to Finnish educationalists Erkko Anttila and Ari Väänänen, who usefully apply the concepts of 'local' and 'cosmopolitan.'[102] The large group of teachers who embarked on a *Bildung* journey can be described as 'local influentials' due to their interdependence on local social networks, as well as their keen interest in local social life and public matters. According to their stated purposes for travel, they did not want to change the public school, or necessarily introduce new methods, but rather focused on honing their own skills in respect of their teaching subjects. The smaller group of teachers who expressly sought new ideas and wished

102 Erkko Anttila and Ari Väänänen, "Rural Schoolteachers and the Pressures of Community Life: Local and Cosmopolitan Coping Strategies in Mid-Twentieth-Century Finland," *History of Education* 42, no. 2 (2013), 182–203.

for reform, might be characterised as 'cosmopolitan influentials' because they based their status on, amongst other things, knowledge that they had acquired beyond the small town, as they took a keen interest in what was happening outside in the wider world.[103]

Even though it was only a small proportion of the Danish male and female teachers who embarked on educational journeys, the journeys which were undertaken seemed to have had a definite impact on the daily life and development of the Danish school. In a period preceding a six-week summer holiday, a grant for an educational journey would have afforded the teacher an inexpensive travel opportunity and supplied new inspiration for the teaching of European languages or history. Similarly, the journeys could have been valuable for those teachers who wanted to visit schools and institutions in order to acquire new knowledge or as a part of a reform agenda. They would have gained insight into educational debates, made cross-border contacts and imported academic and professional knowledge into the Danish educational system.

Amongst several other factors, the educational journeys undertaken by Danish teachers between 1898–1932 contributed to the transfer of academic and professional educational discourses, thus providing a partial explanation as to why the Danish educational system, over time, increasingly came to share many similar features with its counterparts in European countries.[104] However, further research is needed to examine the impacts of these educational journeys, that is, to ask what the teachers actually observed, how they interpreted their experiences, and, not least, to determine how the borrowed subjects and ideas were implemented, or used to legitimise educational reforms, in the Danish context.[105]

103 Anttila and Väänänen (2013), 183–85.

104 Steiner-Khamsi (2009), 162–69.

105 On the teachers' perceptions of the institutions and countries they visited, see Christian Larsen, "Dannelse eller ferie?: Danske skolelæreres pædagogiske studie- og uddannelsesrejser 1919-1932," *Uddannelseshistorie* 51 (2017), 80–84, and Christian Larsen, "Med læreren på pædagogisk studietur," *Frederiksberg gennem tiderne* 41 (2018), 122–28.

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