

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION OF DENMARK  
DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION  
1940 - 1945

by

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TO

MY PARENTS

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A promising correspondence was interrupted when the great Danish-American actor, Jean Hersholt, died in February, 1956. Rev. P. C. Jensen of Blair, Nebraska, statistician and historian of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, and Rev. Alfred Jensen, D. D., of Des Moines, Iowa, president of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church provided me with information about their churches.

A notice in the Danish-American press asked readers to send to me what recollections and clippings they might have concerning my topic. The following five persons sent me newspaper clippings for which I want to thank them: Mr. John Jacobsen of Salinas, California; Rev. P. C. Jensen of Blair, Nebraska; Mrs. Helga Larsen of North Hollywood, California; Mr. O. Rostgaard of Detroit, Michigan; Mrs. Ellen Simonsen of San Francisco.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to study American public opinion of Denmark during the German occupation from April 9, 1940, to May 5, 1945; however, a few words about the sources and the methods of the writer may be appropriate.

Historical studies of public opinion in modern times are based on research in the means of mass communication. Radio, television, films, newspapers, periodicals, and books reflect public opinion. What really stirs the public will sooner or later be discussed in one or several of these means of mass communication.

Why is it assumed that the man-in-the-street holds the same opinions as the books and papers he reads, or the films he sees? The belief that the producers of these usually want to confirm people's opinions is not enough of an explanation. Much more important is the fact that mass communication provides the basis of public opinion, for it furnishes the common man with his knowledge of facts and with his opinions.

Thomas A. Bailey's excellent The Man in the Street<sup>1</sup> throws light on many problems concerning the creation of public opinion and its influence on politics, particularly foreign policy. Bailey reports a national survey from 1944

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1. (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1948), p. 305.

showing that nine out of ten editors regarded the leading of public opinion as their chief function. Most probably, however, it is the editor, who is being led by his readers, advertisers, and stockholders, thus Bailey is able to conclude that: "within broad limits the newspaper must reflect the predilections and prejudices of its subscribers."<sup>2</sup>

Newspapers are no doubt more influential than the other means of communication in forming the opinions of the masses. Bailey writes: "The thousand-tongued newspaper press is a monster with tremendous power. It has long given us the bulk of our information about the outside world, and this is a frightening responsibility. Without sound information there can be no sound public opinion, and without sound public opinion there can be no intelligent foreign policy."<sup>3</sup>

For this study the following newspapers have been searched systematically from April 1, 1940, through May 5, 1945:

1. The New York Times, the internationally oriented famous metropolitan paper, usually liberal, is always trustworthy when reporting foreign news. The Times' index gives complete coverage of the subjects reported by the paper, and therefore the Times figures in more historical studies than any other paper. Politically the Times

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2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 304.

was independent Democratic; during the war it was interventionist. In 1940 the Times' daily circulation was 474,277, while the Sunday circulation amounted to 788,997.<sup>4</sup>

2. The Chicago Tribune was under the editorship of Colonel Robert R. McCormick, whose opinions, often extreme, are found in his paper. The Tribune termed itself independent, but consistently supported the most conservative causes. During the war it supported Lindbergh's America First organization and was isolationist. The Tribune's daily circulation in 1940 was 703,922, while Sunday circulation was 1,134,019.
3. The Los Angeles Times was independent Republican and generally supported Republican policies. Although the Los Angeles Times considered the Pacific front the most important one in World War II, it was favorable to the European Allies and reported extensively from the European front. Its circulation was 219,341 daily, 357,459 Sunday copies. Because of difficulties in providing microfilm of the Los Angeles Times, this paper has been covered only through February 7, 1943.
4. The Atlanta, Georgia, Constitution, a Democratic paper,

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4. The circulation and the political stands of the New York Times and the following five newspapers were found in N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, Inc., 1940).



was for all aspects of Roosevelt's foreign policy. The Constitution had a circulation of 95,524 daily, 102,805 Sunday copies.

5. The Emporia, Kansas, Gazette, independent Republican, was a small town paper of national renown thanks to its editor, the eminent journalist William Allen White. White's war time sympathies are expressed by his presidency of The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies from its founding in the summer of 1940 until his death in January, 1944. The Gazette's daily circulation was 7,250 copies.
6. The Lawrence Daily Journal-World, Republican, covered a small Kansas community with which the author is familiar. It was a cleverly edited little paper with isolationist conviction. Daily circulation was 5,351.

It is hoped that this selection is as representative of the American press as a selection of six papers can be. They represent important regions of the country and the most outstanding political viewpoints. Two papers were selected from one state in order to find out whether there was divergence of opinion in this limited area. The answer was negative. Kansas was chosen for this demonstration because it is most familiar to the writer.

While studying these newspapers, the writer came to attach great importance to their headlines, realizing that

many readers never get beyond them. The wire service story itself can be found identically in other papers, the headlines indicate the opinions of the paper. Also the place where the subject in question has been placed is important; is it on the front page or on page thirty-two? Is it on the editorial page or on the back page? Special attention was paid to editorials and letters to the editor.

Periodicals contain articles with verified news and better founded opinions than the day-by-day newspapers. All the articles concerning Denmark listed in the standard bibliography A Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature were examined.<sup>5</sup> Twenty-five American periodicals had 86 articles about Denmark; leading were Newsweek with 16, Nation with 11, Time with 8, Current History with 7, New Republic with 5, and Life with 4 articles.

A notice in the Danish-American newspapers about the project asked their readers to send to the writer what they might have of recollections and newspaper clippings concerning his topic. Five persons responded, thus expanding the range of newspapers and periodicals.

The few books about Denmark published during the war have all been studied. The preserved manuscripts of the radio broadcasts sponsored by the Danish-American organizations have

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5. (N.Y.: H. W. Wilson Company, vol. 12, 1941, vol. 13, 1943, vol. 14, 1945)

been included in the research.

The activities of the various Danish-American good-will and information services have been covered, partly by research in their archives, partly by interviews and correspondence with the leading men in this work. Mr. C. H. W. Hasselriis, head of the war-time organization Friends of Denmark has been mentioned already under "Acknowledgements." In the archives of his office, now the Danish Information Office in New York City, much valuable information was found. Interviews were had not only with Mr. Hasselriis, but also with the authoress Mrs. Signe Toksvig, now living in Denmark, Mr. John Hansen of Davenport, Iowa, and Mr. Kai Winkelhorn, New York City, all of whom were prominent in the information work.

The Danish-American church synods have been asked for information about their status and activities in 1940. Rev. P. C. Jensen, Blair, Nebraska, statistician and historian of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church and Rev. Alfred Jensen, D. D., President of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, Des Moines, Iowa, provided the writer with such information.

Regarding the illegal news exchange from Denmark via Sweden to Great Britain and the United States, the writer has his knowledge from standard historical works and in addition he had an interview with one of its leading men, Mr. Kai Johansen, at present the Danish press attache in New York City.

As every student of public opinion knows, the public's concept of the facts may be widely different from the actual facts. For the orientation of the reader the following chapter gives a short survey of what really happened in Denmark, ending with a note about how the news got through the German censorship to the free world.

The third chapter describes the view of Denmark held by the American public in 1940. A survey of Danish contributions to American development and of the activities and institutions of Danish-Americans in 1940 is included. The disruption of normal relations with Denmark called forth several information and good-will organizations sponsored by Danish-Americans and friends of Denmark. The activities of these organizations have been considered along with the position of the official Danish representative in the United States, Minister Henrik de Kauffmann.

American public opinion of Denmark during World War II seems to have developed in three stages; it is therefore described in three chapters in chronological sequence.

The writer, being a Dane, realizes the importance of a good American opinion of Denmark and wants it to be as good as possible. He has, however, made an honest attempt at describing the American opinion of his country during the Second World War as it really was - be that good or bad. The reader may decide whether the writer has been successful in this attempt.

## CHAPTER II

### WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN DENMARK 1940-1945

Denmark's geographical position next to Germany and at the entrance of the Baltic has affected her foreign policy as far back as history has been written. Denmark fought with Sweden for centuries over the domination of the Baltic; when that contest was about ended in Sweden's favor at the beginning of the eighteenth century, two new contestants arose, Prussia and Russia.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Prussia was becoming the leading power in this part of Europe. Denmark became the first victim of Bismarck's policy to unite and expand Germany through "blood and iron." The war of 1864 between Denmark and the great powers Austria and Prussia ended in Denmark's military defeat and the surrender of her two Southern provinces, Schleswig and Holstein, the former one having a heavy Danish population in its northern half. Prussia continued her successes. In 1866 Austria was beaten, and after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, Germany replaced France as the leading power on the continent.

Denmark's foreign policy after 1864 had to be one of neutrality.<sup>1</sup> Her trade turned west - mainly to England -

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1. The major source of information for the first part of this chapter is: John Danstrup, A History of Denmark (Copenhagen: Wivel, 2nd ed., 1947), p. 120-166.

and the sympathies of the people went in the same direction; Denmark's foreign policy, however, could never be in conflict with her strong neighbor, Germany. Thus Denmark in 1870 rejected a French offer of an alliance in the war with Prussia, and in 1914 she steered clear of the World War by laying mines in the belts and the Sound, so that the Allied ships could not get to the Baltic, and German ships had to use the Kiel Canal for traffic between the two seas. The main reason for the success of this step was, of course, that the Allied interest in the Baltic never was great.

The Peace of Versailles gave the people of Schleswig a plebiscite to indicate their future nationality. The result was that the northern half - about as many as had in 1864 been Danish - voted for Denmark. Although there still remained some Danes south of the border and some, though fewer, Germans north of it, all major points of conflict were eliminated between Denmark and Germany during the Weimar Constitution.

Denmark's military policy since 1864 has followed her foreign policy. For a generation segments of the population, hoping for a war of revenge, and those fearing another German attack, were influential and brought about the fortification of Copenhagen, this being the only place in the country that could be defended, even temporarily, until help arrived from friendly countries.

Before, and especially after, the First World War, the futility of any Danish military preparedness - being devoid of Allies as the country was - became obvious to most of the people. With faith in the League of Nations' ability to prevent wars, the Danish Parliament in 1922 cut the country's military force radically. Under the influence of the world depression a further reduction was made in 1932, and in order not to offend the irritable Nazi regime the Army Act of 1937 reduced the military still more. For instance, the voluntary defense corps~~es~~ were dissolved.<sup>2</sup>

Substantial reduction in military expense made easier Denmark's remarkable progress after 1864, the defeat of this year spurring efforts for compensation. Economically the country developed its agriculture to its famous high level, and an industry grew up that by 1930 occupied more hands than did agriculture. The Danes came to be one of the wealthiest people in the world. Socially the social-liberal welfare state with social justice and security reached a high degree of development. Cultural life prospered. The educational system, especially adult education in the folk high schools, was often an inspiration to foreign countries. The arts and sciences fared well; the Danes bought

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2. Vilhelm la Cour, ed., Danmark under Besaettelsen (Copenhagen: Westermann, 1945). For the legislation of 1922, see p. 17, that of 1932, pp. 27-29, and that of 1937, pp. 38-39.

proportionately more books than any other people, and their public health was unequalled.

The ascendance of Hitler in 1933 presented several dangers to Denmark where his frontier revisions and threats of revenge created fear just as in most other European states. The trade between Denmark and Germany was extensive, and Hitler wanted to be on good terms with this neighbor, so he offered Denmark a non-aggression treaty which was concluded on May 1, 1939.<sup>3</sup> Norway, Sweden, and Finland rejected a similar offer. Their position was different. Their geography allowed a long resistance until help could arrive. Winston Churchill expressed the difference in an interview February 2, 1940, with Scandinavian reporters: "I have nothing to reproach Denmark for. The others (i.e. Norway and Sweden) have a ditch across which they can feed the tiger, but Denmark is so terribly close to Germany that it would be impossible to bring aid. I at least would not undertake to guarantee Denmark."<sup>4</sup>

The outbreak of war in September, 1939, did not change this situation. Poland, although joined by England and France, was soon conquered by Germany. Soon military activities boiled down to "the phony war" on the Western Front.

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3. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

4. Quoted, with references, in Joergen Haestrup, Kontakt med England 1940-1943 (Copenhagen: Thaning & Appel, 1954), p. 42; and, in English translation, in John Danstrup, p. 167.



What would be the next German step? Danish political leaders knew that they could expect no help in the event of a German attack. Denmark declared herself neutral and hoped to avoid being drawn into the maelstrom.

The invasion of Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940, came as a shock to the rest of the world as well as to these two peoples.<sup>5</sup> The diplomatic war between the Allies and Germany concerning the transport of Swedish iron ore from Norwegian ports to Germany had drawn attention to the area. Great Britain had protested to Norway and Sweden, and on April 7, the British mined Norwegian waters to impede this traffic so vital to Germany.<sup>6</sup> We know that the British had planned to invade Norway on one of the days April 8, 9, or 10.<sup>7</sup> They were late, but they won the role as the friend of the two countries. Norway's Atlantic ports and the Swedish iron ore she exported were principal objectives in any occupation of Norway, and the possession of Denmark as a connecting link was an imperative corollary.

In the early morning of April 9, German troops crossed the Danish border; at the same time troops were landed in

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5. Covering, in general, the occupation: Ibid., pp. 167-90; and Vilhelm la Cour, pp. 127-94.

6. Ibid., p. 202.

7. Walther Hubatsch, Die deutsche Besetzung von Daenemark und Norwegen 1940 (Goettingen: Musterschmidt, 1952), p. 258.

four strategic places on the islands, and while the city slept the governmental and military establishments of Copenhagen were conquered.

The Danish army, which at the outbreak of the war had amounted to 36,200 troops, had been gradually reduced to about 14,000 of which only half were fully trained. The reason was fear of offending the Germans. For the same reason the soldiers had not been allowed to make any defensive preparations.<sup>8</sup>

In southern Jutland three garrisons turned out for combat. Their conduct was perfect, but they did little fighting before they were ordered to cease fire. In Copenhagen the king's guard fought in front of the royal palace until 6:00 a.m., when the king ordered them to stop; the actual shooting lasted twenty minutes. All of the German operations were covered by fleets of airplanes, but no bombs were dropped.<sup>9</sup> The scanty Danish forces were ready to fight, and whenever they got the chance they did all that could be expected from them. Their total loss was sixteen dead and twenty-three wounded.<sup>10</sup>

The resolution to stop fighting and accept the German terms was made by the king and his cabinet in the early

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8. Boerge Outze, ed. Denmark during the German Occupation (Copenhagen, London, Chicago: Scandinavian Publishing Company, 1946), p. 14.

9. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

10. Frit Danmark's Hvidbog (Copenhagen: Thaning & Appel, 1945-1946), II, 474.

morning of April 9.<sup>11</sup> The Germans maintained that they had come to Denmark as friends to prevent an impending British invasion. They promised to interfere as little as possible with internal Danish affairs, and to respect the civil liberties of the Danes. King Christian X and the Prime Minister, Thorvald Stauning, issued a joint proclamation to the people explaining that the occupation was unavoidable and admonishing everybody to do his duty and to keep quiet.

Beyond the narrow field of maintaining peace and order, further cooperation between the Danish government and the Wehrmacht soon became necessary. Europe was blockaded and isolated from world markets, so the countries under German domination developed closer commercial relations. The security of the German military units necessitated some secrecy as to their affairs, hence followed limitations of free speech and movement of the Danes. Denmark's foreign policy had to be coordinated with that of Germany. Hitler's plan was to make Denmark, which racially was so close to Germany, his "model protectorate" to prove the blessings of German friendship. So the German policy was lenient and tolerant during 1940, and there was practically no friction. In this respect Denmark stands in glaring, unfavorable contrast to Norway, where the military resistance by Norwegian, British, and

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11. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

French forces went on for two months and was followed by an increasingly active resistance movement.

The Danish government, which since 1929 had been held by a leftist coalition of the big Social Democratic Party and the little Social Liberal Party, was joined on April 10 by members of the Conservative opposition. Its program was to get along with the Germans, so that Denmark, as far as possible, was kept in Danish hands, and in this it had the support of most of the population. Very few sympathized with the Nazis, the large majority just wanted to get along without friction and to pursue their own ends.

As a sacrifice to those who considered the government's neutral and anti-military policy responsible for the events on April 9, a shift took place in the cabinet on July 6, 1940. The foreign minister since 1929, Dr. P. Munch, was substituted by Erik Scavenius (1877- ), who also was a Social Liberal. Scavenius had been foreign minister 1909-1910 and 1913-1920 and was a skilled diplomat and politician; he was of noble birth, and his character was self-confident and proud.<sup>12</sup>

Scavenius' position was not easy. He was not pro-German - he was not pro-anybody - but he was a hard-headed politician who would give the Germans what had to be given in order

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12. Krak's Blaa Bog (Copenhagen: Krak, 1956), p. 1381; Dansk Biografisk Leksikon (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1944), XX, 614-617.

to keep the government, the administration, and the courts in Danish hands and to maintain a sound economy. On some occasions, however, he went too far in meeting the German demands. In his program speech of July 8, 1940, he admiringly praised the German victories and promised Danish cooperation in the establishment of "Neuropa." In January, 1940, he surrendered ten torpedo boats to the Germans in spite of the opposition of the king and most of the cabinet members.<sup>13</sup> Scavenius did not delay as much as he might have done the act outlawing the Communists,<sup>14</sup> and with reservations of little significance he made Denmark join the Anti-Comintern Pact in November, 1941. Scavenius' policy on these points was forced by the Germans, but it was widely regretted by the citizens.<sup>15</sup>

The high point of Scavenius' cooperation policy was the election in March, 1943, the only free election in occupied Europe. Its result was a resounding victory for democracy: 89½ % of the voters turned out, and 96% of those cast their votes for one of the five democratic parties. The Nazi party received only 2% of the votes, although it included the German population in Northern Schleswig and received vigorous support from the occupation power. The Nazi votes numbered

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13. Vilhelm la Cour, pp. 297-298.

14. Frit Danmark's Hvidbog, I, 262ff.

15. Vilhelm la Cour, pp. 320-328.

43,309 which was a gain of only 12,000 since the 1939 election's 31,032. Its three seats out of 149 in the lower house of Parliament were not increased.<sup>16</sup>

An estimation of Scavenius' policy must keep in mind that on the whole he had the support of the king and the political leaders, and it seems evident that any other man that the Germans would have approved, would have been more friendly to them. Scavenius' policy must be termed successful in so far as he kept Denmark in Danish hands for three years. But as far as the self-respect of the people and their prestige abroad are concerned, it was a failure. The leading authority on the history of these years, Dr. Joergen Haestrup, believes that Scavenius' policy failed. "Scavenius' cards were, perhaps, poor, but those that he had, were not utilized."<sup>17</sup> The present writer takes a more sympathetic view of Scavenius' goals, means, and results.

Shortly after the election of March, 1943, the ground broke from under Scavenius' cooperation policy, because the people's spirit of resistance had been growing steadily for a couple of years.

As the German war machine rolled into Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg on May 10, 1940, and into the Soviet Union a year later, June 21, 1941, Hitler's real intentions grew

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16. Ibid., pp. 356-358.

17. Joergen Haestrup, p. 40.

clear, and the Danes realized that the cause of the Allies was also their cause. The military occupation grew intolerable for a people that had always governed itself, and the systematic exploitation and slow elimination of civil liberties called forth the spirit of resistance. Haestrup thinks that the real shift in the people's feelings came in 1941 - strongly influenced by military events and the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union joined the war.<sup>18</sup>

From the beginning the most important ways of expressing opposition to the occupiers were these:

1. Passive resistance of all kinds: Slow-down strikes and ordinary strikes became a way of inflicting damage on the German war machine. Non-cooperation and "the cold shoulder" must also be mentioned in this connection as a sort of psychological warfare.

2. Illegal press: For information about what happened in Denmark and the world, for warning against persons collaborating with the Germans, and for strengthening the will of resistance, an illegal press sprang up. By the end of the occupation there were 538 illegal dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, and 298 books and pamphlets had been published throughout the occupation years. The rate of growth of the illegal press was amazing, as is born out by its circulation numbers:

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18. Joergen Haestrup, p. 38.

1940: 1,200 copies of dailies, weeklies and monthlies  
 1941: 40,000  
 1942: 301,000  
 1943: 2,600,000  
 1944: 10,935,000  
 1945: 10,131,000 (to May 5, 1945)<sup>19</sup>

3. Sabotage: At an early date, probably by the end of 1940, the infant resistance movement received this ultimatum from London: either you destroy by sabotage the lines of communication and the factories serving the Germans, or we will do it by air raids. The choice was sabotage. In groups of usually six to ten members, the saboteurs met at night in secret places to contribute their share to the general war against Hitler. To an increasing degree the factories working for the Germans were blown up, and the Germans could never be sure how long a time it would take to get troops and military supplies through little Denmark.

King Christian X assumed in these war years a role quite different from the one he usually occupied as a constitutional monarch. King Christian, who had been on the throne since 1912, was born in 1870, so he was an old man when his country was overrun by the invaders. His attitude towards the Germans was dignified and cool, yet correct.

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19. Leo Buschardt et al., Besaettelsestidens illegale Blade og Boeger (Copenhagen: Dansk bibliografisk Kontor, 1954).



Typical of this attitude was his answer to Hitler's congratulatory telegram on the royal birthday, September 26, 1942. It was extremely brief, "Meinen besten Dank, Christian Rex"<sup>20</sup> - and Hitler was furious! A political crisis followed, under which the Danish minister in Berlin was dismissed, and the German minister in Copenhagen was recalled. A stricter policy in Denmark followed. Not until the king had assured the touchy dictator that no offense had been intended, indeed the answer was just like the Danish kings' replies had always been, did Hitler calm down.<sup>21</sup> One result of the "telegram crisis" was that Scavenius became Prime Minister on German insistence. He kept his position as Foreign Minister.

Around the king were concentrated all the national feelings that were otherwise homeless because of the questionable cooperation policy. King Christian's traditional horseback rides in the morning through his capital now became a dear sight to the Danes. The old monarch was met by his suppressed people with a love close to idolatry.

By mid-summer 1943, the relations between the German occupation force and the Danish people reached the breaking point. Spurred on by the Allied victories, the saboteurs

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20. "My hearty thanks, Christian Rex."

21. Vilhelm la Cour, pp. 247-248.

increased their activities, and the population was behind them, so that the Germans could not seize them. Large strikes and street fighting flared up in the big provincial cities in July, and soon the commotion reached that seed bed of resistance, Copenhagen. On August 28, 1943, the Germans handed Prime and Foreign Minister Scavenius the following ultimatum:

The Danish government shall declare, with immediate effect, a state of emergency in the entire country. This state of emergency shall include the following provisions:

- 1) Prohibition of public gatherings exceeding five persons,
- 2) Prohibition of strikes and any kind of financial support to strikers,
- 3) Prohibition of any gatherings, whether indoor or outdoor. Curfew to be imposed from 8:30 p.m. to 5:30 a.m. ...All firearms and explosives, not already seized, to be delivered up before the 1st of September, 1943,
- 4) Prohibition of any annoyance to Danish citizens owing to cooperation with...the Germans,
- 5) Censorship of the press...,
- 6) Setting up of Danish prompt-working, special tribunals for dealing with infringements of decrees issued for the maintenance of public order and safety. Such cases of infringement to suffer the severest punishments...Sabotage and any incitement thereto, attacks on units of the Wehrmacht or on single members thereof, possession of firearms or explosives after September 1, 1943, shall be immediately punishable by death...<sup>22</sup>

These radical demands would have meant a death blow to what was left of Danish independence. They could not be accepted, and a united cabinet stood behind the refusal. The German answer was to dismiss the government and take everything that had been denied them and a good deal more. The

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22. Boerge Outze, pp. 32-33.

government was dismissed, so from August 1, 1943, Denmark had no government, and the administrative system and all other important functions fell under direct German control. Actually a state of war now existed between Denmark and Germany, although a declaration of war was never issued.

The army, which since April, 1940, had been reduced and kept isolated in its garrisons, was now demobilized after some fighting. The navy preferred to escape to Sweden or to scuttle itself rather than surrender its ships to the enemy. This act, important also in the eyes of the outside world, had long been prepared, and was resolutely carried out. During the fighting in these days twenty-three soldiers and sailors fell.<sup>23</sup>

It is not correct to call Denmark completely without government, for in the early summer of 1943 the leaders of the four biggest resistance organizations had formed the Freedom Council for coordination and intensification of resistance. The Freedom Council came to be Denmark's real government from the summer of 1943 until the liberation. It was recognized by the Allied governments, had the loyal support of most of the population, and directed the general policy against the Germans.

The break with the Germans was followed by increased terror and exploitation - "Norwegian conditions" had come to

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23. Frit Danmark's Hvidbog II, 473. Covering, generally, the events around August 29, 1943, Boerge Outze, pp. 32-39.

Denmark. The Danish answer was more sabotage. Thousands of saboteurs were jailed and executed; 6,104 were deported to concentration camps in Germany, where 546 of them died.<sup>24</sup> The people cooperated with the saboteurs, and the Germans, often unable to find the "criminals," resorted to collective punishments and the practice of taking hostages, which in turn called forth new resistance.

In October, 1943, came the most brutal attack on Danish, yes, indeed, on human rights. All of the approximately 7,000 Jews in Denmark were outlawed, and deportations to the annihilation camps began. But Denmark lived up to her reputation of being the European state that treated its Jews best; a magnificent job of rescuing took place, so that only 475 Jews were taken to the concentration camps. The efficiency of the illegal connection with Sweden had been proved.<sup>25</sup>

In September, 1944, the Danish police force was imprisoned, and the citizens had to organize voluntary committees for protection against ordinary criminals and German soldiers.

On New Year's Day, 1945, Winston Churchill sent the following radio greeting to the resistance movement:

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24. Frit Danmark's Hvidbog II, 473.

25. Ibid., pp.95-105; statistics p. 223;  
Aage Bertelsen, October -43 (New York: Putnam, 1954).

To you in the Danish resistance movement, under the brave leadership of the Freedom Council, I say this: We know what price you paid and are paying for refusing to be tempted by Nazi blandishments or cowed by Nazi threats; we know something about your achievements in harrying and wrecking the German war machine which rolled across your defenseless frontiers nearly five years ago. We admire your steadfastness and your skill. Your resistance is a valuable contribution to the Allied cause and the future prosperity of a free Denmark.

Now as the enemy is near defeat and becomes more violent we must all stand firm. We must strengthen our grip to hasten the end. With cool heads and stout hearts let us march together to the victory which will restore the ancient liberties of the Danish people.<sup>26</sup>

Denmark was spared a war of liberation. Montgomery's Eighth Army cut across Northern Germany, and May 5, 1945, the German forces in Holland, North Western Germany, and Denmark surrendered to him. Denmark was free, and soon the war in Europe was over. Denmark's material losses were smaller than those of any other occupied European country. In spite of Denmark's official policy, her honor had been saved by the resistance movement that had won for the country the status of being practically an Ally.

Denmark's normal relations with the outside world were broken on April 9, 1940. Her three dependencies in the North Atlantic went different ways. The Faeroes were occupied by the British on April 16, 1940. Iceland was occupied on May 9, 1940 by the British and a year later by the Americans; it

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26. Quoted in Boerge Outze, pp. 84-85.

formed an important station for the Atlantic convoys. The Parliament of Iceland immediately took charge of the island's foreign policy. The minister to Copenhagen was recalled and made governor in 1941. In 1944 Iceland broke completely the personal union with Denmark, dating from 1918, thus becoming an independent republic. Greenland was administered by the Danish legation in Washington, D.C. On April 9, 1941, one year after the occupation of Denmark, the Danish minister, Henrik de Kauffmann, made the Greenland Deal with the American government; Greenland was put under the protection of the United States for the duration of the war, and American bases were established there.<sup>27</sup>

Sweden, which succeeded in staying out of the war, became the way out to the free world for Denmark as well as for Norway. The importance of Sweden to the resistance movements in both countries can hardly be overestimated. Haunted saboteurs and other refugees found a safe harbor just on the other side of the Sound. From Sweden came arms and materials for the saboteurs, and here an army of refugees was built up, ready for the anticipated invasion of Denmark.<sup>28</sup>

Great Britain had an equally important role in the development of Denmark during the war. From here saboteurs and

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27. A summary of the Greenland Deal is given in Frit Danmark's Hvidbog II, pp. 133-135.

28. Boerge Outze, pp. 66-76.

spies were dropped by parachutes, and with them came arms and orders for more sabotage and espionage. The Danish Council, consisting of Danes living in England, was set up in London in late September, 1940. It did great work in encouraging and supporting the Danish resistance movement, and in creating Allied good-will for Denmark.<sup>29</sup> Special Operations Executive (SOE), an organization to help and instruct the resistance movements all over Europe, was established in the late summer of 1940.<sup>30</sup> The first parachutists it sent to Denmark landed in December, 1941.<sup>31</sup>

In May, 1942 one of the most prominent Danish politicians, Conservative Party leader J. Christmas Moeller (1894-1948), whom the Germans had forced out of the cabinet, fled in a boat to Sweden from where he reached England by plane. He became the active chairman of the Danish Council for the last three years of the war. To the British he explained that the official Denmark was not the real Denmark, and his frequent speeches over the BBC kindled the flame of resistance in Denmark.<sup>32</sup>

The Danish merchant marine rendered great services to the Allied cause. The order from Copenhagen of April 9, 1940,

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29. Joergen Haestrup, p. 68.

30. Ibid., p. 10.

31. Ibid., p. 112-113.

32. Dansk Biografisk Leksikon V, 231-233; Krak's Blaa Bog (1947), p. 932.

to go home or to a neutral port, was disobeyed by nearly all the ships, as they entered the Allied carrier service.

5,-6,000 sailors served, 570 of whom perished.<sup>33</sup>

The last thing that need be mentioned is how news from Denmark reached the world, and especially how it reached the United States, where it became the basis of the public opinion that we are about to study. The Danish radio and press soon were under German control, so what really happened in these years had to be told through other channels.

For one thing, illegal radio senders started operating. The few persons who were allowed to travel to Sweden acted as messengers for the military intelligence service and the students' intelligence service, the two most important news and intelligence services. The latter had an ingenious way of getting papers and microfilms over to Sweden; messages were attached under a certain railroad car in the trains that were daily sent by ship from Denmark to Sweden. In Sweden a contact man picked them up, and they were passed on to the "Free Danish Press Service" in Stockholm. The news went directly from Stockholm to the United States, or sometimes via London. The first microfilm message, illegally smuggled from Denmark, reached Stockholm as early as October, 1940.<sup>34</sup>

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33. Boerge Outze, pp. 87-89; Joergen Haestrup, "Hvem skriver vaerket om soefolkenes indsats?" Information, Sept. 28, 1955, p. 4.

34. Joergen Haestrup, pp. 73-80; Interview with Kai Johansen, New York, N.Y., September 7, 1956.



Foreign news reporters received their information from the Free Danish Press Service. Among American news reporters George Axelson of the New York Times has significance in this study, as he was very influential in forming the information and opinion of the New York Times concerning Denmark. Axelson was born in Sweden in 1898, came to the United States in 1917 and from 1926 was a correspondent for various American papers in Europe. In 1939 Axelsson became New York Times' correspondent in Stockholm.<sup>35</sup>

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35. New York Times morgue file.

CHAPTER III  
DANISH - AMERICAN INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS  
DURING THE WAR

A. American knowledge of Denmark through  
Danish settlers and directly from Denmark

American opinion of European nations stems from two sources. One is direct knowledge of the nations through education, organized information, travels, and business, the other is knowledge of the nations through their representatives in the United States -- the immigrants.

The latter source is the less important one, still there is no doubt that it is influential in forming public opinion of the nation in question. We will therefore consider briefly the contributions of Danish immigrants to the development of the United States, the outstanding individuals as well as the hundreds of thousands of anonymous immigrants who helped to build America.

Ever since the middle of the seventeenth century some Danish immigration to America has taken place. In 1650 ten percent of the inhabitants of New Amsterdam (soon to become New York) were Danes.<sup>1</sup> One of them was

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1. Axel Sporon-Fiedler, Den danske bevaegelse i de forenede Stater i Besaettelsesaarene (Copenhagen: n.p., 1947), p. 5.

Jonas Bronck from the Faeroes, who was to give his name to the borough of Bronx in New York City, having purchased this area from the Indians in 1639.<sup>2</sup>

The legend runs that the only soldier to participate in all the battles of the American Revolution was General Febiger, "Old Denmark". Christian Febiger (1749-1796) joined the American side only ten days after the battle of Lexington and Concord, fought bravely in the battles, and served ably as organizer of the system of food and supplies. In 1783 Febiger was brevetted Brigadier General by Congress for his services.<sup>3</sup>

Peter Lassen (1800-1859) was a skilled blacksmith who came to the United States from Copenhagen in 1830. He became an explorer and developer of the West, settling in Northern California in 1840. His name is attached to Lassen County and Lassen Volcanic National Park in California.<sup>4</sup>

Whereas these individuals settled at a time when few Danes came to America, large scale immigration

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2. Encyclopedia Americana (New York, Chicago: American Corporation, 1953), IV, 582.
  3. Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Scribner's, 1943), VI, 309; Dansk Biografisk Leksikon (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1933-1944), XIV, 601-602.
  4. Ibid., XIV, 119-121.

started in the 1850's, increasing after the Civil War. This comprised not only Danes but all nationalities of northern and western Europe. It lasted till about 1900, and in these years an estimated 300,000 Danes made the United States their home. After about the year 1890, Danish immigration was small. Eastern and southern Europe now provided most of the immigrants.

After the war between Denmark and Prussia and Austria in 1864, Schleswig with a large Danish population was annexed by Prussia. Most of the numerous emigrants from Schleswig were nominally and statistically German, but in loyalties and culture they were Danish. The majority of Danes settled in the Midwest; Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska; but many went to the Pacific Coast, and of course the big cities like New York and Chicago got their share.

Most of these late nineteenth-century Danish immigrants were sturdy farmers who contributed to the good farming of the new land. A leading historian of immigration, professor Carl Wittke, says about these Danes: "As the rate of illiteracy is very low in Denmark and the people are familiar with economic and political democracy, the Danes represent in every way a desirable and substantial addition to the American population", and they "enjoyed an excellent reputation for honesty

and integrity."<sup>5</sup>

Of the outstanding men we will mention only two. Jacob A. Riis (1849-1914) was a journalist, social reformer, slum clearance leader in New York City, and author of such influential books as How the Other Half Lives (1890), The Making of an American (1901), and The Battle with the Slum (1902). As a social reformer Riis cooperated closely with his friend Theodore Roosevelt, who called him "the most useful citizen in New York."<sup>6</sup> Gutzon Borglum (1871-1941), born to Danish parents in Utah, became one of the greatest American sculptors. His main works are the four gigantic presidents' heads in the Black Hills of South Dakota, the head of Lincoln at Washington, DC, and the Twelve Apostles in front of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City.<sup>7</sup>

Danish immigrants are known to adapt themselves easily to American conditions; they have made useful and respected citizens. These facts in combination with their small numbers have kept them from forming many

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5. Carl Wittke, We Who Built America (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1939), pp. 293-296. Quotation on p. 294.
  6. Dictionary of American Biography, XV, 606-608. Dansk Biografisk Leksikon, XIX, 507-508.
  7. Encyclopedia Americana, IV, 271-2; Dictionary of American Biography, II, 462-4.

preponderantly national communities or political blocks like the German, Irish, Italian, and other immigrants have done.

That the Scandinavians, together with the other peoples of northern and western Europe, are considered "old stock" and well liked as immigrants, was born out by the immigration laws of 1921 and 1924. In 1921 the annual immigration quotas for European countries was set at three per cent of the foreign born of each nationality in the United States in 1910. The 1924 law changed the percentage to two per cent and made 1890 the basis of computation; by this date the heavy immigrations<sup>8</sup> from southern and eastern Europe had not yet started.

Riis in his The Making of an American describes his own life from his birth in a little old town in Denmark through his first hard years in the United States till he became a famous writer and reformer. He never forgot his old country, yet the book ends with the following scene: Riis on a visit to Denmark lies in his bed, sick and exhausted. He is very depressed, until he sees through his window a ship with "the flag of freedom". "That moment I knew...I knew then that it was my flag, that my children's home was mine,<sup>9</sup> indeed that I also had become an American in truth."

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8. Carl Wittke, p. 516

9. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1906), pp. 442-3

The most important Danish organizations and institutions must be mentioned here. The churches are very important. The two Danish synods the United Evangelical Church and the American Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1940 had 193 communities with 34,625 members and 84 communities with 18,383 members respectively. Besides gathering Americans of Danish origin for purposes of worship, by 1940 conducted mostly in English, these synods undertook other activities. They supported seven old people's homes, ran two liberal arts colleges, namely Dana College, Blair, Nebraska, and Grand View College, Des Moines, Iowa, and published Danish and Danish-American literature, especially from the great Lutheran Publishing House in Blair, Nebraska.

Fraternities and clubs called their members to meetings and parties on special Danish occasions such as Constitution Day and the King's birthday, and they often listened to lecturers from the old country. In 1940 The Danish Brotherhood had 328 lodges with about 17,000 members, and "The Danish Sisterhood" had 143 lodges with about 7,000 members.

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10. Letter from Rev. P. C. Jensen to writer; Blair, Nebraska, February 1, 1957;  
Letter from Rev. Alfred Jensen, DD to writer;  
Des Moines, Iowa, February 24, 1957

11. Axel Speron-Fiedler, p. 6.

In 1940 the Danish press in the United States consisted of ten newspapers and periodicals in the Danish language, the most important ones being published in such Danish centers as Omaha, Cedar Falls, Iowa, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York. The American-Scandinavian Review was, and still is, a quarterly of high standards with articles about the three Scandinavian countries, their culture and current affairs.<sup>12</sup>

Coordination and cooperation of these various activities had been attempted several times, but without result, so in 1940 the 138,175 persons born in Denmark and 305,640 of Danish or mixed parentage, a sum of 443,815<sup>13</sup> Danish-Americans, had no central authority to turn to.

The other source of American knowledge about Denmark is the knowledge obtained through American education, Americans going to Denmark for business or vacation, and what little could be found of organized Danish information efforts. It can be stated with certainty that what Americans of 1940 knew of Denmark was very limited. Hans Christian Andersen, the world-famous fairy tale teller, was Denmark's best known "product".

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12. Ibid., p.7.

13. Figures from Statistical Abstract of the United States (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1956), p.36.



The better informed knew Denmark for its cooperative systems and agriculture of a high standard, and a few might even know Denmark as a democratic welfare state with an old and highly developed civilization. Denmark's neutrality and non-armament were known to the attentive newspaper readers, but its dependence on Germany during the 1930's was no doubt exaggerated. Thus the book Rats in the Larder (1939) by the German-born journalist Joachim Joesten had a degree of truth in it, but overstressed German espionage and domination in Denmark.<sup>14</sup>

Quite another picture of Denmark had been presented to American readers in 1937 by Agnes Rothery's Denmark, Kingdom of Reason. According to Mrs. Rothery "Denmark, the oldest kingdom in the world, is also one of the wisest and happiest", and everything in Denmark seemed to be perfect.<sup>15</sup>

Attempts to spread knowledge about Denmark among Americans had begun as early as 1905 through the Danish-American Association. This organization later merged

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14. (New York: Putnam, 1939). A similar judgment of Joesten's book was given by Minister Kauffmann in his report to the Danish Foreign Office on Sept. 4, 1940: Parlamentarisk Kommissions Betaenkning, Bilag V (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1948), p. 201.

15. (New York: Viking, 1937), p. XI

with the American Scandinavian Foundation (founded in 1911 by the Danish-American Niels Poulson), active in exchange of lecturers and students and publisher of the above mentioned Review.<sup>16</sup> In 1939 the Foundation prospered "both in opportunities for service and in friends", and the funds were in better shape than ever. The number of travelling fellows reached a peak of ninety-five; twenty-three of those were Americans studying in Scandinavia. The rest were Scandinavians studying in the United States; twenty-four of those were Danes.<sup>17</sup>

B. The Danish minister, Henrik de Kauffmann, and his relation to the American government

The morning papers of April 9, 1940, brought America the shocking news that Hitler had attacked Norway and Denmark. We shall later consider at length how the press dealt with Denmark in the following days and years; here it is sufficient to say that it had little understanding of Denmark's difficult position and was rather critical of the surrender to the German invaders after

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16. Axel Sponon-Fiedler, pp. 7-8; Hasselriis, Memo. no. I.

17. The statistics are from: The American-Scandinavian Foundation; 28th Annual Report, 1939 (N.Y.: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1940), p. 3.

practically no fighting. This challenge started the systematic work of informing Americans about Denmark, which we shall describe at the end of this chapter.

This activity would have been impossible, or at any rate much more difficult, were it not for the stand taken by the Danish minister to the United States and the continued American recognition of him as representative of the abstraction "free Denmark".

Henrik de Kauffmann (1888- ) had been appointed Royal Danish Minister to Washington in 1939, and he was the last foreign representative to arrive before the war started on September 1, 1939. Since Kauffmann in 1911 received his law degree from the University of Copenhagen, his diplomatic service had taken him to Berlin, Rome, Tokyo, Peking, and New York -- the centers of world politics. Kauffmann had served in 1913 as secretary to the Danish consulate general in New York. His wife is an American, a daughter of Admiral William D. MacDougall of the United States Navy.

On the morning of April 9, 1940, Minister Kauffmann received from the Danish Foreign Office a telegram reporting the German invasion. The Danish government was the first one of those attacked in the Second World War to remain in office under German domination. Its

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18. Krak's Blaa Bog (1956), p. 834.

relations with the outside world, including the contact with Denmark's diplomatic representatives abroad, were German controlled from the beginning. Kauffmann consequently was in a unique situation; he lived up to it, and the firm stands he took from April, 1940, till the end of the war, secured him a honored position in Danish history.

On April 10, Minister Kauffmann sent the following statement to the State Department and to the press:

"I came to this country to represent my king and a free and independent people. That is what I am still here for.

Democratic and peaceful Denmark has had to bow to overwhelming force. -- My country is going through dark days. -- It has done so before. We did not lose courage then, and we will not lose courage now.

I will work for one thing, the re-establishment of a free and independent Denmark. Many will work with me, and I know we shall succeed." 19

It became Kauffmann's job to assure the American government and people that the Danish government, so often acting in Germany's interest, was not free, but that it was a government "under duress". Immediately the American government and gradually the American people recognized this stand.

Kauffmann's position was emulated by Denmark's representatives in the free world, and in December, 1941,

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19. New York Times, April 11, 1940, p. 7.

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the Danish minister in London followed him. By then the Foreign Ministry in Copenhagen had broken completely with Kauffmann. The occasion was the Greenland Deal made on April 9, 1941, (first anniversary of the invasion), between Kauffmann and the American government. The deal allowed the United States to take over the defense of this important strategic area by stationing troops there for the duration of the war. The Foreign Minister, Scavenius, immediately dismissed Kauffmann and ordered his secretary of legation to take over, but the American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, reaffirmed the American recognition of Kauffmann as the representative of the rather abstract "free Denmark".

On January 1, 1942, twenty-six allied and associated powers signed in Washington the United Nations' charter. Kauffmann signed it the following day on behalf of "the Danish nation" and "Danes in the free world". Hasselriis became Kauffmann's representative on the Inter-Allied Council, later to become the United Nations Information Board.

These events will be discussed below as important

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20. New York Times, December 3, 1941, p. 7.

21. Axel Sporon-Fiedler, pp. 17-18.

in shaping American opinion of Denmark. To Danes in the United States and all over the world Kauffmann became a symbol of hope and pride, his words and actions a great encouragement, and they often showed their appreciation. 22  
 Greenland was administered by the Greenland Commission of July 25, 1940, consisting of Danish-Americans and friends of Denmark, appointed by Kauffmann. The diplomatic representatives that followed the Kauffmann line were supported economically by the sale of cryolite from Greenland, and the Danish merchant marine in Allied service was to a large degree administered from Kauffmann's office. 23

The official American view of the attack on Denmark and Norway was given by President Roosevelt in the following declaration of April 13, 1940:

Force and military aggression are once more on the march against small nations, in this instance through the invasion of Denmark and Norway.

These nations have won and maintained during a period of many generations the respect and regard not only of the American people, but of all peoples, because of their observance of the highest standards of national and international conduct.

Then follows a formal protest against aggression, and the proclamation ends:

If civilization is to survive, the rights of smaller

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22. John Hansen, National America Denmark Association (n.p., n.d.), pp. 1-2; Hasselriis, Memo. no. 3.

23. Parlamentariske Kommissions Betaenkning, Bilag V, 206-07.

nations to independence, to their territorial integrity, and to the unimpeded opportunity for self-government must be respected by their more powerful neighbors. 24

The American government's stand against the aggressor and for the conquered small countries did not change, rather, these tendencies were strengthened. After the United States joined the war in December, 1941, the world came to seem only white and black; Denmark fortunately was white.

C. The pro-Denmark organizations after April 9, 1940:  
creation, program, and work

After Denmark had been occupied, the challenge to Danish-Americans was to tell the truth about how the aggression took place, and how the occupation developed. They had to unite into one large organization to get a hearing. One figure stands out as the dominating one in this organization and information work, namely C. H. W. Hasselriis.

C. H. W. Hasselriis was born in Denmark in 1881, but since 1906 he had lived in the United States, first in Chicago, later in New York City, as a businessman. Hasselriis had always been in close contact with Danish circles, thus since 1912 he had been a member of the

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24. New York Times, April 14, 1940, p. 1.

Rebild Committee (arranging the annual convention in Denmark of Danish-Americans on Independence Day), and he was chairman of the Danish committee of the New York World's Fair, 1939-1940. His knowledge of Danish literature and culture was extensive, and he had contributed to both Danish and American literature with stories and fables. Last, but not least, Hasselriis had a sound knowledge of public relations.<sup>25</sup>

At a Friday meeting in February, 1940, in Our Saviour's Danish Church in Brooklyn, New York City, Hasselriis spoke as so often before. But this time the dark world situation gave his words a special importance, and he came to speak about "Denmark's Past and Future". He mentioned the work in which he and some of those present had been engaged for some time, maintaining the ties to Denmark and meeting in churches and clubs to strengthen the mutual contacts. He concluded that this work might well take on more importance if Denmark came to be in real danger. The call would then go out for unified action by the Danish groups in the United States.<sup>26</sup>

In the audience was a Danish-American businessman,

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25. Krak's Blaa Bog (1956), p. 587. Knud Krame, Danske i Udlandet (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1956) pp. 214-15.

26. Danmarksposten, April, 1940.



Hans J. Isbrandtsen of the Isbrandtsen-Moeller Shipping Company. On April 10, the day after the invasion, he met Hasselriis and asked him if he was ready to act as he had spoken. Hasselriis' "yes" was immediate and unconditional, indeed, he had for some time been gathering material with the purpose of informing the American public of Denmark.

Isbrandtsen then employed the well-known public relations specialist Edward L. Bernays (1891- ) as adviser in the work to be done. Bernays had served on the American Committee on Public Information at the Peace Conference at Versailles 1918-19. He was the author of such books as Crystallizing Public Opinion (1924), Propaganda (1928), and Public Relations (1952). After 1919 Bernays had been counsel on public relations to the American government, to industries and corporations -- indeed he was a very good adviser in the Danish information service now to be launched. Hasselriis wrote four or five years later: "There was need for haste in order that American public opinion might crystallize and express itself in favor of Denmark." Bernays' services were rewarded, when, in 1946, he received King Christian's Freedom Medal.

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27. About Bernays: Who's Who in America 1956-1957 (Chicago: Marquis Publications, 1957), p. 208. The quotation: Hasselriis, Memo. no. 4, p. 1.

Isbrandtsen had already given Hasselriis \$2500 for a start. Now he called for a conference two wealthy businessmen of Danish birth, Mr. Knud Engelsted of New York, and William S. Knudsen, president of General Motors Corporation since 1937.<sup>28</sup> The three men advanced equal sums to an amount of \$15,000, which Hasselriis, who offered to volunteer without pay, thought sufficient for one year.

Bernays suggested the name of the new organization, and around April 15 American Friends of Freedom and Democracy opened its offices at 420 Lexington Avenue, New York City -- the same building that held Mr. Bernays' offices. It should be noted that the organization was wholly American, supported and directed by private American citizens. The organization's name indicates its program. "The real truth about the real Denmark was good enough" as Hasselriis wrote, the man who was its leader from the first day.<sup>29</sup>

Another organization came to overshadow American

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28. Who's Who in America 1948-1949, p. 1379. Dansk Biografisk Leksikon, XII, 628-30.

29. Hasselriis, Memo. no. 4, p. 3; Memo. no. 4 covers all of the history of establishing Free Denmark, as does Axel Sporon-Fiedler, pp. 9-10; Interview with Winkelhorn, New York, N.Y., Sept. 4, 1956, stressed the same purpose of action as Hasselriis did.

Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy. Friends of Denmark, established in September, 1941, as Free Denmark, took over A.F.D.F.D.'s work from January, 1942, also cooperating with free Danes throughout the world. Thus Friends of Denmark's first task was to contribute \$5000 to the "Spitfire Fund" of the Danish Council in London, which later presented a spitfire to the British government.

In February, 1942, Friends of Denmark merged with the National America Denmark Association, about which we shall soon read, and the two organizations had a common information service and press; its offices were at 116 Broad Street, New York City. William K. Sorensen was president of Friends of Denmark; other officers were Kai Winkelhorn, a banking executive, soon to be a trusted intelligence officer serving the OSS in Europe, and Hasselriis, the omnipresent, who supervised the daily work.

The primary purpose of American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy and Friends of Denmark was to tell Americans "wie es eigentlich gewesen", "what really happened" in Denmark. Therefore the neutral, peace-loving policy of Denmark after 1864 was stressed. It

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30. Hasselriis, Memo. no. 8, pp. 1-3.

31. Hasselriis, Memo. no. 5, p. 1; no. 8, p. 3.

was emphasized that the country was unprepared for war and had no hope of aid from the Allied powers -- so, what was the use of fighting?

The facts these organizations wanted to tell were of Danish adult education in the folk high schools, the cooperative system, the high quality of agricultural and industrial products, the plain friendliness of the people, and the democratic way of life in this northern kingdom -- facts that would appeal to Americans.

Of course the men behind the information service wanted to appeal favorably. They wanted to "sell" goodwill for Denmark, and they chose the selection and arrangement that would attract buyers. Thus the rather socialistic character of much recent legislation in Denmark was not mentioned, whereas on the other hand the resistance against the Germans, which in the first two years of the occupation was very insignificant, was exaggerated.<sup>32</sup> One of the prolific writers of the organization, Mrs. Signe Toksvig, stresses that "good stories" were welcome, for editors liked to pick them.<sup>33</sup>

Let us look at the work done by American Friends

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32. Interview with Winkelhorn, New York, N.Y., Sept. 5, 1956; interview with Hasselriis, New York, N.Y., Sept. 4, 1956.
33. Letter from Signe Toksvig; Virum, Denmark, February 2, 1957.

of Danish Freedom and Democracy, and Friends of Denmark. With amazing speed, two mimeographed pages, one about the organization, one about its sponsors, were distributed to 2,000 daily newspapers, and many of them were accepted.<sup>34</sup> Hasselriis in his report of 1945 lists the following activities:

1. A Danish language news bulletin of ten to twenty mimeographed pages per week, in about 900 copies distributed to Danish language newspapers in the United States, groups of Danes throughout the free world, members, diplomatic offices, and others.

2. The fortnightly Danish Listening Post, "splendidly edited", as Hasselriis says, by the authoress Signe Toksvig, wife of the author Francis Hackett. The Listening Post was distributed to about 3,000 newspapers, radio stations, government offices, writers, lecturers, schools, and libraries.

3. A periodical News from Denmark to radio stations and commentators.

4. Occasional "exclusive" feature stories for a limited number of radio stations.

5. Many inquiries were received daily by phone, mail, or visits to the office, on special occasions

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34. New York Sun, April 19, 1940; New York Herald Tribune, April 19, 1940; New York Times, April 28 and May 16, 1940.

reaching as high as fifty per day by telephone alone. <sup>35</sup>

Most important were the news releases, articles of one, two, or three mimeographed folio pages, sent to newspapers and magazines. As many as sixteen of them were distributed in April and May, 1940. A few examples will illustrate the variety of subjects treated in these news releases as well as the wide range of publications to which they were submitted:

"A Brief Bibliography on Denmark" distributed to lecturers and selected study groups and individuals;

"Danish Educational System Has Eliminated Illiteracy in Denmark" -- to 600 feature editors and 200 feature syndicates;

"Medical Care in Denmark" -- to 500 health editors, 25 nursing and hospital journals, 50 insurance journals, medical journals, and 100 syndicated health columns;

"Our Danish Heritage: Thorvaldsen, Danish Sculptor" -- to 500 art editors;

Right down to "The Bicycle and the King of Denmark" -- to 30 bicycle magazines and 500 feature editors. <sup>36</sup>

The organization printed and distributed four war

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35. Hasselriis, Memo. no. 5, p. 3.

36. Hasselriis, Memo. no. 6.

posters. Also, Hasselriis found time to write two booklets, Denmark in Revolt (1943) and Denmark Fights On (1944), both giving surveys of Danish history and culture and stressing that Denmark was making active resistance to the Germans. Hasselriis and many others lectured at universities and clubs.

In August, 1940, American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy distributed to schools, libraries, journalists, and lecturers in great numbers a pamphlet of sixty-seven mimeographed pages called Notes on Denmark. Denmark Before and After the German Invasion. It contained statements in favor of Denmark by among others eight Congressmen and eleven college presidents and the names of 109 prominent sponsors. Fifty of its pages consisted of an essay on "Denmark, Land of Balance". This pamphlet was republished in February, 1941.<sup>37</sup>

It is true that the vast bulk of material sent out by Friends of Denmark was not accepted by the editors. But it must be remembered that each accepted release would reach many readers, and as the releases were very numerous, the organization could afford a high degree of non-acceptance and still make its existence known. Mrs. Toksvig, who was independent

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37. Danish Information Office's Archive, hereafter: Archive, "Notes on Denmark" - file.

enough of the information service to be considered a good judge of its activities, states that the Norwegian information service's men were sorry not to "get through" as well as the Danes did. Mr. Howard Smith, head of British Information said: "The Danish Listening Post is the best of all foreign releases, and I have seen them all".<sup>38</sup>

Friends of Denmark became by far the most important organization of its kind, but there were others. We will consider the first organization comprising all of the organized Danish groups, the National America Denmark Association. On hearing about the invasion, Mr. John Hansen, (1891- ) a manufacturer of Davenport, Iowa, who was president of the Danish Brotherhood (see above, p. 34) called his officers for a meeting in Omaha, Nebraska, on April 16, 1940.<sup>39</sup> The distress was deep, the feeling of unity correspondingly strong, in these officers. They resolved first of all to contact Minister Kauffmann, and on April 21 a four-man delegation went to Washington for an interview with the minister. They were joined by Hasselriis from the already functioning A.F.D.F.D.

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38. Letter from Signe Toksvig, to writer; Virum, Denmark, February 2, 1957.

39. Krak's Blaa Bog, (1956), p. 557



At this meeting John Hansen suggested to Kauffmann that the Brotherhood take the initiative to form a national organization comprising all Danish groups in the United States, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, churches, and clubs. Kauffmann endorsed the idea, although he, being the official representative of the Danish state, could not join this organization of American citizens of Danish descent or origin.<sup>40</sup>

Such an organization was formed May 4, 1940 in Chicago at a meeting where nineteen of the most important Danish groups were represented. John Hansen sketched the plans. A national organization should be formed so that all Americans of Danish extraction could be reached, if necessary. No drive for money or goods to be sent to Denmark should be made. P. Bang-Jensen, attaché to the Legation, participated as Minister Kauffmann's representative and explained how such an organization might be particularly useful. If a negotiated, compromised peace had to be accepted, the fate of the occupied countries might depend on the attitude of the United States. In that case, a solid representation of American citizens in favor of Denmark's freedom might be decisive.<sup>41</sup>

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40. John Hansen, pp. 2-4.

41. Archive, file 103; Axel Sporon-Fiedler, p. 13.

In 1918 the Danish-Americans had successfully exerted such an initiative in favor of a plebiscite among the Schleswigians.<sup>42</sup>

Others spoke, Hasselriis among them, telling about his American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy, and promising his cooperation, and asking for that of those present. An executive committee of seven was formed, Hasselriis and the well-known actor Jean Hersholt (1886-1956) were among the members. The committee elected John Hansen president, and the name National America Denmark Association was adopted. Hasselriis was to handle the Association's publicity in the American press. In August, 1940, William S. Knudsen was asked to become honorary president, and he accepted. After his appointment as leader of the whole American defense mobilization program, Knudsen was more than ever the pride of the Danish-Americans.

National America Denmark Association's activities under John Hansen's presidency, 1940-1943, include the printing of two million goodwill stamps for use on envelopes; they were made on Hersholt's suggestion and at his expense. Christmas, 1941, the Association sent 5,000 packets to Danish sailors in Allied service.

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42. Ibid., p. 14.

In the fall of 1942 the Association arranged a trip through the United States for Christmas Moeller, the political leader, who had fled from Denmark to Great Britain in May, 1942.<sup>43</sup>

On June 18, 1943, Jean Hersholt succeeded John Hansen as president. Now the Danish Refugee Fund became important. It had hitherto been a charter member of the Association under the leadership of its founder, Esper Petersen, a Chicago manufacturer. Under Hersholt's energetic presidency, the Fund sent money to the Danish refugees in Sweden. In November and December of 1943 alone, \$45,000 was collected; the Danish Jews were just then fleeing to Sweden.<sup>44</sup> On January 29, 1944 Denmark was certified as a member of the National War Fund. This meant that the Association had to stop all private appeals for contributions. On the other hand, it was now being financed by the War Fund. By this time the Association had about \$90,000 collected from among Danish-Americans. Also the name changed, now it became America Denmark Relief Inc. but it still worked

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43. John Hansen, pp. 4-7; Christmas Moeller's trip, see Archive, file 115.

44. Jean Hersholt, National America Denmark Association, (n.p., n.d.), p. 5. About Hersholt: Krak's Blaa Bog (1956), p. 632.

along the old lines spreading information about Denmark to build up goodwill for the country. From the War Fund, America Denmark Relief Inc. received a sum of \$169,628.05 which was partly spent on Danish sailors in Allied service and refugees in Sweden, and partly kept as a reserve for post-war Denmark. The income of N.A.D.A. from May 1940, till it was accepted into the "National War Fund" was \$158,974.34.<sup>45</sup> In June of 1944 Hersholt renounced further help from the War Fund for the reason that other countries needed it more. In December, 1945,<sup>46</sup> America Denmark Relief Inc. was dissolved.

The influence of the National America Denmark Association and "America Denmark Relief Inc." is difficult to estimate. The organization had no periodical of its own until the National America Denmark Association Bulletin began on November 15, 1943, but it influenced its member organizations indirectly through their leaders.<sup>47</sup> By May, 1945, there were 567 charter members, including all the important Danish-American groups. Most difficult to incorporate was the organization of Danes in California, California Denmark Fund;

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45. Jean Hersholt, p. 13.

46. Ibid., p. 13, 14.

47. Archive, file H-4.

not until August 1, 1943, after the Californian Jean Hersholt had become president, did it enter.<sup>48</sup> The organization became known to a wider public by its participation in the National War Bond Drive and by sponsoring various exhibitions and activities in connection with Denmark.<sup>49</sup>

To Danes in the United States it was the first organization that included all of them for a specific purpose, coordinating their efforts for the good of Denmark. John Hansen wrote to the present writer in September, 1956, that the officers of the National America Denmark Association were in close contact with Minister Kauffmann in all that they did. It often showed its appreciation of his stand.<sup>50</sup> John Hansen summarizes; "In retrospect it may appear as if our efforts were not very great, but they were what they were upon advice of the people in influential positions, people that should know and did know which was the best course to pursue."<sup>51</sup>

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48. Axel Sporon-Fiedler, p. 15.

49. John Hansen, passim; Jean Hersholt, passim

50. John Hansen, p. 8; Jean Hersholt, p. 11; Axel Sporon-Fiedler, pp. 13-14.

51. Letter from John Hansen to writer; Davenport, Iowa, September 25, 1956.

## CHAPTER IV

### AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION OF DENMARK

FROM APRIL, 1940 TO JANUARY, 1942

The attack on Denmark and Norway in the early hours of April 9, 1940 was a shock to the American public. Because of the five hours' difference in time between Scandinavia and the Atlantic coast of the United States, Americans read about the Blitzkrieg in their morning papers. Let us first consider, how the papers selected for this study reacted on April 9 and the following days.

The German move was not without reasonable motives. The strongest of these was to protect the vital iron ore traffic from Narvik in Northern Norway along the Norwegian and Danish coasts to Germany. Also, Allied occupation of Norway was more than a probability, so the second German motive was to prevent such an occupation. But it is one of the characteristic features of our story that the Allied provocations and the reasonable German motives were all but forgotten. There was room in American hearts only for sympathy toward the two innocent attacked countries and a strong resentment against the wolf that had attacked them.

The New York Times's correspondent in Denmark, Svend Carstensen, best grasped the important steps in the in-

vasion, and wired the Times in the early morning from Copenhagen. A little later in the day he sent another telegram, this time from the Jutland town of Kolding. A little too optimistically Carstensen reported: "Although there were no reports of clashes between Danish troops and the invaders today, military activities were expected at Hadersleben 30 miles North of the border." Carstensen wrote that negotiations were going on between the Germans and the Danish government to assure that army and navy would be maintained and the country's political independence secured.<sup>1</sup> This was (with one exception) the last telegram Carstensen sent to the New York Times until May 1, 1945, and the last one to leave Denmark before German censorship was clamped on the country.

The New York Times carried several photos from Denmark and printed, without comment, Goebbels' defense of the invasion (namely that the Germans had come as friends to protect Denmark and Norway against Allied occupation). Also, a United Press telegram from London was printed under the headline "No Resistance, British Hear"; this telegram expressed the belief that all key places in Denmark would be occupied within 24 hours. One sentence ran: "A Danish garrison at Soenderborg was reported retreating

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1. New York Times, hereafter N. Y. Times, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 1; interview with Kai Johansen; New York, N. Y., Sept. 7, 1956; New York Times' morgue file.

to avoid contacts with the Germans."<sup>2</sup> This gave a rather unfavorable impression of Danish resistance.

The events in Norway occupied much more of the New York Times' interest, as indicated in the eight-column headline on page 1: "Germans Occupy Denmark, Attack Oslo; Norway then Joins War Against Hitler; Capital Is Reported Bombed from Air."

Also the other papers focused their interest on Norway's struggle and ignored Denmark rather soon. The Chicago Tribune's eight-column headline on the front page ran: "Norway and Nazis at War; Germany Invades Denmark." Goebbels' statement is printed without comment, and the Tribune's correspondent in London reported correctly what was happening. The Tribune devoted its picture back page to the invasions; it had a map and several pictures from Denmark. Again, the contrast to Norway stood out.<sup>3</sup>

The Los Angeles Times, the New York Times, the Tribune, the Constitution, and the Detroit Free Press used headlines of eight columns whose contents were the same as in the papers already considered, as: "Germans Invade Denmark; Norway in War with Nazis". A subheadline runs "Oslo Bombed; Troops Landed. Danish Forces Retreating Before

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2. N. Y. Times, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 2.

3. Chicago Tribune, hereafter Tribune, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 1.



the Enemy; Armed Transports Reach Copenhagen; Other Key Cities Expected to Fall Quickly" --and again the unfavorable UP story is printed.<sup>4</sup> But the Los Angeles Times also told its readers how small the Scandinavian armies were, "a mere 250,000 (if total mobilization) against the military might of the German Reich."<sup>5</sup>

The Emporia Gazette wrote in three columns: "Nazis Smash Into Norway and Denmark; Battle Allies at Sea; Oslo Falls to Invaders, Danes Passive." The unfavorable UP telegram from London was printed, and Goebbels' statement was paraphrased, again without comment.<sup>6</sup>

The Lawrence Daily Journal-World thought that three columns were sufficient for a headline stating that "Nazis Invade Denmark and Norway." But the front page also contained the military events, concluding that "All Denmark, which decided not to resist, was under German control", and mentioned the small armies of Denmark and Norway: "Denmark and Norway No Match for the Might of the Germans". Also the proclamation by King Christian X and Prime Minister Stauning, and the influence on the American stock market of the invasions were on the front page.<sup>7</sup>

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4. Los Angeles Times, hereafter L. A. Times, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 1.

5. L. A. Times, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 3.

6. Emporia Gazette, hereafter Gazette, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 1,2.

7. Gazette, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 1.

Lawrence Daily Journal World,  
hereafter Journal World,

On April 10 the big papers had the King's and Prime Minister's proclamation about maintaining peace and order and cooperating loyally with the German occupation forces.<sup>8</sup> Normal life was soon resumed. The first note of the inevitable restrictions was the blackout order,<sup>9</sup> and thereby the military reporting from Denmark was over, for, in the words of the Tribune's correspondent in Berlin, "The occupation of Denmark, which was proceeding smoothly without resistance on the part of the Danes, was reported to be virtually completed."<sup>10</sup> The Gazette, under the head "A Swift Coup over Denmark" assured its readers that "everyday life was practically undisturbed."<sup>11</sup>

On April 11 the best informed papers bring corrected and more detailed news about the invasion. Thus the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution report the fighting, hitherto neglected, by the Royal Guard under Prince Valdemar.<sup>12</sup> The Tribune and the Gazette tell about some resistance in Jutland and the shooting down of one Danish plane.<sup>13</sup>

There are frequent photos of German military establish-

8. N. Y. Times, p. 4; Tribune, p. 16, Ap. 10, 1940.

9. N. Y. Times, p. 4; Tribune, p. 10, Ap. 10, 1940.

10. Tribune, Ap. 10, 1940, p. 1.

11. Gazette, Ap. 10, 1940, p. 10.

12. N. Y. Times, Ap. 11, 1940, p. 5; Atlanta Constitution, Ap. 11, 1940, p. 12, hereafter Constitution.

13. Tribune, back page; Gazette, p. 2, both Ap. 11, 1940.

ments, and the American reader must reluctantly have admired the efficiency of the invasion, so often brought out in these days of mid-April. The echo of all of them is "Denmark did not resist the occupation", "The Danes did not fight". The New York Times for a whole year added "German-occupied Denmark" to the head of its telegrams from Copenhagen, --thus reminding its readers that what official Denmark did was probably dictated by the Germans.

How did the editorials speak about the events in Denmark? Most papers carried editorials deploring the invasions, praising the integrity and high political standards of Denmark and Norway. The New York Times wrote: "The occupation extinguishes still another light of civilization and decency on the continent of Europe."<sup>14</sup>

The Tribune wrote: "These people were prosperous, cultured, peaceful, and amiable with high standards of intelligence and comity." The Tribune draws the conclusion that the United States must now protect civilization, but there is, of course, no wish of going to war. On the contrary, the Tribune, as well as the Gazette, warns against intervention; the Gazette quotes six Congressmen in support of this stand.<sup>15</sup>

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14. Times, April 9, 1940, p. 22.

15. Tribune, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 18; Gazette, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 4.

The Los Angeles Times on April 11 reproduced a selection of editorials about the attack. Among the best of these is that of the New York Herald Tribune: "These two small nations of Europe stood as a symbol of all that America holds dear. In the old world their peoples practiced ideas of goodwill and individual liberty which have been the hope and inspiration of this new continent."<sup>16</sup> The Los Angeles Times' own editorial the next day was equally sympathetic, as was that of the Atlanta Constitution.<sup>17</sup>

The Lawrence Daily Journal-World is cooler: As the war "came virtually unannounced, and since a minimum of resistance was offered, the entry of war into Scandinavia was less horrifying than it might otherwise have been." But the Lawrence organ distrusts the German promises: "The Scandinavian countries have no assurance that their liberties will be returned to them after the war"--does this anticipate a German victory?<sup>18</sup>

President Roosevelt's statement of April 13 (see above, p. 41) appeared in the New York Times under the headline: "Roosevelt Bluntly Condemns the Attack on Denmark and Norway", and on April 15 it was supported by an editorial.<sup>19</sup>

16. L. A. Times, Ap. 11, 1940, p. 4.

17. L. A. Times, Ap. 12, 1940, p. 4; Constitution, Ap. 10, 1940, p. 6.

18. ~~Lawrence Daily Journal-World~~, hereafter Journal-World, Ap. 9, 1940, p. 4.

19. N. Y. Times, April 14, p. 1, ibid., Ap. 15, p. 16.

The Constitution was more tempered.<sup>20</sup> The Tribune headlined the statement "Germany's New Drive Assailed by Roosevelt. He Condemns the Invasion of Scandinavia."<sup>21</sup> The Los Angeles Times introduced it to the readers as "President Raps Invasion. Nazi Blitzkrieg Against Norway and Denmark Frankly Condemned."<sup>22</sup> The Journal-World commented on it in an editorial emphasizing that the President had been very un-neutral, and although the paper had to admit that "His view of the situation is that taken by nearly all Americans", the Journal-World is still ill at ease with his strong expressions.<sup>23</sup>

There are letters in defense and praise of Denmark in several of the papers, often written by Danish-Americans.<sup>24</sup> The reactions of the Danish-Americans, those appearing in print, do not differ fundamentally from the general American reaction, but of course the grief is more intense. According to the Los Angeles Times, one Danish-born skipper was killed by the shock.<sup>25</sup> The Danes gathered to discuss the situation. In Solvang, California, (the largest Danish

20. Constitution, Ap. 14, p. 1.

21. Tribune, Ap. 14, I, p. 10.

22. L. A. Times, Ap. 14, p. 1.

23. Journal-World, Ap. 15, p. 4.

24. e.g. N. Y. Times, Ap. 12, 1940, p. 22; June 27, 1940, p. 22; Tribune, Ap. 16, 1940, p. 10; Constitution, Ap. 10, 1940, p. 9; N. Y. Sun, Aug. 1, 1940.

25. L. A. Times, Ap. 10, 1940, p. 7.

settlement in the West) "People Hang Over Radios in Faint Hope of Catching News of Relatives."<sup>26</sup> The attempts at organization of the Danes in New York and all over the country have already been discussed. In California Americans of Scandinavian descent formed a committee to aid the old countries.<sup>27</sup> While in New York Norwegians were eager to enlist for voluntary military service, Danes were not so sure of what they wanted to do.<sup>28</sup> John Hansen writes that "The attitude of the Danish population...was one of bewilderment", and this bewilderment shows up also in the Danish-American Press.<sup>29</sup>

Kauffmann's statement of April 9 "I came to this country to represent a free and independent people..." was reproduced only in the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times of the papers examined. The Constitution summarized it.<sup>30</sup> But all interested Danish-Americans heard it, and to them it became an encouragement and inspiration. Similar feelings were called forth when Kauffmann and Consul

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26. L. A. Times, Ap. 10, p. 2.

27. L. A. Times, Ap. 10, C:8.

28. N. Y. Times, Ap. 13, p. 6, Ap. 16, p. 4.

29. Letter from John Hansen, Sept. 25, 1956; Dansk Tidende, May 10, 1940, p. 1; Luthersk Ugeblad, Ap. 24, 1940, pp. 6, 14.

30. N. Y. Times, Ap. 10, p. 12; Ap. 11, p. 7; L. A. Times, Ap. 11, A7; Constitution, Ap. 10, 1940, p. 9.

General, Georg Bech of New York, spoke on the Danish Constitution Day at the New York World's Fair.<sup>31</sup> Soon some of the Danish-Americans joined the organized efforts that we have already considered.

The activities of American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy can to some degree be traced in the New York Times. On April 28, and again on May 16, 1940, the organization was presented to the New York Times' readers in short favorable articles.<sup>32</sup> In June the A.F.D.F.D. told the New York Times' readers that American Independence Day, traditionally celebrated in Denmark, could not be celebrated under the new conditions, but many Danes visited the Lincoln Log Cabin in the Rebild National Park anyway.<sup>33</sup> In December, 1940, A.F.D.F.D. supplemented the news about the slowly growing resistance in Denmark by a news release with examples of resistance, including the spectacular "song fests" --community singing of national songs by scores of thousands of people.<sup>34</sup> This particular release resulted in an editorial in the New York Times...kindly recognizing this new form of demonstration against the Nazis.<sup>35</sup>

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31. N. Y. Times, June 6, p. 30; Archive, file H-50.

32. N. Y. Times, Ap. 28, p. 26; May 16, p. 17.

33. N. Y. Times, June 30, 1940, p. 25.

34. N. Y. Times, Dec. 15, 1940, p. 5.

35. N. Y. Times, Dec. 25, p. 26.

The Danish-born director of General Motors, William S. Knudsen, in June was made leader of American defense mobilization, thus directing the biggest production system in the world. As we have seen, Knudsen helped the Danish information service to get started, and when his life was portrayed to American newspaper readers his Danish background was remembered--to the benefit of the Danish cause.<sup>36</sup>

Beneath the surface, however, most Danish-Americans were painfully conscious of the poor role their old country had played. In letters and interviews this has been made evident to the writer. Mr. John Hansen of Davenport, Iowa, (see above p. 51) writes that during the organizing meeting of N.A.D.A. in Chicago, April 16, 1940, "two of the Danes present criticized the Danish government severely for not putting up any fight", and John Hansen tells that he "received letters and telephone calls asking me to protest to the Danish government because they did not put up a fight like the Norwegians."<sup>37</sup>

Hasselriis stresses that "the fact that Denmark gave up the fight almost immediately, in contrast to Norway, did not make a good impression."<sup>38</sup>

The reaction of Danish-Americans to the events in Denmark cannot have been something isolated; it must have had

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36. N. Y. Times, June 4, p. 12. Gazette, Sept. 28, 1940, p.4.

37. Letter from John Hansen to writer; Davenport, Iowa, Sept. 25, 1956.

38. Interview with Hasselriis; New York, N. Y., Sept. 4, 1956.



a counterpart in the American public--but, fortunately, or unfortunately, courtesy kept it from being expressed in the means of mass communication. Only a few cases of ill will against Denmark have been preserved by Danish-Americans.

Kauffmann recalls that the exaggerated notions of German domination of Denmark before the occupation were difficult to change. He mentions that the state training ship Danmark was caught in Jacksonville, Florida, by the news of April 9, 1940 and its crew was met with insulting cries when it left the ship. Kauffmann also mentions a newspaper report of a boxing match in which it was said: "He laid down without a fight, like a Dane."<sup>39</sup> John Hansen recalls having seen in April, 1940, a cartoon in a Seattle paper picturing King Christian under a bed. The writer has not been able to locate this cartoon.<sup>40</sup>

Lastly, Kauffmann mentions that the seemingly frictionless cooperation in Denmark in the first months of the occupation left a bad impression, which might have crystallized into an opinion of Denmark as a weak-willed, Nazi-submitting country.<sup>41</sup>

Greenland received tremendous interest. Letters to

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39. Parlamentariske Kommissions Betaenkning, Bilag, V, p. 196-208; the date of this report by Kauffmann to the Danish Foreign Office, is Sept. 4, 1940.

40. Letter from John Hansen to writer; Davenport, Iowa, Sept. 25, 1956.

41. Parl.Komm.Bet., Bilag, V, loc.cit.

the editor, editorials, speeches in Congress, supplemented the ample flow of news about the large Danish island off the American continent. Most of those that expressed themselves were aggressive, wanted the United States to annex Greenland, and maybe Iceland too. Most vigorous in such schemes was the Tribune, which even suggested that Uncle Sam bring all European dependencies in the Western hemisphere under his protection.<sup>42</sup> The Monroe Doctrine was often mentioned<sup>43</sup>, but the President did not use it. However, he expressed the wish of aiding the Greenlanders, facing disaster now that they were cut off from vital supplies from Denmark.<sup>44</sup>

The risk that the Germans might use Greenland as a stepping stone in a war with America was evident. Only Charles A. Lindbergh seems to have been blind to this risk as he agitated for his policy of "Hands off" the European dependencies, non-intervention, and no help to England.<sup>45</sup> From Denmark came news that Denmark firmly intended to keep Greenland, but the American interest in Greenland still ran high and culminated in the Greenland Deal of

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42. Tribune, 1940, Ap. 12, p. 14, editorial; May 13, p. 12; Aug. 11, Graphic Section, p. 7; Dec. 31, p. 5.

43. N. Y. Times, April 11, p. 1; L. A. Times, Ap. 10, p. 2. Tribune, Ap. 12, p. 6.

44. N. Y. Times, Ap. 13, 1940, p. 4; Journal-World, Ap. 12, p. 1.

45. N. Y. Times, Ag. 5, p. 4.

April, 1941. Then the interest declined, the case had found its satisfactory solution.

Danish shipping was bound to receive some attention. The large Danish merchant marine in foreign ports or on the high seas was a prize coveted by both parties in the war. On April 9, 1940, forced by the invaders, the Danish Foreign Office ordered all Danish ships to come back home or seek Axis ports. The British government recommended to the Danish ships that they put into Allied ports, but the Danish consulates around the world told them to go to neutral ports and await further orders; most of them did so. Kauffmann appointed a committee of Danish shipping men in the United States to work to keep Danish ships in Danish hands, that is, Danish shipping agencies in the free world, but serving the Allied powers.<sup>46</sup> June 1, 1940 all the Danish ships that had been kept in American ports were released, and it was up to the owners to decide their future fate. Evidently an agreement had already been reached, for most of the Danish ships joined the British carrier fleets under British flag and for British pay.<sup>47</sup>

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46. N. Y. Times, Ap. 13, 1940, p. 6; Tribune, Ap. 13, 1940, p. 3; L. A. Times, Ap. 20, 1940, p. A:6; Journal-World, Ap. 12, p. 1; Ibid., Ap. 13, p. 1.

47. N. Y. Times, May 24, 1940, p. 5; Tribune, June 2, 1940, I, p. 10.

A good deal of interest was devoted to America's financial stake in the two occupied countries.<sup>48</sup> Their funds in the United States were frozen, but Denmark paid the interest on her loans throughout the war, and the readers of the New York Times's financial pages were so informed.<sup>49</sup>

The concept American readers had of Denmark during 1940 was that of a country of peace and order, a country that had not cared to resist the German invasion, and that now cooperated easily with the invaders. The rationing and the well organized exploitation were the most spectacular sides of Danish life, and they were therefore stressed in the American papers.<sup>50</sup>

The readers of the New York Times were informed when the Danes were ordered to deposit their arms with the police, when new notes to pay the German purchases were issued at the cost of the Danish government, and when, on

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48. L. A. Times, Ap. 29, p. 2; Tribune, Ap. 10, p. 33; N. Y. Times, Ap. 10, p. 39; Gazette, Ap. 18, p. 5.

49. N. Y. Times, July 8, p. 29; 1940; Ag. 27, p. 18; Dec. 25, p. 38: 1941.

50. All references to 1940: N. Y. Times, Ap. 14, p. 39; Ap. 16, p. 7; May 20, p. 25; Aug. 11, p. 20; L. A. Times, Ap. 12, d:2; Ap. 16, I:3; Tribune, Ap. 17, p. 10; July 5, p. 2; Oct. 6, pict. sect., p. 7; Journal-World, Ap. 12, p. 1; Ap. 29, p. 4; Gazette, May 4, p. 4.

the last day of the year, soap was being rationed.<sup>51</sup> But two weeks earlier an AP telegram was printed in the Tribune under the headline "Danish Children Will Get Vitamins: Thousands of Carrots"--an example of German propoganda.<sup>52</sup>

Of the King Christian cult, that later was to become so prominent, there is not much to be seen in 1940. The Royal family got some attention when a daughter was born to the Crown princess on April 16, 1940, as reported in an AP story printed in the New York Times, the Tribune, the Los Angeles Times, and the Gazette. Of all the papers examined, none writes more about the King and his family than the Tribune. Thus King Christian is seen in the Tribune hunting, on his morning ride, with his Scandinavian fellow kings.<sup>53</sup> The New York Times alone tells in a Svend Carstensen story about the King's birthday September 26, 1940, including remarks about his rising popularity.<sup>54</sup>

The last subject to be dealt with in this survey of American newspaper opinion of Denmark in 1940 is the first faint traces of resistance. The New York Times told that

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51. N. Y. Times, May 20, p. 25; June 15, p. 3; Dec. 31, p. 3.

52. Tribune, Dec. 15, p. 1.

53. All references to 1940: Tribune: Ap. 26, back page; Ap. 28, picture section; p. 6; May 12, picture section, p. 3; May 29, back page; Dec. 15, picture section, p. 4. Gazette, July 18, 1940, p. 10.

54. N. Y. Times, 1940, Sept. 26, p. 7; Sept. 27, p. 7; it should be noted that Svend Carstensen was not completely silenced yet.

in August some youths were jailed for "molesting Nazis", that there is some espionage, and that clashes between Danish Nazis and loyal Danes took place in November.<sup>55</sup> On December 10, the New York Times and the Tribune reported the jailing of 300 Nazis after a riot<sup>56</sup> in Southern Jutland, where they were particularly active among the German minority. Not much, but this was about all that resistance amounted to in 1940.

In 1941 the pattern of American opinion of Denmark followed the one laid down in 1940. Not much was written in the newspapers about Denmark; only two events appeared on the front pages. They were the seizure of Danish ships in American ports and the Greenland Deal.

The seizure of Danish ships, discussed on the front pages of all the papers examined, began in South America in February, as some of the South American governments seized Danish and Axis ships for government service for the duration of the war. On March 31, 1941, the American government seized twenty-eight Italian, two German, and thirty-five Danish ships in American ports. The association of Denmark with these two powers was unfavorable, as the majority of readers would not notice the difference

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55. N. Y. Times, 1940, Ag. 16, p. 5; Sept. 1, p. 19; Nov. 19, p. 11.

56. N. Y. Times, Dec. 10, 1941, p. 10; Tribune, Dec. 10 1941, p. 3.

between Denmark and the Axis powers. Apart from the differences in political status between these countries and Denmark, the whole matter developed differently. For instance, the German and Italian crews sabotaged their ships in order that the Americans would not be able to utilize them, and this sabotage precipitated the seizure. The German and the Italian governments protested vigorously, whereas Minister Kauffmann decided not to forward to the American government the protest by the government in Copenhagen.<sup>57</sup> The careful reader would also notice that the Danish sailors behaved as, and were being treated as, friends of Denmark,<sup>58</sup> but the overall impression obtained today from the papers is that not enough distinction was made between Denmark and the two other countries. The Journal-World made no distinction at all in its story, which was headlined "US Seizes Ships to Halt Sabotage."<sup>59</sup>

The purpose of seizing the ships came out on April 9, when Roosevelt asked Congress for authority to lend or

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57. N. Y. Times, Ap. 1, p. 1; Ibid., Ap. 3, p. 1; Tribune, Mar. 31, 1941, p. 1, p. 16; Gazette, Mar. 3, 1941, p. 1; Journal-World, Mar. 31, p. 1, Ap. 1, p. 1. New York Herald Tribune, Mar. 31, 1941, p. 3; Ap. 1, p. 8; Ap. 6, VII; New York Daily News, Apr. 1, p. 2, p. 26-27.

58. Tribune, Ap. 1, back page.

59. Journal-World, Ap. 1, p. 1.

sell the Danish ships to Great Britain.<sup>60</sup> The authority was granted. The rest of the South American republics followed the United States in seizing ships, but kept the ships for themselves. In June and July many of the Danish ships were assigned by a Congressional Committee to American shipping lines, but now the subject did not receive much publicity.<sup>61</sup>

News about the Greenland Deal came to the public in a release from the White House on April 10, 1941. All the papers had grasped that the deal was made by Kauffmann on his own, because the Danish government was "under duress", and thus this basis of Kauffmann's position got its first real publicity since April, 1940. Most of the papers examined mentioned that the date of the deal, the first anniversary of the invasion, was intentionally selected.<sup>62</sup> The New York Times wrote in an editorial: "It is well known that the Danish government in Copenhagen is no longer a free agent, but a prisoner of the German Reich with a loaded pistol at its head."<sup>63</sup>

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60. N. Y. Times, May 8, 1941, p. 12; Tribune, Ap. 9, p. 1; Gazette, Ap. 10, p. 1; May 12, p. 1.

61. N. Y. Times, all 1941: June 27, p. 23; July 18, p. 35; July 22, p. 37; Aug. 8, p. 33.

62. N. Y. Times, Ap. 10, 1941, p. 1; Tribune, Ap. 10, p. 1; L. A. Times, Ap. 10, p. 1; Gazette, Ap. 10, p. 1, Ap. 11, p. 3; Journal-World, Ap. 10, p. 1, Ap. 11, p. 3.

63. N. Y. Times, Ap. 11, 1941, p. 20.



The Danish government declared the deal void. This declaration created a bad impression in those without a clear knowledge of facts, but to counterbalance this declaration there was the Kauffmann statement that he would stay even if he were recalled to Denmark. This is exactly what happened; Kauffmann was recalled, refused to go, and was dismissed by the Copenhagen government. However, the American government continued to recognize Kauffmann as the representative of the true Denmark.

"Ignores Puppet Rule", the Gazette wrote, carrying a photo and a friendly article about the diplomat. The New York Times had not only Kauffmann's photo, but also the full text of the Hull-Kauffmann notes. The Journal-World called making the deal in spite of the refusal of the Copenhagen government a "dodge".<sup>64</sup> Still it cannot be said that the paper wanted the deal undone; it just criticized the administration for risking America's security.

One significant fact about the Greenland Deal is that after it had been concluded, Greenland ceased to appear in the headlines. The problem had been solved in a way, it can safely be said, largely favorable to Denmark.

On July 8, 1941, Americans relieved the British troops

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64. N. Y. Times, Ap. 13, 1941, p. 1; Ap. 15, p. 8; Ap. 17, p. 12; Tribune, Ap. 13, p. 1; Ap. 17, p. 3; Gazette, Ap. 12, p. 1; Ap. 14, p. 10, p. 2; Journal-World, Ap. 14, editorial p. 4.

on Iceland by occupying the island. Again Copenhagen protested. Hasselriis wrote a letter in the New York Times saying that the Danish language newspapers in the States were all for the American step in Iceland.<sup>65</sup>

From Denmark there is, of course, much less news than in 1940. Only the New York Times reports the trivial features of life under the occupation: air raids, rations, Danish labor seeking jobs in Germany, political developments.<sup>66</sup> The other papers react only when more spectacular things are happening, and in 1941 that is not very often.

The surrender of the ten torpedo boats in February, 1941, was described by messages from the Free Danish Press Service in Stockholm that made it clear that the government had surrendered only after many protests. The New York Times mentioned that Denmark had resisted several earlier demands, and that the Germans had brought very heavy pressure to bear on the government. The government had made it a condition that the torpedo boats be used only for guarding and training in the Baltic.<sup>67</sup> The Los Angeles Times mentioned that the crews disarmed the boats and left the flags on half mast.<sup>68</sup>

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65. N. Y. Times, July 20, 1941, p. 7.

66. N. Y. Times, all references to 1941: Jan. 29, p. 3; Ap. 8, p. 14; Aug. 20, p. 5; Sept. 20, p. 2.

67. Ibid., Feb. 9, p. 16.

68. L. A. Times, Feb. 9, 1941, p. I, 10.

In late February, 1941, the Foreign Office disowned the Danish Council in London, explaining that the government in Copenhagen was Denmark's only government, and that it recognized as its representative in London only Minister Eduard Reventlow. Count Reventlow was loyal to the Copenhagen government till, in November, 1941, he broke with it, his reason being Denmark's adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact.<sup>69</sup>

The Anti-Comintern Pact was signed in Berlin, November 25, 1941, by the six old signatories to the first pact of this name in 1936, and seven new countries signed, among them Denmark. "Nazi Stooges to Sign Up Tuesday. Berlin to Make Big Show of Axis Pact", the Gazette proclaimed on the front page November 24. Neither here nor in the other examined papers was the difference between the majority of Nazist and Fascist countries on one hand, and subjugated countries like Denmark and Finland brought out.<sup>70</sup> There was one exception: "The new signers are to be...who have contributed manpower in the battle against Russia, occupied Denmark and Bulgaria, and the Japanese sponsored Nanking regime in China." The Constitution in this sentence set

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69. Tribune, Feb. 22, 1941, p. 6; N. Y. Times, Feb. 22, p. 2.

70. N. Y. Times, Nov. 23, 1941, p. 1; Nov. 27, p. 22; Gazette, Nov. 24, p. 1; Journal-World, Nov. 24, p. 4.

Denmark off from the Nazi countries, and proceeded to place it in the company of Bulgaria! The Los Angeles Times attempted an explanation that recalled the unhappy days of April, 1940. The paper noted that Denmark's adherence seemed incongruous because of the omission of other occupied states. But, the Los Angeles Times explained, "although Denmark is occupied, it has offered no resistance, and its government is intact."<sup>71</sup>

Favorable news from Denmark, news about resistance of obstruction, was scarce. In January four officers in the Danish army were sentenced for spying on the German army, one of them got life imprisonment. This case was mentioned by the three biggest papers in this research.<sup>72</sup>

Only the New York Times wrote about the demonstrations against the surrender of the torpedo boats,<sup>73</sup> and George Axelsson, New York Times' correspondent in Stockholm, sent telegrams when important things went on. Concerning Denmark's adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact, he was kept busy explaining how Scavenius fought with the rest of the cabinet to make Denmark enter, and how strong the popular

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71. Atlanta Constitution, Nov. 25, 1941, p. 1.

72. N. Y. Times, Jan. 27, 1941, p. 3; Tribune, Jan. 27, p. 2; L. A. Times, Jan. 27, I, p. 7.

73. N. Y. Times, Feb. 10, p. 7; Feb. 12, p. 8; Feb. 13, p. 3.

protests were against this step.<sup>74</sup>

War on German nerves, the so-called "cold shoulder", was described by the New York Times<sup>75</sup> and the Tribune,<sup>76</sup> and some hints of resistance and punishment of those obstructing the cooperation policy can be found.<sup>77</sup>

Christian X is seen from time to time on his horse, or his bon mots are quoted.<sup>78</sup> On his birthday in 1941, however, only the inexhaustible New York Times writes about him and the celebrations.<sup>79</sup>

The Danish organizations in the States were busy organizing commemorative gatherings on April 9, 1941; in Chicago Francis Hackett spoke at a banquet.<sup>80</sup> The A.F.D.F.D. was active with releases about resistance<sup>81</sup>, and individual Danes wrote letters in support of Denmark.<sup>82</sup>

A three-man mission from the Danish Council in London,

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74. N. Y. Times, Nov. 28, p. 5, 7; L. A. Times, Nov. 25, 1941, p. 9.

75. N. Y. Times, Mar. 2, 1941, p. 28; Ibid., July 8, p. 6.

76. Tribune, June 9, 1941, p. 3.

77. N. Y. Times, 1941: July 13, p. 16; Aug. 24, p. 31; Nov. 12, p. 11.

78. N. Y. Times, May 14, p. 7, photo; Nov. 3, p. 6.

79. N. Y. Times, Sept. 27, p. 2.

80. Ibid., Mar. 31, p. 5; Ap. 6, p. 25. Tribune, Ap. 6, III, p. 3.

81. N. Y. Times, July 10, p. 2.

82. Ibid., July 20, IV, p. 7.

after their travel through the United States, pledged the full cooperation of the 300,000 Danes in the States in winning the war, and assured that in Denmark the Germans were being ridiculed and that they felt ill at ease.<sup>83</sup>

The New York Danes gave a dinner in honor of Minister Kauffmann. The planning of it, as well as a report from it, can be found in the Times.<sup>84</sup>

None of the years under consideration carries more periodical articles about Denmark than does 1940, on the other hand, none of these years sees as few articles about the subject as does 1941.

Joachim Joesten, whose pessimistic views about Denmark we have already met, published articles in the Nation in June, 1939, and January, 1940, in which he spelled out his certainty that Scandinavia would be the next war theatre. "That Denmark is already virtually controlled from Berlin, is not much of a secret any longer."<sup>85</sup> Time and Newsweek struck sinister notes when, in March, 1940, they carried articles about Scandinavia titled "Darkening Up Here" and

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83. Ibid., July 27, p. 22.

84. Ibid., Dec. 28, 1941, II, p. 1; Ibid., Jan. 8, 1942, p.13.

85. Joachim Joesten, "Germany vs. Russia in the North," Nation, CIII (June 24, 1939), 719-22; Joachim Joesten, "Is Scandinavia next?" Nation, CI (January 13, 1940), 41-44.

"Scandinavia: The Showdown Is Near".<sup>86</sup>

April, 1940, saw seven substantial articles in great national magazines about Denmark. These articles were generally better informed than the newspapers. They brought out the background of the invasions, Germany's motives, the Danish and Norwegian military preparedness (or rather lack of it), and the amazing efficiency of the German invasion. Greenland was immediately in the mind of these commentators, and one of them, K. Hutchison, in the Nation, evaluated the economic consequences to the United States of the invasions. The best coverage of the events in April, 1940, was given by Newsweek. Time was a little derogatory: "Without much fuss the easygoing Danes accepted the German soldiers, rigid blackouts, no more light beer..."<sup>87</sup>

Ten articles are almost equally distributed throughout the rest of 1940. They tell about the transition to

86. "Darkening up here," Time, XXXV (March 4, 1940), 19. W. V. Pratt, "The Showdown Is near," Newsweek, XV (March 4, 1940), 26.

87. "Northern Theatre," Time, XXXV (April 15, 1940), 25-26; "After Occupation," Time, XXXV (April 29, 1940), 34; "Scandinavia Engulfed in War by Lightning-like Nazi Coup," Newsweek, XV (April 15, 1940), 21-23; "Denmark," Newsweek, XV (April 22, 1940), 17-21; "Rations a la Reich: Danes and Norwegians Feeling Pinch of Involuntary Economy," Newsweek, XV (April 29, 1940), 24; "War's Shadow Falls over Western Hemisphere as Germans Seize Denmark," Life, VIII (April 22, 1940), 21-23, 27-36; K. Hutchison, "German Aggression and American Business," Nation, CL (April 27, 1940), 540-41.

war conditions; rations, German censorship, cooperation policy, and the general impression is that the Danes have made the transition easily. In October we meet an old acquaintance, Joachim Joesten, who in an article "Did Surrender Save Denmark" has the pleasure of seeing all his prophecies fulfilled. He answers his question in the negative by saying that the Danes are being systematically looted by the Germans, who can't even protect them against air raids. Joesten's usual scepticism comes forth when he explains that the public schools have for a long time been infected with Nazist ideas, -but in the community singing (the song fests) and the gathering round the king, he sees indications that the nation has the will to "retain its old culture and its soul."<sup>88</sup>

The year 1941, however, ended with a favorable note, as Francis Hackett at Christmas time published his "Denmark Under Duress" in the New Republic. The article is friendly, understanding, and trustful that the new anti-cooperative spirit will carry Denmark through the war, for "lawlessness and treachery create in the law-abiding Danes an obduracy that is immeasurable."<sup>89</sup>

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88. Joachim Joesten, "Did Surrender Save Denmark," Nation, CLI (October 5, 1940), 298-300.

89. Francis Hackett, "Denmark Under Duress," New Republic, CIII (December 23, 1940), 861-63.



In 1941 only eight articles were produced about Denmark. The New Republic in an editorial in January underscored Hackett's picture of German looting by facts obtained from an American-Scandinavian Foundation leaflet.<sup>90</sup>

Joachim Joesten, in the only periodical comment of more than superficial value about the Greenland Deal, praises Kauffmann's courageous stand.<sup>91</sup> Time brings facts, but no opinion of the German looting, and assures its readers that Denmark is not contented and prosperous as Goebbels wants the world to believe. Christian X's mounting importance is recognized.<sup>92</sup>

In December the Danish-born foreign policy commentator, Gunnar Leistikow wrote in the Nation that the adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact is resented by the Danes, who are all against the occupiers. Thus there is a sort of sabotage, not spectacular like in other occupied countries, but effective. "Nobody is organizing this--there is no underground movement of importance--but it is as general as it is spontaneous" Leistikow concludes.<sup>93</sup>

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90. "Nazis in Denmark," New Republic, CIV (January 6, 1941), 5.

91. Joachim Joesten, "Hitler Loses Greenland," Nation, CLII, (April 19, 1941), 471-72.

92. "Shadow of the Swastika," Time, XXXVIII, (July 21, 1941), 22-23

93. Gunnar Leistikow, "Denmark Signs up," Nation, CLIII, (December 13, 1941), 607-08.

The only book published in 1940 about Denmark was Francis Hackett's I Chose Denmark in which the well known Irish-American author, who married a Danish journalist, Signe Toksvig, explains why he chose Denmark. The well written book is full of praise and sincere love for Denmark, and must have made the readers think well of the country. To a Dane, however, reading it several years later, the book is somewhat boring because there are no criticisms to counterbalance the overflowing praise.<sup>94</sup>

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94. Francis Hackett, I Chose Denmark (N. Y.: Doubleday, 1940).

## CHAPTER V

### AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION OF DENMARK FROM JANUARY, 1942 TO SEPTEMBER, 1943

The period to be dealt with in this chapter starts in the beginning of 1942, after the United States actually entered the war and joined the United Nations; it ends in August-September, 1943, when Denmark virtually entered the war.

The American opinion of Denmark in this period shows a steady improvement over that in the previous period. The coverage is more complete, and the opinions expressed about Denmark grow more favorable till the crescendo of late August, 1943, gives Denmark more publicity than she had ever enjoyed before, and has, so far, ever known since.

The events of August to September, 1943, are so important that the last half of the chapter will be devoted to them, whereas the first half will deal with the events from January, 1942 to August, 1943.

The attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, meant that all problems as to right and wrong in the war suddenly disappeared. In the public mind America was right, and so were the Allies; the enemies were all wrong. Fortunately Denmark, though not an actual Ally, had placed itself among the friends of America. Thus the writer believes that Mrs. Toksvig is not right in thinking that Americans were

less friendly to Denmark after they had joined the war.<sup>1</sup>

On January 2, 1942, outstanding statesmen from twenty-six countries in Washington signed the United Nations' pledge to fight for the ideals of the Atlantic Charter till the Axis powers were defeated. The next day Minister Kauffmann signed the pledge on behalf of "the Danish Nation" and "Danes in the free world". Of the papers studied only the New York Times noted this, and then on page thirty-six, but the Allied governments, well informed people, and most Danish-Americans knew about it and could disseminate this knowledge. The Los Angeles Times explained sympathetically why Denmark did not sign the pledge as a country: "Denmark has no refugee government carrying on the war against Germany, as do Poland, Holland, Norway, and others."<sup>2</sup>

The Danish-American organizations and friends of Denmark were active in this period and had fine publicity in the New York Times. Thus the American-Scandinavian Foundation,<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen, onetime American minister to Denmark,<sup>4</sup> Minister Kauffmann,<sup>5</sup> and Hasselriis<sup>6</sup> expressed

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1. Letter from Signe Toksvig to writer; Virum, Denmark, February 2, 1957.
  2. N. Y. Times, Jan. 4, 1942, p. 36; Los Angeles Times, Jan. 4, 1942, p. 5.
  3. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1942, p. 11.
  4. Ibid., June 10, 1942, p. 12.
  5. Ibid., March 14, 1943, p. 23; Ap. 10, 1943, p. 3.
  6. Ibid., March 25, 1943, p. 3.

faith that the Danes would be firm against their oppressors, and that they would ultimately regain their freedom. There were letters and interviews to the same effect.<sup>7</sup> There was even a notice in the New York Times when Jean Hersholt succeeded to the presidency of the National America Denmark Association.<sup>8</sup>

There was very little unfavorable news, the men of the Danish news exchange in Stockholm and London had seen to it that mostly the favorable side of life in Denmark received publicity. But it was mentioned, when the Copenhagen government considered ousting the Danish minister in London, who broke with his government because of its adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact of November 25, 1941.<sup>9</sup>

After the telegram crisis in October and November, 1942, Scavenius took complete control of the government as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. In a declaration of November 10 he pledged Danish aid to Germany. Good relations with Germany were vital to Denmark, so Scavenius declared that the new government would not tolerate

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7. Ibid., July 2, 1942, p. 9; Jan. 27, 1943, p. 20; July 1, 1943, p. 5.

8. Ibid., June 24, 1943, p. 4.

9. Ibid., March 10, 1942, p. 5.

"sabotage and other crimes."<sup>10</sup> The Tribune had good reason to headline this telegram "New Danish Regime Pledges Aid to Germany", and readers had good reason to doubt Denmark's position in the great war.<sup>11</sup>

A few days later it was reported in the New York Times that "Nazis Tie Denmark to War Machine. Her Yards to Build Ships for Germans, Industry to Supply Fortifications Material." The reader who read all of the article would find at the end information about new hardships imposed on the Danes, a consequence of the "obstinacy to the blessings of the 'New Order'..."<sup>12</sup>

Far more frequent was the favorable news, and fortunately it had better publicity. There were many indications that the Danes were ill at ease under the German occupation, and they demonstrated to an increasing degree that Denmark was not the "model Protectorate" that Hitler had intended it to be.

The Danish Nazis were extremely unpopular with the population and were often attacked by it.<sup>13</sup> Their Free

10. Ibid., Nov. 10, 1942, p. 8; Nov. 11, 1942, p. 6; Journal-World, Nov. 11, 1942, p. 4; Constitution, Nov. 11, 1942, p. 3.

11. Tribune, Nov. 11, 1942, p. 9.

12. N. Y. Times, Nov. 18, 1942, p. 3.

13. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1942, p. 3; March 2, 1943, p. 9.

Corps Denmark, consisting of volunteers, willing to fight for the Germans, returned from the East Front in late September, 1942, and immediately its members were involved in riots with the population. The Germans had to send them back to the front to restore peace and order.<sup>14</sup> These skirmishes prove how little was needed to enrage the people; a greater revolt was fermenting.

There was a real fear during the telegram crisis of October and November, 1942, that the Germans would establish a military dictatorship. Tensions created by the King's reply to Hitler were increased by the troubles with the Free Corps in September and October, 1942, and the crisis was not solved until Scavenius in early November took over a more pro-German government. The positions of military and civil commanders were handed to the ruthless soldier, General von Hanneken, and the confirmed Nazist, Dr. Werner Best, respectively. At the height of the crisis, the Los Angeles Daily News carried a three-column headline "Danes Apprehensive, Fear Nazi Occupation Regime," which reflected the fear of those days, but did not recognize that many Danes wanted "Norwegian conditions."<sup>15</sup>

14. All references to 1942: Ibid., Oct. 2, p. 3; Ibid., Oct. 7, p. 5; Ibid., Oct. 8, p. 9; Ibid., Oct. 9, p. 8; Ibid., Oct. 11, p. 29; Ibid., Oct. 13, p. 10; Gazette, Oct. 6, p. 1; Ibid., Oct. 7, p. 1; Journal-World, Oct. 6, p. 3; Ibid., Oct. 7, p. 4; Ibid., Oct. 9, p. 1.

15. Los Angeles Daily News, Oct. 14, 1942.

J. Christmas Moeller, the leader of the Danish Conservative Party, was the first to be forced from a cabinet position by the Germans. He indulged in illegal activities, and by the spring of 1942, his continued stay in Denmark had become too dangerous. After a dramatic flight he reached England in May, 1942, and as chairman of the Danish Council in London he commented on developments in Denmark and spurred resistance. Some of his statements were reported in the New York Times, and in May 1942, he assured the British that ninety-eight percent of the Danes were behind the Allies.<sup>16</sup>

From the spring of 1942 the New York Times regularly told about jailings of men from the resistance movement.<sup>17</sup> A Reuter's story from London, November 25, 1942, printed in the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times, told that for the first time Danes had been sentenced by a German court martial--two persons distributing illegal papers had received five and ten years respectively.<sup>18</sup> The Germans were becoming concerned over the parachutists that were

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16. Times, May 15, 1942, p. 11. Other statements by Christmas Moeller are in: Ibid., June 4, 1942, p. 9; June 13, 1942, p. 9; Ap. 10, 1943, p. 3.

17. Ibid., March 5, 1942, p. 5; Mar. 31, 1942, p. 10; Sept. 7, 1942, p. 3; Dec. 12, 1942, p. 4; Feb. 4, 1943, p. 8; May 1, 1943, p. 5; May 9, 1943, p. 6.

18. Ibid., Nov. 26, 1942, p. 11. Los Angeles Times, Nov. 26, 1942, p. 4.



being landed from Great Britain. Large sums were promised for information leading to their seizure. One of the telegrams suggested that the Danes were tricking the Germans, as they spread parachute material where no parachutists had been.<sup>19</sup> Another razzia against the illegal papers was made in February, 1943; a UP story told that twenty-eight Danes had received prison terms up to ten years "for aiding enemy parachutists and editing an illegal paper."<sup>20</sup>

March 23, 1943, an election was held for both houses of the Danish Parliament and all the local assemblies. The Germans must have expected a victory for their followers, otherwise they would not have allowed this election, the only free one in occupied Europe. The election saw the biggest turnout of voters of any Danish election, and the German expectations were crushed when the Danish Nazi Party gained only some 12,000 votes and did not increase its representation in Parliament. The five cooperating democratic parties received a strong vote of confidence, and Scavenius, the spiritual father of the cooperation policy, had another few months of political existence.

The election is mentioned in the Tribune and the Journal-World, and the New York Times, in addition, reports the

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19. Ibid., June 9, 1942, p. 7.

20. Ibid., Feb. 25, 1943, p. 5.

election figures.<sup>21</sup> Comments on the election were given by Christmas Moeller from London, and by Hasselriis from the office of Friends of Denmark,<sup>22</sup> and the New York Times devoted a sympathetic and admiring editorial to it.<sup>23</sup>

A wireless story by George Axelsson, Stockholm, March 31, 1943, is typical of the wide variety of news from Denmark printed in the New York Times. Axelsson tells about the protest of the eight Danish bishops against German anti-Semitic propaganda and arbitrary arrests. Six hundred architects complained to the pro-Nazi minister of justice about the unsanitary conditions in the state prison in Copenhagen, where many persons of the resistance movement were jailed. The story finally contained a notice that 200 Danes had been arrested in Aarhus, Jutland, after the last sabotage wave.<sup>24</sup>

Sabotage was the most effective form of resistance and also the one most spectacular in the eyes of foreign observers. From the summer of 1942 sabotage increased, and the biggest American papers were pretty well informed about this. Here are a few headlines from the New York

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21. Ibid., March 24, 1943, p. 3; Ibid., March 25, 1943, p. 3; Tribune, March 25, 1943, p. 4; Journal-World March 25, 1943, p. 4.

22. Both: New York Times, March 25, p. 3.

23. Ibid., March 25, 1943, p. 20.

24. Ibid., April 1, 1943, p. 10.

Times, one-column headlines of usually one or two inch stories: "Danes Wreck Nazi Power Lines"; "Nazis Warn Danes to Curb Sabotage"; "Premier Warns Danes Against Sabotage"; "Sabotage Razes Danish War Plant", with two photos of the destruction; "Danish Youths sallied Nightly from Prison to Commit Sabotage Against German Army" (a story taken from Denmark--Fight Follows Surrender, a Friends of Denmark publication); and "Danish Saboteurs Burn 5 Factories".<sup>25</sup>

In a New Year's survey of the occupied European countries, the New York Times wrote about Denmark: Scandinavian reports said a wave of sabotage and passive resistance in Denmark had forced the Germans to establish an anti-sabotage corps numbering 15,000 men."<sup>26</sup>

King Christian received more attention in the New York Times in this period than in the previous one. It reported that he was cheered, saluted, and greeted on the occasion of his thirty-years anniversary as King in May, 1942.<sup>27</sup> The king's "Thank you"-telegram to Hitler was mentioned,<sup>28</sup> and when the old monarch fell from his

25. Ibid., July 15, 1942, p. 8; Ibid., Aug. 23, 1942, p. 25; Ibid., Sept. 3, 1942, p. 6; Ibid., Feb. 20, 1943, p. 6; Ibid., March 8, 1943, p. 6; Ibid., Ap. 6, 1943, p. 3.

26. Ibid., Dec. 31, 1942, p. 6.

27. Ibid., May 16, 1942, p. 3.

28. Ibid., Oct. 6, 1942, p. 6.

horse and was injured it told how the people held their breath. The New York Times on page two carried a photo and an article three quarters of a column long,<sup>29</sup> and noted that for a time he was so ill from the complications of his fall that he had to turn over the government to his son, Crown Prince Frederik.<sup>30</sup> At the Royal birthday September 26, 1943, so shortly after the August outburst, Danes were forbidden to gather, but the New York Times told that they waved their flags in honor of the king.<sup>31</sup>

The other papers do not seem to consider King Christian's doings news; even the Tribune's interest in royalty had faded. Not until the August, 1943, crisis does he appear regularly, with photos and biographical sketches, to receive praise and recognition.

Search for editorials was rewarded only in the case of the New York Times. An editorial on October 9, 1942, in this all-covering paper recognized Denmark's resistance and warned the Danes of giving in to the most recent German demands.<sup>32</sup> The New York Times also carried two editorials triumphantly declaring that Denmark was not at all a

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29. Ibid., Oct. 20, 1942, p. 2.

30. Ibid., Oct. 28, 1942, p. 11.

31. Ibid., Sept. 25, 1943, p. 3.

32. Ibid., Oct. 9, 1942, p. 20.

"model country", that the Germans had broken their pledges, and that the Danish reaction to Nazism was fierce resistance. "The Nazi Rot in Denmark" was the title of an editorial in January, 1943, which concluded: "The moral, as the Free Danes long ago decided, is that the only way to get on with Hitlerism, is to kill it."<sup>33</sup> A report from the Office of War Information in the New York Times in August, 1943, recognized the significance of Danish shipping in Allied service, and of the Danish underground movement.<sup>34</sup>

A glance at the footnotes in the first half of this chapter reveals that the documentation to an overwhelming degree comes from the New York Times. The fact is that the other papers examined carried news about Denmark only when spectacular events took place there. Such events were scarce in the period from January, 1942, to August, 1943; but in August and September, 1943, all the papers had a chance to demonstrate what they thought of Denmark.

Only once during the Second World War did Denmark figure on the front pages of American newspapers for any considerable length of time. The occasion was the "people's revolt" at the end of August, 1943, and its effect on American public opinion of Denmark was very good. Denmark

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33. Ibid., Ap. 8, 1942, p. 18; Ibid., Jan. 23, 1943, p. 12.

34. Ibid., Ag. 14, 1943, p. 12.

came to stand as an Ally, as the country that refused to continue its relatively good relations with the occupation power, and voluntarily chose to become an enemy of the Nazi regime.

For one whole month, approximately August, 20 to September 20, 1943, news of Denmark is found in all the papers examined, and for about a week, August 27 to September 3, Denmark is on the front pages. As the amount of information is overwhelming, it is impossible here to tell the whole story. Therefore the reader is directed to the summary given in Chapter II. Here we will study which facets of the complex pattern were emphasized by the press, and this is studied most profitably in headlines and editorials.

The months of July and August, 1943, were very hot. Influenced by the great Allied victories in Africa and Russia, the smoldering discontent of the Danes broke out in open flame, and an unprecedented wave of riots and sabotage swept over the country. "Many Hurt in Danish Riots" wrote the Los Angeles Daily News in a sympathetic article.<sup>35</sup> The Germans demanded that saboteurs be tried by German courts, but withdrew the demand August 17, as the Danish government threatened to resign.<sup>36</sup>

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35. Los Angeles Daily News, July 16, 1943.

36. Times, Aug. 17, 1943, p. 7, Aug. 18, 1943, p. 4; Tribune, Aug. 18, 1943, p. 6.

"Disorder Wave Rises; Denmark Parties to Meet", the Tribune noted on August 20,<sup>37</sup> whereas the Atlanta Constitution carried the slightly misleading headline "Danes Study Plans For Open Rebellion; Sabotage Is Rampant."<sup>38</sup>

August 21, a general strike was considered probable, and a statistical report was produced showing that sixty plants had been sabotaged in the last ten days—"more thorough than air power", George Axelsson remarked. The Journal-World editorial on August 21 was titled; "Danes Hard to Hold", and began: "Denmark was the country most easily and quickly overrun by the German wave of conquest; but tho easy to take, it is proving hard to hold." The Journal-World finally explained why sabotage of factories and railroads was important.<sup>39</sup>

A government proclamation signed by Scavenius and the king admonished that the sabotage stop, in order that the trial of saboteurs could stay in Danish hands. The Tribune headlined it on August 22: "Halt Sabotage, Danes Warned By Government. Edict Seen As Victory over Nazi Demands."<sup>40</sup>

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37. Ibid., Aug. 20, 1943, p. 5; Journal-World, Aug. 20, 1943, p. 1.

38. Constitution, Aug. 20, 1943, p. 1.

39. Tribune, Aug. 21, p. 7; N. Y. Times, Aug. 20, p. 4; Journal-World, Aug. 21, p. 4.

40. Tribune, Aug. 22, p. 1; N. Y. Times, Aug. 22, p. 1, p. 17; Constitution, Aug. 23, p. 1; Journal-World, Aug. 23, p. 4.

"Hold Protest Parades", the Gazette wrote about the Danes August 25, and another Gazette headline on that day was: "German Troops into Copenhagen; Three Divisions Attempt to Quell Riots and Strikes in Danish Capital."<sup>41</sup> The press reported that the provincial cities flared up with riots, sabotage and persecutions and the New York Times summed up the events of August 25 with "Nazi Machine Guns Cover Copenhagen; Denmark's Capital Reported Awaiting Climax of 10 Days Series of Sabotage." The Constitution had the strange headline "King Still Popular", which certainly did not reveal any understanding of Christian X's position.<sup>42</sup>

The Gazette on August 27 had: "People's Revolt to New Heights; Authorities Fail in Efforts to Halt Wave of Riots."<sup>43</sup> "120 Arrested in Rioting...Troops out of Control; King Threatens to Quit if Nazis Seize Denmark."<sup>44</sup> The Journal-World expresses fear that "the rising fairly certain to occur some time...may be a little premature."<sup>45</sup>

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41. Gazette, Aug. 25, p. 1; Journal-World, Aug. 24, p. 4.

42. N. Y. Times, Aug. 26, p. 8; Tribune, Aug. 26, p. 1; Constitution, Aug. 26, p. 11; Journal-World, Aug. 26, p. 1; Gazette, Aug. 26, p. 1.

43. Ibid., Aug. 27, p. 1; N. Y. Times, Aug. 28, p. 6.

44. Constitution, Aug. 29, p. 1.

45. Journal-World, Aug. 29, p. 1, p. 4.



The Los Angeles Daily News introduced a new aspect through its article "Chutists Aid Sabotage in Denmark."<sup>46</sup>

The revolt in Denmark reached its culmination on August 29. The next day it was spelled out in triumphant headlines by the American press. The bigger the papers the bigger the headlines; thus the New York Times devoted four columns on its front page to Denmark, the Constitution and the Tribune had as much as eight columns, but the Gazette, the Journal-World, and the Los Angeles Daily News thought three columns sufficient. But the feelings expressed through the headlines were the same, as a few examples will demonstrate. The Tribune flagged "Danes Scuttle Warships", carried a photo of Christian X, and had minor headlines like "Several Killed in Riots" and "Tanks Roll into Capital".<sup>47</sup> The Gazette had "Nazi Guns on Denmark; Sink Many Small Craft in Flight; Scuttled Navy Burns Fiercely; King Christian is Interned."<sup>48</sup> And the Los Angeles Daily News cried: "Danes Revolt, Sink Fleet."<sup>49</sup> The Constitution carried a photo of "venerable King Christian of Denmark" in admiral's uniform and a long article

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46. Los Angeles Daily News, Aug. 27.

47. Tribune, Aug. 30, p. 1, p. 6.

48. Gazette, Aug. 30, p. 1, p. 2.

49. Los Angeles Daily News, Aug. 30, p. 1.

about him by a specialist on royalty.<sup>50</sup>

The details of the scuttling and the flight of the army were brought out in the following days with headlines as: "17 Hold off 200 Soldiers"<sup>51</sup>, and "Fight till Shells Are Gone",<sup>52</sup> which indicated the dramatizing tendency. The political event reported on August 31 was the arrest of the king and the cabinet; on this occasion the Tribune had Scavenius' picture on its front page; the Los Angeles Daily News had "Germans Jail Danish Leaders in Wholesale Revolt Roundup."<sup>53</sup> Editor Ralph McGill wrote in his column in the Constitution a personal memory of Denmark. During a New Year's party in Copenhagen in 1938 he had met a young Dane who was very bitter because his country seemed to be complacent, and lacking the will to defend itself. "Denmark is rotten" he shouted to the astounded party, and he made a deep impression on McGill. The article recalled that the Danes did not fight when they were attacked, and went on: "The Danes have revolted. It cost them not so dearly. A few hundred were killed, others will be killed." The main result was that another German scheme had failed.

50. Constitution, Aug. 30, p. 1, p. 2.

51. Journal-World, Sept. 1, p. 4.

52. Los Angeles Daily News, Sept. 2.

53. Tribune, Aug. 31, p. 1; Gazette, Aug. 31, p. 1; N. Y. Times, Aug. 31, p. 3; ibid., Sept. 1, p. 1; Los Angeles Daily News, Aug. 31.

McGill concluded that his young bitter friend must have been among those resisting in these days; "I know he is happy. The Danes can hold up their heads again."<sup>54</sup>

The great battle was lost by the Germans. They tried to reestablish the government, but Scavenius refused to serve again. "Dane Refuses Nazi Offer to Form a New Government", as the Gazette expressed it.<sup>55</sup> Next the department heads appointed as ministers declined to serve, and the party leaders finally refused any cooperation.<sup>56</sup>

In general the attention paid to Denmark decreased after September 3, when the invasion of Italy took place and demanded the interest of the reading public. Only the New York Times and the Tribune still reported the Danish events as for instance when German rule, relaxed for a while, was tightened again on September 4. In these days of the aftermath of the revolt there appeared a couple of letters in praise of Danish resistance, notably one by Signe Toksvig in the New York Times, and from Chicago and Los Angeles came news of Hersholt's tireless work for

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54. Constitution, Aug. 31, p. 6.

55. Gazette, Sept. 2, p. 1; Tribune, Sept. 3, p. 4.

56. N. Y. Times, Sept. 3, p. 4; ibid., Sept. 14, p. 7; ibid., Sept. 21, p. 10; Ibid., Oct. 11, p. 5; ibid., Oct. 19, p. 8; Tribune, Oct. 19, p. 4.

N.A.D.A.57 In the middle of September there were new threats of increasing martial law, restrictions because of more sabotage, reported only in the New York Times.<sup>58</sup>

It is interesting that the New York Times takes a calmer attitude toward Danish events than the other papers during the frantic month of August, 1943. The New York Times' understanding of the intricate political problems is much better than that of any other paper. Of course the New York Times continuously had news of developments in Denmark, and had at its disposal George Axelsson in Stockholm, who received his news from the Free Danish Press Service there.

The other papers tended to concentrate on the picturesque, dramatic events, and no full understanding of the events in August, 1943, can be obtained from them. They raised King Christian X to a new pitch of publicity which he hardly deserved; his picture appeared in them, and they informed their readers when "the venerable king" was interned.

The fact stands out that Denmark received wide publicity, and that there was only one opinion of Denmark by the middle of September, 1943: That of deep admiration and recognition as a worthy Ally.

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57. N. Y. Times, Sept. 6, p. 16; Tribune, Sept. 4, p. 12; Chicago News, Aug. 30, 1943; Los Angeles Daily News, Aug. 31.

58. N. Y. Times, Sept. 15, p. 3.

The New York Times in an editorial of August 31, 1943, titled: "Denmark the Victorious" summarized the events and gave its opinion. The Germans had broked their pledges, and "this land of enlightenment and civilization was to sit quietly while the Goths clumped through the streets." But "Contemptuous, cuperior, correct the Danes kept their unwelcome guests at arm's length for three years,...the stalwart king spoke and acted for them all." The break came when the Danes would not obey the German demands anymore, and "over night a peaceful population became ferocious." As to the significance of the events, "This is certain, what has happened in Denmark is a German defeat."<sup>59</sup>

Still more favorable was the letter from Secretary of State Hull to Kauffmann September 2, 1943. Headlined "Hull Will Continue to Deal with Envoy. Sees no Change in Status, He tells de Kauffmann" the letter asserted that the Secretary was "proud of this re-affirmation of your country's devotion to the principles of freedom and democracy." The letter ended, in the New York Times' paraphrasing, "The Secretary said that Denmark had been an Ally at heart ever since she had been conquered, and now seemed to be becoming a more active and vocal Ally in her efforts to remove the chains of German slavery."<sup>60</sup>

August, 1943, was a watershed in American public opinion of Denmark. Before this date Denmark was regarded by

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59. Ibid., Aug. 31, 1943, p. 16.

60. Ibid., Sept. 3, p. 3; Tribune, Sept. 3, p. 4.

Americans as a partial collaborator with the Germans. After the "people's revolt" no one doubted Denmark's fierce resistance to the Nazis. This important change in American opinion was confirmed by the Danish-Americans consulted for the study. Hasselriis, Toksvig, and especially, Winkelhorn did so; Hasselriis told the writer that August, 1943, "placed Denmark among the Allies in spirit if not in name."<sup>61</sup> John Hansen believes that Denmark was "admired greatly because of this stand", and mentions as a main reason that the Danes took a "calculated risk" when they voluntarily gave up their relatively good relations with the Germans.<sup>62</sup>

From March, 1942, to August, 1943, there were twenty articles about Denmark in big American periodicals. Regularly distributed over the period, they can be divided into two groups; the first one consists of articles dealing with one particular aspect of the Danish problem or one certain event; the second group consists of articles dealing with the situation in Denmark as a whole.

In the first group there are sixteen articles, with

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61. Letter from Signe Toksvig, to writer; Virum Denmark, February 2, 1957. Interview with Hasselriis; New York, N. Y., Sept. 4, 1956. Interview with Winkelhorn; New York, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1956.
62. Letter from John Hansen to writer; Davenport, Iowa, September 25, 1956.

a wide range of subjects. Newsweek in March, 1942, considered the quick conquest of sleeping Copenhagen. The German military efficiency was impressive, "an object lesson for all Americans of how the vital facilities of a great city can be seized in a couple of hours by determined men, who follow a plan worked out in minutest detail."<sup>63</sup>

In May, 1942, and again in November, Newsweek gave sketches of Scavenius. The writer (who is anonymous) had not really understood Scavenius, for he called him "Denmark's no.1 Quisling" and intimated that Scavenius "has steered the captive Copenhagen government from passive into active cooperation." With "two Nazi generals and a Quisling" ruling Denmark, the writer considered Denmark's prospects rather dark.

In March, 1943, Newsweek wrote about "Danish Parasaboteurs", meaning airborne saboteurs from England. The article recognized the efficiency of the railroad and factory sabotage, and realized that the mounting wave of resistance was the reason for the shift of government in November, 1942.<sup>65</sup>

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63. "How one German Bataillon Seized Denmark: A Lesson in Surprise," Newsweek, IXX (March 2, 1942), 16.

64. "Quislings: Uneasy Lie the Heads that Nod to Nazis," Newsweek, IXX (May 4, 1942), 41; "Dirge for Denmark," Newsweek, XX (November 16, 1942), 36.

65. "Danish Parasaboteurs," Newsweek, XXI, (March 8, 1943), 48.

Time, Newsweek and the Political Science Review printed the figures of the March, 1943, election. Time seems to attribute the result mostly to the activity of Christmas Moeller; this weekly news magazine had a photo of the "lion-maned" patriot and quoted his "I have always said that only 3% of the Danish population are pro-German."<sup>66</sup> In early August, Joachim Joesten, writing in the Nation, made a prophecy that for once did not come true, namely that Denmark would be the probable place of an Allied invasion. The article had nothing about political conditions, the resistance movement, or individuals.<sup>67</sup>

The four articles in the second group deal with Denmark as a whole, in all its aspects. They are all written by Danish-Americans, and are all explanatory and positive in their treatment of Denmark. Signe Toksvig's article "Resistance" in the Atlantic, August, 1942, asks the old question whether Denmark should have fought when Germany invaded her, and points out that a fight would have been of no military value, and that "Denmark's capitulation was a foregone conclusion." The Danes never were Nazis, on the contrary,

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66. "Fox in the Coop," Time, IXL (April 5, 1943), 30; "Denmark's Mandate," Newsweek, XXI (April 5, 1943), 29; B. A. Arneson, "Occupied Denmark Holds a General Election," American Political Science Review, XXXVII (Oct., 1943), 926-27.

67. Joachim Joesten, "Denmark next?" Nation, CLVII (August 7, 1943), 151-52.



they showed "the cold shoulder" to the invaders from the first day. Resistance was passive, but strong, writes Mrs. Toksvig, and whereas she does not mention sabotage, she prophesies that the Germans will hit hard one day, but then they "will lose that battle, the Danes will win it." The examples of German looting in the article seem a bit exaggerated.<sup>68</sup> Mrs. Toksvig has told the writer how a famous British author was influenced by her article: "Somerset Maugham told me personally how impressed he was by Denmark after reading my Atlantic Monthly article."<sup>69</sup>

The New Republic in June, 1943, had an article by C. H. W. Hasselriis "Nothing Rotten in Denmark". He pointed out that the Denmark that was to become a show window of German blessings, became a disappointment to the Germans, for in Denmark "they have received their most shattering failure."..."The world has assumed that Denmark has not been resisting since the occupation on April 9, 1940, but the world has been wrong." Then follow some of the numerous anecdotes from the war years, stressing the stubbornness of the people, the popularity and courage of Christian X, and so forth. Hasselriis emphasized the

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68. Signe Toksvig, "Denmark's Resistance," Atlantic, CLXX (August, 1942), 66-72.

69. Letter from Signe Toksvig; Virum, Denmark, February 2, 1957.

importance of sabotage and the degree to which it was growing, and he also included the Danish seamen and Minister Kauffmann in his extremely concentrated article. "Nothing Rotten in Denmark" appeared abridged in the very popular Reader's Digest in July, 1943.<sup>70</sup>

The last article to be dealt with here is Elmer W. Peterson's "Nazis Fail in Denmark" in the Saturday Evening Post in June, 1943. He showed how the Danes had felt ashamed ever since the surrender of April, 1940, and therefore they had not become a "model protectorate". The Germans were "uneasily aware of being snubbed by a people they have neither awed nor conciliated", and he explained how the Danes increased their well-organized sabotage, hoping to win recognition as an Ally.<sup>71</sup>

The events of August and September, 1943, called forth no less than eight major articles in less than a month. The best ones appear in the following: two in Time, two in Newsweek, one in Christian Century, and one in New Republic. They all give very favorable and generally correct summaries of the recent events. Best is probably Gunnar

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70. C.H.W.Hasselriis, "Nothing Rotten in Denmark," New Republic, CVIII (June 7, 1943), 108; C.H.W.Hasselriis, "Nothing Rotten in Denmark," Reader's Digest VIII (July, 1943), 102-04.

71. Elmer W. Peterson, "Nazis Fail in Denmark," Saturday Evening Post, CCXV (June 26, 1943), 19,88,90.

Leistikow's "Rebellion in Denmark" in New Republic.<sup>72</sup>  
Time in "Facade Cracks" is still a little sceptical of the Danes when it reports that "After forty months of service as Hitler's 'model protectorate' Denmark was coming of age; resistance was losing its spotty, amateur character."<sup>73</sup>

Two books remain to be considered, both dealing with the resistance in occupied Europe against Hitler's regime. Curt Riess in Underground Europe (1942)<sup>74</sup> should have been able to tell sabotage when he saw it, but when he mentions Denmark there is not a word about sabotage, political conditions, or Christian. Riess makes Kauffmann leader of the Committee for Free Denmark and mentions that many Danes "play tricks" on the Germans and flee to England. That is about all Riess has about Denmark, and that is, of course, very insufficient. Rene Kraus' Europe in Revolt,<sup>75</sup> also from 1942, is a little better, but far from good in its treatment of Denmark. Kraus mentions the policy of the "cold shoulder", he exaggerates the

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72. Gunnar Leistikow, "Rebellion in Denmark," New Republic, CIX (September 13, 1943), 361-62.

73. "Facade Cracks," Time, VIIIIL (September 6, 1943), 27-28.

74. (N. Y.: Dial Press, 1942).

75. (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1942).

exploitation, and expects the Danes like the other Teutonics to become "fighting serfs" of the Nazis. He calls Scavenius "German friendly" and "leader of the pro-German radical party"; these and other remarks prove that Kraus' knowledge of Danish politics is not very thorough.

## CHAPTER VI

### AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION OF DENMARK FROM SEPTEMBER, 1943 TO MAY, 1945

In the period from September, 1943, to May, 1954, the clashes between the German occupation power and the Danish resistance movement on several occasions were so violent that they echoed across the Atlantic to the great benefit of the American opinion of Denmark. The day by day information about Denmark grew more single-tracked with Danish sabotage, and the German reactions to it, assuming a huge preponderance in the bulk of news received from Denmark.

Here are some of the headlines of the papers examined; they are picked from one of the four first pages of the various papers; they are usually followed by stories of one or two inches, and span only one column: "Danes Wreck 9 Power Stations," "Danes Cut Jutland Lines; Railroad Saboteurs Fight Move of Nazi Troops into Area;" "Sabotage Blast Destroys Danish Engine Factory;" "To Celebrate Royal Birth by 21 Acts of Sabotage;" "Saboteurs Sink 4 Ships;" "Five Blasts in Danish Port;" and "Danish Saboteurs Wreck Plant."<sup>1</sup>

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1. New York Times, Oct. 28, 1943, p. 4;  
Ibid., Nov. 22, 1943, p. 3;  
Tribune, Dec. 4, 1943, p. 7;  
Gazette, May 4, 1944, p. 1;  
N. Y. Times, June 14, 1944, p. 3;  
Ibid., Nov. 13, 1944, p. 4;  
Ibid., Jan. 24, 1945, p. 4.

Death sentences were the price paid for resistance. There were increasingly many notices about executions of saboteurs. A few examples will show how the New York Times presented them: "Danish Communist Slain; Friend Wounded as Both Walk into German Trap," "Germans Kill two more Danes," and "8 Danes Executed."<sup>2</sup> And there were notices about ordinary German brutality like "Danes Wounded as Nazi Guns Scatter Crowds."<sup>3</sup>

One murder was more painfully felt in Denmark than any, namely that of the pastor and author Kaj Munk, on January 4, 1944. However, of the six papers searched for this study, only the New York Times covered the murder, maybe because only this paper understood that Munk was not a common saboteur, but a spiritual leader of his people. George Axelsson reported from Stockholm the details of the murder, the reaction of the Danish public, and Munk's position in Denmark. The New York Times headlined his story "Kaj Munk, Danish Pastor, Slain; Incurred Nazi Wrath for Writings. Body of Patriot Is Found near German Headquarters - Murder Fans Country to New Wave of Hatred for Invader," and placed it on page four with a photo of Kaj Munk.<sup>4</sup> The case was followed during the next days. One of

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2. Ibid., Jan. 10, 1944, p. 3;

Ibid., May 3, 1944, p. 3;

Ibid., Ap. 2, 1945, p. 6.

3. Tribune, Oct. 18, 1943, p. 8.

4. N. Y. Times, Jan. 6, 1944, p. 4.

the murderers was found to be a Danish Nazi, so the Germans forbade further investigation.<sup>5</sup>

Sabotage and German executions of saboteurs constituted, as mentioned above, the bulk of news from Denmark in this period. Only the New York Times mentions when the Germans commit countersabotage, or when the saboteurs kill informers and collaborateurs.<sup>6</sup> Such notices made the picture of the occupation more true, but also more complex, and most of the papers had space only for a simple picture of what was going on.

The German action against the 7,000 Danish Jews in early October, received a good deal of attention in the American press. The reaction was the same in all the papers searched: a strong condemnation of this new German brutality and a vivid interest in the hunt and the fate of the persecuted Jews.

The morning papers of October 3, 1943, noted that the Nazis had carefully chosen the Jewish New Year's festivities for their move. They mentioned that Sweden protested vigorously and offered asylum to the Jews involved. The Tribune

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5. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1944, p. 2;  
Ibid., Jan 15, 1944, p. 4;  
Ibid., Jan. 20, 1944, p. 5.

6. Ibid., Aug. 13, 1944, p. 15;  
Ibid., Nov. 19, 1944, p. 16;  
Ibid., March 18, 1945, p. 17;  
Ibid., Nov. 20, 1944, p. 7;  
Ibid., Dec. 5, 1944, p. 6;  
Ibid., March 19, 1945, p. 3.

The three first references are to executions. The three last ones are to German countersabotage.

headline on the front page ran: "Germans Start Purge of Jews in Denmark; Swedes Warn Berlin, Offer Haven."<sup>7</sup> The New York Times had a three-column headline on page one and gave details of the exodus by row boats to Sweden. One individual was mentioned, the world famous atomic physicist Niels Bohr.<sup>8</sup>

The Constitution had "Germans Begin Purge of 6,000 Danish Jews,"<sup>9</sup> but the next day wrote about 10,000 Jews, besides the resistance against the deportations.<sup>10</sup> October 5, a little late, the Gazette had a short notice on the front page, "Danish Policemen Fleeing to Sweden," which certainly did not grasp the essential point of the Danish story,<sup>11</sup> and with "Martial Law in Denmark Lifted" the Gazette left Danish subjects for a long time.<sup>12</sup> The Gazette was "too late with too little," but not unsympathetic to Denmark. The Journal-World was more or less like the Gazette with its "Thousands of Danes Escape to Sweden."<sup>13</sup> It is true that the policemen were being persecuted, but the original action was against the Jews. The policemen's crime was that they did not help sufficiently in

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7. Tribune, Oct. 3, 1943, p. 1.

8. N. Y. Times, Oct. 3, 1943, p. 1.

9. Constitution, Oct. 3, 1943, p. 4A.

10. Ibid., Oct. 4, 1943, p. 1.

11. Gazette, Oct. 5, 1943, p. 1.

12. Ibid., Oct. 6, 1943, p. 1.

13. Journal-World, Oct. 5, 1943, p. 1.



this hunt, in fact, they often aided the Jews, whose number was approximately 7,000. By their careless treatment of such facts, the majority of the papers demonstrated a lack of interest in Danish affairs; only the New York Times and the Tribune treated the event conscientiously. On October 5 these two papers told of renewed sabotage as a protest against the deportations, and mentioned that 1,000 Jews were safe in Sweden and well cared for there.<sup>14</sup>

The New York Times had an editorial a month later supporting a N.A.D.A. appeal for funds for the Danish refugees in Sweden. After quoting Hasselriis' words about the perfect integration of the Jews in Denmark, the editorial stated: "Most of us did not need to be reminded that Denmark was one of the most civilized countries on earth, but here is the reminder. The Danes in Denmark would care for their own people, of whatever religion, if they could. We can honor them by taking over a part of the task for them."<sup>15</sup>

In April, 1944, a serious blow was launched against the Danish underground. In the Gazette's words: "Nazis Move Against Denmark's Underground; Cut Off Late Monday, Denmark Is Virtually Isolated from Sweden."<sup>16</sup> "Nazis poured into

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14. N. Y. Times, Oct. 5, 1943, p. 6.  
Tribune, Oct. 5, 1943, p. 12.

15. N. Y. Times, Nov. 4, 1943, p. 22.

16. Gazette, Ap. 26, 1944, p. 1.

Denmark," the Los Angeles Daily News asserted,<sup>17</sup> whereas the Constitution "reported from the German-occupied and newly isolated country."<sup>18</sup> This last quotation makes one ask, should it really be necessary to tell the readers that Denmark was occupied by the Germans? The editor evidently thought so.

The papers were filled with news of street fights and mass arrests during this futile attempt to suppress the resistance movement.<sup>19</sup> The Journal-World reacted fast this time with an editorial in which it said: "The Danes, who fell an easy prey to the Nazi armies of conquest, have devised a remarkable system of making trouble for the Germans since that time."<sup>20</sup>

For some months there was little news from Denmark; what news the New York Times had was driven out of the other papers by the invasion of Normandy (June 6, 1944) and the Republican National Convention in June. Then, at the end of June, new riots broke out, and Denmark received publicity that was exceeded only in April, 1940, and August, 1943. The first news

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17. Los Angeles Daily News, Ap. 27, 1944, p. 1.

18. Constitution, Ap. 27, 1944, p. 5.

19. E.g., N. Y. Times, Ap. 27, 1944, p. 1;  
Ibid., Ap. 28, 1944, p. 4;  
Ibid., Ap. 29, 1944, p. 2;  
Gazette, Ap. 27, 1944, p. 2;  
Ibid., Ap. 26, 1944, p. 1.

20. Journal-World, Ap. 26, 1944, p. 4.

appeared June 28 in the New York Times; the other big papers followed from around June 30, and then the headlines ran like: "Fourteen Danes Are Killed Rioting Against Foe; Demonstrators, Defying Curfew, Burn Hitler in Effigy,"<sup>21</sup> the New York Times wrote, and "Rioters 'Burn' Hitler, Battle Germans," the Constitution said.<sup>22</sup> A general strike seized Copenhagen; the Germans used heavy arms but could not curb the revolt. "Copenhagen Paralyzed by Strike," the Constitution said.<sup>23</sup> George Axelsson wrote for the New York Times, as so often before, when unusual things went on.<sup>24</sup> The Constitution's strong interest culminated July 2 in an eight-column headline on the front page: "15,000 Barricaded Danes Struggle with Nazis in Streets of Copenhage. Demonstrators Unfurl Allied Colors; Reich Rushing Reserves."<sup>25</sup> The Germans resorted to cutting off food supplies and the public utilities, and for a while it looked as though the revolt was breaking down; the New York Times expressed it "Foe Starves Danes into Ending Strike;"<sup>26</sup> but later in the day, July 3, the Gazette knew that it was not

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21. N. Y. Times, June 30, 1944, p. 6.

22. Constitution, June 30, 1944, p. 4.

23. Ibid., July 1, 1944, p. 2.

24. N. Y. Times, July 2, 1944, p. 1.

25. Constitution, July 2, 1944, p. 1.

26. N. Y. Times, July 3, 1944, p. 1;  
Tribune, July 3, 1944, p. 3.

over yet: "Underground Is Worrying Nazis. 'Civil War' Breaks in France; Danes Challenge the Foe."<sup>27</sup> The Journal-World also considered the French and the Danish revolts under one heading.<sup>28</sup>

The well-known columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote in her "Abroad" column in the New York Times that the Copenhagen revolt was "one of the most surprising and significant episodes of the war.....the biggest and most defiant civilian rising of the war has occurred in the place where it was least expected."<sup>29</sup>

The Gazette on July 4 wrote that the Yugoslavian, Danish, and French guerrillas tied up the Germans,<sup>30</sup> and the Journal-World had an editorial very much like the one the paper had in April, 1944; Hitler's failure was that he could not unite the conquered European countries, "The Danes, whose conquest was most easily effected, are proving to become the most recalcitrant conquered people. Reports of serious disorders in Denmark are almost continuous."<sup>31</sup> In the end the revolt turned out to be a victory for the people, for the Freedom Council forced the Germans to accept its demands before it called off

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27. Gazette, July 3, 1944, p. 1.

28. Journal-World, July 3, 1944, p. 2.

29. N. Y. Times, July 3, 1944, p. 10.

30. Gazette, July 4, 1944, p. 1;  
Constitution, July 4, 1944, p. 6.

31. Journal-World, July 4, 1944, p. 4.

its strike and sabotage. "Germans Yield In Danish Strike," the New York Times proclaimed, but the other papers by then had lost interest in the subject, so they did not tell their readers about this important fact.<sup>32</sup>

The successful rising of June and July, 1944, produced a statement from Secretary of State Cordell Hull on July 12. "The Danes have steadfastly opposed the attempts by the Germans to establish a 'model protectorate' in what was and will again be a free and sovereign country." The New York Times headline of the statement ran: "Hull Hails Denmark for Combating Germans; Say Danes Set Example for People of other Lands."<sup>33</sup>

On September 19, 1944, the Germans arrested as many Danish policemen as could not get away in time. Again Denmark appeared in a favorable light on the front pages of the papers searched. The New York Times over an Axelsson story had: "Danish Police Fight Germans; Force of 12,000 Is Imprisoned." "Germans Use Artillery," it says later in the same article of approximately three quarters of a column.<sup>34</sup> The Tribune had: "Nazis Besiege King; Tighten Grip on Danes."<sup>35</sup> And the Journal-World again

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32. N. Y. Times, July 5, 1944, p. 1;  
Ibid., July 9, 1944, IV, p. 5;  
Ibid., July 11, 1944, p. 8.

33. Ibid., July 13, 1944, p. 3.

34. Ibid., Sept. 20, 1944, p. 1.

35. Tribune, Sept. 20, 1944, p. 1.

lacked the right understanding as it headlined the AP story: "1,700 Danish Police to Be Interned in Germany."<sup>36</sup> September 23 and September 26 the New York Times had reports of the Danish protests and the German moves to repair the damage they had done to themselves.<sup>37</sup>

The police arrests and the subsequent trouble called forth a New York Times editorial about "Insurgent Denmark." Denmark was seized by an attack "characteristically combining surprise, treachery, and violence," this editorial read. "What could the little Danish army do? The State Council had to capitulate with a protest." But since then, the editorial explained, there had been stubborn Danish resistance, and then it mentioned the revolt of August, 1943, and the election, the holding of which it wrongly attributed to the people's wishes. The Danish Council in London received its praise, and the editorial ended: "The Danish people and their king have been true to the freedom and independence of their country. The day of their liberation rapidly approaches."<sup>38</sup>

At the end of April and the beginning of May, 1945, Denmark again was in the headlines. "When will the capitulation

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36. Journal-World, Sept. 20, 1944, p. 1.

37. N. Y. Times, Sept. 23, 1944, p. 4;  
Ibid., Sept. 25, 1944, p. 7.

38. Ibid., Sept. 20, 1944, p. 22.

come?" was the burning question. Count Bernadotte was negotiating in Copenhagen for an early peace. The George Axelsson dispatch headlined: "The Doenitz Government of Germany has moved to Copenhagen, Denmark" was definitely wrong, no such removal took place.<sup>39</sup>

May 2, the New York Times correspondent in Copenhagen, Svend Carstensen, silent, with one exception, since April 9, 1940, returned to the Times' pages and was greeted on the front page: "Copenhagen Writer Again Phones Story."<sup>40</sup> The Tribune carried a front page story, headlined: "300,000 Danes Spring to Arms on Liberation," dealing with the illegal forces coming up from the underground, and the joy of the population.<sup>41</sup> "Nazi Navy Fires on Copenhagen," wrote the Los Angeles Daily News May 6, reflecting some of the confusion that the New York Times had told about on May 4 under a headline: "Denmark, Norway Are in Confusion."<sup>42</sup> These and other stories in the last days of the occupation took it for granted that Denmark was a country to be liberated, not punished. They wrote little about resistance, but much about the people's enthusiasm at the

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39. Ibid., May 4, 1945, p. 1.

40. Ibid., May 2, 1945, p. 1.

41. Tribune, May 5, 1945, p. 1.

42. Los Angeles Daily News, May 6, 1945, p. 1;  
N. Y. Times, May 4, 1945, p. 5.

prospect of peace and freedom. In general it can be said that the small papers, the Constitution and the two Kansas papers, showed the least interest and understanding.<sup>43</sup>

Political events in Denmark were sometimes followed by the Tribune, and usually the New York Times. Thus a German attempt to make one of their puppets head of a new government in October, 1943, was mentioned in both these papers,<sup>44</sup> as was the Swedish offer of loans for the postwar reconstruction of Denmark.<sup>45</sup>

Christian X still appeared in the papers, although ovations for him were prohibited, and no dramatic events happened in his life. Typical of his publicity was the Collier's article which introduced the Danish monarch to its readers as number five in a series called "The Heroes." Christian appears as the ideal king, popular, strong, the shield of his people, and some of the many anecdotes about him are told.<sup>46</sup>

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43. Tribune, May 3, p. 1;  
Ibid., May 4, p. 1;  
Journal-World, May 1, p. 1;  
Ibid., May 3, p. 1;  
Ibid., May 4, p. 1;  
Constitution, May 3, p. 1;  
Ibid., May 4, p. 1;  
Gazette, May 3, p. 1;  
Ibid., May 4, p. 1, p. 8.
44. N. Y. Times, Oct. 19, 1943, p. 8;  
Tribune, Oct. 19, 1943, p. 4.
45. N. Y. Times, Oct. 19, 1943, p. 4;  
Tribune, Oct. 19, 1943, p. 3.
46. Collier's, CXIV (Nov. 25, 1944), p. 39;  
Life, LXXX (May 28, 1945), p. 33.



Danish-American activities were considerable; they were as usual recorded mainly in the New York Times. Friends of Denmark sponsored a church service in New York City to commemorate the four years' anniversary of the invasion.<sup>47</sup> Hersholt and Hasselriis appear in the New York Times editorial already mentioned, when they were driving for funds for the Danish refugees in Sweden,<sup>48</sup> and Hersholt's photo was on the Constitution's front page with the text: "Quits Films to Aid Danes."<sup>49</sup>

The New York Times noted when the Free Danes (should be the Freedom Council) appointed an ambassador to Russia,<sup>50</sup> and when the Freedom Council appealed to Finland to make peace with Russia.<sup>51</sup> The writings of Friends of Denmark found acceptance in such different papers as the San Jacinto, California, Register, the Trinidad, Colorado, Chronicle and News, and the Duluth Free Press.<sup>52</sup>

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47. N. Y. Times, Ap. 8, 1944, p. 17.

48. Ibid., Nov. 4, 1943, p. 22.

49. Constitution, Oct. 6, 1943, p. 1.

50. N. Y. Times, July 11, 1944, p. 8;  
Ibid., July 31, 1944, p. 6.

51. Ibid., Ap. 9, 1944, p. 4. Other examples of the Freedom Council's activities: Ibid., Jan. 7, 1945, p. 12.

52. San Jacinto, Cal., Register, Mar. 9, 1944;  
Trinidad, Colo., Chronicle and News, Dec. 1, 1943;  
Duluth Free Press, Oct. 27, 1944.

June 9, 1944, the American government presented Legion of Honor medals to two Danish members of a Greenland sledge patrol for having discovered and helped to destroy a German base on Greenland. When the same event had been described in the Gazette, seven months earlier, there had been no mention of any Danish accomplishment.<sup>53</sup>

There were other editorials and official statements in this period. In a 1944 New Year's survey, the Gazette paid attention to the underground movements and the guerrilla wars in occupied Europe. After having mentioned the two largest guerrilla armies, Tito's and France's, the Gazette wrote: "In Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, and Greece there are also potentially powerful underground forces..."<sup>54</sup> Thus the Danish resistance movement received praise to the exclusion of some of the other resistance movements.

In early March, 1945, the Danish saboteurs received the highest honor possible, when General Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, mentioned them in a special communique from his headquarters. Paraphrased by the New York Times the communique ran: "...the Danish underground was attacking German troop movements so effectively that not

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53. N. Y. Times, June 10, 1944, p. 7;  
Gazete, Nov. 9, 1943, p. 2.

54. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1944, p. 1.

a single train was able to reach Germany without having been delayed." The communique ended, in its own language, "This action by Danish saboteurs is an effective contribution to current military operations on both the West and East fronts."<sup>55</sup>

The New York Times took the opportunity to write a "Citation for Denmark" on the editorial page, emphasizing that the Germans were reaping what they sowed, for "Danish saboteurs have crippled enemy troop movements to such an extent that the effect is now felt on the battlefronts."<sup>56</sup>

On the fifth anniversary of the invasion of Denmark and Norway, President Roosevelt, a few days before his death, greeted the two peoples: "For five long years the Danish and Norwegian peoples have suffered under the heel of the Nazi oppressor. Yet never has their courage lagged. They have never ceased to resist."<sup>57</sup>

The last New York Times editorial on Denmark, before the war was over, was on May 3, 1945. It mentioned the five years' silence of Svend Carstensen and quoted lines from his telegram of April 9, 1940, and that of May 1, 1945. Then followed the New York Times' summary of the developments in Denmark during the occupation; the 1944 revolt received special attention,

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55. N. Y. Times, March 6, 1945, p. 3.

56. Ibid., March 6, 1945, p. 20.

57. Ibid., Ap. 10, 1945, p. 1;  
N. Y. Sun, Ap. 9, 1945;  
N. Y. World-Telegram, Ap. 9, 1945.

as did the Eisenhower commendation of March, 1945. "Once more the Danes prepare to breathe the air of freedom," the editorial ended.<sup>58</sup>

Denmark's membership in the United Nations concerned world opinion of the country, rather than specifically American opinion, but still it seems worth mentioning here. Denmark received no invitation for the organizing meeting at San Francisco in the spring of 1945, even though Minister Kauffmann, as we have seen, in January, 1942, had signed the United Nations' pledge along with twenty-six free countries. But when a Danish delegation, headed by Kauffmann, appeared before the assembly in early June, it was supported vigorously by Norway, and was accepted as the fiftieth nation in the United Nations.<sup>59</sup>

In this last period no books were published about Denmark, but twenty-four articles about Denmark appeared in major periodicals. In general they were very favorable toward Denmark, and the information they gave was reliable. Every important event in Denmark during these twenty months was considered in at least one periodical article.

Newsweek commented on the Jewish action in an article termed "Danish Red Sea" in October, 1943.<sup>60</sup> The "people's

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58. Ibid., May 3, 1945, p. 22.

59. Ibid., June 6, 1945, p. 2;  
Ibid., June 8, 1945, p. 18.

60. "Danish Red Sea," Newsweek, XXII (October 18, 1943), 41-42.

revolt" of August, 1943, reverberated until the revolt of June, 1944, took over. The respected historian Sidney B. Fay wrote about the defiance in Denmark in the December issue of Current History.<sup>61</sup> Newsweek, in opposition to most of the newspapers, thought that Kaj Munk was worthy of an article after he had been assassinated by the Germans.<sup>62</sup>

The only negative opinion came from Time, and was directed against Christian X's denunciation of the Icelanders because they broke their old connection with Denmark at a moment when Denmark was in trouble. According to Time the king "made no distinction whatever between the occupying Germans and the occupying Yanks."<sup>63</sup>

The 1944 revolt was commented on twice by Newsweek;<sup>64</sup> by Nation, where Gunnar Leistikow interpreted it as "a major political and moral victory for the Danes," brought about by "a wave of sabotage unequalled in any other occupied country,"<sup>65</sup>

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61. Sidney B. Fay, "Sombre Shadows over Hitler's Reich: Defiance in Denmark," Current History, new series, V (December, 1943), 144-5.
62. "Danish Martyr: Reverend Kaj Munk Spoke His Mind, then Paid the Dread Nazi Price," Newsweek, XXIII (January 17, 1944), 31.
63. "Message from the King," Time, VIIIIL (May 15, 1944), 27.
64. "Up the Danes," Newsweek, XXIV (July 10, 1944), 55.
65. Gunnar Leistikow, "Those Gentle Danes," Nation, CLIX, (July 15, 1944), 72.

and by an editorial in Christian Century titled: "Danes Reveal Germany's Growing Weakness."<sup>66</sup> A year later Joachim Joesten in the Virginia Quarterly Review wrote that although Denmark lost materially, she regained her self-respect and "is now in the same boat as Holland, Norway, Belgium and all the other occupied countries."<sup>67</sup>

Danish sabotage was shown in pictures by Life and the introductory text read: "The most precise, economical and bloodless destruction in the war is the sabotage campaign run by the Danes against the Nazis. There are about 30 explosions every day in Denmark, all beautifully integrated and distributed, as if by a general staff."<sup>68</sup>

After the arrest of the police, the Germans wondered that so little criminality went on. But Leistikow explained in the Nation that the country had a new government in the Freedom Council, and that it was loyally followed.<sup>69</sup> In the American Mercury, January, 1944, Leistikow gave an admiring summary of

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66. "Danes Reveal Germans' Growing Weakness," Christian Century, LXL (July 19, 1944), 843.
67. Joachim Joesten, "Denmark's Costly Revolt," Virginia Quarterly Review, XX no. 1 (July, 1944), 50-58.
68. "Danish Sabotage. First Pictures Show Factories Blown up by Anti-Nazi Patriots," Life, XVI (February 7, 1944), 41-42.
69. Gunnar Leistikow, "Democracy without Police," Nation, CLIX (November 25, 1944), 644-45.

the development in Denmark during the last year, emphasizing the endless sabotage.<sup>70</sup>

Life in March, 1945, ended a series of periodical articles on Denmark with a three-page article by the Danish artist, Hans Bendix, who illustrated it himself. Of course it was favorable to Denmark, but the sarcastic Bendix put in some critical remarks that make the article readable even today. It is probably the most balanced article about Denmark, land and people, in war and resistance, that appeared during the entire war period.<sup>71</sup> Two Life readers expressed great satisfaction with Hans Bendix' article a few weeks later.<sup>72</sup>

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70. Gunnar Leistikow, "Denmark - a Nation Underground," American Mercury, LX (January, 1945), 74-80.

71. Hans Bendix, "Denmark," Life, IXXX (March 5, 1945), 53-54, 56, 58, 60.

72. Letters from Mr. R. E. Hirsch, New York, N. Y. and Mrs. Klaus A. Mueller, Stamford, Connecticut, Life, IXXX (March 26, 1945), 8.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

What was the American opinion of Denmark during the years of the German occupation, 1940-1945? The writer has searched a representative group of the literary means of mass communication and consulted some of the persons who know most about this subject, and his conclusion is that informed Americans, with some interest in the outside world, had an awareness of wartime developments in Denmark that shaped their opinion of the country during these years.

American opinion of Denmark in 1940, formed in school, by travel, through Danish information efforts, and by Danish-Americans, considered Denmark an old Scandinavian kingdom with an independent and highly developed civilization. Informed Americans knew about Danish agriculture and the Danish cooperative system. Cultural contributions were known, as the adult education in the folk high schools and the tales of Hans Christian Andersen - this was before Kierkegaard was discovered by American readers.

The stormy 1930's attracted the interest of internationally minded Americans to Spain, Italy, and Germany. American opinion was strongly against the Fascist and Nazist dictators and in favor of democratic, neutral states, like Denmark.



The news of Denmark, as of the rest of Scandinavia, was scarce, indicating that things were peaceful in this part of the world, but what little news there was, informed Americans that these people tried to create secure and industrious welfare states.

The German invasion of Denmark and Norway April 9, 1940, came as a shock and was deeply resented by all circles. It was not brought out clearly in these days that Denmark was without Allies, that this small, flat country was impossible to defend against Hitler's war machine, and that "Denmark's capitulation was a foregone conclusion."

Denmark surrendered in a few hours, Norway resisted the invasion valiantly, and, aided by the Allies, continued fighting for two months. Holland and Belgium, invaded on May 10, 1940, resisted the invasion to the best of their ability. Such facts affected the American public in a way unfavorable to Denmark. A vague notion that Denmark was maybe too much of a welfare state, and the Danes too soft, was nourished by the events in these tragic days of April and May, 1940.

The policy of cooperation that Denmark began from the day of the invasion did not appeal to Americans, and the necessity for it was hardly ever understood. The months went by without any indication that the Danes had stronger feelings against the Germans than irritation.

News from Denmark reached the United States via illegal channels that sought to influence the free world in favor of Denmark. The Danish-Americans had been particularly

embarrassed by the events on and after April 9. Through the American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy, and Free Denmark, later Friends of Denmark, headed by C. H. W. Hasselriis of New York City, they wanted to tell the truth and eradicate the misconceptions about Denmark. Their admirable information service explained why Denmark did not resist the invasion and emphasized all indications of Danish opposition to the German regime as the occupation went on. The information service also worked to maintain the idea of Denmark as an independent democracy with a high civilization, and through its various publications and releases these ideas were disseminated to the means of mass communication. The National America Denmark Association, the first organization to unite all Danish-Americans, also worked to spread good-will for Denmark.

The Danish minister to the United States, Henrik de Kauffmann, took a stand that gained the admiration of not only the Danish-Americans, but also of the informed American public, as he declared the Copenhagen government was under German duress, and that he, therefore, would act on his own in the true interest of Denmark. Immediately the American government accepted this unprecedented stand, and it continued to recognize him throughout the war years. The American government gave many indications of its belief that Denmark was an Ally at heart, and its support of course was very beneficial for Denmark's reputation.

News from Denmark during the five years of occupation came in a steady flow that from time to time was increased by outstanding events, so that Danish news would appear on the front pages of newspapers for several days. This was very fortunate, for the steady flow of news did not attract the attention of most Americans, and thus the concept of Denmark, formed in April, 1940, might have remained with the American public if it had not been for this sensational news.

The first two big events were almost simultaneous: the American seizure of the German, Italian, and Danish ships in American ports, and the Greenland Deal of April 9, 1941, between Kauffmann and the American government. According to this deal, the United States took over the military protection of Greenland for the duration of the war. Kauffmann had a chance to state his stand and stress that the Danish people were for America, all to the benefit of Denmark's reputation. That was particularly needed in those days, as the majority of the papers did not make sufficient distinction between Denmark's, Italy's and Germany's positions concerning the ship seizures.

December 7, 1941, the United States entered the world war, and on January 2, 1942, sided with twenty-five other states in the United Nations' pledge to win the war against the Axis. America's position as a belligerent made her more conscious of what went on abroad; she became more hateful towards the enemy, more impatient with the lukewarm countries. Fortunately Denmark was not considered an enemy of the United States, at

least in the opinion of the American government and informed Americans.

The year 1942 brought no big news of Denmark, but it is believed that the steady flow of news about sabotage and other forms of resistance influenced the informed citizens favorably. In these two or three first years, the activities of the Danish-American organizations and persons were particularly significant. By their publications, expositions, and meetings, Denmark was kept before the eyes of the public at a time when there was little other favorable news about Denmark.

From 1943 the news grew more voluminous and more favorable. At the same time some big events placed Denmark on the front pages of the papers, and in the minds of the reading public. The election of March, 1943, was interpreted as a victory for Danish democracy.

The events of August, 1943, marked a watershed in American opinion of Denmark. Before then, Denmark's position was considered with uncertainty and scepticism. After the "people's revolt," Denmark was recognized as an Ally, and her resistance was appreciated. The news of August, 1943, was enthusiastically received, and it was understood that Denmark had definitely broken her long-time cooperation policy. The unique aid of the Danish people to the Jews during the Nazi persecution of the Danish Jews in October, 1943, aroused admiration. The violent strike and sabotage waves reached climaxes in the revolts of April, and of June and July, 1944, and the police internment

of September, 1944, strengthened the impression that Denmark now was suffering for her resistance to the Germans.

Public statements and editorials after August 29, 1943, were all very favorable to Denmark. The high point was reached when General Eisenhower in a communique praised the efficient Danish railroad saboteurs for their success in slowing the German war efforts.

Certain notions of Denmark were particularly popular with American writers. "The so civilized, small democratic Denmark" was one of them. It is boring to meet such a cliché as often as it appeared, but its effect during the war was favorable to Denmark, and effect was only possible through repetition.

"The model protectorate that did not work" was another expression used extremely often. It was illustrative, expressed something favorable to Denmark, and was true. "Christian X, the noble, popular king, stalwart in his defense of Danish rights" was the most popular Danish figure in the American press. Anecdotes about his treatment of the Germans were found especially in the periodicals. The Chicago Tribune showed an intense interest in Christian X during 1940, but later dropped this subject.

The newspapers and periodicals read were of very different size and quality. The only newspaper that covered the developments in Denmark with continuously reliable stories was the New York Times. Not only did the New York Times print an

amazing amount of UP and AP telegrams from "Copenhagen, German-occupied Denmark," from Berlin, Stockholm, and London concerning Denmark, but when unusual events took place the paper's correspondent in Stockholm, George Axelsson, was at hand with detailed, usually reliable and sympathetic information, often obtained from the Free Danish Press Service in Stockholm. Of the papers searched, only the New York Times gave its readers a true picture of trends and events in Denmark during the five years of German occupation.

The Chicago Tribune, the Los Angeles Times, and the Atlanta Constitution wrote about important events and the more outstanding political tendencies of the occupation period. Yet, it is characteristic that they did not make clear to their readers Denmark's position after the revolt of August, 1943, or after the police internment of September 19, 1944. The murder, in January, 1944, of the famed pastor and author, Kaj Munk, was not considered important enough to be mentioned by these papers. They had no editors with any understanding of the basic political problems in Denmark or the cultural significance of a man like Munk.

What was true of these three big papers was even more pronounced in the two small Kansas papers, the Lawrence Daily Journal-World and the Emporia Gazette. They wrote about Denmark only when spectacular events like the violent revolts of 1943 and 1944 went on. Then they burst forth with an energy that disappeared before the whole story had been told.

The books published about Denmark during the war gave no good understanding of Denmark's conditions and problems. Much better were the articles in American periodicals. Newsweek with its sixteen major articles about Denmark described all the important events and provided a solid basis for forming an opinion of Denmark. Nation, Time, Current History, and New Republic covered Denmark on critical occasions, whereas a score of periodicals had from one to four articles about Denmark on all sorts of occasions. Time seems to have been not too friendly toward Denmark - the rather socialistic welfare state; Newsweek, on the other hand, was more sympathetic than might have been expected. Otherwise no prejudices were found among the periodicals; their information was sound and their tendency neutral or favorable toward Denmark. Some of the biggest national magazines, like Atlantic, Reader's Digest, and Saturday Evening Post, had only one article each about Denmark, but each of those articles were written by Danish-Americans and were very sympathetic and informative.

The Danish-American authors wrote diligently in the periodicals and thereby disseminated the ideas of the American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy and the Free Denmark-Friends of Denmark. In this last period the Danish-American organizations were more active than previously, but their role was less important, for now Denmark could speak for herself with sabotage and strikes and fighting, and she was heard. Mrs. Toksvig writes, modestly: "What we did was nothing

compared to that which was accomplished [in Denmark] where people were in constant danger. They were the ones that changed the outside world's concept of Denmark..." Yet the significant services of the Danish-American organizations must not be neglected. They had kept the channels of information and goodwill open for Denmark at a time when Denmark was silent and needed understanding.



## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I DOCUMENTS
- II NEWSPAPERS
- III PERIODICALS
- IV BOOKS REFLECTING AMERICAN OPINION OF DENMARK, 1937-1945
- V SECONDARY WORKS

### I DOCUMENTS

#### A. Interviews

1. C. H. W. Hasselriis (1881- )  
Interviewed in New York, N. Y., September 4, 1956.

Hasselriis, a New York businessman of Danish birth, immediately after the occupation of Denmark volunteered to do the important work of informing Americans about Denmark. Probably no one else knows so much about American public opinion of Denmark as Hasselriis.

2. Kai Johansen (1902- )  
Interviewed in New York, N. Y., September 7, 1956.

Johansen, who is at present the Danish press attache in New York, was an outstanding participant in the illegal news exchange between Denmark and Sweden during the occupation. He was editor of the illegal paper Information, 1944-1945.

3. Kai Winkelhorn (1899- )  
Interviewed in New York, N. Y., September 5, 1956.

Winkelhorn was born in Denmark and educated in Denmark, Europe, and the United States; he has lived in the United States since 1924, and was, by 1940, a banking executive. Winkelhorn was among the first to join the Danish-American information service set up under Hasselriis; he served as secretary. In 1942 Winkelhorn

became a Principal Industrial Adviser in the War Production Board, and 1943-1945 he was an officer in the Office of Strategic Services, serving in Europe. At the end of the war he was a colonel in the U. S. Army.

## B. Letters

1. John Hansen to writer,  
Davenport, Iowa, September 25, 1956.

Born in Denmark in 1891, John Hansen came to the United States in 1911. From 1933 he was a manufacturer in Davenport, Iowa. 1939-1947 John Hansen was president of the Danish fraternities in the United States, of which he had been an officer since 1931. In April, 1940, John Hansen took the initiative in founding the National America Denmark Association of which he was president, 1940-1943.

2. Alfred Jensen, D. D. to writer,  
Des Moines, Iowa, February 24, 1957.

President of the Danish-American church, American Evangelical Lutheran Church, Dr. Alfred Jensen provided information on his church as of 1940.

3. P. C. Jensen to writer,  
Blair, Nebraska, February 1, 1957.

Statistician and historian of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, Rev. Jensen provided the writer with information on his church as of 1940.

4. Signe Toksvig to writer,  
Virum, Denmark, February 2, 1957.

Mrs. Toksvig, born in 1891, is the daughter of a well known Danish editor, was educated at Cornell University, and was an assistant editor of the New Republic for some years. In 1918 she married Francis Hackett, the Irish-American historical novelist. Mrs. Toksvig, who has travelled extensively and written several books, 1940-1945 edited the Danish Listening Post, one of the most important publications of American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy-Friends of Denmark. Mrs. Toksvig told the writer that she had few contacts in the Danish-American world, but many in the American press and government.

## C. Archives

The archives of the American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy, of Free Denmark, and of Friends of Denmark are at the Danish Information Office, 588 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Of their voluminous files, these are the most important:

1. Documents of the setup, economy, and so on of the information services.
2. A big scrap book of clippings from American papers concerning the activities of the Danish information services.
3. Examples of the mimeographed press releases of the information services.
4. Hasselriis' nine memos to Axel Sporon-Fiedler, forming the basis of Sporon-Fiedler's book Den danske Bevaegelse i de Forenede Stater i Besaettelsesaaarene, were used for this study as a more original source than Sporon-Fiedler's book.

The New York Times' morgue file was made available for the writer in the case of two New York Times correspondents, Svend Carstensen in Copenhagen and George Axelsson in Stockholm.

A promising correspondence with the Danish-American actor, Jean Hersholt, (1886-1956) had just started, when the great actor died. Hersholt was president of the National America Denmark Association 1943-1945.

A request for an interview or correspondence with the Danish Ambassador to the United States, Henrik de Kauffmann, was refused, as his official position precluded cooperation.

A similar request to Mr. Axel Skelbeck, Omaha, Nebraska, president of the Danish Brotherhood, saw no answer.

## II NEWSPAPERS

A. Systematically searched were these six newspapers:

1. Atlanta, Georgia, Constitution, 1940-1945.
2. Chicago Tribune, 1940-1945.
3. Emporia, Kansas, Gazette, 1940-1945.

4. Lawrence, Kansas, Daily Journal-World, 1940-1945.
5. Los Angeles Times, 1940-1943.
6. New York Times, 1940-1945.

B. Occasionally drawn upon were these twelve newspapers:

1. Blair, Nebraska, Luthersk Ugeblad.
2. Chicago, Dansk Tidende.
3. Chicago News.
4. Detroit Free Press.
5. Duluth Free Press.
6. Los Angeles Daily News.
7. New York Daily News.
8. New York Herald Tribune.
9. New York Sun.
10. New York World-Telegram.
11. San Jacinto, California, Register.
12. Trinidad, Colorado, Chronicle and News.

### III PERIODICALS

A. Articles were found through the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature in the following twenty-five periodicals:

1. American Mercury, IL-LX (1940-1945).
2. American Political Science Review, XXXV-XXXIX (1940-1945).
3. Atlantic, CLXV-CLXXV (1940-1945).
4. Catholic World, CLI-CLXI (1940-1945).
5. Christian Century, LVII-LXII (1940-1945).

6. Collier's, CV-CXV (1940-1945).
7. Commonweal, XXXII-IXL (1940-1945).
8. Current History, LI-Lii, I-VIII new series, (1940-1945).
9. Foreign Affairs, XVIII-XXIII (1940-1945).
10. Life, VIII-XVIII (1940-1945).
11. Living Age, CCCLVIII-CCCLX (1940-1945).
12. Monthly Labor Review, I-IX (1940-1945).
13. Nation, CIII-CLX (1940-1945).
14. National Geographic Magazine, LXXVIII-LXXXVII (1940-1945).
15. New Republic, CIII-CXII (1940-1945).
16. New Yorker, XVII-XXI (1940-1945).
17. Newsweek, XV-XXV (1940-1945).
18. Publisher's Weekly, CXXXVIII-CIIIL (1940-1945).
19. Reader's Digest, XXXVII-IVL (1940-1945).
20. Saturday Evening Post, CCXII-CCXVII (1940-1945).
21. Scholastic, XXXVII-IVL (1940-1945).
22. School and Society, LI-LXI (1940-1945).
23. Survey Graphic, XXIX-XXXIV (1940-1945).
24. Time, XXXV-VL (1940-1945).
25. Virginia Quarterly Review, XV, no. 4-XXI, no. 2  
(1940-1945).

B. Signed articles most important to this study:

1. Arneson, B. A. "Occupied Denmark Holds a General Election," American Political Science Review, XXXVII (October, 1943), 926-27.
2. Bendix, Hans. "Denmark," Life, IIXX (March, 5, 1945), 53-54, 56, 58, 60.

3. Fay, Sidney B. "Sombre Shadows over Hitler's Reich: Defiance in Denmark," Current History, V new series (December, 1943), 144-45.
4. Hackett, Francis. "The Real Power of Scandinavia," Survey Graphic, IXXX (July, 1940), 388-90.
5. -----, "Denmark under Duress," New Republic, CIII (December 23, 1940), 861-63.
6. Hasselriis, C. H. W. "Nothing Rotten in Denmark," New Republic, CVIII (June 7, 1943), 760-61.
7. -----, "Nothing Rotten in Denmark," Reader's Digest, VIIL (July, 1943), 102-04.
8. Hutchison, K. "German Aggression and American Business," Nation, CL (April 27, 1940), 540-41.
9. -----, "Scientific Looting," Nation, CLI (September 14, 1940), 217.
10. Joesten, Joachim. "Germany vs. Russia in the North," Nation, CIIL (June 24, 1939), 719-22.
11. -----, "Is Scandinavia Next?" Nation, CL (January 13, 1940), 41-44.
12. -----, "Hitler Loses Greenland," Nation, CLII (April 19, 1941), 471-72.
13. -----, "Did Surrender Save Denmark?" Nation, CLI (October 5, 1940), 298-300.
14. -----, "Scandinavia in the New Order," Foreign Affairs, IXX (July, 1941), 821-24.
15. -----, "Denmark Next," Nation, CLVII (August 7, 1943), 151-52.
16. -----, "Denmark's Costly Revolt," Virginia Quarterly Review, XX no. 1 (July, 1944), 50-58.
17. Leistikow, Gunnar. "Denmark Signs Up," Nation, CLIII (December 13, 1941), 607-08.
18. -----, "Denmark Under the Nazi Heel," Foreign Affairs, XXI (January, 1943), 340-53.
19. -----, "Rebellion in Denmark," New Republic, CIX (September 13, 1943), 361-62.

20. ----- . "Those Gentle Danes," Nation, CLIX (July 15, 1944), 72.
21. ----- . "Democracy without Police," Nation, CLIX (November 25, 1944), 644-45.
22. ----- . "Denmark - a Nation Underground," American Mercury, LX (January, 1945), 74-80.
23. Polle, E. "Gestapo in Denmark," Nation, CLI (July 13, 1940), 39.
24. Peterson, Elmer W. "Nazis Fail in Denmark," Saturday Evening Post, CCXV (June 26, 1943), 19, 88, 90.
25. Pratt, W. V. "Scandinavia: The Showdown Is Near," Newsweek, XV (March 4, 1940), 26.
26. Toksvig, Signe. "Denmark's Resistance," Atlantic, CLXX (August, 1942), 66-72.

#### IV BOOKS REFLECTING AMERICAN OPINION OF DENMARK 1937-1945

1. Hackett, Francis. I Chose Denmark. New York: Doubleday, 1940.

The famous historical novelist, Francis Hackett, who married the Danish authoress, Signe Toksvig, explains why he chose to live in Denmark. The book was published a few months after the occupation of Denmark on April 9, 1940, but it contains nothing about the invasion and the occupation. I Chose Denmark is dedicated to "My Dear Friends in Denmark, Better Unnamed" and is a strong declaration of love of his adopted country. Dealing mostly with Danish culture and mentality, the book was very favorably accepted by the critics.

2. Joesten, Joachim. Rats in the Larder: The Story of Nazi Influence in Denmark. New York: Putnam, 1939.

The German-born reporter and author, Joachim Joesten, warned against the Nazism of the 1930's at every opportunity. Denmark seemed to Joesten to be particularly careless as to the German penetration and espionage activities preceding the invasion, and he tried to awaken its people and leaders by exaggerating the danger.

3. Kraus, René. Europe in Revolt. New York: Macmillan, 1942.

Being of Austrian-French descent René Kraus was naturally interested in what went on in Europe during the second

World War. His book contains many good facts and views of the growing resistance in all occupied countries against the Germans, but it is badly organized and is an unhappy mixture of fiction and history.

4. Riess, Curt. Underground Europe. New York: Dial Press, 1942.

Admittedly the subject that Kraus and Riess tried to cover was difficult, but Riess' book is not only often unreliable in its presentation of facts, but also too sentimental, oratorical and propagandistic for serious consideration as a history of the European underground. But, of course, it had its beneficiary effect during the war.

5. Rothery, Agnes. Denmark, Kingdom of Reason. New York: Viking, 1937.

Mrs. Rothery, who has written other books introducing American tourists to European countries, has a very charming way of telling of her favorite Denmark. It is almost too nice toward Denmark, and the critics who intimated that it was somewhat superficial, seem to have been right.

#### V SECONDARY WORKS

1. American-Scandinavian Foundation. Twenty-Eighth Annual Report, 1939. New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1940.

The annual reports of the American-Scandinavian Foundation tell about the Foundation's activities in the past year, such as exchange of students and fellows, publications, and American-Scandinavian relations in general.

2. Ayer, N. W. & Son. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals. Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1940.

Reliable standard manual for information of the circulation, political stands, editors, founding years, etc. of American newspapers and periodicals.

3. Bailey, Thomas A. The Man in the Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy. New York: Macmillan, 1948.

The well known historian Thomas A. Bailey, author of several books on American diplomatic history, wrote this fine study



of the influence of public opinion on American foreign policy since the Revolution, stressing the twentieth century. Bailey attacks the lack of education and the mass of superstition and ignorance and complacency characteristic of the man in the street.

4. Bertelsen, Aage. October 1943. New York: Putnam, 1944.

Bertelsen, a high school principal, lived on the Sound north of Copenhagen during the war. When the persecution of the Danish Jews began in October, 1943, he became one of the leaders of the organization that shipped the Jews to Sweden. The book contains many interesting memoirs from these days.

5. Cour, Vilhelm la, ed. Danmark under Besaettelsen, 3 vols. Copenhagen: Westermann, 1945.

(Denmark during the Occupation) One of the great standard works on the history of the occupation. Written by specialists, the work is highly esteemed.

6. Dansk biografisk Leksikon. 26 vols. Copenhagen: Schultz, 1933-1944.

The most recent and by far the best Danish Biographical Dictionary. The articles are written by experienced historians.

7. Danstrup, John. A History of Denmark. 2nd ed., Copenhagen: Wivel, 1947.

The most recent history of Denmark translated into English. Trustworthy and well written.

8. Dictionary of American Biography. 20 vols. New York: Scribner, 1943.

The most recent standard work on American biography.

9. Encyclopedia Americana. 30 vols. New York, Chicago: American Corporation, 1953.

The last edition of the famed, reliable, Encyclopedia Americana.

10. Frit Danmark's Hvidbog. Besaettelsestiden i Dokumenter og Kommentarer. 2 vols. Copenhagen: Thaning & Appel, 1945-1946.

(Free Denmark's White Book. Documents and Comments on the Occupation Period) Absolutely required for any scholarly study of the occupation.

11. Haestrup, Joergen, Kontakt med England 1940-1943.  
Copenhagen: Thaning & Appel, 1954.

(Contact with England 1940-1943). Dr. Haestrup is the foremost authority on the history of the occupation period. The book is his doctoral dissertation and was very well accepted.

12. Haestrup, Joergen, "Hvem skriver vaerket om soefolkenes indsats?" Information, September 28, 1955, p. 4.

("Who will write the study of the contributions of the sailors?") in a Copenhagen newspaper. Haestrup calls for a study of the conditions and contributions of the more than 5,000 Danish sailors in Allied service during the war.

13. Hansen, John. National America Denmark Association 1940-1943. n.p., n.d.

John Hansen was the founder and first president of NADA comprising all Danish-American organizations. His booklet tells about the association during his presidency.

14. Hersholt, Jean. National America Denmark Association 1943-1945. n.p., n.d.

Jean Hersholt, who was of Danish birth, was NADA's second president. The booklet tells about the organization in this period.

15. Hubatsch, Walther. Die deutsche Besetzung von Danemark und Norwegen 1940. Goettingen: Musterschmidt, 1952.

(The German Occupation of Denmark and Norway, 1940) The German historian Walther Hubatsch has written a thorough study on the campaign of April, 1940, its backgrounds and consequences. Based on military and state documents.

16. Krak's Blaa Bog. Copenhagen: Krak, 1910- .

Blue book of approximately 7,000 well known Danes; published annually.

17. Krame, Knud. Danske i Udlandet. Copenhagen: Schultz, 1956.

(Danes in Foreign Countries) The Danish-Americans constitute a great part of the biographies of Danes that have attained prominence abroad.

18. Outze, Boerge, ed. Denmark during the German Occupation. Copenhagen, London, Chicago: Scandinavian Publishing Co, 1946.

The best summary in English of the history of the occupation. The writers are not historians, but the book has special value because most of them were personally involved in the events they describe.

19. Parlamentarisk Kommission's Betaenkning. Copenhagen: Schultz, 1948. Bind V med Bilag.

(The report of the Parliamentary Commission on the occupation period, vol. V plus appendix) Gives statistics, facts, and interpretations of the occupation.

20. A Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1900- . Vol. 12, 1941, vol. 13, 1943, vol. 14, 1945.

Standard bibliography of all important American periodicals.

21. Riis, Jacob A. The Making of an American. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1906.

The famous Danish-American journalist and reformer writes about his adventurous life which finally succeeds in making him an American.

22. Sporon-Fiedler, Axel. Den danske Bevaegelse i de Forenede Stater i Besaettelsesaaerene. Copenhagen: n. p., 1947.

(The Danish Movement in the United States during the Occupation) The author was Danish consul general in San Francisco during the war. The book is reliable and useful to this study which is, however, based rather on Hasselriis' memos to Sporon-Fiedler than on Sporon-Fiedler's usage of them.

23. Statistical Abstract of the United States. Washington, D. C., U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1956.

Useful statistics of all aspects of American society.

24. Who's Who in America. Chicago: Marquis Publications, 1899- . Published every two years.

The most complete collection of biographies of living Americans.

25. Wittke, Carl. We Who Built America. Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1939.

Wittke, himself of German descent, is one of the leading students of European immigration to the United States. The book contains useful tables and statistics about the immigrants.