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Gathering Storm. A Landscape Painting from a Danish Province and its Art Histories

Abstract

This article presents a case-study of the, largely forgotten, Danish painter, F. C. Kiærskou (1805–1891). Kiærskou's regular inclusion in exhibitions by the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and the Arts Society of Copenhagen indicates the success he enjoyed during his lifetime. Furthermore, a popular pictorial atlas of Denmark, published by Em. Bærentzen in 1856, featured several reproductions of Kiærskou's paintings, many of which were then in prominent collections in Denmark. Nevertheless, Kiærskou found himself on the wrong side of a cultural rift that pitted the national against the international in art. Kiærskou's success began to wane in his later years, and since his death he has been written almost completely out of Danish art history. This article explains Kiærskou's journey into oblivion through an analysis of his method, subject-matter, correspondence, and reception.

Keywords

Kiærskou, Charlottenborg, National depiction, Bærentzen, Reception

Nineteenth-century European landscape paintings have often been discussed as visual representations of national ideology. Recently, however, scholarship has moved beyond iconographic analysis to investigate the ways in which nationalist rhetoric sometimes placed an implicative burden on artists dictating their choices of how to represent landscapes. A particularly trenchant example is found in the doctoral work of art historian Gertrud Oelsner. Engaging a methodological framework, inspired by Franco Moretti's notion of 'the great unread', Oelsner noted the titles of the approximately 4000 landscape paintings, by Danish artists, of Danish territory (excluding Atlantic islands and colonial holdings), that were shown at the Royal Academy's annual Charlottenborg exhibition in Copenhagen between 1807 and 1875. She then plotted the localities referred to in these titles on a map of Denmark. The resulting 'distant reading' of landscape painting as a cultural practice clearly demonstrated the significant frequency with which nineteenth-century landscape painters chose locations that

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aligned with the centrist nationalism of Denmark's Social Democratic party, to the detriment of more peripheral areas of the country.¹

An interesting consequence of Oelsner's findings is the implication that the political and cultural climate in nineteenth-century Denmark projected certain expectations onto the practice of landscape painting that could just as easily marginalize a landscape subject, and thus the artist who painted it, as it could valorise another. When artists, through their choices of motif, entered the ideological fray, they could either flourish or languish by the ideology to which they – sometimes inadvertently – had allied themselves.

Building on Oelsner's achievement, this article takes as a case-study the career and legacy of the Danish artist, F. C. Kiærskou (1805–1891; fig. 1).² While Kiærskou enjoyed a robust professional career and was regularly featured in exhibitions at Charlottenborg and the Arts Society in Copenhagen, he has since fallen into obscurity. Combining Oelsner's 'distant reading' with an analysis of Kiærskou's biographical record, this article will consider the question of whether and how the artist's approaches to style, subject-matter, and the market might be shown to have influenced his later reputation and posthumous reception.

1 Gertrud Oelsner, *En fælles forestillet nation: Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807–1875* [A communally imagined nation: Danish landscape painting 1807–1875] (Institut for Kommunikation og Kultur, Aarhus Universitet, 2017). In his recent review, Mednick expounds on how Oelsner's approach introduces a new theoretical framework: Thor J. Mednick, review of Gertrud Oelsner, *En fælles forestillet nation – Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807–1875. A communally imagined nation – Danish landscape painting 1807–1875* (PhD diss., Aarhus University 2016), *Romantik* 6 (2017): 115–119. Catalogues of Charlottenborg exhibitions between 1805 and 1882 have been published in one volume: Carl Reitzel, ed., *Fortegnelse over danske Kunstneres Arbejder paa de ved Det Kgl. Akademi for de Skjønne Kunster i Aarene 1807–1882 afholdte Charlottenborg-Udstillinger* (Copenhagen: Thiele, 1883). After 1882, the annual catalogues have to be consulted. They are all digitized and available on-line at rex/kb/dk. As pointed out by Oelsner (op. cit. 52) the Reitzel edition is not always congruent with the yearly catalogues. Translations from Danish into English are made by the author.

2 As was common in the early nineteenth century, spelling of the Kiærskou family name varied: Kjærshou, Kiærshou, Kiershou, Kiershou, Kjærskou, Kierskou, and Kiærskou are examples on record. It was, in fact only after the 1864 war with Germany that the family adopted the less Germanic spelling Kiærskou, arguably nationalistic or political reasons: Carl Christensen, 'Kjærskou, Hjalmar Frederik Christian', in C. F. Bricka, ed., *Dansk biografisk leksikon* (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1933). In the earlier correspondence, F. C. Kiærskou signs his name as Kiershou.



Fig. 1: F. C. Kiærskou, n.d. Photo, c. 10 x 6 cm, Det Kongelige Biblioteks billedsamling, www.kb.dk, Creative Commons 3.0

F. C. Kiærskou, from Child Prodigy to Professor

Frederik Christian Jacobsen Kiærskou was born to elderly parents, into a family with no connections to the art world.³ He lost his father at the age of five, and the subsequent death of his mother left him orphaned at the age of ten. Although he

³ The central source of biographical information is Peter Nørgaard Larsen, 'F. C. Kiærskou', in *Kunstindeks Danmark & Weilbachs kunstnerleksikon* (Copenhagen: Kulturvstyrelsen, 1994). These entries draw widely on Kiærskou's letters to Philip Weilbach. Indeed, Kiærskou participated in his own entry for the first edition of the artist dictionary: Philip Weilbach, *Dansk*

came from a large family, from 1817 to 1821 he was a pupil at Det Kgl. Vajsenhus, a Royal institution in Copenhagen which offered free tuition for orphans.⁴ His teachers noted his drawing abilities and encouraged him to pursue them. In fact, the head teacher and drawing master, in whose household Kiærskou boarded, would become his father-in-law in 1827.⁵ In 1820, the Vajsenhus arranged for Kiærskou to be enrolled at the drawing school of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, where he passed all his courses. It was apparent from the start that Kiærskou intended to be a landscape painter, and in pursuit of this, the Inspector of the Vajsenhus approached landscape painter J. P. Møller (1783–1854), who had been titular Professor at the Academy since 1824.⁶ Based on the limited economic support that the Vajsenhus could offer for Kiærskou's tuition, Møller advised him to start as a decorative painter's apprentice. Consequently, he spent the next eight years working for master painters in Copenhagen, while continuing to attend various schools at the Academy. Kiærskou exhibited work regularly from 1826 onwards and qualified for admission to the model school in 1830.⁷ After two years of tutelage under Professors C. W. Eckersberg (1783–1853) and J. L. Lund (1777–1867), he had acquired the requisite qualifications to proceed with his training as a landscape painter. His landscapes were awarded the *Accessit* (the second-place prize), in 1832, and then first prize in the following year.

It was during this early period that Kiærskou became popular with high profile customers: for instance, King Christian VIII (1786–1848) and the Danish Royal Collection, which purchased Kiærskou's 1831 painting *Et Parti fra Farum* [A view of Farum] (Statens Museum for Kunst). In addition, Prime Minister Count A. W. Moltke (1785–1864) was also a steadfast supporter and future employer of

Kunstnerlexikon indeholdende korte Levnedstegnelser over Kunstnere, som indtil Udgangen af 1876 have levet og arbejdet i Danmark eller Den Danske Stat (Copenhagen: Høst, 1877), 356–357. For this correspondence, see 'Kunstnerbreve og supplerende Samlinger vedr. første og anden Udgave af Ph. Weilbachs Dansk Kunstnerlexikon samt Nyt Dansk Kunstnerlexicon (1877–1878 and 1896–1897)', Det Kongelige Bibliotek; Danmarks Kunstbibliotek (NKS 2308 Kvant). For a short biography published in English, see Elisabeth Fabritius, ed., *The Ambassador John L. Loeb Jr. Danish Art Collection* (New York: John L. Loeb, Jr., 2005), 266. Also available online: Suzanne Ludvigsen, 'Frederik Christian Jacobsen Kiærskou (Kiærskou)', http://loebdanishartcollection.com/artists-pdf/FREDERIK_CHRISTIAN_JACOBSEN_KIAER_SKOU.pdf.

4 Chr. Ottesen, *Det Kgl. Vajsenhus gennem to Hundrede Aar* (Copenhagen: Det Kgl. Vajsenhus, 1927), 302. It appears that C. F. Kiærskou was a remarkably successful pupil, as he is mentioned whenever the context justifies it. See, for instance, pages 179–194.

5 *Ibid.*, 255.

6 Titular, meaning in title only, denoted that although he was a professor, he did not have any official teaching responsibilities for the Academy.

7 For a short description of teaching at the Academy, see: Karina Lykke Grand, Lise Pennington, and Anne Mette Thomsen, 'Introduction til dansk guldalder / Introduction to the Danish Golden Age', in *Guld: skatte fra den danske guldalder / Gold: Treasures from the Danish Golden Age* (Aarhus: Systime Academic, 2013), 74–75.

Kiærskou. Moltke had a conspicuous private collection of mostly landscape paintings that was curated and preserved by a group of academy-trained painters; Kiærskou was hired as part of this group in 1865.⁸

Another prominent patron was *Kunstforeningen* [The art society] in Copenhagen, which was established in 1825 under the leadership of Academy Professors C. W. Eckersberg and N. L. Høyen (1798–1870). Each year the society bought artwork for a member's lottery, and a complete list of purchases at *Kunstforeningen* between 1825 and 2000 indicates Kiærskou as the most sold landscape painter of the period. In all, the society purchased 45 paintings from Kiærskou, the first in 1833.⁹ It is also clear from this list that landscape painting was a favourite choice for the lottery, followed by flower paintings and genre. In fact, among the few artists, who sold more than 25 paintings, is the flower painter J. L. Jensen (1800–1856), who sold 41.¹⁰ It is also interesting to note that several of the landscape painters named in this list are figures who since have either been relegated to negligible status in Danish art history – for instance G. E. Libert (1820–1908), A. C. Lunde (1809–1886), and N. F. M. Rohde (1816–1886) – or have only recently been brought back to attention, such as V. Kyhn (1819–1903) and T. Brendstrup (1812–1883).¹¹

Having established himself as an emerging artist, Kiærskou embarked on a period of travel. Little of Kiærskou's travel correspondence survives, but a couple of letters written between 1840 and 1845 provide some insight into his experiences.¹² In 1840, Kiærskou travelled south to Dresden and Munich, into the

8 Today only one painting by Kiærskou is in the private Danish Royal Collection. I am grateful to curator Elisabeth von Buchwald for this information. Of the twelve paintings owned by members of the Royal Family, according to the Charlottenborg catalogues, seven were sold after the death of Frederik VII in 1864. The one remaining, dated 1865, belonged personally to Queen Consort Alexandra's mother, Queen Louise (1817–1898), and was exhibited also in 1865.

For the Moltke Collection, see Jesper Svenningsen, *Samlingssteder: udenlandsk kunst i danske samlermiljøer 1690–1840* (Institut for Kommunikation og Kultur, Aarhus Universitet, 2015), 241.

9 Flemming Friberg, *Det gode selskab: Kunstforeningens historier 1825–2000* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2000), 207–322. Kiærskou's works appear in the draw approximately once a year from 1833–1877. In fact, the Society bought only one artist in higher numbers than Kiærskou's 45: Johannes Larsen (1867–1961) with 48 pieces. For a summary in English, explaining the society's history, see especially pages 191–198.

10 For the most recent publication on Jensen, see Marie-Louise Berner, *The Flower Painter J. L. Jensen, Between Art and Nature in the Golden Age*, ed. by Mette Thelle (Copenhagen: Nivaagaards Malerisamling; Strandberg Publishing, 2018).

11 Gertrud Oelsner and Ingeborg Bugge, eds., *Thorald Brendstrup: I guldalderens skygge* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2012); Gertrud Oelsner and Karina Lykke Grand, eds., *Vilhelm Kyhn & det danske landskabsmaleri* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2012).

12 Research has uncovered letters (or notes and invitations) in the Danish National Archives (one), the Royal Library, Copenhagen (thirty-two), the H. C. Andersen Archives (one), and

mountains of Bayern, and on to Switzerland.¹³ The circumstances of this journey were unusual in that he embarked before receiving the travel grant for which he had applied at the Academy. Apparently, he had been offered inexpensive passage on a ship, but with very short notice. His professors kept the letters he wrote to explain his premature departure and to gain support for his travel grant application. Apart from his supplication, the letters reveal his gratitude for the teaching he had received. This is most apparent in the letter to N. L. Høyen, who had been Professor of Art History at the Academy since 1829 and had, since the late 1830s, emerged as Denmark's most vocal and influential advocate of a 'National Art'. Kiærskou's allegiance to Høyen may in part be explained by the fact that the latter had placed landscape painting at the heart of his vision for the Danish School (fig. 2).¹⁴

... Ja!, Hr Professor, det er ingen tom Ytring naar jeg siger Dem, at jeg föler dybt, at De og ingen Anden var den Mand, der ved Deres strænge men retfærdige Kritik over mine Arbejder, gav min Aand det höie selvstændige Sving som den har tilkjæmpet sig, og min Pensel den heldige Samklang med hiin; uden hvilken ellers mine Præstationer, ved Andres, som jeg troede rigtige Bedømmelse, ofte kuns förte mig paa Afveje, der altid bragte en forstyrrende Virkning i mine Malerier.

[Indeed, Mr Professor, it is no empty utterance when I say to you how deeply I feel that you and none other was the man, who, by your strict but just critique of my work, enabled the elevated independent turn my spirit has attained, and the propitious consonance of my brush with that same; without which my achievements – unlike those of others, whose judgment I believed to be correct but which often only led me astray in ways that always caused a disturbing effect in my paintings.]¹⁵

An example of the sharp but constructive criticism to which Kiærskou refers can be found in Høyen's review of the 1838 Charlottenborg Exhibition, in which six

Thorvaldsen Museum (one). Any information on other letters to the author will be most appreciated.

- 13 Further to the edition already cited, three more editions exist: Larsen, 'F. C. Kiærskou', in Philip Weilbach, ed., *Nyt dansk Kunstnerlexikon, indeholdende korte Levnedstegninger af Kunstnere, som indtil Udgangen af 1894 have levet og arbejdet i Danmark eller Den danske Stat*, 2. rev. ed., vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1896); Jørn Rubow (Ph. Weilbach), 'Kiærskou, Frederik Christian Jacobsen', in C. F. Bricka, ed., *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, vol. 12 (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1933).
- 14 Oelsner, 'En fælles forestillet nation: Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807-1875', 293-294; Karina Lykke Grand, 'Visionen for Danmark: En politisk landskabskunst / the tension for Denmark: a political landscape painting', in *Guld: skatte fra den danske guldalder / Gold: Treasures from the Danish Golden Age* (Systime Academic, 2013). See also David Jackson, 'Nordic Romantic Landscape: A Double Helix', in *Romanticism in The North - from Friedrich to Turner*, ed. David Jackson, Andreas Blühm, and Rud Schenk (Zwolle: WBooks, 2017), 28-29.
- 15 F. C. Kiærskou, 'To Höyen, N. L., dat 8.1.1841', Det Kongelige Bibliotek: Ny Kongelig Samling (NKS 1537 folio).

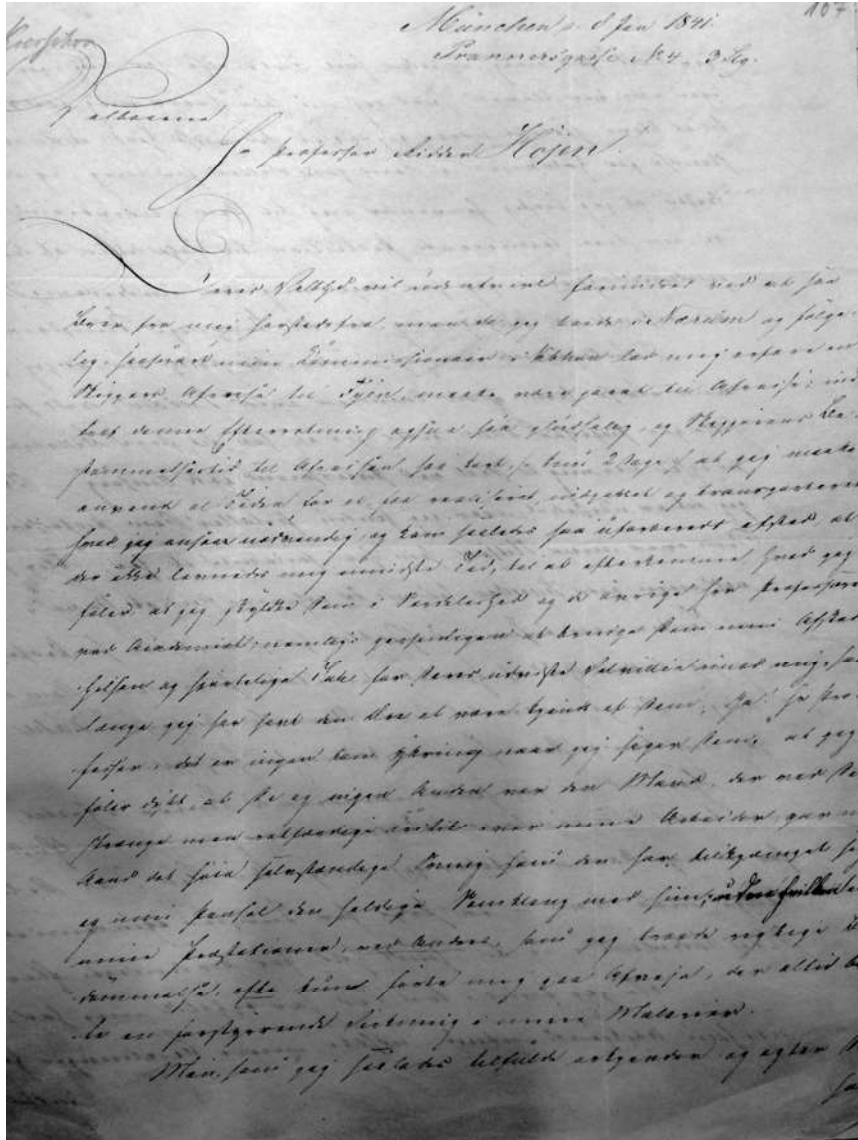


Fig. 2: F. C. Kiærskou to N. L. Høyen 8.1.1841. Det Kongelige Bibliotek NKS 1537 folio, photo: the author

paintings by Kiærskou were included, four of them landscapes.¹⁶ According to Høyen, while Kiærskou showed good judgment in his choice of motifs, his treatment of them was too neat and clustered, and his depiction of natural features such as vegetation was too stereotypical. He recommended that the artist continue and deepen his study of nature, in order to refine his representation of trees. Were the clusters of trees in Kiærskou's landscapes more powerfully animated, his diligence and promise might produce more meaningful and satisfactory results.¹⁷

On Kiærskou's itinerary in Dresden, besides its picture gallery, was a meeting with Professor J. C. Dahl (1788–1857). Dahl had lived there since 1821 and was known for his interest in young Danish artists and his helpful attitude towards them.¹⁸ Kiærskou very proudly relates to Høyen the positive comments he received from Dahl:

– Ikke troer jeg det er ubeskedent, naar jeg sandru fortæller Dem Professorens Dom over mine Skitser, som han forlangte at see; “Bliv saaledes ved min gode Kiærskou, saa vil de erhverve Dem et Navn”. Mine Tanker vare i samme Øjeblik hos Dem kjære hr Professor, og jeg takkede Gud af Hjertet, der itide førte Deres Dom over mig: Da jeg nævnte Deres Navn til Professor Dahl, bad Han mig bringe Dem sin venskabeligste Hilsen.

[– I do not believe it immodest, when I truthfully tell You the professor's verdict of my sketches, which he had demanded to see: ‘Continue like this, my good Kiærskou, and you will make a name for yourself’. My thoughts were at the same moment with You, dear Mr. Professor, and I thanked the Lord from my heart, who in time called Your judgment over me; when I mentioned Your name to Professor Dahl, he kindly asked me to give You his most cordial wishes.]

Kiærskou sent letters almost simultaneously to professors Eckersberg, Lund, and Høyen. Although very similar, these letters confirm the impression of Høyen's central position. In his letter to Høyen, Kiærskou elaborates on the importance of Høyen's teachings. He also mentions the crucial role of Høyen's critique in his letter to Eckersberg, even though Eckersberg had also been his teacher. The Eckersberg letter shows Kiærskou's gratefulness for the guidance Eckersberg has offered, emphasizing the Professor's 'oprigtige Veiledning paa

16 Niels Laurits Høyen, 'Charlottenborgs Udstilling 1838', in *Niels Laurits Høyens Skrifter*, ed. J. L. Ussing (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1871), 121.

17 *Fortegnelse over danske Kunstneres Arbejder paa de ved Det Kgl. Akademi for De Skjønne Kunster i Aarene 1807–1882 afholdte Charlottenborg-Udstillinger*, 324. It would, of course, be ideal to compare Høyen's critique with the painting itself; however, it is not known what the painting looked like: Kiærskou exhibited three paintings of *Kullen* (with the same title) in the years 1836–1838 at Charlottenborg and Kunstforeningen. It also looks as if the painting, to which Høyen refers was already allotted at Kunstforeningen in 1837, and consequently privately owned (by F. V. Dannemand, who in fact was an illegitimate son of Frederik VI).

18 Henrik Bramsen, *Landskabsmaleriet i Danmark 1750–1875: stilhistoriske Hovedtræk* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1935), 142.

Kunstens for mig slibrige bane' [sincere guidance on art's, for me, slippery slope].¹⁹ In his later letter to Philip Weilbach (1834–1900), who later published the first lexicon of Danish art, Kiærskou emphasises that 'Eggersberg [sic] havde den Godhed at tegne perspektiv med mig'. [Eckersberg had the kindness to draw perspective with me].²⁰

Furthermore, the Eckersberg letter contains personal comments, such as the pain Kiærskou endured being away from his family. This seems appropriate, as it is likely that Kiærskou did not see his wife and their five children during the two years he was away (1840–1842).²¹ In his letter to Eckersberg, Kiærskou explains that his family is staying with his brother-in-law on the Danish island of Funen; this indicates his close relationship with the Gindrup-family of his wife Ida Marie (1802–1880).²² However, there is no evidence to support Weilbach's claim that Kiærskou's brother-in-law lent him the money for this early trip.²³ Instead, Kiærskou borrowed the sum from A. W. Moltke.²⁴ He also succeeded in selling paintings while on his tour, including to Moltke. In fact, the art market was very favourable in Munich, and this as well as the Danish community of artists were major attractions.²⁵

On his return in 1843, Kiærskou submitted his portfolio which included sketches and the painting *Parti af Etchdalen* [View of the Etch Valley]. On the strength of this work, Kiærskou was assigned the subject of the painting he would submit for accession to the Academy: *A Tirolean Landscape*.²⁶ Considering the consistent emphasis on Danish subjects later in the century, it is notable that Kiærskou was given a German subject for his membership piece. It had not yet become controversial, in 1843, to suggest a German subject, as it certainly would

19 F. C. Kiærskou, 'To Eckersberg, C. W., dat 8. 1. 1841', Det Kongelige Bibliotek: Additamenta (Add. 302, folio a).

20 Weilbach, 'Kunstnerbreve og supplerende Samlinger vedr. første og anden Udgave af Ph. Weilbachs Dansk Konstnerlexikon samt Nyt Dansk Kunstnerlexicon (1877–1878 samt 1896–1897)'.

21 Ibid., Kay Bille, *Slægten Kiærskou* (Copenhagen, 1943).

22 Ibid., the letter to Eckersberg. They were married 24 Nov 1827. For the date of the wedding: C. Klitgaard, 'Optegnelser om Slægten Kjærskov i Danmark og Norge', *Personalhistorisk tidsskrift* 6 (1939): 110.

23 Weilbach, *Nyt dansk Kunstnerlexikon, indeholdende korte Levnedstegninger af Kunstnere, som indtil Udgangen af 1894 have levet og arbejdet i Danmark eller Den danske Stat*, 1.

24 Kiærskou, 'To Eckersberg, C. W., dat 8. 1. 1841'.

25 For the art scene in Munich, see Ejner Johansson, *De danske malere i München: Et ukendt kapitel i dansk guldalderkunst* (Copenhagen: Spektrum, 1997), 215; Weilbach, *Nyt dansk Kunstnerlexikon, indeholdende korte Levnedstegninger af Kunstnere, som indtil Udgangen af 1894 have levet og arbejdet i Danmark eller Den danske Stat*, 1.

26 Weilbach, *Nyt dansk Kunstnerlexikon*, 566. Although the exact same title does not feature in the exhibition catalogues, it might have been on display (as well as purchased) at both Charlottenborg and *Kunstforeningen*. Both feature several paintings in 1843–1845 from the Etch Valley by Kiærskou.

later. The world in which Kiærskou painted was multinational, with close contact to the artistic centres in Germany. His accession painting was accepted unanimously, and he became a member of the Danish Academy in 1844. Three years later he also became a member of the Swedish Academy. He attained a titular professorship in 1859. It is unclear how many private pupils he took on, but Godfred Christensen (1845–1928), Janus la Cour (1837–1909), and Gustaf Rydberg (1835–1933) were certainly counted among them.²⁷ In 1867, he took up one of the official residences at Charlottenborg.



Fig. 3: F. C. Kiærskou, Landskab, ved Nyrup. Skitse [Landscape, near Nyrup. Sketch], 1881. Pencil on paper, 11 x 17 cm, Fuglsang Kunstmuseum, photo: Ole Akhøj.

The Practice and Values of F. C. Kiærskou

In Kiærskou's few preserved letters, he provides insight into his practice. His desire to be a landscape painter appears to have been adamant from the very beginning of his painting career, although he offers no explanation as to why. He does, however, describe the necessity of travelling in order to see landscapes and to do thorough studies on-site, which explains the much slower (and more expensive) mode of travel necessary:

²⁷ Marianne Marcussen, 'Godfred Christensen', in *Kunstindeks Danmark & Weilbachs kunstnerleksikon* (Kulturarvstyrelsen, 1994). Jens Peter Munk, 'Janus La Cour', *ibid.*, and 'Benedit / Grove Art on-Line.'

... i den fulde Overbevisning: at Aandens Höiere Uddannelse paaatrængende fordrede et udvidet Terrain at bearbejde, dersom jeg skulle kunne perfectionere mig i den Deel af Kunstens Gebeet, hvortil jeg stedse har fölt Kald, og stedse for Kontinueringen, har Deres særdeles Opmuntringer at takke.

[... – in the full conviction: That higher education of the spirit urgently required contemplating an expanded terrain, were I to accomplish perfection in that part of the metiér of art, to which I always felt called; and always regarding continuation thereof, I have Your extraordinary encouragements to thank.]²⁸

... men Et er at reise paa Dampskibe fra Stad til Stad et Andet er det, naar man vil reise for at see og studere et Lands Natur

[... but one thing is travelling on steam ships from city to city, something else it is, when one travels in order to see and study the nature of a country].²⁹

Another feature central to Kiærskou's practice was the role played by his sketches. On his travels, including of course to various parts of Denmark, he purposefully built up a portfolio of sketches (fig. 3, fig. 4). He refers to these in his letters from around 1840 and describes them as satisfactory results of his working days during his travels. These sketches became the backbone of his larger oil paintings afterwards.

He would consistently return to a group of subjects and themes in paintings throughout his life.³⁰ Many other artists do have these recurrent themes and their preferred motives appears to be a series of explorations of a fascinating and important phenomenon. In the case of Kiærskou, subtle variations in these repetitive motifs explore how to make the given landscape most appealing and beautiful. These experiments show him working with changing positions: of vegetation, such as trees; of a deer or a group of deer; of the course of a track or a dirt road; of figural groupings; and, importantly, of clouds (fig. 5, fig. 6).

Kiærskou also described producing copies on demand. For example, referring to a painting now in the Thorvaldsen Museum collection, dated 1846 (fig. 5),

28 F. C. Kiærskou, 'To Lund, I. L., dat 9. 1. 1841', Det Kongelige Bibliotek: Nyere Brevsamling, Dansk (NBD vol. IX).

29 'To Lund, I. L., Dat 16.09. 1845', Det Kongelige Bibliotek: Nyere Brevsamling, Dansk (NBD vol. IX). This is also the professional way for an artist to travel at this time, as discussed by Karina Lykke Grand, *Dansk Guldalder: rejsebilleder* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2012).

30 The auctions after his death provide concrete evidence, as several hundred sketches were offered for sale: 'Dødsboauktion Kiærskou, F. C. (Frederik Christian), 13. September 1916, København', and 'Dødsboauktion Kiærskou, F. C. (Frederik Christian), 9. November 1891, København', available online from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, in *Dødsboauktioner samt eventuelt andre auktioner, danske. Ordnet efter efternavn. Mappe 91. Begyndelsesbogstaver: Kiæ - Kles*. See also, for instance, Laura F. Jacobsen, *Søllerød - set med malerøje: en kommenteret og dokumenteret registrant over kunstværker med Søllerød-motiver* (Nærum: Historisk-Topografisk Selskab for Søllerød Kommune, 1983).



Fig. 4: F. C. Kiærskou, Allé med træer, Skitse [Avenue with trees, Sketch], n.d. Pencil on paper, 23 x 17.8 cm, Fuglsang Kunstmuseum, photo: Ole Akhøj.

Kiærskou explains that Bertel Thorvaldsen had asked him to copy a picture he had originally painted for A.W. Moltke in 1844 (fig. 6).

In his letters to Weilbach, Kiærskou similarly reports having made several copies of another picture in Moltke's possession, *En aften paa Alheden* [An evening on the moors], of 1848.³¹ The same title is mentioned in an 1861 letter written to another client, the medical doctor Carl Schiötz. The letter indicates that Ida Kiærskou made contact with Schiötz through her brother, the pharmacist Gindrup, in whose Funen home Ida and the children had stayed from 1840 to 1842. It is noteworthy that they also could feature as lithographs (fig. 6). Moltke

31 Weilbach, 'Kunstnerbreve og supplerende Samlinger'.



Fig. 5: F. C. Kjaerskou, *Vejen fra Reichenhall til Ramsau i Bayern* [The Road from Reichenhall to Ramsau in Bavaria], 1846. Oil on canvas, 76.5 x 62.8 cm, Thorvaldsen Museum, www.thorvaldsenmuseum.dk, public domain.

was amenable to sharing his pictures with the general public, often allowing a graphic version to be disseminated with attribution to his ownership.

Kjaerskou was a hard worker during his long life and, consequently, his oeuvre is large.³² The lack of his received correspondence, as well as any other private

³² Probably 500 paintings, according to 'Professor Kjaerskou', *Illustreret Tidende*, no. 37 (1891).



Fig. 6: F. C. Kiærskou (pin 1844); S. H. Petersen sc, Tyrol /The original belongs to Count Moltke, Bregentved], 1847. Etching, 49.5 x 41.3 cm, The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, www.smk.dk, public domain.

archive, prevents an exhaustive outline of his paintings. It may at any time have been problematic to get an overview: At a request in 1878 concerning the price of paintings related to the Moltke collection, Kiærskou *in absentia* replies 'da jeg først for en halv snes Aar siden, begyndte at opskrive hvad jeg malte og Priserne derved' [since it is only half a dozen years ago that I began to write down what I

painted and the corresponding prices].³³ Kiærskou had been a curator of the Moltke collection for approximately twelve years, at that point. It was evidently not a priority for him to register work through most of his career, as it was only in his mid-sixties, after having painted for 45 years, that he began this practice. It also appears from the titles of his paintings registered at Charlottenborg and *Kunstforeningen* (totalling more than 275, often exhibited at both venues), that he used progressively more descriptive titles. This might reflect a wish or a need to distinguish between paintings with the same main subject, so that there was more of an overview.

Concerning exhibition practices, it has been remarked that Kiærskou virtually only exhibited at Charlottenborg – and, of course, at *Kunstforeningen*, when they requested his work. As it is, Kiærskou exhibited more than 250 landscape paintings exclusively at Charlottenborg exhibitions, and participated in 62 annual exhibitions out of 65, during his lifetime.³⁴ It appears both from catalogues and from letters that he would ask owners to lend their paintings to these exhibitions. An important source of information on these transactions is Kiærskou's correspondence with Weilbach. Here, Kiærskou emphasizes his major works, which are the canvases bought by the Royal Collection and the Royal Household, as well as Count Moltke. Furthermore, he specifically mentions another painting in the Royal Collection, titled *Klippelandskab. Djupadal i Bleking* ([Cliff landscape.] fig. 9), painted 1855 and purchased in the same year. That this picture has been on long-term loan to the Danish Parliament since 2001 is interesting, in that it indicates appreciation of another of Kiærskou's non-geographically Danish landscapes. The painting is also an example of his thematic work method, in this case working with material from his trip to 'Bleking, Smaaland [and] Gothland' in 1849.³⁵ In 1853, a painting titled *Waterfall, motif from Blekingen* was the prize at *Kunstforeningen's* annual lottery, and was exhibited at Charlottenborg in 1854. Yet again, in 1854, another painting with the same title featured in the draw at *Kunstforeningen*.³⁶ It seems likely that the 1855 painting in the Royal Collection was the apogee of this series.

33 F. C. Kiærskou, 'To Reitzel, Carl, dat. 26.7.1878', Det Kongelige Bibliotek: Arne Portmans Autografsamling (NKS 4941 kvart, I.2).

34 *Fortegnelse over Danske Kunstneres Arbejder paa de ved Det Kgl. Akademi for De Skjønne Kunster i Aarene 1807-1882 Afholdte Charlottenborg-Udstillinger*, 322-331. See also: Jacobsen, *Søllerød – set med malerøje*, 24, 26.

35 Weilbach, 'Kunstnerbreve og supplerende Samlinger'. This painting does not figure in the Charlottenborg catalogues – 1855 was one of the very few years that Kiærskou did not participate in the exhibition.

36 According to the lists in Friberg, *Det gode selskab: Kunstforeningens historier 1825-2000*, and *Fortegnelse over Danske Kunstneres Arbejder paa de ved Det Kgl. Akademi for De Skjønne Kunster i Aarene 1807-1882 afholdte Charlottenborg-Udstillinger*, respectively.

The Weilbach letters are not dated, but in them Kiærskou recounts that the largest picture he made was a bridal gift, commissioned by the City of Copenhagen and presented to Danish Princess Alexandra in 1863 on her marriage to Edward (VII), Prince of Wales (fig. 7). The canvas, now in the English Royal collection, measures 193 x 292.1 cm and hung for many years at Sandringham House. After a restoration, it is now at Buckingham Palace.



Fig. 7: F. C. Kiærskou, *The Bernstorff House and Park*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 193 x 292.1 cm, Royal Collection Trust/ © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018.

In this case, Kiærskou painted a landscape scene featuring a manor house, but in fact it is a house portrait. The catalogue entry notes that the depiction is also used on a dessert service, which was a gift from ‘the ladies of Denmark’.³⁷ The use of landscape and/or nature motifs on exclusive china was also common for the works of Kiærskou’s contemporary Thorald Brendstrup. Although he was not as popular as Kiærskou, Brendstrup, who was trained as a porcelain painter (as ‘brogetmaler’ [polychrome painter]) and worked at the Danish Royal Porcelain Factory in his early career, had a career path comparable to Kiærskou’s.³⁸ Practice across a range of media was common in this period. Indeed, C. W. Eckersberg was encouraged to be a porcelain painter in his early career by his

37 Royal Collections, ‘Bernstorff House and Park Signed and Dated 1863’, <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/405124/bernstorff-house-and-park>.

38 See Oelsner and Bugge, *Thorald Brendstrup: i guldalderens skygge*.

professor N. A. Abildgaard (1783–1809).³⁹ The manor house portrait genre was one to which Kiærskou, with his prominent group of clients, was well accustomed. It should be noted, however, that this was not a trademark category for Kiærskou, as it was for his contemporary Ferdinand Richardt.⁴⁰ Kiærskou's greatest activity was as an illustrator in the emerging genre of travel literature and descriptions of Denmark's nature in the mid-nineteenth century.

National Depiction in Books and on Canvas

Gertrud Oelsner describes the importance of illustrated descriptions of Denmark in the development of 'the Danish visual nation'.⁴¹ Such illustrations appeared primarily in guidebooks in the early 1800s and, later in that century, in formal volumes of cultural and geographic description.⁴² Considering the popularity of, and general access to, these books, the landscape depictions they contained arguably became 'household items', and the specific iconography of the depictions became so well known that they became iconic renderings of certain locations. Oelsner corroborates this assumption by showing how often these popular images were recycled. Also important is Oelsner's persuasive argument that the topographic and stylistic variety in these images complicates the notion of a stable and reified 'Danish landscape' with views counter or alternative to the iconic softly rolling hills, beech trees, grassy meadows, and bodies of water. For the purposes of the present study, it is important to note that these lithographs were often based on paintings.

The depictions of Denmark created by Kiærskou are a case in point. In the popular volume *Danmark, fremstillet i Billeder* [Denmark, represented in images], published by Bærentzen in 1856, Kiærskou is the artist behind fifteen out of sixty depictions of Denmark proper. This total excludes illustrations of Denmark's other holdings in the Atlantic: the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland, and the

39 Henrik Bramsen, *Dansk Kunst fra Rokoko til vore Dage, Dansk Kultur*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Hirschsprung, 1942), 144.

40 F. Richardt, T. A. Becker, and C. E. Secher, *Prospecter af danske Herregaarde*, (1844). In this context it is also interesting that houses positioned in landscapes have a function through the 'views' they provide, thus enabling a visual conquest of the territory, an important trope in the nineteenth century. Oelsner, 'En fælles forestillet nation: Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807–1875', 184.

41 Most recently in 'En fælles forestillet nation: Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807–1875'. An earlier discussion can be seen in Gertrud Oelsner's 'Udsigt til guldalderen: politiske landskaber', in *Udsigt til guldalderen*, ed. by Gertrud Oelsner (Maribo: Storstrøms Kunstmuseum, 2005), 26–28, and in 'The Democracy of Nature', *Romantik* 1, no. 1 (2012), doi: 10.7146/rom.v1i1.15851: 97.

42 For a detailed discussion, see Oelsner, 'En fælles forestillet nation: Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807–1875', 179–194, especially 190–194.

Virgin Islands, all of which were produced by artists who had travelled to these locations.⁴³ E. Erslev's *Den Danske Stat* [The Danish state] had been published the previous year and, remarkably, Kiærskou is similarly heavily represented in this first 'common' book on the geography of Denmark. Oelsner points out that Erslev did not just use what was available; if he deemed it relevant, he would choose the newest image available, or even commission one. It appears that Kiærskou's depiction of Denmark was ideal for Erslev's interest in natural history. Among the locations Kiærskou illustrated for Erslev, are *Stevns Klint*, a white chalk cliff on the island of Zealand, Denmark, and *Alheden*, a hilly moor landscape from Rye, in Jutland, which Kiærskou painted several times. Kiærskou is also the artist behind three typological landscapes: *A Bog*, *A River*, and *Outskirts of the Forest on the Eastern Coast of Jutland*.⁴⁴ It is evident that Kiærskou's renderings were deemed satisfactory for a bio-topical description requiring precise observations of the vegetation and topography.

That the images of Denmark which Kiærskou provided to Bærentzen and Erslev often depicted nationally famous landscapes, is supported by the fact that these locations feature prominently elsewhere: not only in Kiærskou's oeuvre, but in the general body of landscape painting from the period. Another important piece of evidence, however, emerges from analysis of the provenance of Kiærskou's paintings, particularly as their early ownership is looked into. It appears that there is a correlation between Kiærskou paintings sold to very prominent customers, the several copies requested of these works, and the images featured in Bærentzen. This presence of images with the same title and/or subject alone is, of course, not evidence for a common iconography. In the case of a work such as *Dyrehaven* [Dyrehaven], however, it does seem that the several references to this title in various exhibition lists refer to the same motif. *Dyrehaven*, a former Royal hunting ground just north of Copenhagen, was one of the period's most popular natural environments. For his publication, Bærentzen adopted two of Kiærskou's depictions of the location: *Parti fra Jægersborg Dyrehave* [A view of Jægersborg Dyrehave] and *Udsigt fra Fortunen* [View from Fortunen]. The latter was featured at Charlottenborg in 1847, 1848, and 1849. The paintings were owned by the King, the Prussian Minister in Copenhagen, and the King, respectively. In Kiærskou's letter to Weilbach, he notes that he painted *Fortunen* twice for the King, and that one of these paintings is in Stockholm. Between 1835 and 1884, Kiærskou exhibited no fewer than twelve paintings with the titles *Jægersborg* or *Dyrehave*. Of these, one belonged to

43 *Danmark, fremstillet i Billeder: Samling af Prospecter af mærkelige Byer og Egne paa Øerne, i Nørrejylland og Slesvig* (Copenhagen: Em. Bærentzen & Co., 1856).

44 Edouard Erslev, *Den Danske Stat, En almindelig geografisk Skildring for Folket* (Kittendorff & Aagaard, 1855), 68, 83, 87, 116, 121, and 144.

Count Moltke (exhibited in 1841) one to Queen Louise (exhibited 1865) and one to the Prussian Minister.⁴⁵ Kiærskou specifically mentions in his letter to Weilbach, that he delivered paintings to ‘the then German Minister and English Minister’. The two paintings belonging to the German Minister went on display at Charlottenborg in 1848.⁴⁶

Taken together, these examples, as well as the *Alheden* motif mentioned above, convincingly point to motifs migrating from high-profile collections to general iconography that was disseminated even beyond Danish borders.

It was not necessary, however, for a painting to be highly visible – prominently owned or exhibited – for lithographic or other reproductions of it to make their way into the wider public sphere. Nor is it necessarily valid to assume that territories which were not depicted in Kiærskou’s high-profile paintings were absent because he never visited or painted them. From the standpoint of ‘the great unseen’, it is interesting to note that Kiærskou, who travelled and painted throughout Denmark, painted pictures of several locations that never made it to Charlottenborg. An interesting example of this, which indicates Kiærskou’s disregard for national priorities when choosing a motif, is a picture he painted in Maribo, in the Lolland-Falster region, and which is now in the collection of the Fuglsang Kunstmuseum (fig. 8).

The Maribo Painting by Kiærskou

‘Maribo provides a lovely view’ – a quote from Bærentzen – would easily fit as the subtitle to Kiærskou’s painting of Maribo, which does not seem to have been well known beyond its inclusion in Bærentzen’s volume (fig. 8). In his recent book on graphic depictions of Lolland-Falster, Jørgen F. Lind collected 39 engravings from the Maribo region, of which eight were landscapes.⁴⁷ Thorald Brendstrup is generally recognized as the first painter to produce fine-art depictions of Maribo, which he did in the 1830s. As Oelsner has explained, these early works were painted during trips to see his in-laws, who were major landowners in the Maribo

45 The painting owned by Queen Louise, consort of Christian IX, is the only Kiærskou presently in the Danish private Royal Collections. It is a canvas measuring 130 x 197 cm. It is registered as giving the view from *The Eremitage* [The Hermitage] (a royal hunting lodge) towards Øresund.

46 According to *Fortegnelse over Danske Kunstneres Arbejder paa de ved Det Kgl. Akademi for De Skjønne Kunster i Aarene 1807–1882 afholdte Charlottenborg-Udstillinger*, 326. The name of the Prussian minister is Baron Schoultz v. Ascheraden, of a Swedish-Pomeranian family, and the Baroness was Swedish. The Baron was in Copenhagen from 1842–1847.

47 Jørgen F. Lind, *Det frugtbare land: Lolland-Falster skildret i grafiske billeder og landkort før 1900: en registrant og lystvandring* (Virum: Forlaget Jørgen Lind, 2004), 51–54. For the Bærentzen quote, see 129.



Fig. 8: F. C. Kiærskou, *Optrækkende uvejr over Maribo Sø* [Gathering storm over Maribo Lake], 1873. Oil on canvas, 46.5 x 62 cm, Fuglsang Kunstmuseum, photo: Ole Akhøj.

district.⁴⁸ One such example features fishing boats by a pier and, across the lake, the silhouette of a cathedral. A comparison of this image with Kiærskou's depiction of Maribo is instructive. While Kiærskou succeeds in communicating the charm of the view, he does not achieve the same degree of identifying description as Brendstrup.

In comparison to Brendstrup, Kiærskou stays more firmly in the romantic mode. This is further enhanced by the dramatic sky above the quiet landscape below. The quietness is emblematic in the still lake, and in the calmness in the slowly moving cart drawn by glossy horses, as it carries a couple of passengers along the scenic, winding road. Seen here is another hallmark feature of Kiærskou's composition: the diagonal lines into the landscape emphasized by rolling hills. This creates a sort of 'hide and seek' impression; there might be a delightful surprise just around that corner, where we cannot see. The low-lying landscape is, although seen from an elevated position, not quite laid bare to our view. We are allowed only a preview that hints at the presence of much more than what we can perceive at a single glance. This is emphasised by the lonely sail of a boat right at

⁴⁸ Gertrud Oelsner, 'Thorald Brendstrup. En pionér ved Maribo Sø', in *Udsigt til guldalderen* (Fuglsang Kunstmuseum og Skovgaard Museet, 2005).

the border between the pink and ice-blue in the water. The direction of the boat's progress is unclear; it might be returning from a voyage just ahead of a storm or heading towards it, in which case it would be heading straight towards what comes very close to the golden section. With this in mind the sky adds a dramatic aspect as well as emphasizes the complexity of the softly rolling intricate landscape below. This is achieved through a deceptively simple composition: the shape of the clouds mirrors the contours of the landscape. With this composition, the painter arguably provides an easy path for the spectator to perceive the two conflicting tempers as one complex unity. At the same time, he renders the romantic moment persuasively by combining the great themes of life with the commonplace landscape of a provincial town in a somewhat remote province that was not generally considered especially romantic.⁴⁹ The motif of the gathering storm, which allows for a dramatically focused light, is common perhaps for that reason, but it also goes without saying that much can be associated with the brooding tempers it represents.

This fits quite seamlessly with the principles Kiærskou applied in his oeuvre, but one wonders why we only know of one landscape painting from Maribo. It is peculiar, in fact, that Kiærskou painted so few depictions of Lolland, because he had good reason to be there more than once. His wife's brother, Otto Joachim, lived most of his married life in Rødby (15 km from Maribo), or nearby on Lolland, and the family of Otto Joachim's wife came from the island. Sadly, they both died in 1860 and their seven children afterwards lived with various relatives.⁵⁰ In the census of 1870, it appears that one sibling was still in Rødby, three siblings lived in Maribo in the household of the eldest sister, by that time married, and one sister, Constance, was living with the Kiærskous at Charlottenborg. In 1871, the youngest Kiærskou brother, Thorvald Ejnar Joachim (1838–1911), married Constance (Ida Beate Constance Gindrup, c. 1849–1935). That same year, her younger sister Olivia (Margrethe Olivia Gindrup, 1853–1939), aged sixteen or seventeen, moved to Copenhagen to live with her paternal aunt and, in 1873 the elder Kiærskou brother, Hjalmar Frederik Christian, married his cousin Olivia, who was 18 years his junior.⁵¹ These are all plausible reasons for Kiærskou to have gone to Maribo, as was the occasion of his trip to nearby Møn, where he painted a picture in, or before, 1838. He might have visited the area to see that part of the family at any time in 1860s, starting with the death of his brother and sister-in-law and later perhaps to bring Constance to Copenhagen. In any case, a

49 Oelsner, 'Udsigt til guldalderen: politiske landskaber': 28, or Oelsner and Bugge, *Thorald Brendstrup: i guldalderens skygge*, 51.

50 Kay Bille, *Gindrup Slægten* (Copenhagen, 1943). The dates are, according to this, the most accessible source, but it is unfortunately not entirely reliable. More precise information may be found in church registers and census data.

51 *Ibid.*; Christensen, 'Kjærskov, Hjalmar Frederik Christian'.

possible sketch from Maribo Lake done at some point in his career could later have been used for the Maribo Lake painting. Perhaps events in the early 1870s triggered the use of such a sketch and inspired him to make the painting titled *Gathering Storm over Maribo Lake*.

The Critique of Kiærskou – and His Journey into Oblivion

Jeg har gjort det saa godt jeg kunde; men jeg er nu gammel og gaaet i Frø, og saa siger et gammelt Ordsprog: Den, der er slaaet til en Skilling bliver aldrig en Daler ... Han synes født til Bagateller og noget stort han blev ei heller ...

[I have done as well as I could, but now I am old and have run to seed, and as an old proverb says: What is minted as a Penny, will never become a Shilling ... To trifles he seemed born, nor great did he become ...]⁵²

This seems a somewhat surprising self-critique from a professor at the Academy. Nevertheless, it is what Kiærskou wrote in 1866. The letter continues: ‘De faar saaledes mere se paa den gode Villie, end paa Tingen selv’ [Thus you must take the will for the deed, not looking at the deed itself].⁵³ Perhaps Kiærskou, then aged 61, in this letter sent with a wedding present, was already feeling less well received by art critics. From the very early letters, he offers excuses for his poor ability as a letter writer, and does so, too, with friends later in life – this could also be the reason why his few letters appear somewhat stilted. But, the sentiment he expresses, reflects a full-blown debate in Denmark, perhaps most heated in the 1870s, over the ideals to which Kiærskou adamantly adhered. A newspaper review of the spring exhibition at Charlottenborg featured a polemical text which, while ostensibly aimed at the landscape painter Vilhelm Kyhn, encapsulated a larger concern. The reviewer expressed dismay over what he saw as the ‘modern’ trends of Kyhn’s work: grey colours and the failure to catch and render the poetry of the landscape, the airy (lofty) views and lucidly rendered vegetation.⁵⁴ By contrast, the reviewer describes how, in a Kiærskou painting, the road me-

52 C. F. Kiærskou, ‘To Collin, E., dat 6. 5. 1866’, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Troensegaards autografsamling I.1.

53 Ibid.

54 For Kyhn, see Oelsner and Grand, *Vilhelm Kyhn og det danske landskabsmaleri*. Kyhn published a critique of recent developments on the Danish art scene at this time. In the 1870s, Kyhn was involved in several public discussions, see Finn Terman Frederiksen, ‘Kyhns Mareridt. Kunstnerens udvikling og selvforståelse i 1870’erne’, in *Vilhelm Kyhn og det danske landskabsmaleri*, ed. by Gertrud Oelsner and Karina Lykke Grand (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2012). The explanation for the ‘greyness’ lamented over in *Morgenbladet* could be the tristesse after 1864, resulting in many canvasses featuring rainy scenes and other sombre motifs: Karina Lykke Grand, ‘Danmark er et dejligt land. Vilhelm Kyhn og det nationale maleri’, *ibid.*, 97–101.

andering into the landscape invites the viewer to enter the scene – so deceptively close to nature is it, and extremely pleasant, that one becomes captivated. In addition, Kiærskou uses colours to support the beauty of his motif. In short, according to this reviewer: ‘Kiærskou vælger altid smukt’ [Kiærskou always chooses beautifully].⁵⁵ The reviewer goes on to note that in landscape painting there is a requirement comparable to that which operates in portraiture. As in landscapes, the portrait painter is expected to show the best qualities of the sitter. Polemic or not, this is in fact exactly what had earlier been said by J. C. Dahl (who died in 1857), among others. Indeed, art historian David Jackson cites such a statement in an essay in 2017, to introduce a discussion of the appreciation of ‘feeling’ in art in this period.⁵⁶

In any case, Kiærskou’s forebodings in 1866 turned out to be prescient. He apparently perceived that attitudes were changing at this time. In 1887, another pictorial atlas of Denmark was published, by M. Galschiøt: *Danmark i Skildringer og Billeder* [Denmark in descriptions and pictures], with the subtitle *af danske forfattere og kunstnere* [by Danish authors and artists].⁵⁷ The four volumes are richly illustrated, to the scale of around 900 illustrations. Among these, there is not a single illustration by Kiærskou (nor any by Brendstrup, who died in 1883). Recalling the iconic character of Kiærskou’s description of locations like Stevn, there is a similarity in *Under Stevns Klint* by Henrik Jespersen, but Nicolaus Lützhof’s *Udsigt fra Fortunen, set mod København* [view from Fortunen, towards Copenhagen] depicts a landscape of an altogether different character: much more open, and with no trees in the foreground. It seems, therefore, that when Galschiøt published in 1887 he had no interest in the iconic depictions that so often appeared at mid-century.

When Kiærskou died, in 1891, an obituary was published in *Illustreret Tidende*, which stated: ‘den flittige gamle Landskabsmaler’ [the diligent old landscape painter]. While it appears that he was afforded little regard among art critics, the obituary continued, he seemed still to have admirers in the public sphere, and it would no doubt have comforted him to hear the way people were talking at the last [Charlottenborg] exhibition. This was followed by a description of the Munich influence on Kiærskou, noting that he had the same idealized approach as Carl Rottmann (1797–1850), and that he persisted in this for his whole life, ignoring the original excellent national spirit of art developed by Høyen’s school. According to this text, he enjoyed much appreciation for as long as he lived.⁵⁸

55 ‘Fra Kunstudstillingen’, *Morgenbladet (København)*, 23.04 1876. As example the painting *Egekrat ved Langå i Jylland*.

56 Jackson, ‘Nordic Romantic Landscape: A Double Helix’.

57 M. Galschiøt, *Danmark i Skildringer og Billeder*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Philipsen, 1887). Jespersen in vol. 2:1: 306, and Lützhof in vol. 2:2: 707.

58 ‘Professor Kiærskou’, *Illustreret Tidende*, no. 37 (1891).



Fig. 9: F. C. Kiærskou, Klippelandskab. Djupadal i Bleking [Rocky landscape. Djupadal in Blekinge], 1855. Oil on canvas, 136,5 x 206 cm, Statens Museum for Kunst, www.smk.dk, public domain.

This appreciation was soon to die out. A comparison between two first editions (1893–1911 and 1915–1930) of the most established Danish encyclopaedia, *Salmonsens Konversationsleksikon*, indicates nascent developments in twentieth-century attitudes toward Kiærskou's work.⁵⁹ Both editions state that Kiærskou 'spent a couple of years in Germany, mostly in München, where his art was influenced in a way *from which he never managed to free himself*' [emphasis mine]. He 'won an audience' back in Denmark by 'sin net arrangerede Komposition og pyntelige Udførelse' [his neatly arranged compositions and dainty execution]; but his production particularly later in life 'bærer stærkt præg af at være blevet til med hurtigt og prisbilligt salg for øje' [is strongly marked by having been created in order to sell quickly and inexpensively]; and even in his best works, his use of colour was conventional and 'spids i foredraget' [overly finicky]. The first edition goes on to observe that his works 'kan dog opnaa en vis dekorativ Virkning, og tiltale ved god redegørelse for Afstande og Former [do achieve a somewhat decorative effect and please by an able exposition of distance and form].

59 J. B. Halvorsen, *Salmonsens store illustrerede Konversationsleksikon, en nordisk Encyklopædi* (Copenhagen: Brødrene Salmonsens, 1893). Christian Blangstrup, *Salmonsens Konversationsleksikon*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: Projekt Runeberg, 2011).

The second edition, however, concludes that 'i sine senere aar arbejdede han i høj grad paa en Rutine, der havde mistet al Forbindelse med ægte Naturfølelse [in his later years to a high degree his work became routine, and lost all connection with any real sense of nature].

Apparent here is the same prejudice that seemed to operate in Galschiøt: not only is the romantic principle of composition not interesting but the painterly technique is wrong, too, and this results in the artist being accused of having no connection with the nature he spent his whole career depicting.

Danish art history writing in the early twentieth century was unambiguous in its critique of those artists it loosely referred to as the 'Europeans'. In the mid-twentieth century, art historical literature did simply not discuss these painters.⁶⁰ Oelsner emphasises that the rendering of Denmark in Bærentzen, which was consistent with standard representational style until about 1875, was to a considerable extent created by artists who today are virtually unknown in Danish art history surveys. Consequently, their contribution to this shared image of Denmark is disregarded. Historian Palle Lauring, in the preface to his 1977 history of Denmark, quite typically dismissed these nineteenth-century masters as 'jævne' [(distinctly) average].⁶¹ Lauring is, in this way, a product of his time; his judgment reflects the undisputed art historical verdict of the moment.

The present study contributes to a current trend that wishes to reclaim awareness of these omitted artists while interrogating the historiographic and rhetorical reasons for their consignment to oblivion. As a critical lens, the 'great unseen' is helpful in restoring their achievement to the historical record, particularly as it pertains to the mid-nineteenth-century national image of Denmark. Additionally, as the case of Kiærskou makes clear, the present-day perception of the contours of the nineteenth-century image of Denmark has been seriously compromised by the agendas and consequent redactions of twentieth-century art history.⁶² The criticism of repetitiveness, which is indeed supported by a 'distant reading' of Kiærskou's titles, might be seen as a motivation behind the current critical assessment of his importance. Recent studies, however, suggest that his preference for the Dresden/Munich aesthetics of the European School had a greater impact in the long run. They point out that following other stylistic ideals than those promoted by Høyen was detrimental to a painter's appraisal in Denmark, and resulted in Kiærskou not being given the historical place 'han

60 William Gélius, 'Tysk landskabsmaleri i dansk guldalderoptik', in *Under samme himmel: land og by i dansk og tysk kunst 1800–1850*, ed. by Stig Miss and William Gélius (Copenhagen: Thorvaldsens Museum, 2000), 80–84.

61 Oelsner, 'En fælles forestillet nation: Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807–1875', 189, 191. Oelsner, 'Udsigt til guldalderen: politiske landskaber', 26; also in this article Oelsner comments on the very high number of images by Kiærskou (p. 28).

62 *Ibid.*, 300 and 377.

fortjener' [he deserves].⁶³ It even appears, from the text published by the Royal Collections, Buckingham Palace, that '[Kiærskou] worked mostly in Munich, exhibiting there as well as in Vienna'.⁶⁴ That may be, but Kiærskou certainly worked in Denmark, exhibited in Denmark, and is part of the shared visual identity of Denmark.



Fig. 10: F. C. Kiærskou, Parti ved Skarritsø [View of Skarritsø], 1868. Oil on canvas, 54.5 x 75.8 cm, Fuglsang Kunstmuseum, photo: Ole Akhøj.

⁶³ I am grateful to Asger Aabenhuus and Maria Louise Sargent, *Folketinget*, for this information. The quote is from Folketinget's collections database, and the text is written by Lisbeth Bonde (2013).

⁶⁴ Royal Collections, 'Bernstorff House and Park, Signed and Dated 1863'.

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Translating ‘unprejudiced, bright, and philanthropic views’. Henry Brougham and Anglo-Swedish Exchanges in the Early Nineteenth Century¹

Abstract

During the romantic period, translation played a key role in the mediation of reform ideas from Britain to the Nordic countries, and many translators of texts aiming at social reform wished to instigate change in their home countries. This article focuses on how Henry Brougham’s programme for popular education, as presented in his *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People: Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers* (1825), was made available to Swedish readers in a translation by Frans Anton Ewerlöf, in 1832. The translation process and the representation of Brougham in Sweden in the 1820s and 1830s are discussed. Ewerlöf read and decided to translate Brougham’s text in 1827, and a few years later he travelled to Britain to observe how Brougham’s ideas had been put into practice. As a result, the Swedish translation combines travel writing with Ewerlöf’s own reflections on Brougham’s text, offering a foreigner’s assessment of what had transpired in Britain after Brougham wrote his book.

Keywords

Brougham, Ewerlöf, Education, Translation, Cultural exchange, Sweden

Introduction

Henry Brougham (1778–1868) is well known to scholars of British romanticism as one of the most prominent and controversial public figures of the period. In 1802, he founded – along with Francis Jeffrey (1773–1850) and others – the influential *Edinburgh Review*, and his more than 200 contributions to that magazine comprise articles on education, abolition, parliamentary representation, natural philosophy, and, of course, a famously negative review of Byron’s (1788–1824) first major work: *Hours of Idleness* (1807).² As a man of law, Brougham

1 This article is based on research carried out within the project *Translations with an agenda: The Swedish introduction and translation of 19th-century British social-reform literature*, funded by the Swedish Research Council.

2 Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu, introduction to Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu,

made a name for himself as Attorney General, in 1820, when he defended Caroline of Brunswick (1768–1821) in the divorce proceedings brought against her by George IV of England (1762–1830). By then, Brougham was also a high-profile Whig politician. William (1770–1850) and Dorothy Wordsworth (1771–1855) had criticised his activities during the campaign for the Westmoreland Seat in 1818, when Dorothy likened him to ‘French demagogues of the Tribunal of Terror at certain times’, and William, in his pamphlet *Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland* (1818), described his campaign as ‘at enmity with the bonds by which society is held together, and Government maintained’.³

So far, so familiar to scholars of British romanticism. What may be less familiar, however, is the international impact of Brougham’s ideas about popular education. As will be demonstrated, *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People* (1825) had an influence on the development of educational thought in Sweden as well, and the nature of this influence also helps to illustrate the key role played by *translation* in the mediation of ideas from Britain to the Nordic countries during the romantic period and beyond.

In what follows, I first describe the historical and material context for the transmission of Brougham’s ideas to Sweden and the principal actors involved. From there, I proceed to discuss how and to what extent Brougham’s main proponent in Sweden, the civil servant Frans Anton Ewerlöf (1799–1883), re-wrote Brougham’s text to publicize his own vision of Swedish popular education. The point of contact between translator and subject matter affected the manner, in which the translation came to be presented to the intended audience. The way in which Ewerlöf combined travel writing with reflective comments on Brougham’s text will also be discussed, as well as some paratextual considerations, to show how these affected the way in which Brougham’s educational programme was presented to Swedish readers. In a brief coda, I conclude by considering the light which translation studies can throw upon the dynamics of the transfer of texts across national and cultural boundaries during the nineteenth century.

eds., *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 3; Brougham, ‘Review of *Hours of Idleness: A Series of Poems, Original and Translated by George Gordon, Lord Byron*’, *The Edinburgh Review* (January 1808): 285–289. See also Per Sörbom, *Läsning för folket: Studier i tidig svensk folkbildningshistoria* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1972), 26; Joanne Shattock, ‘Politics and Literature: Macaulay, Brougham, and the *Edinburgh Review* under Napier’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 16 (1986): 33.

3 Quoted in William Anthony Hay, *The Whig Revival, 1808–1830* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 75; William Wordsworth, *Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland* (Kendal, 1818), ‘To the Reader’.

Bringing Brougham to Sweden

Ewerlöf first contacted Brougham in August of 1827 upon reading a French translation of *Practical Observations*. As Ewerlöf later phrased it in the preface to his Swedish translation of the book, he had been struck by its ‘fördomsfria, ljusa och menniskoälskande åsigter’ [unprejudiced, bright, and philanthropic views] about adult education and had therefore decided to make Brougham’s ideas available to Swedish readers.⁴ As he did not have access to the English original, Ewerlöf asked Brougham for a copy and for supplementary information about some of the educational institutions mentioned in the book.⁵ Brougham’s swift response discloses his delight in Ewerlöf’s plan, and the book was immediately dispatched to Ewerlöf via the Swedish legation in London, along with a number of brochures published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which Brougham had founded in 1826 to facilitate education for working-class men through lectures and inexpensive, edifying publications.⁶

The correspondence in 1827 between Ewerlöf and Brougham discloses the first steps of a translation project aimed at a Swedish import of British ideas concerning popular education. One reason why Ewerlöf was attracted to Brougham’s educational programme was no doubt its connection to an overall social and political engagement. Brougham was an influential force in British politics and education, and by the time Ewerlöf read *Practical Observations*, Brougham’s position in Britain, and his rhetorical skills, were also well known to the readers of Swedish newspapers.

In *Practical Observations*, Brougham emphasises the value of adult education both for the individual and for society. As McManners puts it, for Brougham, ‘educational progress was the obvious concomitant of the advent of the wider franchise on the one hand and of the Industrial Revolution on the other’.⁷ To encourage the working class to pursue education was important, according to Brougham, as ‘the true principles of the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, should be well understood by every man who lives under it’.⁸ He argued that to facilitate widespread education of adult workers, it was essential to make edu-

4 Henry Brougham, preface to *Om folkbildning af Brougham, Lord-stor-canzler af England. Översättning med anteckningar om de i England befintliga handverks-instituterna och sällskapet för nyttiga kunskapers spridande, samlade under en resa i nämnde land, åren 1830–1831, af F. A. Ewerlöf, Förste expeditionss- sekreterare, R. W. O.*, trans. Frans Anton Ewerlöf (Stockholm, 1832). (Translations are my own.)

5 Frans Anton Ewerlöf, Letter draft to Henry Brougham (9 August 1827), Lund University Library.

6 Brougham, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (25 August 1827), Lund University Library.

7 T. McManners, ‘The work of Lord Brougham for English education’ (MA thesis, Durham University, 1952), 198.

8 Henry Brougham, *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People: Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers* (London, 1825), 5.

cation affordable: ‘The peace of the country, and the stability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge’.⁹ Richardson states that although reformist, Brougham’s programme ‘must also be seen as reactionary [in that his] advocacy of “sounder” political views in *Practical Observations* tacitly evokes the rival views they are meant to contest’.¹⁰

Ewerlöf’s contacts with Brougham and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) have been investigated, most notably by Sörbom, although not much attention has been paid to way in which Brougham’s educational manifesto was relocated to serve the early popular education movement in Sweden.¹¹ In particular, whilst the transmission of Scandinavian and Germanic texts in translation to Britain during the late eighteenth century and romantic period are comparatively well documented, the transmission to Sweden of Brougham’s *Practical Observations* is a case in point of the extent to which research on nineteenth-century transnational exchanges of ideas has often overlooked the means by which ideas from high-status cultures like Great Britain travelled to more peripheral countries, such as Sweden, by way of translation, and the fact that most readers on the outskirts of Europe encountered progressive ideas in the form of translations carried out by their own countrymen. Importantly, translators of reform texts who were themselves engaged within the field of the texts they translated often took a strategic approach to translation in the sense that they adapted the target text to fit their own aims.

Although Ewerlöf’s translation, which was published in 1832, was not a success in terms of copies sold, it indicated the significance of translation as a strategy in the importation and adaptation of foreign ideas in periods of transition. Drawing on recognized foreign ideas, in order to promote change at home, was an established strategy among social reformers in nineteenth-century Sweden, and Ewerlöf was characteristic of his time and context in that he did not translate Brougham’s book for monetary gain but out of a pronounced wish to disseminate to his fellow countrymen specific insights that he had himself gained. Furthermore, the translation project enabled him to claim ownership of those ideas in Sweden.

9 Ibid.

10 Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 222.

11 Per Sörbom, *Läsning för folket: Studier i tidig svensk folkbildningshistoria* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1972). The main focus of Sörbom’s study is *Läsning för folket* [Reading for the people], the journal published by the Swedish Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

Popular Education in the 1820s and Early 1830s

Brougham used the expression 'popular education' when he first presented his educational programme in an 1824 article in the *Edinburgh Review*. His definition is not entirely consistent, however: sometimes he includes all ages in the concept and sometimes he refers to education for adult workers.¹² In 1825, in his preface to *Practical Education*, Brougham states that his discussion concerns 'the Education of Adults' and that he intends to discuss 'the best means of aiding the people in using the knowledge gained at school, for their moral and intellectual improvement'.¹³ The kind of education addressed in *Practical Education* should thus be seen as an optional further education made available to working men.

Swedish popular education developed at a time when the romantic striving for autonomy and liberation amongst individuals was met with a national demand for integration and discipline.¹⁴ Tøsse describes the tradition of popular education in Scandinavia as having emerged from 'the twin influences of the Enlightenment and Romanticism'.¹⁵ What in Sweden came to be known as *folkbildning* was, in Britain, alternatively referred to as 'adult education' or 'popular education'. Although these are all overlapping concepts, the Swedish *bildning* goes back to the German term *Bildung* and indicates not only the acquisition of knowledge but also self-cultivation.¹⁶ As with the term 'popular', the Swedish '*folk*' suggests an all-inclusive category encompassing all strands in society. In reality however, as Tøsse points out, early endeavours at educating the working classes were often dictated from above.¹⁷ Thus, what was referred to as the 'education of the people' involved a patrician as well as a romantic discourse.

Those involved in establishing the early stages of popular education movements in Britain, as well as in Sweden, belonged to an educated, socio-political elite. In Sweden, when Ewerlöf and his associate Carl af Forsell (1783–1848) began to develop a programme for popular education and set about translating certain British SDUK texts, they quickly encountered a problem: they realised that these texts were too advanced for the average Swedish reader and thus risked being comprehensible only to an already well-educated minority.¹⁸

12 Henry Brougham, 'Scientific Education of the People' *Edinburgh Review*, XLI (October 1824): 96, 116, 117.

13 Brougham, preface to *Practical Observations*.

14 Gunnar Sundgren, 'Tema: Folkbildning och folkbildningsforskning', *Utbildning & demokrati* 11 (2002): 7.

15 Sigvart Tøsse, 'Popular Adult Education', in Kjell Rubenson, ed., *Adult Learning and Education* (London: Academic Press, 2011), 119.

16 Elof Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups förlag, 1922).

17 Sigvart Tøsse, *Folkbildning som universellt fenomen: Om betydelser och motsvarigheter i historiskt och internationellt perspektiv*, (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2009), 24.

18 Carl af Forsell, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (6 December 1832), Lund University Library.

As already noted, SDUK was founded by Brougham in 1826 to facilitate the education of working-class men. Although not a missionizing body, the Society nonetheless encouraged the establishment of societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge in other countries; as Brougham declares in his letter to Ewerlöf in 1827, ‘nous interessés infiniment à ce que notre plan est bien reçu dans l'étranger ou l'on pense exécuter que nos principes seront adoptés et des sociétés semblables fondées’ [we are most interested in the positive reception of our plan abroad, where we hope our principles will be adopted and similar societies will be founded].¹⁹ Ewerlöf understood this, and a constitutive meeting for a Swedish version of the SDUK was held in December 1833.²⁰ Societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge were launched elsewhere, as well – in Portugal, for instance, as early as 1827.²¹ The notion of adult education also spread outside of Europe; as Palmelund Johansen has shown, the SDUK ‘was closely connected to missionary groups who were greatly involved in the import of British knowledge into imperial contexts’ in India as well as China.²²

A comparison between Brougham’s and Ewerlöf’s educational endeavours discloses some interesting parallels. As he was writing *Practical Observations*, Brougham was planning for what soon developed into the SDUK and, seven years later, Ewerlöf hoped to initiate a similar project in Sweden. This means that while translating Brougham’s book, Ewerlöf found himself in a position very similar to that of the author. Undeniably, the time gap between source text and translation had an impact on the way in which Brougham’s argument was translated. For instance, Brougham’s statement, ‘I am not without hopes of seeing formed a Society for promoting the composition, publication, and distribution of cheap and useful works’, was not included in the translation.²³ Since the SDUK had been in existence for several years by the time Ewerlöf translated Brougham’s book, Ewerlöf instead emphasises the benefits of becoming a

19 Brougham, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (25 August 1827), Lund University Library. Ewerlöf’s request was written in French, which explains Brougham’s use of that language in his response.

20 Per Sörbom, *Läsning för folket*, 80.

21 Jorge Pedro Sousa, Elsa Simões Lucas Freitas, and Sandra Gonçalves Tuna, ‘Diffusing political knowledge in illustrated magazines: A comparison between the Portuguese *O Panorama* and the British *The Penny Magazine* in 1837–1844’, in Minna Palander-Collin, Maura Ratia and Irma Taavitsainen, eds., *Diachronic Developments in English News Discourse* (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017), 162.

22 Thomas Palmelund Johansen, ‘The World Wide Web of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: On the Global Circulation of Broughamite Educational Literature, 1826–1848’, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 50 (2017): 709, doi: 10.1353/vpr.2017.0051. See also Songchuan Chen, ‘An Information War Waged by Merchants and Missionaries at Canton: The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China, 1834–1839’, *Modern Asian Studies* 46 (2012): 1705–1735, doi: 10.1017/S0026749X11000771.

23 Brougham, *Practical Observations*, 10.

member of such a Society. Being able to confirm Brougham's prediction for the positive results of popular education, Ewerlöf, therefore, translates Brougham's expectations into a confident statement of accomplishment.

Henry Brougham: A Controversial Model

Brougham was of course involved in the parliamentary debates surrounding the Education Bill in England in 1820. As a theorist of education, however, his influence rested less on the originality of his thinking than on his ability to popularise and spread the romantic notion of life-long learning for individual as well as for national improvement.²⁴ Contemporary sources describe Brougham as a rhetorically skilled and sharp-tongued speaker, but also claim that he lacked imagination, and that he radiated encyclopaedic knowledge rather than deep thinking. In 1851, newspaper editor and politician Edward Baines (1800–1890) claimed that '[t]o no one individual, perhaps, has the modern progress of education been so much owing as to Henry Brougham', although he also stated that Brougham 'was too eagerly bent on the accomplishment of his great object to wait patiently for the working of some of his own principle'.²⁵ Determination, possibly at the expense of reflection and diplomacy, can be seen in much of this remarkable man's oeuvre as well as in comments about him. In 1830, *The New Monthly Magazine* explained Brougham's public appeal somewhat ambiguously as being 'the result of memory and self-confidence, and of a Napoleonic power of concentrating his mind and knowledge at will upon a single point, rather than of the reasoning of inventive faculties'.²⁶ In April the following year, the Swedish newspaper *Stockholmsposten* ran an article titled 'Lord Broughams karakteristik som talare' [A characterization of Lord Brougham as a speaker], which consisted of translated passages of the *New Monthly Magazine* article.²⁷ Interestingly enough, when Brougham was mentioned in Swedish newspapers, it was these rhetorical skills rather than any contents of his politics that were conveyed to Swedish readers.

Brougham's programme for popular education in Britain was first outlined in October 1824, in a review article in the *Edinburgh Review* discussing a book by William Davis titled *Hints to Philanthropists: Or, a Collective View of Practical*

24 Edward Baines, *The Life of Edward Baines, Late M. P. for the Borough of Leeds* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), 107; McManners, 'The work of Lord Brougham for English education', 108.

25 Baines, *Life of Edward Baines*, 114.

26 'Speakers and Speeches in Parliament, No. 1', *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal, Part II, Original Papers*, 29 (1830): 600.

27 'Lord Broughams karakteristik som talare', *Stockholmsposten* (8 April 1831): 3–4.

Means for Improving the Condition of the Poor and Labouring Classes of Society.²⁸ As Benchimol states, Brougham's argument in this article was 'relevant to the ideological purposes and educational aims of the SDUK'.²⁹ Brougham focuses on some principles that later became central for the SDUK, such as 'the encouragement of cheap publications' and the establishment of institutions for teaching designed to cater to the needs of workers who did not have much time to spare for evening classes.³⁰ Just three months later, in January 1825, the *Edinburgh Review* announced the forthcoming publication of Brougham's own book *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People*.³¹ The volume was sold for the benefit of the recently established London Mechanics' Institution, and in a dedication to its President, George Birkbeck (1776–1841), founder of Birkbeck University, London, Brougham clarifies that his observations form part of an ongoing development plan for British education.

Practical Observations upon the Education of the People went through twenty editions within its first year, making it 'spectacularly successful' in its genre.³² Approval of Brougham's ideas was far from unanimous, however: in *Blackwood's Magazine*, for instance, a review nearly as long as Brougham's entire book described it as 'a very sorry performance and ... [as] miserably romantic and defective'.³³ Another severe critic was Reverend Edward William Grinfield (1785–1864), whose pamphlet *Reply to Mr. Brougham's 'Practical Observations'* (1825) criticised Brougham's political ambitions and what Grinfield saw as the 'false directions' of popular education:

It is attempted to be made too scientific and philosophical, instead of being chiefly moral and religious; and the knowledge of particular arts and sciences is recommended as the channel of Popular Improvement, instead of that *general knowledge* which is the best manure of the mind.³⁴

28 Brougham, 'Scientific Education of the People', 96–122.

29 Alex Benchimol, *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period: Scottish Whigs, English Radicals and the Making of the British Public Sphere* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 126. For a list of Brougham's articles on education for the *Edinburgh Review* – some of which were later incorporated in his *Practical Observations* – see W. D. Sockwell, *Popularizing Classical Economics: Henry Brougham and William Ellis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 206–207.

30 Brougham, 'Scientific Education': 99, 102–104.

31 Review of *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People*, *Edinburgh Review* XLI (January 1825): 508–510.

32 Don Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 75.

33 'Brougham on the Education of the People', *Blackwood Magazine* XVII (May 1825): 534.

34 Edward William Grinfield, *A Reply to Mr. Brougham's 'Practical Observations Upon the Education of the People: Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers.'* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1825), iii–iv.

Grinfield also levelled harsh criticism against Brougham's opinions on the education of children, which is somewhat curious since this is not what Brougham's book deals with, as was soon pointed out by an anonymous commentator in *The Edinburgh Magazine*.³⁵

A full decade before the translation of *Practical Observations*, Swedish newspapers had acknowledged Brougham as a prominent British politician. The earliest Swedish newspaper reference to him that I have found concerns a petition against slavery in 1810, but a search in digitalised Swedish newspapers from the 1820s and early 1830s shows that by that time, Brougham was frequently mentioned in reports of British parliamentary debates.³⁶ Swedish newspapers like *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, *Dagligt Allehanda*, and *Stockholmsposten*, presented him as an influential orator. Reporting on an English parliamentary debate in May 1827, for instance, *Stockholmsposten* referred to Brougham's 'satirisk[a] tal' [satirical speech], and a month later, the same newspaper published a translation of a French traveller's description of Brougham:

Kraftfullt och mäktigt är allting hos Hr Brougham: hans stämmas omfång, hans armars rörelser, hans genomträngande blick, hans bittra ironi, hans blossande förtrytelse, grundligheten af hans räsonnementer, hans replikers alltid träffande udd, hans senfulla stils trollbehag.

[Everything about Mr Brougham is powerful and grand: the range of his voice, the movement of his arms, his penetrating gaze, his bitter irony, his blazing indignation, the thoroughness of his reasoning, his always precise remarks, his enthralling, sinewy style.]³⁷

Brougham certainly made a strong impression on foreign visitors to Britain. In 1843, the Danish theologian and educationalist N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) wrote to his wife after a visit to the House of Lords that he had listened to several speakers, 'blandt hvilke dog Ingen, uden Brougham særdeles udmærkede sig' [among whom No One apart from Brougham distinguished themselves].³⁸

35 'Fourth Report of the Directors of the Edinburgh School of Arts – Grinfield's Reply to Brougham on Popular Education', *The Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* (June 1825): 663–664. For a full discussion of the debate in the wake of the publication of *Practical Observations*, see Ann Firth, 'Culture and Wealth Creation: Mechanics' Institutes and the Emergence of Political Economy in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History of Intellectual Culture*, 5 (2005): 1–14.

36 'Tidningar från utrikes orter', *Stockholmsposten*, 10 July 1810, 1; *Svenska Dagstidningar*, National Library of Sweden, accessed 15 March, 2018, <https://tidningar.kb.se/?q=%22brougham%22&from=1820-01-01&to=1832-12-31>.

37 'Tidningar från utrikes orter', *Stockholmsposten* (26 May, 1827): 2; 'Brougham (Skildrad af en resande Fransmand)' *Stockholmsposten* (30 June, 1827): 2.

38 Jørgen Fabricius, 'N. F. S. Grundtvigs breve til hans hustru under Englandsrejsen 1843', *Grundtvig Studier* 5 (1952): 43.

Grundtvig had been interested in British liberal ideas long before this; as early as the 1820s, he subscribed both to the *Westminster Review* and to the *Edinburgh Review*.³⁹

Brougham was also known in Sweden because of his role in the so-called Queen Caroline affair, which Swedish newspapers followed closely: in 1820 alone, *Stockholmsposten* mentioned Brougham in over 30 articles, almost exclusively in connection with the Royal divorce proceedings, and *Stockholms Posttidningar* reported more than 20 times that year about the same issue.⁴⁰ News travelled relatively quickly; many of the Swedish articles about the Queen Caroline Affair referred to proceedings only a fortnight after they had taken place and been reported in the British press. A few years later, it was not only Brougham's political and legal activities which were addressed by the Swedish press: in 1825, *Dagligt Allehanda* published a long and detailed account of a banquet held in honour of Brougham as he had been elected Chancellor of Glasgow University. The article, based on a piece from the British newspaper, *The Sun*, is another indication that British newspapers were read in Scandinavia and of how their content was adapted to a Swedish audience.⁴¹

Brougham had travelled widely in his youth, and one reason for his enthusiastic response to Ewerlöf in 1827 might have been his personal recollections of Sweden as a country in great need of enlightenment. In his letter to Ewerlöf, he mentioned that he had visited Sweden many years previously.⁴² In the company of a friend, he spent about two months in Sweden in the autumn of 1799. Many years later, whilst preparing his autobiography, Brougham included his detailed travel journal of this Scandinavian trip, in which he had recorded various Swedish cultural habits and political issues. He had been truly shocked in Stockholm by the 'manners of the people in this capital [which] are extremely dissolute ... The instances of profligacy about Court almost exceed belief in so northerly a situation'.⁴³ When editing his notes in the 1860s, Brougham added a comment to clarify that he had not been the only British visitor to observe what was perceived as the immoral condition of the Swedish capital; although Samuel Laing's *A Tour in Sweden in 1838: Comprising Observations on the Moral, Political, and Eco-*

39 Kaj Baagø, 'Grundtvig og den engelske liberalisme', *Grundtvig Studier* 8 (1955): 22.

40 *Svenska Dagstidningar*, accessed 15 March, 2018, <https://tidningar.kb.se/?q=brougham&from=1820-01-01&to=1820-12-31>.

41 'Blandade ämnen', *Dagligt Allehanda* (7 May, 1825): 1–2. I have not been able to locate the source *The Sun*, but several British newspapers and periodicals reported on this particular dinner, which took place on 5 April, over the next month, e.g., 'British Chronicle, April 5 – Dinner to Mr Brougham', *The Edinburgh Magazine*, and *Literary Miscellany* (May 1825): 624–626.

42 Brougham, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (25 August 1827), Lund University Library.

43 Brougham, *The Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1871), 165.

nomical State of the Swedish Nation (1839) was written several decades after Brougham's visit to Sweden, Brougham noted that it corroborated his observations. In the same footnote, he also refers to the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865), stating that her novels 'let the reader into the secret of social life by her reference to those sins which prove sore temptations to the heroines whose virtue overcomes them'.⁴⁴

Thus, by the time *Practical Observations* appeared, Brougham was an internationally renowned Whig politician. This circumstance most certainly helped to market his ideas abroad, and several translations of *Practical Observations* were made within a few years. 1826 saw the French translation which Ewerlöf read, as well as a Dutch one; and in 1827, a German translation was published.⁴⁵ This volume was probably translated by the educator and geographer Karl Friedrich von Klöden (1786–1856), and it appears to have gained wide recognition in Germany, having been 'recommended by the Minister to all the local administrations, and supplied by the magistrate to the district authorities'.⁴⁶ While Ewerlöf first encountered Brougham's text in French translation, a citation of von Klöden's German translation in one of Ewerlöf's footnotes suggests that Ewerlöf also had access to that edition.⁴⁷ Moreover, the German edition contains a translation of the French preface. Such links between different translations indicates not only transnational contacts but indeed the multi-layered nature of translation and relay translation as a transmitter of ideas.

Ewerlöf: A Civil Servant with an Agenda

Frans Anton Ewerlöf was a high-ranking Swedish civil servant and diplomat. From 1825, he was posted to the Norwegian capital Christiania (now Oslo) as Secretary for the Swedish Governor-General – at the time Norway was in personal union with Sweden – and from 1833, he served for many years as Swedish-Norwegian Consul General in Denmark. After university studies at both Lund and Uppsala, Ewerlöf considered a career in the church or as a military officer, but

44 *Ibid.*, 166n.

45 Henry Brougham, *Observations pratiques sur l'éducation du peuple: Adresse'es aux artisans et aux fabricans* (Paris: Bossange Frères, 1826); Henry Brougham, *Over eenige hulpmiddelen tot vermeerdering van beroepskunde bij ambachtslieden* ('s-Gravenhagen & Amsterdam: van Cleef, 1826); *Praktische Bemerkungen über die Ausbildung der gewerbtreibenden Classen: An die Handwerker und Fabrikanten gerichtet*, (Berlin: Dunder und Humblot, 1827).

46 Karl Friedrich von Klöden, *The Self-Made Man: Autobiography of Karl Friedrich von Klöden*, ed. Max Jähn; trans. A. Mö. Christie, vol. 2 (London: Strahan & Company, 1876), 326 (Appendix).

47 Brougham, *Om folkbildning*, 24.

was advised by his mentor Henric Brandel (1739–1828) to aim for consular work.⁴⁸ Ewerlöf's mother, who was of Spanish descent and born in Algiers, had been brought up in Brandel's household while he served as Swedish Consul General there. As a child, Ewerlöf also spent much time with the Brandel family, by then living in Helsingborg in southern Sweden.⁴⁹ Ewerlöf knew French from his mother and through his contacts with the Brandel family; he was also proficient in English, although it is not clear when and how he learned it. He regularly corresponded with his British contacts in English, and he wrote articles in English about Scandinavia for SDUK periodicals.⁵⁰

Five years passed between 1827, when Ewerlöf first read Brougham's book and contacted him, and the publication of his translation in 1832. From surviving letters, and from the translation itself, it is possible to trace some decisive stages of the extended process of disseminating Brougham's ideas to Swedish readers. The delay was primarily due to other commitments, as Ewerlöf's working situation prevented him from undertaking the translation at once. Importantly, however, his preface for the Swedish translation declares that by the time an opportunity to travel to England arose, he had already made up his mind to postpone the translation until he had 'genom vistandet i nämnde land hunnit göra mig mera bekant med ämnet' [managed to learn more about the topic by sojourning in that country].⁵¹ This decision turned out to be crucial for the outcome of the project.

Although the main purpose of Ewerlöf's journey was to learn more about the SDUK and about the so-called Mechanics' Institutes, Ewerlöf's time in Britain turned out to provide an important general context for his translation project. Ewerlöf embarked on this journey in 1830, and, once in Britain, he literally followed in the footsteps of Brougham, whose book provides information about educational establishments in different parts of the country. Ewerlöf's stay in the British Isles took him to London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin and

48 Elise Adelsköld, 'Frans Anton Ewerlöf', *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, accessed 15 March, 2018, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SBL/Presentation.aspx?id=15576>. Apart from his long-standing career as a diplomat, Brandel developed a system which aimed to bring together different chronological systems. He called it 'Myriaden' [the myriad] and published an annual almanac in French based on this system. Many years later, to commemorate his mentor, Ewerlöf published a book – also in French – explaining Brandel's system: *La myriade système Chronologique pour une période de dix mille ans, par Henri Brandel, exposé par F. A. Ewerlöf* (Copenhagen, 1853).

49 Martin Weibull, *Frans Anton Ewerlöf* (Stockholm: Ivar Haeggströms tryckeri, 1884), 2.

50 That French nonetheless was Ewerlöf's preferred foreign language is clear from a letter to Thomas Coates, Secretary of the SDUK: 'Je vens ecrie en français, parccqu'il me faut trop de tems pens m'expliquer même aper mal, en anglais' [I have written in French, because it takes too long for me to explain myself, even badly, in English]. 9 May 1831. University College London Special Collections.

51 Brougham, preface to *Om folkbildning*.

Belfast, as well as to Glasgow and Edinburgh. Ewerlöf returned to Christiania in 1831, and his Swedish translation of Brougham's *Practical Observations* was published by Peter (Per) Adam Wallmark (1777–1858) in the autumn of the following year.⁵² Wallmark is probably best known as a member of the Classicist school and a main target for the criticism waged by Swedish romantic poets against 'old-school' ideals. He was librarian at the Royal Library, a poet and a newspaper publisher, and he shared Ewerlöf's educational interests. When Ewerlöf approached him in or around 1832, Wallmark expressed considerable enthusiasm concerning the task of publisher: 'Ämnet intresserar mig för mycket för att jag skulle kunna undandraga mig ett sådant uppdrag' [The subject interests me too much for me not to undertake such a commission].⁵³

The connection between the translation and Ewerlöf's wider concerns are central, as he wished to lay the foundations for a Swedish popular education project similar to the one that had developed in Britain. The five-year interval between his initial decision to translate the book and its publication allowed him to read and make use of tracts subsequently published; for instance, texts published by the SDUK. In preparation for a Swedish SDUK, Ewerlöf corresponded for several years with Thomas Coates (1802–1883), Secretary of the SDUK. The collaborative efforts of Ewerlöf and his associate Forsell were certainly crucial for the early development of Swedish popular education, but it should be noted that it was actually Forsell, who lived in Stockholm and who was thus closer to the authorities, whose approval was needed, who was the driving force behind the establishment of the Swedish SDUK.

In contrast to Brougham, Ewerlöf does not appear to have been involved in intellectual debates or party politics. Historical records, as well as his own personal correspondence, paint a picture of him as an able civil servant having sympathy with popular education and philanthropy. The only controversy recorded by his biographers occurred towards the end of his posting in Norway, when he at one point found himself embroiled in political turmoil: as the representative of the Swedish King, Ewerlöf was criticised by the young radical poet Henrik Wergeland (1808–1845) in connection with a theatre performance in the Norwegian capital, which generated a massive Norwegian protest, against Swedish rule.⁵⁴

52 Sörbom, *Läsning för folket*, 55.

53 Peter Adam Wallmark, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (13 August, 1832). Lund University Library.

54 Adelsköld, 'Frans Anton Ewerlöf', *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*; Sörbom, *Läsning för folket*, 152.

Sharing British Ideas with Swedish Readers

Everlöf's journey resulted in an analysis of how Brougham's ideas had been put into practice in Britain since the publication of *Practical Observations*. In the preface of his translation, Ewerlöf outlined his aims as well as his working method. In this respect, Ewerlöf's work provides a remarkable insight into his strategy. Like other translators of reform texts at the time, he acknowledges the importance of drawing on a foreign debate to achieve change in Sweden, but his approach was very unusual, in the sense that he describes how he aimed to recontextualize the source text in order to better serve his own purpose. Ewerlöf no doubt revised Brougham's text, since certain elements were not relevant to the Swedish context. More importantly, however, a substantial part of the translation consists of Ewerlöf's own discussion of how Brougham's ideas had been turned into practice since the book was published and how the knowledge, he had thus gained, could help to implement similar ideas in Sweden. Hence, the Swedish publication merges translation with Ewerlöf's own original travel account and, also, with his own observations on the outcome of Brougham's programme for popular education. By thus negotiating between translation, rewriting, and commenting on the source text, Ewerlöf provides a foreigner's assessment of the development of the British adult education movement while suggesting ways of adapting and applying it in Sweden.

The translation contains passages which demonstrate how Ewerlöf saw himself as a travel writer reporting to his fellow countrymen. The translator-cum-travel writer thereby resembles an explorer who describes new-fangled social and technical innovations to his compatriots in order to instigate change at home. Such information-sharing elements can be found in other Swedish nineteenth-century travel writing. One example close at hand is Ewerlöf's associate Carl af Forsell, who wrote a book after having returned from a trip to England. An internationally acknowledged statistician and steam engine pioneer, Forsell had a keen interest in British educational, as well as social and technical development.⁵⁵ In *Anteckningar i anledning af en resa till England i slutet af sommaren år 1834* [Notes on account of a trip to England in late summer of 1834], he mixed information about his visits to British infant schools and temperance societies with an account of how he travelled by railway between Manchester and Liverpool, and of how he almost succumbed to cholera upon arriving in England.⁵⁶

55 Henrik Höjer, *Sveriges argaste liberal: Carl af Forsell, officer, statistiker och filantrop* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2007).

56 Forsell, *Anteckningar i anledning af en resa till England i slutet af sommaren år 1834* (Stockholm: Hörberg, 1835).

Liberal-minded travellers like Forsell and Ewerlöf were well-connected and thus in a position to gather information about Britain as a pioneering country that they could share with their fellow countrymen. As Ewerlöf later recorded, he had been introduced to the centres of power in the British capital during the winter of 1831 by the Swedish Minister in London, Count Magnus Björnstjerna (1779–1847).⁵⁷ Sörbom has identified Ewerlöf as the author of a number of articles about British public life and bodies of social reform, which were published in the Swedish newspaper *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, on his return.⁵⁸ These articles cover subjects as diverse as begging in Dublin, co-operatives in England, and politics. A handful of articles entitled ‘Tvenne Presentationsdagar vid Engelska Hofvet 1831 (Ur en Svensk resandes dagbok)’ [Two reception days at the English court 1831 (from a Swedish traveller’s diary)] also give detailed glimpses of Ewerlöf’s impressions and experiences in London.

In these travel letters, Ewerlöf relates to Swedish newspaper readers how he was presented at Court and saw the King, foreign dignitaries, as well as British public figures, such as the Duke of Wellington (1769–1852), Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850), and Brougham, whose educational writing was the reason for Ewerlöf’s being in London in the first place.⁵⁹ Swedish readers are informed in great detail about British political and cultural practices, but Ewerlöf’s texts also contain their fair share of celebrity gossip and descriptions of clothes and features of the famous people whom he encounters. Like other foreign visitors to London, Ewerlöf’s description of Brougham evinces the strong impression made by the British statesman. Brougham is presented as a highly unconventional man, dressed in a black silk cape with bows and golden braids which, according to Ewerlöf, looked ‘högst kuriöst’ [very odd], although Brougham – who was by then Lord Chancellor – was most likely wearing a Court uniform in accordance with his position. Nonetheless, Ewerlöf clearly perceived Brougham as eccentric; and he also informed his Swedish readers that, having arrived late at the King’s reception, Brougham had audaciously taken a short cut through a palace gate through which only royal coaches were to pass.⁶⁰

Ewerlöf’s travel letters are interesting in that they convey to Swedish readers a glimpse of the big world, while focussing on personal aspects of the dignitaries referred to. In one letter, for instance, Ewerlöf draws what might be the earliest Swedish personal portrait of the future Queen Victoria (1819–1901):

57 Frans Anton Ewerlöf, *Efterlämnade papper*, Lund University Library.

58 Sörbom, *Läsning för folket*, 51.

59 Ewerlöf, ‘Tvenne presentationsdagar vid Engelska hofvet 1831 (Ur en svensk resandes dagbok)’, *Post- och inrikes tidningar* (28 February 1832): 1–2; *ibid.* (1 March 1832), 1–2.

60 Ewerlöf, *Post- och inrikes tidningar* (8 March, 1832): 2.

För sin ålder, 11 a 12 år, är Prinsessan Victoria liten till växten, men ansigtet är så formeradt, att det tycks tillhöra en 17 eller 18 års flicka, och har ett uttryck af ovanlig stadga. Hon är icke vacker, och skall vara särdeles närsynt, hvilket också kan skönjas. Dräkten var utan all i ögon fallande prakt, och håret bart.

[For her age, 11 to 12 years, Princess Victoria is small in stature, but her face is shaped in a way that seems to belong to a girl of 17 or 18 years of age, and it has an expression of unusual firmness. She is not beautiful, and is said to be very short-sighted, which can also be discerned. Her dress was without any ostentatious splendour and her hair was bare.]⁶¹

Ewerlöf reports that Princess Victoria's upbringing is said to be 'ganska okonstlad och utan ceremoni' [quite unaffected], and he relates how her mother, Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, Duchess of Kent (1786–1861), had once hindered a visiting lady from rising when the Princess entered the room, saying, 'Sitt stilla min fru; hon är bara barn ännu' [Remain seated, my lady; she is still only a child]. The modest way in which the future Queen of England was raised made a strong impression on Ewerlöf, who told his readers that 'Sådana drag, så likgiltiga de kunna tyckas vara, sakna icke betydelse' [Such characteristics may seem unimportant but do matter].⁶²

Significantly, during his stay in England, Ewerlöf came to realise that the Swedish translation ought to reflect the substantial development of adult education which had taken place there since Brougham's book was first published. In his preface, Ewerlöf explains that:

Detta föranledde mig att förändra min plan; och istället för att blott gifva en öfversättning af hela Skriften, trodde jag det vara ändamålsenligare att derutur endast meddela de stycken som innehålla grunddragen till undervisningssystemet, och sedan tillägga de anteckningar öfver särskilda delar, som jag sjelf samlat.

[This made me change my plan, and instead of merely providing a translation of the whole text, I thought its purpose would be better served by only reporting those passages that contain the essential features of the educational system, and then to add my own collection of notes on certain aspects.]⁶³

Although Ewerlöf here signals that he made a distinction between translation and his own additions, he nevertheless says nothing specific about where he adapts his translation to match his own observations.

In the Swedish translation of *Practical Observations*, Ewerlöf's roles as translator, travel writer, and commentator merge in the parts of the translation which are based on his own observations and also in certain passages that follow Brougham's source text closely. In the first part of his book, Brougham presents

61 Ibid. (5 March 1832), 2.

62 Ibid. (5 March 1832), 2.

63 Brougham, preface to *Om folkbildning*.

the foundation of popular education, and some topical passages about the value of adult education appear in italics in the translation. Sections, to which Ewerlöf may have paid particular attention while reading Brougham's text, are thus highlighted to Swedish readers. The italicised parts concern the importance of promoting popular tracts on topics such as political economy, and the importance of education for national peace and order.⁶⁴

The relation between individual and collective efforts is likewise brought to the fore, as Ewerlöf italicizes Brougham's argument for setting up an organisation for the diffusion of useful knowledge.⁶⁵ Brougham addresses the responsibility of the individual worker in his text, and the translation highlights to Swedish readers Brougham's view that learners themselves must pay for their education and that they should take an active part in its execution.⁶⁶ Such shared responsibilities seem to be of principal value to Ewerlöf. For instance, one of his footnotes states that education should come to a certain cost, as people only value that which involves a kind of sacrifice. The text of this footnote originates in a remark by von Klöden in the German translation of *Practical Observations*.⁶⁷ Brougham's original statement thus gains a double emphasis, involving both Ewerlöf's own adaptation and the supplement of a paratextual comment from another translation.

As Ewerlöf reaches passages in which Brougham outlines and discusses different educational establishments, he transitions from translating, to commenting on, the source text. He thereby invites the Swedish reader to accompany him through an educational landscape that has altered since the publication of *Practical Observations*. This means that whereas Brougham's text seeks support by presenting an ongoing formation of educational bodies, Ewerlöf, by reporting about recent success, is able to draw on several years of British experience and single out for presentation what he assumes will be of relevance to Swedish readers. Some additional comments serve to inform the reader of Ewerlöf's personal acquaintance with the matters under discussion. For instance, by providing an outline of the SDUK – which had been founded one year after the publication of *Practical Observations* – Ewerlöf informs Swedish readers that he is corresponding with the current secretary of the organisation, Thomas Coates, and that he had been in direct contact with Brougham himself before the latter became Lord Chancellor. In a footnote to his translation, Ewerlöf expresses deep gratitude for the 'ädla öppenhet och förekommande tjänstvil-

64 Brougham, *Om folkbildning*, 10–11; Brougham, *Practical Observations*, 5.

65 Brougham, *Practical Observations*, 10.

66 Brougham, *Om folkbildning*, 11; Brougham, *Practical Observations*, 15.

67 Brougham, *Praktische Bemerkungen*, 78; Brougham, *Om folkbildning*, 24.

lighet' [honourable openness and courteous support] of his British contacts during his interrogations.⁶⁸

A few years later, Ewerlöf was less positive towards Brougham. For reasons that remain unclear, the British statesman had by then declined an honorary membership in the Swedish version of the SDUK and, also, refused to let Ewerlöf and Forsell use woodcuts from the SDUK periodical *Penny Magazine* for the Swedish periodical *Läsning för folket*. Instead, these attractive woodcuts were sold to the Swedish publisher Lars-Johan Hierta (1801–1872), who used them in his periodical *Lördags-Magasinet*. One possible explanation for Brougham's withdrawal of support is that the Swedish minister in London, who acted as an intermediary, may have tried to get access to the woodcuts for free, which might in turn have aggravated the British SDUK as such an action failed to adhere to Brougham's tenet that education should come at a cost.⁶⁹

One effect of Ewerlöf's translation following several years after the book was first published can be traced in its account of the London Mechanics' Institute. Brougham describes the foundation and structure of this establishment, paying tribute to George Birkbeck, who was instrumental in setting it up. By the time of Ewerlöf's translation, however, this institution was much more widely developed, and he shares details about membership and activities. From his stay in London, for instance, Ewerlöf records how 'en simpel murare' [a simple bricklayer], who had joined the institute six years previously, 'okunnig i vetenskapens enklaste grunder' [ignorant of the very basics of science], had won a competition with a scientific thesis on the qualities of the pendulum. The essay was 'författad med en skarpsinnighet och geometrisk kunskap som förvånade de vetenskapligt bildade Domarne' [written with a sharpness and knowledge of geometry, which surprised the scientifically educated judges].⁷⁰ Ewerlöf mentions that one of these judges was Brougham. This circumstance perhaps inadvertently offers a reflection on Brougham's continuous engagement with the popular education movement. As a young man, Brougham had been a student of science himself; indeed, in 1796, at the age of 17, he even published an article in *Philosophical Transactions*, probably being the youngest contributor ever to that periodical.⁷¹

68 Brougham, *Om folkbildning*, 102n.

69 Sörbom, *Läsning för folket*, 135–136; Lena Johannesson, *Xylografi och pressbild: Bidrag till trägravurens och till den svenska bildjournalistikens historia* (Stockholm: Nordiska museets handlingar, 1982), 127; Cecilia Wadsö Lecaros, 'Transnational exchange between British and Swedish periodicals in the 1830s', in David Finkelstein, ed., *Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press*, vol. 2, *Expansion and Evolution, 1800–1900* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming).

70 Brougham, *Om folkbildning*, 39.

71 Noah Moxham, 'Mocking your elders', *The Repository*, The Royal Society (4 May 2016), accessed 15 March, 2018, <https://blogs.royalsociety.org/history-of-science/2016/05/04/mocking-elders/>.

Ewerlöf's addition of success stories like the one about the scientific bricklayer not only shared a British example with Swedish readers but also invited them to embark on an educational journey parallel to that of the worker. The progress of the unschooled bricklayer reads like a metaphor for the development of Brougham's overall educational project, and we see here how Ewerlöf was able to capitalize on the fact that by the time he shared Brougham's ideas of popular education with Swedish readers, the British had started to see the outcomes of those endeavours.

Framing Brougham's Ideas for the Swedish Market

A comparison of the title pages of *Practical Observations* with those of its Swedish translation provides insight into the decision-making process involved in Ewerlöf's translation and its marketing. Functioning as thresholds by which the reader approaches the text, paratextual elements in translations serve to promote the text by introducing it to readers in a new context. Brougham's title informs the reader about the content of the text, and his subtitle asserts the dual beneficiaries of adult education, the book being addressed to both workers and their employers. Whereas the titles of the French, Dutch, and German translations all closely align with Brougham's original, the Swedish title is much more elaborate, indicating the contents of the book as well as highlighting the translator's role in their transmission: *Om folkbildning af Brougham, Lord-stor-canzler af England. Öfversättning med anteckningar om de i England befintliga handverks-instituterna och sällskapet för nyttiga kunskapers spridande, samlade under en resa i nämnde land, åren 1830–1831, af F. A. Ewerlöf, Förste expeditionss-sekreterare, R. W. O.* [On popular education by Brougham, Lord Great Chancellor of England. Translation with notes concerning the existing mechanics' institutes in England and the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, collected during a journey in that country, during 1830–1831, by F. A. Ewerlöf, Secretary for the Swedish Governor-General, Knight of the Royal Order of Vasa].

The Swedish title page presents the publication as a translation, although large portions of the book were, in fact, penned by Ewerlöf himself. Ewerlöf acknowledges that he has added his own observations, but he went one step further in that he also adapted the source text so that Brougham's argument, which of course concerned Britain, was redirected to a Swedish audience. In an obituary of Ewerlöf, the historian Martin Weibull (1835–1902) refers, in passing, to the translation as a 'fri bearbetning' [free adaptation].⁷² This was a term com-

⁷² Weibull, *Frans Anton Ewerlöf*, 6.

monly used in nineteenth-century Sweden for translations which contained altered passages and additions based on the translator's own objectives.

Although *Practical Observations* contains no illustrations, the Swedish translation features a frontispiece portrait of Brougham. Portraits of Brougham were published from the year of the publication of *Practical Observations; Mechanics' Magazine* (a periodical mentioned several times in Brougham's book), for instance, printed a frontispiece portrait of him, in 1825.⁷³ Ewerlöf and Wallmark, however, desired a recent portrait of Lord Brougham as Lord Chancellor, and Brougham is also identified in that capacity on the title page of the translation. Brougham had not held the position of Lord Chancellor when the book was published in 1825, but did when the Swedish translation was published seven years later; and presenting the author of the book as a high-ranking English official was no doubt intended to confer upon the Swedish translation an enhanced authority. Correspondence between Ewerlöf and Wallmark confirms that the frontispiece was added for marketing purposes: Wallmark uses the word 'Embellishment' to motivate its inclusion.⁷⁴ The portrait was mentioned when the translation was advertised in the Swedish press, and it was also sold separately, together with Brougham's signature in facsimile.⁷⁵

Procuring a suitable portrait turned out to be a complex operation. Ewerlöf and Wallmark discussed ways of obtaining a portrait from London in order to prepare a lithographic print in Stockholm and, in February 1832, Ewerlöf consulted Thomas Coates on the matter, asking him to procure 'a good likeness of Lord Brougham, in copper or well "lithographized" (especially if there is any representing him as Lord Chancellor); if I am not mistaken I have seen his portrait in copper in the London Mechanics' Institution. I therefore hope it is yet to be had'.⁷⁶ The following month, Coates responded that:

The only good portrait of Lord Brougham is one recently published & sold only to publishers. It is from a portrait of Sir Thomas Lawrence & is the finest specimen of Engraving that I ever saw, but it is rather expensive viz £ 3.3.0 & I will not purchase it for you until you shall have authorised me to do so. It will then give me great pleasure to procure it & see it carefully packed for you.⁷⁷

Instead of the coveted portrait of Brougham as Lord Chancellor, the one Coates here recommends appears to be an engraving by William Walker (1791–1867)

73 'Henry Brougham, Esq.,^o MP & FRS', *The Mechanics' Magazine* 3 (1825), Frontispiece.

74 Peter Adam Wallmark, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (13 August, 1832), Lund University Library.

75 For example *Göteborgs allehanda* (20 November, 1832): 4; *Dagligt allehanda* (24 October, 1832): 3.

76 Frans Anton Ewerlöf, Letter to Thomas Coates (3 February 1832), University College London Special Collections.

77 Thomas Coates, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (17 March 1832), Lund University Library.

from 1830, after the portrait made by Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), which had been painted five years previously.⁷⁸

Notwithstanding Coates' recommendation, the portrait ultimately selected for the Swedish translation appears to have been the one Ewerlöf originally wished for, which probably was a mezzotint engraving published in 1831 by John George Murray and by John Porter, after a portrait painted by Robert Bowyer (1758–1834).⁷⁹ Extant letters do not provide complete information on how that portrait was obtained, but Wallmark was able to borrow a copy from England, and in the early autumn of 1832, a skilled lithographer in Stockholm produced the version used for the frontispiece. This method was used to cut costs; according to Wallmark, a copper plate would be too expensive.⁸⁰ Their wish to 'embellish' the translation with a portrait of Brougham as Lord Chancellor is a concrete manifestation of the independence assumed by Ewerlöf and Wallmark vis-à-vis the source text. This adaptation must also be seen in relation to the perceived influence that the gravitas of the author of the source would lend to the Swedish publication, a gravitas which would be extended to include the translator's own additions.

A central paratextual element in Brougham's text is his dedication to George Birkbeck, which serves as a preface, clarifying the background of the book. Interestingly, that dedication is not included in the Swedish translation; in its place, Ewerlöf's own preface introduces the Swedish reader to Brougham's book, to the translation project, as well as to its hoped-for implications for Swedish popular education. Ewerlöf explains that instead of translating the full text, his aim has been to share the main features of British popular education as presented by Brougham, in combination with his own notes from his travels to England. He hastens to add that what has been left out from the original is of no overall importance, and that his additions provide 'en enkel framställning af hvad jag på stället sett och erfarit' [a simple presentation of what I have seen and experienced in that place [i. e. England]].⁸¹

One result of Ewerlöf assuming the role of commentator on the text he translates is that towards the end of the translation, Brougham's text actually metamorphoses into Ewerlöf's own treatise: 'de sanna och kraftiga ord, hvarmed Brougham slutar den skrift, som föranledt närvarande uppsats, skola till alla delar finna tillämpning i Sverige' [the true and powerful words with which Brougham ends the text, which has brought about the present essay, will in all respects be

78 William Walker, 'Henry Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux', Stipple engraving, 1831. National Portrait Gallery D19111.

79 John George Murray and John Porter, 'Henry Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux', Mezzotint, 1831. National Portrait Gallery D32199.

80 Wallmark, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (13 August 1832), Lund University Library.

81 Brougham, preface to *Om folkbildning*.

applicable in Sweden].⁸² When Ewerlöf at this late stage of the text translates passages from Brougham's book, he does so by referring to Brougham's text with phrases like 'jag citerar' [I quote] and 'tillägger Hr Brougham' [Mr Brougham adds].⁸³ Ewerlöf's role as translator thus merges with that of writer, not only in the parts of the book that have been based on his own observations, and thus been penned by himself, but also in the passages that have been transferred from Brougham's source text.

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century Sweden was receptive to British romantic-period ideas about education, and translation was a key medium for such transnational contacts and influences. Ewerlöf was one of many Swedish nineteenth-century social campaigners who employed translation as a means of expressing his own concerns and ideas. In Brougham's *Practical Observations*, Ewerlöf found a vehicle for his own observations on adult education, and his Swedish translation of Brougham's book provides a unique insight into the workings of such translation practices. Ewerlöf's translation was intimately connected with his desire to establish a programme for practical education in Sweden and crossed the boundaries of genre to offer a foreigner's assessment of what had transpired in Britain after Brougham wrote the book. Although not nearly so successful as the original, the significance of Ewerlöf's translation should not be underestimated as it was instrumental to the work done by Ewerlöf and his colleagues in blazing a path for Swedish popular education. It thus marks a significant point of contact between one of the most prominent political figures of the romantic period in Britain and the development of educational theory in Sweden.

Coda

This essay has taken a historical approach, focussing on the material circumstances underlying the transnational relocation of Brougham's programme for popular education from Britain to Sweden. However, text transfers such as the one exemplified in Ewerlöf's mediation of Brougham also lend themselves to investigations from a translation studies perspective, especially since translations with a purpose are arguably co-authored by the translator.⁸⁴ In this brief

82 *Ibid.*, 105.

83 *Ibid.*, 105, 108.

84 A common position within translation studies is that translations per definition are inter-

coda, I want to consider the light that translation studies can shed on the Ewerlöf-Brougham case.

Since an ideologically motivated translation expresses not only the agenda of the source text author but also that of the translator and other agents involved in relocating the text, the purpose of a translation is central to the changes that take place in the process of translation. This is especially so when the translation is of a high-profile text: one which was presented as innovative and even radical when first introduced to a new audience. Translations of reform texts are thus never merely linguistic transfers from one language to another; they also include the relocation and, indeed, adaptation of certain foreign ideas. When the translator's own ideological objectives and expertise are closely linked to the purpose of the translation, the result takes the form of an adaptation in which the translator assumes co-authorship of the translated text.⁸⁵

If we approach Ewerlöf's translation of Brougham's *Practical Observations* from a translation studies perspective, it is evident that the translator assumes a certain level of authorship. It is, however, also essential for Ewerlöf – and for the success of his translation – that the reader remains aware of the standing of the original author, since his name is the selling point of the work. Ewerlöf's voice amalgamates with the authorial voice of Brougham's text in a way that readers of the translation would not have been able to distinguish. An example of how intricately Ewerlöf, by taking on such an authorial voice, merges his roles of translator and commentator is found in the very beginning of the translation. Brougham opens his book thus:

I begin by assuming that there is no class of the community so entirely occupied with labour as not to have an hour or two every other day at least, to bestow upon the pleasure and improvement to be derived from reading ... Let us consider how the attainment of this inestimable advantage may be most successfully promoted.⁸⁶

In Ewerlöf's translation, the opening first personal pronoun 'I' becomes 'Herr Brougham' [Mr Brougham], and the exhortative 'Let us consider' is altogether removed in favour of a declaration of the translator's purpose: 'Huru denna oskattbara fördel med mesta framgång skall kunna ernås, är föremålet för närvarande undersökning' [How this inestimable advantage may be most suc-

pretations and rewritings, even manipulations. See e.g. Theo Hermans, ed., *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985) and Andre Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992).

85 For a discussion on the notion of translators as co-authors, see Cecilia Wadsö Lecaros, 'Who is the author of the translated text? The Swedish translation of Dinah Mulock's *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*', in Hanne Jansen and Anna Wegener, eds., *Authorial and Editorial Voices in Translation*, vol. 2 (Montreal: Vita Traductiva, 2013).

86 Brougham, *Practical Observations*, 1.

cessfully attained is the object of the present investigation].⁸⁷ From the very first line, Ewerlöf thus comments on the text he translates. Throughout the translation, a wavering use of pronouns is noticeable, which leads to a displacement of the authorial 'I', in that it shifts from indicating the implied author of the source text to that of an implied translator, to use Schiavi's term.⁸⁸ In the opening sentences of the translation, the original authorial voice has been reduced to a third-person referral, and as the text proceeds, Ewerlöf progressively takes over as author of the text.

The voices of nineteenth-century translators of social reform texts, whose reason for translating was to achieve change in their own country, often go beyond the role of the implied translator. The translator's authorial 'I' will then merge with the authorial voice of the source text. What makes Ewerlöf's translation stand out is the use he made of the seven-year gap between the source text and the translation. Instead of simply adapting the text for his intended audience, Ewerlöf added another layer to the text by letting his own voice comment, in retrospect, as it were, on the source text, in order to bring it up to date.

The changes that nineteenth-century reform texts went through in translation regarding contents, style, and tone were rarely advertised to the reader. As a result, translators were able to use foreign texts not only to introduce foreign ideas but also to promote their own thoughts. In the nineteenth century, most readers would encounter foreign authors and their ideas in translation, and the fact that these translations were ideological statements of their own is a circumstance which needs to be considered in research based on historical text materials.

87 Brougham, *Om folkbildning*, 1.

88 Giuliana Schiavi, 'There Is Always a Teller in a Tale', *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies* 8 (1996): 1–21, doi: 10.1075/target.8.1.02sch.