

REVIVAL AND SOCIETY

An examination of the Haugian revival and its influence on Norwegian society in the 19th century.

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Hans Nielsen Hauge, painted in 1800

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Foreword

As I submit this thesis, it remains for me to give a special thank to my two supervisors, associate professor Sigurd Skirbekk and rector Otto Hauglin, for their personal involvement in my work. Our many talks and discussions have influenced this thesis. I also want to thank my fellow students for their constructive criticism during the writing periode.

Rev. Einar Huglen has read the material on church history and given valuable corrections. A special thank goes to him. Elisabeth Engelsviken has accurately typed the whole manuscript, and Gro Bjerke has been of great help in drawing the figures. Thanks to both of you.

Oslo, April 1, 1978.

Alv J. Magnus

PS: The painting above shows the only known original portrait of Hans Nielsen Hauge, probably made in Copenhagen in 1800.

The English translation is done by Jenefer E. Hough, and the digital version by Steinar Thorvaldsen at Tromsø University College. A final part (Chapter 11-14) is only available in Norwegian, and is not included in this English version. A popularized Norwegian edition of parts of the thesis has been published in the book *Veirydder med gnagsår. Hans Nielsen Hauge og vekkelsen som forandret Norge* (Alv J. Magnus, Prokla Media 1996).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The subject under examination

This thesis is a study of the revival centred around Hans Nielsen Hauge, and the influence it had on Norwegian society in the last century. In addition, the final part of the thesis contains an analysis of Karl Marx', Emile Durkheim's and Max Weber's concept of religion, together with an examination of their views in the light of the Haugian revival as an empirical phenomenon. (The final part is only available in Norwegian, and is not included in this English version.)

1.2 The purpose of the examination

The purpose behind this work is to track down the influence of "spiritual" forces on social change through a study of the Haugian revival. (Our approach will be outlined later). We are under the impression that today's sociology is little interested in the possible influence on society of religion and the religious life. This is most likely related to the fact that such influence has hardly been great in recent years here in Norway. There can be many reasons for this. Religious life does not develop to the same extent at every point in history. Church history witnesses an ebb and flow also in the religious area. But the fact that it has been relatively quiet on the religious front in recent years should not fool us into thinking that religious forces do not have an influence on the development and welfare of society.

From our own history we know of periods of great upheaval where religion played a central part. There is an increasing, often dramatic, return to religion in many parts of the world today, not least in the third world. In many places extensive social changes are occurring as a result of this religious awakening. ¹⁾

We are perhaps about to experience a religious awakening and renewal also here in Norway. We believe therefore that our approach will soon show itself to be topical if it is not already so.

Classic sociological theory covers religious approaches to a much greater extent than today's sociology. The theoretical traditions from the founders of the discipline can, on the whole, be said to be pertinent even today. However, we experience their viewpoints as unsatisfactory in many ways.

These viewpoints are given a comprehensive validity which is way above what can be reasonably defended when one considers the narrow empirical foundations upon which they are built.

It can possibly be maintained with a certain amount of truth that the theorists have considered religion from a special viewpoint which satisfies their own paradigm. It can therefore be of a certain amount of interest to see how much our data on the Hauge revival will contradict the theorists. ²⁾

Thus it could be said that we have a double purpose in this thesis, firstly to test the supposition that revival is a driving power in a process of social change, and secondly to ascertain the validity of the central classic theorists' view of religion's role in society.

Seen from the narrower viewpoint of Norwegian religious research, this thesis can be of interest both sociologically and in the context of church history. In a review article on the

future of religious sociology, Olaf Aagedal expresses the necessity of making a start on a study of the lay movements. In the anthology "Religious Norway" he puts it in this way:

"Significant research projects are to be found in the development of the lay movement as a religious and popular social movement. A more detailed religious and sociological analysis of this movement should give an increased understanding of the democratisation process in Norwegian society".³⁾

More specifically for Haugian research, a need has been expressed for a more sociologically orientated examination of the Haugian revival. Andreas Aarflot points to this need when, in the introduction to his doctoral thesis on Hauge's understanding of Christianity, he says:

"There is also a pressing need to evaluate anew the influence Hauge's actions had on the life of society and the church. It would certainly be fruitful to work on the historical material from a sociological viewpoint".⁴⁾

1.3 The theoretical perspective

We have already mentioned in the introduction that it was the assumed connection between revival and social change which formed the basis of our interest for this survey. After enlarging on how we interpret that connection, we will try to arrive at a more precise expression of the hypothesis which will lead us in the examination.

Arnold Toynbee, the historian, is among those who have maintained that every culture is built around a religion.⁵⁾ That every nation has a religion has now to be acknowledged as proved by religion researchers and anthropologists. This is confirmed in a recent article of Professor Åke Hultkrantz⁶⁾ where he says, among other things, the following:

"Religion researchers acknowledge the presupposition that all ethnical groups in the past has a religion. This point of view finds support in the fact that no known people, or folk group isolated in the jungle or mountain area, has been found to be without some form of religious life. Mans spiritual talents, his psychological needs and his symbol thinking, makes it probable that religion is as old as mans own existence."

J.D. Unwin⁷⁾, the English anthropologist and historian, has made an important analysis and classification of a number of different religions and has studied in what way these coincide with various behaviour within the sexual area. He believes he can prove a clear inner relation between religion and the practical and institutional organization of reproduction and socialization. His survey also shows how religion fixes the shape of other institutions in society.

In his book "Revival and social life in Sweden", E.H. Thornberg, the Swedish sociologist states:

"Revival and free churches started the history of "folk movements" in Sweden. In many ways the whole "folk movement" is inspired by the religious revivals. (...) In the political life of our country, the free religious movements have without doubt, had a strong forming and colouring influence." (page 33)

The former Swedish prime minister, Tage Erlander, has stated in his memoirs, and more recently in a newspaper interview, that it was "the revival movement which paved the way for democracy, the labour movement and nykterhetsrørelsen" (Hemmets Vän 17.7.75).

These quotations are a small, representative selection of viewpoints which illustrate the perspective of our own analysis. They give expression to the interpretation that the religion of a group of people has an independent influence on society as a whole. Or, to put this line of thought slightly differently: "People's attitudes decide people's actions and these in their turn have a decisive influence on the structural appearance of society." As the book of Proverbs has it: For as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he. ⁸⁾

The philosopher Alfred Whitehead ⁹⁾ echoes this thought: "We live in the way we think. It is actually only a matter of time and opportunity before a person lives out in action that with which he fills his thoughts."

Therefore, when it is necessary to explain the reasons behind a process of change, we must point to a preceding change of mentality as the primary cause. C.T. Jonassen supports this supposition in his article "Etiske systemer og økonomisk atferd" when he maintains:

"Conditions in Norway seem to support Weber rather than Marx. The orientation of ideas seems to be more connected to the development of a capitalistic way of thinking than "production conditions" seem to do. It can be shown that the production resources which characterize capitalism were lacking in Norway. They could not therefore form the vital conditions for the superstructure of ideas which constitute "the spirit of capitalism"". ¹⁰⁾

Further in the article, he continues this train of thought by saying:

"Calvinism, Haugianism and the ethical systems (...) were first and foremost spiritual products which created a psychological attitude in their followers. This formed the basis for certain behaviour, customs and habits which in their turn facilitated the development of capitalism and promoted economic expansion". ¹¹⁾

And he concludes in the following manner:

"One must believe that an ethical system which controls and integrates human intercourse, and at the same time rewards and legitimizes certain forms of economic activity, will also have a profound influence on the behaviour of the individual, for whom it is as important that his actions can be justified and given deeper meaning, as it is to ensure the material necessities of life or to procure power over other people". ¹²⁾

Jonassen's study illustrates clearly the alleged connection between attitudes and behaviour. At the same time, he believes that it is also likely that this is a mutual relationship. Neither are we ignorant of the existence of a "two-way traffic." Both behaviour and external material conditions form and confirm our attitudes. But we maintain that it is with the influence of a change of attitude on behaviour that we reveal the dominant cause factors in the question of change. We have chosen this analytical perspective not because it first and foremost seems to have been neglected today, but because we believe it will reveal important conditions and facts which would necessarily be overlooked or concealed when approached from another angle.

In addition, we are interested in documenting the considerable consequences such behaviour changes can have when one moves from the individual plane to higher organisms. In other words, we aim to evaluate the consequences for larger social systems of a marked behaviour change in a number of individuals within the system. In order to find an entrance to the named study area that I have chosen to study Christian revivals and the influence these appear to have had on groups within society or even, in certain cases, on the whole of society. This

should represent a type of experiment which to a large extent ought to cast light on the relationship between change in attitude, change in behaviour and change in structures.¹³⁾ We know from church history that it is especially in times of revival that the message is practised in a radical way. It is also at such times that one observes the most radical conversions. But it is just such radical upheavals in the lifestyles of many individuals which we believe can give an answer to the question of whether an individual or group of individuals can have any deciding influence on the structure of society.

It is our opinion that a study of the phenomenon "revival" will confront us with a change which is compressed both in time and space in such a way that it should be possible to carry out an empirical analysis using sociological tools. When changes are less comprehensive, and less beneficial, the consequences are also generally more difficult to track down. In the latter case it would be a task more for the historian to evaluate these effects as there would presumably be a question of a much longer time perspective.

The above observations have hopefully clarified the train of thought behind our reasoning.

We can now formulate our working hypothesis thus:

"Religious revival has an independent changing effect on social groups and structures in society".

A definition of the sphere of research and some conceptions should further clarify the theoretical perspective of the survey.

1.3.1. A definition of conceptions

Sociology can be defined as the study of the interaction between the different institutions in society. The conception "institution" has two definitions in sociology. Many understand an institution to be a collection of norms which regulate a central task or function in society¹⁴⁾. Others define an institution as a definite organisation for solving a certain collective task or (we could add) to fulfil certain collective needs. The latter definition is more in harmony with colloquial language, where an institution can mean a hospital, a school or a church. Both definitions can, however, be considered equally useful and fruitful, according to how they are to be used¹⁵⁾.

In connection with our own work, with the approach we have chosen, it will be most fruitful to use the concrete behaviour-oriented definition rather than the normative. We understand that from a simple viewpoint the normative definition has the wider scope. It can be used to include all religious life in a society. As an analytical tool it can also be used to describe non-church religiosity, the sort of religiosity which is not bound by confessional patterns. It is this type of religiosity which Bendt Gustafsson has called popular religiosity.

On the other hand, it can be an advantage to use a "narrower" definition for our purposes. Therefore, when the term religious institution is used later in the text, it is used to mean the Christian church in general. When it is necessary to specify a particular denomination, local churches or organisations, this will be done. As it should be plain from the above discussion, this does not mean that we make the mistake of equating the church with all other religiosity in society. We have guarded ourselves against such an accusation by our analytical preference in the question of definition. But by this decision we also solve the problem of defining religion. As Knut Lundby points out¹⁶⁾, sociologists of religion have not been able to agree on

a common definition. It is not necessary for our purposes to make a decision on which definition we will use from the rich flora found in the literature. It is enough for us to maintain that we, when we talk of religion and religious institutions, are referring to specified Christian churches and denominations.

When determining the research area of the sociology of religion, we can use a definition found in "Lexicon i sociologi". It states that the sociology of religion is "the study of religion and the religious phenomenon as a social institution, together with its relation to other institutions in society." ¹⁷⁾

It is particularly the relationships between institutions which interest a sociologist. The interest centres around discovering both the regularities and variations in this interaction. Implicit in the sociological understanding of society as an interrelated system of institutions is the assumption that a change in one institution will lead to a corresponding effect in another.

Therefore, if we choose to see revival as a phenomenon localised in a religious institution, we are dealing firstly with a change in that religious institution. Such changes can take many different forms, but our primary task is to trace their effects on the other institutions in society.

We have now made clear what we mean by an institution and how we are going to study any possible effects the process of change in a religious institution may have.

1.3.2 The importance of presuppositions to the research process

As far as this thesis is concerned, we have made a point of showing that sociology is not, and cannot be, without presuppositions. No-one tackles a research project with a mind empty of values, like a blank page. In fact quite the opposite is the case. We all carry within us a whole set of assumptions which to a greater or lesser degree characterise our contribution to research. ¹⁸⁾ In his book "Kritisk forsker holdning" (critical research attitudes) ¹⁹⁾, Professor John Nome has shown how these preconceived underlying principles can be divided into three groups. Firstly, what he calls the underlying opinion or overall viewpoint, that is, the understanding of realities or viewpoint of realities which the researcher has. He then places what he calls self-evident truths in a second group. Concisely expressed, these are what are accepted as "sure" knowledge at a certain point in time. In the final group he places a set of basic ideas or categories. The opinion content of these basic ideas will to a large extent be characterised by the scholastic traditions of certain research trends.

As an example of the latter we can point to the term "dialectic". Etymologically the word dialectic comes from the Greek "dialegein" and is connected to the word "dialogos". The basic meaning of the word therefore points to conversation, deliberation, consideration ²⁰⁾ Historically, however, the word has had a variety of meanings. It is sufficient here to refer to the special purpose the term has had within Marxism.

The knowledge which has been authorised within several branches of research makes up a considerable part of the axiomatic which the individual researcher takes for granted as an obvious presupposition for his own research. But this "sure" knowledge has been arrived at after a process where the collector of information and the interpreter of this knowledge have themselves been led and influenced by their own overall viewpoints and basic opinions. A part of the guarantee basis for "sure" knowledge is, consequently, to be found in the overall viewpoint. And what guarantee do we have that this viewpoint is correct? We see

immediately that here we have touched upon a most decisive problem within epistemology. It is a debate which we will not pursue further at this point. We will, however, come back to this discussion in a later section of this thesis. Let it be enough to refer to the philosopher of knowledge, Michele Polanyi's thorough exposure of the deficient epistemological basis of positivism.²¹⁾

We now begin to see the research process as a threefold, interdependent chain in the acquisition of knowledge:

PREMISE → THEORY → OBSERVATION

The outcome of the observation has therefore consequences for theory either in the form of verification (affirmation) or rejection (negation). In the case of rejection, this will have to lead to a revision (modification) of the original theory. The new, revised theory will then, presumably, be presented in a truer, clarified form. In the event of repeated and serious theoretical set-backs in confrontation with systematic observation, one would have to evaluate whether the basic axioms also need to be re-assessed. This is a short description of the progress of a research process.

The classic view of the history of science as a cumulative, teleological process, where the volume of knowledge grows both qualitatively and quantitatively, has been seriously questioned by the scientific theorists such as Thomas Kuhn and Karl Popper and his pupils: Imre Lakatos, Joseph Agassi and Paul Feueraband²²⁾. Common to all these scientific theorists is the fact that they all reject the cumulative viewpoint of the history of science. Nils Roll-Hansen, in an interesting book about Pasteur, has given a well-formulated description of the cumulative scientific viewpoint:

"There is a widespread perception that the development of science consists of a gradual, progressive revelation of truth. That natural reality is a sort of terrain which will be revealed, described and evaluated. The research process can be compared to an "archaeological dig" into reality which is assumed to have been established beforehand. This scientific knowledge is built up gradually as new phenomena and laws are continually being discovered and added to the building. One laboriously adds stone to stone and thus the imposing building which is modern science comes into being. This view of the growth of science is generally known as cumulative because the growth or progress is considered to consist of a continual accumulation of bricks of knowledge, each of which has a well-defined content"²³⁾.

The text-books often have a hand in maintaining the view of the history of science as a continual unbroken journey from dim twilight to bright day where the sum of collected knowledge builds up a steadily clearer and more uniformly distinctive insight into the mystery of existence. Such an understanding in reality helps to obscure the actual course of the history of research, as Roll-Hansen clearly shows in his consideration of Pasteur's research.

The corrective which Kuhn expresses in his book "The structure of Scientific Revolutions", which Roll Hansen builds upon, consists of showing that science has evolved through revolutions. Such radical changes lead to large portions of established knowledge becoming obsolete and without interest. Kuhn brings out as examples the transition from Aristotelian to Galilean mechanics and the transition from Flogiston to oxygen chemistry.

It is through such scientific revolutions that we obtain the radical re-evaluation of premises, as referred to earlier, or paradigms as Kuhn calls it.²⁴⁾

Popper and his pupils are also opposed to the cumulative viewpoint, but they differ from

Kuhn in that they have a more evolutionary view of the development of science. They stress a gradual change. They explain the "jumps" in the declaration as being due to competition between different viewpoints where the one viewpoint wins territory little by little until the other is finally pushed aside. With this way of explaining things it is also clear that there is a question of a "power change" when it comes to the basic paradigms or Worldviews. The history of science, however, bears witness to the fact that basic assumptions are very tenacious.²⁵⁾ It is not just a question of the weight of proof. It is often such that a set of assumptions are closely connected to ideological or religious ideas which have influence in society. Or there can be instances where the holders of purely political power defend and support particular assumptions. It is therefore not to be wondered at that a new worldview will meet with bitter opposition when it challenges the established power-supporting view. New discoveries can, no doubt, lead to a re-evaluation and reformulation of theory formations without opposition. But it is very seldom the case that new discoveries or other sources of new assumptions force basic positions to give way. In the course of this dissertation we shall be pointing out some of these kinds of axioms which are at cross purposes with systematic and discoveries but which are maintained because they have a special affinity with certain basic viewpoints.

This analysis will give us the chance to elucidate the theoretical discussion we have had. Through the criticism we shall exercise, our own position will also be marked out. Using this method we shall be able to place our own contribution to research more clearly in relation to other theorists and schools of thought within this discipline.

1.4. Methodical considerations

1.4.1. Around the subject of research

We have already hinted at our reason for choosing to engage in revival research. But it may be necessary in addition to justify the specific choice of the Haugian revival as a research subject.

Firstly this revival is a Norwegian phenomenon. This gives it a cultural and linguistic proximity for us which makes it especially relevant as an object for examination. We believe that this type of proximity is an advantage in that we believe it will spare us from a number of wrong conclusions which could be made when dealing with a foreign culture. The circumstances around the revival are easier to monitor as they belong to an important episode in our own history which has already been well described. It can be said to be an advantage on the whole that there is such a rich literature on the subject in our language.

That brings us to our next point - the proximity in time. The revival is near enough in time for the source material to be rich and varied. At the same time, it is now so long since Hauge lived that we have the necessary distance from the events of his life to ensure a greater objectivity when evaluating his achievements and influence.

And last but not least, the revival is of interest in that it coincided with the emergence of capitalism in Norway. Or, perhaps more precisely, it occurred in the period just before and created a prelude to its emergence.

Together with Ottar Dahl we can say that the task is:

"a sociological study based on historical material (...). The investigation can be called historical both in that the material is specified geographically and in time, and in that the study includes a development perspective, that is to say that it treats processes over a period of time."²⁶⁾

1.4.2. Working methods used

The word "method" itself comes from the Greek "methodos" which means "to follow an appointed way towards an end". A method, in other words, is a preconceived approach which is applicable for accomplishing a certain condition or for solving a stated problem (see Aubert, 1972, s. 196). In simple terms, this means that we must use historical source material, both primary and secondary sources, in order to get a complete picture of the sociological conditions around Hauge's activities. We are interested in establishing the time and place of events we are going to describe on the basis of collected data. By use of the best possible historical documentation of the actual events we shall endeavour to evaluate the importance of the different components for developments' direction and form.

Therefore, in addition to the collection of hard facts, it will be essential to undertake an interpretive analysis of their value and a consideration of mutual power relationships in order to find an explanation for why historical progress took the course it did.

The "soft" considerations are not of least importance for increasing our knowledge of the interaction between institutions in society. The conceptions which are then promoted will also be those most liable to criticism. It will be easier here to expose doubtful conclusions than in the choice of hard facts. The presentation form of the historical progression gives in itself an insight into the assumptions which lie behind it. In the case of this survey, however, it will not be so easy to camouflage our own assumptions in the selection of data. The revival we are engaged in studying is so well documented and has been so closely studied from both a secular historical and a church historical viewpoint that any bias from our side would have little influence on its presentation.

The crucial test will be our interpretation of the data which is already, to a large extent, well known.

We have chosen to give a lot of room to the historical facts in this thesis. This is done for two reasons: firstly because we wish to present as rich a picture as possible of the historical conditions from which we draw conclusions, and secondly because historical experience will be of interest where it contributes to weaken sociological theories.

We have chosen to emphasize those sides of Hauge's preaching which can be thought to have had an influence on the behaviour of Hauge's followers. This is defended by our original hypothesis, which dictates the necessity of clarifying the conditions preceding the breakout of the revival in order to have a basis for comparison with the conditions prevailing afterwards. This latter has, however, turned out to be the most difficult. It is very difficult, not least from a methodical angle, to carry out such comparisons covering such a long time span, and for such large social units. The task has been particularly difficult because of the lack of applicable statistical material from that period for that which we wish to measure. We have therefore not been able to carry out quantified, systematic measurements for ascertaining changes and effect contexts. But the credibility of the claimed relationship between revival and sociological changes do not necessarily suffer on this account. There are always a number of questions raised in connection with the "measurement" of claimed cause relationships via statistical specifications. We would in addition have problems in isolating

and correcting for intermediate variables. What could apparently be presumed to be clear causal chains could, with new repeated controls, be exposed as spurious connections.

As previously stated, such systematic, statistical comparisons as we could have wished to undertake entail firstly large methodical problems of choice and perhaps even greater problems when it comes to the analysis itself. We venture to maintain that such quantitative analyses seldom attain very great convincing power. It is perhaps less pretentious to opt for a "softer" methodical plan in the direction of a Weberen "Verstehen" analysis. It can be maintained that such a method of procedure will in any case be just as fruitful for our purposes.

1.4.3. Choice and use of sources

Just a quick treatment of the subject of the use of sources. It should be obvious from the footnotes that certain sources are used often and others used less.

As far as the presentation of Hauge's message is concerned, we have kept in all essentials to Andreas Aarflot's work. (In parenthesis, let it be noted that the reason we have used both editions of his doctoral thesis is that we in our first draft only used the abridged and edited edition, but at a later point in the work found it necessary to include special information found in the original version).

It is generally accepted that Aarflot's presentation of Hauge's understanding of Christianity is the most thorough and comprehensive. We have also found it desirable, however, to use our own evaluation of Hauge's viewpoints to a certain extent. In this we have used Hauge's collected works edited by H.N.H. Ording et al. We have also benefited from studying Hauge's letters which are published in four volumes edited by Ingolf Kvamen. In addition we have been able to peruse about 750 Haugianer letters in transcript at the Norwegian Institute of Historical Sources. In this way we have become to a certain extent familiar with the thought world of Hauge and his friends.

Otherwise we have familiarised ourselves with the most usual standard works on Hauge, as will be seen from the bibliography. Of new sources which have not previously been used in Hauge research in Norway, we can name two American doctoral theses: Magnus Nodtvedt: "Rebirth of Norway's peasantry" and Silas Bergstad: "Hans Nielsen Hauge and religious lay activity in Norway". The latter thesis came into our hands at such a late stage that it has not had any relevance to our presentation. For a more complete evaluation of the literature pertaining to Hauge we refer to Aarflot's thesis (1969 edition).

In order to bring out any nuances in viewpoints, we have used several church historical works, most of which cover the same period. The same standpoint has motivated us to seek as representative a historical coverage as possible. It would, of course, be possible to widen the number of secular historical works used as a source basis, but we hope that the desired balance has been achieved.

As far as the last part of the thesis is concerned, there is not much source material to name. Secondary literature has been quite central. Two of the books we have used are relatively new (Dominick La Capra, 1972 and Anthony Giddens, 1971), and have therefore not been used to any degree earlier. As far as the three classics are concerned, our use of them as secondary literature has been relatively modest. One could no doubt have brought in a number of other works here to advantage. A greater knowledge of this literature would also perhaps have

given this thesis a somewhat different form. There are, however, certain natural limits which come into play when it comes to the choice of material.

1.5. The structure of the thesis

The only thing which now remains is to describe the structure of the thesis. We have chosen to divide it into three. The first part is purely descriptive. We find here a description of Hauge's times and Hauge's activities. In part two follows an attempt at an evaluation of the influence which the Haugian revival had on the development of society, analysed sector by sector. The four chapters from 6-9 are thus to be regarded as experimental sociological analysis.

For the final part of the thesis these finds are discussed in relation to the classic theory traditions on the place of religion in society. Thus the theoretical discussion can be said to come at the end.

In the closing chapter we make a modest attempt to develop the propositions further into a theoretical model applied to social change, the contours of which we have just hinted at in this opening chapter.

Finally an observation about the footnotes. We have chosen to put the notes at the end of each chapter. It has been found to be too cumbersome to turn back to notes which are placed at the end of a thesis.

Notes Chap. 1:

- 1) See treatment of this in chapter 14.
- 2) Berndt Gustafsson has said that just such a post examination should be a central part of future religious-sociological research: (Swedish quotation) Berndt Gustafsson: Religions-sosiologi (1965) p.11.
- 3) Olaf Aagedal: Norsk religions-sosiologi. Nokre synspunkt på fortid og framtid. Pål Repstad (editor). Det religiøse Norge, 1977:39.
- 4) Andrea Aarflot: Tro og lydighet. Hans Nielsen Hauges kristendomsforståelse (1969) p.11.
- 5) Arnold Toynbee: Historien i nytt lys (1949) kfr. Sigurd Skirbekk: Sosiologiske makroteorier (1976) pp. 137-139.
- 6) Åke Hultkranz: De første Gudarnas tid. Forskning och Framsteg, 1-2, 1975.
- 7) S. Skirbekk, op. cit. p. 152
- 8) Proverbs chapter 23, verse 7.
- 9) A. Whitehead : Modes of thought, (1956) p.87. * I'm not sure where this quotation ends.
- 10) C.T. Jonassen: Ethiske systemer og økonomisk atferd. Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning, (1963) p.68.
- 11) Ibid. p.69.
- 12) Ibid. p.71.
- 13) Such a perspective is not limited just to religious influence, but can on the whole be applied to all types of conscious forms. (?) See also a development of this perspective in chapter 14.4.
- 14) Wilhelm Aubert: Sosiologi (1964) p. 198 and Sigurd Skirbekk: Den samfunnsvitenskapelige tenkemåte (1968) p. 38.
- 15) Sigurd Skirbekk: Makroteorier, op. cit. p.44.
- 16) Knut Lundby: Sekularisering i Norden, stencil (1975) p.12.
- 17) Lexicon i Sociologi (1971) p.100.
- 18) See for example Bernt T. Oftestad: Historie, Tro og Forståelse, 1973, p.22. Oftestad emphasises that even the reporting of history is not unrelated to a particular view of life.
- 19) John Nome: Kritisk forskerholdning i etikk og religions- filosofi, 1970 pp. 95-96.
- 20) See Olav Valen-Sendstad: Virkelighet og virkelighets- forståelse, 1948, pp. 58-61.
- 21) Michael Polanyi: Personal knowledge, 1962. See especially the chapter "Objectivity". See also Schaeffer: He is there and he is not silent, 1972, p.47 onwards.
- 22) Nils Roll-Hansen: Forskningens frihet og nødvendighet, Pasteurs teorier i vekst og forfall, 1974. See

especially chapter IV.

23) Ibid. p.88.

24) Roll-Hansen, op.cit. p.89

25) We are not distinguishing between the conceptions: premise, axiom, postulate, or basic assumption. We reckon them in this context as synonyms. The sense content should be clear from the discussion in progress.

26) Ottar Dahl: Økonomisk vekst og radikalisme i arbeiderbevegelsen. Historisk tidsskrift 4, (1972), p.420.

CHAPTER 2: HAUGE AND HIS TIMES

2.1. Hauge's significance

Professor Einar Molland ¹⁾ opens his church history with the following description of the nineteenth century:

"The current view of history is right to consider the nineteenth century as an extraordinary time of awakening and a singular time of expansion in every way: a newly awakened political life after centuries of sleepiness, a large scale economic expansion, an enormous improvement in transport, with a consequential strengthening of national unity, the betterment of the people's living conditions, a great improvement in the education of the masses, the growth of Norwegian scholarship, made possible by the foundation in 1811 of what was until recently the only university in the land, a literary golden age which began with Henrik Wergeland and continued until Sigrid Undset, and last but not least, a newly awakened religious life. Everywhere we are met by great upheavals and new foundations and life opportunities which stand in sharp contrast to the previous century".

With this description we get an inkling of the reasons for this great development. Molland continues:

"The first great revival in Norway accentuates the entry of nineteenth century church history. Hans Nielsen Hauge aroused a large portion of the Norwegian people, and he awoke slumbering forces in many areas of popular life. His work became significant for political life through the peasant revolt, and for economic and social life. But it is first and foremost church life which bears his mark."

Molland is not alone in giving Hauge and the revival which bears his name an important role in the forming of nineteenth century history. Hauge's biographer in the last century, Bishop Christen Bang, ²⁾ assesses Hauge's contribution thus:

"The church historical phenomenon, which began with the appearance of the peasant boy Han Nielsen Hauge in the year 1796, stands in a place of its own historically. Church history certainly has many examples of laymen acting in opposition to the degenerate nature of the Church, and many such men have certainly had a considerable influence both on their contemporary times and on the future. But a so justified church historically and purely ecclesiastically layman's action as Hauge's does not - as far as I am able to assess history - have any counterpart."

Hauge's famous contemporary in Denmark, N.F.S. Grundtvig said it this strongly:

"With Hans Nielsen Hauge the spirit of the people of Norway was awakened". ³⁾

A legal thesis from our own times puts it thus: ⁴⁾

"He (Hauge) was faithful to the task he had taken upon himself. His preaching was also the cause of the biggest and most profound revival Norway has experienced. It was a revival which took hold of the people's defeat and liberated and activated all religious progress in our land."

Breistein cites the German author Günther who expresses himself thus:

"Mit ihm erst beginnt eigentlich die Geschichte des norwegischen Protestantismus als Volksreligion, nicht nur als Kirchenreligion" (German quotation) ⁵⁾

The primate of the Norwegian church, Bishop Andreas Aarflot, has also contributed a major academic work on Hauge. He concludes his thesis with this tribute:

"The strong faith and unfailing obedience which characterised Hauge was the seal of a lifework which contributed to the creation of a new epoch in the life and history of the Norwegian people".⁶⁾

This is just a little bouquet of many possible statements we could have chosen to show the importance Hans Nielsen Hauge has had for our church and our history. His life and work has been well described in a number of biographies, theses, journal articles and novels. His work has been evaluated from theological, church historical and legal viewpoints. But in spite of the importance which the Haugian revival is considered to have had for our people, there has been extremely little sociological examination of Haugianism and its role in the last century.⁷⁾

The aim of this thesis

We hope that this thesis will be a contribution to correct this omission. It does not aim primarily to bring new or original contributions of biographical nature to the literature on and about Hans Nielsen Hauge. Our task is to give an analysis of the influence which revival as a general sociological phenomenon has on society and on social changes in a society. This hypothesis has hardly been touched upon previously, either in church-historical presentations or in purely sociological presentations.⁸⁾

2.2 Hauge's times

When we wish to discuss the influence of spiritual forces on a social and economic change process in society, we must first look at the historical material. What was new in Hauge's teaching? To what degree can we say that Hauge represented something new to his contemporaries? To be able to answer these questions, we have to sketch a picture of the period just before the turn of the 19th century in Norway.

2.2.1 The ecclesiastical picture

2.2.1.1. A time of decline

Without doubt this can be claimed to be a time of radical decline in the church.⁹⁾ In the eighteenth century Norway had experienced a number of pietistic revivals, which were well supported by Christian the sixth's pietistic government. A puritanical reform of christianity was also encouraged by the devotional books which were distributed to a large proportion of the Norwegian population at this time. Bishop Erik Pontoppidan's books "Truth for the God-fearing" and "The mirror of faith" were of particular importance. But the reaction to pietism came as early as 1746 with the change of government in Copenhagen when "the theatres were re-opened and pleasure making freed, while the ecclesiastically enforced regulations were abandoned."¹⁰⁾ In Struensee's time there was even talk of "getting rid of the clergy and introducing secular priests."¹¹⁾ From the middle of the 1760's rationalism made advances in the theology faculty of Copenhagen University. After Struensee's fall in 1772, rationalism began seriously to come to the fore of Danish church life. And since 1784, perhaps even earlier, the faculty has been wholly rationalistic and some would even say naturalistic.¹²⁾ According to Welle, the most trenchant rationalistic attack on the old faith came from Otto Horrebow's journal "Jesus and reason."¹³⁾ Denmark had pure Voltairians who made malicious attacks on the church. In the educated world derision was thrown at religion: many examples of this stem from Det Norske Selskab in Copenhagen, especially those written by Johan Herman Wessel, a clergyman's son.¹⁴⁾ To give a little insight into the theological climate in

Copenhagen at that time, Welle tells of the lectures given by the bishop of Zealand, Nicolai Edinger Balle, (1744-1816) in defence of the Scriptures against the radical tendencies in intellectual life.

"There was much noise, so that one could hardly hear the bishop's words, people even talking back to him in the pulpit and insulting him with unsuitable questions." ¹⁵⁾

Such was the tone in many circles in the Scandinavian capital at that time, and that which was said against the bishop in church was nothing in comparison with that which was shouted and written outside. ¹⁶⁾ A contemporary Christian figure, Grundtvig, experienced it in this way:

"The ten great persecutions of the primitive church and all the darkness which the papacy contained during the Middle Ages can in no way be compared with what happened to Christianity in the generation from the outbreak of the French Revolution until Napoleon's death and the Greek revolt". ¹⁷⁾

Thus it appeared to the Danish theologian and churchman when he looked at the church and christian life of his time.

2.2.1.2. Rationalism - the main theological movement

When we realise that all Norwegian clergymen were educated at that time at the theological faculty in Copenhagen, it is reasonable to assume that rationalism also began to characterize the Norwegian clergy by and by. In volume 1 of his detailed church history, Heggveit reviews the spread of rationalism among the Norwegian clergy. There were, of course, elderly clergy who held fast to orthodoxy, ¹⁸⁾ some were also of a more Herrnhut colour, for example the parish priest in Tune, Seeberg, ¹⁹⁾ but towards the end of the eighteenth century, the great majority, particularly the younger ones, were strongly influenced by the new trends of the times.

Welle maintains that it was fairly unusual to hear a purely secular sermon, but that it was quite significant that such a sermon could at all be heard in a church. Apart from sermons about vaccination and potatoes, he names: warnings against reading too much, how important it is to raise healthy children, and the advantages of sating cemeteries outside the larger towns (using the story of the widow of Nain as an example) ²⁰⁾. The strongest examples of secular and heathen expressions used in spiritual talks were given by Bishop Peder Hanssen, who ended a sermon in Kristiansand's cathedral thus:

"Every honest Norwegian or Danish citizen calls upon Odin the good for success for his beloved Frode. Hail, hail, Christian and Fredrik!" ²¹⁾

Peder Hanssen, who was Danish, was the clergyman who directly contributed to Hauge's imprisonment by writing to the chancellor. These rationalistically influenced clergy were actively engaged in all possible business other than theology and the direct responsibilities which followed with the priestly call. The parish priest of Vang in Hedmark, Abraham Pihl, excelled in worldly activities. He was one of the most gifted instrument makers in Europe, specialising in making telescopes. He was, of course, an astronomer, and also a turner, painter, smith, carpenter, watchmaker, glass blower, doctor, distiller, all in addition to being a theologian and counsellor. ²²⁾

Even though large numbers of the clergy and the other educated classes embraced rationalism, the ordinary people on the whole were untouched by it. Bang gives this explanation:

"On the whole it appears that the ordinary people did not understand the rationalistic clergy; this partly because they were not capable of moving the people's feelings; partly because their sermons were so obtuse that the less enlightened were unable to understand the new teaching; partly because there were many who doubted that the more enlightened religious ideas would benefit the simple man - the peasant contented himself with the old teaching as expounded in Pontoppidan's book, while the more distinguished were enlightened by the clergyman's wisdom; partly because rationalism was so vague in its nature that the ordinary man found it difficult to grasp (his ideas and demands were realistic). One certainly felt that something was missing from the clergy's sermons, but what it was, one really didn't know. What the clergy said was as a rule true enough in itself, and it was always popular when virtue and good deeds were preached - there was a good, aesthetic grounding in the people. The fault did not so much lie in what was preached as in what was not preached. So the ordinary man accepted in his naivety what he was offered, built the rationalistic ways of speaking on to the foundation of the old Christian content, and helped himself otherwise by using the old devotional books as best he could".²³⁾

After that description of the situation, let us try to understand the political and social conditions which can throw some light on why the situation had become what it was.

To sum up, one can put it this way: the Catholic clergy before the Reformation were many in number, had a low social status, but were representatives on the other hand of a powerful institution with its headquarters in Rome.²⁴⁾ After the Reformation, the number of clergy was drastically cut,²⁵⁾ and the church was simultaneously subjected more and more to the king's power and influence until the introduction of the autocracy in 1660 made that influence absolute. From then on the clergy were reckoned to be a part of the political bureaucracy and completely in the king's hands or his advisor's discretion.²⁶⁾ The church's autonomous position was definitively broken.

Under Catholicism, recruitment to church office was open to the peasants. Thus they had access to social and geographic mobility. This access was slowly closed under Lutherans both because there were fewer positions, and because the clergy became to a greater extent self-recruiting.²⁷⁾ As the profession was handed down from father to son, and the newly educated theologian often married a clergy widow, so the clergy became more and more characteristically a closed status group. This form of career succession was profitable to the State and, according to Flint, became considered as just as legitimate as the peasant's allodial rights.²⁸⁾ Through intermarriage the clergy also became interwoven with the rest of the royal administration and the growing mercantile aristocracy.²⁹⁾

From the time of Fredrik the fifth until the end of the century, the administration in Copenhagen showed little interest in the church.³⁰⁾ Mannsåker has shown that in 1825 there were only half as many clergymen per head of population as there had been in 1750.³¹⁾ In conjunction with the religious indifference, if not animosity, which was the fashion of the day, the authorities tried to make demands on the clergy by imposing duties other than purely ecclesiastical ones. Though many of these duties, such as the education of the ordinary people, probably coincided with the rationalistically directed wishes of the clergymen, the administrative duties are a factor which explains some of the neglect we have shown in the vocational work of the parish.

When the clergy also had control of all religious expression, and their numerical position was weakened in the parishes, the church's ability to define and control the standards of society was, naturally enough, weakened.³²⁾ And last but not least, the watered-down theology contributed to the sapping of the church's strength.

That was just a little on the ecclesiastical picture. We would, however, like to give a fuller picture of the times around the turn of the eighteenth century.

2.2.2. Conditions in society

2.2.2.1. The ruling class

At this time Norway had about the same population as Denmark, Denmark with about 900.000 inhabitants and Norway about 880.000. The urban population of Norway accounted for about 8.8% of the country's inhabitants, and the educated class was even smaller. The ruling class was made up of government officials and the wealthy middle classes, most of whom were Norwegian, though quite a few were Danish-born. The main mass of the people were peasants. Norwegian society at that time was divided strictly into classes. The peasants, more than nine tenths of the population, were seen as "the crude common people". Even Nordahl Bruun, who always spoke favourably of the peasants, looked down on them.³³⁾

The upper classes still wore wigs at this time and they looked on even the smallest cliff as a "chose affreux" and every lonely or remote valley as a "solitude horrible".³⁴⁾ Sars tells how when the young Holberg travelled in the Alps, he had no words of praise for the beauty and grandeur of the Alpine scenery. On the contrary, he says of Savoy that it has many pretty places and towns, "even though the country is full of cliffs and awful to look at."³⁵⁾

The government officials and wealthy middle classes enjoyed a busy social life. In his biography of Hauge, Norborg includes an account from the diary of the Danish admiral, Hans Christian Sneedorff, of one of the parties which continuously taking place in Christiania society.³⁶⁾ One gets an impression from this of the vast divide between these patricians of Christiania and the ordinary peasants.

To quote yet another social critic from the last century, Christopher Bruun, who describes those times thus:

"The last (18th) century was one of the saddest in the life of the church and of humanity. Apart from the great decline in christianity, it is distinguished by the deep moral aberration which preceded this decline and paved the way for it. And this aberration came largely from the royal courts... Above all it was in France that it was so. But the people willingly followed as well as they could in other places. The glittering court of the French Louis became the admired model for the heaven-defying corruption of Europe."³⁷⁾

2.2.2.2. The peasant's lot

Parallel with the enormous differences of status which prevailed and the contempt the privileged had for the "crude, common people", there was also in these times an unrealistic enthusiasm for the peasants. Rousseau's slogan "back to nature" was fashionable. When the privileged were in the right mood, they sang drinking songs about the legendary Norwegian peasant. Holberg calls the allodia list in Norway "an aristocrat in miniature."³⁸⁾ But to have anything to do with the peasants except in an official capacity was quite unheard of. As far as punishment for offences was concerned, this could mean quite a lot as the autocracy had a detailed and rigorous legislation. Hauge gives us a small insight into this in his first little pamphlet "Verden's Daarlighed." We read here about the holy day laws of 1735 and detailed decrees from the government in 1783 on "the curtailing of luxury."³⁹⁾ All that didn't have their own farms were forced by a vagrancy act to go into service in the village. It was against

the law to travel without a valid pass-port, which had to be issued by the local police sergeant and was controlled at each new place one came to. These passports were only issued if one could show that one had a lawful reason for one's journey.

Hauge himself was an acute observer. From his travel writings we can gain a lot of information on the social conditions of the times. It has been estimated that on his travels around the country he covered about 15.000 kilometres.⁴⁰⁾ He covered most of the valleys south of the mountains and reached as far north as Tromsø. Wherever he went he

"observed carefully the people's frame of mind, their speech, mode of life, their clothing, - briefly, their inner and outer disposition as far as I could comprehend it..."⁴¹⁾

From Hauge's descriptions of his impressions of the different districts we hear that :

"In the county of Smaalenenes, especially in the social class I was born into, one finds a little more culture than in the other bordering areas: the people excel in hospitality and good deeds, though some are malicious and uneducated, others delight in status and sensual pleasure, while yet others delight in niggardliness and others in drunkenness."⁴²⁾

Hauge also travelled around in Denmark. His observations of the Danish peasants are interesting as they also say something of conditions in Norway.

"Drunkenness seems to be much less common there (Denmark) than here; true, some peasants there live as small lords in their fastidiousness, but one rarely sees anyone drunk."⁴³⁾

On the other hand it was said by the Danes that the Norwegian peasant ate such food as the Dane would not even give to his "creatures".⁴⁴⁾ One can establish that on the whole living conditions for the peasants in Norway were meagre.

2.2.2.3. Years of scarcity and insurrection

Statistics have their own language to describe the people's lot. There were years of scarcity in Norway both before and after the turn of the century. The number of deaths in Norway shows a drastic jump in 1809, with an increase over the previous year of nearly 9.000 from 23.783 in 1808 to 32.486 in 1809.⁴⁵⁾ A similar jump occurred in 1813 with an increase in deaths over the previous years of over 7.000.⁴⁶⁾

Denmark/Norway was at war in 1808 with both England and Sweden. Corn imports from Denmark, upon which large parts of the country were dependent, ceased when the English fleet set up a blockade around the Norwegian coast. 1808 was a year of famine for the whole country and bark and moss were used instead of flour to make bread. Fish and meat were still available, but in 1809 there was an acute and serious shortage of salt, which was vital for their preservation.⁴⁷⁾ The winter of 1809 was too hard for many and they succumbed.

For the common people, want and uncertainty as to whether their means of livelihood would be sufficient were ever present guests. When Hauge travelled north of the mountains and as far north as to Troms bringing several shiploads of corn, there was a scarcity of both seed-corn and bread. He too had to eat bread made of bark and straw during part of the voyage.⁴⁸⁾ Even before the turn of the century the people had felt the ravages of want. In 1773 in Akershus alone 20.700 people had died.⁴⁹⁾ It was the worst year of want in the century, worse

even than 1740-42, when people had died along the roads, having sought in vain for jobs in the towns.⁵⁰⁾

An antagonistic relationship had developed between the town dwellers, who had privileges which gave them a monopoly in trade and industry, and the peasants, who were dependent upon trading their goods in the towns.⁵¹⁾ On the whole this trade and an increased use of money as a means of payment had been most advantageous for the middle-classes. The peasants complained in many places, not without cause, that the bourgeoisie appropriated riches unjustly at the expense of the peasants, and put them in debt both for their farms and for their land. These conditions formed the basis for several peasant revolts in the second part of the 18th century. This was true of the Nedenes revolt in 1752, when 6-700 men obtained the corn they needed by force from Danish vessels in Arendal harbour.⁵²⁾

To an even greater extent, this applied to the Lofthus revolts of 1786-87. Koht writes:

"This rebellion, the biggest to take place in Norway during the autocracy, was turned against both government officials and the middle class, and there can surely be no doubt that the economic wealth of the middle class was that which weighed most heavily on the peasants and drove them to revolt."⁵³⁾

In between these revolts, in the 60's, there were several peasant revolts in the west country against the new taxes introduced by the government in the autumn of 1762.⁵⁴⁾ There were continual years of scarcity and crop failure on the small west country farms, and in many places the peasants could not pay their taxes on time. This led to the provincial governors collecting them by force, or forcing the peasants to mortgage their farms and property. In the spring of 1764 hundreds of peasants from Hordaland assembled in Bergen to demand a stop to the tax collecting.⁵⁵⁾ These peasants, who were called "striler" in Bergen, were supported by people from the town, so eyewitnesses reckoned that the whole crowd numbered about two thousand men.⁵⁶⁾ They attacked the governor of the town and the bailiff and forced them to pay the taxes back. Because of all these larger revolts, an investigation committee was appointed by the government to find the causes and who the instigators were. The latter were heavily punished. Three of the leaders of the "striler wars" were imprisoned for life.⁵⁷⁾ This very unpopular extra tax was stopped in 1772. But the very next year there were new riots in Bergen. This time the cause was the customs charges which were felt to be unreasonably high. 150 masked men stormed the customs house and kept the customs officials prisoner while they unloaded their smuggled goods.⁵⁸⁾

2.2.2.4. Liberalisation

Towards the end of the century liberalisation of the economic policies was slowly introduced by the government. The state control of business life was diminished and in 1797 no fewer than 150 importation bans were lifted.⁵⁹⁾ The government's customs policy was then the most liberal in the whole of Europe. The strict censuring of the 40's and after was no longer imposed.⁶⁰⁾ But it was primarily the towns and the bourgeoisie which benefited from this new freedom and prosperity. On the whole the peasants probably did not notice these changes so much, though it can be seen that over a longer period structural changes also took place in agriculture. It is estimated that about 2/3 of the farms were self-owned in 1814 as compared with only about 1/4 in 1500.⁶¹⁾

If we were to sum up our characterization of the times before Hauge's appearance, we can name the following key concepts:

Rationalism became the order of the day for both the clerical and secular authorities. As a result and because of the fact that the pietistic laws were no longer enforced, the church experienced a great decline. As the outer control became less strict, those who were only attached to the church by means of force fell away. Alongside this one also saw a decline in morals. Since parts of the law, especially those of moral character, were no longer enforced, they quickly lost their preventive function of hindering moral excesses in the common people. The Danish/Norwegian autocracy was a rigid class society with little geographic or social mobility. The Norwegian peasantry was conservative, as most peasant societies are. Peasants all over the country probably held this "principle" which the clergyman, H.J. Wille, maintained in 1786 was held by the peasants of Telemark: "Follow the old customs. Oppose all new arrangements".⁶²⁾

Notes Chap. 2:

- 1) Einar Molland: Fra Hans Nielsen Hauge til Eivind Berggrav, pp. 9-10
- 2) A.Chr. Bang: Hans Nielsen Hauge, p.3
- 3) Olaf Røst: Hans Nielsen Hauge, et livsbilde fra Norges nyere kirkehistorie, p.176
- 4) Dagfinn Breistein: Hans Nielsen Hauge, Kjøpmann i Bergen, p.25
- 5) Ibid.
- 6) A. Aarflot: Tro og lydighet, 1969, p.433
- 7) See Rune Kleiven: Hans Nielsen Hauge, Sosiologi idag, 4/72 and Christen T. Jonassen: Ethiske systemer og økonomisk adferd, Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning, 1963, pp.57-72.
- 8) Jonassen touches on our approach when he talks of the "idealistic orientation" as a factor which influences the economic structure. See op.cit. pp. 68-69
- 9) See, for example, H.G. Heggtveit: Den norske kirke i det 19. århundre v.1.
- 10) Olaf Røst, op.cit. s.14
- 11) Ibid
- 12) Heggtveit, op.cit. s.33
- 13) Ivar Welle: Kirkens historie v.II, p.147
- 14) Ibid.
- 15) Welle, op.cit. p.148. Even though Balle was a conservative theologian in the eyes of his contemporaries, he was never-the-less influenced by the new trends. Aarflot calls him a super-naturalist and is of the opinion that he was closer to neologi than to the old conservative school of thought. See A. Aarflot: Norsk kirkehistorie, v.II, p.208
- 16) Ibid.
- 17) Røst, op.cit. p.11
- 18) See for example Erling Danbolt: Misjonstankens gjennombrudd i Norge v.I, pp.100-1
- 19) Gerhard Seeberg was Hauge's vicar until he was dismissed from his office on 11th November 1795 for, among other things "wilfulness and false ideas about the authority of his office." (Bang, op.cit. et passim.) Norberg believes that Seeberg certainly had an awakening effect on Hauge by his preaching. Later, Seeberg was the leader of a small group of the converted in Tune and the neighbouring villages who were known as the Seebergians. Hauge had tried to make contact with the group at first, but soon came to the conclusion that a collaboration was not possible. Sverre Norberg: Hans Nielsen Hauge, v.1, pp.26, 40, 41, and 91.
- 20) Welle, op.cit. p.150
- 21) Ibid. p.155
- 22) Ibid. p.153
- 23) A.Chr. Bang, op.cit. p.2
- 24) J.T. Flint: The secularization in Norway. Comparative Studies in Society and History, v.VI, 1964, p.337 passim
- 25) Ibid.
- 26) Andreas Aarflot: Norsk kirkehistorie, v.II (1967) p.13 - see especially p.17, "I kongeloven blit det fastslått at kongen har myndighet over alt 'klereciet' ..."
- 27) Flint, ibid.
- 28) Ibid.
- 29) Ibid. p.338
- 30) Ibid. p.341
- 31) Dagfinn Mannsåker; Det Norske Presteskapet i det 19. Hundreåret, sosialhistoriske studier (1954) p.70,

tabell 5.

- 32) See Flint, op.cit. p. 341
- 33) Welle, op.cit. p.158
- 34) J.E. Sars: Udsigt over den norske historie, ved A. Holmsen, p.221
- 35) Ibid.
- 36) See Norborg, op.cit. v.II, p.18.
- 37) Røst, op.cit. p.14.
- 38) Sars, op.cit. p.217.
- 39) Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter, ved Hans N.H. Ordning, v.I, notes on p. 268, from now on called "Skrifter" (Writings).
- 40) Bang, op.cit. p.124
- 41) Skrifter, v. VI, p.6, 2-3
- 42) Ibid.
- 43) Ibid. p. 39, 13-15
- 44) Welle, op.cit. p.151
- 45) Norges offentlige statistikk (NOS) v. I,4. Række, Chra. 1839
- 46) Ibid.
- 47) See Norborg, op.cit. p.123 onwards and Bang, op.cit. p.411
- 48) Breistein, op.cit. p.224. Hauge covered some of the journey by ship, while the ships sailed round the coast.
- 49) Magnus Jensen: Norges historie, Norge under eneveldet 1660- 1814, p.107
- 50) Rapport fra stiftsamtmann Rappe 1742, cited by Jensen, op.cit.
- 51) Halvdan Koht: Bonde mot borger i Ottar Dahl: 100 års historisk forskning, p. 197 onwards
- 52) Ibid. p.203
- 53) Ibid. p.204
- 54) See Halvdan Koht: Norsk bondereising, p.286 onwards
- 55) Ibid. p.295
- 56) Koht, op.cit. p.297
- 57) Ibid, p.302
- 58) Magnus Jensen, op.cit. p.110
- 59) Ibid, p.111
- 60) Ibid, p.112
- 61) Sverre Steen: Langsomt ble landet vårt eget, p.137
- 62) Koht, op.cit., p.52.

CHAPTER 3: HAUGE AND HIS MESSAGE

We shall see what was new about what Hauge represented against the background of his message. What was it that was new in what he said and did? Seen from the viewpoint of our hypothesis and approach, it is of most interest to evaluate what it was in Hauge's preaching which differed from that which was usually heard in church. ¹⁾

3.1. View of Scripture

3.1.1. "Scripture alone"

In sharp contrast to his contemporary, authorised preachers, Hauge asserted in the best Lutheran spirit that "scripture alone" was the highest authority in life and doctrine.

This was new at that time even though a remnant of the believing laity still lived by the Bible view which was prevalent (amongst believers) in the time of pietism. Pontoppidan had given in his homily "Sannhed til Gudfryktighed" a simple and clear expression of the traditional, orthodox teaching of the verbal inspiration of scripture with these words:

"God's spirit has given them (i.e. the prophets, evangelists and apostles) in their minds all that they should write and with which words." ²⁾

Thus the written word as it is formulated in Scripture is given godly authority. But for the clerical teaching profession in the age of enlightenment this is utter foolishness. The Copenhagen-educated "learned" were more "advanced" than the uneducated common man, who still kept to his pietistic doctrinal fathers' Bible beliefs. As a preacher and teacher, Hauge was therefore nearly unique in his view of Scripture and not least in the practical interpretation he drew from this view. As far as his own writings were concerned, he would encourage his readers to test them by God's Word:

"... if I go against the true word of God, I pray for forgiveness and will revoke it". ³⁾

Aarflot's thorough examination of Hauge's Christian belief shows clearly what authority the scriptures had for his life and message.

"The authority of the Bible is based on the fact that it is God's speech to mankind"

is Aarflot's comprehensive evaluation of Hauge's viewpoint and he adds:

"The basis of the authority of scripture is also that it is unchangeable and therefore relevant for all times." ⁴⁾

Hauge says himself that one must not neglect meeting together over God's word,

"for thus you neglect God, as God is himself in the Word, and the reading of God's word, listening to what it says to you, you must always believe as if you heard God himself." ⁵⁾

When it comes to interpretation of Scripture, Hauge is really asserting the old Lutheran principle: *scriptura sui ipsius interpres*: Scripture is its own interpreter. It is a matter of putting everything in its context "the integrated word of God". ⁶⁾

3.1.2. Problems of interpretation

Hauge is open for the fact that not everything in the Bible is easy to understand, but in many places he has to warn against letting reason be the highest judge when examining Scripture:

"When the heart or mind's reason goes before the Word, or rules over it, so both the reading and the hearing are in vain, but when it is subject to the Word, ... then it is renewed." ⁷⁾

Hauge does not push difficulties of interpretation under the carpet, but gives practical guidance on how one should tackle such problems in the text:

"When I myself have been in doubt either because the Biblical language has been obscure for me, or seems to be contradicted by another text, I have prayed earnestly to God first and so ransacked his holy Word, comparing the clearest places mutually: I have thus sensibly kept myself to Jesus' own Word, as for example when Paul and James seem to contradict each other on faith and works, but have also included other texts, such as other words of Paul; and I have thus become quite convinced that the Bible explains itself, and thus the holy scriptures do not mislead, except darkened and unbelieving hearts, which are distorted and sure in their own imagination, so that Christ's light cannot shine for them. I assure you of this, and am not alone in my experience, but supported by others who have come to a full understanding and who confirm the same; I believe you brothers will do likewise." ⁸⁾

3.1.3 Knowledge of the Bible and faithfulness to the Bible

Hauge certainly must have had a unique knowledge of the Bible. In both his writings and his letters we find a wealth of Bible verses and references which indicate that he must have used God's word diligently also in his oral edification. In his edition of Hauge's writings, Professor H.N.H. Ording has added up all the biblical references in Hauge's book of sermons "Den christelige Lære" (1800), and in just that one work found no less than 1340 references. ⁹⁾ In another "remarkable" work, the so-called "Biblical references", he referred altogether to 2313 places in the apocryphal writings and the canonical books of the Bible. ¹⁰⁾

He was amazed at his own Bible knowledge. He tells how

"When I wrote my first works many Bible verses came to my mind which I did not know I had learnt except perhaps in my childhood, and profound sentences from where I did not know, came into my thoughts." ¹¹⁾

Hauge builds on the scriptures throughout all his writings. We also get an impression of the central role the scriptures played in everything he did from his extensive correspondance with his friends. He believed therefore that no-one could contradict him with arguments based on reason alone. ¹²⁾ It is true that a study of the so-called prison writings show that Hauge was influenced there by rationalistic ways of thinking both as far as scripture view and christian understanding are concerned. ¹³⁾ But Hauge hardly acknowledged these writings when he was later released from prison, as they were never printed. We see therefore few traces of these thoughts in letters and books from his latter years.

Having now shown that Hauge's christian view was solidly anchored in the Bible, we shall turn our attention to what was new in Hauge's preaching.

3.2. Conversion

Conversion was a central theme which continually returns in Hauge's preaching. He called people to turn away from a dead habitual christianity to a living faith. He called others from a blameworthy life to a life following Jesus.

It is quite natural that Hauge should put such an emphasis upon conversion. We have already given an insight into the conditions of the times, when all were baptised, but so few lived out the obligations of baptism.

3.2.1. Nominal christianity and sacramentalism

Hauge believed that the population as a whole was spiritually asleep and trusted in God's mercy by using the church's sacraments without any confession of sin, repentance or a living faith, and he therefore pointed out the fruits which should come from true faith affected by the Holy Spirit.¹⁴⁾ In a parallel to Paul's statement that only those who are circumcised in their hearts (i.e. believers) are true Jews, Hauge says that it is only when the Word (that is to say Jesus Christ) has been received in the heart that the conscious Christian life begins. In a sermon on the sixth Sunday after Trinity on the Epistle of the day (Romans 6, 3-11) he says:

"To be baptised and implanted according to the pattern of Christ's death can occur, and is to be understood thus: when we give God's word a place in our hearts, read or listen to it and thereby receive the Holy Spirit, so with his fire it is as if we were baptised into Christ's death..."¹⁵⁾

Hauge was driven by an intense desire to bring people out of their lassitude and indifference. Why? Just because he himself had had a so definite spiritual breakthrough. It changed his whole life. In the spring of 1821, Hauge writes to some friends from Bredvedt farm:

"It is now 25 years since God in his great mercy on the morning of the fifth of April 1796 gave me an undeserved glimpse of his heavenly glory which produced in me a powerful love of him and of my neighbour."¹⁶⁾

This "glimpse" and that day in April have made a division in church history. It was when Hauge received his "baptism in the spirit" as the Indremisjon historian Ola Rudvin calls it.¹⁷⁾ It was on that day he received his call and began his work as a revivalist preacher. In his work "On religious feelings and their worth", he tells more thoroughly about what he experienced:

3.2.2. "Baptism in the Spirit" experience

"One day, as I was working out in the open, I sang by heart the hymn "Jesus to taste your sweet communion ..." and when I had sung the second verse: "Strengthen me powerfully within my soul, So that I can find out what the Spirit can do, Take me prisoner in my speech and my mind, lead me and entice me, so weakly I walk: I will gladly lose myself and mine, When you alone live in my soul, And that which now disturbs my inner peace must finally creep out of the door." My soul was thus so uplifted to God that I cannot tell nor can I express what happened in my soul - I was outside of myself, and when I came to myself, then I realised that I had not served the beloved and all-good God, and I now felt that nothing in the world was to be esteemed. My soul felt something supernatural, godly and holy, and this was a glory that no tongue can express - this I can remember clearly to this day, as if it happened only yesterday, even though it is now twenty years since God's love so overwhelmingly visited me. No-one can argue this away from me. I know that all the good in my spirit has followed from that time, especially the fervent burning love of God and my neighbour, that I had a very changed mind, a sorrow for sins, a yearning that others should be sharers with me of the same mercy; an unusual urge to read the holy scriptures, especially Jesus' own teachings, together with new light to understand them, and join together the teachings of godly men to one goal, that Jesus Christ is come as our saviour,

that we by his spirit should be born again, be converted, and be dedicated more and more into God's character in order to serve the triunal God alone, to refine and prepare our souls for eternal blessedness. It was as if I saw the world wallowing in evil, which I sorrowed deeply over, and I begged God to delay punishment so that some could repent. I wanted now to serve God, and prayed that he would reveal to me what I should do.

It echoed inside me: 'You shall confess my name to the people, exhort them to repent and seek me while I can be found, call upon me while I am near and touch their hearts, so they can turn from darkness to light'.¹⁸⁾

Even though twenty whole years go by before he tells more deeply of this experience, because he was afraid, according to him, of making his experience a norm for others, it cannot be explained away that this breakthrough must have marked both his form of Christianity and his preaching. Along with most of his contemporaries, he had followed the church's pattern in baptism, confirmation and use the sacrament of the holy Eucharist, though with more seriousness than most. But it was not until his meeting with God on that April day that there was any power or life in his Christianity.

He began then immediately to witness to others, first to his nearest family and friends, who all came to the same belief as himself. In the first two weeks after his experience he felt no need for either food or sleep, but only to study God's word and to speak to people about their salvation. With background in these conditions,- the dead, nominal Christianity of the times on the one side and his own spiritual breakthrough on the other,- he put, naturally enough, much emphasis on a spiritual breakthrough to a conscious, aggressive attitude to faith as the decisive point in a person's conversion process.¹⁹⁾

The obvious fact that the infant-baptised Norwegian people were not Christian in the biblical meaning of the word underlined for him the importance of preaching the message of repentance to the people. And repentance from self-righteousness and indifference should through regeneration lead to a life following Jesus. The outer baptism was therefore not enough on its own. It was necessary to have an experience of

"God's merciful revelation from heaven with power and love in our innermost hearts."

Then there was agreement between the outer sacrament of baptism and the inner devotion to God in repentance:

"so we are not only baptised with the outer baptism and call ourselves christian but are also anointed with the Holy Spirit and the power of faith in our hearts."²⁰⁾

But Hauge did not stop there. He wanted to drive his listeners and followers into the way of discipleship.

3.3. Jesus' Discipleship

We know that in Hauge's home town, Tune in Østfold, there was a herrnhutismic clergyman. This clergyman, Seeberg, exercised his priestly duties in such an unfortunate manner that he became unpopular with his congregation and was finally removed from office.²¹⁾ He had a disagreement with Hauge which the latter describes in his writing "Betragning over Verdens Daarlighed" (1796).

3.3.1. Criticism of the Seebergians

Hauge accused Seeberg and his teaching of seeing Jesus as "a concealer of sin instead of its remover." ²²⁾ As Flatø points out, iustification and renevatio are one and the same thing to Hauge. Sin must be renounced and repented if it is to be forgiven:

..."for when sin is to be forgiven by God, then it must be renounced by man, otherwise it is a blasphemy of God to ask Him, who is holy and just, to forgive sin, to come to Him, and yet self to love unrighteousness, which is an abomination to God's spirit." ²³⁾

As a counterweight to herrnhutism's one-sided emphasis on the preaching of grace and all their talk of "Jesus' wounds and pain", Hauge was to emphasise very strongly the call to follow Jesus. The new only and living faith should show itself to be effective by good deeds. These should be a practical expression of the Christian's love of God and his neighbour. In an argument with those who accused him of exaggerating the demand for a godly life, he replied:

"Anyone who carefully considers Christ's teaching and that of his apostles will find that following in Christ's footsteps and godly practice are more emphasised than the doctrine of reconciliation. Therefore this must be practised and not be neglected." ²⁴⁾

3.3.2. Free will

The condition for one being at all able to encourage and appeal must be that mankind has "a kind of free quality to choose". Hauge comes back to this several times, as it is a central pre-supposition of his preaching activity. As Aarflot points out, Hauge did not content himself in just asserting that we have a free will, but competently discussed a number of the problems to the understanding of free will in relation to salvation. We cannot go into a presentation of this discussion, but content ourselves with maintaining that Hauge reckoned

"free will as one of the qualities of our eternal soul." ²⁵⁾

3.4. Stewardly duty

3.4.1. God as Lord

Even though Hauge emphasised more than anyone in the Norway of his time the spiritual relationship with God, he didn't argue for worship being only applicable to a religious centre in a person. Quite the contrary - he always made it clear that the whole world and the whole person are God's, and that all of life should therefore be given over to God and to his service. ²⁶⁾ Throughout all Hauge's writings we see how he emphasises the stewardship idea. He sees himself as a steward of his time, his money and his natural gifts. Everything should be made available to the Lord, and everything should be used diligently for the good of one's neighbours and country. A great responsibility rested on those who had been given much, for of them would much be required. The praiseworthiness of hard work is emphasised again and again, together with an emphasis on frugality on one's own part and generosity towards others. Miserliness and sloth were reckoned by Hauge to be gross failings and he warned strongly against them. Together with these sins, Hauge campaigned most against greed, drunkenness and whoring in his edifications.

3.4.2. The lack of success of the learned

It only fair to state that the rationalistic clergy also spoke out against immorality and tried to encourage the Christian virtues in the people. What was therefore the reason for their, on the whole, so grievous failure? One reason can be that they were themselves hardly unimpeachable, a point which certainly had not escaped the common man's attention. It was therefore for their lives and not their teaching that Hauge primarily attacked the clergy. But perhaps the deepest cause for the "ordained teachers" achieving so little in their work was that they were not able to show the people the way to a life with God.²⁷⁾ It was this that Hauge, on the other hand, was able to do to such a high degree. And this is the reason why his admonishing words on practical Christian service did not fall on stony ground.²⁸⁾

3.4.3. The witness of good deeds

An expression which Hauge often used was "to put one's pound to usury". In one of his writings he puts it like this:

"It depends not on with how much we are entrusted, or how great our gifts are, but on this: how faithful and diligent are we to increase these and thereby give glory to God."²⁹⁾

Aarflot sums up Hauge's attitude by saying that it is obedience to God and love of fellow man which is the driving power in his basic ethical attitude.³⁰⁾

Hauge also understood thus that good deeds would be a witness to men to the light they represent in the world,

"We shall seek here to shine for the world by our actions, ... and enlighten them with the truth that it is possible to be a child of God in every necessary deed."³¹⁾

In another place he expresses himself even more definitely:

"I believed that with more industry and factories etc I could be light for mankind in good deeds, Matt. 5.16. So also thereby to earn rather in order to give than to be obliged to receive, Acts 20,35."³²⁾

Hauge himself summed up his vocation in an article in the newspaper, *Bergenske Adresse-Contoires Efterretninger* in 1802:

"My call is to love God and my neighbour."³³⁾

3.4.4. On the side of the weak

Hauge's love for people is also seen to be the motivation for his efforts to help the weak in society. The following account is taken from one of his many letters which were copied and read by his friends in many parts of the country: "And so that you can have something to work at, I have advised them to invest or lend money in order to help to start factories with several useful applications and thereby the poor can earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows; that is better than giving them food to eat in their idleness."³⁴⁾

Several places in both his writings and his letters we see how he chastises social injustice and economic suppression. In the following statement, his indignation can be touched and felt:

"The wordly, wise, false, and evil have followed the god of this world, using useful or most advantageous things such as trade, factories and other larger enterprises, but the simple have despised and forsaken useful things ... thereby the wordly have become rich and received much in this world, and have by their evil wisdom made the good to be their servants while they themselves live in luxury, splendour and comfort." ³⁵⁾

Hauge, however, wished to "help the weak." He wanted to start various kinds of business activity so as to help the unemployed and needy and benefit the country as a whole. As a Christian steward, he thinks of the whole nation. It is worth noting that Hauge had a national perspective in his ideas. That he was way ahead of his time is shown when he argues for equalization of income in the country, thereby to better the situation of those worst situated. This is how it is expressed in his philosophical writing "Sandheds Lære" which was first discovered in its entirety in 1964:

"A good political government should therefore purpose to impose taxes and other expenses on the towns or parishes which have plenty and live in luxury, in order to help those which are poorer ..." ³⁶⁾

3.4.5. Work - an aim and a means

Hauge received little understanding from the authorities for his ideas and suggestions, so he showed what he and his followers could do. He wished to show others by work and by example how the country could be built up. In another of his writings, which he called "Indledning til virksomme Ud øvelser af patriotiske Betænkninger", Hauge again makes known with all desirable clarity his view on the central role work should have for a true Christian and true patriot:

"Nature teaches us the necessity of work for the sustaining of the present life. Experience teaches that idleness is the main source of misdeeds, especially in those strong, active and gifted people who are not instructed or advised to use their gifts in useful activity, and who misuse their energies and gifts to their own and others' harm. Because this is so, plans should be made in time to hinder evil and encourage good." ³⁷⁾

He advises against putting oneself in the position of being "useless limbs in the state". In a letter to his confidential friends in Drammen, Hauge wrote in 1804:

"We have therefore joined together to trade, run factories and to till the land so that the unemployed can have work and all who would live as christians can support themselves, and also the evil can have something to work at and live off, so we can avoid idleness, begging and luxury, doing good while we live so we can have comfort in death and joy in eternal life."

And he finishes by affirming:

"Our deeds are in accordance with our teaching, as God's and the king's law decrees." ³⁸⁾

3.4.6. Tradition and departure from tradition

So what was new about these ideas?

Some of Hauge's views are old Lutheran ideas which he had learnt from the catechism and the Lutheran devotional books. The emphasis on duty in daily work and the consideration of work as a service for God was a part of that heritage. ³⁹⁾ The new in relation to the literature with which he was familiar is the emancipation of the lower classes and his interest in factories and industrial works. Hauge had inherited from his Lutheran forefathers the conception that society was made up of three classes or "states". "Lehrstand, Wehrstand, Nährstand" (ecclesia,

politia, oeconomia - the clergy, the politicians and the economists.) Professor Molland has pointed out that Hauge knew of this teaching in that the traditional three-state formula is present in a sermon-text in "Den Christelige Lære" (1800).⁴⁰⁾ The inevitable consequence of that doctrine is that everyone should stay in the class to which he belongs. It is here that Hauge diverges. He wants the all the believers to start up economic enterprises in order to break the yoke of poverty and to break away from the suppression which the "worldly-wise and evil" have been able to exercise by means of their position of economic power. It is here that Hauge shows clearly his originality.

If these ideas cannot be traced back to his earlier reading, from where did they come? Ideas cannot always be traced back to social conditions, but in this case one dares to make a connection between these revolutionary ideas and the long conflict over many years which he himself had known in his fight to free himself from the bands of poverty with which his position in society had bound him. This extremely bold suggestion for a solution, seen in relation to the opinions of the times, could scarcely be grounded in any contemporary ideals.⁴¹⁾

Molland points out the clear similarities that exist between many of Hauge's views and those of English puritanism. Molland is of the opinion that these words of John Wesley would have held a lot of attraction for Hauge if he had known them:

"Earn as much as you can. Earn as much as you can through honest diligence. Use all diligence in your work... It is surprising to see how few do this, how men tramp in the same ruts as their fathers ... It is a shame for the christian not to improve what he takes over, whatever he sets his hands to do."⁴²⁾

"Earn all you can, save all you can, but also give all you can" is Wesley's forcible formulation of a philosophy of life which was also Hauge's and the haugians, says Molland.⁴³⁾

We can note that in spite of clear parallels between their preaching and their economic and social activities, there has not been proved any historic connection between puritanism and haugianism.

Before we leave this report of Hauge's preaching, we should take a short, closer look at his attitude towards the authorities as it is expressed in his letters and writings.

3.5. Subordination

3.5.1. Koht and the class struggle

In his consideration of Norwegian history, Professor Halvdan Koht builds on the theme of the class struggle. This is perhaps stated most clearly in his book: "Norsk Bondereising", where he also gives an evaluation of the Hauge "movement". Hauge is characterised in the book as the leader of a country-wide revolt. The Hauge "movement" is treated in relation to the Lofthus uprising, the Striler conflict and other local peasant revolts against the authorities. We are told that the class struggle is also the driving power behind the Hauge revival. Koht writes:

"The Lofthus uprising had more in it to inspire a general popular rebellion than any of the four revolts, though it had far from united the whole country. But it was far-sighted enough always to look forward to a national agitator who would rise up people in nearly every town to fight against the might of the upper classes."⁴⁴⁾

Koht later maintains, "He came" meaning by that the Hauge revival. Further, in connection with Hauge's imprisonment, Koht says:

"Neither the unity between brothers throughout the land nor the urge to rise up against the authorities would let themselves be thinned out." ⁴⁵⁾

On the surface there is much which can lead one to see the Hauge revival as a link in the class struggle in the villages at the turn of the century. But all the same one must question whether there are not aspects of the Hauge revival which mean that such a perspective should be abandoned. To interpret everything by means of a Marxist analysis model would, in our opinion, hinder us from understanding the distinctive character of Haugianism.

Taken together, Hauge's letters and writings give us a credible basis for a right evaluation of his attitudes, for example, towards the authorities. The attitudes which we can deduce from what he wrote need also to be compared with his behaviour and practice so that we can establish a correct picture of who he was and how he functioned. Then we will also be able to establish whether Koht's understanding really covers the realities he was trying to describe.

3.5.2. A legally competent police assistant

Firstly, we must understand that Hauge has a surprisingly good knowledge of the law. We know that his elder brother Ole was district police superintendent, and Hauge himself was "Lensmands-karl." ⁴⁶⁾ At Christmas 1797 when he was arrested for the first time, accused of breaking the "konventikkelplakaten" of 1741, he asked that the law be read aloud for all those present. He himself knew the law and knew that it contained a justification for his activities. ⁴⁷⁾ In a letter to friends in Trondheim (1805?) ⁴⁸⁾ he makes it clear that he knows the law pretty thoroughly. It is stated here:

"As the king's law is based on God's law, and is otherwise clearer in secular things, we should not overlook it...."

And so follow no fewer than seventeen references to legal clauses or "articles". The letter ends with an explanation of why laws are made, an interpretation which he often expresses in his letters and writings:

"The whole purpose of the law is to punish evil-doers and protect the good. And the false, ungodly person should be checked while the simple and good should be protected." ⁴⁹⁾

This shows his high regard for the law and its purpose. In fact he often names God's law and the king's law in the same breath. They are almost considered to be equal in importance, but with the difference that if the king's law should come in conflict with God's, something which Hauge hardly saw as likely, one should obey God rather than the king. ⁵⁰⁾

3.5.3. A loyal subject

We get an instructive introduction to Hauge's way of thinking in another letter to friends written at the time of his imprisonment. And we emphasise that this letter was written by a man who had been persecuted and deprived of his freedom by the authorities. He repeats a conversation which he has had with the head inspector of the prison, where the latter maintains that it is against the king's law to go around preaching God's law. Hauge answers:

"In God's law one is commanded to obey God rather than man, and I do not trust human power. Then he said 'You should subject yourself to the authorities', whereupon I answered 'Yes, when they are good'. Then he said 'Here in time you will be subject to the authorities whether they are good or evil.' 'Yes,' I said, 'and all things work together for good to those who love God.' And it is deplorable when the authorities are evil, when they punish the good and let evil-doers prosper, something which the authorities ordained by God do not do. And our work and intention is to benefit the country and to bring eternal advantage to our neighbour for the salvation of his soul, and to give God all the honour. We shall work for this with all our might. He also believed this as long as it did not lead to either revolt or disturbances. I said 'No other disturbance than disturbing evil.'" ⁵¹⁾

Hauge had a firmly established belief in the good intentions of the powers that be. Even during the hard legal persecution to which he was subjected, he did not turn against the authorities in bitterness.

In his report on Hauge, Bergen's Bishop Brun wrote to Chancery:

"The authorities, both secular and clerical, have proceeded against them in such a manner that no-one else would have tolerated it without being affected. Hans Nielsen Hauge has more than once been arrested on false denunciation, has been acquitted and released, but he has never received any compensation." ⁵²⁾

Curiously enough, he kept a positive attitude towards the authorities throughout every phase of his life. The first time he appears before the public with his "Betragtning om Verdens Daarlighed" he has this to say of the government:

"Our good government takes great care of the country's welfare ... and I cannot understand this in any other way than that it is after God's will. So my serious wish and deep-felt prayer to the righteous God is that, for the sake of his dear son, he will send his holy spirit to conceive a serious endeavour to do what this good, God-given government may command." ⁵³⁾

3.5.4. An independent attitude

In a newspaper article of 1799, in "Norske Intelligens-Sedler", Hauge makes known his opinion on an order which has just been given by Akershus and Buskerud council to arrest travelling preachers as vagrants and put them in custody. ⁵⁴⁾ He writes:

"As our highest wish is to be subject to the authorities when they keep the king's law, where God's law is acknowledged as the highest and is perceived not to wield the sword in vain, but to punish the evil and protect the good, so they cannot reckon these persons as vagrants ... "

Hauge believed that there must have been a misunderstanding on the part of the authorities "on the right character of the case." He ends the article with the following nota bene:

"Let no-one understand this thus that we will cause disorder, or think that we will take revenge, but our intention is to persuade; and that when the highest authority has obtained a more careful examination, then they will know the truth. If they wish to persecute, then we will be tolerant and maintain the truth to the uttermost." ⁵⁵⁾

We do not find much trace of revolt or hate for his rulers in what Hauge wrote, either privately or publicly. He had a deep respect for the autocracy's laws and institutions. But at the same time he is very true to his call. As far as his God-given task is concerned, he does not give one inch. This is also closely connected to the fact that he believed the task God had set him was also in the best agreement with the will of both the King and the law. He does not have very much positive to say to those who despise authority:

"The self-willed, proud, obstinate and sinful, who despise both God's and the government's laws, misuse freedom and council themselves to do evil, are denounced here and now." ⁵⁶⁾

Later in his life, after his release from prison, when he was a farmer on the Bredtvedt farm, he comments in retrospect on his life's work. After having explained his mode of action when he tried to proceed leniently, but without giving in in order to save himself either suffering or danger, he says:

"But I would rather follow the laws of the state. I have especially thought about how one can reconcile the Christian profession with the laws. Even though the latter are good at the moment, I do not understand this. According to the constitution there is freedom for everyone except Jews, Jesuits and monks. But later on it says that the king shall arrange all religious assemblies. I do not believe that this applies to private edification: and what if one warns ones neighbour? I believe that all Christians should enjoy such (freedom?), but that it should be with regularity and a godly mind, and not deny the truth." ⁵⁷⁾

It is clear that Hauge is referring here to the newly adopted constitution. It seems also to be Hauge's opinion that there is no contradiction between the King's power of regulation and the freedom of Hauge's friends to come together for edification. In other words, there was no need to change his opinion on the importance of being a law-abiding citizen. His appeal to subject oneself to all human regulations was still applicable.

The banner which Hauge raised was not a banner of revolt. He tried to demonstrate Jesus Christ's disposition - a flexible mind which subjects itself to the laws and regulations of the state, so long as they do not break with God's commandments. ⁵⁸⁾ When he heard that six of his fellow workers had been arrested and put into "Christiania Tugthuus" (prison), without being sentenced for breaking God's good law, he only had this remark to make:

"I sorrow over those who do evil, as they do not know what belongs to their peace, and I rejoice with those who suffer for the sake of good." ⁵⁹⁾

One can question why Hauge put so much emphasis on being law-abiding and spoke so respectfully of the leaders of the state. It is reasonable to assume that he was influenced in his preaching by the attitudes which were common in the milieu in which he grew up. It was an integral part of contemporary Lutheran catechism piety to look on all authority with subject eyes. Even though scripture, by which Hauge felt himself bound, encouraged respect for all authority, it was nonetheless the trend of the times which influenced Hauge's strong emphasis more. We must not overlook the fact that there can also have been more pragmatic and tactical considerations present. He hardly wanted to have his followers arrested and punished by the authorities for accusations of revolt. If they were to be punished, it must be on the premises of the message.

Even so, we do not believe that this is reason enough to reject Koht's assumption that the Hauge movement was a revolutionary movement. What we believe we have shown is that Hauge had a different purpose with his thinking and preaching. In a later chapter we have an opportunity to discuss Koht's assertion in relation to the practical consequences of Hauge's preaching. ⁶⁰⁾

Notes Chap. 3:

- 1) In his article about Hauge in Biografisk leksikon, Halvdan Koht says that there was "of itself nothing new or original about the teaching he proclaimed." The teaching as such was not new, but the style of preaching and its content was new for that time, as people were being fed with dead orthodoxy or pure rationalism (p.510, v.V. 1913)
- 2) Andreas Aarflot: Hans Nielsen Hauge. Liv og budskap 1971, p.73

- 3) A. Aarflot, op.cit. p.103
- 4) Ibid.
- 5) Ibid.
- 6) A. Aarflot, op.cit. p.104
- 7) Ibid. p.130
- 8) Skrifter, v.I, p.85
- 9) A. Aarflot, op.cit. p.74
- 10) Ibid. p.75
- 11) Skrifter, v.I. p.72
- 12) A.Aarflot, op.cit. p.129
- 13) Andreas Seierstad has discussed this question in an article in TTK 1940 p.44 onwards. See also a thorough treatment in Aarflot: Tro og lydighet, p.12 et passim
- 14) Heggtveit, op.cit. p.138.
Bang says the following: "We find only a few positive statements about baptism in Hauge's works. The revivalist preachers in those spiritually dead times made it their concern to wrest from the masses the false security which they believed they had in baptism (infant) - to make it clear that the outer signs are of no use without the obedience of faith." (Den kristelige Lære) Bang, op.cit. p.353
- 15) A. Aarflot, Liv og budskap, p.90
- 16) Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge, by Ingolf Kvamen, v. II, p.339,6. Henceforth called "Brev" (Letters).
- 17) Ola Rudvin: Indremisjonsselskapets historie, v.I, see chapter III: Vekkelsens linje i norsk kirkeliv, pp.77-141. Aarflot puts it thus: "It is not inconceivable that the April experience was of the same character as baptism in the Holy Spirit as it was later to be known at the time of the pentecostal movement.
- 18) Skrifter, v.I, p.127, 20 onwards.
- 19) A. Aarflot, op.cit., p.90
- 20) Ibid. p.168
- 21) See note 19 chap. 2, p.24.
- 22) Skrifter, v. VIII p.200
- 23) Lars Flatø: Hans Nielsen Hauge om ervervslivet, Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke, 1963, p.13
- 24) Skrifter, op.cit. p.201
- 25) Aarflot, op.cit. p.116 onwards
- 26) Ibid. p.115
- 27) Brev, v.III p.232,13
- 28) The writer Sylvester Syvertsen who himself grew up in a strict haugian milieu, published anonymously an "unprejudiced and well-written" (Aarflot) description of Hauge's life work: "Haugianism, dens Historie og Væsen, samt forhold til Herrnhutismen". Syvertsen expresses the opinion here that Hauge and his followers "filled the vacuum which was created by the tension between the previous orthodox preaching and rationalism, in that they preached moralism in its context of faith." Aarflot: Tro og lydighet, p.64.
- 29) Aarflot: Liv og budskap, p.186
- 30) Ibid., p.187
- 31) Aarflot, op.cit., p.187
- 32) Ibid.
- 33) Ibid.
- 34) Brev v.I, p.273, 18-23
- 35) Aarflot, op.cit. p.188
- 36) This piece is called in its entirety: Sandheds Lære om Aabenbaringen, Moralen, Patriotism, Politikken, Friheden og filosofiske Grundsætninger. Brev v.III, p.243, 13-15. See note 505 p.83 v.IV.
- 37) Skrifter v.V p.289, 1-10. Otherwise see the introduction (13) p. xxvii V. V.
- 38) Brev v.I, p.227, 2-10.
- 39) See Einar Molland: Kristen tro og økonomisk aktivitet hos H.N. Hauge, Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke, 1958, p.200
- 40) Skrifter, v.III, p.81 onwards. Ibid. p.196 onwards.
- 41) In an article in Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift, Finn Bader has expounded the hypothesis that Hauge had the herrnhutisk manufacturing and industrial concerns as his model. (p.234). Mollands research, however, weakens this alleged dependence. He makes its clear that Hauge can hardly have had any significant knowledge of this movement before he visited Christiansfeld in 1804. Molland, op.cit. p.205.
- 42) M. Edwards: After Wesley. A study of the social and political influence of Methodism in the Middle Period (1791-1849) London 1949, p.89 (Ibid. p.200)
- 43) Ibid.
- 44) Halvdan Koht, op.cit. p.335
- 45) Ibid, p.350

- 46) See "Reiser", Skrifter v.VI p.7,20
- 47) Ibid.
- 48) Brev v.III, p.211,7 onwards
- 49) Ibid.
- 50) Brev v.I, p.39
- 51) Brev v.III, p.163,9 onwards. See also v.III, pp.35-36
- 52) Nordahl Brun's report of 28th July 1804, cited by Breistein, op.cit. p.279
- 53) Skrifter v.III, p.83,25 onwards. See also Brev v.I, p.273,25 onwards and p.39, 10-19
- 54) See Bang, op.cit. p.173
- 55) Brev, v.I, p.8
- 56) Brev, v.III, p.228,2-5
- 57) Op.cit., v.II p.191,9 onwards
- 58) This is also Sverre Steen's opinion, See "Hans Nielsen Hauge og Bondereisningen" Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift v.46, p.250. See also L. Flatø, "H.N.H. om Ervervslivet", Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke, 1963, p.23.
- 59) Brev, v.I, p.15,15-17
- 60) Rune Kleiven seems also to understand the Hauge revival as an expression of class opposition, though in contrast to Koht, he sees a difference between intention and function as far as Hauge's work is concerned. See Sosiologi i dag, nr.4 , 1972, p.17,18 and 19

CHAPTER 4: Hauge's work

After the preceding examination of his preaching which has a bearing on our hypothesis, we shall now take a look at the areas of Hauge's life work which are likewise of relevance for our investigation.

4.1. The travelling preacher

We have previously touched upon Hauge's extensive travelling. This activity was not a new phenomenon. About sixty years earlier the Norwegian Gert Hansen, who was sent out by the brethren congregations in Herrnhut, had travelled to several places in Østlandet and held edification meetings. Sources tell that he visited several places in Vestfold. It is told that he established in Larvik "trende Collegia Pietatis". Even though his travels were somewhat restricted, his preaching aroused so much attention from the authorities that he is given some of the "honour" for the introduction of 'The Conventicle act' (Konventikkelplakaten) of 1741. ¹⁾ [Konventikkelplakaten prevented religious meetings and free preaching in Norway, because a priest from the state had to be present.]

We can, however, say that as far as the scope of his travelling and the dimensions of his activities are concerned, Hauge's undertaking was new. Only a few months after Hauge experienced his call, he had his first writings ready for printing. He went to Christiania himself to attend to this. It was also his first "missionary journey", of which there would be many in the following eight years. In that first year of his activities he went to Christiania twice, both times to get his books printed. Those were the only journeys he undertook in 1796.

The following year he visited several places in Buskerud and Vestfold and at Christmas of the same year he was arrested while speaking at a meeting of several hundred in Frederikstad. ²⁾ Later in 1798, after being held on remand for a month, he went to Bergen, and three years later he took out a trader's licence there and started his own business. During the autumn of 1799 he went for the first time to Trondheim, and there he had again to endure persecution by the authorities because of his preaching. In spite of the fact that he had a valid passport, he was remanded in custody for seven weeks and then sentenced to a month in jail for vagrancy.

"This was my sixth time in jail,"

Hauge wrote, and adds:

"but my spirit was free, cheerful, joyful and on fire, and I had a more or less appropriate word for all the different people with whom I came into conversation; shame about my arrests and even the jail punishment was like a flying bird over my head, and in my heart I felt no discomfort about it ..." ³⁾

In Trondheim, as in most other places, it was the rationalistic clergy who agitated to have Hauge arrested. Bishop Sch øneyder and Dean Steenbuch were instrumental in the arrest in Trondheim. The local government official, Count Moltke, who was well-disposed to Hauge, was away when the arrest took place. After his release Hauge went home and in the spring we find him in Copenhagen, where he was fully occupied with the printing and binding of new editions of his writings.

Just before he was imprisoned for the eleventh and last time, the beginning of a long imprisonment, he went on yet another journey to Denmark, where he wandered through large parts of Jylland and held edification meetings.

4.1.1. Northwards

4.1.1.1. Accidents and hardships

His longest and most extensive journey was, however, the one he undertook in the previous year, 1803. It lasted for 15 months and he covered 6,500 kilometers, most of them by foot.⁴⁾ He travelled northwards from Bergen in the new year with four different ships, "three jekter and a sloop" which he himself owned. Two of the vessels carried seed corn to Trondheim, of which there was a great scarcity there that year. One of Hauge's friends, Mikkel Grøndahl, later a member of Parliament, tells that when Hauge went to greet Biskop Schøneyder, the latter said to him, among other things:

"You are much more welcome when you come to us with seed corn than when you come with God's word in religious speeches."⁵⁾

On his way further north, the "weakest of the vessels" was wrecked "in heavy weather", but the crew were rescued. Hauge's plan was to take part in the spring cod-fishing off the coast of Nord-Trøndelag. They lay up by Gjeslingerne, a fishing village on the north side of Foldenfjord. Hauge had been there previously, but this time he bought the village for his friend Arnt Solem in Trondheim.⁶⁾ Hauge continued northwards and came to Rana. He suggested that iron works could be established here as he had noticed that there were iron ore deposits, and a "convenient waterfall." He skied over the Saltfjell mountain pass,

"where there was an enormous amount of snow: I was not perfectly practiced in skiing, particularly uphill, and I experienced a lot of difficulties before I reached the top of the mountain ..."⁷⁾

Hauge had a guide with him over the mountain, but they still lost their way. Their food, bark bread and a little meat, was finished, and on the second day he was "exhausted and acutely sick."

After having rested a little in the snow, he took his compass and with its help managed after three days in the mountain to reach the highest farm in Saltdalen. He arrived at the farm during the early morning, and after a couple of hours' sleep he got up and went to church with the people from the farm. Hauge then continued northwards and came to a little trading town, Løvøen i Vestfjorden. This place was for sale, and Hauge wrote to his friend, Christoffer Olsen Brateng in Christiania and suggested that he bought the place.⁸⁾ Brateng followed Hauge's advice and bought the place, moved to Nordland where he became an able lay-preacher and capable business man. He was a member of Parliament from 1818 onwards.⁹⁾

According to Hauge there was a great disparity between people's hospitality in the different places he visited. On this journey he experienced people who were "poor in human love". In several places he was denied both food and lodging. Even the request to be allowed to sit on a chair overnight was refused. One night he slept on a table, and other nights on his North Norway journey he slept "on birch twigs under a woollen felt covering, like a simple tent." In Tromsø he spoke to Lapps by means of an interpreter in an earthen hut, as none of the Norwegians with whom he came in contact showed any interest in what he held dear. He lived for a time with the mountain Lapps, and ate their food, which consisted of "reindeer cheese

and milk with a little sorrel. This was rather unusual food" he admits, "but it did me no harm."¹⁰⁾

Hauge himself never came any further north than Tromsø, but his writings found their way to the most northerly parts of Finnmark.¹¹⁾

4.1.1.2. A pioneer colony in Inner Troms

On this journey he also went to Bardudalen and Målselv, which had been complete wilderness only twelve years previously. At the close of the previous century, Sheriff Jens Holmboe of Senja and Troms county had started a pioneer colony in these parts by helping poor farmers from Gudbrandsdalen and Østerdalen to start clearing the land.¹²⁾ Bardu, Målselv and Malangen had previously been visited by two Haugian laymen "whose fiery testimony had awakened considerable emotion", as Bang records.¹³⁾ However, there was some confusion, as some of those affected had hit upon the idea that Christianity "demanded abstention from all useful work".¹⁴⁾ On the basis of oral reports from elderly people who remembered the visit, Bang tells of Hauge's stay in Målselv:

"From Finset Hauge travelled to Maalselven, where he stayed at Fagerlidal, and when it was heard that Hauge had come, a large number of people from the neighbouring farms assembled there. In the meantime, however, Hauge had gone up to a waterfall not far from the farm to see if it could be used for a manufacturing plant. When they heard that the stranger was occupied with such a wordly thing as looking at a waterfall, the locals decided that it definitely couldn't really be Hauge who had come, but that he was an imposter who, by pretending to be the famous lay preacher, was trying to deceive them for some reason or another. Their suspicions were even more confirmed when Hauge came back and told them to get on with their spring farm work, since the weather was so favourable, and he himself took part in the work until the evening. Then he told them to gather together and he would speak God's word to them, and it was first when he began to speak in his usual spiritual and powerful manner that they were convinced that it was really Hauge they had amongst them, and realised that it was possible to be a true christian and still engage in useful pursuits."¹⁵⁾

Hauge encouraged several of his acquaintances to travel to the pioneer colony, as there were large tracts of unused land which could be put to the plough. Hauge's name is therefore also connected with this rather special colonisation of Inner Troms. The revival came onto a healthy footing and was widespread. A German traveller, Leopold von Buch, who visited the area in 1807, writes:

"In no place had the fanatic Hans Nielsen Hauge won so many ardent followers as when he visited these pioneer villages."¹⁶⁾

4.1.1.3 Restless enterprise

On the way south again, travelling through Namdal, Hauge purchased a hostel called Sørvingen with an adjoining saw mill and flour mill for Otter Carlsen Bacherud, who came from Helgøya in Mjøsa.¹⁷⁾ Wherever he went Hauge had his eyes open for any business possibilities. After having crossed the mountains from Trondheim to Gudbrandsdalen, he "heard about a copper seam in Vingjela", near Tolga in Østerdalen. Hauge

"advised some people to hurry and collect some money together as shareholders, and they began to mine that same seam and found rich copper ore there..."¹⁸⁾

This enterprise had a short life, however, as not long after Hauge's imprisonment it was taken over by a businessman from Christiania.¹⁹⁾

Hauge journeyed via Østfold in order to visit his parents before he again changed his course westwards to Bergen where he arrived late in the winter of 1804. He had then been away for about fifteen months. On the way to Bergen he had also managed to start a paper factory at Fennefossen in Setesdalen.²⁰⁾ He started others up in the business in the same way as he had done with the paper works in Eiker north of Drammen. In spite of all this business activity and all the new business undertakings he had started on this tour, preaching was his main task.

"Everywhere I went I encouraged as much as I could, and it is well known that this resulted in Christian virtue in many people - and this was my main purpose."²¹⁾

4.1.2. Hauge as a preacher

With this as background we would put two questions:

What do the historic sources say about Hauge as a preacher? And with what reactions was he met? Bishop Johan Nordahl Brun in Bergen, who was reckoned to be an oratorical talent by his contemporaries, does not have very flattering words to say of Hauge's preaching. It is most uncertain whether the bishop ever himself heard Hauge preaching, but he had, at least partly, looked through his books. He says in his report to Chancery of 28th July 1804:

"Their books are most wretched and disjointed ... they are miserable speakers and can only win over the most simple ... with a most unsuitable hanging of the head and a ringing voice they do effect a sort of sanctimonious spirit. And it is also true that all milk sops and hypochondriacs like to resort to them and became rather worse than better: but who can also cure hypochondriacs? and is it any wonder that the sick, who have sought help in vain from real doctors, finally entrust themselves to quacks? The cultured world resorts to suicide. Such has not yet been heard of amongst them. They are nearly all poor wretches, the least powerful in the nation and therefore could never threaten the state."²²⁾

As can be ascertained from this evaluation, there were big differences between Brun and the haugians. He defended them from the attacks of the clergy in his diocese and from unfair accusations by the authorities, but his writings show an extremely condescending attitude towards Hauge and his fellow workers. Another theologian who also commented on Hauge's sermons was Hans Henrik Thaulow, the vicar of Moss. He writes in Fallesens Teologiske Tidsskrift that Hauge's sermons were

"the most wretched drivel given in a shrill and weak voice."²³⁾

That Hauge's preaching was as bad as these men would have it seems hardly credible in view of the effect it had. We also have a testimony which differs from the above, referred to by Heggtveit. Hauge and Grendahl travelled together for a time in 1802 in Surnadal and a listener at a meeting held at Aune farm tells about it thus:

"When the meeting began, Grendahl spoke first. I was very tired and became sleepy while he spoke. But when Hauge began, it was just as if a current ran through my stomach and legs so that I had to marvel at the power that was in the word. I must say that I have never heard, or are likely to hear in this life, such a language."²⁴⁾

And many other testimonies give the same impression.

"His words and speech were like a two-edged sword to my heart."²⁵⁾

"When he began to preach God's word, my heart was moved in admiration for his love and mild disposition, as I had never heard anyone preach like him."²⁶⁾

Hauge's sermons were probably - like his writings - imperfect in style and construction, but his merit was his warm and direct extempore address.

"It was as if I had a fire inside myself, so that I could not be silent," is how he explains it himself. ²⁷⁾

4.1.3. Reactions to Hauge's preaching

An impression of how unusual it was for a man of the common people to travel around from farm to farm and hold meetings can be gained from the following story told by Røst:

"Then he (Hans Rasmussen Førriisdahl, Rakkestad) heard the reports about the lay preacher in Tune. A man came to him one Sunday after the morning service was over and told him, deeply moved, that a peasant boy in Tune went from farm to farm and preached repentance like a clergyman, and that such could take place must be a warning that the destruction of the world is at hand. Førriisdahl was in a serious mood after hearing this report. "How will it go with my soul when the end of the world comes?" was the heavy question which came to his mind, and he decided to seek out Hauge." ²⁸⁾

It is clear that such fearlessness from a "poor peasant boy" who preached God's word with authority to the people must have been met with very different reactions from the status-bound Danish-Norwegian society. These reactions ranged from "cloud bursts of hate", represented by most of officialdom, ²⁹⁾ to amazement, revival and conversion among large numbers of the common people. The opposition, scorn and persecution with which Hauge was eventually met cannot be bagatellised. As we have already seen, the authorities' displeasure with him was not just expressed by attacks against him in writing and speech. He suffered physical burdens and several consecutive years of imprisonment. He was already physically broken in his early thirties. The most important part of his life's work was already behind him when, at the age of thirty-three, he disappeared behind prison bars.

4.1.3.1. Officialdom attacks

Dagfinn Mannsåker has given a knowledgeable account of the opposition and negative reactions with which Hauge was met. ³⁰⁾ He shows from the documentation of the legal case against Hauge in the State archives that, of the 185 reports about Hauge from the clergy, there were only three which were favourable and praised the effects of the layman's preaching as they had experienced them. The vast majority go in for breaking the movement. Mannsåker maintains that it was obviously of little consequence what theological viewpoint the clergy had. He finds both orthodox clergy and those who embraced enlightenment theology in its most rationalistic form among Hauge's opponents. The most secular of officials were also asked to send reports on Hauge to Chancery. Only 44 of these were a direct result of enquiries from Chancery. Of these, 35 believed that coercive means were necessary. The remaining felt that these were unnecessary as there were other ways of breaking the movement. Not a single one had anything good to say about Hauge so that he could be reckoned to be on Hauge's side. ³¹⁾

Mannsåker writes:

"To judge from the statements which were sent in, both groups of officials were united against the movement and reckoned it to be a danger." ³²⁾

Of the statements, Norborg says:

"Some were so brutally slanderous that the veil of forgetfulness should be drawn over the identity of the writer. A worse cloud burst of hate cannot be found in the whole history of Norwegian officialdom." ³³⁾

Before the summer of 1804 when these statements were written, there had been several public attacks on Hauge both in Norway and Denmark. We have mentioned the article in "Collegial tidennde", where it said that Hauge's travelling preachers in Akershus and Buskerud should be arrested as vagrants.³⁴⁾ In the same year, the summer of 1799, there was also an attack in "Trondhjemske Tidender":

"However, these people, crippled in their souls, are enlightenment's most dangerous enemies: the masses gape at them in wonder, and they build dams which cannot be breached against every honest school teacher's efforts at driving out the darkness in which ignorance and prejudice holds the great majority. It is therefore to be hoped that these holy tramps will be stopped in their enterprise by strong means and as real vagrants, be transported to jail."³⁵⁾

In the course of a couple of years, there were also no fewer than 15 personal attacks on Hauge and his followers in the few newspapers published in the land.³⁶⁾

Besides these, a libellous pamphlet, written by the resident chaplain at Trondheim Cathedral, Fredrik Julius Bech, was published entitled "Advice and warning against fanaticism and its deplorable effects."³⁷⁾ Bech later became bishop of Christiania, and remained an enemy of the movement for the rest of his life.

The year after it was the turn of the Kristiansand diocese. Bishop Peder Hansen's writing was titled thus: "A letter to the Diocese of Christiansand on fanaticism." This pastoral letter was printed in Copenhagen, so it obviously leaked out to the clergy in general.³⁸⁾

Without exception these writings seem to have a scornful and derisive tone. Bishop Hansen again sent a pastoral letter on the 2nd April 1804 where he warned against "that most injurious man, Hans Nielsen Hauge."³⁹⁾ And then he took up his pen for the third time on the 24th April that same year when he sent his last official report to Copenhagen. After the bishop had received reports from parish after parish on the advancement of the movement, from Egersund, Ognå, Varhaug, Klepp, Haaland, Høyland, Jelsa, Stejold, and Rennesø, he wrote that the movement had "extended over the whole of Norway's realm."⁴⁰⁾ And what, according to bishop Hansen, were the results? He states:

"Impotence in business life and confused despondency among the people."

It was therefore natural for him to conclude with this recommendation:

"Because of this I must, in the last breath of my office in the diocese of Christiansand, advise the high Kollegium to stop in whatever way it may find most suitable this evil which will bring an otherwise amiable people to both physical and moral decay."⁴¹⁾

In Copenhagen, the former diocesan official in Kristiania, Fredrik Julius Kaas, was the president of Chancery. Hauge was not unknown to Kaas. Right from Hauge's first conflict with the authorities in 1797, Kaas had followed the Tune preacher with close attention. At Whitsuntide in 1798 he had had him imprisoned while he was visiting Christiania.⁴²⁾ This diocesan official had himself gone to the prison to see Hauge and to threaten him with gaol punishment. Hauge, however, had a valid passport and was released the following day. But Kaas did not forget Hauge.

The Danish court was scared by the French revolution in 1789, and with Kaas as president of Chancery, they had a reliable and high-principled guardian of the Danish-Norwegian autocracy. Therefore when bishop Hansen's letter on the extensive character of the Hauge

revival reached Chancery in the early summer, plans were quickly put into action to deal the leader of the revival a decisive and definitive blow.⁴³⁾

As early as the 30th of June a "Circulaire" was sent from Chancery to all bishops, diocesan officials and other officials in Norway.⁴⁴⁾ It was as a direct answer to this that officialdom in Norway made known its opinion of Hauge.

With this background material of documents and letters it is not difficult to get a picture of the reactions Hauge came across in officialdom.

4.1.3.2. Hostile peasants

Mannsåker also looks for the reactions of the farming population.⁴⁵⁾ And here one is mostly abandoned to guesswork. Some data is available. As far as police officials are concerned, they are in a special position as they were mostly recruited from the peasantry, though they were at the same time civil servants with a duty to follow orders from higher officials.⁴⁶⁾ One reckons that in 1800 there were about 400 police superintendents in the country.⁴⁷⁾ Of these, we know of only a few who were confirmed Haugianers.⁴⁸⁾ Though there were a few police superintendents who had the chance to express their opinions to Chancery, there was only one who had anything good to say about Hauge.⁴⁹⁾ Some were his sworn enemies. Superintendent Gram from Eiker was continually on the look-out for Hauge. He had the pleasure of arresting Hauge and his brother several times. It was superintendent Gram who arrested Hauge for the last time in the autumn of 1804, before the arrest order from Chancery of 30th October reached Norway. Mannsåker names two circumstances which indicate that there were also opponents of the revival among the peasants. The flood of rumours which surrounded Hauge were, according to sources, often very troublesome to him.⁵⁰⁾ Mannsåker believes there is good reason to believe that these rumours were not just put about by the authorities.⁵¹⁾ The fact that Hauge's followers were eventually given derogatory nicknames in many villages also point in the same direction.⁵²⁾

Mannsåker also believes that there must have been many informers among the peasants as the authorities often came unexpectedly upon meetings where the Haugian lay preachers were taking part.⁵³⁾

But there was also more open hostility from the peasants in several villages. If one is to trust the reports of officials, in some places "the common people" and the "congregation" chased the preachers out of the parish as soon as they appeared. So many of these reports are, however, so prejudiced that one must be careful of reading too much into them.⁵⁴⁾ It is also obvious that in most cases it was either the clergyman, the bailiff or the police superintendent who took the initiative in the hunting of Hauge's followers. The vicar of Løten, H.J. Schmidt, also tells that

"as soon as such imaginers come into the parish, so my congregation, following my advice and by my indication, chase these people out of the parish."⁵⁵⁾

It is without doubt true that the clergy in many places did all they could to stop the revival.⁵⁶⁾ Hauge himself does not use much space to mention the opposition of the peasants. As Mannsåker points out, one couldn't expect anything else. He does however mention such circumstances a few times in his autobiography "Hans Nielsen Hauge's travels and most important events."⁵⁷⁾

Beside the fact that a strong appeal to repentance is hardly calculated to create enthusiasm in the great majority, there can also have been other reasons for people's hostility towards the Haugians. Mannsåker believes that he has found one such reason in the new bonds of loyalty which were formed between Hauge's friends.⁵⁸⁾ These bonds could be seen as breaches of loyalty against family and village. The Hauge created a previously unknown mobility in peasant society,⁵⁹⁾ both socially and geographically, and, reasonably enough, this was not considered by everyone to be all to the good. It must have awakened opposition that some of the villagers were more strongly attached to a spiritual movement than they were to their home village.⁶⁰⁾ Finally, we can also mention as a reason for antagonism the relationship between the question of inheritance and money. It is obvious that the bequests and gifts of money to the advantage of the Hauge friends' many projects must have created ill-feeling and envy on the part of those who felt they had been neglected. That this was in fact the case is shown by some of the archive material to which Mannsåker refers.⁶¹⁾ Seen from the other side, this practice which broke with "ancient ideas about inheritance and allodial possession,"⁶²⁾ indicated that the revival had gone "over the top." The generosity and self-sacrifice which the revivalists showed was seen as evidence that the Christian revival work was given higher priority than the traditional values and norms in the peasant society. The new society of friends replaced the family and stock as a reference group for many. In this way the Haugian revival helped to hasten the dissolution of family ties in the villages. The bonds of loyalty between the "awakened ones" were stronger than the bonds which bound them to the family and the village. We can speak of a social breach among the Hauge friends.

4.1.3.3. Goodwill and support

Our picture of the reception Hauge received would not be complete if we did not also give account of the interest, goodwill and support he met throughout the country. He tells himself how he experienced this in the autumn of 1800:

"... whether I was travelling along the road, many accompanied me in order to speak to me, or I was indoors, so many came streaming in for the same reason ..." ⁶³⁾

After his long journey to North Norway, he is again south of the mountains. And on his way westwards to Bergen he had come to the "valley people" in Setesdalen.

"The wish to find me was great: not a few travelled from 20 to 100 kilometres in order to speak with me, so many show great enthusiasm which I have tried to moderate..." ⁶⁴⁾

This was clearly not a unique experience. The same stream of people to see him seemed to repeat itself wherever he went.

"I travelled by land from Christiansand over to Stavanger; everywhere people sought me out and some walked many miles to speak with me, when I came to them ... Here in Jedderen there was an especially great desire in the people to hear good encouragement to be God fearing, so that it was difficult to find a cottage big enough to room all the assembled company..." ⁶⁵⁾

A lively account of the devotion to Hauge has been given by Bang:

"A short while after Hauge's departure (1798) Ole Rørsveen experienced an awakening: there occurred in him a burning need to meet the man who had brought so many to life in God: someone had heard from a letter that Hauge had just left for Bergen, whereupon Ole immediately set off without having any idea where that town was; when he arrived outside Romedals Grændser (Hedemarken) he began to ask where Bergen was to the great amusement of those who heard it. However, he did not give up, but

asked and asked and walked and walked, keeping himself by working on the way, until he found both Bergen and Hauge, with whom he then spoke of those things pertaining to his salvation. Ole stayed in Bergen, where he lived by day work and edified himself together with friends. When Hauge had left that town in 1799 in order to travel to Trondhjem, Ole again felt a longing to speak with his very dear friend, whereupon he immediately set off northwards, following in Hauge's footsteps all the way to Trondhjem. Here he went in to the printing shop of the bookprinter Stephanson. Hauge, who was there to arrange something in connection with the printing of his hymn book, saw Ole coming and hid himself behind a door, before Ole came in. From his hiding place he heard how, when the newcomer, seeing some ready printed leaves from Hauge's hymn book, asked with gripping sincerity if any one could tell him where the publisher of those hymns could be found. Then Hauge could not contain himself any longer, but jumped out and grasped Ole from behind over his eyes and asked if he could guess who it was. Ole recognised his friend at once by his voice and both rejoiced at their reunion".⁶⁶⁾

Bang continues:

"Older people when speaking of him (Ole), seldom forget to tell that he became quite crooked during his travels with Hauge from carrying his writings in a sack on his back."⁶⁷⁾

Other sources also tell of great crowds together when Hauge arrived at a farm to preach. It is told of a crowd of 300 listeners in Ål⁶⁸⁾ and in Frederikstad there were 400.⁶⁹⁾ In Lom he preached to 200.⁷⁰⁾ And these were not renowned as revival places. Several of the official reports also tell of the good will and interest of the common people.⁷¹⁾ Hauge himself tells of the fact that he also met positive officials in the period before 1804.⁷²⁾ It is well known that there was a marked change in attitude towards Hauge on the part of officialdom after he had been in prison for some years.⁷³⁾ There were even a few clergy who approved of Hauge's preaching activities, though these must have been very few according to the sources.⁷⁴⁾

4.1.4. Hauge's reactions to persecution

We have previously accounted for Hauge's views with regard to his own and his friends' attitude towards the authorities. How does this then harmonise with the way he and his friends behaved in practice? How did he react to the persecution to which he was subjected by state officials nearly ever where he went? Was it possible to live out what he preached in writing and speech? We must again look at the sources to find out what the facts are. The biographical side of Hauge research has established a sure knowledge of the events of his life. There is therefore no ground to doubt the sources we use.

4.1.4.1. On remand

Hauge casts some light on our question in his accounts in the autobiography "Travels". Of a visit to Ål in Hallingdal in the winter of 1801 he tells:

"... it so happened that one evening the police superintendent there,⁷⁵⁾ together with another man, came and tried to arrest me. About 300 people were assembled, but none of them took the part of the superintendent, but they countered his threats with authoritative language, and told him to be quiet and not to touch me; so I asked them to be quiet and said 'it is my duty to accompany him, provided he has the orders of the authorities' he immediately read these aloud, and so I accompanied him ..." ⁷⁶⁾

He also tells of another meeting with a superintendent which led to jail punishment in Trondheim at the turn of the year 1799/1800:

"In the evening the superintendent⁷⁷⁾ came and arrested me. He had with him an ordinary guard who took me to the next super-intendent at Lindestranden, Iver Monsen, but he would not send me further as

he said that in his opinion it was not right to treat me in that way. I then went to Trondheim and gave myself up to the magistrate ⁷⁸⁾ who asked me to return the following day, which I did ..." ⁷⁹⁾

He was put on remand for six weeks; while they examined 32 witnesses who could say nothing other than that he had behaved himself well "in every way". They could in addition tell the inquiry that "not a few have conceived a repugnance for, and have abstained from, misdeeds." In spite of this, and the fact that he had a valid passport, he was still sentenced

"to sit for a month in Trondheim's jail; I thought a lot about appealing,"

he says,

"but I thought that that would take too long, so I accepted the sentence." ⁸⁰⁾

4.1.4.2. Prohibited to speak

On the way to Trondheim, Hauge travelled through Møre to Surnadalen, where he arrived at the Harang farm early one Sunday morning, after having walked all night. He went with the farm folk to Rindal church. As was the custom, the common people assembled at Rindal farm after the service to hear the notices and such like. Bang relates that

"that Sunday one could see Hauge wander among the people with his bible under his arm. Who is the stranger? was the question asked from man to man, and all pressed forward to see him, of whom they had heard so many rumours." ⁸¹⁾

Hauge then asked if they could gather in the large parlour of the farm as he would like to speak to them. However, he had hardly begun when the clergyman sent one of his assistants with the order that Hauge "should hold no godly speech in the parish." And he answered;

"When the vicar forbids it, I must obey." ⁸²⁾

Bang adds that Hauge asked the assistant to request the vicar to be present himself at the assembly so that he could personally hear what was said and taught. But according to Bang, the vicar drove straight away. There was no more than "oppbyggelsen" that time.

This willingness to obey the authorities can hardly be attributed to weakness or cowardliness on Hauge's part. We would rather maintain that quite the opposite was the case. It probably cost him more to live a life of submission. He did not flinch from taking the consequences of following his call. Neither do we detect any meekness when he was faced by people in authority. His tongue was not bound. We should rather see his obedience as an expression of that catechism piety which was part of his inheritance from his home and upbringing. He had found justification for this catechism piety in the scriptures, as we have seen, and the matter was therefore quite clear for Hauge.

4.1.4.3. Under examination

Hauge was once called to a meeting of clergymen at Nes in Hallingdal where he was to be tried for his activities. ⁸³⁾ The parish clerk, who was present, blurted out in indignation that Hauge had demolished all he had built up in 40 years. Hauge turned to him and asked:

"How then have you built if it could so quickly fall? Your building has obviously not been founded on the Rock." ⁸⁴⁾

On another occasion he was called in to be examined by Dean Steenbuch and Bishop Schøyner in Trondheim.⁸⁵⁾ He was told by these how wrong it was for him to travel around preaching God's word and that he had no right to do it either according to God's or the king's law. But Hauge answered well for himself, not least by pointing out the bible's admonition to witness to one's faith. Finally the Dean spoke and reproached him for his attacks against the clergy, that he had accused them of being arrogant, miserly and so on. Hauge answered that he had never named them, and neither did he know them when he wrote these things. He felt therefore that he had offended neither the Bishop nor the Dean with his sharp words.⁸⁶⁾

Another place in his writings he says that:

"the righteous cannot be hurt by my words: but when one hits out at the dogs, the ones that are hit cry out."⁸⁷⁾

We will allow ourselves to quote one more episode. As one on remand, Hauge was sent under guard by night from Ål in Halligdal to magistrate Hørby in Ringerike. Bang describes him as a righteous man who saw the Haugean movement with other eyes than his official brothers.

We will let Bang speak:

"After the magistrate had read the letter which the guards had brought with them from the vicar of Ål, and after hearing the guards' statements, which, among other things, was to the effect that they had heard that a wife had committed suicide because of Hauge's teaching, he asked Hauge 'Do you know of this woman who has hanged herself because of your teaching?' Hauge answered, 'I have never heard of it before.' Then Hauge turned to the men and asked them whether they could swear an oath that they had spoken to the said woman, or whether his teaching really had been the cause of her suicide. No, this they could not do. Hauge then continued: 'If I had even spoken with my hand on God's word and she had taken it in the wrong way, could I be guiltier in this than Christ was when Judas hanged himself?' And when Hørby expressed the opinion that 'that was a suitable example in defence of Hauge,' he continued 'so much the more am I not guilty, since I have neither seen nor spoken to this person. Such must have happened before my time, and does unfortunately happen in my time, and will also happen after me, that some do kill themselves.'" ⁸⁸⁾

The end of the story is that the magistrate released Hauge straight away and signed his passport.

4.1.5. Was Hauge a law breaker?

But wasn't Hauge's travelling preaching ministry against the law? Was he not liable to punishment when he wilfully and knowingly defied Konventikkel plakaten? Biskop Brun did not consider his preaching activity to be illegal.⁸⁹⁾ True, certain things were not in accordance with the letter of the law, but Brun and others felt that the law should be considered obsolete and de facto abolished along with several other of Kristian the fourth's religious laws. This was also how Hauge himself saw things.⁹⁰⁾ Besides, a curious aspect of this law was that it had no determined punishment for its breach.⁹¹⁾

When Hauge was later taken as a prisoner to the Kristiana town hall on orders from Chancery in Copenhagen, and he therefore realised that the country's highest authority did not support the travelling preaching activity, he wrote to his friends and urged them to stop their travelling.⁹²⁾

This stopped almost completely while he was in prison. It was only after his release that it began again seriously.

We have to conclude from all this that Hauge could not be accused of being an agitator either through his writings, his speech or his actions. He can in any case be compared favourably with Lofthus or any of the other local agitators of his time. There was a completely different character to the movement which came into being as a result of Hauge's preaching. One heard neither Hauge nor any other of the lay preachers hold burning appeals to stand against the authorities, be they high or low. Neither can we find any trace of incitement to disobedience against superiors whether they be employers in farm work or in business and trade in the towns. The sources, not least Hauge's many private letters to friends, impress and admonish the complete opposite - obedience and submission in the best Pauline manner.⁹³⁾ The sources are also full of accounts of the upright attitude which characterised the Haugeians even during hard persecution from the authorities. After reading through 650 copies of Hauge's letters, I have been strengthened even more in my impression of this revival people as a quiet-spoken, hard-working group of people who exceeded their contemporaries in their law abiding.⁹⁴⁾ When that has been said, we must also add that the revival itself represented a revolt - a revolt against the impotence and ignorance which marked the majority of the common people in Norway during the autocracy.

4.2. Author and publisher

Earlier in the text we have quoted an abundance of excerpts from both the letters and writings of Hauge. We feel that our hypothesis justifies this extensive use of quotations as we, as you know, wish to examine the wealth of thought which Hauge shared through his writings and preaching. It is sensational that an "unsuccessful and poorly educated farm boy", as Hauge called himself, should become Norway's most read author. Yes, that he as an unschooled, uneducated farm boy should sit down and begin to write books at all is in itself unprecedented. Not least his style and handwriting tell unmistakably his formal shortcomings. It is obvious that he wrote "by ear". Both he and many of his colleagues who also lacked formal education, wrote words as they heard them. Thus John Haugvaldstad calls Sweden's second largest city Jutabaarg (Gøteborg)⁹⁵⁾

Hauge excuses himself because of his faults and shortcomings, but he is not modest when it comes to his belief in what he has to say:

"If I am uneducated in speech, then not in knowledge (2 Cor. 11,6) and I do not use persuasive words after the custom of the world, but teach in simplicity, so that lay folk can understand too, except for those who are blinded by their own wisdom."⁹⁶⁾

4.2.1. Large editions

That the people appreciated his books is evidenced by the edition figures. They were snapped up so quickly that he had constantly to get new editions printed. The clergyman, Welle, has reckoned that there must have been about 250.000 examples circulated.⁹⁷⁾ Hauge published 17 works altogether.⁹⁸⁾ A few of these were not written by him, but were foreign writings which he had translated. That Welle's figures are not unreasonably high can be seen from the fact that one of the works, "The doctrinal basis of Christianity", was published ten times in all. Hauge himself mentions that he had every edition printed in 3-5000 examples.⁹⁹⁾ It would therefore be a reasonable assumption that the book was published in 40.000 copies. There

were six editions of Hauge's first work "The world's decay" and three editions of "God's wisdom" before 1800.¹⁰⁰⁾

Another indication that Hauge's books were read by the common folk can be found in some reports of officials' confiscation of the books in accordance with a decree of 1805. From a conserved inventory of confiscated literature in Sunnlyven, with a population of scarcely 1000, we can read that 200 examples of Hauge's works were confiscated from 84 peasants.¹⁰¹⁾ In "Sønd-Møre" 926 works were confiscated.¹⁰²⁾

The decree of 1805 was really aimed at the distributors and seller's of Hauge's works.¹⁰³⁾ It was only meant to stop the sale or the distribution, but officials most places sent their police superintendents from house to house to dig out these dangerous writings and take them away from their rightful owners.¹⁰⁴⁾ There is, however, little doubt that many hid their books away because they were precious possessions, and because many realised that the local authorities exceeded the scope of the law. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the number of books in "Sønd-Møre" must have been much larger.

Heggtveit writes that the confiscation of Hauge's works made a very strong impression on the "part of the Norwegian population who were interested in Christian things, not least because of the authorities' arbitrary mode of action."¹⁰⁵⁾ It should also be mentioned that Hauge's works were probably circulated around. Reading matter was not common in those days. So if one heard a rumour that the neighbouring farm or village had got hold of a copy of the layman's works, curiosity and interest for novelty would probably be enough motivation to request to borrow the copy. Heggtveit tells that

"those copies of Hauge's works which one comes across in the mountain villages are usually quite literally worn out by diligent use."¹⁰⁶⁾

Heggtveit has himself heard many testimonies from old people on the impression the books made on them. They are described as "fiery, written in a language which people could understand, and penetrated with living Christianity..."¹⁰⁷⁾

4.2.2. The books spread the revival

Chancery realised that Hauge's books were an important cause of the religious movement. It was in order to get the better of the movement that one obtained an authorisation to confiscate the widespread writings. For many the reading of Hauge's works had been decisive.¹⁰⁸⁾ The books were important instruments for spreading and consolidating the revival. They contributed to giving people throughout the country the same conception simultaneously. The thoughts and attitudes expressed in the books became in time the common property of constantly more people. People with dissimilar backgrounds and from different places began to think alike. Over the years a society of friends grew up with a common faith and common view of things. Hauge's letters were not least in importance as a means to unite the many members of the fellowship of believers who were bound to one place. We have 509 letters preserved to this day, which have now been published in four volumes.¹⁰⁹⁾ These are probably only a fraction of what he wrote all together. But they say not a little about the devotion and piety by which these letters must have been surrounded when so many of them have survived right up to our times. This author has himself seen so-called "copy books" which consist of a number of letters in copy form bound together as a book or pamphlet. Round about on the farms the letters were copied and sent to others so that as many as

possible could read them. Heggveit tells of gatherings where several sat together to read Hauge's letters out loud, while a watch was kept to warn if a clergyman or other public officer should pass by. ¹¹⁰⁾

4.2.3. Marriage brokering

The letters are mostly of a preaching character, and often addressed to "intimate and beloved brethren," clearly meant for a wide reading circle throughout the land. Besides these, there are a large number of personally addressed letters and these are more in the form of spiritual guidance. Hauge, as several of his biographers point out, had a well developed psychological sense ¹¹¹⁾ and good intuition. This was of great help to him when he counselled and advised people who had difficult decisions to make. One can sometimes get the impression that Hauge was a regular marriage broker. He does not avoid pointing out a girl to a young farm boy who, according to Hauge, would be a suitable match. As far as we can ascertain from the sparse sources, the results were both happy and long-lasting connections. It is told of an occasion when Hauge on one of his visits to Trondheim met a young girl and advised her to travel to Kristiansand to marry a Hans Bacherud who was considerably older than she. Bacherud had a short time before, following Hauge's advice, bought a printing shop in the town, and Hauge apparently felt he needed a wife. The girl concerned replied that she was secretly engaged to someone else. Hauge did not give up, but reasoned with her "the man is old and will probably not live for many more years. When he dies, you will inherit the printing works, and then you can marry your friend and he can take over the business. The girl did as Hauge suggested and had a few happy years as Bacherud's wife. When he died, her friend moved to Kristiansand and they were married. He not only built up the printing works, but also founded a trading business and a tobacco factory. This is still in existence today with the same name: O.P. Moe. ¹¹²⁾ Incidentally, Moe was one of Hauge's best supporters, one of the so-called Haugian elders.

As a rule the letters had not only a spiritual and counselling intention. Many are also full of practical advice and information. Hauge conducted a widespread business operation and was continually starting others up in new enterprises, so it was obviously necessary to exchange opinions and information on all this.

4.2.4. A hard-working man

One can truly wonder how Hauge found time for his literary activity in the midst of all his other duties. He wrote on his travels, in his rest periods, and when he was on remand. ¹¹³⁾ Everything he wrote before 1804 was also written in great haste. One is even more impressed when one realises that to a great extent he bound his own books. ¹¹⁴⁾ During his visit to Copenhagen in the spring and summer of 1800 he had five printers engaged in the printing and binding of his books. ¹¹⁵⁾ One of the printing works was more or less continuously working for Hauge for four months. ¹¹⁶⁾ Of his own commitments at this time Hauge tells:

"... and as it happened, I had five proofs to read in those days, and therefore, combined with the fact that I was writing and helping with the work, I was nearly always up until ten at night." ¹¹⁷⁾

It is interesting to note what he says in addition about his attitude to the authorities:

"Of all the books I had printed, an example was sent to the chief of police in Copenhagen, and likewise a copy was sent to all the police chiefs in each of Norway's dioceses so that the authorities everywhere had seen my writings." ¹¹⁸⁾

He had also heard that Chancery knew all about his undertakings there:

"... and therefore I could not presume other than that I was acting legally and correctly." ¹¹⁹⁾

4.3. Merchant and entrepreneur

4.3.1. Gloomy prospects

Under consideration of Hauge's preaching and business travels, the establishment of a few new industrial enterprises has been mentioned. Before we give a more thorough account of Hauge's initiative in establishing new businesses, we can, for the sake of perspective, remind of the mentality which was prevalent at that time. It can therefore be appropriate to make use of a pronouncement from a well known official. In 1776 Stiftsamtmann Hagerup of Kristiansand sent an explanation of the situation of Norwegian economic life as he assessed it to the Chamber of Commerce: ¹²⁰⁾

"The country of Norway as a whole, and the diocese of Christiansand in particular, are not by nature or incidental circumstances especially suitable for the establishment of factories." ¹²¹⁾

Breistein characterises the report as "deeply discouraging". It leads to a gloomy conclusion. In earlier times there had been no lack of enterprise or help and support from the government in the form of privileges, monopolies and advances. But as far as these earlier enterprises are concerned, "few of them are become established ... most of them have gone up in smoke, together with the entrepreneur's assets, and this has frightened others." ¹²²⁾ Breistein adds that in the time between Hagerup's statement and Hauge's enterprises, very few new attempts were made at Norwegian industrial establishment. The basis for assessment of the possibilities was therefore about the same.

The case was not that it was not advantageous for the country to have more industry; it was just that so few felt any desire to start up when there was so little prospect of making a profit. It was in just this way that Hauge represented something new. He was imbued with a lively interest in every practical employment, partly because he was himself a hard-working man, and partly because he saw it as a Christian duty. Hidden in the term "Christian duty" was the idea of stewardship and the fact that the country and state could be improved upon.

4.3.2. The merchant of Bergen

Apart from the not unimportant project of being the publisher of his own writings, Hauge's business citizenship of Bergen was his first more binding and lasting commitment in the area of economic life. It was, incidentally, of social importance, since he made the step from being a "poor farmer's son" to being a Bergen merchant. With the help of his friend (and later brother-in-law) John Nicolai Loose, who was a cooper in the town, he took over as early as July 1802 an established business and large commercial premises. ¹²³⁾ The price of Valsengården was high - 5500 riksdaler. In Breistein's opinion, this business property deal must surely have had a shocking effect on the Bergen business world, scarcely a year after Hauge had been given his citizenship, and at a time when many merchant houses were in economic difficulties. ¹²⁴⁾ Breistein's investigations have, however, established that the premises were mortgaged for no less than 3000 riksdaler, in addition to the fact that Hauge took over the debt of the seller, merchant Dedichin, which was 1200 riksdaler. ¹²⁵⁾ Thereby the actual amount which Hauge had to pay when he took over was considerably reduced. He also had generous loans from friends in Bergen at that time. ¹²⁶⁾

In the course of a very short time Hauge also acquired several jekt for trading along the coast. Apart from the jekt "Haabet" which we know was ship wrecked in 1803 off Gjeslingene, he had four others in operation on his behalf.¹²⁷⁾ He was successful in nearly all the projects and transactions he undertook. Eventually he became the leader of a considerable business empire in the "capital of trade." But in 1804 it seemed as if he had taken upon himself a rash scheme when he bought the large frigate "Christiane Margaretha". The ship was in bad condition and Hauge paid nearly twice as much as expert shipping people and, later, an official assessor had valued it at.¹²⁸⁾

The step into the merchant community was not taken before he had sought advice from friends. There was no lack of warnings.¹²⁹⁾ But Hauge would allow himself neither to be frightened nor convinced, and he stuck to his resolve.

What can have been the motives for that decision? Earlier in our discussion of Hauge's preaching, we have seen how interested he was that the Christians should be engaged in economic activities in order to free themselves from their suppressed situation, to be in a position to give others work, and to carry out charitable acts among their neighbours. The sum of all this was meant to be a testimony to "the world" that economic enterprise and the Christian faith were both compatible with each other and desirable. One could possibly say that this was one of the principle aims.¹³⁰⁾

But what was the concrete reason behind his decision to become a member of the merchant community in Bergen? It is reasonable to assume that there were several factors which worked together to form Hauge's point of view. Though we do not assume that we have a complete picture of all sides of the case, we would suggest a couple of factors which have probably influenced Hauge's evaluation. Firstly, it could have been purely practical deliberations on how to protect him self from further arrests and imprisonments. After the government in Copenhagen had given the go-ahead for the Norwegian authorities to use the vagrancy laws against the Haugian "teachers", the possibility of a lengthy time in prison was quite realistic.¹³¹⁾ This law, in comparison with the "konventikkelplakaten", had a definite recommended punishment for its breach which made it more applicable for use in stopping the travelling preachers. By obtaining a trading licence, Hauge could travel freely in an official capacity and at the same time continue with his evangelising activity.

The choice of Bergen as a base for the commercial enterprise was dependent partly on the fact that during his previous visits there he had been left in peace by the authorities, (Bishop Brun had defended him before the magistrate) and partly that the town was conveniently placed for trade along the coast and in north Norway. Hauge called his business "Merchant, corn and farming trade". The title tells the facts - the corn trade was a central part of the business. The reason Hauge chose to start in trade can partly be explained by the fact that he wished to relieve want,¹³²⁾ especially in the north, but he also probably nourished a hope that this line of business would give sufficient profit to form the basis for investment in factories and other industrial ventures.¹³³⁾ To what extent this intention was fulfilled is less certain. Hauge's trade did achieve considerable dimensions after only a few years' operation,¹³⁴⁾ but it seems that profits from the business were immediately invested in new warehouse stocks or other investments.¹³⁵⁾ There is little evidence to indicate that he really put funds aside for the above-named purpose. Hauge's trading licence did not therefore supply the new industrial ventures with funds of any significance.¹³⁶⁾

Breistein's investigations of Hauge's economic activities in Bergen have fully confirmed the picture of him as both a bold and an energetic businessman, but they have also exposed serious defects.¹³⁷⁾ As a self-educated man, Hauge had no other knowledge to fall back upon in his new capacity as a merchant than that which he had acquired on his travels. He had seen "books with debit and credit" at merchants in different places. When none of his business staff were any more gifted at keeping accounts, this inevitably created chaos in so large a business, and a lack of oversight in the course of time. The forced pace of expansion led to continuous lack of money. Hauge would neither slow down on his investments, nor realize his assets of ships or property. He was forced to take up new loans. This extensive borrowing and equally extensive giving of credit were not always accounted for, which led to great uncertainty about the state of the business. In the spring and summer of 1804 Hauge was in a serious liquidity crisis. The ill-judged purchase of ships only made the already tight economy worse.¹³⁸⁾

In a letter to friends in Trondheim he told that the debts were so large "that if they should suddenly be claimed, we would be ruined in a few days."¹³⁹⁾ However, in reply to this prayer letter to his friends, Hauge managed that time to obtain significant loans.

Though it was a worried and burdened Hauge who travelled from Bergen on July 11th 1804 on board his own ship "Forsøg" on his way to Denmark, the business was saved.¹⁴⁰⁾ That was the last time he saw Bergen. Only a few months later the authorities turned up at Valsengården and confiscated the whole property. The town magistrate's men locked all the warehouses and sealed them with the magistrate's seal. A sabbath calm fell upon Valsengården, only the rats remained while the stocks were decimated day by day, according to Breistein.¹⁴¹⁾

That was the end of Hauge's mercantile venture in Bergen. But before the prison doors were locked behind him, Hauge had managed to initiate a number of other enterprises in that uncertain time.

4.3.3. The paper works at Eiker

During the visit to Copenhagen in the summer of 1800, Hauge had also found time to look around the town. He studied two newly-built paper works¹⁴²⁾ with the idea of starting something similar at home in Norway. When he came to Eiker in Akershus county that autumn, he found a friend who understood "mechanical arts" and together with him and other friends he sought council on the establishment of a paper works there. The capital came partly from the sale of Hauge's books, and partly from different share-holders. Hauge tells that to begin with there were six owners

including his brother Mikkel.¹⁴³⁾ He personally did not have any share in the firm. He wished, as he puts it, "to benefit others and put human hands to work."¹⁴⁴⁾ Rags, which were used in the production of paper, were collected from friends throughout the land. It was just this raw material which was difficult to obtain for the other paper mills which were in operation at that time in the country.¹⁴⁵⁾

Production was started up at full capacity in the autumn of 1802. As far as the quality of the paper was concerned, Schmidt, a vicar, stated that it was "very good paper."¹⁴⁶⁾

Hauge's brother Mikkel, who was the leader of the project, informed in a public pro memoria that apart from the paper mill there was also a pressings mill, a mill for grinding bones, a flour

and sifting mill and a tannery and hide-dressing factory.¹⁴⁷⁾ He adds that the paper is the best "as yet produced in Norway."¹⁴⁸⁾

It seems that the Eiker establishment held its own in competition with the other factories in the land.¹⁴⁹⁾ Further, in a document from bailiff Collet, we read

"A staff of fifty people is yearly clothed with the garments that the workers make, so good is their handicraft."¹⁵⁰⁾

All the workers at the Eiker establishment and all those connected with it were provided for by "the mill". There were many disabled people and several children among the fifty workers at the mill. They were all housed by the mill and together constituted a fellowship where workers and employers formed one big family. Mikkel Hauge's wife, "Mother Inger", was responsible for the housekeeping, and everyone took their meals together. People were taken care of here who in most cases would otherwise have suffered want.¹⁵¹⁾ They discovered their dignity as human beings through the work and participation in the fellowship. The organisation of the fellowship was such that when any became sick or too old to work, they were still housed and provided for at the mill.¹⁵²⁾ The fellowship was thereby a secure framework of existence for the mill people.

A social and spiritual fellowship was also created for the people connected with the establishments which Hauge encouraged his friends to start in other places. The fellowship at Eiker was, however, special as the establishment there was so large. The whole works remained in the hands of the Haugianers until 1855 when they were sold to Harald Lyche in Drammen.¹⁵³⁾

4.3.4. "The Christian Society"¹⁵⁴⁾ in Ådalen

It was moreover in Denmark that Hauge had come upon the idea that all true brothers and sisters in the Lord should share everything as far as worldly goods were concerned. A remarkable attempt to start an industrial concern built on this principle came to nothing because of a lack of approval on the part of the authorities. This was the projected mill at Ådalen.¹⁵⁵⁾

Shortly afterwards Hauge abandoned the idea of a property community.¹⁵⁶⁾ He tried instead to realise the wish for Christian fellowship and economic activity by means of extensive reciprocal helpfulness and in the form of economic joint undertakings, or a type of limited company with a remarkable structure. The Eiker works and most of the later projects he started up were all variations on such an original co-operative enterprise.

4.3.5. The paper factory at Fennefoss

The paper factory at Fennefoss, begun in 1804 on Hauge's initiative, was built using Eiker as its pattern.¹⁵⁷⁾ Torkel Svennungsen Aasen obtained the lease from the landowner, and he was the recipient of a royal licence on April 11th, 1804.¹⁵⁸⁾ In order to finance the enterprise it was necessary for other of Hauge's friends to be involved, so there were four share holders in the business altogether.¹⁵⁹⁾ It turned out to be fully competitive right from the start, with deliveries to both officials and private persons as well as to the printing works in Kristiansand.

¹⁶⁰⁾ According to information from Mikkel Hauge, work and accommodation was also provided for a group of socially underprivileged. ¹⁶¹⁾ The enterprise became therefore, in addition to being an economic business, the spiritual centre for the friends in Setesdal. ¹⁶²⁾ Ole Torgrimsen Fennefoss was the spiritual leader of the community, and he was later elected as the parliamentary representative for the district. ¹⁶³⁾

The factory was in full operation until 1813, when it was sold. A short time afterwards, the business had to close down because of a shortage of rags. ¹⁶⁴⁾

4.3.6. Eeg farm

Eeg farm was outside Kristiansand. The owner started up a brick-yard in connection with the farm. ¹⁶⁵⁾ But the brick-making did not give a good profit in relation to the costs. The farm was later sold to a series of different owners who one by one all had to give up because the business wasn't profitable. The farm was contract-bound by a clause whereby one was obliged to run the farm and the brickworks as a combined business. When Hauge saw the place in 1804, operations had been stopped and the works were dilapidated. ¹⁶⁶⁾ The present owner, later to be Hauge's benefactor in Kristiansand under his imprisonment, Johan Lausen Bull, was leaving Kristiansand, and had therefore to sell up. It was, however, difficult to find a buyer as the obligations attached to the farm were well known.

Hauge found an enterprising farmer's son, Ole Eyelsen from Åmli, and advised him to take over the place. The boy followed Hauge's advice, sold his father's farm and bought Eeg. With an enormous effort, "tensed with faith and religious conviction" as Breistein puts it, ¹⁶⁷⁾ he managed to get the works going again, and turned it into a lucrative business. He won the admiration and respect of the whole district by this feat. The people were obviously amazed that a farmer's boy should be able to achieve something which professional brick-makers and prominent citizens had failed to achieve. One must not underestimate the importance of such an example. Breistein remarks that it was a weighty proof with which to meet the accusation that Hauge's preaching led to impotence in the business world. ¹⁶⁸⁾ The county sheriff, Count Moltke, used the brick-works as an example of the haugianers' industry. ¹⁶⁹⁾

Production was up to 100.000 bricks by 1808. In 1814 seventeen men were employed in the production of bricks and roof-tiles. In addition to bringing the farming side of the enterprise up to an exemplary standard, Ole also started production of "some so-called Swedish tiled heating stoves of different shapes." ¹⁷⁰⁾ When production seemed to be at its highest, Ole Eyelsen retired and the farm was sold to the war commissioner, General Holm in 1814. ¹⁷¹⁾

4.3.7. Printing works

With the aim of reducing the price of his books, Hauge was on the lookout for a printing works in Norway. He found one for sale in 1803 in Kristiansand. ¹⁷²⁾ Even though it was neglected and run-down, and the prospects of making a profit were very small, he was advised by a printer, Villum Stephanssen to buy the printing works. Hauge wrote to his friend, Hans Thorsen Bacherud from Nes in Hedmark, who bought the printing works and operated it until his death in 1809. The previous owners had not been able to make the works pay, so it is not to be wondered at that Bacherud was the subject of much admiration from the local people when he managed to turn the works into a secure source of income. Bacherud also became the publisher of Kristiansand's only news magazine, Christiansands Adressecontours Efterretninger.

4.3.7.1. Commercial privileges threatened

Before Hauge had come so far that he could benefit from the esteem of the people, he began to struggle with both operation difficulties and with repressed opposition from the commercial community of the town. Breistein quotes from a citizen's letter of 1804 to the town magistrate¹⁷³⁾ which shows the hostility with which this newcomer was confronted on the part of established society. This letter of complaint is also yet another indication of the importance which had already been attached at that time to the Haugians. The commercial community feared the new farmer's boy businessmen, who seemed to be so successful without any knowledge worth mentioning. The letter was sent by 24 of the foremost men in the town. They made no attempt to avoid threatening civil or religious war if the Haugians activities were not stopped by the authorities:

"... One sees this sect's sphere of influence and its supporters go forward in strength, and though it cannot be denied that their plans and projects could be a means to produce greater industry and willingness to work in the common people, (?), on the other hand we dare to suggest in agreement with the just demands of sound politics, that limits should certainly be set to the sphere of influence of this sect and its supporters, for to let them have untied hands will certainly have the most damaging consequences for the commercial community and likewise the common people in general ... All these circumstances seem to act as a warning to the state and civil society in general and the commercial and agricultural community in this and several (egne) in particular, that civil or religious war are nearly unavoidable unless the most vigorous tactics are taken in use immediately in order to set limits on this so very harmful fanaticism, it further spread and the Haugianers' shameless selfishness. Therefore we feel ourselves to be justified in requesting that you, as the representative for this town and its citizens, will be so agreeable as give a thorough report to the Magistrate, who will bring the case to the attention of the appropriate authorities, where we dare to expect it will receive just such attention as it rightly deserves ..." ¹⁷⁴⁾

In spite of these strong words, it seems that tempers were quite quickly quietened, perhaps for the time being because of Hauge's imprisonment. Eventually feelings were turned right round to the advantage of the Haugianers as by their behaviour and manner they were bringing blessing to the district. Only four years later, the diocesan official of Kristiansand, N.E. de Thygeson, wrote to the government commission and recommended Hauge's release, as, he felt, it would serve to "secure the good citizenship and loyalty to King and country which has characterized this sect's followers in my area." ¹⁷⁵⁾

4.3.7.2. The reason for the change

It is natural to ask the question: Was it just popular opinion which had changed? Or had some changes occurred within the ranks of the Haugianers themselves? We have already hinted that one of the reasons for the change in attitude towards Hauge's followers, namely Hauge's imprisonment. Hauge had the sympathy of the people, most of whom felt he was suffering undeservedly. But the common people had been sympathetic towards Hauge before, too, and it was the commercial community and officialdom who had changed their opinion in the Hauge case. Why? Had they suddenly changed their minds for the better? Were they also become followers of Hauge? We're afraid we have to answer in the negative as far as that idea is concerned. The Haugianers had indeed shown true virtue and real patriotism and their business ventures had grown, but we believe Thygeson himself points out a reasonable explanation in the above mentioned letter to the government commission. There he writes:

"... their inclination to preach and to hold their so-called spiritual gatherings has definitely decreased ..." ¹⁷⁶⁾

The Haugianers had begun to keep a lower profile. They had become more like others. Their spiritual life had begun to slacken off, so they were no longer a danger. Does this square with the facts? Let's hear what Hauge has to say about these years (1808-9).

In a letter to friends written in 1821, he gives a summary of the development of the revival in the twenty-five years which had passed since he had received his call that spring day in 1796. He writes:

"In 1807 the experienced could sense a more luke-warm attitude. In 1808 this luke-warmness towards godliness became more marked. The reasons for this seems to be caused firstly because the ordinary devotions over God's word and godly conversations stopped ... secondly those who previously had denied the world were taking more part in its vanity and pomp, at the same time as many were striving too much to gather the world's goods. Under all this, honour and selfishness were sticking up like dangerous thorns, and suffocating the heavenly sapling, something which any observant person could ascertain." ¹⁷⁷⁾

It is therefore quite possible that the authorities and the fashion-setting class's changed attitude towards the Hauge revival was at least partly due to the revival folk themselves. When the offensiveness of their piety became less marked, the diocesan official could no doubt praise them for their well-known useful contribution to society. On the part of the commercial community, this change in attitude was probably not so whole-hearted. They had of course an economic antagonism towards the Haugians, who had after all invaded their privileged domain. The Haugians had certainly made themselves worthy of the admiration of society by their industry and "by, in a time of poverty and need, keeping people employed and by providing the district with its necessities." ¹⁷⁸⁾

4.3.8. Mining operations

We have, however, not reached the end of our account of Hauge's industrial enterprise. Two initiatives of Hauge's which were unsuccessful were the running of a copper mine in Vingelen, and a mill in Gravdal. ¹⁷⁹⁾

Hauge encouraged friends to start the extraction of copper from a seam which had been brought to his notice as he travelled through Østerdalen in 1803. There was, however, some uncertainty about the ownership of the seam. The co-operative at Røros Copper Works claimed the area as theirs, as they had worked the seam there for a time, but had later closed it down. They requested that the Rentekammeret should not grant the application which the Haugians had made for royal permission for the future working of the mine in Vingelen. The application was therefore refused. In the meantime, another firm, Foldals verk, had shown an interest in the claim. They took over the workings and a new feud began between Røros Copper Works and the new firm over the mining rights. That Røros Copper Works was not in such a strong position as one would have thought at first when they managed to prevent the Haugians' "Convention" from running the mine, gives one the suspicion that Foldals verk were the winners. Incidentally, Hauge wrote in "Reiser" that the friends had sold the mine to Haagen Mathiesen, the owner of Foldals verk, with a profit! ¹⁸⁰⁾ But the story doesn't finish here. Breistein tells that Foldals verk stopped the working of Vingelen copper mine in 1818, and that the seam was taken over by Røros Copper Works, who started the workings again in 1821. ¹⁸¹⁾

Even if the mine never became the property of the Haugians, Hauge's initiative had nonetheless led to the restarting of mining operations at the seam.

4.3.9. Milling operations

As we have previously seen, Hauge was engaged in the corn trade in North Norway. In order to be able to reduce prices and still make a profit, he had to be involved in the grinding of the corn. For that he needed his own mill. He was therefore looking for a mill in the vicinity of Bergen, where he had his business premises. Breistein tells us that there was actually a milling monopoly in operation in the Bergen region.¹⁸²⁾ The Hagelsteen family ruled the milling industry in Bergen. Hauge found, however, an old mill in Gravdal which he was able to take over for the sum of 2000 riksdaler. As soon as the transfer from the old owner, Mathias Gierding, to the new owners, four folk from Østlandet, acting on Hauge's recommendation, had taken place, workers were employed to improve the mill and the mill pond. After the Haugians had more or less at no expense renewed the whole mill, the previous owner refused to keep his side of the sales contract. The sale was therefore annulled and Gierding bound himself to repay the 2000 riksdaler. The mill burned down a few years later and Gierding died in 1808. The property was later sold to consul August Konow.¹⁸³⁾

4.3.10. The Svanøy estate in Sunnfjord

Hauge wasted no time in finding a replacement for the Gravdal mill. When the court agent, Hermann Diedrich Janson, put the "stately Svanøe estate" on the market in the spring of 1804, Hauge was very eager to buy it.¹⁸⁴⁾ He had been in Sunnfjord and knew the place well. It was situated in the middle of the shipping lane, and was therefore a very suitable place to mill the corn which was being sent northwards.

A sales contract was signed between Janson and Hauge at the end of March 1804. Apart from the main property, there were five farms and two tenants' cottages on the estate. Hauge did not buy the property for himself this time, either. He wished to get others started in business and to create employment. In his opinion, the Svanøe estate was an excellent place to employ many hands, not just in farm work, but also in other enterprises, and at the same time it could be used as a place of retreat for the friends.

The young man who finally bought the estate was only 23 years old, Ole Torjussen Helling from Halligdal.¹⁸⁵⁾ Janson was willing to mortgage over half the buying price, 6000 riksdaler, at a yearly interest of 4% with the property as security. Ole obtained 2000 riksdaler himself by selling his own farm in Ål. The remaining amount was lent to him by Hauge's friends.¹⁸⁶⁾

Hauge had found the right man for the right place. Ole, who took the surname Svanøe, was an unusually hard-working and enterprising young man. He ran the farm in an exemplary manner, started the mill which Hauge had planned, and received a royal grant to start a regional sawmill. In addition he built up a shipyard and started a salt producing plant in the years of famine. He was also a shopkeeper in Bergen from 1812 onwards.

He was elected as the district's representative in Storting from 1814-1842.¹⁸⁷⁾ He received the borgerdåds medal in 1821.¹⁸⁸⁾ Among Hauge's friends he was one of those who achieved the most in his earthly call. And daily work was to Haugianers just that - a call. This was what made the big difference. Ole Svanøen considered laziness and idleness a sin. In the writing "Om religieuse følelser and deres værd", he tells with great openness about his own hard fight against sin.¹⁸⁹⁾ He remained a faithful disciple of Hauge right until his death in 1859.

4.3.11. Strudshavn farm and church

The negotiations for the purchase of Svanøe estate were only just completed when Hauge became interested in a new country property south of Bergen. As early as 1798 the owner, Ernst Meyer, had advertised in "Bergens Adressecontoir":

"The Strudsehavn Estate with all the underlying delights belonging to it, and my stepson, who is of age, is also willing to sell his allodial rights. If desired, two thirds of the purchase price can be mortgaged in the property. Interested parties can discuss this further and come to an agreement with the owner, Ernst Meyer."¹⁹⁰⁾

There had, however, been no sale. There were not many who could manage to amass such a large sum of money, nor were there many who were willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of running such a large property. Meyer contacted Hauge when he heard about the negotiations he had conducted with Janson, and Hauge and his brother-in-law, Johan Loose, travelled out to Askøy to take a look at the place. Meyer had recently started up a mill on the property. Hauge saw the possibilities for milling operations on a large scale, and immediately made plans for a new flourmill and grainmill. Otherwise the property consisted of the main house, an inn, four small farms and a church.

Hauge had in mind yet another man from Hallingdal, Vebjørn Svensen Ramsgar, as part owner with Loose. But Ramsgar had misgivings and withdrew from the purchase as he didn't feel he was capable of obtaining enough money. There were other possible buyers in the offing, but Loose and one Peder Aalderust finally bought the property for the honest sum of 10500 riksdaler.¹⁹¹⁾ A mortgage (bond) of 5000 riksdaler was taken out on the property. The rest was answered for by Loose and Aalderust, partly with the help of loans.¹⁹²⁾

This farm also became a place of assembly and work for the Haugianers. But the milling operations did not turn out to be as great as Hauge had hoped. Breistein maintains that Hauge's imprisonment was to blame for that.¹⁹³⁾ When one saw how the authorities treated one's leader, one did not feel so bold. Loose died suddenly in 1809 and Aalderust took over the whole property. In 1811 he sold half of the property to a German who had joined the Haugians in Bergen. In 1814 Aalderust let his remaining half become the property of the Haugianers, Peder Odland and Amund Helland.¹⁹⁴⁾

4.3.12. The salt works

The salt works which Hauge himself started up in the year of need, 1809, stands in a class of its own. After the Danish-Norwegian monarchy was drawn into the war in 1807, conditions in Norway became steadily more difficult. After the English blockade became more effective, the shortage of corn soon became severe. That the supply of corn stopped altogether was not, however, the most serious matter. People resorted to bark and moss as they had done before when the crops had failed. What made the situation precarious was that there was simultaneously a shortage of salt, and salt was absolutely essential for the preservation of fish and meat. The domestic production was limited to one place, Vallø salt works.¹⁹⁵⁾ One had managed to increase production here from 8-9000 tons a year to 30000 tons a year by the addition of English stein salt. The Provisions Commission estimated in 1809 that the salt requirement for the country was 189.650 tons for south Norway and 145.481 tons for north Norway.¹⁹⁶⁾ In relation to the country's requirements, the production at Vallø was only a drop in the ocean. In such a situation, with the threat of general famine, Hauge sent from prison this "humble representation" to the Norwegian government Commission:

"The esteemed royal Commission is aware of the shortage of salt. As a patriot, and one who knows most places in Norway, I hereby offer my services to start up a salt works on the south coast at Lillesand in the diocese of Christiansand and in the parish of Ryge in Smaalendenes County, or other places where the necessary raw material can most easily be obtained.

My knowledge, my acquaintance with someone in the diocese of Trondheim who has already made a great deal of salt, and my enthusiasm to be of use are the reasons for my hope that I may be able to serve my fellow men in this way. Therefore it is my humble representation that the most royal government Commission will order my release from this imprisonment and grant me a loan of 300 Rdl., for which I will give whatever guarantee and security which the Commission should be pleased to propose for both my own presence when commanded and for the above named sum of money." ¹⁹⁷⁾

The application was dated the 23rd of February 1809 and only four days later he received confirmation that his application had been granted. ¹⁹⁸⁾ This was in sharp contrast to the reception with which his later requests for pardon were met. It was obviously a great emergency.

With a personal guarantee of 1000 Rdl. put up by a merchant from Kristiania, Hauge set out to find a suitable place for the salt works. ¹⁹⁹⁾ Outside Lillesand, at a place called Kidholmen, he found the highest salt content in the sea and established a modest salt works in the course of 3 weeks. ²⁰⁰⁾ The 300 Rdl. were soon used up, so in order to continue building up several more salt works, it was necessary to obtain more money. He therefore wrote another application for a loan of 1000 Rdl. Without waiting for an answer, he travelled further west. He managed to start up a salt works near Stavanger, and improved on one which had been built at Svanøy on his written advice. ²⁰¹⁾

In the meantime, there had been a change in the government Commission in Kristiania, where the Chancellery president Kaas had taken over from the diocesan official Moltke. We already know that Moltke had been kindly disposed towards Hauge. It was different with Kaas, who had been the primus motor in the legal process against Hauge in his position of chairman of His Majesty's government in Copenhagen. The other members of the government Commission were positively inclined towards Hauge's enquiry about a new loan. Kaas was however of a different opinion.

"I have absolutely no faith in this man's wish to be of use, nor in his capability to have an effect on the good of the common people ... I consider it to be highly unsafe to entrust a man who has caused so much damage be left to his own devices." ²⁰²⁾

Nevertheless, he agreed to the suggestion that both worldly and ecclesiastical authorities should be asked to give their opinion on the matter.

The bailiff of Nedenes bailiwick, Peter Krejdal, was ordered by his superior official to make an investigation of Hauge's workings in Lillesand. ²⁰³⁾ Krejdal could report that the smaller works produced a little over 4 tons per week, whereas the larger works managed to produce 8 tons. With more investment, the production could be increased. The bailiff praises Hauge and says:

"It cannot be denied that this salt works has been of great use in recent times, and that Hans Nielsen Hauge has benefitted the common people in this and many other ways ..." ²⁰⁴⁾

He closes by recommending that Hauge "is encouraged in this work" with the necessary resources.

Meanwhile the prosecutor in the Hauge case had appointed a new hearing on the 23rd August.²⁰⁴⁾ He was ordered back to Christiania with the injunction that he was to be held in custody in the future. Hauge's rescue operation to save the nation from famine was therefore stopped abruptly.

4.3.13. Latter years

Only a short while after the final sentence was pronounced in the case, the state was again able to benefit from Hauge's ability and experience. Pavels reports that Hauge was entrusted with the census and enlisted as poor-law inspector in Sagene.²⁰⁶⁾ In 1811 Hauge was allowed to move to the Bakke farm in Sagene because his health was so reduced that one feared he would not live to see the end of the case if he was held in custody.²⁰⁷⁾ His brother, Mikkel, organised the purchase. Out here "in this little country estate" he lived "quietly and un-offensively", and occupied himself with improvement of the soil and milling operations. He immediately built a corn mill and was therefore in a position to benefit the poor, who, in the "year of crop failure" 1812, came to him for help.²⁰⁸⁾

The estate was large enough to keep 23 people.²⁰⁹⁾ But in 1817 he took over the Bredtvet estate in Aker which was 4-5 times bigger.²¹⁰⁾ In spite of his bad health, he himself presided over the work of improving the buildings and the running of the farm. He now had 30 people in his work force, and in addition, people were continuously coming to get advice and council from the master of Bredtvet. The church historian, Bang, says that the estate became "the centre of Christian life in Norway."²¹¹⁾ Men and women of the "upper classes" were also present at his domestic devotions. During such a visit from ecclesiastical officials, bishop Bugge, who had met Hauge many years earlier at Vanse vicarage and who had himself thrown "stenk" at the persecuted layman, had said to one of Hauge's friends:

"When I saw Hauge, bowed over and plagued by all sorts of illnesses, I couldn't say anything else inside myself than that: all this you have suffered for the sake of Christ."²¹²⁾

Right up to only a few months before his death, Hauge was working on ideas for new enterprises. In a letter dated 29.10.1823, he explains his plans for an ironware factory:

"I have been pondering for a long time the idea that we should interest ourselves in establishing industry, agriculture, cultivate large marshes etc. or start factories as we did before. This time I am writing to communicate to my friends an idea or thought about a hardware producing factory. There is no such factory in our country."

With his strange spelling Hauge continues to give his reasons for why this should be of interest for him and his friends. We can see that the argumentation follows the same lines as previously:

"And so, as Christian and believing people, who love God, ought, as I also believe: love your neighbours - and as we according to Jesus' word let our light shine for people with great sacrifice and in useful actions in the establishment of necessities for our country and to give work to the poor."

After a relatively detailed description of the function the factory should have, and its construction, together with some guidelines for the planned shareholders company, it goes on:

"When you, my confidants, have been pleased to consider this suggestion and give it your support as well as you are able, so we will petition the government for sanction and possibly receive some special freedoms."²¹³⁾

As always, this was intended to be a joint project where all who could and wanted to would join forces. However, that particular factory never came into being, as Hauge died a short while afterwards. Hauge's widow, Ingeborg Marie Olsdatter, later married Christen Borgersen Dahler from Eiker. Christen Dahler continued to run the estate in Hauge's spirit. He was for a time "forlikelseskommisær" and mayor of Aker and was later the member for Akershus in Storting.²¹⁴⁾

4.3.14. Charismatic leader²¹⁵⁾

As we have seen, Hauge was the inspirer and initiative maker for all this new business activity. He had a vision for the possibilities farm boys such as him self had to build up society. In the strength of the faith which lived in them, they were to "shine for the world." This vision helped him to see the potential in every person he met. He could quickly form a picture of a person's abilities and talents and see how these could be used. Mikkel Grendahl says of Hauge that he

"was always the advisor to each of his friends about where they should live, and which line of business they should follow."²¹⁶⁾

We can safely say that Hauge was a charismatic leader. He had the ability to capture people's attention and infect them with the same enthusiasm for a task as he himself had. To put it into sociological words, we could say that he was both an instrumental and expressive leader. He combined both strategist and prophet of fire in one and the same person. But he had not always been such. Earlier in his life during a seven year long period in Frederikstad he had tried to fight his way out of his class-decided social position with the poverty that belonged to it without succeeding to any degree worth mentioning.²¹⁷⁾ He had found it difficult to make friends. His inverted and ponderous manner, together with a moralising attitude towards the world around him meant that he was exactly a popular figure at that time. But so came the sudden change of 5th April 1796.

According to Hauge himself, that experience in April changed his life and gave it a new dimension and direction. Immediately after that call experience we find him busily engaged in his first writing and out on his first preaching travels. There was something which came from above and from within which led him into a new freedom and into a new role in life. All Hauge research is united in giving this division in his life importance as the reason for his extraordinary achievement in life.²¹⁸⁾

Hauge became the leader for a mass movement in Norway. He won many of the new generation within the peasant classes to the same faith which he had received.

In a stiff, frozen class society where recruitment to central social positions was restricted to exclusive status groups, most of the channels for upward mobility were closed to the peasants. But Hauge found ways to go. He walked them first himself, and then many followed him. Without stealing from the discussion which follows on the effect of the revival, in view of what has been said above we have to conclude by saying that the many peasant youths who were placed in new businesses at Hauge's initiative were instrumental in clearing the way for the dissolution of the class society.

Notes Chap. 4:

- 1) Bang, op.cit. pp.75-78.
- 2) Skrifter, v.VI p.7,12 onwards
- 3) Ibid. p.19,5 onwards
- 4) Skrifter v.VI, p.37,32 onwards
- 5) M.Grendahl: "Om Hans Nielsen Hauges liv osv." p.25, cited by Bang, op.cit. p.294
- 6) Skrifter v.VI p.31,13-15
- 7) Ibid p.32,9 onwards
- 8) Skrifter v.VI, p.33,5 onwards
- 9) Ibid. See comments on p.233
- 10) Ibid, p.35,18 onwards
- 11) See Heggveit, op.cit. p.295. Some of Hauge's fellow workers were there. We can see this from one of Hauge's letters dated 28th Sept., 1817, where he tells that Lars Kyllingen has visited "the brothers in Nordland and Finnmark." Brev, v.II, p.180, 12-13. See also Brev v.I, p.241,33-35.
- 12) Skrifter v.VI see remarks on p.233.
- 13) Bang, op.cit. p.297
- 14) Ibid. p.298
- 15) Ibid.
- 16) Skrifter, v.VI. see comments on page 233.
- 17) Ibid. p.35,23
- 18) Ibid. p.35, 32-34
- 19) Ibid. p.36,3 onwards
- 20) Ibid.
- 21) Skrifter, v.VI, p.34,10-12
- 22) Cited by Breistein, op.cit. p.279
- 23) O. Røst, op.cit. p.44
- 24) Heggveit, op.cit. p.145. See also Bang, op.cit. p.274, together with note no.23.
- 25) Bang, op.cit. p.109
- 26) Ibid.
- 27) Bang, op.cit. p.108
- 28) Røst, op.cit. p.36
- 29) See Norborg, op.cit. chapter III
- 30) Dagfinn Mannsåker, Hans Nielsen Hauges motstandarar, Historisk Tidsskrift, v.XLI p.383 onwards
- 31) Ibid. p.384
- 32) Ibid.
- 33) Norborg, op.cit., p.69. Compare the assessment of Viggo Ullmann: H.N.H. i Normænd i det nittende Aarhundre v.I, p.25.
- 34) See page ?
- 35) Heggveit, op.cit. p.173
- 36) U.B. Arkiv: Trondhjemske Tidender no. 32(33), 18,19,20,92 Bergenske Adresse-Contoires Efterretninger, no. 27. Norske-Intelligenz-Sedler no.16,18,19. I Hempels Avis no.97, 98,140. Den kgl.Autoriserende Fyens Avertissements Tidende no.136 (1804) Fallesens Teologiske Maanedskrift IV,V,VI (1803) See also Bang, op.cit. p.175 and Breistein, op.cit., p.284.
- 37) Norborg, op.cit. p.63.
- 38) Norborg, op.cit. p.65
- 39) Ibid.
- 40) Ibid. p.68
- 41) Ibid.
- 42) Ibid. p.20
- 43) Norborg, op.cit. p. 21,68 onwards. A relatively comprehensive debate has been held among historians about the reasons for the government's action against Hauge. It would exceed the framework of this thesis to go into this debate here. It is enough to establish that most seem to give great importance to bishop Hansen's writings in this matter.
- 44) See Pro memoria, Norvegia Sacra, op.cit., p.93.
- 45) Mannsåker, op.cit. p.388.
- 46) Arnet Olavsens; Våre lensmenn, pp.52-98, ibid. p.387.
- 47) Ibid. p.388
- 48) e.g. Jacob Svane in Berg in Smaalenene, Iver Monsen in Leinstranda, Tarald Stene in Vik in Nordland, and Halsten Gaupe in Bindalen. Mannsåker, op.cit. p.387.
- 49) Ibid.

- 50) Norborg points out that in his defence at the Frederikstad trial, Hauge concentrates on dispelling the many malignant rumours which were being spread about the revival: "He himself had been slandered as being a thief, an adulterer, a swindler, and a drunkard. A child of the Devil...Of the Haugianers, it was told that they were in alliance with the filthy spiritual world of witchcraft. The interrogation gave Hauge a welcome opportunity to clear up these meaningless rumours," says Norborg, *op.cit.*, v.I p.121.
- 51) *Ibid.*
- 52) In a village in Vestlandet, they were called "eastern tramps", *ibid*, p.390.
- 53) *Ibid.* p.389.
- 54) *Mannsåker*, *op.cit* p.388. See also Norborg, *op.cit.* chapter III see especially p.69 onwards.
- 55) *Ibid.* p.391.
- 56) Innumerable testimonies in all the Hauge biographies, see for example Bang, *op.cit.* p.248.
- 57) *Skrifter*, v.VI, pp.8,27,31,33,35.
- 58) *Mannsåker*, *op.cit.* p.395.
- 59) *Ibid.* p.394.
- 60) See chapter V for a broader discussion of the effect of the revival on the peasantry.
- 61) R.A., Justisdept., Hauges sak, pk.III nr.232 & nr.261, *Mannsåker*, *op.cit.* p.397 onwards. Breistein, *op.cit.* Hauges standpunkt til testamentariske disposisjoner p.207 onwards.
- 62) *Ibid.*
- 63) *Skrifter* v.VI p.22
- 64) *Skrifter* v.VI, p.36
- 65) *Ibid.* p.37
- 66) Bang, *op.cit.* p.248
- 67) *Ibid.* p.249
- 68) *Ibid* p.239. *Sml* *Skrifter* v.VI p.24
- 69) *Skrifter* v.II p.35
- 70) Transcript of a letter from Syver Hørve to the stortingsmann Thomas O. Amble (A.59 onwards) *Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift Institutt (NHKI)*.
- 71) *Mannsåker*, *op.cit.* p.390
- 72) *Skrifter* v.VI p.29
- 73) See for example the statements from Norwegian officials in *Norvegia Sacra* v.III 1923. Wulfsberg 17/8 1807 pp.110-112; Moltke 1/4 1808 p.112-113; Thygeson 8/12 1808 pp.115-116; Moltke, Rosenkrantz and Wedel-Jarlsberg 17/3 1809 pp.118-119.
- 74) Bang mentions among others the vicar of Kvinnherad, Nils Hertzberg, as one who was positively disposed towards Hauge, *op.cit.* p.172
- 75) The police superintendent in Ål was called Richter. See *Skrifter* v.VI, remarks on p.228.
- 76) *Ibid.* p.24
- 77) The superintendent in Melhus, Flå and Høylandet tinglag was Peder Næs in 1799. *Skrifter* v.VI, remarks on p.224.
- 78) The magistrate in Trondhjem in 1799 was Thomas Henrik Møinichen, *ibid*.
- 79) *Ibid.* p.18
- 80) *Ibid.*
- 81) Bang, *op.cit.* p.188
- 82) *Ibid* p.189
- 83) Hauge does not tell where this happened, but Nes is the most likely place as the two clergymen present were respectively vicar and curate in Nes in 1801. *Skrifter* v.VI, p.23.
- 84) *Ibid.*
- 85) The meeting took place in the autumn of 1799, *Ibid* p.18.
- 86) *Ibid.* Hauge wrote later: "It could well seem that I was defiant in my reply to my superior, that is, the bishop; but the Lord is over all and is no respecter of persons." *Ibid.* XXII.
- 87) *Guds Viisdom*, *Skrifter* v.I, p.233.
- 88) Bang, *op.cit.* p.208.
- 89) Welle, *op.cit.* p.250.
- 90) *Ibid.*
- 91) For a full version of the law, see *Skrifter* v.VI, p.264 onwards.
- 92) *Brev* v.II p.5, 10 onwards. Some certainly felt that this was taking things too far, and that it was a sign of weakness in Hauge. See also Welle, *op.cit.* p.263.
- 93) See for example *Brev* v.I, p.39, 10-19.
- 94) A researcher at *Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift institutt*, Ingolf Kvamen, has generously made all the haugianer letters available to the author.
- 95) Transcript of a letter to Hauge (NHKI)

- 96) Skrifter, v.I p.26
- 97) L.Selmer: Haugianerne, i: Norsk kulturhistorie v. 4, p.257. Norborg mentions an edition of 50.000 to 60.000 examples, but he emphasises that this only includes 10 works. Even so he reckons that his estimate is a conservative one. Norborg, op.cit. p.202
- 98) See the introduction to Skrifter v.I.
- 99) Skrifter v.VI, p.21. "Den Christelige Lære" was first published in an edition of 4500 examples. The second edition was 5000. Ibid.
- 100) Skrifter v.I. see introduction
- 101) Selmer, op.cit. p.257
- 102) Heggtveit, op.cit. p.323. See also Bang: Til Minde om Hans Nielsen Hauge, pp.36-37.
- 103) Ibid.
- 104) Ibid.
- 105) Heggtveit op.cit. p.323
- 106) Ibid. p.295
- 107) Ibid.
- 108) Skrifter v.I. p.26
- 109) The fourth, and last, volume was published in 1976 by Luther-stiftelsens forlag.
- 110) Heggtveit, op.cit. pp.?
- 111) See for example Norborg v.I. & Bang, op.cit. p.49.
- 112) This was related to the author by a relative of Moe, Dr. Axel Coldevin.
- 113) Skrifter, v. I p.26
- 114) Op. cit. v. VI p.21
- 115) Ibid.
- 116) Ibid.
- 117) Skrifter, v.VI p.22
- 118) Ibid.
- 119) Ibid.
- 120) Breistein, op.cit. p.121.
- 121) Breistein, op.cit. p.121
- 122) Ibid.
- 123) Breistein, op.cit. p.78 onwards
- 124) Ibid.
- 125) Ibid.
- 126) Ibid.
- 127) Ibid. p.86.
- 128) Ibid. p.89.
- 129) "I see in writings from different places that a considerable number of you are worried about my many business undertakings in the world," wrote Hauge in a letter dated 26th June 1801. Breistein, op.cit. p.41.
- 130) Breistein seems to think that this was Hauge's main motive, op.cit. p.40 onwards.
- 132) Previously, during his stay in Trondheim at the turn of the year 1799-1800, Hauge had been arrested and charged with breach of the "konventikkelplakaten" and was punished according to the vagrancy laws! Norborg, op.cit. v.I, p.173.
- 132) In a application made to the King on 10th October 1805, Hauge writes: " and truly I have shipped considerable amounts of corn to the northern counties, which I sold to those most in need and those nearly starving inhabitants for 48 s:a 1 rd. 48s. per ton cheaper than the other merchants," *Norvegia Sacra*, op.cit. p.103, quoted by Breistein, op.cit. p. 101.
- 133) Breistein quotes Hauge in a statement from 1817, where he emphasised just this aim: "I took over this Aarsag Borgerskab in Bergen as a merchant, so as to promote and support the above mentioned aim." Ibid. p.168.
- 134) Ibid.
- 135) Ibid. p.169
- 136) Breistein briefly mentions this situation, but does not seem to attach any importance to the fact that Hauge actually acted in opposition to his own declared aims. It is probably more correct to say that Hauge has shifted his aims somewhat. The relief of need was to become his main concern.
- 137) See the chapters "Regnskapsføringen" and "Økonomisk krise sommeren 1804", *ibid.*
- 138) Breistein, op.cit. p.171 onwards
- 139) Ibid.
- 140) Ibid. p.169 and 174.
- 141) Ibid. p.177.
- 142) In 1793 two English men, Nelthrop and Harris, bought Ørholm Mølle and Nymølle near Copenhagen, and started two large paper works there in 1794. See remarks p.228, *Ibid.*

- 143) Hauge had written home with much enthusiasm to Mikkel and Torkel Habestad and asked these two if they would start up a paper works. But at this time they were both in gaol in Kristiania. That is the reason why Mikkel did not join the enterprise until later. See Breistein, op.cit. p.122.
- 144) Skrifter v.VI p.23
- 145) Breistein, op.cit. p.129
- 146) Letter to Johan Collet of 3rd April 1804, quoted by Breistein, ibid p.130
- 147) Pro Memoria of 28.7.1807, *Norvegia Sacra* v.III 1923 p.109
- 148) Ibid.
- 149) Breistein, op.cit. p.129
- 150) Pro Memoria 3.2.1809. *Norvegia Sacra* op.cit. p.117
- 151) See Magnus Jensen: *Norges historie, Norge under eneveldet 1660-1814*. p.107
- 152) Breistein, op.cit. p.129
- 153) Skrifter, v.VI remarks on p.228
- 154) The name of the fellowship which was behind the application for permission to run a mill.
- 155) Breistein, ibid. p.122 See also Mollands treatment of Hauge's economic ideas in Molland's article in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 1958 p.202 onwards.
- 156) In a letter dated 27.3.1801, he adheres to the idea of private ownership, but with a duty to be helpful towards ones neighbour. Ibid.
- 157) Breistein, op.cit. p.132
- 158) Ibid.
- 159) Ibid. p.133
- 160) Ibid
- 161) Petition of 28/-1807. *Norvegia Sacra* 1923 p.109
- 162) One of the owners, Lars Alvsen Kieverud, wrote to Hauge on 23/9-1804 about the "distinguished" aim of the factory: "that the christian church could multiply in faith as there are many souls in this area who are longing for God's word and who admire advancement of your deeds." Transcript of the letter in NHKSI.
- 163) Breistein op.cit. p.134
- 164) Ibid.
- 165) Ibid.
- 166) Ibid.
- 167) Breistein, op.cit. p.134
- 168) Ibid. p.136.
- 169) Ibid.
- 170) Ibid. p.137
- 171) Ibid.
- 172) Breistein, op.cit. p.137
- 173) Letter to Kristiansand's magistrate 1804 II. Statsarkivet Kristiansand, Ibid. p.143.
- 174) Breistein, op.cit. p.144
- 175) *Norvegia Sacra*, 1923, p.116
- 176) *Norvegia Sacra*, op.cit. p.115.
- 177) Brev, v.II, p.342.
- 178) Breistein, op.cit., p.144
- 179) Ibid. pp. 145-148
- 180) Skrifter, v.VI p.36
- 181) Breistein, op.cit. p.146
- 182) Ibid, p.147
- 183) Ibid, p.149
- 184) Ibid, p.150
- 185) Breistein, op.cit, p.154
- 186) Ibid.
- 187) Ibid, p.155
- 188) Ibid, p.156
- 189) Skrifter, v.VI, p.186 onwards
- 190) Breistein, op.cit. p.156
- 191) Ibid. p.158
- 192) Ibid. p.159
- 193) Ibid. p.157
- 194) Breistein, op.cit. p.159
- 195) Ibid. p.299
- 196) Ibid

- 197) *Norvegia Sacra*, v.III, p.120
- 198) *Ibid.*
- 199) Breistein, *op.cit.* p.300
- 200) *Ibid.*
- 201) *Ibid.* p.302
- 202) Regjeringskommisionens cirkulations-paategninger, *Norvegia Sacra*, III. p.123
- 203) *Ibid.* p.124
- 204) *Ibid.*
- 205) Breistein, *op.cit.* p.303
- 206) *Ibid.* p.318
- 207) See remarks in *Skrifter* v.VI, p.245
- 208) *Ibid.* p.279
- 209) Breistein *op.cit.* p.317
- 210) *Ibid.* p.319
- 211) Bang, *op.cit.*, p.431
- 212) *Ibid.*
- 213) *Brev* v.III p.24-26
- 214) Breistein, *op.cit.* p.322-3
- 215) Charisma is used here in the sense of a characteristic in a leader role, in the Weberian tradition.
- 216) Grendahl's writing about Hauge, p.5, quoted in *Norvegia Sacra* v. III, p.151.
- 217) From 1788-1795, see Norborg, *op.cit.* v.I p.44
- 218) Norborg calls this "the mainstay of his faith and assurance of his call", *Ibid.* p.55.

CHAPTER 5: REVIVAL IN FOCUS

5.1. The scope of the revival

The agricultural historian, Arne Bergsgård, speaks of the Haugians as "a little, often very little, flock". Is it possible to get a more precise picture of the scope of the revival? This is not without interest when evaluating the influence the revival had over society as a whole.

Understandably, there is no members' list of Haugianers in existence. The Haugianers were only loosely organised in local groups of friends, with no form of registration of the friends.¹⁾ There is therefore no exact estimation of the Haugianers' numbers in existence.²⁾ Bang restricts himself therefore to summing up the different places where there were Haugianers at the time of Hauge's imprisonment in 1804, and this was more or less over the whole country.³⁾

Heggtveit goes into more detail, but even he cannot give any more detailed account of numbers involved. He lists each of the country's parishes and gives an evaluation of the extent of the revival there by the use of such expressions as "strong and extensive", "some", "occasional", and "a whole flock" etc.⁴⁾ It is not easy for us to conclude from such relative expressions what the real figures were. How many is "many"? What proportions of the villagers round about in the different valleys were "awakened"?

5.1.1. East Norway

When Heggtveit tells that, according to the vicar, there were 300 Haugianers in Ål in Halligdal as early as in 1804; this tells us that the revival had spread significantly in Ål at an early stage.

As early as winter 1797 Hauge assembled an audience of 400 in a private house in Frederikstad.⁵⁾ Thus there was never, even in the beginning, any anonymous quietness about Hauge's preaching work.

The poet Christen Pram has given us the following observation about the situation in the parish of Hevne in the diocese of Trondhjem:

"The fanatic Hans Nielsen Hauge has managed to obtain so many followers, particularly in the parish of Hevne, so that nearly the whole population of Hevne belongs to him."⁶⁾

The poet had himself experienced this during his travels in 1804. Such a pronouncement must give us the right to assume that the revival was comprehensive in the village. Information cited by Bang which he received from elderly people who had themselves experienced Hauge's visit to Hevne, support the observations made by Pram about the large numbers of awakened ones.⁷⁾ Only a few months after Hauge's visit to Hedemark, the vicar of Stange, Erich Leganger, complained of the "gathering of several hundred people who in these days leave house and home to meet at their so-called assemblies".⁸⁾

There were also a number who were moved by the revival when Hauge visited the parish of Jevnaker in 1801.⁹⁾ In the annex of Lunner, the revival had an even greater influence. After a while several haugian lay men came here too and held meetings. In a writing of the clergyman, Lange, preserved in the state archives, it is stated that the (haugianers) received "a not insignificant number of followers".¹⁰⁾ He himself became strongly involved in the opposition

to "the spreading of this fanaticism". One of Hauge's most faithful followers in Lunner was a tenant farmer by the name of Hans Gundersen Dælinlia. Hauge held meetings in his home which was deep in the woods. The newspaper "Hadeland"¹¹⁾ tells that the lintel which Hauge stood on while he was preaching is still in place, though the tenant cottage was pulled down long ago. In the eyes of the village people it is tabu, holy and inviolable.¹²⁾ The story tells that the clergyman sent a letter of complaint about Hans Dælinlia to the Chancellery on 15/8 1804. In 1805 he was sentenced to pay 13 Spd. for having held meetings in his home. He was unable to pay the fine, so the authorities took the only cow he owned from him.¹³⁾

In the archives of the county of Christiania there are accounts of considerable length of the court cases against several haugians in Jevnaker and Lunner. The charges were of fanaticism and vagrancy and the accuser was the vicar, Lange. In an official document dated 18/1 1805 he complains that "the fanatics have almost flooded this parish and that with an almost incredible impudence and audacity."¹⁴⁾

We must take these accounts as an indication was also here of not a little significance.

5.1.2. Vestlandet (The West Country)

We have several accounts from Vestlandet which indicate that the revival there was widespread. From Luster i Sogn it is told that Hauge spoke on the "exercise square in Dalsøren to an audience of thousands".¹⁵⁾ He also spoke to a large audience outside the police superintendent's premises in Lerum. Bang also tells that he held many meetings in Fortun which were "strongly visited".¹⁶⁾

The vicar was unusually hostile towards the revival.¹⁷⁾ In his account to the diocese dated 1804 he writes:

"All the schoolteachers, the police superintendant and his family and many others are Hans Nielsen Hauge's most enthusiastic followers."

Further in vicar Quale's account we read that Hauge's writings were to be found "in nearly every house".¹⁸⁾

Bang adds:

"There was probably no parish which was influenced more by Hauge's preaching than Lyster."¹⁹⁾

The haugians in Vikør i Hardanger were also severely persecuted by their vicar, Tonning. One of the leaders of the revival in Vikør was the schoolteacher Ole Olsen Bjotveit. He soon became a "thorn in the eye" of the clergyman, who started a campaign collecting signatures against him.²⁰⁾ The complaint did not collect more than 6-12 names in the village. A defence of Bjotveit, on the other hand, was supported by 50 men in Vikør. In spite of this, and in spite of clear directives from bishop Brun in Bergen that Bjotveit should keep his post, Tonning sacked the schoolteacher.²¹⁾

5.1.3. North Norway

We will also include an assessment of the size of the revival from a more northerly region of the country from the time before 1804.

On his journey in north Norway in 1803, Hauge came to the parish of Brønnøy in the diocese of Tromsø. ²²⁾ Already before he came a powerful revival was occurring in the southerly part of the parish. Two laymen, Iver Olsen Gabestad and Ole Olsen Bache, had visited the parish in 1802 and had, through meetings held in homes, been instrumental in starting revival. ²³⁾ The awakened soon gained two gifted spokesmen and leaders in the two police superintendents, Halsten Ingebrigtsen Gaupen and Tarald Iversen Stene. ²⁴⁾ It is again the vicar who is the source of our knowledge of the revival's distribution. Here, as in so many other places, it the clergy who are the most furious opponents of the revival. In a declaration to the Bishop, dated 8/8 1804, the vicar Kierschow writes that in the southern part of the parish there was "actually not one house where there were not, if not open, at least secret, lovers of Hans Nielsen Hauge's deceptions". ²⁵⁾

When Hauge himself was there, he held a number of meetings round about in the district. He readily spoke to church goers after the services. When he spoke thus for the second time near Vik church, he had to stand on a barn bridge in order to be heard by the "assembled numbers". ²⁶⁾

These examples show that at least in some districts there were groups of Hauge followers which must in some cases been large. The sources tell of many haugians in a number of districts. ²⁷⁾ It is therefore hardly a complete picture of the Hauge revival which Bergsgård gives us when he characterises it as "a small, often very small, flock."

5.1.4. A survey of the country by Hauge

In a survey of the revival in it's developing phase, Hauge himself contributes to illuminating its distribution. In a letter to the friends dated 1821 he tells of the development from year to year. ²⁸⁾ In the first two years, Hauge's preaching activities were restricted to Østfold and the region along the Drammen river.

But later there was an increase in his travelling activities. We let Hauge speak for himself: ²⁹⁾

"In 1798 the speech of the faithful was formed ... especially in my own parish, together with Kongsbær, Nomedal and Hedemarken."

Some from "Tunøe" and "Rachestad" had back-slidden in 1799, but

"The godly fire burned even stronger in Nomedal, Hallingdal, Hedemarken, Bergen, the diocese of Trondhiem, especially Lienstranden, together with places here and there in Gulbrands-dalen."

According to Hauge, several weaknesses were revealed in 1801 and some wavered in their faith, but he could again rejoice over the progress made in a number of places. The revival bore

"rich fruit especially in Hallingdal, Valdres, Lyster and Waas, together with Synfior and many places in the diocese of Tronhiem."

In 1802

"this call of God is spreading to other places, especially Norland, Stavanger and Sønsmør."

For the first time he hints at a figure for those awakened that year when he says:

"God by his Holy Spirit sought out many thousands in our land."

He points out otherwise that he has not been alone in the work of preaching. He has only been an

"unworthy tool at the beginning of this work of God."

Many faithful confessors of God's word had also been involved.³⁰⁾ In 1803 the revival became steadily more widespread.

"Now Denmark can neither be hidden from this light: some even come from there to Norway to find out the truth of the rumours which have already been influencing them. This was not inactive in Sweden either; truly many Swedes also felt the power of the light."

After Hauge's arrest in the autumn of 1804, the revival continued to spread for a couple of years. But, as we have seen previously, from 1807 onwards a decline followed over most of the country. It wasn't until three years after 1810 that "some individuals were called to the society of God's children." During the following ten years the revival increased steadily such that Hauge could exclaim in 1819:

"Every child of God must rejoice, as we can now see the old branch coming to life again as in the summer, stretching itself out and bearing fruit."

He mentions several new places which have been reached by the revival in 1820,³¹⁾ and the following year, that in which he wrote this description, seemed so promising to him that he has

"a well-based hope that Jesus, our saviour, will reap a great reward for his pains."³²⁾

Our summing up so far should have made two conditions clear; firstly, that the revival was country-wide³³⁾ and secondly, that in many places it was very extensive.

We have good reason to believe that the numbers involved in the revival simply grew and grew during the second and the third decade. Perhaps some of the glow and zeal of the first years was missing,³⁴⁾ but to make up for this there was "more thorough understanding and wise leadership."³⁵⁾

5.1.5. The second generation of Haugians

Between 1820 and 1830 the second generation of Haugians began to assert themselves. Very many of those who were won through Hauge's travelling ministry before 1804 were young people in their twenties. 25 to 30 years later we meet these again as the parents of a flock of children who have more or less grown up into the Hauge friends circle.

What do we know about the size of the society of friends at this time? Not very much, even now. We have to again seek after spread indications which give us a certain hint.

Ole Svanøe tells in a letter written in 1832 about a visit he made to Stavanger.³⁶⁾ He wanted to visit friends who held meetings in two places at the same time. Both meetings were so well-attended that he couldn't come in. People reckoned there were over 300 present at each

place. Another Haugian, Omdahl, tells the following year of three meetings being held at the same time in Stavanger during the market.³⁷⁾

The leading Haugian in Stavanger was John Haugvaldstad. He was the breadwinner for 25-30 people, all of whom were members of the society of friends.³⁸⁾ Even without having any basis of comparison, one has to see that the haugians in Stavanger must have been a considerable group. When the vicar there, Thrap, mentions the number of haugians in the town as being 13, this could mean the number of so-called elders.³⁹⁾

5.1.6. Official reports on Hauge

The previously mentioned official reports on Hauge to the Chancellery in Copenhagen also give an impression of the extent of the revival. The very fact alone that so many officials, 240 altogether, both secular and ecclesiastical, sent reports from their districts, is in itself a proof of the extent of the revival as early as the summer of 1804.⁴⁰⁾ These accounts cover geographically most of the country. We can therefore conclude that the revival was not just a local or regional phenomenon, but a national one.

As we seen previously, the overwhelming majority of these accounts were expressed in a hostile tone. Many of the officials who were at least formally educated, let their feelings run away with themselves in this affair. And there must be some reason for this. It seems to be hardly likely that the many emotional denunciations of the revival which were sent to the Chancellery would have been written if the revival had only represented a marginal and insignificant group in the different districts. The more likely conclusion is that the revival had in many places achieved such dimensions and distribution that it seemed threatening to the respective officials.

In the static, class-dominated (enevelde), this rapidly growing lay movement was a source of unrest which was beginning to reach veritable dimensions in some parts of the country.⁴¹⁾

The majority wanted to use coercive means to stop the movement.⁴²⁾ This underlines what we hint at above, that in the eyes of officialdom, the revival was not a peripheral and harmless phenomenon.

As we stated in the introduction to this chapter, we have had to use indicators to ascertain the geographic extent and numerical strength of the revival. In several cases we have made use of clergymen's and others' personal assessments of the strength of the revival in various districts.

It is therefore obvious to ask if we can rely on these assessments. Were they in agreement with the actual situation?

Generally speaking, Drake gives the Norwegian clergy of that time praise for their exactness and ability to register data on the population.⁴³⁾ In this respect the Norwegian population statistics were among the best at that time. Even so, what we have to work with are not really statistics in the strict sense of the word. On the contrary, many of the statements we have quoted are characterized by emotional reactions. And how can these then be objective? We could also ask: What motives lay behind all these accounts from which we have quoted? It could therefore be appropriate to be a little sceptical about their presentation of the numerical strength of the haugians. Or could it be that, far from exaggerating the importance of the revival, one would rather minimalize it, and thereby show one's own competence? We have

several examples of statements which ascertain in a superior tone that the revival has not had any influence in the parish because the people have been "enlightened" in a right understanding of Christianity by the local clergy.⁴⁴⁾ According to accounts it was only the "un-enlightened common people" who were Hauge's victims. Biskop Nordahl Brun maintains in his report that Hauge had not won any followers "where the clergy preach according to the Bible and where they live according to what they preach."⁴⁵⁾

He can tell, hardly without a certain amount of pride, that there were no assemblies of haugians in Bergen.⁴⁶⁾ He was probably wrong about this. At least the haugians formed an influential group in the life of the town, and its business activities, only a few years after this report was published.⁴⁷⁾ All the same, we are inclined to the interpretation Mannsåker also favours, that the clergy rather exaggerated than played down the revival in their reports.⁴⁸⁾ This should not, however, cause us to reject their assessments as indications of the strength and extent of the revival. For that there are too many similar statements. Bang and Heggveit have used local history sources to a great extent, and their survey of the strength of the Hauge revival does not weaken its image as a strong and country-wide movement.

But the image becomes more complex. In some villages the majority of inhabitants could be counted as haugians, in others there were only a few, while in many there were probably none at all. As far as the country as a whole is concerned, we can probably agree with Mannsåker that only a minority of the peasantry were completely won by Hauge. The majority must have been neutral, some more sympathetic than others.⁴⁹⁾

However, the strength of numbers alone is not a good criteria for judging the revival's influence on society as a whole. Bergsgård maintained that "they were filled by a strong spirit, and they were good leaders". They were leaders of a new attitude and of a development which was beginning. They gave thereby a direction and content to this development.

5.2. The social impact of the revival

But before we throw ourselves into a discussion of the haugians' influence on the development of various social institutions, we shall ask the question "Who among the peasantry went along with Hauge?" We are also interested to know how durable the revival was. But first of all: what sought of peasant supported Hauge?

Hauge himself came from a family of humble means. They were not part of that level of rural society which moved in the upper circles.⁵⁰⁾

Even so, they were not part of the numerous lower class in the village which owned no land. Hauge's parents belonged to the land-owning peasantry. His first fellow-workers also came from the same background. Five of them were his own relatives.⁵¹⁾ It was therefore among people of humble means that he found entry many places on his preaching tours. This was particularly the case at the tender beginnings of the revival.⁵²⁾ This is only to be expected. Many of the pioneers in many of the villages came from the lower levels of rural society.⁵³⁾ Bang believes that the majority of those won over by the preaching of Hauge and his friends were "of humble class and poor in possessions".⁵⁴⁾ But the picture is far from unambiguous. Even though there were large social differences between the rich farmers of Østlandet and the "teachers from Smaalen", we find both of these types of people among the haugians. Mannsåker says we should expect the wealthy farmers to ally themselves with officialdom, as they both socially and culturally were nearest to them. However, we find that this is not the

case if we refer to the sources. One of the wealthiest farmers in Halligdal, Guttorm Kolbjørnsen Haftun was one of Hauge's first supporters in Gol.⁵⁵⁾ Kristofer Hoen, a wealthy farmer, was the leader of the haugians in Eiker.⁵⁶⁾ There are several stories of this powerful farmer-leader who was also present at the Eidsvoll assembly. (There should, perhaps, be an explanation here.)

Bang mentions around twenty farmers by name, all of whom would play an important part in the revival.⁵⁷⁾ In Snertingdalen Hauge held meetings in Brateng farm. The owner, Kristopher Olsen Brateng, later became a front figure in the revival there in Biri district.⁵⁸⁾ Hyegen, the police superintendent in the district emphasised in a statement in the Hauge case that there were rich farmers among the haugians in Snertingdalen.⁵⁹⁾ There are several other similar statements in the same case papers.

Mannsåker, on the other hand, ascertains that there were small farmers who were either critical or even directly hostile to the revival.⁶⁰⁾ Hauge himself mentions the farmers in Hordaland around Bergen as an example of such.⁶¹⁾

Mannsåker concludes by saying that although the main support for the revival came from humble people, and not from the economically strong people in society, it is "clear that the social dividing line does not ever where coincide with the division between those who supported Hauge and those who opposed him."⁶²⁾ We can therefore dare to maintain that the Hauge revival attracted people from all the social levels in rural society in spite of the clear class divisions which existed at that time in the villages. That the main dividing line went between the officials on the one side and the farmers on the other must not make us forget that often the relationship between the farmers, their tenants and other hired labourers was one of near conflict.⁶³⁾ It would hardly be correct to say that these groups' social and economical interests were mutual in every case.

The sources do not tell of any officials who joined the revival directly, though there is some spread information on benign clerical and secular officials.⁶⁴⁾ As has previously been mentioned, there were some police superintendents among Hauge's followers. But on the whole we can say that the social differences were too great for the officials to become a part of the society of friends. This did happen later in the century, but by then Haugianism as a movement had won such recognition in society that this was no longer an impossibility.⁶⁵⁾ Besides, by this time the movement had among its members a number of leading men who, because of their economic and social mobility, had reached the higher rungs of society.

We can also assert that the revival managed to unite antagonistic parties in rural society, but had little influence outside. The Hauge revival was a rural revival. It had most effect in the villages where nine tenths of the population lived. Later we see that some of the towns were included.⁶⁶⁾ This especially applied to Stavanger, which also was the recipient of the first institutional expression of the new Christian life.⁶⁷⁾ Eventually there was a substantial haugian milieu in many Norwegian towns.

5.3. The duration of the revival

As far as the duration of the revival is concerned, I will support the conclusion which Norborg has drawn in his biography of Hauge. He seems to draw a line between the early haugian revival and the later haugianism.⁶⁸⁾ I understand him as limiting the revival period to that

preceding Hauge's long imprisonment. The division of the biography into two periods with the year 1804 as the divider is possibly an expression of just such an opinion.

One could, however, find a good defence for stretching the duration of the revival so that it covered the whole of Hauge's active life. We have seen how the revival flared up again in the years following Hauge's release from prison.⁶⁹⁾ One could rightly point out Hauge's death and the publication of his testament to the friends as the events which lead naturally into the so-called haugianism.

There are, however, several arguments which have lead to our taking the same standpoint as Norborg.

Firstly, it was during the seven years up to the autumn of 1804 when Hauge travelled around and was actively involved in preaching. It was then he laid the foundations for the later movement. Following from that period came his large literary production which leads to an enormous distribution of his written works. Hauge's popular writings had a direct influence on the spread of the revival. This was something which the contemporary officialdom understood. They therefore made sure that the "plakaten" of 1805 was carried through, which set a stop to the further effect of the books among the Norwegian common people.⁷⁰⁾ Eventually, as the revival increased and began to take form, it met Danish-Norwegian officialdom in all its might.

This opposition was due certainly to the radical nature of the revival in the first years. It was then the fire burned hottest, according to Hauge. It was also during these first decisive years that those who would later come to play an important part at Hauge's side in the spreading and establishment of the revival were won. And lastly, it was particularly during the period immediately before Hauge's imprisonment that the different business enterprises were established.

If we are now going to stick with the point of view that the revival covered the seven years from 1797 to 1804, we have to come with an additional comment.

It can be shown historically that revivals took place in many parts of the land also after 1804 - and especially after 1814. In the haugian letters which have been preserved we read that there were individual local revivals in the 1830's and 1840's. So-called haugian letters are in existence right up until the 1860's.⁷¹⁾ Those distinctive groups which reckoned themselves as a part of the haugian movement died out after that. In an article from the newspaper "Norland" written in 1948, we read the following about the duration of the new life which was created by Hauge's activities:

"This revival started by Hauge endured in Rana for two or three generations forward."⁷²⁾

It isn't unusual even today to stumble upon remnants of that revival. The author has heard several accounts of farms and small villages in our own times which are characterised by generations of connection with the revival.

Our limiting the revival to the first seven years does not mean that we neglect later revivals, but we choose that period for the reasons given above.

Notes Chap. 5:

- 1) Skrifter, v. VIII p. 245.
- 2) E. Danbolt: Misjonstankens gjennombrudd i Norge v.I, p.102. See also Norborg, v.II, p.227
- 3) Bang, op.cit. p.369 onwards. p.453.
- 4) Heggtveit, op.cit. p.260 onwards
- 5) Norborg, op.cit. v.I, p.87.
- 6) Heggtveit, op.cit. p.282.
- 7) Bang, op.cit. p.263
- 8) Norborg, op.cit. v.I p.125
- 9) Bang, op.cit. p.231
- 10) (Vicar Lange's letter of 15/8 1804 to Dean Lassen, in the state archives) Ibid.
- 11) "Hadeland", Branbu 7/5 1936, article entitled "En minnestein i Lunner".
- 12) Ibid.
- 13) Verbal communication from, among others, his daughters in 1872, Bang op.cit. p.231
- 14) "Hadeland", 7/5 1936
- 15) Communication from a lay man born in Lyster, Bang, op.cit. p.283
- 16) Ibid.
- 17) See Bang's description of the injustice which the clergyman inflicted on the haugians, ibid. p.283-4.
- 18) (Account in the state archives) Bang, op.cit., p.283.
- 19) Ibid. The leading haugian in Lyster had been for many years the farmer, Torger Nes, who was also elected as the district's representative in Storting.
- 20) Ibid. p.291.
- 21) Ibid. This was not an isolated case. Thomas Olsen Amble tells in a letter how the vicar had sacked him from his post as schoolteacher and sent him to do military service because he would not stop preaching God's word. HS 7027, 32-33 NHKSI. See also ibid. p.307.
- 22) See "Reiser", Skrifter v.VI p.31, and Bang, op.cit. p.294 onwards.
- 23) Bang, op.cit. p.295
- 24) Ibid.
- 25) (State archives) Ibid.
- 26) Ibid. p.296.
- 27) See for example Bang, pages 216, 245, 265, 269, 289, 303, 307.
- 28) Brev, v.II, pages 339-42.
- 29) All quotations are from Brev v.II p.341-2.
- 30) Heggtveit names 42 men and 14 women as the foremost of Hauge's fellow-workers in the preaching. We can assume from this that there were many more, as Ivar Kleiven names 12 preachers of God's word from Lom and Skjåk alone. Ivar Kleiven: Lom og Skjaak, Gamal bondekultur i Gudbrandsdalen, 1973, pp. 359-370.
- 31) "Øyer i Gulbrandsdalen, Aallen in the diocese of Tronhiem, lower Telemark and Opland to Stavanger and Egersund, the smaller places in Norland, Torpen, Halingsdal, Nomedal, Eger, the parishes of Berg and Rachestad, together with some in Sweden, near Fredrichshal, and many other places." Brev v.II, p.341-2
- 32) Ibid. p.242
- 33) Koht confirms this when he says: "It was truly a country-wide revival, not just a village revival." Koht, op.cit. p.340
- 34) There is a note of complaint that the fire of the first years is missing in private letters written by both Hauge and J.Haugvaldstad.
- 35) Brev v.II, pp
- 36) O.T. Svanøe, Bergen 8/11 1832 to O. Mjelva, Danbolt, op.cit. p.102
- 37) E.T. Omdahl, Stavanger 1/1 1833 to O.Aaserud, ibid.
- 38) Ibid.
- 39) Thrap: Bidrag II p.321, ibid.
- 40) The accounts to the Chancellry were divided thus: 185 from the ecclesiastical officials, 44 from the secular, and 11 from police officials. D. Mannsåker, op.cit. p.383-4 and 388.
- 41) In "Theologisk Maanedstidsskrift" 1804, Pastor L.N. Fallesen discusses how it can be explained that Hans Nielsen Hauge "can win such success as he does", while church attendance is so poor. Yet another indication of the revival's extent and dimensions.
- 42) Mannsåker, op.cit. pp 383-4 and 388.
- 43) Michael Drake: Population and Society in Norway 1735-1865, Cambridge 1969, p.150.
- 44) See for example Norborg, op.cit. p.71 and Mannsåker, op.cit. p.394. Some reports make a great issue of the people's hostile attitude towards the revival. Ibid. pp.390-91.
- 45) Brun's account of 28/7 1804, quoted from Breistein, op.cit. p.279.
- 46) Ibid.

- 47) Ibid. p.339 onwards
- 48) Mannsåker says: "most of the officials wanted stronger means to be used against the Hauge movement, and a dark background would emphasise this better than a light background." Mannsåker, op.cit. p.390.
- 49) Mannsåker, op.cit. p.387
- 50) Ibid. p.392
- 51) Information in Heggtveit v.I.
- 52) Mannsåker, op.cit. p.392
- 53) In Sørum a poor shoemaker was a pioneer of the revival, in Lom and Skjåk, among others, two brothers who are called batchelors and vagrants, in Jevnaker a returned soldier, in Surnadal a servant boy, in Ullensvang a servant girl, and in Suldal a tenant farmer. (Haugesaken, state archives, pk.II-III nr.230, 59, 200, 37, 119, 35) in Mannsåker, op.cit., note 33, p.392.
- 54) Bang, op.cit., p.251.
- 55) Bang, op.cit. p.236
- 56) Ibid. p.160
- 57) Some examples: Erik Bøle (p.158), Bache (p.169), Blegen (p.230), Monsen (p.205), Sørbrøden (p.219 & 236), Næs (p.283).
- 58) Ibid. p.230
- 59) (R.A.H. pk.II, no.53) Mannsåker, op.cit., note 35 on p.393.
- 60) Ibid.
- 61) Skrifter, v.VI, p.14
- 62) Mannsåker, op.cit. p.393
- 63) See for example Sverre Steen: Det frie Norge, v.IV, p.59 onwards. See also Eilert Sundt: Om giftermål i Norge (1967) p.191 onwards, for a treatment of the variation in social standing between the classes in the villages according to district.
- 64) See for example Bang, op.cit. p.24, Letter from Daniel Arnesen of 7/4- 1837 in transcript H.S. 14638, 1-17 NHKSI.
- 65) Hauge writes in his :Udtog af Kirke-Historien, of 1821: "We have now an intimate relationship with both clerics and officials of whom there are not few in Norway now who obey and love God's word."
- 66) Danbolt says that the majority of the Haugians were humble citizens and small farmers. Danbolt, op.cit. p.103
- 67) The Norwegian Missionary Society reckons its beginnings from the missionary society which was founded in 1841. See John Nome: Demringstid, and Erling Danbolt: Misjonstankens gjennombrudd i Norge, v.I. Stavanger also had the first christian assembly rooms in the country, Nygatens Opbyggelshus from 1846. See Stavanger Aftenblad, 17/4 - 1946.
- 68) Norborg, op.cit. v.I, 1771-1804 and v.II, 1804-1824. Sverre Steen also reckons "haugianism" from 1804. See: H.N.H. og bondreisningen. NTT v.46, 1945, p.251.
- 69) Brev v.II, p.341-2. See also "Udtog af Kirke-Historien", Verker v.VIII, p.215.
- 70) See Norborg, v.II, p.217
- 71) See haugian letters in transcription in NHKSI
- 72) Nils Langli in Helgelands Blad, published in Sandnessjøen, 15/4- 1948

PART II

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVIVAL

6.1. Introductory comments

This thesis has so far had a descriptive character. We are now going over to an evaluation of the results we believe can be attributed to the Hauge revival.

6.1.1. Structural framework

But before we do this we remind that the revival did not occur in a vacuum. It broke in a society at a certain stage of development. The people who were first and foremost touched by the revival were all in one way or another connected to different activities which together form the framework for the effects of the revival. The fact that certain social structures exist does not necessarily mean that the said structures are not liable to be influenced for change. In the following discussion we will endeavour to prove that just such structural changes occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, not least as a consequence of the revival which spread over the land.

But this in its turn means that we must have the existing structural conditions in our minds when we try to explain why the revival took the form and achieved the results which it did.

6.1.2. The fruits of repentance

Through the historical analysis we saw how Hauge wandered through most of Norway and where ever he came he held "assemblies" for those who were interested. In addition to these, he wrote letters and books which were circulated in large numbers. He also started up a number of mercantile and industrial enterprises for his followers. What was the immediate result?

Firstly, a large number of people were converted as a direct result of Hauge's oral and written preaching. The Hauge biographies contain a large number of personal testimonies of such conversions. We have only mentioned a few. Conversion was the central point of Hauge's preaching. But Hauge also demanded to see "fruits" of these conversions. A true conversion would lead to a living faith. The difference between a living faith and a dead faith based on knowledge, an intellectual acknowledgement, was fruit, visible signs. Were such visible signs to be found among Hauge friends?

6.2. Changes in lifestyle

The first sign we should expect to find is a relinquishment of outer vices. What do the sources say? Unfortunately we have no investigation (a la Sundt) which gives any idea of the conditions before and after as far as morality is concerned. The sources are extremely sparse in this case. There are no statistics to refer to. All the same, we can conclude indirectly quite a lot. In the writing: *Religiøse Følelser og Deres Værd* we meet the accounts of a number of people of their encounters with Hauge and the revival.¹⁾ Some of the testimonies are in places very open-hearted and point clearly to a radical change in lifestyle after conversion. Even

though this material is modest, we can still assume that the 18 testimonies are not untypical of these revival people.

The many contemporary witnesses to the good conduct of the Haugians must also be given some weight. Hegtveit writes that:

"The people noticed the love of Christ ... in all their actions and relationships." ²⁾

Even the representatives of officialdom who had earlier been Hauge's sworn enemies later gave the haugians recognition in public statements for their good conduct. ³⁾ An application to the regent of Norway from the procurator Lumholtz states:

"his (Hauge's) followers have distinguished themselves by their morality, regularity and diligence in the execution of their call ..." ⁴⁾

Pavels, a merciless critic of his contemporary leading man, ⁵⁾ praised Hauge's followers for

"Godliness, morality and regularity, diligence, and peacefulness, briefly nearly everything which is conducive to good citizenship and the maintainance of society." ⁶⁾

The contemporary opinion of the ethical life style of the Haugians seems to be, if one ignores the officials' reports of 1804, unanimously positive. We believe that this is an opinion which coincides well with the actual circumstances. The Haugians were, then, renowned for their ethical seriousness in both their lives and their teaching, which leads some critics to give haugianism a "legalistic" profile. ⁷⁾

It would hardly be reasonable to assume that all those who associated themselves with the revival were formerly of the best moral character. There must, in other words, be good reason to believe that the revival led to a marked improvement in the moral standards of those who were involved in it. They quite naturally began to have a "leavening" effect in their local milieu. They were instrumental in changing by the power of example moral standards in those places where the revival took root.

The fact that not all the members of this society of friends were up to scratch in the ethical sense, ⁸⁾ does not shake the impression which contemporary society had of the revival. This has obviously become an established opinion, as Trond Hegna writes in *Arbeidernes Leksikon* that

"customs and practices took on a less barbaric characteristic, and wherever Hauge's movement gained ground, drunkenness likewise became less common." ⁹⁾

Hegna apparently has cover for such a claim.

6.3. Improvement in sobriety

We know that during a month's activity in Leinstranda outside Trondheim in 1799, Hauge achieved such a reduction of drunkenness and other vices that the diocesan official, Count Moltke, requested that he went to Strinda to "counteract drunkenness" there also. ¹⁰⁾

An unpublished haugian letter from a later date gives an interesting impression of the situation before and after a local revival in Balsfjord in Troms.

The letter is dated 10/2 1849, and is addressed to one of the haugian elders in Bergen, Ole Iversen. The people of Balsfjord were, according to the letter-writer, "mostly dissolute and atheistic", but that a "great revival" had now taken place. The revival had started with the conversion of a young man by name of Johan Bomstad, who was "son of one Johannes Abrahamsen Bomstad, who was a big drinker and (bromler) who had done many ungodly things, but who was now become a totally sober man, and lovely and quiet as a lamb." ¹¹⁾

The letter also tells of an extensive revival among "the mountain Lapps here in the north". A change had occurred in them "namely that, not only had they all become perfectly sober men, but they had also completely converted to God in spirit and in truth." ¹²⁾

That the Lapp (Sami) ¹³⁾ population in the most northerly parts of the land had not previously been known for their sobriety is confirmed by different sources. A report on the conditions in Kautokeino in 1838 states:

"Drunkenness is present to a great extent." ¹⁴⁾

In "Bidrag til Finmarkens Kirkehistorie" Lars Jacobsen Hætta writes:

"the easy access they (Lapps) had to spirits both from the coast of Norway and from Sweden and Finland soon made both men and women, yes, and even half grown-up children into drunkards." ¹⁵⁾

In his extensive investigation into the state of sobriety in Norway, ¹⁶⁾ Sundt also includes information from Troms and Finnmark. On the reduction in the drinking of spirits in Finnmark it states that the cause of this was first and foremost "the unusually strong religious movement which is widespread from the Lapps onwards." ¹⁷⁾

Sundts investigation, which covered 186,000 married men and widowers throughout the land, ¹⁸⁾ contains many confirmations of the causal connection between revival and sobriety. In order to measure sobriety in relation to class, Sundt sent out questionnaires to all the school districts in the land.

Class	Number of married men and widowers in the district	How many of these can be counted as: sober	as: not sure	as: addicted
Propertied class				
Working class				

(Sundt p.191)

The school authorities and clergy were responsible for reporting. In addition to sending in the statistical information, each one who was responsible locally for collecting the figures had to also send their own evaluation of the cause of any changes in the situation with regard to sobriety. We include the result from the deanery of Nedre Borgesyssels in the diocese of Christiania, which clearly illustrates the causal context.

"From one of the country parishes on the mainland it is written thus: 'Of the 103 (of the working class) on the questionnaire, about 20 are registered as "sober", who only a few years ago would have been

counted among the drunken or "addicted". The reason for such a change has mainly to be ascribed to the spiritual revival which has taken place among the working class in this place."¹⁹⁾

Some of the reports show that the cause of any improvement in sobriety was not always religious. From Kvikne in the deanery of Østerdalen it is stated:

"In this parish the consumption of spirits has been greatly reduced. The reason for this is not the people's better judgement in this respect, but the increased difficulty in obtaining drink."²⁰⁾

As a sort of conclusion to his findings, Sundt emphasizes "God-fearing thinking" as the first circumstance which could be thought "to promote sobriety."²¹⁾

This conclusion harmonizes well with an assertion of Weber in *The Protestant Ethics*, where it states:

"Without the all overshadowing power of this thought (of the hereafter), no moral renewal would be put into effect which could seriously influence people's way of life."²²⁾

If one wishes to investigate this subject more closely, there is an overwhelming amount of material both nationally and internationally which confirms the truth of the postulated connection between revival and change in moral life.²³⁾ We adopt the view of Weber that it is the "driving forces created by religious faith (and by the peculiar characteristics of the conceptions of religious faiths) and the practice of religious life, which give direction to a way of life and maintains its individuality"²⁴⁾ as an explanation of the inner connection between preaching and lifestyle, theory and practice.

It is almost impossible to measure how extensive the changes which took place in the moral region were. Nor is it really important in this context. It is sufficient that we can show that such a change did take place.²⁵⁾

Just the same, there is reason to believe that "signs" followed in the wake of the revival, and that the changes on the moral front were strongest where the revival was strongest. It is just this change in lifestyle in many people which interests a sociologist.

Renouncement of the gross vices was perhaps the first and most obvious result of conversion. But what other fruits were created by it?

6.4. Interest for reading and writing (socialising institution)

In order to appreciate the changes which occurred through Hauge's work, we have continuously to remind ourselves of the conditions which pertained before he appeared.

When an attempt was made in 1739 to introduce universal schooling, the farmers opposed it. The opposition was so strong that the government withdrew the law in 1741.²⁶⁾ The rationalistic clergymen who little by little moved into the Norwegian vicarages towards the end of the century were keen supporters of the promotion of education of the common people. But even then they often were confronted by tough opposition from the farmers, who felt that the children could manage on the same schooling they themselves had had.²⁷⁾

Individual freedom was, as we have seen, greatly reduced by the commonwealth's rigorous legal system.

The "konventikkelplakaten's" many school masterly regulations reveal the people's complete lack of spiritual authority.²⁸⁾ But the spiritual life which was born in village after village where Hauge had been, awakened an urge to inform oneself about one's newly found faith. And when Hauge's books began to be spread in thousands throughout the land, and found their way into the farmers' parlours, an urge to read was awakened. According to Sverre Steen, literacy was not so bad as one would have thought, even though reading was far from a daily occupation of the Norwegian farmer.²⁹⁾ But now the ordinary man had something to read which he appreciated. Hauge's books kindled many a mind. It is not for nothing that the haugians were given the nick-name "readers".³⁰⁾ This should infer that they read more than the majority of the people. And when the letters began to arrive, they wanted to write replies. It is told that the farmers practised by copying the handwriting in Hauge's letters.³¹⁾ In addition, many of those who preached gained practice in making an appearance and in forming their thoughts into a lecture. All this contributed to stimulating the thirst for knowledge and practice in independent thinking.

Many wrote songs, tracts and books. Bang has registered no less than 74 authors in the haugian circle of friends, an extra-ordinary achievement for a popular movement in the Norway of the time.³²⁾

Footnotes Chap. 6:

- 1) Skrifter, v.VI, p.148 onwards
- 2) Heggtveit, op.cit., p.257
- 3) Especially from 1809 onwards
- 4) Norvegia Sacra, v.3
- 5) Claus Pavels, the vicar of Aker, priest at Akerhus castle, and bishop of Bergen (1817-22). Aarflot: Norsk kirkehistorie v.II, p.298.
- 6) Norvegia Sacra, v.3, p.140. See also promemoria from Dean F. Schmidt, city bailiff Wulfsberg and others, ibid. p.116
- 7) See for example Welle: Kirkens historie, v.II (1948) p.158. See also Aarflot, op.cit. p.161.
- 8) In his testament Hauge admits that some had "fallen in sin and left us." Skrifter v.VIII, p.245. See also "Eenfoldiges Lære" Skrifter v.II, p.75, 6-15.
- 9) Trond Hegna: Hauge og haugianerne, Arbeidernes Leksikon, v.3, 1933-36, p.747.
- 10) O.Røst, op.cit. p.75. See also Skrifter v.VI, p.17.
- 11) Haugian letters in transcription, B.625. NHKI.
- 12) Ibid.
- 13) In writings from the last century the words "finder" and "lapper" are probably used as synonyms for the Sami people.
- 14) An observation made by Dean Hvoslef on a visit to Kautokeino, quoted in a note in Norvegia Sacra v.3, 1923, p.72.
- 15) Lars J. Hætta: En beretning om de religiøse og moralske forhold i Kautokeino før den læstadianske vækkelse, Norvegia Sacra v.3, p.72.
- 16) Eilert Sundt: Om ædruelighetstilstanden i Norge, Verker i utv. v.5.
- 17) Ibid. p.76.
- 18) This was about 70% of all married men and widowers according to the census of 1855.
- 19) Sundt, op.cit. p.79. See also pp. 77, 81, 85, 107, 114, 115, 116, 128, 157, 186, 190, 194.
- 20) Ibid. p.86.
- 21) Ibid. p.65. See also pp. 209-210- For a critical analysis of Sundt's work, see Per Otnes: Den skjulte sosiologien, Arbeidsnotater, Institutt for sosiologi, 1977.
- 22) Weber: Den protestantiske etikk og kapitalismens ånd, (1973) p.58
- 23) Here are just a few contributions which document this fact: J.E. Orr: The flaming tongue; the impact of early 20th century revivals (1973), J. Montgomery: New Testament fires in the Philipines (1972), Dr. K.E. Koch: Gott unter den zulus (1976), Niels Bloch-Hoell: Pinsebevegelsen.
- 24) Weber, op.cit. p.59
- 25) Olav Hoprekstad writes in volume 4 of Norske Bygder (1937) on the sorry conditions which in many places

followed the legalising of home distilling by the Storting in 1815-16: "The first 30 years after 1814 were a heavy and a low period for the people of Sogn og Fjordane. But there was a power in the people which lifted up and helped forward, in many places to a much greater extent than the vicar and other officials reported. This was the revival which Hans Nielsen Hauge had been instrumental in starting, and which his friends, the Haugians, had continued. ... The Haugian movement brought release from drunkenness and immorality, and at the same time promoted economic progress and buoyancy." p.45. Quoted by Kjell Bondevik: *Kristent innslag i norsk politikk 1800-1930* (1975) p.40.

26) O.A. Johnsen: *Norges bønder*, p.369. See also Ording, *Skrifter v.I*, p.58. It was left to the individual parishes to organize schooling as they found most fitting.

27) Ording, *op.cit.* p.12

28) *Ibid.*

29) Steen: *Det frie Norge*, v.4, p.76

30) *Ibid.* See also Danbolt, *op.cit.* p.103

31) Ording, *op.cit.* p.12

32) Bang: *Til Minde om Hans Nielsen Hauge*, 1896 p.53-63.

CHAPTER 7: THE ECONOMIC INSTITUTION

The haugians became pioneers in many areas of society.

"There was greater social advancement and wider interests among the haugian friends that was the case with others in the same social stratum," says Danbolt.¹⁾

Since this was first and foremost a peasant revival, it is not surprising that the revival should make its mark on the industry it was associated with.

7.1. Agriculture

In his interesting book about "Old peasant culture in Gudbrands-dalen", Ivar Kleiven tells about the Hauge revival in Lom and Skjåk. According to Kleiven, it was a young haugian who constructed the first sowing machine in the village of Lom.²⁾ A later, improved version became important for the cultivation of corn in the village.

Kleiven says that Lom was "one of the most important corn villages east of the mountains," something for which "it (the sowing machine) was to be thanked."³⁾ Lom is, incidently, a good example of the way the revival was able to include both the humble and the exalted. The two men who were to become the leaders of the haugians in Lom for many years were the tenant farmer's boy, Gullbrann Hove and the rich farmer, Sigurd Hyre, from the aristocratic Hjeltar family.⁴⁾

7.1.1. Growth and development

All the historians who have concerned themselves with Norwegian agriculture in the last century, are able tell of a marked improvement. Johnsen calls the first part of the century a real time of "revival" for Norwegian agriculture.⁵⁾ Sverre Steen, in his large volume on "the old society", gives a detailed description of agriculture's development.⁶⁾ The population grew rapidly in the first decade of the nineteenth century, fields became larger, and the standard of animal husbandry improved.⁷⁾

Tabell 1 Population in 1800-1855

Year	Total population 1000's	Total growth rate (%)	Rural area 1000's	% of total population	Growth in rural area (%)
1801	883		806	91.2	
1815	885	+0.8	799	90.2	-0.8
1825	1051	+18.3	937	89.1	+17.3
1835	1195	+13.7	1066	89.2	+14.2
1845	1328	+11.2	1167	87.8	+9.5
1855	1490	+12.2	1292	86.7	+10.8

(Source: Historisk statistikk, 1968, table 13, and Fritz Hodne, 1975 p.25)

As we can see from the table, the population as a whole grew considerably after 1815. The worst years of famine were over. The standard of nutrition improved, not least as a result of the spread of potato cultivation. The total increase in population in the years 1815-1845 was 443,000. Of these, the country areas absorbed 368,000 or 75 per cent, while the rest went to the towns.

However, if one takes the annual increase in population for the whole period 1815-1855, it is at the modest rate of 1 per cent for the population as a whole. ⁸⁾

Tabell 2 The agricultural population in 1000

1809	710
1835	920

(source, Moe, 1970 p.40)

The working population involved in agriculture in both 1809 and 1835 was about 90 per cent of the population in the country districts. So the increases in the population in agriculture were mostly the same as those for the country districts as a whole. However, the ratio of those employed in agriculture sank proportion to those employed in the towns.

Tabell 3 Production per capita in agriculture

Year	1809	1835	1855
Measured in 100 litres of barley	2.1	3.6	5.9

(source: Moe, 1970, p.40)

This summary of production expressed in "barley measure" shows a strong increase during this period of nearly 50 years. Hodne uses a lower figure for 1809, 1.5 and therefore gets a yearly growth rate of 2.9 per cent or three times that of the population. ⁹⁾

However, the most interesting developments in this period are the innovations in agricultural tools and methods. Fartein Valen Sendstad, in his book "Norske landbruksredskaper fra 1800 til 1850 årene", emphasizes just the importance of the innovations in this area. He says:

"The quantitative growth in Norwegian agriculture in the first half of the nineteenth century has been written about so often, but it has only exceptionally been emphasised that this growth occurred at a faster rate than the growth of the peasant population ... taking the whole period as a whole, only an improvement in tools can have made it possible to increase the amount of seed sown, and the area of fields and meadows, both per individual and per farm." ¹⁰⁾

Drake, in his broad analysis of the Norwegian social conditions of that period, is obviously of the same opinion when he writes that it was

"the major innovations of the first quarter of the nineteenth century (which) was undoubtedly a significant contributor to the 70 per cent increase in labour productivity in agriculture which took place between 1800 and 1835." ¹¹⁾

The basis for this striking increase in productivity was in other words laid down in the first couple of decades of the century. All agree that the impulses which led to a gradual renewing in these areas of Norwegian agriculture came from outside the land.¹²⁾ But that does not mean that everything has been said on the subject.

What was it that caused the Norwegian farmer to start using these methods and tools? What influence made the farmers willing to give up their traditional opposition to everything new?

Dr. Johnsen accentuates just this deep-rooted conservatism in everything to do with his daily business as the greatest hindrance to progress in agriculture.¹³⁾ It is not therefore of little consequence to try to trace a reasonable explanation for the change of attitude in the farmers.

Valen-Sendstad is also interested in this question. He discusses the spreading of impulses in his thesis.¹⁴⁾ One aspect which makes this question extra interesting is the fact that there was no pressing necessity to use the new tools in order to rationalise the work.¹⁵⁾ There was no lack of cheap labour, so from that point of view there was no pressure to reform or rationalise.¹⁶⁾

We have already mentioned the increase in the working population in the country districts during the period we are studying. In spite of this, the proportion of those working in agriculture was reduced. In other words, the population gradually found other occupations and business interests than agriculture. Thereby the farmer also found a larger market for his products. This change in occupational structure contributed to the promotion of a commercial agriculture. It is probable that this also stimulated investment in new tools. Thus we cannot exclude that the motivation of monetary gain had a determining influence on the attitudes of the individual, even though it was hardly widespread. The Norwegian farmer was primarily interested in keeping body and soul together, not in profit. Such were conditions at that time¹⁷⁾

7.1.2. Reform agriculture

The gentlemen farmers were the first to start reforming¹⁸⁾ agriculture in Norway. But these were part of a very small, elite society who had very little influence on the peasant farmers, according to Valen-Sendstad. He divides the upper class farming community into three groups, the largest of which were the farms which went with the jobs of high officials. The idea of these officials as friends of reform and pioneers does not agree with the historical sources, according to Valen-Sendstad.¹⁹⁾ Towards the end of the 1820's, Jacob Sverdrup declared in his great Pro Memoria on a central agricultural institute that officialdoms agriculture was "on the whole ... inferior to that of the peasants." ²⁰⁾ Gentleman farming as a prototype model business was rather an elite phenomenon than an ordinary one.²¹⁾ Another group were the owner-farmers. Among these large farm owners there were several really great pioneers. Valen-Sendstad specifically names three of them: Garmann from Utstein cloister, Holtermann from Austråt and Coldevin from Dønnes.²²⁾ But the distance socially from the ordinary peasant farmer was so great that they had little influence as direct impulse carriers. (See also the note below). The third string in upper class agricultural scene was the urban farmer. Collett from Ullevål from this category was a typical friend of reform.²³⁾ But urban farming was not on the whole a main occupation. Those who engaged in it had economic possibilities for quite extensive experimentation which definitely divided them from the peasant farmers. Their zeal for reform was, at least in part, an expression of a sentimental partiality for the charm of country life, so that not all the changes were dictated by business necessity and

thereby profitable.²⁴⁾ Valen-Sendstad even goes so far as to suggest that urban farming rather had a negative effect on the peasant farmers than the positive effect of imparting impulses.²⁵⁾ They were loath to copy.²⁶⁾ Thereby a new argument is brought into this discussion, namely receptiveness for impulses.

The leadership in reform work, therefore, was dependant on both the imparting of impulses and the conditions of receptiveness.²⁷⁾ The cultural attitudes in an area, whether they were bound by tradition or more receptive to new ideas, must have played an important role in the dissemination of new methods and tools. The fact that the farmers were bound to tradition and distanced socially from the reform agriculturists caused a very real hindrance to further dissemination of the new knowledge. In the agriculture meeting of 1854, it was asserted that the farmers followed models from their own kind rather than officials and other social groups outside of the peasantry. The pragmatic reason given at this meeting was in effect that the farmers had to be sure that the reforms were profitable, and it was only the experience of other farmers which could show this.²⁸⁾ It had therefore to be the leadership among the farmers which decided whether an idea or impulse was adopted on a broad basis. All this according to Valen-Sandstad.

7.1.3. The new disseminators of impulses

We have seen how in many of the places where the revival had become established, a new village elite of haugian farmers had come into being.²⁹⁾ They were motivated to learn to read and write. Through the exchange of letters they kept in contact with their brothers in the faith throughout the country, and in this way were better informed about subjects not only connected with the spiritual life.³⁰⁾ They had overcome traditionalism's apathy and began to make their own judgments on religious questions. They began thereby to have increased confidence in their own discernment in other areas of life as well. The haugian leaders or "elders" were naturally enough models for those who were attached to the society of friends, but their influence gradually reached a much wider audience. The elders were chosen for their spiritual maturity and enterprise in secular affairs.³¹⁾

We are not surprised, therefore, that the sources point to the haugian communities as reform element in peasant agriculture.³²⁾ It was here that the peasants were most receptive. And the most important of all the disseminators was Hans Nielsen Hauge himself. At home on his father's farm in Tune he had taken part in the work of the farm from his "early years" until he was 25. He had used his "greatest efforts" to find out practical ways to improve the management of the farm. "Hauge was not just a hard-working man; he was also a practical genius."³³⁾ Because of his background, the peasants could identify with him. He was one of them.

Hauge travelled through every town and village, so to say, and had thereby a better of Norwegian geography and trading conditions than any other of his contemporaries. And he knew how to evaluate what he saw. He understood because he had a burning interest in showing that Christianity and economic enterprise were not mutually incompatible. He had a vision of the Norwegian common man aroused from his spiritual lethargy and indifferent apathy where business matters were concerned to become "a light for the world" by his deeds. Hauge had also acquired a valuable insight into methods of cultivation during his travels in Denmark which could be used in Norway.³⁴⁾

"He was well versed in the most advanced agriculture of the time", according to the farming historian, Oscar Albert Johnsen.³⁵⁾ Hauge was therefore capable of giving well-considered advice to farmers throughout the country.

"I occasionally went with them to their farms and fields,"

he says

"and I taught them to use the tools I had seen on my travels and which I considered most suitable."³⁶⁾

Hauge also published a programme and information pamphlet for "the use of the countryman in Norway" which he called "Patriotic opinions".³⁷⁾ This pamphlet, which he had written himself, shows his insight in the problems of the industry, and the realistic possibilities for improving it. This was apparently a summing up of the advice which he had given on his travels.

The trust which Hauge eventually enjoyed from the peasants should vouch for the fact that his advice and hints did not fall on deaf ears. The influence he came thereby to have on Norwegian agriculture has hardly been evaluated to the full. The influence of all his fellow workers must be added to the direct influence he himself exerted.

"He worked through his followers, and it through them that his work came to have historical scope."

says Sverre Steen.³⁸⁾

Small colonies of believing and enterprising Hauge friends throughout the country must have represented an enormous potential for changing attitudes to the advantage of improvements in farm management. We can therefore without hesitation agree with Valen-Sendstad's conclusion that the local leaders "must have been an important factor in the dissemination process as well."³⁹⁾

Thus a change in attitudes has taken place which cannot immediately be ascribed to economic factors.

7.1.3.1. Faith as a motivation force

Hauge's preaching was the direct cause of many conversions. And it was the christian faith as a personal attitude to life which has the primary responsibility for the new motivation force which made the Hauge people receptive to the new things which were happening. Previously the peasants had opposed everything new, even when it was obviously to their own advantage. Now the situation was turned upside down. The haugians sought to increase their knowledge. They had received a drive of their own which enabled them to improve their situation, both spiritually and bodily, for themselves.⁴⁰⁾ We gain thus a very clear picture of the relation between cause and effect, which began with preaching and ended with a change of behaviour.

At a higher level this change of behaviour acquires structural consequences. We experience a slow modernisation and reorganisation of farming.

7.1.4. A corrective

If this perspective is to be maintained, it becomes clear that we are confronted with historical data which does not fit into a Marxist pattern. The Marxist paradigms are incompatible with the empirical which we have presented here. From such paradigms we would expect that conditions would be quite the opposite. Technological changes in agriculture and consequential change in the productive powers should have resulted in changes in religious attitudes and beliefs. Any such relation is, however, difficult to trace, particularly since changes in the religious life demonstrably came chronologically before the reported changes in "technology".⁴¹⁾

Thus, since the economic factor⁴²⁾ is not the first factor historically, it cannot be placed first as a cause factor either, and neither can it be the primary factor.⁴³⁾

We do not mean by this to replace one monistic theory (Marxist sociology)⁴⁴⁾ with another, even though, according to Allardt, the Marxist sociology "gives ... rather incomplete help" when it comes to explaining "variation in the social relations".⁴⁵⁾

We wish as little as Weber does to launch a one factor theory which would give one cause behind all social change. That would be too naive. But in this analysis we wish to focus on factors which we believe to have had a very big influence on the development of society and which have been ignored to a surprising degree by Norwegian sociologists. We shall discuss the reasons behind the latter in the last chapter of this thesis. We do not therefore wish to exchange one thing for another, but to act as a corrective.

7.2. Urban industry

7.2.1. Changes in the population structure

Table 4. Urban population 1800 - 1855

Year	Urban population in 1000's	percentage of total	Urban growth (percentage)
1801	77	8.8	
1815	87	9.8	+ 11.5
1825	114	10.9	+ 30.9
1835	129	10.8	+ 13.0
1845	162	12.2	+ 25.5
1855	198	13.3	+ 22.2

(Source: Historisk statistikk, 1968, table 13, and Fritz Hodne 1975, p.25)

Valen-Sendstad refers to G.C. Oeder, an economist in the 18th century, who declared that Norway did not have a lack of farmers but of citizens. We have already hinted at how the haugian revival came to influence the changes in the distribution of occupation in the country. In 1801, the urban population represented 8.8 per cent, in 1835, 10.8 per cent and in 1865, 15.6 per cent. The composition of the population had been reasonably stable for a long time. It wasn't until the first decades of the nineteenth century that a marked change occurred.

"Previously it had been a real exception that one who was born a peasant should become anything other than a peasant, but now the one haugian after the other came to the towns, either in order to found a business, or to begin as a craftsman, or even in order to start a factory or some other industrial enterprise."

Thus the Norwegian official, Viggo Ullmann, expressed the changes which accompanied Hauge's activities, and he added:

"A completely new spirit, a previously unknown strength and energy, was awakened in Norway." ⁴⁶⁾

These are powerful words. Can they be defended by the facts?

7.2.2. New establishments

Directly influenced by Hauge, many peasants moved to Bergen. ⁴⁷⁾ He helped many of them to start up different enterprises. In the course of the first ten years at least twenty businesses were established in the town. Svanøe, Helland, Pytter, Mohn, Sandvik and Odland all became wealthy and respected citizens. Seven haugians founded Bergen's first textile industry in 1832. A haugian printing works produced 88.400 pamphlets which were distributed in the northernmost counties between 1832 and 1837. Some of these even found their way across the Atlantic to the Norwegian immigrants in America.

Two haugians in particular became prominent businessmen in Oslo. Christopher Grøndahl founded the firm Grøndahl & Søn, which started a printing press and bookshop. Incidentally, at about the same time Jørgen Wright Cappelen, a supporter of missions influenced by the herrnhuts, started his publishing and bookselling firm. ⁴⁸⁾ Arnt Solem kept a shop in Kongensgate, and purchased Sandaker farm and half of Bjølsen, where he had a mill. In 1830 he made an application to Storting to take over the Kongsberg silver works. ⁴⁹⁾

Altogether Breistein names half a dozen haugians who started viable retail businesses in the capitol.

After a while Kristiansand also counted a number of capable haugian businessmen amongst its citizens. Of these, there were three in particular who distinguished themselves by their activities. These were Moe, Corneliusen and Årstad. All three became representatives to Storting, a clear expression of the change in attitudes towards the haugians. ⁵⁰⁾

Breistein mentions eight businessmen in Drammen. ⁵¹⁾ Four of them combined in the difficult year, 1818, and started up "Drammens bomuldspinderie" (Drammen's Cotton Mill), the second cotton mill in the country. As early as 1821 the mill was considerably modernised and was powered by water from Solbergfossen. The necessary capital for the erection of the Solberg mill came from the haugians themselves, as an application for a loan for the enterprise was refused by the authorities. ⁵²⁾

At a modest guess, there were about 50 haugian families in Trondheim, ⁵³⁾ and of these several, were engaged in craft and merchant businesses. The numbers are probably much higher. Also in Trondheim many of those engaging in business were peasant boys who had been given a push in that direction by Hauge.

The man who above all followed Hauge's example was John Haugvaldstad in Stavanger. He was a farmer at Mosterøy, but moved into the town in 1810, where he in the course of time

became the owner of a considerable business concern which among other things consisted of a fishing-net factory, a herring saltery, a dyers, a bakery, two mills and a clothes factory.⁵⁴⁾ Like Bacherud in Kristiansand he had to endure hard opposition from the established business milieu. But because of his humble and honest behaviour, he became a much respected man. When he died in 1850, his funeral was attended by a large number of people and he was buried in the grounds of the cathedral at the town's expense.⁵⁵⁾

Breistein also mentions six other haugians who all ran large businesses.⁵⁶⁾

After being confronted with this wealth of new establishments at a time which was far from advantageous for Norwegian industry, we have to agree with Ullmann's assertion that a new strength and energy had been awakened in Norway.

7.2.3. A difficult time for the national economy

Economic history more than confirms that the prospects for Norwegian trade and industry after the turn of the century and in the years after the Napoleonic wars were far from bright.⁵⁷⁾ Moe maintains that the Norwegian timber exports declined drastically after 1807.⁵⁸⁾ England, which had been our greatest trading partner in timber, later bought from Canada. Timber exports did not get better again until 1842.⁵⁹⁾ And in 1814 the Danish market for Norwegian iron was partially lost.⁶⁰⁾

Dried fish and salt herring exports were the only exports which had yearly growth of any significance, from 2 - 2.6 per cent.⁶¹⁾ Norwegian net tonnage increased very slowly between 1800 and 1815, and fell by 35.000 tons in the decade between 1815 and 1825. It wasn't until after that date that the merchant fleet had a steady growth.⁶²⁾

Timber, fish and shipping combined represented over ninety per cent of Norwegian exports right up until 1875.⁶³⁾

Right enough, the foreign trade did not have so great importance in a national economic context. As late as 1875, this export of goods represented only a quarter of the net national product, so it is reasonable to assume that the development of domestic methods of production and markets was responsible for the raising of the country's living standards. Foreign trade therefore had a more modest importance at this time.⁶⁴⁾ But in spite of this reservation, these figures are hardly without importance as indicators of the economic stagnation which also made it self felt in other ways.

It is therefore not reasonable to find the source of the haugians' enterprising spirit in an economic boom in Norwegian business. Quite the contrary. In the establishment phase which we have already discussed, there were a number of failures in the Norwegian towns.⁶⁵⁾ Breistein calls it "a tough and difficult time in the national economy".

As far as new initiatives in Norwegian industry were concerned, Hauge himself had gone in front and shown the way. In 1801, when he applied for citizenship in Bergen, the prospects of a promising future as a merchant there were very small. In the period 1797 - 1806, the year 1801 was reckoned as an all time low for the acquisition of citizenship.⁶⁶⁾ "The economic and social conditions were characterized by scarcity of goods, unemployment, high expenses and declining solvency" as Breistein puts it.⁶⁷⁾ As we have already stated, the typical picture was of a lack of both personal initiative and the necessary capital. And since the state did not take

responsibility either for the socially and economically distressed, there was, according to Breistein, no other solution than the old one, namely the taking up of collections and dealing out charity. ⁶⁸⁾

The accusations with which Hauge was met by some of his contemporary critics that he was driven by speculation lust to apply for merchant status, seem to hold little water against this background. ⁶⁹⁾ Seierstad laconically commented on the continuously changing criticism with which these pioneers were met thus:

"When they are useless and dried up in their earthly calling, and so become greedy, they set out from their farms and homes on a preaching expedition, then become lazy and work shy and join up with a haugian politician or Stortings representative, and engage in political corruption." ⁷⁰⁾

Their numbers, as this survey show, were not so overwhelmingly large. But it was not unobserved that a number of undismayed farm boys left their jobs and home villages and buckled down to new and demanding tasks in a strange town. This required boldness and faith. Faith that they would succeed. This faith was undoubtedly connected with their conviction that the departure was in agreement with God's will. They were inspired by Hauge's vision of a comprehensive network of "colonies" of believers who would help each other, benefit the country as a whole and be a light in "the world". Did they achieve this aim?

7.2.4. Economic growth - a function of revival?

Strictly speaking, a researcher is left here to his own judgement and his sociological "intuition" ⁷¹⁾ when he answers this question. It is not possible to weigh or measure an alleged influence, such as we believe the haugians had. This has to be a more or less subjective evaluation no matter in which direction the answer goes.

The facts at least are quite clear. Many of the young farm boys who travelled to the towns to start up new businesses did this on Hauge's advice. Hauge's influence over their choice of career and place of work must have been the cause of this first little "flight" from the villages. It is documented that this was only the beginning of a development where a steadily increasing proportion of the population became urban dwellers. This in its turn led to the encouragement of a commercial agriculture, which meant a development away from a natural economy to a fiscal economy. Thereby a circular or spiral movement was initiated which led to the expansion of commercial trade, which in its turn increased the country's credit volume, which was one of the conditions for new investments. First and last, agriculture was the country's main resource. In that productivity increased so that the surplus could be sold, (and a domestic market eventually grew up) led to the circulation of capital. The new group of "Grunder-capitalists" behaved in the same way as their Calvinist forerunners in the British Isles. They kept a part of their earned capital back after the worst years of need were over. This saved-up capital was not hidden away in the bottom of a chest, but invested in new ventures. ⁷²⁾ Thus an expansion was started which only accelerated in the decades which followed. It is just this principle which all countries have followed in order to achieve economic growth and welfare. It seems that saving is the first necessary condition for any increase in wealth. ⁷³⁾ Even the so-called communist countries have followed this recipe, with only the addition that the saving was forced and much harder than that which was the case during the growth of capitalism in Europe. ⁷⁴⁾

Barbara Ward, in a well informed analysis of the conditions necessary for overcoming the problems of poverty and for achieving economic growth, maintains that saving is just such a *causa sine qua non*. She puts it like this:

"The first phase of rugged saving may be mitigated by importing other people's savings from elsewhere... But the first reliance has to be on domestic saving, however tough the process may be." ⁷⁵⁾

There was small access to foreign capital loans in Norway in the years after the war. ⁷⁶⁾ New enterprises had first of all to refer to the domestic capital market. And that was very tight. The haugian combined enterprises, or cooperation's if you like, were therefore an original way of financing, and they surprised and partly alarmed contemporary Norway. People made insinuations about where the money came from when Hauge and others started to make large purchases of property and industrial establishments. This is not surprising in view of the scarcity of money.

We believe that, on the basis of the relatively comprehensive documentation we have presented on the haugian participation in the beginning phases of the economic expansion during the first half of the last century, we can say, without too great risk of being unduly prejudiced, that the haugians to an extraordinary degree made Hauge's visions into reality.

The principle of freedom of trade was not established by law in Storting until 1842, funnily enough in the same year that freedom of religious assembly was passed.

Hauge had been a pioneer in breaking the feudal policy of privilege. He had to pay a high price several times for having been a man ahead of his times. ⁷⁷⁾

A more recent American thesis on the haugian revival gives a collected evaluation of the haugians' significance for the economic development which we believe covers the realities and which can profitably be quoted in its entirety:

"The Haugian economic penetration was impressive. Hauge's strong appeals by words, on-the-spot counselling, through his books and by the medium of a net-work of letters, all were moulding the Norwegian farmers into a new active social class. The founding of at least five mixed kinds of factories, seven business establishments, two fishing firms, two printing shops, one mining company, two land colonization enterprises, not to count the many individuals and families he had induced to enter new employments in cities and on farms, all this is an impressive achievement in a period of less than eight years. Every section of Norway, including the far north fisheries area, now had Haugean religious-economic centers or "sub-stations". Hauge's economic impact was to be prophetic of the rising economic well-being of the farmers in the life of nineteenth century Norway." ⁷⁸⁾

Before we close this evaluation of the revival's influence on the various areas of society, we will also comment the conditions in the political institution and the church.

Notes Chap. 7:

1) Danbolt, op.c.it. p.103

2) Ivar Kleiven: *Lom og Skjåk* (1973) p.186 onwards. For an evaluation of the Hauge revival's importance for the development of culture in a wider sense in Gudbrandsdalen, see Halvard Grude Forfang: *Gudbrandsdalen i norsk kultur*, in the book, "Gudbrandsdalen", edited by Knut Ramberg (1974) p.210.

3) Ibid. p.188.

4) Ibid. p.360, 363.

5) O.A. Johnsen, op.cit. p.322

- 6) See S. Steen, *op.cit.*, p.24 onwards
- 7) Drake maintains that the productivity of agriculture increased by 70 per cent between 1800 and 1835. Drake, *op.cit.* p.157. See Th. Moe: *Demographic developments and economic growth in Norway 1740-1949* (1970) pp.1-47 and Sverre Steen, *op.cit.* pp.27-29.
- 8) Fritz Hodne: *An economic history of Norway 1815-1970*, preliminary edition, 1975, p.26.
- 9) *Ibid.* p.27.
- 10) F. Valen-Senstad, *op.cit.* p.273
- 11) Drake, *op.cit.* p.157
- 12) Reform agriculture in France and especially in England was the source of impulse. Johnsen, *op.cit.* p.323
- 13) *Ibid.* p.319
- 14) See Valen-Sendstad, *op.cit.* pp.279-80
- 15) Valen-Sendstad, *op.cit.* p.283
- 16) *Ibid.*
- 17) Sverre Steen, *op.cit.* p.22
- 18) Valen-Sendstad, *op.cit.* p.90
- 19) *Ibid.*
- 20) *Ibid.* p.91
- 21) *Ibid.*
- 22) Valen-Sendstad, *op.cit.* p.91
- 23) *Ibid.*
- 24) *Ibid.* See also Johnsen, *op.cit.* p.326
- 25) *Ibid.*
- 26) In 1857, the state agronomist, Christensen, defended the farmers thus: "Much of the advice and admonition which has been liberally given to the farmers has been so badly thought through and sometimes based on such an obvious lack of consideration, that it could not possibly find access". *Ibid.* p.281.
- 27) *Ibid.* p.279
- 28) *Ibid.* p.280
- 29) "The movement was so strong and good that it often made wealthy farmers out of folk who weren't wealthy before." O.Hoprekstad, *op.cit.* p.45
- 30) See for example P.O. Aalrusts letter to O.P. Moe "Christiansand's town printers". 14/3-1817, v.497. NHKI.
- 31) Through Hauge's preaching the Lutheran ethic of vocation had made new roots in the Norwegian peasantry. The effect of the new religious attitudes tally with those described by Weber in connection with reformed protestantism. "The understanding of work as a end in itself, a "call" which capitalism requires, has here the most favourable conditions for growth and the chance to overcome the traditional ways is greatest here, just because of the religious upbringing." Weber, *op.cit.* p.36. See also p.39.
- 32) Ullmann: Hans Nielsen Hauge (1914) p.22, Bang, *op.cit.* pp. 228-9. Steen *op.cit.* NTT v. 46, 1945, pp. 250-52. Valen-Sendstad, *op.cit.* p.281, o.a.
- 33) P.J. Eikeland: Hans Nielsens Hagues betydning for Norges politisk og nasjonale gjenreisning i løpet av det 19. århundrede, in: *Mindebok om Hans Nielsen Hauge*, Minnesota, 1826, p.51.
- 34) Breistein, *op.cit.* p.161, See also Heggtveit, *op.cit.* p.258
- 35) Johnsen, *op.cit.* p.343
- 36) *Skrifter*, v.VI, p.22
- 37) *Skrifter*, v.V. p.289 onwards. See Breisteins treatment, *op.cit.* pp.160-66. His suggestions also implied structural alterations in agriculture.
- 38) Steen, *op.cit.* p.252
- 39) Valen-Sendstad, *op.cit.* p.281
- 40) This also resulted in more interest in the development of children. Andreas Seierstad mentions in "Kyrkjeleg reformarbeid i Noreg" the following interesting information: "Bishop Bugge tells that when the children distinguished themselves, and he enquired, he found that they often came from haugian homes." p.301
- 41) According to Jonassen, *op.cit.* p.66. On page 68 he says: "There is little point in maintaining that economic developments themselves, the new methods and means of production, led to the idealistic basis for capitalism ... The conditions in Norway seem to support Weber rather than Marx."
- 42) Marx does not make a sharp division between economy and technology. Jfr. to Anthony Giddens analysis of Marx in *Capitalism and modern social theory*, an analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber. (1971) p.194.
- 43) Jfr. Pitirim Sorokin: *Contemporary sociological theories* (1928) p.531 onwards.
- 44) An expression used by Erik AAllardt in the article: *Grundläggande dimensioner i ett samhällets struktur*, TFS nr. 4 1965 p.237.
- 45) *Ibid.* p.238.
- 46) V. Ullmann, *op.cit.* p.22

- 47) These and other facts about Bergen are taken from M. Nodtvedt: *Rebirth of Norway's peasantry* (1965) p.267.
- 48) Breistein, *op.cit.* p.341.
- 49) *Ibid.*
- 50) Nodvedt, *op.cit.* p.268.
- 51) Breistein, *op.cit.* p.330
- 52) *Ibid.*
- 53) Danbolt refers to a haugian wedding in the town where fifty families were represented. Danbolt, *op.cot.* p.102.
- 54) Breistein, *op.cit.* p.336 and onwards.
- 55) *Ibid.* p.339.
- 56) *Ibid.*
- 57) See Sverre Steen, *op.cit.* chapter *Finansierindproblemer*, p.203 onwards. See also Koht, *op.cit.* (1975), pp. 362-363.
- 58) Moe, *op.cit.* p.44
- 59) *Ibid.*
- 60) *Ibid.*
- 61) *Ibid.*
- 62) *Ibid.*, p.45.
- 63) *Ibid.*, p.46
- 64) Historians'opinions are divided here. A number of younger researchers, (for example Fritz Hodne), have chosen to give more weight to this sector. See Hodne, *op.cit.* p. 20 *passim*. See also his treatment of Lennart Sørberg: *The industrial revolution in Scandinavia* (1970) and S. Lieberman: *The industrialization of Norway 1800 - 1970*, in *Historisk tidsskrift* nr.3, 1972 pp. 328-336.
- 65) Some of the largest bankruptcies of the time were Carsten Anker and Eidsvolds verk, Carsten Tank and Sanne and Solli saw mills in Østfold, Odals Verk, and M.G. Rosenkrantz with the whole of the Hafslund estate. An English firm which had loaned a large amount of money to Borregaard (paper mill), bought the whole concern. See Sverre Steen, *op.cit.*, pp.153 and 209.
- 66) Breistein, *op.c.it.* p.46.
- 67) *Ibid.*
- 68) *Ibid.* p.48.
- 69) This is also Breistein's conclusion, *ibid.* p.50
- 70) Seierstad, *op.cit.* p.297.
- 71) Wilhelm Aubert, among others, has used this expression to underline the central role played by a researcher's personal sympathies when it comes to "soft" data.
- 72) Johan Schreiner: *Hans Nielsen Hauge og "samfundets fellesskap"* HTS, 5.R. v.VIII, p.398.
- 73) See Fritz Hodne: *An economic history of Norway, 1815-1970* (1975). On page 3 we read: "Norway in 1814 a poor society, had to save in order to get ahead, and this involved postponing consumption." See also p.4 onwards.
- 74) We quote from B.Ward: *The rich nations and the poor nations* (1972); "But whereas the early capitalist system in Britain may have saved the classical twelve to fifteen per cent of national income, the harsh discipline of the Russian Plans drove the figure up to twenty-five and thirty per cent of the national income." p.77. See a discussion of the same subject in Kirsti Suolinna: *Weber's thesis on the protestant ethic, a micro- and macro sociological perspective*. *Temenos*, v.9, 1973, p.94.
- 75) *Ibid.* p.97.
- 76) Steen, *op.cit.*, p.203 onwards.
- 77) Norborg, *op.cit.* v.II, p.231.
- 78) M.Nodtvedt, *op.cit.*

CHAPTER 8: THE POLITICAL INSTITUTION

In a couple of cases we have mentioned by name a number of Haugian representatives to Storting. Among the haugians in Bergen there were three members of Storting. This was also the case in Kristiansand and Stavanger. ¹⁾ Haugians were voted as members of Storting from other towns and parts of the country as well. ²⁾ But it wasn't until 1833 that the farmers were able to exercise any great influence in political life. ³⁾ At the election that year was the first time farmers were in the majority and for the first time they were organised in a well-defined fraction. ⁴⁾ Among the leaders of this group of farmers there were a number of haugians. The political influence which the farmers were to exercise in the Norwegian democracy came at a much later stage than was possible according to the introduction of the Norwegian constitution.

Why was this so?

8.1. The farmers were suppressed

Firstly, the idea that farmers could be represented in the country's governing body was so new that it took time to grasp and understand it. We must remember that the Norwegian farmer had lost his possibility of political influence and participation when the old Norwegian ting ceased to function. From the Kalmar union days onwards the farmers were gradually reduced to the status of inferior tenant farmers without any authority. In spite of the development towards more independently owned farms during the commonwealth, the farmers were still without the possibility of participating in the government of the land. ⁵⁾ During the commonwealth there was only one way in reality which the farmers could use to express their dissatisfaction with the authorities, and that was by directly appealing to the king. In "Norges Bønder", Oscar Albert Johnsen writes that the solution of going to "father" with ones "troubles" was often used. But during Fredrik V's reign they were no longer met by a benign national father as had been the case during the reigns of Kristian V and Frederik IV, but by a stiff and proud bureaucracy in the government offices. In fact, it was forbidden to make a farmers' delegation to Copenhagen without first gaining a recommendation from the county officials. It was so difficult to change the Norwegian farmers' habit of appealing direct to "father" that this prohibition had to be repeated many times. ⁶⁾

With the 'national assembly' the whole political way of thinking was radically changed. The new liberality which was expressed by the leading officials at Eidsvoll had grown up from the teaching of the socialite and the Rousseauian enthusiasm for nature. ⁷⁾ The realisation had come that the new, democratic Norway had to be built with the help of the Norwegian farmer. The constitution also adopted a certain minimum number of farmer representatives in the country's new law-making assembly. It was therefore an unfamiliar situation for the farmers to be suddenly, with the stroke of a pen, seen as equal with the country's traditional governing elite. It is really not so surprising that the farmers found it difficult at first to believe that they were legally given such an importance. Centuries of paternal attitudes had made their marks.

There are several examples which show that the farmers did not understand the possibilities for political influence this condition opened up for them. Many of them understood the constitution such that they saw Storting as an institution for officialdom whose only task was to weaken the power of the king and make them helplessly dependant upon the goodwill of the officials. ⁸⁾ The peasant revolts in Sunnmøre in 1816 and in Opplandene in 1818 under the leadership of Halvor Hoel were an expression for just such a lack of understanding of the possibilities which were being offered them. ⁹⁾

We can also ascertain that, because of a historically determined suppression, the peasants were unprepared mentally for the political upheaval from above. They were not ready to enter the new role the constitution had written for them.

8.2. Lack of qualifications

The peasants also lacked other elementary qualifications to be able to take part in political life on the same footing as the officials. They had little schooling and had no practice in expressing their opinions in either writing or orally before a large audience.

In addition, they were no doubt lacking in insight into conditions outside their home village and its nearest surroundings. There was a lack of understanding of what it meant to belong to a fellowship wider than family and village. Conditions in society had not given much opportunity for a wider understanding, given the many restrictions on geographical and social mobility. The peasant population was overwhelmingly bound to one place and the individual peasant had little opportunity to form an opinion of other parts of the country by personal inspection.

There was therefore no way of knowing how others outside one's own near, local circle thought and what opinions and attitudes they had. In connection with this, the peasants probably lacked the possibility of identifying the social and national characteristics which united them into a distinctive group of people.

All this was obviously a hindrance to political engagement. Koht admits in the book "Bondereising" that the peasants, in spite of all their battles against exploitation by officials and merchants, were not ready to take up the political role the constitution had made possible for them:

"If one looked back on the peasant revolts in the time that had gone, and then looked at the conditions, both spiritual and social, which the peasant society had achieved, one can certainly not say that the Norwegian peasants were yet mature enough to take up and use the political weapons which the year 1814 would put into their hands. They had still not achieved a political aspect on their own struggle, let alone a political will with a solid purpose." ¹⁰⁾

We read here in black and white that the peasants were not ready for the political changes of 1814. It was far from being a matter of course that they would use the possibilities in a positive way. The social fermentation and unease were not in themselves any insurance that this would happen.

8.3. Reactions from officialdom

But if the peasants were slow to understand what opportunities for influence the constitution had given them, it did not take long for officialdom to realise what consequences this, which many believed to be a precipitous peasant-romantic initiative, could have on the country's future. As early as the spring of 1814, Bishop Brun wrote thus in a letter:

"I, who am known as a patron of the peasants, am now trembling at the peasants much too great plurality. If they are going to organise the state, then God help us." ¹¹⁾

Even the "father" of the constitution, Christian Magnus Falsen, proposed in 1821 that only one peasant from each county should be elected and that no peasant could have a seat in

Lagtinget.¹²⁾ Even though this proposal did not become law, it showed quite clearly that some had begun to fear future peasant power.

And this fear was not completely unfounded. How could one be sure that the long suppressed hordes would be well-behaved and civilised when they were finally allowed to have a hand in the government of the country? Officialdom knew full well that the common people did not have just benign feelings for the wielders of power in the old regime, and that not without good reason. Besides, there were fresh memories of a number of local uprisings and riots.

But one first began to be really seriously worried when the first "Peasant Parliament" was formed in 1833. According to Anders Gimse, this massive influx of peasants to Storting awoke fear in the bureaucracy. "The mob Parliament" and "the barbaric invasion" were phrases used. Many believed quite simply that "the State will be shaken and the Constitution is under threat."¹³⁾

8.4. A new peasant leadership

But the political leadership among the peasants did not get into the hands of malicious rebellious elements. The peasants had left behind the stage of promoting their points of view by uprisings and revolts. They had acquired a new, determined leadership which would fight for a fairer society within the framework drawn up by the constitution. A process which had made the people more aware and mature had taken place in the time preceding the great influx of peasants to Storting in 1833.

When interest in and understanding of Storting was finally awakened in the peasants, those who could be considered eligible for entrusting with political office were often haugians.¹⁴⁾

John Neergaard (1795-1885), with his book "Olaboka",¹⁵⁾ was the foremost agitator for arousing the peasants to elect their representatives to Storting.¹⁶⁾ While he was writing this book, Johnsen writes, he referred to the most respected peasants in each village, and these were usually haugians.¹⁷⁾ Gimse concludes that the haugians were therefore the most spiritually aware when it came to political questions, too.¹⁸⁾

The first representatives of the awakening social class were the haugians Ole Gabriel Ueland and Mikkel Grendahl, besides Neergård and Fauchald. These peasant leaders, together with the official Jonas Anton Hielm, were the nucleus of the "peasant opposition" in 1833.¹⁹⁾

It was during this sitting of Storting that the proposal for local self-government for the "communes" was first advanced by a group of twenty-six peasants.²⁰⁾ During the following sitting of Storting this proposal became law.²¹⁾

In 1842 the hated "konventikkelplakat" was abolished with a large majority against the king's veto.²²⁾

Thereby two much longed-for aims of the Norwegian peasant population were achieved. O.G. Ueland became a foremost champion of the peasants both in reality and in the eyes of the people right until 1869.²³⁾ Ueland was a member of the generation after Hauge, and was in a way a second generation haugian. Løvland writes in "Nordmænd i det nittende Aarhundrede" that his name was known earlier in "every corner of the land". For the peasants his name was

synonymous with a programme. "Make sure and vote for Ueland's proposals" was the exhortation with which the peasant representatives to Storting were sent on their way.²⁴⁾

We include a contemporary evaluation of Ueland taken from Morgenbladet in 1846. Morgenbladet was, incidentally, the peasants' best supporter after the newspaper "Statsborgeren" ceased publication.

Stabell writes that "no-one has greater influence in our Storting" than Ueland, and maintains further that "he has much experience and soberness, is without any imperiousness, and has no desire to raise himself above or place himself outside his accustomed lifestyle." Ueland is an example of "to what heights the human spirit and human abilities can be raised without the help of the ordinary apparatus which is available for the education and development of the privileged classes."²⁵⁾

It can therefore be established, and Sverre Steen does just that, that the haugians were to play an important role, both in forming political consciousness and in becoming leaders among the peasants.²⁶⁾

When it came to the political fight, even though this was a result of clear conflicts of interest, this was characterized by the ethical responsibility and Christian charity which distinguished the leading haugians in the peasant opposition.

The fight was fought in an objective manner, with reference to the ideas of equality with which they were familiar from the Christian message, and the constitutional anchoring their co-influence now had.

8.5. The political function of the revival

We could ask why the haugians came to play such an important role in the young democracy.

Were they not representatives of the conservative element? Hauge had almost needlessly pointed out the commendability of a spirit of dutiful subordination. Was not that the same as legitimising and holding on to the status quo? It is easy to draw the conclusion that because Hauge and the revival people could not sanction sedition among the peasants, they were therefore serving the established order. In his article on Hauge Kleiven says the following:

"If we look at the essential elements in his social outlook: a constitutional faithfulness, and no pronounced wish to break with the existing class structure,....., so this viewpoint has to be characterized at best as having a conservative effect on the social structure."²⁷⁾

Kleiven points out in fact that Hauge's activities, particularly when he places himself above some laws, thereby demystifying the power basis for the judicial system, had a revolutionary, liberating effect on the common people.²⁸⁾ This liberation was to develop into new boldness in the peasants to oppose the power of officialdom.

This argument seems reliable, but if we analyse the circumstances more closely, I think we will find that the emphasis should be put on other factors. If one is to judge from the cases where the peasants had taken the law into their own hands by force in the twenty-five years leading up to 1814, there is certainly no lack of courage. Koht mentions a number of insurrections and cases of taking the law into their own hands among the peasants in Vestlandet, Sørlandet and Østlandet in this period.²⁹⁾ When injustice was felt strongly enough,

the word would go round and the peasants would gather at the bailiff's or some other public officer with axes in their hands and demand distribution of corn, firewood or other of life's necessities.³⁰⁾ In the year 1813 there were such uprisings simultaneously in Trondheim and Bergen, and a few weeks previously also in Toten.³¹⁾ The peasants were hardly lacking in "a mood of rebellion" as Koht puts it. It was smouldering in large parts of the peasant population and now and then it burst into flames of hate and outbreaks of violence against the authorities.

8.5.1. From rebellion to reform politics

There is a big difference between such sporadic expressions of violence and the determined, reasoned attitude which later characterized the new "Peasant opposition" in the Storting. What can explain this change? What had happened with the Norwegian peasants that can explain the change from these chance violent reactions to organised, well-planned policies?

It is this question mark which is completely ignored by Koht, and as far as I can see, it is also missing from Kleiven's work.

It is in this context that we must put the Hauge revival in the limelight. What was it that the peasants were given through the revival which was new? What was it that Hauge and his friends had sown in the Norwegian peasant population in the eighteen years which had gone by since Hauge started his ministry and he was released from prison again in 1814? First of all, it was the gospel message of the soul's salvation. Amongst those who were converted and joined Hauge, this led to a release of previously bound forces.

This is confirmed by their personal testimonies, and is underlined not least by their lives.³²⁾

This meant the first step out of the state of subordination which was the general characteristic of the common people. The many sporadic outbursts of violence were not necessarily a proof that this condition had come to an end. They could rather be an expression of blind fury in a troubled group which could see no other way to go.

Arne Bergsgård emphasises the liberation which came with the revival when he says:

"This is one of things which often characterize strong spiritual revivals, that even if they can be narrow and confined of themselves, they can have consequences which reach out much further than the area which is the actual starting point; spiritual forces are come into action and they cannot so easily be stopped. It was thus with the haugian revival."³³⁾

And Bergsgård adds:

"they were filled with a powerful spirit, and they were good leaders for that which was astir elsewhere in the peasant society."³⁴⁾

As we have been able to see, this personal "skin shedding" led to a thirst for knowledge and a vision for new possibilities, where the habitual, traditional thought patterns had previously caused apathy and impotence. Judging from the sources, enthusiasm and enterprise in everyday tasks were early distinctive characteristics of the haugians. They had gained an aim in life over and above that of making ends meet and following old customs. The decisive factor was that this did not just take place in an isolated group in an outlying part of the country, but that it soon became the new experiential foundation for large parts of the peasant society. Leaders who were taught to speak in the assemblies were being fostered up in the many friends'

societies which grew up. They learnt thus to express their thoughts to a larger circle, which proved to be an important qualification for participation in public life, whether in parliament or in local courts.

8.5.2. Revival as a social system

The haugians came to have a widened perspective from the local to the national, not least through the countrywide movement of which they were part.

"This was the first time in Norwegian history that the common people experienced such a barrier breaking fellowship between men and women outside the village, outside the valley, and on the other side of the mountain." ³⁵⁾

as Kleiven put it.

Through letters and travelling preachers, and not least through Hauge himself, the haugians were to learn about the large and diverse country of which they were all citizens. The strength and pleasure which came from belonging to such a large, countrywide fellowship was often expressed in the words: "We know about each other" ³⁶⁾ They discovered that as a group of people they had common interests. ³⁷⁾ The spiritual kinship and the common social interests formed the basis for extensive common action and gave this laymen's movement the characteristic of a social system.

All these things were important qualifications for their being the new leaders in the political awakening among the peasants. They gradually opened the eyes of the peasant population to the fact that they could use the new political institutions themselves for promoting their own interests in a peaceful and constructive way. The peasants were not the ones who had invented the new constitution, but it was the haugians who first taught the peasants to make use of it. Therefore we agree with the county sheriff, Ullmann, when he says that "the haugian lay-movement has educated our peasants as none other today, not just in religious matters, but also in politics." ³⁸⁾

We did not find a rebellious tone in Hauge. And yet it was his fellow workers and the movement which bore his name which led the peasants into more constructive paths in the political fight.

8.6. The historical role of the revival

Seen with a historian's eyes, the break with Denmark and the new constitution themselves could only mean that a number of hindrances for the progress of the land were cleared away. Sars, in his "Udsigt over den norske historie", uses this reasoning. Further he says:

"Liberty and independence, which were given with the constitution and rigsaktsparagrafer, were in the first place only phrases; it was a case of taking them into use and giving them content; the phrases themselves could only give the opportunity, the ability to fill them and use them on the other hand could only be created by a slow and laborious inner development ..." ³⁹⁾

It was not inevitable that the opening the constitution gave to the peasants to influence the country's political development would be exploited. As we have seen, there were strong reactionary tendencies in the first years following 1814. We are left with two questions.

Firstly, would not this development have taken place without the haugian revival? And secondly, was this political influence and participation in the political life intended by Hauge?

In that the country had got a new constitution which opened the way for the peasants to take part in the political life, something which cannot be attributed to Hauge's or the haugian revival's importance, was it not therefore likely that the development would have gone the way it did, whether the haugian revival had taken place or not? Perhaps many would answer that question in the positive, even though the development probably would not have occurred so rapidly and painlessly. The change from autocracy to a constitutional monarchy went smoothly in Norway.

But it is not possible to either confirm or invalidate such a hypothesis. One is allowed to speculate, but it doesn't prove much. First and foremost, it is a survey and evaluation of the effect of the Hauge revival as a factual, social phenomenon which interests us.⁴⁰⁾

Hauge does not mention the new constitution in any of his writings. It would seem that this event and the consequences it would have for the development of democracy in Norway was outside his area of interest. Even though three haugians were among the peasants at Eidsvoll, and there were always haugian members of Storting, it does not seem as though Hauge foresaw the role his followers would play in the decade following his death and to the end of the century.

Broom and Selznick discuss the approach we have brought up here and their interpretation is that:

"The social influence of religion is not always planned or self conscious. The protestant Reformation had a considerable but unintended impact on the development of capitalism."⁴¹⁾

If we are to agree with their conclusion, we would have to add that even though these consequences are not directly planned, they are at least explainable. It is easy to show from where the changes in attitudes and behaviour come. And that is from Hauge's preaching. Attitudes were changed through the acceptance of the gospel. The message transformed the converted. And this transformed life characterised their lives' achievements. If one analyses Hauge's preaching, it becomes clear that exactly responsibility in society and responsibility to be good stewards were parts of the message which were repeated again and again. What was more natural than to take responsibility when one's eyes had been opened to the possibilities available?

The revival people could not support rebellion as a legitimate weapon in the political battle. Hauge established this as being quite obvious. Hauge was naturally influenced in this by both the pietistic and the orthodox Lutheran traditions. But these were themselves anchored firmly in Scripture. Broom and Selznick put it in this way:

"Oriented though it was to the poor, the Christianity of the Gospels did not sanction secular rebellion against class privilege and social injustice ... but their high valuation of the individual, rich and poor, and the assertion of man's spiritual brotherhood, laid an ethic foundation for secular reform and secular movements toward equality."⁴²⁾

It was therefore both explicable and natural that the haugians were to play the role they did in the democratic Norway.

Notes Chap. 8:

- 1) Nodtvedt, op.cit. pp.267-269.
- 2) Ibid. p.261. See also L øvland, op.cit. p.173 onwards.
- 3) Used here in the sense of institutional political life.
- 4) In 1830 there were 43 officials and 21 farmers in Storting. In 1833 the position was changed to 45 farmers and 35 officials. P.J. Eikeland, op.cit. p.55.
- 5) In 1625 scarcely 25 per cent of the land was cultivated by owner farmers. In 1814 66 per cent of the land was self-owned. Johnsen, op.cit. pp.274 and 417. See also Steen, op.cit. p.35.
- 6) Johnsen, op.cit. p.322
- 7) Norvegia Sacra, op.cit. p.156. See also O.A. Johnsen, op.cit. p.322.
- 8) In his doctorate of 1974, Øyvind Østerud has made the same viewpoint applicable. He says: "The peasantry disposed a clean majority of the votes for the Storting, but either they did not participate in the elections, or they voted for the local officials as a reflex of patronage, or they were unable to unite in a consistent opposition against the trained superiority of the officials in the parliamentary debates. More conspicuous still, the peasantry showed a notable suspicion - or even overt hostility - towards the new constitution and the Storting itself." Ø.Østerud: *Agrarian Structure and Peasant Politics in Scandinavia. A comparative study of rural response to economic change.* (Stensil, 1974) p.300 onwards. See also Norvegia Sacra, op.cit. p.157.
- 9) Johnsen calls this movement "reactionary". See O.A. Johnsen, op.cit. p.384.
- 10) Koht, op.cit. p.364.
- 11) Wee: Hans Nielsen Hauges religiøse indsats i norsk folkeliv, i *Mindebok....*, op.cit. p.117.
- 12) O.A. Johnsen, op.cit. p.322.
- 13) A. Gimse: *Haugianeren og demokraten Mikkel Grendahl*, Norvegia Sacra, op.cit. p.165. See also Claus Pavels: *Dagbogs-Optegnelser* (2nd vol. 1815-1816 Chr. 1867) p.47, where it says: "The upper classes feared for a predominant peasant clique, which with its plurality could give the most unreasonable and damaging projects the force of law."
- 14) Norvegia Sacra, op.cit. p.158. See also Gunnar Teigland: *Embetsmakt mot folkevilje*, Syn og Segn (1973) p.358.
- 15) The full title of the book was as follows: "En Odelsmands Tanker om Norges nuværende Forfatning tilligemed en Samtale, indeholdende Veiledning for B ønder til en rigtigere Fremgangsmaade, ved Udkaarelsen af Valgmænd og Repræsentanter," "Olaboka" got its name from the main character in the book.
- 16) M.Grendahl helped Neergaard with the writing of the book and financed its publication. Norvegia Sacra, op.cit. p.164.
- 17) O.A. Johnsen, op.cit. p.386. Koht asserts the same, see op.cit. p.353. See also I. Brovold: *John Neergaards Liv og Virken*, pp.76-77.
- 18) Norvegia Sacra, op.cit. p.159.
- 19) Ibid. p.165
- 20) Nodtvedt, op.cit. p.271
- 21) Ibid.
- 22) Ibid. For a more complete treatment of these politically leading issues, see Kjell Bondevik, op.cit. pp.41-54.
- 23) O.A. Johnsen, op.cit. p.390 onwards. See also J. Løvland: "Ueland og Jaabæk" in *Nordmænd i det nittende Aarhundrede*, pp. 173-228.
- 24) Løvland, op.cit. p.188.
- 25) Quoted by Løvland, op.cit. p.188.
- 26) "The Haugians were to play an important role in Norway's political life, especially from the end of the 1820's onwards ... The peasant opposition was led by haugians." Steen, H.N.H. og bondereisingen, NTT, v.46, 1945, p.252.
- 27) Kleiven, op.cit. p.17 onwards.
- 28) Ibid. See also, p.18 og 19. The allegation of law violation is more problematic than it appears in Kleiven's article, see the discussion on the "sleeping" laws which come before. See Aarflot: *Tro og Lydighet*, p.381.
- 29) Koht, op.cit. pp. 355-65.
- 30) Ibid. p.363.
- 31) Ibid.
- 32) See the personal account in the publication: "Religiøse Følelser og deres Værd". *Skrifter*, v.VI pp. 148-217.
- 33) Arne Bergsgård: *Fra 17. mai til 9. april*, *Norsk historie 1814-1940*, p.109.
- 34) Ibid.
- 35) R. Kleiven, op.cit. p.19.
- 36) Norborg, op.cit. p.245.
- 37) Bishop Jacob Neumann wrote to the department in 1836 that "The holy ones" form a secret, arrogant, exclusive society everywhere, of a wordly (political?) spirit alongside the religious."
- 38) Wee, op.cit. p.102. See also Kjell Bondevik, op.cit. chapter 5. *Haugerørsla og bøndene. Åndeleg og politisk*

reising.

39) Sars, op.cit. p.253

40) According to Steen, op.cit. p.251-252.

41) Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick: Sociology (1969) p.308. See also Max Weber: Den protestantiske etikk og kapitalisms ånd.

42) Broom and Selznick, op.cit. pp. 222-224.

CHAPTER 9: THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION

How shall we view the revival in relation to the existing church structure?

The revival was both a part of the church and remained as such loyal to it, while the revival people were at the same time subjected to severe persecution from the church. - Seemingly a paradox.

9.1. Renewal and persecution

Professor William McLoughlin has given us an interesting contribution for our understanding of the influence of revivals on the social life of America during the past two centuries. ¹⁾

When it comes to the effect upon the church in general, he has this to say:

"Revivalism not only enlivens, enlarges, extends the membership of the churches, but also instills them with new energy and vitality." ²⁾

Later on in his thesis he problematises this relationship by introducing cases where revival led to the breaking up of existing structures. ³⁾ But in the case of Norway, the description of the positive consequences for the church can safely be said to cover adequately what happened in reality. The church was renewed. Though it has to be added that the way to that renewal was not so simple.

That the revival was beneficial to the church system can hardly be attributed to the ecclesiastical authorities.

They did everything they could to try and smother the growing life in the congregations. In the historical examination we gained an impression of the opposition and difficulties which Hauge's friends met from the church as an institution. Why was the revival opposed so strongly by the church?

For someone standing on the outside, it must represent quite a paradox. ⁴⁾ Here is a group of people beginning to take the church's message seriously and adapting their lives accordingly, and for this they are persecuted by the church's own purveyors of that message.

Such a persecution of the converted from the church's side was, however, not unique. Throughout church history one can almost talk of a pattern of suppression of minority groups of converted.

In a church historical exposition of 1976 the author, Charles Mellis, presents a perspective which diverges somewhat from the traditional. As far as persecuted minorities are concerned, he has this to say:

"Then too, it is a fact of history that persecuted minorities experience suppression not only of their ideas and their numbers, but also of their memory. Until relatively modern times, only victorious regimes or establishments wrote the history books. Minority accomplishments were, at best, ignored; if their protest was sufficiently threatening to vested interests, records were often destroyed as ruthlessly as the people!" ⁵⁾

Indeed, the haugians were a persecuted minority, mainly consisting of the underprivileged, but at the same time, their history is an integral part of the history of the Norwegian church.

Their history is far from suppressed. One might say that the haugians "won". They won the fight for who in reality represented the true church.⁶⁾

Most church historians reckon haugianism as the best of the Norwegian church's inheritance. A telling example is the tribute Aarflot pays to Hauge when he calls him "one of the greatest sons of the Norwegian church".⁷⁾ Another expression of the same positive evaluation is the declaration the Norwegian church leaders made in connection with the "Christian consultation" during the war, where it was stated that they would follow "our old and well-tried reformatory and Haugian line."⁸⁾

As Wisløff says in a commentary in his church history:

"what Christian movement in this land would not take Hans Nielsen Hauge into account?"⁹⁾

The church has obviously done so. It reckons Hauge as "one of them."¹⁰⁾ But this was not the case in 1804. The clergy competed then for the privilege of tormenting that "dreamer and fanatic."

It was in other words this persecuted minority which "took over" the church from inside. This in itself is sensational enough to require an explanation.¹¹⁾ But before we try to bring some clarity to this point, we will look more closely at why the haugians were opposed to such an extent by the same church.

9.2. Ecclesiastical opposition

In his own work: "Udtog af Kirke-Historien", Hauge gives this explanation for the persecution from the church:

"This opposition can be traced to the carnality of the church when its upright members are awakened to the call that heralds the Bridegroom's arrival, ... so we can repeat what Paul made applicable, "that those who were born of the flesh persecuted those who were born of the Spirit."¹²⁾

In a supplementary explanation, he makes some lines from Finlandske Evangelieselskap his own:

"The world has always seen a living Christianity as fanaticism ... according to the principles of the world, one is allowed to be whatever one will, as long as one does not admit that one is a true Christian. Alas! How unknown Christ is in the midst of Christianity."¹³⁾

Hauge's explanation builds on the spiritual antagonism which arose between the converted and the clergy. The living faith which put certain obligations on how one lived and the spiritual life which developed in the fellowship of the converted was foreign to them.

Many felt that the form of Christianity which the revival represented could lead to "disconsolate faint-heartedness" among the people. Hauge, the originator of this "fanaticism and sectarianism", this "most damaging of men" deserved to "have the rod broken on him".

Such was the opinion of the church in the past of Hauge. But in a searching leading article on the hundredth anniversary of Hauge's death, the newspaper Dagen asks "whether the church would canonise Hauge, as it does now, ... if he was alive today, not surrounded by the brilliance of a hundred-year-old saintly halo or by fame, but as a pretty ordinary person?"¹⁴⁾

We will let the question remain unanswered, and ask rather whether the revival was opposed by the church for more socially grounded reasons.

9.2.1. Social and theological antagonisms

We have already mentioned the difference in status and the social distance which existed between officialdom and the peasants. That this had an effect on the attitude of the church towards the revival is understandable when the converted peasants began to act as pastors and councillors for the believers.¹⁵⁾ A state of competition developed rapidly, where the rights and areas of responsibility belonging to the clergy's office had to be defended against the intrusion of the haugian "teachers".

The conflict was probably made worse by the fact that the antagonism between the clergy and the haugian laymen took on a church political character. According to the articles of religion of the Norwegian church, or, to be more precise, article 14 of the Augsburg Confession, the principle of vocation to the office of teacher in the church was conditional to an academic education and the episcopal sanction. The haugian revival was to break that rite vocatus which had been the established custom in the whole of Lutherdom for 350 years. Norborg says therefore that:

"Hauge's ecclesiastical opponents were in agreement with the confessional basis of Lutherdom when they attacked Hauge's layman's movement as an unheard of revolt against the confession and tradition of the church."

But Norborg adds:

"They failed to discover that the prophet of fire from Tune had gone behind the reformation to take hold of a New Testament pattern of mission."

He says:

"Therefore it is obvious that the certainty Hauge felt of his apostolic call and his way of working had to lead to a fundamental evaluation between New Testament freedom to witness and the Lutheran confessional constraint."¹⁶⁾

There was hardly talk of a nationalistic antagonism between officialdom and the Haugians. Nodtvedt makes it clear that in 1814 there were only 158 Danes in official posts in Norway. As a comparison, there were 208 Norwegians in official posts in Denmark. It was therefore mostly Norwegian officials who Hauge met during his work, according to Nodtvedt.¹⁷⁾

Even though the most prominent opponents of Hauge among the officials were Danish, that is Peder Hansen and the president of Chancery, Kaas, the reports show that the opposition was equally strong among both the Danish and Norwegian officials.

9.2.2. Structural antagonisms

The antagonistic relationship was nourished and gained in dimension because it was also a question of structures. The Haugians had established their fellowship of friends throughout most of the country. In spite of their loyalty towards the church, they had in reality their own congregations, led by their elders. Most of these elders were appointed by Hauge himself, as the friends he particularly trusted.¹⁸⁾ They were to serve as leaders and councillors in both

spiritual and corporal questions. There were several women among the leaders.¹⁹⁾ It was within the fellowship of friends that they received their edification. It was here that their brotherly fellowship could develop and function freely. It was this fellowship which Hauge referred to as the congregation.²⁰⁾

The church was the mission field.²¹⁾ They were bound to it by bonds of loyalty, but these were no stronger than that Hauge believed it necessary in his testament to encourage a continuation in

"the pursuance of our state religion, so that you receive from the public teachers everything which their public office entails."²²⁾

It was a case of keeping "good order" and using the church's ceremonies in "marriage" and "death". The church was the larger institution within which the fellowship of friends functioned.²³⁾

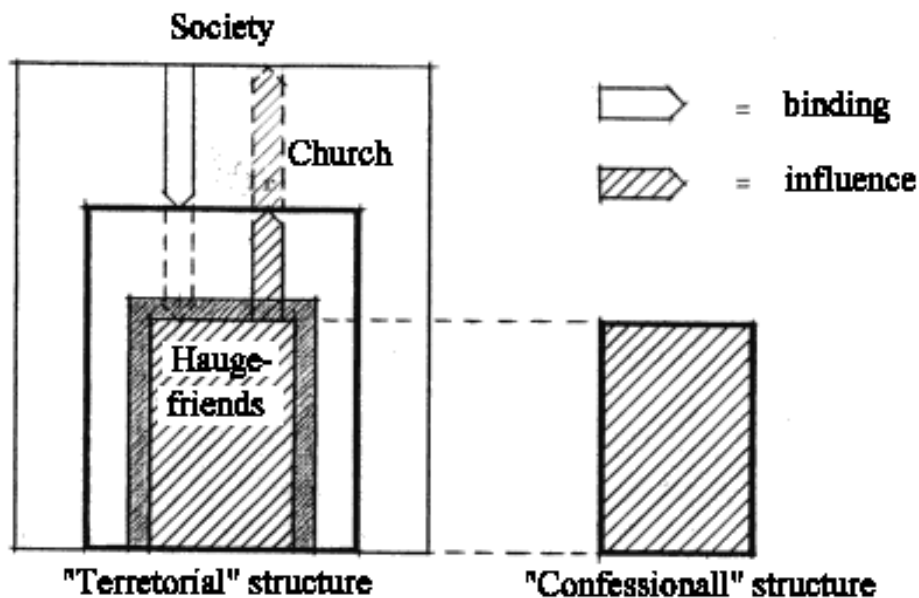


Figure 1.

The above sketch is supposed to illustrate the structural relationship we have discussed in the text. The shaded figure on the left represents the haugian fellowship of friends within the territorial structure of the congregation. We have used the term territorial structure about the local church congregation in order to emphasise that membership there was mainly dependant on geographical affinity. As far as the haugian fellowship within that same congregation is concerned, we have used the term confessionall structure in order to indicate that affinity is based on personal faith and conviction. The outer framework represents the Norwegian society as the given framework around the revival. We have made a grey framework around the shaded figure to show that the fellowship of friends probably had a number of sympathisers in the congregation, even if these had not completely associated themselves with the revival.

We have also placed an identical shaded figure to the right in order to emphasise that the fellowship of friends had an independent structure quite apart from the institutionalised church. From the sources we know that the haugians met regularly for their own edification meetings at a time which did not collide with the official church services.

But it was precisely the existence of this parallel structure which gave the antagonistic relationship with the church greater dimensions. It was the inner solidarity, the focusing on the common task and the inner structure of the fellowship which maintained the haugian fellowship's identity as a church within a church, *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*. This "little church" was seen as a competitor to the larger institution of which it was a part.²⁴⁾ The "little church" fought for its freedom to a degree which the larger institution was unable to. It was bound to the state and had, whether in reality or imagination, to adjust itself to the outer structures of society. One could perhaps say that the territorial structure was maintained by the institutional bands which bound it to the state apparatus, while the confessional structure was maintained by the inner solidarity.²⁵⁾

Much of the opposition to the revival can be sought in the fact that the church was organisationally and ideologically bound to a totalitarian state which did not allow any changes to be introduced from below. The ecclesiastical officials were also probably bound by this same factor to a greater or lesser degree.²⁶⁾

9.2.3 An ecclesiastical "elite"

The "little congregation" was in many ways an "elite" in relation to the larger congregation. On the whole it formed the living nucleus of the congregation. Here in the haugian fellowship one found to a greater extent than elsewhere bible knowledge, *praxis pietatis*, and personal involvement. The fellowship of friends represented a sort of counter expertise to the clergy. The haugian "miniature church" did not allow itself to be brought completely under ecclesiastical control.²⁷⁾ The conscious and authoritative part of the church practiced its role, which it believed to be God given, as a matter of course, subordinated it is true, but not suppressed.

With the help of a greater historical perspective, we can assert, as Mellis does, that there will always be a latent tension between the ideal of equality and the phenomenon of elite ness. This tension is not just associated with the life of the church, but can be seen throughout society. It has often a connection with the fact that one cannot differentiate between the terms value and function. Everyone can be just as valuable, even though they carry out different functions. It is shown in practice that not all can fulfil the same tasks, and it is here that inequality comes into the picture. As far as the church is concerned, it becomes apparent that not everyone feels himself equally obliged to follow his master.

It is particularly true that it is in the revival and renewal movements that this tension relationship is manifested. The conflict often occurs when the converted or renewed come together to fulfil the task they have bound themselves to and which is not shared to the same extent by others.

Stephen Clark, one of the leaders of the Catholic renewal movement in the USA, writes in his book (1976) that this is the pattern which is seen throughout the history of the church. He says:

"It seems to be almost a sociological law: renewal movements produce renewal communities."²⁸⁾

9.3. Haugian "takeover"

If much of the opposition of the church to the haugian revival can be ascribed to its characteristic of being a congregation within a congregation, it is possibly here that we can also find part of the answer to how it was able to win such an influence over the church.

Not least, the question of how a persecuted group of society's underprivileged could take over an institution from the inside is interesting from a sociological viewpoint.

We believe that two conditions have been decisive in this case. The first is associated with circumstances attached to the revival. The other touches on circumstances outside of the revival. We will direct our attention first to the individuality of the organisation of the revival.

9.3.1. The double organisation pattern

The Haugians were organised in the church at the same time as they kept their own organisation. Identification with the church and participation in its inner life secured a channel for influence from the revival people. They were, thanks to their loyalty, inside. This is an important point to emphasise. But they were not swallowed up by the church. They kept their identity by, among other things, their organisational basis outside the church. In order to exercise influence over a period of time, one must make sure that one doesn't become too like those one wishes to influence. In order that the pressure and influential power could be maintained year after year, it was unavoidably necessary to maintain this independent basis. But by holding on to this double organisation pattern, the haugians in reality promoted to lines of development. We have hinted at one of these: namely that they were instrumental in leading the Norwegian church away from rationalism and into a more Bible based and missionary direction.²⁹⁾

Nodtvedt gives Hauge some of the honour for this change in the development of the church when he says:

"Through the instrumentality and ground work of Hauge, the Norwegian Lutheran Church rediscovered its spiritual mission and Biblical theology."³⁰⁾

In that they stayed in the church meant that they also had a renewing influence on its inner life.

9.3.2. The institutionalisation of the lay activity

The other line of development led over the years to an institutionalisation of lay activity in Norway. When the "konventikkelplakaten" was abolished in 1842, an important hindrance to that development was removed. Legalisation had to come before institutionalisation. Exactly eleven years later the first inner mission society was founded in Skien. According to Aarflot, the local haugian revival milieu around the institution, Hans Cappelens Minde, created an important condition for the founding of the society, even though the driving power behind the enterprise was the clergyman, G.A. Lammers.³¹⁾

It is natural to see the new inner mission societies which sprang up throughout the country in relation with the new revival which came through Gisle Johnson.

The haugian revival milieu was renewed by the more evangelical preaching which was carried forward by a new generation of lay preachers.³²⁾ With the Gisle Johnsen revival and his work for an organised layman's work approved by the church, we can say that the two lines of development met together.³³⁾ The clergy were gradually becoming willing to allow the layman an independent role in the congregations. The church sanctioned the founding in 1868 of the Lutherstiftelsen as a coordinating organisation for the new inner mission societies, even though the clergy, with Johnsen at the head, would only consider this to be an emergency principle.³⁴⁾ Thereby a new époque was introduced when the layman's work was recognised as both a legitimate and legal contribution to the Norwegian church scene.

According to Kalleberg, the "critical theory" should, among other things, ask whether the legal is legitimate.³⁵⁾ In our case, it could be more appropriate to ask: Is the legitimate legal? ... For many years this question had to be answered in the negative. The laws of society had forbidden that which in the Bible is a command. Here was the basis for conflict which led Hauge and the revival onto a collision course with the authorities. But now these hindrances were cleared away, and possibilities for a fruitful cooperation between the clergy and the lay people were thereby present.³⁶⁾

The following little church historical event can stand as a good example of the "victory" which the haugian revival had won in the Norwegian church. The Norwegian Church Department pronounced in 1924:

"It is common knowledge that Hans Nielsen Hauge brought about the most radical revival which has ever occurred here in Norway, and which accomplished the breakthrough of religious freedom in this land. --- The Department would find it beneficial and appropriate if the clergy - on the basis of the revival which grew up from Hauge's work - would use the opportunity to pray to God that a similar healthy, national revival might occur to the benefit and blessing of the Norwegian people."³⁷⁾

The Norwegian authorities' attitude towards the Hauge revival has certainly undergone a great change in the course of a hundred years.

9.3.3. Haugianism - a power factor

Besides the structural advantage of an independent organisational basis, there is an additional condition of the revival itself which can explain its success in conquering the church from the inside.³⁸⁾

It should now be established without a doubt that the revival people became in time a popular movement of large dimensions. A considerable proportion of the Norwegian peasantry must have reckoned themselves as haugians in the second and third decade. Likewise, it is shown without a doubt that they were highly thought of by people in general, since so many of the peasants' representatives locally and nationally were haugians. We must assume that the haugians' popularity and numbers strengthened their position with the clergy. It was not easy to ignore or oppose this group which in many places constituted a large majority of the congregation. The revival people represented on a national basis a power factor which all were eventually forced to consider.

At the same time, we know that the proportion of clergy to the population had fallen by so much as 50% between 1750 and 1825.³⁹⁾

Flint believes that the weakened proportions show that the clergy as a "clerical role system" had lost its power and influence in the social structure of society.⁴⁰⁾

The clergy were therefore less well equipped to meet an "attack" from the lay people than they had been for a long time. When the revival people also reduced their critical attitude towards the clergy and showed themselves in all situations to be loyal church attenders, it was difficult to maintain an antagonistic attitude towards them. Little by little we see that the Haugians were also accepted by the public "teachers".⁴¹⁾

But the above named factors alone do not give a complete explanation of how these changes could have occurred. That the revival became an important popular movement is not on its own a good enough reason for it obtaining the position which it did.

There have been many strong revival movements both before and after which have not managed to "take over" and institution from the inside. The typical pattern in such cases has been rather that they have been separated from the institutionalised church, either because the revival people themselves have chosen to make a break with the establishment, or because they have been purely and simply excluded, we nearly said excommunicated. We must also look at conditions outside the revival in order to explain the "change of skin" which took place in the church.

9.3.4. New Theological Orientation

We must first of all direct our attention to the church itself to see whether we can see any clues to the change in attitude there.

After its establishment in 1811, the education of Norwegian clergy took place at the new university in Christiania. The new generation of Norwegian clergy became characterized by the confessional theology of professors Hersleb and Stenersen.⁴²⁾ Therefore it can be said that rationalism as a theological trend in the church was weakened and no longer had any natural basis for recruitment in the education of the clergy.

Even though Stenersen was a critic of Hauge,⁴³⁾ one can trace a more conciliatory attitude in his references to Hauge.⁴⁴⁾ And not less important, a number of the younger clergy who had come under Stenersen's teaching were more in agreement with the Haugians in their preaching than they were with their older colleagues.⁴⁵⁾

We can accordingly trace a certain rapprochement between the Haugians and the new generation of clergy after 1811 in theological aspects. This must without doubt have had a conciliatory effect on the antagonism which existed between the converted laymen and the clergy involved.

This rapprochement was further helped by the new revival which came with Gisle Johnson and which was spread throughout the land to a great extent by the clergy who were converted by his preaching.⁴⁶⁾ Those clergymen who were in this way carriers of the revival found it much easier to identify with the converted laymen. In such congregations it was possible to have a fruitful cooperation between the lay people and the clergy. Norborg maintains in addition that the Hauge revival in the years after Hauge's long period in prison became more and more a respectable and church oriented movement.⁴⁷⁾ We can therefore, with a certain

amount of truth, maintain that there were changes on both sides which led to the ecclesiastical acceptance of the lay people's legitimate role in the life and preaching of the church.

Nevertheless, we do not feel that we have completely covered all the explanations for the reason developments went the way they did. What conditions in the development of society outside the church can help us to understand the outcome of the antagonistic relationship between the church and the revival?

9.3.5. The democratisation process of society

In a sense we could say that we are trying here to explain a process of democratisation within the church. The church's "rank and file" was knocking on the door, asking to be involved in the responsibility of the church. It is therefore interesting to take a look outside the walls of the church, for exactly the same development were taking place there.

Norway had no aristocracy.⁴⁸⁾ The upper classes were commoners, not aristocratic. On the whole they were liberal.⁴⁹⁾

In comparison to conditions during the autocracy, a more democratic climate existed as the system was constructed such that it was receptive to initiatives and correction from below. We have pointed out earlier the fact that this was so new that it took some time for the possibilities of the new system to be fully exploited. In that the initiative for the new constitution came from the leading bourgeoisie, there was little opposition from that class against the further efforts at democratisation which came from the parliamentary opposition later in the century. Both the upper classes and the opposition showed a respect for democracy, so that political life could function according to the agreed principles of the constitution without any interruption.

This development in the political institution probably characterized in varying degrees the development of the other institutions in society, including the church. It did not live a life isolated and separated from the rest of society, but both influenced and let itself be influenced by that society. Many of the church's officials were also democratically elected members of Storting.⁵⁰⁾ Some were even to be found on the opposition's side before the introduction of parliamentarianism in 1884.⁵¹⁾ They stood together with the radical lay people who had allied themselves with the underprivileged. In the political fight which developed in the 80's, however, most of the clergy were found on the conservative side.⁵²⁾ Many of them signed the "Opraab til Christendommens Venner" (appeal to the friends of Christianity) which was distributed in 1883 as a warning against political radicalism, represented by the political party, Venstre.⁵³⁾ Wisløff ascertains that this appeal was a fiasco, not least because the lay people did not let themselves be frightened.⁵⁴⁾

He describes the phalanx which stood behind Venstre as an alliance of "free-thinking radicalism, pietistic low churchiness and Grundtvigian popularism". Wisløff adds that "When the situation was such, the appeal had to be a blow in thin air."⁵⁵⁾

9.3.6. Conclusion

But we can see an interesting pattern emerging. It was the radical lay people, represented by haugianism and partly also by rosenian⁵⁶⁾ revival Christianity, who led the way for democratisation in both the church and in politics. Earlier in the period, Ueland was the leader

of the peasant opposition. Later the leftwing clergyman, Lars Oftedal, exercised great influence, not perhaps primarily in Stortinget, but rather through his newspaper Vestlandsposten and his extensive preaching expeditions.⁵⁷⁾

Large numbers of the converted lay people were in many ways a radical avant garde of the common popular rising to which that period was a witness.⁵⁸⁾ They pressed for social reforms in the political fora⁵⁹⁾ and for the right of the lay people to preach in the church. In many cases it was the same people who were active in both these contexts. If we choose to take the view that the institutions of society are interrelated and thereby susceptible to mutual influence, it will become clear that one and the same group of people in both the institutions under review are involved in forwarding social change.⁶⁰⁾ They represented a driving power in the social transformation of society because "they were full of a strong spirit" as Bergsgård expressed it. He also maintained that "they were good leaders". Eilert Sundt pointed out particularly the important function those who set the tone had in the formation of people's attitudes and actions.⁶¹⁾ This was the conclusion Sundt had drawn from his studies on the state of sobriety in Norway. His conclusion is supported by Allardt and Littunen who state that:

"Both theoretical and empirical studies show that an active elite is always necessary as activators of any change."⁶²⁾

The model below illustrates the conditions we have discussed in the text.

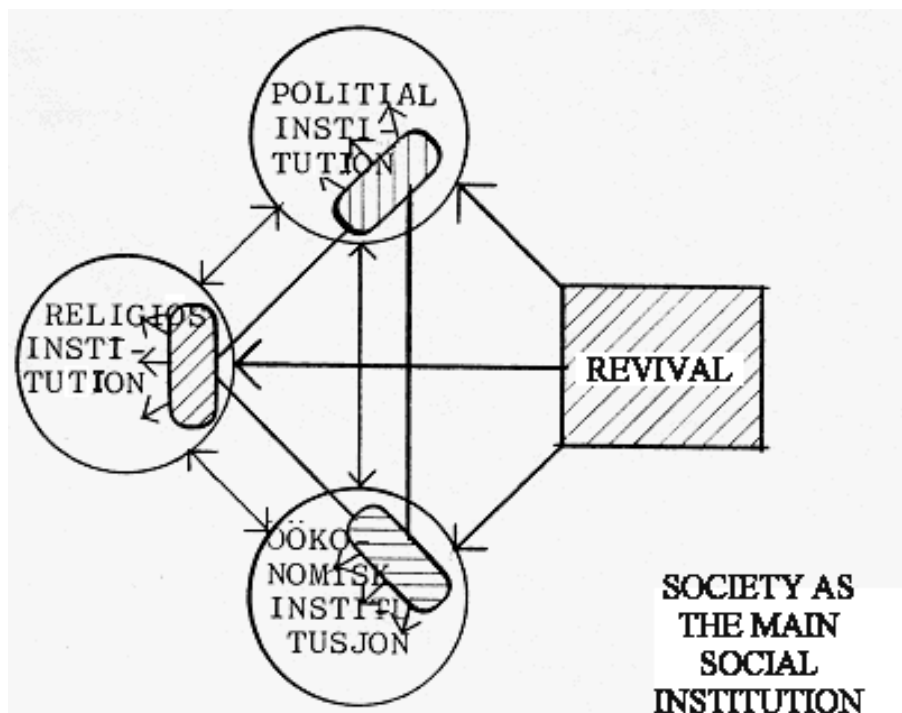


FIGURE 2

We have enclosed the revival in a shaded box in order to indicate that the revival people represented on a national basis one united "phalanx" built upon "common feelings between brothers" as Koht put it.⁶³⁾ They became a reference group. On the left of the model the revival people are divided up among the different institutions in order to show how the influencing occurred; both from a united movement and from the individual activators within the different institutions of society.⁶⁴⁾

Therefore we believe that when we ascertain that the clergy were under "double fire", this is an expression of reality. They were under pressure to accept the lay movement from both the surrounding society and from the members of their congregations.⁶⁵⁾ The pressure from outside was rather indirect in that society was gradually becoming more democratic, whereas the pressure from inside was more direct. The spirit of the times was liberal. This was also to influence the ecclesiastical employees.

The converted lay people had therefore an ally in the liberal tendency in the development of society, while they were simultaneously involved in its formation. Their fight was no longer against the tide as it had been in the first years of Hauge's ministry. Developments were now going in their direction. The antagonism towards lay preaching slackened more and more. "The time of conflict for the Hauge movement was over," Koht syas.⁶⁶⁾

Though we have found it necessary to emphasize the organisational side of things in this account, we do not wish to conceal the fact that we maintain that the "strong spirit", which Bergsgård says filled the revival people, was the primary motivator. Koht, who reckoned himself as a materialist, could not avoid being of the same opinion, as he expressed it in Norsk Bondereising:

"With this preaching they made Christianity... a living spiritual force in the soul of the people."⁶⁷⁾

It is highly doubtful if there had been any active lay people to write about at all had it not been for the revival. The organisational aspect is a necessary but not sufficient moment in the explanation of the success of the lay people.

When the haugians were allowed to stay within the church and keep the mutual fellowship going, the spirit which accompanied them naturally had an effect as it had on the other fora the haugians were involved with.

Notes Chap. 9:

- 1) W.G. McLoughlin: Revivalism, in Gaustad, ed. : "The Rise of Adventism" (1974) Even though there are a lot of differences between Norwegian and American church life, there are nonetheless a lot of similarities when it comes to a study of revivals.
- 2) Ibid. p.122.
- 3) Ibid. p.123.
- 4) This was how it appeared to many of the revival's own people, according to the lensman Iver Monsen "Underdanigst Promemoria" to the Dean of Melhus, Hans Eriksen Steenbuch, Skrifter v.II, p.194-197.
- 5) Charles Mellis: Committed Communities (1976) p.38.
- 6) This is obviously a simplified viewpoint. There have been and still are many different opinions and schools of thought in the Norwegian church which compete for influence. But it is in itself a sensational occurrence that a persecuted, socially underprivileged group could have won such ecclesiastical acceptance, that we feel we can defend our expressing it so "squarely". We also feel that this way of expression can be defended by showing the methodic advantage one gains by focussing the analysis on that which is of special interest. See also Aarflot, op.cit. p.388 where it is put like this: "With his own experience as a background, he projected different Bible statements about the church more and more on to his little flock of partners in the faith who gathered around him and created the Haugian society of friends."
- 7) Aarflot: Tro og Lydighet (1969) p.433
- 8) Ordning: op.cit. p.5
- 9) C.F. Wisløff: Norsk Kirkehistorie v.III, p.426
- 10) In connection with the hundreth anniversary of Hauge's death, Dagen wrote in a leading article: "The church would rather reckon him as "a true son of the church". Dagen 29.3.24, according to Aarflot: Tro og Lydighet (1969) p.433

- 11) Chester Starr discusses in a greater historic perspective how christianity as a persecuted minority could "take over" the Roman Empire in his book, *Civilization and the Caesars, The Intellectual Revolution in the Roman Empire* (1965)
- 12) *Skrifter*, v.VIII p.226
- 13) *Ibid.* p.227
- 14) *Dagen*, 29.3.1924
- 15) Norborg also maintains that there lay "a good proportion of ecclesiastical class arrogance (--) behind the clergy's attacks on the peasant preacher, --"
- 16) *Ibid.*
- 17) M.Nodtvedt, *op.cit.*, p.219.
- 18) As early as 1802 he had, in a "reflection" to his friends, reckoned up the names of about thirty people in whom he had special confidence. *Aarflot: Fra det haugianske vennesamfunn til Lutherstiftelsen (1800-1868)*, in *Väckelse och Kyrka*, p.120.
- 19) In *Norsk kulturhistorie*, v.IV, p.260, Selmer has the following to say about the importance of the position of women in haugianism: "There are few doubts about the religious freedom which haugianism brought to women, and what it has meant for the liberation of woman's position in society as a whole, such that here in Norway women obtained their rights alongside men both politically and in other areas much earlier than in most other countries."
- 20) *Skrifte*, v.VIII, p.243
- 21) It is hardly possible to find this expression in Hauge writings. But that he saw the church as a mission field is shown in his practice of again and again gathering the congregation together for a meeting immediately following the official church service, and then preaching the message of repentance to them. As far as Hauge's view of the church is concerned, see *Aarflot's* thorough examination in: *Aarflot, Tro og Lydighet*, p.378 onwards. See particularly pp.388-9.
- 22) *Ibid.*
- 23) Compare the similarity between Hauge and Hope in this viewpoint. *Ludvig Hope: Kyrkja og Guds folk*, 1969.
- 24) See for example *Bang, op.cit.* p.264. *Bang* refers here to Dean *Borch* who complained that Hauge could, by one single sermon in a parish, influence the people more than he had done with all his sermons over a period of twenty years. See also *Fallesens Theologiske Maanedstidsskrift 1804*, which discusses how Hauge "could make such progress as he does" in spite of the fact that church attendance was so "poor".
- 25) We have not considered it correct to call the haugian revival a sect. There are features of the revival - which should be plain in the text - which make the term sect, both theologically and sociologically, out of accord with realities.
- 26) See *J.T. Flint's* analysis of the Lutheran clergy's development from the reformation to the 19th century in "The Secularization of Norwegian Society, Comparative studies in society and history, v.6, 1964, p.338 onwards.
- 27) *Norborg* emphasises that Hauge disliked the fact that the brother congregations ("herrnhuterne") were led by clergymen. Hauge never sought direct cooperation with the clergy, says *Norborg, op.cit.* v.I, pp.88-89, 92. See also p.250.
- 28) *Stephen Clark: Unordained Elders and Renewal Communities*, N.Y. 1976, p.5. Quoted by *Mellis, op.cit.*, p.24.
- 29) The south German clergyman, *C. Sarwey*, who visited Norway in 1847, obviously gained a positive impression of the condition of the Norwegian church. In an article from 1851 in *Theologisk Tidsskrift*, he praises the Norwegian clergy for their spiritual power (p.58). He points especially to three factors which have seemed to create renewal in the Norwegian church, namely "the popular movement awakened by *Hans Nielsen Hauge*, the establishment of the University which caused the transformation of the clergy, and lastly, the separation from Denmark, and the state constitution of 1814, which led to the revolution of the State." (p.60) *A.Aarflot: Tro og Lydighet*, p.44.
- 30) *Nodtvedt op.cit.* p.276
- 31) *Aarflot: Fra det haugianske vennesamfunn til Lutherstiftelsen (1800-1868) i Väckelse och Kyrka*, p.126.
- 32) It was men like *Lars Knudsen Kyllingen*, *Daniel Arnesen*, *Elling Eielsen* and *Anders Håve*. *Nodtvedt, op.cit.* p.270. See also *Wisløff, op.cit.* p.43. He points out that there also milieu where the new preaching on grace was viewed sceptically.
- 33) *Wisløff* states on the background of *Johnsen's* challenge to the will that "it is not surprising that this could flow so harmoniously together with the spiritual impulses from haugianism." *Wisløff, op.cit.* p.41.
- 34) *Aarflot, op.cit.* p.129 onwards.
- 35) *Ragnvald Kalleberg: En introduksjon til Frankfurtskolans vetenskapsteori*, in: *Positivism, marxism, kritisk teori* (1972) p.121.
- 36) Even though the lay movement within the Norwegian church had been accepted high up in the church's leadership, all the antagonism between the different opinions and directions had not thereby come to an end. See

- Wisløff, op.cit. passim.
- 37) Wee & Rølvaag, op.cit. p.102.
- 38) We should remind you that this is a methodical simplification in order to clarify an interesting process of development. It is far from the case that all the officials in the church were "conquered" or "captured" by the haugians.
- 39) J.T. Flint, op.cit. p.343
- 40) Ibid. p.342
- 41) The fact that the clergy were called teachers tells us something of the extended role the clergy had.
- 42) See Aarflot, Tro og Lydighet, pp. 304-307.
- 43) Kfr. Bang, op.cit. p.453 and Norborg op.cit. v.II, p.207.
- 44) See the quotation from Stenersens pamphlet about Hauge, p. 64, in Bang, op.cit. p.357.
- 45) Bang says that there was a "little flock of them who completely agreed with the revival and worked in fellowship with the converted lay people."
- 46) See Aarflot, op.cit. p.358 onwards.
- 47) Norborg, op.cit. v.I, p.306.
- 48) The aristocracy was abolished by an act of parliament in 1821.
- 49) The upper class was liberal, whereas the truly political conservatism was represented by officialdom. It was also this class which had traditionally held political power.
- 50) For a complete list of both haugians and theologians in Storting, see Bondevik, op.cit. pp.202-219.
- 51) Wisløff, op.cit. p.25.
- 52) Ibid.
- 53) Ibid, p.29 onwards.
- 54) Ibid, p.32.
- 55) Ibid. p.37. The fact that the political affinity of the lay people was with Venstre is also emphasised by J.T. Flint: Historical role analysis in the styles of secularization. The laity/clergy ratio in Norway 1800-1950. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, p.272-79. See also Flint's reference to Einar Molland: Church Life in Norway 1800-1950, Augsburg Publ. House, Minn., 1957.
- 56) Preachers influenced by the Swedish theologian C.O. Rosenius' (1816-1868) evangelical christianity came on the scene later in the century. Wisløff, op.cit. p.42 onwards. For a more thorough survey of the rosenian revival in Vestlandet see Kjell Skorgevik: "Sandstormen", thesis in christian knowledge, stencil (1974)
- 57) Wisløff, op.cit. p.26
- 58) See Koht, op.cit. chapter 23, passim. See also Wisløff, op.cit. p.28. Wisløff refers here to Chr. Bruun: "The lower levels of society are beginning to exert themselves. --- The main aim of leftwing politics is the development and happiness of the common people, and this I will support because I am a Christian, said Bruun."
- 59) See Løvland, op.cit. p.182 and passim.
- 60) This is obviously a simplified account. There were other groups in society who were involved in bringing about social change. See the groups who backed Venstre. The young labour movement should also be mentioned. But the interesting aspect is that in this connection the haugians were such a progressive group - and they were most likely the first.
- 61) Eilert Sundt, op.cit. p.161
- 62) Erik Allardt and Yrjõ Littunen: Sociologi (1975) p.301. Note that elite in our meaning of the word need not necessarily mean social level or a high position in an institutional context. By elite we mean above all initiators.
- 63) Koht, op.cit. p.350. When talking of the Hauge revival one can rightly speak of one movement with a distinctive identity. Both the adherents and the opponents were aware of that. An interesting observation which should establish this comes from Ludvig Daae: "Norway will hardly have a Cromwell, but she already has her "Independenter" Daae had the haugians in his thoughts when he wrote this in 1828. (Morgenbladet, 1877 nr.161) ibid. p.353.
- 64) It should not be necessary to emphasize that this model is an abstract one. If the whole of reality were to be included in the model, there would hardly be room for all the "arrows" which would be needed. The figure represents a simplified theoretical model of the social influence of the revival.
- 65) Stortingsbehandlingen of the "konventikkelplakaten". Another expression of influence from the outside was the later reform movement with Jacob Sverdrup at the front which fought for the parish council law. See Bondevik, op.cit. p.78. We refer to Bondevik for a more extensive treatment of the relationship between the church and the state in the 19th century.
- 66) Koht, op.cit. p.351.
- 67) Ibid, p.338.

PART III

CHAPTER 10: SUMMING UP

10.1. Summing up and recapitulation

We begin by establishing that it was a new phenomenon for change in a religious institution in Norway to begin from below. With both the introduction of Christianity in the early Middle Ages and with the deviation from the Catholic system 500 years later, the changes came as the result of a change in power dictated from above. The religious transformation was secured by the conversion of the elite, and the consequential enforcement of conformity downwards in the pyramid of society. ¹⁾ First and foremost it was the power of the monarchy, and not any popular movement or missionary effort which was the cause of the change. It can in addition be maintained that the monarchy which again intervened and authorized pietism in the church in the first half of the 18th century. However, in this case one has to admit that the revival of other sources than the monarchy was involved, even though it was Kristian the fourth who gave them a position of power within the church.

The changes in the church in the 19th century were of a quite different character. Here it is first and foremost revivals which create renewal and change, and the foremost of these was the Hauge revival. And this, as we have stated, was a popular revival, carried forward by the common Norwegian people.

We began by drawing a picture of the time around the turn of the century when Hauge first came onto the scene. In the methodical consideration in the first chapter we accounted for the basis of this historical presentation.

An analysis of Hauge's message, both written and spoken, followed after. The reason for this part of the dissertation is given in Chapter 1.

We then endeavoured to make a survey of the activity which development in connection with the spreading of the revival. And lastly we have endeavoured to evaluate the effects of the revival in the light of the changes in different institutions of society.

What conclusions can we draw from the material we have presented?

Firstly, we can establish that Hauge was not a spokesman for the upper classes. It is however not quite so easy to establish that he fits into the social picture as a peasant rebel against authority. Even though Hauge felt the differences in social class very closely, and though he in several instances expressed clearly that he found many instances of injustice in society, not least on the economic front, his suggestions for how these injustices should be removed were not in accordance with those we find in Karl Marx' works. If this had been the case, he would have been several decades in front of Marx.

Hauge's thinking was characterized by the Lutheran state orthodoxies view of rebellion as illegitimate and improper. Hauge found that this was also in agreement with the scriptures, and this was probably the deciding factor. Otherwise in his fight for what he believed he showed that he could disregard the Lutheran doctrinal literature, as long as the scriptures gave him the basis for this.

Even though it is difficult to measure the breadth and strength of the influence which the revival had on Norwegian society in the last century, it is nevertheless possible to establish without a doubt certain facts. We can give a short list of them.

Over a period of eight years Hauge preached to thousands of his countrymen in person. He published seventeen works all together, most of which he wrote himself, which were printed in over 200000 examples. Flocks of young country people broke away from their social class and sought new occupations in town and country. Drunkards and dissolute experienced a radical change of attitude through their contact with the revival and left the "old" life. From a life of decadence and misery they went on to become builders and supporters of society. We can also talk of a clearing up of the theological uncertainty which prevailed in the period before and during Hauge's first years of activity. All of these things cannot solely be accounted for by the revival, but the revival certainly had an influence. The converted became active in political life and many of them were among the leaders. Societies of friends, radically different from the traditional, confessional piety, sprang up throughout the country.²⁾ They founded a social network of new relationships which for many took over to a large degree as a reference group from family and neighbours. How many haugians is there talk of here? This is difficult to ascertain with any exactness. It has been suggested that in 1860 there were about 100 000 "readers" throughout the land.³⁾ We have no way of controlling that figure. We can, on the other hand, be sure that in a small and singularly homogenous society such as Norway was at the beginning of the nineteenth century, numbers did not necessarily count for much in the question of having influence. Even though far from the whole of peasant society supported Hauge, the Hauge friends were looked up to as leaders and pioneers. They became an elite in the best meaning of the word, and set the standards for both the spiritual life of the times, and in the more practical day to day life.

It is quite unlikely that all this development in the previously impotent and mostly inarticulate common people could happen without any sort of effect on other aspects of society's structure. It is also quite clear that the revival did not occur in a quiet corner without being noticed by the rest of the population. The revival was seen by the government of the day as a danger and threat, both spiritually and socially, to the survival of the commonwealth. A new social group was awakened and beginning to move. They behaved with a maturity and authority without the servility which officialdom demanded of its subjects.

The awakening consciousness of their value and the many new initiatives which we have documented, show that something had happened to the common Norwegian man. Bound up strengths were released in the first place by the liberation of the individual on a personal level. In that this experience was multiplied many times over, the effect was the freeing of bound up strengths in a whole social group. Mobilisation to new efforts followed the direction which Hauge's preaching had indicated. It is in the preaching that we find the explanation for the special pattern of enterprise with which the revival people came to be associated. The stress on duty and on work as a call from God, together with the emphasis on loyalty to the church (especially in Hauge's latter years) prevented the movement from withdrawing from society and thereby ending up as a sect.⁴⁾ In church history one can often find just such a pattern when a hard pressed group is exposed to persecution. The offensive and outward-looking aspects of Hauge's preaching staked out the course for the further development of the revival.

Our conclusion must therefore be that the Hauge revival had extensive consequences for both its time and for later generations in that it had a changing and renewing effect on a number of important areas of society. If we judge it by the influence it had, the Hauge revival can be said,

to use a modern expression, to have been progressive. It contributed to the foundation and acceleration of the economic expansion and democratic development which Norway achieved in the 19th century. This conclusion is far from sensational. It harmonises on the whole with the evaluation of the revival which is given by Norwegian historians. But how does this social data from Norwegian history relate to the sociological theory traditions when it comes to their view of religion?

10.2. Three sociological theory traditions in viewpoint of religion

We do not consider our task to have been completed before we have examined this relationship more closely. Do our discoveries fit into existing sociological theories, and if so, which one? Or does the Hauge revival represent a break with the classic understanding of religion's role in society? We have chosen to tackle this examination as a critical discussion of three aspects of the understanding of religion in classical sociological theory:

The genetic (the question of origin), the substantial (the question of distinctive qualities and content) and the functional (the question of effect on society as a whole).

It is safe to say that there are three names which stand out when it comes to sociological theory traditions; Marx, Weber, and Durkheim.⁵⁾ Much of today's Norwegian sociology is indebted especially to the first and the last-named. Both the sociology of religion and the sociology of knowledge are mainly built upon the foundation given by Durkheim.⁶⁾ His theoretical perspectives are far from out-dated. And one hardly needs to point out that Marx's thoughts still live on in sociology. One can even talk of a "renaissance" in the case of Marxist sociology, at least in Norway, in recent years.⁷⁾ We are reminded of a rather tart comment from the British sociologist, Donald MacRae:

"Marx is one of the culture heroes who must be kept alive and up to date."⁸⁾

Even if Weber has not found so many strong adherents in Norway, it is obvious that he is still topical, not least in American and continental sociology.⁹⁾ The intellectual storm which followed the publication of "The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism" (1904-5) has barely died down.¹⁰⁾

These three thinkers feature in large numbers of basic books on sociology as the central founders of the profession. Therefore it seems natural to us to test our hypotheses against the viewpoint of these theoreticians.

Typically enough, they were all three engaged by religion. Durkheim and Weber wrote whole theses on the importance of the religious life for society, and Marx was interested in religion with a negative attitude. One is inevitably struck by how much sociology at that time was involved in the question of religion, in comparison with the sociology of today. Both Marx and Durkheim tried to say something universally valid in their contributions about the conditions they commented on. They claim to a much greater extent than Weber to have discovered general rules in their studies of society. Weber is much more modest in this aspect.¹¹⁾ Our hypotheses are taken from more or less the same period of time as the classical scholars mentioned collected their material. Marx studied religion during the early days of capitalism. Weber built up his opinions on a very rich experimental material, mostly collected from the preliminaries to and breakthrough of capitalism in Northern Europe.¹²⁾

Our empiric material is therefore neither peripheral nor unimportant when compared with the treatment of religion which we find in the works of these classics. It should therefore be relevant to say something about the validity of the general theory of religion which we find in the works of the classics of sociology. An empirical example which contradicts the general law should be enough to take from it the role of a universal, generally valid "law". It may be that it is possible to show that the theory is not valid as an expression of the empery at all, but rather as an expression of the paradigm and/or of the spirit of the age.

Notes Chap. 10:

- 1) See Flint, op.cit. p.331 and 335.
- 2) Norborg, op.cit. v.I, p.92.
- 3) According to S. Skirbekk, *Sosiologiske makroteorier*, (1976) p.128.
- 4) Compare with: Weber, op.cit. p.35 onwards
- 5) According to A. Giddens, op.cit. p.vii onwards. "(We) must begin from a re-consideration of the works of those writers who established the principal frames of reference of modern sociology. In this connection, these names rank above all else: Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber.
- 6) According to Berger and Luckmann: *The Social Construction of Reality* (Penguin 1967) p.28 passim. See also Roland Robertson: *The Sociological Interpretation of Religion* (1972) pp. 4, 12, passim, and N.S. Timasheff: *Sociological Theory, its nature and growth* (rev. ed. 1964) p.114 & 117.
- 7) See Vilhelm Aubert: *Om sosiologiens historie i Norge etter 1945* (stecil).
- 8) Donald G. MacRae: *Marx, Founding fathers of social science*, p.65.
- 9) See for example S.N. Eisenstadt: *Max Weber, On charisma and institution building* (1968) pp.xi, xii, xiii, passim. And Reinhard Bendix: *Max Weber, An intellectual portrait* (reprint 1977) p.xv, passim.
- 10) See S.N. Eisenstadt: *The protestant ethic thesis in Sociology of Religion* edited by Roland Robertson (1969) p.297. Compare with: Sten Johansson: *Max Weber i J. Asplund(red.): Sociologiska teorier, Studier i sociologins historia* (1971) p.39 onwards and Kirsti Suolinna: *Weber's thesis on the protestant ethic, A micro- and macro sociological perspective*, *Temenos*, vol. 9 (1973) p.80 onwards.
- 11) According to Murvar: *Toward a sociological theory of religious movements. Journal for the scientific study of religion*. 1975, 14 (3), p.230.
- 12) Ibid.

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