

Liberty University

**The Perpetual Progression in the Schleswig-Holstein Duchy:
History, Politics, and Religion, 1460-1864**

A Dissertation Submitted to
The Faculty of the Department of History
in the College of Arts and Sciences
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Christian Anthony Ahlers

Lynchburg, Virginia

May 2024

Doctoral Dissertation Committee:
Director: Dr. Nathan Martin
Reader: Dr. Richard Allington
Reader: Dr. William Skiles

© 2024

Christian Anthony Ahlers

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Abstract

German nationalism in the Schleswig and Holstein duchies that predates the German Unification Wars of the Nineteenth Century continuously transformed in response to Danish encroachment, civic disputes regarding treaty legitimacy, and war. The Germans in the duchies fought to retain their ancestral homelands and, in doing so, embraced a pan-Germanic consciousness that is the foundation for early modern nationalism. This consciousness dates back hundreds of years. This case study examines the Germans of Schleswig and Holstein and their experiences with the consistent and pressing Danish encroachment. Despite the encroachment, the Germans remained connected with their culture, traditions, religion, and their respective national consciousness. This long-term struggle to maintain their identity and autonomy led to increased unity with themselves and other German states. Later, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, modern nationalism spread, causing the “Denmark to the Eider” movement, igniting the nationalist sentiments from the Germans in the duchies and starting the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict. This dissertation draws from the nationalist approach to identify and define German nationalist sentiment in the duchies from cultural, religious, and political perspectives.

Acknowledgments

First, I want to thank the Lord for blessing me with the capabilities to complete this project. For it is God which worketh in you, both to will, and to do, of his good pleasure (Philippians 2:13). Second, I want to thank my ancestors who fought and sacrificed to give their descendants the opportunities for success that allowed me to be in this position. Third, I want to thank my wife, Ashlee Dawn, as well as my children, Christian Anton II, Odalric Detlef Albrecht, Khalie Skye, and Adelheid Alede Wiebke for their enduring support and sacrifices. Without them, I would have never made it this far. Fourth, I would like to thank my Advisor, Dr. Nathan Martin, and the committee members, Dr. Richard Allington and Dr. William Skiles, for their assistance and direction during this project. I want to thank Dr. Jessica Semler with the Veteran's Administration for helping me with each step of this process. Lastly, I want to thank Rev. Dr. Christian Preus and John Grabner for their support and expertise with this project.

A special thanks also goes out to my cousins, Hakon Ibs and Kerstin Skirde in Germany, for guiding me through the Dithmarschen region and history during my research trip to Germany. The expedition through the region provided invaluable insight and this dissertation would be much less without it. I am forever grateful to them and hope to see them again soon.

Dedication

Ik heff disse Arbeit för de Däitsch, de döög un de buten Kuntrull vun uns Överdregen-Höömdland verhööv't. Se hebbt ofraagt un bleedt, verloren Verloren, man nienich sikken. Dien Stücken sünd bedanklich för Dien Deel, un wi warrt nienich vergeten. Disse Arbeit steiht as en Metood för' t Sekern, dat Dien Opslag nienich vergeten is.

Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Contents	iv
Chapter One: Introduction and Historiography	1
Chapter Two: Background	27
Chapter Three: Identifying Nationalism	60
Chapter Four: Examples of Nationalism.....	109
Chapter Five: Pre-Modern Schleswig-Holstein History	143
Chapter Six: Conclusion	189
Bibliography.....	213
Appendix A: Holy Roman Empire, 1648.....	247
Appendix B: Bible Evolution Chart.....	248
Appendix C: Viking Age Trade Routes	249
Appendix D: Schleswig-Holstein Question	250
Appendix E: Battle of Bornhöved 1227.....	251
Appendix F: Battle of Hemmingstedt	252
Appendix G: Treaty of Ribe, 1460.....	253
Appendix H: Hereditary Genius Chart, 1869.....	254
Appendix I: The Obotritic Confederation.....	255
Appendix J: Schleswig-Holstein Dynastic Ruling Areas, 1650	256
Appendix K: Indo-European Language Group.....	257

Appendix L: German Language Dialect Areas, 1900.....	258
Appendix M: Golden Horns of Gallehus	259
Appendix N: A Vimose Inscription	260

Chapter One: Introduction and Historiography

The Nineteenth Century in Europe experienced the spread of liberal revolutions, the creation of modern nationalism, and the Industrial Revolution's economic, social, and military advancements. The Industrial Revolution changed how companies produced goods with the assembly line and led to a mass population movement into key industrial cities from the rural and agriculturally based areas, as well as the railroads effectively and efficiently changed how militaries transported their troops. With the spread of liberal ideals into the German Confederation and culminating with the 1848 March Revolutions, these ideals led to the abolition of feudalism and the Declaration of the Rights of Men.¹ Modern nationalism, a product of the French Revolution, emerged with national modernization based on industrialization, urbanization, and mass education.² It further spread nationalism and helped establish new nations with freedom, tolerance, and equality.³ Although it is associated with the spread of modernity, liberal nationalism is not the first form of nationalism. Schleswig-Holstein is a region caught in a tension between Denmark and Germany proper. However, from the Nineth century onwards, the region consistently demonstrated a rapport and attachment with German culture and identity rather than with the Danish. These displays reveal a type of early modern German nationalism that existed in this region that predates the German Wars of Unification in the Nineteenth century and indicates that people even in the more remote areas of Germany, held this inclination.⁴

¹ Georg Herwegh Comite, "Die pariser deutsche demokratische Legion...", 15 April 1848," LASH Abt. 51 Nr. 522-2, *Politisch verdächtige Personen*, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany,

² Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 50.

³ Liberal nationalism, also known as civic nationalism, is a form of nationalism that values freedom, tolerance, and equality over other essences of nationalism such as religion, ethnicity, and security; Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6.

⁴ An ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some members to constitute an actual or potential "nation."; Smith, *Nationalism*, 55.

In the northern Germanic duchies of Schleswig (Slesvig), with times of partial rule by Denmark from 1520 until 1864, and Holstein (Holsten), partially ruled by Denmark between 1713 and 1848, the Nineteenth Century was an era of closure after centuries of political, diplomatic, and military conflicts. Denmark's political overreach to integrate them into its kingdom caused these conflicts. Diplomatic chaos flared over these conflicts, and when the European powers failed to keep the status quo by using power politics, Prussia pushed its influence into the duchies.⁵ Nationalism already existed in the duchies, and because of the Danish national movement, the Germans sought to defend their territory, culture, and autonomy. This caused the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict and further Danish encroachment and Prussian intervention to start the 1864 Dano-Prussian War. This led to the incorporation of the duchies into the North German Confederation and later into the newly formed German Empire.

The duchies did experience nationalist thoughts and sentiments before the French Revolution; however, the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) helped spread nationalism across Europe and later into the duchies. In Germany, the era following the wars ushered in an age of intellectual thought, as seen in the works of Goethe, Shiller, Mozart, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Humbolt. These enlightened men helped spread German nationalism. Yet, the Germans remained neutral in their opinions of revolution and its manifestations.⁶ As the Twentieth Century professor Emeritus of history at Yale University, R. R. Palmer points out in his work *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800* (2014), he clarifies that no revolution existed in Germany and the Schleswig-Holstein duchies before 1800; instead, the

⁵ Stacie E. Goddard, "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power," *International Security* 33 no. 3, (Winter 2008/2009): 110.

⁶ R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 684.

revolution's spread of ideals did not begin in the Germanic lands until the Holy Roman Empire's dissolution.⁷ With the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815, the German Confederation advanced towards war with Prussia over the rights and location of the Saxon lands, as the Twentieth First Century Stanford professor Mark Jerrett describes in his work *The Congress of Vienna and Its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon* (2016), the increase in hostilities, sparked by a pamphlet contest, dangerously led towards war. Even the Nineteenth Century German philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt, according to police reports, caused significant trouble with his threats of "war and revolution" while also claiming that "Prussia will take Bohemia, Russia will take Galicia, and the Rhineland will rise up!"⁸

However, there is more to the duchies' story. Before the Treaty of Ribe in 1460, the Germans and Danes encountered many difficulties, first with the signing of the *Constitutio Valdemaria* in 1326, which prohibited the Duchy of Schleswig and the Kingdom of Denmark from ever being united under one ruler.⁹ Under this treaty, the Schleswig and Holstein duchies were forever undivided (*Up Ewig Ungedeelt*). Accordingly, the population of the duchies experienced nationalist thoughts and sentiments which have existed in every period of history, not just since the French Revolution, and appears in the duchies as a continuous and dynamic thought.¹⁰ With this

⁷ Ibid, 685-686.

⁸ A. Fournier, "Police Report of 29 December 1814, Interzепte by Bollmann an Frau Reinhard," *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress. Eine Auswahl Aus Ihren Papieren*, (Wien: F. Tempsky, 1913), 324-325.

⁹ Chevalier Bunsen, *Memoir on The Constitutional Rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848), 6-7.

¹⁰ Historiography on nationalism has been on the rise for the last two decades, especially along the religious approach. Previously, scholars dismissed primordialism and ism as refutable, however, new research of the Middle and the Protestant Reformation have made ism a focus of scholars again and the paradigm shows extensive growth. The return to religious studies for nationalism have also blossomed after being the most under-studied essences of nationalism. Historiography of nationalism includes John A. Armstrong, "Definitions, Periodization, and Prospects for the *Longue Duree*," *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no. 1-2 (2004): 9-18; Anthony D. Smith, 1984. "Ethnic Myths and Ethnic Revivals," *European Journal of Sociology* 25 (1984): 283-305; Tom Scott, "The Problem of Nationalism in the Early Reformation," *Renaissance and Reformation* 40, no. 4 (2018): 161-178; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

sense of cultural and national identity, the duchy Germans fought off the Danish encroachment for over four hundred years.

During the Nineteenth Century, the balance of power provided a fail-safe against European -wide conflicts, such as the earlier Thirty Years War. It relied upon the Great European Powers such as Great Britain, France, and Russia to keep the status quo and maintain peace across Europe. Despite this, the system had an initial instability comparable to the alliance system in the early twentieth century. When one power did not move to keep the status quo, the system faltered, and conflicts arose. As a result, all authorities were united in restoring peace later. The balancing system caused the 1864 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict.

As mentioned earlier, international diplomacy's perspectives guide the balance of power questions. At first, approaching these questions from a British standpoint provides a cornerstone for the section. Great Britain, led by the Nineteenth Century Prime Minister Lord Palmerston, officiated diplomatic meetings between the Germans, Prussians, and the Danes, which led the coalition to re-establish the balance of power during the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict, and through the 1864 Dano-Prussian War, they continued to lobby for peace until the imminent Prussian victory. From there, this work deeply ventures into the Prussian and German diplomatic sources led by the Nineteenth Century Prussian and German statesman Otto von Bismarck. Understanding the need to destabilize the balance of power is crucial in understanding Bismarck's methodology and his future for unifying the German states and Prussia. This approach also falls into the center of the argument between having a greater Germany with Austria or taking a different route with a smaller Germany, excluding Austria and Prussia.

Covering the British, German, and Prussian perspectives in diplomacy is paramount. However, other nations were just as influential, and their chosen roles affected the decisions of

other countries. These nations include France, Austria, Sweden, and Russia. The choices of these nations allowed the other powers to dictate how much sway Bismarck, or the Danes had in diplomacy. Sweden, for example, supported Denmark during both conflicts and gave them more leverage in diplomacy and at the meetings held by Lord Palmerston. Conversely, France's decision to remain neutral offset Sweden's attempt to strengthen Denmark's stance but would eventually backfire into the Franco-Prussian War. Finally, Austria's decision to help the Prussians in the duchies would lead to a tricky situation between the armies leading to the Austro-Prussian War.

This case study is of a profound historical significance for researching and writing about German nationalism and the Nineteenth Century European power politics system. First, the study of nationalist thought and sentiment as well as nationalism between 1460-1864 allows historians and political scientists a first-hand case study into how and why nations and nationalism predate the First Schleswig-Holstein Conflict and the modern era, which is the predominant perspective in the field. It aims to answer the primary research questions in this dissertation: What did nationalism resemble in the duchies, and how did it affect events between 1460 and 1864? How did nationalism in the duchies contribute to the eventual Nineteenth Century Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts? More importantly, how will this study of nationalism change the established narrative, or at least provide a secondary description, of Germany and the duchies' history? The reader will find that the duchies had a foundation of cultural, religious, political, and territorial nationalism that defined their communal, regional, and national identities and constructed the boundaries of their individual and collective autonomy. With the continuous and stacking growth of national thought, sentiment, and nationalism, the Germans in the duchies formed a consciousness around the Danish cultural, political, and territorial encroachment in their region. The centuries-long dispute between the Danes and the Germans culminated in the 1848 and 1864 Schleswig-Holstein

Conflicts through wars, treaties, movements, and dynastic issues. Lastly, the region's history strongly influenced international diplomacy and events, contributing to the 1871 Unification of Germany, German leadership by Prussia, and the rise of Germany as an imperial power.

The dissertation requires answering these questions because they establish the work's historical and political context and provide direction. A developing political ideology based on secondary sources forms each question within its context. Analysis of each question emerges from the responses to display the importance of the findings, where each solution fits in the larger narrative, and what the answers contribute when approached from different perspectives.

The answers to these questions provide an alternative perspective that diverges from the conventional nationalist narrative. The paper's methodology begins in Chapter Two by examining the duchies in the Nineteenth Century. Then, it establishes concepts and approaches to nationalism in Chapter Three. This is followed by identifying nationalism with examples of nationalism in the Bible, religious nationalism, and mythology in Chapter Four. Chapter Five analyzes the pre-modern duchies' history through a national lens. In Chapter Six, the conclusion demonstrates the importance of the duchies' historical study. This study delves into the recap on the theory and application of nationalism within the duchies, utilizing political, cultural, and religious perspectives. It comprehensively examines the duchies' primary sources, presents a counter perspective to the prevailing modernist narrative, and establishes continuous historical threads in the duchies' fragmented past.

This dissertation utilizes a multifaceted methodology that focuses on political and diplomatic sources. First, the research approaches political sources chronologically when available. The research employs a broad approach to contextualize and continue to the local level within the duchies. This approach allows for the references to partially dictate the direction of the

research by creating a better understanding of the context at a broader scale. Having the local research second provides additional discoveries at the national level, increases the focus on the details in the duchies, and prevents repetitive sourcing. Second, when finding sources for the power politics section of the dissertation, international research is the method of choice. The primary sources include diplomatic communications between governments and personal correspondence, such as military and royal writings, treaties, and other legal documents.

History scholars engage in the investigation of historiography, which involves the analysis of the various interpretations and understandings of past events that different historians have put forth. This rigorous process allows for a comprehensive understanding of the complexities and nuances within historical study. It is a crucial element of any meaningful and respectful work. It also provides historians with a pathway toward topics yet researched, and it is in these areas that the most progress happens within history. Part of a good scholarship is approaching a topic from different angles and perspectives. The historical methodology provides the historian with multiple ways of researching topics as well as providing ample amounts of resources for future scholarship. Historians change their focus to fit the audience they are addressing to incorporate new teaching methods that include the next generation of students, an influence on their lives, and the discovery of new sources in their field. When applying the nationalistic causes and effects to the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts, three primary sub-fields contain ample examples showing how historians and political scientists have changed over time. These subfields include nationalist studies, Nineteenth Century German history, and European power politics. In these subfields are three works that are important to this dissertation: *Beowulf* (2000), Twentieth Century British sociologist Anthony Smith's *Key Concepts: Nationalism* (2010), and Twentieth Century British historian Adrian Hastings' *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (2012). *Beowulf*

is essential to this work because it provides a foundational understanding of the region, some of the culture of the Germanic tribes, the ‘politics’ between tribes, and the importance of genealogy. For the nationalist parts of the work, *Key Concepts: Nationalism* contributes heavily to the concepts of nationalism and clarifies many points about it. Lastly, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* provides critical insights into pre-modern German nationalism and a supportive perspective.

Most primary archival works referenced in this dissertation come from the *Geheime Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (GsTA) in Berlin, Germany, The British National Archives (TNA) in London, England, and the *Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein* (LASH) in Schleswig, Germany. The research focus at the GsTA was the collection of primary sources about the Schleswig-Holstein Succession Question, correspondence from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomatic correspondence between Prussia, the German Confederation, France, and Denmark, as well as the constitutions of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg. Unfortunately, the collections containing correspondence from Great Britain were undergoing preservation and thus unavailable for research. Research at TNA focused on state papers related to Denmark, the German States, the Holy Roman Empire, France, Russia, and correspondence with British diplomats. Research at the LASH involved much more localized topics than from the previous two archives. Topics include the Dithmarschen history, acts and disputes between the duchies and the Danish king, elections and installation of a provincial government, police reports, and culture journals.

Primary published sources are much more widespread outside the archives, and many are accessible online. Many sources are found on the websites of *Project Gutenberg*, *Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership*, and *Eurodocs*. With the increasing digitization of library and archival resources, countless primary sources have become accessible to the public. In this

work, such repositories include *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, in München, Germany, *Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität*, in Bonn, Germany, and the *Universitätsbibliothek, Universität Bielefeld*, in Bielefeld, Germany. These repositories provide crucial access to primary sources, including Martin Luther's *Commentary on Genesis* and the *Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century*.

Extensive research has been devoted to nationalism, garnering considerable interest from scholars. The regions with the most scholarly research on nationalism are Europe, India, the United States, and Israel. Robert C. Binkley, an alumnus of Stanford University and an American history professor at Western Reserve University, is one of the earlier scholars of nationalism. In his book *The Rise of Modern Europe: Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871* (1935), he provides a two-fold approach to European nationalism, one with politics and one without. He argues that the Nineteenth Century federative polity severely declined except within the Anglo-Saxons, Americans, British, and the British-American relationship.¹¹ Another work of the earlier nationalism period is Sir Rabindranath Tagore's work *Nationalism* (1918).¹² In this work, Sir Tagore, a Bengali poet, and philosopher, argues that the spirit of conflict and conquest is at the center and origin of Western nationalism, just like in the Schleswig-Holstein duchies where disputes between the Danish and the Germans contributed to the region's nationalism. He also concludes that Western nationalism's basis is not social cooperation. Coming from an Indian perspective based around the British's control over their subcontinent, his work focuses on the psychology of men and women and the nation, approaching it from a mutual relation with changing fighting elements. This work highlights one of the primary themes in early

¹¹ Ibid, xv.

¹² Sir Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism*, (London: Macmillan Co, 1918), 2.

Moving on from the earlier scholarly era, the nationalism field experienced substantial growth between 1960 and 2000, as many well-known historians, political scientists, and nationalists contributed to the field. Some of the primary scholars include the British professor of politics at the University of London, Elie Kedourie, the German professor of modern history at the *Universität der Bundeswehr* in Munich, Hagen Schulze, and the British professor of economic and political history at the University of London Eric Hobsbawm. Professor Kedourie's work *Nationalism* (1966), Professor Schulze's *The Course of German Nationalism: From Frederick the Great to Bismarck, 1763-1867* (1985), and Professor Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (1993) all follow the same narrative for the era: that nationalism is a modern construct originating from the Eighteenth Century French Revolution and the Nineteenth Century Napoleonic era.¹³ For Kedourie, the Eighteenth Century German philosopher Immanuel Kant's laws of morality set the boundaries of freedom. Schulze posits that Otto von Bismarck and the German nationalist movement contributed to the sustained existence of the German Reich following Germany's unification in 1871. Lastly, Hobsbawm oversimplifies nationalism by contributing its importance purely to the triumphant bourgeois liberalism while avoiding the importance of context and connections.

In the latter part of the Twentieth Century, nationalist historiography received multiple works from Ernest Gellner, a British-Czech philosopher and social anthropologist who worked as the William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. He is a well-known political scientist for this era and the author of multiple works since 1964. One of his more

¹³ Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1985), 9; Hagen Schulze, *The Course of German Nationalism: From Frederick the Great to Bismarck, 1763-1867*, Trans. Sarah Hanbury-Tenison, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 48; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality*, (New York: Cambridge University Press), 3.

prominent works includes *Thought and Change* (1964), a work that outlines modernity, social change, and historical transformation through the industrialization lens. He argues that industrialization benefits nations and nationalism because it stems from science, promotes self-knowledge, and frees people from oppression. Another is his *Contemporary Thought and Politics* (1974), where he combines the down-to-earth realism of political sociology with traditional political thought, but only in the context of how it promotes industrialization and the national modernization process. Lastly is *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion* (1992), where he analyzes the controversy between Islam and the West. He swings between the ‘Puritan’ perspective of Islam to the ‘antirationalist’ line of thought from German romanticism to Nazism.

The work Gellner is best known for is his *Nations and Nationalism* (1983). In this work, he sets out to define and outline the state, nation, and nationalism, analyze cultural aspects in agrarian society, and determine the characteristics of industrial society leading up to the transition into the Age of Nationalism. He argues that the nation and the state are contingencies, not universal necessities. He explains that while the cultural and voluntaristic aspects of nationalism are meritable, he looks to approach nationalism from cultural ‘doings.’¹⁴ While his work has its positives, such as its cultural focus, its premise that the mass education system, which can only be found in modern, industrialized nations, is central to nationalism’s existence is shallow. Cultural traditions, ethnic identities, and pan-community connections that are the foundations for nationalism neither need nor require mass education systems. Later in his career, Gellner wrote *Nationalism* (1995), where he aimed to trace the roots of modern nationalism in the industrial nation-state, compare the effects of nationalism on Western and Eastern European nations, and advocate that nationalism has a declining role in the future.¹⁵ His assumption that nationalism will

¹⁴ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (United Kingdom: Cornell University Press, 1983), 7.

¹⁵ Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism*, (New York: New York City Press, 1997), 3.

have a declining role in the future paradoxes this work's stance on the importance of nationalism. One cannot understand the past without understanding the nation.

Another aspect of nationalism's historiography between 1960 and 2000 is that of the social foundations of the nation and its 'imagined' elements. One of Anthony D. Smith's earliest works, *The Concept of Social Change: A Critique of the Functionalist Theory of Social Change* (1973), argues against the established Marxist narrative of 'conflict theory' and proclaims that the neo-evolutionary, also known as the functionalist theory of social change, represents the most influential approach to social change theory.¹⁶ Following the social and even cultural themes of nationalism in the period is the Irish Professor Emeritus at Cornell University, Benedict Anderson. According to the 1973 publication *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2016), Anderson asserts that any community beyond a limited, in-person settlement is a construct of imagination.¹⁷ This stance is arguably naïve and based on distorted psychosocial communal perspectives. To him, the nation is born from an 'imagined' communal self-realization derived from the age of Enlightenment and Revolution and limited by boundaries and sovereignty.¹⁸ However, this opposes the non-imaginary community with shared laws, language, and territory. Scholars historically approached nationalism as a discipline with significant political implications. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that recent research in this field has diverged significantly from earlier scholarship. As researchers have progressed in the study of nationalism, they have shifted their focus toward exploring the subject's economic, social, and political dimensions rather than relying solely on scientific analysis.

¹⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *The Concept of Social Change: A Critique of the Functionalist Theory of Social Change*, (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), xii.

¹⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 2016), 6.

¹⁸ Ibid.

In the most recent era of nationalism studies, from 2000 to the present, the field experienced a change in focus, which included analyzing nationalism before the French Revolution, the shift from Eurocentric nationalism towards global nationalism studies, including Israel and India, and the experts' attempts to cement nationalism's core elements. The primary figure and the most well-known nationalist expert were the British professor Emeritus of nationalism and ethnicity for the London School of Economics, Anthony D. Smith. His thirteen nationalism books date from 1971, but the two works that best show the most recent study of nationalism are his *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures* (2000), and *Key Concepts: Nationalism* (2010).

In Smith's *Historical Debates*, he discusses the nature, origin, and roles of nation and nationalism as well as heavily explains perennialism versus modernist approaches and perspectives.¹⁹ His *Key Concepts* work discusses the concepts, ideologies, paradigms, theories, histories, and prospects of nationalism.²⁰ The concepts section in Chapter Two draws heavily from *Key Concepts* because it, unlike many others, approaches the study of both pre-modern and modern nationalism from a conceptual point of view without overriding the other one.

The field has dramatically expanded to include other nationalist approaches recently. For example, the establishment of critique and criticism in Scottish political scientist Norman G. D. Rae's *The Nation Exposed: A Critique of Nations and Nationalism* (2014). He approaches the field from a modernist perspective, utilizing Scotland frequently as an example, to cement an anti-

¹⁹ Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures*, (Hanover: Brandeis University Press & Historical Society of Israel, 2000), 27.

²⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *Key Concepts: Nationalism*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 1.

nationalist argument collectively and individually.²¹ Playing ‘devil’s advocate,’ Rae builds a theoretical counterweight against the pro-national nationalism field. The British Professor of Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics and Political Science, John Breuilly, edited a sizeable 775-page tome in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Nationalism* (2016), which is a prime example of how much the nationalism field has recently grown. This work is a collection of essays written by over thirty-five authors in six different parts. Registered as a comprehensive handbook for studying nationalism, it sought to cover nationalism from many different approaches worldwide. It argues that nationalism is specific to the modern era, and the history of nationalism is also the history of political science.²²

More recently, the historiography of nationalism from a journal approach has experienced a geographical expansion east from Europe and into Asia. A prime example of this is Geng Li’s article “Divination, Yijing, and Cultural Nationalism: The Self-Legitimation of Divination as an Aspect of ‘Traditional Culture’ in Post-Mao China,” published in the 2018 edition of *China Review* explains how diviners see them themselves as protectors of Chinese traditional culture and national identity.²³ He argues that diviners promote Chinese cultural nationalism through popular religious practices that develop dynamic and strategic connections with hegemonic discourses. In Korea, Sooncheol Kwon, in his article “A Critical Evaluation on the Cultural Nationalism of the Two Koreas,” published in the 2016 edition of *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, covers how Korean nationalism lacked the liberal ideologies of the French Revolution.²⁴ According to him,

²¹ Norman G. D. Rae, *The Nation Exposed: A Critique of Nations and Nationalism*, Kindle Ed. (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 14.

²² John Breuilly, *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Nationalism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 6.

²³ Geng Li, “Divination, Yijing, and Cultural Nationalism: The Self-Legitimation of Divination as an Aspect of ‘Traditional Culture’ in Post-Mao China,” *China Review* 18, no. 4 (2018): 63.

²⁴ Sooncheol Kwon, “A Critical Evaluation on the Cultural Nationalism of the Two Koreas,” *The Journal of*

Korea's conflict is between national cooperation and anti-communism conservatism due to the absence of any civic element in European nationalism. Another critical area in Asian nationalism studies is India, and an excellent example of this is Irfan Habib's "Nationalism in India: Past and Present," published in the 2017 edition of *Social Scientist*. He examines how Indian nationalism does not fit into European standards of nationalism, such as geographical expression, language, and religious 'genealogy' of the Indian nation.²⁵ What is essential to draw from the new directions of nationalism studies is that they all have similar themes of aiming away from Europe, which is why this dissertation is critical. It shows how there is still more to learn from European nationalism.

The second historiographical field analyzed here is German history in the Nineteenth Century. An early era of scholarship, 1930 through 1980, consists of three primary books, focusing heavily on politics from the Bismarkian view. These books concentrate on liberalism's spread from the French Revolution, German revolts, and the rise of Prussia to European power. Alan John Percivale Taylor, a British historian who held professorships at the Universities of Manchester and Oxford, wrote *The Course of German History* (1945) during the Second World War. This text aims to connect German history from the end of the Holy Roman Empire to the beginning of the Third Reich.²⁶ Concerning this work, his brief account of the Nineteenth Century Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts contributes a liberal approach to the events, overshadowing the nationalist movement in the duchies and displaying it more as an expendable cost to more significant Prussian motives. This example shows the importance of a detailed account of the duchies' history, which this work

East Asian Affairs, 30, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2016): 133.

²⁵ Irfan Habib, "Nationalism in India: Past and Present," *Social Scientist* 45, no. 3/4 (2017): 6.

²⁶ A.J.P. Taylor, *The Course of German History*, (New York: Routledge Classics, 1988), xxi.

provides. Theodore S. Hamerow, the Polish American historian who held a position at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, wrote the other two books: *The Social Foundations of German Unification: Struggles and Accomplishments* (1972) and *The Age of Bismarck: Documents and Interpretations* (1973). The former details the Bismarckian view of the rise of Prussian control over the German Confederation, the issues with an industrial society, and the end of Otto von Bismarck's influence in German politics.²⁷ It also avoids the entire Nineteenth Century German nationalist movement and the events in the duchies, two crucial elements of German history that historians need to address while analyzing the era. The latter correlates political and diplomatic phenomena with social and economic developments, which, together, would influence the growth of industrial capitalism and the rise of the liberal bourgeoisie.²⁸ *The Age of Bismarck* is a vast improvement from the former work. Still, its most significant contribution to the era is its multiple primary source documentation of the meaningful nationalist sentiment revolving around the events in the duchies.

Four well-known historians authored three primary works highlighting the second historiographical era, 1980 through 2000. Thomas Nipperdey, a German historian who held a professorship at the University of Munich, wrote *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866* (1983). The book breaks down into four parts: Napoleon and his influence in the German regions; social, economic, and political Germany, 1815-1848; the German revolutions, 1848-1849; Bismarck and the German Unification, 1849-1866.²⁹ Nipperdey argues that Prussian and

²⁷ Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858-1871: Struggles and Accomplishments*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), vi.

²⁸ Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Age of Bismarck, Documents and Interpretations*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 31.

²⁹ Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866*, Trans. Daniel Nolan, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 715.

Austrian involvement in the Nineteenth Century Schleswig-Holstein Conflict heightened nationalism awareness. The second book, written by David Blackbourn, a Cornelius Vanderbilt Distinguished Chair of History at Vanderbilt University, and Geoff Eley, a Karl Pohrt Distinguished University Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Michigan, titled *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth Century Germany* (1984). They argue that Germany's lack of synchronization between the economic, social, and political spheres led to its modernization.³⁰ Mary Fulbrook, a professor of German history at University College London, wrote the third book, *A Concise History of Germany* (1991). This work highlights a much broader chronological era, dating from medieval Germany through the Cold War, ending in 1990; however, she argues very little about German history in the duchies or the influential nationalism movement of the Nineteenth Century. Despite its broad scope, the book highlights numerous 'particularities' of German history.³¹ These 'particularities' are what historians have in common in this historiographical era. They are what makes this era different from the past. Instead of focusing on specific topics, readers see more awareness of modern German history's larger and broader details.

The third historiographical era, from 2000 to the present, continues with the same broader trend as the previous era, however, with much more detailed and pluralistic perspectives. John Breuilly, a professor of nationalism and ethnicity at the London School of Economics, wrote *Nineteenth Century Germany: Politics, Culture, and Society, 1780-1918* (2001). Breuilly focuses on the detailed and complex history of German identity in the context of *becoming* rather than

³⁰ David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth Century Germany*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 5-7.

³¹ Mary Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 2.

being, arguing that German nationalism meant little to most people and that regional institutions had a more significant impact than national ones.³² Additionally, he asserts that the nationalist movement became marginalized after the Schleswig-Holstein Conflict in 1848. These arguments contradict this work's focus that Schleswig-Holstein's history is far more important to European history than scholars like Breuilly seem to believe. David Blackbourn, described above, wrote the final two books in this field, *Blackwell Classic Histories of Europe: History of Germany, 1780-1918, The Long Nineteenth Century* (2003), and *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany* (2006). Three ages break the former into the Age of Revolutions 1789-1848, the Age of Progress 1849-1880, and the Age of Modernity 1880-1914. The book discusses power and its exercise, primarily through the German material perspective. Despite the differences between the political left and right in Schleswig-Holstein, the overarching concern about Denmark muted the differences between the two parties.³³ The latter symbolically describes the creation of the modern German nation by describing a series of dramatic changes in the physical environment and linking them to parallel political events in German history.³⁴ While good reads for German history, both books are very limited in their scope regarding the duchies.

The third historiographical field covered here is Nineteenth-Century European power politics. The first section includes the historiographical analysis of the Nineteenth Century Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts, while the second section addresses European power politics overall. Keith A.P. Sandiford, a Canadian historian and professor Emeritus at the University of Manitoba,

³² John Breuilly, *19th Century Germany, Politics, Culture, and Society, 1780-1918*, (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 2001), 2-3.

³³ David Blackbourn, *Blackwell Classic Histories of Europe: History of Germany, 1780-1918, The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd Ed. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), xviii-xix.

³⁴ David Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 9, 13.

wrote *Great Britain and the Schleswig-Holstein Question, 1848-1864: A Study in Diplomacy, Politics, and Public Opinion* (1975). According to Sandiford, British diplomatic failures in 1864 related to the Schleswig-Holstein issue were mainly the result of consecutive British diplomatic shortcomings beginning in 1848.³⁵ William J. Orr Jr. argues that British diplomatic failures caused an imbalanced European power in his article "British Diplomacy and the German Problem, 1848-1850," published in the 1978 issue of *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*.³⁶ Accordingly, Peter Thaler, a history professor at the University of Southern Denmark, argues in his book *Of Mind and Matter: The Duality of National Identity in the German-Danish Borderlands* (2009) that borderlands such as the Schleswig duchy appeared as a source for international conflict.³⁷

The second section of this historiographical field covers Nineteenth Century European power politics. The European nations endeavored to uphold peace by employing the principles of power politics. However, the system ultimately failed, as seen with the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts and later with the alliance system leading up to World War One. Michael Rapport, a history professor at the University of Glasgow, argues in his book *Palgrave History of Europe: Nineteenth-Century Europe* (2005) that mass politics were at the core of Nineteenth-Century Europe's political and diplomatic issues.³⁸ Stacie E. Goddard, the Mildred Lane Kemper Professor of Political Science at Wellesley College, argues in her article "When Right Makes Might: How

³⁵ Keith A.P. Sandiford, *Great Britain, and the Schleswig-Holstein Question, 1848-1864: A Study in Diplomacy, Politics, and Public Opinion*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), ix.

³⁶ William J Orr, Jr. "British Diplomacy and the German Problem, 1848-1850," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1978): 213.

³⁷ Peter Thaler, *Of Mind and Matter: The Duality of National Identity in the German-Danish Borderlands*, (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 14.

³⁸ Michael Rapport, *Palgrave History of Europe: Nineteenth Century Europe*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), ix.

Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power,” published in the 2008/2009 issue of *International Security*, that the failure to balance the European powers, especially against Prussia in 1864 is of historical and theoretical significance to the point that it changed the foundation of Europe’s ideological order.³⁹

Even though nationalism is complex, it is an appropriate framework for analyzing this topic. Throughout this discussion, the various components of nationalism can intertwine, evolve, or even disappear and reappear. Therefore, it is crucial to construct a comprehensive and well-rounded nationalist framework to ensure clarity. This dissertation aims to provide an extensive summary and analysis of nationalism to help readers understand it. The goal is for readers to feel informed and knowledgeable about nationalism after reading this dissertation. Additionally, this discussion aims to eliminate any doubts about the evidence of nationalism in the duchies and to help readers identify it in the history of Schleswig-Holstein.

After analyzing the historiography on nationalism, German history, specifically Schleswig-Holstein history, and European power politics, scholarship gaps include pre-modern German nationalism and the Schleswig-Holstein events. The first gap involves Schleswig-Holstein nationalist perspective, which few historians and works cover.⁴⁰ Only recently has a pre-modern historiography surge started to take shape with the renewed analysis of Martin Luther’s nationalist works, which will be covered in the following chapters. This scholarly movement has even gone so far as to change some modernist minds, such as Liah Greenfeld, a previously stout modernist. In her work, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (1995), she identifies the use of the word nation

³⁹ Stacie E. Goddard, “When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power,” *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2008/2009): 110.

⁴⁰ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 106.

in Sixteenth Century England under Elizabeth I.⁴¹ However, she takes a peculiar and questionable stance by asserting that this marked the start of the modern English nation. Second, few German history works cover the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts past the fleeting mention of the second conflict, the Dano-Prussian War, when narrating Germany and Prussia's Nineteenth Century. Even fewer mention the first 1848 conflict. These conflicts unified Germany and laid the foundation for European-wide ideological changes. Prussia's use of the conflicts broke the power politics system, which would have lasting effects until World War One.

The Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts resulted from nationalist sentiment, stacked with centuries of Danish encroachment, and Prussia's rise to power is the argument of Chapter Two. The chapter's methodology is based on deciphering the narrative between the 1848 and 1864 Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts. Second, it returns to the historical narrative of Prussia's rise and intertwines nationalist identification and analysis. Third, it approaches European power politics and why it is essential to nationalism in the duchies. Fourth, it analyzes statistics, a newer era invention, and how it increased national consciousness. Lastly, it establishes an 'end point' for the dissertation's historical narrative.

This chapter will answer the following questions: How did power politics function in the European balance of power, and how did Bismarck manipulate crucial diplomatic elements to boost Prussia to power? Lastly, how did statistics assist in identifying and legitimizing nationalism? The Danes encroached by embracing Danish liberal nationalism movements, military intervention in the duchies, and pressing illegal acts to portray legitimacy over the Schleswig duchy. The Germans reacted defensively, requesting help from the German Confederation and Prussia and embracing their culture. Power politics functioned in the balance of power through

⁴¹ Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 37.

persuasion and acts of legitimacy, while Bismarck manipulated perspectives and the lack of communication between nations to increase Prussia's power. Statistics help to identify and legitimize nationalism through increased awareness of social elements, identifying ethnic groups in regions, and tracking the movement of people.

Chapter Three argues that understanding and identifying early modern nationalism in Schleswig-Holstein that existed prior to the German Unification Wars requires understanding the nationalist concepts and the nationalist field of study. Understanding nationalism, mainly nationalism, can be difficult, and to maintain clarity for the reader, this chapter's methodology is first to establish nationalism concepts. The concepts inform the reader of fundamental nationalist thought and practice. It covers its limitations and concerns while detailing recent events in the nationalism field.

This chapter seeks to answer the following questions. First, what is nationalism? Second, what are the differences between the different nationalist paradigms? Third, what were the three primary debates about nationalism, and why do they matter? "Nationalism is an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some members to constitute an actual or potential "nation."⁴² Nationalism is divided into two primary periods, pre-modern and modern, with 1800 or the French Revolution being the divisive event. Pre-modern nationalism utilizes different syntax, has different levels of consciousness, and has different qualifying standards than modern nationalism.

Chapter Four asserts the existence of nationalism, which can be observed in biblical, religious, and mythical stories. The methodology of this chapter aims to emphasize nationalism in three main domains: the Bible (specifically, the 1611 King James Version and Luther's Bible), the

⁴² Smith, *Nationalism*, 28.

Protestant Reformation (primarily involving Martin Luther's works), and myths (particularly *Beowulf* and Germanic folklore). The purpose of these focus areas is to showcase three instances of nationalism from a nationalist standpoint.

This chapter will aim to answer the following questions. First, what does nationalism look like in the Bible? By identifying nationalism in the Bible, the reader can locate it in religion. Therefore, what does nationalism look like from a religious perspective, primarily during the Protestant Reformation? Religion can play a part in origin stories, myths, and folklore. It is only realistic to follow with the next question. What does nationalism look like in legends and folklore? Biblical nationalism, as it will be called here, has its foundations in the Bible, which establishes its core beliefs and social hierarchy, total faith in God as dictated in the Bible, trust that the Bible is the inerrant word of God and that nations began and existed since the Book of Genesis. During the Protestant Reformation, religious nationalism existed in the pre-modern era and exemplified it. Lastly, nationalism exists in myths and folklore by identifying distinct communities, ethnicity, and pan-consciousness.

Chapter Five asserts that the Schleswig and Holstein duchies had a continuous presence of nationalism before the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict. This is corroborated by evidence from political, cultural, and religious angles. Then, it transitions to chronologically narrating the Schleswig-Holstein history, intertwining the identification of nationalism, and analyzing important events for their significance to the dissertation. The narrative focuses on political history, especially regarding the Dithmarschen tribe, Danish intervention in the duchies, and their attempts to incorporate them into the Danish Kingdom.

The chapter answers the following questions. First, who were the people in the Southern Jutland region, and what events contributed to the creation of German nationalism in the area?

Once it is understood who populated the Schleswig and Holstein duchies and how nationalism manifested, the dissertation examines its slow growth. Second, how do intra-duchy events influence the rise of nationalism? Third, how does Danish involvement affect nationalism in the duchies? Lastly, what is the difference between nationalism found before the German Unification Wars and modern nationalism? The Southern Jutland inhabitants are a collection of Germanic tribes comprising Saxons, Frisians, Angles, and Jutes. Their nationalism started with a collective consciousness of the invading forces under Charlemagne, which defined the lines between the external 'other' and the internal 'chosen.' From there, the nationalism slowly grew with battles, religious transitions from Paganism to Catholicism, and lastly to Protestantism and the ever-increasing awareness of pan-German consciousness. Lastly, Danish involvement in the duchies includes military campaigns, succession issues, and a series of overreaching treaties. These actions helped develop the duchies' German nationalism by being the constant external threat, continuously reviving the awareness of pan-German consciousness in the region and solidifying the distinct German identity opposite of the Danish Identity. Finally, the difference between nationalism before the German Unification Wars and modern nationalism is the nature of them, the different use of syntax, and the perceived goals.

Chapter Six argues that Schleswig-Holstein's history deserves a more prominent role in Nineteenth Century historiography. It also argues that the Bible is a valid historical source. The chapter begins with a brief explanation of national memory and history, followed by a recap of the duchies' history, leading into the importance of it. Continuing with the biblical topic, the next section will cover a recap on biblical nationalism. Regarding the topic choice, this section covers its relevance and the historian's future. Lastly, the chapter covers this dissertation's contribution to Liberty University's focus on expanding the Christian Worldview.

The chapter seeks to answer the following questions. First, how do memory and history affect individual and collective identity, and why is security essential to the well-being of artifacts? Why is the history of Schleswig-Holstein important? Lastly, how does the dissertation contribute to the Christian Worldview? Memory and history are two methods by which individuals and the collective recall national history, traditions, and values that stabilize nationalism. The presence of the artifacts sparks the remembrance of these nationalist elements. By promoting security, a nation supports the welfare of its nationalist system. Schleswig-Holstein's history is significant because it is the center of multiple events, such as the 1864 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict, which catalyzed the 1871 German Unification and is an excellent example of nationalism. Finally, this dissertation contributes to the Christian Worldview through its defense of biblical nationalism and its support for religious nationalism to be further used in nationalist studies. The next chapter discusses the relatively obscure differences between nationalism before the German Unification Wars and modern nationalism in the duchies between 1800 and 1864, the historical account between those dates, and a detailed analysis of European power politics and statistics.

Chapter Two: Background

Schleswig-Holstein is a region caught in a tension between Denmark and Germany proper. However, from the Nineth Century onwards, the region consistently demonstrated a rapport and attachment with German culture and identity rather than with the Danish. These displays reveal a type of early modern German nationalism that existed in this region that predates the German Wars of Unification in the Nineteenth century and indicates that people even in the more remote areas of Germany, held this inclination. The argument supports the historical analysis and comparison of basic nationalism concepts, historical narratives of the duchies, biblical nationalism, power politics, statistics, and origin myths. This work also argues that the duchies' history deserves a more prominent place in pre-modern European historiography. The argument is essential to history because it provides an original approach to studying the duchies, nationalism, and long-term cultural and political changes.

The Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts were the result of nationalism, stacked with centuries of Danish encroachment, and Prussia's rise to power is the argument of this chapter. The chapter's methodology involves detailing the era between the start of the First Schleswig-Holstein Conflict and concludes at the end of the Second Schleswig-Holstein Conflict. Second, it returns to the historical narrative of Prussia's rise and intertwines nationalist identification and analysis. Third, it approaches European power politics to explain why it is essential to nationalism in the duchies. Lastly, it analyzes statistics, a newer era invention, and how it increased national consciousness.

This chapter will answer the following questions: How did the Danish encroach on the duchies, and how did the Germans react? How did power politics function in the European balance of power, and how did Bismarck manipulate crucial diplomatic elements to boost Prussia to power? Lastly, how did statistics assist in identifying and legitimizing nationalism? The Danes encroached by embracing Danish liberal nationalism movements, military intervention in the

duchies, and pressing illegal acts to portray legitimacy over the Schleswig duchy. The Germans reacted defensively, requesting help from the German Confederation and Prussia and embracing their culture. Power politics functioned in the balance of power through persuasion and acts of legitimacy, while Bismarck manipulated perspectives and the lack of communication between nations to increase Prussia's power. Statistics help to identify and legitimize nationalism through increased awareness of social elements, identifying ethnic groups in regions, and tracking the movement of people.

Before diving into nationalism's concepts, it is best to examine the consequences of the centuries-old feud between the duchies Germans and Danes. The methodology behind examining Schleswig-Holstein history after 1848 before approaching the duchies' pre-modern history and nationalism chapters is to provide the reader with an 'endpoint.' By designating an 'end point,' this chapter helps give meaning to the duchies' pre-modern history.

What is crucial to comprehend is that the First Schleswig-Holstein Conflict concludes we as a Danish victory, but simply after Prussia arranges to withdraw after acquiescing to terminate hostilities with the other European powers.⁴³ Swedish volunteers and political backing from Russia, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Norway, and France supported Denmark. The German Confederation and Prussia defended the citizens of Schleswig and Holstein. On March 30, 1848, in Rendsburg, the leaders and members of the German provisional government including Frederic, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein, responded to an earlier Danish proclamation to the inhabitants of Holstein signed by Frederic VII, King of Denmark and T. M. Kunth. The address sought to compel

⁴³ Svendsen, *Schleswig-Holstein*, 78; G. B. Malleon, *The Refounding of The German Empire 1848-1871*, (Lexington, Kentucky: First Rate Publishers, 2016), 14; David Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 122; Blackbourn points out that the 1848 conflict highlighted German naval impotence. Furthermore, if the duchies had a North Sea port, it would be much harder to blockade Prussian commerce in the Baltic Sea.

the people of Denmark to heed the granted freedoms of the people of Schleswig, proclaiming, “Danes! The national independence of the Duchy of Schleswig rests on firm treaties... we only wish to protect our nationality.”⁴⁴ Furthermore, “Should you be conquerors on the battle-field, - and this will never happen, so long as German hearts pulsate on the continent of Europe...” This address argues for the Germans of Schleswig-Holstein to have autonomy through the choice between the incorporation into the Danish or German nations. The consolidation of a local government formed during the Conflict, moved to observe an armistice period (August 1848 – April 1849).⁴⁵ This provincial government, seated in Rendsburg, dissolved and created a governorship at the Gottorf Castle in October 1848, replacing its government. At the end of the Conflict, the Danish federal government took over the governorship and compiled a list of *Politisch verdächtige Personen* (Political Suspects). These German political suspects participated in the nationalist movement that started the Conflict. Many of these people would go on to face criminal charges.⁴⁶ This politically charged action by the Danes negatively impacted the German sentiments of the Danes, especially for the Germans north of the Eider River. At the war's end, many Sleswigers claimed refugee status, especially those who participated in the conflict, and move south into the German-controlled region in Schleswig. The sentiment in Schleswig remained

⁴⁴ F. Reventlow, et al., “Address of the Provisional Government of the Schleswig Holstein to the People of Denmark of 31st March 1848,” *Memoir on The Constitutional Rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, ...*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), 158-159.

⁴⁵ “Der Waffenstillstand mit Dänemark,” *Frankfurter Journal* 2, no. 242, (September 1848), 1-3; Camphausen to von Bülow, August 29, 1848, I. HA Rep 75B, Provisorische Zentralgewalt Nr. 36, *Preußischer Bevollmächtigter bei der provisorischen Zentralgewalt*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany 58A.

⁴⁶ Großherzoglich Badisches Untersuchungs-Gericht in Freiburg, Ort. Schleswig-Holsteiner, Die Untersuchung Gegen Wilhelm Nlaus, 1848, LASH Abt. 51 Nr. 521-2, *Politisch verdächtige Personen, 1848-1851*, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 596-613.

Both sides consented to downsizing their armies at the armistice, and Denmark acquired the absolute authority of the Schleswig duchy but only north of the Eider River.⁴⁷ The Sleswigers retained the Schleswig duchy south of the river. Still, as outlined in a January 13th, 1850 letter from the Eleventh Lord Westmoorland, the British Ambassador to the Austrian Empire from 1851-1855, to Monsieur le Baron Schleinitz, the Prussian Ambassador, the Duchy remained under martial law by the German Confederation and the Danish Commission.⁴⁸ As is stated in the letter, communication with the British Lord Palmerston reveals in a December 31st, 1849 letter that the Danish Administrative Commission refused to leave Flensburg, stating “[The Commission,] having no proper support in the Southern part of that Duchy, desist from attempts to enforce their authority, and are obliged to remain in comparative inactivity with respect to their administration.”⁴⁹ Additionally, the Commission’s commissioner refuses to leave, claiming his departure would “generate most prejudicially in respect to the maintenance of that portion of Sleswig...”⁵⁰ The sources contribute to this study by describing Danish misconceptions of the populous’ loyalty to the Danish Kingdom. The duchy’s populous, as witnessed in the source, displayed strong loyalties to the Provincial Government in Kiel, rather than the Danish Kingdom. The Danish overreach in Schleswig contributes to the negative outlook of the Danish, contributing

⁴⁷ Svendsen, *Schleswig-Holstein*, 121.

⁴⁸ Westmoorland to Monsier le Baron, January 13, 1850, III. HA, Ministerium der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, I. Nr. 4644, *Erteilung von Orden und Geschenken anlässlich des Abschlusses von Verträgen zwischen Preußen und Dänemark*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 32-35.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 33.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 34.

to the rise of nationalism in the duchy. In 1852, Denmark consented that they no longer strove to incorporate the rest of the duchies into the Kingdom.

As is clarified in Chapter Five, the difference between nationalism before the German Unification Wars and modern nationalism, in the context of the duchies, is between offensive and defensive nationalism. Nationalism before the Wars bases its core elements on the survival and growth of its nationalist essences, including identity, autonomy, and unity. Modern nationalism sought to change and replace those essences, such as the “Denmark to the Eider” movement versus the German national movement. The Sleswiger’s embrace of the Germans and their southern movement past the Eider reflected their support to remain connected to their German identity and be unified with their German community. The Danish king’s declined amnesty requests to the Sleswigers compound this issue, further dividing the ethnic and political people in Schleswig.

Turbulence, change, and international uneasiness filled the era between the first and second Schleswig-Holstein conflicts.⁵¹ Prussia applied reforms to appease the new liberal ideologists while upgrading its military. The first military upgrade that delivered the most transformation was operating the railroad to transport troops and equipment.⁵² The railroad allowed Prussia to reposition these military assets from one battleground to another quickly. Before, it frequently took months to transfer troops and equipment on foot, but afterward, it only took weeks or even days. For instance, in the German Wars of Unification, Prussia locomoted military assets from Schleswig-Holstein to Austria for the Austro-Prussian War and then to France in the Franco-Prussian War. Another positive characteristic of the railroad is the capacity to reinforce troops on

⁵¹ “Schleswig-Holsteinische Angelegenheiten,” *Rendsburger Wochen-Blatt*, no. 47, 11 Juni 1851, 1-2.

⁵² Arden Bucholz, *European History in Perspective: Moltke and The German Wars, 1864-1871*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 65. Bucholz draws light on Moltke’s idea that railroads were highly interactive systems. Scheduling had to be precise, and timetables met.

the battlefield. Prior to the conflicts, horses and wagons transported supplies for armies, restricting how fast and far they could attack enemy territory.

The character of a good general is not invariably how victorious his army is on the battlefield but if he can feed and equip his troops while maintaining forward advancement. With the utilization of the railroad, generals obtained supplies faster, permitting their forces to propel further into enemy territory quickly. The rise in railroad use had a strong influence on Prussian economics by furnishing transportation for farmers to visit additional farms and take their crops to different markets. The railroad enlarged agricultural growth and developed new and more efficient crop-growing methods, ultimately supplying Prussia with more sustenance and providing more food for the soldiers. Railroads helped spread settlements in remote regions, increased the industrialization of economic areas that were slow to develop, and helped establish the nation's central authority of the nation-state.

The second military upgrade is the transformation from antique bolt action rifles to the latest breech-loading rifles. The rifles, likewise, identified as needle guns, permitted troops to carry more rounds and discharge quicker than bolt action rifles.⁵³ The third military upgrade is the rifling of artillery barrels.⁵⁴ Rifling constitutes grinding spiraled grooves into the barrel. When the soldier pulls the trigger, the firing pin slams into the round's primer, igniting the propellant. The propellant drives the bullet into the barrel which houses the grooves, forcing the round to twist, resulting in greater forward thrust and improved gun accuracy. Rifling allows the artillery to discharge at lengthier ranges and enhances the probability of striking the target. The military upgrades profoundly enhanced the individual soldier's capabilities on the battlefield,

⁵³ Ibid, 85-86, 107.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 85-86; Michael Embree, *Bismarck's First War: The Campaign of Schleswig and Jutland 1864*, (England: Helion & Company, 2006), 33, 34.

predominantly during sieges when victory and defeat hinged on keeping troops supplied during prolonged engagements. Also, striking specific targets permitted Prussian artillery to obliterate foodstuffs and ammunition stockpiles efficiently, demoralizing enemy forces and using fewer rounds, taking the poundage off the supply lines.

The Prussians realized that complete frontal attacks were no longer efficient, resulting in corresponding changes in military tactics and strategies. Successful execution of a full-frontal attack now required armies to be at least battalion or brigade-sized instead of company-sized.⁵⁵ Immense forces increased the death toll on the battlefield as well. Yet, Prussians understood that their cycling military contract system to conscript men was no longer replenishing the ranks. Prussian generals needed more experienced men in the units who could competently instruct the new, younger men and produce better trained and more cohesive units. Prussia implemented longer contract durations because it needed more service members, and to minimize the unit lost cohesiveness whenever men cycled out of service.⁵⁶

In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, Western European mindsets about wars began to transform, approaching a theoretical fork. The Twentieth Century American historian David Bell best explains it as a recurring pattern between war and peace.⁵⁷ Down one path lies the prevalent public opinion that war is a barbaric phenomenon that needs to vanish. The alternative path is to engage in a war that aims to annihilate the enemy completely.⁵⁸ The former describes an unrealistic perspective of an uncontrollable world. At the same time, the latter provides

⁵⁵ Bucholz, *European History*, 107-108.

⁵⁶ David A. Bell, *The First Total War*, (New York: Mariner Books, 2008), 11. Bell notes the changes in the military perspectives in the era. A new 'military' world formed, establishing distinct rules and values, "ran by men whose experiences cut them off from civilian peers, take shape for the first time."

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

participants with a purifying, even redemptive sensation that contributes to keeping the nation or world safe.⁵⁹ The feeling of acceptance that participants of the pro-war choice felt contributed to the national consciousness through the understanding that to maintain a nation's safe and healthy society, every generation must struggle through a 'hard time.' Society and the nation remember the junctures in national history when everybody sacrificed to survive by enduring individual and collective struggles. This tendency also encourages a return to religion, which, at its crux, is also nationalistic. Patriotism, also known at times as national sentiment, scintillates the emotions of collective belonging, and with the support of religion, society embraces the national identity and nurtures a stronger nation with a healthier society.

The connection between war and nationalism may need clarification. In the Seventeenth Century, the Holy Roman Empire, including the duchies, experienced two forms of patriotism. One, the 'enlightened,' virtuous-eudemonic 'love for the fatherland' form founded on reason, or two, an emphatic ideology that is the precursor to the aggressive Nineteenth Century nationalism.⁶⁰ Mostly seen in the duchies, the former is in Christoph Martin Wieland's 1759 epic *Cyrus*.⁶¹ The Eighteenth Century German poet and writer best known for his work *Bildungsroman* and the epic *Oberon*, drew inspiration from Frederic the Great's heroism during the Seven Years' War which led to him writing the epic based on Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, paralleling Persian and Prussian expansionism. The emphasis on the free man to fight for his country, "Söhne der Freyheit," against the 'slavish' oppressor, "den Nacken sclavisch zu beugen," is essential because it focuses on the patriotic, voluntary service.⁶² The leaders, Cyrus, spark a war spirit into the warriors, "Schaar und

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Cornelis van der Haven, "Patriotism and Bellicism in German and Dutch Epics of the Enlightenment," *Arcadia* 47, no. 1 (2012): 54.

⁶¹ Christoph Martin Wieland, *Cyrus*, (Zürich: bey Geßner, 1759).

⁶² Ibid, 5.

hauchen die Seele des Krieges/Unter die Männer,” and idolizes the individual sacrifice for the nation, “*Itzt dacht es sie schön fürs Vaterland sterben.*”⁶³ This source is important to the dissertation because it displays the German cultural war spirit element and the importance of the nation over the individual prior to the First Schleswig-Holstein Conflict. It takes the argumentative approach that the collective, in this case the German “*Vaterland,*” is more important than the well-being of the individual citizen. This embodies the cultural aspect of that nationalism.

This patriotic sentiment in the duchies, as described in the Hamburg magazine *Der Patriot* (1724), characterizing a good father as well as a good soldier in his service defending his nation, “*Ein jeder Hauß-Vater befördert des Vater-Landes Bestes durch gute Kinder-Zucht: [...] der Soldat durch die Waffen [...].*”⁶⁴ The values and beliefs of the soldier, national security, the ‘good citizen,’ and their positive outlook on the nation are parallel to the values of nationalism: collective security, cultural unity, and a distinct identity. Therefore, it contributes to the nationalism found in the duchies because it displays a cultural progression of the soldier and the nation from a savage warrior from the Thirty Years War era to the more cultured and restrained military of the Seven Years War period.

In the premodern era, war was an inevitable and expected component of day-to-day life, insomuch that sovereigns had two objectives: wage war and protect their assets.⁶⁵ The initial conceptions of total war participated in the premodern era, which Bell characterizes as “a war involving the complete mobilization of a society's resources to achieve the absolute destruction of an enemy, with all distinction erased between combatants and noncombatants.”⁶⁶ The premodern

⁶³ Ibid 50.

⁶⁴ “Der Patriot 49 (7-12-1724),” in *Der Patriot*, ed. Wolfgang Martens, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969-1970), 415.

⁶⁵ Bell, *Total War*, 5.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 7.

era, especially between the end of the Thirty Years War (1648) and the beginning of the French Revolution (1789), lacked one aspect of total War: the complete destruction of the enemy. The nation's change in military strategy signified a change in cultural values, most likely originating in the Enlightenment, and reflected a change in the growth of nationalist thoughts and sentiments. This change illustrates a more distinct nation, transitioning from an era when individuals had to protect themselves or live under the feudalist system and establishing a professional military force controlled by a central state. Total war does not indicate that smaller armies or tribes did not pursue eradicating their adversaries from the earth. However, in the broader context, the armies exercised a level of restraint that thwarted total war. Prussia observed this measure, founding a military state that concentrated on the nation's mobilization to sustain the military.⁶⁷

Extrinsic consequences also impact how citizens see their collective identity. In the case of the Sleswigers, the Danish would return to their endeavors to incorporate the duchies into the Kingdom. The Danish would pass two legislative acts of encroachment: the March Patent and the November Constitution.⁶⁸ On March 30, 1863, Frederick VII, King of Denmark, marked the March Patent, launching a joint constitution between the Danish Government and the crown. The Patent was a direct violation of the 1852 Treaty of London and signified a status change in the duchies. The status change is a sign that Denmark moved forward with their attempt to incorporate Schleswig into the Danish Kingdom. Once received, the German Federal Diet revoked the Patent and requested for Denmark to observe the 1851 and 1852 agreements. Yet, Denmark refused to revoke the Patent and by October 1st, 1863, the Diet concludes that Denmark failed at meeting its obligations, requiring the Diet to execute its demands in Holstein without Danish agreeance.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁷ Ibid, 8-9; Bell states that two elements - revolutionary ideology and nationalism - caused the intensification of military action.

⁶⁸ Embree, *First War*, 23-25.

President of the Danish Council, Carl Christian Hall, influenced by the events over the Patent, pushed and achieved in getting a new constitution based on the March Patent passed on November 13th, 1863. The November Constitution established a common constitution for both Denmark and Schleswig as it regulated the relations between the German Federal Lands and the Danish Monarchy. It also created a centralized power authority for the Danish *Rigsraad* over Denmark and Schleswig. Danish King Christian IX, after being pressured by the Danish ministry, signed the constitution on November 18, 1863.⁶⁹ In the duchies, the Germans did not accept the constitution, nor did the German Confederation. The duchies, led by Duke Frederick VIII organized a provisional government and promoted a union with Prussia instead of Denmark, which received strong support by the populous and later by the duchies' nobility. This event series is important to the dissertation because it displays continuous illegal attempts by the Danish to incorporate Schleswig into Denmark. In response to these illegal attempts, the Germans experienced a rise in nationalist thought and sentiment, as seen with the increase in unity with the organization of the provisional government, the increase in identity with the reinforced union with Prussia, and reestablishing autonomy through the acknowledgement of the 1848 Constitution as well as the London Protocol.

Unfortunately, as the constitution was deemed as an attempt by liberal ideologists to inaugurate democratic ideals in the Kingdom and deliver the citizens with auxiliary rights, materialized the stage for future legislation that would intensify Denmark's legal rights over the duchies. In response to the constitution, the Danish government firmly took control over the duchies through supplementary legislation. With Danish control, Danes in Schleswig could also declare their integration into the Kingdom, severing ties to German governance.⁷⁰ The Germans

⁶⁹ Ibid, 9.

⁷⁰ Kopie des Londoner Protokolls und des Friedensvertrages zwischen Preußen und Dänemark, LASH Abt.

countered by presenting the ruling to the German Diet, which repudiated the Patent and called for a 'Federal Execution.' Upon hearing about these events, Bismarck called for instantaneous military action regardless of the German Diet's authorization.⁷¹

Denmark reneged on the March Patent, but only on August 27, 1863. They did so after obtaining Sweden's approval, who held interest in separating the duchies. The United Kingdom likewise supported Denmark's cause. The Nineteenth Century British Prime Minister Lord Palmerston stated on July 8, 1863 to the House of Commons during the Fourth night during the debate over the Vote of Censure Resolution that, "If anyone threatened to interfere with Denmark's rights and independence, it would not only be Denmark they would have to deal with."⁷² In response, the Germans and Prussians contradicted the March Patent with the Federal Execution, which decreed the German Diet on October 1, 1863, and mandated the Duke of Holstein, Frederick VII, to capitulate with all the previously acquiesced conditions.⁷³ Armies from Saxony and Hanover were on standby for civil commissioners who needed protection. The November Constitution, which appointed a shared law of succession and a communal parliament for Denmark and Schleswig, marked the turning point from peace to war. Two months later, on November 28, 1863, the German Diet dismissed the Danish delegate for the duchies. A month later, on December 24, 1863, the Saxon and Hanover armies entered the duchies. Bismarck dispatched a final ultimatum to Copenhagen,

51 Nr. 1147, *Regierungen der Herzogtümer während der Erhebung 1848-1851*, Schleswig-Holstein Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 5-6.

⁷¹ G. B. Malleson, *The Refounding of The German Empire 1848-1871*, (Lexington, Kentucky: First Rate Publishers, 2016), 100.

⁷² Mr. O'Donoghue, "Address to Her Majesty Adjourned Debate Fourth Night," *Denmark and Germany – Vote of Censure Resolution – (Mr. Disraeli)* vol. 176: Friday July 8, 1864, House of Commons, Hansard: UK Parliament, 1249; Embree, *First War*, 26.

⁷³ Embree, *First War*, 28.

"...They address [Governments of Austria and Prussia], therefore, to the Danish Government once more an express summons to withdraw the Constitution of November 18, 1863, which rests upon no legal foundation, and thus, at any rate, to restore the preceding status quo as the necessary preliminary to any further negotiations. Should the Danish Government not comply with this summons, the two Powers mentioned earlier will find themselves compelled to make use of the means at their disposal for the restoration of the status quo and the security of the Duchy of Schleswig against the illegal union with the Kingdom of Denmark..."⁷⁴

The Sleswigers and other Germans in the duchies faced problems during the era between the conflicts. The persistent Danish encroachment caused turmoil among the population regarding imaginable political developments. The Danish government mobilized the army in Southern Schleswig; however, most German men refused the order. This left the Danish to fill the ranks from other regions in the Kingdom while the German-speaking areas in Schleswig prioritized loyalty to the German Confederation. Therefore, the duchies were divided by both politics and ethnicity. Yet, the defeat in the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict left a long shadow on the Germans, as seen in A. Gallenga's account. Gallenga first handedly experienced the German's plight while serving as a Special Correspondent for *The Times* while at the headquarters of the Danish Army.

"All along the road, by land and water, we met hundreds of old soldiers, chiefly from Schleswig, who obeyed orders lately issued by the Danish Government, calling under arms all the men bound to service up to thirty-five years of age. Most of these men seemed aware that a language is spoken among the gods and one used among mortals. They conversed in German among themselves and were ready with their Danish whenever there was a chance of being overheard by strangers. Some of them were old sailors familiar with the Western and Southern Ocean; they spoke English almost as well as their native language; they were an intelligent, well-informed set of men. They told me it was not without repugnance that they undertook this weary journey, that their hearts were with the Germans, and that it was tough they should have to bear arms against their friends and countrymen.... That on the first shot being fired, they would all pass over en masse to the enemy [German side]; that the whole of their Duchy was German to the core, and that even some of those belonging to the Northern Provinces

⁷⁴ Ibid, 28-29.

[Jutland] who speak nothing but Danish were still devoted to the German cause."⁷⁵

This source is important to the dissertation because it provides an account of the Schleswiger's sentiments towards both the Germans and the Danes. In analysis of the source, the German Schleswig soldiers held onto their German identity instead of taking on one such as being labeled a 'Danish' soldier. This is confirmed through their exclusive use of the German language, only switching to Danish when fear drove them to it. Autonomy for the Germans takes the form of "intelligent, well-informed set of men," those of which who are efficient in the English language and were well-aware of nationalist ideology. Unity is apparent in the source as well, as Gallenga describes their perspectives as having "their hearts were with the Germans..." and "That on the first shot being fired, they would all pass over en masse to the enemy [German side]; that the whole of their Duchy [Schleswig] was German to the core."

Another display of German nationalism in the duchies before the Unification Wars, documented by a German travelling writer, August Trinius, in his work *Geschichte des Krieges gegen Dänemark 1864* (1891), is the following song, with the obscure title *Wanke nicht, mein Vaterland* (*Don't Waver, My Fatherland*). The primary verse being analyzed is quoted below.

"Schleswig-holstein, meerumschlungen,
Deutscher Sitte hohe Macht,
Wahre treu, was schwer errungen,
Bis ein schön'rer Morgen tagt,
Manke nicht, mein Vaterland!"⁷⁶

"Schleswig-Holstein, sea-entwined,
Of German custom high power,
Defend faithfully, the hard ones gain

⁷⁵ A. Gallenga, *The Invasion of Denmark in 1864*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1864), 105-106; Embree, *First War*, 33-34.

⁷⁶ August Trinius, *Geschichte des Krieges gegen Dänemark 1864*, (Berlin: Verlag Rockstuhl, 1891), 5; Hans Brems, "The Collapse of the Binational Danish Monarchy in 1864: A Multinational Perspective," *Scandinavian Studies* 51, no. 4 (1979): 432.

Until a better morning meets,
Do not waver, my country!"⁷⁷

When analyzing this verse, one can see multiple elements of nationalism in its lines. First, is the first two lines that dictate the German territorial autonomy in the duchies, while the third and fifth lines call for German unity against the Danish aggressors. There are many metaphors in the song, as seen throughout the seven verses. For instance, in the final stanza, line one, it states “*Theures Land, du Doppeleiche*,” which translates to “Dear Land, you double oak,” is a reference to Schleswig and Holstein growing independently, but still forever united as German duchies.⁷⁸

How did power politics play a part in the European balance of power?⁷⁹ Bismarck's *realpolitik* performed an integral function in international politics and diplomacy. He founded his strategy on the presumption that international politics invariably comprises powerful and wealthy actors in constant confrontation, with realism as the anchor. Survival in such a system depends laboriously on making pragmatic and realistic judgments. For Bismarck, Prussia's survival in the international system, while it rose to power in the Nineteenth Century, relied on his mastery to employ power politics to control the balance of power. As Nick Bisley has stated in his work *Great Powers in a Changing International Order* (2012), “[n]ot only did it usher in, for a period, a successful phase of great power diplomacy, which explicitly managed international order through a cooperative and consultative process, it marked more clearly than ever before the flowering of a distinctly modern form of international politics.”⁸⁰ The strategic alliance between Bismarck's

⁷⁷ Ahlers, *Schleswig-Holstein*, 60.

⁷⁸ Trinius, *Geschichte des Krieges*

⁷⁹ For a list of primary sources concerning the German Unification Wars, please reference Richard Hacken, “Germany: Royalty and Politicians,” *EuroDocs: History of Germany: Primary Documents*, (Provo: Brigham Young University: Harold B. Lee Library, 2021), https://eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Germany:_Royalty_and_Politicians#:~:text=Documents%20of%20German%20Unification,Moltke%20and%20Otto%20von%20Bismarck.

⁸⁰ Nick Bisley, *Great Powers in a Changing International Order*, (Boulder: Rienner Publishers, 2012), 25;

Prussia and Austria in 1864, coupled with a growing sense of German nationalism, played a crucial role in allowing Bismarck to control the balance of power while furthering Prussia's national interests in the contested territories of Schleswig and Holstein.

By 1865, the German Diet also expressed the concern over the Schleswig-Holstein issue. As reported in the April 1865 newspaper *Wochen-Blatt des National-Vereins*, the result of the thirty-sixth protocol meeting on March 26, 1865 sustains that “the interest of Germany's power and security, which speaks for certain concessions to Prussia, and the interest of public law of popular freedom, which no less urgently demands that the people of Schleswig-Holstein have a say in shaping their future.”⁸¹ Prussian advancements in the duchies originated from the fear of inaction. As the Prussian House of Representatives noted, “[Schleswig-Holstein Question] is delicate, but we fear that continued silence about the most burning and important question of the day in German politics would have a far worse effect on Prussia than any conflict with the current public spirit in the country.”⁸² This mindset would contribute to Prussia stepping forward and increasing tensions between them and Austria when, in July 1866, the *Heidelberger Zeitung* reports “But given the whole situation, Prussia now seems to be determined to carry out the annexation of [Austrian controlled Holstein], come what it may.”⁸³ Argumentatively, in an international political context, inaction can have the same level of significance as action, and Prussia’s concern over inaction,

Benjamin Zala, "Great Power Management and Ambiguous Order in Nineteenth-Century International Society," *Studies Review of International* 43, no. 2 (April 2017): 367.

⁸¹ “Wochen-Blatt des National Vereins: Politische Uebersicht,” *Deutsches Zeitungsportal* no. 1 (April 6, 1865), <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/AT2NZ374IXF7JJUGXPH5NEAWLPV6NGVK?issuepage=1>, 1.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ “Heidelberger Zeitung: Politische Umschau,” *Deutsches Zeitungsportal*: no. 134 (June 10, 1866), <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/4FEETRH4XJC4DIKDK32EPCBGSLODR7SA?issuepage=1>.

driven by internal political strife between principles and interests, created a situation where Prussia had to act to protect its material interests in the duchies. This is important because the source shows that nationalism, in this case Prussian “public spirit,” contributes to their action in the duchies.

The central powers, such as the United Kingdom, France, Prussia, Russia, and the German Confederation, governed Europe through diplomatic parallelism. Each nation had an obligation to 'check' the power advancements of each other and dissuade any one nation from becoming too powerful. Nations often resort to any means necessary to maintain a balance of power. As Paul Schroeder points out in his work "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory," published in the 1994 *International Security*, there were proposals and campaigns to save the European balance, suggested by Palmerston, the Nineteenth Century British Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, and others, to force Russia back as an Asian power, observe the Italian suggestion to exterminate Austria, or even assist with France's goal to eradicate Prussia and revitalize the status quo with Austria as the authority of the German States.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, after 1815, there were three complex resolutions to the "German Question" from an international perspective. The balancing feat between Prussia and Austria, with the German Confederation as the concert for conflict, is the first. The second is the integration of Prussia, Austria, and the German Confederation to guarantee their rights, security, territories, and independence. The third choice is the acknowledgment and guarantee of the German Confederation as a power by the other great powers.⁸⁵ A significant challenge to the balance of

⁸⁴ Paul Schroeder, "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory." *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 138; For insight on the German (Prussian) military aspects of the Unification Wars, please reference Dennis E. Showalter, *Railroads and Rifles: Soldiers, Technology, and the Unification of Germany*, (Hamden: Archon, 1975), and Gordon A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955). For a nationalist perspective, reference Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858–1871, Ideas and Institutions*, vol. 1, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); For a general work on the wars, reference William Carr, *The Origins of the Wars of German Unification*, (London: Longman, 1991).

power in the Schleswig-Holstein duchies occurred during the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848, as well as during the Dano-Prussian War of 1864 (also known as the Second Schleswig-Holstein Conflict).⁸⁵ Prussia's auspices of the German residents in the duchies distressed the great powers over Prussia's developing influence. The United Kingdom, France, and Prussia backed Denmark to preserve the status quo.⁸⁶

This tactic worked, and Prussia withdrew from the duchies. The powers practiced soft balancing, described by Anders Wivel and T. V. Paul in their 2020 article "Soft Balancing, Institutions, and Peaceful Change," published in *Ethics & International Affairs*, as "restraining the power or aggressive policies of a state through international institutions, concerted diplomacy via limited, informal ententes, and economic sanctions to make its aggressive actions less legitimate in the eyes of the world and hence its strategic goals more difficult to obtain" unlike complex balancing which "relies on arms buildup and formal alignments."⁸⁷ However, in the 1860s, the great powers failed to contain Prussia's expansion, leading to German Unification in 1871.

Why did the great powers check Prussia in 1848 and not in 1864? People perceived the growing Prussian nation as a more significant threat in 1848 than in 1864, when Prussia had a reputation as being forthcoming. Another explanation is that the great powers knew that Prussia could only expand sufficiently to become a problem with supplementary reinforcement. In 1848,

⁸⁵ Ibid, 138; Schroeder adds that the balance of power directed states to be flexible and non-ideological in their foreign policies, assembling and transforming alliances and alignments based on their interests and balance requirements.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 139; Schroeder points out that small countries such as Denmark were essential to keep the European equilibrium. "The Morning Chronicle: The Danish Question, January 23, 1850," III. HA, Ministerium der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, I. Nr. 4644/2, *Erteilung von Orden und Geschenken anlässlich des Abschlusses von Verträgen zwischen Preußen und Dänemark*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 140; English sentiment towards the Prussians was negative, claiming that they were attempting to promote 'revolutionary' causes and attempting to stop the Danes from controlling the "ancient Danish province."

⁸⁷ Anders Wivel and T. V. Paul, "Soft Balancing, Institutions, and Peaceful Change," *Ethics & International Affairs* 34, no. 4 (Winter, 2020): 474.

Prussia stood independently with merely the aegis from the German Confederation, and to quickly extinguish the fire in the duchies, the powers integrated to restrict Prussia's expansion. In 1864, however, Austria supported Prussia's expansion into the duchies.⁸⁸ Austria's consent complicated the international concert, especially for Britain, which viewed itself as an independent power that could persuade the concert to its interests. For one, supporting the combined German forces would enrage Italy, France, and Russia. Regardless, support for Denmark outraged Prussia, Austria, and the North German Confederation and provoked Russia to "buck-pass."⁸⁹ Accordingly, Britain correspondingly buck-passed and permitted Denmark to gainsay the amalgamated German expansion. Some scholars assert that it is not power but intent that determines if the powers balance the development of a nation.⁹⁰

In 1864, Prussia's unchecked ambitions translated into becoming a significant European power, despite the need for prevention after the 1848 Conflict. Bismarck's *realpolitik* subsequently affected the balance of power. By successfully corresponding with the powers, Bismarck could de-emphasize the 1864 Conflict to discourage the powers from restricting the expansion. Numerous members of the international community expressed reservations regarding Bismarck's motives for territorial expansion and remained unconvinced of Prussia's dedication to a controlled expansion strategy.⁹¹ Robert Jervis, a Twentieth Century American political scientist, reasons in his work

⁸⁸ Robert C Binkley, *The Rise of Modern Europe: Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1935), 264; Binkley states, "Neither a war with Austria nor an alliance with Austria waws for Bismarck an end in itself."

⁸⁹ For an example of buck-passing, reference Thomas J. Christensen and Jack L. Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *International Organization* 44, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 137-168.

⁹⁰ Stacie E. Goddard, "When Might Makes Right: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power," *International Security* 22, no. 3 (Winter, 2008-2009): 117.

⁹¹ Robert L. Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 68.

Perception and Misperception in International Politics (1976) that aggressively balancing to maintain the status quo can lead to a spiraling situation. Simultaneously, if nations appease an expansionist nation, deterrence failures create a crisis.⁹² Hence, the powers' determination not to check Prussia's expansion in 1864 would ultimately be expensive. The European powers faced a challenge in navigating the multipolar concert system.⁹³ A multipolar system is a geopolitical position in which multiple powers balance each other out. The system can be more stable than a single-power system. However, it has two failures. First, cooperation between all the powers is demanding, especially if they observe *realpolitik* ideals and would rather 'buck-pass' while receiving a free ride.⁹⁴ Second, multipolar systems are more unpredictable because powers tend to miscalculate others' volitions or misidentify a hazard to the status quo.

The balance of power in Europe, in the Nineteenth Century context with Prussia's climb to power, relied on Prussia, Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Denmark. These were the primary actors that preserved the peace in Europe. For Prussian expansion, power politics and rhetoric played a crucial role. In relation to nationalism, Prussia's expansion and legitimization on the international stage endorsed German nationalism by gaining recognition from European powers. External forces, such as international opinion, diplomatic proceedings that lead to events such as creating alliances or identifying enemies, and war affect national identity and autonomy.

⁹² Ibid, 69.

⁹³ William Mulligan, "Weimar and the Wars of Liberation: German and French Officers and the Politics of History," *European History Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (April 2008): 267; Mulligan points out that "In international politics, where there is a mass of contradictory and uneven information on the basis of which policy-makers must choose certain courses of action, the study of their assumptions and perceptions is important in understanding the decision-making process."

⁹⁴ Helle Kryger Aggerholm, et al., "The Role of Recontextualization in the Multivocal, Ambiguous Process of Strategizing," *Journal of Management Inquiry* 21, no. 4 (October 2012): 416; Aggerholm and colleagues state that "To achieve strategic change, it is necessary for a change to occur in the actors' interpretive schemes (the fundamental shared assumptions that determine the way the members of an organization conceive of their organization and their environmental context and how they act in different situations)."

The rhetoric depends upon legitimation strategies concentrating on constraints, rhetorical traps, ontological security, wedge strategies, and multivocal rhetoric. The legitimation strategy uses rhetoric to persuade the populace to support a cause by appealing to recognized standards and laws.⁹⁵ Legitimation strategies correspondingly constitute upholding reputations, undermining opponents' positions, and acquiring leverage through bandwagoning and hegemony. Scholarly legitimization began with Max Weber, a Nineteenth Century German sociologist, who identified the three bases for a legitimate societal rule in his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905).⁹⁶ He also argues that legitimate authority structures society so that individuals who do not believe in their legitimacy receive incentives to function as legitimate. Since Weber, scholarly discord comprises the legality of different political systems, the interpretation of the political right to govern via democracy, and the legitimacy of international political bodies.

The ascendancy of Prussia to a position of global influence created a sense of ambiguity. It transferred power from Austria to untested Prussian ambitions, which exhibited a degree of circumspection. The concert power checked Prussia in 1848 because they believed Prussia had European-wide expansion intentions. Prussia always needed to appeal to international norms and shared rules through treaties that designated the required trust to permit expansion. Additionally, Russia's strong alliance with Denmark, Austria's preference not to support Prussia's expansion into the duchies, and France's apprehension with Prussia's conservative curve to stop nationalism's spread did not develop a positive environment for expansion.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Goddard, *Might Makes Right*, 121.

⁹⁶ Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy," *Encyclopedia Princetoniensis*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023), <https://pesd.princeton.edu/node/516#:~:text=Legitimacy%20is%20commonly%20defined%20in,toward%20the%20rule%20or%20ruler>; Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

⁹⁷ Mark Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon*, (New York: Tauris & Co., 2016), 85; Alexander von Humboldt saw the status quo established at the Congress of Vienna as a means of creating a stable European equilibrium, which Austria was keen to keep.

In 1864, Prussia verified its credibility with legitimation strategies. First, it simultaneously played to each of the powers' norms by improvising to Russia's and Austria's conservative norms through confirmed treaties and dynastic norms. Prussia asserted that it strived to conserve established standards in the 1815 Treaty of Paris through its expansion.⁹⁸ Second, it manipulated nationalist rhetoric toward France and the German Confederation to sustain the 1852 London Protocol.⁹⁹ Bismarck contended that moderating in the duchies would secure "the essential objects and interests which prevailed in the negotiations of 1851 and 1852."¹⁰⁰ By simultaneously appealing to multiple nations' norms, Bismarck and other Prussian leaders exercised "multivocal rhetoric," which authorized them to construct a multi-front scenario where different nations were under the presumption that Prussia supported them but not cognizant that they were likewise on other nations' sides.¹⁰¹ The legitimacy perspective provides this dissertation with crucial insight into how and why Bismarck conducted himself the way he did, an approach to politics on the highest echelon that had profound effects on the individual level, and with nationalism as the adhesive, provides the reader with a narrative of three fundamental levels, personal, national, and international.

⁹⁸ The 1815 Treaty of Paris, also known as the Second Treaty of Paris, was signed on November 20th, 1815, after the second abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte and his defeat at the battle of Waterloo against the Seventh Coalition consisting primarily of British, Prussian, Russian, and Austrian forces. The Treaty can be found at "TREATIES &c. between Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, and France. Signed at Paris, the 20th of November 1815," *British and Foreign State Papers, 1815-1816, Compiled by the Librarian and Keeper of the Papers, Foreign Office*, (London: James Ridgway and Sons, Piccadilly, 1838): 280-292.

⁹⁹ The 1852 London Protocol, signed on May 8, 1852, and recognized by Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, United Kingdom, Denmark and Sweden, confirmed the necessary existence of Denmark, and confirmed the personal union element between the duchies and Denmark. Because Frederick VII of Denmark died childless, the succession lines changed Schleswig's union with Denmark to being more in line with Holstein's union. For a specialized work on the London Protocol, please reference Holger Hjelholt, *Great Britain, the Danish-German Conflict and the Danish Succession, 1850-1852...* (Kobenhavn: Munksgaard, 1971).

¹⁰⁰ Goddard, *Might Makes Right*, 127; Otto von Bismarck, "Letter to Bernstorff, Communicated to Earl Russell, October 30, 1863," *BdFA*, (Berlin, October 27, 1863), 34.

¹⁰¹ Goddard, *Might Makes Right*, 127.

Prussian leaders practiced restraint when appealing to Austrian norms.¹⁰² In 1864, the German Confederation faced a dilemma in determining who would address the German Question. While Austria sought to maintain control over German-speaking territories, Prussia shared the same objective. The situation remained unresolved, with both parties vying for influence and power.¹⁰³ Prussia understood this and sought to persuade Austria that their intervention in the duchies did not serve as a gateway for additional Prussian elaboration. Austria had no passion for change in its empire and observed nationalism as a menace to its conservative dynastic monarchy.¹⁰⁴ Bismarck informed Austria that Prussia sought only to maintain the status quo and uphold the Treaty of London, which appealed to Austrian elites. However, Austria's elites found their stance unfavorable, yet they decided to support Prussia with an interpretation that treaties could restrain Prussia.¹⁰⁵

The leaders of Prussia employed persuasive rhetoric to sway the opinions of Great Britain and France regarding the validity of their policies. Britain had significant pro-Danish influence at elite and popular levels, while Prussia's expansion into the duchies threatened its strategic interests. Despite Britain being pro-Danish, the Nineteenth Century British Queen Victoria stood pro-German. Her connections with the German elite compelled her to have empathy for the Germans in the duchies, and as reported in Lord Henry Palmerston's *The Palmerston Papers*:

¹⁰² Karin Schneider, "King Rudolf I in Austrian Literature Around 1820: Historical Reversion and Legitimization of Rule." *Austrian History Yearbook* 51, (May 2020): 136; Schneider argues that the Habsburgs legitimized their rule through literature and visual arts.

¹⁰³ Goddard, *Might Makes Right*, 128.

¹⁰⁴ Rosita Rindler Schjerve, *Diglossia, and Power: Language Policies and Practice in the 19th Century Habsburg Empire*, (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2008), 36; Schjerve points out that the difficulties between ruling a multilingual empire and the power relations between competing ethnicities.

¹⁰⁵ Lawrence D. Steefel, *The Schleswig-Holstein Question*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 79–109.

Gladstone and Palmerston, being the Correspondence of Lord Palmerston with Mr. Gladstone, 1851-1865 (1971) she stated: "that gross injustice is done to the people, especially of Schleswig, in altering the terms of their succession and their relationship with Denmark and to Holstein against their will or without their consent."¹⁰⁶ She commissioned Lord Granville to counter the pro-Danish Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell's endeavors to check Prussian expansion.¹⁰⁷ Victoria's efforts paid off, as the British parliament decided to maintain a more independent stance until Prussia could advance its motives. The Prussian announcements ultimately swayed British public opinion to abide by the Treaty of London, which also compelled the suppositions of the elite. They later forced Palmerston to adhere to public opinion. The transformation in British public opinion through rhetorical traps concocted a sense of deceitful security, which Palmerston could neither prove nor disprove. Although they did not comprehensively trust Prussia, they could not disagree with public opinion. Neither France nor Russia showed interest in the Conflict, which resulted in halting Britain's intervention.¹⁰⁸

If anyone were to challenge Prussia's progress, it would be France. They did not want a unified Germany on their eastern border or land revisions in the north that could lead to modifications along the Rhine River. A unified Germany posed an immediate threat to the French Republic. Early in 1864, France was pro-Danish and aimed at opposing Prussian expansion by holding a European conference to revise territorial borders, including the duchies.¹⁰⁹ However,

¹⁰⁶ Lord Henry Palmerston, *The Palmerston Papers: Gladstone and Palmerston, being the Correspondence of Lord Palmerston with Mr. Gladstone, 1851-1865*, ed. Philip Guedalla, (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 71.

¹⁰⁷ Herbert C. F. Bell, *Lord Palmerston*, Vol. 2, (London: Longmans, Green, 1936), 373–380.

¹⁰⁸ Keith A.P. Sandiford, *Great Britain and the Schleswig-Holstein Question 1848-64, A Study in Diplomacy, Politics, and Public Opinion*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1975), 88; William J. Orr Jr., "British Diplomacy and the German Problem, 1848-1850," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1978): 210; Britain lost the goodwill of the French over Spanish marriages, which left them diplomatically isolated, as pointed out by Orr.

¹⁰⁹ Goddard, *Might Makes Right*, 135.

France had to withdraw its standing to keep its favorable international reputation. This is because Napoleon III embraced national self-determination as a legitimate status. Napoleon requested to redistribute territory along nationalities rather than by treaties. This principle is witnessed in the *Les Origines Diplomatique de la Guerre de 1870-1871* (The Diplomatic Origins of the War 1870-1871), a collection of documents published by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "The cause... of this Conflict is the rivalry of the populations that make up the Danish Monarchy. Each of them has a national sentiment, the strength of which cannot be doubted. What is more natural, then, in default of an unanimously accepted principle, to take the wishes of a population as a basis."¹¹⁰ Prussia positioned its trap by proclaiming that without acting in the duchies, they forfeited the German nationalism support developing since 1848. Bismarck promoted Prussia's expansion by playing on France's, primarily Charles-Louis Napoléon Bonaparte's (Napoleon III), nationalistic norms and ideals.

Prussia's diplomacy with Russia differed significantly from Britain's and France's as it implicated security and identity rather than ideology and treaties. Russia strenuously concerned itself with the Baltic Sea trade and the potential impact of Prussian expansion.¹¹¹ Russia maintained a strong alliance with Denmark to preserve the status quo and expressed concern regarding its European identity.¹¹² After the Crimean War, Russia's credibility deteriorated, and its

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 136; *Les Origines Diplomatique de la Guerre de 1870-1871*, vol. 2 (Paris: G. Ficker, 1910), 349.

¹¹¹ Otto von Bismarck, *Bismarck the Man & the Statesman, Being the Reflections and Reminiscences of Otto, Prince von Bismarck, Written and Dictated by Himself after His Retirement from Office*, Trans. A. J. Butler, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899), 10; Bismarck noted how Prussia was interested in having a Kiel as a harbor for the Baltic and the North Sea Canal.

¹¹² Alfred J. Rieber and A. J. Miller, *Imperial Rule*, (New York: Central European University Press, 2004), 10; Rieber and Miller point out that the primary discussion around Russian nationalism was the decision to form a Russia around just the Russian people or all the people, leading to fears of a split Russia which promoted conservative standings.

capacity to counter Prussian expansionism became doubtful. Bismarck succeeded by deploying the "wedge strategy" to break Denmark and Russia's alliance.¹¹³

He did so by elucidating that Prussia might disrupt Russian interests, but Denmark threatened Russian identity. Russia believed it held the key to maintaining the status quo against French nationalism, which endangered Russian-held territories in Poland and its dynastic monarchy. Thus, Bismarck showed that the affirmation of Danish nationalism in its preceding constitution posed a genuine threat to Russian ontological security. This threat directed Russia to step away from the Conflict so Prussia could contain Danish "dangerously excited by democratic and national passions."¹¹⁴

The powers, therefore, endorsed Prussian legitimization despite the emotions of suspicion that came with modifying the status quo. Prussia achieved the cooperation of the European concert, which they could not accomplish independently, and gained advantages in their interests of security, economic welfare, and growing influence. It was their reputation that would eventually form their national identity. Prussia perceived the duchies as not an end but a means to an end. Hans E. Andersson, Chief Administrative Officer, and Associate Professor in Political Science at Södertörn University in Flemingsberg, Sweden argues in his article "What Activates an Identity? The Case of Norden," published in the March 2010 edition of *International Relations*, "To be legitimized as an end in itself means that the cooperation does not require any justification at all; it is seen as self-evident."¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Goddard, *Might Makes Right*, 139.

¹¹⁴ Steefel, *Schleswig-Holstein Question*, 131.

¹¹⁵ Hans E. Andersson, "What Activates an Identity? The Case of Norden," *International Relations* 24, no. 1 (March 2010): 50.

While aimed at the Nordic nations, Andersson's quote indirectly translates to Bismarck and Prussia as they needed a collective identity, such as the European concert, to justify the expansion into the duchies because it was not an end. Prussia's elevation only ended in the 1871 Franco-Prussian War, and at that point, Bismarck no longer required a justification for expansion. Denmark did not need a European justification when it passed the November Constitution, binding the Schleswig Duchy and the Danish Kingdom into identical succession rules.¹¹⁶ It envisioned the incorporation of the Schleswig Duchy into the Kingdom as the end.¹¹⁷

Furthermore, Denmark focused only on the concerns of Norway, Sweden, and Russia, drawing its collective identity as a Scandinavian country. Denmark prioritized its alliance with Russia for economic and security reasons, rather than European justification, as the forefront of its legitimization strategy. An excellent illustration of the differences between German and Scandinavian identities is the Nineteenth Century German author, and best known as the older brother to Wilhelm Grimm in the Brothers Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm's December 15, 1848, letter to Danish scholar Christian Rafn,

"Originally, the peninsula was entirely German or Germanic (whichever term you prefer); the ancestors of the Jutes had the same origins as the Saxons and the Cimbrians. Eventually – I do not know exactly when – the Danes invaded, subjugated the Jutes, and advanced toward the Saxons all the way to the Eider. . . Just as Denmark and Sweden could not hold on to Livonia and Pomerania, Danish rule over the Germans in Schleswig-Holstein will not continue much longer. Even Jutland's trade is directed primarily toward the south. On the larger and smaller islands, Scandinavia should rule and flourish."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ "Schleswig," *Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection*, John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester (1861), 15.

¹¹⁷ Andersson, *Identity*, 51; Andersson points out that Nordic identity suffered a severe blow when Scandinavia left Denmark to fight Prussia in 1863-1864.

¹¹⁸ Thaler, *Historical Legitimization*, 7; Ernst Schmidt, *Briefwechsel der Brüder Grimm mit nordischen Gelehrten*, 1885, Reprint, (Wallruf, Germany: 1974), 160.

In analysis, this source confirms a perspective of the time that depicts a belief that Germans territorially originated from the duchies' region and Jutland. This perspective is valid because Jacob Grimm is not only known for his contribution as a member of the Grimm Brothers, but also as a professor at the University of Göttingen where he taught German history, folklore, and law. This work is important to this dissertation because it forwards the understanding that the Germans in the duchies consider the territory their ancestral homelands and to defend those lands absorbed the cultural, religious, and economic elements. These elements are a foundational portion of the nationalist sentiment to fight the Danish.

Adherence to traditions, customs, and beliefs significantly constitutes the sentiment of national belonging.¹¹⁹ This sentiment also expands to religion, biology, and language. Dynamically, cultural components alter periodically, frequently beneath the persuasion of external forces. Encroachment of bordering nations and the transformations to the territorial government lead to cultural differences. Religious change also leads to cultural change, often forcefully rather than optionally. Biologically, human breeding conventions can vary, emanating from cultural changes in the nation.¹²⁰ Ideologically, the sentiment of national belonging influences the breeding habits of its citizens. When a nation is seen as a threat or faces potential extinction, it can disrupt its citizens' breeding patterns and even lead to the end of bloodlines. These habits galvanize either vanishing or substituting cultural traditions and customs with new ones.

Another characteristic of national identity that is prominent in the Nineteenth Century is language, and statisticians such as the UCLA Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History

¹¹⁹ Bertrand De Jouvenel, *On Power: The Natural History of Its Growth*, Trans. J. F. Huntington, (Carmel: Liberty Fund, 1976), 355; De Jouvenel details how the family is also a unit that provides belonging, and when that family pairs with other families, security is provided by their 'brothers.' This provides a micro-level sense of autonomy and follows familial beliefs.

¹²⁰ Jesús J. Sánchez-Barricarte, "Historical Reproductive Patterns in Developed Countries: An Aggregate-level Perspective," *Demographic Research* 38, no. 2 (2018): 38.

Theodor M. Porter in his book *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900* (1986), commenced finding ways of collecting numerical data through scientific methods, allowing them to uncover "causal relationships where the individual events either concealed from view or highly variable and subject to a host of influences."¹²¹ Statistics helped answer how statistics help identify and legitimize nationalism. Scholars currently identify previously unaccountable social aspects and give them quantitative values. The scientific method permits broad applicability and is a powerful tool for analyzing social components such as moral, educational, political, and economic statistics and communal life. The mechanism tracks demographics, detail and explore their inner workings, and subject them to scientific and sociological criticism. The instrument constructs an illusion of impartiality between the observer and the object, increasing approval for the argument that objectivity equals realism and is more trustworthy in the eyes of public opinion.¹²² With a scientific approach to tracking individuals and sentiments, nationalism in the duchies grew once more through the awareness of the world around them. Statistics did allow scholars in future works to determine the cultural borders in Schleswig.¹²³ One area of emphasis for statisticians is hereditary talent and character. Francis Galton, a Nineteenth Century British scholar and the author of "Hereditary Talent and Character (1865)," published in *Macmillan's Magazine* and the well-known *Hereditary Genius* (1869), extensively employed statistics to contend against numerous precursor assumptions about inherited traits. For instance, after analyzing the statistics on the 'men of the time,' he discovered that out of eighty-five men with last names beginning with 'A,' twenty-

¹²¹ Theodor M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 3.

¹²² Jason D. Hansen, *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Cartography, & the Visualization of the German Nation, 1814-1914*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 21.

¹²³ Norman Berdichevsky, *The Danish-German Border Dispute: Aspects of Cultural and Demographic Politics, 1815-2001*, (London: Academica Press, 2002), 7; The statistical approach to the borderlands is important because it paved the way for placing the border location according to local ethnicity reports in the 1920 Plebiscite.

five had relatives on the list.¹²⁴ He deduces that if a man, either father, son, brother, etc., achieved eminence, his immediate relative would have the talent to attain eminence. In the latter work, he investigated three-hundred families with one-thousand individuals across various high-level appointments, such as judges, commanders, authors, scientists, artists, and politicians.¹²⁵ His determinations ascertain that over four hundred and fifteen individuals were illustrious.¹²⁶

By 1850, nationality was at the forefront of European politics, and demographers sought to account for social characteristics through the scientific method to identify each nation's nationality. The 1848 Frankfurt Parliament defined 'Germanness' through language, folk dress, festivals, domestic architectural styles and techniques of land measurement, family life, arts, and sciences, and identified ways of thinking about "politics, justice and the ordering of common affairs."¹²⁷ Of course, these elements of 'Germanness' were not constructed overnight. As the Twenty-First Century American historian Brian E. Vick explains in his work *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (2002), "German national identity was not born at the end of the Eighteenth Century."¹²⁸ Provincial authorities began tracking language through censuses. However, before 1850, the methods required revision and were less reliable. Through the censuses of 1843, 1852, 1855, and 1860, authorities could include a column for the *Muttersprache* (Mother tongue), along with citizenship and place of birth.¹²⁹ The censuses provided a method of

¹²⁴ Francis Galton, "Hereditary Talent and Character," *Macmillan Magazine* vol. 12, (May-Oct. 1865): 160-161.

¹²⁵ Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, (London: Macmillan and Co., 1869), 316.

¹²⁶ See Appendix H.

¹²⁷ Hansen, *Mapping*, 23; Brian E. Vick, *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 18.

¹²⁸ Vick, *Defining Germany*, 15.

¹²⁹ Hansen, *Mapping*, 23-24.

collecting information for scientific strategy. Additionally, the technique allowed nationalist ideologists such as Herder and the Romantics to ascertain empirical legitimacy.¹³⁰

However, this would prove problematic when European powers attempted to employ the method to politically solve legitimacy over debated territories such as Brittany and Alsace. Yet, the formation of governmental statistics through the scientific process functioned closely with constructing the German nation-state. The creation of the statistical office authorized paper tracing and conceptualized the population as a scientific object.¹³¹ With the increase in Prussian territorial gains from the 1815 Congress of Vienna and the German Wars of Unification, the authorities had to account for non-German-speaking minorities. Population registers calculated these people and could select the information they requested. They often asked if the person is "able to speak German," "not able to speak German," or "only able to speak German," for example.¹³²

As the Church and schools documented the languages of the masses, the growing situation over languages by the authorities led to broad reforms for the institutionalization of German as a public language and added another stage to state building. The statistical use of language and other social components to identify nationality assisted in founding a national consciousness and creating additional routes for nation-building around social and cultural elements.

The Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts were the result of nationalism, stacked with centuries of Danish encroachment, and Prussia's rise to power is the argument of this chapter. It established the differences between nationalism before the German Unification Wars and modern nationalism in the duchies by comparing Denmark and the duchies. Then, it explained the Nineteenth Century

¹³⁰ Ibid, 24.

¹³¹ Morgane Labbé, "Institutionalizing the Statistics of Nationality in Prussia in the 19th Century (From Local Bureaucracy to State-Level Census of the Population)," *Centaurus* 49, no. 4 (November 2007): 258.

¹³² Labbé, *Statistics*, 258; Labbé points out that there was no political concept of a national minority.

Schleswig-Holstein history and analyzed European power politics and statistics. The next chapter details nationalism's concepts and explains the perspectives of nationalist studies.

Chapter Three: Identifying Nationalism

Schleswig-Holstein is a region caught in a tension between Denmark and Germany proper. However, from the Nineth century onwards, the region consistently demonstrated a rapport and attachment with German culture and identity rather than with the Danish. These displays reveal a type of early modern German nationalism that existed in this region that predates the German wars of Unification in the Nineteenth century and indicates that people even in the more remote areas of Germany, held this inclination. The argument supports the historical analysis and comparison of basic nationalism concepts, historical narratives of the duchies, biblical nationalism, power politics, statistics, and origin myths. This work also argues that the duchies' history deserves a more prominent place in pre-modern European historiography. The argument is essential to account because it provides an original approach to studying the duchies, nationalism, and long-term cultural and political changes.

This chapter argues that identifying and understanding nationalism in Schleswig-Holstein's history requires understanding the nationalist concepts and the nationalist field of study. Understanding nationalism can be difficult, and to maintain clarity for the reader, this chapter's methodology is the first to establish nationalist concepts. These concepts inform the reader of the fundamentals of nationalist thought and practice. It covers its limitations and concerns while also detailing the recent events in the nationalism field.

This Chapter seeks to answer the following questions. First, what is nationalism? Second, what are the differences between nationalism before the Unification Wars and modern nationalism? Third, what are the three primary debates about nationalism, and why do they matter? "Nationalism is an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some members to constitute an actual or potential "nation."¹³³ The divisive event that divided nationalism into two primary periods, pre-modern and

modern, is 1800 or the French Revolution.¹³³ Pre-modern nationalism utilizes different syntax, has different levels of consciousness, and has different qualifying standards than modern nationalism.

Nationalism is a misunderstood ideology, and its influence in history is widespread despite its modern reputation. Religion, politics, economics, demographics, statistics, and other social, cultural, civic, and historical characteristics determine its influence. Individual identity and collective awareness led to implementation through religious, civic, and cultural traditions. National myths and folklore established cultural elements highlighting different peoples shaped by language, ethnicity, and religion. It is a crucial structural element for individuals and groups, communities and tribes, nations and nation-states, empires and collations, and global and international well-being. It affects every level of life, from the mundane day-to-day actions of the layman to the decisions made by leaders of a global society. Nationalism has a long history intertwined with religion and can be traced back to biblical times. Its roots predate the French Revolution of 1797 and are found in the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis.

The chapter conceptualizes the four primary nationalism paradigms and their elements, including organic and voluntary nationalism, and analyzes their relationship with religion. It highlights the importance of language, individual and collective identities, and awareness of diverse levels of consciousness. To fully comprehend the argument presented in this dissertation and chapter, it is imperative to have a thorough understanding of the concept of nationalism. This concept serves as the basis for the research, defining its limitations and providing a solid foundation. The significance of nationalism in pre-modern history and its impact on the development of nations cannot be adequately demonstrated without this understanding.

¹³³ The French Revolution is the common divide point for the nationalism field of study. The Revolution stands as a 'beginning' to modernity with the end of feudalism, and the spread of liberal ideals. For nationalism, it signified an introduction of 'offensive' nationalism rather than the 'defensive' nationalism with ism.

Furthermore, nationalist concepts influence the structure of the study and its approach to the historical narrative. The chapter would be incomplete without addressing the essential debates between the different scholarly practices and the limitations of nationalism.

Looking into national influence before the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts, it is best to identify three different approaches, nationalist thought, sentiment, and nationalism itself. First are nationalist sentiments, when at the individual level, form the basic building blocks of nationalist thought and nationalism. National sentiments, at the community level, are defined as feelings of loyalty, pride, and devotion to the well-being of one's nation.¹³⁴ National thoughts are feelings of loyalty and devotion to a nation and are used to promote cultural interests.¹³⁵ From a third person perspective, nationalist thoughts can symbolize the individual or collective's awareness of nationalist sentiments. Nationalism, collected from this dissertation's chosen definition, is defined as an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some members to constitute an actual or potential "nation."¹³⁶ It is important to note the 'ideological' element of nationalism's definition regarding a movement as this may not constitute an actual 'physical' or 'political' movement, but rather a spread of sentiments, thought or ideology.

To emphasize the differences between the three nationalist levels, nationalist sentiments involve the actual emotions of loyalty, pride, and devotion to an actual or potential nation. Nationalist thoughts include the feeling of loyalty and devotion to one's nation as a means of promoting one's culture, but also can be used to identify the existence of nationalist sentiments.

¹³⁴ Max Sylvius Handman, "The Sentiment of Nationalism," *Political Science Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1921): 104.

¹³⁵ Alexander Maxwell and Molly Turner, "Nationalists Rejecting Statehood: Three Case Studies from Wales, Catalonia, and Slovakia," *Nations and Nationalism* vol 26, no 3 (2020): 502.

¹³⁶ Anthony Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 55.

Nationalism is the acknowledged effort to attain and keep a 'nation's' autonomy, unity, and identity. Applying these concepts to the history of the Schleswig-Holstein duchy, this dissertation applies the existence of nationalist thought and sentiments to the era prior to the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts. This, of course, is separate from nationalism, which takes an early modern form.

Early modern nationalism in Schleswig-Holstein that existed prior to the German Unification Wars is the primary topic of this chapter. It does not cover the post-German Unification period. This work does not cover nationalism during the First and Second World War periods, Cold War nationalism, or postmodern thought. It also does not cover race or the most recent racial approach to nationalism. The study does not cover anti-national methods, 'gendered' nationalism, or other radical perspectives that do not contribute to this creation's focus or the prosperity of nationalism studies. Instead, the methodology comprises selected works by renowned political scientists such as Anthony D. Smith, Ernst Gellner, and John Breuilly, who dedicate their efforts to founding authentic nationalism elements. Methodically, the dissertation utilizes the elements and pairs them with empirical historical sources and events to develop a structured and enlightened narrative. The limitations of this dissertation are not due to malice or discontent; relatively, its concentration is on the scope of the work, the complete dedication to high levels of academic rigor, and the focus on this work's contribution to the history field. Lastly, nationalist scholars across the field agree on the concepts provided in this work, and numerous scholarly works are the basis for the concepts.

To begin, it is necessary to ask the fundamental question: What is nationalism? It is at the forefront of this chapter because of its foundational characteristics, recognizable standards, and utilization as a steppingstone towards more detailed analysis. Nationalism is challenging to define

because it encompasses many features while not being an autonomous ideology.¹³⁷ Unlike communism and socialism, all versions of nationalism require a supplementary pairing system like capitalism to complete the ideology of a nation. Therefore, one might hear liberal nationalism or socialist nationalism to represent nationalism. However, those additional terms identify the system or ideology paired with it. Nationalism consists of several elements and concepts agreed upon by most nationalist scholars. Among them are national autonomy, unity, and identity.¹³⁸

The concept of autonomy is the foremost nationalist principle that pertains to both the individual and the nation. Autonomy at the national level entails self-governance and laws for the collective and its inhabitants, closely conjoined with national unity. Autonomy for the individual provides self-expression, self-regulation, direction, and freedom from external constraints.¹³⁹ It also includes individual freedom while allowing self-realization when maintaining individuality within the collective.¹⁴⁰ A prime historical example of personal autonomy is the peasant republic in the Dithmarschen, which will be discussed later. Another instance of autonomy for a minor collective is the Latin phrase *cuius regio, eius religio* (whose realm, their religion), defined as the ruled must practice the same religion as the ruler, and was an accepted practice in Europe by 1532 with the Nuremburg Religious Peace.¹⁴¹ Another example of national autonomy is the Norwegian

¹³⁷ A self-sustaining ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs, and attitudes that are both conscious and unconsciously held, and fulfills social, economic, and political essences of the nation. This is like the definition of an ideology: “a set of ideas, beliefs and attitudes, consciously or unconsciously held, which reflects or shapes understandings or misconceptions of the social and political world.” Michael Freeden, “Ideology,” *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Taylor and Francis, <https://www.rep.routledge.com/articles/thematic/ideology/v-1>; Nationalism does not contain an economic essence and therefore is not self-sustaining.

¹³⁸ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 28.

¹³⁹ John Philip Christman, *The Politics of Persons: Individual Autonomy and Socio-Historical Selves*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 134; Christman defines autonomy is “meant to manifest self-government, the ability of the person to guide her life from her own perspective rather than be manipulated by others or be forced into a particular path by surreptitious or irresistible forces.”

¹⁴⁰ Smith, *Nationalism*, 29-30.

¹⁴¹ Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith, “Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in

fight against Denmark in the Eighteenth Century, especially during the Great Northern War in 1709.¹⁴² The Norwegians relied on a strong Swedish neighbor to territorially separate Norway from Denmark, allowing them to build a military and achieve sovereignty.

While individuals and nations strive for autonomy, they must also be careful when being involved with a collective or international entity. When individuals inside a nation relinquish their freedom and become absorbed into national consciousness just as nations are lost in global consciousness, the reality they once knew vanishes. Despite this absorption issue, there is still a close connection between individuals and the collective which feeds national unity. National unity is the feeling of connectivity between individuals and the collective.¹⁴³ The individual's powerful emotions are often drawn from regional, tribal, and communal identities due to the collective's territorial characterization. Compatible individuals create a durable foundation for unity through their shared purpose of togetherness based on ethnicity, which becomes especially important when external factors threaten the unity of a nation. To these 'others,' the nation is illustrated by its identity.

National identity refers to the shared characteristics, usually based on history and culture, that define a group of people. Each nation has its own identity, including a distinct historical culture and shared ways of thinking, acting, and communicating among its members. The distinction must be clear that non-members must not share in these elements.¹⁴⁴ If a nation has lost

Germany, 1555-1870," *The Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 1 (1997): 77; The Nuremberg Religious Peace was a treaty between the Schmalkaldic League and Suleiman the Magnificent. The treaty served as a diplomatic move to stem Suleiman's military offensive against Ferdinand of Austria. For more information on the treaty please reference "The Life and Letters of Martin Luther," *The Internet Archive*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1911): 271-278, https://archive.org/stream/lifelettersofma00smit/lifelettersofma00smit_djvu.txt.

¹⁴² John Myhill, *Language, Religion and National Identity in Europe and the Middle East a Historical Study*, (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 2006), 84-85.

¹⁴³ Smith, *Nationalism*, 29.

its culture or has become like outside identities, it must be located and brought to light. The Genevan philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), also known as one of the founding fathers of nationalism, claimed, as seen in the second volume of the work *The Political Writings of Rousseau* (1915) that "every people have or must have a character; if it lacks one, we must start by endowing it with one."¹⁴⁴

From a different perspective, nationalist thoughts and sentiments can form from an economic foundation, rather than cultural or religious. Karl Marx, a Nineteenth Century, German born philosopher and revolutionary socialist is best known for his 1848 work *The Communist Manifesto* and his three volume *Das Kapital* (1867-1894). Marx created an approach to capitalism called historical materialism that is generally defined as "The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life."¹⁴⁵ This is further broken down into how society and the 'superstructure' changes and transformations are determined by its economic base and therefore ideas that derive from society and the superstructure support the economic base.¹⁴⁶ Lastly, Marx argues that the formation of ideas, both from individuals and the collective, are explained from their position within the division of labour and 'material practices.'¹⁴⁷ This is important because from a Marxist perspective, social class plays a role in both individual and collective identity, but it is the only element of collective identity that matters.¹⁴⁸

Material determination dictates autonomy in the system while a sense of unity has a foundation on

¹⁴⁴ Smith, *Nationalism*, 30.

¹⁴⁵ Karl Marx and F. Engels, "1859 Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," *Collected Works* vol. 29. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1987), 263.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ K. Marx and F. Engels, "The German Ideology," *Collected Works* vol. 5, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976), 54, 62.

¹⁴⁸ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin Book, 1991), 5.

a ‘false consciousness’ of an upside down ideology.¹⁴⁹ Marxism, as the set of ideas is commonly known, with its emphasis on social class and materialism suffers from limited emotional appeal and a lack of cultural depth.

National sovereignty is essential to nationalists, so they focus on finding a nation's origins and character through the scholarly investigation of history, archaeology, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and folklore.¹⁵⁰ All three paradigms share common components, but authenticity, continuity, dignity, destiny, attachment, and homeland are the most significant ones. These are the criteria for what most nations, both past and present, must satisfy for a group of people to transition into a nation. Collectively, the other criteria are less critical but fundamental for individuals. It is equally essential for them to belong to the nation and vice versa. Ernst Gellner, a British-Czech philosopher, clarifies in his work *Nations and Nationalism* (1983) that a man must be a part of a nation, and to be a man without a nation defies acknowledged norms and sparks revulsion. Man having a nation is as important as living and breathing, especially since nations make men. However, to Gellner, a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity but must appear as such.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, John Breuilly, a professor of nationalism and ethnicity at the London School of Economics, argues in his article "Introduction: Concepts, Approaches, Theories" in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Nationalism* (2016) that nations have historical roots, and historical writing reinforces them.¹⁵² However, he emphasizes that, in principle, the modernists and the ethno-symbolists can identify a nation non-historically (genetic make-up, language, foundational

¹⁴⁹ Marx, *The German Ideology*, 36, 92, 420, 460; Andrea Sau, *A Marxist Theory of Ideology: Praxis, Thought and the Social World*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 65.

¹⁵⁰ Smith, *Nationalism*, 31.

¹⁵¹ Ernst Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 6.

¹⁵² John Breuilly, "Introduction: Concepts, Approaches, Theories," *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 2.

moment). Regardless, that nation's citizens would embed an identity within the unique history that produced that phenotype, language group, or revolutionary act.

While the description of a nation is often confusing, Anthony Smith, a British historical sociologist who served as the Professor Emeritus of Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics, provides a clear and precise definition for both nations and nationalism. He contests in his work *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism, The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures* (2000), that nations are "A human population occupying a historic territory or homeland and sharing common myths and memories; a mass public culture; a single economy; and common rights and duties for all members."¹⁵³ It is essential to highlight the difference between the nation and the state. A political organization with a centralized government that has legal authority to use force within a designated territory commonly defines the state.¹⁵⁴ The difference between a nation and a state lies in the fact that a state is a political-civil community, while a nation refers to a cultural-political community. A nation can exist without a state; however, a state cannot exist without a nation. Stateless nations, or societies in some instances, were the nation's primary form since antiquity. However, Europe would not experience the widespread application of states until feudalism in the Medieval Ages.¹⁵⁵ In the Schleswig and Holstein duchies, this also proved true. Modern examples of a stateless nation include Scotland in the United Kingdom, Catalonia in Spain, and Hong Kong in China.

¹⁵³ Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism, The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures*, (Lebanon: University Press of New England, 2000), 3

¹⁵⁴ Erika Cudworth, *The Modern State: Theories and Ideologies*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 95.

¹⁵⁵ Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 1-2.

The differences between the nation and the State are provided in the above paragraph; however, what is the relationship between the nation and the State? For starters, the nation refers to a type of community, while the State refers to an institutional activity.¹⁵⁶ The detailed definition of the State, as described by Smith in *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (2010), is "a set of autonomous institutions, differentiated from other institutions, possessing a legitimate monopoly of coercion and extraction in a given territory."¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the State provides the nation with political legitimacy.

From the bottom up, laws, customs, and government types are derivative of cultural traditions and social structure.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, legislation and education contribute to improving the character of the nation. As Rousseau states in *Correspondence Générale*, a collection of Rousseau's thoughts edited by Theophile Dufour in 1924, "It is the laws, mores, the customs, the government, the constitution, and the mode of existence that results from all these. The *Patrie* exists in the relations of the State to its members; when those relations change, or perish, the *Patrie* vanishes."¹⁵⁹ In Germany, beginning in the Sixteenth Century, it influenced German nationalist thought profoundly. The State reached its full potential in Saxony and Hesse, changing the prince's responsibilities. A prime example of this is Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse (1504-1567), and the Homberg Synod (1526). The prince's responsibilities included his subjects' spiritual and material

¹⁵⁶ Smith, *Nationalism*, 12.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 12.

¹⁵⁸ Leopold von Ranke, "Über die Trennung und die Einheit von Deutschland' (1832)" *Sammtliche Werke*, Vols. XLVIII and XLIX (Leipzig, 1887), p. 134.

¹⁵⁹ Rousseau, *Correspondence Générale*, ed. T. Dufour, (Paris: Colin, 1924-34), 337-338.

The relationship between the nation and the State is seen in the elements of the nation-state, which Adrian Hastings, a former Professor of Theology at the University of Leeds, in his work *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (1997), defines it as "A State that identifies itself in terms of one specific nation whose people are not seen simply as 'subjects' of the sovereign but as horizontally bonded society to whom the State in a sense belongs."¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, the State's sovereignty rests on the historical identity of its people. The purpose of a state for a nation-state is to defend the people's culture, protect citizens, and advance the nation's interests.

In the context of the Schleswig and Holstein duchies, specifically the pre-modern era, the State formation is nearly nonexistent. The Danish and the Holy Roman Empire oversaw ruling duties in their respective duchies. Regionally, feudal estates comprised most civic duties until the Protestant Reformation.¹⁶¹ Several sporadic council meetings, including estate owners, met to discuss matters between the estates and the safety of the estates from outside threats. Between the Sixteenth Century and the Nineteenth Century, royal families in their respective lands constituted the 'state' in most of the duchies. Governments and councils were established in the early Nineteenth Century to separate the German duchies from the Danish absolute monarchy. As

discussed in Chapter Two, these 'governments' were only temporary. Short of the Autonomous Peasant Republic in the Dithmarschen region during the early to middle Medieval period, the

¹⁶⁰ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

¹⁶¹ Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 1-2.

duchies did not experience a national 'state,' nor did they have an overall, centralized, institutionalized legitimate monopoly in the duchies as detailed in the State definition above; therefore, this dissertation considers them to be a stateless nation.

In a nationalist context, the State is legitimized by the principles of nationalism, and as explained later in this dissertation, viable nations and nationalism exist without a state.¹⁶² In analyzing the relationship between nationalism and the State, the State is a product of nationalism. When a nation needs to defend its citizens' cultures, territories, and religious beliefs, it forms a state. This 'bottom-up' approach to the State formation coincides with the duchies' defensive form of nationalist thought and their attempts to defend their culture and territory against the offensive form of Danish nationalist encroachment in the early Nineteenth Century.

Nationalism is defined by Smith in his work *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (2010), as "An ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some members to constitute an actual or potential "nation."¹⁶³ Four main paradigms compose nationalism. These concepts serve as the foundation of the field while being separated into lesser-studied subsections shared by all. Nationalist experts classify paradigms into four distinct categories based on chronology: Primordialist, Perennialist, Modernist, and Ethno-Symbolic.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Smith, *Nationalism*, 17.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 28.

¹⁶⁴ For historiographies on the four paradigms, please reference (Primordialism) Donald L. Horowitz, "The Primordialists," *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Study of Nationalism*, Ed. Daniele Conversi, (London: Routledge, 2004); (ism) Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); (Modernism) Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism, A Critical Introduction*, 2nd Ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); (Ethno-Symbolicism) Aviel Roshwald, *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots and Modern Dilemmas*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primordialism is the first core national paradigm, which institutes nationalism the furthest back into history. The basic understanding of primordialism is that nations exist seamlessly in the natural order and have existed since the first order of time. The primordial approach contends that nations lie at the crux of subsequent processes and developments.¹⁶⁵ Biblical nationalism, as will be analyzed next chapter, corresponds with this category. Smith mentions in his work *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (2010), that primordial nations share with God the attributes of existing before all things and originating everything.¹⁶⁶ Additionally, individuals beyond the social bond of the community must conceive it. Primordialism is the basis for essentialist, naturalist, and organic forms of nationalism, including sociobiological and cultural subsets. This paradigm proposes that ethnic groups form along the fundamental aspects of social existence.¹⁶⁷ These givens follow secular, civil, and religious ties based on the strength of personal identity created from attachments to kin, language, customs, and territory. As Clifford Geertz states in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), primordial attachments rely on perceptions and beliefs that individuals attribute to them as overpowering coerciveness when seen as givens.¹⁶⁸ Additionally, Smith adds that individuals feel and believe in the primordality of *ethnies* and nations, as well as their naturalness, longevity, and power, and view themselves as more inquisitive collective members.¹⁶⁹ Sociobiological processes, the necessity for ethnic breeding, and biological elements combine the foundations of primordial nationalism.¹⁷⁰ For Smith, in *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (2010), primordialism breaks

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *Nationalism*, 55.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 55.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 56.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 56-57; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (USA: Basic Books, 1973), 259.

¹⁶⁹ Smith, *Nationalism*, 13, 55; Smith defines *ethnie* as "a named human community connected to a homeland, possessing common myths of ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of shared culture, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites."

down to a sociobiological tie, which contends that "Nations, ethnic groups, and races can be traced to the underlying genetic reproductive drives of individuals and their use of strategies of 'nepotism' and 'inclusive fitness' to maximize their gene pools."¹⁷⁰ Individuals tend to mate with those from the affiliated ethnic background, leading to ethnic inclusivity. During perceived threats from other ethnic groups, individuals demonstrate this propensity. Accordingly, the breeding patterns of individuals are out of survival rather than the more recent misconception that ethnic breeding is for 'supremacy.'

Based on religious ties into antiquity, primordial nations have robust connections with religion, especially with more recognized religions like Christianity and Islam. Examples of primordial nations are Israel, Sri Lanka, and Japan. The next chapter covers a detailed analysis of religion's influence on nationalist thought. Still, this section incorporates the nationalist element of the relationship. Religion brings vital cultural elements to nations, as witnessed by origin myths. For Pierre van den Berghe, an American Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Washington, concludes in his works "Race and Ethnicity: a Sociobiological Perspective," published in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (1978) and "Does Race Matter?" published in *Nations and Nationalism* (1995), that legends of ethnic groups frequently harmonize with actual biological origins.¹⁷¹ This cultural-biological affinity sparks a vivid sentiment of belonging, a deeper identity, and individual direction in the collective. Individuals within a more influential cultural group of kin, with corresponding religious associations and cultural symbols such as language, receive tangible markers of biological affinity. Therefore, within this process,

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 56.

¹⁷¹ Pierre Van den Berghe, "Race and Ethnicity: A Sociobiological Perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, no. 4 (1978): 401-411; Pierre Van den Berghe, "Does Race Matter?" *Nations and Nationalism* 1, no. 3 (1995): 357-368.

individuals regard the nation as the family, contributing to even more profound, more engulfing emotions while amplifying awareness of extraneous influences.

When religion is more of an outlier, as it plays a function in society but when it is the epicenter of society, religion is a standalone nationalist essence. However, religion is a cultural essence when religion has a centralized position in a community or nation.¹⁷² Religion primarily includes many cultural aspects, so it can be considered a cultural essence. In paganism and druidism, the belief intertwines the spirits, animals, and their gods mainly founded on nature.¹⁷³ Christians do not believe nature or spirits are Gods but hold them as vital parts of God's creation. Therefore, one prays to an unseen and unheard God when performing prayer. While paganism draws upon itself as a religion that a devotee can reach out to and tangibly embrace, it falls somewhat between Gods that are not visible and the natural elements such as trees, water, and fire.¹⁷⁴

Various changes have significantly affected the national identity of Germans who have a rich religious history. First is Germanic paganism, which followed a pantheon of gods such as Wōden, Balder, Sunne, Volla, and Friia.¹⁷⁵ These gods were like the North Germanic (Old Norse) religion, which is more well-known than Western Germanic Gods.¹⁷⁶ The two Merseburg Charms,

¹⁷² Anthony Winterbourne, *When the Norns Have Spoken: Time and Fate in Germanic Paganism*, (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004), 22; Winterbourne clarifies that Paganism is both more and less a religion, more in the sense that it is an extensive social system while less because of its lack of dogma.

¹⁷³ Ken Dowden, *European Paganism the Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, (London: Routledge, 2000), 79.

¹⁷⁴ Peter Orton, "Pagan Myth and Religion," *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, Ed. Rory McTurk, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 303.

¹⁷⁵ Bryan Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 258; Another primary source that displays the West Germanic version of paganism is the *Nigon Wyrta Galdor*, otherwise known as *The Nine Herbs Charm*, found in The Lacnunga, TNA MS, Folios 160r – 163v, *Harley Papers*: The National Archives, Kew, London.

¹⁷⁶ Old Norse mythology is common knowledge for most European historians because of the abundant sources, while continental Germanic, especially West Germanic and Anglo-Saxon mythologies are more fragmentary

which are displayed next chapter, are a set of incantations written in Old High German and are prime examples of pre-Christian Paganism, confirm these deities. As philologists approximate the different languages, such as Old High German, Old Norse, and Old English, they find reputable similarities. Some scholars doubt the prevalence of the religion across the Germanic lands; however, like all polytheistic religions, it varies in terms of praying to one God over another, approaching them in specific locations, and showing appropriate respect. The individual and occasionally collective distinctions in how to approach the same religion over a considerable number of tribes or a large quantity of land present a changing aspect of this specific religion.

The Germans began converting to Christian during the Roman Era and continued between the Fourth and Ninth Centuries. Conversion naturally started in Southern Europe, roughly the Alps, and modern-day France's Southwest. Many early conversions transpired with tribes that had consistent contact with the Romans. Conversion slowly moved north and east with the spread of the Carolingian Empire (800-887 CE), especially under the rule of Charles the Great (748-814 CE), also known as Charlemagne, surpassing the duchies during his rule.¹⁷⁷ The Saxons withstood conversion until the Saxon Wars and the codification of the *Lex Saxonum* in 802 CE; however, as Charlemagne journeyed north, conversion increased in the duchies and Scandinavia.¹⁷⁸ The North

and well below common knowledge outside specialist circles. Unfortunately, many scholars pair Old Norse and Germanic mythologies together, dissolving the differences between them. While Old Norse is of North Germanic origin, West Germanic and Anglo-Saxon mythologies have their origins in different regions and with their own distinctiveness. For an influential work on pre-Christian Germanic religions, please reference Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (1883), Vol. III, Trans. James Steven Stallybrass, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁷⁷ As Charlemagne moved northward, he established rules for the churches and clergy in the document called *The Capitulary of Charlemagne*. Released to the public in 802 CE, it became the founding charter for the Holy Roman Empire. Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896); "Mon. Germ. Hiss." Quarto Series, LL. IL., 91, 99; Also found in "Altmann u. Bernheim, 4.

¹⁷⁸ Ingrid Rembold, *Conquest and Christianization: Saxony and the Carolingian World, 772-888*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 43; Rembold details the account of a Saxon pagan noble Widukind who resisted Frankish control and inspired Saxons and their neighboring Germanic tribe Frisians to denounce Christianity and embrace paganism.

Germanic Swedes would not convert until the Eleventh Century, while the Dithmarschen would not ultimately convert until the Sixteenth Century.¹⁷⁹

Some scholars, such as Rogers Brubaker, a Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of California, interpret nationalism and religion in his work "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," published in *Nations and Nationalism* (2012) as interchangeable elements, and there are four critical approaches to this philosophy.¹⁸⁰ They are, first, treating religion and nationalism as analogous phenomena. The second lets religion help describe nationalism, while the third is to regard religion as part of nationalism. The fourth is to pursue a distinct religious form of nationalism.

The first approach is treating nationalism as a religion, and it fixates on the emotions activated by religion. To Carlton Hayes, a pioneering specialist in nationalism studies, explains in his book *Essays on Nationalism* (1926) that triggered nationalist sentiments are the same as sincere emotions equivalent to spiritual emotions.¹⁸¹ He emphasizes that nationalism comprises faith in an external power such as a state, feelings of reverence, ceremonial rites, and the importance of a flag. According to Smith, nationalism can be considered a religion, but exclusively in a substantive and functional sense.¹⁸² Developing our worldview without contradicting religion's adherence to God, nationalism contributes a critical characteristic to individual and collective lives as a

¹⁷⁹ The Dithmarschen holdouts were well known, as Martin Luther commented "they knew well enough what kind of people those from Dithmarschen were." Martin Luther, *Van Broder Henrico in Dytmarschen vorbrent*, (Wittenberg: [Hans Weiß], 1525), 326; However, the extent of how many people in Dithmarschen were still pagans in the 1500s is unknown.

¹⁸⁰ Rogers Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," *Nations and Nationalism* 18, no. 1 (2012): 2.

¹⁸¹ Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), 3.

¹⁸² Brubaker, Religion and Nationalism, 3.

supplementary belief system. Hayes reveals that while numerous religions seek to unify, nationalism inverts course by observing the biblical approach to 'chosen peoples' and the 'other.'¹⁸³

The second approach is that religion helps clarify nationalism. The process is formulating political claims through identification as a method of social organization. This approach pursues religion and nationalism from the inside rather than the outside, which is its vital attribute. Individuals see their collective identity and understand the world in a distinctive way when considered the 'chosen.' This observation proves true and contributes to the third approach, which approaches religion as a part of nationalism. It is common to pursue this connection when religion and national symbols become intertwined, particularly in nations closely connected to religion.¹⁸⁴ Specific forms of nationalism have also been shaped by religious traditions.

Pietism's consequence on German nationalism commenced with a gathering of enlightened men who embraced Pietist conventions while influenced by Enlightenment ideas.¹⁸⁵ Koppel S. Pinson, a Nineteenth Century American historian who specialized in the origins of German nationalism, writes in his book *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (1934), states that they discharged "the energies and forces hitherto restricted to religion" and directed them towards "the problems of human affairs."¹⁸⁶ Founded in Pietist traditions, individuality and

¹⁸³ Ibid, 3, 6; Ofri Ilany, "Herr Zebaoth and the German Nation: Bible and Nationalism in the Anti-Napoleonic Wars," *Global Intellectual History: Ruth Jackson Special Issue Theology and Politics* 5, no. 1 (2020): 106; Ilany points out that Protestant Christianity makes divine chosenness more dominant.

¹⁸⁴ Brubaker, *Religion and Nationalism*, 11.

¹⁸⁵ Some of the primary figures to start Pietism are Count Nikolaus, Johann Arndt, and August Hermann Francke, while some of the more prominent works include *Pia Desideria* (1675), *True Christianity I-IV* (1749), and *Sixteen Discourses* (1740). Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Sixteen Discourses on the Redemption of Man by the Death of Christ*, (London: James Hutton, 1740); Dr. Philipp Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria oder herzlich Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Vesserung der wahren evangelischen Kirche...* (1675), (Leipzig: Köhler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Adolf Winter, 1841); John Arndt, *True Christianity: A Treatise on Sincere Repentance, True Faith, The Holy Walk of the True Christian, Etc...*(1749), (Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co., 1868).

¹⁸⁶ Koppel S. Pinson, *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 61,75.

uniqueness sprouted a unique nationality. Religion, as it often does, increases awareness of larger groups of people, such as during conversion and baptism. Being cleansed reminds people of their origin myths and culture while giving them an experience of shared belonging. Promoting shared beliefs increases civil and political consciousness through the need to defend them. Pre-modern religious nationalist thoughts and sentiments, in this context, bring people together to support shared beliefs and help validate the argument for the existence of early modern nationalism.

Religiously established political and territorial legitimacy empowered political actors through origin myths that associated the past with the present. Religious actors assert that the Church is the nation's architect and is undestroyable with its political elaboration.¹⁸⁷ Of course, Protestantism and Catholicism influenced a wide array of different trends of nationalist thought compared to more minor disciplines such as Puritanism and Pietism. Protestantism is led in the 17th Century by Martin Luther while Catholicism has multiple influential individuals including St. Thomas Aquinas.¹⁸⁸ Puritanism has a variety of leaders to include John Winthrop while Pietism has its founding by a man named Philipp Spener.¹⁸⁹ Scholars discovered that faith, when approached from a more comprehensive religion such as confessionism, filters the growth of nationalist thought by generating new modes of construction and imagination, forming social and political

¹⁸⁷ Lucian N. Leustrean, "Orthodoxy and Political Myths in Balkan National Identities," *National Identities* 10, no. 4 (2008): 421-422.

¹⁸⁸ Luther wrote too many works to list here, but a good example of his writing is *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount* (1533); Martin Luther, *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount* (1533), trans. Charles A. Hay, D.D. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1892). St. Thomas Aquinas is best known for his *Summa Theologiae*; Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, ed. Brian Davies, Brian Leftow, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁸⁹ Puritanism has its influence from John Owen, a 17th Century Puritan theologian who published over 80 books. A notable work of his is John Owen, *Of the Mortification of Sin in Believers* (1656), (Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2002), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/owen/mort.html>. Philipp Spener is the best known for Pietism and he is known for writing "A Model of Christian Charity (1838);" Philipp Spener, "A Model of Christian Charity," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 3, no. 7 (1838).

relationships, promoting literacy and standardization of vernacular languages, and tightening the cultural alignments in groups and nations.¹⁹⁰

The Sixteenth Century ushered in another fluid essence of religion: the Protestant Reformation. The Reformation furnishes the models for the political community and delivers an individual's direction by designating the direct study of scripture and the unmediated relationship with God.¹⁹¹ Before the Reformation began, the Germanic lands predominantly followed Catholicism; however, in the duchies, there were still pockets of pagan holdouts.¹⁹² Lutheranism is the catalyst that permitted conversion to reach those pockets with the usefulness of the German language.¹⁹³ Conversion played a crucial role in the formation and progression of the German nation, despite its dangers. As religion transformed, so did individual and collective identity. Collective identity formed through religion's developing changes, from Paganism to Catholicism and Lutheranism. It also played a crucial role in maintaining stability and fostering the development of the Holy Roman Empire and its constituent duchies. Its presence remained constant over centuries and served as a unifying force. It furnished people with a familiar element to intercommunicate with others, developing and supporting the consciousness that would evolve into collective and, even later, international consciousness.¹⁹⁴ This model underscores the

¹⁹⁰ Brubaker, *Religion and Nationalism*, 6.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, 7.

¹⁹² James C. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 108; Russell points out that the organic relationship in folk-religious societies, such as the pre-Christian Germanic societies, often experience religious elements more extensively diffused throughout the society.

¹⁹³ David M. Luebke, et al., *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 34; These authors describe two conversion processes, transitive and intransitive. Transitive involves the direct conversion towards God and completed immediately while intransitive is more of a process and done consecutively; Martin Luther, "The Burning of Friar Henry in Dithmarschen, 1525," *The AGES Digital Library Collections: Works of Martin Luther*, vol. 4, (Albany: Books for the Ages, 1997), 138-151.

¹⁹⁴ A part of intercommunicating and collective consciousness is believing in the core tenets of religion. Martin Luther establishes these tenets in many of his works including *Sermon on Threefold Righteousness, On the*

convention of democratic and nationalist self-rule, while politicism provisioned models for secular self-rule. While the Reformation laid the groundwork for nationhood with a standardized vernacular language championed by Martin Luther, confessionalism guided the way for the fusion of politics and religion despite the new territorial churches being subordinate to secular political rule. Confessionalism unlocked the nation up to state-led cultural homogenization through the Latin phrase *cuius regio, eius religio* (whose realm, their religion), defined as the ruled must practice the same religion as the ruler, and was an accepted practice in Europe by 1532 with the Nuremberg Religious Peace. This furthered the territorialization and pluralization of religion, and legalized it with the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, which allowed the coexistence of Lutheranism and Catholicism as dictated by German state princes.¹⁹⁵ Also, the 1648 Peace of Westphalia signaled the end of the Thirty Years' War and a change towards European secularization.¹⁹⁶

The fourth approaches nationalism as distinctly religious. Rogers Brubaker, a Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of California, describes in his work "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," published in *Nations and Nationalism* (2012) that nationalism is a variable ideology, and by augmenting religion, nationalism embraces a religious connotation.¹⁹⁷ Nations implement 'religious nationalist thought' which endows them with

Freedom of a Christian, and Sermons on the Gospel of John; Martin Luther, "Sermon on Threefold Righteousness," *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 2, (Weimar: Hermann Boehlau, 1884), 41-47; Martin Luther, *On the Freedom of a Christian* (1520), (Project Wittenberg, 1998), <https://www.ctsfw.edu/etext/luther/freedom/>; Martin Luther, "Sermons on the Gospel of John: Chapters 17-20," *Luther's Werke: Wochenpredigten ueber Johannes 146-20* 28, trans. Erwin W. Koehlinger, (Project Wittenberg, 1998), <https://www.ctsfw.edu/etext/luther/sermons/john/>.

¹⁹⁵ Karl Zeumer, ed., "The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555)," *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Deutschen Reichsverfassung im Mittelalter und Neuzeit* 2nd ed, vol 2 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr-Paul Siebeck, 1913), 341-47.

¹⁹⁶ Brubaker, *Religion and Nationalism*, 8; "Treaty of Westphalia: Peace Treaty between the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France and their respective Allies (1648)," *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*, (Yale Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008), https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/westphal.asp.

standards of authority and power to regulate every aspect of life. Accordingly, religion compliments nationalist thought with the naturally missing essences. This approach concentrates on safeguarding the traditional family, a fundamental measure for social reproduction and moral socialization, and supporting gendered roles inside and outside the home.¹⁹⁷ It also encourages regulating sexuality by seeking to contain sexuality within the ethnicity.

Scholars of nationalism document the Bible's association with nationalism. Steven Grosby, a Professor of Religion at Clemson University, analyzes in his work *Biblical Ideas of Nationality, Ancient and Modern* (2002) the premodern concept of nationality, and David Aberbach, a Hebrew and Comparative Literature Professor at McGill University, describes in his work *Jewish Cultural Nationalism: Origins and Influences* (2007) how the Hebrew Bible is a prototype for secular national identity.¹⁹⁸ Diana Appelbaum, an American Historian writes in her work “Biblical Nationalism and the Sixteenth-Century States,” published in *National Identities* (2013), describes the identification of biblical nationalism in post-reformation Sixteenth Century European states.¹⁹⁹ However, the enlargement in national Jewish scholarship ushered in alternative fields, which had unrecognized negative consequences for the specialization. One example is Orientalist Philology, which aspires to produce the investigation of semantics, the elucidation of language connotations, into a scientific occupation.²⁰⁰ This domain aided in the invention of biblical criticism, leading to

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 13.

¹⁹⁸ Steven Grosby, *Biblical Ideas of Nationality, Ancient and Modern*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 13-51; David Aberbach, *Jewish Cultural Nationalism: Origins and Influences*, (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2007,) 14

¹⁹⁹ Mette Buchardt, "Educational Biblical Nationalism and the Project of the Modern Secular State," *Croatian Journal of Education* 22, no. 2 (2020): 134; Diana Muir Appelbaum, "Biblical Nationalism and the Sixteenth-Century States," *National Identities* 15, no. 4 (2013): 318.

²⁰⁰ Martti Koskenniemi and Bo Stråth, “Europe’s Legacy in the Modern World,” review of *Orientalism, Philology, and the Illegibility of the Modern World*, by Henning Trüper, *The Journal of Modern History* 94, no. 1 (March 2022): 172.

the Nineteenth Century German Biblical Scholar, best known as a Biblical Critic, Julius Wellhausen's 'documentary hypothesis,' which asserts that the Pentateuch is much younger than previously argued, based on four independent writings anointed Jahwist (J), Elohist (E), Q Gospel (Q), and Priestly (P).²⁰¹ These 'gospels' validity is still highly debated and the consequences of their use include biblical misinterpretations. Wellhausen's hypothesis did not advance the relationship between the Bible and nationalism. Nevertheless, the invention of biblical criticism did assist its development. By introducing criticism, scholars could modify their perspectives and approaches to the Bible; consequently, in doing so, they could identify nationalistic semantics and language, enlarging scholarly interpretation of the Bible and its intrinsic relationship with nationalism.

Primordialism is the foremost paradigm for both the voluntary and organic versions of nationalism and experiences the same elements for kinship, descent, language, religion, customs, historical territory, the assumption of a prominent place, communal belonging, and that nations retain a privileged reputation in history.²⁰² Their primary disparity is the relationship between the individual and the collective.

The inceptive nationalist version of this dissertation is the voluntarist one, better acknowledged in Western Europe and America. What embodies voluntarism is that the individual can determine their nation.²⁰³ For this version, the nation amasses a contractual political association with a rational territorial organization of citizens pledged jointly by laws. An

²⁰¹ For a complete translation of Wellhausen's work, please reference Julius Wellhausen, "Prolegomena to the History of Israel," *The Project Gutenberg eBook of Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, (December, 2020), <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/4732/pg4732.html>.

²⁰² Smith, *The Nation in History*, 5.

²⁰³ Ibid, 6; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations, and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1991), 8.

individual subscribes to an arrangement with an exclusive charter of laws and political culture, conveys its political cultures in historic territory, and requires a stable middle class or working class to assemble and guide a mass citizen nation. Johann Herder, an Eighteenth-Century German philosopher, vehemently reinforces the voluntarist version as seen in *Werke* (1953) and *Herder Werke: Frühe Schriften* (1985), which presses that people must pursue their path, speak their language, rediscover their history, and possess their thoughts.²⁰⁴ To him, the most consequential is an authentic group experience; God's plan consists of experiencing life in that scenario. These features advances education, enlightenment, individual self-improvement, and the *Bildung* characterized as the purpose of enlightenment philosophers.²⁰⁵ Johann Fichte, another Eighteenth Century German philosopher, elevated Herder's conception of nationalism in his *Addresses to the German Nation* (1808) by embracing Romanticism.²⁰⁶ He extrapolates that genuine liberty is the absorption of the individual self into the collective will.²⁰⁷ Absorption transpires through national instruction in the vernacular language, and exclusively through this pedagogy, individuals will recognize themselves in the collective.

Central and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Asia exhibit a prevalence of organic nationalism. This nationalist version eliminates the selection of one's nation and observes that an individual's birth nation is his lifetime nation.²⁰⁸ The individual and the nation participate in a

²⁰⁴ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Werke*, Vol. V, Herausgegeben von K. G. Gerold, (Munich: Hanser, 1953), 5; Johann Gottfried Herder, "Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache, welche den von der Königl. Academie der Wissenschaften für das Jahr 1770 Gesetzten Preis erhalten hat (1772)," *Herder Werke, Frühe Schriften, 1764–1772*, ed. Ulrich Gaier, Vol. 1. (1985), 695-810.

²⁰⁵ Smith, *The Nation in History*, 6.

²⁰⁶ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, "Addresses to the German Nation (1808)," *German History in Documents and Images*, https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=3988.

²⁰⁷ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, Ed. Gregory Moore, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 496.

²⁰⁸ Eugene O'Brien, "The Epistemology of Nationalism," *Irish Studies Review* 5, no. 17 (1996): 11.

spiritual link that transcends physicality, so an individual maintains an affinity with his birth nation even if he journeys and lives beyond it.²⁰⁹ In organicist nations, a small group of urban intellectuals lead the national campaign. The backing deficiency for nationalist movements requires an authoritarian and even mystical leader.²¹⁰ Since these nations derive most of their identity from the ruling class, they frequently do not have a robust working class.

The second primary paradigm is Perennialism, which characterizes nations as having existed throughout history. This approach to social development focuses on incremental stages of progress that lead to cultural and social accumulation.²¹¹ One of the first nationalist scholars to suggest this paradigm was Hugh Seton-Watson, a Twentieth Century British historian and political scientist, in his work *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (1977).²¹² He argues that Perennial nationalism has existed since ancient times and has been present throughout history, with nations having enduring and lengthy histories. Examples of Perennial nations are France, England, Scotland, and Spain. *Continuous* perennialism focuses on the continuity of nations. In contrast, *recurrent* perennialism categorizes nations as a part of human association, ubiquitous, and appears in every period of history and on every continent. The ‘recurrence’ of a collective identity may be expressed in different ways, in different eras, and their nations may even come and go. Still, the idea of the nation is universal.²¹³ The basic understanding

²⁰⁹ Oliver Zimmer, “A Unique Fusion of the Natural and the Man-made: The Trajectory of Swiss Nationalism, 1933–39,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 1 (2004): 12; Zimmer describes a Swiss need for organicist nationalism as “Swiss nationality required a conceptualization that went beyond locating the essence of Swiss nationhood in the civic commitment to abstract values and state institutions.”

²¹⁰ Smith, *The Nation in History*, 6.

²¹¹ Abdul Maajid Dar, "Revisiting Key Debates in the Study of Nationalism," *Humanities & Social Sciences Communications* 9, no. 1 (2022): 5.

²¹² Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: an Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977).

²¹³ *Ibid*, 54-55.

of perennialism is that no matter the reason, the nation has existed for a long time. Another essential component of perennialism is that national identity is gradually, invariably progressing over time, and with deliberate maturation, nations are historically based despite altering with time.²¹⁴ Perennial nations often require territory to launch an exclusive national foundation founded on their national myths or their believed homeland.²¹⁵ In Chapter Five, one will witness how indispensable territory is for nationalism through the analysis of historical patterns.

Identifying historical patterns includes digging into a nation's origin myths or stories and identifying the nation's foundational characteristics. These historical patterns last months or years, generational, and centuries, as well as religious, economic, and territorial factors. They are political with the rise and fall of empires and states, such as the Republican Era of the Roman Empire (509 BCE – 27 BCE), the rise and fall of the Holy Roman Empire (800 CE – 1806 CE), and the Romanov epoch in Russia (1613 CE-1917 CE). How historical patterns form vary significantly on the nation's history and at the nation is now, provided there is continuity through groups, tribes, coalitions, empires, and nations. This continuity and national consciousness can manifest in different ways, such as through the formation of pan-tribal groups, clear distinctions between those considered chosen and others, the use of a common language despite dialectical differences, and shared cultural traits rooted in origin myths, historical and religious symbols, and adopted traditions and customs including breeding habits.²¹⁶ When one or many of the components of national consciousness change, it symbolizes a shift in continuity that creates historical patterns. This transpires through a metamorphosis in leadership, such as through military conquest or treaty

²¹⁴ Stuart Whigham, "Nationalism, Party Political Discourse and Scottish Independence: Comparing Discursive Visions of Scotland's Constitutional Status," *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 4 (2019): 1216.

²¹⁵ Smith, *Nationalism*, 29.

²¹⁶ Juliette Blevins, *Evolutionary Phonology: The Emergence of Sound Patterns*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 25.

signing, and the change to national identity based on the incorporation of neighboring nations into an expanded state, such as an empire or coalition. It likewise changes through the dissolution of one or numerous territories from the nation, and the changes to language.²¹⁷

Before analyzing language, it is helpful to understand the formation of national identity which is influenced by cultural characteristics such as language and ethnicity. Through ethnogenesis, national identity bases change on identity and cultural transformation.²¹⁸ Commencing with primordial human nature and individual cooperation within groups, tribal societies developed, eventually leading to politics and the state. Family history, cultural traditions, shared legends, and the development of collective consciousness formed into a group and later national identity. These processes would not develop without language, and while the Germanic tribes communicated with each other, pan-Germanic communication extensively took hold in 1450 when people redirected from conventional Latin to the burgeoning vernacular. Before language became the cornerstone of national identity, dialects were a symbol of belonging, even if they weren't mutually intelligible.²¹⁹ During the fifteenth century, dialects represented religious affiliations traced back to earlier times. This caused the borders between tribes to become well-

²¹⁷ Mario Damen and Marcus Meer, "Heraldry and Territory: Coats of Arms and the Representation and Construction of Authority in Space," *Constructing and Representing Territory in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Ed. Mario Damen and Kim Overlaet, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 247; Damen and Meer highlight Stuart Elden's characterization of territory in his work "How Should We Do the History of Territory?" in *Territory, Politics, Governance* 1, no. 1 (2013): 5-20, which defines territory as "territory is more than simply a bounded or enclosed area: it includes both the politico-economic connotation (land) and the politico-strategic connotation (terrain), but at the same time it involves the management of space through a variety of policies and techniques."

²¹⁸ Azar Gat, "Identities, National Sentiments and National Solidarity," *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, Ed. Lotte Jensen, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 31; Gat defines ethnogenesis as "processes of ethnic and national fission and fusion."

²¹⁹ Peter Burke, "Nationalisms and Vernaculars, 1500-1800," *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 29.

defined, as German prevailed over Latin in the Holy Roman Empire. Language is an avenue for historians to connect displaced tribes and allows scholars to track group movements.

Over 2,500 years, the German language undergoes considerable transformations.²²⁰ Although the understanding between the dialects diminished as the years progressed, it is a crucial aspect of national identity. At about 500 BCE, the Germanic version of the Indo-European language commenced to be distinguishable from the other languages.²²¹ Languages like Old Saxon, Old Dutch, Old Frisian, and Old High German began forming between 500 BCE and 500 CE. However, as tribes moved and separated, additional languages developed from the old languages. These become more common as one approaches modernity. Some of these languages are North Frisian, Dutch, English, Cimbrian, and German.²²² As languages formed, so did tribal identities, progressing into national identity. Geography played a prominent function in the dialects employed by Germans. In Appendix L, the blue region spoke a Low German dialect, the yellow spoke a Middle German dialect, and the orange spoke a High German dialect.²²³ Furthermore, incorporated on the map are Frisian, Netherlandic, and Saterlandic. These dialects were similar until the Second Germanic Consonant Shift in the Eighth Century, which changed the number of consonant words in many High and Middle German dialects.²²⁴ Low German and Old English did not experience the shift and consequently remained closer to the older languages.²²⁵

²²⁰ See Appendix K.

²²¹ Carl Waldman and Catherine Mason, *Encyclopedia of European Peoples*, (New York: Facts on File, 2006), 300.

²²² Eduard Prokosch, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, (Surrey: Tiger Xenophon, 2009), 30-31.

²²³ See Appendix L.

²²⁴ For a comprehensive explanation of the consonant shift, please reference L. G. Heller, "The Second Germanic Consonant Shifts: A Typological Parametric View," *Folia Linguistica* 6, no. 3-4 (1973): 305-313.

²²⁵ Orrin W. Robinson, *Old English and Its Closest Relatives: A Survey of the Earliest Germanic Languages*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 134; Robinson describes Old English as the 'middle ground' between Old Norse and Old Saxon.

Most dialects disseminated other inconsequential modifications, but the Second Orthographic Conference completed the standardization of the Standard High German in 1901. This standardization constituted Middle and High German dialects as they underwent consonant shifts. The standard High German forced out Low German and designated it mainly as a separate language.

In the duchies, Low German and Northern Frisian are the most spoken dialects in the pre-modern era, with more distinguishing variances depending on regions, such as the Dithmarschen dialect (also broken down into village variances), the Schleswig variance in most of Southern Schleswig, Frisian in the Northwest corner of Schleswig, and Holstein in the rest of that duchy.²²⁶ The evolution of distinct dialects and linguistic changes shaped Germany's identity. The use of Low German holds significant cultural value at the community level. However, as language standardization took root in Northern Germany, a more comprehensive national identity formed and absorbed village-level linguistics without destroying them. Languages change over time, with some dialects dying out or thriving and users often adopting vocabulary from other languages.²²⁷ When Germanic languages encountered Latin, certain words were adopted from each language to describe different things due to communication challenges. These words would become intertwined with the language and circulate across the dialects. Yet, Germans still recognized one another in a more expansive conscious and national identity by identifying the shared German language. The various idioms promote individual autonomy but are still within the collective identity of the language. Individuals of different dialects facilitated national unity by

²²⁶ Francis A. March, *A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language in which Its Forms are Illustrated by those of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High German*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1888), 2.

²²⁷ Andrew Dalby, *Dictionary of Languages*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 225.

comprehending other dialects to encourage communication of commerce, outside partnerships against an external other, or merely for spreading information between tribes.

During the Holy Roman Empire, officials had already begun to articulate Latin and the vernacular, which brought prestige to those who utilized it.²²⁸ The nobles consistently made their officials use the vernacular to circulate their notifications to the masses, essential for garnering sponsorship for military, political, or even religious campaigns. People widely used the vernacular language before the sixteenth century, but its importance grew during the Protestant Reformation, eventually becoming the foundation for a nationalist language.²²⁹

Martin Luther, a Sixteenth Century German priest and theologian, is the epicenter of the language reformation, bringing the vernacular to the forefront of religion and substituting Latin, the language of the nobles and formal education, for German. He translated the Bible's Old Testament into German in 1522 and would subsequently publish the complete German Bible in 1534.²³⁰ However, Jan Hus, a Czech reformer who exploited the anti-German sentiment to advocate for a Czech liturgy, instigated Luther to promote pro-German sentiment through language transition.²³¹ The language transposition instituted a surge for the national churches to employ their regional languages, especially in England, Denmark, Sweden, and other European countries.²³² Luther's *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, presented in 1520,

²²⁸ Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 30.

²²⁹ Kenneth Austin, *The Jews and the Reformation*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 39; The Jewish language spread predating the Reformation is due to the increase in literature, such as *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506). Over 300 different Hebrew grammars, dictionaries and concordances were published in the period between 1500 and 1560; Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1660)*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 75.

²³⁰ Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 26.

²³¹ *Ibid*, 25.

²³² For information on England's language reformation, please reference Jamie H. Ferguson, *Reformation Hermeneutics and Literary Language in Early Modern England: Faith in the Language*, (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); For information regarding the Reformation and Sixteenth Century linguistic changes in

sparked vernacular use in secular national circles.²³³ Thanks to literacy popularization, Protestant regions were the most literate in Europe by 1800.²³⁴

Through the Reformation, the Bible became accessible to the ordinary people. Nationalist stories commonly use the idea that a nation's citizens are the "chosen" people.²³⁵ The emphasis on the 'chosen' likewise sharpened the portrayal of the outside 'others,' non-citizens, or citizens of a different nation. The threat of the 'others,' simultaneously with the reach of literacy, expands the cognition of the collective consciousness and ultimately progressed into the national consciousness.²³⁶ In Protestant regions, the printing and circulating Bibles and catechisms are the primary means of increasing mass awareness.²³⁷ National consciousness ultimately matured into a nation with a standard language and religion as the epicenter of its national identity.²³⁸

In general, printing provided language with a definitive element, solidifying thought, stopping linguistic drift, and secured the permanence of new insights.²³⁹ It brought new ideas to a wider audience, provided people with an alternative to storytellers, and promoted literacy. Regarding nationalist thought, the transition from an oral based world to a visual printed world

Estonia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Sweden, Finland, the Low Countries, Lithuania, Germany, and Latvia, please reference Mikko Kauko, et al., *Languages in the Lutheran Reformation: Textual Networks and the Spread of Ideas*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019).

²³³ Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 25; Martin Luther, *The Essential Luther*, Ed. and Trans. Tryntje Helfferich, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2018), 48-57.

²³⁴ Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 25.

²³⁵ Florian Bieber, *Debates in World History: Debating Nationalism, the Global Spread of Nations*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 102.

²³⁶ Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 26.

²³⁷ *Ibid*, 26.

²³⁸ Hugh McLeod, "Christianity and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Europe," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 15, no. 1 (2015): 11.

²³⁹ Helmut Walser Smith, *Germany: A Nation in its Time, Before, During, and After Nationalism, 1500-2000*, (Liveright Publishing, 2005), 11.

opened the eyes of countless people, allowing them to see a world from a broader perspective, redefining their idea of time and space. This created a new understanding of people and identity, the sense of unity, and autonomy through the lens of the larger world. Maps fostered nationalist thoughts and sentiments as well, creating a geographical understanding of the world around them, and when displayed in people's houses, they signified the owner's pride of their ancestral homeland and bolstered patriotism.²⁴⁰ A good example of the medieval method of conceptualizing space is the Fifteenth-Century German historian and cartographer, Hartmann Schedel's 1493 *Liber Chronicarum*, also known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle* in the German edition. In this work contains a wood carving map of Germany by Hieronymus Münzer, a Fifteenth Century Renaissance humanist, based on an earlier map by Nicolaus Cusanus, a German Catholic cardinal and a Renaissance humanist.²⁴¹ The map symbolized the new conception of the nation, as confirmed in a letter from Münzer to Schedel that he had added a map of Germany that displayed the "length and breadth of Germany, placed in front of the eyes, comes clear to the fore."²⁴² Regarding the duchies, Münster's *Cosmographia's* (1544) contained the primary intent of "the description of the German nation," which sparked interest in individual German territories, such as the Sixteenth Century cartographer Mark Jordan's map of Holstein (1599).²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 18.

²⁴² Peter H. Meurer, *Corpus der älteren Germania-Karten: Ein annotierter Katalog der gedruckten Gesamtkarten des deutschen Raumes von den Anfängen bis um 1650*, (Alphen aan den Rijn, 2001), 110-111.

²⁴³ Smith, *Germany: A Nation*, 50; M. Jordan, "Danorum Marca, vel Cimbricum, aut Daniae Regnum ...," *Sanderus Antique Maps and Books: Antique Map of Denmark*, (Braun and Hogenberg, 1599), <https://sanderusmaps.com/our-catalogue/antique-maps/europe/northern-europe/antique-map-of-denmark-by-m-jordan-braun-hogenberg-24099>. The map was commissioned at the request of Duke Heinrich Rantzau, viceroy of Schleswig-Holstein.

Language eventually evolved into the symbol of religious devotion for the Protestants and, to a lesser capacity, different religions.²⁴⁴ Manners and customs emanating from national myths endorsed the vernacular dissemination. Over time, people's regional, social class, and religious affiliations formed a sense of national allegiance.²⁴⁵ Nations resumed encountering an upsurge in nationalist thought amid the Renaissance. During this time, humanists discovered a significant link between language and politics, leading to the revival of the classics through translations into regional languages. Nationalists celebrated the resurrection of the Hebrew Bible to promote these languages.²⁴⁶ The European communities experienced a significant increase in literacy by introducing these languages, previously only used by Jews. The vernacular Bible played a crucial role in the Reformation and the development of languages.²⁴⁷ It is the driving force behind the rise of modern nationalism and the primary tool for nation building.²⁴⁸ The Renaissance statehood model develops because of an earlier intellectual model. It theorizes language as a social and political influence concept. It also was a conveyance for embracing statesmen's deeds.²⁴⁹ In the same way, humanists supported the construction of a 'total' civilization that, dichotomizes with

²⁴⁴ Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 28.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 28.

²⁴⁶ David Aberbach, *Jewish Cultural Nationalism: Origins and Influences*, (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2007), 14; Appelbaum, *Biblical Nationalism*, 317-321.

²⁴⁷ G. R. Elton, *Reformation Europe, 1517-1559*, (London & Glasgow: Collins, 1971), 224.

²⁴⁸ Scholars who find that nationalism, especially Biblical, dates to the Protestant Reformation include (Netherlands) Philip S. Gorski, "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism," *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1428–68; (England) Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); (Scandinavia) Harald Gustafsson, "The Eighth Argument. Identity, Ethnicity, and Political Culture in Sixteenth Century Scandinavia," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 27, (2010): 91-113; (Hungary) Graeme Murdock, "The Importance of Being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 4 (1998): 1043–59; Robert Scribner, W., Roy Porter, and Mikuláš Teich, *The Reformation in National Context*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

²⁴⁹ Alan Patten, "The Humanist Roots of Linguistic Nationalism," *History of Political Thought* 27, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 225.

military triumph, like that of the Roman model. Adjusting this model to the application of the vernacular and the "enduring significance of premodern ethnic communities..." as Smith points out in his work *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986), would demonstrate to be focal topics for nationalist movements in the future.²⁵⁰

The third primary paradigm is the Modernist, which characterizes the method of nation-building as an ideology and movement originating from the French Revolution (1787-1799). It concentrates on the modern version of nationalist principles, such as national autonomy, unity, and identity, at the paradigm's center.²⁵¹ Modernists assert that nationalism is the consequence of modernity, along with nations, nation-states, national identities, and the whole 'international' community.²⁵² Modernists also contend that the French Revolution did not just usher in a new ideology but also an unknown form of human community, a unique collective identity, and a new inter-state order.²⁵³ In nationalist studies, the modernist paradigm dominates as the orthodoxy of scholarship. While believing nationalism as an ideology, movement, and symbolism is original, modernists view it as novel because, to them, nationalism is an innovation, not simply a revamped version of what they believe is premodern nationalism.²⁵⁴

At the epicenter of this version is the socioeconomic nationalist component, which originates from novel economic and social facets such as industrial Capitalism, defined as the rapid development of the factory system and more complex divisions of labor; regional imbalance,

²⁵⁰ Ibid, 226.

²⁵¹ Smith, *Nationalism*, 49, 53.

²⁵² Dean J. Kostantaras, *Nationalism and Revolution in Europe, 1763-1848*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 88.

²⁵³ Smith, *Nationalism*, 53.

²⁵⁴ Ibid, 50.

interpreted as uneven economic development across regions; class dissent, described as disagreement between different social and economic classes; and the sociocultural part as a transitional phenomenon of the modern industrial era.²⁵⁵ Modernists assert that nations are partially a development of literate, school-transmitted 'high-culture' reinforced by the contemporary mass standardization of a public education system.²⁵⁶ Politically, nations and nationalism solely form through a modern professional state considered the best clairvoyant for them. National relationships with a society institute a reintegrative national ideology, a crux feature of state sovereignty.²⁵⁷ Modernists acknowledge that their ideological origins are in Europe. Their stability comes from its quasi-religious leverage, its function in splitting up empires, and the installation of new nations where none existed.²⁵⁸ Lastly, the modern constructionist element concentrates on the social character of nature. They observe the Twentieth Century British historian Eric Hobsbawm's 'invented traditions' hypothesis that traditions are derivatives of social engineering created solely for the ruling class.²⁵⁹ Hobsbawm clarifies that his hypothesis is a broad approach encompassing constructed, formally instituted, and invented traditions. He defines *traditions* in his *The Invention of Tradition* (2012) as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain

²⁵⁵ S. Ganeshram, *Pathways to Nationalism: Social Transformation and Nationalist Consciousness in Colonial Tamil Nadu, 1858-1918*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 217.

²⁵⁶ Andrew Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War Reconstructing the Nation*, (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2013), 14; Robert C. Binkley, *Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1935), 63.

²⁵⁷ Muchkund Dubey, "The Nationalism Debate: Past and Present," *Indian Journal of Public Administration* 63, no. 1 (2017): 2; Dubey mentions that, in a modern context, a sovereign entity has military strength, bureaucracy, a collection of rules and propaganda machinery, a transmission method operated for entities to remain in authority.

²⁵⁸ Smith, *Nationalism*, 52.

²⁵⁹ E. J. Hobsbawm, and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Canto Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."²⁶⁰

Benedict Anderson, a Twentieth Century Anglo-Irish political scientist, historian, and another modernist, reasons in his work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2006), that the nation is an imagined political community with the assignment of replenishing the emptiness vacated by celestial religions and annihilated monarchies.²⁶¹ According to modernists like Anderson, Gellner, and Hobsbawm, national awareness emerged in the Nineteenth Century.²⁶² Before 1800, nobles communicated exclusively in Latin, while they relegated the vernacular to the lower classes.

The fourth and final primary nationalist paradigm is Ethno-Symbolic, mainly regarded as the 'postmodern' paradigm. Ethno-symbolists involve themselves with globalization, hybridization, and the everyday nation.²⁶³ They consider the nation phenomenological and historic, arising from dissatisfaction with the premodern and modernist paradigms.²⁶⁴ According to Anthony Smith in his work *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (2010), historical ethno-symbolism, in contrast to the other paradigms, converges on the subjective characteristics concerning the construction of nations, the distinguishing consequence of nationalism, and the persistence of *ethnies*.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 1.

²⁶¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. Ed, (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

²⁶² Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 21.

²⁶³ Smith, *Nationalism*, 61.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, 63.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 63.

Ethno-Symbolic nationalism primarily involves the reciprocal association between the nobility and the more subordinate 'people' such as the non-elites, middle and lower classes. In this paradigm, the lower classes restrained the elites through the convention of social and cultural traditions. A balanced nation consists of the grounded majority and the more aggressive elite despite furnishing social and cultural motivation for nationalist objectives and campaigns. Like perennialism, ethno-symbolic nationalism requires a gradually progressing nation with long-term established operations and systems.²⁶⁶

Scholars of ethno-symbolic nationalism require long-term investigation, usually consisting of many generations and centuries. Long-term research is necessary to illuminate the elaborate connections between the past and the present, the *ethnies* national history. It aspires to avoid the mistake of 'retrospective nationalism.' Retrospective nationalism reads past circumstances and politics through a contemporary nationalist lens with modern speculations and aspirations.²⁶⁷ Despite its systematic analysis, ethno-symbolic nationalists assume that passion and devotion to nations are the main problems with nationalism, primarily nationalist sentiment.²⁶⁸ The first issue is that they believe emotional attachments to the nation only lead to fanaticism and self-sacrifice. The second issue is that ethnic connections to nations encourage subjective characteristics of shared symbols, values, myths, and memories, increasing the intensity of ethnic and national conflicts.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Gurharpal Singh and Giorgio Shani, *Sikh Nationalism: from a Dominant Minority to an Ethno-Religious Diaspora*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 19.

²⁶⁷ Smith, *Nationalism*, 61.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 62.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 62.

Nationalism, like other ideologies, includes a belief system and principles. Scholars of nationalism, Anthony Smith and Elie Kedourie, a Twentieth Century British historian, inaugurated these propositions, which most intellectuals of the primary paradigms observe. The importance of the system is that it creates a foundation of regulations that nationalist scholars observe to dictate nationalism's proper application to the nation. These rudimentary standards are present in every nationalism but in distinct capacities. The Nationalist Belief System follows standards that,

- "The world is divided into nations, each with its character, history, and destiny.
- The nation is the sole source of political power.
- The loyalty to the nation overrides all other loyalties.
- Individual freedom requires citizenship of a nation.
- Nations require full self-expression and autonomy.
- Global peace and justice require a world of autonomous nations."²⁷⁰

The National Principal System is the core system for nationalists, and they assert that individuals and collectives should not disregard them when developing nations. First is the violation of the national principle:

- "The national principle is violated when political boundaries do not include all the members of a given nation.
- The national boundaries include all its members; however, it also has many foreigners.
- Rulers of a political unit violate the national principle when they are not of the nation's majority. Nationalists find this to be an intolerable breach of political propriety.
- The theory of political legitimacy and ethnic boundaries should not cross political ones.
- The national principle can be asserted into and within an ethnic spirit."²⁷¹

Immanuel Kant, an Eighteenth-Century German Philosopher, likewise remarked concerning an individual's legal duty, which uncovers itself compelled by compulsive inclinations despite hindrances based on fear and reluctance. Kant discovers, as seen in a collection of his work

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 25; Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1961), 9.

²⁷¹ Gellner, *Nations*, 1-3.

Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History (2006), that "Moral compulsion can be external and internal. It is internal if duty makes the action necessary, against all the agent's inclinations, not by the will of another, but through his own will. External compulsion is possible, however, through another's will."²⁷² The accomplishment of duty comes through obligation, either by coercion for others or oneself, which one understands as an imperfect duty. Either way, duty is the observation of laws to oneself or the collective and, therefore, a sequence of practical actions. To Kant,

"Our actions are of two kinds: either (1) they relate simply to ourselves, or (2) to others. As to self-regarding duty, the question here is not whether we can be compelled to it; for since we have no external obligation thereto, from within us, we cannot be compelled to it, either, from without. But in regard to the duty towards others, there are some to which we can be compelled, and also others to which we cannot be. The duties towards others rest on two principles, namely either upon the other's freedom, or upon his particular ends. We may now say: the necessity of an action, under the condition by which alone a universal freedom can be self-consistent, is called a strict duty."²⁷³

In a nationalist context, Kant implies that the nation grants freedom when an individual fulfills his indispensable duty. Similarly, nationalism provides freedom to citizens when they adhere to national principles. As the Twentieth Century British-Czech philosopher Ernest Gellner points out in his work *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), "it [duty] infects national sentiment as it does all else, endangering what the Italians under [Benito] Mussolini called the *sacro egoism* of nationalism."²⁷⁴ In analysis, what is being argued here is that the individual determines the level of freedom provided by the nation because the individual supplies the nation with the resource (duty),

²⁷² Immanuel Kant, et al., *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 237-238.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Gellner, *Nations*, 2.

driven by either the desire to help the collective or to promote their goals. As individuals meet their goals, both motivations increase the support for the nation, and increase levels of nationalist sentiment. This is important to the dissertation because it displays a chain of thought that places the importance of nationalism on the individual, and the choice to conduct one's 'duty' is especially seen in the Schleswig-Holstein duchies with the German approach to treaties, culture, and nationalist education presence.

The national principle should not be disobeyed by oneself or one's collective self, depending on the scenario and the circumstances. Once failed, the system suffers from the "central human weakness," which opens a gap for the "flow" of the subsequently disobeyed principle.²⁷⁵ Leaders and the people should not violate these principles, and once they have, the nation suffers from an egocentric tribulation, especially concerning foreign nations. Despite how the national principle is violated or fulfilled, the national sentiment senses anger when broken, and when surpassed, it discerns satisfaction.

Substantially diverse perspectives have permeated the field of nationalism studies, enhancing and subverting its study. Foremost is the primary "Great Divide" in 1800, which vies primordials and perennials against the modernists and the ethno-symbolics.²⁷⁶ A natural 'divide' developed when the advent of nations and nationalist thought culminated in the French Revolution, which exemplified premodern and modern nationalist thoughts and nations. The French Revolution embodies the ushering of the 'modern' nation-state. Modernists typically acknowledge that no nationalism predates the French Revolution and accept that the premodern

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 1-3.

²⁷⁶ Benedikte Brincker, "On the Roles of Institutions and Agency in Nationalism and the Relations between Them: A Theoretical Enquiry into the Study of Nationalism, Its Present and Future," *Sociology* 54, no. 6 (2020): 1107; Scholars who sided on the pre-1800 side were Kedourie, Smith, Hutchinson, and Malesevic while Gellner, Miller, Anderson and Hobsbawm take the post-1800 side.

era incorporates tribes, communities, and ethnic groups.²⁷⁷ The topic of discussion pertains to the lack of a unified national identity, a fully developed economy, and a mature state. This includes the current governing authorities. Scholars such as Elie Kedourie, the German professor of modern history at the *Universität der Bundeswehr* in Munich, debates in her work *Nationalism* (1960), that nations and nationalist thought did exist before the French Revolution, and upholding those nations had solid national consciousness, a well-established economy usually based on agricultural systems and a state that protected its citizens traditionally founded on the ruling class and military service.²⁷⁸ Many scholars, such as Anthony Smith and J. Hutchinson, contest against the stance that nations and nationalism are just as black and white as a date in history; instead, they argue that there are countless continuities between the premodern and modern eras.²⁷⁹

Three central debates have highlighted the primary controversies within the field of nationalism. The debates arose from the nation's changing historiography, which includes the increase in nationalist works and the changing perspective of defining nationalism. The increase in historical nationalist perspectives, the sociology of culture and politics, and the role of nations in history all contributed to the following debates. The first debate is between the primordialists and the instrumentalists regarding organicist and voluntarist perspectives.²⁸⁰ It transpired in the 1950s and 1960s and regarded normative political theory and historical sociology. The second debate is over today's identical discussion: the dispute over the antiquity or modernity of nations between the perennialists and the modernists.²⁸¹ The first segment and the primordial/constructivist return

²⁷⁷ Smith, *Nationalism*, 49.

²⁷⁸ Brincker, *Institutions and Agency*, 1109.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 1109.

²⁸⁰ Smith, *Debates*, 3; Brincker, *Sociology*, 1107.

²⁸¹ Smith, *The Nation in History*, 3; Brincker, *Institutions and Agency*, 1108.

impacted the debate during the 1980s and 1990s. As a modernist, Hobsbawm strongly opposed it. Synchronously, Anthony Smith and John Hutchinson, a British academic specializing in nationalism, at the London School of Economics, assert that nations are outcomes of construction processes and, at their essence, are ethnic bodies that transform over time. While constructing a bridge over the 1800 divide, they reason that modern nations have roots in the premodern epoch and that the ethnic nuclei of nations nourish natural and cultural significance.²⁸²

The debates aim to establish the field of nationalist studies as a legitimate academic discipline that encompasses a broad spectrum of topics extending beyond the traditional confines of nationalist concerns. The second debate focused heavily on distinguishing between civic and ethnic nation models. Civic nations are more state-centered and founded on a territorial, legal, and political community, which was their primary disparity. The ethnic model considers an individual's cultural background. This includes ancestral lineage, native languages, customary practices, and traditional beliefs. This approach acknowledges the significance of its relevance to shaping one's unique identity and perspective.²⁸³

The third debate is over the association between the past and present in the formation and future of nations between the social constructionists and the ethno-symbolics.²⁸⁴ While scholars from the second debate primarily heralded this debate, it concentrates more on the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological characteristics around empirical evidence.²⁸⁵ The third debate focuses on the issue over nationalism's outside reputation, of which many claim it as a 'thin' ideology. The discussion rejected the notion of its decline from the Nineteenth Century zenith. The

²⁸² Smith, *The Nation in History*, 3; Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 21.

²⁸³ Brincker, *Institutions and Agency*, 1108.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 1109.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 1110.

nationalist ideology receives allegations of being 'thin' because theorists proclaim it has no coherent or articulated doctrine, absent a comprehensive system of principles and ideas, is conceptually chaotic, and suffers from philosophical poverty.²⁸⁶ However, nationalist scholars disavow this declaration and respond that the nationalism ideology is founded on the rich history of philosophers such as Herder, Manzini, Fichte, Hegel, and Rousseau, significantly enhances the current organizational composition of the world and embeds at the micro-interaction level, influencing the authentic social and cultural conventions of individual lives.²⁸⁷ Andreas Wimmer, a Twentieth Century Swiss sociologist, guided the debate, championing the discussion concerning the affinity between ethnicity and war and ethnicity and nation-building. Elliott Green, a Twentieth Century political scientist, and Sinisa Malesevic, Twenty-First Century sociology professor at the University College in Dublin, supported Wimmer's emphasis on ethnicity. These three scholars labored to significantly enhance the service of ethnic studies in the field of nationalism studies. The third debate delivered the inception of three propositions constituting nationalism's analytical framework. These are that,

- "The nationalist doctrine cuts across and involves the following analytical levels: institutions, organizations, and agency.
- When empirically investigating nationalism, cases differ not on being old/new, ethnic/civic, or primordial/constructed. Instead, cases differ on the role of, and interchange between, institutions and agencies.
- The role of, and exchange between, institutions and agency reflect the historically different groundings of nationalism."²⁸⁸

The architects assembled these propositions to contribute to nationalism's present and future studies while comprehending the evolution and emergence of nationalist thought and

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 1110.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 1110; Giuseppe Mazzini is a Nineteenth Century Italian politician and journalist while Georg Hegel is a Nineteenth Century German philosopher.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, 1111.

elucidating the levels of analysis and common denominators.²⁸⁹ These propositions enhanced the study of nationalism and prevented scholars from examining society and the nation-state within modernity. In other words, it dissuades the presumption that the nation-state is the modern world's natural social and political form. The propositions describe how phenomena impact the nation-state while deterring social theory from exploiting it.

Nationalism, albeit containing profoundly positive elements, correspondingly includes its constraints. One impediment of nationalism as an ideology is its finite assertions and beliefs about politics and society. For the nation to be fully impacted by nationalism, it relies on other subsystems, such as capitalism. Capitalism is just one of many subsystems to pair with and is one of the most embracing ideologies despite being challenging to combine. Capitalism is a privately controlled economic system that freely operates through markets and often with society's best interests in mind.²⁹⁰ It promotes private property, self-interest, and freedom of economic choice while providing the nation with the necessary financial resources to sustain national autonomy. To recapitulate, "nationalism is an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some members to constitute an actual or potential "nation."²⁹¹ Economic systems boost a healthy collective through financial success, which creates stability; however, monetary systems do not stand as the foundation for nationalist thought. Instead, capitalism sparks nationalist sentiments through its private sector success, which embraces individual freedom and autonomy and stands as a foundation for national independence.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, 1111.

²⁹⁰ Sarwat Jahan and Ahmed Saber Mahmud, "What Is Capitalism?" *International Monetary Fund*, <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/fandd/issues/Series/Back-to-Basics/Capitalism>.

²⁹¹ Smith, *Nationalism*, 28.

Elie Kedourie argues in his work *Nationalism* (1966) that nationalism is a harmful and radical ideology that aims to establish a distinct national essence on Earth.²⁹² He corroborates what Michael Freedon, a professor of politics and international studies at the University of London, contends: it arbitrarily terminates itself from a broader ideological context. It deliberately extracts and substitutes concepts of other ideologies.²⁹³ Furthermore, Kedourie argues that it does not offer complexity in different capacities of discussions and ought to be more structurally adept at negotiating with significant social and political issues such as social justice distribution of resources and confrontation management.²⁹⁴ He disputes that nationalism is not a distinct ideology but fills out other mainstream ideologies such as liberalism, socialism, and conservatism. A second encumbrance of nationalism is that regional identity can be vulnerable because it frequently breaks down into localism. Occasionally, people plead that regionalism cannot maintain powerful and cohesive movements or handle people's mobilization. They also uphold that regions are often geographically challenging to demarcate because they could have multiple epicenters that separate the central power and incorporate rigid borders that are challenging to safeguard.²⁹⁵

Conflating the study of nationalism as an ideology with the study of the nation itself is the third limitation of nationalism.²⁹⁶ Every nationalist movement does not manage to obtain autonomy, and even fewer are competent enough to acquire the status of a nation-state. Still, the cases that do not accomplish unconditional success are fewer authentic examples of nationalism. Gellner reasons in his work *Nations and Nationalism* (1983) that there are a limited number of

²⁹² Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 101.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Michael Freedon, "Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?" *Political Studies*, (XLVI), 750.

²⁹⁵ Smith, *National Identity*, 4.

²⁹⁶ Breuilly, *Introduction*, 5.

spots in the world for conceivable nations to exist, plus there are only a limited number of spots for autonomous political units.²⁹⁷ Therefore, it is not possible to satisfy all nationalist movements simultaneously, and potential nations will not continuously consolidate into territory units but will often intermix with diverse peoples in complicated patterns. He concludes that a nation of ethnically homogeneous territorial political units must kill, expel, or assimilate all the 'others.'²⁹⁸ Unwillingness to do so provokes unpeaceful nationalistic implications, and frequently, a divide in the nation implies the dissolution of the nation and the nation-state itself. Gellner aims to convey that not everyone can establish a nation, and not every nation develops into a nation-state upon its formation. Additionally, the presence of nationalist thought and sentiments is still applicable even if the nation has not achieved complete maturity.

This Chapter argues that understanding and identifying nationalism in Schleswig-Holstein history before the German Unification Wars requires understanding the nationalist concepts and the nationalism field of study. It answers the primary research questions, such as what nationalism is and the difference between nationalism before the Unification Wars and modern nationalism, by explaining in detail the different parts of nationalism. It also highlights the three debates between renowned nationalist scholars and how those debates shaped the nationalism field. In the next chapter, three examples of nationalism compose most of the narrative, permitting the display of nationalism in a religious, biblical, and mythical context.

²⁹⁷ Gellner, *Nations*, 2.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 2.

Chapter Four: Examples of Nationalism

Schleswig-Holstein is a region caught in a tension between Denmark and Germany proper. However, from the Nineth century onwards, the region consistently demonstrated a rapport and attachment with German culture and identity rather than with the Danish. These displays reveal a type of early modern German nationalism that existed in this region that predates the German wars of Unification in the Nineteenth century and indicates that people even in the more remote areas of Germany, held this inclination. The argument supports the historical analysis and comparison of basic nationalism concepts, historical narratives of the duchies, biblical nationalism, power politics, statistics, and origin myths. This work also argues that the duchies' history deserves a more prominent place in pre-modern European historiography. The argument is essential to history because it provides an original approach to studying the duchies, nationalism, and long-term cultural and political changes.

This chapter asserts the existence of nationalism, observed in biblical, religious, and mythical stories. The methodology of this chapter aims to emphasize examples of nationalism in three main domains: the Bible (specifically, the 1611 King James Version and Luther's Bible), the Protestant Reformation, and myths (particularly *Beowulf* and Germanic folklore). The purpose of these focus areas is to showcase three instances of nationalism from a historical standpoint.

This chapter aims to answer the following questions. First, what does nationalism, including nationalist thought and sentiments, look like in the Bible? By identifying nationalism in the Bible, the reader can identify it in religion. Therefore, what does examples of nationalism, along with nationalist thought and sentiment, look like from a religious perspective, primarily during the Protestant Reformation? Religion plays a part in origin stories, myths, and folklore. It is only realistic to follow with the next question. What does nationalism, nationalist thought, and sentiments look like in legends and folklore? Biblical nationalism, as it's called here, has its

foundations in the Bible, which establishes its core beliefs and social hierarchy, total faith in God as dictated in the Bible, trust it's the inerrant word of God and that nations began, and existed since the Book of Genesis. During the Protestant Reformation, religious nationalism existed in the pre-modern era and exemplified it. Lastly, nationalism, nationalist thought and sentiment exists in myths and folklore by identifying distinct communities, ethnicity, and pan-consciousness.

This dissertation's structure ushers the reader through a series of symbolic gates informing them of essential information critical to understanding pre-modern nationalist thought and sentiment in the duchies. Without the nationalist historiographies of the duchies' history, the analysis of Nineteenth-Century duchy history, and the detailing of nationalist concepts, essential context would be absent, and much of pre-modern duchy history would be confusing. Establishing context is one of the most critical elements for historians, and readers need it to understand the content.

Context is just as crucial to nationalist studies as it is for history. Establishing context gives the reader a more comprehensive understanding of the nationalist ideology and its role in the nation's history. One way of providing context in a nationalist approach is to provide the reader with additional examples of a specific paradigm analyzed in the work. It is only appropriate to present the reader with examples of pre-modern nationalism to confirm its existence not just in the duchies but in the Bible, religion, and myths. Why should a historian or a political scientist expect a reader to understand and believe an approach to a topic that is against orthodoxy with a singular example of said ideology? Providing multiple examples of pre-modern nationalist thought and sentiment confirms their presence in the case study examined here and proves that it is not an isolated incident but a small part of a broader tradition of nationalist thought that predates the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts. Other examples of nationalist thought enhance the credibility of the

duchies' nationalist sentiment. This chapter aims to precisely do that: to provide three credible examples of early modern nationalism which predate the German Unification Wars. It does this through three methods: 1. allow the reader to identify nationalist thought in different contexts, 2. explain to the reader that the nationalist thought and sentiment in the duchies is not an isolated incident, 3. help the reader embrace the credibility of nationalism.

The Bible is a premium illustration of nationalist thought without a nation, and the subsequent section will investigate how the Bible influenced its development through detailed analysis, linguistic comparisons via two of the most well-known Bibles in history, and the importance of religion in pre-modern nationalism.²⁹⁹ The section aims to answer the inquiry of how the Bible affected the growth of nationalism. It also contributes to the overall argument that nations and the ideology of nationalism did not begin in the modern era; instead, they have roots that stretch back into antiquity.

To help readers identify nationalism in the following chapters, providing a brief analysis of what to look for is beneficial. Analyzing modern nationalism is typically easier due to the everyday use of the term "nationalism" following the French Revolution in the Nineteenth century. However, early modern nationalism, mainly nationalism that predates the German Unification Wars, does not use the word "nationalism" in its sources. This does not mean that nationalism did not exist during this time. Indicating a collective consciousness, people use phrases such as "we the people," "the people of," "the [ethnicity] of [region]," and "the [religion] of [region]" instead. How they define the community, such as "the Germans of Schleswig" or "Sleswigers," reflects an ethnic

²⁹⁹ A nation is a human population occupying a historic territory or homeland and sharing common myths and memories; a mass public culture; a single economy; and common rights and duties for all members. The state is commonly defined as a political organization with a centralized government that has legalized authority to use force within a designated territory. To simplify, the difference between a nation and a state is that the political-civil community while a nation refers to a cultural-political community.

collective consciousness.³⁰⁰ For context, the Fourteenth Century papal legate Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, better known as Pope Pius II, identified the Germans, as found in the collection *Europa und die Europaer: Quellen und Essay zur modernen europäischen Geschichte* (2005) as a collective during the Frankfurt Reichstag of 1454, proclaiming them as “you, Germans (Vos, Germani)”.³⁰¹ As seen in the autonomous peasant republic in the Dithmarschen region, collective and individual autonomy can also influence the syntax for identifying nationalism. Another issue with identifying communities and nationalism is the language change; the identification of how they perceived themselves also changed. For instance, the Twelfth Century author and Danish historian *Saxo Grammaticus* (Saxo the Learned) clarifies in his work *Gesta Danorum* (1200), the Danish referred to themselves as the *Dania* instead of the modern designation “Dane.”³⁰² A third issue is the titles. In 1460, when they created the personal union with the King of Denmark, they called him the "Duke of Schleswig" or "Count of Holstein" rather than just the King of Denmark. This signified a change in identity with the duchies. This has been important since 1460 because the families of the Dukes of Schleswig and Holstein are also the ruling families of the Kings of Denmark. Unfortunately, almost nothing written before 1100 in German still exists, which is part of the difficulty with identifying nationalist sentiment.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Reinhold Solger, *Memorial on the Schleswig-Holstein Question* (1862), (New York: Elibron Classics, 2006), 8.

³⁰¹ Johannes Helmrath, “Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II) – Ein Humanist als Vater des Europagedankens?” *Europa und die Europaer: Quellen und Essay zur modernen europäischen Geschichte*, ed. Rudiger Hohls, Iris Schroder, and Hannes Siegrist (Wiesbaden, 2005), 367-368.

³⁰² *Saxo Grammaticus, Gesta Danorum: Danmarkshistorien*, Latin text ed. Karsten Friis-Jensen, Danish trans. Peter Zeeberg, vol 1–2 (Copenhagen: Gads forlag 2005).

³⁰³ John Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 253.

The first investigation concerns biblical nationalism and its association with primordial nationalism. A Christian believes that the Bible's Genesis story is not merely a myth but is actuality.³⁰⁴ Nationalist scholars can recognize a nation's core components and principles and justifiably identify nationalist sentiment in the Bible. The crux of biblical nationalism is the belief in God and the Bible, the advancement of the Christian nation-state, and the function of religion in nationalism dictated by the Bible.³⁰⁵ Chronologically, concerning nationalism, the Bible foremost speaks of the origin stories, and documents the book of Deuteronomy, frequently seen as the national book of decrees and laws.³⁰⁶

The Sixteenth Century intensely focused on the Bible, the cornerstone of European transformation as it moved from antiquity. The Sixteenth Century German theologian and priest, Martin Luther, translated the Bible into German substantially increasing the spread of literacy in the Protestant territories. Since the Fifteenth Century, literacy rates have gradually been improving. This circulation has furthermore produced an awareness of collective and national consciousness, forming a national identity. During the Renaissance, the Bible reappeared and impacted the foundation of numerous nations still existing in the modern era. Here, it is biblical nationalism that is the focus, not the Hebraic influence on the Reformation.

³⁰⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *The Concept of Social Change: A Critique of the Functionalist Theory of Social Change*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 37; Smith states that "Above all, religion in the very wide sense of an orientation to 'ultimate reality' is the foundation of a social system."

³⁰⁵ I maintain the term 'biblical nationalism' throughout this work. The utilization of this designation is deliberate to encompass nationalism found in the Bible, Christian nationalism, nationalism of the Christian nation-state, and the religious function of nationalism. I refrain from using religious nationalism as a designation for biblical nationalism because it can relate to external religions such as Islam, Buddhism, etc. I employ 'religious nationalism' when necessary to describe Paganism throughout the work; The term Christian-nation references to any nation whose state has recognized Christianity as its official religion with a state church and plays an active role in the government. It also can be defined as a nation with most of its citizens practice Christianity.

³⁰⁶ Stuart D. E. Weeks, "Biblical Literature and the Emergence of Ancient Jewish Nationalism," *Biblical Interpretation* 10, no. 2 (2002): 153.

First, the biblical nationalism section dictates and dissects biblical verses discovered in multiple interpretations of the Bible. This primary source analysis permits the complete distinction of nationalism in the Bible, not simply through storytelling, such as through Moses, but even through the very expressions utilized in the Bible. This dissertation employs the 1611 King James Version (KJV) and Martin Luther's 1535 (LB) translated Bible. Individual interpretations produce unique characteristics that supply this work with the necessary translations to examine nationalism within the Bible. The 1611 King James Version concentrates better on literal translation with the importance of simplifying the messages and delivering a precise translation from the original Latin and Greek languages.³⁰⁷ It aspires to preserve the scriptures' strangeness, supports the reader's experience with the text's uncertainties, and permits individual examination and personal translation.³⁰⁸

Luther did not prioritize the precise literal translation of the Latin and Greek languages, rather conveying the message behind the legal discourse.³⁰⁹ For him, translation requires expressing the essence of scripture, which is justification by faith alone. Luther states in a collection of his works *Luther's Works: Word and Sacrament I* (1960), "I prefer to do violence to the German language rather than depart from the word of God."³¹⁰ Lastly, Luther believes that a devoted translator whom God's grace has humbled should create idiomatic, accessible, and theological translations.³¹¹ To parallel the Bible with nationalism, Martin Luther's Bible

³⁰⁷ Graham Tomlin, "The King James Version and Luther's Bible Translation," *Anvil* 27, no. 3 (2010), 1.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

³¹⁰ Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: Word and Sacrament I*, ed. E. Theodore Bachmann and Helmut T. Lehmann vol. 35, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960), 194.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

concentrates better on the cultural (unspoken) and heritage components. The authors of the King James version focused on what is considered the civic (literal or tangible) version of the Bible. In analysis, the KJV has, to a degree, more direct relevance from a linguistic standpoint on nationalism because of its literal translation. This work focuses on the explicit wording of the Bible foremost, then focuses on the message. The LB is necessary to nationalism as well because its insights on the Biblical messages provide different, although sometimes the same, perspectives. Linguistically, the LB delivers this work with German translations that the Protestant Reformation relied on and can also be considered historically significant.

For centuries, people copied the Bible by hand before printing. Today, there are many modern translations, but they often originate from the same centuries-old translations.³¹² Like a pedigree chart for genealogy, when one ancestor leads to two, which leads to four, the same goes for translations. Just as the Sixteenth Century Dutch humanist and theologian Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus' Greek Text (1516) gave birth to the Sixteenth Century English biblical scholar and linguist, William Tyndale's New Testament (1525), they both were foundations for the Sixteenth Century English priest and Bishop Myles Coverdale Bible (1537), the Great Bible (1539), the Geneva Bible (1560), and the Bishops Bible (1568). All of which contributed to the King James Version (1611).³¹³ The continuous recopying of the Bible has led to the foundation of textual criticism, which is the science of detecting what is incorrect with a text and locating a more satisfactory or precise replacement.³¹⁴

³¹² Edward Arber, Editor, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.* vol. III, (Gloucester: P. Smith, 1967), 28; Arber details the 1666 Great Fire of London, when most KJV manuscripts burned in the Guildhall Library. In another work, "The Great Fire of London: Why Do We Not Know More About the Origins of the King James Bible?" *1611 King James Bible: The Original Blackletter Edition*, <https://blackletterkingjamesbible.com/Library/GreatFireOfLondon>, notes that "The only records still in existence are those which were held outside of the old London city Roman wall. Some historical evidence still exists at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, but this is only a fraction of the workings."

³¹³ See Appendix C.

Previously, scholars divided text criticism into two features: the 'lower criticism,' which identified fallacies in the text. In contrast, the second part is 'higher criticism,' which is the subsequent procedure of interpreting the fallacy and discovering an appropriate replacement. Finding and correcting fallacies in the text is crucial for nationalism as it prevents misinterpretation, as mentioned above. However, the translators could not always contain errors. There are numerous explanations for biblical mistakes, such as human error, the original text having no translatable words or text, bedraggled handwriting, dictation blunders, and two words getting run together to form an innovative word with a different definition.³¹⁴ Transcribers who added supplementary information while writing rendered other fallacies to the text. This information could incorporate critical observations, critiques, or even in a negative light, agendas, and numerous nefarious provocations.

After narrowing the scope, one can discuss what and how to interpret biblical passages. What should one look for when attempting to comprehend the passages? Steven Ozment, a Twentieth Century American historian, notes in his work *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (1980), four hermeneutic approaches to passages: the letter, allegory, moral, and anagogy approaches.³¹⁵ The letter is historical and literal, supplying a direct meaning. Correspondingly, the allegory approach is paramount for the Church and Christ, precisely the ecclesiastical or Christological doctrine. The moral approach is for the individual believer and what the passage represents for their salvation. In

³¹⁴ Boadt, *Old Testament*, 53; Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 26; Alter suggests that transcribers often wielded a good deal of artistic freedom when practicing their traditions, despite the scholarly concept that authors composed the texts under tyrannical authority in the ancient traditions.

³¹⁵ Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 66; For additional information, please reference Robert M Grant, *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*, (New York: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1963), 119.

contrast, the anagogy approach addresses the transcendent reality or upcoming occasions, such as the mystical, metaphysical, and eschatological text enigmas.³¹⁶ Observing these approaches gives the reader a versatile familiarity with the passages. This dissertation further constricts the array by accentuating the 'letter' approach to the passages. The 'letter' approach is the preferred interpretation method for identifying nationalist sentiment because it provides the most tangible and historical verse translation. In the German Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther emphasizes *Scriptura sui ipsius interpres* (scripture interprets itself).³¹⁷

This work does not endeavor to rewrite the Bible. The author does not presume they can exhaustively comprehend four primary texts (Erasmus', Latin Vulgate, Hebrew (Masoretic), Greek Text), the innumerable Reformation and Renaissance Bibles dating before the Twentieth Century, and even more revisions from there. The author compares two of the most influential Bibles to determine the validity of biblical nationalistic reflection. Validating biblical nationalism also promotes the validity of pre-modern nationalism. With Christianity, more specifically Luther and Protestantism, having a profound effect on the Schleswig-Holstein duchy's history, it is important to detail biblical translation. By comparing the two biblical versions, this dissertation furnishes literal and 'thought-for-thought' approaches, delivering dissimilarities without exceeding the text's practical expectations. It selects the ensuing biblical passages with the above characteristics in mind. While it is necessary to acknowledge the context of the passages, concentrating on the words is also compulsory for clarity. This section investigates the passages in the order they materialize in the Bible. The first passage in each section is the 1611 King James Version, while the second is from the 1535 Martin Luther's Bible.

³¹⁶ Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 66.

³¹⁷ Gerald L. Bruns, "Scriptura Sui Ipsius Interpres: Luther, Modernity, and the Foundations of Philosophical Hermeneutics," *Hermeneutics Ancient and Modern*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 139-158.

- Genesis 9:18-19
- "And the sonnes of Noah that went forth of the Arke, were Shem, and Ham, and Iaphet: and Ham is the father of Canaan. [19] These are the three sonnes of Noah: and of them was the whole Earth ouerspread."³¹⁸
- *Die Sün Noah / die auß dem Rastenn giengen / sind dise / Sem / Ham / Japheth / Ham aber ist der Vatter Canaan / Das sind die drey sün Noah / von denen ist alle land besetzt.*³¹⁹
- Genesis 10: 4-5
- "And the sonnes of Iauan: Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. [5] By these were the Iles of the Gentiles diuided in their lands, euey one after his tongue: after their families, in their nations."³²⁰
- *Die Kinder vo Iauan sinnd dise / Elisa / Tharsis / Chithim / unnd Dodanim / Von disen sinnd außgebraye die Insulen der Hayden inn iren Ländern / yegkliche nach irer sprach geschlecht und leüten.*³²¹
- Genesis 10: 32
- "These are the families of the sonnes of Noah after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations diuided in the earth after the flood."³²²
- *Das sinnd nun die nachkommnen der kinder Noah inn iren geschlechten und leüten / Von denen sind außgebraytet die leüt auff erdee nach der Sindflut.*³²³

These passages are indispensable for acknowledging how the world of nations and nationalism relates to the Bible. Genealogy is an essential feature of the Bible and its account of nations. The Bible describes the fundamental characteristics of the family's collective consciousness, its extension into groups based on familial connections, and subsequently into nations. The LB transcribed the usage of the word "earth" in the KJV of Genesis 9 into "land"; however, coetaneously, in Genesis 10, the dictation "their lands" in the KJV is likewise translated as "*iren Ländern*" for the LB. This author expects the identical terms will have numerous uses in

³¹⁸ Genesis 9:18-19, 1611 KJV.

³¹⁹ Genesis 9:18-19, 1535 LGB.

³²⁰ Genesis 10: 4-5, 1611 KJV.

³²¹ Genesis 10: 4-5, 1535 LGB.

³²² Genesis 10: 32, 1611 KJV.

³²³ Genesis 10: 32, 1535 LGB.

diverse languages for this epoch.; regardless, both versions must retain the "their/iren" designation to land, instituting possession of a territory or province in the geographical context. In Genesis 10: 32, the KJV employs the representation "nation" while the equivalent in the LB is "*Leüt/ leüten*," which translates into "folks/people." The choice of words has significance in the translation context designated around Martin Luther and the KJV Bible. With his emphasis on the cultural feature, Luther would conceivably translate 'nation' as signifying people and not the more civic geographic designation 'land.'

- Genesis 12: 1-2
- Now the LORD had said vnto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kinred, and from thy fathers house, vnto a land that I will shew thee. [2] And I will make of thee a great nation, and I wil blesse thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt bee a blessing."³²⁴
- *Und der HERR sprach zü Abrä / Gehe auß deinem vatterlande / und von deiner freündtschafft / und auß deines vatters hauß / inn ein lande / das ich dir zaygen will / unnd ich will dich zum grossen volck machen / und will dich segnen / und dir einen grossen namen machen / und solt ein segen sein.*³²⁵
- Genesis 17: 4-6
- "As for me, behold, my couenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations. [5] Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham: for a father of many nations haue I made thee. [6] And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and Kings shall come out of thee."³²⁶
- *Und Gott redet weiter mit ihm unnd sprach / Sihe / Ich bins / und hab meinen bund mit dir / und du soltein vatter viler völcker werden / darumb soltu nicht mer Abram heiffen sonder (1) Abraham sol dein name sein / dann ich habe dich gemacht / viler völcker vater / unnd wil dich fast seer fruchtbar machen / und wil von dir völck er machen / unnd sollen auch König von dir kommen. (1) [Abram heißt hoher vater / Abraham der hauffen vater / wie wol die selbe hauffen nur mit eine büch staben angezeigt werden in seine name / nicht on uzsach.]*³²⁷

³²⁴ Genesis 12: 1-2, 1611 KJV.

³²⁵ Genesis 12: 1-2, 1535 LGB.

³²⁶ Genesis 17: 4-6, 1611 KJV.

³²⁷ Genesis 17: 4-6, 1535 LGB.

In Genesis 12 and 17, a terminology transition is essential to researching biblical nationalism. In Genesis 12 of the KJV, the author uses "thy country" when in the LB, the designation is "*vatterlande*." The standpoint of 'country' is geographical, like the Earth mentioned earlier, and 'land,' which makes it vital; however, the prefix '*vatter*,' which denotes father, is a cultural segment. Nevertheless, in the context of the sentence, the Lord is telling Abram to "Get thee out of thy country," which would be translated into the modern 'Get off my land.' The following translation process concerns "*volk*," a popular topic among German nationalist scholars. The KJV's version is "I will make of thee a great nation," while the LB is "*ich will dich zum grossen volck machen*." The critical word in this sentence is "*volck [volk]*," another designator for 'people.' Genesis 17 resumes the message where the KJV states, "a father of many nations." Correspondingly, the LB dictates "*viler völker vater*," which in the modern literal translation transcribes as "the father of many people." The Protestant Reformation is the Biblical affinity between the Book of Genesis and the German and English nations. An illustration of this association is Luther's *Commentary on Genesis*, which provides beneficial discernment into Genesis and its relationships with the Europeans.³²⁸

Verifying nationalist thought makes this noteworthy. The assertion of nations during the Sixteenth Century did not simply constitute the possession of land; rather, the concept of exclusive groups of equivalent people existed in the German lands. The KJV translation from the Greek and Latin Bibles, comparable to the LB translation, second-handedly endorses those nations as people,

³²⁸ For English Translations of Martin Luther's *Commentary on Genesis*, please reference Martin Luther, "Commentary on Genesis, Vol. I: Luther on the Creation," *Project Gutenberg's Commentary on Genesis*, Vol. I, trans. John Nicholas Lenker, (February 7, 2015), <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/48193/48193-h/48193-h.htm#sect36>; Martin Luther, "Commentary on Genesis, Vol. 2: Luther on Sin and the Flood," *The Project Gutenberg eBook of Commentary on Genesis*, Vol. 2, Trans. Nicholas Lenker, (February 3, 2009), <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/27978/pg27978-images.html>; Martin Luther, "Commentary on Genesis," *Blue Letter Bible*, Vol. 3, Ed. & Trans. Matthew Henry, https://www.blueletterbible.org/Comm/mhc/Gen/Gen_003.cfm.

not simply the geographical designation, which dates further back into the primordial elements of the very Christian beginnings.

The advancement of the Christian nation depends upon the Bible's translation into the vernacular.³²⁹ The history of its translation dates centuries back to 382 CE when the Fourth Century Christian theologian and historian Jerome of Stridon translated the Bible into the Latin version known as the Vulgate.³³⁰ The Vulgate Bible held the status of being the primary Bible for centuries until the Sixteenth Century. This was when Luther and others mass-produced biblical translations into vernacular languages.³³¹ In 1295, there existed a translation of the Bible into the French vernacular, and in 1380, John Wycliffe, a Fourteenth Century English scholastic philosopher, translated the Bible into English.³³² The 1295 French *Bible Historiale*, written by Guyart des Moulins, a Thirteenth Century French monk, translated significant quantities from the Latin Vulgate and added the Twelfth Century French theological writer Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*.³³³ Moulin's work did not translate the entire Bible and comprised elements of

³²⁹ The advancement of the Christian nation is frequently referred to as 'ecclesia mundi,' translated into 'the church of the world.' In the pre-modern and earlier epochs, individual and collective identities were maintained by religious loyalties, with ethnic association descending to the wayside. In this context, the 'advancement of the Christian nation-state' refers to Christendom's expanse, not necessarily from a territorial viewpoint but from a class approach. It communicates the Bible's availability, permitting laymen to embrace Christianity.

³³⁰ Appelbaum, *Biblical Nationalism*, 319; Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: The Principal Works of Saint Jerome*, trans. W.H Fremantle, Rev. G. Lewis and others, (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1890-1900), <https://archive.org/details/LettersAndSelectWorks/mode/2up?view=theater>.

³³¹ Denis R. Janz, *A Reformation Reader: Primary Texts with Introductions*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 118; Luther likewise published his Small Catechism in 1529, which supplied laypeople with a concise introduction to the Christian faith.

³³² Appelbaum, *Biblical Nationalism*, 318; Elizabeth Solopova, Anne Hudson, and others, ed. *Wycliffite Bible*, Digital Edition, <https://wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/>.

³³³ Guyart des Moulins, "Bible du XIIIe siècle (1295)," *Internet Archive*, (1465): https://archive.org/details/widener_002/page/n5/mode/2up. Peter Comestor, "Historia Scholastica (1190s)," *Yale University Library: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2007328>.

paganism. Nonetheless, the Bible's evolution reached a critical phase, continuing the advancement from the earlier Acre Bible and measuring towards the Protestant Reformation. England acted with the 1380 Wycliffe Bible, written by John Wycliffe a Fourteenth Century English philosopher and theologian, towards vernacularizing the Bible, which comprised Middle English. The Catholic Church denounced the translation because it aided in materializing the pre-Reformation resistance to the Church. In a broader context, both Bibles, although imperfect and unauthorized, shed light on the protracted chronological course of the Bible.

Before the Sixteenth Century, there was a remote desire for complete text bibles. The people desired books like Comestor's *Historica Scholastica* and the Thirteenth Century Italian chronicler and archbishop Jacobus of Voragine's *Golden Legend*, which were anthologies of anecdotes from the Bible, biblical myths, psalms, and proverbs.³³⁴ The primitive church discovered how scathing it was to translate the Bible into the vernacular and supply it to ordinary laypeople. However, everything changed in the Sixteenth Century with the Protestant movement. The consecrated nationalistic elements in the Bible assisted in developing the language, territorial peripheries, and identification of the 'others.' They endorsed the idea of a sovereign nation founded on these characteristics.

The Bible, along with being the cornerstone of premodern nationalism for nations and regions with large numbers of Christian followers, such as the Schleswig-Holstein duchy, also exemplified the problem that exists to this day: the natural decision to either be part of the chosen or surrender the individual and collective identity of the chosen for the universal individual autonomy of existing like everybody else.³³⁵ As witnessed in the context of national scholars

³³⁴ Jacobus of Voragine, "The Golden Legend (1229-1298)," *Loyola Marymount University, William H. Hannon Library: Rare Book and Manuscript Leaves Collection*, (1480): <https://digitalcollections.lmu.edu/Documents/Detail/voragine-the-golden-legend-1480/12244>.

³³⁵ Aberbach, *Jewish Cultural Nationalism*, 9.

already covered earlier in this chapter, the reality of this issue is that an individual is nobody without a nation. They lost their identity when the collective consciousness of identity ceased to exist. This distinction of struggle and humiliation strengthened, not weakened, national identity, just like the struggle did with the Schleswig and Holstein duchies, which permitted them to survive throughout the ages.

Tolerance makes nationalist sentiment resilient and enables the blossoming of a Christian nation founded on struggle.³³⁶ The essence of tolerance permitted long-term nationalist thought and sentiment to survive.³³⁷ The sharp edge of the chosen, religiously based, maintained strong peripheries. Conversely, surrendering to the collective identity fosters an unhealthy sense of belonging and leads to the complete loss of individual identity.³³⁸ Unfortunately, secular historians, sociologists, and political scientists have downgraded the thousands of years of biblical nationalism.³³⁹ They disregard the Bible as a religious myth and assume it is an origin story rather than a historical interpretation of nations and ethnicity.³⁴⁰

Germany resisted equivalent struggles that lasted centuries, including the ethnicity from which numerous nation-states derived their equivalences, such as France, Germany, Portugal,

³³⁶ Christopher Catherwood, "Nationalism, Ethnicity, & Tolerance: Some Historical, Political, and Biblical Perspectives," *Transformation* 14, no. 1 (January/March 1997): 10.

³³⁷ In some Christian nations, such as England, the country's toleration degree greatly varied. During the Seventeenth Century Restoration, the Anglican church did not tolerate Catholicism, and it is not until the Parliament passed the 1689 Toleration Act, allowing freedom of worship. Toleration would diminish in subsequent eras, especially between 1787 and 1833 when the 'Rational Dissenters' opposed restrictions on religious and scientific beliefs. Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 31, 52; "Catholics and Nonconformists," *UK Parliament*, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/religion/overview/catholicsnonconformists-/#:~:text=In%201689%2C%20after%20much%20debate,of%20the%20oath%20of%20allegiance.>

³³⁸ Catherwood, *Nationalism, Ethnicity*, 10.

³³⁹ *Ibid*, 13.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*.

Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, and the United States of America.³⁴¹ The Germanic tribes fought off the Romans in Antiquity and survived through the Hundred Years War, the Thirty Years War, the Protestant Reformation, the encroachment from the Danes, Franks, Italians, the Slavs, the Swedish, and the Spanish. By the juncture of the 1871 German Unification, the Germans had undergone three wars within the last ten years against major European powers, numerous liberal revolutions in 1848, and the Industrial Revolution. In analysis, the importance of the tribulations that the Germans went through is that it is a constant. The Germans continuously went through change that shaped their culture, their political institutions, and even their identity. It might be needless to make the connection between change and the primary nationalist elements (identity, unity, and autonomy), however, for the sake of clarity, it is best to describe it here. Change, in its physical form such as wars, changes the context around the individual and the collective. Life, as perceived from inside the nation, changes positively or negatively depending on the experienced physical change. When this occurs, psychological change comes into play. The individual and the citizens in the collective psychologically adapt to meet the requirements of the situation. Nationally, the adaptation to changes can contribute to the increased levels of patriotic sentiments and a 'rise' to defend the nation. This leads to an increase in unity, as citizens come together en masse. National identity adapts with the change to match the unity in the nation. It takes on forms based on what is important to the citizens. For example, a war like stated above creates a heightened awareness for the need of security, promoting patriotism for the defense of the nation. The changes also affect the levels of autonomy that the nation provides. Wars decrease the autonomy levels as the nation becomes less safe, the state requires mandatory service, and

³⁴¹ For a database of German historical primary documents, please reference Richard Hacken, "Chronological History of Germany," *Eurodocs: History of Germany: Primary Documents*, (Provo: Brigham Young University, Harold B. Lee Library, 2021), https://eurodocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/History_of_Germany:_Primary_Documents.

economics suffer. Yet, changes such as increased trading opportunities inside and outside of the nation increase autonomy levels. This is important to the dissertation because it explains the importance of change, which is one of the crucial elements in the duchies' early modern nationalism that existed prior to the Unification Wars.

The Bible also helped designate the religious creed that symbolizes voluntaristic nationalism, well known for its standing in Western Europe. German nationalism discovered many of its roots in biblical nationalism and the Bible.³⁴² Luther made the Bible available to the masses in the Sixteenth Century, but the connection between the Bible and nationalism remained unrealized until then.³⁴³ In supplement to the vernacular German Bible, the dissolution of the *respublica Christiana*, a centuries-old Christian authority structure and also known as the Christian Commonwealth, produced a void to open, allowing nationalist sentiment to take root.³⁴⁴ Luther sparked a considerable transformation in the German states and compelled people to reconsider the traditional conceptions of church and state by responding to varying political circumstances.³⁴⁵ He bestrewed biblical nationalism and the Bible, including his 1530 *Sendbrief von Dolmetschen* (an open letter on translating) and his 1531 *Convictions of the Translation of the*

³⁴² W. Kistner, "The Reformation and the Roots of German Nationalism," *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 46, (1976): 61; A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1974), 1; Rudiger Schnell, "Deutsche Literatur und deutsches Nationalbewütetsein in Spätmittelalter und Friiher Neuzeit," *Ansätze und Diskontinuität deutscher Staatsbildung im Mittelalter*, ed. Joachim Ehlers, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989), 247-319.

³⁴³ Heiko A. Oberman, *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Reformation Thought*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1992), 52; Oberman points out that scholars distinguish three essential points about Luther: 1. Luther's creative rethinking and reshaping of traditional thought were so significant that he earned the title of *sui generis*., 2. One sees Luther as an Augustinian reared in nominalist thought, 3. Luther is an Augustinian who carried on the waves of humanism in Germany.

³⁴⁴ Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 278; Cathal J. Nolan, *The Age of Wars of Religion, 1000-1650: An Encyclopedia of Global Warfare and Civilization*, vol. 2, (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 710.

³⁴⁵ Lewis W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation, 1517–1559*, (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001), 337.

Psalms.³⁴⁶ These creations were part of the exposition of his broader convictions about biblical translating. He elucidates that Christ justifies us without any works of the law. Paul carves away all works so absolutely as to convey that the works of the law, though God's law and word, do not assist us with justification. However, as Luther points out in his work, found in a collection of his works *Luther's Works: Word and Sacrament I* (1532), when one ultimately carves away all works, that person must say honestly and unquestionably, "Faith alone justifies us and not works."³⁴⁷

In complement to his biblical translations, Luther advanced German nationalist thought with his *Ninety-Five Theses* (1517), *On Christian Liberty* (1520), and his *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520).³⁴⁸ In his *Ninety-Five Theses*, Luther addresses numerous religious issues; however, what is elementary to this creation is his identification of the "chosen" and the "others," which is a crucial element of nationalism. For example, 12 out of his 95 theses specifically mentioned what the "chosen [Christians]" should be instructed.³⁴⁹ In another five theses, he identifies the "others" with the designation "those," followed by a negative connotation and broadcasting the punishment for them.³⁵⁰ These theses do not add those associated with the Pope.

In Luther's *On Christian Liberty*, he details the nucleus of justification by faith. His work designates the groundwork for a German nationalist thought founded on the fundamentals of

³⁴⁶ Tomlin, *The King James Version*, 2; Martin Luther, "Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen (An Open Letter on Translating and the Intercession of Saints (1530)," *Treasures of the Taylorian Series One: Reformation Pamphlets*, (Oxford: Taylor Institution Library, 2022); Martin Luther, "On Translating: An Open Letter (1530)," *Luther's Works*, vol. 35, ed. E. Theodore Bachmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1960), 193.

³⁴⁷ Ibid, 4; Luther, *Word and Sacrament I*, 195.

³⁴⁸ Luther, *The Essential Luther*, 8-20, 48-57, 74-94.

³⁴⁹ Martin Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses, On Christian Liberty, and Address to the Christian Nobility*, trans. R. S. Grignion and C. A. Buchheim, (USA: Digireads.com, 2009), 7-11.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, 7-11.

biblical nationalism in the Protestant structure. He seated God at the epicenter of the individual's life, which likewise pairs as the individual's part of the collective identity.³⁵¹ With the Bible as a crucial work, *On Christian Liberty* illustrates the individual's relationship with God and congregates the principles and beliefs to live in a healthy relationship with God in the nation.³⁵²

In Luther's *Address to the Christian Nobility*, he demonstrates the principles of a German nation founded on biblical nationalism. He does this by vivisection of the Romanists' three barricades: "That temporal power has no jurisdiction over spirituality. That no one can interpret the scripture but the Pope. That no one may call a council but the Pope."³⁵³ By severing these barriers, Luther permits nationalist roots to take hold by substituting the aging Catholic hierarchy led by the Pope and superseding it with national consciousness. However, Luther received criticism for his standing in the 1524-1525 German Peasants' War.³⁵⁴ He assumed a centralized placement in the war, requesting the aristocratic forces to destroy the peasants, contrary to his earlier works promoting nationalism.³⁵⁵ Regardless, he would subsequently elucidate that the noble forces were too brutal in managing the war.³⁵⁶ Luther believed that man's primary commitment on earth is to

³⁵¹ Ibid, 21.

³⁵² Ibid, 22-23.

³⁵³ Ibid, 42.

³⁵⁴ Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav J. Pelikan, et al., vol. 46, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), 50-51.

³⁵⁵ Martin Luther, "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants," *Martin Luther, Documents of Modern History*, Ed. E.G. Rupp and Benjamin Drewery, (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), 121-126; Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*, (Nashville: Pierce & Smith Co., 1978), 76; Bainton points out the nationalist undertones as seen in the peasant's slogan "German Money for a German Church."

³⁵⁶ Martin Luther, "An Open Letter Concerning the Hard Book Against the Peasants (1525)," Trans. Charles M. Jacobs, *The Ages Digital Library Collections: Works of Martin Luther*, vol. 4, (Albany: Books For The Ages, 1997), 213.

labor, not to combat. Consequently, the nobles should preserve amicability just as the peasants should complete farm labor.

German nationalist thought embodies Luther's teachings as the heart of a nation founded by biblical nationalism. Anti-Italian, anti-Pope, and anti-Catholicism evolved the sentiments concerning the 'others' of the German nation.³⁵⁷ Aimed at preventing future violence, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire decreed the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555, bestowing all people in the Empire religious tolerance.³⁵⁸ However, the war would ensue in 1618, beginning with the Bohemian Revolt.³⁵⁹ The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) devastated the German lands, and the protestant side sensed the pro-German sentiment while advancing the religious uncertainties between the Lutherans and the Catholics. The war would continue escalating with the Palatinate campaign, the Danish and Swedish interventions of 1625 and 1630, and the French intervention in 1635.³⁶⁰ England and the Dutch agreed to subsidize Danish intervention, authored in the 1625 Treaty of Hague, but not without internal reservations.³⁶¹ The importance of this line of thought to the dissertation is that it expresses the incremental process of German nationalism. As stated earlier, nationalist thought and sentiment can grow over a long time through incremental process.

³⁵⁷ Burke, *Nationalisms and Vernaculars*, 25; Tom Scott, "The Problem of Nationalism in the Early Reformation," *Renaissance and Reformation* 40, no. 4 (Fall 2017): 162.

³⁵⁸ Gerhard Benecke, *Documents of Modern History: Germany in the Thirty Years War*, (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1978), 8; "The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555)," *German History in Documents and Images* vol 1, (German Historical Institute, Washington, DC), https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=4386.

³⁵⁹ States of Bohemia to James I, 6 June 1618, TNA PRO, SP 81, 15 1, 162, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, German States*, The National Archives, Kew, England, 145-147.

³⁶⁰ Charles I to Christian IV, 1625, TNA PRO, SP 75 6, 224, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Denmark*, The National Archives, Kew, England, 253.

³⁶¹ "Note for Lord Treasurer for Money for Denmark," 1625, TNA PRO, SP 75 6, 229, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Denmark*, The National Archives, Kew, London, 106; "Brief on [The Treaty of] Hague Between England, Denmark, and The States [Dutch]," 9 December 1625, TNA PRO, SP 75 6, 218, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Denmark*, The National Archives, Kew, London, 220-223.

Also, change, such as wars and other disruptive events can contribute and be considered the 'incremental' parts of nationalism. In analysis, while the Sixteenth Century did consist largely of change, it did experience continuous growth through Luther's contribution to language and religion. These are the core elements to Sixteenth Century German nationalism. While language promoted unity, and identity by bringing Germans together, the split between Lutherans and Catholics split the Holy Roman Empire. German nationalism incorporated large amounts of religious elements and when the Thirty Years War ended in 1648, autonomy was achieved when the Holy Roman Empire legalized Protestantism.

In the Seventeenth Century, pietism circulated in the Holy Roman Empire and promotes nationalism. Pietism reinforces the authentic experience with God and man. Social circumstances stimulates an emotional intimacy with God and compelled additional passionate integration of Lutheranism into secular circles.³⁶² The purpose is to discuss political authorities' misconduct and implement a system of justice and social relief.³⁶³ Independent Christianity witnessed alliances between political authorities, clerical institutions, and materialism as threatening.³⁶⁴ People compelled authorities to embrace a more subtle way of living like the remainder of society and include laymen in religious activities. A more modest standard of living sustained national identity by observing biblical pedagogy. God, the community, and the believer experiences increased contact through language. Hymns, testimonies of a pietist rebirth, sermons about God, and proclamations of piety supplemented contact.³⁶⁵ These contact techniques improved education's

³⁶² Doron Avraham, "German Neo-Pietism and the Formation of National Identity," *Church History* 88, no. 1 (March 2019): 90; Pietism originally began with the goal of changing piety, not theology, culture, or society.

³⁶³ *Ibid*, 91.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 92.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 95; Well-known Pietists include Jacob Böhme, Philipp Jakob Spener, and August Hermann Francke.

reach to the illiterate and encouraged clericalism development, fortifying German linguistic culture.³⁶⁶ The feeling of belonging started to comprise the larger literary community, counting another considerable number of laymen. All these distinct groups of people discovered a high acuity of belonging founded on their natural native language. Language scintillated German patriotism and consolidated German nationalism.

The nationalist scholar Anthony Smith states in his work “The Myth of the 'Modern Nation' and the Myths of Nations” in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (1988), “The origins of nations and nationalism are to be found in pre-modern myths and identities.”³⁶⁷ It establishes connections between the Bible and German folktales, the significance of territory, and details the difficulties of memory and recollection. This section contributes to the chapter’s primary question by acknowledging nationalistic elements in primary cultural works, the nation’s need for origin stories, and the intertwining between religion and culture. The importance of analyzing myths contributes to the study of nationalism in the Schleswig-Holstein duchy by establishing a long-term cultural narrative that contributes to the character of early modern nationalism found in the duchy that dates before the Unification Wars. By highlighting different myths and folklore, this work informs the reader of these cultural elements in Germany and the Duchies. Therefore, it creates awareness of their cultural connection, which is paramount for recognizing nationalist thought and sentiment.

Religion established the stage for numerous national myths and folklore, which flared patriotism and nationalism. Many motifs coined in folklore originated in earlier origin myths, such

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 95-96; Pietism furthered the Protestant Reformation through the development of the German language and literature, which transferred into the sphere of politics and nationalism. Koppel S. Pinson, *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism*, (New York, 1934), 94-95.

³⁶⁷ Anthony D. Smith, "The Myth of the 'Modern Nation' and the Myths of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11, no. 1 (1988): 1–25. Please also reference Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

as the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the Egyptian tale of the two brothers Arup and Bata, and even the Greek myth of Cronos.³⁶⁸ The Bible, Germanic mythology, *Annales Fuldenses*, the Nineteenth Century chronicles composed at a Hessian Abby, and an extensive oral collection laid the foundation for numerous Germanic folk tales.³⁶⁹ The story with the child's exposure in a boat correlates Moses to the stories of *The Devil's Three Golden Hairs* and *The King of the Golden Mountain*.³⁷⁰ The story of Jephthah, illustrating the killing of whoever comes to the door first but ends up being their child, is conjoined with the folk tales *Jack my Hedgehog*, *The King of the Golden Mountain*, and *The Nixie in the Pond*.³⁷¹ The biblical narrative of King Saul promising his daughter to Goliath's slayer correlates to the folk tale *The Two Brothers*.³⁷²

This dissertation discusses the roots of nationalism in the premodern era and, from a biblical perspective, in antiquity. Language, religion, and struggles establish numerous origins. However, memory, traditions, and historical presence produce the cultural affinity between the past and the present. Nationalist advocates typically remember national memories to incite patriotism and boost emotions of national belonging.³⁷³ Personal remembrance comprises the foundation of collective memory, and reconstructing those memories depends on the individual's group identity. Unfortunately, this tribulation is with reconstructive memory, distorted by those

³⁶⁸ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Penguin Classics: Selected Tales*, ed. and trans. David Luke, et al., (London: Penguin Books, 1982), 13.

³⁶⁹ David Blamires, *Telling Tales: The Impact of Germany on English Children's Books, 1780-1918*, (Open Book Publishers, 2009), 205; Blamires describes that the Grimm brothers separated the tales into two categories, *Märchen* and *Sagen*. *Märchen* are fiction and include tales of magic, comic, religious, nursery and animal tales, while *Sagen* account the legends with believable events; Some well-known collectors other than the Grimm Brothers are Ludwig Bechstein, Bernhard Baader, and Johann Karl August Musäus.

³⁷⁰ Grimm, *Selected Tales*, 13, 191-197, 337-342; Exodus 2: 1-10, 1611 KJV.

³⁷¹ Grimm, *Selected Tales*, 13, 278-282, 337-342, 356-361; Judges 11: 34-40, 1611 KJV.

³⁷² Grimm, *Selected Tales*, 13, 124-143; 1 Samuel 18: 17-30 1611 KJV.

³⁷³ Avraham, *German Neo-Pietism*, 96.

who recall it, intentionally or not, identifying the prominent issue with origin myths.³⁷⁴ Those myths passed down from generation to generation suffer from a level of distortion each time they are recalled and reconstructed. The myths exclusively sustain a static consistency once someone composes them down. Many who experience it documented the Bible, so it suffers less from distortion of oral history.

Pierre Nora, Patrick Hutton, Jacques Le Goff, and Jan Aspen all focus on the role of memory and history. Nora, a Twentieth Century French historian in her work “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire” published in *Representations* (1989), bridges the divide between memory and history by consciously collecting and preserving information, which she defines as another form of history.³⁷⁵ Archaic societies hallmark the only 'real' memory. Hutton, a Twenty-First Century Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Vermont, emphasizes in his work “Recent Scholarship on Memory and History” published in *The History Teacher* (2000), that repetition is a living tradition. At the same time, recollections are conscious reconstructions that form historical thinking.³⁷⁶ Le Goff, a Twentieth Century French historian, focuses his work *History and Memory* (1992), on preserving the past for its current and future benefits. Concurrently, Aspen emphasizes tradition more, extirpating Jan Assman's conclusion that tradition eliminates the issues of reception and amnesia.³⁷⁷ In a nationalist context, 'memory' and 'history' differ, especially involving the nation's origins and cultural foundations. While history depicts and establishes a nation's legitimacy, memory creates the cultural foundations for individual and

³⁷⁴ Peter Thaler, "The Discourse of Historical Legitimization: A Comparative Examination of Southern Jutland and the Slovenian Language Area," *Nationalities Papers* 40, no. 1 (January 2012): 2.

³⁷⁵ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989), 8F.

³⁷⁶ Patrick Hutton, “Recent Scholarship on Memory and History,” *The History Teacher* 33 (2000), 545.

³⁷⁷ Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, (New York, 1992), 45.

collective identity. When found and shared amongst many in a region, this memory constitutes a national consciousness that establishes the nation's identity. Another approach to this topic is that memory is a cohesion that binds national historical events and different national components.³⁷⁸ Traditions, values, and ideas form identity through this shared memory.

People naturally constructed memories, myths, and traditions during prehistory and antiquity eras. It is believed that Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein's cultural origins date back to prehistoric times. However, generations witnessed controversies between ethnic groups when they shared regions. The territorial disputes in the Balkans predominantly recognize this; however, Jutland furthermore experienced it. The crux of the disagreement between the Germans and the Danish concerns the culture of the indigenous Jutland people often referred to as the "Jutes."³⁷⁹ This Germanic tribe populated Jutland in conjunction with the Saxons and the Angles until the Fifth and Sixth centuries when numerous tribes immigrated to the British Isles.³⁸⁰ The movement of these tribes vacated immense regions of Jutland uninhabited. The north Germanic tribe, also called Scandinavian *Dani*, immigrated to Jutland from their islands in the Baltic Sea between the Sixth and Seventh centuries.³⁸¹

The Jutes' culture is primitive to German and Danish nationalism because it confirms the cultural connection to the indigenous peoples of the fatherland that both ethnic groups consider

³⁷⁸ Duncan S. A. Bell, "Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity," *The British Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 1 (2003): 70.

³⁷⁹ Reinhold Solger, *Memorial on the Schleswig-Holstein Question: Addressed to the Honorable Bradford R. Wood, Minister to the Court of Denmark, Copenhagen*, (New York: Baker and Godwin Printers), 1862, 6; Thaler, *Historical Legitimization*, 6.

³⁸⁰ Baron V. D. Pfordten, *Report on the Succession in the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, Laid before the Committee of the German Diet*, Trans. W. Pieper, (London: Vacher & Sons, 1864), 5.

³⁸¹ Arthur Beer, "Hartner and the Riddle of the Golden Horns," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 1, no. 2 (August 1, 1970): 139.

their homeland. The discovery of the famous Golden Horns of Gallehus in 1639 and subsequently in 1734 near Tønder, Denmark, facilitated this disagreement.³⁸² Scholars made reproductions and engravings of the horns, but unfortunately, the original horns were stolen twice and ultimately demolished. The Golden Horns is an enigma because the inscription on the horns is both distinctively German and Scandinavian, which reads "*ek hlewagastiz holtijaz horna tawido*" in German and "*ek hlewagistiR holtijaR horna tawido*" in Scandinavia.³⁸³ In English, it states, "I, Hlewagast, son of Holte, made the horn."³⁸⁴ A translation in Old Norse follows "*ek hlégestr hyltir horn gørða,*" while the Old Saxon translates it as "*ik hleogast hultihorn toida.*"³⁸⁵ Hans Frede Nielsen, a Twentieth Century Danish philologist and was a Professor Emeritus of Historical Linguistics at the University of Southern Denmark, designates in his work *Guldhornsindskriften fra Gallehus: Runer, sprog og politik* (2002), the translation as Northwestern Germanic.³⁸⁶

After meticulous investigation, scholars discovered that the inscription on the second horn is even more impactful than initially believed. In Early Norse, the second horn states, "*luba horns ens helpa hjoho,*" translating into "May the magic philter of this horn help the community."³⁸⁷ Willy Hartner, a Twentieth Century German scientist, confirms in his work *Die Goldhorner von Gallehus* (1969), that the creation of the horns only a few months after a total eclipse occurred on November 4, 412 CE, and archaeological examinations date the horns to 413 CE.³⁸⁸ Hartner

³⁸² Ibid, 139.

³⁸³ Thaler, *Of Mind*, 48.

³⁸⁴ Thaler, *Historical Legitimization*, 6.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, 7; For additional information, please reference Hans Frede Nielsen, *Guldhornsindskriften fra Gallehus: Runer, sprog og politik*, (Odense, 2002).

³⁸⁷ Beer, *Hartner*, 140.

³⁸⁸ Ibid, 139; For additional information, please reference Willy Hartner, *Die Goldhorner von Gallehus*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969).

emphasizes the importance of the term "community" on the second horn of this piece, indicating that the idea of a "community" existed before the Angles-Saxon-Jute migration to the British Isles. Additionally, Hartner presents that the knowledge of the cosmos and even language knowledge was widespread and circulating in Europe.³⁸⁹ Inscriptions and symbolism instructs or utilizes in various world territories extends the spread of knowledge and community consciousness by the Fifth Century. The designation "community" is essential to studying nationalism in the duchy because it establishes the existence of consciousness in the region. The terminology "community" can be confusing when applied in a nationalist context, and it is a common issue when analyzing nationalism. As a reminder, the detailed definition of a nation is "A human population occupying a historic territory or homeland and sharing common myths and memories; a mass public culture; a single economy; and common rights and duties for all members," while the detailed definition of nationalism is "An ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some members to constitute an actual or potential "nation."³⁹⁰ This work catalogs religion as a cultural essence in this context. With the transcription on the horn, "May the magic philter of this horn help the community," the passage indicates a social hierarchy, at least religiously, in the community.³⁹¹ One deduces that religion, to an unknown extent, had some influence on the tribe's political order. While this may seem presupposed, it is not out of the ordinary realm, as throughout the Germanic tribes of the time, religion played a substantial role in the tribe.³⁹² Therefore, with both cultural and political essences

³⁸⁹ Ibid, 141.

³⁹⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism, The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures*, (Lebanon: University Press of New England, 2000), 3

³⁹¹ Beer, *Hartner*, 140.

³⁹² For surveys regarding the role of religion in the Germanic tribes, primarily paganism, please reference Jens Peter Schjødt, "Warrior Bands," *The Pre-Christian Religions of the North: History and Structures*, vol. 2, ed. John Lindow et al., (Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 559-588; Olof Sundqvist, "Cultic Leaders and Ritual Specialists," *The Pre-*

present in the community, along with a consciousness of identity standardized with the practice of a shared Germanic pagan belief system, the community meets the criteria for having practiced nationalism.

Beowulf is another myth that memory bonds to the North Germanic people, comprising tribes such as the Frisians, Wendels, Geats, and Wulfings, but a primary question remains. To whom does this literature belong? Unfortunately, scholarly debate has been obfuscated by loyalties, and Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Frisia, England, and others have made possession declarations.³⁹³ Scholars have positioned *Beowulf* amid countless national, ethnic, local, linguistic, and political politics during the Nineteenth Century. Some have even altered the poem to accommodate their agenda. However, this dissertation concentrates on the authentic rather than the rewrites. Scientific dating places *Beowulf* between the Seventh and Eighth centuries.³⁹⁴ During an era of ethnic and political chaos, while the West Saxon kings were nation-building, scholars dispute the poem's composition.³⁹⁵ The literature intertwined with *The Battle of Brunaburh*, which articulates the West Saxon king's victories over the Danelaw and palliates the Celtic and Scandinavian opponents, also pairs with it.³⁹⁶

Ethnicity is vital to *Beowulf's* author as he goes out of the way to designate ethnicities that support the essence of the chosen and the others. Leonard Neidorf, an American philologist

Christian Religions of the North: History and Structures, vol. 2, Edited by John Lindow et al., (Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 736-779; Rudolf Simek, "Germanic Religion and the Conversion to Christianity," *Early Germanic Literature and Culture*, Ed. Brian Muirdoch and Malcolm Read, (Rochester: Camden House, 2004), 73-101.

³⁹³ Leonard Neidorf, "Beowulf as Pre-National Epic: Ethnocentrism in the Poem and its Criticism," *ELH* 85, no. 4 (2018), 848.

³⁹⁴ *Beowulf*, Trans. Seamus Heaney, Bilingual Ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2000), IV; Neidorf, *Beowulf as Pre-National Epic*, 848.

³⁹⁵ Neidorf, *Beowulf as Pre-National Epic*, 850.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid*; Alfred the Great, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, trans. James Henry Ingram, (Ottawa: East India Publishing Company, 2020).

Professor of English at Nanjing University, contends in his work "Beowulf as Pre-National Epic: Ethnocentrism in the Poem and its Criticism," published in the *ELH* (2018), that the poem reinforces a pan-Germanic perspective against distinct opponents and ethnicities.³⁹⁷ Ideology is the poem's nucleus, predominantly nationalism, comprising the identical components found in the Bible.³⁹⁸ Roberta Frank, a Twentieth Century American philologist and the Marie Borroff Professor Emeritus of English at Yale University, in her work "The *Beowulf* Poet's Sense of History" published in *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield* (1982), contends that *Beowulf* establishes "an ideological basis for national unity" while "anchors the West Saxon *imperium* in a brilliant North Germanic antiquity."³⁹⁹ The poem employs genealogy to demonstrate bloodlines for Hrothgar and Beowulf while confirming their reputation as ethnic heroes and myths that parents name their kids after. Based on his community's cultural characteristics, *Beowulf's* exceptional character elevates the warrior's ethnos.⁴⁰⁰ The poem's backdrop is essential and situates itself in northern Europe, specifically Jutland, which is the region that has three of the identified tribes in the poem. The Frisians, specifically the northern Frisians, are located along Jutland's North Sea shore, slightly north of the Dithmarschen region. Since the poem dates to the post-immigration era, the Saxons and the Wendels are in southern Jutland in the Schleswig-Holstein region, and the Dani in northern

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 861.

³⁹⁸ *Beowulf's* poet uses genealogy to trace lineage for the heroes, but also to establish recognition of different ethnic tribes, like the genealogy in the book of Genesis.

³⁹⁹ Roberta Frank, "The *Beowulf* Poet's Sense of History," *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*, Ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel, (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982), 60, 64.

⁴⁰⁰ Neidorf, *Beowulf as Pre-National Epic*, 854.

Jutland. The Geats, Wulfings, and Swedes were in Southern Sweden. Neidorf indicates that the poem does not mention England or provide it with an origin story.⁴⁰¹

Therefore, *Beowulf* is a solidly Germanic poem founded on oral tradition in the Germanic homelands of Jutland and southern Sweden, identifying the prominent Germanic tribes of the era. The oral *Beowulf* poem spread from the Angles' original home in Southern Jutland to the West Saxon nation. Communities and ethnic groups firmly established their consciousness by the Seventh or Eighth centuries. The possibility of a pan-Germanic consciousness is also prevailing, although it does not answer the inquiry of the guardianship of Jutland by either the North or West Germanic tribes. The poem highlights pan-North Germanic tribal locations, ethnicities, relationships, and political turmoil. Lastly, parts of *Beowulf* are witnessed in other period works such as individuals like Healfdene, clans such as the Scyldings, and events such as King Hygelac's Frisian raid found in the 521 CE *History of the Franks*.⁴⁰²

Germanic cultural beginnings date back to antiquity, and along the way include *Beowulf*, *Nibelungenlied*, and *die Merseburger Zaubersprüche*.⁴⁰³ Germans initially found these myths and incantations essential, and they continue to consider them critical as cultural and national symbols through the pre-modern era. The first symbol is nature, one of the cultural essences found throughout the Germanic lands. A prime example of ancient Germanic connections to nature and the fatherland is the Merseburg Incantations, particularly the second one, understood as *Die Merseburger Zaubersprüche*, which illustrates how to mend the foot of a horse impaired during a

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, 847.

⁴⁰² Friedrich Wilhelm Panzer, "Beowulf," *Studien zur Germanischen Sagengeschichte*, (München: C. H. Beck (O. Beck), 1910), 249-313; Leo M. Carruthers, *Beowulf*, (Paris: Didier Érudition, 1998), 37.

⁴⁰³ Jens Peter Schjødt, "Continuity and Break: Germanic," *The Pre-Christian Religions of the North, History and Structures*, Ed. John Lindow, and Anders Andrén, (Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 255-256; For a translated version of the entire saga, please reference "The Nibelungenlied," *The Project Gutenberg EBook*, Trans. George Henry Needler, (Project Gutenberg, 2015), <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7321/7321-h/7321-h.htm>.

ride in the forest.⁴⁰⁴ The horse's importance is vivid as many Gods in Germanic mythology is mentioned in the spell, as witnessed here,

"phol ende uuodan uuorun ziholza duuuart
demobalderes uolon sin uuoz birenkict
thubiguolen sinhtgunt sunna era suister
thuboguolen friia uolla era suister thu
biguolen uuodan so he uuola conda
sosebenrenki soseblutrenki soselidi
renki ben zibena bluot zibluoda
lid zigeliden sosegelimida sin"⁴⁰⁵

"Phol and Wodan went into the forest.
There the foot of the foal Balders was dislocated.
Sinhtgunt and Sunna, her sister, sang about him.
Then Frija and Volla, her sister, sang about him.
Then Wodan sang about him, just as he understood it well:
If bone dislocation, if blood dislocation, if joint dislocation:
Bone to bone, blood to blood, limb to limb!
So let them be joined together!"⁴⁰⁶

The incantation dissects and reveals the horse's significance in attracting Wodan's attention, like Odin in Norse mythology, to its side for healing. This symbolism, not just to the horse but to nature, accentuates the significance of the natural world in German lands while also being one of the foundational elements of nationalist thought in the duchies that dates before the Unification Wars. In pre-Christianity Germanic lands, Germans discovered the spirits of air, earth, waters, plains, and woods in the origin myth *Poem Edda*, the best German mythology source. Germanic Druidism is also present.⁴⁰⁷ The association with the natural world instituted an intense

⁴⁰⁴ For a descriptive analysis of the Second Merseburg Charm, please reference Kenneth Northcott, "An Interpretation of the Second Merseburg Charm," *The Modern Language Review* 54, no. 1 (January 1959): 45-50.

⁴⁰⁵ "The Merseburg Incantations," Merseburg Imperial Cathedral, <https://www.merseburger-dom.de/en/rundgang-merseburger-dom-zaubersprueche/>.

⁴⁰⁶ Benjamin W. Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction*, 2nd Ed. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 325.

⁴⁰⁷ Olive Bray, Ed. and Trans., *Viking Club Translation Series: The Elder or Poetic Edda, Commonly Known as Sæmund's Edda II*, Part I, (London: The Viking Club, 1908), <http://vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/The%20Elder%20or%20Poetic%20Edda.pdf>.

association with the land, as also seen with the Dithmarschen and their identity intertwined with the marshes.

The duchies combated diligently to dissuade the Danes and the Obodrites from conquering the land under equal reverence. The duchy's Germanic tribes felt a natural connection with other Germanic tribes, based on the land, that consolidated them across the Holy Roman Empire. The consciousness around nature and who resided in the German fatherland impacted them. But one should ask, did the nationalist component contain the potent essence of nature and homeland continuity? The Germans developed a religious perception of nature. First, they honored and worshipped it to a limited extent. With the introduction of Christianity into the duchies, their reverence for nature did not disappear. However, they stopped worshipping it and worshipped God, considering nature His gift. Nationally, the fatherland remained at the center of their national identity, and for generations, the forests, mountains, and swamps provided citizens with a higher sense of individual autonomy.⁴⁰⁸ Their collective identity experienced this autonomy, a crucial aspect primarily in antiquity but also found closer to modern times.

This chapter argues that nationalism is a recurring theme in various biblical, religious, and mythical stories. The Bible is examined through the lens of nationalism, exploring the linguistic, cultural, and spiritual aspects of nationalism. The religious sections focus on Martin Luther and the role of the Protestant Reformation in spreading nationalism through literature, politics, and religion. They also promote pan-Germanic consciousness by emphasizing the importance of communicating with God in church. The myth and folklore narrative are explored through examples such as *Beowulf*, the Golden Horns of Gallehus, and *die Merseburger*

⁴⁰⁸ Abschriften von sieben Urkunden: 1283 Januar 10. ..., LASH Abt. 5, Nr. 6 *Urkundenabschriften zur Geschichte von Dithmarschen im 13.-15. Jahrhundert*, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 2-8.

Zaubersprüche. This highlights the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic characteristics of nationalism. It is also noted that pan-Germanic consciousness is present in the Southern Jutland region. The next chapter will analyze the pre-French Revolution Schleswig-Holstein history using the nationalism framework introduced in Chapter Two and the insights gained from this chapter.

Chapter Five: Pre-Modern Schleswig-Holstein History

Schleswig-Holstein is a region caught in a tension between Denmark and Germany proper. However, from the Ninth century onwards, the region consistently demonstrated a rapport and attachment with German culture and identity rather than with the Danish. These displays reveal a type of early modern German nationalism that existed in this region that predates the German Wars of Unification in the Nineteenth century and indicates that people even in the more remote areas of Germany, held this inclination. The argument supports the historical analysis and comparison of basic nationalism concepts, historical narratives of the duchies, biblical nationalism, power politics, statistics, and origin myths. This work also argues that the duchies' history deserves a more prominent place in pre-modern European historiography. The argument is essential to history because it provides an original approach to studying the duchies, nationalism, and long-term cultural and political changes.

This Chapter argues that nationalism existed in the Schleswig and Holstein duchies before the First Schleswig-Holstein Conflict, witnessed through political, cultural, and religious perspectives. Then, it transitions to chronologically narrating the Schleswig-Holstein history, intertwining the identification of nationalism, and analyzing important events for their significance to the dissertation. The narrative focuses on political history, especially regarding the Dithmarschen tribe, Danish intervention in the duchies, and their attempts to incorporate them into the Danish Kingdom. Included in this narrative is the clarification between different types of nationalism.

The chapter answers the following questions. First, who were the people in the Southern Jutland region, and what events contributed to the creation of German nationalism in the region? Once it is understood who populated the Schleswig and Holstein duchies and how nationalism manifested, the dissertation examines its slow growth. Second, how do intra-duchy events

influence the rise of nationalism? Third, how does Danish involvement affect nationalism in the duchies? Fourth, What are the different types of nationalism? The Southern Jutland inhabitants are a collection of Germanic tribes comprising Saxons, Frisians, Angles, and Jutes. Their nationalism started with a collective consciousness of the invading forces under Charlemagne, which defined the lines between the external 'other' and the internal 'chosen.' From there, the nationalism slowly grew with battles, religious transitions from Paganism to Catholicism, and lastly to Protestantism and the ever-increasing awareness of pan-German consciousness. Danish involvement in the duchies includes military campaigns, succession issues, and a series of overreaching treaties. These actions helped develop the duchies' German nationalism by being the constant external threat, continuously reviving the awareness of pan-German consciousness in the region and solidifying the distinct German identity opposite of the Danish Identity. Lastly, the difference between different types of nationalism is the defensive nature of early modern nationalism that has its foundations before the German Wars of Unification versus the offensive nature of modern nationalism, the syntax in the identification of nationalism, and the context surrounding the nationalist sentiment.

Prehistory is not the scope of this work; however, it is essential to touch on some contextual facets to establish the chronological timeline covered in this chapter. Discovering the answer to who inhabited Jutland and how nationalist thoughts and sentiments began is critical to this dissertation. But first, a tremendous Indo-European group, who emigrated from the Pontic-Caspian Steppe between 3500-1000 BCE, inhabited Jutland since prehistory.⁴⁰⁹ Most knowledge concerning the Germanic Teutons, Cimbri, and the Charudes tribes that scholars assert populated Jutland derives from Roman references such as the Alexandrian geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus

⁴⁰⁹ Colin McEvedy, *The New Penguin Atlas of Ancient History*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 8-9, 30.

(Ptolemy)'s *Geographia* and the First Century CE Roman historian and politician Publius Tacitus's *Germania*.⁴¹⁰ Alfred Gudeman, an Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century German-American classical scholar, contends in his work "The Sources of the *Germania* of Tacitus" published in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* (1900), that the nuisance with Roman references is that different people submitted the preponderance of the information they provided to them, which is derivative.⁴¹¹ Roman sources had a variable influence on German identity over the centuries. The term "Germany" dates to the First Century BCE when the Romans referred to the lands north of the Danube and east of the Rhine as "Germania." In the Germanic languages, prior to the Eleventh Century, "Germany" and German lands were referred to as *Diutschlant* and *Diutschiu lant*, however, the use of the terms was relevantly uncommon.⁴¹² They are found in the Eleventh Century hymn *Song of Anno*, referring to Cologne as "the most beautiful town ever built in the German lands."⁴¹³ During Romanticism, people rarely sourced Tactus' *Germania* to reference the period from antiquity until the Renaissance. Jacob Grimm utilized *Germania* to assist in developing Germanic philology, making it more widespread.⁴¹⁴ Indirectly, *Germania* helped form German nationalist sentiment and identity through linguistic development.⁴¹⁵ Returning to the focus on the tribes, around 100 BCE, these tribes resettled

⁴¹⁰ Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, trans. Jacobus Angeli, (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1486), b. 19; Tacitus, *The Agricola and Germania*, trans. by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, (London: Macmillan, 1877), 87ff.

⁴¹¹ Alfred Gudeman, "The Sources of the *Germania* of Tacitus," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 31, (1900): 94.

⁴¹² Ingo Reiffenstein, "Bezeichnungen der deutschen Gesamtsprache," *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*, 3^{2nd} ed, ed. Anne Betten, et al., (2003): 2192-2193.

⁴¹³ Anon, "Annolied," *Deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters: Von Den Anfängen bis zum Hohen Mittelalter* 1, ed. Michael Curschman and Ingeborg Glier, (1980): 95.

⁴¹⁴ John Francis Haverfield, "Tacitus During the Late Roman Period and the Middle Ages," *Journal of Roman Studies* 6, (1916): 196-197.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid*, 200.

southwest, and the Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and Frisians, located slightly south and around the Eider River, transferred into Jutland.⁴¹⁶

By 50 BCE, as Johann Petersen points out in his work *Chronica oder Zeitbuch* (1599), the core Germanic tribes, such as the Saxons, Dithmarschens, Angles, Jutes, and Frisians, existed in Jutland, the northern regions of now lower Saxony and the Mecklenburg region, as well as southern Sweden and the Danish Isles.⁴¹⁷ The Germanic tribes migrated South as far as northern Italy by the Third Century CE, and the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons migrated to the British Isles in the Fifth and Sixth centuries.⁴¹⁸ In the Eighth Century, most modern age Germany lived beneath the rule of the Merovingians, under the Eighth Century Frankish King Pepin the Short's and Charlemagne's administration.⁴¹⁹ During the Eighth and Ninth Centuries, the German Saxons collectively waged war with the Franks and the Obodrite Slavic tribes that inhabited the far Eastern regions in the duchies, contributing to the growth of a pan-Germanic consciousness.⁴²⁰ At the first Battle of Bornhöved in 798 CE, the Saxons lost to the Franks and the Obodrites; however, the creation of the Holy Roman Empire in 934 CE signaled a shift in European power. The Germanic Empire answered the Saxon's calls for assistance and helped defeat the Obodrites and reinforcing

⁴¹⁶ Frederick G. M. Beck, "Cimbri," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Ed. vol. 6, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 368.

⁴¹⁷ Johann Petersen, *Chronica oder Zeitbuch / der Lande zu Holsten/Stormarn/Dithmarschen und Wagern / Wer dieselben Lander regiert / Was sich vor Christi Geburt bist in das M.D.XXXI.* trans. Christian Ahlers, (Lübeck: Laurentz Albrecht, 1599), 4.

⁴¹⁸ Reinhold Solger, *Memorial on the Schleswig-Holstein Question: Addressed to the Honorable Bradford R. Wood, Minister to the Court of Denmark, Copenhagen*, (New York: Baker and Godwin Printers, 1832), 6; Solger indicates that there is "a portion of the eastern coast of Schleswig is still to this day called 'Angeln,' I e. Home of the Angles."

⁴¹⁹ Jann Markus Witt and Heiko Vosgerau, *Schleswig-Holstein von den Ursprüngen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Hamburg: Convent Verlag GmbH, 2002), 65.

⁴²⁰ Georg Heinrich Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, "Annales regni Francorum: inde ab a. 741. usque ad a. 829. qui dicuntur annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi," 1950, OCLC: 163830384, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, München, 102; See Appendix I.

the German influence through the duchies, pan-Germanic identity.⁴²¹ Charlemagne's sons separated the Carolingian empire into three regions and later delivered it to Charlemagne's grandsons. The Treaty of Verdun in 843 CE codified the separation.⁴²² The importance of identifying the assistance from the Empire for the Saxons lies in the fact that there is communication between the different German tribes, and a presence of the broader German consciousness. In analysis, from a psychological approach, it can be argued that the Saxons were already aware of the larger German consciousness as they thought of reaching out to the Empire for assistance. However, by acting upon that mindset by physically requesting assistance, they confirm the mentality.

In 936 CE, Otto I, crowned German King, subsequently became King of Italy in 962 CE, officially assembling the Holy Roman Empire and converging the secular German administration and the Latin Church until its dissolution in 1806.⁴²³ Merchant guilds and towns in northern and central Europe constituted the Hanseatic League through a confederation in the Twelfth Century. It monopolized maritime commerce in the Baltic Sea and founded the free imperial cities of Lübeck and Hamburg. During its zenith in the Fourteenth Century, it safeguarded its earnings via military assertiveness. By the end of the Fifteenth Century, the league declined because numerous lords redirected their allegiances and facilitated more expansive commerce exceeding the empire's peripheries and influence. In foreign cities, the League became a membership of cities, also known

⁴²¹ Bernhard von Simson, "De statu quaestionis sintne Einhardi necne sint quos ei ascribunt annales imperii specimen," 1860, OCLC: 230742350, *Historia Germaniae generalis - Geschichte, Geographie und Politik Deutschlands*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Germany, 40; Einhard, "The Life of Charlemagne (830-833)," *Medieval Sourcebook: Einhard: The Life of Charlemagne*, Trans. Samuel Epes Turner, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880), <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/einhard.asp#Extent%20of%20Charlemagne's%20Conquests>.

⁴²² Jenny Benham, "Treaty of Verdun," *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*, (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), 1.

⁴²³ Witt & Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 63.

In the Viking period, marketing flourished between the Sixth and Eleventh centuries in Haithabu (Hedeby), located slightly north of present-day Lübeck.⁴²⁴ During Charlemagne's era, the Saxons and the duchies were the final regions to succumb to Charlemagne during the Saxon wars in 810 CE, almost fifteen years after the capitulation of the rest of Saxony. He would not incorporate the duchies into his empire until 804 CE when he designated the official boundary between the Carolingian Empire and the Danish at the river Eider.⁴²⁵ The border designation labeled the Schleswig and Holstein duchies as German Stem duchies.

An integral province in the duchies is the land of the Dithmarschen region, but who were they, and why did pan-German cultural traditions between them and other German tribes in the duchies matter?⁴²⁶ People settled this region around 150 BCE, and it remained secluded in the marshes until the Charlemagne era in 780 CE.⁴²⁷ This Germanic tribe is sufficiently familiar with its tradition, resilience, and strength because of the region's grueling environment. The tribe would evolve into a fierce group of homeland defenders with the motto "Better Death than Servitude."⁴²⁸ Germanic paganism fed into the Dithmarschen determination with its elements comprising fatalism, warrior bands, and even animal spirits.⁴²⁹ The Dithmarschen kept combating

⁴²⁴ Witt and Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 65; See Appendix C.

⁴²⁵ Witt and Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 74; Norman Berdichevsky, *The Danish-German Border Dispute: Aspects of Cultural and Demographic Politics, 1815-2001*, (London: Academica Press LLC, 2002), 27.

⁴²⁶ For an early account of the Dithmarschen reference Benjamin Williams, "On the Land of Ditmarsh, and the Mark Confederation, Communicated in a Letter to Rear Admiral Smyth," *Archaeologia: Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity, 1770-1992* 37, (January 1857): 371-390.

⁴²⁷ Herman Lübbling, *Stedinger, Friesen, Dithmarscher: Freiheitkämpfe niederdeutscher Bauern*, (Bremen: Verlag H. M. Hauschild GmbH, 1977), 71; Petersen, *Chronica oder Zeitbuch*, 4; Petersen notes that the Dithmarschen had a special language.

⁴²⁸ *Life in the Marsches of Schleswig-Holstein*, (Edinburg: Thomas Constable & Co., 1854), 8, 13, 20.

⁴²⁹ Tactus, *Germania*, 87ff; Heiko Steuer, *Germanen aus Sicht der Archäologie: Neue Thesen zu einem alten Thema*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 650-651.

Charlamagne until Charlamagne persuaded them to get baptized in the region's capital, Meldorf.⁴³⁰ However, the Dithmarschen used this as a ruse, turned on the Frankish Christians, and burned down the Church.⁴³¹ Charlemagne retreated and relocated the church diocese to Hamburg. Later, in the Ninth Century Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen Bishop Ansgar toiled northward, gradually converting the Germanic tribes in 848 CE.⁴³² Then, Charlemagne appointed a count to administrate the Dithmarschen and the other Germanic tribes in the territory, commencing the complex dynastic matter understood as the Schleswig-Holstein Question. The Schleswig-Holstein question is one of the crux controversies leading to the 1864 Schleswig-Holstein conflict.⁴³³

Because of the region's solitariness, they would remain undisturbed until 1214, when the Danish King Waldemar aspired to establish Danish regional influence by constructing Lunden castle South of the Eider River.⁴³⁴ The Dithmarschen vanquished the Danish and apprehended the King until they consented to restore him. Instead of warfare, the King proffered his support after gaining supplemental warriors from the northern Frisian tribes; consequently, the Dithmarschen allied with the Danish over the other Germanic tribes.⁴³⁵ These constituted Holstein Count Adolf IV, the Count of Schwerin, the Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg, Archbishop Gerhard II of Bremen, and the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern prince.⁴³⁶ However, pan-Germanic loyalty, identity, and

⁴³⁰ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 72.

⁴³¹ *Ibid*, 72.

⁴³² There are multiple works that detail Anskar's life, including the primary sources *Adamus Bremensis Historia Hamburgensis Ecclesiae* (1072) and the more important *Vita Anskarii* (865-909). An important secondary source includes *Lebensbeschreibung des Erzbischofs Ansgar* (1845); Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensius Ecclesiae Pontificum* (1072), trans. Grzegorz Bartusik, Radoslaw Biskup, & others, (Routledge: 2022); Rimbertus, *Vita Anskarii* (865-909), HB XIV 7, LEO-BW, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Germany; G. H. Klippel, ed. *Lebensbeschreibung des Erzbischofs Ansgari*, (Bremen, 1845).

⁴³³ See Appendix D.

⁴³⁴ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 75.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid*.

consciousness prevailed. When the combat commenced, the Dithmarschen inversed on the Danish and backed the German princes, overseeing an overwhelming triumph for the Germans. The Danish relinquished to the German princes at the Battle of Bornhöved on July 22, 1227.⁴³⁶ The Dithmarschen resumed comprehensive governance of their land and received five hundred Lübischen marks for their courageous efforts during the battle. However, they agreed to be supervised by the archbishop in Bremen.⁴³⁷

During the Thirteenth Century, German expansion swept through Northern Schleswig and southern Jutland, regions where the number of Danes equals or exceeds the Germans.⁴³⁸ The expansion began after the Battle of Bornhöved, weakening the Danes regional influence and allowing the Holstein counts to gain substantial territory and influence in exchange for financing Denmark's royalty. The wealthy German land-owning nobility purchased large estates and transported innumerable German artisans, administrators, judges, lawyers, clerks, and teachers with them.⁴³⁹ In Southern Jutland, just north of Schleswig, large areas of the region the Germans expanded into were primarily Danish in ethnicity, culture, and language. These Germans exercised considerable influence in schools, municipalities, and guild leadership. In analysis, the northern spread of the German population and influence helped German nationalist sentiment to not only expand into Jutland, but also grow in Schleswig. In the void of Danish influence, German identity strengthened as their success in Jutland increased, and as the Danish monarchy relied more on the

⁴³⁶ Klaus-Joachim and Lorenzen-Schmidt, *Das Neue Schleswig-Holstein Lexikon*, (Schleswig-Holstein: Wachholtz Verlag, 2006), 12; See Appendix E.

⁴³⁷ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 75.

⁴³⁸ Norman Berdichevsky, *The Danish-German Border Dispute: Aspects of Cultural and Demographic Politics, 1815-2001*, (Bethesda: Academica Press, LLC, 2002), 32.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid*, 32.

German dukes. German autonomy in the duchies increased as the Danish power decreased, and German unity in the duchies also continued to increase.

The Dithmarschen expeditiously accumulated a reputation for disregarding the authorities. They massacred multiple Bremen bishops as attempts to convert them to Christianity deteriorated, and many reverted to paganism. In the southern region of the Dithmarschen, where most of the defiance originated, inhabitants took to pirating ships captained to Hamburg. In reaction to their growing reputation, the German princes aspired to assimilate the Dithmarschen into the duchies. In 1403, Count Albrecht von Holstein and his brother, Duke Girard the Sixth, traveled from Schleswig and installed the military fortification at Marienburg.⁴⁴⁰ Rolef Boykenson guided the Dithmarschen in their assault on the encampment, and they emerged victorious that day. Unfortunately, Boykinson perished in the altercation. An old folk song captures the essence of the battle.

“Tredet herto, ji stolten Dithmarschen,
 Unsen Kummer, den wille wi wreken.
 Wat Händeken gebuwet han,
 Dat können wol Händken tobreken.
 De Dithmarschen repen averlut:
 Dat lide wi nu und nummermehre,
 Wi wille darum wagen Hals und Gut,
 Und willen dat gar ummekehren.”⁴⁴¹

“Step forth, you proud people of Dithmarschen,
 Our concern, for which we want to take revenge.
 What those [small] hands gave birth to,
 those [small] hands can break.
 The people of Dithmarschen call out loudly:
 We will not stand for this now or forever,
 We will risk our needs for our possessions for,

⁴⁴⁰ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 75.

⁴⁴¹ Karl Müllenhoff, *Sagen Märchen Lieder aus Schleswig Holstein und Lauenburg*, (Kiel: Schmerssche Buchhandlung, 1845), 31; Oskar Beber, *Kurze Geschichte Dithmarschens*, (Marne: L. Altmüller, 1922), 35.

and we want to reverse that.”⁴⁴²

This source is important to the dissertation because it displays a high level of collective identity for the Dithmarschen tribe. It forwards the concept of nationalism that dates before the Unification Wars, defined as social development focusing on incremental stages of progress that lead to cultural and social accumulation. As external forces threatened the security of the tribe, it bonded closer together to form a more distinct identity. To secure autonomy, the tribe had to unify to defend its ancestral homeland. To have the awareness of the external threats also confirms the awareness to external allies, such as the other Germanic tribes. In analysis, the identity distinction is one of the incremental stages of nationalism, slowly forming over time.

The Dithmarschen tolled the church bells at the location of Boykenson's death, signaling distress and frightened Count Albrecht's horse, ultimately killing him.⁴⁴³ Gerhard VI sued for peace after witnessing his brother's death, but he proposed unsuitable terms. He aspired to achieve retribution for his brother's death, but he executed neither: the Dithmarschen butchered Gerard VI and over 2,000 of his Knights, warriors, and servants.⁴⁴⁴ The Dithmarschen collaborated with Count Albrecht's widow, and they returned the count's body to her, per German tradition, after bestowing peace.⁴⁴⁵ Analysis of the song concludes the existence of the three critical nationalist sentiments identity: “You proud people of Dithmarschen,” unity: “the people of Dithmarschen call out loudly,” and the desire for autonomy, “We will risk our needs for our possessions for, and we want to reverse that.”⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴² Christian A. Ahlers, “The Importance of the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts in German Unification: A Primordial Case Study, 1839-1871,” (Masters Thesis, North Dakota State University, 2018), 14; This battle is referenced here as the Skirmish at Marienberg.

⁴⁴³ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 80.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

The Battle of Bornhöved and the Skirmish at Marienberg supply abundant evidence of nationalist elements. First, the German allegiances between the Dithmarschen and the German Princes ascertain an ethnic consciousness that traverses numerous German tribes. The appearance of the others, including the Danish and the chosen Dithmarschen, scintillated this ethnic identity. The tribes had a standard language, although the dialects varied, and the handling of the count's body connected equivalent cultural traditions across the region.

However, there are limitations to the region's nationalist thoughts and sentiments. It must be stated that the Danes are a North Germanic tribe, along with the Norwegians and the Swedes. Until around 500 CE, when the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons migrated to the British Isles, these tribes shared a common identity with the North Sea Germanic tribes, such as the Frisians, Saxons, and Angles, that remained on the continent. In *Beowulf*, the Danes still considered themselves connected with the Frisians and Saxons. In the Ninth Century, the Danes constructed the *Danewerk*, a series of groundwork walls intending to stop Charlemagne's advance northward after the capitulation of the Saxons in 810 CE.⁴⁴⁶ Also, during the Ninth Century, the Germanic dialect Proto-Norse had transitioned into Old Norse, a linguistic step away from the ancient Proto-Germanic language and towards a Scandinavian-exclusive language.⁴⁴⁷ By the end of the Viking Era in the Eleventh Century, the Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, and other North Germanic tribes stopped identifying as being connected with the Frisians and Saxons.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ "Danewerk: Grenze Seit 1500 Jahren." *Archäologie in Deutschland* 1 (2019): 69–71.

⁴⁴⁷ Ekkehard König, *The Germanic Languages*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 38.

⁴⁴⁸ The first documented use of 'Scandinavia' is first used in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, but the word did not start to be extensively used until after the Sixth Century as seen in the *Historia Langobardorum*, written sometime in the Eighth Century. Paulus Diaconus, "Historia Langobardorum," *Bibliotheca Augustana*, https://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost08/PaulusDiaconus/pau_lan1.html.

The Dithmarschen existed without external consequence until the Fifteenth Century when, in 1460, King Christian I, likewise the count of Oldenburg, acquired the title Duke of Holstein.⁴⁴⁹ He inscribed a peace accord with the Dithmarschen in 1473; regardless, peace was merely transient. The kings, Hans and Christian II, dispatched their assessors to extract 20,000 guildens and integrate the region into the duchies.⁴⁵⁰ They also expected to construct their three houses in Brunswick, Meldorf, and near the Eider River. One could exclusively perceive this as a display of authority and leverage, analogous to how castles attained their reputation during the Middle Ages in other parts of Europe. The German perception of the Danish continued diminishing, as glimpsed in this proverb.

"Do repen de Dithmarschen averlut:
 Dat schüt nu und nimmermehr.
 Darum willen wi wagen Hals und Gut Und
 willen dar alle um sterven,
 Ehr dat de Koning van Dänemark
 So scholde uns schone Land verderven."⁴⁵¹

"The people of Dithmarschen call out loudly:
 That happens now and never again.
 Therefore, we will risk our needs for our possessions.
 Want everyone to die
 before the King of Denmark
 is guilty of ruining our beautiful country."⁴⁵²

What is important to note about the proverb is the call for unity which signifies a communal identity, and as Dithmarschen valued autonomy, individual identity contributed to the communal

⁴⁴⁹ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 82; Bundestags Zeitung vom 23 Juli 1846, I. HA Rep. 75 A, Preußische Gesandtschaft am Bundestag, Nr. 714, *Schleswig-Holstein'sche und Lauenburg'sche Successionsfrage betreffend*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Berlin, Germany, 1; This is a brief that was given earlier to the king of Denmark on July 8, 1846.

⁴⁵⁰ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 83.

⁴⁵¹ Jastram, *Lebensbilder und Skizzen aus der Kulkurgeschichte*, (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1875), 189; Rudolf Nehlsen, *Geschichte von Dithmarschen*, (Tübingen: Laupp, 1908), 25.

⁴⁵² Ahlers, *Schleswig-Holstein*, 16.

identity. As written by Jastram, in his 1875 work *Lebensbilder und Skizzen aus der Kulkurgeschichte*, he proclaims that “on the whole, the German folk song – far more than that of other peoples – is directed towards the inner human being.”⁴⁵³ In analysis, the German folk song, a crucial element of German culture, rightfully defines, to an extent, German individual identity that is the foundation to German communal identity. Determined to suppress the Dithmarschen, King Hans and Duke Christian (later King Christian II) enlisted the services of more than four thousand knights under the leadership of Thomas Schlenz.⁴⁵⁴ King Hans and Duke Christian had mutual inducements to suppress the Dithmarschen. Foremost, King Hans' predecessors, Eric of Pomerania (1412-1439) and Christopher III (1440-1448), left the Kalmar Union (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) economically struggling.⁴⁵⁵ The Hanseatic League levied a trade embargo on Scandinavia after succession wars with multiple Holstein Counts and the city of Lübeck.⁴⁵⁶ The Danish king targeted the Dithmarschen as an associate of the League. Economically, Duke Christian desired to subjugate feudalism on the Dithmarschen to subdue their peasant republic and prevent them from wrecking Hamburgian ships and looting their shipments.⁴⁵⁷ Politically, numerous Holstein counts expected to suppress the Dithmarschen because of the peasants' freedom and autonomy in the republic. Analysis of the events leading up to the battle concludes that identity had little to do with the conflict. By 1100, the Danish no longer viewed themselves as Germanic, and the duchy

⁴⁵³ Jastram, *Lebensbilder*, 189.

⁴⁵⁴ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 84.

⁴⁵⁵ Thelma Jexlev and Henry Brown, “Christopher III of Bavaria,” *Danish Biographical Lexicon*, (2011), https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Christoffer_3._af_Bayern; Johann Stertz und Claus Rogge, An Bürgermstr. und Rat zu Danzig: ihre u. des O.-Marschalls Verhandlungen in den nordischen Wirren (König v. Dänemark, Herzöge von Schleswig u. Holstein u. von Stettin u. Hansestädte) (Lübeck 1427), XX. HA OBA Nr. 4775, *Nicht Klassifiziert, 1350-1525*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 4.

⁴⁵⁶ Sverre Bagge, *Cross and Scepter: The Rise of the Scandinavian Kingdoms From the Vikings to the Reformation*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 279.

⁴⁵⁷ Philippe Dollinger, *Die Hanse*, (Stuttgart: A. Kröner, 1998), 124.

Germans, especially the elite, focused more on the economic growth from feudalism rather than who was Germanic and who was Danish. Also, the southern Dithmarschen had a poor reputation for their lawlessness, and the freedom that the Dithmarschen enjoyed angered those duchy Germans who toiled under feudalism's control. Lastly, the Danish sought revenge due to the battles they had lost to the Dithmarschen.

Over eight thousand Danes, North Frisians, and Germans, predominantly from northern Holstein, where Danish allegiances were more dominant than southern Holstein, accompanied the knights. Four thousand Dithmarschen peasants awaited them, but they controlled the combat via the marshlands to engage in battle. The Dithmarschen smashed open the dikes, overflowing the marshlands and forcing the coalition forces onto minor walkways. They grouped and dispatched the invaders as they slowly traversed through the marshlands. Thereupon, the peasants secured victory. They learned to take advantage of environmental manipulation and practiced advanced futuristic military tactics. By the conclusion of the battle, over seven thousand of the coalition forces were lifeless, including Thomas Schlenz.⁴⁵⁸ As per German tradition, the Dithmarschen authorized those still alive at battle's adjournment to vacate with their lives and buried most of the departed on both sides, including the nobles. The corpses of Thomas Schlenz and the counts of Oldenburg, Adolf, and Otto were ransacked, stripped, and left for the birds and the beasts to tear apart. As Friedhelm Schneider points out in his article "Dusenddüwekswarf" on the website *Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, they erected a memorial near the site in 1900 with an inscription "*Wahr di, de Bur de kumt* (take care, the farmer comes)" to remember the battle even today.⁴⁵⁹ What is significant to note is that this battle was the second time the Dithmarschen

⁴⁵⁸ Lübbing, *Stedinger*, 90.

⁴⁵⁹ Friedhelm Schneider, "Dusenddüwekswarf," *Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, <https://geschichte-s-h.de/sh-von-a-bis-z/d/dusendduewelswarf/>. Every year there is a festival to celebrate the victory, called the *Heimatfest* and it is held on February 17th; "Das Heimatfest," *Gemeinde Epenwörden*,

engaged in pan-Germanic traditions. The first was allowing Count Albrecht's widow to retain his body after the Marienberg Skirmish. The second was practicing the Germanic tradition by allowing those still alive after the battle to leave the battlefield unharmed. In analysis, the Germanic traditions practiced across the duchies, with these two examples as collateral, provide insight into the widespread acknowledgment of Germanic identity.

Endeavors to integrate the Dithmarschen into the duchies would not transpire again until 1559 when the Danish King Frederick III led over 24,000 troops against the Dithmarschen.⁴⁶⁰ King Frederick had familial incentives to vanquish the Dithmarschen. The Danish Kings and Holstein Counts in his ancestry had failed to subdue the peasants, and the persistent sovereignty under the peasant republic outraged neighboring feudalistic Holstein Counts. The peasants attempted a spread and skirmish strategy. Regardless, the tactics failed, and on June 13, 1559, they dispatched two priests to the King's headquarters to solicit peace.⁴⁶¹ As the Twentieth Century German archivist and author Herman Lübbling points out in his work, *Stedinger, Friesen, Dithmarscher: Freiheitkämpfe niederdeutscher Bauern* (1977), the King shouted when he saw the priests, “*Gotts dusend, de Bur will sick geven!* (A thousand thanks given to God, Welcome!)”⁴⁶² The King of Denmark ruled the Dithmarschen, the final Germanic tribe that merged into the Holstein duchy. It is also the last region to convert to Christianity. The Dithmarschen take pride in their heroic past and still celebrate Victory Day amongst other cultural traditions that date back to before 1559.

<https://www.epenwoehrdn.de/unsere-gemeinde/geschichte-tradition/heimatfest>; See Appendix F.

⁴⁶⁰ Lorenzen-Schmidt, *Das Neue Schleswig*, 122-123.

⁴⁶¹ Adolf, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp to Friedrich & Johann, Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp July 1559, trans. Christian Ahlers, Abt-05, Nr. 05, *Subjugation of Dithmarschen*, Schleswig-Holsteinische, Schleswig, Germany, 1, 4; Adolf states that they did not want to attack them [Dithmarschen] and that the land had 'liberty for all.'

⁴⁶² Lübbling, *Stedinger*, 101.

They still speak the identical dialects of low German articulated during the Sixteenth Century, although, since the dialects vary from village to village, they are beginning to disappear.

The Danish and the Germans autographed numerous treaties, demonstrating the narrative of the Schleswig and Holstein duchies. From a diplomatic perspective, more specifically, the approach to decreeing treaties and international law, how did the Danish encroach on the duchies? Commencing in 1319, Christopher II of Denmark, the regent of Duke Valdemar III, governed Denmark until Valdemar came of age to rule. Nevertheless, unfortunately, he endeavored to compel Danish persuasion into the duchies.⁴⁶³ Gerhard III, the Fourteenth Century Count of Holstein-Rendsburg, forced him back and reappointed Vladimir the V, subsequently King Valdemar III, as King of Denmark. Inducting German leverage in the Danish court, he nominated advisors who influenced King Valdemar to mark the *Constitutio Valdemaria* on June 7, 1326.⁴⁶⁴ The act averted Denmark and the Schleswig Duchy from being united by the same sovereign. King Valdemar abdicated the throne after being tagged as a usurper. He returned as the count of Schleswig, indicating the legal divide between Denmark and the duchies.⁴⁶⁵

The *Constitutio Valdemaria* is the antecedent to the vital Treaty of Ribe, signed on March 2, 1460, by the Danish King Christian I.⁴⁶⁶ The treaty read, “*dat se bliven Hoda Jradi Tosa Mende*

⁴⁶³ Otto von Bismarck, *Zur Schleswig-Holstein Erfolgefrage und die Krieg gegen Dänemark*, (Berlin, January 15, 1865), 22.

⁴⁶⁴ Solger, *Memorial*, 8-9; Flensburger Arbeitskreis für Stadt und Regionalforschung, edit. *Quellen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, 1, (Kiel, 1987), 83.

⁴⁶⁵ When researching this work, this author returned to the Dutchies to visit the archives in Schleswig and the Dithmarschen region. The German and American families reconnected, producing a bond during the trip. Family relations supplied essential cultural, familial, and regional information. He played a tourist companion, guiding us around the region and visiting prominent buildings and historical sites such as the Battle of Bornhöved’s memorial site. In other words, he demonstrated what this author has commented: that the Dithmarschen is robust, formidable, tenacious, rational, scholarly, and honorable. One can still spot a Dithmarschen in the duchies.

⁴⁶⁶ Solger, *Memorial*, 10-11; Chevalier Bunsen, *Memoir on the Constitutional Rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848), 6-7; Baron V. D. Pfordten, *Report on the Succession in the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, Laid before the Committee of the German Diet*, Trans. W. Pieper, (London: Vacher & Sons, 1864), 9.

ungedeelt (That they stay together undivided).”⁴⁶⁷ This treaty forbade distinct powers, such as the Danish Kingdom and the Holy Roman Empire, from diverging the Schleswig and Holstein duchies. The covenant provided the duchies with considerable contemporary privileges, such as liquifying the rights of nobles, establishing a council to elect rulers and office, and giving the citizens of the duchies the freedom to rebel if any regime endeavored to diverge the duchies. The treaty likewise compelled the Fifteenth Century King of the Kalmar Union Christian I to revise the relationship between Denmark and the Schleswig Duchy. He launched the Danish rule over Schleswig via a "personal union" instead of a "real union." As the Twenty First Century Professor at Lund University Harald Gustafsson highlights in his article, “A State That Failed?” published in the *Scandinavian Journal of History* (2006), the Danish likewise practiced 'personal' unions earlier during the Kalmar Union (1397-1523).⁴⁶⁸ This authority over Schleswig was as the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Rendsburg under the House of Oldenburg, not as the King of Denmark.⁴⁶⁹ They altered the designation to the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Dithmarschen-Storman after vanquishing the Dithmarschen in 1559. By 1583, the King of Demark received the title “*Daniæ, Noruagiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorum, Rex Dux Schuies, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, ac Dietmarsia.*”⁴⁷⁰ The 1460 Treaty of Ribe is one of the most important treaties in the duchies’ history. The treaty serves as the foundation for future treaties between the duchies and the Danish. In analysis, it

⁴⁶⁷ Bunsen, *Memoir*, 7; Witt & Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 154; See Appendix G.

⁴⁶⁸ Harald Gustafsson, “A State That Failed?” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32, no. 3 (2006): 207-208, 217.

⁴⁶⁹ Peter Thaler, *Of Mind and Matter: The Duality of National Identity the German-Danish Borderlands*, (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2009), 31.

⁴⁷⁰ Francis Walsingham to Queen Elizabeth I, 19 March 1583, TNA PRO, SP 75, 1-42, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Denmark*, The National Archives, Kew, England, 102; This source is to provide proof of the application of the title after the defeat of the Dithmarschen. It is a letter stating that Walsingham was buying English clothes at the Hanseatic League. The letter is a copy because it is a draft reply.

establishes legitimacy between Schleswig and Holstein, legally creating unity between them, fostered autonomy by disrupting Danish influence, and assisted in the growth of German identity.

In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, the duchies proceeded through transformations, and more treaties dictated the legislation of the duchies. Nevertheless, a slight interlude is required to manage the religious character of the duchies. During the Charlemagne era between the Seventh and Ninth centuries, people initiated the spread of Christianity. Denmark experienced a prolonged conversion due to an absence of churches in numerous provinces. The ruling class preferred Christianity and chose not to force it on the populous, instead opting to utilize conversion when politically advantageous.⁴⁷¹ However, they needed to complete the conversion as some pockets of individuals adhered to the old religion.⁴⁷² Conversion faced exceptional challenges in the Dithmarschen province. The scarcity of extraneous persuasions due to the environment, landscape, and political upheaval permitted the Dithmarschen to remain incognito.⁴⁷³ Heinrich of Zütphen, a fifteenth-century German theologian and preacher, perished at stake in the Dithmarschen, demonstrating the treacherous nature of journeying to isolated locations in the duchies.⁴⁷⁴ However, modifications in theology aided the conversion's success pace. The Protestant Reformation is first, and the successful conversion of the Danish kings, Christian III and Frederick III, is second. Lutheranism disseminated quicker through the duchies

⁴⁷¹ Anders Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 161-162.

⁴⁷² L. A. G. Schrader, *Handbuch der vaterländischen Rechte in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein*, (Altona: Johann David Adam Eckhardt, 1784), 3; Schrader speaks to the 'freeness' of the duchies' people and in that often comes a resistance to change.

⁴⁷³ Jef van der Schriek and Max van der Schriek, "'Up Ewig Ungedeelt!' Schleswig-Holstein 1864-1920," *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 6, no. 2: (June 2011): 149; The Schriek brothers point out that the landscape often generates symbols and how communities define themselves.

⁴⁷⁴ Witt & Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 144.

than Catholicism, permitting Lutheranism to reach formerly inaccessible places. Luther's use of German correspondingly assisted conversion and the multiple Bibles written in the *Plattdeutsch* language. Regular communication with the *Plattdeutsch* residents helped them understand scriptural concepts better. As Frederich Detlef Karl von Kronhelm points out in his work *Corpvs Statvtorvm Provincialivm Holsatiae, oder Neue Ausgabe Schleswig-Holsteinschen Kirchen- und Land-Gerichts-Ordnung der Schauenburgischen Hof-Gerichts-Ordnung, des Dithmarschen Land- und Lubischen Stade-Rechts* (1750), the conversions of Kings Christian III and Frederick III also enabled Lutheranism to circulate because when a lord or a king converted to the faith, their inhabitants developed conviction in the religion.⁴⁷⁵ Like different German territories, Lutheranism frequently dispersed from administration down.⁴⁷⁶ This would ascertain accurate in the duchies as well.

Returning the emphasis on the treaties guides this work to the legal act of *primogeniture*, sanctioned by the Sixteenth Century Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II after being published by Duke John Albert II, the ruler of Mecklenburg-Schwerin on January 9, 1608.⁴⁷⁷ This act contained numerous segments, but the two significant features were that it prevented women from existing in the succession line and thwarted the oldest, able-bodied sons in the succession line from marketing the hereditary feudal estates. The Dukes of Schleswig and Holstein recovered all the dominion if the coalition with the duchies exclusively resumed via female succession, leading to the union's nullification.⁴⁷⁸ Denmark subsequently authorized *primogeniture* on July 13, 1609,

⁴⁷⁵ Frederich Detlef Karl von Kronhelm, *Corpvs Statvtorvm Provincialivm Holsatiae, oder Neue Ausgabe Schleswig-Holsteinschen Kirchen- und Land-Gerichts-Ordnung der Schauenburgischen Hof-Gerichts-Ordnung, des Dithmarschen Land- und Lubischen Stade-Rechts*, (Altona: 1750), 17.

⁴⁷⁶ Diana Muir Appelbaum, "Biblical Nationalism and the Sixteenth-Century States," *National Identities* 15, no. 4, (2013), 325.

⁴⁷⁷ Bunsen, *Memoir*, 8-9; Pfordten, *Report*, 19.

⁴⁷⁸ For an account of the Schleswig-Holstein Question, please reference Otto von Wenckstern, *M. V. Gruner*

and after on July 21, 1621, by the Danish King Christian IV; regardless, they would decree renewed succession ordinances in 1661, adding female succession solely after finding no more males in the succession line.⁴⁷⁹ The legal act of *primogeniture*'s importance to developing nationalist sentiment in the duchies is that it helped sharpen the divide between the King of Denmark and his role as a personal leader of the duchies, an often unclear connection. It also facilitated future treaties that allowed separation from Denmark and fostered nationalist thought and sentiment to grow in the duchies.

On March 8, 1658, they inscribed the Treaty of Roskilde.⁴⁸⁰ This treaty concludes the Second Northern War, mainly between Sweden and Denmark-Norway, who suffered defeat during the War. After relinquishing his lands earlier in the War to Sweden, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp regained them, although he lost numerous additional possessions.⁴⁸¹ The Treaty of Roskilde reflects the changing mentalities of the Danish and the ruling class in the duchies, which affected the development of the duchies' identity.

The Eighteenth Century duchies continued to be consequential with the dynastic issues of the ducal Gottorp line.⁴⁸² After revitalizing their lands, the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp united themselves with Sweden during the Great Northern War.⁴⁸³ However, they relinquished their lands

on the Succession in the Danish Monarchy, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), 79-118.

⁴⁷⁹ Wenckstern, *M. V. Gruner*, 82.

⁴⁸⁰ Robert Yard to Williamson, 7 July 1669, TNA PRO, SP 91, 3-174, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Russia*, The National Archives, Kew, England, 25.

⁴⁸¹ Witt & Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 157; Pfordten, *Report*, 19; Die Restitution des Herzogs von Holstein-Gottorf in Schleswig und Holstein..., I. HA Gr, Rep. 41, Nr. 3068, *Streitigkeiten Kursachsen mit den Sekundogenituren*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 4.

⁴⁸² Vereinbarung zwischen dem Kaiser und Schweden über verschiedene Punkte, darunter Wiederherstellung des Herzogtums Schleswig-Holstein..., I. HA. GR Rep. 11, Staatsverträge, Nr. 1027, *Auswärtige Beziehungen, Staatsverträge*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 3; Vertrag zwischen Sachsen-Polen und Holstein-Gottorp ..., I. HA. GR Rep. 11, Staatsverträge, Nr. 1037, *Auswärtige Beziehungen, Staatsverträge*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 6-9.

when Sweden lost and marked the Treaty of Frederickborg in 1720.⁴⁸³ German Duke Charles Frederick aspired to rescue Schleswig's lands by wedding Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of the Russian monarch Peter the Great, which indicated that the dynastic game was far from over.⁴⁸⁴ When Empress Elizabeth expired childless, she selected Duke Charles Frederick's son, Peter III, as the Russian crown's successor. After reaching the ruling age, he became the Russian emperor and the Duke of Holstein. He dispatched an ambassador to Denmark, demanding they return the expropriated lands taken from the duchies to regain German lands.⁴⁸⁵ However, before Russia and Denmark advanced towards war, Peter III's wife overthrew him and sued for peace with Denmark.⁴⁸⁶ She received the Russian crown as Catherine II and signed a non-aggression accord with Denmark-Norway on March 11, 1765, after designating her son as Duke of Holstein. Afterward, he accepted the crown as Emperor Paul I of Russia. However, due to the threats of Russian land possession in the duchies, he conveyed the land to the King of Denmark-Norway Christian VII via the Treaty of Tsarskoye Selo on August 12, 1773.⁴⁸⁷ Due to the peace treaties mentioned before, Denmark-Norway only received the appropriate proprietorship of the duchies in the restricted circumstances it had been initially received. These events cast doubt on the legality of Danish rule in the duchies, which affected the level of national autonomy for the duchies through the threat of external control through marriage. Additionally, the Acts of Renunciation and

⁴⁸³ Gedicht auf die Politische Lage, August 1728, LASH Abt. 10, Nr. 203, *Statthalterschaftssachen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 1-3.

⁴⁸⁴ Witt & Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 192; Bismarck, *Schleswig*, 30.

⁴⁸⁵ Witt & Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 192

⁴⁸⁶ The situation received much criticism in the duchies, as seen in this satire piece. Politische Satire "Medizinische Beurteilung der gegenwärtigen Lage," LASH Abt. 10, Nr. 212, *Statthalterschaftssachen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 1-2.

⁴⁸⁷ Witt & Vosgerau, *Schleswig*, 192

Cession in 1767 and 1773 compelled Denmark to remain independent from Russia, averting the transition of authority between Russia and Denmark.⁴⁸⁸

In analysis, Peter III's coronation as the Russian emperor restricted his reign over Holstein to a "personal union," like the Danish King's specified rule over Schleswig as a "personal union." When Paul I transmitted the privilege of Ducal Holstein to Christian VII, he transferred his "personal" authority over Holstein to him. Consequently, Christian VII resumed ruling the duchies but in an exclusively personal capacity. The personal characteristic of the Danish rule is paramount in comprehending the legal authority in the duchies and the credible Danish overreach, scintillating a national reaction in the Nineteenth Century that leads to the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts.

The Danish attempts at influence in the duchies assisted in growing the pan-German consciousness, which is recognizable with the fighting between the German duchy counts and the Dithmarschen starting in the Twelfth Century with the battles between the Dithmarschen and the German nobles Hartwig and Maurice I, Count of Oldenburg.⁴⁸⁹ The Dithmarschen played the role of the external 'other' despite likewise being German. The other German princes desired to incorporate the duchy's German tribes into the duchies, primarily causing civic internal fighting. The 'civic' fighting here refers to disagreements over succession, rules, laws, and economic regulations. The reasons for incorporation were also economic, as, by the Fifteenth Century, the Dithmarschen enjoyed their confederated peasant republic, providing crucial autonomy from feudalism but likewise status under the Holy Roman Empire. They conducted external trade with

⁴⁸⁸ Christian Friedrich Wurm, *A Letter to Viscount Palmerston: Concerning the Question of Schleswig-Holstein*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1850), 11.

⁴⁸⁹ Henry H. Howorth, "The Early Intercourse of the Danes and Franks," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, (1877): 151; Howorth describes the Saxons north of the Elbe as *Nordliudi*, which were divided into three tribes, *Thiatmarsgi/Thiod Marsgi* (Dithmarschen), *Holsati, Holzati, or Holsaetas* (Holsteins), and *Stormarii* (Hamburg).

other nations without involving the remainder of the duchies, establishing communal identity and economic autonomy, and were members of the Hanseatic League.⁴⁹⁰

The Dithmarschen also understood their position as a German tribe and, under the overview of the Archbishopric of Bremen, responded to the call to assist a fellow German tribe, the unrestrained Frisians in the Land of Wursten, just north of the Dithmarschen.⁴⁹¹ The Dithmarschen derived their endorsement to reinforce the Frisians because of their shared Germanic identity and the civic element to administer other free German groups to displace feudalism from the region. Both features are naturally unstable as the civic associations with the Frisians were not consistently peaceful, yet the cultural identity of the tribes remained at the top of their consciousness. This is witnessed in the Second Battle of Börnhoved in 1227 when the Frisians paired with the Dithmarschen to defeat the external Danish threat.

From the Fourteenth Century until the Eighteenth Century, the duchies encountered multiple treaties to solidify the pan-German identity. These would commence with the *Constitutio Valdemaria* (1326), which promised that the Duchy of Schleswig and the Kingdom of Denmark would never be united under the same ruler and resume with the Treaty of Ribe (1460), which justified that the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein will never be divided. Furthermore, the *jus primogeniture* (1608), which establishes that only male succession is legitimate in the duchies, the Treaties of Taastrap and Roskilde (1568), re-establishing Gottorp ducal control in the duchies, and the Treaty of Tsarskøpe Selo (1773), transferring the duchies from Russian to Danish control but only in the restricted manner that they were received.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹⁰ Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, 2nd ed. trans. S. H. Steinberg and D. S. Ault, (Redwood: Stanford University Press, 1970), 124.

⁴⁹¹ Ellen Jørgensen, *Annales Danici: Medii Ævi*, Editionem Nouam Curavit, (København: G. E. C. Gad, 1920), 52, 151, 157, 158, 174; This work comprises of multiple annuals including Annuals *Lundenses*, *Ripenses*, and *Continuatio Saxonis siue Chronica Jutensis* which details the Frisian losses to the Danes which would lead to stronger ties with their Germanic neighbors.

The Danes and the Germans had a volatile relationship involving the treaties. The dynastic issues integrated under the Schleswig-Holstein Question, the incessant wars, and the religious confrontations between the Pagans, Lutherans, and Catholics all provided deviating aspects that devised changing essences. The shifting loyalties conditional on the region were in question, the economic changes with the Hanseatic League at the epicenter, and the cultural shifts further north near the Schleswig-Danish Border provided ample compelling essences in the region.⁴⁹²

Another essence was about to change, and that was the press. Until September 14, 1770, the Danish king banned the free press in the duchies and Denmark.⁴⁹³ University of Copenhagen professors had to approve all published work by authors.⁴⁹⁴ This means literature in newspapers, magazines, and printed journals are rare; however, a few did exist, such as the *Schiffbek* (1721) and the *Glückstadt* (1740). The Hanseatic cities of Lübeck (1751) and Hamburg (1616) enjoyed more press freedom.⁴⁹⁵ However, the Danish would return to censoring public press. In 1865, specifically in the Schleswig region of the duchies, the Schleswig post office reported that the “*Kieler Zeitung*, the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung*, and the *Itzehoer Nachrichten*, by order of Hrn. V. Zeblitz, from 17. Nov. [1865] [are] forbidden for the Duchy of Schleswig.”⁴⁹⁶ In 1773, the local Holstein state government transferred to Kiel, signifying a combined state with the ducal

⁴⁹² Sigismund, römischer König, bittet den Großmeister um Vermittlung, 29 Januar 1429, XX. HA OBA Nr. 5039, *Kaiser und Römische Könige*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 4.

⁴⁹³ Königl. dänische Verordnung, welche die Grenzen der Presfreiheit näher erklärt und bestimmt, *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur* 2, (1799), Universität Bielefeld Universitätsbibliothek, Bielefeld, Germany, 311-338.

⁴⁹⁴ “Freedom of the Press Writings,” *Det Kgl. Bibliotek*, <https://www.kb.dk/en/inspiration/freedom-press-writings#:~:text=On%2014%20September%2C%201770%2C%20Christian,But%20that%20had%20to%20change.>

⁴⁹⁵ “Zeitungsgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins,” *Gesellschaft Für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, <https://geschichte-s-h.de/sh-von-a-bis-z/z/zeitungsgeschichte-schleswig-holsteins/>.

⁴⁹⁶ “Schwäbischer Merkur: mit Schwäbischer Kronik und Handelszeitung: Süddeutsche Zeitung: Deutschland: Schleswig,” *Deutsches Zeitungsportal*: nr. 273 (Nov. 21, 1865), <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/2SEAZFLK2V4P5B4WAV7KMFJAZYV25GQO?issuepage=6>.

government and symbolizing a centralized German state in the duchy. This also represents a change in identity and pan-duchy consciousness.⁴⁹⁷ In 1787, the duchies' Germans established the *Schleswig-Holsteinischen Patriotischen Gesellschaft* (Schleswig-Holstein Patriotic Society). This group's members aimed to be more acquainted with the fatherland and to “promote knowledge of the natural state and the civic constitution, the products and the inhabitants of Schleswig and Holstein, and a love of the fatherland.”⁴⁹⁸ The members formed the group partly due to the recent Danish actions in the duchies but also because of the information published in the *Dankwerchischen Werke*. The Society worked to correct the “historical part of our chronology since it has been incorrect, altered, and flawed.”⁴⁹⁹ The creation of the Patriotic Society confirms an already well-defined pan-German identity in the duchies, the nationalist responsibility of defending their culture and history against Denmark, and nationalist sentiment growth in the duchies.

Another sign of nationalist sentiment in the duchies is the growth of patriotism in the German school system. The *Ueber das Bedürfnis und die Einrichtung eines Archivs für das vaterländische Schul- und Erziehungswesen von den Schulkollegen in Husum* details how, for a long time, the school and education system needed an improvement primarily involving how they “...understand by the fatherland - and the attitudes and measures of those who have the power in their hands, which have been shown at the appropriate time, every unsung have convinced us that we are neither lacking in strength nor in good will, as ignorance and a bad heart have tried to blame

⁴⁹⁷ “Kaiserl. Reichs-Ober-Post-Amts-Zeitung zu Köln, 9 November 1773,” *Deutsches Zeitungsportal*, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/UDKEYAD3PCR5MX25JIXKECCUBA34Q5YN?issuepage=4>.

⁴⁹⁸ “Vorläufige Nachricht von der neugestifteten Schleswig-Holsteinisches patriotischen Gesellschaft, (1787),” *Schleswig-Holsteinische Provinzialberichte* 1 Magazine, Zeitschriften und Serien, Universität Bielefeld Universitätsbibliothek, Bielefeld, Germany, 16.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 17.

us here and there.”⁵⁰⁰ Plus, they identify that they “do not deal enough with the nature and constitution of our existing institutions, with our country.”⁵⁰¹ These two compelling examples show nationalist continuity in the area, along with the consciousness of Danish encroachment, the spreading of Danish culture into the duchies, and the unspoken cultural aspects that every Germanic tribe practiced and, second, after the Protestant Reformation in the Sixteenth Century, Lutheranism—the treaties they supplied legal cornerstones to establish pan-Germanic national identity around and fostered German autonomy. One should witness the treaties as national symbols rather than diplomatic creations because they influenced the growth of nationalist thought in the duchies.

Civic analysts scrutinize national identity and autonomy but find national unity the most challenging aspect of the duchies. After the incorporation of the Dithmarschen region in 1559, the duchies experienced a fragmentation of the lands founded on the different German families.⁵⁰² The Germans in duchies were concerned about the considerable fragmentation in the ruling classes. However, the lower classes found German unity to be powerful. Additionally, the difficulties faced by the Danes influenced the duchies. The Danes did not develop strong national bonds for the duchies; instead, the internal strife over the ruling classes prevented Danish identity from taking hold and did not hinder the growth of German nationalist sentiment. The passing of the *Lex Regia* (1665) dedicated the Danish Kingdom to absolutism, paradoxical to the Germans, who relished more autonomy and freedom. This act solidified the German national sentiment and led to them

⁵⁰⁰ “Ueber das Bedürfnis und die Einrichtung eines Archivs für das vaterländische Schul- und Erziehungswesen von den Schulkollegen in Husum,” *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur*, Zeitschriften der Aufklärung, Universität Bielefeld Universitätsbibliothek, Bielefeld, Germany, 560, 561.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid, 562-563.

⁵⁰² See Appendix J.

Another component of the Schleswig-Holstein Question that affects nationalist thoughts and sentiments is unequal marriages. In his investigation of the dynastic issues in the duchies, Otto von Bismarck discovers multiple questionable matrimonyes of the Dukes of Schleswig and Holstein. Complicated dynastic issues create doubt in the leadership of the Danish King, severing the intertwined national identity with Denmark and promoting the duchies' nationalist sentiment to grow. The growing divide between Denmark and the duchies also create a leadership void that was filled by nationalist sentiment. In German culture, regional leaders often determine the characteristics of their people's sentiments. An example of this was during the Protestant Reformation when regional leaders converted to Lutheranism, so did their subjects. Therefore, the German people, especially in the duchies, held a reasonable amount of respect and admiration for their leaders. In analysis, these sentiments helped to form their identity. Trust in their leaders shaped the characteristics of national unity. Also, the leadership determined the level of security which affected the amount of individual autonomy. Since the Danish king ruled the duchies in a "personal union," the duchy Germans looked towards the dukes of Schleswig and Holstein for leadership. However, since the duchies' ruling families often intertwined with the Danish ruling family, the people's doubts about the legitimacy of their rulers because of the marriage issues allowed for German nationalist sentiment to blossom. This is because there was less trust in the leader, and more trust in the identity of a nation and the autonomy as well as the unity it provided. A prime illustration is Carl Peter Ulrik, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp's betrothal to Sofia Augusta Frederika, forthcoming Empress of Russia, positioning the duchies vulnerable to external sovereigns from foreign succession lines.⁵⁰³ Simultaneously, this wedlock and others merely

⁵⁰³ Bismarck, *Schleswig*, 30; "Kaiserl. Reichs-Ober-Post-Amtes-Zeitung zu Köln, 30 März, 1773," *Deutsches Zeitungportal*, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/V46NMGGDKTVB5W2E3D6OLT6XDYYAZUIS?issuepage=4>.

guided rulers towards "personal unions" with the duchies, ultimately impacting the ruling succession.

Marrying "up" introduced problems; for instance, in the two royal lines, marrying "down" likewise introduced distinctive tribulations. Marriage issues in the ruling class developed voids for nationalist reflection to expand. This topic is integral to this dissertation because it supplies illustrations of illegal Danish rule encroachment on the duchies via illegitimate lineage. The ancestral apprehensions of the Dukes of Schleswig and Holstein dissuaded them from legally governing the duchies. Bismarck demonstrated in his work *Zur Schleswig-Holstein Erfolgefrage und die Krieg gegen Dänemark* (1865) a keen understanding of the German nobility, including the various dukes and duchesses, and expressed genuine concern over the noble's bloodline credentials to govern the duchies.⁵⁰⁴ When determining the subsequent male for succession, the nobles had to select a lad who belongs to the high nobility, is legally accessible, and his family must have associations in the region.⁵⁰⁵ Another factor in deciding the following ruler is they must satisfy the expectations of the ancient Germanic *Salic Law*. The law states that:

- “1. If any man dies and leaves no sons, if the father and mother survive, they shall inherit.
3. If the father and mother do not survive, and he leaves brothers or sisters, they shall inherit.
3. But if there are none, the sisters of the father shall inherit.
4. But if there are no sisters of tile father, the sisters of the mother shall claim that inheritance.
5. If there are none of these, the nearest relatives on the father's side shall succeed to that inheritance.
6. But of Salic land no portion of the inheritance shall come to a woman: but the whole inheritance of the land shall come to the male sex.”⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁴ Bismarck, *Schleswig*, 31.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 32.

⁵⁰⁶ Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/salic.asp>.

Because of Holstein's confirmed affinity with the Holy Roman Empire and the 1460 Treaty of Ribe that permanently trussed Schleswig and Holstein, the Schleswig duchy likewise had to adhere to the *Salic Law*. These ordinances, dichotomized with the *primogeniture* accord, prevented females and males from a female succession line from governing the duchies, thereby averting Denmark from ruling during the Nineteenth Century. The *Salic Law* impacted the duchies' pro-German nationalist sentiment development because it strengthened their connection with the Holy Roman Empire and the Germans within those borders. When analyzing the adherence to the *Salic Law* in the duchies, the German identity grew due to the distinctiveness of the German succession laws, contrary to the Danish ones. The choice to follow German succession laws define the duchies' population as having a stronger connection with the Holy Roman Empire than with Denmark, also creating a bigger divide between the Germans and the Danes, increasing duchy autonomy. Lastly, the *Salic Law* adherence united the duchy Germans, strengthening patriotic sentiments. As time progressed, the issues with the Danish King stacked, frustrating the duchy Germans and strengthening their national sentiment.

Social rank is the final criterion for authority in the duchies, and it played into the subject of unequal marriages' ruling prerequisites. A spouse subordinate to the current social standing caused a noble's grade to decrease and terminate them from ruling contention. Bismarck challenged nearly twenty-five matrimones he anticipated were not "high nobility." Some of them are:

- Duke Joachim Ernst to the daughter of the Duke Marquis of Westerloo in 1677.⁵⁰⁷
- Rudolf Fredrich, Duke of Norburg and Countess of Prön in 1680.⁵⁰⁸
- Ernst Casimir, son of Duke August Philipp and Holstein Berk and an unnamed mistress.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁷ Bismarck, *Schleswig*, 7; Bismarck proclaimed that the marriage is "certainly not something to the high nobility could expect."

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 8; She is the grandmother to the hereditary prince of Plön.

- Fredrich Wilhelm, Duke of Augustenburg and Countess Sophin Amalie of Braunau in 1694.⁵⁰⁹
- Duke Philipp Ernst of Glücksburg and Countess of Braunau in 1729.⁵¹⁰
- Duke Christian Karl and Dorothea Christina of Aichelberg 1702.⁵¹¹

Likewise, the ruling class was concerned about intermarriage, but they did not find any cases in the direct male succession line of the Germans. Comprehensively, Bismarck concludes that unequal marriages are predominantly found in the House of Oldenburg line, also referred to as the Danish line. However, they are not in the direct succession line. Furthermore, the German side of the ruling succession lines had no unequal or intermarriage issues. The issues with the ruling class's marriages are significant in the Schleswig-Holstein Question, and German nationalism in the duchies. As stated earlier in this chapter, unequal and intermarriages created doubt in the legitimacy of the Danish ruling classes. This German doubt is evident in the duchies' population's move to create patriotic groups and expanding patriotic studies in their education systems. When evaluating the decisions to establish patriotic groups and educational lessons, the population felt the need to separate themselves from the Danish. This was to embrace their German culture creating unity and fostering an identity. Identity and unity create autonomy through the communal embrace of security, culture, and religion.

The era between 1800 and 1864 marks a very ambiguous time for nationalism in the duchies. On one side, there is a type of nationalism that slowly grew over the centuries, defining

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid, 9.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Ibid, 9-10; In exchange for the marriage, Duke Christian Karl would discreetly sign away his successional privileges to his brother, King of Denmark, and Duke Hans Adolph of Plön. Regardless, Christian Karl's son would eventually become the next successor after his brother's demise without an inheritor. They stipulated the contract as "*pro legitimis et ax christiano et legali, non veroad morg anat icam contracto marti monis susceptis liberis.*" This is roughly translated to German as "*pro legitimis die Christen, und die Axt und den rechtlichen, nicht den veeroad morg Knochen Anat Armorica, die seine marti den Dämon konzentriert hatte, hat er die für ihre Kinder erhalten.*", In English, it solidified the child as being the born of the Duke and Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein, Stormarn and Dithmarschen, including Oldenburg and Delmenhorst.

the identity and autonomy of the duchies' Germans. On the other side, there is the explosion of new liberal nationalism from France permeating across Europe, promoting freedom, tolerance, and equality. Both types of nationalism are powerful and influential, but first, two questions require answers. First, what are the differences between early modern nationalism that has its foundations before the German Unification Wars and modern nationalism? Which kind of nationalism is in the duchies and had the most influence? To answer these difficult questions, one must first remove the mistake of assuming that because this era is after the French Revolution, the type of nationalism experienced in the duchies is automatically modern nationalism. Time, in and of itself, does not change nationalism. What changes nationalism are the perspectives, nationalist thoughts, and sentiments of the individuals and the collective.

The first step to answering the questions is approaching the topic from a political standpoint. It was in the 1830s when the National Liberal Party took control in Denmark and began politically mobilizing Schleswig occupants under the banner "Denmark to the Eider."⁵¹² Led in part by Christian Paulsen and Christian Flor, the Danes sought to fully incorporate the Schleswig duchy into the Danish monarchy. In response, the German Provincial Government proclaimed in Kiel on March 24, 1848, "Countrymen! Our duke has been forced by a revolutionary movement at Copenhagen to dismiss his counselors and to assume a position hostile to the duchies."⁵¹³ Based on Norway's constitution, they intended to provide Schleswig with an appropriate representation (one man, one vote). However, this approach disregards the previously established treaties and Schleswig's eternal connection with Holstein. Liberal nationalism replaced the old with the new,

⁵¹² Hans Brems, "The Collapse of the Binational Danish Monarchy in 1864: A Multinational Perspective," *Scandinavian Studies* 51, no. 4 (Autumn 1979), 432.

⁵¹³ Beseler, et al., "Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein," *Memoir on the Constitutional Rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), 155-156.

particularly in the duchy's context, where it replaced the estates' rights with a constitution. The approach to change in liberalism is offensive. The participants sought out change.

Paradox to the Danish liberal nationalism, the Germans in the duchies practiced a type of early modern nationalism that predates the Unification Wars.⁵¹⁴ They based their right to collective autonomy on the legality of the previously agreed upon treaties, succession instability of the Schleswig-Holstein Question, which delegitimized the Danish king's claim to the duchies and expressed a desire for financial autonomy at the advisory provincial estates' meetings.⁵¹⁵ At least since the 1780s, when the duchies' economy was impoverished, people called for financial independence. This is seen in the *Flensburger Wochenblatt* (1823/24) when the wholesaler Andreas Peter Andresen gives a poem to S. Kön. Maj. on behalf of the *Christiansgarde* of a rifle guild. It states “*Der Zeiten Druck, des Handels Stille, vermindert unsre treue Zahl ..., Geliebter Frederik! schau mit Liebe, auf dein gesunknes Flensburg hin!*”⁵¹⁶ In English, “The pressure of the times, the silence of trade diminishes our loyal number..., Beloved Frederik! look at your sunken Flensburg with love!” The trademark of this type of nationalism is a long-term, stacking nationalist sentiment growth beginning before the French Revolution. This approach to nationalism is defensive, seeking to protect its culture, traditions, heritage, and language.

This is an example of early modern nationalism, as well as a contrast between it and modern liberal nationalism. However, despite receiving little acceptance in the duchies, liberal nationalism influenced it, albeit in a limited fashion. In the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur* (1799), the revolutionary propaganda “... is presented as an evil that can only

⁵¹⁴ Einige Bemerkungen über die verschiedenen Nationaleigenthümlichkeiten der Dänen und Deutschen im Herzogthum Schleswig, *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur* 2, (1799), Universitätsbibliothek Universität Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Germany, 519-525.

⁵¹⁵ Brems, *The Collapse*, 432.

⁵¹⁶ *Flensburger Wochenblatt*, (1804/05): S. 97 ff.

be averted by joining.”⁵¹⁷ By 1840, the population of Schleswig and Holstein responded to the Danish movement by embracing their German culture. A prime example is language, one of the critical parts of cultural nationalism. Primary speakers in the previous Danish-speaking areas of Schleswig swapped, changing the *Angeln* region between Schleswig and Flensburg to German. By 1844, Schleswig changed its previous red and blue flag to the blue, white, and red national flag, symbolizing its autonomy from Denmark. August Heinrich Hoffman, a Nineteenth Century German poet wrote *Das Lied der Deutschen* (The Song of the Germans), also known as the third stanza of the German national anthem, in 1841, reflecting pan-Germanic consciousness.⁵¹⁸ The most important verse of the stanza is “*von der Maas an die Memel, von der Etsch bis an den Belt!*”⁵¹⁹ Translated into “from the Maas to the Memel, from the Etsch to the Belt.” The mention of the ‘belt’ refers to *der kleiner Belt* (the Little Belt), a strait between the Jutland peninsula and the island of Funen. The strait established the northern boundary between Denmark and Schleswig by signing the 1460 Treaty of Ribe.

The advancement of Prussian influence marked a transformation in Europe and the duchies. Prussia ascended to power after beginning as a little duchy under the administration of the Marquis of Brandenburg in the House of Hohenzollern. During the Prussian and Habsburg Austrian Silesian Wars, fought for control over the Silesian region, between 1740 and 1763, King Frederick II extended his rule across the northern German states. The Prussian ruling family aimed

⁵¹⁷ “Ueber eine angebliche französische Propaganda im Holsteinischen, 1799,” *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur* 1 Zeitschriften der Aufklärung, Universitätsbibliothek, Universität Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Germany, 219-220.

⁵¹⁸ August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, “Das Lied der Deutschen (1841),” *German History Intersections*, <https://germanhistory-intersections.org/en/germanness/ghis:audio-6>; Hoffman von Fallersleben was a German poet who appealed to the unity of the German fatherland. The poem was published by a Hamburg publisher no later than 1841 and was officially labeled as the German national anthem in 1922. Two original copies currently exist and can be found in the Manuscript Department at the Berlin State Library.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*

to fill the void created by the Holy Roman Empire's dissolution in 1806 by ruling the German States. The Prussians, known for their exceptional military and combat tactics, became Europe's "new" power. In 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, Prussia and the other European powers assembled to divide the vanquished French emperor Napoleon's lands.⁵²⁰ Prussian influence expanded as they assumed governance of Westphalia to function as a protectorate between France and the German states.⁵²¹

Prussia's growing influence in Western Europe paralleled its economic concerns in the duchies. The Eider Canal, constructed between 1777 and 1784, connected the North Sea to the Baltic Sea, serving as a crucial lifeline for Prussia's agriculture-dependent economy, and supplied the duchies with an iconic symbol of German identity. The canal also provided the duchies with economic autonomy. Germans in the duchy saw the importance of economic autonomy as one of their primary concerns was corruption of the national debt (*Staatsschuld*). In an August 8th article published by the *Altonaer Mercur: Zeitung und Intelligenzblatt für die Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg* (August 10, 1839), it states "It will be recalled that the former chief auditor and junior accountant at the Directorate of Public Debt and Financing Fund, Birch, was accused of issuing false Royal Bonds bearing the signature and seal of the Directorate of Public Debt, which he later filed with Central cash register here for a sum of around 4000."⁵²² The concerns over financial corruption in Denmark, added to the already volatile economic depression in the duchies due to poor Danish oversight. In analysis, the poor state of economic conditions

⁵²⁰ David Blackbourn, *Blackwell Classic Histories of Europe: History of Germany 1780-1918, The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 70-71.

⁵²¹ *Ibid*, 70.

⁵²² "Altonaer Mercur: Zeitung und Intelligenzblatt für die Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg: Kopenhagen," *Deutsches Zeitungsportal* no. 189 (August 10, 1839), <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/LI2L7LZGCR4TNNLBHQCRSMVPOEIBJKXT?issuepage=1>.

fueled German nationalism with their desire to separate themselves from the Danish to promote financial autonomy, and to remove themselves from the Danish-originated financial burden. This allowed Prussia to exercise extensive influence on the duchies.⁵²³ The Prussian and German federation alliance, directed by the Prussian Customs Union, aspired to secure meaningful European trade with sponsorship from Bavaria and Saxony. The Central German Economic Association opposed the coalition due to Prussia's increasing economic dominance in the area. In analysis, the growing Prussian economic influence in the duchies provided more individual autonomy through better financial standards. This would help with the separation between Denmark and the Duchies.

Economic stability for the German federation under Prussian leadership entitled them to be a feasible solution for the "German Question." Under Prussian leadership, the German Federation focused commerce northward into the Baltic. However, if Austria retained control, trade would continue to be concentrated in Bavaria and other southern European countries. This inquiry symbolized a fork in the road for the German Federation. On the one hand, Austria, the 'large' German (Großdeutschland) solution, represented the "aging" man of Europe.⁵²⁴ This option involved the German federation moving onward under the Austrian administration. Geographically, this solution consolidated all the German-speaking lands under the ancient Habsburg monarchy. The Habsburg monarchy governed the Holy Roman Empire for over 400 years. Nobles such as Prince Clemens Wenzell Lothar von Metternich desired to preserve the *status quo* and oppose Austria's slowly declining power in Europe. The alternative solution is

⁵²³ Hagen Schulze, *The Course of German Nationalism: From Frederick the Great to Bismarck, 1763-1867*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 77.

⁵²⁴ William Hagen, *German History in Modern Times: Four Lives of The Nation*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 143.

Prussia and the 'small' Germany (*Kleindeutschland*) option.⁵²⁵ Geographically, this alternative incorporated the German states and the recently obtained Prussian lands; however, it excluded all the Austrian lands. This possibility gave the German Federation new leadership and landed more German-speaking inhabitants. Before they could answer the “German Question,” the Germans needed to know from the Austrians five key points,

- to the federal protection of its German states against foreign attacks,
- to the fact that no member of the Federation may undertake such an attack against the same,
- The freedom of German subjects to emigrate to Austria,
- the right of German Austrians to acquire property in the rest of Germany,
- Mutual protection against repression.⁵²⁶

When analyzing these points, they all display different elements of nationalist sentiment for Germany. Their desire for federal protection and protection from one another focuses on security, autonomy, and unity. The freedom for emigration embraces individual autonomy and the voluntarist element of nationalism. The last two focus on security and autonomy, especially economic autonomy. All five points focus on identity. They display a distinct identity revolving around security, autonomy, the freedom to establish yourself in the German lands, and the right to emigrate.

The liberal expansion from France, the French Revolution, and the "German Question" sparked the March Revolutions in 1848.⁵²⁷ Amid the rapid spread of liberal and socialist ideals, rioters attempted to disrupt Prussian democratic reforms. The Revolutions aimed to establish

⁵²⁵ Schulze, *German Nationalism*, 143.

⁵²⁶ Deutsche Zeitung, No. 7, 7 Januar 1849, LASH Abt. 51 Nr. 1201, *Regierungen der Herzogtümer während der Erhebung 1848-1851*, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 7-8.

⁵²⁷ Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe*, (London: Pearson Education Co., 2001), 92; Otto Von Bismarck to Maximilian von Hatzfeldt, April 21, 1850, I. HA Rep 81, Paris II (Nach 1807), Nr. 37 Band 2, *Schleswig-Holsteinsche Frage. Erlasse an Maximilian Friedrich Carl Graf von Hatzfeldt*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 129.

independent nation-states that included democratic components such as political participation, freedom of the press, and expanded economic autonomy.⁵²⁸ The elements outlined above contributed to the propagation of nationalism and liberalism throughout Europe and sowed the seeds of democracy for future development. However, their efforts ultimately proved to be unsuccessful. The potato famine and inadequate harvests exacerbated the rebellions from 1846 through 1848. Military forces swiftly suppressed the revolutions despite the far-reaching radical ideologies that sparked them. After witnessing the rebellions cause death and spread extremist beliefs, the German Federation voted to proceed under Prussian rule.

Unfortunately for the German federation, no one thought to notify Prussia that the German States decided to follow Prussia on the German Question. When the German Federation requested the Prussian King Frederick William IV to be the King of the German Federation, he honorably declined the invitation. However, in confidentiality, he acknowledged the invitation denigrated him because he refused to govern a nation dragged "from the gutter" and "disgraced by the stink of revolution, defiled with dirt and mud."⁵²⁹ The radical ideologists scintillated by the French Revolution discredited the prominence of the German Federation, leading to the progressive deterioration of the German title.⁵³⁰ While the rebellions distributed ideology across Europe and through the German Federation, the Prussian and German governments did not pass the revolutionist reforms.

⁵²⁸ Robert John Weston Evans, and H. Pogge von Strandmann, *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 4.

⁵²⁹ Alan Farmer, *Access to History: The Unification of Germany and The Challenge of Nationalism 1789-1919*, 4th Ed. (Hodder Education, 2015), 67.

⁵³⁰ Magnus Grafe von Moltke-Grünholz, *Die Schleswig-Holsteinische Frage*, (Hamburg: Perthes-Besser und Mauke, 1849), 119.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the Danish conscripted the Sleswigers to fight in the early Nineteenth Century Danish-English Conflicts. The nations of England and Sweden were at war with Denmark and France. The French alliance with Denmark soured diplomatic relations between Denmark and Britain. Regardless, their relationship regenerated when Prussia entered the duchies. The Danish administration conscripted the Sleswigers to combat numerous Europeans, including Germans.⁵³¹ The forced recruitment by the Danes is another component that led to war in the duchies a mere three decades later.

Before the first Schleswig-Holstein Conflict of 1848, the duchies faced three pivotal circumstances that led to military action between the Germans and Denmark. First is the upcoming end of the Danish dynastic line in the duchies. The Oldenburg bloodline ended with King Frederick VII. German laws and regulations dictated that his uncle Ferdinand of the Glueckstadt lineage was his successor.⁵³² Denmark's succession laws permitted inheritance through female lineage, and as a result, Charlotte, the King's aunt, who was closer to the male succession line, married the landgrave of Hessen-Cassel.⁵³³ The lady acted as a regent until her son, Prince Frederick of Hessen, reached maturity. However, he rejected the crown when the nobles attempted to pass the ducal crown into the Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg line with Prince Christian. Following Charlotte's acceptance of the crown, Denmark's legal authority over the duchies ended. However, the Danes continued to press their control in the duchies with further legislation.

⁵³¹ Nick Svendsen, *The First Schleswig-Holstein War, 1848-1850*, (England: Helion & Company, 2009), 19.

⁵³² Bismarck, *Schleswig*, 25.

⁵³³ Solger, *Memorial*, 33; "Die Ehronfolge in Dänemark und den damit verbundenen deutschen Herzogthümern," *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* 60 (1 Marz 1843): 441-443.

An illegal attempt to incorporate Schleswig into the Danish Kingdom through legislation known as the Ussing motion or "Letter Patent," found in the "Letters Patent of King Christian VIII, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein," published in the *Official Documents Relating to the Schleswig-Holstein and Danish Question* (1848).⁵³⁴ The Danes wrote the Letter to destroy the "personal" rule element. The issues regarding Schleswig's annexation by Denmark comprise the unbreakable connection with Holstein, the illegal transfer of rule through illegitimate bloodlines, and the numerous previous treaties passed preventing annexation. However, the Letter enclosed an unanticipated consequence. As the Nineteenth Century Prussian, later American historian Reinhold Solger points out in his work *Memorial on the Schleswig-Holstein Question: Addressed to the Honorable Bradford R. Wood, Minister to the Court of Denmark* (1862), through the Letter, the Danes acknowledged that the duchies were not subject to Danish rules, including succession ones.

"The Danes, it will be observed, did not pretend to say that the Duchies were parts of a Danish hereditary kingdom, nor that they were subject under the Danish law of succession. On the contrary, by calling upon the King to make them so, they distinctly acknowledged that the Duchies were not part of "one hereditary Danish kingdom, inseparable and indivisible."⁵³⁵

The importance of this source is that it makes the distinction between the Germans and the Danes, by the Danes. Arguably, this makes a sharp identity edge between them and delegitimizes the Danish political move to incorporate Schleswig into the Danish Kingdom. In the context of

⁵³⁴ Johannes Nielsen, *The Schleswig-Holstein Revolt, 1848-1850*, Trans. Marianne Henriksen, (Haderslev: Tøjhusmuseet, 1993), 4; Frederick Beseler, et al., *Memoir of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein, Addressed to Lord Palmerston*, (Rendsburg: April 6, 1848), 125; "Letters Patent of King Christian VIII, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein," *Official Documents Relating to the Schleswig-Holstein and Danish Question*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), 143–144; Wiese, "Protest of the Assembly of States of Holstein, of December 21, 1844," *Official Documents Relating to the Schleswig-Holstein and Danish Question*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), 132; Leading up to the Patent was the December 21, 1844 protest over the Roeskild Assembly of Estates when the Danish King pronounced that the duchies were with the Danish Kingdom "... to form one sole [soul], indivisible empire, and be an undivided heritage, according to the provisions of the royal law."

⁵³⁵ Solger, *Memorial*, 35.

Nineteenth Century political chaos concerning the validity of Danish control over the duchies, this source is recognizably important to the German national movement and this dissertation.

The third occasion impacting the duchies is the Danish "Open Letter." The Danish Kingdom requested, through the Letter, incorporating the Schleswig duchy in the Open Letter.⁵³⁶ The Sleswigers requested annexing the Schleswig duchy to the German Federation in response to the Open Letter. They provoked an upheaval when the Diet declined their request for incorporation.⁵³⁷ Because of the Open Letter, the Danish attacked the Sleswiger's independence and established rights. Germans received the Letter as an attack on the German fatherland. As seen in a letter from Dr. Monheim and 159 Others in Aachen, Westphalia to King of Denmark (August 3rd, 1846), found in the, *Geheimes Zivilkabinett Jüngere Periode* collection at the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, in Berlin, Germany, they were denouncing the Open Letter as an attack on the fatherland, signifying a strong collective connection with the pan-German consciousness of German identity with the duchies and their desire for autonomy.⁵³⁸

- "The lex regia is in full validity and force in the duchy of Schleswig." However, he contradicts his assertion by saying, "To certain portions of the Duchy of Holstein, there are facts which prevent us from pronouncing with the same certainty respecting the rights of our heirs to the succession of that Duchy."⁵³⁹
- The King prefers to "bring about the full and entire acknowledgment of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy" yet proclaims that "it was in no way his intention by this Letter Patent to encroach upon the independence of the duchy of Schleswig"; "or to introduce any modification in the relations which united said Duchy at present with the duchy of Holstein."

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ Peter Thaler, "A Tale of Three Communities: National Identification in the German-Danish Borderlands," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32, no. 2 (2007), 141; Thaler states that the members of the German minority north of the border describe themselves unambiguously as Sleswigers.

⁵³⁸ Letter from Dr. Monheim and 159 Others in Aachen, Westphalia to King of Denmark, August 3rd, 1846, I. HA Rep 89, Nr. 337, *Geheimes Zivilkabinett Jüngere Periode*, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 3-8; The letter explains how the Letter is an attack on the fatherland.

⁵³⁹ Solger, *Memorial*, 36.

This source is important to the dissertation because it displays how other Germans viewed the dispute between the Germans and the Danes. They recognize the *Lex Regia* in the regions controlled by Denmark in the first passage, however, they fully recognize that the *Lex Regia* does not overrule the successional laws, independency of the duchies, and legitimate relationship between Schleswig and Holstein. It is important to note the German's awareness of both sides of the argument which provides insight into the German mindset. Their conclusion that the Letter was an attack on the fatherland is further validated through their national support for the Germans in the duchies.

The Danish made another attempt to change the "personal" element to the Danish rule in the Duchy. Through the *Lex Regis*, they asserted that they could press the Duchy into the Kingdom by the unquestionable authority of the King and the French-inspired illegal acts published by the Danish in 1720, 1721, 1767, and 1773.⁵⁴⁰ Consequently, the Danish squabbled that the Schleswig duchy had no legal rights to avert its incorporation into the Kingdom. The Sleswigers contended that with the rights appointed in 1460, 1608, and 1658 and the *Salic Law* through the association with the Holstein duchy, the Danish had no legal right to attempt incorporation into the Kingdom. In defiance to the Danish encroachment, Prince Gustav von Wasa appealed to the German Confederation in the correspondence from Prince Gustav von Wasa, the Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, to the High Federal Assembly (October 8, 1846) in the *Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg Question of Succession* collection, found in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, in Berlin, Germany responded to the Open Letter,

⁵⁴⁰ William Leverkus, "An Authentic Interpretation of the Guarantee of England and France with Reference to the Duchy of Schleswig," TNA: PRO, FO 881-1224, *Denmark 1*, 1720 The National Archives, Kew, England, 4.

“Since these decrees of His Majesty also affect my rights, in particular those to which I am entitled as Duke of Schleswig and Holstein in my capacity as a descendant of His Majesty King Adolf Frederick of Sweden in the male lineage, I am induced to assert all my rights against any action arising from the said open letter of July 8, 1846, and the decree of September 18, 1846.”⁵⁴¹

This source is important to the dissertation because it displays the royal level of a multi-class social agreement in the duchies that the Danish overstepped in their attempts to incorporate Schleswig into the Kingdom. In analysis, the response by the Duke shows a high level of concern in the duchies. The lower- and middle-class Germans were already expressing their concerns, as seen in the sources above, but to have a Duke express concern to the German Confederation and request assistance, the Germans of the duchies in all classes understood the Danish threat. With such a predominant threat, German unity increased, based on the mutual need for security. The fear of losing autonomy that the Germans relished under Danish rule can be contributed to rise in national identity. Lastly, the correspondence to the German Confederation further expresses the pan-German nationalist connection between the duchies and other German regions.

Pausing momentarily to recapitulate the elaborate legal and political activity between the Sleswigers and the Danish, one can notice the issues at hand. The Danes claimed that they governed the Duchy for a long time and that it was culturally and politically Danish, forming the foundation of the issue. The Sleswigers, as seen in *The Globe* (January 26, 1850), asserted that the Duchy is more comparable in culture, social aspects, and politics with its German relation to the Holstein Duchy.⁵⁴² Upon analysis of the national issues, it becomes evident that the Danish

⁵⁴¹ “Correspondence from Prince Gustav von Wasa to the High Federal Assembly October 8, 1846,” I. HA, Rep 75 A, no. 715, *Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg Question of Succession*, vol. 2, trans. Christian Ahlers, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 2-3; The Assembly responded, “... the members of the German Princely Houses will at any time find a remedy at this High Assembly against the impairment of their hereditary rights to German federal lands.”

⁵⁴² *The Globe*, No. 3, January 26, 1850, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten 1, Nr. 4644-2, *Erteilung von Orden und Geschenken anlässlich des Abschlusses von Verträgen zwischen Preußen und Dänemark*, Geheimes Staatsarchivs Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, 142.

encroachment upon the Schleswig Duchy was legally permissible yet concurrently deemed illegitimate. This occurrence bolsters the Danish argument for incorporating the Duchy. The legal pressure on the duchies flared national sentiment in response to the Danish attempts at incorporation. Across Germany, the Sleswigers inspired nationalist sentiment, as seen in the collection of nationalist songs in *Deutsche Lieder für Schleswig-Holstein mit ihren Singweisen für vierstimmigen Männer-Chor*.⁵⁴³ Some songs originated in the duchies, such as *Wanke nicht, mein Vaterland!*⁵⁴⁴ Through centuries of continuous encroachment, stacking on one another, the Sleswigers built an expplementary national case against the Danish.

The Sleswigers presented their argument based on nationalist principles in conflict with Denmark's. Nationalism encompasses a collection of thoughts and actions that prioritize the interests of a particular nation.⁵⁴⁵ This is distinct from the concept of a nation as a cultural and political entity. Culturally, the Sleswigers relate to the Holsteiners in language and traditions. The 1460 Treaty of Ribe forever connected the Schleswig and Holstein duchies, at least from a ruling standpoint, displaying the national sentiment of Schleswig politically. The need for such a treaty reflects the sentiments and consciousness of the duchy populous. As stated above, the Danes slowly stopped identifying as connected to the Saxons and Frisians by the Eleventh Century. The divide between the Danes and the duchy Germans continued to grow since 1460, allowing the people in the duchies to reinforce their German identity. The duchies' nationalism derives from the

⁵⁴³ Th. Täglichsbeck, *Deutsche Lieder für Schleswig-Holstein mit ihren Singweisen für vierstimmigen Manner-Chor*, (Stuttgart: Verlag von Karl Göpel, 1848).

⁵⁴⁴ C. G. Bellmann, "Wanke nicht, mein Vaterland! Lied an Schleswig-Holstein," *Deutsche Lieder für Schleswig-Holstein mit ihren Singweisen für vierstimmigen Manner-Chor*, (Stuttgart: Verlag von Karl Göpel, 1848), 26; The song was first found at a German singers' festival in Schleswig.

⁵⁴⁵ Smith, *Nationalism*, 55.

German identity with the Schleswig and Holstein connection and their desire for individual and regional autonomy.

This Chapter argues that early modern nationalism which had its foundations before the German Unification Wars, existed in the Schleswig and Holstein duchies, was witnessed through political, cultural, and religious perspectives. The chapter covers the nationalist narrative in the duchies, highlighting its elements along the way. It details the Germanic tribes in Southern Jutland, the nationalist progression via the Dithmarschen tribe, the importance of the Schleswig-Holstein Question, and the issue of unequal marriages. It covers the numerous treaties between the duchies and the Danish, the growing concern of Danish overreach, and how that influence shaped their nationalism. The next chapter reiterates this dissertation's crucial points, discusses the importance of this work to the history field, and acknowledges future research plans.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Schleswig-Holstein is a region caught in a tension between Denmark and Germany proper. However, from the Nineth century onwards, the region consistently demonstrated a rapport and attachment with German culture and identity rather than with the Danish. These displays reveal a type of early modern German nationalism that existed in this region that predates the German Wars of Unification in the Nineteenth century and indicates that people even in the more remote areas of Germany, held this inclination. The argument supports the historical analysis and comparison of basic nationalism concepts, historical narratives of the duchies, biblical nationalism, power politics, statistics, and origin myths. This work also argues that the duchies' history deserves a more prominent place in pre-modern European historiography. The argument is essential to history because it provides an original approach to studying the duchies, nationalism, and long-term cultural and political changes.

This conclusion argues that Schleswig-Holstein's history deserves a more prominent role in Nineteenth Century historiography. It also argues that the Bible is a valid historical source. The chapter begins with a brief explanation of national memory and history, followed by a recap of the duchies' history, leading into the importance of it. Continuing with the biblical topic, the following section covers a recap on biblical nationalism. The following section discusses the significance of selecting this topic, its reasons, and its potential impact on historians' future. Lastly, the chapter covers this dissertation's contribution to Liberty University's focus on expanding the Christian Worldview.

The chapter seeks to answer the following questions. First, how do memory and history affect individual and collective identity, and why is security essential to the well-being of artifacts? Why is the history of Schleswig-Holstein important? Lastly, how does the dissertation contribute to the Christian Worldview? Individuals recall national history, traditions, and values through

memory and history, which stabilize nationalism. Artifacts commonly remind individuals of the essential parts of nationalism. By promoting security, a nation supports the welfare of its nationalist system. The history of Schleswig-Holstein is essential because it is the center of multiple events, such as the 1864 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict that catalyzed the 1871 German Unification and is an excellent example of nationalism. Finally, this dissertation contributes to the Christian Worldview through its defense of biblical nationalism and its support for religious nationalism to be further used in nationalist studies.

To recap, myths are some of the first examples of nationalism. Some of what gives a nation its nationalist thoughts and sentiments finds itself in origin myths and folklore. As the Twentieth Century American historian Robert Ergang points out in his work *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (1931), whether fictional or non-fictional, these stories still provide the nation with shared traditions, beliefs, and even religious belonging.⁵⁴⁶ Just as the American historian and authors Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson highlight in their work “From Christian Gottlob Heyne: An Interpretation of the Language of Myths or Symbols Traced to Their Reasons and Causes and Thence to Forms and Rules,” published in *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860* (1972), myths create a fundamental set of ideas containing national identity, and national groups feel national unity even when fragmented.⁵⁴⁷ What is vital about myths and folklore to nationalism is the national memory and history.

⁵⁴⁶ Robert Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 266; Ergang examines Herder’s definition of literature as “the cultural and spiritual essence of human existence,” concluding that the human essence of literature manifests into national expression. The *human* and *national* essences of humanity form cultural nationalism.

⁵⁴⁷, “From Christian Gottlob Heyne: An Interpretation of the Language of Myths or Symbols Traced to Their Reasons and Causes and Thence to Forms and Rules,” *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860*, ed. Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 221; Heyne details the differences between the original myth, later poetic adaptations, and contemporary conceptualizing.

The German people exhibit a significant commitment to safeguarding their national memory and heritage, recognizing its pivotal role in preserving their unique national identity.⁵⁴⁸ In a nationalist context, memory creates the cultural foundations for the nation, while history exemplifies the nation's legitimacy. Over time, oral transmission of folktales results in the natural evolution of the content. This leads to changes in stories passed down through generations. However, history does not change, and when documented, it defines national unity around critical historical events. For instance, a prime example of memory in origin myths is *Beowulf*, the *Poetic Edda*, and the *Merseburg Incantations*.⁵⁴⁹ Once recorded, these memories remained somewhat stable; however, depending on the translation, they undoubtedly changed over numerous centuries. History remains the same, primarily due to its recording in various formats and languages. Using empirical evidence and archaeological findings is crucial for validating and supporting historical events. For example, the Golden Horns of Gallehus, the Meldorf *Fibulae*, and the Vimose Inscriptions are tangible findings that support historically accurate events.⁵⁵⁰ Artifacts also remind communities of their national identity and consciousness.

⁵⁴⁸ Maïke Oergel, *The Return of King Arthur and the Nibelungen National Myth in Nineteenth Century English and German Literature*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 122; Oergel highlights that historical awareness conditioned literature and historical developments which would inevitably pit 'ancient' against 'modern' for the primary expression of cultural identity.

⁵⁴⁹ For detailed genealogical charts, proper names list, and the poetic version of *Beowulf*, please reference C. B. McCully, *Beowulf: A Translation and A Reading*, (Manchester: Carcanet Classics, 2018); For a work containing all the poems in the *Poetic Edda*, both in their original language and English, please reference Edward Pettit, *Poetic Edda: A Dual-Language Edition*, (Open Book Publishers, 2023); For an analysis on the *Merseburg Incantations*, please reference Martina Lamberti, "The Merseburg Charms: Pagan Magic and Christian Culture in Medieval Germany," *Civilizations of the Supernatural: Witchcraft, Ritual, and Religious Experience in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Traditions*, ed. Fabrizio Conti, (Trivent Publishing, 2020).

⁵⁵⁰ See Appendix M, N; For an archeology approach to pre-history artifacts in the German-Danish borderlands, please reference Laurence J Hare, *Excavating Nations: Archaeology, Museums, and the German-Danish Borderlands*, (University of Toronto Press, 2015), 17-136; Susan Möller-Wiering, *War and Worship: Textiles from 3rd to 4th-Century AD Weapon Deposits in Denmark and Northern Germany*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 128.

Another crucial element is the persistent existence of national consciousness despite the shifts to vital national aspects. A nation experiences transformations in religion, a modification in cultural traditions, a mutation in collective identity, and a change in ancestral territory. These changes are inevitable. The nation's experiences shift throughout history through external forces and internal strife. Civically, countries have different leaders, such as authoritarians, monarchies, presidents, and parliamentary or congressional rule. The eras of leadership often define the historical patterns and contribute to the long national histories that highlight change; although it does not dictate national consciousness, it does affect it. Yet, the national consciousness must be protected, as should its citizens who pass on its traditions to the next generation. The continuity in a collective is its consciousness at the individual, community, and national levels, witnessed between 1800 and 1864 in the duchies. This continuity is why tribes such as the Frisians have large numbers of diaspora communities worldwide but still have national consciousness: the nationless Frisians, an ancient Germanic tribe, once occupied present-day Netherlands, Germany, and Denmark. The timeless epic poem *Beowulf* identifies them, along with prominent scholars like the Sixteenth Century Frisian historian Suffrido Petro's *De Scriptoribus Frisiae* (1593) and the Seventeenth Century German historian Petrus Saxe's *A New Description of All the Lands, Islands, and Ougen Located in the Whole of North Friesland, on the Cimbrian Sea* (1636). Saxe's research illustrates that Frisian people shared a language and united identity.⁵⁵¹ This example of nationalist identification is a compelling illustration of patriotic sentiment's persistence. Nevertheless, the preservation of cultural legacy and historical recollection requires safeguarding.

⁵⁵¹ Svffrido Petro, *De Scriptoribvs Frisiæ, Decades XVI et semis* (1293), (Germany: Henricus Falckenburgh, 1593), https://www.google.com/books/edition/De_scriptoribus_Frisiae_decades_XVI_et_s/5n5UAAAACAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0; Albert Panten, and Peter Sax, *Werke zur Geschichte Nordfrieslands und Dithmarschens: Nova, totius Frisiae septentrionalis, Descriptio, das ist, Ein neue Beschreibung, der sembtlichen, im gantzen Nordfriesslande, am Cimbrischen Meere, gelegenen Landen, Insulen, und Ougen ...*(1636), (Germany: H. Lühr & Dircks, 1983).

Safeguarding individuals' and collectives' well-being is paramount to preserving memories and historical records. While *human* security is the contemporary construct of the idea, the premodern version takes on a different form. War is an offensive means of providing security. This technique employed political supremacy in neighboring cities, displaying leadership and demanding honor and respect while preventing attacks on a nation's citizens and territories. Germans and the Danish used war similarly in the Schleswig and Holstein duchies. The continued attacks on the Dithmarschen at the Battles of Bornhöved and Hemmingstedt sought to increase the political supremacy of the German duchy counts and the King of Denmark. As the Twentieth Century French historian Philippe Dollinger points out in *Die Hanse* (1998), the Dithmarschen's peasant republic was a symbolic assault on feudalism in the duchies.⁵⁵² Individual security existed during feudalism when it was the responsibility of the estate owners to provide security for the lands and the workers. In this context, the war offered political and physical security to the remainder of the duchies. It also provided shipping security to vessels trading in Hamburg. However, for the Dithmarschen, war was defensive, and the security of their citizens relied on combative victories rather than political supremacy. For the continuous Danish encroachment on the duchies, they provided Southern Jutland Danes security by preventing German raids into their territories. While Germanization spread into northern Schleswig and Southern Jutland, it is primarily cultural rather than militarily.

Laws are also a critical security component, both internally and internationally. For the early Germanic tribes, laws superseded tribal boundaries as similarities were a sign of a distinct Germanic legal culture.⁵⁵³ Accounts of these laws were in statements from Tacitus, but also in

⁵⁵² Philippe Dollinger, et al., *Die Hanse*, 6th ed. (Kroner: 1998), 194.

⁵⁵³ Karl Shoemaker, "Germanic Law," *The Oxford Handbook of European Legal History*, ed. Heikki Pihlajamäki, et al., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 249.

Leges Barbarorum, dating between the Roman period and in the Ninth Century, towards the end of Charlemagne's expansion north into the Schleswig and Holstein duchies after defeating the Saxons.⁵⁵⁴ The Roman influence impacted select tribal *Leges*, such as the Visigoth's *Code of Euric* (480) and *Lex Visigothorum* (654), based on the time the tribe had contact with the Romans.⁵⁵⁵ In the late Eighth and early Ninth Centuries, Charlemagne issued the *Leges* of the Frisians and Saxons, *Lex Frisionum*, and *Lex Saxonum*.⁵⁵⁶ Earlier ones, such as the *Lex Alamannorum* and *Lex Baiuvariorum* in the Eighth Century of the Alamanni and Bavarians, had connections with earlier *Leges* stated above.⁵⁵⁷ These *Leges* established guidelines on marriage and succession (the Salic Law of the *Lex Salica* is included here), the conversion to Christianity, and the legalization of ancient customs.⁵⁵⁸ What is essential to security and pan-Germanism in Germanic law is the assembly, also known as the thing or 'time' about when the assembly met. During the assembly, political and legitimization matters were discussed by tribal leaders to prevent blood feuds, address pan-tribal court cases, and decide on action against external threats. The laws found in the *Leges* provide insight into a regulated society. They advanced the understanding that the Germanic tribes,

⁵⁵⁴ Patrick Wormald, "The *Leges Barbarorum*: Law and Ethnicity in the Post-Roman West," *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, 13, (Brill, 2003), 22.

⁵⁵⁵ Codex Euricianus, BNF LAT. 12161, Capp. 276-336, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France, 99-100, 113-114, 119-120, 127-128; Lex Romana Visigothorum, BNF LAT. 12161, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France, 83-86, 91-94, 103-106, 139-144.

⁵⁵⁶ The original manuscript of the *Lex Frisionum* no longer exists but the earliest Latin translation is found in Basilii Ioannis Herold, "Incipit Lex Frisionum. Et Hæc est Simpla Compositio," *Originvm ac Germani Carvm Anti Qvitatvm Libri*, (Basileæ: Henrichvm Petri, 1557), 131-145; Lex Saxonum, Abteilung Westfalen, W 005, Nr. 5201, Landesarchiv NRW, Münster, Germany, 19-27.

⁵⁵⁷ Lex Alamannorum, Lat. Fol. 378, Capp. 99, 20-25, Staatsbibliothek-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany; Lex Baiuvariorum: Ingolstädter Handschrift, Cod. Ms. 132.80, Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München, München, Germany.

⁵⁵⁸ Clovis, King Of The Franks, et al., *The Legal Codes of the Salian Franks, the Alamanni, and the Ripuarian Franks*, Approximately 466-511, LCCN 2021668237, Merovingian Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021668237/>.

including the duchies, had centralized laws, customs, and a social hierarchy. Acknowledging these aspects of Germanic life gives a better understanding of widespread consciousness, cultural similarities, and community ties.

Historically, the security concept signifies peace, diplomacy, and war. Diplomacy provides security through communication between nations in power politics. Alliances commonly deterred the outbreak of war, although they were the cause of many wars, as experienced in World War One. Therefore, human security comprises comprehensive approaches to security at a broad, international level, while individual security focuses on the specific well-being of the individual. Furthermore, national security concerns the safety of the nation's citizens. To safeguard valuable artifacts, it is necessary to implement a comprehensive security approach that involves three levels of protection. These levels include individual, national, and human measures in ascending order. By incorporating these layers of security, artifacts are effectively preserved and protected from potential threats. As artifacts age, their security becomes increasingly significant since historians have fewer artifacts to study.

One such case of a rare artifact is the Meldorf *Fibulae*, which only contains a few runes that provide tangible evidence of tribal existence. The importance of palpable historical evidence is the person's emotional connection with history. Studying history provides an intellectual connection; however, seeing or touching artifacts establishes an emotional connection with those artifacts. It is not enough to study history; one must learn to connect with history, and that is done by visually experiencing artifacts.

Historical accounts are commonly considered memory and historical, depending on the content, as the Twentieth-Century American theologian Aubrey E. Buster argues in her work *Remembering the Story of Israel: Historical Summaries and Memory Formation in Second Temple*

Judaism (2022).⁵⁵⁹ Religion is regularly considered a memory; nonetheless, it is also history when recorded for thousands of years. The Bible is a crucial example of a religious historical account, which is broken down into two history types: epochal and educational history. The former is a story that dictates triumph over enemies and the promise of deserved lands, and the latter utilizes the past as a lesson for the present.⁵⁶⁰ While archaeology and science verify historical factors, they also contain non-empirical elements. Bible verification within a nationalist context can positively and negatively impact the Christian nation. Historically, scholars such as the Twenty-First Century British Old Testament Scholar Iain W. Provan in his work *A Biblical History of Israel* (2003) argue that the Pentateuch's lack of "non-biblical control evidence" undermines historical reliability.⁵⁶¹ The absence of verification prevents critical historiography, which causes secular doubt in biblical accounts. Oppositely, scholars argue that the amount of 'proof' needed is subjective to meet the 'verification' requirements. Others argue the need for 'falsification' rather than verification, allowing the text to stand as historically valuable unless "proven" otherwise.⁵⁶² For nationalism, critical historiography can strengthen the nation's claim on ancestral lands and belief in their origin story. However, in a biblical context, when content cannot be 'proved,' secular criticism fuels state and cultural legitimacy doubt.

The Pentateuch, appointed for the original five Bible books, dictated numerous nationalist elements.⁵⁶³ First, Christians witness the Old Testament as “the gospel of faith.”⁵⁶⁴ The Bible

⁵⁵⁹ Aubrey E. Buster, *Remembering the Story of Israel: Historical Summaries and Memory Formation in Second Temple Judaism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 39; Buster highlights that the *form*, and the *shape* of memories influences its audience, its transmission, and its efficacy.

⁵⁶⁰ Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Divine Providence: A History: The Bible, Virgil, Orosius, Augustine, and Dante*, (London: Continuum, 2012), 23.

⁵⁶¹ Iain W. Provan, et al., *A Biblical History of Israel*. 1st ed. (Louisville: John Knox Press, 2003), 54.

⁵⁶² *Ibid*, 55.

⁵⁶³ The ‘Biblical Nationalism’ is a designation for both nationalism in the Bible and nationalism in the Torah.

states, “But before faith came, we were kept vnder the Law, shut vp vnto the faith, which should afterwards bee reuealed.”⁵⁶⁴ Therefore, Christians identify the scripture with the law’s foundation before other elements such as poetry, narrative, or prophecy.⁵⁶⁵ These laws form the basis of the Christian nation.⁵⁶⁶ Second, the identification of the 'chosen' and 'other.' The Germans in the Schleswig and Holstein Duchies encountered analogous circumstances. The Germans were the chosen, while the Danish existed as the others. The Danish encroached on the ancestral homelands of the Germans. Dynamically, the Germans transformed at that juncture. The Germans suffered from successive wars with the Danish, the Slavs, and the French. These struggles materialized an intensified awareness of the others, a proliferation in the warrior ethos of the national culture to ward off invaders, and a more robust national unity.⁵⁶⁷ This nationalist element coincides with a Christian nation with a vernacular language, unified beliefs, distinct religion, cultural traditions, and religious values.⁵⁶⁸ It inaugurates the Bible not exclusively as a religious symbol but as a national one. The Biblical scholarship also recognizes the importance of the Bible for understanding nations and the elements of ethnicity and identity.

This is due to the Pentateuch being in both the Bible and the Torah. The term is also employed for clarity purposes.

⁵⁶⁴ Galatians 3:23, 1611 KJV.

⁵⁶⁵ Maristella Botticini, and Zvi Eckstein, *The Chosen Few: How Education Shaped Jewish History, 70-1492*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 92; Botticini and Eckstein indicates that the destruction of the Second Temple, which is one of Judaism’s pillars, and left the written and oral Torah as the surviving core of the religion. Therefore, to maintain a strong connection with the Torah and Israel, the Pharisaic scholars and rabbis required reading and studying the Torah mandatory to be a Jew, pushing Judaism to be a literate religion.

⁵⁶⁶ The term Christian-nation references to any nation whose state has recognized Christianity as its official religion with a state church and plays an active role in the government. It also can be defined as a nation with most of its citizens practice Christianity.

⁵⁶⁷ Jacob L. Wright, *War, Memory, and National Identity in the Hebrew Bible*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 95; Wright reveals the heightened sense of belonging when the state was intact and mobilizing for battle by regulating power and privileges between rival groups and institutions.

⁵⁶⁸ David M. Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 50; Goodblatt denotes that due to Hebrew not spreading outside of Jewish communities, language was a sufficient condition to be a citizen of the Jewish nation.

For the Germans, biblical nationalism did not promote nationalist sentiment until the spread of Christianity. In the duchies, Christianity would gradually spread between the Seventh and Ninth Centuries with the augmented influence from the expansion of Charlemagne's empire into the Germanic lands. After inheriting the Duchy of Saxony from his father in 936 CE, Otto I unified all the Germanic tribes. He was also labeled the Emperor of the Romans. Christianity's sweep transformed the German national consciousness.⁵⁶⁹ Despite the initial success, conversion was sluggish, and the slaying of multiple monks during the process instituted a bloody and intense situation. Christianity eventually blossomed during the Sixteenth Century with the Protestant Reformation, which altered the national consciousness via the vernacular adoption as the Bible at the movement's epicenter.⁵⁷⁰ The 1512 secular and religious pairing in the German ruling class produced the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. The construction of the religious empire sanctioned the existence of pan-Germanic consciousness. It assisted in developing the German Christian nation despite the tribal fragmentation at the more minor communal levels. Lutheranism circulated much quicker because of the language component and ushered in a heightened cognition of pan-Germanic consciousness and national identity. Religion became the adhesive that formed changing elements, along with the Bible's transformation over the years, and established continuity through advancing a religiously founded national identity.

Biblical nationalism also transformed with the plethora of different biblical translations throughout the centuries.⁵⁷¹ As biblical translations continued into the vernacular, national churches, such as the English Anglican Church, were founded. In the duchies, the Germans

⁵⁶⁹ Matthias Becher, *Charlemagne*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 78.

⁵⁷⁰ For a survey on the Protestant Reformation, please reference Carina L. Johnson, *Archaeologies of Confession: Writing the German Reformation, 1517-2017*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

⁵⁷¹ For a survey on the field of biblical scholarship and criticism, please reference, Edward L Greenstein, and Michael L. Satlow, *Essays on Biblical Method and Translation*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2020).

constructed a series of churches distributed throughout the region that functioned as a stepping stone for converting the Scandinavian peoples. The spread of Christianity parallels the spread of nationalism. With standard languages in the Bible arrived a broader consciousness emphasized the creation of nations.

The history of the German Schleswig and Holstein duchies furnishes an authentic example of nationalism because of its lengthy history of transformations and historical patterns. Shared cultural traditions, religious beliefs, and a distinct Germanic language with varying dialects reinforce the existence of German nationalist sentiment. This phenomenon parallels the enduring nationalism observed in the duchies.⁵⁷² Continuity materialized from these aspects and bolstered connectivity between the tribes when an external threat entered the region. The Dithmarschen case study exemplifies this nationalist approach, precisely when they defended their fellow German forces instead of obliging the encroaching Danish. This judgment led to the German victory at the 1227 Battle of Bornhöved.

The Danish encroachment on the duchies became a persistent characteristic in developing the German national consciousness. The struggle to keep the Danish from civically and culturally overwhelming the duchies produced a sharp sundering between the Germans and the Danes.⁵⁷³ There is an emphasis here on the nationalist perspective of the 'chosen' and the 'others,' considering the efforts of the Danish Kingdom over many centuries to assimilate the duchies. The existence of

⁵⁷²Joachim Schlarloth, "The Revolutionary Argument Pattern in Puristic Discourse: The Swabian Dialect in the Debate About the Standardization of German in the Eighteenth Century," *Linguistic Purism in the Germanic Languages*, ed. Nils Langer and W. V. Davies, (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2005.), 89; For a collection of essays regarding Germanic religious traditions and language from 1200 to the present, please reference Ian Cooper, and John Walker, *Literature and Religion in the German-Speaking World: from 1200 to the Present Day*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

⁵⁷³ "Immaterielles Kulturerbe in Schleswig-Holstein," *Schleswig-Holstein Der Echte Norden*, https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/fachinhalte/W/welterbe/immaterielles_kulturerbe.html?nn=f3fd2537-35a2-41e8-8a65-0b27341ee510.

a physical border heightens the awareness of others. The creation of the Danish-German border and the prefecture of *Sleswig* (Schleswig) due to the continuous endangerment of the Danish frontier by the Vedic Wagria and Mecklenburg Obotrites.⁵⁷⁴ The foundation of the modifications to the German identity is on the struggling tandem with historical patterns. The epochs under Danish authority encountered an expansion of Danish culture and language in regions of the Schleswig duchy; during eras of German rule, areas of the same duchy experienced a spread of German culture. Therefore, the continuous presence of the Danish is a consistent reminder of national identity and autonomy.

Continuing the recap, the treaties decreed between the Germans and the Danish furnished a tangible element to German nationalism. The *Constitutio Valdemaria* (1326), the Treaty of Ribe (1460), *Primogenitur* (1608), the Treaty of Tsarskoye Selo (1773), and the ancient *Salic Law*, which the Germans adhered to in the duchies, were all decreed to reinforce the Germans from the Danish encroachment.⁵⁷⁵ The treaties deliver a continuous instance of the pan-German consciousness in the duchies. The treaties were the foundation for the Nineteenth Century Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts and Prussian expansion, the incremental unification of the German states under Prussian leadership. They positioned the national stage for power politics to manipulate the international balance of power. Taking advantage of the situation, Otto von Bismarck was one of the most remarkable statesmen to utilize *realpolitik* at the international level and achieve success.⁵⁷⁶ This political strategy of making decisions based on pragmatic and realistic

⁵⁷⁴ Travers Twiss, *On the Relations of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the Crown of Denmark and the Germanic Confederation: and on the Treaty-Engagements of the Great European Powers in Reference Thereto*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), 8.

⁵⁷⁵ Evelyn Cecil, *Primogeniture a Short History of Its Development in Various Countries and Its Practical Effects*, (London: J. Murray, 1895), 27-28, 89, 115.

⁵⁷⁶ D. G. Williamson, *Bismarck and Germany, 1862-1890*, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Longman, 2011), 19.

judgments ushered in modern international politics and assisted Bismarck in maneuvering around the European powers to accomplish his objectives.

Also, on the international stage, the powers practiced diplomatic parallelism, authorizing nations to 'check' an expansive nation. This system permitted the European balance of power to remain stable, producing a feeling of security.⁵⁷⁷ However, advancing a new power creates discord in the arrangement and depends on the established powers to counter the shifts.⁵⁷⁸ Prussia was the rising power, and Bismarck trusted the complex rhetoric system to simultaneously persuade individual states' opinions. This system permitted one state to regard Prussia as a conservative state inclined to maintain the established treaties while convincing other states that they were a nation of reform. *Realpolitik* practiced changing Prussia's national identity to reach international political goals and verify legitimacy. Although the transformations were transient, they did, to a magnitude, alter how the different nations regarded the Germans and how they reacted to them in the future. Finalizing this power politics debrief, Bismarck maneuvered around the powers, permitting them to enter the 1864 Dano-Prussian war unrestrained, driving the Danes out of Schleswig, expanding Prussian territory, and correspondingly permitting the status of German nationalism to increase.

As nationalism continued to develop in the Nineteenth Century, so did the means of legitimization. Tangible evidence to support nationalist movements became desired by communities aiming for collective autonomy. One method that achieved recognition as a scientific discipline during the Nineteenth Century is statistics. Statistics is a technique that utilizes numbers to track previously untraceable elements of life, such as education levels, political standing, economic statistics, and communal life. It tracks biological aspects such as hereditary traits,

⁵⁷⁷ Richard Little, *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths, and Models*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 109.

⁵⁷⁸ Michael Sheehan, *The Balance of Power: History and Theory*, (New York: Routledge, 1996), 163.

diseases, and familial components. For nationalism, it traces how many individuals or communities spoke a distinct dialect or language, followed a specific religion, and practiced certain traditions.⁵⁷⁹ Census reports commonly comprised such information, not a Nineteenth Century discovery but dating back to antiquity. Collecting census records and combining them permitted statesmen and scientists to trace borders between ethnic groups accurately, track which communities spoke which languages, and even record how many were laymen, merchants, or nobles.

Statistics also permits measuring nationalism by tracking opinions and sentiments towards the state, the leaders, and the nation's condition.⁵⁸⁰ Recording nationalist sentiments creates a consciousness of how strong patriotic feelings are for the country at a specific time. Measuring religion through statistics in a nationalist context has multiple layers that can affect the nation. First, a nation with a particular religion utilizes statistics to dive deeper into individual faith.⁵⁸¹ For example, a nation that exclusively practices Christianity can ask its citizens if they are protestant, and if so, are they Lutheran, Baptist, or Methodist? If not, are they Catholic, and if so, are they Roman, Latin, or Coptic Catholics? Another example is if a nation's populous practices multiple religions. If Paganism is one of them, ask the individual to whom they pray if their religion is monotheistic or polytheistic and if they adhere to any unique beliefs or values. This religious insight gives the state a crucial understanding of what its citizens believe in and if it coincides with

⁵⁷⁹ Rawi Abdelal, *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 205.

⁵⁸⁰ For an example of a census in Nineteenth Century Germany, please reference Ernst Engel, "Zeitschrift des Königlich Sächsischen Statistischen Bureaus. 3. 1857," *Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum Digitale Bibliothek*, ZDB 571791-7, BSB-ID 10672565, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Germany, [urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11032617-2](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11032617-2).

⁵⁸¹ Christopher D. Bader, and Roger Finke, *Faithful Measures: New Methods in the Measurement of Religion*, (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 2.

nationalism. In many cases, religion is the continuity of the nation. For example, once the Germans in the duchies embraced Christianity, the belief in God never faltered despite the overwhelming transition from Catholicism to Lutheranism in the Sixteenth Century.

Measuring national identity comprises a broader statistical approach. Tracking national identity includes demographics, social aspects, civic perspectives, and economic levels.⁵⁸² Statistics also show a nationalist connection between national wealth and civic society.⁵⁸³ Individuals with more income, higher education, and own home are more likely to be civically engaged and participate in volunteering, association participation, and group membership.⁵⁸⁴ Therefore, a connection between a healthy capitalist economy and an engaging civic society exists, which promotes a strong, active, patriotic, and nationalist nation. These elements, while comprehensive, permit the state to follow national identity scientifically. The foundation of the statistical office combined the state and science to manage the population. Linguistically, statistics assisted in the development of the state-instituted language. The state establishes educational standards that foster national consciousness and a stronger sense of identity by tracing who and how many spoke specific languages, such as High German or Low German.

When working on a previous degree, the most asked question is, what event in German history is the least explored? After extensive research, the topic became apparent: the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts. They have a rich and prolonged history of conflict and complexity in the

⁵⁸² Francisca Grommé, and S. Scheel, "Doing Statistics, Enacting the Nation: The Performative Powers of Categories," *Nations and Nationalism* vol 26, no. 3 (2020): 579.

⁵⁸³ Amanda Moore, et al., "Civic Engagement among Low-Income and Low-Wealth Families: In Their Words," *Family Relations* 55, no. 2 (2006): 152.

⁵⁸⁴ S Verba, et al., *Voice and Equality: Civic Volunteerism in American Politics*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); "Giving and Volunteering in the United States: Findings from a National Survey," *The Gallop Organization*, 2000, <http://www.independentsector.org>.

"Schleswig-Holstein Question" and hold challenging standards for scholarly research. The following research example shows the importance of studying this under-researched topic.

Using the French Revolution for comparison, the reasons will become apparent momentarily. Conducting an advanced search with the primary term "French Revolution" while exclusively searching in the "history & archaeology" and "political science" disciplines allows for precise results about the fields in this work. The results are 225,175 total, with 99,000 journal articles, 22,000 magazine articles, and 10,000 books (including eBooks). Replacing "French Revolution" with "Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts," and with all settings remaining the same, the library produces 1,655 total, 966 journal articles, 114 magazine articles, and 40 books (including ebooks). But what do these results mean, and how does it relate to nationalism in the duchies?

Before responding to the latter part of the question, this section answers the former. The significance of the search results is not in the specific numbers but in the principle that the examination of the French Revolution is so expansive that it engulfs all the other history of the era.⁵⁸⁵ This example of premodern European scholarly work aims at something other than critical studies involving the French Revolution. This historian fully comprehends the significance of the Revolution in many aspects of European and World histories. The liberal and national ideologies that originated in the Revolution changed how people in premodern Europe witnessed the world. But does premodern European history *need* to be funneled through and only through Revolutionary academia? This section argues that premodern European history and nationalism do not require going through the Revolution. Instead, studying this epoch through the lens of the

⁵⁸⁵ For a number of French Revolution works, please reference R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religion Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); William Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Timothy Tackett, *The Coming of the Terror in the French Revolution*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts provides a more continuous and fluid history founded on nationalism rather than through revolution and modern constructs. However, it is suggested that intellectuals study all lines of historical study to receive the best experience of premodern European history.

Increasing the research of historical trends in a region contributes to that epoch's overall knowledge. Approaching this issue from a broad historical perspective rather than a narrow specialist's perspective helps to illuminate the subject. When one opens a history book, the Table of Contents, and finds the "Long Nineteenth Century," one sees the Age of Revolutions comprising Industrial, American, French, and Atlantic Revolutions.⁵⁸⁶ Furthermore, they see Napoleon Bonaparte and the Age of Imperialism.⁵⁸⁷ When one opens a German history book, one sees the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, German liberalism, the 1848 Revolutions, the German Confederation, the German Unification Wars, and the German Empire.⁵⁸⁸ The Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts are missing, oversimplified into a small paragraph at the beginning of the German Unification Wars. While it's not that books concerning this epoch are identical or that the Conflicts enormously influenced European life as the French Revolution. However, the importance of the Conflicts and the events leading up to them meet the required significance to warrant a more prominent place in German historiography.

One of the core arguments in this work is that the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts and the events leading up to them deserve a more prominent place in German historiography. The

⁵⁸⁶ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German Unification: A Survey of the Development of German History Since 1815*, (New York: Routledge Classics, 2001).

⁵⁸⁷ Steven Englund, *Napoleon: A Political Life*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁵⁸⁸ David Blackbourn, *Blackwell Classic Histories of Europe: History of Germany, 1780-1918, The Long Nineteenth Century, Second Edition*, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); Helmut Walser Smith, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Mary Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

importance of Schleswig-Holstein history is depicted through ideologies, religions, wars and struggles, and cultural adaptations without sacrificing national consciousness, identity, and, in many cases, autonomy and unity. The duchies' history contained one of the few peasants' autonomous republics during the medieval era (Dithmarschen), had international implications through its dynastic connections with Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and other countries (Schleswig-Holstein Question), and is the catalyst for the 1871 German Unification. The German nationalist movement that responded to the "Danish to the Eider" movement, which started the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein Conflict, revered throughout the German States, is also the nucleus for nationalism in the region.

First, leading up to the Conflicts comprised the Dithmarschen peasant republic.⁵⁸⁹ It is one of the first political systems in Europe that employed individual autonomy and arguably planted the seeds of democracy that blossomed in the Nineteenth Century. Second, the "Schleswig-Holstein Question" is an instrumental example of issues concerning international imperial marriages between ruling families.⁵⁹⁰ Additionally, it illuminates the complexity of European succession lines through genealogical tracking, the concern over legitimate marriages amongst nobles, and how rulers of different nations used marriages to re-establish territorial authority. Fourth, the duchy's historical trend teaches readers how fragile personal unions were between nations, such as Dane's personal union with the duchies or their personal union with Norway in the Kalmar Union.⁵⁹¹ This element has national implications as national identity turns dynamic once international relations change through turmoil.

⁵⁸⁹ Benjamin Williams, *On the Land of Ditmarsh and the Mark of Confederation Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries*, (London: Printed by J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1858), 2.

⁵⁹⁰ Klaus Maletke, *Die Schleswig-Holsteinische Frage, 1862-1866*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 6.

⁵⁹¹ Detmar of Lübeck, *Die Chroniken der Niedersächsischen Städte*, (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1884), 589, 596.

Fifth, from a broader perspective but still centered around the Conflicts, is power politics and the balance of power. Approaching the era through the duchies rather than through French history allows the application of international politics through the *realpolitik* lens. Bismarck's use of *realpolitik* changed the course of European history from a French and Austrian perspective to a Prussian and English one.⁵⁹² From a European-wide perspective, one can connect the Schleswig-Holstein Question to the first Conflict, power politics, and balance of power. Commencing from the second Conflict, German Unification subsequently arrived, then German imperialism and eventually World War One. This line of historical thought does not suggest that no external influences assisted in this chain of events. However, it indicates that the duchies' historical significance is far greater than previously attested.

This chapter's second to last section concerns history, the Bible, nationalism, and the Christian worldview.⁵⁹³ The section details the need to return the Bible to nationalism and base it on historical and modern-day facts. As experienced throughout this dissertation, the Bible is the Christian nation's nucleus.⁵⁹⁴ Christianity and the nation developed parallel, often relying on each other to reach the next step. For example, people practiced Paganism throughout Europe before the expansion of the Frankish Empire under Charlemagne's rule.⁵⁹⁵ Christianity spread with the Frankish rule into the Germanic lands. The incorporation of Dithmarschen into the Holstein duchy

⁵⁹² John Bew, *Realpolitik: A History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 22.

⁵⁹³ Tawa J. Anderson, *An Introduction to Christian Worldview: Pursuing God's Perspective in a Pluralistic World*, (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2017), 8; Anderson defines worldview as "the conceptual lens through which we see, understand, and interpret the world and our place within it."

⁵⁹⁴ The term Christian-nation references to any nation whose state has recognized Christianity as its official religion with a state church and plays an active role in the government. It also can be defined as a nation with most of its citizens practice Christianity.

⁵⁹⁵ For a survey on the Legend of Charlemagne, please reference Albrecht Classen, *Charlemagne in Medieval German and Dutch Literature*, (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

in 1559 permitted Christianity to fully convert the Germans in the Schleswig and Holstein duchies. The reasons for the late Christian conversion of the Dithmarschen include the region's isolation, the strength of the peasant republic, fueling religious individual autonomy, and the continued military success against external threats. The Protestant Reformation increased Christianity's spread, allowing Germans to understand the Bible in their language. The creation of state churches assisted in creating a national authority by intertwining religious and secular leaders. The Articles of 1563 were the formal confession of faith.⁵⁹⁶ The Holy Roman Empire, with its title requiring papal acceptance, furthered the establishment of churches in Germanic lands. As Lutheranism fully engulfed the northern part of Germany, nationalism followed suit, with national identity paired with religious belonging. In a national context, the nation's history is also the history of religion. The feasible separation of the two without erasing enormous amounts of history is impossible.

In modern history, religion takes a reserved role in nationalism, with the nation's increased focus on secular authority rather than through the grace of God. For example, some ideologies, such as socialism and communism, are naturally atheistic and aim to erase God from the nation.⁵⁹⁷

The movement for national secularization continued by replacing religious culture with nonreligious culture.⁵⁹⁸ This technique removed religious figureheads from the state and terminated their societal influence. Removing religious symbols from public property has recently

⁵⁹⁶ Roger Scruton, *A Dictionary of Political Thought*, (New York: Macmillan, 1996), 470; Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900*, Rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 8.

⁵⁹⁷ N. Lenin, "Novaya Zhizn (December 3, 1905)," *Lenin Collected Works*, trans. B. Baggins, 10, no. 28 (1965): 83-87; V. I. Lenin, "Socialism and Religion," *Marxists Internet Archive*, (2000), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1905/dec/03.htm>.

⁵⁹⁸ Niels Reeh, *Secularization Revisited -- Teaching of Religion and the State of Denmark, 1721-2006*, (Switzerland: Springer, 2016), 18; Reeh defines secularization as the transfer of things and entities from the ecclesiastical domain to the secular domain.

become commonplace. In a national context, the change from religious to secular culture changed the national identity and unity of the nation. By replacing the cultural essences of the country, the state and the populous destroyed the nation's cultural foundations. In tandem, the foundations of social and familial hierarchy disintegrated, decreasing individual autonomy via increased poverty and dependence on state assistance and straining national unity.

Returning the Bible to a prominent position in nationalism studies permits the return of scholarly Biblical examination, increasing its prominence and restoring nations to a Christian worldview.⁵⁹⁹ Completing this process comprises identifying the Bible as an inherent nationalist essence, recognizing the Bible as a historical account, not merely a religious one, and promoting the nationalism approach in biblical studies. Subsequently, the increase in academic nationalism studies classes in education would increase the nation's awareness of the role of the Bible in national politics and history.

One of the many responsibilities of a historian is to contribute original content to the field. Contributions comprise innovative approaches to already discovered facts, new factual discoveries, new research and teaching methods and techniques, and learning modern technology and illuminating them to help other scholars with their profession. This work provides original contributions to the history field in numerous ways. First, its unique approaches to old information include its nationalist procedures to the history of the Germans in the Schleswig-Holstein duchy. As mentioned, the duchies are a mere passing point for most Nineteenth Century scholars, and even fewer scholars approach them from a nationalist perspective. This work's expansive detailing of the region's history will contribute crucial information to the history field. Second is the

⁵⁹⁹ Anderson, *Christian Worldview*, 98; Anderson reveals that a Christian Worldview, based on God's revelation, comes in two forms, natural and special. The former is the message from the world around us while the latter comes from the Bible.

philosophy of the duchies' history. This work purposefully propositioned the narrative from a position that covered an era from 1460 until 1864. This historian intended to fill a historiographical hole between the more specialized works covering essential periods in the duchies' history and the broader works focusing on pan-German or European-wide narratives. While this inquiry seems simple, it becomes complex with the many nationalist elements, components, aspects, essences, and the influence of paired ideologies and external forces. Fifth, the work builds on biblical nationalism expertise by examining biblical translations, their comparisons, the Bible's evolution, and its impact on nations. It also approaches historical nationalism from a Christian worldview and supports the inerrant word of God. Finally, it embraces the nation in an international world and supports religious values founded in the Bible.

This dissertation introduced a variety of approaches, perspectives, and details concerning nationalism, history, and the nation. It provided methods and techniques for understanding German history. Through examining centuries of history, this historian strove for a straightforward factual narrative founded on primary and secondary sources. Lastly, this dissertation concluded with a chapter concerning the work's overarching perspective and defense of the Christian Worldview.

The future of this research lies in the depths of continued primary source research. The goal for the immediate topic is to continue building on the topic to encompass a sizeable scholarly volume while also publishing smaller articles on individual topics inside the narrative to increase the awareness of the duchies' historical importance. Second, the future may focus on the neighboring lands around Schleswig-Holstein and how they impacted the duchies' history. Third, continued refining of the approach towards nationalism. The desired goal is to help the field of nationalism studies to embrace nationalism.

As this dissertation is, in part, a personal and professional piece, it is best to conclude with a quote from one's paternal ancestors, the Frisians, who state,

*"Lever duad as Slav!"*⁶⁰⁰

⁶⁰⁰ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, XV, (Cologne: Johannes Koelhoff, 1483), 16; "Typical Schleswig-Holstein - *Lewwer duad üs Slaaw*," *Schleswig-Holstein Der Echte Norden*, (2022), https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/landesportal/land-und-leute/typisch-sh/sagen-und-legenden-aus-dem-norden/documents/lewwer_duad_us_slaaw.html. In modern Frisian it is "*Lewwer duad üs Slaaw*," in German it is "*Lieber tot als Sklave!*" In English, it is "Better Dead Than Slave."

Bibliography

Archival Sources

- Abschriften von sieben Urkunden: 1283 Januar 10 ..., LASH Abt. 5, Nr. 6 *Urkundenabschriften zur Geschichte von Dithmarschen im 13.-15. Jahrhundert*, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 2-8.
- Adolf, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp to Friedrich & Johann, Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp July 1559, Translated by Christian Ahlers, Abt-05, Nr. 05, *Subjugation of Dithmarschen*, Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig, Germany.
- Arends, Ferdinand. "Genealogisch-Historische Tafel zum Verständniss der Schleswig-Holsteinschen Frage." LASH Abt. 404, Nr. 156. *Genealogische Arbeiten*, 1864. Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig, Germany.
- Bismarck, Otto von to Maximilian von Hatzfeldt, April 21, 1850. I. HA Rep 81, Paris II (Nach 1807), Nr. 37 Band 2. *Schleswig-Holsteinsche Frage. Erlasse an Maximilian Friedrich Carl Graf von Hatzfeldt*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.
- "Brief on [The Treaty of] Hague Between England, Denmark, and The States [Dutch]." 9 December 1625. TNA PRO, SP 75 6, 218. *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Denmark*. The National Archives, Kew, London.
- Bundestags Zeitung vom 23 Juli 1846. I. HA Rep. 75 A, Preußische Gesandtschaft am Bundestag, Nr. 714. *Schleswig-Holstein'sche und Lauenburg'sche Successionsfrage betreffend*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Berlin, Germany.
- Camphausen to von Bülow, August 29, 1848. I. HA Rep 75B, Provisorische Zentralgewalt Nr. 36. *Preußischer Bevollmächtigter bei der provisorischen Zentralgewalt*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.
- Charles I to Christian IV, 1625. TNA PRO, SP 75 6, 224. *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Denmark*. The National Archives, Kew, London.
- Clovis, King of The Franks, Patron, King of The Franks Dagobert, and Duke Lantfrid. The German Legal Codes of the Salian Franks, the Alamanni, and the Ripuarian Franks, Approximately 466-511. LCCN 2021668237, Merovingian Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021668237/>.
- Codex Euricianus, BNF LAT. 12161, Capp. 276-336, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France, 99-100, 113-114, 119-120, 127-128.
- Comite, Georg Herwegh. "Die pariser deutsche demokratische Legion..., 15 April 1848." LASH Abt. 51 Nr. 522-2. *Politisch verdächtige Personen*. Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany,

“Correspondence from Prince Gustav von Wasa to the High Federal Assembly October 8, 1846.” I. HA, Rep 75 A, No. 715. *Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg Question of Succession*, trans. Christian Ahlers, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Berlin, Germany.

“Das Privileg von Ripen.” *Norddeutscher Rundfunk*. Urk.-Abt. 394, Nr. 8. Schleswig: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein. <https://www.ndr.de/geschichte/Wie-lang-ist-ewig-Das-Privileg-von-Ripen,mythen118.html>.

Deutsche Zeitung, No. 7, 7 Januar 1849. LASH Abt. 51 Nr. 1201. *Regierungen der Herzogtümer während der Erhebung 1848-1851*. Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany.

Duke of Prussia to Elizabeth I, 30 September 1580. TNA PRO, SP 81 2. *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, German States*. The National Archives, Kew, London.

Flüchtlinge aus dem Herzogtum Schleswig, LASH Abt. 51 Nr. 560, *Regierungen der Herzogtümer während der Erhebung 1848-1851*, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany.

Gedicht auf die Politische Lage, August 1728. LASH Abt. 10, Nr. 203. *Statthalterschaftssachen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany.

Großherzoglich Badisches Untersuchungs-Gericht in Freiburg, Ort. Schleswig-Holsteiner, Die Untersuchung Gegen Wilhelm Nlaus, 1848. LASH Abt. 51 Nr. 521-2. *Politisch verdächtige Personen, 1848-1851*. Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 596-613.

Johann Stertz und Claus Rogge an Bürgermstr. und Rat zu Danzig: ihre u. des O.-Marschalls Verhandlungen in den nordischen Wirren (König v. Dänemark, Herzöge von Schleswig u. Holstein u. von Stettin u. Hansestädte) (Lübeck 1427). XX. HA OBA Nr. 4775. *Nicht Klassifiziert, 1350-1525*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

Kopie des Londoner Protokolls und des Friedensvertrages zwischen Preußen und Dänemark. LASH Abt. 51 Nr. 1147. *Regierungen der Herzogtümer während der Erhebung 1848-1851*. Schleswig-Holstein Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany, 5-6.

Letter from Dr. Monheim and 159 Others in Aachen, Westphalia to King of Denmark, August 3rd, 1846. I. HA Rep 89, Nr. 337. *Geheimes Zivilkabinett Jüngere Periode*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

Leverkus, William. “An Authentic Interpretation of the Guarantee of England and France with Reference to the Duchy of Schleswig.” TNA PRO FO, 881-1224. *Denmark 1, 1720*. The National Archives, Kew, London.

- Lex Alamannorum, Lat. Fol. 378, Capp. 99, 20-25, Staatsbibliothek-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.
- Lex Baiuvariorum: Ingolstädter Handschrift, Cod. Ms. 132.80, Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München, München, Germany.
- Lex Romana Visigothorum, BNF LAT. 12161, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France, 83-86, 91-94, 103-106, 139-144.
- Lex Saxonum, Abteilung Westfalen, W 005, Nr. 5201, Landesarchiv NRW, Münster, Germany, 19-27.
- “Mon. Germ. Hiss.” *Quarto Series*, LL. IL., 91, 99
- “Nigon Wyrta Galdor,” The Lacnunga, TNA MS, Folios 160r – 163v, *Harley Papers: The National Archives*, Kew, London.
- “Note for Lord Treasurer for Money for Denmark.” 1625. TNA PRO, SP 75 6, 229. *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Denmark*. The National Archives, Kew, London.
- O’Donoghue, Mr. “Address to Her Majesty Adjourned Debate Fourth Night.” *Denmark and Germany – Vote of Censure Resolution – (Mr. Disraeli)* vol. 176: Friday July 8, 1864. House of Commons, Hansard: UK Parliament.
- Politische Satire "Medizinische Beurteilung der gegenwärtigen Lage." LASH, Abt. 10 Nr. 212. *Statthalterschaftssachen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesarchiv, Schleswig, Germany.
- Sendung des kurbrandenburgischen Geheimen Rates Franz von Meinders nach Leipzig zu Verhandlungen über den Konflikt zwischen Hamburg und Dänemark, die Restitution des Herzogs von Holstein-Gottorf in Schleswig und Holstein, die Streitigkeiten zwischen Kursachsen mit den Sekundogenituren Sachsen-Merseburg und Sachsen-Weitz und über die querfurtische Angelegenheit. I. HA Gr, Rep. 41, Nr. 3068. *Streitigkeiten Kursachsen mit den Sekundogenituren*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.
- Sigismund, römischer König, bittet den Großmeister um Vermittlung..., 29 Januar 1429. XX. HA OBA Nr. 5039. *Kaiser und Römische Könige*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.
- States of Bohemia to James I, 6 June 1618. TNA PRO, SP 81, 15 1, 162. *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, German States*. The National Archives, Kew, London.
- The Globe, No. 3, 26 January 1850. III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten 1, Nr. 4644-2. *Erteilung von Orden und Geschenken anlässlich des Abschlusses von Verträgen zwischen Preußen und Dänemark*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

The Lacnunga. TNA MS, Folios 160r – 163v. *Harley Papers*. The National Archives, Kew, London.

“The Morning Chronicle: The Danish Question, January 23, 1850.” III. HA, Ministerium der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, I. Nr. 4644/2. *Erteilung von Orden und Geschenken anlässlich des Abschlusses von Verträgen zwischen Preußen und Dänemark*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

Unterschiede zwischen Hamburg und [König Friedrich IV. von Dänemark], Herzog von [Schleswig-]Holstein. I. HA. Rep. 16, Nr. 112 A Fasz 53. *Ober- und Niedersachs. Kreis- und Probationstage*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

Vereinbarung zwischen dem Kaiser und Schweden über verschiedene Punkte, darunter Wiederherstellung des Herzogtums Schleswig-Holstein... I. HA. GR Rep. 11, Staatsverträge, Nr. 1027. *Auswärtige Beziehungen, Staatsverträge*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

Vertrag zwischen Sachsen-Polen und Holstein-Gottorp über die Durchführung eines bereits mit Preußen abgesprochenen Plans zur Eroberung Pommerns und der Wiederherstellung der schleswig-holsteinischen Herzogtümer... I. HA. GR Rep. 11, Staatsverträge, Nr. 1037. *Auswärtige Beziehungen, Staatsverträge*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

Walsingham, Francis to Queen Elizabeth I, 19 March 1583. TNA PRO, SP 75, 1. *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Denmark*. The National Archives, Kew, London.

Westmoorland to Monsier le Baron, January 13, 1850. III. HA, Ministerium der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, I. Nr. 4644. *Erteilung von Orden und Geschenken anlässlich des Abschlusses von Verträgen zwischen Preußen und Dänemark*. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

Yard, Robert to Williamson, 7 July 1669. TNA PRO, SP 91, 3. *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Russia*. The National Archives, Kew, London.

Primary Sources

“Altonaer Mercur: Zeitung und Intelligenzblatt für die Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg: Kopenhagen.” *Deutsches Zeitungsportal* no. 189 (August 10, 1839), <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/LI2L7LZGCR4TNNLBHQCRSMVPOEIBJKXT?issuepage=1>.

Anon. “Annolied.” *Deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters: Von Den Anfängen bis zum Hohen Mittelalter* 1, ed. Michael Curschman and Ingeborg Glier. (1980).

Aquinas, Saint Thomas. *Summa Theologiae*. ed. Brian Davies and Brian Leftow, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

- Arber, Edward, Editor. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.* Vol. III, Gloucester: P. Smith, 1967.
- Arndt, John. *True Christianity: A Treatise on Sincere Repentance, True Faith, The Holy Walk of the True Christian, Etc...*(1749). Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co., 1868.
- Bartholomaeus Anglicus. *De proprietatibus rerum*. XV. Cologne: Johannes Koelhoff, 1483.
- Bellmann, C. G. "Wanke nicht, mein Vaterland! Lied an Schleswig-Holstein." *Deutsche Lieder für Schleswig-Holstein mit ihren Singweisen für vierstimmigen Männer-Chor*. Stuttgart: Verlag von Karl Göpel, 1848.
- Beowulf*. Translation by Seamus Heaney. Bilingual Edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2000.
- Beseler, Frederick. Preetz Reventlow, and Bremer Schmidt. *Memoir of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein, Addressed to Lord Palmerston*. Rendsburg: April 6, 1848.
- Bismarck, Otto von. *Bismarck the Man & the Statesman, Being the Reflections and Reminiscences of Otto, Prince von Bismarck, Written and Dictated by Himself after His Retirement from Office*. trans. A. J. Butler. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899.
- . *Zur Schleswig-Holstein Erfolgefrage und die Krieg gegen Dänemark*. Berlin: January 15, 1865.
- Bray, Olive, Editor and Translator. *Viking Club Translation Series: The Elder or Poetic Edda, Commonly Known as Sæmund's Edda II, Part I*, London: The Viking Club, 1908.
<http://vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/The%20Elder%20or%20Poetic%20Edda.pdf>.
- Bremen, Adam of. *Gesta Hammaburgensius Ecclesiae Pontificum* (1072). trans. Grzegorz Bartusik, Radoslaw Biskup, & others. Routledge: 2022.
- Brydall, John. "Jus primogeniti, or, The dignity, right, and privilege of the first-born inquisited and defended against the impious practice of some fathers in disinheriting their first-begotten son in a letter to a friend in the country (1635)." *Early English Books Online*. Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership, 2011.
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A29948.0001.001/1:1?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>.
- Bunsen, Chevalier. *Memoir on The Constitutional Rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848.
- Christian I. *Item privilegium der lande Sleswigh Holsten unde Stormarenn* (März 5 1460). Band 4, Urkundensammlung der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Geschichte. Universitäts-Buchhandlung, Kiel, Germany.
- Comestor, Peter. "Historia Scholastica (1190s)." *Yale University Library: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2007328>.

- Credner, August. Philipp's des Grossmütigen hessische Kirchenreformationen – Ordnung aus schriftlichen Quellen herausgeben, übersetzt und mit Rücksicht auf die Gegenwart bevorwortet. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1852.
- David of Sassoun. *Armenian Folk Epic*. trans. Artin K. Shalian. New York: 1964.
<https://archive.org/details/DavidOfSassoun>.
- “Der Patriot 49 (7-12-1724).” in *Der Patriot*. ed. Wolfgang Martens. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969-1970.
- “Der Waffenstillstand mit Dänemark.” *Frankfurter Journal* 2, no. 242 (September 1848): 1-3.
- Detmar of Lübeck. *Die Chroniken der Niedersächsischen Städte*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1884.
- Diaconus, Paulus. “Historia Langobardorum.” *Bibliotheca Augustana*. https://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost08/PaulusDiaconus/pau_lan1.html.
- “Die Ehronfolge in Dänemark und den damit verbundenen deutschen Herzogthümern.” in *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* 60 (1 Marz 1843): 441-443.
- Einhard, “The Life of Charlemagne (830-833).” *Medieval Sourcebook: Einhard: The Life of Charlemagne*. trans. Samuel Epes Turner. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880.
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/einhard.asp#Extent%20of%20Charlemagne's%20Conquests>.
- “Einige Bemerkungen über die verschiedenen Nationaleigenthümlichkeiten der Dänen und Deutschen im Herzogthum Schleswig,” *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur* 2, (1799), Universitätsbibliothek Universität Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Germany.
- Engel, Ernst. “Zeitschrift des Königlich Sächsischen Statistischen Bureaus. 3. 1857.” *Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum Digitale Bibliothek*. München: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1857, <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11032617-2>.
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. “Addresses to the German Nation (1808).” *German History in Documents and Images*. https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=3988.
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. *Addresses to the German Nation*. ed. Gregory Moore. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Flensburger Wochenblatt*. (1804/05): S. 97 ff.
- Fournier, A. “Police Report of 29 December 1814, Interzepte by Bollmann an Frau Reinhard.” *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress. Eine Auswahl Aus Ihren Papieren*. Wien: F. Tempsky, 1913.
- Gallenga, A. *The Invasion of Denmark in 1864*. London: Richard Bentley, 1864.
- Galton, Francis. *Hereditary Genius*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1869.

- . “Hereditary Talent and Character.” *Macmillan Magazine* 12, (May-Oct. 1865), 157-166.
- Great, Alfred the. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. trans. James Henry Ingram. Ottawa: East India Publishing Company, 2020.
- Grimm, Jacob. *Teutonic Mythology* (1883). vol. III. trans. James Steven Stallybrass. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm. *Penguin Classics: Selected Tales*. ed. and trans. David Luke, Gilbert McKay, & Philip Schofield. London: Penguin Books, 1982.
- Hacken, Richard. “Chronological History of Germany.” *Eurodocs: History of Germany: Primary Documents*. Provo: Brigham Young University, Harold B. Lee Library, 2021. https://eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/History_of_Germany:_Primary_Documents.
- . “Germany: Royalty and Politicians.” *EuroDocs: History of Germany: Primary Documents*. Provo: Brigham Young University: Harold B. Lee Library, 2021. https://eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Germany:_Royalty_and_Politicians#:~:text=Documents%20of%20German%20Unification,Moltke%20and%20Otto%20von%20Bismarck.
- “Heidelberger Zeitung: Politische Umschau.” *Deutsches Zeitungsportal* no. 134 (June 10, 1866), <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/4FEETRH4XJC4DIKDK32EPCBGSLODR7SA?issuepage=1>.
- Henderson, Ernest F. *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1896. <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/salic.asp>.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried. “Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache, welche den von der Königl. Academie der Wissenschaften für das Jahr 1770 Gesetzten Preis erhalten hat (1772).” *Herder Werke, Frühe Schriften, 1764–1772*. ed. Ulrich Gaier, Vol. 1. (1985), 695-810.
- . *Werke*, vol. V. Munich: Hanser, 1953.
- Herold, Basilius Ioannis. “Incipit Lex Frisionum. Et Hæc est Simpla Compositio.” *Originvm ac Germani Carvm Anti Qvitatvm Libri*. Basileæ: Henrichvm Petri, 1557.
- Janz, Denis R. *A Reformation Reader: Primary Texts with Introductions*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008.
- Jordan, M. “Danorum Marca, vel Cimbricum, aut Daniae Regnum ...” *Sanderus Antique Maps and Books: Antique Map of Denmark*. Braun and Hogenberg, 1599. <https://sanderusmaps.com/our-catalogue/antique-maps/europe/northern-europe/antique-map-of-denmark-by-m-jordan-braun-hogenberg-24099>.
- Jørgensen, Ellen. *Annales Danici: Medii Ævi*, Editionem Nouam Curauit. København: G. E. C. Gad, 1920.

- “Kaiserl. Reichs-Ober-Post-Amts-Zeitung zu Köln, 30 Marz, 1773.” *Deutsches Zeitungsportal*. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn. <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/V46NMGGDKTVB5W2E3D6OLT6XDYYAZUIS?issuepage=4>.
- “Kaiserl. Reichs-Ober-Post-Amts-Zeitung zu Köln, 9 November 1773,” *Deutsches Zeitungsportal*, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/UDKEYAD3PCR5MX25JIXKECCUBA34Q5YN?issuepage=4>.
- Kant, Immanuel, Pauline Kleingeld, Jeremy Waldron, Michael W. Doyle, and Allen W. Wood. *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Königl. dänische Verordnung, welche die Grenzen der Presfreiheit näher erklärt und bestimmt. *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur* 2, (1799). Universität Bielefeld Universitätsbibliothek, Bielefeld, Germany.
- Kronhelm, Frederich Detlef Karl von. *Corpvv Statvtorvm Provincialivm Holsatiae, oder Neue Ausgabe Schleswig-Holsteinschen Kirchen- und Land-Gerichts-Ordnung der Schauenburgischen Hof-Gerichts-Ordnung, des Dithmarschen Land- und Lubischen Stade-Rechts*. Altona: 1750.
- Lenin, N. “Novaya Zhizn (December 3, 1905).” *Lenin Collected Works*. trans. B. Baggins. 10, no. 28 (1965), 83-87.
- Lenin, V. I. “Socialism and Religion.” *Marxists Internet Archive*, (2000). <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1905/dec/03.htm>.
- Les Origines Diplomatique de la Guerre de 1870-1871*. vol. 2. Paris: G. Ficker, 1910.
- “Letters Patent of King Christian VIII, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.” *Official Documents Relating to the Schleswig-Holstein and Danish Question*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848.
- Life in the Marsches of Schleswig-Holstein*. Edinburg: Thomas Constable & Co., 1854.
- Luther, Martin. “Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants.” *Martin Luther, Documents of Modern History*. ed. E.G. Rupp and Benjamin Drewery. London: Edward Arnold, 1970.
- . “An Open Letter Concerning the Hard Book Against the Peasants (1525).” trans. By Charles M. Jacobs. *The Ages Digital Library Collections: Works of Martin Luther*, vol. 4. Albany: Books For The Ages, 1997.

- . “Commentary on Genesis.” *Blue Letter Bible* Vol. III. Edited & Translated by Matthew Henry. https://www.blueletterbible.org/Comm/mhc/Gen/Gen_003.cfm.
- . “Commentary on Genesis, Vol. I: Luther on the Creation.” *Project Gutenberg's Commentary on Genesis*. Vol. I, Translated by John Nicholas Lenker. February 7, 2015, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/48193/48193-h/48193-h.htm#sect36>.
- . “Commentary on Genesis, Vol. II: Luther on Sin and the Flood.” *The Project Gutenberg eBook of Commentary on Genesis*. vol. 2. trans. John Nicholas Lenker. February 3, 2009, <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/27978/pg27978-images.html>.
- . *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount* (1533), trans. Charles A. Hay, D.D. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1892).
- . “Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen (An Open Letter on Translating and the Intercession of Saints (1530).” *Treasures of the Taylorian Series One: Reformation Pamphlets*. Oxford: Taylor Institution Library, 2022.
- . *Luther's Works*. ed. Jaroslav J. Pelikan, et al. vol. 46, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955.
- . *Luther's Works: Word and Sacrament I*, ed. E. Theodore Bachmann and Helmut T. Lehmann. vol. 35, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960.
- . *On the Freedom of a Christian* (1520). Project Wittenberg, 1998, <https://www.ctsfw.edu/etext/luther/freedom/>.
- . “On Translating: An Open Letter (1530).” *Luther's Works* vol. 35, ed. E. Theodore Bachmann. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1960.
- . “The Burning of Friar Henry in Dithmarschen, 1525.” *The AGES Digital Library Collections: Works of Martin Luther*. vol. 4. Albany: Books for the Ages, 1997).
- . “Sermon on Threefold Righteousness” *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 2, Weimar: Hermann Boehlau, 1884.
- . “Sermons on the Gospel of John: Chapters 17-20,” *Luther's Werke: Wochenpredigten ueber Johannes 28*, trans. Erwin W. Koehlinger, Project Wittenberg, 1998, <https://www.ctsfw.edu/etext/luther/sermons/john/>.
- . *The Essential Luther*, ed. & trans. Tryntje Helfferich, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2018.
- . *The Ninety-Five Theses, On Christian Liberty, and Address to the Christian Nobility*. trans. R. S. Grignon and C. A. Buchheim. USA: Digireads.com, 2009.
- . *Van Broder Henrico in Dytmarschen vorbrent*. Wittenberg: [Hans Weiß], 1525.

- Marx, Karl and F. Engels. "1859 Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy." *Collected Works* vol. 29. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1987.
- . "The German Ideology." *Collected Works* vol. 5. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976.
- Moltke-Grünholz, Magnus Grafe von. *Die Schleswig-Holsteinische Frage*. Hamburg: Perthes-Besser und Mauke, 1849.
- Morris, Richard, Editor. "Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century." *Early English Text Society* Vol. I-IV, London: N. Trübner & Co, 1877.
https://www.google.com/books/edition/Cursor_Mundi/J4eg1O6QnA8C?hl=en&gbpv=0
- Moulins, Guyart des. "Bible du XIIIe siècle (1295)." *Internet Archive*. (1465):
https://archive.org/details/widener_002/page/n5/mode/2up.
- Owen, John. *Of the Mortification of Sin in Believers* (1656). Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2002, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/owen/mort.html>.
- Palmerston, Lord Henry. *The Palmerston Papers: Gladstone and Palmerston, being the Correspondence of Lord Palmerston with Mr. Gladstone, 1851-1865*. ed. Philip Guedalla. New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.
- Panten, Albert, and Peter Sax. *Werke zur Geschichte Nordfrieslands und Dithmarschens: Nova, totius Frisiae septentrionalis, Descriptio, das ist, Ein neue Beschreibung, der sembtlichen, im gantzen Nordfrieslande, am Cimbrischen Meere, gelegenen Landen, Insulen, und Ougen ...* (1636). Germany: H. Lühr & Dircks, 1983.
- Pertz, Georg Heinrich, and Friedrich Kurze, "Annales regni Francorum: inde ab a. 741. usque ad a. 829. qui dicuntur annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi." 1950, OCLC: 163830384, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, München.
- Petersen, Johann. *Chronica oder Zeitbuch / der Lande zu Holsten/Stormarn/Dithmarschen und Wagern / Wer dieselben Lander regiirt / Was sich vor Christi Geburt bist in das M.D.XXXI*. trans. Christian Ahlers. Lübeck: Laurentz Albrecht, 1599.
- Petro, Svffrido. *De Scriptoribvs Frisiae, Decades XVI et semis* (1293). Germany: Henricus Falckenburgh, 1593.
https://www.google.com/books/edition/De_scriptoribus_Frisiae_decades_XVI_et_s/5n5UAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0.
- Pfordten, Baron V. D. *Report on the Succession in the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, Laid before the Committee of the German Diet*. trans. W. Pieper. London: Vacher & Sons, 1864.
- Ptolemaeus, Claudius. *Geographia*. trans. Jacobus Angeli. Bodleian Library Arch. B. Oxford: University of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, 1486.

- Reventlow, F. et al. "Address of the Provisional Government of the Schleswig Holstein to the People of Denmark of 31st March, 1848." *Memoir on The Constitutional Rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, ...* London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848.
- Reventlow, et al. "Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein." *Memoir on the Constitutional Rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848.
- Rimbertus. *Vita Anscarii* (865-909). HB XIV 7, LEO-BW, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Germany.
- "Royal Act, 14 November 1665." *Danmarkshistoriendk*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitet, 2012. https://danmarkshistorien.dk/vis/materiale/kongeloven-1665/#_edn1.
- Rousseau. *Correspondence Générale*. ed. T. Dufour. Paris: Colin, 1924-34.
- Schaff, Philip and Henry Wace. *Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: The Principal Works of Saint Jerome*. trans. W.H Fremantle, Rev. G. Lewis and others. New York: Christian Literature Company, 1890-1900, <https://archive.org/details/LettersAndSelectWorks/mode/2up?view=theater>.
- Schrader, L. A. G. *Handbuch der vaterländischen Rechte in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein*. Altona: Johann David Adam Eckhardt, 1784.
- "Schleswig." *Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection*. John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester, 1861.
- "Schleswig-Holsteinische Angelegenheiten" in *Rendsburger Wochen-Blatt*, No. 47, 11 Juni 1851.
- Schmitt, Wilhelm. *Die Synode zu Homberg und ihre Vorgeschichte*. Homberg: Selbstverlag der Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde, 1926.
- "Schwäbischer Merkur: mit Schwäbischer Kronik und Handelszeitung: Süddeutsche Zeitung: Deutschland: Schleswig." *Deutsches Zeitungportal*. nr. 273 (Nov. 21, 1865), <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/2SEAZFLK2V4P5B4WAV7KMFJAZYV25GQO?issuepage=6>.
- Simson, Bernhard von. "De statu quaestionis sintne Einhardi necne sint quos ei ascribunt annales imperii specimen." 1860, OCLC: 230742350, *Historia Germaniae generalis - Geschichte, Geographie und Politik Deutschlands*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Germany.
- Solger, Reinhold. *Memorial on the Schleswig-Holstein Question: Addressed to the Honorable Bradford R. Wood, Minister to the Court of Denmark*, Copenhagen. New York: Baker and Godwin Printers, 1862.

- Solopova, Elizabeth, Anne Hudson, and others, ed. *Wycliffite Bible*. Digital Edition, <https://wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/>.
- Spener, Philipp Jacob. "A Model of Christian Charity." *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 3, no. 7 (1838).
- Spener, Philipp Jacob. *Pia Desideria oder herzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Vesserung der wahren evangelischen Kirche...* (1675). Leipzig: Köhler'sche Verlagsbutchhandlung Adolf Winter, 1841.
- Tacitus. *The Agricola and Germania*. trans. A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb. London: Macmillan, 1877.
- Täglichsbeck, Th. *Deutsche Lieder für Schleswig-Holstein mit ihren Singweisen für vierstimmigen Manner-Chor*. Stuttgart: Verlag von Karl Göpel, 1848.
- "The Images on the Golden Horns." *National Museum of Denmark*. <https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/prehistoric-period-until-1050-ad/the-late-iron-age/the-golden-horns/the-images-on-the-golden-horns/>.
- "The Life and Letters of Martin Luther," *The Internet Archive*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1911): 271-278, https://archive.org/stream/lifelettersofma00smit/lifelettersofma00smit_djvu.txt.
- "The Merseburg Incantations." Merseburg Imperial Cathedral. <https://www.merseburger-dom.de/en/rundgang-merseburger-dom-zaubersprueche/>.
- "The Nibelungenlied." *The Project Gutenberg EBook*. Translated by George Henry Needler. Project Gutenberg, 2015. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7321/7321-h/7321-h.htm>.
- "The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555)." *German History in Documents and Images* vol 1, German Historical Institute, Washington, DC. https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=4386.
- "The Soldiers Personal Equipment." *National Museum of Denmark*. <https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/prehistoric-period-until-1050-ad/the-early-iron-age/the-weapon-deposit-from-vimose/the-soldiers-personal-equipment/>.
- "TREATIES &c. between Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, and France. Signed at Paris, the 20th of November 1815." *British and Foreign State Papers, 1815-1816, Compiled by the Librarian and Keeper of the Papers, Foreign Office*. London: James Ridgway and Sons, Piccadilly, 1838.
- "Treaty of Westphalia: Peace Treaty between the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France and their respective Allies (1648)." *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and*

Diplomacy. Yale Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008,
https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/westphal.asp.

Twiss, Travers. *On the Relations of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the Crown of Denmark and the Germanic Confederation: and on the Treaty-Engagements of the Great European Powers in Reference Thereto*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848.

“Ueber eine angebliche französische Propaganda im Holsteinischen, (1799).” *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur* 1 Zeitschriften der Aufklärung, Universitätsbibliothek, Universität Bielefeld. Bielefeld, Germany.

“Ueber das Bedürfnis und die Einrichtung eines Archivs für das vaterländische Schul- und Erziehungswesen von den Schulkollegen in Husum, (1799).” *Schleswig-Holsteinische Blätter für Polizei und Kultur*. Zeitschriften der Aufklärung, Universitätsbibliothek, Universität Bielefeld. Bielefeld, Germany.

Voragine, Jacobus of. “The Golden Legend (1229-1298).” *Loyola Marymount University, William H. Hannon Library: Rare Book and Manuscript Leaves Collection*, (1480):
<https://digitalcollections.lmu.edu/Documents/Detail/voragine-the-golden-legend-1480/12244>.

“Vorläufige Nachricht von der neugestifteten Schleswig-Holsteinisches patriotischen Gesellschaft, (1787).” *Schleswig-Holsteinische Provinzialberichte* 1 Magazine, Zeitschriften und Serien. Universität Bielefeld Universitätsbibliothek, Bielefeld, Germany.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1958.

Wellhausen, Julius. “Prolegomena to the History of Israel.” *The Project Gutenberg eBook of Prolegomena to the History of Israel*. December 2020,
<https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/4732/pg4732.html>.

Wenckstern, Otto von. *M. V. Gruner on the Succession in the Danish Monarchy*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848.

Wieland, Christoph Martin. *Cyrus*. Zürich: bey Geßner, 1759.

Wiese. "Protest of the Assembly of States of Holstein, of December 21, 1844." *Official Documents Relating to the Schleswig-Holstein and Danish Question*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848.

“Wochen-Blatt des National Vereins: Politische Uebersicht.” *Deutsches Zeitungportal* no. 1 (April 6, 1865). <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/AT2NZ374IXF7JJUGXPH5NEAWLPV6NGVK?issuepage=1>.

Wurm, Christian Friedrich. *A Letter to Viscount Palmerston: Concerning the Question of Schleswig-Holstein*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1850.

Zeumer, Karl, ed., "The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555)." *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Deutschen Reichsverfassung im Mittelalter und Neuzeit* 2nd ed, vol 2 Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr-Paul Siebeck, 1913.

Zinzendorf, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von. *Sixteen Discourses on the Redemption of Man by the Death of Christ*. London: James Hutton, 1740.

Secondary Sources

Books

Abdelal, Rawi. *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Alter, Robert. *The Art of Biblical Narrative*. New York: Basic Books, 2011.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2016.

Anderson, Tawa J. *An Introduction to Christian Worldview: Pursuing God's Perspective in a Pluralistic World*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2017.

Armstrong, John A. *Nations Before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.

Austin, Kenneth. *The Jews and the Reformation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.

Avis, Paul. *Beyond the Reformation? Authority, Primacy and Unity in the Conciliar Tradition*. London: T & T Clark, 2008.

Bader, Christopher D., and Roger Finke. *Faithful Measures: New Methods in the Measurement of Religion*. New York: New York University Press, 2017.

Bagge, Sverre. *Cross and Scepter: The Rise of the Scandinavian Kingdoms From the Vikings to the Reformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Bainton, Roland. *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. Nashville: Pierce & Smith Co., 1978.

Becher, Matthias. *Charlemagne*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Beck, Frederick G. M. "Cimbri." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 11th ed. Vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911).

Bell, David A. *The First Total War*. New York: Mariner Books, 2008.

Bell, Herbert C. F. *Lord Palmerston*. vol. 2. London: Longmans, Green, 1936.

- Benecke, Gerhard. *Documents of Modern History: Germany in the Thirty Years War*. London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1978.
- Benham, Jenny. "Treaty of Verdun." *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2018.
- Berdichevsky, Norman. *The Danish-German Border Dispute: Aspects of Cultural and Demographic Politics, 1815-2001*. London: Academica Press LLC, 2002.
- Bew, John. *Realpolitik: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Bieber, Florian. *Debates in World History: Debating Nationalism, the Global Spread of Nations*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.
- Binkley, Robert C. *Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1935.
- . *The Rise of Modern Europe: Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871*. New York: Harper & Row, 1935.
- Bisley, Nick. *Great Powers in a Changing International Order*. Boulder: Rienner Publishers, 2012.
- Blackbourn, David. *Blackwell Classic Histories of Europe: History of Germany, 1780-1918, The Long Nineteenth Century*. 2nd Edition. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- . *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006.
- Blackbourn, David, and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth Century Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Blamires, David. *Telling Tales: The Impact of Germany on English Children's Books, 1780-1918*. Open Book Publishers, 2009.
- Blevins, Juliette. *Evolutionary Phonology: the Emergence of Sound Patterns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Boadt, Lawrence. *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Revised and updated by Richard Clifford and Daniel Harrington. New Jersey: Paulist Press, Inc., 2012.
- Botticini, Maristella, and Zvi Eckstein. *The Chosen Few: How Education Shaped Jewish History, 70-1492*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Boyd, Carolyn P. *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.
- Breuilly, John. *19th Century Germany, Politics, Culture, and Society, 1780-1918*. London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 2001.

- . "Introduction: Concepts, Approaches, Theories." In *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly, 1-20. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Bucholz, Arden. *European History in Perspective: Moltke and The German Wars, 1864-1871*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Burk, Denny, and Randy Stinson. *An Evaluation of Gender Language in the 2011 Edition of the NIV Bible*. Louisville: The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, 2012.
- Burke, Peter. "Nationalisms and Vernaculars, 1500-1800." *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Burnett, Stephen G. *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1660)*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Buster, Aubrey E. *Remembering the Story of Israel: Historical Summaries and Memory Formation in Second Temple Judaism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Carr, William. *The Origins of the Wars of German Unification*. London: Longman, 1991.
- Carruthers, Leo M. *Beowulf*. Paris: Didier Érudition, 1998.
- Cecil, Evelyn, *Primogeniture: A Short History of Its Development in Various Countries and Its Practical Effects*. London: J. Murray, 1895.
- Christman, John Philip. *The Politics of Persons: Individual Autonomy and Socio-Historical Selves*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Classen, Albrecht. *Charlemagne in Medieval German and Dutch Literature*. Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2020.
- Cooper, Ian, and John Walker. *Literature and Religion in the German-Speaking World: from 1200 to the Present Day*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Craig, Gordon A. *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955.
- Cudworth, Erika. *The Modern State: Theories and Ideologies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- Dalby, Andrew. *Dictionary of Languages*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Damen, Mario, & Marcus Meer. "Heraldry and Territory: Coats of Arms and the Representation and Construction of Authority in Space." *Constructing and Representing Territory in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. ed. Mario Damen & Kim Overlaet. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021.
- De Jouvenel, Bertrand. *On Power: The Natural History of Its Growth*. trans. J. F. Huntington. Carmel: Liberty Fund, 1976.

- Dickens, A. G. *The German Nation and Martin Luther*. London: Edward Arnold, 1974.
- Dollinger, Philippe. *Die Hanse*. Stuttgart: A. Kröner, 1998.
- Dowden, Ken. *European Paganism the Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Dowling, Andrew. *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War Reconstructing the Nation*. Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2013.
- Doyle, William. *Origins of the French Revolution*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Elton, G. R. *Reformation Europe, 1517-1559*. London & Glasgow: Collins, 1971.
- Embree, Michael. *Bismarck's First War: The Campaign of Schleswig and Jutland 1864*. England: Helion & Company, 2006.
- Englund, Steven. *Napoleon: A Political Life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Ergang, Robert. *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931.
- Evans, Robert John Weston, and H. Pogge von Strandmann, *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Farmer, Alan. *Access to History: The Unification of Germany and The Challenge of Nationalism 1789-1919*. 4th ed. Hodder Education, 2015.
- Ferguson, Jamie H. *Reformation Hermeneutics and Literary Language in Early Modern England: Faith in the Language*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.
- Fortson, Benjamin W. *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Frost, Robert. *The Northern Wars: War, State, and Society in North-Eastern Europe, 1558-1721*. Harlow: Longman, 2000.
- Fulbrook, Mary. *A Concise History of Germany*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Ganeshram, S. *Pathways to Nationalism: Social Transformation and Nationalist Consciousness in Colonial Tamil Nadu, 1858-1918*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017.
- Gat, Azar. "Identities, National Sentiments and National Solidarity," *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*. ed. Lotte Jensen. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. USA: Basic Books, 1973.

- Gellner, Ernest. *Nationalism*. New York: New York City Press, 1997.
- . *Nations and Nationalism*. United Kingdom: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Giesbers, C. *Dialecten op de Grens van Twee Talen*. Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2008.
- Goodblatt, David. *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Goossens, J. *Deutsche Dialektologie*. Walter de Gruyter, 1977.
- Grant, Robert M. *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*. New York: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1963.
- Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Greenstein, Edward L., and Michael L. Satlow. *Essays on Biblical Method and Translation*. Second Edition. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2020.
- Hagen, William. *German History in Modern Times: Four Lives of The Nation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hahn, Hans Joachim. *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe*. London: Pearson Education Co., 2001.
- Hamerow, Theodore S. *The Age of Bismarck, Documents and Interpretations*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
- . *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858-1871: Struggles and Accomplishments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Hansen, Jason D. *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Cartography, & the Visualization of the German Nation, 1814-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Hare, Laurence J. *Excavating Nations: Archaeology, Museums, and the German-Danish Borderlands*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.
- Hartner, Willy. *Die Goldhorner von Gallehus*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969.
- Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hayes, Carlton J. H. *Essays on Nationalism*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.
- Heeringa, W. *Measuring Dialect Pronunciation Differences Using Levenstein Distance*. Groningen: University of Groningen, 2009.

- Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Henderson, Ernest F. *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896.
- Henriques, Ursula. *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Heyne, Christian Gottlob. "From: An Interpretation of the Language of Myths or Dymbols Traced to Their Reasons and Causes and Thence to Forms and Rules." *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860*. ed. Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.
- Hjelholt, Holger. *Great Britain, the Danish-German Conflict and the Danish Succession, 1850-1852: From the London Protocol to the Treaty of London (the 2nd of August 1850 and the 8th of May 1852)*. Kobenhavn: Munksgaard, 1971.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. and T. O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Canto ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hurd, Ian. "Legitimacy." *Encyclopedia Princetoniensis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023.
<https://pesd.princeton.edu/node/516#:~:text=Legitimacy%20is%20commonly%20defined%20in,toward%20the%20rule%20or%20ruler.>
- Ilany, Ofri. *In Search of the Hebrew People: Bible and Nation in the German Enlightenment*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018.
- Jarrett, Mark. *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon*. New York: Tauris & Co., 2016.
- Jastram. *Lebensbilder und Skizzen aus der Kulturgeschichte*. Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1875.
- Jervis, Robert L. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Jexlev, Thelma, and Henry Brown, "Christopher III of Bavaria." *Danish Biographical Lexicon*. (2011), https://biografiskeksikon.lex.dk/Christoffer_3._af_Bayern.
- Johnson, Carina L. *Archaeologies of Confession: Writing the German Reformation, 1517-2017*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2017.

- Kauko, Miika Norro, Kirsi-Maria Nummila, Tanja Toropainen, and Tuomo Fonsén. *Languages in the Lutheran Reformation: Textual Networks and the Spread of Ideas*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019.
- Kedourie, Elie. *Nationalism*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1985.
- Klaus-Joachim and Lorenzen-Schmidt. *Das Neue Schleswig-Holstein Lexikon*. Schleswig-Holstein: Wachholtz Verlag, 2006.
- Klippel, G. H. ed. *Lebensbeschreibung des Erzbischofs Ansgari*. Bremen: 1845.
- König, Ekkehard. *The Germanic Languages*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- König, W. *Dtv-Atlas Deutsche Sprache*. Munich, 2019.
- Kostantaras, Dean J. *Nationalism and Revolution in Europe, 1763-1848*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.
- Lamberti, Martina. "The Merseburg Charms: Pagan Magic and Christian Culture in Medieval Germany." *Civilizations of the Supernatural: Witchcraft, Ritual, and Religious Experience in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Traditions*. ed. Fabrizio Conti. Trivent Publishing, 2020.
- Lange, Ulrich. *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Wachholtz, Neumünster. S.: Auflage, 2003.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *History and Memory*. (New York, 1992).
- Little, Richard. *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths, and Models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Lübbing, Herman. *Stedinger, Friesen, Dithmarscher: Freiheitkämpfe niederdeutscher Bauern*. Bremen: Verlag H. M. Hauschild GmbH, 1977.
- Luebke, David M., Jared Poley, Daniel C. Ryan & David Warren Sabeau. *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.
- Malettke, Klaus. *Die Schleswig-Holsteinische Frage, 1862-1866*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969.
- Malleson, G. B. *The Refounding of The German Empire 1848-1871*. Lexington: First Rate Publishers, 2016.
- March, Francis A. *A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language in which Its Forms are Illustrated by those of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High German*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1888.
- McCully, C. B. *Beowulf: A Translation and A Reading*. Manchester: Carcanet Classics, 2018.

- McEvedy, Colin. *The New Penguin Atlas of Ancient History*. New York: Penguin Books, 2002.
- Meurer, Peter H. *Corpus der älteren Germania-Karten: Ein annotierter Katalog der gedruckten Gesamtkarten des deutschen Raumes von den Anfängen bis um 1650*. Alphen aan den Rijn, 2001.
- Möller-Wiering, Susan. *War and Worship: Textiles from 3rd to 4th-Century AD Weapon Deposits in Denmark and Northern Germany*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011.
- Müllenhoff, Karl. *Sagen Märchen Lieder aus Schleswig Holstein und Lauenburg*. Kiel: Schmerssche Buchhandlung, 1845.
- Müller-Wille, Michael. *Zwischen Starigard/Oldenburg und Novgorod: Beiträge zur Archäologie west- und ostslawischer Gebiete im frühen Mittelalter*. Germany: Wachholtz, 2011.
- Myhill, John. *Language, Religion and National Identity in Europe and the Middle East a Historical Study*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 2006.
- Nehlsen, Rudolf. *Geschichte von Dithmarschen*. Tübingen: Laupp, 1908.
- Nielsen, Hans Frede. *Guldhornsindskriften fra Gallehus: Runer, sprog og politik*. Odense, 2002.
- Nielsen, Johannes. *The Schleswig-Holstein Revolt, 1848-1850*. trans. Marianne Henriksen. Haderslev: Tøjhusmuseet, 1993.
- Nipperdey, Thomas. *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866*. trans by Daniel Nolan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Nolan, Cathal J. *The Age of Wars of Religion, 1000-1650: An Encyclopedia of Global Warfare and Civilization*. vol. 2, Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006.
- Norgren, W.A. *Ecumenism of the Possible*. Cincinnati: Forward Movement Publications, 1994.
- North, Michael. "The Hanseatic League in the Early Modern Period." *A Companion to the Hanseatic League*. ed. Donald J. Harreld. Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Oberman, Heiko A. *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Reformation Thought*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1992.
- Oergel, Maike. *The Return of King Arthur and the Nibelungen National Myth in Nineteenth Century English and German Literature*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010.
- Orton, Peter. "Pagan Myth and Religion." *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*. ed. Rory McTurk. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism, A Critical Introduction*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- Ozment, Steven. *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Palmer, R. R. *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Parshall, Linda. "Landscape as History: Pückler-Muskau, The "Green Prince" of Germany." *Nature in German History*. ed. Christof Mauch. Berghahn Books, 2004.
- Pettit, Edward. *Poetic Edda: A Dual-Language Edition*. Open Book Publishers, 2023.
- Pinson, Koppel S. *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.
- Porter, Theodor M. *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Prokosch, Eduard. *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*. Surrey: Tiger Xenophon, 2009.
- Quellen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*. ed. Flensburger Arbeitskreis für Stadt und Regionalforschung. vol. 1. Kiel, 1987.
- Rae, Norman G. D. *The Nation Exposed: A Critique of Nations and Nationalism*. Kindle Edition. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014.
- Rapport, Michael. *Palgrave History of Europe: Nineteenth Century Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Reeh, Niels. *Secularization Revisited -- Teaching of Religion and the State of Denmark, 1721-2006*. Switzerland: Springer, 2016.
- Rembold, Ingrid. *Conquest and Christianization: Saxony and the Carolingian World, 772-888*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Rieber, Alfred J., and A. J. Miller. *Imperial Rule*. New York: Central European University Press, 2004.
- Robinson, Orrin W. *Old English and Its Closest Relatives: A Survey of the Earliest Germanic Languages*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Roshwald, Aviel. *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots and Modern Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Russell, James C. *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Sandiford, Keith A.P. *Great Britain, and the Schleswig-Holstein Question, 1848-1864: A Study in Diplomacy, Politics, and Public Opinion*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

- Sau, Andrea. *A Marxist Theory of Ideology: Praxis, Thought and the Social World*. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Schildgen, Brenda Deen. *Divine Providence: A History: The Bible, Virgil, Orosius, Augustine, and Dante*. London: Continuum, 2012.
- Schjerve, Rosita Rindler. *Diglossia, and Power: Language Policies and Practice in the 19th Century Habsburg Empire*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2008.
- Schjødt, Jens Peter. "Continuity and Break: Germanic." *The Pre-Christian Religions of the North, History and Structures*, ed. John Lindow, and Anders André, Belgium: Brepols, 2020.
- Schlarloth, Joachim. "The Revolutionary Argument Pattern in Puristic Discourse: The Swabian Dialect in the Debate About the Standardization of German in the Eighteenth Century." *Linguistic Purism in the Germanic Languages*. Edited by Nils Langer, and W. V. Davies. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2005.
- Schmidt, Ernst. *Briefwechsel der Brüder Grimm mit nordischen Gelehrten, 1885*. Reprint. Wallruf, Germany: 1974.
- Schnell, Rudiger. "Deutsche Literatur und deutsches Nationalbewußtsein in Spätmittelalter und Friiher Neuzeit." *Ansätze und Diskontinuität deutscher Staatsbildung im Mittelalter*. Edited by Joachim Ehlers. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989.
- Scribner, Robert W., Roy Porter, and Mikuláš Teich. *The Reformation in National Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Schulze, Hagen. *The Course of German Nationalism: From Frederick the Great to Bismarck, 1763-1867*. trans. Sarah Hanbury-Tenison. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Sheehan, Michael. *The Balance of Power: History and Theory*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Showalter, Dennis E. *Railroads and Rifles: Soldiers, Technology, and the Unification of Germany*. Hamden: Archon, 1975.
- Singh, Gurharpal, and Giorgio Shani. *Sikh Nationalism: From a Dominant Minority to an Ethno-Religious Diaspora*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Smith, Anthony D. *Key Concepts: Nationalism*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010.
- . *National Identity*. London: Penguin Book, 1991.
- . *The Concept of Social Change: A Critique of the Functionalist Theory of Social Change*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
- . *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

- . *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism, The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures*. Hanover: Brandeis University Press & Historical Society of Israel, 2000.
- Smith, Helmut Walser. *Germany: A Nation in its Time, Before, During, and After Nationalism, 1500-2000*. Liveright Publishing, 2005.
- Smith, Helmut Walser, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Spitz, Lewis W. *The Protestant Reformation, 1517–1559*. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001.
- Steuer, Heiko. *Germanen aus Sicht der Archäologie: Neue Thesen zu einem alten Thema*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021.
- Svendsen, Nick. *The First Schleswig-Holstein War, 1848-1850*. England: Helion & Company, 2009.
- Sykes, Bryan. *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006.
- Tackett, Timothy. *The Coming of the Terror in the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Tagore, Rabindranath Sir. *Nationalism*. London: Macmillan Co, 1918.
- Tamir, Yael. *Liberal Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Taylor, A.J.P. *The Course of German History*. New York: Routledge Classics, 1988.
- Thaler, Peter. *Of Mind and Matter: The Duality of National Identity in the German-Danish Borderlands*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009.
- “The Battle of Maldon.” *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*. ed. Robert Thomas Lambdin and Laura Cooner Lambdin. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Trinius, August. *Geschichte des Krieges gegen Dänemark 1864*. Berlin: Verlag Rockstuhl, 1891.
- Troska, Ferdinand. *Die Publizistik zur Sächsischen Frage auf dem Wiener Kongress*. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1891.
- Van Kley, Dale K. *The Religion Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Verba, S, K. L. Schlozman, and H. E. Brady. *Voice and Equality: Civic Volunteerism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

- Vick, Brain E. *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Waldman, Carl, and Catherine Mason, *Encyclopedia of European Peoples*. New York: Facts on File, 2006.
- Williams, Benjamin. *On the Land of Ditmarsh and the Mark of Confederation Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries*. London: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1858.
- Williamson, D. G. *Bismarck and Germany, 1862-1890*. 3rd ed. Harlow: Longman, 2011.
- Winroth, Anders. *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Winterbourne, Anthony. *When the Norns Have Spoken: Time and Fate in Germanic Paganism*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004.
- Witt, Jann Markus, and Heiko Vosgerau. *Schleswig-Holstein von den Ursprüngen bis zur Gegenwart*. Hamburg: Convent Verlag GmbH, 2002.
- Wormald, Patrick. "The Leges Barbarorum: Law and Ethnicity in the Post-Roman West," *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*. ed. Jörg Jarnut, Walter Pohl, and Hans-Werner Goetz. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Wright, Jacob L. *War, Memory, and National Identity in the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Yates, Nigel. *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Journals

- Aberbach, David. "Nationalism and the Hebrew Bible." *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no. 2 (2005): 185-323.
- Aggerholm, Helle Kryger, Birte Asmuß, and Christa Thomsen. "The Role of Recontextualization in the Multivocal, Ambiguous Process of Strategizing." *Journal of Management Inquiry* 21, No. 4 (October 2012): 363-448.
- Ahlers, Christian A. "The Importance of the Schleswig-Holstein Conflicts in German Unification: A Primordial Case Study, 1839-1871." Masters Thesis, North Dakota State University, 2008.
- Albrechtsen, Esben. "Var Sønderjylland i middelalderen en del af Danmarks rige?" *Foredrag i det kongelige danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie*. (Oktober 24 1984).

- Andersson, Hans E. "What Activates an Identity? The Case of Norden." *International Relations* 24, no. 1 (March 2010): 3-104.
- Appelbaum, Diana Muir. "Biblical Nationalism and the Sixteenth-Century States." *National Identities* 15, no. 4 (2013): 317-332.
- Armstrong, John A. "Definitions, Periodization, and Prospects for the Longue Duree." *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no. 1-2 (2004): 9-18.
- Avraham, Doron. "German Neo-Pietism and the Formation of National Identity." *Church History* 88, No. 1 (March 2019): 87-119.
- Beer, Arthur. "Hartner and the Riddle of the Golden Horns." *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 1, no. 2 (August 1, 1970): 139-143.
- Bell, Duncan S. A. "Mythscape: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity." *The British Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 1 (2003): 63-81.
- Brennan, Katherine Marie. "The Relation of the Schleswig-Holstein Question to the Unification of Germany, 1865-1866." Masters Thesis, Loyola University (June 1936).
- Brems, Hans. "The Collapse of the Binational Danish Monarchy in 1864: A Multinational Perspective." *Scandinavian Studies* 51, No. 4 (1979): 428-441.
- Brincker, Benedikte. "On the Roles of Institutions and Agency in Nationalism and the Relations between Them: A Theoretical Enquiry into the Study of Nationalism, Its Present and Future." *Sociology* 54, no. 6 (2020): 1055-1257.
- Brubaker, Rogers. "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches." *Nations and Nationalism* 18, No. 1 (2012): 2-20.
- Bruns, Gerald L. "Scriptura Sui Ipsius Interpres: Luther, Modernity, and the Foundations of Philosophical Hermeneutics." *Hermeneutics Ancient and Modern*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, 139-158.
- Buchardt, Mette. "Educational Biblical Nationalism and the Project of the Modern Secular State." *Croatian Journal of Education* 22, no. 2 (2020): 133-150.
- Catherwood, Christopher. "Nationalism, Ethnicity, & Tolerance: Some Historical, Political, and Biblical Perspectives." *Transformation* 14, no. 1 (January/March 1997): 10-16.
- "Catholics and Nonconformists." *UK Parliament*. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/religion/overview/catholicsnonconformists-/#:~:text=In%201689%2C%20after%20much%20debate,of%20the%20oath%20of%20all%20England>.

- Christensen, Thomas J., and Jack L. Snyder. "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization* 44, No. 2 (Spring 1990): 137-168.
- "Danewerk: Grenze Seit 1500 Jahren." *Archäologie in Deutschland* 1 (2019): 69–71.
- Dar, Abdul Maajid. "Revisiting Key Debates in the Study of Nationalism." *Humanities & Social Sciences Communications* 9, no. 1 (2022): 1-12.
- "Das Heimatfest." *Gemeinde Epenwöhrden*. <https://www.epenwoehrden.de/unsere-gemeinde/geschichte-tradition/heimatfest>.
- Dubey, Muchkund. "The Nationalism Debate: Past and Present." *Indian Journal of Public Administration* 63, no. 1 (2017): 1-12.
- Elden, Stuart. "How Should We Do the History of Territory?" *Territory, Politics, Governance* 1, no. 1 (2013): 5-20.
- "English Bible Overview." *Bible Translation Guide*. Evangelicalbible.com. <https://evangelicalbible.com/translations/bible-translation-guide/>.
- Frank, Roberta. "The *Beowulf* Poet's Sense of History." *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*. Edited by Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982, 53-65.
- Freeden, Michael. "Ideology." *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. (Taylor and Francis). <https://www.rep.routledge.com/articles/thematic/ideology/v-1>
- . "Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?" *Political Studies* 46, no. 4 (1998): 748-765.
- "Freedom of the Press Writings," *Det Kgl. Bibliotek*, <https://www.kb.dk/en/inspiration/freedom-press-writings#:~:text=On%2014%20September%2C%201770%2C%20Christian,But%20that%20had%20to%20change>.
- "Giving and Volunteering in the United States: Findings from a National Survey." *The Gallop Organization*. 2000. <http://www.independentsector.org>.
- Goddard, Stacie E. "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2008/2009): 110-142.
- Gorski, Philip S. "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism." *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1428–68.
- Grommé, Francisca, and S. Scheel. "Doing Statistics, Enacting the Nation: The Performative Powers of Categories." *Nations and Nationalism* 26, no. 3 (2020): 576-593.

- Gudeman, Alfred. "The Sources of the Germania of Tacitus." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 31 (1900): 93-111.
- Gustafsson, Harald. "A State That Failed?" *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32, no. 3 (2006): 205-220.
- . "The Eighth Argument. Identity, Ethnicity, and Political Culture in Sixteenth Century Scandinavia." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 27 (2010): 91-113.
- Habib, Irfan. "Nationalism in India: Past and Present," *Social Scientist* 45, no. 3/4 (2017): 3-8.
- Handman, Max Sylvius. "The Sentiment of Nationalism." *Political Science Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1921): 104–21. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2142664>.
- Harrington, Joel F., and Helmut Walser Smith. "Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555-1870." *The Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 1 (1997): 77-101.
- Haverfield, John Francis. "Tacitus During the Late Roman Period and the Middle Ages." *Journal of Roman Studies* 6 (1916): 196-201.
- Heller, L. G. "The Second Germanic Consonant Shifts: A Typological Parametric View." *Folia Linguistica* 6, no. 3-4 (1973): 305-313.
- Helmrath, Johannes. "Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II) – Ein Humanist als Vater des Europagedankens?" *Europa und die Europaer: Quellen und Essay zur modernen europäischen Geschichte*. ed. Rudiger Hohls, Iris Schroder, and Hannes Siegrist (Wiesbaden, 2005), 367-368.
- Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich. "Das Lied der Deutschen (1841)." *German History Intersections*. <https://germanhistory-intersections.org/en/germanness/ghis:audio-6>.
- Horowitz, Donald L. "The Primordialists." *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Study of Nationalism*. Edited by Daniele Conversi London: Routledge, 2004.
- Howorth, Henry H. "The Early Intercourse of the Danes and Franks." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1877): 147-182.
- Hutton, Patrick. "Recent Scholarship on Memory and History." *The History Teacher* 33 (2000), 533-548.
- Ilany, Ofri. "Herr Zebaoth and the German Nation: Bible and Nationalism in the Anti-Napoleonic Wars." *Global Intellectual History: Ruth Jackson Special Issue Theology and Politics* 5, no. 1 (2020): 104-124.

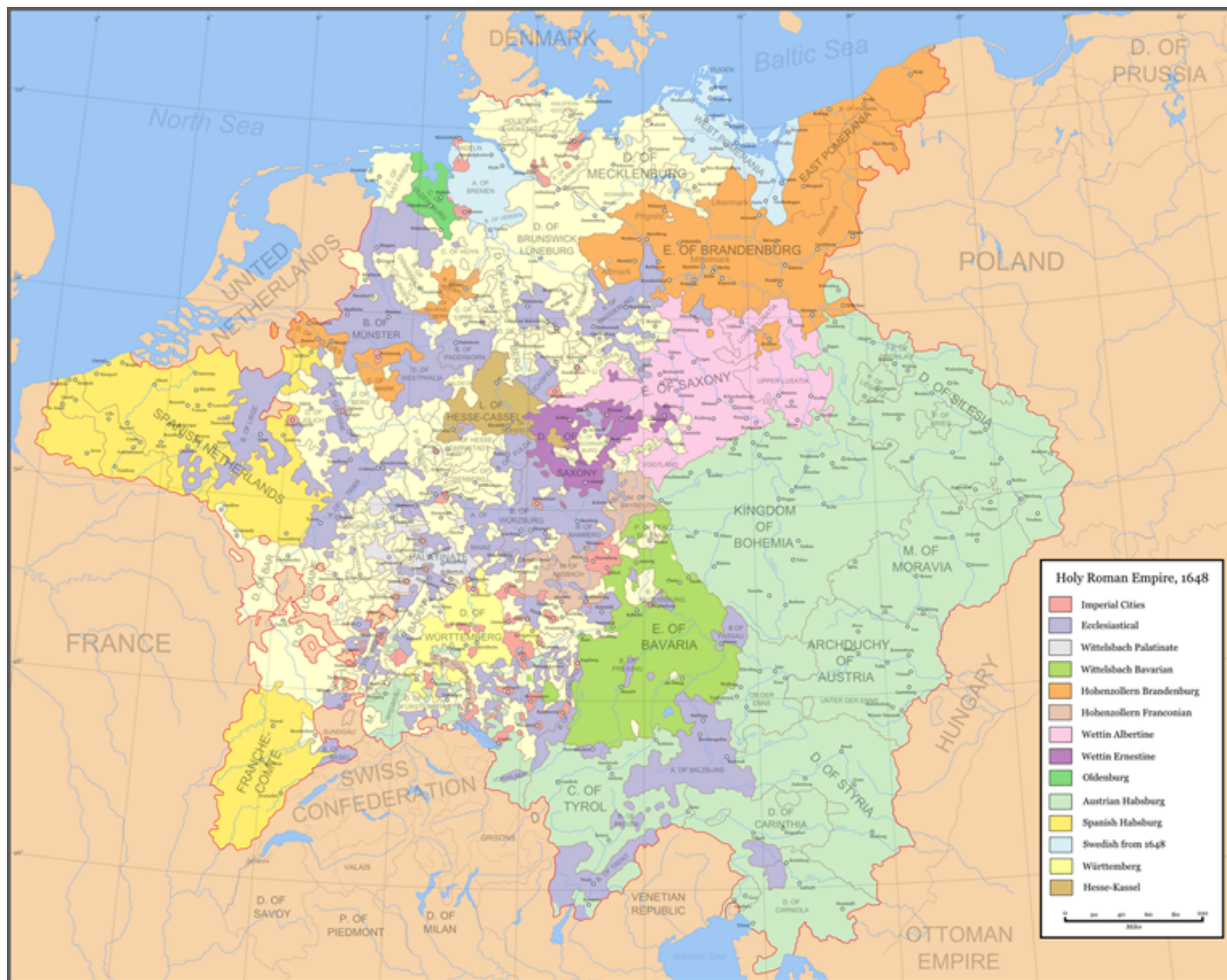
- “Immaterielles Kulturerbe in Schleswig-Holstein.” *Schleswig-Holstein Der Echte Norden*.
https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/fachinhalte/W/welterbe/immaterielles_kulturerbe.html?nn=f3fd2537-35a2-41e8-8a65-0b27341ee510.
- "Indo-European Language Family Tree." *World History Encyclopedia*. January 19, 2013.
<https://www.worldhistory.org/image/1028/indo-european-language-family-tree/>
- Jahan, Sarwat, and Ahmed Saber Mahmud. “What Is Capitalism?” *International Monetary Fund*.
<https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/fandd/issues/Series/Back-to-Basics/Capitalism>.
- Kohn, Hans. “The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1, no. 1 (1940): 69-94.
- Kistner, W. “The Reformation and the Roots of German Nationalism.” *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 46 (1976): 61–76.
- Koskenniemi, Martti, and Bo Stråth. “Europe’s Legacy in the Modern World.” Review of *Orientalism, Philology, and the Illegibility of the Modern World*, By Henning Trüper. *The Journal of Modern History* 94, no. 1 (March 2022): 172-174.
- Kwon, Sooncheol. “A Critical Evaluation on the Cultural Nationalism of the Two Koreas,” *The Journal of East Asian Affairs* 30, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2016): 133-161, 163.
- Labbé, Morgane. "Institutionalizing the Statistics of Nationality in Prussia in the 19th Century (From Local Bureaucracy to State-Level Census of the Population)." *Centaurus* 49, No. 4 (November 2007): 289-306.
- Leustrean, Lucian N. "Orthodoxy and Political Myths in Balkan National Identities." *National Identities* 10, no. 4 (2008): 421-432.
- Li, Geng. “Divination, Yijing, and Cultural Nationalism: The Self-Legitimation of Divination as an Aspect of ‘Traditional Culture’ in Post-Mao China.” *China Review* 18, no. 4 (2018): 63-84.
- Lieber, D. "Period of Time Covered by Each Book of the Bible." *Bible 101, Getting the Big Picture*. Solana Beach Presbyterian Church, 1994.
<https://www.villagechurch.org/pdf/bible-study/3-Bible-Timelines.pdf>.
- MacAmhlaidh, Brianann. "Viking Age Trade Routes in North-West Europe." *World History Encyclopedia*. (September 28, 2018). <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/9284/viking-age-trade-routes-in-north-west-europe/>.
- “Map of the Holy Roman Empire, 1648 CE.” *World History Encyclopedia*. (March 22, 2021):
<https://www.worldhistory.org/image/13699/map-of-the-holy-roman-empire-1648-ce/>.

- Maxwell, Alexander and Molly Turner. "Nationalists Rejecting Statehood: Three Case Studies from Wales, Catalonia, and Slovakia." *Nations and Nationalism* vol 26, no 3 (2020): 501-785.
- McLeod, Hugh. "Christianity and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe." *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 15, no. 1 (2015): 7-22.
- Moore, Amanda, Margaret S. Sherraden, and Suzanne Pritzker. "Civic Engagement among Low-Income and Low-Wealth Families: In Their Words." *Family Relations* 55, no. 2 (2006): 152-162.
- Mulligan, William. "Weimar and the Wars of Liberation: German and French Officers and the Politics of History." *European History Quarterly* 38, No. 2 (April 2008): 205-360.
- Murdock, Graeme. "The Importance of Being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 4 (1998): 1043-59.
- Neidorf, Leonard. "Beowulf as Pre-National Epic: Ethnocentrism in the Poem and its Criticism." *ELH* 85, No. 4 (2018): 847-875.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire." *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24.
- Northcott, Kenneth. "An Interpretation of the Second Merseburg Charm." *The Modern Language Review* 54, no. 1 (January 1959): 45-50.
- O'Brien, Eugene. "The Epistemology of Nationalism." *Irish Studies Review* 5, no. 17, (1996): 15-20.
- Orr, Jr., William J. "British Diplomacy and the German Problem, 1848-1850," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1978): 209-236.
- Panzer, Friedrich Wilhelm. "Beowulf." *Studien zur Germanischen Sagengeschichte*. München: C. H. Beck (O. Beck): 1910, 249-313.
- Patten, Alan. "The Humanist Roots of Linguistic Nationalism." *History of Political Thought* 27, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 223-262.
- Reiffenstein, Ingo. "Bezeichnungen der deutschen Gesamtsprache." *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*. 3rd ed, ed. Anne Betten, et al., (2003).
- Sánchez-Barricarte, Jesús J. "Historical Reproductive Patterns in Developed Countries: An Aggregate-level Perspective." *Demographic Research* 38, no. 2 (2018): 37-94.
- Schjødt, Jens Peter. "Warrior Bands." *The Pre-Christian Religions of the North: History and Structures*. vol. 2. Edited by Jens Peter Schjødt, John Lindow, Anders Andrén. Belgium: Brepols, 2020, 559-588.

- Schneider, Friedhelm. "Dusenddüwekswarf," *Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*. Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte. <https://geschichte-s-h.de/sh-von-a-bis-z/d/dusendduewelswarf/>.
- Schneider, Karin. "King Rudolf I in Austrian Literature Around 1820: Historical Reversion and Legitimization of Rule." *Austrian History Yearbook* 51 (May 2020): 134-151.
- Scott, Tom. "The Problem of Nationalism in the Early Reformation." *Renaissance and Reformation* 40 no. 4 (Fall 2017): 161-178.
- Schriek, Jef van der, and Max van der Schriek. "'Up Ewig Ungedeelt!' Schleswig-Holstein 1864-1920." *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 6, no. 2 (June 2011): 146-172.
- Schroeder, Paul. "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory." *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 108-148.
- . "The Nineteenth Century System: Balance of Power or Political Equilibrium?" *Review of International Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989): 135-153.
- "Separation of Church and State." *Cornell Law School: Legal Information Institute*. https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/separation_of_church_and_state.
- Simek, Rudolf. "Germanic Religion and the Conversion to Christianity." *Early Germanic Literature and Culture*. Edited by Brian Muirdoch and Malcolm Read. Rochester: Camden House, 2004, 73-101.
- Smith, Anthony D. "The Myth of the 'Modern Nation' and the Myths of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11, no. 1 (1988): 1-25.
- Sturm, Tristan. "Religion as Nationalism: The Religious Nationalism of American Christian Zionists." *National Identities* 20, no. 3 (2018): 299-319.
- Sundqvist, Olof. "Cultic Leaders and Ritual Specialists." *The Pre-Christian Religions of the North: History and Structures*. vol. 2. Edited by Jens Peter Schjødt, John Lindow, Anders Andrén. Belgium: Brepols, 2020, 736-779.
- Thaler, Peter. "A Tale of Three Communities: National Identification in the German-Danish Borderlands." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32, no. 2 (2007): 141-166.
- . "The Discourse of Historical Legitimization: A Comparative Examination of Southern Jutland and the Slovenian Language Area." *Nationalities Papers* 40, no. 1 (January 2012): 1-22.
- "The Great Fire of London: Why Do We Not Know More About the Origins of the King James Bible?" *1611 King James Bible: The Original Blackletter Edition*. <https://blackletterkingjamesbible.com/Library/GreatFireOfLondon>.

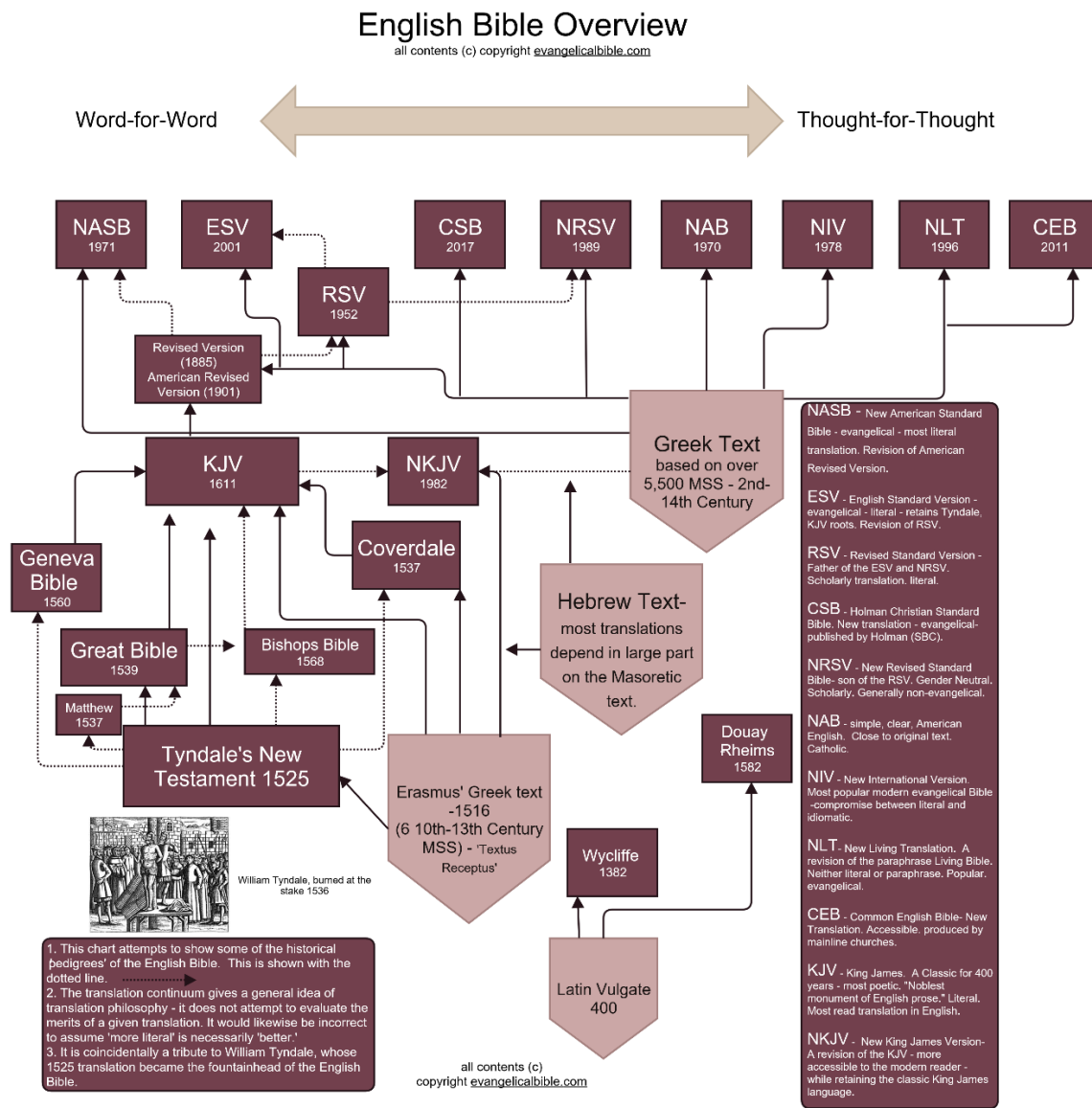
- Tomlin, Graham. "The King James Version and Luther's Bible Translation," *Anvil* 27, No. 3 (2010): 1-13.
- "Typical Schleswig-Holstein - *Lewwer duad üs Slaaw.*" *Schleswig-Holstein Der Echte Norden*. (2022). https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/landesportal/land-und-leute/typisch-sh/sagen-und-legenden-aus-dem-norden/_documents/lewwer_duad_us_slaaw.html.
- Van den Berghe, Pierre. "Race and Ethnicity: A Sociobiological Perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, no. 4 (1978): 401-411.
- Van den Berghe, Pierre. "Does Race Matter?" *Nations and Nationalism* 1, no. 3 (1995): 357-368.
- Van der Haven, Cornelis. "Patriotism and Bellicism in German and Dutch Epics of the Enlightenment." *Arcadia* 47, no. 1 (2012), 54-77.
- Weeks, Stuart D. E. "Biblical Literature and the Emergence of Ancient Jewish Nationalism," *Biblical Interpretation* 10, No. 2 (2002): 144-157.
- Whigham, Stuart. "Nationalism, Party Political Discourse and Scottish Independence: Comparing Discursive Visions of Scotland's Constitutional Status" *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 4 (2019): 1212-1237.
- Wiesinger, P. "Die Einteilung der deutschen Dialekte." *Dialektologie, Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung*. HSK 1.2.
- Williams, Benjamin. "On the Land of Ditmarsh, and the Mark Confederation, Communicated in a Letter to Rear Admiral Smyth." *Archaeologia: Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity, 1770-1992* 37 (January 1857): 371-390.
- Wivel, Anders, and T. V. Paul. "Soft Balancing, Institutions, and Peaceful Change." *Ethics & International Affairs* 34, No. 4 (Winter, 2020): 473-485.
- Zala, Benjamin. "Great Power Management and Ambiguous Order in Nineteenth-Century International Society." *Studies Review of International* 43, No. 2 (April 2017): 367-388.
- "Zeitungsgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins," *Gesellschaft Für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, <https://geschichte-s-h.de/sh-von-a-bis-z/z/zeitungsgeschichte-schleswig-holsteins/>.
- Zimmer, Oliver. "A Unique Fusion of the Natural and the Man-made: The Trajectory of Swiss Nationalism, 1933-39." *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 1 (2004): 5-24.

Appendix A: Holy Roman Empire, 1648⁶⁰¹



⁶⁰¹ “Map of the Holy Roman Empire, 1648 CE,” *World History Encyclopedia*, (March 22, 2021) <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/13699/map-of-the-holy-roman-empire-1648-ce/>.

Appendix B: Bible Evolution Chart⁶⁰²

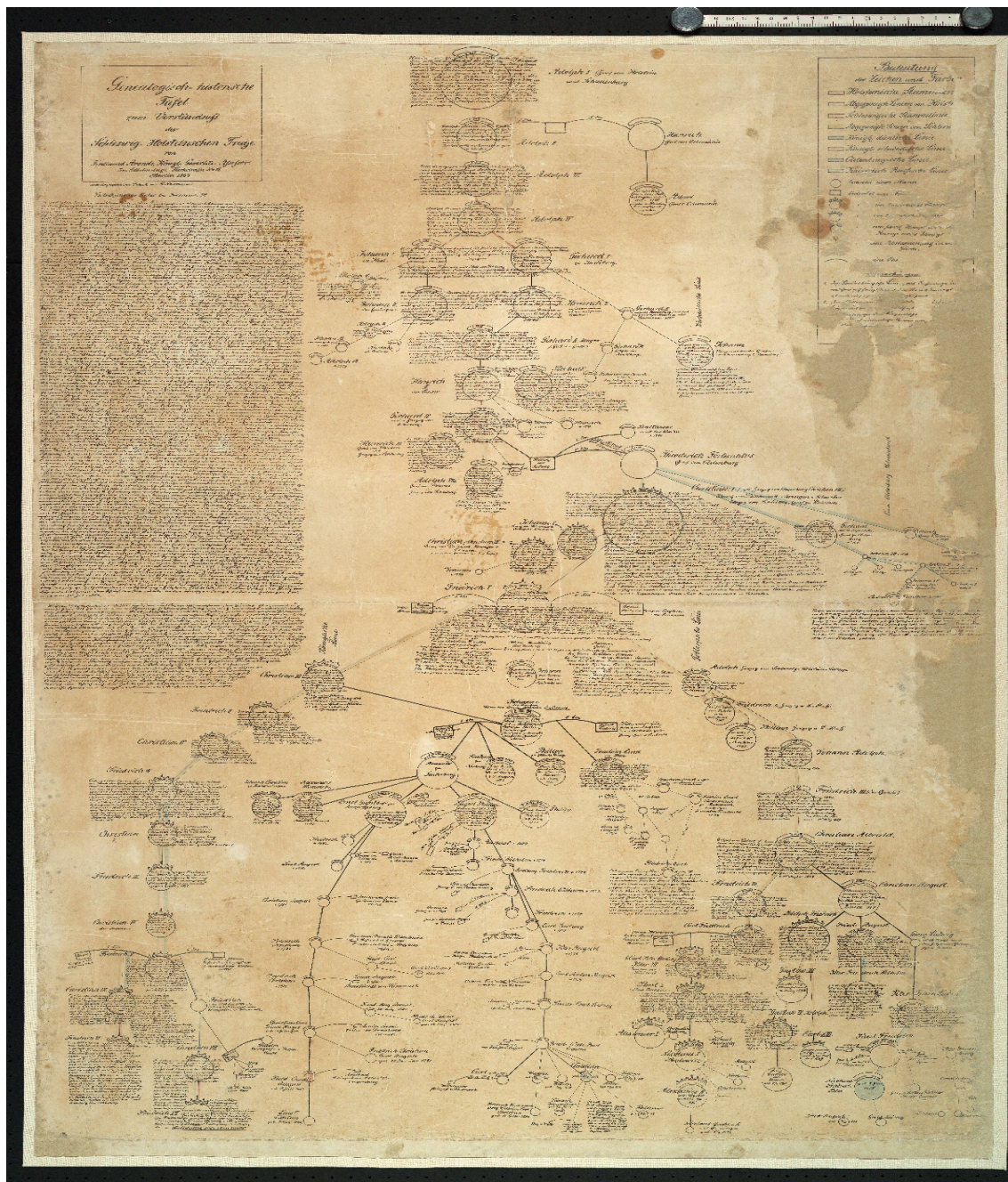


⁶⁰² "English Bible Overview," *Bible Translation Guide*, Evangelicalbible.com, <https://evangelicalbible.com/translations/bible-translation-guide/>.

Appendix C: Viking Age Trade Routes⁶⁰³



⁶⁰³ Brianann MacAmhlaidh, "Viking Age Trade Routes in North-West Europe," *World History Encyclopedia*, September 28, 2018, <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/9284/viking-age-trade-routes-in-north-west-europe/>.

Appendix D: Schleswig-Holstein Question⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁴ Ferdinand Arends, "Genealogisch-Historische Tafel zum Verständniss der Schleswig-Holsteinschen Frage," LASH Abt. 404, Nr. 156, *Genealogische Arbeiten*, 1864, (Schleswig: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein).

Appendix E: Battle of Bornhöved 1227⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁵ Klaus-Joachim and Lorenzen-Schmidt, *Das Neue Schleswig-Holstein Lexikon*, (Schleswig-Holstein: Wachholtz Verlag, 2006), 210.

Appendix F: Battle of Hemmingstedt⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁶ Christian Ahlers, “Battle of Hemmingstedt Memorial Site,” Digital Image, September 10, 2022; The memorial site was constructed to commemorate the 400-year anniversary in 1900. At the 500-year anniversary in 2000, the information pavilion was installed.

Appendix G: Treaty of Ribe, 1460⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁷ “Das Privileg von Ripen” *Norddeutscher Rundfunk*, Urk.-Abt. 394, Nr. 8, (Schleswig: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein), <https://www.ndr.de/geschichte/Wie-lang-ist-ewig-Das-Privileg-von-Ripen,mythen118.html>.

Appendix H: Hereditary Genius Chart, 1869⁶⁰⁸

Number of families, each containing more than one eminent man	SEPARATE GROUPS.								ALL GROUPS TOGETHER.		
	85	39	27	33	43	20	28	25	300		
Total number of emi- nent men in all the families	262	130	89	119	148	57	97	75	977		
	Judges, p. 51.	Statesmen, p. 109.	Commanders, p. 148.	Literary, p. 171.	Scientific, p. 195.	Poets, p. 227.	Artists, pp. 238 and 249.	Divines, p. 275.	Illustrious and Eminent Men of all Classes.		
	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	C.	D.
Father	26	33	47	48	26	20	32	28	31	100	31
Brother	35	39	50	42	47	40	50	36	41	150	27
Son	36	49	31	51	60	45	89	40	48	100	48
Grandfather . . .	15	28	16	24	14	5	7	20	17	200	8
Uncle	18	18	8	24	16	5	14	40	18	400	5
Nephew	19	18	35	24	23	50	18	4	22	400	5
Grandson	19	10	12	9	14	5	18	16	14	200	7
Great-grandfather .	2	8	8	3	0	0	0	4	3	400	1
Great-uncle	4	5	8	6	5	5	7	4	5	800	1
First cousin	11	21	20	18	16	0	1	8	13	800	2
Great-nephew . . .	17	5	8	6	16	10	0	0	10	800	1
Great-grandson . .	6	0	0	3	7	0	0	0	3	400	1
All more remote . .	14	37	44	15	23	5	18	16	31	?	...

⁶⁰⁸ Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, (London: Macmillan and Co., 1869), 317; All the numbers on the chart are percentages.

Appendix I: The Obotritic Confederation⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁹ Michael Müller-Wille, *Beiträge zur Archäologie west- und ostslawischer Gebiete im frühen Mittelalter, Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete*, (Germany: Wachholtz, 2011), 46.

Appendix J: Schleswig-Holstein Dynastic Ruling Areas, 1650⁶¹⁰



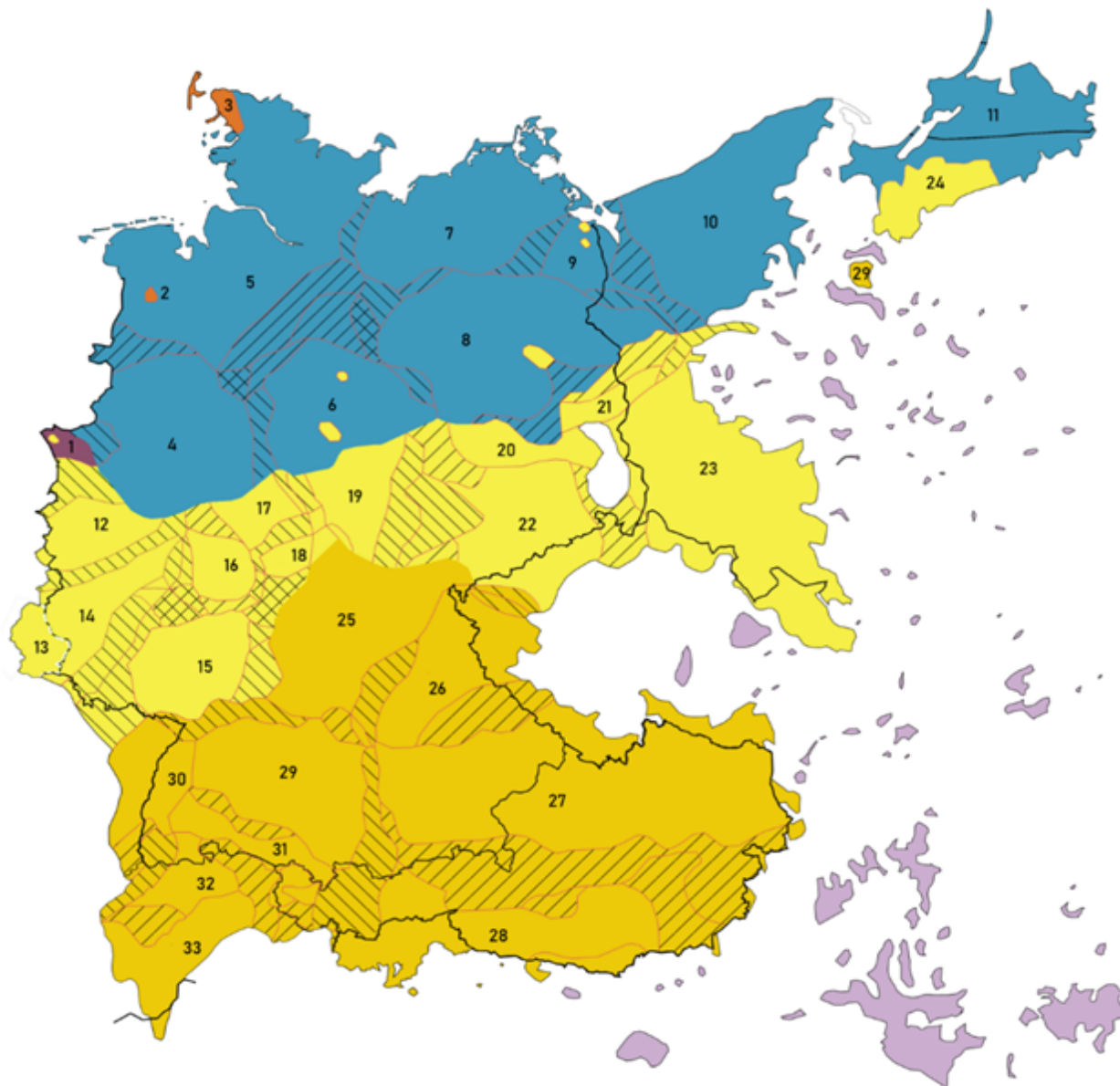
⁶¹⁰ Ulrich Lange, *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Wachholtz, Neumünster. S.: Auflage, 2003), 133.

Appendix K: Indo-European Language Group⁶¹¹



⁶¹¹ "Indo-European Language Family Tree," *World History Encyclopedia*, (January 19, 2013), <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/1028/indo-european-language-family-tree/>; The white boxes are proto languages, the red boxes are extinct languages, and the green boxes are active languages.

Appendix L: German Language Dialect Areas, 1900⁶¹²



⁶¹² W. Heeringa, *Measuring Dialect Pronunciation Differences Using Levenstein Distance*, (Groningen: University of Groningen, 2009), 232-234; P. Wiesinger, "Die Einteilung der deutschen Dialekte," *Dialektologie, Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung HSK 1.2*, 807-900; W. König, *dtv-Atlas Deutsche Sprache*, (Munich, 2019), 230; J. Goossens, *Deutsche Dialektologie*, (Walter de Gruyter, 1977), 48; C. Giesbers, *Dialecten op de grens van twee talen*, (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2008), 233; The blue region spoke a Low German dialect, the yellow spoke a Middle German dialect, and the orange spoke a High German dialect.

Appendix M: Golden Horns of Gallehus⁶¹³

⁶¹³ “The images on the Golden Horns,” *National Museum of Denmark*, <https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/prehistoric-period-until-1050-ad/the-late-iron-age/the-golden-horns/the-images-on-the-golden-horns/>.

Appendix N: A Vimose Inscription⁶¹⁴

⁶¹⁴ “The Soldiers Personal Equipment,” *National Museum of Denmark*, <https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/prehistoric-period-until-1050-ad/the-early-iron-age/the-weapon-deposit-from-vimose/the-soldiers-personal-equipment/>.