

Fróðskaparrit

68. bók • 2022

FØROYSKT VÍSINDATÍÐARRIT
Faroese Scientific Journal

Fróðskaparrit

68. bók, 2022

Ritstjórnað hava

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og

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Faroe University Press

Tórshavn
2022

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TÓRSHAVN 2022

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ISSN 0365-6772
ISBN 978-99972-55-23-5

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Fróðskaparrit 68 (2022): 5-34
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DOI: 10.18602/fsj.v68i.139.g239
www.frodskapur.fo/

Franska rannsóknarferðin La Recherche á vitjan í Føroyum í 1839. Ein lýsing og viðgerð av partinum um Føroyar í almennu frágreiðingini hjá Xavier Marmier.

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Úrtak

Franska rannsóknarferðin *La Recherche* var millum fyrstu stóru rannsóknarferðirnar í Norðurlatlantshavi í fyrru helvt av 19. øld. Við nøkrum undantøkum í Norðurlondum hevur ferðin ikki vakt so stóran ans millum granskarar, sum hon átti, kanska tí tað mesta av tilfarinum frá ferðini ikki er til á enskum. Greinin er ein viðgerð av kapitlinum um Føroyar í frásøgnini hjá Xavier Marmier (1809-1892), sum var almennur skrivari á ferðini. Kapittulin er prentaður fyri fyrstu ferð í enskari týðing í hesum Fróðskaparriti. Náttúruvísindamaðurin Paul Gaimard (1793-1858) stóð fyri ferðini, og umframt Xavier vóru vísindafólk og tveir listamálarar við. Árin eftir komu fleiri útgávur við frásagnum og úrslitum frá luttakarunum á ferðini. Kapittulin um Føroyar er úr almennu frágreiðingini *Voyages de la commission scientifique du Nord, en Scandinavie, en Laponie, au Spitzberg et aux Feröe, pendant les années 1838, 1839 et 1840, sur la corvette La Recherche* [1842]. Í greinini verður víst á, at hóast steðgurin hjá Xavier í Føroyum var stuttur, ger hann rættiliga nógv burtur úr at lýsa oyggjarnar, týðiliga ávirkaður av romantiskum rákum, serliga hugmyndum um tað kalda, næstan manntóma norð og hugsanini um tað sublím, sum eyðkendi bæði skaldskap og ferðafrásagnir í fyrru helvt av 19. øld. Endamálið við ferðini var kortini ikki einans at lýsa upplivingar, men at skriva eina almenna frágreiðing við nýtiligum upplýsingum um t.d. landafrøði, búskap, handil og siðir. Sum flestu ferðafrásagnarhøvundar í síni samtíð tekur Marmier í hesum samanhangi á seg leiklutin sum tann, ið leggur til merkis ein tørv á broytingum og menning, t.e. umboðar framburð, hevur størri útsýni og kennir heimin betur

enn fólkinu í landinum, hann vitjar, meðan hann um somu tíð eisini veit meir enn lesarin og ekki gloymir, at endamálið við ferðini er at savna inn upplýsingar um ein ókendan part av heiminum.

Abstract

The French expedition *La Recherche* conducted by naval surgeon and naturalist Paul Gaimard (1793-1858) was one of the first major international and interdisciplinary scientific endeavours to explore the European North in the first half of the nineteenth century. Inaccessibility in English may be one of the principal reasons why *La Recherche* is far from receiving the critical attention it deserves. Xavier Marmier (1808-1892) was the expedition's official historian and chronicler. The Faroese chapter from his official account in *Voyages de la commission scientifique du Nord, en Scandinavie, en Laponie, au Spitzberg et aux Féroë, pendant les années 1838, 1839 et 1840, sur la corvette La Recherche [1842]* is printed for the first time in English translation in this issue of *Fróðskaparrit*. Considering Marmier's short stay, he writes quite extensively about the Faroes. His descriptions are marked by the Romantic longing for the sublime as well as images of the North as a cold and sparsely populated place. Marmier's purpose however, did not consist solely of sharing his impressions, but to provide an official account of the voyage including the principal points of interest observed, concerning e.g. geography, economy, trade and popular culture. Marmier is in this context the typical travel writer at the time, representing modernity and progress, noticing lack of developments, suggesting improvements, having better insight and knowing the world better than the people he is visiting, while at the same time not forgetting the actual purpose of his travel, which is to gather information and introduce the reader to an unknown far away region in the world.

Keywords: Travel writing, Faroe Islands, the Arctic, Xavier Marmier, *La Recherche*, explorations to the North, the sublime, Romanticism

The French expedition *La Recherche* conducted by naval surgeon and naturalist Paul Gaimard (1793-1858) to Greenland and Iceland (1835 & 1836), Lapland and Spitzbergen (1838 & 1839-40), as well as the Faroe Islands (1839), was one of the first major international and interdisciplinary scientific endeavours to explore the European North in the first half of the nineteenth century. The expedition led to dozens of scholarly publications and at least two popular travelogues written by Xavier Marmier (1808-1892), the expedition's official historian and chronicler: *Lettres sur l'Islande* (1837) and *Lettres sur le Nord: Danemark, Suède, Norvège, Laponie et Spitzberg*, 2 vols. (1840). Though Marmier was a well-known writer in France during his day, as his biographer Wendy S. Mercer has notably pointed out,¹ he no longer receives much critical

¹ See the jacket of her biography *The Life and Travels of Xavier Marmier (1808-1892). Bringing World Literature to France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (published for the British Academy), 2007.

attention, let alone the expedition, at the exception of Fenno-Scandia and Iceland.² In a Faroese context, the expedition is mentioned in the history about Tórshavn, *Havnar Søgga*, vol. 3 (Jespersen & Nolsøe 2009: 15-18), together with a short excerpt from Marmier's account in Faroese translation, and Kim Simonsen mentions the expedition in his dissertation on travel writings and the formation of a national self-image in the Faroes (Simonsen 2012: 150-52). A comprehensive summary of a Faroese translation by Suni Lamhauge of Xavier's official account was printed in the popular Faroese magazine *Myndablaðið NÚ* in 1985 (Nú 1985: 1&2). No English translation of Marmier's accounts has been published to date and even if some pages from the first volume of the *Histoire du voyage* (Gaimard 1838) appeared in translation in Scotland in 1838 (Marmier 1838), inaccessibility in English may be one of the principal reasons why *La Recherche* is far from being the household name it deserves to be.

The original mission of the corvette "La Recherche" (hence the expedition's name) sent out to the West Nordic Isles in 1835, 1836 and 1839, consisted in searching for the vessel "La Lilloise" conducted by Lieutenant Jules de Blosseville (born 1802, presumably died 1833) which had disappeared during a voyage to

² The most prominent titles are two albums published in Norway and Finland, respectively: Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *La Recherche: En Ekspedisjon Mot Nord/Une Expédition Vers Le Nord*. Tromsø: Angelica Forlag AS, 2002; Tuula Kousa (ed.), *Ranskan viimeisen kuninkaan retkikunta: La Recherche Lapissa* ("The Expedition of the Last King of France: La Recherche in Lapland"). Helsinki: John Nurminen Säätiö, 2014. Jan Borm has contributed a chapter to the latter, published in English under the title "Lapland Under French Eyes: the second La Recherche expedition (1838-1839) narrated by Xavier Marmier", in *Arctic & Antarctic International Journal for Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues*, vol. 14, 2020, 47-77. Open access: [https://iacsi.hi.is/issues/2020 volume 14/3 article vol 14.pdf](https://iacsi.hi.is/issues/2020%20volume%2014/3%20article%20vol%2014.pdf).

An excellent overview of the expedition's voyages in the years 1838-40 has been provided by Einar-Arne Drivenes in French: "Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord, en Scandinavie, en Laponie, au Spitzberg et aux Féroë, pendant les années 1838, 1839 and 1840", article first published in *Inter-Nord*, no. 20, 2002, available at [http://transpolair.free.fr/routes polaires/recherche/htm](http://transpolair.free.fr/routes_polaires/recherche/htm) (last accessed 18.08.2021).

Concerning Iceland, Árni Snævarr has published a study focused on Gaimard entitled *Maðurinn sem Ísland elskaði. Paul Gaimard og Íslandsferðir hans 1835–1836* ("The man that Iceland loved. Paul Gaimard and his trips to Iceland 1835–1836"). Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 2019. Gisèle Jónsson is the author of a book on nineteenth-century French voyages to Iceland in two volumes. S.l.: s.n., 2012. The first volume is dedicated to the *La Recherche* expedition to Iceland: *L'Expédition Gaimard. Les relations Franco-Islandaises au dix-neuvième siècle, tome 1*. A copy is available at the Bibliothèque nordique in Paris. See also Roland Le Huenen's article "Les deux voyages de la corvette « La Recherche » en Islande et au Groenland de 1835 et 1836", in *Viaggiatori. Circolazioni scambi ed esilio*, Anno 3, Numero 1, settembre 2019, 69-86, and Jan Borm's article "'This island so sad and beautiful' – Iceland seen by the French expedition *La Recherche* in the 1830s – from scientific observation to cultural representation" in J. Borm, J. Kodzik and A. Walter (eds.), *Representations of the West Nordic Isles: Greenland – Iceland – Faroe Islands*. Kiel: Wachholtz Verlag, 2022 (forthcoming).

the coast of Eastern Greenland in 1833. Paul Gaimard and naturalist Eugène Robert (1806-1882) explored Iceland during this first voyage. They had been successful in collecting objects and natural specimen, up to the point of convincing the French Minister of the Navy, Admiral Victor Guy Duperré (1775-1846), to equip a second expedition to Iceland in 1836, to be led by Gaimard, accompanied by Robert and several other men including Xavier Marmier and the artist Auguste Mayer (1805-1890). Mayer's illustrations of Icelandic life published in the *Atlas historique* of the expedition were to become famous in Iceland and elsewhere (Mayer 1842). Gaimard and Robert kept diaries during the two voyages, but it was the latter who was asked to write up his journal into a full-length account which was only published in 1850³, while Marmier's narrative had first appeared in serial form in the prestigious review *La Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1836-7 (Mercer 2007: 62n23), republished in book form as *Lettres sur l'Islande* in 1837 (Marmier 1837).⁴ Marmier had been chosen as the expedition's official historian during the second voyage because of his linguistic skills and scholarly expertise, having a command of English, German and Dutch while starting to learn Danish in 1836. He had already made a name for himself with his work on German literature and articles published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Mercer 2007: 57-8). He was to keep his role of historian on the following two voyages to Lapland and Spitzbergen in 1838 and 1839-40.

It was during the 1839 voyage that *La Recherche* also sailed to the Faroe Islands. The aim was to fill in a gap in the expedition's exploration of the West Nordic Isles, as Marmier explains at the beginning of his Faroese chapter:

"In the year 1839, we were called by the Ministry of the Navy to go on another expedition to the Northern parts. This time, we were to visit the archipelago of the Faroes, which we still had not seen, and to try to approach the ice of the pole as far as possible" (Marmier s.d.: 293)⁵

Gaimard's team included "Mess. Durocher, mining engineer; Delaroche, hydrographer; Ch. Martins, naturalist; Raoul Anglès, in charge of meteorological observations like on the previous voyages; Lauvergne and Giraud, painters" (Martins 1866: 68), and Xavier Marmier who adds: "We were to join M. Biard and M. Bravais in Hammerfest." (Marmier s.d.: 294). First on the list is Joseph Marie Élisabeth Durocher (1817-1860), graduate of the prestigious École

³ See n. ii. Gaimard's journal has remained unpublished. Excerpts in Icelandic translation have been published by Árni Snævarr in his book (Snævarr 2019).

⁴ Marmier also contributed the volumes *Histoire de l'Islande*, Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1840, and *Littérature islandaise*. Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1843, to the series of publications presenting the expedition's results.

⁵ Quoting from Jan Borm's translation of the official account. Marmier had already published an earlier version of this chapter in his account *Lettres sur le Nord. Tome second. Danemark, Suède, Norvège, Laponie et Spitzberg*. Paris: H.-L. Delloye, 1840, 193-248.

polytechnique and École des mines in Paris. On return, in 1841, he defended his doctoral thesis in physics on rocks and minerals in the Faroes.⁶ He also contributed to the publications of the expedition. Next on the list is Ferdinand Antoine Jules de la Roche Poncié (1810-1882), a hydrographer and former student of the École Polytechnique also; followed by Charles Frédéric Martins (1806-1889), a Protestant of German origin, physician and botanist.⁷ Raoul Emilien Anglès (1813-1876) had already been in charge of meteorological observations during previous voyages. As to the two artists mentioned, only Barthélemy Lauvergne (1805-1871), a naval painter, is credited as the author of the drawings representing the Faroes in the atlas (Mayer, Lauvergne, Girard s.d.).

Marmier was familiar with the world of the sagas and Icelandic history by the time he arrived in Tórshavn. He also documented himself on Faroese history and culture as his reading notes on works by Lucas Jacobsøn Debes (1623-1675), Jørgen Landt (c. 1751–1804) and Carl Julian von Graba (1799-1874) in a journal kept at the Bibliothèque nordique in Paris show. It also contains “Faroese runes” on two pages, “communicated by Mr Schröter, Thorshavn, 1839”, as Marmier indicates.⁸

Unlike his account of Iceland where he admittedly spent much more time, Marmier’s Faroese chapter is only focused on Tórshavn and its surroundings. Although Marmier refers to settlements around the islands the point furthest away from the capital the expedition seems to have reached was Kirkjubøur, a

⁶ See : <http://www.anales.org/archives/x/durocher.html> (last accessed 05/09/2021).

⁷ Martins later published his souvenirs as a naturalist entitled *Du Spitzberg au Sahara: Étapes d'un naturaliste au Spitzberg, en Laponie, en Écosse, en Suisse, en France, en Italie, en Orient, en Égypte et en Algérie*. Paris: J.-B. Baillière et Fils, 1866. His experience in the Faroes is only briefly mentioned, in the context of his studies on the “colonization” of plants in the Shetland and Faroe Islands as well as Iceland: “I had visited the Faroes in 1839; the vegetation on this archipelago had struck me. Although it is lost in the middle of the North Sea, its flora consisted of very common plants that stem from the plains of central Europe, others from the Swiss Alps, some from Scotland and Greenland. By extending my research to the Shetland Isles and Iceland, I also noted that these islands do not have their own vegetation, but that all their plants originally stem from the continent. This is the conclusion that Watson also reached in his studies of the British flora.” (*op. cit.*, 206-7; tr. J. Borm).

⁸ Manuscript no. 3901, Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Bibliothèque nordique, Paris: Lucas Jacobsøn Debes’ book *Færoæ & Færoa reserata: Det er Færøernes oc færøeske Indbyggeris beskrivelse, udi hvilken føris til liuset adskillige naturens hemeligheder, oc nogle antiquiteter, som her til dags udi mørcket hafve været indelugt, oc nu her opladis / alle curieuse til velbehagelighed, sammenskrefven oc forklaret aff Lucas Jacobsøn* (Copenhagen, 1673); the English translation of Jørgen Landt’s narrative, entitled *A description of the Faroe Islands, containing an account of their situation, climate, and productions; together with the manners, and customs, of the inhabitants, their trade, etc.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme 1810; and Carl Julian von Graba’s travel diary, *Tagebuch, geführt auf einer Reise nach Färö im Jahre 1828*. Perthes & Besser, Hamburg 1830.

place they visibly enjoyed visiting ("The most beautiful set of dwellings we have seen is Kirkeboe"). Having arrived in the capital on June 28, 1839⁹, the expedition was to reach Hammerfest on July 12, having stayed in the Faroes barely for two weeks. The headings at the beginning of the chapter give an idea of the contents. Marmier's first impressions are clearly marked by Romantic longing for the sublime as something both beautiful and frightening:

"we saw a great mass of square rocks rising out from the middle of the ocean like a fortress: it was one of the isles of the Faroese archipelago [...] The grey mist which was dropping down along these mountains like a veil of mourning, the long stripes of stream surrounding their summit and the stormy waves breaking at their foot lent them the darkest and strangest aspect."

Readers familiar with French Romantic travel literature will recognize this trope as one of the key characteristics of *boreal poetics* to borrow a term introduced by Sylvain Briens. According to the latter, Marmier's discourse about the North is driven by a nostalgia for Antiquity and mythical peoples like the Hyperborean, adding; "This discourse expresses and echoes the fascination with exoticism characteristic of French poets like Gérard de Nerval or Baudelaire and especially orientalist motifs stemming from this fascination." (Briens 2020: 24). Marmier uses compelling characteristic imagery, e.g. "like a fortress" and "like a veil of mourning". It may of course not seem obvious that Marmier might be considered to be "orientalising" the Faroes. Even though he compares the love and importance of sheep in the Faroes with the inhabitants of Guiana and the coconut, it is the notion of the North as a region with special qualities that permeates his descriptions. In this sense the idea of *othering* the archipelago by rendering it in terms partly inspired by the *exoticism* characteristic of French Romanticism appears methodologically productive, at least as far as Romantic imagination is concerned, specifically an idea of regions in the North as desolate and mystical places. Throughout the account, Marmier uses the term "the North" as if it was a certain entity, and he compares the Faroe Islands to other regions in the North, e.g. Finland, in order to point out characteristic features of nature, living conditions and culture in the region. Contemplating the view from the hills around town, Marmier turns philosophical:

"There is a beguilement in those hours of solitude spent on the seaside amidst the uniform and plaintive murmuring of the tide, in this vast space across which one's thoughts fly as the eyes jump from wave to wave, which no idiom can convey, nor song express. One emerges from there feeling

⁹ Martin indicates June 25 as the date of arrival.

relieved and stronger. It seems as though the breeze blowing over the waters enlivens the soul while the sight of space enlarges the mind."

Marmier is evidently enjoying these moments though his impression of absolute solitude is of course only relative. The passage exemplifies the Kantian notion of the sublime previously mentioned. Marmier experiences something beautiful and at the same time unlimited and vast. It is a special kind of tranquillity, almost spiritual, leaving him relieved and lifted. He does not refer to the beautiful in a traditional or ordinary classical sense, but explicitly mentions the "vast spaces" that "no idiom can convey". It is as if he tries to comprehend reasonably, what he sees (balancing the disturbing and the beautiful), but he fails to do so and instead lets the "sight of space enlarge the mind" (Ginsborg 2019). The projection of the idea of vast "emptiness" onto Northern and Arctic space is a persistent trope in travel writing up until the present day (Borm 2016).¹⁰

Time and again, visitors from outside the Arctic and northern destinations are looking for solitude and emptiness, longing for avatars of the sublime. Local observers tend to perceive their own space in significantly different terms. Suffice it to mention mythology and the sagas here, as well as lived space and personal accounts thereof. The former seem to have inspired a reviewer to praise Marmier's endeavour in the Faroes in the following terms:

"It appears that there are popular songs in the Faroe Islands that have largely kept the naïve spirit of the first centuries. To hear these songs repeated on the beach, in the mountains, or by the children of the very people who had brought them with them or composed them may not be reason enough to leave one's hearth to the selfish or indifferent, but one would concede at least that they may serve as a generous pretext for the call that is so irresistible to travellers. This is why Monsieur Marmier is going to the Faroe Islands. Should he leave others to explore the last of these far-away lands that have made his name famous in return for his having popularized them amongst us?" (Latour 1839: 260-61)¹¹

Several, more or less received ideas are striking in this appraisal. The Faroe Islands are presented here as a kind of ultimate faraway place still to be explored, perhaps not *Ultima Thule* since the author does not employ this well-known trope, but a very distant and thus presumably radically different place. A somewhat heroic gesture is lent to Marmier as the voyage to the Faroe Islands is

¹⁰ Cf. Jan Borm's article "Greenland as seen by two contemporary British travellers: Joanna Kavenna and Gavin Francis", *Studies in Travel Writing*, vol. 20, 2016, issue 3: "New Narratives of the Arctic", pp. 262-271.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2016.1220660>.

¹¹ Antoine de Latour (1808-1881), review of Marmier's *Histoire de la littérature en Danemark et en Suède*, in *La Revue de Paris*, vol. 7, 1839, 260-270 ; here 260-261 (tr. J. Borm).

clearly announced as an adventure “into distant space” while also offering discoveries worthy of those venerable antiquarian minds who were fond of dreaming about ancient songs and manuscripts to be retrieved. Latour’s prose seems to be echoing enthusiasm about Ossian’s poems supposedly to have been found again and “translated” by James Macpherson (1736-1796) in the 1760s or at least the Antiquarian spirit still very much *en vogue* at the time of the expedition.¹² It also parallels the concrete endeavors and the interest among scholars to visit the islands or/and receive records of oral traditions, songs and ballads to use in research and scholarly work. A few years prior to Marmier’s visit, in 1832, the Danish scholar C.C. Rafn published the ancient *Faroese Saga*, compiled from different Icelandic manuscripts and with a Faroese translation by the same Schröter, who communicated the runes to Marmier. Schröter also assisted the Danish scholar H. C. Lyngbye in publishing a volume of Faroese ballads in 1822. In 1845, Marmier himself published a book, *Chants populaires du Nord*, with translations of five Faroese short ballads (Skårup 1997).

Marmier’s purpose did not consist solely of sharing his impressions, though, but to provide an official account of the voyage including the principal points of interest observed. Thus, the capital is described at some length even though Marmier seems to have quickly reached the end of his first round of remarks:

"The name of Thorshavn could already be found in chronicles of the country eight centuries ago and it still indicates its heathen origin. This is where the inhabitants of the Faroes used to meet formerly every year to hold court over their quarrels and to deliberate about their interest. This is where the population embraced Christianity in AD 998 and converted to Protestantism in the late 16th century. Well, what could I add? There are some ten office holders and 650 inhabitants. The town’s position is peculiar and very picturesque."

There is more to come in the ensuing pages, Marmier noting, for instance, the library and the hospital where the travellers meet a French patient, as well as Tórshavn as a war place, relating the fate of Magnus Heinason (1545-1589). Marmier considers Faroese history to be similar to that of Iceland. More general comments about life on the Faroe Islands include descriptions of the economy, sheep-herding of course (“The Faroese’ real treasure are their sheep”), fishing, but also hunting, especially “dolphin” hunting, Marmier clearly referring to pilot-whale hunts, which in all travel writings about the Faroes, especially since the Romantic period, have been highlighted as a distinctive feature of Faroese culture and included as an almost required part of every travelogue from the islands. According to the records, the only whale hunt in Tórshavn in 1839 took place in August (Nolsøe & Jespersen 2009: 193). Marmier’s quite detailed

¹² On the widespread reception of Ossian see Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*. London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004.

description of the hunt and killing of whales therefore relies on other sources, presumably the books he read before leaving France. The fact that crimes barely exist in the Faroes is duly admired by the author who is admiring the Faroese for their “amiable, earnest and hospitable” character, because of their isolation and the monotony of their work, as he puts it. No doubt inspired by the theory of the climate commonly applied at the time, Marmier describes the population as phlegmatic, taciturn and melancholic, deducing these character traits from what he calls the “dark surroundings”. Still, the population appears to be generally speaking in good health according to Marmier, a point that seems to have been confirmed during his interviews with the island’s chief medical officer. Marmier also describes dress, customs and manners, providing some stories of the water spirits to illustrate the fact that old memories are kept.

Apart from Marmier’s solitary musings on top of a hill, the two most vehemently striking passages of his chapter are probably the description of visiting a modest lady and her children in their home, as well as his discussion of the trade monopoly. The passages reveal Marmier’s understandings of society and political development in areas far from the European centers. Concerning the former, Marmier’s account, which appears as a story within a story and with its own distinctive moral, voices his at least emotionally participative stance. His concluding remarks read both as a homage and a coming-to-terms with the humble circumstances he had witnessed:

"Her words were accompanied by such a joyful look, and the children seemed to confirm her hope by the sheer expression of their physiognomy. Listening to her speaking in such a quietly resigned way, I was rejecting all those elegies written about pretended sadness; and I admire the wisdom of Providence for spreading the fertile germs of hope below the thatch, placing in the hearts of the poor an infinite source of sweet satisfaction."

The reference to Providence may appear somewhat conventional, but Marmier clearly had been moved by the lady keeping her cheerful spirits in the face of adversity. The hardships endured by the population are largely explained by the impact of the trade monopoly. According to Marmier, “this hideous law of monopoly impedes work and paralyses all industry.” In his journal kept at the Bibliothèque nordique, one can find a few remarks in relation to an article entitled “Den Feröiske Handel” from February 1838.¹³ Marmier admits an advantage, as he perceives it, of the monopoly in that it purveys “the certitude for the inhabitants of the Faroes that they are always provided with what they need.” Having observed this, he adds: “but at what price?” – observing in the end:

¹³ Probably Bjarni Þorsteinsson’s article “Om den færøeske Handels Tilstand i ældre og nyere Tider : samt om denne Handels Frigivelse” in *For Historie og Statistik, især Fædrelandets*, vol.1 (1822) published by J. Collin in Copenhagen.

“the evil is in the monopoly.”¹⁴ In the official account he elaborates on the theme, making a suggestion for improvement: “People are told that the regulations concerning the monopoly, guarantee to the Faroese a provision of annual goods at a fixed price; but would they not obtain these goods more easily and at a better price if they could benefit from competition?” In his concluding remarks, Marmier takes on the role of mouthpiece to launch an appeal to the King:

“Talking about their sufferings, these poor people often told me that the King knew nothing about this, that he was just, good and compassionate; that if only he were aware of how deep their distress is at times, he would come to their aid. But those who know and remain silent about the situation take a sad responsibility upon themselves.”

Open criticism of the monarch’s action is avoided. Instead, an admonition is voiced to those who oppose themselves to social reform. Marmier is in this context the typical visitor and travel writer noticing injustices and lack of developments, suggesting improvements, knowing what is best and having better insight than the people he is visiting while at the same time introducing the reader to an unknown far away region in the world. The Faroese resource persons that he meets, e.g. Schröter mentioned in his notes, are experts in traditions and the past, not authorities on contemporary challenges and possible future developments. In Iceland, the members of the expedition had met several of the principal actors of national revival. Marmier had notably translated two poems by Bjarni Thorarensen (1786-1841), deputy governor of northern and eastern Iceland and one of the first Romantic poets of Iceland whom Gaimard and Robert had met during their own exploration of the island. It is possible that Marmier would have met with similar views about reform in Copenhagen and in the Faroes though there is no evidence to be found in his own writing. Research in the files of the Danish governor on the islands in this period reveal complaints about the Monopoly as well as examples of public demands for better and freer trade (Isholm 2020: 304), but progress was very slow, and Marmier maybe didn’t stay long enough to experience this dissatisfaction expressed coherently, although he mentions the suffering due to the Monopoly. In 1840 the governor himself, Chr. Pløyen, published a book written as a travelogue from The Shetland Islands and Scotland, critical of the influences the Monopoly had on the Faroese population (Pløyen 1840). Whatever the case may be, a committee of ten Icelandic officials had been created by royal decree in 1838 (Karlsson 2020: 36). It was going to take more than a decade before the *Løgting* was re-established in the Faroes and several more years before the Danish royal trade monopoly was abolished in 1856.

¹⁴ Manuscript no. 3901, Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Bibliothèque nordique, Paris: “Avantages du monopole.... qu’il y a certitude pour les h. des F. d’être toujours pourvu de ce dont ils ont besoin, mais à quel prix ?”; “le mal est dans le monopole” (tr. J. Borm).

As to the atlas, it contains nine illustrations provided by Lauvergne. His imagination seems to have been captured mostly by the Faroese landscape, depicted as picturesque and even grandiose, judging by the reduced size of human figures, as well as a view of Tórshavn covered in snow, the caption in the table of contents specifying that the picture had been drawn on June 30, 1839, just after some snowfall, enhancing French ideas of the North. Occasional snow showers may have occurred in June 1839, but it is highly unlikely that the snow covered hills and streets in Tórshavn. His rendering of the ruin in “Kirkeböe” bears witness to romantic fascination with ruins, the author of the captions – presumably Gaimard – adding the following comment: “This church, which the Reformation stopped from being completed, had been founded by Bishop Hilary who was intending to turn it into the cathedral of the Faroes.”¹⁵ There is no evidence of the Reformation being the reason for the uncompleted cathedral, and one might be tempted to read this as the lament of a Roman Catholic for medieval times, quite unlike Marmier’s representations of Protestantism and Protestants being able to read and write anywhere he went in Scandinavia and the West Nordic Isles, no matter how modest their situation may have been. Be that as it may, Lauvergne’s illustrations are a striking image of the fascination that the Faroe Islands have held among travellers from different European nations. The islands served as a welcomed place for imaginations of the North and the past, a good opportunity – however in this case only partly – to reproduce tropes from Romantic art and literature. Marmier’s account may be more socially engaged, but it is apparent that both the artist and the writer had been moved by what they saw. Besides the expedition’s scientific programme, *La Recherche* also participated in the effort of echoing, if not expressing reformist views. Marmier’s conclusion, in any case, is unmistakably lending voice to such pressing concerns.

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Chapter IX

New departure up North. – The Faroes. – Thorshavn. – Administration and resources of the country. – The flocks of sheep. – Hunting. – Dolphin hunting. – Character of the Faroese. – Folk tales. – Ancient habits. – Traditional dance and songs. – The monopoly.

In the year 1839, we were called by the Ministry of the Navy to go on another expedition to the Northern parts. This time, we were to visit the archipelago of the Faroes, which we still had not seen, and to try to approach the ice of the pole as far as possible.

When this decision was made, I held the chair in Foreign Literature created by Mr de Salvandy at the Faculty of Literature in Rennes. I regretted leaving a noble city which I had learned to like in no time. Colleagues had welcomed me there with indulgent goodness and the audience, thanks to its benevolence which I keep fond memories of, had supported and encouraged my efforts. Showing the order of the Ministry of the Navy, which had accepted to have me join the work of the Northern Commission for the third time, I was hoping to be in a position to expect to be given leave by the university for several months, and to return to my duties which had become dear to me thanks to the kindness that I had been treated with in carrying them out. Mr Villemain refused to grant me leave, but the demon of voyages had the better over any considerations of material advantages. I quit the honourable position that Mr de Salvandy had appointed me to for the sheer pleasure of launching myself again into distant space.

La Recherche, under the command of M. Fabvre, like the year before, was fitted out in the port of Le Havre at noon on June 14. The other officers of the vessel were Mess. de Langle, Genet, Chastelier, Saint-Vulfram, sublieutenants;

Normand and Feray, lieutenants. The members of the Commission, presided over since 1836 with tireless zeal and cordial devotion by Mr Paul Gaimard, were Mess. Durocher, mining engineer; Delaroche, hydrographer; Ch. Martins, naturalist; Raoul Anglès, in charge of meteorological observations like on the previous voyages; Lauvergne and Giraud, painters. We were to join M. Biard and M. Bravais in Hammerfest.

The breeze turned against us at some distance from Le Havre and we had to beat laboriously to leave the Channel. After five days, we still had not rounded the English coast; we were beneath Dover Castle.

The contrary winds were followed by calm wind and rain, the two most tedious atmospheric accidents during a sea voyage. When the sails are deprived of wind, collapse and drop heavily against the masts, when the horizon is covered in mist and constant rainfall wears down the patience of even the most intrepid walker on deck, a ship is a rather singular picture to behold. While the sailors cover their heads with the hood of their pea coat like monks, squatting silently at the bottom of the rails or leaning against the ship's boats, the passengers move about looking for distraction. One listens to accounts of nomad life and tales of shipwreck; another tries to do a sketch which a sudden rolling causes an indelible mark to be printed on; yet another tries to cover the sight of clouds by covering himself in a haze of smoke. There are some who devote themselves brazenly to their studies; but they also soon become impatient, boredom leaving its imprint on their face; they close their book to go and see where the cape lies, to ask at how many knots the ship is moving and to enquire after the helmsman's experience concerning the state of the atmosphere and the likelihood of a change in weather.

On the 25th, the wind finally turned to the south; and on the 28th, at night, we saw a great mass of square rocks rising out from the middle of the ocean like a fortress: it was one of the isles of the Faroese archipelago. To the North, one could perceive several consecutive lines of rocks and mountains, some of them indented and undulated, others sharp-edged, soaring out from the waves in one piece, pointing their snow-covered top high up in the air. Examining their surface, one could see that there were neither trees nor vegetation: they were bare rocks like those in Iceland, sundered here and there by deep bays or separated from each another by the tide. The grey mist which was dropping down along these mountains like a veil of mourning, the long stripes of steam surrounding their summit and the stormy waves breaking at their foot lent them the darkest and strangest aspect. All around, we were trying to make out a church spire or dwellings, but saw none, as there are only poor huts, located far from one another at the bottom of the rocks. They are so narrow and low that one can only notice them once one reaches the place which they have been built on. Early in the morning, we fired a cannon shot to call the pilot; but all that we managed to stir was a colony of sea gulls and some skuas who flew away with a hoarse and plaintive scream. Over on the mountain side, there was not a single movement;

one would have thought a desert land shrouded in mortal silence. An hour later, we repeated our sign and ended up perceiving a small boat in the distance heading towards us with a red handkerchief tied to a pole: it was the pilot's boat. He came on board our vessel, and, to appear more confident, put half a leaf of tobacco in his mouth. As we were going about to avoid the reefs and to enter the strait of Thorshavn, the Faroese man examined all the rigging and gear of *La Recherche* as curious as a child. He said that he had never seen such a beautiful ship. His eyes were fascinated by the copper binnacle and the capstan was a wondrous thing to him. Apart from that, the man had a good and honest face which seemed to bode the honesty of the islanders we were going to see while his dress announced their misery. His Wadmal jacket and trousers had been patched so many times that one could hardly see the original cloth on which a hand that was patient rather than dexterous had made a kind of mosaic with countless pieces of all colours and shapes. His cap was nothing but a rag of Wadmal pleated on the top, his shoe a square of sheepskin folded over the foot and tied with a strap.

Having tacked for several hours, the pilot made us anchor in a rather large bay which was not very safe, facing Thorshavn which is the biggest town of the country, or, rather, the only town, seat of the governor, judge and centre of commerce; in brief, the place fishermen tell their children wonders about, like good-humoured people from the provinces do about Paris. The name of Thorshavn could already be found in chronicles of the country eight centuries ago and it still indicates its heathen origin. This is where the inhabitants of the Faroes used to meet formerly every year to hold court over their quarrels and to deliberate about their interest. This is where the population embraced Christianity in AD 998 and converted to Protestantism in the late 16th century. Well, what could I add? There are some ten office holders and 650 inhabitants. The town's position is peculiar and very picturesque. One has to imagine a semi-circle of craggy, savage mountains at the far end of the bay. This is where a spit of land, or, rather, a promontory of rocks rises out of the water in a straight line, in the centre of the circle, like an arrow in the middle of a bow. Most of the houses have been built on this promontory, in two symmetrical rows, the houses squeezed closely to each other like the stands in the square of Leipzig on major fair days. The lanes that cross this triple mass of dwellings are so narrow that two horses could not walk abreast, so rocky and craggy that in order to get through them safely in some places one has to cling to the rocks with one's hands and feet. In winter, on a day of black ice, descending the rocks can be considered to be quite a hazardous balancing act. Besides, the houses are in a similar state to the lanes. Apart from those belonging to the government which the office holders live in, almost all of the others are but poor huts built in the same way, unlike the ones in Iceland built from lava rock, nor those in Norway with big round logs, simply with some dozens of boards nailed together: it is a kind of dwelling which represents the transition from a nomad tent to a cemented

edifice. They are so frail that one has to tie them to the ground with cables to prevent the wind from blowing them away. The houses only have a ground floor and are invariably divided into two parts by a partition. One first enters into the kitchen which has no floorboards nor windows; daylight can only penetrate by the door or the chimney. All there is in the way of furniture are some earthenware pots, some wooden utensils, a seat made from whalebone and other bones serving as a broom or poker. The second room is lit by two or three windows. This is the common living room of the family. This is where the women comb wool and weave Wadmal. This is where the father, mother and children sleep packed together on some boards covered by bits of straw. This narrow space devoid of air and filled with the smoke of the turf fire exhales a sickening smell that strangers can hardly get used to. But what a pleasant surprise it is to see some physiognomies emerge from this heavy atmosphere whose misery could not change their happy faces. The women are remarkable for the harmony of their traits, the freshness of their complexion and the children of charming grace! All these people of the Faroes are very handsome. During our time here in Thorshavn and on the other coasts we did not meet with a single deformed or crippled being; and we often stopped during our deambulations in town, surprised by the manly and strong stature of a fisherman or the endearing look and smiling face of a young girl.

One evening, I entered into one of the darkest huts we had seen so far. The mother moved towards us, thanking us in a plain and affecting way for having wanted to visit her home. She was a young woman whose gaze and looks had faded due to material concerns, work and perhaps her poor state, though her smile was still so soft that someone passing through would not have guessed about the suffering it was hiding on seeing her. She was carrying a child on her arms whose lips were touching her curly hair from time to time. A little girl who had taken to flight on seeing some strangers come in, was hiding next to her, holding onto a patch of her dress, rolling her big blue eyes in astonishment at us; three other children were standing in front of the window, in the background of the scene. The poor mother told us all about her life, the long hours of waiting in winter, her work in the fields or close to her house. Having thus depicted her hard-working existence in simple and non-emphatic terms instead of complaining and murmuring, she praised Providence for having taken care of her and her family. "We are poor people," she said; "but thanks to the Lord everything is alright in our modest home. When my father died, he left a boat to me as my heritage. My husband is a good fisherman; as to myself, I work for rich people in winter, and I look after a small field in summer for which we have to pay little rent only. Thus, the days go by and at the end of the year it so happens that we still have enough to buy some barley to eat and enough wool to clothe us. The hardest times were those when my children were so young that I had to stop my daily work to take care of them; but now they are growing and soon they can help me."

Her words were accompanied by such a joyful look, and the children seemed to confirm her hope by the sheer expression of their physiognomy. Listening to her speaking in such a quietly resigned way, I was rejecting all those elegies written about pretended sadness; and I admire the wisdom of Providence for spreading the fertile germs of hope below the thatch, placing in the hearts of the poor an infinite source of sweet satisfaction.

Yet, Thorshavn which consists of several hundred huts is also a war town. At the entry to the port, one can see a fortress built by the ancient hero of the Faroes, Magnus Heinesen ¹⁶, to protect his place of origin against the invasions of pirates. People here say that it used to be quite a sizeable bastion defended by several pieces of artillery; but during the war, Fort Thorshavn had its moments of mourning and disaster. The passive resignation with which it submitted to fate did not prevent it from ruin. In 1803, the fishermen of Nordö reported a frigate flying the French flag.¹⁷ Soon after, the frigate appeared in the Bay of Thorshavn to anchor proudly at the bottom of the fortress. The vessel adorned by our flag revealed itself to be an English frigate and it was easy to foretell its purpose since Denmark, allied to France, was not well-considered at all by England at the time. The Governor could hardly hope to defend himself without compromising the whole town: he sent a delegation of twelve parliamentarians aboard the frigate which was retained by the English. He sent twelve more who were also retained. The inhabitants of Thorshavn who were indignant about such perfidious acts wanted to take possession of the canons to engage in combat; but the English would not leave them enough time. They landed in large numbers, took possession of the fortress, nailed down the canons, demolished the bastion in part and returned to their frigate. History has not recorded the names of these men who entered these quiet waters with such daring, disguised by a foreign flag whose glory consisted in making twelve fishermen their prisoners, to invade a

¹⁶ Marmier's note: He was the son of a Norwegian who had settled in the Faroes, and who became a reverend after the Reformation. Magnus dedicated his life to the sea and distinguished himself early thanks to his boldness and courage. He went off intrepidly with an ill-equipped vessel and only a few men to fight the English and German freebooters infesting the coasts of Iceland and the Faroes. Frederic II put him in command of a Danish corvette for services rendered by way of recompense. This was the corvette with which he took hold of an English vessel that had loaded Faroese wares. The English protested, pretending that their goods came from the Shetlands. The sworn enemy of pirates was himself accused of pirating and had to pay with his head for an alleged crime. Magnus was executed in 1589. Soon after his innocence was acknowledged and the judge who had been most zealous in having the sentence proclaimed was condemned to pay a considerable fine. There are several traditional songs in the Faroes about this hero of the people.

¹⁷ Translator's note: Marmier is likely referring to the British naval brig, *Clio*, which under the command of Thomas Folliott Baugh sailed around the islands with a French flag and attacked the fortress of Tórshavn (Skansin) on May 16th 1808, not 1803.

defenceless place in plain daylight and to devastate an abandoned bastion. It appears that the English maritime annals contain more information in this respect than the Faroese do. The heroes of this glorious campaign must be inscribed right next to those who went off one morning during an armistice and without any declaration of war to set fire to the fleet of Copenhagen. Now the fortress of Thorshavn is nothing but an earthen bastion armed by a few canons and defended by a troop of twenty-four chasseurs who are jointly soldiers and sailors. They are in charge of the Governor's or *landfogde's* boat which takes him to the various isles.

Thorshavn's best defence is not this mock fortress but the state of its streets and surroundings. How could human greed be tempted by or an idea of revenge resist in view of these uncultivated hills, these dwellings void of any luxury goods, inhabited by sick families resigned to their fate? There is no tree nor harvest about Thorshavn; only a meagre enclosure of verdure and some barley fields here and there from which the labourers often only harvest stalks of unripe straw and grainless ears. The inhabitants of this town are to be pitied even more than those in the country as the ground on which they live does not allow them to raise cattle; all they have in the way of resources is supplied by their fishing or industry. The women knit a certain number of stockings which they are unfortunately obliged to sell for very little. Thus, while other small towns in the north such as Reykyavik, Tromsö or Hammerfest grow year by year and embellish themselves, Thorshavn remains at complete standstill. Nobody manages to get rich here, no fisherman can build a house to replace his frail hut. The troubled life these poor people have to lead hampers their intellectual development. Almost all of them can read, many can write, but unlike the Norwegian peasants of the Guldbrandsdal, they do not unite their efforts to procure books and journals, and one cannot find any printed or manuscript sagas in their homes like one does among the Icelandic peasants. There is now a school on each of the Faroese islands, either permanent or ambulant; but anyone hoping to become a churchman or to obtain civil employment has to study in Denmark. Thanks to the zeal of some intelligent men, however, a library was founded in Thorshavn. The government provided the sum of 1.500 francs. Diverse donors have sent books. The churchmen, office holders and the principal inhabitants of the Faroes pay a small contribution every year to increase its holdings. With such feeble means near 5000 volumes were assembled including quite a large number of choice titles.

It is also in this town that the only medical officer in the Faroes is to be found. He receives a regular salary and has to treat all the poor people of the country for free. But it is impossible for a single man to help all of the families spread across so many different shores. The sea is often too heavy and the wind too stormy to go from one island to another; and while the preacher or doctor are waiting for the waters to calm to provide some ultimate help or consolation, the humble child of the Faroes dies as it had lived, in pain and with resignation. To

end, there is also a hospital to be found in Thorshavn: it is only a modest wooden house built by the sea, but it is open both to strangers and people from here. Those who go there are treated with moving pity and never-failing concern. When we arrived in town, there was a sailor from Boulogne there. One night, during a violent storm, he had been caught by a wave on deck, thrown against the big mast and had broken his leg. The captain tried to straighten it with the help of some small boards and a ball of wool. He then took him to Thorshavn and returned to France. The unfortunate man had been there for two months, alone among a foreign people whose language he did not understand, incapable of rising from bed and only seeing the mist and the tides. The doctor paid him a visit every day and to distract him from his solitude he taught him how to read. His biggest moment of joy since he had been here was to apprehend our arrival. He forced himself to sit upright in his bed to see the top of the masts of our vessel and when we entered his room, he saluted the captain and told us in his plain and artless language about his rough crossing to Iceland and his arrival in the Faroes. The shine in his eyes betrayed the joy of seeing some compatriots again and to speak his language; and when we asked him if he needed some money, he replied: "No, I need nothing; but if there are some sailors from Boulogne on board as I believe there are, I would be grateful if they were given permission to come and see me."

Our first impression on penetrating into the rocky strait of Thorshavn was rather painful. Yet, having spent just a few days in this town we already started regretting to have to leave it soon. Be it in the home of an official or a fisherman, everywhere we had been welcomed with eager cordiality. Wherever we were walking in the streets we saw good and earnest faces, women bowing gracefully as we were approaching, the men always keen to serve as a guide and to take us somewhere by boat. And then, even if the town itself offers only sad views, the mountains bordering the bay and these blueish isles one perceives in the distance are magnificent to behold. I liked walking up the hill that rises above the fortress in the evening, to look at this humble city of the North beneath me with its turf roofs and panelling, these huts looking like boats blown ashore by a gale and the sea divided by a large black rock or mountain here or there in the distance. We already began to experience those beautiful dusky nights of the Northern regions again. The sun would only drop from them horizon very late and once one could not see it anymore, the whole sky was still suffused with soft light. Yet, it was more silent than during the day and all one could hear was the melancholic sound of the waves rolling in on the shore, and then withdrawing again, leaving behind a fringe of foam and a garland of seaweed. There is a beguilement in those hours of solitude spent on the seaside amidst the uniform and plaintive murmuring of the tide, in this vast space across which one's thoughts fly as the eyes jump from wave to wave, which no idiom can convey, nor song express. One emerges from there feeling relieved and stronger. It seems

as though the breeze blowing over the waters enlivens the soul while the sight of space enlarges the mind.

But I would merely provide a partial view of the Faroes if I insisted on talking only about Thorshavn and its hills. The archipelago offers the most romantic sites and the most picturesque viewpoints to the astonished eyes of the artist. It consists of twenty-five islands, seventeen of which are inhabited¹⁸. Moving from one of these isles to another, one may pass beneath a mass of pierced stone like a triumphal arch or by the foot of a rock imposing like a pyramid, sharpened like an arrow. On this side you can see a big dark cavern disclosing itself at the bottom of a mountain which the fisherman enters boldly with his boat in pursuit of seal seeking refuge there; over there a palisade whose slippery walls have never been touched by human feet; still further away, a rock worn down at the bottom by the waves beating against it ceaselessly, protruding its bare and blackened, weather-beaten front out into the sea.

The history of these isles resembles Iceland's. Like Iceland, they were discovered on a stormy day. In the days of Harald Fairhair, a colony of Norwegians settled here. At first, they were subject to a sort of oligarchic government. They then had to submit to Norway, forced into union like the latter, Iceland and Greenland by Denmark in the late 14th century. They are now administrated by a Danish official who holds the title of Governor and divided into six districts or *syssel*. There are 39 churches looked after by seven ministers. It is a harsh task for the ministers to visit these parishes strewn across the ocean at some moments in the year: thus, they cannot preach everywhere on a regular basis. They are often prevented from doing so by hurricanes and may have to stay far away from their home for weeks on end¹⁹. Often, they can only accomplish their evangelical mission at the risk of their own lives; but the saddest aspect of their office in these isles is not the rough and dangerous journeys they have to go on but their loneliness. They live on some silent shore amongst two or three huts, carrying their memories of other parts and another life with them since they are all Danish men who graduated from the university of Copenhagen.

The archipelago of the Faroes stretches from 61°15' latitude north to 62°21' longitude (*sic*). Its total population does not exceed 7000. The interior of the isles is uninhabited. The peasants build their dwellings exclusively in the woods and on the coast; this is where they have enclosed patches of verdure and sometime

¹⁸ Translator's note: the number of inhabited islands being correct at the time of Marmier's visit, he is obviously including some of the islets in the total number

¹⁹ Marmier's note: In the old days, there used to be various points in the Faroes, Holy water springs, where parents could baptize their children when bad weather stopped them from taking them to the minister. This custom no longer exists. Parents bring their newborn child to the minister, often jeopardizing its life due to the exertions and danger of the journey.

a field to grow barley or potatoes. According to Mr de Born's²⁰ calculation who has taken measures of this country in all sorts of direction, only one sixtieth of the ground is cultivated. The rest is nothing but a stony crust covered by a thin layer of earth without consistency.

The Faroese' real treasure are their sheep²¹. The sheep are almost to them what the reindeer are to the Laplanders and the seal to the Greenlanders or the coconut tree to the inhabitants of Guiana. They provide them with all they need: food, wool, tallow; and whatever is left after they have woven their clothes, they sell to procure the various things they cannot find in their country. Several Faroese own flocks of five to six hundred sheep, some even more; but what is strange to see is them treating this animal negligently although it is a precious resource. No farmer has thought of building stables for his sheep, or at least a shed to find shelter during the bad season. The miserable animals wander about the mountains in any kind of weather. In winter, they are obliged to seek food beneath the snow like reindeer. If the snow is hard due to the cold they starve to death. Sometimes they are buried under an avalanche; on the coldest days they seek refuge in the caverns. Their entries are often blocked by snow whirlwinds and the sheep have to remain inside for whole weeks without food or drink. Some have been seen gnawing their own wool during a famine. In June, the peasant will look for his flock together with men used to chase with dogs trained to track down stubborn sheep in ravines and caves. Each peasant recognises his own sheep by a particular sign and catches them one by one to shear them, an operation which he executes in barbarous manner. The Faroese do not cut off the wool from the sheep but tear it away by hand, sometimes so violently that the sheep are bleeding; after which they are released back into wild nature. Horses are also left on their own in winter and during summer in the fields. One goes looking for them twice a year: first, to transport manure to the meadows and secondly to bring back turf to the farms. Only the cows have the privilege of feeding at the hayracks and to sleep in a stable thanks to the product of their mammals.

Hunting is still quite an important resource for these islanders. There are no bears here, it is true, nor wolves or fox; but few countries contain such a large quantity of birds. One can find them by the hundreds everywhere on the coast and in the mountains. The Faroese chase them with rare intrepidity; they do not limit themselves to kill those wandering about on the shore or flying above a hill; they climb up the roughest trails to take them from their nest. If the rock on which the bird is breeding appears too high and its surface too polished for the

²⁰ Translator's note: Christian Ludvig Ulrich von Born (1744-1805), officer in the Danish army and commander of the Tórshavn garrison 1782-1796.

²¹ Marmier's note: The name of the island probably stems from this term (*Faraö*, sheep islands), but the origin is not quite clear. Since we are discussing etymology, may I observe in passing that to speak of the Faroe *islands* is a pleonasm since the word *ö* at the end of the name signifies *islands* already.

Faroese to cling to, he will go up to the top via a detour to tie himself to a rope held by two or three of his companions to let himself down to where he had seen the bird settle. Once he has caught hold of his prey, he pulls on a string fastened to the arm of one his companions who then pull him up to the top of the mountain. But sometimes it so happens that the rope gets caught in the fissures of the rock and the imprudent hunter will remain suspended between heaven and earth, neither able to descend nor to move back up. Some years ago, a peasant from Nordö thus spent a whole day and night in the midst of the rocks without any food, half-naked, exposed to the cold and tortured by the rope chafing his side. He was about to bite through the rope with his teeth out of despair and at the risk of killing himself by falling into the abyss when some other peasants arrived to rescue him. They managed to save him from this dreadful situation; and setting foot on soil, he fainted.

Fishing was once the most important and fruitful occupation in these isles. For several years now, it has been far less abundant either because the shoals of fish have changed place, or they have really been shrinking; but there is still dolphin hunting²² and this could make the Faroese forget all fishing. No sooner has a fisherman seen a pod of dolphins, than he alerts the inhabitants on the coast by raising a particular flag. The latter climb up on the hills and light a fire from grass and soon this telegraphic signal announces the happy news to all of the isles. Whirls of smoke float in the air, fires are lit on one summit after another, their number and position indicating to the inhabitants of the distant coasts where the dolphins are to be found; parents and neighbours are in a hurry to join him; the women prepare food and they launch themselves cheerfully into the tide. It is hard to imagine the busying about in Thorshavn on such a day: the women and children rush around town shouting: *Gryndabud, gryndabud!* (dolphins, dolphins!²³). All doors open in response to the blessing thus voiced, all families are up and about: who will be quickest to reach his boat, who will be first to break the waves with his oar or hiss the sail. The governor and bailiff are also in a hurry to conduct the convoy with their longboat and ten chasseurs in uniform hissing the Danish flag to the top of the mast. When all the fishermen have assembled in the designated spot, they line up for the fight, advancing according to the way the place is located in a tight column or in a large semi-circle. This is the way they surprise the dolphins by pushing them behind the barrier, chasing and hunting them until they drive them to the far end of a bay. This is where the circle tightens around them, the dolphins being caught in between the land and the boats, blocked on one side by the shore on which any

²² Translator's note: Xavier Marmier speaks of "dolphin fishing" ("la pêche du dauphin"). We do not know which exact species he is referring to though one would assume that he is talking about pilot whales. Long-finned pilot whales were first classified in the early 19th century as "*Delphinus melas*". The term "pilot whale" can be found in English sources from the mid-19th century.

²³ Translator's note: see previous note for the term "dauphin".

imprudent move will make them strand and on the other by the men armed with stakes. At this particular moment only, a strange superstition takes hold of the fishermen: they do not want to see any women nor preachers on the coast since they believe that women and preachers will make the dolphins flee. Once this obstacle has vanished, a terrible bloodshed is committed. The fishermen hit, cut open and massacre the whales, blood spilling out so that the whole sea is red and those who might still try to escape lose their agile instinct in the bloody waves, falling prey to the sharp iron, like the others do. The victims are often counted by the hundreds. When the slaying is over, the dolphins are pulled out onto the beach. The *syssemand* will estimate the value of each animal, putting a sign on its back. The governor then distributes shares. To begin with, a part is given as tithes to the king, the church and the preachers, another to the office holders, a third to the poor and a fourth to those who have participated in the hunt, so and so much per boat and per man. The man who has discovered the pod is entitled to choose the largest whale. Those who have been injured or suffered some damage during the expedition receive an extra share; finally, another part goes to those on whose grounds the hunt took place, that means invariably to the king who is the biggest landowner in the country. When the sharing has ended, the animals are skinned and cut up; the skin is used to make straps, the meat and blubber are one of the choicest foods of the Faroese family. Oil is made from the blubber and kept in dried bladders. The entrails have to be taken back out to the open sea by each boat in order not to infect the shores. A ton of oil can be usually obtained from an average-sized dolphin to be sold in Thorshavn for 30 to 40 francs. The meat and the blubber are worth more or less the same. The fisherman carefully gathers all the remains of his catch and returns triumphantly back home with them.

The houses to be found on the coasts are usually larger and more comfortable than those in Thorshavn. Like everywhere in the North, they consist of several small buildings, each one for a particular use. One can see the main building first, next to the enclosure, built half from stone and half from wood. There is a large kitchen, a room in which the women meet to weave Wadmál and another which serves as the larder. The shed is next door and a little further a barn with an earthen oven in which barley is ripened for twenty-four hours at burning temperature, like in northern Finland; as well as two or three huts made from loose boards. In November, the farmer hangs up whole sheep in here just after their throats have been cut. The air enters the hut from all sides, drying the bodies little by little. By May or June, the dry meat is thus hard, compact and juicy. It is eaten without salt and uncooked; at the risk of shocking the palate of gourmets, I have to confess that I have eaten thereof with relish several times. Besides, it is very handy for a fisherman. Whenever he intends to set out on excursion, he goes to the *kiadl* to cut himself a quarter of a sheep and leaves without having to think about the fire in the kitchen or spices. The most beautiful set of dwellings we have seen is Kirkeboe. It is situated between the sea and the

mountains, next to a small isle inhabited by eider-ducks. There used to be a monastery here of which only the remains are to be seen; it was the seat of Catholic bishops. Close to the farmer's house, you can still see the walls of a Gothic church which Bishop Hilary wanted to transform into the Faroese cathedral. But during the Reformation, the work came to a halt and the unfinished church stands there like a monument to the rapid fall of Catholicism in these distant isles.

The Faroese' character is amiable, earnest and hospitable. The isolation in which they live, and the monotony of their work renders them habitually phlegmatic up to the point of being almost indolent. Their dark surroundings make them taciturn and melancholic; but the rough outings they have to go on and the obsession of material care do not extinguish their feelings of pity for others. In the midst of their sufferings, they will remember those of others: a stranger will never knock on their door in vain, nor do poor people implore their commiseration to no avail. Whenever there is a very young and poor orphan in the district, one can be sure that a peasant will be keen to take care of him and to offer him a home.

Murder is unheard of here; disputes are rare and not very dangerous. The annals of the judiciary from the different isles have nothing to record but petty theft. Their customs are unspoilt. Hardly more than one or two natural children are born in the whole country every year. Formerly, whenever a young girl became pregnant, she had to pay a fine; if she then got married, rather than putting a garland of flowers on her head, she had to wear a red cap. Even today, she is not entitled to the two groomsmen who accompany the young immaculate girl to church; she has to go there on her own with the one who has chosen her to be his wife.

Their dress is both simple and graceful. The men wear round jackets in blue or green like those of the Tyrolians, a cardigan with shiny buttons, trousers and flat shoes made from sheepskin. Some have long hair which they tie into a plait falling on their shoulders like young girls do in Bern. The women wear short-sleeved, knitted mantelets which firmly tighten their waists and reach up to the neck, big floating skirts and charming small silk hats flattened at the top which leave the forehead uncovered. In former times, they would wear silver and golden costumes on big occasions, especially on engagement days, like the Icelandic women. Mr Giraud who accompanies us during this voyage has drawn a young girl in this old, solemn costume; to see her silent and motionless on her chair, with her hair tied up and powdered, wearing a damask dress and lace cuffs, one would have thought of a portrait from the times of Louis XV. But all this borrowed luxury pleasing the imagination of simple minds is slowly disappearing and nowadays a young girl believes she cannot look better on a wedding-day than dressed like a lady from Copenhagen who is trying her best to copy the ladies in Paris.

The old customs and manners thus also become obsolete here and there. Nonetheless, on the northern isles, one still finds some old women who pretend that they can retrieve stolen items and heal the sick thanks to some particular spell; and some peasants who are telling the tales of bygone days in perfect earnest by the fireside in the evening. They will talk about the *Huldefolk*, mysterious spirits who lead the same life as human beings do by the side of the mountains and who own great flocks which invisibly pass through the pastures. "I knew a young girl," a peasant from Thorshavn told me, "who was always chased by the Huldefolk. She went to see the minister for some advice, but he could not help her. In the end she married and from this moment on, the Huldefolk stopped chasing her. I also knew a fisherman who had met those inhabitants of the mountains several times. Me, I believe him," he added naively, "even though I have not seen them." There is another sort of spirits called *Vattarre*. They are cute little dwarfs, even smaller than the German ones. They live beneath stones close to the houses and are so sweet and timorous that they cannot stand any murmur. A quarrel will scare them, and blasphemy makes them run away. As long as they live in harmony with the inhabitants of the house close to which they sought refuge, they bring luck to them, guiding them without being seen in their action, helping them with their work; but if the peasant whom they decided to help offends them, they will become his implacable enemy. Some people believe in *Mara*, a hideous monster that sometimes surprises people in their sleep, curling up and crouching on its belly oppressing them. One can only get rid of them by making the sign of the cross, pronouncing the Lord's name. People also say in these isles like anywhere in the North that the dead can come back to earth, either to take their revenge for some offense, or to pay back a debt that torments them in their tomb, or to give those they once loved some token of their affection. Whenever they return to the place where they once lived, they can fulfil the wishes of those they meet. One has to wait for them on Christmas eve on a path of the stations of the cross and to refrain from pronouncing any word or making a gesture on perceiving them: because the dead will disappear and then nothing else is to be expected of them.

In former times, people also held sorcerers in great awe. When a cow gave birth to her first calf, one used to tear out some hairs between its horns in order to protect it from any spell. Whenever one started to milk her, one would first take some spoons of her milk to be offered as a libation to the spirits of the home.

To end, there is a wealth of stories about the *Nikar* or water spirits, about ocean monsters and people of the sea who attract young girls on shore to carry them away in the waters. Whales have been spotted here that would have made Jonas' whale look small. On one of the northern isles, four peasants went out by boat one day to go fishing. In the evening, they did not return. On the following day and the day after, people went looking for them but could not find them. A month later, a whale was stranded on the coast. It was killed and cut open. The first thing to be seen in its bowels were the four fishermen sitting in their boat

bent over their oars. At Quanesund, peasants who were going fishing heard strange screams every day but could not see anyone. One day they finally perceived a man of the sea whom they got hold of and took back to their home. The day after, they took him with them to go fishing again. When they had passed over a shoal of fish he started laughing. They rowed backwards and made an excellent catch. Every morning they thus set out with their mysterious guide whose laughing and silence they learned to interpret. In the evening they would bring him back to Quanesund, giving him some raw fish to eat, locking him up in the shed and painting a cross on the door. One day, when they had forgotten to paint the cross, the man of the sea escaped never to be seen again. On the shores of Stromö, there is a family which pretends to stem from a seal. Theirs does seem to be a strange genealogy, I admit; but it was explained to me in the most positive fashion by a member of the family, so that I had to take it seriously. One needs to know first of all that there are female seal who throw their skin on the shore to immediately turn into the graceful form of a woman. One day, a fisherman saw such a beautiful one that he immediately fell in love with her. He took her home, carefully locked the seal skin in a chest and married the woman who bore him several children. But one day, when he went out fishing, he forgot the key of the chest. The woman noticed it, took back the seal skin, ran across the shore and dived into the waters.

Memories of the former times and the Faroese national character have also been preserved in the celebration of several feasts, for instance Christmas and wedding ceremonies. Like in the old days, one can see young men choose an orator to stir the heart of the one they want to marry. This would be a fisherman famous for his wit, or a peasant gifted in composing verse. Once the date of the wedding has been determined, invitations are sent out to the whole district. When parents, friends, men, women and children have arrived on foot or horseback, they are crammed into the bridegroom's home in a jumble. Whole sheep and calves are roasted. Spirits flow out of big jars and beer is boiling in the brew kettle. The tables are laid all day and the guests help themselves without further ado since they are expected, like in Finland, to put some *species* on a tray held out to them before they leave. The wedding feast lasts for three days. The most beautiful and ceremonious day is when they receive their nuptial blessing. In the evening, everybody starts to dance. This Faroese dance is a very curious thing to see. The dancers join hands to form a large chain with no distinctions according to rank, age or sex. There are no musical instruments to beat the rhythm, but they know the traditional songs and ancient tunes with which they had been lulled to sleep. One of them will start singing a stanza while the others wait for the chorus which they all sing together. The tune which consists of only a few modulations is low-pitched, melancholic and impressive. Amidst the strongly resonant male voices one can hear the shrill voice of a young girl from time to time; but generally-speaking the rustic accentuation of these singers is well-pitched and on the beat. When the singing starts, the chain is moving,

turning and swinging around slowly at first and with a sort of nonchalant grace like the simple round dances in Brittany whenever the bignou²⁴ plays a popular tune: *An inigós*²⁵; it then picks up momentum and the movements become livelier and more rapid. The songs chosen for these solemn moments are almost all of them fragments or imitations of Danish *Kämpeviser*, stories about warriors, tales of combat and love like the stanzas of *Jerusalem* sung by the gondoliers in Venice. Step by step the dance resembles a scene on stage. The guests are taken in by the singer's tale and moved by the incidents of the play, shaken up, fascinated, waving their arms, tapping their feet, their gestures expressing in a way all that the poet had intended to convey in his verse and the musician with his tunes; except for the women who remain perfectly impassive in the midst of all this excitement as though they were not allowed to show any emotion. They do not move but let themselves be carried away. Watching them sometimes in the evening with their immobile face and pale figure, following happily yet with a sort of melancholy all the brisk undulations of the chain uncoiling like a snake and rushing forward in a whirl, one has the impression of young girls being drawn in by an irresistible force into the dancing of spirits.

In the midst of this theatrical ball, a man knocks on a beam to tell the bride that it is time to withdraw to her room; but she has to pretend not to hear and continues to dance. Soon another knock can be heard which she does not care about either. Finally, on hearing the third knock, she will leave, and it is proper for her, the good people say, to cry a little before she goes to bed. The husband will soon follow her and when both of them are in their room, the guests say a prayer out loud and sing a psalm.

Once these days of celebration are over, the Faroese peasant returns to his life of toil and deprivation. Either he has to till the ungrateful soil or he has to go fishing on cold winter mornings. All year long he drinks nothing but water and eats but rye bread. He was born in poverty and has to bear its burden all the time. The sea and the land only provide him with a precarious livelihood and his feeble income is still further reduced by the trade monopoly he is subjected to like a law of serfdom. The Faroese trade was free in former times. The inhabitants sailed to Bergen themselves to trade the goods of their country for those they needed. Later, they gave up on these voyages, but the merchants of the Hanseatic towns came each summer to engage in negotiations about the exchange of commodities. One day, Frederick II took command of this trade as though it were his personal belonging, leasing it out to a company from Lubeck and Hamburg. The trade monopoly dates from this period and has been enforced more or less rigorously though it has never ceased. In 1607, the King granted this privilege to merchants from Bergen; Frederick III generously granted it to a man whose services he

²⁴ Translator's note: a bagpipe.

²⁵ Translator's note: an hini gozh. – the old woman. See : <https://tob.kan.bzh/chant-00847.html> (last accessed 26 May 2021).

wanted to reward and whose son then inherited it as though it were a fief. The harshness with which the owners of this monopoly treated the unfortunate isles provoked such piercing and reiterated complaint, that the government came to their aid in the end by recovering the privilege granted to unjust hands, albeit to explore the right itself, not leaving them off any better. In 1790, the King, who was besieged by new requests, promised to liberate commerce as soon as a good occasion would arise, and, strangely enough, such an occasion has not arisen so far. We would certainly consider ourselves blameworthy if we dared to plead, without having thought about it, in favour of emancipation which may certainly have its disadvantages. But we have observed closely the fatal effects of the monopoly on the Faroese population, listening to the complaints of fishermen and peasants; and all that we have seen and heard has stirred feelings of profound pity in our heart. No law of monopoly has ever been dictated anywhere with such a lack of consideration (we believe to be in a position to affirm this without the risk of being contradicted) and enforced with such rigour. As recently as three years ago there was only one store in Thorshavn for the whole of the Faroe Islands. The peasants from the north and the south had to rent a boat and pay the oarsmen to go on a tiresome voyage that was often dangerous to be paid for their poor goods in Thorshavn according to the rate. One day, a boat with twelve men perished during one of those voyages. This accident left a strong imprint and the government decided at last to set up warehouses at different points. There has been one in Transgisrangfiord since 1836, and another in Bordö. A third one is established right now in Vestamanna²⁶. But this means only little alleviation of a distressing state of things; the root of evil is still there entirely. According to old regulations, the price of Faroese goods and Danish goods destined to be exchanged had to be determined by the average selling price of each over the past five years. Up until then, there was at least some sort of resemblance to justice in what the law stipulated even if the maximum thus imposed on the peasants, was a harsh necessity; but in 1821, a new regulation introduced an excess charge of 33% to the average price of Danish goods and, in 1834, another lowered the price of Faroese goods by 50% which meant a clear deficit of 83% to those unfortunate men obliged to engage in such transactions. And one should not imagine that it is easy for the Faroese to get out of such cruel trading: they are only allowed to negotiate with government representatives. If they try to sell goods to anyone else, they will be tried in court like criminals. Some years ago, a young woman gave some woollen tissue to a fisherman from Dunkirk in exchange for earrings; she was accused, tried and condemned to pay a fine of sixty francs. A peasant had to pay the same fine for having exchanged fish for a few bottles of spirits with English sailors. This law prohibiting trade with foreigners is so strict that the Faroese are not even allowed to have any relations with the islands closest to them. The Danish vessels only arrive in

²⁶ Translator's note: Marmier's spelling of place names retained.

Thorshavn in May and go on their last voyage in September. For the rest of the year, the inhabitants of the Faroes are cut off from the whole world and do not receive any news. In winter, they could receive letters and newspapers via the Shetland Isles. They have been asking for permission to do so for several years, but so far to no avail. In truth, on seeing such misery, one is tempted to remark, as an English traveller did who had also visited the Faroes and who had observed, like us, the sad consequences of the monopoly: "It seems to be the policy of the Danish government, to keep the natives of their distant possessions in a state of poverty and perpetual dependence²⁷."

This hideous law of monopoly impedes work and paralyses all industry. A large pair of knitted wool stockings is sold for two francs in Thorshavn. How can women enjoy working when the materials they use, and the fruit of their labour have to be ceded for such a price? People are told that the regulations concerning the monopoly, guarantee to the Faroese a provision of annual goods at a fixed price; but would they not obtain these goods more easily and at a better price if they could benefit from competition? People are also told that the taxes were very low in this country and that the monopoly therefore had to be considered as a necessary supplementary charge. If this is so, however, one should raise taxes while allowing not foreigners but Danish merchants to freely enter the various ports of the Faroes as they now may in Iceland. I am certain that the inhabitants will bless the day on which the government will take such a measure.

Talking about their sufferings, these poor people often told me that the King knew nothing about this, that he was just, good and compassionate; that if only he were aware of how deep their distress is at times, he would come to their aid. But those who know and remain silent about the situation take a sad responsibility upon themselves.

²⁷ Translator's note: George Steuart Mackenzie, *A Short Account of the Faroe Isles. Drawn up for The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*. Edinburgh: Printed by A. Balfour, 1815, p. 9. N.B.: Marmier's French translation replaces "the natives of their distant possessions" by "les habitants des Férøe" ("the inhabitants of the Faroes").

The core-peripheral belief dynamic and its impact on teaching speaking in English as a foreign language (EFL) in grade 8 in the Faroe Islands.



Fróðskaparrit 68 (2022): 35-55
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Kjarnu-perifer sannføring dynamikinuna og ávirkan av tí í frálæruni á enskum sum annað mál (EFL) í 8. flokki í Føroyum

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Abstract

The objective of this qualitative parallel case study was to elicit the teacher cognition of grade 8 teachers in the Faroe Islands about teaching speaking in English as a foreign language (EFL). Teacher cognition and actions were studied in context based on data from semi-structured interviews, mixed questionnaire and observations. Manual thematic analysis through using a priori and post priori codes was adopted to parse data and establish the influence of teacher cognition on teaching in the classroom and identify any common trends among participants. The results show that teacher cognition has a marked influence on teaching speaking. Congruence between cognition and teaching is apparent, with some instances of incongruence. Congruence between teacher cognition and teaching speaking rests on two factors – the marked influence of ‘apprenticeship of observation’ i.e., the influence of teachers’ personal experiences from years of education that shapes their thoughts and teaching and teacher understanding of teaching speaking as ‘doing’ speaking i.e., providing opportunities for students to speak in the classroom. Incongruence stems from the core-peripheral belief dynamic, where the predominance of core beliefs over peripheral beliefs affects the efficacy of teaching speaking.

Úrtak

Endamálið við hesari javnfjaru kvalitativu stakkanning var at kveikja lærarakognitið hjá lærarum í 8. flokki í Føroyum at undirvísa enskt á enskum sum annað mál (EFL). Lærarakognitið og tað árin, tað hevði við sær, varð kannað við bakstøði í data frá hálvskipaðum samrøðum, samansettum

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spurnabløðum og eygleiðingum. Tær leiðbeinandi tematisku greiningarnar vórðu gjørdar við at velja at brúka a priori og post priori kotur at kanna data gjølliga, ið sóust grundfest í ávirkanini, sum lærarakognitióin hevur í frálæruni í floksrúminum, og við at eyðmerkja eina og hvørja felags kós, sum sást millum luttakararnar. Úrslitini vísa, at lærarakognitióin hevur sjónliga ávirkan á frálæruni við talu. Tað er eyðsýnt samsvar millum kognitióin og frálæru, og í summum førum er ósamsvar. Samsvar, sum er millum lærarakognitióin og frálæru við talu, byggir á tveir tættir – ta sjónligu ávirkan av 'læring við eygleiðing', t.e. týdningin av útbúgving og persónligu royndunum hjá lærarum yvir tíð, sum skapa teirra hugsanarhátt, og frálæru og tað undirskilda hjá lærarum at frálæra við talu við 'veruliga' at tosa, t.e. at skapa møguleikarnar hjá næmingunum at tosa í floksrúminum. Ósamsvar stavar frá dynamikkinum í kjarnu-perifer sannføringina, har kjarnu sannføringin stýrir periferu sannføringina sum ávirkar virknaðin av frálæru við talu.

Keywords: EFL, teacher cognition, teaching speaking, core-peripheral beliefs, pedagogical content knowledge.

Leitorð: EFL, lærarakognitióin, frálæru við talu, kjarnu-periferisannføring, kunnleiki um námsfrøðiligt innihald.

Introduction

The article is based on a collective parallel case study conducted amongst seven grade 8 teachers from the compulsory schools in the Faroe Islands in 2017 as part of my PhD project. The study sought to elicit grade 8 teachers' cognition with regard to teaching speaking in English as a foreign language (EFL). Interviews, observations and a mixed questionnaire were used to identify teacher cognition on teaching speaking in EFL and the impact it had on their teaching.

The research questions designed to fulfil the aims of the study were: What is the grade 8 teachers' cognition about teaching speaking in EFL, and how do they teach speaking? How does Teacher cognition influence teaching speaking? This case study attempted to add to the significant field of teacher cognition on teaching speaking. The importance of teacher cognition research is derived from the fact that "it is not simply an academic undertaking but needs to speak in transparent and concrete ways about the connections between what teachers do, how they learn and change, and their mental lives" (Borg, 2019, p. 9). As language teacher cognition has not been researched at all in the Faroe Islands, this article might highlight key issues that deserve consideration in the context of teaching speaking in EFL.

Contextual background to the study

Teachers are an important variable in student learning and are central to it (Hattie, 2012; Darling-Hammond et al., 2005) and their actions are instrumental to the creation and management of the learning environment. The significance of teaching to the fulfilment of student learning outcomes means the way teachers teach becomes vital. It is therefore important to understand how Faroese teachers teach speaking in EFL as it is a crucial aspect of foreign language teaching and learning with learners wanting to be able to speak the language, this being a clear requirement in the curriculum with 50% of the annual assessment being awarded for the spoken language.

In the Faroe Islands, education is compulsory up to grade 9, and English is mandatory from grades 4 to 9 – grade 8 students would be around 15 years of age. Teacher education, which is responsible for preparing pre-service teachers to teach grades 1 – 10, underwent a reform in 2008. In the pre-reform period, the English curriculum in teacher education consisted of literary analysis, teaching grammar and translation. Post 2008, the curriculum for pre-service teachers was restructured with the introduction of Teaching English as a Foreign Language grounded in Second Language Acquisition theories, theories of language, approaches to teaching EFL, the teaching of the different language skills and the teaching of language through literature. The first post reform teachers graduated in 2012.

Theoretical underpinnings

Teacher cognition and the teaching of speaking in EFL provided the foundation for this study. Research in teacher cognition has contributed significantly to EFL teaching (Borg, 2003) and has attracted much interest in recent times (Gao et al., 2020; Li, 2017; Yu et al., 2020). The value of eliciting teachers' cognition lies in the fact that it may offer glimpses into the complexity underlying pedagogy, promote professional self-reflection on why, as a teacher, one teaches the way one does and encourage change if need be.

Speaking is a key skill for EFL learners' communicative competence in the 21st century. Displaying critical thinking, problem-solving, innovation, collaboration and cross-cultural communication in English are prime assets for education and employment in the globalised society (Goh, 2014). The teaching of speaking is considered pivotal in foreign languages because learners prioritise speaking (Khoshima and Shokri, 2016). Despite this, teachers fail to concentrate on teaching speaking (Bueno et al., 2006). EFL teaching and learning is successful when learners are able to communicate in English within or outside the classroom (Mart, 2012; Burkart and Sheppard, 2004).

In the National Faroese curriculum for Spoken English (2017), it is clearly stated that one of the aims of teaching English is to ensure that students can communicate in the language when they deal with both native speakers and the

international community. They should have communicative competence that facilitates their participation in international affairs –the emphasis is on spoken English being used actively.

Teacher Cognition

Teacher cognition is ‘the study of what teachers know, think, and believe, and how these relate to what teachers do’ (Borg and Burns, 2008, p. 457). Borg (2019) explains ‘... how becoming, being, and developing as a teacher is shaped (& in turn shapes) by what teachers (individually & collectively) think and feel about all aspects of their work’ (p. 4). In this article, teacher cognition and teacher beliefs are used interchangeably. Teacher cognition is perceived as tacit, personal and dynamic as it shapes the educational and professional experience of teachers throughout their careers (Borg, 2006; Kubanyiova and Feryok, 2015). It is influenced by the way teachers themselves were taught in school, i.e., what has been termed their ‘apprenticeship of observation’ (Lortie, 1975). Borg’s (2012) current perspectives on language teacher cognition go beyond what “teachers think, know and believe” (p. 11) and include “attitudes, identities and emotions” (p. 11), emphasising that “identity (. . .) should be recognized as an important strand of teacher cognition research” (p. 11). Teaching speaking has not received the attention in research given to grammar teaching and writing (Borg, 2015; author, 2018).

Phipps and Borg (2007) indicate that ‘apprenticeship of observation’ shapes teacher beliefs, provides filters for teachers to process new input, and that beliefs are resistant to change as they have become embedded in teachers’ cognition over time. Beliefs may be core beliefs – built over time and based on experiential knowledge or peripheral beliefs - usually originating from theory-based beliefs. Core beliefs have a higher hierarchy within an individual teacher’s schema and influence decision-making in the teaching environment (Freeman, 2002; Borg, 2003, 2019). Borg (2006) and Buehl and Fives (2009), using Shulman’s (1987) classification of the kinds of knowledge, identify content knowledge (knowledge of the subject matter) and pedagogical content knowledge (knowledge of the specifics of teaching a subject) as instrumental for teacher competence and impact on student achievement. Furthermore, a sense of teacher agency (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009), where one acts based on one’s beliefs also underpins teacher action in the classroom.

Congruence may or may not exist between teacher cognition and praxis. Contextual barriers to a one-to-one correspondence between teacher cognition and praxis may affect congruence between cognition and teaching (Lee, 2009; Olafson and Schraw, 2006; Smith, 2005). A study of teachers’ cognitions may offer insight into rationales behind teacher pedagogical decision-making and action.

Teaching speaking in English as a foreign language (EFL)

Chen and Goh (2014) identify that teacher challenges in teaching speaking are mainly the classroom environment, the speaking skill, making students understand its relevance, and paying attention to individual students. Teachers must understand the concept of oracy, which is the ability of using the oral skills of speaking and listening to be able to teach speaking (Goh, 2013).

For Goh and Burns (2012), a combination of the direct approach (focus on language forms and accuracy of structure) and the indirect (focus on fluency and use of functional language through communication in the target language) is the optimal approach to teaching speaking. They believe teaching speaking should comprise fluency, accuracy, complexity, knowledge of language and discourse, core speaking skills and communication strategies illustrated through their 'Teaching-speaking cycle' model. It is a holistic approach to teaching speaking and subsumes the direct and indirect approaches to teaching speaking that have long dominated EFL and combines other aspects delineated in the following paragraph to offer an overarching perspective for teaching speaking based on research into teaching speaking in the field (author, 2018). No such systematic model has been subsequently proposed in EFL for teaching speaking.

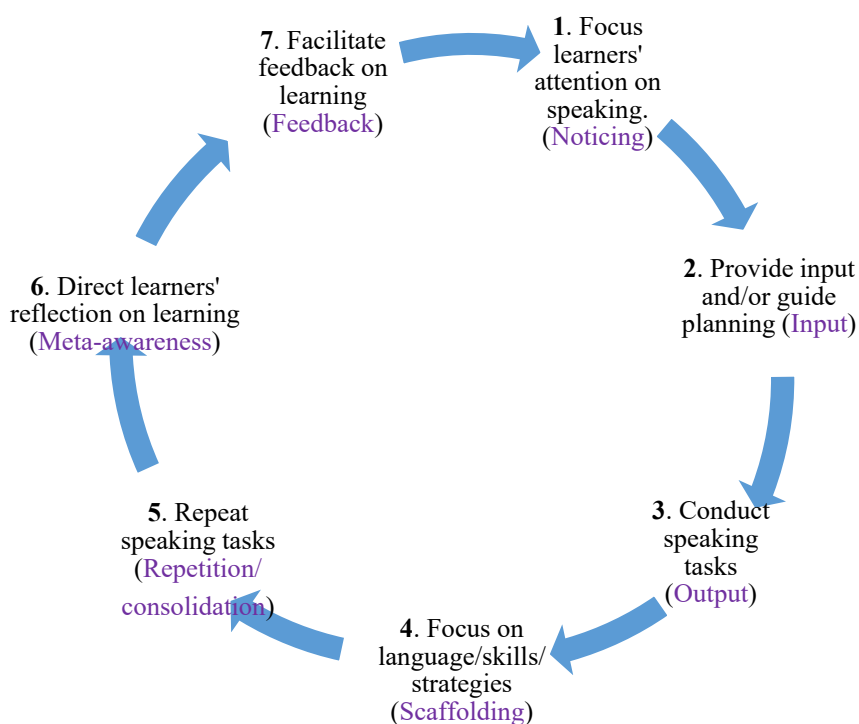


Fig. 1
The modified 'Teaching-Speaking Cycle' of Goh & Burns (2012)

Goh and Burns (2012) envisage a 'Teaching-Speaking cycle' with seven phases which would give students opportunities to focus on fluency, form and use of language. The teaching speaking cycle incorporates focus on accuracy and fluency combined with meaningful input for language learning (Krashen, 1981; 1982), forced output for learning with negotiation of meaning (Swain, 1985), noticing in second language learning (Schmidt, 1990) and the roles of meta awareness and feedback on learning making for a systematic approach to teaching speaking. Metacognitive awareness can aid student performance when teachers proactively build it into teaching (Rahimi and Katal, 2012).

If the characteristics of the direct and indirect approaches to teaching speaking are placed onto the 'Teaching-Speaking cycle' (in blue in fig.1) it demonstrates that both approaches find their place. In the model, Goh and Burns (2012) draw a clear distinction between what they define as 'doing' speaking, which is giving students opportunities to speak in class and 'teaching' speaking, which is using specific strategies to teach students how to speak.

Materials and Methods

From the qualitative paradigm, the case study was chosen as an appropriate framework to study phenomena in context to afford dynamism through real-time observations in classroom contexts. Case study is interpretative as it facilitates a deep understanding of the phenomena in context with the researcher functioning within the environment (Devetak et al., 2010). 'Thick description', a hallmark of case studies, offers a kind of external validity (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) affording depth to perspectives.

This study is a parallel (conducted simultaneously), collective case study as it uses seven cases, and participants are chosen based on the assumption that their perspectives may offer insight and a better basis to theorise about more cases in the same environment (Stake, 2005). Emphasis is on the role of individual participants within the shared experience of all participants which makes the approach idiographic (Vogrinc 2008, in Starman, 2013), where the unique experience of the individual gives meaning and is important within the ethos of teaching EFL in grade 8.

The study used various research instruments which comprise three face-to-face semi-structured interviews of about 1-2 hours with each of the seven grade 8 teachers; mixed questionnaire — quantitative and qualitative sent to yet another seven grade 8 teachers, who had key roles in being examination paper setters and members of the curriculum committee for English; and extensive classroom observation of 6 x 45 minute-sessions for all seven teachers.

In case studies, triangulation is a conjunction of various perspectives on the phenomenon being studied (Farquhar and Michels, 2016) and offers internal

validity to establish academic rigour (Gliner, 1994). It identifies 'patterns of convergence' (Meijer et al., 2002, p. 146) to facilitate a comprehensive and in-depth multi-faceted perspective of the phenomenon. This multiple case study can be described as fulfilling the criteria for multimethod triangulation of sources and method in its use of multiple data sources from various participants through interviews, questionnaire and observations and construct validity in its use of three different data types.

Study participants

The rationale for choosing grade 8 was that learners would have had English for four years. It is the first of the two-year study of English at the high school level, which comprises grades 8 and 9 with external examinations for grade 9 only. This may allow teachers greater flexibility and time to prepare students to fulfil learning outcomes and make room for any possible researcher disturbance of the learning environment. Research indicates that teachers who are non-native speakers of English do not always have spoken English efficacy (Ghasemboland and Hashim, 2013; Chen and Goh, 2011) — I felt grade 8 teachers would more likely have self-efficacy in speaking English in class as high school teachers with most of them teaching grade 9 too. The assumption was that they may be able to offer relevant insights into teaching speaking.

Purposive sampling was used for both interviews and questionnaire. Interview participants comprised seven teachers based on balanced gender representation, given the keen debate about it in Faroese society, formal qualification, i.e., if they had had English as a specialised subject in teacher education, representation for large and small schools, a judicious mix of teachers from rural and urban areas and inclusion of both pre- and post-reform participants. As mentioned earlier, questionnaire participants were seven English teachers with key responsibilities as exam paper setters or curriculum designers and sat in various committees for teachers of English. So, 14 of the 44 grade 8 English teachers comprised the sample.

Data Analysis

When analysing data, the cases were studied individually before conducting a cross-case thematic data analysis (Schwandt, 2001; Creswell, 2007). Though qualitative analysis is mainly inductive, it does not negate the use of predetermined codes chosen from theoretical assumptions in the study (Duff, 2008) before field research, thereby including a deductive aspect as well. This is considered an exploratory method (De Witt, 2013), and based on the research in the field, it supplied the provisional *a priori* codes. According to De Witt (2013), this is a useful method when working with data sourced from several participants where theme/category-based approach enables the inclusion of the microcosm of the individual participant beliefs within the macrocosm of the

sample. Conceptual or content-based phrases for specific research questions from teacher cognition and teaching speaking were used to parse data from various sources. The relationships between the cases were established to delineate a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under study. It is relevant to add that there were no unique cases with uniformity present to a high degree in all 7 cases.

The coding approach was a blend of the exploratory and elemental coding methods. The elemental coding method is a primary one that involves basic, focused theoretical filters, which give the foundation for successive coding cycles (Thomas, 2003). Structural coding is a research question-based coding method within the elemental methods, where phrases from the concepts/content under exploration form the basis of analysis for interview data or other data sets (De Witt, 2013).

Manual coding of data from interviews, questionnaire and observations combining exploratory and elemental coding method was undertaken, which meant the exploratory codes were expanded and modified to include *a posteriori* elemental codes. Thematic analysis was conducted using the codes for close textual reading to identify the relevant themes that could establish patterns and provide explanations for the phenomenon under study (Duff, 2008). When new relevant themes emerged from the data, new *a posteriori* elemental codes were created to ensure thorough data mining and analyses from various perspectives.

Data from the interviews and questionnaire served as 'stated beliefs' i.e., what teachers stated overtly when asked about their beliefs on what teaching speaking was, and the transcripts of the classroom observation and questionnaire identified the teaching activities for teaching speaking, seen as the 'enacted beliefs' i.e., belief in action, where teaching in the classroom is seen as manifestation of teacher cognition. Classroom observations also identified incidence of the core-peripheral beliefs dynamic as elucidated later.

Verbal data and reported data have inherent weaknesses as participants may be keen to present themselves in a different light and cognitions are not easily expressed. Their responses may be tuned to what they perceive the interviewer wants or is acceptable norm (Collins, et al., 2005). My presence in classrooms may well have resulted in 'observer paradox' i.e., 'by observing people's behaviour we often alter the very behavioural patterns we wish to observe' (Labov, 1972, in Spencer, 2015, p. 448), which may have impacted teacher actions during observation thereby distorting the data. These effects may have been mitigated by triangulation of data from different sources.

Findings

The findings are presented below in table 2 under the categories 'stated' and 'enacted' beliefs to show the impact of these on teacher cognition, and some of

these are dealt with in detail in the discussion section to highlight the focus of the article.

Table 1.
Findings from data

Stated beliefs from Apprenticeship of observation	Stated beliefs from interviews/questionnaires	Enacted beliefs from Classroom observations
The study participants had not been taught speaking in primary, secondary & higher secondary schools. Teaching speaking was not included in pre-reform teacher education. Teaching speaking was included in post-reform teacher education.	Teachers have a clear definition of what teaching speaking is (see table 2). Teachers give priority to teaching other language skills than speaking. Teachers believe in 'doing' speaking' than 'teaching' speaking. Error correction and feedback indicate the dominance of implicit teaching. Error correction and feedback approach indicate teacher focus on fluency over accuracy. Teachers are aware that teacher talk predominates in the classroom, which they regard as meaningful input for their students to learn English. Teachers acknowledge that student talk helps in speaking English. Some teachers identify that they have self-efficacy in spoken English. Teachers are deeply committed to providing a safe, secure and low-anxiety environment for students.	See table 2. Classroom observation revealed talk as interaction, which would promote dialogic communication in teaching speaking, is not present. Talk as transaction, which conveys message is used as one-way or monologic communication by teachers when they use display (closed questions) and is used extensively. Talk as performance is seen when students make presentations using PPT or otherwise as individuals or in a group.

Table 2.
Teachers' definition of how they teach speaking (author, 2018, p. 169)

Activities mentioned by teachers as TS (m) Stated beliefs	
Activities observed in teachers' classes (o) Enacted beliefs	

Teachers:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a. Grammar exercises	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o
b. Grammar teaching in context			m/o	m/o	m/o		
c. Reading aloud	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o
d. Display questions on texts	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o
e. Display questions on lyrics	m			m/o	m		m/o
f. Reporting on pair/group work on texts	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o
g. Pair/group presentations	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o
h. Using a film as a 'hook' for discussion	m	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m/o	m
i. Dictation			m		m/o		
j. Discussion of current affairs		m	m/o	m	m		
k. CALL (computer assisted language learning)			o		o		
l. Peer interviews to encourage speaking					m		
m. 'Speed dating'				m			

The data revealed that Grade 8 teachers define teaching speaking and teach speaking through reading and writing (and to a lesser degree listening), reading aloud, games, grammar exercises, dictation, student talk in pairs/group work, presentations followed by question answers and discussion. Teacher talk and listening to multimodal texts in English is viewed as 'meaningful input'. Teachers give importance to students speaking English in class, which they define as 'meaningful output' achieved through 'learning by doing' and identify their duty as preparing students for speaking because it is assessed in the exam. They perceive feedback and error correction as important but are wary about it hindering student talk. All of them underline the importance of a safe EFL environment to ensure mitigation of student anxiety to promote learning and believe that fluency is more important than accuracy.

Congruence between 'stated' and 'enacted' beliefs

The findings from the interviews and questionnaire reveal a high degree of congruence between teacher cognition and praxis when it is 'doing' speaking. The 'stated beliefs' from the interviews and questionnaire reveal that teachers do not value the speaking skill as highly as other skills. Interestingly, 95 % of English teachers also teach Faroese or Danish or both, and one of them said he/she was more focused on student competence in Faroese as English is 'only an L3' (teacher 3). All of them said they used writing and listening as the platform for speaking. Teacher 6 concentrated on teaching grammar and writing more than speaking, "because mistakes in the written language reflect badly on individuals." He/she mentioned that "grammar and reading were given priority and that teaching writing was easier compared to teaching speaking". Several

teachers indicated that they focus more on writing and reading than speaking “because students should have confidence when writing for success in examinations” (teacher 1).

These trends could be a result of exposure to the Grammar Translation Method with its primary focus on decontextualised grammar teaching and emphasis on literary analyses, which was the preferred mode of teaching according to the teachers’ descriptions of how they were taught. This ‘apprenticeship of observation’ has contributed to how they perceive teaching speaking should be implemented. They identified their exposure to EFL in compulsory and higher secondary schools and teacher education (prior to 2008) as being “very grammar and literature-oriented with grammar exercises and translation” (teacher 4) being the mainstay of teaching. As students, “they only spoke English if they were making presentations” (ibid). The findings underline that teachers’ ‘stated beliefs’ comprise ‘doing’ speaking instead of ‘teaching’ speaking.

Teaching speaking as defined and practised by grade 8 teachers

All fourteen teachers described their approach to teaching speaking as follows: as teacher or student reading aloud in class, grammar teaching in context or per se, translation, teacher-led display questions (closed questions with a ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answer) on written materials read in class or at home, pair/group work on texts in class, listening to texts/ music lyrics, film appreciation, dictation, and individual/pair student presentations. Their identification of what is teaching speaking and their teaching of the skill show considerable deviation from the aspects highlighted in figure 1. “There are traces of the various theories integrated into the model of the ‘Teaching-speaking cycle’ (fig 1) in the chequered approach of grade 8 TS in EFL” (author, 2018). There are hints of Stage 2 in the vocabulary input teachers provide in class, Stage 3 with a hint of focus on fluency seen when students report back from group work, Stage 4 in the focus on pronunciation and Stage 7 in the limited practice of feedback and student error correction. Grade 8 teachers exhibit an eclectic, diffused approach to TS with primary emphasis on ‘doing speaking’. The classroom observations reinforced their description of teaching and made it clear that teaching speaking appears to have a set form in grade 8 as seen in table 1 above. It also reinforces the close correlation between ‘stated’ and ‘enacted’ beliefs in this context.

All teachers acknowledged that they adopted an implicit approach to teaching speaking, i.e., not specific teaching of speaking. Occasionally, in giving feedback to students for a presentation or answers to questions, teachers resorted to explicit teaching of grammar to provide input for students to understand their mistakes. Three teachers spoke of recasting student sentences with explanations of the contrast between Faroese and English syntax, and this was evident in their classes.

All teachers speak English in their classes to a greater or lesser degree with varying reasons for doing so. Eleven teachers mentioned that they were giving meaningful input by doing this. Teacher talk dominated more than student talk in the classroom indicating a mainly monologic set up and reinforced already stated teacher beliefs. Teachers claimed that they spoke too much, and this was “between 50-65 % of the time” (teacher 3). A few teachers spoke English 60-80 %, some 50/50 English and Faroese and others 25 % English. The reason for using Faroese was to ensure that the needs of various students were met based on their competence in English. One teacher said that if “I do not speak English, then the students would not be motivated to do so either” (teacher 7). Teachers believe students must speak English in class as this will “equip them to speak English in a real-life situation” (teacher 7). Though their emphasis was on speaking being ‘learnt by doing’, there were only a few instances of student talk to be seen in the classroom observations.

The ‘enacted beliefs’ from classroom observations of six sessions for each teacher reveal the activities used in class (table 1). These activities are what teachers defined and identified as their teaching of speaking in EFL.

The high degree of congruence between teacher cognition and teachers’ interpretation of teaching speaking as ‘doing’ speaking through ‘stated’ and ‘enacted’ beliefs has been established to identify the teaching of speaking specific to these teachers when analysed in the light of the teaching-speaking cycle. These findings place the Faroese teacher participants as typical when it comes to findings on teaching speaking in EFL based on the few studies that have directly dealt with the relationship between teacher cognition and teaching speaking. This is because ‘teaching’ speaking is often interpreted as ‘doing’ speaking by EFL teachers.

The Core-peripheral beliefs dynamic

There were some instances of incongruence in the core-peripheral beliefs dynamic. Teachers stated the importance of students speaking in the class. They designated error correction and on-the-spot feedback as useful input during student talk to improve speaking. Almost every teacher spoke of the importance of this input, but observations demonstrated its rarity in the classroom.

Post-reform teachers called student talk ‘meaningful output’/ ‘learning by doing’, in the interviews, but these again appear to be peripheral beliefs as dialogic communication was minimal. Extended discourses were few with display questions dominating teacher-student exchanges.

Teachers were apprehensive that error correction would affect the already rare production of spoken English in the classroom by shy students and students with various challenges. Another concern was that students would “be bullied if they did not speak correctly” (teacher 3). Post-observation discussions with the teachers revealed that the core belief in the importance of student security

undermined the peripheral belief of the relevance of immediate feedback for student learning.

The core belief taking precedence among the teachers was wanting a safe and secure learning environment for their students, and this core belief appears to have significantly influenced their teaching speaking.

'Doing' speaking or 'teaching' speaking

The teachers believe teaching speaking should empower students to use "English during travel, communication with native English speakers and real-life situations" (teacher 1). Their teaching did not appear to be focused on these goals. There was no independent, extended dialogic exchanges in the classroom. While this too could be attributed to the core belief of wanting a safe and secure environment for the students, it may also be an indication of teachers not always being cognizant of their actions in the classroom as identified by Lockwood (2007).

Teacher talk as 'meaningful input'

Teachers regard teacher talk in English as 'meaningful input' for the students and modelling language for them in the classroom. This belief was seldom transferred to praxis. Some teachers admitted in the interviews that they spoke more Faroese than English as they it might otherwise demotivate some students or pose challenges to weak students. The belief dichotomy is evident - the core belief that students should feel they belong in the classroom and thereby thrive in the environment is more powerful than the peripheral belief of the efficacy of 'meaningful input' in teaching speaking.

Teacher efficacy in speaking English

Nearly 75 % of the teachers in the study mentioned in their interviews and questionnaires that they perceived the spoken proficiency of their students in the classroom as superseding their own. This impacted their sense of self-efficacy and may be a reason why they are not comfortable teaching speaking, even though, on average, quite a few teachers spoke English at least 50 % of the time in the classroom. Nevertheless, they focused on getting all students speaking in the classroom, which they clearly stated was quite a challenge.

Discussion

The literature review indicated that 'stated beliefs' are teachers verbally expressing their beliefs about teaching. These may be complete or partial, and in some cases, teachers may be unable to articulate their beliefs (Sahin et al., 2002). In my study, the teachers have clear specific 'stated beliefs' about teaching speaking in EFL which are nearly identical in the data from semi-structured

interviews and questionnaires and fit the definition of 'doing' speaking. Therefore, the 'stated beliefs' of the grade 8 teachers of English match what Goh and Burns (2012) define as 'doing' speaking, where students are given the opportunity to speak rather than specifically being taught speaking.

The teachers appear to use elements of Grammar-Translation Method and elements of Communicative Language teaching (CLT) in some independent student activities in small projects. Facilitating group work, using language for communicative activities like discussions, and student presentations indicate some aspects of the CLT approach. Activities that facilitate student spoken performance in class alone do not fulfil the criteria for teaching speaking as the process of speaking is highly complex comprising physical, cognitive and socio-cultural interplay in real-time (Goh and Burns, 2012). It may be fair to argue that a focus on 'doing' speaking is a lost opportunity for explicitly teaching speaking, which research indicates is crucial for students' mastery of this skill.

What is thought-provoking and relevant is to analyse the Faroese situation to arrive at possible indicators for this status quo. Based on how teacher knowledge influences decision-making, Guerriero (2017) says 'making good pedagogical decisions hinges on the quality of the pedagogical knowledge held by the teacher' (p. 6). Interviews, questionnaire and observation data reveal that teachers have general pedagogical knowledge but appear not to fully know how to teach EFL speaking, and thereby lack content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge of it. This is not unique to the Faroese teachers as other studies on the subject show similar challenges (Chen and Goh, 2014).

If knowledge of how to teach speaking is to be acquired, it could come from three possible sources: 'apprenticeship of observation', being formally taught in teacher education, or from experiential knowledge and dialogue with colleagues. The influence of the 'apprenticeship of observation' can be deduced in grade 8 teachers' perceptions of teaching speaking as data from interviews/questionnaire showed the predominance of the Grammar-Translation method in their own education. While their teaching approach is not solely through Grammar-Translation, some tendencies like teaching grammar in isolation, reading aloud and doing translations predominate as elicited from their interview data appear to reflect their experiences as students themselves.

Knowledge of what speaking is, what teaching speaking involves, how it is to be taught in EFL all require some input. A source of formal teaching of speaking could have been teacher education, but pre-reform teachers made it clear that they had not been taught second language acquisition or the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL), but they had what approximated to Grammar-Translation and literary analysis of different genres. They were all educated in the only teacher education available in the islands and had no access to in-service training within TEFL. Therefore, to expect them to have knowledge of or reflect the theoretical principles of teaching speaking in praxis is unrealistic as would also be learning from peers as highlighted by Kleickman et al., (2013, p. 64)

'Several studies suggest that teaching experience needs to be coupled with thoughtful reflection on instructional practice, with non-formal learning through interactions with colleagues, and with deliberative formal learning opportunities'.

The two post-reform teachers showed awareness of the theoretical framework for teaching speaking but had not observed explicit teaching of speaking during their practicum as pre-service teachers. These teachers know teaching speaking theoretically i.e., content knowledge, but their short teaching experience may mean that their 'apprentice of observation' overshadows the teacher education input. This could be the result of having declarative knowledge (knowing that), but not enough time as beginners to convert it to procedural knowledge (knowing how).

The 'deliberative formal learning opportunities' (Kleickman et al., 2013, p. 64) could encompass professional development courses for teachers. The interviews revealed that teachers had not attended courses for many years. Three of them had been sent on one course and that was a specific course in using the 'Pitstop' textbooks. One teacher had 19 years of experience and said, "I have not been to a single course in all my 19 years of teaching (teacher 7). All the participants were vehement about the desperate need for professional development. Wyatt and Borg (2011) suggest that professional development of teachers must be 'distributed over time rather than intensively' (p. 249) using action research, development of teachers by the organisation and through individual commitment, supportive mentoring and tutoring, which may prove necessary and relevant to the Faroese context.

The reasons for congruence or incongruence highlight the complex relationship between 'stated' and 'enacted beliefs'. When it comes to the core-peripheral belief dichotomy, the incongruence in beliefs may originate from teachers' 'apprenticeship of observation', lack of pedagogical content knowledge for teaching speaking, or just an unconscious/individual style of teaching which views student talk as belonging in activities like presentations and reading aloud activities and the initiation-response-feedback sequences.

Congruence is influenced by teacher expertise and level of development (Basturkmen, 2012; Buehl & Beck, 2015), but in grade 8 English teaching, this cannot be the case because of the lack of content knowledge of pre-reform teachers and of pedagogical content knowledge. On the other hand, it matches a situation described by Barnard & Burns (2012):

... where access to explicit theories was quite limited, the teachers' beliefs were rooted in their personal and collective experiences. Their teaching practices were regulated by normative ways of teaching and learning which were historically embedded in their local context, and into which they were socialised (p. 97).

Therefore, grade 8 teachers in not having benefitted from theory-informed teaching have created their own approach to it. This is perhaps a convincing

reason for why teachers 'do speaking' and not 'teach speaking', and for the high degree of congruence in the understanding of the concept of teaching speaking as 'doing speaking' which has become the default practice.

Implications for research and practice

This case study has confirmed the impact of teacher cognition on teaching speaking in EFL. It has showcased the effect of the 'apprenticeship of observation' on teacher cognition and established the congruence between teacher cognition and teaching speaking in grade 8, which is true to research in the field. It has also explored the limited dissonance between core and peripheral beliefs and reasoned that the underlying cause may be due to the hierarchical nature of beliefs and the effect of teachers' lack of content and pedagogical content knowledge of teaching speaking in EFL.

The study could lay claim to breaking new ground in a limited sense as no research has been conducted on teacher cognition and EFL teaching in general or teaching speaking in particular in the Faroe Islands. Given that 31.8 % of grade 8 English teachers participated in the study, with many of them teaching grade 9 as well, the picture that emerges of teaching speaking could be cautiously viewed as collective English teacher cognition. This is because 68.2% of the English teachers who were not part of this study, and form the majority, match my sample with regard to national, socio-cultural, and educational backgrounds up to teacher education, which is some justification for assuming that it may be a fairly reliable representation of teaching speaking in English. While the findings share similarities to other, this study might be significant in the EFL context for systematically revealing the impact of lack of content and pedagogical content knowledge on teacher cognition and teaching as also the in-depth analysis of the reasons for the high congruence between grade 8 EFL teacher cognition of 'teaching' speaking.

Conclusion

The 'apprenticeship of observation' has shaped a teaching toolkit for teaching speaking in English for grade 8 Faroese teachers leading to an almost complete congruence between teacher cognition and 'teaching' speaking. Lack of content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge and little or no opportunity for professional development for grade 8 teachers present complex challenges to the effective teaching of speaking in EFL. The core-peripheral belief dynamic in the study underscores that teaching settings are unique and have a marked influence on the teaching approach and environment.

There are lessons to be learnt for teacher training and professional development of teachers in this context and underlines the importance of continued professional development for teachers. The article offers valuable insight into an instrument that can be used for optimising teaching speaking in

the Faroese context in its highlighting of the Teaching-Speaking Cycle. In mapping the status quo in teaching speaking in EFL in grade 8 in the Faroe Islands, it offers a potential point of departure with regard to language teaching as part of the Faroese compulsory school reform, which is in the pipeline.

Future Research

As there is no current research on teacher cognition and teaching of EFL in the Faroe Islands, this study may provide useful insight into studying other foreign languages as well. Further, it could inform teaching of Faroese as a second language, which commenced in autumn 2021.

Acknowledgements

I thank the school principals for giving me permission for the observations and the teachers for their kind and willing participation.

Declaration of interest statement

There was no conflict of interest.

Ethical declaration

All participants in this study gave their informed consent to it and signed the relevant form – “Declaration of Confidentiality and Consent in Research Participation” to endorse it.

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Teacher challenges in Faroese Compulsory Schools during the COVID-19 Pandemic and Support from School Leaders.



Fróðskaparrit 68 (2022): 56-86
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Avbjóðingar hjá lærarum í fólkkúlanum undir korona-farsóttini og stuðulin frá skúlaleiðarum

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Abstract

This mixed method pilot study aimed to elicit the impact of COVID-19 on Faroese compulsory school teachers as professionals and people in 2020-21. The objectives were to understand teacher and teaching challenges during the pandemic, positive and negative experiences, teacher evaluation of the efficiency and effectiveness of the crisis leadership of their school leaders, identify concerns with 'learning loss' and explore any evidence of organisational learning for schools. The findings reveal that teacher challenges included lack of digital competence, coping with the change in the teaching-learning environment, the difficulty in adapting to Information Communication Technology (ICT), reduced teacher self-efficacy and emotional stress. It revealed the tremendous concern teachers have for their students' learning outcomes and well-being. Teacher evaluation of their leaders is fairly positive. It is not very clear if organisational learning has resulted from the COVID-19 crisis and been anchored to provide a basis for tackling future crises. This may be significant in providing school staff resilience to cope with any future change in the external environment and the resultant consequences for leadership, teachers and students.

Úrtak

Hendan verkætlan hevur til endamáls at kanna, hvørja fakliga og menniskjaliga ávirkan COVID-19 farsóttin í 2020-2021 hevði á fólkkúlalærarar í Føroyum. Høvuðsmálið við verkætlanini var at nema sær kunnleika og fáa innlit í, hvørjar avbjóðingar fólkkúlalærarar høvdu undir koronafarsóttini, bæði jaligar og neiligar upplivingar, at fáa innlit í, hvussu fólkkúlalærarar eftirmetta

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teirra egnu skúlaleiðslu og teirra førleikar at handfara kreppustøðuna og samstundis at stuðla undirvísarunum, og at áseta trupulleikan við "learning loss" og kanna møguleikan fyri organisatiónslæring. Kanningin vísti, at nakrar av høvuðsavbjóðingunum hjá læraranum vóru manglandi tøkniligir førleikar, broytingar í undirvísingarháttinum, trupulleikar við at umstilla seg og trupult við at nýta samskiftistøkni (KST). Eisini vísti kanningin, at fólkkaskúlalærararnir høvdu lækkandi motivatión og eyðkenni av strongd. Harumframt eina stóra stúran um trivnaðin hjá næmingunum og teirra heildarúrslit av skúlagongdini. Eftirmetingin vísti í stóran mun, at fólkkaskúlalærararnir høvdu eitt jaligt sjónamið um skúlaleiðsluna. Tað er ikki týðuligt, um koronafarsóttin hevur elvt til organsatiónslæring og givið førleikar at handfara framtíðar kreppustøður. Hetta kann hava avgerandi týdning í mun til at geva fólkkaskúlanum evni at tillaga seg og handfara framtíðar broytingar í samfelagnum.

Keywords: COVID-19, teacher and teaching challenges, school leadership, learning loss, compulsory schools, organisational learning.

Leitorð: EFL, lærarakognitió, frálæru við talu, kjarnu-periferisannføring, kunnleiki um námsfrøðiligt innihald.

Introduction

COVID-19 has had an incontrovertible impact on education. It brought with it a wave of challenges that affected every aspect of the school environment – the leaders, teachers, students, parents and other stakeholders. It became a 'supernova' (Azorín 2020) creating 'undeniable chaos' (Hargreaves and Fullan 2020) and shaking the very fabric of education' (Harris and Jones, 2020, p 243). Unique to this crisis must be its pervasive effect on the educational system giving rise to debates on and the importance of teacher resilience.

Teaching in the Faroe Islands during COVID -19 was relegated to a remote, online-based activity limiting most learners to asynchronous teacher support or synchronous on-screen support. This was dependent on whether the students were able to meet on campus as was sometimes possible or were at home being taught online. The sea change it brought about to the approaches to teaching for individual teachers may have created a sense of incongruence between what teachers believe, think, do and feel (Borg, 2019) as routine, and the abrupt need to change, modify and adapt one's actions to the changing environment. The Faroese schools were online for between two to four weeks on average, after which students returned to schools with reduced number of lessons and subjects. The students are aged between 5 and 16 in the compulsory schools.

In this unique situation of 'forced' digital learning resultant of the COVID-19 school lockdown, the need for insights to inform education policy, praxis and learning for the future underpins the focus of this pilot study. It is incumbent upon research to 'contribute to the current debate about schooling by providing

relevant information from its knowledge base and generating new knowledge where needed and when possible' (Huber and Helm, 2020, p. 238). It is with this focus that this article hopes to contribute to educational research on COVID-19 impact on the teachers.

Rationale

There is a valid need to elicit teachers' views of the kind of support they sought and received from their school leaders during the crisis as teachers and teaching underpin the very fabric of school systems. To explore their experiences during the pandemic can afford valuable insight into the kind of support and guidance that could empower them in times of crisis. A short, quick pilot study was conducted to elicit the impact of COVID-19 on Faroese compulsory school teachers as professionals and people. The objectives were to glean teacher challenges during the pandemic, positive and negative experiences, establish how teachers evaluated the efficiency and effectiveness of the crisis leadership of their school leaders, explore any evidence of 'learning loss' and evidence of organisational learning from the crisis.

The study could also be viewed as a barometer survey in its focus on assessing the impact of a social phenomenon in a particular context, its relevance for action in its aim to provide relevant information for action to specific target groups (Department of Education - Undirvísingarstýrið, school leadership and teachers) and do it quickly to enable data-informed prompt action which includes multi-perspectivity in its inclusion of school leader and teacher perspectives (Huber and Helm, 2020). This pilot study is a precursor to another COVID-19 study and is by no means an in-depth or representative study of teachers during the pandemic. It is in keeping with the Eldridge et al. (2016) definition of pilot studies as precursors to a future project. Bugge et al. (2013) agreed that pilot trials are "a miniature version of the main trial, which aim to test aspects of study design and processes for the implementation of a larger main trial in the future" (p. 2).

Plans are underway to conduct a comprehensive study in the near future on the impact of COVID-19 on students through the eyes of the students, teachers and leaders in the Faroese compulsory school system. That study will have dual perspectives – impact on learning and impact on student well-being, and this study should provide some input for it. It will not be easy to assess the full impact unless more years have passed, but nevertheless some impact assessment for student learning may reveal if and to what extent 'learning loss' has taken place in Faroese compulsory schools in this pandemic period.

However, what is obvious is that home learning has posed challenges and exposed the lack of equity in the system with not all children having access to technology and thereby unable to spend more time on home learning (Andrew et al., 2020; Darling-Hammond and Kini, 2020). It has also underlined the

importance of the leader's role. "School leaders will need to be discerning therefore, about the digital products they choose and to be careful about striking a balance between technology and pedagogy in their school" (Hargreaves 2020 in Harris and Jones, 2020, p. 245). Ultimately, pedagogy is the key to effective learning, and while technology has a part to play, it is the human dimension of effective teaching that makes the difference (Harris and Jones, 2020). A positive is though that the pandemic has seen teachers becoming more conversant with digital pedagogies (Moss et al., 2021). It is important to examine student performance in terms of 'learning loss', student well-being together with teaching as a positive influence on student learning in the Faroese educational COVID-19 environment.

Theoretical and research underpinnings

In the context of this pilot study, the significance of principal transformational leadership, teacher self-efficacy and research on COVID-19 impact on teachers and teaching might offer a basis for various foci on the issue and create a viable basis for data analysis encompassing as they do key, relevant voices 'in the know' to fulfil the aim of the study.

Principal transformational leadership

Transformational leadership as defined by Bass & Riggio (2006) highlights the role of leaders as "those who stimulate and inspire followers to both achieve extraordinary outcomes and, in the process, develop their own leadership capacity. Transformational leaders help followers grow and develop ... by empowering them and by aligning the objectives and goals of the individual followers, the leader, the group, and the larger organization" (p. 3).

There is clear research evidence that validates the contribution of principal transformational leadership to establishing positive school environments, and thereby, improved teacher performance (Hallinger, 2003; Day, Gu, and Sammons, 2016; Marks and Printy, 2003; Leithwood and Jantzi, 2005). Crucially, transformational principal leadership motivates and inspires teachers resulting in sustainable outcomes (Day et al., 2016). This engenders teacher participation and enthusiasm in committing to attaining organisational goals, and significantly, contributes to the empowering of teacher leadership (Allen, Grigsby and Peters, 2015; Demir, 2008).

Studies further reveal that leadership support sought by teachers is being given clear expectations, appropriate encouragement and acknowledging and rewarding good performance (Grissom, 2011). Leaders who act as facilitators, collaborators and interpret their roles as team leaders or leaders of leaders (i.e., teachers as leaders) are seen to attract and retain teachers in schools (Brown and Wynn, 2009). Such leadership fosters employee engagement and buy in of organisational goals (Stone et al., 2004). Through highlighting goals and

objectives, transformational leaders are able to attract or build up follower commitment.

Effective leaders have to constantly work with and expand their personal qualities and transfer these into leadership praxis (Leithwood et al., 2020). Their success in fulfilling their remit is highly context-dependent (Hallinger, 2018; Eacott, 2019; Hoogsteen, 2020). Yu et al., (2002) draw attention to the key advantages of transformational leadership as promoting development of employees, ensuring personal commitment to organisational goals and building positive relationship between the leaders and the led. Crucially, this relationship may be tested in times of crisis, but nevertheless, mitigate the impact of crises (Fernandez & Shaw, 2020). Leithwood et al., (2006) see leadership as pivotal and a catalyst for positive impact in times of crisis.

Teacher self-efficacy as potential buffer in crises

A definition of self-efficacy is teachers' belief in their skills in designing their lessons, planning them and implementing their teaching to attain learning outcomes (Bandura, 1997). It is teachers' "judgments about their abilities to promote student learning" (Hoy and Spero, 2005, p. 343). In designing a teaching approach, teacher strategy rests on an analysis of options that are available to the teachers depending on their knowledge of the teaching-learning environment, their knowledge of students and knowledge of content and pedagogical knowledge of a subject (Vijayarathan, 2017).

Teacher self-efficacy is contextual (Bandura, 1997; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2006), and the school setting has a crucial influence on teacher self-efficacy (Tschannen-Moran and Johnson, 2011). Teacher self-efficacy within the context of 'self-determination theory' of Ryan and Deci (2000) reveals that it awards teachers with a competence through intrinsic motivation (Wyatt, 2015); it engenders autonomy and shapes teacher attitudes to work and provides a sense of fulfilment that comes from establishing a relationship with students and their teaching environments (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Therefore, when this environment changed drastically in the pandemic, it is bound to have impacted teacher performance and motivation. COVID-19 created near chaos in its onset in the teaching environment, and to claim this drastic change may have been detrimental to teacher self-efficacy cannot be an exaggeration.

Teacher self-efficacy can be influenced by student motivation, engagement, and achievement (Lashinsky, 2012; Morris et al., 2017; Pajares, 1992). The behaviour of students, their engagement with learning and the school environment acquired other characteristics than the norm in the pandemic period, and teachers were deeply concerned and communicated this to their leaders (Vijayarathan, 2021). Self-efficacy impacts both the effort teachers make and their resilience. In so doing, self-efficacy can both influence the course of action a person takes in a given context and the resilience needed to achieve the task (Schunk et al., 2000). Teacher self-efficacy influences teacher cognition

(Putman, 2012) and has clear implications for teacher action in context and the teaching-learning environment (Van Uden et al., 2014). “Teachers’ agency is understood as the willingness to engage in iterative, practical-evaluative, projective, and transformative action despite the existence of practical, personal, and institutional constraints” (Damsa et al., 2021, p. 1). Without this agency, it may be difficult for teachers to adapt to changing their teaching approach. This is because teaching in a crisis situation demands a judicious combination of individual responsibility, working closely with management to manage and avail of digital and other relevant resources (Langford and Damsa, 2020). As COVID-19 dramatically changed the contextual milieu of teaching, it is pertinent to consider teacher self-efficacy as a factor that may have been affected in this period.

COVID-19 impact on teachers

The COVID-19 crisis must have markedly impacted teachers and teaching. Hargreaves (2021) claims that research has not focused sufficiently on teachers’ experiences during this difficult time, ‘While a lot of the post pandemic debate has focused on adding learning time, increasing technology use, and retaining or reintroducing testing as ways to compensate for learning loss, far less attention has been paid to the short-term and long-term impact of the pandemic on teachers and teaching’ (p. 1836).

The ‘professional capital of teaching’ (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012) is considered pivotal for quality. The first aspect – the single most influential factor on student achievement being the teacher is well-documented in educational literature (Hattie 2009). This pandemic highlighted the importance of teachers as influence of teacher on learning determined by quality of teaching became even more pertinent (Damsa et al., 2021). The value of teachers’ earned expertise (not easily replaceable) and pivotal role in education has been highlighted by the pandemic.

Hargreaves’ (2021) delineates the primary characteristics of teaching and teacher quality i.e., “teacher expertise”, teaching as “emotional practice” – the reciprocal relationship between teacher and student well-being and the ways in which external changes either enrich or deplete teacher’s “professional capital”, especially their “social capital” (p. 1835). So, in the context of COVID -19, pronounced worry and anxiety about student well-being coupled with a possible dearth of digital pedagogical competence would ostensibly influence teacher self-efficacy and resultant teacher actions.

COVID-19 impact on teaching

The demands placed on adapting teaching to an online environment with little or no preparation has posed multiple challenges for teaching. Research indicates that the dominating discourse from the teaching perspective reveals streamlining teaching to focus on “core subjects”, discontinuation of other subjects, a reduction in academic standards and teaching subjects outside the teachers’ portfolios (Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2021). It underlined that student satisfaction arises from combined learner and teacher ability to interact, collaborate & build relationships, which was compromised in pandemic teaching.

Furthermore, teaching during this period revealed some lack of pertinent pedagogical approaches for online teaching. Research suggests that teachers’ digital competence can become ‘dated’ given the fast pace in which technology evolves. This lack of up-to-date competence and a failure to acknowledge or even identify the implications this may have for teacher pedagogical competence (Gudmundsdottir and Hatlevik, 2018) could affect the quality of teacher agency and teacher self-efficacy. Another aspect is the lack of equity and social justice in the school system in terms of information gap and availability of technological resources for students. This had implications for student participation in the online milieu, with teachers and teaching becoming affected by the disparity among students.

The next section touches upon the more obvious concern for authorities, school leaders and parents, which has been the possible impact on student learning outcomes as the logical objective of education.

COVID-19 impact on possible ‘learning loss’

As student learning is the key focus of education, any impact of ‘learning loss’ could reach far beyond the time frame of the pandemic. Learning loss is conceptualised as ‘any specific or general loss of knowledge and skills or reversals in academic progress, most commonly due to extended gaps or discontinuities in a student’s education’ (Learning loss, 2017). COVID -19 has definitively resulted in interrupted education, and the hurriedly constructed online teaching is likely to be less than optimal and fit-for-purpose as Faroese school leaders identified (Vijayarathan, 2021) leading to perhaps some extent of learning loss, and efforts to mitigate its impact become essential. The extent to which ‘learning loss’ occurs is determined by access to remote learning, its quality, support from home and student engagement (Dorn et al., 2020). Learning left to the home front in a regular school system is not conducive to equity as evidenced in studies on homework and extended summer vacations (Rothstein, 2020). The limited opportunity for student participation in online learning influences learning negatively – possible ‘learning loss’/ ‘interrupted learning’. Given the added exacerbation of student stress and the consequent

lack of engagement in their studies adds yet another dimension to the complexity that the pandemic brought in its wake. Kuhfeld et al. (2020) posit that the most likely impact of interrupted or disrupted learning during COVID-19 is to increase the range of student achievement requiring teachers to specifically focus on this is their praxis.

Obviously, 'learning loss' does not occur for all students, as self-directed learning, which comprises learner ability to manage study time, ability to self-assess, minimise distractions, evaluate their need for help and their motivation can be managed by some students – but in the interests of equity, all learners' needs should be met using targeted solutions to the issue (Hattie, 2021). Students do not just imbibe the facets of self-directed learning – they have to be taught these skills – there was no time to teach the students in media res, and if self-directed learning did not already really have a place in the pre-COVID-19 school, then it is a deficit that is likely to have impacted learning. COVID-19 has highlighted the value of teacher expertise, which cannot be substituted easily with the makeshift support of parents and families (ibid). The uniqueness of the teacher-student relationship, the ubiquitous nature of communication, emotional and social ties within a school setting, the face-to-face communication and collaboration between student and student, student-teacher and teacher-teacher interaction all play their pivotal parts in the complex journey of learning and were compromised in the pandemic.

COVID- 19 in the context of Faroese schools

The Faroese schools were online for an average of two to four weeks, after which they returned to schools with reduced number of lessons and subjects comparable to the approach identified by (Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2021). The pandemic created a new reality for teachers and teaching. Firstly, it increased digital learning in a remote environment, which presented challenges for teachers in terms of sustaining student-teacher relationships. The emotional connections which underpin this relationship and maintaining student engagement, particularly of vulnerable and academically challenged students (Hagerman and Kellam, 2020) was yet another facet. Online teaching has nevertheless been a silver lining for children to whom school has been unsafe or fraught with challenges, and they may have benefitted serendipitously and enjoy improved learning and emotional well-being (Whitley, 2020).

Secondly, during the time when both face-to-face teaching and online teaching were being conducted simultaneously, teachers were challenged on both fronts. One required possible acquisition of new digital-oriented approaches and the other enforced certain changes to the classroom environment. Apart from demanding that teachers learn to teach remotely, functioning at times in a virtual environment required that their digital proficiency be up to par. Teachers had to learn to use digital platforms and accommodate new pedagogical approaches to facilitate online group work,

assessment, etc., while concurrently coaching students in using digital tools and helping them become independent and self-directed learners. Remote online learning provides reduced and less than optimal teacher support for vulnerable learners, who may lack proficiency and confidence in their abilities leading to less learning (Dynarski, 2018) and this may be applicable to the Faroese context.

Thirdly, physical distancing required that teachers police use of personal protective equipment (PPE) and sanitisation practices, while getting on with the business of teaching and ensuring that students felt safe and secure in this hastily created learning environment (Campbell et al. 2020). Finally, given that teaching is dependent on professional learning networks, a team approach – both collective and social – is a pivotal support for the teachers, and the COVID-19 set up removed this fundamental discourse from Faroese school corridors. Though online teacher meetings provided a formal forum, it may have impeded open teacher sharing of problems, challenges and requests for help.

Methodology

The methodology adopted for this pilot study is a mixed methods approach based on a questionnaire with both qualitative and quantitative elements. At the survey stage, the qual-quant factor is exemplified in the questions, while the analysis combines both aspects to arrive at a picture of the phenomena in context.

The ethos of qualitative research in its subjective interpretation and contextual focus – where teacher action in situ shaped by experience is recreated in a sense in the teachers' responding to the questionnaire – is what is pertinent. Thus, research makes inroads into eliciting a self-reflection by the teachers' as teaching professionals and makes its presence felt in the research environment (Kohlbacher, 2006). The stance is also idiographic (Starman, 2013) because teacher reflections are focused and gathered from a moment in time and every teacher's experience counts, despite their individuality, as they are co-participants in a collective experience of functioning during the pandemic. The research participants afford insight into the demands and changes that characterised their managing of the crisis impacting their teaching.

Researcher identity and authorial stance are the fulcrum in research undertakings (Kamler and Thomson, 2006; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Therefore, when researchers are reflexive in their analysis of participant accounts (Elliott, 2005), it helps illuminate the role of the researcher as narrator. The voices of the participants are given importance in the analysis through quotations and through organising their responses in a manner that benefits the reader and fulfils the aims of this pilot project.

As one who has a long history in education and is fully aware of teachers and teaching being the fulcrum of education, it is meaningful to gauge teacher action and reaction in an environment in flux. How teachers define their roles and their

relationship to teaching and students in this scenario has the potential to create a crisis management approach in schools to cope with and manage upheavals that occur in their external environment in the future. My perspective though is not 'emic' as I am not part of the compulsory education system, but that of an 'etic' observer committed to learning from the experience, which can hopefully benefit my pre-service teacher students.

Data Collection

In keeping with the 'etic' perspective and purpose of the pilot study, the instruments used for data collection were a mixed research questionnaire sent online via Survey Monkey to all the teachers through their teacher union webpage and Facebook/Messenger post COVID -19 school closure. The random, convenience sampling of teachers is nevertheless purposive in the sense that it goes to the experts, here the teachers, to elicit their experience of teaching during the pandemic.

The questionnaire used a combination of closed-ended and open-ended question for quantitative data and qualitative data respectively (Creswell, 2003). This mixed questionnaire enables a kind of triangulation with the open questions allowing for better accuracy in understanding respondents (Nunan, 1999). There were 14 questions in all section constituting two parts. The quantitative first section composed of 4-point Likert-type 6 questions (five of these were common to both teachers and school leaders) regarding leaders' support during the crisis and 8 open questions in the qualitative section (four of these were common to school leaders) in keeping with the aims of this pilot study.

There are distinct advantages in using questionnaires as part of online surveys. They offer a means for the researcher to access people with shared professions, attitudes, beliefs, and values concerning an issue (Wright 2017). They are time-saving, and the researcher receives instant feedback (Taylor, 2000). SurveyMonkey facilitates saving and exporting data in multiple formats, minimising human error (Varela et al., 2017). The use of online surveys is cost effective and convenient (Llieva et al., 2002) and ensures anonymity, which is crucial in a micro society like the Faroe Islands, where there is an added responsibility for a researcher to tread very carefully and respect the culture, where the concern to remain anonymous is pronounced (Vijayarathan, 2017). The anonymised responses as de facto set up in this survey instrument protects the identity of the respondents.

The disadvantages could be that some responses may be incomplete and unclear and have low rate of return. The option to leave questions unanswered were given, and this meant that some teachers did not respond to a couple of questions. As this was a pilot study with a focus on eliciting themes through appropriate survey questions and responses were needed to identify themes of relevance for the larger study in the pipeline, the number of respondents for a

pilot study I felt could be around 100 of around 850 teachers, and I received 103 responses in SurveyMonkey. Any quotations used in the article are translated as I am competent in Faroese and English, and the content did not challenge my capabilities.

Ethical Concerns in the Study

There were no major ethical concerns in this pilot project as responses were automatically anonymised through SurveyMonkey. The introductory text to the survey described the purpose of the survey, assured participants of their anonymity and free choice to participate. The ethical issues rested on me as the researcher fulfilling the need to represent findings honestly and respectfully. The coding by the project assistant as basis for analysis ensured the authenticity of the input from the study. The study is financed by funding leftover from a project grant, which I received for the earlier school leadership study, but has no bearing on the survey purpose or dissemination.

Data Analysis

The data was collated by a research assistant coding in NVivo using the codebook. The responses from the qualitative section of the questionnaire were coded in NVivo deductively based on the 16 thematic codes elicited from the literature review by the researcher to ensure alignment with the pilot study objectives. Using pre-existing codes, data was appropriately labelled before analytical interpretation and applied to the qualitative questions. During the process of coding, the research assistant added 5 more codes inductively. The research assistant coded in NVivo, and as the researcher, I printed out the coding to check that coding nodes complied with the coding themes. The researcher analysed the 21 thematic nodal data to arrive at the findings.

In the light of validity and reliability of qualitative research as highlighted by Noble and Smith (2015), efforts were made to maintain credibility in representing the focus of the study from the social reality of teacher perspectives on the COVID-19 impact on their teaching. The efforts focused on unambiguously and correctly presenting findings in keeping with the true value required in qualitative research. Communication and discussion with the research assistant in this context made it possible to be on track. In terms of consistency, I make my decisions as the researcher transparent in terms of sample numbers, method of data collection, coding and role of the research assistant.

It is hoped that confirmability has been achieved through truth value and consistency. In terms of applicability, the study could be conducted with members of the teaching profession regarding support from their leaders at secondary and tertiary levels. Researcher identity and authorial stance are the fulcrum in qualitative research undertakings (Kamler and Thomson, 2006, p. 68; Denzin and Lincoln 2011, pp. 14-15). Therefore, when researchers are reflexive

in their analysis of participant accounts (Elliott, 2005, p. 152), it helps illuminate the role of the researcher as narrator and interpreter.

Findings in Context and Discussion

The thematic analysis focused on key challenges that prevailed in Faroese compulsory schools during COVID-19 with specific reference to teachers' viewpoints of their experiences and their evaluation of the efficacy of their leaders in supporting them through this crisis. These are categorised thematically as delineated in this section. The table below sums up the findings from the quantitative section of the pilot study.

Table 1.
An overview of teacher perspectives

Issues during COVID - 19	Teachers (definitely agree + agree) n=103
1. School leaders planned specific activity together with teachers to gain objectives	80%
2. Teachers were actively supported through listening to their concerns	76%
3. Clear communication was received from the leaders creating trust and motivation	79%
4. Teachers received current, relevant & significant information from leaders	86%
5. COVID – 19 requires a different leadership approach to empower teachers & encourage them to do their best	94%
6. The leader supported me in carrying out teaching	82%

It appears that a fairly positive picture of Faroese leadership emerges from this non-representative sample given that approximately four-fifths of teachers give the impression that their leaders did some things appropriately. While this cannot provide any basis for generalisations on the quality of leadership in Faroese schools, it nevertheless provides some indication of leadership efficacy and teacher satisfaction as elucidated in the study. It is important to note that the pilot study only focused on eliciting teacher experience of the pandemic impact, and no attempt was made to ascertain individual leader performance in a manner befitting this positive feedback. The findings from the responses to the qualitative questions in the study are analysed thematically in the next section.

Teacher perspectives on their school leaders

The qualitative data underpins the quantitative one revealing that teachers saw their leaders as showing inclusive, strategic, active, hands-on and

motivational principal leadership. Teachers described how they were included in decision-making during online Teams meetings, where possible solutions were explored and adapted as necessary. Changes were made incrementally during the process to optimise teacher buy-in, action and confidence. They were given courses in Microsoft Teams, sometimes by the leader him/herself. A teacher speaks of how they 'shared knowledge and the leader listened actively during online meetings'.

Comments underpin the active, hands-on leadership with collective and individual help. The most commonly repeated comments comprise: 'Clear guidelines from the leader'; 'Lot of clear information and regular communication both written and spoken'; 'Acquired the necessary technology, made sure the teachers were taught how to use it and kept the parents informed of the developments'; 'gave one-to-one support'; 'could always count on leader support'; 'always ready to answer questions'; 'open, active, supportive' and 'encouraging, up building and clear with expectations'. One teacher describes the leader being 'compassionate and helpful' when the teacher felt 'helpless and out of depth'. Another says, 'my leader was patient, understanding, and when I was concerned, respected my fears and helped me through them, so I could teach knowing I was not alone.'

These positive leader actions could be categorised within the approaches to principal leadership as 'intellectual stimulation' which offers encouragement for teachers to explore new methods and approaches in their teaching and learn from their experiences (Bass and Riggio, 2006). The school leaders also exhibited 'individualised consideration' through sorting out issues for individual teachers, keeping active communication, being open to ideas from their teachers and offering encouragement and support (ibid). The other two approaches are 'inspirational motivation', where leaders are able to share their vision and motivate teachers and 'idealized influence', where leaders are role models who inspire trust and create respect, making it easy for teachers to follow their lead. Based on teacher responses, it would be fair to conclude that some Faroese school leaders have also adopted these approaches in their principal leadership style.

The data exposed some negative aspects of Faroese principal leadership. A few teachers declared that they 'got no help'; 'no communication between me and the leader'; 'don't think he/she did much'; 'the leader was passive'; 'was just the middleman who conveyed the decisions of the Department of Education' and 'I have worked by myself without anyone enquiring or giving me support'. Clearly, the negative feedback identifies some poor and indifferent principal leadership, which may have affected the motivation of some teachers and their self-efficacy, presumably already under some stress, given the near instant significant change in the teaching environment.

In general, leaders appear to have been supportive and have offered possible solutions to challenges teachers faced. In keeping with principal

transformational leadership, teachers have indicated that expectations were set, encouragement and support was given. The leaders appear to have been able to lead the teachers proactively during the crisis. Overall, based on teachers' feedback, there is a sense that leaders have been hands on and led from the front in tune with the kind of principal leadership desirable in a crisis.

The thematic analysis identified other issues as delineated below, and these encompass teachers' lived experiences during a stressful period and indicates the impact these factors had on teachers' professional actions.

Teacher Perspectives on their Challenges during COVID -19

Teacher Knowledge Gaps in ICT influenced COVID -19 Teaching

Digital competence and competence in digital pedagogy are fundamental to education in the 21 century (Stauffer, 2020) and key to ensuring digital literacy in students, one of the desired 21 century skills for learners. The lack of Information Communication Technology (ICT) skills among teachers must influence the educational ethos of their schools, cause emotional stress and negatively impact teacher self-efficacy, which in turn undermines teacher motivation and impairs performance (Bandura, 1997; Ryan and Deci, 2000).

Teacher responses focus on five aspects of their digital competence: i. teacher lack of digital competences; ii. need for courses and training in ICT as part of continuing professional development, which they see as the joint responsibility of the Faculty of Education and leadership; iii. facilitating student use of ICT; iv. using digital teaching as part of the regular teaching schedule with access to digital tools, and v. having pedagogical IT staff to equip teachers to master digital pedagogy.

Teacher flexibility in COVID-19 environment

The flexibility demanded in the sudden upheaval to teaching saw teachers creating their own solutions and innovation at the grassroots level. They planned lessons differently and taught using a modular concept so they could be sure that lesson sessions were a unit in themselves making it easier for students to complete parts of the syllabus and move on. Teachers used a combination of Teams and social media websites, particularly Facebook, to establish communication with students, each other and parents. They speak of 'just leaping into' online teaching. Nearly 70% speak of leaders' facilitation of online teaching.

Teacher adaptability to ICT

With regard to teachers adapting to the fluctuating learning-teaching environment, there is evidence of the resistance to change resulting in some teachers completely – 'switching off' as one teacher called it. This group of

teachers is not by any means a majority, but the findings provide a good overview of why teachers do not engage with online pedagogy. About a fifth of the teachers seem to have struggled with coping with online teaching demands because of their insecurity with Teams, lack of trust in the ethos of online education, resentment that they had to change their habitual teaching approaches, lack of motivation and fatigue brought about by stress. This negative stance to online teaching was evident, despite the support and help from the leadership, IT specialists and colleagues, and sometimes, even family. As pedagogical content knowledge underpins teacher self-efficacy, the likelihood is that lack of felicity with ICT may have impacted teacher self-efficacy.

Teachers who were open to change, familiar with Teams, willing to experiment saw opportunities – both for teaching and other teacher duties (attending online meetings, discussions, etc.) and took the chance to experiment. They committed to the online environment and tried to modify their approach and saw a clear future role for ICT in education with the proviso that teachers and students were trained properly, and the school invested in the necessary tools and training. As one teacher succinctly put it, ‘IT is important to teaching, but when IT fails, everything falls with it.’ Others saw ICT from a utilitarian perspective, and said it needed to be included in teacher repertoire as an additional competence.

Teacher Emotions in Teaching

Teacher efficiency and effectiveness distinctly affect student performance as teaching does not occur in a neutral environment – ‘it is an emotional practice, not just a cognitive and intellectual one’ (Hargreaves, 2021, p. 1845). For teachers, rewards of teaching include an emotional component as emotions underpin the teacher-student communication. In this context, the function of student feedback as indication of student comprehension and learning often contributes to job satisfaction (Lortie, 1975).

According to teachers, a sense of an emotionless vacuum was created in online remote teaching, which robbed teachers of their sounding board, i.e., synchronous feedback both verbal and non-verbal from students. They were difficult to sense in the online setting for various reasons from student non-participation, student ‘invisibility’ (not being able to see and read student faces/expressions as cameras were switched off) and intrusive parental presence in the digital classroom. Teachers could not gauge the effect of their teaching, and this created a sense of inadequacy and angst. This experience with seemingly reduced teacher self-efficacy influencing teacher emotion is a dominant discourse in this study. Teachers refer to a need for ‘crisis help’, ‘more focus on teacher as person instead of focusing on Microsoft Teams’, ‘understanding’, ‘compassion’, ‘empathy’, for the leader to say, ‘don’t spread yourself thin’ and ‘give me freedom to design my own teaching’.

What several teachers explicated is captured rather clearly in this teacher's words, 'ICT can never replicate the fundamental ethos of face-to-face communication and social intercourse – face-to-face interaction in learning is key'. Teachers were convinced that this crucial ingredient could not be replicated in the online environment and was reason enough to prefer face-to-face contact and togetherness with students.

Teacher concerns about student well-being, student engagement and possible 'learning loss'

As already established, student well-being and student engagement have a significant role in learning. A powerful quotation from one teacher encompasses what nearly three-fourths of teachers expounded. 'Most of my fear has been to do with student well-being. How is each individual student doing? How are they affected socially? Are they going to withdraw into themselves, get depression, and what about those who have troubled conditions in their homes? Are they suffering?'

Another teacher captures the thoughts of over 65% of colleagues, 'Will students be lonely, will weak students manage online? How good is it to stare at a screen all day? Are they able to look after themselves?'. One teacher declares, 'I called several of them at home... it really worries me a great deal... (Corona) teaching is not suitable for average and weak students – they produce little. So, to get them back on track afterwards is going to be a challenge', indicating a possible concern with 'learning loss'. A common, pronounced thread is well-expressed in this teacher comment: 'The creative and social aspect of learning and student-student interaction has all but become invisible – this social distancing with lack of contact with peers is simply not good at all'.

Furthermore, some shocking issues were brought to light in teacher voices: 'Some students don't want to hear or see teachers and classmates'; 'We know that alcohol and violence are present in some homes – I'm worried about students for whom this is reality'. 'Several parents of my students have noticed psychological problems in their children. In fact, one student said that he/she could not see the meaning in life anymore, and with cooperation from parents, the health nurse and the school leader, we fortunately handled this and ensured proper care was given to this student'.

While several teachers spoke of possible 'learning loss', in tune with the fear for and focus on student well-being, teacher disgruntlement with student disengagement was always anchored in the discourse of concern for their students. 'My students have still not caught up with the lessons lost in Corona teaching. It was impossible for me to replicate the social learning environment while they were home and online. It is not good for them to repeatedly adjust to the online environment and not have contact with classmates and friends in other classes. 'They have forgotten what they have been taught. I find myself having to repeatedly remind them that we have gone through this material

before'. 'It's as if everything taught before Corona has somehow disappeared. It is frustrating as students seem to have forgotten a lot or are not motivated to engage in lessons online'. This 'burden of care' as one teacher put it created a great deal of anxiety among teachers, emphasising the emotional ties involved in an educational set up and teacher role as nurturer, which is often overlooked in educational discourse (Vijayarathan, 2021).

Examination preparedness, completing syllabi, lack of student concentration and engagement leading to possible 'learning loss', student isolation with its consequences and student poor completion of homework were other valid concerns. One teacher states categorically, 'as a successful teacher with positive student learning outcomes for over 40 years in the profession, I would not praise this online learning as it is particularly ill-suited to average and weak students, students with various challenges and boys in general in its impersonal teacher-student approach'.

Looking at the situation from an organisational point of view, it is reassuring that Faroese teachers appear geared to prioritise student needs and exhibit such clear awareness of socio-psychological challenges to student well-being. This awareness may be advantageous when teachers take stock of any possible 'learning loss' and consciously design compensation strategies, which will presumably be based on an evaluation of COVID-19 impact on learning-teaching.

Building of teacher self-efficacy

As student well-being and performance influence teacher self-efficacy, teachers may have felt that they were not performing to their full capacity or that they were not prepared professionally to overcome challenges as can be seen in the analysis. As teacher self-efficacy significantly impacts teacher efficiency and effectiveness and student motivation, it was thought-provoking to see how teacher stance, teacher attitude and teacher beliefs dictated action. Teachers who were overwhelmed by the situation appear to have reacted in various ways. A few sought refuge in a mask of indifference and just let go, while others were proactive in seeking to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to fulfil their remit. A pertinent factor is the finding that where teachers fully accepted help for pedagogical adjustments, motivation and stress were replaced by a sense of learning, excitement and interpreted as scope for professional self-development.

A core issue here is teacher self-efficacy when it comes to digital competencies. As table 2 in the next section demonstrates, lack of digital competence appears to have impacted teachers and their professional sense of confidence and agency. The quotations suggest that teachers were overwhelmed by online teaching requirements, felt exposed, unable to cope and some simply gave up. The possible adverse effect on their teacher self-efficacy cannot be ignored. Table 3 comprises the positives of teacher digital competence

Lack of student ICT skills and engagement with online learning

Two diverse yet related aspects become clear in this study. Teachers claim that the IT skills of students are over estimated and student engagement in an online environment is complex. Lack of ICT skills means that students who cannot use Teams were left out despite school leaders and teachers trying to help them cope and teach them the basics. Teachers were surprised by student lack of felicity in IT. Unskilled students did not engage and for those with special needs, the challenges were exacerbated leading to teacher concern as delineated earlier. The added stress of teaching students the ins and outs of Teams and other programmes concurrently with subject-teaching is evidenced in this study. A valid concern raised by teachers was the amount of student time spent in front of the screen and their worry if this was at all good for young children and teenagers to be online the whole day.

The pros and cons of COVID-19 for teaching and learning

There are clear tendencies in this theme in the data, which cross over to areas already discussed but require deeper focus as one objective in the study was to pinpoint what exactly the positives and negatives of schooling in COVID-19 settings were according to teacher evaluation of this period.

The following tables offers an overview of the pros and cons of online teaching encapsulated through quotations to enable the voice of the participants in the study to have a telling presence, where the researcher becomes narrator and conveys the “indissoluble interrelationship between interpreter and interpretation” (Thomas & James, 2006, p. 782). I include representative quotations that indicate perspectives found with 70% or more frequency in the data. It is hoped that they help create a holistic picture to enhance credibility and impact of findings.

Negative aspects of online teaching

The negative aspects highlight the role of technology and lack of digital felicity in teacher skills.

Table 2.

The negatives of online teaching

Lack of IT skills which may impact teacher self-efficacy:

- I don’t like teaching online because I lack skills and experience in ICT.
- Getting to know the technology took up too much time and effort – too frustrating.
- Nothing positive with teaching online when technology does not function properly.
- Teams was negative – nothing positive about it when compared to regular teaching.

Teacher contact with students:

- Online teaching doesn't give me eye contact with students – teaching is better when this is possible.
- Good to experiment with IT, but so much better to teach face-to-face.
- All good about technology, but it cannot stand on its own – relations matter.
- I struggled to establish contact with my students.
- I couldn't get all my students engaged in lessons.
- I missed my students. Remote teaching is awful.

Challenges of teaching online:

- Convinced me that IT is just a tool and not an end in itself, whatever IT fans say.
- Difficult to use new teaching approaches and skills online.
- Teaching online was not a happy experience for teachers, students or parents.
- Teaching online is very demanding.
- They (students) had the camera switched off – were probably in bed sleeping instead of listening!
- I'm sure that some of them were surfing the net instead of following online lessons.
- Teaching became monotonous.
- I did not enjoy the feeling that I was present in a forum where I did not know who else was present – who knows who was privy to my teaching at the other end!

Concern for students:

- Students did not benefit from home learning – it depends of course on who is helping.
- My students have still not caught up with what they missed.
- After three-four weeks of online teaching, students were tired and inactive.
- Not sure whether it is right that small children should have so study time on screen.
- I felt I wasn't much help for my students as I couldn't gauge whether all students were following and to think that I put so much of an effort to learning technology only to end up frustrated and worried about student learning.
- As for students who are weak and have problems on the home front, their well-being concerns me deeply – so worried about them and their ability to learn.

Positive aspects of online teaching

When it comes to the positive aspect, the voice of the practitioners expressed in the quotations below affords interesting viewpoints.

Table 3.
The positives of online teaching

ICT and associated issues

- Positive that we were forced to try new things – both in ICT and teaching.
- I think online teaching is here to stay. We just need to get better at it.
- I have learnt a lot of new things about ICT. It is useful for students to practise exercises and revise what has been taught in class.
- I'm more confident in using ICT now.
- Will be using Teams more as it is convenient to upload assignments, especially homework.
- I enjoyed the convenience of teaching from home. We could meet our students every day from the comfort of our homes!
- Nothing negative with online teaching. I hope it is here to stay and can be used as an alternative so teachers could work from home some days of the week.
- Staff meetings could be held online from now on!
 - I could focus on my teaching as I didn't have to worry about bullying, anti-social behaviour of students or any conflict.
- Positive that we have experienced a new way of being together and are using more IT tools for teaching.
- Good teaching with IT requires a great deal of preparation. With ideas and preparation, we can make learning with IT effective.
- I see the significance of IT for our schools to reach goals in the future.
- If IT is to be fully integrated into the educational system, time, money and energy must be reserved for this work for many years in the future and invested in training teachers and students.

Teacher self-efficacy as enabler

- I like that I have had to innovate and go outside my comfort zone.
- Teachers have shown that we're quick to learn and adapt. We learnt to use the tools and be ready for new things.
- Teachers know how to teach – but now we must be taught about communication online in case we end up in this situation again.
- Very exciting and enriching time because I was forced to learn a lot to be able to function online. Has opened new vistas!
- It has opened possibilities for distance education and should be explored.
- Never too late or too old to learn things. I've become aware that IT can offer learning much. Will definitely use IT in my teaching from now on.

Students and ICT

- Some students enjoyed online teaching and they benefitted, while others lost interest.
- Students who were not engaged before became involved in the online environment and that was delightful to see! Even shy students.

- As we had smaller groups of students online, it made learning exciting for them and rewarding for me. Managed to do three times more than with a full classroom.
- The smaller class sizes made it easier for me to guide students.
- Assignments were submitted on time.

Student self-directed learning

- Students have had greater responsibility for their school work and their own learning.
- We have seen how important it is that students become self-sufficient and take responsibility.
- Our eyes have been opened to how important it is to help students be independent and take responsibility for their learning.

The variety in the responses adds a richness and depth to the data and offers perspectives that afford a clear insight into the thoughts and feelings of the teachers. This become meaningful input for the extended study in the pipeline.

COVID-19 impact on teachers

The dichotomy of the teacher as person and teacher as professional are delineated in the challenges the teachers experienced. While not unique to the teaching profession, it nevertheless gives added depth to the discussion on the impact of the pandemic on teachers and teaching.

Complex cognitive and social skills underpin success in online-learning environments. Many teachers focused on just digital competences and became stressed and unmotivated. Lack of teacher mentoring and support for remote/online-based activity in some cases added to teacher stress. Teachers had to acknowledge the increased importance of relationship-building to facilitate student participation, create effective online study habits and teach students how to request help. They were forced to reduce pace of teaching and adjust expectations of student progression and give more timely constructive feedback 'live' to maintain pace. Teachers were required to engage more socially and intellectually to cope with student sense of isolation and be aware of the impact on their self-efficacy and self-confidence and its implications for the quality of their teaching.

As teaching is an "emotional practice", student & teacher well-being is reciprocally interrelated (Hargreaves, 2021). Teacher pronounced worry and anxiety about student well-being was exacerbated by personal worries at home with children of their own and challenges of being parent/teacher/caregiver concurrently. Professional capital – 'a group's professional worth that enables it to achieve its goals' (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012, p. 37) comprises human capital (knowledge, talents and capabilities of teachers); decisional capital (professional judgment and expertise built over time through experience); social

capital (professional capital acquired and shared through peer collaboration. It requires ‘...technical knowledge, high levels of education, strong practice within schools and continuous improvement over time that is undertaken collaboratively, and that calls for the development of wise judgment’ (ibid). The value of teachers’ earned expertise (not easily replaceable by parents/caregivers) and pivotal role in education was certainly highlighted by the pandemic (Lauermann and König, 2016). It also drew attention to the lack of social justice in education – for lack of equity in terms of accessibility to computers, internet connection at home, ability/possibility of parents/caregivers to help their children may have contributed even more to the achievement gap among students (Carrillo and Flores, 2020). Sometimes, in the haste to adapt to online teaching, acquiring digital competence may have dominated teacher discourse, but the data positively and categorically reveals teacher concern for student wellness.

Evaluation of the COVID-19 crisis for organisational learning

Managing crises calls for learning at all levels of an organisation as crises can accelerate learning processes. When managed appropriately, they stimulate organisational flexibility and improvement (Lopez, Peon, & Ordas, 2005). The power of feedback and a discussion post-crisis facilitates teacher well-being, involvement in the profession, a forward-looking work ethic and a proactive organisation, which serves to comfort teachers and make them feel that their voices can and have been heard (Kelly, 2005).

A perusal of the findings on feedback uncover three categories. Teachers state that there has been evaluation – the most common description of it is in a single word, ‘meetings’ or a phrase ‘lots of meetings’, and this is the majority response. The second is meetings with no real conclusion or solutions, and thirdly, ‘have had a lot of meetings where both leader and teachers expressed their opinions and decisions were made for a coping strategy’ mentioned by just one teacher. Discussions serve to identify fears and frustrations, success experiences and otherwise, but where commingled voices are heard and thoughts have been aired, it is loss of valuable input if it does not foster a strategy to cope in similar situations.

Schwandt and Marquardt (2000) define a learning system as “a system of actions, actors, symbols and processes that enables an organization to transform information into valued knowledge which in turn increases its long-run adaptive capacity” (p. 61). The knowledge gleaned from the crisis experience can generate learning that becomes part of the organisational memory and fortifies it with resilience against crises in the future. Therefore, learning from a crisis is key to leadership and staff performance. If, as the data indicates, there have mainly been discussions of COVID-19 experiences, they cannot substitute for creating a strategy for the future. Based on this, one may cautiously conclude that learning in context, which is a powerful tool for organisational learning and development,

may not have been optimally anchored in Faroese schools at the time of the study.

The COVID-19 online environment not only reduced teacher control of active learning time but emphasised the pertinence and importance of student self-regulation, motivational abilities and increased parental involvement in learning time. All these promote volitional competence and learner autonomy (Strayhorn, 2014). While the teaching status quo challenged teachers, it also revealed that students, as one teacher puts it, ‘go it on their own sometimes’.

‘Learning loss’ and impact of COVID -19

When it comes to ‘learning loss’, Hargreaves (2021) makes a strong case when he declares that it is neither testing nor technology that ensures equity in student learning but investing in the professional capital of teaching’ (p. 1837). He underlines the connection between strong and proficient teaching profession as inextricably linked to effective learning outcomes. He emphasises the importance of avoiding working conditions that threaten teacher emotional well-being as they have negative consequences for teachers and students. The COVID-19 context was indubitably one which systematically affected teacher role in schools, so the occurrence of some ‘learning loss’ and negatively impacted self-efficacy is not unrealistic. Both teachers and students were strongly impacted by the crisis affecting their ability to engage in the teaching-learning environment fully and positively during the period. Furthermore, Hargreaves (2021) underlines the truism that teachers are able to maintain commitment to teaching if they experience that peers & leaders value them as trusted colleagues (Sahlberg & Walker, 2021). With regards to the positive feedback about Faroese school leadership, teachers had this support, which may have mitigated some of the negative impact on teacher performance.

It is increasingly evident that supporting students’ learning is complex. The necessity for involved support from parents/caregivers, teachers, leaders and other stakeholders would ensure students realise challenging and long-term outcomes (Kundu, 2017). Teachers require empowerment, and as the analysis has revealed, continued professional development of teachers in digital competences, tackling emotional and pedagogical well-being of students, optimal access to digital learning tools, involvement of the home and a proactive approach towards creating student agency and autonomy become unquestionably important in a learning environment that is recovering from the pandemic. It offers a golden opportunity to also explore innovation in education, which cannot but include increased use of digital learning. Teachers’ role as facilitators was enhanced in the online environment, and a need for self-directed learning student-centric environments functioning within well-established frameworks and digital environments to ensure continuous student progress become paramount (Hargreaves, 2021).

Implications for teacher education

Teacher education should invest in quality and ‘professional capital’ of teachers, build interactional skills of teachers to support innovation & learning. Focus should be on upskilling staff so digital proficiency becomes endemic to pedagogical repertoire – ‘professional digital competence’. It is imperative for teacher education to invest in appropriate digital tools to make teaching relevant to pre-service teachers. Lessons learnt from the emergency online pedagogical praxis can help develop quality online teaching and learning. It would be beneficial to build continuing professional learning (CPL) communities to maintain/promote meaningful cooperation and collective learning, encourage team-based approach to build a communicative and supportive culture. Teacher education must model for pre-service teachers the reality of functioning in the digital educational environment together with other crucial pedagogical skills to equip them to cope in a complex environment.

Conclusion

This article in its exploration of the COVID-19 impact on teaching and teachers’ evaluation of leadership time during this uncertain period has revealed that education had much to learn from the COVID-19 crisis, and it was a steep learning curve. The teachers appear to have appreciated the help from principals and help with digital pedagogy, while asking for more investment in their social capital and access to technological and digital skills. The call for more blended and personalised learning, innovation in education, and a reduction to a silo approach to education all seem to have been highlighted in this period.

It appears that teacher challenges have been personal, professional and as individuals and team members. They have shown consistent care for student well-being and learning, which appears to have dominated their discourse in this turbulent time. Organisational learning with a view to entrenched knowledge that can be transformed into future strategy does not emerge clearly from the data, which is something schools should focus on to meet future crises with robust resilience to mitigate interruption to student learning and achievement.

The findings in this study corroborate those of a previous study conducted with school principals (Vijayarathan, 2021) using the same mixed questionnaire, but with added semi-structured interviews. The similarity in findings with regard to teacher challenges and teacher evaluation of their leaders is very high indicating that both these studies offer valuable input to the comprehensive study which is to commence shortly.

Academic contribution

The article breaks new ground as no research exists on school teachers in compulsory schools in The Faroe Islands during the Covid-19 school crisis. In its focus on the significance of the teacher to the teaching-learning environment, it

may have opened opportunities for debate on what Faroese schools need to become full-fledged members of 21 century schools with focus on digital competencies, technological progress and continued professional development of teachers to contribute to excellence in education.

Future Study

A study is in the pipeline to assess impact of COVID-19 on student learning and well-being from teacher, principal and student perspectives. This would complete the triangle of important players in schools and offer insights into how student learning and well-being were affected. The lapse in time may make it easier for the subjects of the study to contemplate and reflect on the pandemic experience.

Funding

The author received financial support from The Faroese Research Council COVID-19 funding, but this has not led to any conflict of interest.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank the Faroese Research Council for the funding that enabled me to conduct the project. My gratitude to the teachers for their participation and the teachers' union for the help with the survey link. Many thanks to my cooperative researcher, Terji Beder for the coding, figures, discussions and feedback.

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Skipanarligar fortreytir og føroysk stjórnarviðurskipti

Institutional Conditions and Faroese Governments



Fróðskaparrit 68 (2022): 87-110
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Abstract

Political Parties are complex organisations with different tasks and roles. It is clear that political parties solve important tasks in the Faroese democratic system. This article focuses on the political parties, the party system, and Faroese governments. The article builds on the assumption that institutional settings influence the conditions for government activity. The article identifies factors for the Faroese system like a multi-party system with a weak political centre and coalition governments with larger policy stretch compared to other political systems, which means potential challenges. The investigation, however, shows that despite these identified factors, the political system has a continuous structure and governments are rather stable at the same time as parties take turns in government coalition formation.

Úrtak

Politiskir flokkar eru felagsskapir við nógvum uppgávum og leiklutum. Tað er greitt, at politiskir flokkar røkja týðningarmiklar uppgávur í føroysku demokratisku skipanini. Sjóneykan verður í hesi grein sett á politisku flokkarnar, flokkaskipanina og føroysk stjórnarviðurskipti. Støði verður tikið í, at skipanarligir karmar ávirka fortreytirnar fyri virksemini við stjórn. Greinin vísir á, at føroyska skipanin er eyðkend av at vera ein fleirflokkaskipan, sum hevur eina veika politiska miðju, og av at landsstýrini aloftast eru samgongustjórnir við størri politikkspenni enn vanligt, ið kann hava avbjóðingar við sær. Kanningin vísir, at hóast hesar torføru treytir, so er flokkaskipanin støðug í bygnaði, og stjórnarviðurskiptini eru eisini rættiliga støðug, samstundis sum flokkar skiftast um at skipa stjórn.

Keywords: Political parties, Multipartysystem, Coalition governments, Institutional conditions, Faroe Islands.

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Leitorð: Politiskir flokkar, Fleirflokkaskipan, Samgongustjórn, Skipanarligar fortreytir, Føroyar

Inngangur

Politiskir flokkar eru týðandi eindir í demokratiskum skipanum. Henda staðfestingin kemur greitt til sjóndar í kendu orðunum hjá E. Schattschneider (1942: 1): “The political parties created democracy, and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the party”. Eisini J. Aldrich (1995) leggur dent á, at fólkaræði uttan politiskar flokkar er “unworkable”, t.v.s. at tað er trupult at fáa eina demokratiska skipan at virka uttan politiskar flokkar. Stjórnarskipanir siga mangan ikki stórvegis um politiskar flokkar, og tað er eisini galdandi fyri føroysku stýrisskipanarlógina, ið bert sigur, at tingfólk skulu fyrihalda seg til egna sannføring (S: §23).² Tað samsvarar ikki væl við empiriska veruleikan, og tað ger eitt nú K. Heidar greitt: “In practice, however, no one would take this seriously today, and party groups enjoy official recognition in all of the Nordic parliaments in terms of office space, financial contributions and *de facto* control over parliamentary work” (2000: 187).

Eisini í Føroyum eru ymiskar fatanir av politiskum flokkum, og sjálvt í dag kann ein hoyra sjónarmiðið, at tað hevði verið betri, um vit ikki høvdu politiskar flokkar. Tað er trupult at ímynda sær, at føroyska samfelagið er so homogent og uttan ósemjur, sum eitt klassiskt ástøði um fólkaræði í smásamfeløgum vil vera við (Dahl & Tufte, 1973), og tí er helst tørvur á politiskum flokkum at skipa og umboða ósemjurnar. Kortini er greitt, at gransking í mikro-statum vil vera við, at politiskir flokkar ikki eru neyðugir fyri at stjórna (sí nærri tilvísingar í Ackrén & Sundberg, 2019: 20), ella at politiskir flokkar í smásamfeløgum ikki eru stórt meiri enn persónarnir og persónligu netverkini, ið mynda flokkarnar, t.v.s. ikki virka sum politiskir flokkar í vanligari fatan (Veenendaal, 2013). Henda grein tekur støði í, at politisku flokkarnir eru týðningarmiklar eindir í politisku skipanini í Føroyum.

Kanningin setur sjóneykuna á politisku flokkarnar og teirra virksemi í stjórn. Støði verður tikið í, at skipanarligir karmar ávirka fortreytirnar fyri stjórnarvirksemi. Í parlamentariskum skipanum eru politiskir flokkar sum heild sterkari samanhangandi eindir samanbórið við politiskar flokkar í presidentskipanum. Eisini hava flokkarnir týðningarmiklar uppgávur sum at velja umboð til ymiskar sessir og skipa politiska arbeiðið, bæði á tingi og í stjórn (Müller, 2000).

Kanningarspurningurin í greinini er tí: “Hvørjar skipanarligar fortreytir eyðkenna føroysku politisku skipanina, og hvørja ávirkan hava tær á flokkaskipan og virksemið at skipa stjórn?” Kanningin viðger ikki organisatorisku viðurskiftini hjá politiskum flokkum, ið er eitt stórt evni í sjálvum sær.

² Stýrisskipanarlógin nr. 103 frá 1994 verður stytt til S.

Kanningin kemur fram til, at umframt vanligar avbjóðingar hjá eini fleirflokaskipan, ið hevur tørv á samgongum fyri at skipa stjórn, so hevur føroyska skipanin fleiri ósemjuásir, eitt størri politikkspenni, veika politiska miðju og harvið heldur torførari fortreytir. Kortini vísir kanningin, at bæði stjórnarviðurskiftini og bygnaðurin í politisku flokkaskipanini er støðug, samstundis sum flokkar skiftast um at skipa stjórn.

Greinin byrjar við at lýsa politisku flokkarnar og politiskar einstaklingar og tær fortreytir, ið hava týðning fyri styrkistøðuna teirra millum. Síðani verður flokkaskipan og siðvenjur viðvíkjandi stjórn viðgjørðar. Aftan á innleiðandi partarnar, íroknað hugsanir um úrslit, kemur parturin um kanningarsnið, og síðani verða úrslitini lögð fram og niðurstøða gjørd.

Politiskir flokkar og einstaklingar

Um okkara leiðir er í dag vanligt, at lond verða stjórnaði av politiskum umboðum, ið fólkið hevur valt eftir demokratiskum reglum. Tað eru framvegis ymiskar fatanir av, hvønn hesi umboð skulu hava fyrilit fyri, tá ið tey á tingi ella í stjórn arbeiða við politiskum málum. Klassiska ósemjan er, hvørt tey eru bundin av áhugamálunum hjá teimum, ið hava valt tey (mandate), ella um tey bert skulu hava fyrilit fyri síni egnu sannføring (independence) (Pitkin, 1967). Í dag er semja um, at tað mest vanliga er, at politisku umboðini, ið vit hava valt á ting, umboða politiskar flokkar. Eitt avgerandi eyðkenni fyri eina demokratiska skipan er, at politisk kapping er um valdið (Dahl, 1971), og at tað eru politisku flokkarnir, ið skipa fyri hesi kapping við at rekruttera og stilla valevnir upp til val, skipa fyri valstríði, stjórna landinum og at virka sum andstøða til stjórnarvaldið (Kosiara-Pedersen & Pedersen, 2016).

Ein vanlig allýsing av politiskum flokkum leggur í minst lagi dent á, at talan er um ein bólk av persónum, ið undir einum felags heiti stilla valevnir upp til val til politiskar savningar. Harafturat er vanlig fatan, at floksheitið er knýtt at ávísari politiskari sannføring og felags politiskum sjónarmiði (Bille, 1997; Epstein, 1967; Sartori, 1976; í Kosiara-Pedersen & Pedersen, 2016: 64). Politiskir flokkar hava sostatt eitt ávíst kunnandi “vørumerki”, ið virkar sum kunningarsnarvegur (information shortcuts) hjá veljarum (Downs, 1957). Politikarar hava tískil áhuga í at vera partur av einum tílíkum “vørumerki” og at stilla upp til val fyri ein politiskan flokk. Tað merkir so eisini, at ein kann vænta, at politikarar hava áhuga í at verja og styrkja “vørumerkið” hjá flokkinum (Kosiara-Pedersen & Pedersen, 2016). Politikarar vilja altíð so ella so fáast við virksemi, ið tey vænta, at veljarin vil lóna teimum fyri á valdegnum (Mayhew, 1974; Mansbridge, 2003).

Skipanarlig viðurskifti, t.d. valskipan, kunnu ávirka, hvussu nógv politiskir einstaklingar arbeiða fyri flokspolitiskum málum ella málum, sum gagna teimum sum einstaklingar. Við øðrum orðum verða politisku umboðini avmarkaði og ávirkaði av kringumstøðunum, sum eru, t.v.s. skipanarligum karmum og galdandi reglum annars (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Ein avgerandi skipanarlig fortreyt er, um valskipanin letur politiska flokkin ella veljaran avgera, hvørji floksumboð

verða vald. Carey & Shugart (1995) leggja dent á, at valskipanir, har veljarin hevur avgerandi orðið, leggja upp til, at valevnir brúka meiri orku uppá at styrkja sína egnu persónligu støðu (cultivate personal reputations) heldur enn at styrkja floksheitið og virði tess. Sieberer (2006) vísir á, at tílíkar valskipanir ikki í sjálvum sær eru nóg mikið til at hótta flokspolitiska lýdnið.

Føroyska valskipanin er ein skipan við sonevndum opnum listum,³ sum merkir, at veljarin og ikki politiski flokkurin avger, hvørji umboð hjá politiska flokkinum verða vald. Tað eru tó flokkarnir, ið avgera, hvørji valevni koma á flokslistan til eitt løgtingsval. Flokkarnir avgera eisini, hvør umboðar flokkin í ymiskum miðlum og á ymiskum pallum í valstríðnum, og teir hava ræði á atgongdini til politiskar sessir á tingi og í stjórn. Eisini er vert at nevna, at politisku flokkarnir fáa tað mesta av almenna politiska stuðlinum, ið verður veittur (West, 2018). Harumframt hevur sonevnda sperrumarkið, ið er 1/33 av atkvøðunum, við sær, at tað er ikki lætt at verða vald sum tingfólk uttanflokka.

Eitt, sum eisini kann ávirka flokslýdni, er, hvussu uppstillingin er skipað. Tað verður ofta ført fram, at desentral ávirkan á uppstilling er meiri demokratisk. Gransking vísir tó á ein samanhang millum flokspolitiska miðsavning, tá um uppstilling til val ræður, og flokslýdni (Sieberer, 2006). Í Føroyum hava lokal valfeløg ávirkan á uppstillingina, men ikki eins stóra við bert einum valdømi, sum tá talan var um fleiri valdømir (Jákupsstovu, 2013).

Yvirskipað sæð tykist í føroysku skipanini at vera ein ávís javnvág millum valdsstøðuna hjá politiska flokkinum og einstaka politikaranum, og at tað helst loysir seg best hjá floksumboðunum at hava fyrilit fyri flokkinum, ið tey eru partur av. Greinin tekur tí støði í, at politikarar virka sum umboð fyri politiskar flokkar, og at tað eru politisku flokkarnir, ið eru týðningarmiklastu eindirnar í føroyska politiska virkseminum. Sostatt er væntandi, at tað í øllum førum í ein ávísan mun ber til at fata føroysku flokspolitisku eindina sum ein sonevndan kollektivan leikara.

Politisk flokkaskipan

Føroyska politiska flokkaskipanin er dømi um eina fleirflokkaskipan, ið ofta er úrslit av sonevndari lutfalsvalskipan (PR). Valskipanin nýtir reglu um lutfall, tá ið talið av sessum í løgtinginum verður býtt eftir talinum av atkvøðum (Lóg nr. 49 frá 1978 um val til Løgting, seinast broytt í 2020). Telji- og roknihátturin, ið verður nýttur til at umrokna talið av atkvøðum til talið av tingfólkum, er ”størsti brøkur”.⁴ Í dag verða 33 tingfólk vald í Løgtingið, og hesi umboð verða vald í

³ Valskipanin við loyniligum vali, flokslistum og lutfalsvali stavar frá 1906, meðan skipanin við opnum listum kom við broyting í vallógini í 1966. Nærri í Jákupsstovu, 2006: 2.4 og Sølvará, 2002.

⁴ Núverandi roknihátturin ”størsti brøkur” varð broyttur frá ”d’Hondt” við broytingaruppskoti til lógaruppskot nr. 141/2009. Hesin roknihátturin hevur eisini áður verið nýttur. Grundgevingin í nevnda broytingaruppskoti fyri størsta brøki er, at roknihátturin

einum valdømi. Tað skal nevast, at um ein tekur støði í regluni hjá Taagepera & Shugart (1989) um, at hósandi tingfólkatal er kubikkroftin av fólkatalinum, so er talið 33 heldur lágt sett. Kubikkroftin av fólkatalinum 53.686 (1. desember 2021) gevur út við 38 tingsessir. Broytingin frá sjei til eitt valdømi varð samtykt og sett í verk áðrenn valið í 2008.⁵

Politisku flokkarnir eru í dag 7 í tali. Tað hava verið fleiri broytingar í flokkaskipanini, ið hevur fleiri enn 100 ár á baki. Fyrstu føroysku politisku flokkarnir, Sambandsflokkurin og Sjálvstýrisflokkurin, hava innan-parlamentariskan uppruna, t.v.s. at lótingsfólk funnu saman í tveir tingbólkar, og hesir flokkar stava formliga frá ávikavist 1906 og 1909. Politiskar ósemjur um viðurskiftir við Danmark var ósemjuásin, ið fekk týðning fyri byrjanina til føroyska flokspolitiska søgu. Vinstra-høgra býtispolitiska ósemjuásin gjørdist virkin í flokspolitiskum høpi við stovnanini av Javnaðarflokkinum í 1925, ið samstundis var fyrsti føroyski flokkurin við uttan-parlamentariskum uppruna. Henda ósemjuásin varð síðani styrkt við stovnanini av borgaraliga vinnuflokkinum í 1932, ið seinni gjørdist til Fólkaflokkin.

Politiska málið um loysing frá Danmark, knýtt til ósemjuásina um viðurskiftir við Danmark, varð av álvara partur av føroyskum flokspolitikki, tá ið Tjóðveldisflokkurin kom afturat í 1948. Tjóðveldisflokkurin vildi mótmæla, at úrslitið av fólkaatkvøðuni í 1946 gjørdist Heimastýrisskipanin. Í dag hava umframt nevndu fimm flokkar eisini tveir nýggjari smærri flokkar umboð á tingi, Miðflokkurin og Framsókn. Fleiri aðrir flokkar hava eisini roynt seg við ymiskum úrslitum.⁶ Umframt nevndu ósemjuásir eru hesir báðir síðst nevndu flokkar stovnaðir sambært eini liberal-konservativari ás. Ein onnur klassisk ósemjuás er miðstaðurin móttvegis útjaðaranum, men hóast ósemjur av hesum slag eru sera sjónligar í føroyskum politikki, so eru ikki dømir um flokkar á tingi í dag, ið eru stovnaðir við støði í tilíkkum ósemjum. Vit síggja í valúrslitum, at tað kann vera rættiliga stórir munur á undirtøku frá veljarum til ymiskar flokkar alt eftir, um veljarin býr í miðstaðarøkinum ella uttanfyri. Vit mangla vísindaligar uppgerðir, sum fevna um longri tíðarskeið, fyri at siga nakað greitt um hesa gongd. Ein vanlig lýsing av føroysku flokkaskipanini er krossmyndin við loysing/sambands- og vinstra/høgraás, sí mynd 1. Myndin vísir, at flokkaskipanin hevur eina heldur veika politiska miðju, tí at størri politisku flokkarnir eru staðsettir í hvør sínum horni. Talið av politiskum flokkum tykist eisini høgt fyri so lítt politiska skipan, so møguliga er ein avbjóðing eisini við sonevndari politiskari sundurpetting (fragmentering).

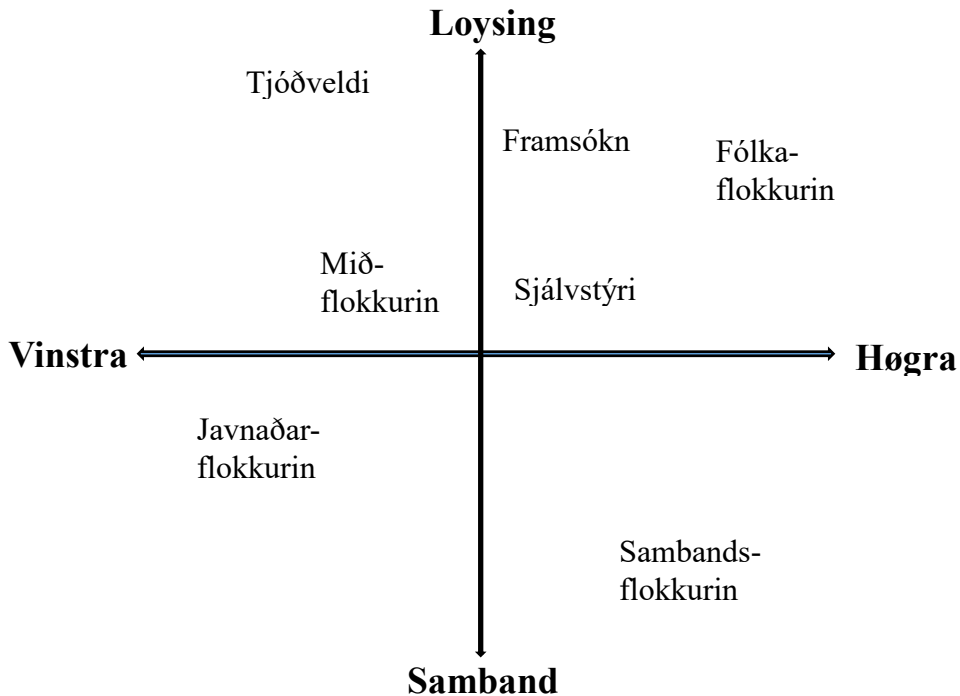
betur tryggjar, at flokkar, ið fáa atkvøður beint oman fyri "sperrumarkið", fáa umboðan á ting, t.v.s. at hesin háttur verður mettur at vera ein fyrimunur fyri smærri flokkar.

⁵ Tá gjørdist talið fyri tingfólk fast, og talið gjørdist 33.

⁶ Líknandi tekstbrot er í West (2020a) og byggir á Jákupsstovu (2006: kap. 2); Sølvará (2002); Wang (1964). Sí fleiri upplýsingar um føroyska flokspolitiska søgu í hesum og øðrum keldum.

Mynd 1.

Vegleiðandi mynd av føroysku flokkaskipanini í dag út frá loysing/sambands- og vinstra/høgraásum⁷



Árstølini fyri nær nevndu flokkar vórðu stovnaðir vísa, at kenda útsøgnin hjá Lipset & Rokkan (1967) um, at flokkaskipanin “frysti” um ár 1920, ikki er galdandi fyri føroysku skipanina. Í 1920 varð atkvøðurættur og tilhoyrandi mobilisering av veljarabólkum komin á mál í flestu londum. Ackrén & Sundstrøm (2019: 21) vísa á, at fyri skipanir við sjálvræði, sum t.d. ta føroysku, er ein fullfíggað flokkaskipan treytað av, at sjálvræði er stovnsfest við lóggávuvaldi. Fyri føroysku flokkaskipanina kom sjálvræði í gildi við Heimastýrisskipanini í 1948. Væntandi er tí, at tað ber til at tosa um, at føroyska flokkaskipanin “frysti” seinast í 1940-árunum. Tað er samstundis greitt, at nýggjar ósemjur framvegis kunnu fara at elva til broytingar í føroysku flokkaskipanini, eins og vit hava sæð í øðrum londum. Tað er eisini galdandi, um Føroyar fáa eina skipan við fullveldi.

Politiskir flokkar og samgongustjórn

Føroyska politiska skipanin er dømi um eina parlamentariska skipan. Í tílíkum skipanum velur veljarin politisku umboðini á ting, men síðani er tað

⁷ Henda myndin av flokkaskipanini og ein nærri viðgerð er í West (2018).

tingið, t.v.s. lögtingið, ið velur stjórnina, t.v.s. landsstýrið (S: §§ 29 og 30). Við øðrum orðum kunnu politiskir flokkar ikki beinleiðis tryggja sær stjórnarvald við at vinna eitt val (meira í Strøm, 2003; West, 2018). Í eini fleirflokkaskipan sum teirri føroysku verður ein stjórn vanligar skipað sum ein samgonga av fleiri politiskum flokkum. Í Føroyum er ein formlig innsetingarregla í gildi, tí tingið atkvøður um val av løgmanni (S: §28), men tað eru samgongusamráðingar eftir valið, ið avgera úrslitið av hesi atkvøðugreiðslu. Síðani setur løgmaður formliga landsstýrisfólk, men í veruleikanum avgera politisku flokkarnir í samgonguni hvør sær, hvørji landsstýrisfólkini skulu vera.

Tað, sum er galdandi fyri politiskar flokkar í samgongustjórn, er, at hóast flokkar fremja politikk saman, so standa flokkarnir hvør sær til svars yvir fyri veljarunum (Strøm, Müller & Smith, 2010). Vansin fyri ein samgonguflokk er tí, at flokkurin kann missa yvirlit og stýring við, hvat ein annar samgonguflokkur ger á einum øðrum málsøki (Laver & Shepsle, 1996), og tað kann veljarin revsa flokkin fyri á valdegnum. Tað er greitt, at ein skipan við fleiri ósemjuásam hefur størri avbjóðingar, tá samgongustjórn skal skipast. Flokkarnir mugu skipa stjórn saman við flokkum, ið á einari ella tveimum ósemjuásam hava grundleggjandi øðrvísi politisk sjónarmið. Tað merkir, at flokkarnir støðugt mugu gera semju tvørtur um ósemjuásir. Væntast kann tí eisini, at flokkslýdni er ein størri avbjóðing, tá fleiri flokkar eru í stjórn, og politikkur skal fyrast. Harvið er væntandi, at føroyskar samgongur eru óstøðugari enn í skipanum við betri fortreytum fyri flokkslýdni.

Hesar fortreytir tala tí fyri at nýta sonevndar “ovurstórar” stjórnir í Føroyum, t.v.s. at flokkar deila stjórnarvaldið við fleiri flokkar, enn neyðugt er, fyri at tryggja meirilutan í tingfólkatali. Tað er vanlig fatan, at “ovurstórar” stjórnir ofta standast av, at trupulleikar eru við flokkslýdni (Sieberer, 2006). Vanliga meginreglan fyri skipan av samgongum er “minst vinnandi samgongan” (Riker, 1962), t.v.s. at samgongur verða skipaðar við so fáum flokkum sum gjørligt. Tað verður ikki mett at vera skilvís atferð, at flokkar eru sinnaðir at gjalda meira enn neyðugt fyri at koma við í stjórn. Tað kann vera kostnaður í politikkavtalam ella í sessum.

Við støði í hesum kann tað undra, hví minnilutastjórnir eru vorðnar vanligari í dag enn fyrr (Thürk, Hellström & Döring, 2021). Tí hví skal ein flokkur velja at stuðla eini stjórn uttan at fáa fyrimunirnar av sessunum, ið fylgja við? Ein møgulig frágreiðing er, at vanligar verður tað mett kostnaðarmikið fyri ein flokk at luttaka í stjórn. Tað er trupult at stjórna, og veljarin revsar vanligar flokkar fyri framd mistøk (Narud & Valen, 2008). Ein sonevndur stuðulsflokkur kann sleppa sær undan hesum við at siga fyrimunirnar við stjórnarsessum frá sær og kortini framvegis ávirka førda politikkin, t.v.s. at røkka politikk-málum sínum. Samstundis er greitt, at ein minnilutastjórn er treytað av, at tað ber til hjá flokkum, ið ikki hava sæti í stjórn, at ávirka førda politikkin. Minnilutastjórnir hava ikki altíð verið høgt í metum, men gransking hefur víst á gott virkisfæri (Green-Pedersen, 2001).

Í fýroysku skipanini er siðvenja, at samgongustjórnir verða skipaðar sum meirilutastjórnir, hóast tað formliga er møguligt at skipa minnilutastjórnir. Negativa skipanarreglan er í gildi, t.v.s. at ein stjórn ikki nýtist at hava ein meiriluta við sær, so leingi sum hon ikki hevur ein meiriluta ímóti sær. Henda regla kom ikki í gildi í Fýroyum fyrr enn saman við nýggju Stýrisskipanarlógini í 1995 (sb. §28,3), og tað vil siga, at reglan kom í gildi langa tíð eftir, at politisku flokkarnir vóru stovnaðir, og politisku siðvenjurnar vóru mentar. Tað eru eisini aðrar skipanir enn tann fýroyska, ið hava negativa skipanarreglu í gildi, uttan at tað endar við minnilutastjórn. Rasch (2011) vísir á, at hóast øll fimm statsparlamentini í Norðurlondum virka undir hesi negativu skipanarregluni, so eru ymiskar siðvenjur galdandi. Ísland og Finland hava vanliga meirilutastjórn, meðan Skandinavisku londini eru kend fyri minnilutastjórn. Rasch leggur dent á, at tað, sum hevur týðning, tá vit tosa um siðvenju fyri minnilutastjórn, er lítlari sonevndari politiskari sundurpetting, og at skipanin hevur ein stóran politiskan flokk staðsettan í miðjuni í flokkaskipanini, t.v.s. hevur eina sterka politiska miðju. Tað hevur fýroyska flokkaskipanin ikki, og væntandi er tí, at 7 politiskir flokkar í so lítlari skipan er lutfalsliga høgt tal. Í fýroysku skipanini er heldur ikki siðvenja at taka andstøðuna við í politisku ráðleggingina, og sonevndar breiðar semjur eru heldur sjáldsamar. Tí hevur tað týðning fyri politisku flokkarnar at fáa atgongd til stjórnarsessir fyri at fáa ávirkan á politisk mál. Samanumtikið kann væntast, at nevndu fortreytir viðføra avbjóðingar at tryggja politiska samstarvið og harvið meiri óstøðug stjórnarviðurskipti. Tað vil eisini siga, at ovurstórar stjórnir helst eru meiri sannlíkar enn minnilutastjórnir.

Kanningarsnið

Henda grein snýr seg sum sagt um, hvønn týðning teir skipanarligu karmarnir og fortreytirnar annars hava fyri fýroysku flokkaskipanina og stjórnarvirksemið. Dátur eru savnaðar við tí endamáli at vísa á, hvat er galdandi fyri fýroysku skipanina umframt at vátta ella avsanna áður lýstu væntanir, t.v.s. at flokkaskipanin “frysti” eftir at skipan við heimastýri varð sett í verk, at avbjóðingar eru við flokkslýdni í fýroysku skipanini, og at stjórnarviðurskipti kunnu vera óstøðug.

Viðvíkjandi fýroysku politisku flokkaskipanini so eru dátur fyri veljaraundirtøkuni hjá flokkunum nýttar til at avdúka støðugleika og til at kanna, um broytingar hendu, eftir at skipanin við heimastýri varð sett í gildi í 1948. Fyri at meta um hvussu støðugir veljararnir eru, kanni eg eisini veljarasveiggj, t.e. hvussu veljarar flyta millum flokkar millum valini. Veljarasveiggj verður roknað út eftir leistinum hjá altjóða WHO Governs dátusavninum eftir frymlinum $TEV = \sum |V_{i,t-1} - V_{i,t}| / 2$. Viðvíkjandi tali av flokkum og politiskari sundurpetting verður kenda mátið fyri effektivar politiskar flokkar (effective parties) roknað sambært frymlinum hjá Laakso & Taagepera fyri sundurpetting í tingum:

$ENPP=1/\Sigma i^2$ (Rasch, 2011; West, 2018). Fyri at meta um støði av hesum tølum verður borið saman við Norðurlond.

Viðvíkjandi stjórnarviðurskiftum so kanni eg, hvørjir semjuásir hava verið, tá ið flokkar hava skipað samgongu, hvørjir flokkar vanligi skipa samgongu, hvussu ofta samgongur eru skipaðar sum meirilutastjórnir, og støðugleiki verður settur eftir, um stjórnirnar sita heil valskeið. Samgongutíðarskeið verða gjørd upp í miðaltølum, og hvørt skeið við heilum og/ella hálvum tølum, t.d. 2, 3 ella 1,5.

Dátur um valhagstøl og samgonguskjøl og upplýsingar um stjórnir og politiskar flokkar eru fingin til vega frá dátugrunnum hjá Hagstovuni (www.hagstova.fo) og heimasíðuni hjá Landsstýrinum (www.tinganes.fo). Avmarkaða dátusavnið hjá Hagstovuni viðvíkjandi vali hevur gjørt, at bókmentir eisini eru nýttar. Upplýsingar um útrokningar og ítøkiligar dátur eru eisini tøkar í sambandi við hvørja kannings sær, sí myndir og talvur í greinini. Dátur til nevndu samanberingar eru frá dátusavninum: “WHO GOVERNS in Europe and beyond”, og tað tilfarið er tøkt á: whogoverns.eu.

Úrslit

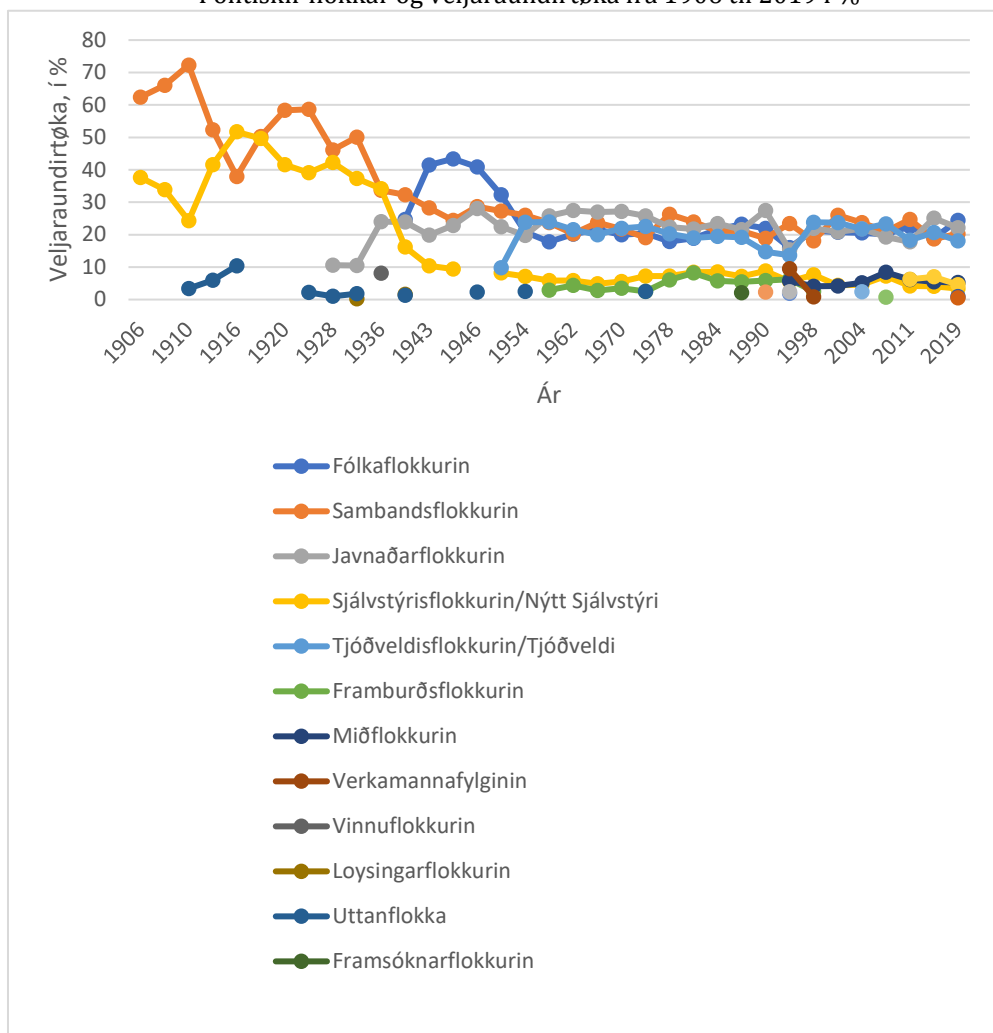
Í hesum partinum verða úrslitini lögð fram. Fyrst er tað veljaraundirtøkan hjá politisku flokkunum, úrslitini fyri veljarasveiggj og talið av effektivum politiskum flokkum og harvið støði undir politisku sundurpettingini. Síðani koma úrslit fyri flokkar í stjórn, semjuásir og samgongur.

Flokkaskipan við støðugari veljaraundirtøku

Í dag eru sjei politiskir flokkar í føroysku politisku flokkaskipanini. Fleiri broytingar hava tó verið yvir tíð eins og vit síggja á mynd 2. Myndin vísir veljaraundirtøkuna hjá flokkunum síðani vit finga flokspolitiska skipan og til í dag. Myndin vísir, hvussu skipanin er broytt gjøgnum tíðina, men hon vísir eisini eina rættiliga støðuga flokspolitiska gongd síðani 1954, t.v.s. stutt eftir 1948, og til í dag. Á myndini síggjast fyra rættiliga støðugir javnt stórir politiskir flokkar og nakrir smærri flokkar. Veljaraundirtøkan hjá teimum fyra størri flokkunum hevur verið millum áleið 18 og 27 % hvør í hesum tíðarskeiði á meiri enn 60 ár, meðan veljaraundirtøkan hjá smærri flokkunum hevur verið undir 9 % hvør. Tó skal leggjast afturat, at hesir smærri flokkarnir eru ikki teir somu, men skiftandi flokkar. Tað broytir kortini ikki myndina av bygnaðinum í flokkaskipanini, har fyra stórir flokkar virka sum eitt slag av buli. Nakað av órógv og nakrar størri broytingar eru eisini at síggja í tíðarskeiðinum við kreppu í 1990-árunum, men myndin vísir eisini, at tað javnaði seg aftur.

Mynd 2.

Politiskir flokkar og veljaraundirtøka frá 1906 til 2019 í %



Kelda til valúrslit: Løgtingið, bind 3: 78 og Hagstova Føroya (IB10010).

Myndin av støðugari flokkaskipan sæst eisini í nýggjari tíð, um vit hyggja at býtinum av tingsessum fyrí seinastu valskeiðini. Í tíðarskeiðinum 1998-2019 fingu teir fyra størstu flokkarnir 6-8 sessir hvør, meðan smærru flokkarnir fyrí tað mesta hava fingið 1-2 tingsessir hvør, sí talvu 1.

Talva 1.

Politiskir flokkar og tal av tingsessum 1998-2019

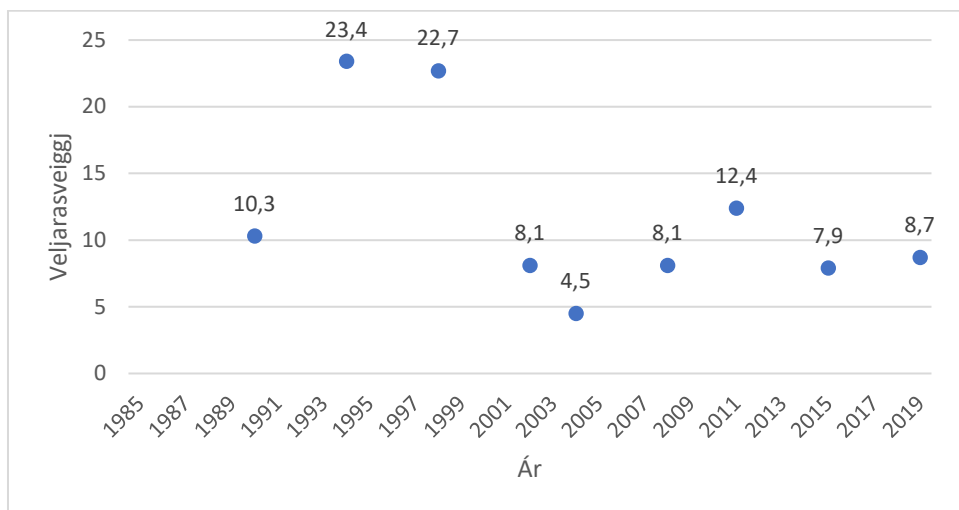
Politiskur flokkur	1998	2002	2004	2008	2011	2015	2019
Fólkaflokkurin (A)	8	7	7	7	8	6	8
Sambandsflokkurin (B)	6	8	7	7	8	6	7
Javnaðarflokkurin (C)	7	7	7	6	6	8	7
Sjálvstýri (D)	2	1	1	2	1	2	1
Tjóðveldi (E)	8	8	8	8	6	7	6
Framsókn (F)	-	-			2	2	2
Miðflokkurin (H)	1	1	2	3	2	2	2
Í alt	32	32	32	33	33	33	33

Kelda: Líknandi talva er í West (2021a).

Hóast flokkarnir hava rættiliga støðuga veljaraundirtøku, so merkir tað ikki neyðturviliga, at sami veljari velur sama flokk val eftir val. Vit vita frá øðrum londum, at veljarin er vorðin meiri óstøðugur og hevur lyndi til at flyta sína atkvøðu frá einum flokki til ein annan millum val (Bergman & Strøm, 2011). Fyri at kanna hvussu støðugir veljararnir eru, verður áður nevnda mát fyri veljarasveiggj (electoral volatility) nýtt (sí part um kanningsarsnið). Á mynd 3 eru tøl fyri veljarasveiggj í Føroyum fyri valini í tíðarskeiðinum 1990-2019. Tølini vísa, at veljarasveiggini í Føroyum hava verið skiftandi í hesum tíðarskeiði. Áhugavert er at síggja, at veljarasveiggini vóru ógvusligari undir kreppuni í 1990-árunum, men at sveiggini áðrenn og síðani hava verið rættiliga avmarkaði.

Mynd 3.

Mát fyri veljarasveiggj (electoral volatility) í Føroyum 1990-2019

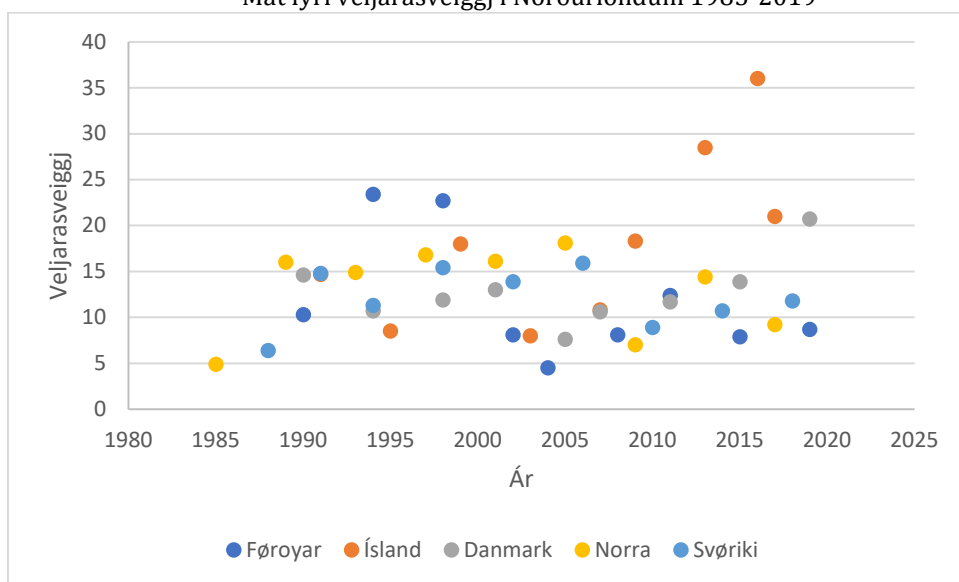


Kelda: Tøl eru roknaði við formula: $TEV = \sum |V_{i,t-1} - V_{i,t}| / 2$. Dátusavnið: "WHO GOVERNS in Europe and beyond, PSGo" (Electoral volatility).

Fyri at meta um tølini fyri veljarasveiggini eru høg ella ikki, ber til at samanbera við onnur lond. Í mynd 4 síggjast føroysku tølini fyri veljarasveiggj saman við tølum fyri Norðurlond.

Mynd 4.

Mát fyri veljarasveiggj í Norðurlondum 1985-2019



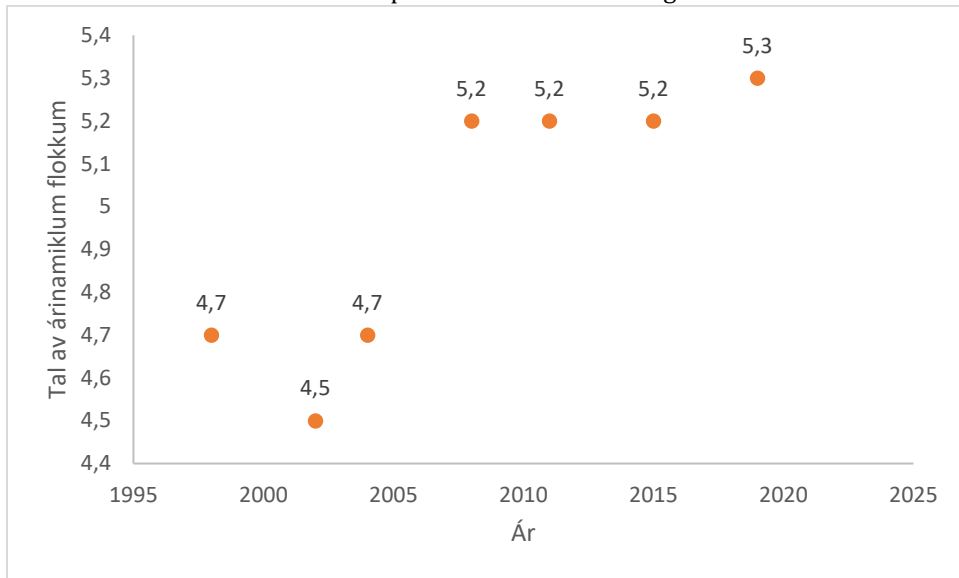
Kelda: Sí mynd 3.

Á hesi mynd sæst, at føroyska veljarasveiggið í 1990-árunum liggur ovast, men at tøluni annars eru lík við tøl fyri onnur Norðurlond. Áhugavert er eisini at síggja, at eftir nýggjastu tølunum er tað Ísland, sum liggur serstakliga høgt (væl hægri enn tey føroysku í 1990-árunum). Eisini Danmark liggur ovarlaga, meðan føroysku tøluni liggja niðarlaga.

Talið av politiskum flokkum, 7 í tali, er eins og áður nevnt rættiliga høgt fyri so líttla skipan. Tó er tað ikki bert ein spurningur um at telja, hvussu nógvir politiskir flokkar eru í eini flokkaskipan. Vanligt er at rokna talið av sonevndum effektivum politiskum flokkum, ið síðani kann nýtast sum grundarlag fyri at bera lond saman (sí partin um kanningsarsnið). Talið sigur nakað um stigið hjá politisku sundurpettingini (fragmenteringini). Ein útrokning fyri Føroyar vísir virðir millum 4,5 og 5,3 fyri effektivar flokkar í tinginum, sí mynd 5.

Mynd 5.

Tal av effektivum politiskum flokkum í tinginum 1998-2019

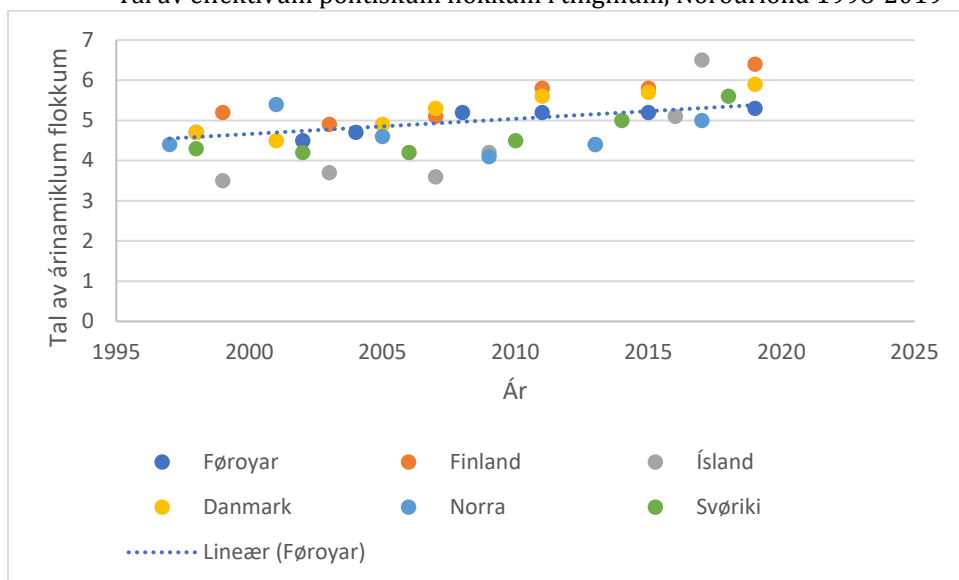


Kelda: West 2018: table 4.3 dagført við talinum fyri 2019.

Samanborið við onnur Norðurlond, sí mynd 6, sæst, at politiska sundurpettingin er størri í Finlandi enn í Føroyum, meðan hon í Íslandi er minni. Felags fyri hesi trý londini er, at siðvenja er at skipa stjórn sum meirilutastjórn. Tó liggur Danmark hægri, enn ein kundi væntað, tá talan er um skipan við sterkari siðvenju fyri minnilutastjórn.

Mynd 6.

Tal av effektivum politiskum flokkum í tinginum, Norðurlond 1998-2019

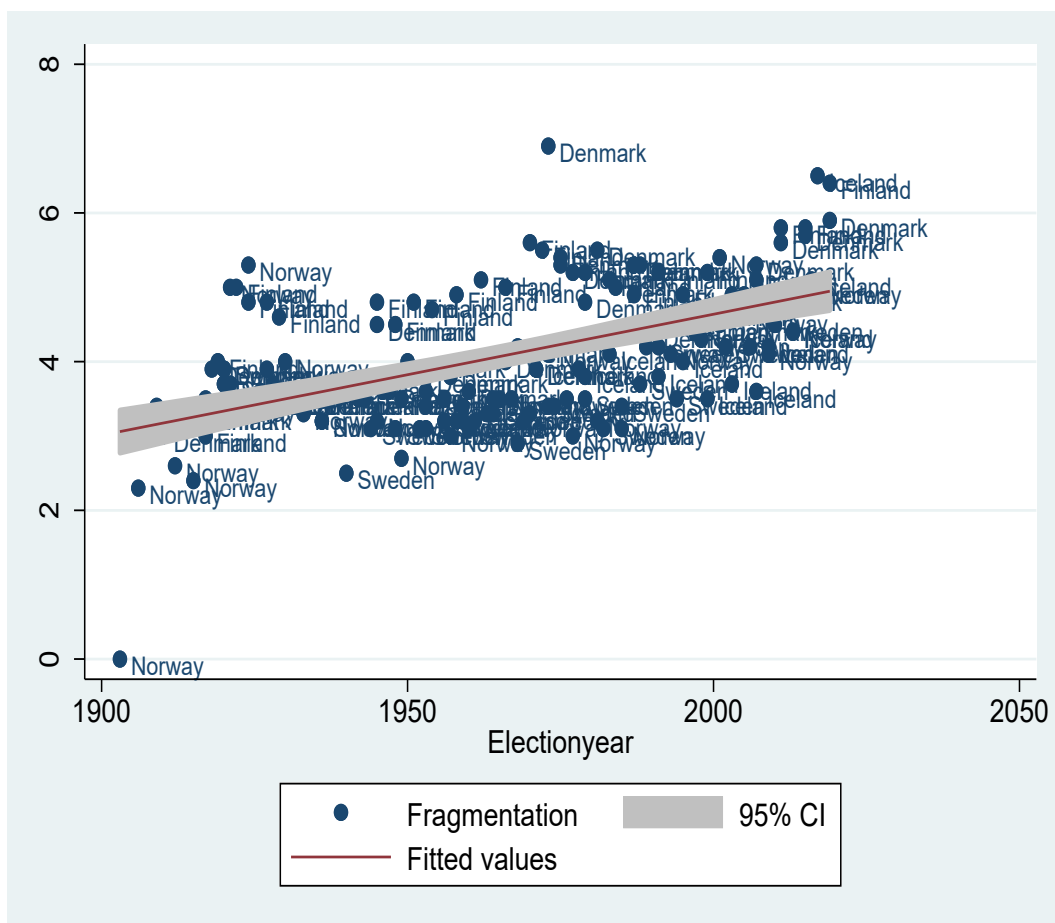


Kelda: Who Governs dátusavnið (Effective number of parliamentary parties).

Munur er á tíðarskeiðunum, men yvirskipað og sæð yvir eitt longri tíðarskeið tykist rættiliga greitt, at sum heild er politiska sundurpettingin í øllum londunum økt, sí mynd 7.

Mynd 7.

Politísk sundurpetting/tal av effektivum politiskum flokkum í tinginum,
Norðurlond yvir tíð



Kelda: WHO GOVERNS dátusavnið (Effective number of parliamentary parties).

Søguligu miðaltølini í talvu 2 vísa, at talið fyri effektivar flokkar er munandi hægri fyri Finnland enn fyri Ísland. Ábendingar eru tó um, at tað er broytt, um hugt verður eftir nýggjasta einstaka talinum. Í Íslandi er talið hækkað nógv og liggur nú javnt við talið fyri Finland. Felags fyri øll hesi londini er, at nýggjastu virðini eru hægri enn søguligu miðaltølini.

Talva 2.

Tal av effektivum politiskum flokkum í tinginum, miðal søguligt mát og nýggjasta mát fyri Norðurlond

Lond	Tal av effektivum flokkum, miðal	Nýggjasta mát
Finland	5,0	6,4 (2019)
Ísland	3,9	6,5 (2017)
Danmark	4,3	5,9 (2019)
Norra	3,6	5 (2017)
Svøríki	3,5	5 (2014)

Kelda: WHO GOVERNS dátusavnið (Effective number of parliamentary parties).

Samanumtikið er føroyska flokkakipanin rættiliga støðug, og til ber at siga, at hon “frysti” eftir at menning av valrætti, mobilisering av veljarabólkum og skipan av føroyskum sjálvræði við lóggávuvaldi varð sett í verk við Heimastýrslógini í 1948. Ein ávís útskipting í bólkinum av smærri flokkum hevur verið, men nýggir flokkar og valúrslit hava enn ikki ført til grundleggjandi broytingar í flokkaskipanini eins og vit hava sæð tað í øðrum londum (Demker & Svásand, 2005). Órógv var í skipanini í sambandi við kreppuna í 90-árunum, men tað javnaði seg aftur. Í nýggjari tíð hava veljarakanningar verið, ið benda á broytingar í undirtøkuni hjá størri flokkunum, men enn hevur einki valúrslit víst, at so er.

Samgongustjórn við størri politikkspenni

Mynd 2 av veljaraundirtøkuni hjá politisku flokkunum vísir, at tað ikki er komið fyri síðani 1932, at ein politiskur flokkur hevur fingið meiri enn helmingin av atkvøðunum og harvið einsamallur kann avgera at skipa stjórn. Stjórn í Føroyum verður eins og áður nevnt skipað sum samgongustjórn og flokkar mugu tískil finna semju við aðrar flokkar um at skipa stjórn.

Tað er helst væl kent, at tað eru ávísir flokkar, ið samstarva oftari enn aðrir, og at summir flokkar hava verið løgmanflokkar í fleiri førum. Ein kanning av 27 samgongum síðani 1948, íroknað hana sum stjórnar í dag, vísir, at tað eru trýggir flokkar, ið hava havt leiðsluna, t.v.s. løgmann. Tað er Fólkaflokkurin (5 samgongur), Sambandsflokkurin (10 samgongur) og Javnaðarflokkurin (12 samgongur). Verður hugt at, hvussu nógvum samgongum størri flokkarnir hava verið í, so hava Fólkaflokkurin (16) og Javnaðarflokkurin (16) verið í flest samgongum og í hølunum á teimum Sambandsflokkurin (15), meðan Tjóðveldisflokkurin (12) liggur eitt vet lægri umframt tað, at hesin flokkur hevur ikki roynt seg sum løgmanflokk. Sjálvstýrisflokkurin hevur sum tann einasti av teimum smærru flokkunum verið við alt tíðarskeiðið og er eisini tann flokkurin,

ið oftast hevur verið samgonguflokkur, heili 17 av 27 samgongum. Miðflokkurin, sum fyrstu ferð kom á ting í 1994, hevur verið við í 4 samgongum, og Framsókn varð partur av samgonguni, ið varð skipað eftir valið í 2015.

Fyri føroysku skipanina er avbjóðingin at skipa samgongustjórn á ein hátt enn størri enn í øðrum skipanum við samgongustjórn, tí flokkarnir mugu gera semju tvørtur um báðar ásirnar í føroyskum politikki fyri at kunna skipa stjórn. Ein uppgerð yvir semjuásirnar vísa, at tær hava verið skiftandi. Í summum tíðarskeiðum hava flokkar gjørt semju tvørtur um ásina vinstra-høgra og aðrar tíðir tvørtur um ásina loysing og samband, sí yvirlit í talvu 3.

Talva 3.

Yvirlit yvir semjuásir fyri skipan av stjórn síðani 1950 býtt í 10 ára skeið

Tíðarskeið	Høvuðssemjuás
1950-árin	Skiftandi: Vinstra-Høgra Loysing-Samband
1960-árin	Vinstra-Høgra
1970-árin	Skiftandi: Vinstra-Høgra Loysing-Samband
1980-árin	Loysing-Samband
1990-árin	Skiftandi: Loysing-Samband Vinstra-Høgra
2000-árin	Skiftandi: Loysing-Samband Vinstra-Høgra
2010-árin	Loysing-Samband

Kelda: Talvan er frá West, 2018: talva 4.4.

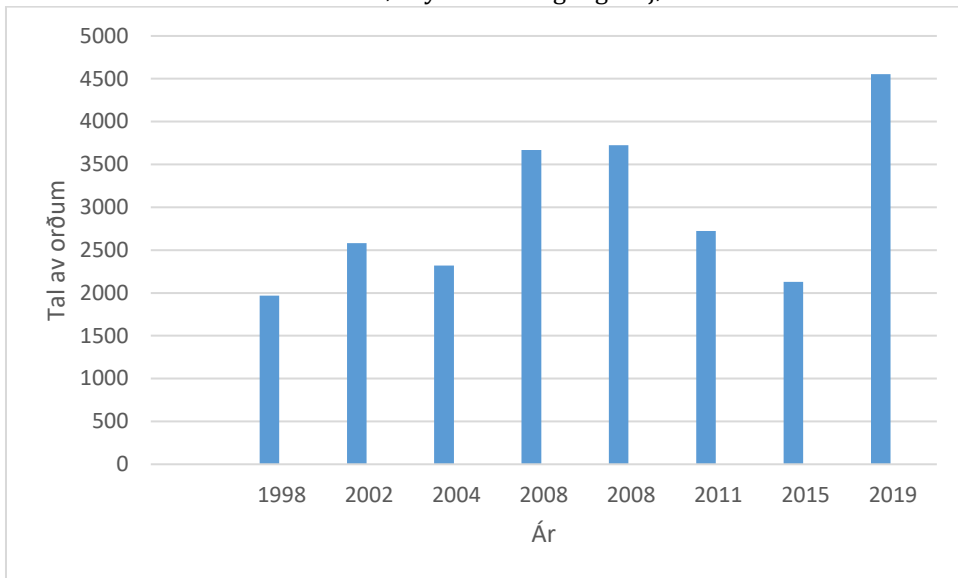
Tað viðførir, at føroyskar samgongur - alt annað líka - hava eitt størri politikkspressni enn vanligt, og at tørvur er á størri “neyðsemjum” enn vanligt. Harvið er vandin fyri ósemjum innanhýsis í flokkunum eisini størri, og tí er væntandi, at føroyskar samgongur eru óstøðugar.

Tølini fyri samgongur vísa kortini, at skipanin er støðugari enn fortreytirnar tala fyri. Verður hugt at tíðarskeiðinum síðani Heimastýrslógin varð sett í verk, t.v.s. 1948-2019, so er miðaltalið fyri samgongurnar 2,7 ár. Verður miðaltalið roknað fyri tíðarskeiðið eftir 1998 og til 2019 er tað umleið 3,1 ár,⁸ t.v.s. at miðaltalið fyri, hvussu leingi samgongurnar sita, er hækkað. Tó er tað skiftandi, hvussu leingi tær einstøku samgongurnar hava sitið. Um hugt verður at samgongunum síðani 1998, so eru fleiri samgongur, ið hava sitið alt tíðarskeiðið, men eisini samgongur, ið hava sitið heilt stutt, sí yvirlitið í talvu 4. Ábendingar eru sostatt um, at stjórnarsamstarv sum heild er støðugt. Eitt søguligt miðaltal á útvíð 3 ár er í øllum førum ikki heilt av leið. Tað, sum hevur týðning fyri at tryggja samgongustev, er t.d. at hava siðvenjur, har flokkar kunnu “tryggja seg” móttvegis hvørjum øðrum.

Tað er siðvenja, at samgongurnar orða eitt samgonguskjal, áðrenn samgonga verður skipað. Ein uppgerð fyri samgonguskjøluni seinastu 7 valini vísir, at skjøluni eru rættiliga ymisk til longdar. Tey eru frá útvíð 2.000 til góð 4.500 orð, sí mynd 8. Til samanberingar kann ein uppgerð hjá Indriðason & Kristinsson (2018) fyri 1980-2007 verða nevnd. Hon vísir, at slík skjøl í øðrum londum eisini eru sera ymisk til longdar. Tey eru millum 1.976 og 22.067 orð, t.v.s. at longdin á føroysku samgonguskjølunum liggur innan fyri hesi mörk um enn í lægra endanum. Tað er tó greitt, at tað er siðvenja at nýta samgonguskjøl sum amboð í stjórnarsamgongum.

Mynd 8.

Tal av orðum í føroyskum samgonguskjølum 1998-2019



⁸ Kelda til samgongutíðarskeið: Føroya Landsstýrið síðan 1948, yvirlit, Løgmannsskrivstovan.

Ein annar máti at tryggja samgongustev er ein skipan við regluligum landsstýrisfundum sum ein fastan tátt, og ein triði máti er at skipa fyri sonevndum samgongufundum eftir tørvi fyri øll tingfólkini hjá samgonguni. Í tíðarskeiðinum eftir 1996 eru eisini aðrar skipanir mentar við tí endamáli at stuðla samgongunum í at seta politisku máluni í verk eins og ásett í samgonguskjalinum (Samrøða 2021, Hanusardóttir). Tað eru eisini dømi um, at forfólk í tingnevndum verða vald soleiðis, at tey kunnu virka sum eitt slag av “skuggalandsstýrisfólkum” (West, 2018; Laver & Shepsle, 1996), t.v.s. at tey við at brúka vitan frá tingnevndararbeiði kunnu hava eftirlit við tí, sum landsstýrisfólkið tekst við.

Talva 4.

Stjórn, stjórnarflokkar, tingsessir og andstøðustyrki 1998-2019

Stjórn	Tíðar-skeið	Stjórnarflokkar	Sessir í tinginum (sam-gongan)	Sessir í tinginum (Andstøðan, styrkiratio)
Fullveldis-samgonga	1998-2002	Fólkaflokkurin Tjóðveldi Sjálvstýri	18	14/32 = 0.44
Fullveldis-samgonga II	2002-2004	Fólkaflokkurin Tjóðveldi Sjálvstýri Miðflokkurin	17	15/32 = 0.47
Vinstra-høgra samgonga	2004-2008	Javnaðarflokkurin Fólkaflokkurin Sambandsflokkurin	21	11/32 = 0.34
Vinstra-konservativ samgonga	2008-2008	Javnaðarflokkurin Tjóðveldi Miðflokkurin	17	16/33 = 0.48
Vinstra-høgra samgonga II	2008-2011	Sambandsflokkurin Fólkaflokkurin Javnaðarflokkurin	20	13/33 = 0.39

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Konservativ samgonga ⁹	2011-2015	Sambandsflokkurinn Fólkaflokkurinn Miðflokkurinn Sjálvstýri	19	14/33 = 0.42
Vinstra-samgonga	2015-2019	Javnaðarflokkurinn Tjóðveldi Framsókn Uttanflokkatingfólk	17	16/33 = 0.48
Konservativ samgonga II	2019-	Sambandsflokkurinn Fólkaflokkurinn Miðflokkurinn	17	16/33 = 0.48

Kelda: Talvan er frá West, 2018: Appendix 2, tó umsett og tillagað.

Talva 4 vísir, at samgongur eru meiri ella minni sterkar, mált í tali av tingfólkum. Samgongurnar hava havt millum 17 og 21 tingfólk. Ein útrokning av sessunum hjá andstøðuni í mun til samlaða talið av tingfólkum gevur eitt mát fyri styrkina hjá andstøðuni. Henda útrokning vísir, at andstøðan var veikast í samgongutíðarskeiðunum, har tríggar av teimum størru flokkunum funnu saman í samgongu, t.v.s. 2004-2008 og 2008-2011.

Talvan vísir eisini eitt dømi um stjórn, hvørs meiriluti varð treytaður av uttanflokkatingfólki (2015-2019), og harvið er tað eitt dømi um eina minnilutastjórn. Eisini stjórnaði samgongan 2008-2011 í eitt styttri tíðarskeið uttan Fólkaflokkinn (apr.-nov. 2011) og var í staðin stuðlað av øðrum flokkum í tinginum. Bert ein av samgongunum í talvuni er dømi um sonevnda “ovurstóra” stjórn, og tað er 2011-2015-samgongan, har tað ikki var neyðugt at hava tveir av smáu flokkunum við fyri at tryggja meirilutan. Tað ber móguliga eisini til at siga, at vinstra-høgra samgongurnar í 2004-2008 og 2008-2011 vóru “ovurstórar” stjórnir, tí har hevði móguliga verið móguligt at skipa eina aðra samgongu, har politiska spennin hevði verið minni og kostnaðurin fyri semjuna lægri. Hesi lutfalsliga fáu dømir benda á, at vantandi flokkslýdni er ikki ein ovurstórur trupulleiki. Eisini eru dømir um minnilutastjórn í verki, hóast áður nevndu fortreytir ikki tala fyri hesum.

⁹ Sjálvstýrisflokkurinn fer úr stjórnini 5. september 2013, men stjórnin hevur framvegis ein meiriluta av sessunum í Løgtinginum.

Niðurstøða

Henda grein hevur sett sjóneykuna á føroysku politisku flokkarnar, flokkaskipanina og virksemið í stjórn. Kanningin hevur víst á skipanarligar fortreytir sum parlamentariska skipan, lutfalsvalskipan, fleirflokkaskipan, veika politiska miðu, samgongur við stórum politikkspenni og siðvenju við meirilutastjórn.

Kanningin vísir, at politiska flokkaskipanin hevur verið støðug í tíðarskeiðinum eftir, at skipanin við Heimastýri varð sett í verk, t.v.s. tá flokkaskipanin frysti. Tað sæst í jøvnu veljaraundirtøkuni sæð yvir tíð. Tað eru serliga fyra størstu flokkarnir, ið hava myndað floksskipanina sum skipanarligi bulurin. Á veljarastigi vísa tøluni avmarkað veljarasveiggj, t.v.s. at tilknýtið millum veljararnar og politisku flokkarnar eisini er rættiliga støðugt sæð við hesum mátinum. Nakað av órógvu var í skipanini í tíðarskeiðinum undir kreppuni í 90-árunum, men tað hevur síðani javnað seg aftur. Kanningin vísir eisini á, at hóast flokkaskipanin er støðug, so er politiska sundurpettingarstigið heldur høgt, og tað kann bjóða stjórnarviðurskiftunum av. Harumframt vísir kanningin, at politisku flokkarnir skipa samgongur eftir skiftandi semjuásum, og at føroyskar stjórnir hava eitt stórt politikkspenni. Kortini vísir kanningin, at tá um stjórnarviðurskiftir ræður og hóast truplar fortreytir við møguligum avleiðingum fyri flokslýdni, so eru stjórnarviðurskiftini eisini rættiliga støðug. Flokkar skiftast um at skipa stjórn, og samgongur halda ofta valskeiðið út. Sterk siðvenja er fyri meirilutastjórnnum, og hóast dømir eru um sonevndar “ovurstórar” stjórnir, so benda tær rættiliga støðugu samgongustjórnirnar og enntá dømini um minnilutastjórnir á, at avbjóðingarnar við flokslýdni í øllum førum ikki eru ovurstórar.

Íkastið hjá hesi grein er at vísa á tey nevndu skipanarligu viðurskiftini, sum hava týðningi fyri virksemið í føroysku politisku skipanini, og at kanna lyklatøl fyri t.d. veljarasveiggj, effektivar flokkar og samgonguvirksemi soleiðis at metast kann um stigið av støðugleika á flokksstigi og á samgongu- og stjórnarstigi. Greinin er ein byrjan til at fáa til vega meira fullfíggaða vitan um føroysku politisku skipanina, og til tað er neyðugt við fleiri kanningum. Tørvur er á meiri vitan um, hvussu samgonguflokkar tryggja sær, at førði politikkurin samsvarar við sjónarmiðini hjá flokkunum; hvussu andstøðuvirksemið er á tingi og nágreiniliga vitan um flokslýdni. Harumframt er tørvur á fleiri kanningum av politisku flokkunum sum feløg, hvussu flokkar hvør í sínum lagi skipa fyri vali og valstríði og ikki minst, hvussu flokkar rekruttera limir og valevnir.

Yvirlit yvir talvur og myndir

Mynd 1. Vegleiðandi mynd av føroysku flokkaskipanini í dag út frá loysing/samband og vinstra/høgra ásum.

Mynd 2. Politiskir flokkar og veljaraundirtøka frá 1906 til 2019 í %.

Mynd 3. Mát fyri veljarasveiggj í Føroyum 1990-2019.

Mynd 4. Mát fyri veljarasveiggj í Norðurlondum 1985-2019.

Mynd 5. Tal av effektivum politiskum flokkum í tinginum 1998-2019.

Mynd 6. Tal av effektivum politiskum flokkum í tinginum Norðurlond 1998-2019.

Mynd 7. Politisk sundurpetting/tal av effektivum politiskum flokkum í tinginum, Norðurlond yvir tíð.

Mynd 8. Tal av orðum í føroyskum samgonguskjølum 1998-2019.

Talva 1. Politiskir flokkar og tal av tingsessum 1998-2019.

Talva 2. Tal av effektivum politiskum flokkum í tinginum, miðal søguligt mát og nýggjasta mát fyri Norðurlond.

Talva 3. Yvirlit yvir semjuásir fyri skipan av stjórn síðani 1950 býtt í 10 ára skeið.

Talva 4. Stjórn, stjórnarflokkar, tingsessir og andstøðu styrki 1998-2019.

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Samrøða (2021), Hanusardóttir, Marjun, Løgmansstjóri (1996-2021), 30. juni.

Hoyr tú illi Tara-Mortan. Royndirnar at menna taravinnu í Føroyum árin 1804-1807



Fróðskaparrit 68 (2022): 111-142
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“Hoyr tú illi Tara-Mortan”. The efforts to develop a kelp industry in the Faroe Islands 1804-1807

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Abstract

The beginning of the 19th century was hard for the people of the Faroe Islands. The weather was unfavorable, and the consequences were dire for the farmers. At the same time, price increases in Europe forced the Royal monopoly to increase its prices, which meant, that the price of grain increased by a quarter. That was the situation, when the kelp burner Mortan Reidt arrived in the Faroes in 1804. The pastor in Tórshavn, Begtrup, saw an opportunity to found a new industry that could provide an income for the poorest people in the city. Kelp was used in the glasindustry, so if the efforts were succesful the Faroes would have been closer to the growing industry in Great Britain and Norway. The aim of this paper is to tell the story of this attempt to start a new industry in the Faroe Islands, and to explore what the story can tell us about the early part of the 19th century.

Úrtak

Fyrstu árin av 19. øld vóru sera kørg í Føroyum, tí veðrið fór illa við landbúnaðinum, og hvørki grind ella seiður var at fáa undir landi. Harumframt gjørdur vøruprísir úti í heimi, at handilin í 1801 valdi at hækka sínar handilstakstir, soleiðis at millum annað korn gjørdist ein fjórðing dýrari, enn tað hevði verið frammanundan. Tað kom tí væl við, tá ið Tara-Mortan í 1804 kom við einum av handilsins skipum, tí við honum og hansara kunnleika um, hvussu øska ella soda kundi vinnast úr tara, sá serliga Begtrup prestur í Havn fyri sær, at her vóru møguleikar fyri at leggja lunnar undir eina nýggja vinnu. Taraøska var

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rævni, sum skuldi nýttast í glasíðnaðinum, so um tað hevði eydnast at fingið veruliga gongd á hesa vinnuna, høvdu Føroyar verðið nærri knýttar at vaksandi ídnaðinum bæði í Bretlandi og Noregi, og samstundis hevði ein heimaíðnaður av hesum slag givið føroysku húsarhaldunum eina munagóða inntøku afturat bindingini. Í greinini verður greitt frá hesi royndini at byggja upp eina nýggja vinnu í Føroyum, og mett verður um, hvat henda søga kann siga okkum um føroyska samfelagið tíðliga í 19. øld.

Keywords: Kelp industry, Napoleonic wars, modernisation, industrialisation, cottage industry, kelp burning, extractiv and inclusive societies.

Leitorð: Taraíðnaður, napoleonskríggj, modernisering, ídnaðargerð, heimavirki, tarabrenning, ekstrativ og inklusiv samfeløg.

Inngangur

Eitt høvuðstema í ph.d.-ritgerð míni “Fiskivinnan sum broytingaramboð hjá amtmanninum” er, hvussu embætisverkið og aðrir nýhugsandi einstaklingar royndu at flyta Føroyar úr aldagamla bóndasamfelagnum fram móti einari nýggjari tíð við at taka stig til at menna nýggjar vinnur. Nýggju vinnurnar skuldu við øðrum orðum broyta samfelagið til eitt meira nýmótans og betri samfelag.

At síggja fiskivinnuna sum eitt slíkt broytingaramboð er líka til, tí broytingin av samfelagnum frá bóndasamfelag til fiskivinnusamfelag er eitt av teimum heilt stóru temunum í føroyskari søgu. Tað er í sjálvum sær greitt prógv um, at henda transformatiónin eydnaðist. Í søguliga keldutilfarinum er tilfar til skjals um fleiri aðrar nýskapandi vinnuroyndir, sum ikki eydnaðust eins væl, sum fiskivinnan gjørdi, men sum kortini kunnu geva okkum nýtt og øðrvísi innlit í hesa broytingartíð í søgu okkara.

Ein slík roynd var ætlanin um at fara undir at framleiða taraøsku ella sodu í Føroyum. Hetta var ein væl kend og týðningarmikil vinna í grannalondunum, har henda vøra varð seld til alsamt vaksandi ídnaðarframleiðsluna. Í greinini verður roynt at finna fram til upprunan til, at henda vinna gjørdist viðkomandi í Føroyum. Greitt verður frá øllum tí, sum til ber at finna um hesar royndirnar, og dentur er lagdur á at finna fram til, hvat henda søga kann siga um føroyska samfelagið hesi fyrstu árin í 19. øld. Á tann hátt ber til at fáa eina hóming av, hvørjar kreftir arbeiddu fyri einari slíkari nýggjari vinnu, og hvørjar andøvdur ímóti, ella við øðrum orðum hvør virkaði til frama fyri at gera landið til eitt modernað inklusivt samfelag, og hvør royndi at verja ekstraktiva bóndasamfelagið (Sí t.d. Isholm 2000: 43-47). Soleiðis gevur ein søga sum henda góðar móguleikar at seta forðingar og móguleikar fyri menning av vinnum og øðrum samfelagsstovnum í eitt samanberandi ljós.

Yvirskriftin til greinina er ein regla úr einum tátti, sum Nólsoyar Páll sambært *Føringatíðindum* skal hava yrkt um Tara-Mortan, sum var fyrstur at royna seg í tarabrenningini. Tað ørindið, sum er tilskrivað Nólsoyar Páll, gevur eina mynd

av, at hann var ímóti hesi vinnumenningini, men upprunakeldurnar siga nakað annað. Í greinini verður at enda hugleitt um, hvørt slíkar søgur kunnu hugsast at vera leivdir frá traditionalismuni í siðbundna og støðuga bóndasamfelagnum, sum tjóðskapartíðin tók fram aftur stutt fyri aldaskiftið 1900.

Keldutilfarið til greinina er í høvuðsheitum skjalatilfar frá stjórn og nevnd fyri Kongliga einahandilin, har serliga frágreiðingarnar, sum handilsforvaltarin sendi stjórnini í Keypmannahavn, geva nógv nýtt innlit. Í skjalasavninum hjá Rentukamarinum liggur eisini hópin av skjølum, sum geva eina rættiliga greiða mynd av allari gongdini í søguni um tarabrenning í Føroyum 1804-1807. Harumframt hevur verið leitað í bókmentum um tarabrenning í grannalondunum, men í føroyskum bókmentum er at kalla einki funnið um hesa søguna.

Taraøska ráevni í glasframleiðslu

Øska var ein týðningarmikil handilsvøra í 17. og 18. øld. Úr øskuni fekst alkali, og tað var eitt evni, sum hevði stóran týðning í framleiðsluni av sápu og glasi, og tað varð eisini brúkt í klædnaíðnaðinum til at bleikja klæði við. Tríggir mátar vóru at fáa til vega hesa øskuna. Ein var at brenna timbur til timburøsku. Ein annar var at brenna runnin salsola soda, sum veksur fram við strondini í Spania og øðrum Miðjarðarhavslondum. Triði møguleikin var at brenna tara. Framleiðslan úr timbri verður nevnda pottøska ella potasium, úr salsola soda fekst evnið barilla, og brendi tarin gjørdist til ein øskuklump, sum á enskum verður nevndur kelp.

Tá ið øskuklumpurin frá tarabrenningini skuldi nýtast í framleiðsluni, varð hann gjørdur til pulvur við stórum grótrullum. Ein partur av pulvurinum kundi loysast upp í vatni og gera tað alkaliskt. Tað var hesin parturin, sum kundi brúkast í sápu- og klædnaíðnaðinum. Í glasíðnaðinum kundi øll øskan brúkast (Forsythe, 2006, p. 219). Viðhvørt hendi tað seg tí, at glasframleiðarar nýttu tann partin av taraøskuni, sum sápuframleiðarin ikki fekk brúkt. Høgi prísurin á barilla gjørdi eisini, at glasframleiðarin var líka fegin fyri taraøskuna sum fyri barilluna (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 304).

Í glasíðnaðinum varð øskan nýtt til at lækka bræðingarmarkið á glasi. Bræðingarmarkið á glasi er heilt uppi á 2300 hitastigum, og tí er talan um eitt evni, sum krevur nógva orku at bræða, og samstundis er tað torført at arbeiða við. Við at koyra taraøsku í lækkar bræðingarmarkið niður á umleið 1500 stig. Kemiska frágreiðingin upp á tað er, at soda ella natriumkarbonat er í øskuni. Orðið soda stavar frá plantunavninum Salsola soda, og soda fekst burtur úr hesum runnunum, um teir vórðu turkaðir og síðani brendir til øsku. Síðani varð øskan vaskað í vatni, so søltini blivu upployst. Vaskivatnið varð síðani kókað, og tað, sum tá lá eftir, var sodaøska. Henda øskan varð eisini nevnd barilla-soda.

Pottøska kundi eisini brúkast til at lækka bræðingarmarkið á glasi. Í pottøskuni vóru ymisk kaliumsølt, og tey høvdu sama virknað sum soda. Orðið

pottøska stavar frá hollenska orðinum potasch og vísir til stóru pottarnar, sum vórðu nýttir til at kóka vatnið, sum øskan varð vaskað í, so at kaliumsøltini lógu eftir.

Í tarabrenning fekst bæði soda og pottøska, og munurin hevði ikki so stóran týdning, tí bæði kundu brúkast til at lækka bræðingarmarkið í glasframleiðsluni. Góðskan á soduni og pottøskuni var ikki líka góð úr tara sum úr salsola soda plantuni, men góðskan var nóg góð til hópframleiðslu av glasi, sum var týðandi lutur í ídnaðarkollveltingini.

Taravinna mennist í skotsku oyggjunum

Tað vóru helst bæði økt glasframleiðsla og øktur prísur á barilla, sum gjørdu, at gongd kom á at framleiða soda burtur úr tara. Franskir bøndur framleiddu tíðliga í 1600-talinum soda við at brenna brúnalgur, og hugsandi er, at hesin mátin at útvinna hetta týdningarmikla ráevnið til glasframleiðsluna spjaddist haðani til Bretlands. Bæði skrivligar og fornfrøðiligar keldur vísa, at bretar í 1660-árunum fóru at brúka taraøsku í framleiðsluni (Dungworth, 2011). Tari varð brendur til øsku við walisisku strendurnar, og seinni tóku írar eisini táttin upp. Tíðliga í 18. øld spjaddist vinnan víðari til oyggjarnar vestanfyri Skotland (Forsythe, 2006, p. 219), og tað var serliga í Skotlandi, at talan gjørdist um eina berandi vinnu (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 298).

Tarabrenningin varð fyrstu ferð roynd í Forth-fjørðinum í 1720, og tvey ár seinni kom gongd á framleiðslu í Orknoyggjum. Í 1730-árunum tóku tey táttin upp í Hebridunum við íblástri úr Írlandi, og vinnan mentist skjótt. Tá ið øldin var hálvrunnin, var tarabrenning ment til eina vinnu, sum hevði stóran búskaparligan týdning. Ein orsök var, at trot varð á timbri í Evropa, og avleiðingin var, at prísurin á pottøsku øktist úr 16 til 25 pund fyri tonsið frá 1740 til 1750 (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 299).

Prísirnir gingu upp og niður restina av øldini, alt eftir hvat hendi á politiska pallinum, men taravinnan fekk alsamt størri og størri týdning fyri skotska búskapin, og fyri “the Highlands and Islands” var taravinnan drívandi megin í samfelagsmenningini (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 301). Fólkvøksturin í Norðurskotlandi var umleið 50% frá 1755 til 1831, men í Hebridunum var fólkvøksturin enn størri, tí har var fólkatálið í 1831 í summum oyggjum triggjar ferðir so stórt sum í 1755. Tað komst ikki av, at meira fekst burtur úr landbúnaðinum, tí tarabrenningin hevði við sær, at landbúnaðurin ikki var so væl røktur, sum hann hevði verið. Orsøkin var, at stóru landánararnir eggjaðu fólki til at búseta seg á sínum ognum, so arbeiðsmegi kundi tryggjast til tarabrenningina (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 308).

Tá ið Napoleon fór at kríggjast við stóran part av Evropa, hevði tað við sær, at prísurin á taraøsku vaks í stórum, tí tá bar ikki til at fáa hendur á barilla. Sagt verður, at prísurin kom heilt upp á 20 pund fyri tonsið, og strendurnar í oynni

North Uist vórðu leigaðar út fyri 7.000 pund um árið (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 312).

Tað vóru serliga landánararnir, sum vunnu pening upp á hesa vinnuna, bæði tí teir kundu hækka leiguna, sum bøndur skuldu gjalda fyri garðarnar, og tí teir tóku sær av at selja framleiðsluna víðari við stórum vinningi. Tá ið prísurin var upp á tað hægsta, kundi vinningurin vera 15 pund fyri tonsið av taraøsku. Í 1809 var vinningurin av söluni av taraøsku á Clanranald 10.047 pund, meðan leigugjöldini vóru 7.500 pund. Tey høvdu eina hálva øld frammanundan bara verið 760 pund (Gray, 1951, p. 202).

Fyri at fáa so nógvan vinning burtur úr taranum, sum til bar, býttu landánararnir jørðina sundur í smærri og smærri lutir. Á henda hátt varð tryggjað, at nóg mikið av arbeiðsmegi var til at virka taran, og at so nógv leigugjöld komu inn, sum til bar, og í nøkrum førum finga bøndurnir eisini boð um at gjalda leigugjöldini við taraøsku (Gray, 1951, p. 204). Henda skipanin minnir nógv um “the Zetland Method”, sum bant bøndurnar í Hetlandi til at gjalda festigjöldini við at fiska fyri jallarnar ávísar tíðir á árinum (Isholm, 2020, p. 224). Í báðum førum eggjaði skipanin landánarunum til at fáa so nógv fólk at arbeiða, sum til bar, og mátin var at býta garðarnar sundur í smærri og smærri eindir, so at fleiri festarar vóru at gjalda. Í Hetlandi hevði henda skipanin við sær, at tað at síggja til var stórir vøkstur í bæði fólkatáli og fiskaútflutningi, men av tí at skipanin bygd á eina ekstraktiva skipan, varð framgongdin ikki varandi.

Uppgongutíðin í taravinnuni endaði í 1812, tá ið prísirnir aftur fóru at fella (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 312). Um somu tíð fann franski Leblanc ein máta at framleiða kunstigt soda úr havsalti, og tí kom tarabrenningini, sum hevði til endamáls at útvinna sodu, ongantíð rættiliga fyri seg aftur. Góða inntøkan úr taranum hevði fingið landánararnar til at eggja fólki til heldur at arbeiða í taranum enn at røkja landbúnaðin og fiskivinnuna. Tá ið nú tarabløðran brast, lógu umfatandi búskaparligir trupulleikar eftir. Nógvir landánarar mistu ognir sínar, men verri var hjá øllum teimum fólkunum, sum høvdu bygt lív sítt upp á taravinnuna. Tey megnaðu ikki at vinna burtur úr jørðini tað, sum tey skuldu gjalda í leigugjöldum. Tá ið taravinnan gekk væl, forðaði hon fyri, at fólk fluttu til Amerika, men nú tók emigratióin dik á seg aftur (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 316).

Kreppan í taravinnuni rakti sölulið og arbeiðsgevarar fyrst, tí tann, sum fekst við at brenna tara, fekk so lítlan part av inntøkuni, at hann ikki merkti lækkaða prísir so væl. Tá ið prísurin á taraøskuni fór niður um 4 pund, var eingin vinningur eftir til landánaran, og tað gjörði, at framleiðslan var nógv minkað í 1830, og tíggju ár seinna var tarabrenning bara eitt minni (Gray, 1951, p. 205).

Tarabrenning í Noregi

Tarabrenningin spreiddi seg skjótt úr Skotlandi til Noregs. Ein skotskur skipari kom í 1730- ella 40-árunum til Trondheims. Hann greiddi frá, hvussu tarin kundi brennast til øsku, og síðani kom hann fleiri ferðir aftur at keypa

taraøsku. Tann vinnan steðgaði tó skjótt aftur, tá ið bann varð sett fyri at innflyta taraøsku til Bretlands.

Jens Hveding, sum var pápi Jacob Hveding, sum seinni gjørdist løgmaður í Føroyum, mintist hesa vinnuroyndina, tá ið hann í 1748 fekk fyrispurning um at brúka skógin í Lierne í glasframleiðsluni. Hann helt ikki, at tað var nakað gott hugskot, tí tað var so langt at flyta framleiðsluna haðani, og tí fór tað at gerast torført at fáa vinning burturúr. Hann skeyt tí upp heldur at leggja glasvirki við strondina, og har kundu stig takast til at brenna tara til framleiðsluna, eins og gjørt varð í Skotlandi. Gongd kom á hesar royndir við tarabrenning, og í 1755 varð hildið, at hesin máttin bar til (Lindeman, 1928, p. 65).

Aðrir norðmenn sendu ein ídnaðarnjósnara til Onglands at savna saman upplýsingar um glasframleiðslu og um tarabrenning. Njósnarin varð handtikin, men tá ið loysigjald varð goldið fyri hann, kundi hann fara til Fraklands at seta seg inn í framleiðsluna har. Tað endaði við, at ein franskur tarabrennari og sodukókari kom til Noregs saman við einum tulki í 1756. Hann lærði nøkur á Ørlandet at savna saman, turka og brenna tara, og skjótt gjørdist tarabrenning til eina hjávinnu. Longu í 1758 var framleiðslan komin upp á 30 tons um árið, og eini 15 til 20 ár seinni var framleiðslan komin upp ímóti 225 tons um árliga.

Tara-Mortan partur av nýskapen í Gudumlund

Sjálvt um vit einki vita við vissu, ber til at hugsa, at tað var í hesi norsku tarabrenningini, at Tara-Mortan, hvørs kristna navn var Morten Reidt, vann sær royndir í handverkinum. Mortan kemur fyrstu ferð undan í keldutilfarinum í 1798. Tá var hann komin til Danmarkar, og har skuldi hann taka sær av tarabrenning við virkini í Gudumlund í Norðurjyllandi.

Gudumlund var eitt góðs hjá Buchwald-ættini, og har fór kamarharrin Frederik von Buchwald í 1770-árunum undir at stovna ymisk framleiðsluvirki. Hetta var tá ein púra ókendur heimur har á leið, og hetta var ein roynd at koma sær upp í ídnaðarframleiðsluna, sum mentist við stórari ferð hesi árin. Buchwald fekk sær bæði garvarí, handskavirki, línklaðnavirki og vevarí.

Hóast hugurin var góður, eydnaðist ikki Buchwald at fáa alt hetta virkseimið at bera seg. Hann endaði við at standa í stórari skuld, og í 1798 noyddist hann at selja góðsið til Schimmelmann greiva (Brønnum, 1895, p. 14). Eftir kvettið móti Kristiani 7. og Ova Guldborg, høvuðsráðharra hansara, í 1784, gjørdist Schimmelmann saman við Bernstorff og Reventlow partur av teirri stjórnini, sum av álvara fór undir at modernisera danska ríkið. Schimmelmann var harumframt ein av ríkastu monnum í ríkinum, eftir at hann arvaði pápa sín. Tí var hann førur fyri at fremja nýskapanina í verki, og tað var tað, hann gjørdi í Gudumlund.

Sama ár, sum Schimmelmann yvirtók Gudumlund góðsið, vóru ætlanir settar í verk at byggja upp eitt laboratorium, sum skuldi framleiða salt, sápu og salpetur. Á Hirtshólmunum við Fladstrand varð eitt sodabrennarí skipað, og tað var hesum partinum av virkseminum, Morten Reidt varð settur at taka sær av. Hann skuldi

lata alt tað, hann megnaði at framleiða, til sápuvirkið fyri triggjar skillingar pundið. Sodain var gjørd úr taraslagnum “kløvertang”, sum varð skorin leysur av havbotninum. Í oktober 1798 lat Mortan virkinum 19.000 pund av sodu, og árið eftir var ætlanin, at hann skuldi lata 100.000 pund. Nakað av hesum varð latið virkinum, men tá ið tað vísti seg, at dr. Friese ikki vildi gjalda tað forskotið aftur, sum hann hevði fingið Søren Lunden at lata Mortani, og virkið heldur ikki vildi gjalda Mortani meira enn ½ skilling fyri pundið av teimum 9.000 pundunum, sum hann førði til virkið, elvdi tað til so stóra ósemju, at tarabrenningin varð niðurløgd (Brønnum, 1895, pp. 39–40).

Ætlanin við laboratoriiinum eydnaðist ongantíð nakað serligt, og virkseimið helt endaliga uppat í 1803 (Brønnum, 1895, p. 41). Hvar Mortan var hesa tíðina er óvist, tí einki sæst í keldunum til hansara, fyrr enn hann bráðliga tann 30. apríl 1804 kom í land í Havn av galeasuni “Fredens Forsvar”, ið kom á Havnina sum vársins fyrsta handilsskip. Á Skansanum lýstu teir hann í protokollunum sum sodaframleiðara.²

Prestur tók stig til tarabrenning

Tá ið Tara-Mortan kom á Havnina á vári 1804, var hann fátækur og illa fyri. So vánalig var støða hansara, at honum vantaði klæði til at kunna fara í gongd við arbeiði sítt. Men hann var ikki tann einasti, sum var illa fyri, tí hann kom eisini til ein bý og eitt land, sum búskaparliga var sera illa fyri. Búskaparligu trupulleikarnir byrjaðu í 1801, tá ið myndugleikarnir avgjördu at fara burtur frá fasta takstinum ella vøruprísunum, sum høvdu verið galdandi síðani 1790. Orsøkin til hesa avgerð var, at prísurin á korni og øðrum vørum var nógv hækkaður í Danmark, so at handilin í mongum førum keypti vøru dýrari inn, enn hann fekk selt vøruna fyri aftur í Føroyum. Fyri føroyingar var tað serliga økti prísurin á byggkorni, sum fór úr 3 ríkisdálum upp í 4 ríkisdálar fyri tunnuna, sum fekk stóra ávirkan á liviumstøðurnar.³

Henda príshækkingin hevði møguliga ikki havt so stóra ávirkan, um hon var komin nøkur ár frammanundan, men eftir at fleiri góð ár høvdu verið á rað fram til 1800, vendist støðan á sumri 1800. Bæði summarið og heystið var sera nógv regn, og síðani kom ein harður vetur omaná. Hesar náttúruumstøður gjördu, at stórt felli var fleiri staðni í landinum. Ein partur av seyðafellinum komst av, at fólk tey góðu árinum í støðum høvdu sett meira seyð við, enn jørðin megnaði at bera, og tað hevndi seg nú. Harumframt sveik bæði grindin og seiðurin, so handilsskipini fingi einki lýsi við sær aftur til Danmarkar.⁴

² TSS. Skansaprotokollir. Skansaprotokol 1803-1805.

³ SA. Den Færøske Handelskommission, Handelsforvalteren i Torshavn: Direktionens Breve (1796-1807). Bræv frá stjórnini dagfest 22. mai 1801.

⁴ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 180. Bræv frá Egtved handelsforvaltara dagfest í Havn 24. juli 1801.

Veturin eftir var eisini bæði harður og drúgvur, og vánaliga veðrið hevði ligið so at siga óavbrotið frá tíðliga í november til endan á maimánað. Tað gjørdi, at stórir partur av seyðinum “var creperet”, og sera fá lomb komu undan í lembingini. Alt ov lítið hoyggj var til kýrnar, og tað var bara við neyð og deyð, at tað eydnaðist teimum flestu at bjarga teimum. Veður hevði heldur ikki verið til nakran útróður, so haðani kom heldur eingin føði, og framvegis var eingin grind sædd, men onkur seiður hevði so verið at fingið. Handilsforvaltarin ásannaði, at tað var óvanliga torført hjá teimum fátæku at koma ígjøgnum hesa ringu tíðina, og skjótt merkti hann eitt stórt trýst frá sýslumonnum og prestum, sum vildu hava handilin at lata teimum fátæku vøru upp á borg.⁵

Nógv av teimum fátækastu fólkunum í Føroyum búðu í Havn, og tí var presturin í Sandagerði, Joachim Begtrup, ein av teimum, sum merktu trupulleikarnar best. 1. mai 1802 skrivaði hann undir upp á eina váttan, sum sýslumaðurin hevði givið Ellen Pedersdatter um, at hon og 12 ára gamla dóttir hennara fóru at líða hungursneyð, um tær ikki fingi hjálp. Undir vanligum umstøðum hevði hon fingið hjálp úr Fátækrakassanum, men hesin kassin var so kroystur, at tað ikki bar til at leggja meira á hann. Tí vísti prestur til § 11 í fyriskipanini um handilin frá 1790, sum ásetti, at kongur hevði skyldu at “forsyne” fátæku undirsáttar sínar.⁶

Hetta gjørdist byrjanin til eina nýggja fátækraskipan, har fátøk við váttan frá presti ella kirkjuverjum um, at teirra støða var vánalig, kundu fáa rætt til at keypa upp á borg í handlinum. Begtrup prestur hevði tí neyvt innlit í vánaligu støðuna hjá sóknarbørnum sínum. Løbner kommandantur fylgdi eisini væl við, og hann visti, at hungurin hevði fingið útróðrarmenn at rógva nógv longri til havs í vónini um at fáa okkurt, men teir komu aftur “med uforrettet Sag”, og tað var bara akkurát, at teir megnaðu at bjarga lívinum, áðrenn ódnarveðrið tók teir. Um seyðin segði Løbner, at hann “har i dette Aar faaet et Stød, som neppe med gode Aaringer i tre paafølgende vil kunde retableres.” So ring var støðan, at stuldur, sum higartil hevði verið sera sjáldsamur, var vorðin vanligur henda veturin. Í øllum teimum málum, hann kendi til, var kortini eingin ivi um, at stolið varð av neyð.⁷

Veturin 1802-03 var lítið frægari enn undanfarnu ár, men á heysti 1802 og í 1803 komu nakrar grindir. Spakuliga fóru viðurskiftini aftur at batna, og í 1804

⁵ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 536. Bræv frá Egtved handelsforvaltara dagfest í Havn 30. mai 1802.

⁶ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 529. Bræv frá Egtved handelsforvaltara dagfest í Havn 5. juli 1802. Viðløgð eru trý avrit av skjølum, sum handelsforvaltarin hevði fingið frá sýslumonnum og prestum.

⁷ SA. Rentekammeret. Sager til journal for Færøerne og Grønland. 1805-1807/42. Upprunliga brævið hevur nummar 1798-1805/989. Bræv frá Løbner kommandanti dagfest Tórshavn 30. juni 1802.

hvarv tørvurin á at skriva upp á borg í handlinum.⁸ Tað merkti kortini neyvan, at støðan hjá teimum ringast staddu var góð, tí sera torført var at finna nakað arbeiði ella inntøkur til teirra. Hesa støðuna hevði Begtrup í huga, tá ið hann hitti Tara-Mortan, og hann sá skjótt ein móguleika at fáa skapt teimum illa staddu ein inntøkumóguleika í taravinnuni.

Brendu tara til svartasalt

Hvussu stór vitanin í Føroyum var um tarabrenningina, áðrenn Tara-Mortan kom til landið, er óvist. Við tí týðninginum í huga, sum vinnan hevði fyri oyggjar og strandaøki bæði eystanfyri og sunnanfyri Føroyar, hevði verið løgið, um eingin hevði hugsað tankan, at hetta eisini kundi verið ein móguleiki í Føroyum. Í frágreiðingini um føroyaferð sína vísti Jens Christian Svabo, at hann hevði hugsað um henda móguleikan, tí hann visti, at tað í Skotlandi var ein vinna fyri fátæk at brenna tara til taraøsku, sum skuldi brúkast í glasframleiðsluni. Hann helt kortini ikki, at tað var ráðiligt at fara undir slíka vinnu í Føroyum, tí tað fór at gera seg inn á veltingina (Svabo, 1959, pp. 292–93).

Í Føroyum var ikki ókent at brenna tara, tí áðrenn vanligt salt varð so bíligt, at fólk megnaðu at keypa tað, framleiddu føroyingar svartasalt við at turka og brenna tara. Við øskuni ella svartasaltinum bar til at salta t.d. spik og hanga tað upp. Upphongt var spikið svart og sá út sum roykt flesk, men innan var tað hvítt sum annað flesk (Debes, 1963, p. 160).

Hetta við at brenna tara til svartasalt gjørdist minni vanligt, sum 18. øld leið, og Svabo vísti í frágreiðing síni á, at nakað av spiki varð lakasaltað, men tað mesta varð saltað við vanligum salti og hongt upp til turkingar. Nøkur hildu, at tað besta var at salta við svartasalti, eftir at saltað var við vanligum salti fyrst. Tá var svartasalt øska av taraslagnum *Fucus Nodosus* (Svabo, 1959, p. 257). Tá tykist tað, sum tað mest var gamal vani at brúka svartasalt, og stutt eftir varð tað helst avlagt.

Eftir tað var tari bara brúktur til at taða við, men í landbúnaðinum hevði tarin so stóran týðning, at hann var roknaður upp í virðismetingina av jørðini í støðum, har nógvur tari var. Tí ber væl til at hugsa sær, at tað millum bøndur ikki var væl umtókt, at ein nýggj vinna skuldi hótta við at taka tara frá landbúnaðinum.

Einki sæst til, at Begtrup hugsaði um landbúnaðin, tá ið hann fekk samband við Tara-Mortan, tí tað var ringa støðan hjá teimum fátæku, sum lá fremst í huga. Mortan kundi vísa Begtrup fleiri skjøl, sum váttaðu, at hann hevði konglig rættindi til at brenna soda og pottøsku í øllum kongsins londum, og Begtrup frætti eisini, at ein assessor Henchel hevði gjørt nakrar smærri royndir, sum

⁸ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1387. Bræv frá Egtved handilsforvaltara dagfest í Havn 30. mai 1805. Hjalagt er yvirlit yvir tey fátøku, sum høvdu fingið vøru upp á borg, og skuld teirra fram til 31. mars 1805.

eydnaðust væl, og hann visti, at sonn yvirflóð var av bløðrutara, *Fucus vesiculosus*, á skerum og fram við strendurnar í Føroyum.

Júst hvat tað er fyri kanning hjá Ole Henschel, sum Begtrup prestur sá, er ikki eydnast at finna út av, men tað er ikki sørt áhugavert, at samband kann knýstast millum ferðirnar hjá Henschel í Føroyum í 1777-1779 og hesa royndina at seta gongd á eina nýggja vinnu. Henschel varð sendur til Føroya at kanna móguleikarnar at byggja upp eina kolanámsvinnu í Suðuroynni, og árin eftir hesar kanningar nýttu ríkismyndugleikarnir nógvan pening í royndini at byggja upp nýggja vinnu í Føroyum (Dalsgaard, 1996, pp. 333–342).

Ole Henschel hevði frammanundan verið í Íslandi og gjørt eina kanning av svávlinum har, og hvørjir móguleikar vóru fyri at grunda eina vinnu upp at tað. Royndir hansara bæði í Føroyum og í Íslandi vóru liður í teimum royndum, sum ríkismyndugleikar gjørdu at økja um inntøkumóguleikar sínar í øllum pørtum av ríkinum. Júst hví hann gjørdi nakrar royndir at brenna tara, meðan hann var í Føroyum, ber bara til at gita sær, tí í øllum tilfarinum, sum er til skjals um kolaroyndirnar, sæst onki, sum kann hjálpa til at svara tí spurninginum.⁹

Í fleiri førum gekst illa at fáa fólk at taka undir við ymisku nýhugsandi átøkunum hjá ríkismyndugleikunum, tí fólk vildu helst halda fast í tí gamla kenda bóndasamfelagnum og øllum tí, sum har til hoyrði. Munurin á tiltøkunum síðstu árin av 18. øld og hesum tiltakinum hjá Joachim Begtrup presti og Tara-Mortani var, at nú var talið á fátækum fólki, sum lítið og einki hevði at liva av, bráðliga økt í stórum, og tað var ofta hesin samfelagsbólkur, sum varð grundarlagið undir nýggjum vinnum og á tann hátt drívandi megin í at gera samfeløg inklusiv (Isholm, 2020).

Stovna felag at standa fyri tarabrenning

Sjálvur megnaði Tara-Mortan ikki at fara undir tarabrenning, og fyri at fáa gongd á vendi prestur sær til Egtved handelsforvaltara, Løbner kommandant, studentin Debes og Tummas Kjernes fyri at fáa teir at stovna eitt felag saman við sær at standa fyri arbeiðinum. Teir fimm settu 50 ríkisdálar í part í eitt felag at standa fyri framleiðsluni, og so kundi Tara-Mortan fara undir at byggja upp nýggju vinnuna í Føroyum.¹⁰

Mortan fekk boð um, at hann umframt at brenna tara eisini skuldi læra tveir føroyingar upp í handverkinum og einki krógva fyri teimum. Í mai fór Mortan í gongd, og tá ið virkseimið varð niðurlagt aftur í september, hevði hann framleitt 6.400 pund¹¹ av taraøsku. Men hetta var ein dýr framleiðsla, tí felagið hevði brúkt 300 ríkisdálar. Tað merkti, at tað hevði kostað felagnum millum 4½ og 5

⁹ SA. Rentekammeret. Regninger og breve i anl. Af de færøske stenkul (1777-1784) og Sager vedr. stenkulsguberne på Færøerne (1757-1806).

¹⁰ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809. Mál nr. 1245. Bræv frá Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 1. oktober 1804.

¹¹ Vísti seg seinni at vera 6.578 pund.

ríkisdálar fyri hvørji 100 pund. 130 ríkisdálar vóru nýttir til at gjalda Mortani løn og fyri klæði og ferðaútreiðslur. 56 ríkisdálar vóru nýttir til at gjalda fyri tunnur og frakt, og harumframt kom so lønin til arbeiðsfólk.

Henda lønin var øll goldin sum dagleigaraløn, tí akkordarbeiði var eitt púra ókent fyrbrigdi í Føroyum, og tí vildi almúgan als ikki ganga við til at arbeiða upp á akkord. Í einum føri eydnaðist kortini at gera eina akkordavtalu, har fólk finga 2 ríkisdálar fyri at skera og røkja 100 pund av tara. Felagið sá fyri sær, at tað við tíðini fór at eydnast at lækka henda eindarkostnaðin. Hetta fyrsta árið var allur tarin skorin í prestagjaldinum hjá Begtrup.¹² Tað mesta varð brent í Havn, men nakað varð eisini brent í Nólsoy, Hestoy og Kirkjubø.¹³

Felagið ásannaði, at nógvu útreiðslurnar vístu, at felagið neyvan fór at klára seg uttan hjálp frá handlinum. Í frágreiðing um felagið segði Begtrup, at felagið bara fór at kunna virka “som Sneglen i sit Huus”, um tað ikki fekk handilsins vælvild. Hann vónaði at fáa hesa vælvild, tí endamálið við felagnum var at “faae Landets Børn oplært i Tangbrændingen” og á tann hátt fáa til vega eina inntøku til tey fátæku. Kundi hetta gerast við “om Mueligt fra Naturens Skiød at hente nogle hundrede Rigsdaler, som før var tabt”, so var nógv vunnið fyri allar partar. Ynski felagsins var, at handilin kundi flyta taraøskuna ókeypis, tá ið hon kom umborð á handilsskip í staðin fyri barlast, og at handilin vildi góðtaka, at vøran ikki var í tunnum. At enda hevði felagið eisini brúk fyri ráðum og vegleiðing um, hvussu best var at selja taraøskuna, tá ið hon var komin til Keypmannahavnar.¹⁴ Tara-Mortan fór av landinum aftur 12. oktober 1804 við skipinum “Anne Marie”, og hugsandi er, at framleidda taraøskan fór við sama skipi.¹⁵

Limirnir í felagnum vóru embætismenn, og tí høvdu teir ikki nógvan pening at seta í felagið, og teir høvdu heldur ongan áhuga í at eiga í felagnum, eftir at tað var komið í gongd. Tí ætlaðu teir sær at fáa innskotna peningin aftur, so skjótt sum felagið megnaði at gjalda hann. Teir finga annars eftir øllum at døma møguleikan at selja onkrum útlendingi felagið í 1804, men teir noktaðu fyri, at útlendingar skuldu fara av stað við fyrimununum av hesum virkseminum.¹⁶

¹² SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809. Mál nr. 1245. Bræv frá Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 1. oktober 1804.

¹³ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1820. Bræv frá handilsnevndini dagfest í 11. august 1806. Hjaløgð er frágreiðing frá Joachim Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 20. mai 1806, sum er váttað av Hans Debes og Thomas Kielness sama dag og Hammershaimb fúta 25. mai 1806.

¹⁴ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809. Mál nr. 1245. Bræv frá Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 1. oktober 1804.

¹⁵ TSS. Skansaprotokollir. Skansaprotokol 1803-1805.

¹⁶ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809. Mál nr. 1245. Bræv frá Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 1. oktober 1804.

Tarafelagið fánar í 1805

Longu áðrenn fyrsta árið 1804 var lokið, hevði Løbner kommandantur valt at taka seg burtur úr felagnum, og tá ið Egtved handilsforvaltari varð kallaður heim úr Føroyum tíðliga í 1805, vóru bara trýggir limir eftir í felagnum. Samstundis var eisini greitt, at Tara-Mortan ikki fór at verða knýttur at felagnum í 1805. Hann skyldaði felagnum nakað, men tá ið hann var leysur av tí, fór hann einki meir samband at hava við tarafelagið. Óvist er kortini, hvørt tað var felagið, sum vildi tað soleiðis, ella um tað var Tara-Mortan sjálvur, sum vildi royna aðrar leiðir.

Sjálvt um virkseimið hjá felagnum hevði sett pening í umferð og givið nøkrum fátækum fólki um arbeiði, so var sera torført at flyta framleiddu vørna av landinum. Handilin skuldi ganga ígjøgnum Keypmannahavn, men sodain skuldi annaðhvørt seljast til glasvirki í Hollandi ella í Noregi, har góður prísur fekst. Tað kostaði tí felagnum nógv, at vøran skuldi flytast til Keypmannahavnar, og at eingin av teimum trimum hevði kunnleika til handil ella samband við fólk, sum kundu hjálpa teimum at selja vørna. At enda var tað ein trupulleiki, at samband bara var við Føroyar í trýggjar mánaðir um árið. Tilsamans gjørdur hesir trupulleikar, at tað var ógjørlegt hjá felagnum at fáa yvirskot.

Sjálvt um Begtrup prestur hevði lagt so nógv orku í arbeiðið við felagnum, so vildu bæði Debes og Kjelnæs tíðliga eisini sleppa burtur úr felagnum. Teir royndu kortini saman við tveimum føroyingum, sum høvdu lært hjá Tara-Mortani í 1804, at útvinna sodu í 1805, og teir fingi 1367 pund av sodu burturúr, sum kortini ikki varð send niður sama ár.

Tað gekst illa at fáa peningin fyri framleiðsluna, sum varð send til Danmarkar í 1804, og tá ið tað í 1805 frættist, at bæði Rentukamarið og Handilsnevndin fyri føroyska handilin í Keypmannahavn høvdu fingið áhuga fyri at gera meira við at menna taravinnuna, samdust teir trýggir skjótt um, at endamálið við felagnum bara hevði verið at vísa, at hetta slagið av vinnu læt seg gera í Føroyum, so at landið skuldi fáa áhuga fyri at taka yvir.

Veturin 1805-06 avgjórdu teir trýggir, at felagið skuldi niðurliggjast, og til fyrsta postmøguleika várið 1806 skrivaði Begtrup prestur 20. mai 1806 til Rentukamarið, har hann bjóðaði kamarinum at yvirtaka amboðini, sum felagið hevði brúkt, so at tey fátæku kundu fáa møguleika at brúka amboðini. Prestur helt, at Rentukamarið átti at havt áhuga í øllum royndum at seta gongd á nýggjan ídnað, sum royndi at fáa virði burtur úr tí, sum annars varð burturbeint. Slíkur ídnaður skapti arbeiði til fólk, sum annars bara vóru ein byrða hjá statinum. Hinir báðir eigararnir váttadu tilboðið hjá Begtrup fáar dagar seinni, og teir fingi eisini Hammershaimb fúta at geva sítt viðmæli.

Við royndunum, sum teir høvdu gjørt sær, hildu teir, at føroyingar megnaðu at framleiða taraøsku fyri minni enn 10 markar sentnaran, og tí hevði tað verið frálíkt, um til bar hjá handlinum frá 1806 og frameftir at taka ímóti taraøsku fyri henda prís, á sama hátt sum handilin tók ímóti aðrar føroyskari vøru. Begtrup visti, at glasverk í Noregi lótu 18 2/3 ríkisdálar fyri 1000 pund, og tað gav meir enn 11 markar sentnaran. Í sínum viðmæli segði fútin, at hann á lögtingi hevði

heitt á fólk um at lata seg læra upp av Mortani. Hann skeyt eisini upp, at handilin fór at taka ímóti taraðsku fyri 9 markar sentnaran, sum var tann prísurin, sum hann skilti, at bæði Handilsnevndin og Oeconomi og Commerce Collegið longu høvdu mælt til.¹⁷

Ein uppgerð hjá Hans Debes kassameistara vísti, at felagið átti 1 slípistein, 8 sigd, eitt bogjarn og fimm rørjörn. Harumframt átti felagið í mai 1806 framvegis tey 1367 pundini av sodu, sum tað hevði framleitt árið fyri, men ánarar felagsins samdust um, at eisini henda sodan skuldi latast Rentukamarinum, so at peningurin, sum kom inn frá søluni av soduni, kundi fara til at menna vinnuna teimum fátæku at frama.¹⁸

Handilstjórnin visti sjálvandi ikki av, at ætlanin var at avtaka tarafelagið, tá ið hon skrivaði til handelsforvaltaran í mai 1806. Stjórnin gjørdi kortini greitt, at tað sjálvandi eisini var galdandi fyri tarafelagið, at tað skuldi selja taraðsku ella soda sum takstvøru til handilin, nú tá ið vøran var komin á takstlistan. Um teir í tarafelagnum hinvegin hildu, at teir kundu fáa betri prís við sjálvir at selja øskuna, og teir spurdu handelsforvaltaran um loyvi til tað, so kundi hann játta teimum at senda øskuna til Danmarkar sum sendingsgóðs, men hesa heimildina skuldi handelsforvaltarin kortini halda loyniliga.¹⁹ Tá ið boðini frá tarafelagnum um at lata myndugleikarnar yvirtaka taraðskuna, sum felagið átti, komu fram, avgjórði Handilstjórnin at lata soduna til glasgoymsluna í Keypmannahavn, sum kundi meta um góðskuna á øskuni. Síðani skuldi goymslan selja soduna víðari til norsk glasvirki, og sølupeningurin skuldi latast Einahandlinum.²⁰

Rentukamarið boðaði tíðliga í august Handilsnevndini frá, at kamarið hevði fingið brendu soduna frá tarafelagnum í Havn, sum nú var niðurlagt. Av tí, at Handilsnevndin fyrr hetta summarið hevði tikið stig til at læra almúguna um hesa vinnuna, so helt Rentukamarið, at nevndin eisini kundi taka við teimum ognunum, sum tarafelagið hevði litið Rentukamarinum upp í hendi.²¹ Handilsnevndin helt, at sodain var so illa brend og so skitin av grúsi og jørð, at hon var millum lítið og einki verd, men nevndin vildi kortini svara góða viljanum hjá gevaranum aftur við at keypa soduna fyri teir 9 markarnar sentnaran, sum

¹⁷ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1820. Bræv frá handilsnevndini dagfest 11. august 1806. Hjaløgd er frágreiðing frá Joachim Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 20. mai 1806, sum er váttað av Hans Debes og Thomas Kielnæs sama dag og Hammershaimb fúta 25. mai 1806.

¹⁸ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1820. Bræv frá handilsnevndini dagfest 11. august 1806. Hjaløgd er áheitan frá Begtrup presti, Hans Debes kassameistara og Thomas Kielnæs dagfest 21. mai 1806.

¹⁹ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 603. Bræv til Mørch handelsforvaltara dagfest 7. mai 1806.

²⁰ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Referat-journal, mál nr. 1820. Viðmerkingar í journalinum.

²¹ SA. Rentekammeret. Kopibøger for Færøerne og Grønland (m. Reg.) 1783-1807/1070. Bræv til Handilsnevndina dagfest 2. august 1806.

ásett varð í takstinum. Handilsforvaltarin fekk til uppgávu í samráð við Begtrup prest at nýta peningin í tráð við ynskið hjá gevarunum.²²

Tara-Mortan kemur aftur í 1805

Meðan Tara-Mortan var í Keypmannahavn veturin 1804-05, fekk hann samband við stóra handilsmannin Jens Friedenreich Hage. Hage var útnevndur til justitsráð stutt frammanundan, og hann rak og átti handilin J.F. Hage & Co. Hage var upprunaliga útbúgvinn stýrimaður, men í 1777 búsetti hann seg í Vesturindisku oyggjunum, har hann átti eina plantagu. Seinni keypti hann eisini jørð í Pennsylvania, men um aldaskiftið valdi hann at flyta aftur til Danmarkar og búseta seg í Keypmannahavn.

Júst hvussu teir báðir Mortan og Jens hava samskipt, og hvussu Hage fekk áhuga fyri taravinnuni í Føroyum, ber illa til at vita nakað um, men Hage hjálpti Mortani peningaliga.²³ Tá ið skipið “Carl” gjørdi klárt at fara til Føroya um mánaðarskið mai/juni, var ætlanin, at nýggi handelsforvaltarin Mørch skuldi fara við skipinum. Mørch skuldi avloysa gamla handelsforvaltaran Egtved, sum var komin í trupulleikar av, at so nógv vøra av strandaða Svínøysarskipinum varð send niður árið fyri sum privat sendingsgóðs, at partar av handilsins vørum komu at liggja eftir. Hage fekk fatur í Mørch handelsforvaltara, áðrenn skipið fór, og hann heitti á hann um sína vegna at geva Mortani tarabrennara eitt forskot av og á upp til 200 ríkisdálar. Henda pening skuldi Tara-Mortan brúka til at lóna fólki at brenna tara fyri seg. Harumframt bað hann eisini Mørch hjálpa Mortani at fáa sent øskuna ella sodaina til sín. Mørch lovaði, at um Mortan bara brendi fyri Hage, skuldi hann tryggja, at øskan varð send til hansara. Tá ið “Carl” fór úr Keypmannahavn, vóru bæði nýggi handelsforvaltarin Mørch við konu og trimum børnum og Tara-Mortan og genta hansara við umborð. Tey komu á Havnarvág 22. juni 1805.

Tara-Mortan fekk javnan pening útgoldnan frá Mørch handelsforvaltara, men sum tíðin leið, fekk Mørch illgruna um, at alt ikki ruggaði heilt rætt við Mortani. Tá ið Mortan ætlaði sær út á bygd at skera tara, kom undan kavi, at hann í veruleikanum framvegis arbeiddi fyri tarafelagið, tí hann stóð í skuld til teirra. Tí vísti tað seg, at av allari framleiðsluni í 1805, vóru bara 800 pund av øsku eftir til Hage, tí restin var farin at gjalda skuldina til tarafelagið aftur við.

Tá ið tarafelagið hevði fingið sítt, sleptu teir sambært Mørch Mortani upp á fjall, og einasti máti hjá honum at yvirliva var, um Mørch framhaldandi gav honum tað mest neyðuga til veturin, til hann í apríl aftur fór at brenna tara. Frá apríl av framleiddi hann í 1806 3500 pund, sum saman við teimum 800

²² SA. Rentekammeret. Sager til journal for Færøerne og Grønland. 1805-1807/89. Bræv frá Handilsnevndini dagfest 11. august 1806.

²³ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1765. Bræv frá Jens Friedenreich Hage dagfest í Keypmannahavn 30. juni 1806.

pundunum gövu tilsamans 4300 pund. 2900 pund av hesum fóru við skipi til Hage í 1806, men Mørch helt, at góðskan var so vánalig, at Hage neyvan fór at kunna selja hana fyri meir enn fraktkostnaðin. Hage søkti um loyvi at flyta øskuna til Keypmannahavnar,²⁴ og handilsstjórnin gav Mørch boð um at flyta vøruna sum vanligt sendingsgóðs fyri vanligan prís.²⁵ Vøran fór við skipinum “Fredens Forsvar”, sum fór av Havnini seint í august 1806. Á listanum yvir sendingsgóðs skrivaði Nissen skipari, at Morten Reith hevði sent 7 oksahøvd ella foustagir til Justitsráð Hage. Fraktin vígaði 2966 pund, og tunnurnar vóru merktar nr.1-7.²⁶

Annars helt Mørch, at Mortan hevði verið øgiliga sparin at læra onnur kynstrið. Tvey ungfolk í Havn høvdu lurt hann av, men kanska var tað líka frætt, at fleiri ikki lærdu tað, tí mannagongd hansara vísti seg at vera tann skeiva. Um Mortan segði Mørch: “Jeg beklager af ganske Hierte den stakkels Morten Reidt, som nu ikke har det mindste at fortjene, dog kanske kunne der endnu være Raad for ham, om han underkastede sig af herr Allan at modtage Undervisning om Askens Tilvirkning paa rette Maade. Han ligger for nærværende Tiid syg, og er i flere end en Henseende meget at beklage.”²⁷

Tara-Mortan fór aftur til Danmarkar í 1806, og eisini henda veturin livdi hann av vælvild frá statinum og vælhavandi monnum, og hann fekk í hvussu er eina ferð 20 ríkisdálar úr ríkiskassanum afturfyri at hava gjørt roynir við nýggju vinnuni í Føroyum.²⁸ Ein orsök til, at Tara-Mortan fekk pening úr ríkiskassanum, kann vera, at hann um hesa tíðina bjóðaði seg fram til at fara til Íslands at gera líknandi royndir, sum hann hevði gjørt í Føroyum.

Tara-Mortan hevði víst Becker hofapotekara nakrar royndir av taraøskuni, sum hann hevði framleitt í Føroyum, og frá honum fekk hann váttan fyri, at øskan “er befunden at have holdt Prøve”. Nakrar smærri royndir høvdu verið gjørdar í Íslandi fyrr, men tær eydnaðust ikki so væl. Kortini hevði skotin Murdoch Macaulay bjóðað sær til at gera eina væl størri roynd, men kostnaðurin vísti seg at gerast ov stórur. Henda veturin 1806-07 bjóðaði “en vis Morten Reidt” sær til at fara til Íslands at gera kanningar fyri væl minni kostnað. Mortan metti, at tað fór at kosta millum 300 og 400 ríkisdálar at gera hesar kanningar í 3 mánaðir, og

²⁴ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1765. Bræv frá Jens Fridenrich Hage dagfest í Keypmannahavn 30. juni 1806.

²⁵ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 628. Bræv til Justitsraad Hage dagfest 8. juli 1806.

²⁶ SA. Den Hærøske Handelskommission, Handelsforvalteren i Torshavn. Lister over Sendingsgods fra Færøerne til København. 1805-1834. Listin er dagfestur 23. august 1806.

²⁷ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1875. Bræv frá Mørch forvaltara dagfest í Havn 20. august 1806.

²⁸ SA. Rentekammeret. Kopibøger for Færøerne og Grønland (m. Reg.) 1783-1807/1085. Bræv til den kongelige Finance Casses direktion dagfest 28. februar 1807.

tað gjørdi uttan iva sítt til, at kongur 25. mars 1807 avgjærði, at Tara-Mortan skuldi sendast til Íslands at gera hesar royndirnar. (Stephensen *et al.*, 1853, p. 444)

Tara-Mortan kom til Íslands 15. mai 1807, og hann fór undir at brenna tara á Skildinganesi við Reykjavík 19. mai. Komandi mánaðin fekk hann 5.771 pund av taraøsku til høldar. Øskan úr Íslandi fekk gott ummæli, tá ið hon kom til Keypmannahavnar, og sjálvur skuldi Tara-Mortan siga, at í Íslandi var so nógvur tari sum onga aðrastaðni, sum hann kendi til. Kortini kom Tara-Mortan ongantíð aftur til Íslands, og tarin slapp at rotna í sjóvarmálanum, sum hann hevði gjørt í øldir. Tá ið læknin Jón Hjaltalin skrivaði um hetta evnið í *Þjóðólfi* í 1854, ivaðist hann ikki í, at tað vóru embætismenn, sum gjørdur hesa vinnuna til einkis, og á tann hátt forðaðu teir fyri, at ein týðningarmikil vinnuvegur varð bygdur upp landinum at frama.²⁹ Íslendingar harmaðust um, at so lítið kom burtur úr nýggju royndunum hjá Tara-Mortani, men í føroysku søgunum um Tara-Mortan ráddi bara um at reka hann og alt tað nýggja, sum hann umboðaði, burtur aftur. Á henda hátt gevur søgan um Tara-Mortan eina mynd av, at stórir munur var á, hvussu tjóðskaparfólk hugsaðu í Íslandi og Føroyum, tá ið talan var um nýskapar.

Hvør leiðin hjá Tara-Mortani var eftir kanningarnar í Íslandi, er ógreitt, tí tað er ikki eydnast mær at finna nakað um hann, eftir at hann kom aftur til Danmarkar í 1807.

Myndugleikarnir fáa áhuga fyri tarabrenningini og seta soda á takstlistan

Meðan Tara-Mortan var í Føroyum í 1805, fingur myndugleikarnir í Keypmannahavn stóran áhuga fyri at menna taravinnuna í Føroyum. Ein orsök kann vera bannið, sum varð sett í gildi móti hesi vinnu í Noregi, og ein onnur orsök kann vera, at prísurin á taraøskuni vaks áhaldandi í Skotlandi hesa tíðina. At enda ber tað sjálvandi til, at tað var virkseimið hjá tarafelagnum í Havn, sum kveikti áhugan, men tað tykist lítið sannlíkt, tí framleiðslan hjá felagnum var bæði lítil og av vánaligari góðsku.

Í hvussu er var áhugin hjá myndugleikunum so stórir, at stjórnin fyri føroyska handilin kendi seg noyddu til at gera nakað munagott við málið. Men um tað skuldi gerast til veruleika, mátti Handilsstjórnin taka stig til at fáa ein dugnaligan mann sendan til Føroya at leggja lag á, og í øðrum lagi var neyðugt at gera taraøsku til eina takstvøru, sum handilin kundi taka ímóti, eins og hann gjørdi við aðrar føroyskar útflutningsvørur.

Handilsstjórnin helt, at frægasti møguleikin at finna ein kunnugan mann var at royna í Noregi. Handilsstjórnin vendi sær tí til Ole Hannibal Sommerfeldt, amtmann í Christianssund í Noregi. Í boðunum til amtmannin bjóðaði Handilsstjórnin sær til at geva rætta manninum fría ferð aftur og fram, og meðan

²⁹ Þjóðólfur nr. 139-140 frá 30. mars 1854. Dr. J. Hjaltalín: "Um Þágbrennslu".

hann var í Føroyum skuldi hann fáa eina lön, sum svaraði til ein “anstændig Underholdning”, og hann skuldi eisini fáa 16 skillingar fyri hvørji hundrað pund av reinari og væl brendari øsku, sum almúgan læt handlinum. Handilsnevndin hugsaði sær, at maðurin fór við vársins fyrsta skipið til Føroya, og at hann arbeiðdi í Føroyum, til síðsta skipið fór úr Føroyum aftur á heysti, men var ynski um at virka í Føroyum í longri tíð, so bar til at finna fram til onkra avtalu um tað.³⁰

Amtmaðurin spurdi seg fyri, men tað gekk illa at finna rætta mannin. Amtmaðurin helt, at Erik Lykke var rætti maðurin at senda til Føroya, men tað vísti seg, at hann var ov gamal at fara. Ymiskir bøndur kundu eisini koma upp á tal, men teir flestu vóru sannførdir um, at tarabrenningin hevði skaðiliga ávirkan á útróðurin, og slíkar fordómar var ongin orsök at flyta til Føroya.³¹

Tá ið fyrsta ætlanin miseydnaðist, vendi amtmaðurin sær til ein fyrrverandi keypmann, sum æt William Allan. Allan var sinnaður at fara til Føroya, um hann fekk 1 ríkisdála í lön um dagin. Hann var ikki sjálvur tarabrennari, men hann hevði ognað sær vitan um vinnuna frá nøkrum skotskum vinum. Við vitan síni hevði hann gjørt nakrar royndir, og tað eydnaðist honum at útvinna so góða øsku, at hann fekk selt hana í Onglandi fyri sama prís, sum besta skotska øskan fekk. Øskan, sum almúgan í Noregi framleiddi, var ikki líka góð sum tann skotska, og orsøkin var, at tað var torført at fáa fólk í Noregi at brúka nýggja framleiðsluháttin, tí tey vildu ikki sleppa tí gamla.³²

Tann vitanin, sum Allan hevði ognað sær, var um, hvussu skotar um aldaskiftið vóru farnir burtur frá gamla framleiðsluháttinum, har tarin var brendur í grúgvum ella rennum ella í primitivum steinovnum. Í staðin vóru teir farnir at brenna tara í jarnovnum, sum ofta vórðu nevndir “kilns”. Tað vóru tríggar til fyra metrar langir stoypijarnsovnar, sum vóru lættari at flyta. Ein onnur nýggj uppfinning var at brenna taran í múrsteinsovnnum við skorsteini. Á keldutilfarinum tykist vera greitt, at Tara-Mortan brúkti gamla framleiðslumátan, meðan William Allan kom við nýggju ovnunum.

Um William Allan visti amtmaðurin annars at siga, at hann var av skotskari ætt á faðirsíðuni, at hann hevði arbeitt í einum enskum keypmansvirki og bæði tosaði og skrivaði enskt. Allan var giftur, men hjúnini vóru barnleys, og tað kundi verða ein fyrimunur.³³ Handilsstjórnin valdi at fylgja tilmæli amtmansins og

³⁰ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 361. Bræv til Sommerfeldt amtmann í Christiansund dagfest 8. februar 1806.

³¹ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1667. Bræv frá Sommerfeldt amtmanni dagfest í Nøysomheden ved Molde 14. apríl 1806. Hjalagt bræv frá Landmark fúta dagfest í Branddal 12. mars 1806.

³² SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1667. Bræv frá Sommerfeldt amtmanni dagfest í Nøysomheden ved Molde 14. apríl 1806. Hjalagt bræv frá William Allan dagfest í Molde 10. apríl 1806.

³³ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1667. Bræv frá Sommerfeldt amtmanni dagfest í Nøysomheden ved Molde 14. apríl 1806.

bjóðaði Allan starvið. Trupulleikin var, at nú vóru fyrstu skipini longu farin, so honum nýttist ikki at koma til Keypmannahavnar fyrr enn um mánaðarskiptið juni/juli.³⁴ William Allan tók av og lovaði at vera í Keypmannahavn til tíðina.³⁵

Meðan leitað varð eftir einum manni at fara til Føroya at leggja froyingum lag á tarabrenningina, hevði Handilsnevndin skotið upp, at taraøska kom á handilstakstin, og at nevndin fekk heimild til at brúka upp til 600 ríkisdálar í royndunum at fáa sett gongd á tarabrenning í Føroyum. Taksturin á taraøskuni varð settur at vera 1 ríkisdáli og 16 skillingar, ella 7 markar, fyri 100 pund av reinari og væl brendari øsku. Hesum uppskotunum tók kongur undir við 12. apríl 1806.³⁶

William Allan í Føroyum

Tá ið fyrsta handilsskipið fór til Føroya í maimánaði við handilstakstunum fyri árið 1806, kunnaði handelsstjórnin Mørch handelsforvaltara um, at taraøska var komin inn sum nýggj handilsvøra. Av tí at stjórnarmyndugleikarnir høvdu fingið stóran áhuga fyri málinum, vildi Handelsstjórnin hava handelsforvaltaran at gera tað, sum stóð í hansara valdi, at fáa gongd á nýggju vinnuna. Handelsstjórnin helt, at hetta var ein vinna, sum hvørki var torfør ella dýr at fáast við, og tí vildu teir hava, at “Tangbrænding bør og kan blive hver Mands Syssele paa Færøerne.” Handelsforvaltarin fekk eisini at vita, at Handilsnevndin hevði fingið fatur á einum manni, sum dugdi at brúka “den forbedrede Methode”, og hann fór at koma til Føroya seinni hetta summarið.³⁷ Tá ið Allan var klárur at fara til Føroya, kunnaði Rentukamarið sínar embætismenn, Hammershaimb fúta og Løbner kommandant, um, at William Allan var settur at læra almúguna at brenna tara, og teir fingið boð um at stuðla honum, so væl sum til bar.³⁸

William Allan kom til Føroya 30. juli, og tá var so mikið liðið av árinum, at Løbner kommandantur og Hammershaimb fúti mæltu honum til at fara til Suðuroyar beinanvegin, tí tað kundi so skjótt koma fyri, at veðrið forðaði honum at fara suður. Uppsitarin á kolaverkinum í Hvalba var í Havn í sambandi við

³⁴ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 586. Bræv til Sommerfeldt amtmann í Nøysomheden ved Molde dagfest 29. apríl 1806.

³⁵ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1710. Bræv frá Sommerfeldt amtmanni dagfest í Nøysomheden ved Molde 15. mai 1806. Hjálagt er bræv frá William Allan til amtmannin dagfest sama dag.

³⁶ SA. Rentekammeret. Kopibøger for Færøerne og Grønland (m. Reg.) 1783-1807/1005. Bræv til Hammershaimb fúta dagfest 12. apríl 1806.

³⁷ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 603. Bræv til Mørch handelsforvaltara dagfest 7. mai 1806.

³⁸ SA. Rentekammeret. Kopibøger for Færøerne og Grønland (m. Reg.) 1783-1807/1058. Bræv til Løbner kommandant og Hammershaimb fúta dagfest 12. juli 1806.

ólavsøkutingið, so hann fór suður til Hvalbiar saman við Allan og boðunum um at ganga honum til handa á allan hátt, sum til bar.³⁹

Við sama skipi, sum Allan kom, fekk Mørch handelsforvaltari boð um, at hann skuldi avgera, um tað var best, at Allan varð verandi í Føroyum henda veturin, og hann skuldi eisini taka støðu til, hvussu sum mest fekst burtur úr undirvísingini. Handelsstjórnin skrivaði beinleiðis, at hon væntaði, at handelsforvaltarin fór at leggja seg eftir at breiða kunnleikan um hesa nýggju vinnuna út kring landið, tí talan var um eina hóskandi vinnu, sum kundi gerast sera týðningarmikil fyri Føroyar. Tí hevði Handelsstjórnin eisini fingið boð frá Rentukamarinum um, at tað var altumráðandi at gera almúguna føra fyri at gagnnýta nýggju vinnuna.

Handilsstjórnin visti at siga, at øskan hjá Tara-Mortani ikki var nóg góð, tí hon var ikki nóg væl brend, og handfaringin í heila tikið so vánalig, at tað var ikki meir, enn at hon kundi nýtast. Hesa støðuna fór vitanin hjá Allan vónandi at rætta uppá, tí hann hevði ein nýggjan máta at vinna øsku burtur úr tara við sær til Føroya. William Allan hevði fingið loyvi til at keypa fyra jarnovnar at brenna tara í, og Handelsstjórnin vónaði, at ovnarnir fóru at verða klárir, tá ið Allan legði leiðina til Føroya. Ein av ovnunum skuldi sendast til Schrøter prest í Suðuroy, men handelsforvaltarin skuldi sjálvur avgera, hvar hinir trýggir skuldu nýtast. Ovnarnir, sum onkuntíð vórðu nevndir pannur, vigaðu 10 skippund, 7 lispund og 6 pund, og teir kostaðu 7 markar lispundið. Handelsstjórnin vónaði, at føroyingar fóru at verða førir fyri at gjalda fyri ovnarnar, tá ið gongd var komin á framleiðsluna, men um handelsforvaltarin helt, at frægast var at lata ovnarnar frá sær ókeypis, kundi tað eisini gerast.

Handilsforvaltarin skuldi syrgja fyri, at Allan fekk lön sína, sum var ein ríkisdáli um dagin umframt 16 skillingar fyri hvørji 100 pund av brendari øsku. At enda skuldi handelsforvaltarin tryggja, at Allan kom til Suðuroyar, har hann skuldi gera royndir við at vinna salt úr sjógvi.⁴⁰ Tá ið Handelsstjórnin nú hevði sent Allan avstað, helt hon eisini, at tað var upplagt, at handelsforvaltarin eggjaði honum til at leggja lag á fiskavirkingina, tí hann hevði royndir sum bæði fiskavirkari og fiskahandlari, og fiskurin, sum kom úr Føroyum árið fyri, kundi so dánt kallast hampiligur.⁴¹

Orsøkin til, at tann eini ovnurin skuldi fara til Suðuroyar, var, at Handelsstjórnin frá Giesecke bergraad hevði frætt, at Schrøter prestur var ein maður, sum við ídni eggjaði til og kunnaði um ymiskt nyttugt fyri meinigheit síni. Hesa metingina um prestin má kendi minerologurin hava gjørt sær, tá ið hann vitjaði í Suðuroynni í august 1805. (Jørgensen, 1995, p. 87) Handelsstjórnin vildi

³⁹ SA. Rentekammeret. Sager til journal for Færøerne og Grønland. 1805-1807/98. Bræv frá Løbner og Hammershaimb dagfest 22. august 1806. Brævið frá 16. august 1806, sum hevur journalnummar 96 liggur saman við hesum brævinum.

⁴⁰ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 632. Bræv til Mørch handelsforvaltara dagfest 12. juli 1806.

⁴¹ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 635. Bræv til Mørch handelsforvaltara dagfest 12. juli 1806.

tí kunna prest og biðja hann um at stuðla Allan, so nógv sum til bar. Við Schrøter prest segði hon, at jarnovnurin lætti um brenningina av taraðskuni og smeltingina av henni. Serliga hevði tað stóran týðning at gjøgnumføra síðstu brenningina, tí hon tryggjaði móti óreinheit av grúsi og øðrum, sum minkaði um virðið á øskuni, um tað ikki gjørdi hana heilt virðisleysa. Schrøter fekk ovnin ókeyppis, tí at handilin á henda hátt vildi vísa honum, hvussu stóra virðing handilin hevði fyri honum.⁴²

Tá ið Mørch sá, hvussu Allan arbeiddi, helt hann, at tað var lætt at síggja fyrimunirnar við nýggja mátanum. Hann roknaði tí eisini við, at fólk fóru at taka vitanina til sín. Hann skuldi í hvussu er gera sítt til at fremja málið. Tað ørkymlaði hann kortini, at tað hoyrdist so lítið til Allan, eftir at hann var farin til Suðuroyar 1. august at gera sjógvroyndirnar, tí besta tíðin at fáast við taraðsku var í mai, juni og juli, tí eftir tað regnaði so illa, at tað bar illa til at fáa nakað burturúr.⁴³ Hetta fekk William Allan eisini at merkja, tí tað fyrsta, sum frættist aftur í Havn til hansara, var, at uppsitarin í kolinum boðaði frá, at Allan hevði verið óheppin við veðrinum, og tí var ikki komið so nógv burtur úr, sum ætlað.⁴⁴ William Allan var allan augustmánað í Hvalba og kom aftur til Havnar 5. september. Áhaldandi regn hevði gjørt tað torført hjá honum at lært suðuroyingar um tarabrenning eftir nýggja mátanum, men hann hevði heldur ikki kent á sær, at suðuroyingar vóru serliga áhugaðir í at læra um nýggju vinnuna.

Tá ið tað nú hevði gingið so illa at breiða út kunnleikan um tarabrenning, royndi handilsforvaltarin at yvirtala William Allan til at vera verandi í Føroyum henda veturin, so hann kundi vera klárur í apríl, mai, juni og juli. Tíverri bar als ikki til at yvirtala Allan, men hann kundi sjálvur greiða frá úrslitunum, tá ið hann kom til Danmarkar. Tá ið hann nú ikki vildi verða verandi, valdi Allan at skriva eina vegleiðing, sum handilsforvaltarin og onnur kundu fylgja, tá ið tey finga hug at fara undir tarabrenningina komandi vár.⁴⁵

Vegleiðingar Allans um taraðskuframleiðslu í Føroyum

William Allan skrivaði eina almenna vegleiðing um taraframleiðslu, sum varð avskrivað í sjei eintøkum. Teir, sum finga hesa vegleiðing, vóru Ole Evensen, sýslumaður í Hvalba, Mørch handilsforvaltari, Løbner kommandantur, Olsen sorinskrivari, Begtrup prestur, Óli Johansen, bóndi í Dali, og Nólsoyar Páll, sum

⁴² SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 642. Bræv til Schrøter prest dagfest 12. juli 1806.

⁴³ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1875. Bræv frá Mørch forvaltarar dagfest í Havn 20. august 1806.

⁴⁴ SA. Rentekammeret. Sager til journal for Færøerne og Grønland. 1805-1807/98. Bræv frá Løbner og Hammershaimb dagfest 22. august 1806.

⁴⁵ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1935. Bræv frá Mørch forvaltarar dagfest í Havn 23. september 1806.

stóð at vera staddur í Eysturoynni, tá ið hann fekk sítt eintak.⁴⁶ Harumframt fekk handelsforvaltarin eina eyka vegleiðing, sum serliga snúði seg um handfaringina av øskuni sum handilsvøru.⁴⁷

Í almennu vegleiðingini segði Allan, at bløðrutari, serliga hann við stórum bløðrum, og breiðblaðaður tari, *Fucus digitatus*, var tann besti til tarabrenning, og serliga av tí seinna var ovmið av í Føroyum. Har tari ikki rak á land, var best at skera hann á fjøru um várið. Best var, um hann var skorin so tætt rótini, sum til bar, og ongantíð betri, um rótin kom við, tí har var mesta saltið. Tarin skuldi so flytast í land og so langt inn, at sjógvur ikki kom at honum. Har skuldi hann spreiddast tunt út til turkingar. Um grót ella hella var tøk, tornaði hann skjótast á slíkum undirlendi. Gott var at skilja bløðini frá tonglunum, tí bløðini tornaðu munandi skjótari. Tá ið bløðini vóru hampiliga turr, skuldu tey leggjast saman eitt sindur tjúkkri, so tey ikki tornaðu ov nógv, meðan tonglarnir vórðu turkaðir. Var veðrið toluliga turt, tók tað einar 4 til 6 dagar. Gott var at leggja upp í móti vindi. Ta árstíðina, tá ið best lá fyri at turka tara, skuldi man leggja seg eftir at turka so nógvan tara, sum til bar, tí gott veður kravdist til henda partin av framleiðsluni.

Tá ið tarin var turrur, kundi hann leggjast í dungar ella hópar, og so bar næstan altíð til at brenna hann, tó ikki, um tað regnaði illa, ella vindurin nærkaðist stormstyrki. Undir slíkum umstøðum var best at steðga við brenningini. Tá ið brennast skuldi, var umráðandi at leggja góðan torveld í botnin á ovnum, og tá røtt gongd var komin á logan, skuldi eitt javnt og tunt lag av turrum bløðum leggjast oman á eldin. Eldur kom skjótt í hesi bløð, og tá ið logarnir komu ígjøgnum, skuldi næsta lagið av bløðum leggjast kring alla pannuna. Tá skuldu taratonglarnir leggjast millum bløðini. Teir skuldu ikki vera ov nógvir samstundis, og teir skuldu ikki bara leggjast javnt. Fylgjast mátti við í, hvar eldurin var sterkastur, og síðani skuldi innballaðir tonglar leggjast har fyri at halda logunum inni. Tá ið login kom ígjøgnum, misti eldurin sína meg, og úrslitið gjørdist, at tarin varð brendur til kol heldur enn til øsku. Hendi tað, at logar komu ígjøgnum, bar til at rætta feilin við at leggja so nógvan tonglar yvir holið, sum hildið var neyðugt at typpa tað, og so leggja tarabløð oman á aftur. Tá kundi eldurin aftur koma í sítt rætta lag.

Ein slíkur eldur kundi haldast gangandi, til hildið varð, at nú var pannan full av brendum tara. Tað kundi vera eftir t. d. 6, 8 ella 12 tímum, alt eftir, um tað gekk skjótt ella seint at fáa gongd í stóran eld. Tá ið eldurin skuldi slökkjast, skuldi eitt av turrastu bløðunum brúkast til at fjala út yvir logan, tí so fekk eldurin tíð at brenna síðstu tonglarnar, sum ikki vóru brendir. Tá ið taraøskan datt niður

⁴⁶ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1912. Bræv frá William Allan dagfest í Keypmannahavn 23. oktober 1806. Hjaløgd var henda vegleiðingin í tarabrenning dagfest í Havn september 1806.

⁴⁷ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1912. Bræv frá William Allan dagfest í Keypmannahavn 23. oktober 1806. Hjaløgd var henda vegleiðingin til Mørch handelsforvaltara, sum ikki er dagfest.

í pannuna, bar til steðga við at leggja bløð út yvir logan, so eldurin kundi brenna seg lidnan. Ansast skuldi bara eftir, at einki blað ella taraslokkur var eftir, tí um so var, skuldu tey takast úr eldinum.

Tá ið tað var gjørt, skuldi tveir mans við hvør sínum tararakara á hvør sínari síðu røra aftur og fram ímóti hvørjum øðrum, so skjótt sum til bar, og teir skuldu minnst til at fáa bæði botn og síður við, soleiðis at eingin tari var órørdur. Við at røra týtt og hart smeltaði øskan skjótt og gjørdist flótandi, men inntil tað hendi, skuldi man halda áfram at røra aftur og fram sum umrøtt, til tað merktist, at øskan stívnaði so nógv omaná, at tað ikki longur var lætt at røra í. Tá var øskan liðug. Nú skuldi øskan liggja, til hon kólnaði, so hon kundi takast upp. Tá ið brenda øskan varð tikin upp, var hon helst í einum petti, og fyri at gera arbeiðið lættari, skuldi man bróta tað sundur í fleiri mannbær petti. Onki vatn mátti koma at hesum pettum.

Um meira tari var at brenna, bar væl til at brenna eina ella tvær ferðir oman á fyrst brendu øskuni. Tá skuldi tey bara minnst til, at um brent varð í einari grúgvu av steini, skuldi hon lagast upp í mun til, hvussu nógv øskan í botninum fylti. Ein grúgva varð gjørd á tann hátt, at mann setti stórar leysar steinar í ein runding umleið 1½ alin breiðan og ¾ alin høgan. Kring botnin skuldu 6 til 8 opningar vera so stórir, at ein lítil hond kundi koma inn. Endamálið við holunum var at tryggja, at eldurin fekk luft. Gjørdist eldurin ov stórur, bar til at leggja fyri holini eftir tørvi. Um grúgvan var bygd á grúsi, bar til at leggja 3 tumma bøkkar í botnin, sum ikki vóru blandaðir við sandi ella steini, fyri at sleppa undan dálking av øskuni.⁴⁸

Í frágreiðingini til handilsforvaltaran greiddi Allan eitt sindur neyvari frá, hvørji atlit skuldu takast til taraøskuna úr einum handilsligum sjónarhorni. Hann greiddi Mørch frá, at taraøska ella sodain av bløðrutara gjørdist ógvuliga hørð og fóst, og liturin var onkustaðni millum ljósablátt og grønt. Breiðblaðaði tarin gjørdist meira koparkendur. Varð øskan goymd á einum turrum stað, gjørdist liturin bæði innan og uttan hvítur, álíkur salti. Fyri at sleppa undan svinni var best at leggja øskuna á stað, sum ikki var alt ov turt, ella í gjóstur.

Roynast skuldi at halda øskuni í størri og minni klumpum, tí hvørja ferð øskan varð flutt, datt burtur av henni, og gjørdist pettini ov smá, roknaði mann við, at øskan skjótt misti ella útdampaði sína meg, og tað ávirkaði sjálvandi virðið á vøruni. Tá øskan skuldi innskipast, var vanligt at lata pettini ganga frá manni til mans, men teir skuldu ikki blaka pettini í skipsrúmið, men lata teir glíða spakuliga eftir brettum ella eftir einum stillasi alt eftir, hvat lá best fyri. Smærri petti kundu flytast í kurvum. Umborð varð stúvað soleiðis, alt eftir, hvussu stór mongdin var, at nakað skuldi leggjast frammi í skipinum og nakað aftast. Var talan um stórar nøgdir, skuldu tær leggjast í lógum við størstu stykkjunum

⁴⁸ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1912. Bræv frá William Allan dagfest í Keypmannahavn 23. oktober 1806. Hjalógd var henda vegleiðingin í tarabrenning dagfest í Havn september 1806.

niðast, soleiðis at tað minti um ein grótgarð tvørtur um miðjuna á skipinum. Ein annar garður kundi gerast longri afturi, og so kundu smærri stykki og smáoska leggjast ímillum garðarnar. Tað hevði týdning, tí um smærri pettini lógu ímillum stóru klumparnar, so fóru ov nógvir av teimum at brotna sundur, áðrenn teir komu úr skipinum aftur.

Í lastini kundi øskan skapa hita eins og ein kornlast. Men hitin hvarv eftir eina tíð. Tí var umráðandi at ansa eftir, at øskan ikki lá saman við vøru, sum ikki toldi hita. Tað kundi verið lýsi, tál, smør og annað, sum kundi smelta. Hinvegin var einki í vegin fyri at flyta innpakkaðar ullvørur saman við øskuni. Viðvíkjandi turrum fiski ivaðist Allan í, um øskan ikki kundi geva fiskinum ein keðiligan lukt, og hitin kundi fáa fiskin at svinna. Hesar vegleiðingar vildi hann geva forvaltaranum, um talan skuldi gjørst um munandi mongdir av øsku úr Føroyum.⁴⁹

William Allan metir um útlitini

Hóast William Allan skrivaði gjølligar frágreiðingar um røttu mannagongdina í tarabrenningini og handfaringini av vøruni, helt hann ikki, útlitini vóru serliga góð fyri, at ein taraøskuvinnu kundi mennast í Føroyum. Afturkomin til Keypmannahavnar greiddi hann frá, at móguleikarnir lívfrøðiliga vóru góðir, tí besta taraslagið at brenna var breiðblaðaði tarin, *Fucus digitatus*, og hann vaks alla staðni fram við strendurnar inni í firðum og á boðum. Í Føroyum var hinvegin ikki so nógv til av bløðrutara, sum varð nógv nýttur í Noregi, og har hann fanst, vóru mongdirnar bara til ein lítlan leskibita til seyðin, sum var íðin eftir honum.

Við boðar og sker rak tarin í nógvari aldu, og tá álandsvindur og nógv alda var, rak stórir partur av hesum taranum inn í víkirnar. Var talan um eina bygda vík, var allur tarin tikin at nýta til at taða bøin við. Um ongin búseting var tætt við, fekk tarin frið. Um lítið av tara rak á land av sær sjálvum, kundu fólk finna upp á at fara at skera tara, har tað lá best fyri.

Allan hevði verið í Hvalba í fimm vikur, har hann millum annað skuldi læra suðringar um tarabrenning. Har legði hann til merkis, at tarin í Hvalba og Sandvík var tann besti í Suðuroy, tí sjálvt um salt serliga var í tonglunum, so vóru tarabløðini her eisini so sterk, at tey høvdu nógv soda í sær. Í Lopra og Vági vóru taratonglarnir líka tjúkir, men har vóru ikki so nógv og ofta als ongi bløð á, og tað gjørdi tað torførari at fáa góða øsku burtur úr taranum har. Hinvegin vóru Trongisvágur, Ørðavík, Hov, Lopra og Vágur høgligari støð enn Hvalba og Sandvík, men trupulleikin hesi støðini var, at tað var so stór frástøða millum støðini, har tarin kundi skerast, og har hann kundi turkast.

Júst henda landafrøðin gjørdi vinnuna torføra í Føroyum, tí tað var avgerðandi fyri vinnuna, at til bar at fáa stórar nøgdir av tara bíliga upp á land til

⁴⁹ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1912. Bræv frá William Allan dagfest í Keypmannahavn 23. oktober 1806. Hjalógd var henda vegleiðingin til Mørch handelsforvaltara, sum ikki er dagfest.

turkingar, og tann fortreytin kundi ekki uppfyllast, tá ið tari skuldi flytast upp til hálvan fjórðing við báti til turkingarstaðið. Hesin flutningurin saman við tí, at tarin bara kundi skerast eina ferð um dagin, tá ið fjøra var, gjørdi tað torført at fáa eina rímliga dagsløn burtur úr arbeiðinum. Hesar umstøður vóru ikki egnaðar til vinnuligan rakstur, og tá var enn einki sagt um veðrið. Var strondin fløt og gekk langt út, bar betur til.

William Allan hevði helst ikki stórar vónir um, at tað fór at bera seg at vinna øsku burtur úr tara í Føroyum, tí hann endaði frágreiðing sína við at siga, at hann vónaði, at stjórnin skilti orsøkina til, at hann ikki vildi vera í Føroyum henda veturin og fara undir brenning aftur komandi vár, tí hann ivaðist ikki í, at hann hevði spart Handilsstjórnini eina óneyðuga útreiðslu við at fara aftur til Danmarkar.⁵⁰

Royndi at útvinna salt úr sjógvi

Upprunaliga var endamálið við ferðini hjá Williami Allan í Føroyum at leggja lag á tarabrenningina, men tá ið hann kom til Føroya, hevði hann fingið eina uppgávu afturat at loysa. Tað var at gera eina kanning av saltinnihaldinum í sjógvi, og um møguleikar vóru fyri at framleiða salt við at kóka sjógvin burtur. Kanningin skuldi gerast í Hvalba, og orsøkin til tess kann vera, at tað varð hildið, at sjógvurin kring Suðuroynna var saltríkari enn aðrastaðni, men ein onnur meira sannlík orsök var, at við einari slíkari vinnu kundi kolið í Hvalba gagnnýttast, uttan at neyðugt var at flyta tað av oynni. Tað var júst flutningurin úr Føroyum, sum gjørdi, at kolanámsvinnan í Suðuroy ongantíð fekst at bera seg. (*Forslag og Betænkninger afgivne af den færøske Landbokkommission, nedsat i Henhold til Lov af 13/3 1908, 1911, p. 783*)

Júst hví Handilsstjórnin eisini valdi at geva Allan hesa uppgávuna at loysa, er ikki eydnast at finna út av, men tað var longu tá ótti fyri, at ein nýggjur máti at vinna sodu burtur úr sjógvi skuldi verða uppfunnin. Hendi tað, kundi hesin nýggi mátin taka grundarlagið undan vinnuni at brenna tara. (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 310) Tá ið Allan fór úr Keypmannahavn, hevði hann eina stóra pannu við sær, sum var tvær feralin víð og 12 tummar djúp. Í henni var pláss fyri 494 pottum av sjógvi. Við hesi pannuni gjørdi Allan royndir at vinna salt burtur úr sjógvi í Hvalba.

Royndirnar vístu, at ov lítið av salti kom burtur úr føroyskum sjógvi, og tí helt hann, at sjógvurin ikki var so saltur, sum hildið varð, og liturin á saltinum vísti, at har vóru fleiri evni í. Allan helt tí ikki, at neyðugt var at gera fleiri royndir.⁵¹ Tá

⁵⁰ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1912. Bræv frá William Allan dagfest í Keypmannahavn 23. oktober 1806.

⁵¹ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 2077. Bræv frá Ludvig Manthey dagfest í Keypmannahavn 21. februar 1807. Hjaløgd er henda frágreiðingin frá William Allan um saltkókingarroyndir í Hvalba í august 1806.

ið hann fór úr Hvalba, læt hann Óla Evensen yvirtaka pannuna og fyra pinnatrækurvar, sum hann hevði roynt at turka saltið í.⁵² Handilsstjórnin sendi 18. november 1806 frágreiðingina hjá Allan saman við einari fløsku av sjógvi, og teimum trimum saltroyndunum, sum Allan hevði útvunnið, til Manthey professara. Professarin varð biðin um at koma við frágreiðing um tilfarið.⁵³

21. februar 1807 var Manthey liðugur við kanningar sínar og kundi greiða frá úrslitunum. Manthey helt, at Allan hevði fingið nógv burtur úr, sjálvt um hann ikki var royndur saltkókari. Samanlagt var felags fyri royndirnar, at 494 pottar ella 988 pund av sjógvi vóru nýttir til allar royndirnar, og tær góvu nøkur og 30 pund av salti, og áleið ein tunna av koli varð nýtt til hvørja roynd. Saltið var turt og gott, og har vóru eingi skaðilig evni at finna í tí. Royndirnar høvdu tí víst, hvussu nógv salt fekst úr sjógvi í Føroyum. Royndirnar vístu, at saltinnihaldið í sjógvi var sera lítið í Føroyum. Í royndunum, sum professarin sjálvur gjørdi, vístu talvurnar, at 100 deildir av vatni høvdu 4/6 av salti í sær, og hetta samsvaraði sera væl við royndirnar hjá Allan, sum vístu, at 988 pund av vatni høvdu givið 37 pund av salti. Hann royndi eisini hinvegin, at koyra salt í destilerað vatn og kom til sama úrslit. Soleiðis hevði hann analytiskt og syntetiskt prógvað, at sjógvur í Føroyum hevði 1/24-1/25 av salti í sær, og hesin sjógvurin egnaði seg ikki til framleiðslu, tí tá skuldi hann verið minst fyra ferðir saltari. Sjálvt um kolið skuldi verið bíligt, so fór tað neyvan at gerast so bíligt, at tað fór at loysa seg at kóka føroyskan sjógv til salt. Tað bar kanska til at fáa saltinnihaldið økt við at koyra í dammar, men allar slíkar ætlanir fóru at gerast alt ov dýrar.⁵⁴

Fáar mánaðir eftir, at Manthey kom til sína niðurstøðu, brast kríggj á millum danir og bretar, og tað hevði við sær, at saltprísurin gjørdist óvanliga høgur. Tá fóru fólk við danskar strendur undir at framleiða salt (Brønnum, 1895, p. 41), og tað kann vera orsøkin til, at hesar frágreiðingarnar hjá Williami Allan og Manthey professara lógu millum skjølini á virkjunum í Gudumlund (Brønnum, 1895, p. 44). Hinvegin hevði kríggið eisini við sær, at sambandið millum Føroyar og Danmark gjørdist munandi torførari, enn tað hevði verið, og tað gjørdi uttan iva sítt til at steðga øllum donskum ætlanum, sum høvdu verið um at brenna tara og kóka sjógv í Føroyum.

Taraframleiðslan steðgar í 1807

Handilsstjórnin tóktist taka metingina hjá Williami Allan um móguleikarnar í Føroyum til sín, og hon hevði ikki stórvegis áhuga fyri tarabrenningini í 1807.

⁵² SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 1912. Bræv frá William Allan dagfest í Keypmannahavn 23. oktober 1806. Hjáløgd var henda frágreiðingin til Mørch handelsforvaltara, sum ikki er dagfest.

⁵³ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 695. Bræv til Manthey professara dagfest 18. november 1806.

⁵⁴ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 2077. Bræv frá Ind: Manthey dagfest í Keypmannahavn 21. februar 1807.

Stjórnin skrifaði kortini til handilsforvaltaran og mælti honum til at gera tað, sum hann kundi gera, at eggja føroyingum til at seta gongd á hesa nýggju vinnuna, sum fór at koma teimum sjálvum til gagns.⁵⁵

Áhugin í Føroyum var kortini eisini sera lítil. Mørch og Begtrup prestur høvdu lagt nógva orku í at fáa fólk at fara í gongd, serliga í Havn, men hugurin var líka so lítil, sum Allan hevði greitt frá árið fyrri. Síðst í apríl 1807 høvdu teir kortini fingið tvey fólk at lova, at tey fóru í gongd beinanvegin. Treytin hjá hesum báðum fólkunum var, at tey umframt teir sjei markarnar, sum tey áttu at fáa sambært takstinum, skuldu fáa ein mark afturat fyri hvørji 100 pund av framleiddari øsku. Hesin síðsti markurin kundi fara av tí peninginum, sum fekst við at selja soduna, sum tarafelagið gav Rentukamarinum. Hesir báðir persónarnir høvdu fingið tann eina ovnin at brenna tara í, og handilsforvaltarin lovaði at fylgja væl við í, hvussu gekst við virkseminum.

Handilsforvaltarin helt annars, at stórir tørvur var á at fáa gongd á hetta verkið nú, tá ið so nógv óhapp raktu landið. Hann vónandi, at myndugleikarnir eisini vildu arbeiða fyri málinum, men enn hevði hann einki hoyrt.⁵⁶ Stutt eftir kom handilsforvaltarin at standa rættiliga einsamallur eftir við ynskinum um, at gongd kom á nýggju vinnuna. Myndugleikarnir í Keypmannahavn høvdu minni áhuga fyri móguleikanum, eftir at Allan kom við metingum sínum, og eftir at Tara-Mortan var farin til Íslands at royna móguleikarnar har, og tíðliga í september 1807 fingi teir heilt onnur ting at hugsa um, tá ið bretar bumbaðu Keypmannahavn. Teir, sum í Keypmannahavn varðaðu av føroyska handlinum, fingi komandi árin nóg mikið at gera við at finna skip, sum vildu gera eina roynd at fara til Føroya við neyðsynjarvørnum. Vandin fyrri, at bretar tóku hesi skipini var ovurhonds stórir, og tað var eisini endin á síðstu føroysku taraøskuni. Tey 1013 pundini av taraøsku, sum vórðu framleidd í 1807, fóru umborð á “Anne Marie” við Thygesen sum skipara 18. august 1807,⁵⁷ men á vegnum til Danmarkar tóku bretskeir kaparar skipið, og eingin veit, hvar síðsta føroyska taraøskan endaði.⁵⁸

Fremsti undangongumaðurin í at menna eina taravinnu í Føroyum, Begtrup prestur, boðaði 14. juni 1807 frá, at hann og konan ætlaðu sær av landinum og

⁵⁵ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Brev-kopibog 1805-1807, nr. 758. Bræv til Mørch handilsforvaltara dagfest 27. apríl 1807.

⁵⁶ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 2181. Bræv frá Mørch forvaltara dagfest í Havn 30. apríl 1807.

⁵⁷ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 2077. Bræv frá Mørch handilsforvaltara dagfest 23. juni 1810. Hjalagt er yvirlyt yvir útfluttu vørurnar hjá handlinum 1805 til 1810.

⁵⁸ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1812-1815, nr. 54. Bræv frá Løbner og Hammershaimb dagfest í Havn 8. Oktober 1811. Hjaløgd er frágreiðing frá Joen Christiansen sýslumanni, sonevnd tingsvitni.

væntandi ongantíð fóru at koma aftur.⁵⁹ Meðan tað móguliga kom óvart á hjá havnarfólki, so var tað alla tíðina ætlanin hjá Begtrup, tí hansara hugsan var, at fyri embætismenn var teirra støðgur í Føroyum “vilkaarlig, da enhver tragter at komme herfra”.⁶⁰ Eftir at Begtrup var komin til Danmarkar aftur, greiddi hann frá, hvussu hann hevði roynt at fingið gongd á tarabrenning í prestagjaldi sínum. Hann hevði lagt seg eftir hesum, tí í prestagjaldinum vóru fólk flest fátæk. Tí kom ein og hvør móguleiki at vinna eitt lítið sindur av peningi væl við. Begtrup ivaðist ikki í, at tað vóru vantandi royndir, sum gjørdur, at taraøskan ikki var so væl brend, sum hon átti at verið, og orsøkin var, at fólk enn ikki høvdu fingið nóg nógvar royndir við nýggju ovnunum, sjálvt um Begtrup hevði víst teimum frágreiðingina hjá Allan um, hvussu brennast skuldi.

Begtrup væntaði, at tað fór at ganga seint við menningini av hesi vinnugrein, sum so mongum øðrum, tí íbúgvarnir skuldu síggja allar fyrimunirnar, áðrenn verulig gongd kom á. Tað var tað, sum hann hevði roynt at greitt teimum frá.⁶¹

Fyri og ímóti taravinnuni

Nógv regn, ólagalig landafrøði og kríggj gjørdi alt sítt til at steðga menningini av nýggju vinnuni, men størsta mótstøðan mundi kortini koma frá teirri grundleggjandi traditionalismuni í bóndasamfelagnum. (Isholm, 2020, p. 54) Hesa traditionalismuna lýstu ymiskir embætismenn javnan sum eina ovurstóra trúgv upp á “gammel Skik”, og hon var ein forðing fyri nýskapanum av alskyns slagi seinna partin av 18. og fyrra partin av 19. øld. Samstundis vardi traditionalisman aldagamla bóndasamfelagið, og á tann hátt var hon við til at verja eina ekstraktiva samfelagsskipan. Skuldi komast fram ímóti einum meira modernaðum og inklusivum samfelag, var neyðugt at gera upp við hesa traditionalismu á alskyns økjum.

Aðrastaðni, har tarabrenning vant upp á seg, sást sama mótstøða. Í Orknoyggjum hildu tey, at tarabrenningin rak fiskin til havs og oyðilegði fiskarið, og tey ivaðust heldur ikki í, at tarabrenningin fór at oyðileggja korn- og grasvøksturin. Harumframt vóru fleiri, sum óttaðust fyri, at vinnan fór at forða kvinnum í at føða børn (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 303).

Í Noregi vóru bæði bøndur og útróðrarmenn eisini harðliga ímóti nýggju vinnuni. Útróðrarmenn óttaðust fyri, at roykurin frá brenningini rak fiskin til havs, og aðrastaðni hildu fólk, at tarabrenning hevði keðiliga ávirkan á veðrið. Í 1765 kendi amtmaðurin í Stavanger seg so hóttan av bóndunum, at hann

⁵⁹ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 2186. Bræv frá Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 14. juni 1807.

⁶⁰ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809. Mál nr. 1245. Bræv frá Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 1. oktober 1804.

⁶¹ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809, nr. 2237. Bræv frá Begtrup presti dagfest í Keypmannahavn 21. juli 1807.

noyddist at seta bann fyri brenningini. Glasvirkini fingi borið so í bandi, at forboðið varð avtikið aftur í 1779, men ósemjan um tarabrenningina helt áfram.

Í 1804 fekk Christen Pram til uppgávu at gera eina kanning um tarabrenningina í Noregi. Hann fekk frá bóndum og útróðrarmönnum at vita, at mjørki og regn kom, so skjótt sum tarabrenningin fór í gongd. Einaferð avgjördu teir at herja á staðið, har framleitt var, teir sløktu báluni og blakaðu taran á sjógv. Úrslitið var, at tað klárnaði í erva, og skjótt fekst aftur nógvur summarfiskur. Hetta var alt prógv um, hvussu skaðilg tarabrenningin var. Pram gjørdi ymiskar royndir. Hann ásannaði, at tarabrenning var sera dálkandi, og at lukturni kundi vera øgiligur. Hinvegin dugdi hann ikki at síggja, at hon skuldi hava ávirkan á fiskarí og veðurlag, men tað var ein trupulleiki fyri útróðrarmenninar, at roykurin fjaldi ýtini og á tann hátt gjørdi tað torførari at fiska. Úrslitið av kanningunum hjá Pram var, at tarabrenning frá 1805 varð bannað í Noregi (Lindeman, 1928, p. 66).

Í Skotlandi eydnaðist eisini í støðum at fáa tarabrenning bannaða, tí landbúnaðurin ikki megnaði at føða íbúgvarnar, tí tarin varð brendur heldur enn at verða nýttur til tød. (Clow and Clow, 1947, p. 309) Í Føroyum hevði tarin eisini stóran týdning sum tød, og sjálvt um keldurnar einki beinleiðis siga um nakra tvístøðu millum tey, sum vildu brenna tara, og tey, sum vildu nýta hann at taða við, er ikki ósannlíkt, at slíkar ósemjur kunnu hava verið hesa tíðina.

Ole Henchel, sum eftir øllum at døma skrivaði um møguleikar fyri taravinnu í Føroyum síðst í 1770-árunum, upplivdi á egnum kroppi, hvussu sterk traditionalistiska mótstøðan ímóti øllum nýggjum var. Hann endaði frágreiðing sína um møguleikarnar fyri einari komandi kolavinnu í Føroyum 22. oktober 1778 við at siga, at hann vónaði, at myndugleikarnir fegnaðust um frágreiðingina, tí tað hevði lætt um allan tann trega og teir trupulleikar, “som her mere end paa andre Stæder daglig møder en fremmed formedelst den gemene Mands forkerte Tænke-Maade”.⁶²

Begtrup prestur merkti longu fyrsta árið hesa traditionalistisku mótstøðuna í Føroyum. Beinanvegin tær varð framleiddur, fóru fólk at klaga um, at roykurin frá tarabrenningini rak fiskin til havs, samstundis sum hann skapti meiri vætu í luftini. Tað helt Begtrup prestur lítið um, tí hann helt, at royndirnar vístu tað øvuta. Tað hevði ongantíð fyrr verið so nógvur reyðfiskur at fingið sum hetta árið, og staðið, har tarin varð brendur, var einki undantak. Harumframt vistu kunnigir menn ikki um, at nakað so turt og heitt summar hevði verið í Føroyum sum hetta summarið.⁶³

Traditionalistiska mótstøðan var helst høvuðsorsøkin til, at tað gekst so illa at skapa nakran áhuga fyri at arbeiða í nýggju vinnuni, men mótstøðan elvdi helst

⁶² SA. Rentekammeret. Sager vedr. stenkulsguberne på Færøerne. Bræv til Rentukamarið frá Ole Henchel dagfest í Havn 22. oktober 1778.

⁶³ SA. Den Administrerende Direktion for den Kgl. Færøske Handel. Sager til Journalen. 1801-1809. Mál nr. 1245. Bræv frá Begtrup presti dagfest í Havn 1. oktober 1804.

eisini til ymiskar slatursøgur um fremmanda mannin, sum mest av øllum umboðaði nýggju vinnuna og harvið eina hóttandi nýggja siðvenju. Tað man vera upprunin til nógvar av teimum søgunum um Tara-Mortan, sum framvegis livdu á manna munni, tá ið 20. øld var hálvrunnin, 150 ár eftir sjálvar hendingarnar. Á umrøðuni hjá handilsforvaltaranum skilst, at nakað kann vera um søgurnar um, hvussu illa Tara-Mortan var fyri, men ein partur av upprunanum til søgurnar var uttan iva eisini, at “den gemene Mands forkerte Tænke-Maade” kundi spinna falskar søgur um fremmandan nýskapara.

Hvussu væl kendur Tara-Mortan var gjøgnum 19. øld, er ikki lætt at vita, men Rasmus Effersøe tók hann fram aftur í einum av teimum fyrstu útgávuunum av *Føringatíðindi* í 1890. Effersøe legði Tara-Mortan undir at hava havt væl størri áhuga í at drekka enn at gera sítt arbeiði, og hann skuldi eisini lata lív, tá ið hann av óvart kom at drekka av vætuni, sum hann skuldi brúka í brenningini.⁶⁴ Í næsta blaðnum vildi *Føringatíðindi* vera við, at Nólsoyar-Páll hevði yrkt ein tátt um Tara-Mortan, tí at hann skikkaði sær so illa í Nólsoy, har hann heldur drakk og rann eftir konufólki enn at ansa eftir tarabrenningini. Eitt ørindi úr hesum táttinum skuldi vera:

Hoyr tú illi Tara-Mortan
við tínum langa líggja:
verður tú rikin til Danmarks burtur
tú fært væl annað at síggja.⁶⁵

Sjálvt um sagt verður, at Nólsoyar Páll yrkti hetta ørindið, so minnir tað nógv bæði í innihaldi og formi um yrkingina “Nú er tann stundin”, sum Jóannes Patursson yrkti til Jólafundin í 1888. Í sætta ørindi í yrkingini hjá Jóannesi verður sagt “at burtur er rikin tann fremmandi arvi; lat tað vera starvið!”, beint eftir at tað í ørindinum frammanundan varð heitt á føroyingar um at ganga ímóti útlendskum og lata útnyrðingin føra tað av landinum sum sápubløðru. Hetta samanfall ger tað nærliggjandi at hugsa, at tað var tjóðskaparrørslan, sum við hesum ørindinum legði sín egna hugburð í munnin á Nólsoyar Páll, og sum valdi at brúka søguna um Tara-Mortan sum dømi um ein útlending, sum neyðugt var at reka burtur. Á henda hátt kom tjóðskaparrørslan at umboða somu sjónarmið, sum traditionalisman í bóndasamfelagnum hevði havt um at steðga øllum nýggjum, sjálvt um tjóðskaparrørslan sjálv var eitt úrslit av teimum broytingunum, sum traditionalisman til fánýtis hevði andøvt ímóti. Soleiðis gevur søgan um Tara-Mortan eina ábending um, at føroyska tjóðskaparrørslan var meira ávirkað av traditionalismuni, enn tjóðskaparrørslan í Íslandi var.

Seinni nýttu tjóðskaparfólk søguna um Tara-Mortan sum dømi um, hvussu undirbrotligir føroyingar vóru yvir fyri øllum donskum. Søgnin var, at tað var siður at rógva hattleysur, tá ið ein danskari skuldi skjútsast. Eina ferð skuldu

⁶⁴ Føringatíðindi nr. 11 frá november 1890. “Tarabrenning”

⁶⁵ Føringatíðindi nr. 12 frá desember 1890

nólsoyingar rógva Tara-Mortan til Hvítanesar, men kavaroksódn kom á teir. Siðin at rógva hattleysir við donskum manni kundu teir ikki bróta, og endin varð, at teir mundu forkomist.⁶⁶ Við hesi søguni gjørdust nólsoyingar og Tara-Mortan ímynd upp á alt tað, sum sjálvstýrisrørslan skuldi broyta. Í Dimmalætting royndu dulnevndir skriparar hinvegin at siga, at Mortan ikki var danskari, men norðmaður, og í einari grein frá 1950 vildi "X" vera við, at føroyingar gjørdust so troyttir av Mortani, at teir mannaðu bát og róðu allan vegin til Bergens við honum. Tað prógvaði, at talan var um ein norðmann.⁶⁷ Á henda hátt endaði søgan um Tara-Mortan sum ein ímynd av, hvat tjóðskaparlaga kravdist av føroyingum í 20. øld.

Trupulleikin er bara, at samtíðarkeldurnar samsvara ikki við tjóðskaparligu søgurnar. Gaman í var Tara-Mortan roknaður sum eitt neyðardýr, sum hevði tørv á figgjarligari hjálp bæði í Føroyum og í Keypmannahavn, men einki verður sagt um, at tað var orsakað av rúsdrekka. Harumframt sæst einki til, at nøkur vandamikil væta varð brúkt í framleiðsluni, og Tara-Mortan doyði í hvussu er ikki í Føroyum. At enda tykjast søgurnar um, at hann rann eftir konufólki ikki rættiliga at samsvara við, at hann hevði gentu sína við sær til Føroya í 1805.

Eisini søgan um, at Nólsoyar-Páll skuldi yrkja tátt um Tara-Mortan, tykist lítið sannlík, tí júst Nólsoyar-Páll fekk sjálvur eitt av teimum sjei eintøkunum av vegleiðingini hjá Williami Allan um tarabrenning. Søguliga gjøgnumgongdin í hesi grein vísir, at tað í fyrstu syftu serliga var Begtrup prestur, sum vildi skapa nakað nýtt. Hansara høvuðsmál var at hjálpa fátækum, og hann fekk nakrar av teimum fáu í Havn, sum á ein hátt kundu roknast til eitt slag av spírandi borgaraskapi, til at stuðla sær. Tá ið myndugleikarnir finga áhuga fyri málinum, kom til sjóndar, at teir serliga høvdu álit á Schrøter presti í Suðuroy, so onkursvegna tykjast prestarnir at vera millum fremstu nýskaparar hesa tíðina. Umframt Begtrup prest finga handilsforvaltarin, kommandanturin og sorinskrivarin hvør sítt eintak av frágreiðingini hjá Williami Allan, og teir finga tað uttan iva í sínum leikluti sum embætismenn. Trý tey síðstu eintøkini finga Ole Evensen, sýslumaður í Hvalba, Óli Johansen, bóndi í Dali, og Nólsoyar Páll, og teir triggir hava helst fingið síni eintøk, tí teir hava víst áhuga fyri nýggju móguleikunum.

Samandráttur

Samanlagt gevur hetta eina mynd av, at myndugleikarnir høvdu stóran áhuga í at økja um vinnumóguleikarnar í Føroyum og á tann hátt seta gongd á eina modernaða samfelagsmenning. Embætismenn skuldu fremja hesi ynski í verki, og tað tykist greitt, at nakrir av teimum, m.a. prestarnir, gjørdur tað eldhugaðir, meðan aðrir vóru meira afturhaldandi. Hesin framburðshugurin kom í stóran

⁶⁶ Eitt dømi er í greinarøðini "Armóð og ómagaskapur" í Tingakrossi nr. 26 frá 18. september 1929.

⁶⁷ Dimmalætting nr. 72 frá 5. august 1950. "Tara Mortan".

mun uttaneftir, men søgan vísir eisini, at í Føroyum vóru einstaklingar, sum vóru til reiðar at taka við nýggjum møguleikum. Teirra millum vóru Kjelnæs bøkjari og Hans Debes studentur og teir triggir, sum finga hvør sítt eintak av vegleiðingini hjá Williami Allan.

Sostatt gevur søgan um tarabrenningina í Føroyum 1804-07 eina mynd av, at sjálvt um traditionalisman var sterk, so var áhugi eisini fyri nýggju vinnuni hjá einstøkum føroyingum, og tað er ikki torført at ímynda sær, at taravinnan kundi verið komin rættiliga fyri seg sum vanligur heimaídnaður kring landið, um Napoleon ikki hevði sett eld á niðri í Evropa. Krígsstøðan, at Nólsoyar Páll hvarv, og tað at áhugin fyri taravinnuni var minkaður, tá ið danska ríkið kom fyri seg aftur eftir kríggið, virkaði alt til fyrimunar fyri traditionalismuni, men fleiri av spárunum, sum vístu áhuga fyri taravinnuni, vóru eisini til reiðar, tá ið aðrir møguleikar seinni vístu seg í eitt nú fiskivinnuni.

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