

'We are only too well aware of the depth of gratitude we owe you' Wilhelm Jansson's papers

Wilhelm Jansson (29 May 1877–1 August 1923) is, in his person and activities, the embodiment of 'Internationalism'. As so many travelling workers, this Swedish gardener ended up in Germany, where he was active from 1897. In Hamburg he became the chairman of the Garden Workers' Union, wrote for the *Allgemeine deutsche Gärtner-Zeitung* [General German Gardeners' News] and became a member of the council of the German Gardeners' League. He studied economics and history and was a contributor to the social democratic newspaper, the *Hamburger Echo*. He also evidently owned a bookshop and stationers as is apparent from the letterheads he was using in 1900–1902.¹ In 1904 he moved to Berlin and became editor of the German Trade Union Confederation *Korrespondenzblatt* [Correspondence] (1905–1919) and a member of the Council of the Confederation. From 1 October 1919 until 1921 he acted as a social welfare attaché at the Swedish legation in Berlin.

Wilhelm Jansson became a significant go-between for the Swedish and German labour movements. His connections with the Danish movement were also excellent. In *Social-Demokraten*, *Tiden*, *Morgonbris*, the trade union press and other labour movement newspapers and periodicals, he reported on German affairs, and in *Korrespondenzblatt*, *Vorwärts*, other labour movement newspapers and periodicals he wrote about those in Sweden. During the General Strike of 1909, he was an intermediary for the tremendous support the Germans gave the Swedish trade union movement and he disseminated information about the conflict in the German working class press. Various organisations and individuals in the Swedish labour movement sought his advice on a wide range of issues. He presented to the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) organisational enquiry of 1911–1912 an overview of the history, organisation and tactics of the trade union movement in Germany² and he wrote a detailed report on the nationalisation issue in Germany for the Nationalisation Enquiry from 1920 onward.³ During the First World War he became well known for his pro-German attitude. He tried to influence Swedish social democracy in favour of Germany and, in his articles and letters especially, 'persecuted' the entente-minded Hjalmar Branting. This was also the object of his publication of *Deutsch-Scandinavische Korrespondenz* [German-Scandinavian Correspondence], which came out irregularly during 1916 and 1917.⁴ Later during Jansson's time as social welfare attaché, Branting, as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, became his superior.

Wilhelm Jansson's role, particularly during the First World War, has been mentioned in the literature but, as far as I know, there is no in-depth examination of his role as a Swedish-German go-between and intermediary over the years nor is there a biography. Given this and the background, it is thus of interest to draw attention to his personal archives housed here.⁵

A relatively meagre archive

Jansson's extensive activities are not reflected in his papers, which amount to just seven volumes. Two of these contain books and pamphlets (the others form part of the library as a result of the archival procedures that were standard previously, nevertheless their provenance is evident from a Wilhelm Jansson ex libris stamp).⁶ Personal documents are the most extensive including a number of notebooks (two volumes) and correspondence (one volume), also manuscripts (one small volume) and a range of documents from his activities (one volume). There is supplementary material at ARAB in Gunnar and Ingrid Lundberg's papers – Ingrid was Wilhelm Jansson's daughter⁷ – in Hjalmar Branting's papers and particularly in the LO's fonds⁸ together with a large number of organisational and personal archives. The notes and manuscripts are written in Swedish or German and are seldom dated. They not only give an indication of Wilhelm Jansson's wide-ranging activities as a journalist but also reveal his literary ambitions. There is a striking number of literary works, possibly for the simple reason that many other manuscripts ended up with the publisher rather than here in the archives. There are poems with titles such as 'An die Gärtnersfrau [To the gardener's wife]' or 'Mein Herz, mein Weib [My heart, my wife]'; drafts of plays such as 'Die Hinterbliebenen. Eine Familientragödie in zwei Akten [The Bereaved. A family tragedy in two acts]' or 'Die Neutralen [The Neutrals]'; another is 'Brev från Kråkvinkel' ['Letter from a One-Horse Town'] (under the pseudonym Erik Brunte)⁹ or 'Über das Glück' ['On Happiness']. I have found two manuscripts about his gardening work: 'Kapstadens trädgårdsanläggning [Garden design in Cape Town]' (in a notebook from 1890–1896/1898) and 'Einige Anregungen für die Winterabende [Some Ideas for Winter Evenings]' with suggestions about further education (vocationally oriented and botanical studies) through study meetings. The range

of other works: 'Folkupplysning och Kristendomen' ['Popular enlightenment and Christendom'], 'Den svenska modernärningen förr och nu [Swedish primary industry then and now]', 'Teknikens framåtskridande [Technological progress]', 'Socialismus und Gewerkschaft [Socialism and Unions]', 'Der Klassenkampf [The Class Struggle]' (all in his notebooks 1890-1896/1898), 'Demokratin i arbetarrörelsen [Democracy in the labour movement]' (1912), 'Denkschrift über gewisse wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse in Deutschland während des Krieges [Memorandum on certain economic and social circumstances in Germany during the war]' (1916), 'Zur Frage des schwedischen Eisenerzes [On the Swedish iron ore question]', 'Zur Frage der deutsch-nordischen Handelsbeziehungen [On German-Scandinavian trade relations]' and 'Socialiseringens problem [The Problems of Nationalisation]' can also be found amongst his notes.

The correspondence starts in 1895 with some letters from Johan Eriksson, another Swedish gardener who ended up in Germany but evidently did not intend to stay there. In a letter of 25 January 1899 he writes in reply to Wilhelm Jansson's decision to stay: 'I can scarcely conceive that you are lost to Mother Sweden. On many occasions I have imagined myself some time in the future enjoying the beautiful walks we could take together in the moonlight along the shores of Mälaren and by the billows of Saltsjön. We can recall to mind events that took place in former times when we could have a glass of beer and tell of what we had lived through since we bid each other farewell at Blume's in the evening or at the Gärtnerherberge in Berlin in the morning.' Now 'all these hopes' collapsed 'like a house of cards'.

Wilhelm stayed because of a girl. Johan Eriksson interpreted this more as 'a marriage of minds' although 'many put their minds aside in such matters'. Whether it was Berta Deutsch, born in Hungary, later to be Wilhelm Jansson's wife, who was the reason is not clear. According to their marriage certificate, he married Berta Deutsch in 1906. The letters between the gardener friends contain some glimpses of an important ingredient in the internationalism of the labour movement: the journeymen travels.

The correspondence gives a rough idea of Wilhelm Jansson's function as an intermediary. Principally it concerns his mediation of information and materials, articles and translations together with interpreting assignments. The current issues range from membership subscriptions via ration stamps to wages in the sugar refining industry, vocational schools, the formation of a social democratic women's league and a proposed bill for health and safety at work. Jansson received similar assistance when, for example, he asked about Swedish health insurance, needed information about the Miners' Union or, in 1911, asked Sågverksindustriarbetareförbundet [the Sawmill Workers' Union] for a photograph of workers in Bomhus. Fredrik Ström, the SAP's secretary and a member of the left wing, briefed him during 1912/1913 about the pension issue after Ålderdomsförsäkringskommittén [the Old Age Insurance Committee] had put forward its proposals. Ström provided, amongst other things, critical perspectives in which fragmentation within Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti SAP [the Social Democratic Party of Sweden] become visible. He wished above all for the publication of critical articles in *Die Neue Zeit* - 'for

which Branting has (at least had) very great respect' - *Correspondenzblatt* and *Vorwärts*. One such was published in *Vorwärts* and later in translation in *Stormklockan*. An article by Wilhelm Jansson on 'the social policies of trade union organisations' was published in the trade union journal *Järnarbetaren* [*The Iron Worker*] the opinions of which were possibly influenced by Ström's criticism.¹⁰

Wilhelm Jansson in the archives

To grasp the scope of Jansson's activities we must look to other organisational and personal archives, primarily the international correspondence

Wilhelm Janssons membership certificate of the Voluntary Fire Brigade of Friedrichshagen. It states that he has paid his dues for the years 1920-21.

in the LO's fonds, and to articles in newspapers and periodicals dealing with the information. In the correspondence, which also contains those from German correspondents, the letters are predominantly from Herman Lindqvist (LO chairman), Ernst Söderberg (treasurer) and Arvid Thorberg (at that time LO secretary) and other trade union representatives. Also, inter alia, from social democrats from both the right and left wings (Fredrik Ström, Otto Grimlund, C. N. Carleson, Otto Järte, Yngve Larsson, Erik Palmstierna, A. C. Lindblad). Contact with Hjalmar Branting (the SAP's chair-

General Strike in the German labour movement's press, which certainly had its effect on the collection being made for the Swedish strikers. Wilhelm Jansson himself attached great importance to this and naturally emphasised his own role. In a letter to Herman Lindqvist he writes: 'Telegrams are vital here. Without this organisation of press coverage in Germany the results of the collection might not be as generous as they are, surpassing all expectation.'¹²

Jansson also organised talks by Swedish party members in Germany 'to keep the collection going reasonably well', as Hjalmar Branting wrote. One had to be ready 'to dance to Jansson's tune'. Such a 'melody' appears in the LO's international correspondence.¹³ In a letter of 7 August, Wilhelm Jansson exhorts Branting to send telegrams directly to him because earlier ones ended up somewhere else and 'had not been used'.¹⁴ He also requested Branting to send telegrams 'somewhat earlier' so that they could be forwarded to the provincial press on the 'same day' and sometimes he complains: 'we are hampered by a lack of information'.¹⁵ In his first telegram of 6 August Branting describes how the tram and taxi drivers in Gothenburg and the gas workers in Stockholm had stopped work and how 40,000 strikers in Stockholm held a strike meeting 'in vollständigster Ordnung [in total order]'. In the second telegram of 10 August it is stated that 'some trams running circular line with managers and volunteers, peace undisturbed - government suspended decree on cars for easier strike-breaking and police require taxi owners drive greatest possible extent or lose licences - bourgeois press only temporary leaflets - 150,000 copies response dispatched - extent of strike unchanged. Branting.' In the last telegram (16 November) the LO chairman, Herman Lindqvist, speaks of 'a recent change in our struggle' - consequently the mediation broke down whereafter the conflict 'fizzled out' (Sigfrid Hansson) - and declared 'the generous help given by the workers of Germany' to be finished. However, there were 1,500 workers still out of work. He concluded with 'our warmest thanks'.

The Germans had, therefore, not started 'to tire of helping' as Lindqvist had feared in a letter to Wilhelm Jansson in mid-October. With further assistance we should 'at least be able obtain a dénouement by which we avoid shackling ourselves with a humiliating and risky settlement.' He added: 'We know only too well how much thanks we owe you for all your work and contributions during the Swedish General Strike and we hope that in due course we will be able to find a way to express our gratitude.' This gratitude - but also in general Jansson's great efforts for LO in various contexts - is definitely one of the reasons for Lindqvist's positive treatment of Jansson's efforts during the war to persuade the Swedish Labour Movement to support Germany's cause. The 'unanimous confidence on the part of the Scandinavian trade union leaders' is apparent also in the obituary in the *Social-Demokraten* in 1923.¹⁶

The cover page of the social democratic magazine Tiden [The Time] for August 1910. In this issue Wilhelm Jansson wrote an article on the German General Lockout of that year. Hjalmar Branting was the editor of the magazine.

man) is dominated by what amounts to the central block of information in the correspondence: 98 telegrams about the General Strike of 1909, the majority from Branting, written - in Swedish or German - between 5 August to 16 November, in other words virtually a day by day record of the situation.¹¹ These reports, for one, are a useful tool in the study of the dissemination of information about the

some letters concerning the visit there are both dated and undated notes in Jansson's archives. The undated notes originate from a meeting with representatives from the German Social Democratic Party, SPD, and the German Trade Union Confederation in Berlin, presumably on 17 July 1916. These have been published.¹⁷ What the Scandinavians were mainly briefed on was the SPD's position on the war and national issues together with the conflicts in the German party. One of the Danes, Sigvald Olsen, 'sanctioned' the Germans' own assessment by way of conclusion: the SPD had not been able to act otherwise and it was not their fault that the French and English Social Democratic parties did not wish to make contact. A C Lindblad wanted to know something of Branting's feelings during the visit to Berlin on 22 June and 30 July 1915. He received only a general answer 'in confidence': one is received 'amicably' but Branting had adopted the French view that Germany would have to relinquish Alsace-Lorraine.¹⁸

The note of 2 August 1916, part of a sort of journal from 27 February 1916 to 13 February 1917, is couched in rather personal terms. Wilhelm Jansson described the travellers. The Dane, A Hansen (Chairman of the Machinists' Union) was 'seinen Kollegen um einige Pferdelängen voraus [head and shoulders above his colleagues]'; whether this refers to stature or something else is not clear. In Hallén, the Swedes had brought along 'einen Pfaffen [a black-coat] der im großen und ganzen ein Pfaff ist, ohne immer wie ein Pfaff zu stinken [who is generally speaking a black-coat but without always stinking like one]'. Nils Persson is 'stinkfaul [bone idle]' which causes a lot of irritation. Moreover Jansson gives a brief account of the stops between Berlin and Strasbourg. There is constant reference to contacts with the top brass in Belgium, with directors and political dignitaries. The phrases used are striking; 'glänzend [splendid]' and 'famos [grand]' referring both to the people and the manner in which they were received, the food and the wines. It is also clear that a great deal was drunk on the trip. That very nearly made a mess of things after the conclusion of the trip in Strasbourg which was 'vorzüglich [excellent]'. Albert Südekum made a speech to the Scandinavians at half past twelve in the morning. He said, inebriated as he was, things that amount to 'dummes Zeug, das den ganzen Reisezweck eventuell vernichtet hätte [stupid nonsense that all but thwarted the whole purpose of the trip]'. Sigvald Olsen saved an awkward situation by saying: 'In reality we need a longer debate but now it is late so my thanks for everything you have done for us during the tour'.

The notes also reveal Jansson's discussions with diplomats and journalists on the subject of Scandinavia. He concurred with the view of Count Moltke, the Danish minister in Berlin, that an agreement between Germany and Russia was necessary in order to unite Scandinavia. But not just that: also an alliance with Germany and Russia. 'Das ein-

Certificate from the Swedish Legation in Berlin, January 1916. In it German civic and military authorities are requested to let Wilhelm Jansson travel freely inside Germany.

A war-time trip to Germany

The study tour of Germany and Belgium by Scandinavian social democrats and trade union officials in July/August 1916 initiated by Wilhelm Jansson and the social democrat, Albert Südekum, in co-operation with the German civil and military authorities was to be a real opportunity to create good publicity for Germany. On the Swedish side there were Herman Lindqvist, Nils Persson (Swedish Bricklayers' Union), A.C. Lindblad (editor of the *Ny Tid* in Gothenburg) and Harald Hallén (clergyman and social democratic Member of Parliament). The trip was widely reported and debated not least because of the controversial statements the travellers made or were supposed to have made according to the media. As well as

zige Programm, das hinsichtlich Skandinaviens eine politische Auslandsarbeit lohnend machen würde. Die jetzigen Liliputvölker können keinen politischen Einfluß ausüben [This is the only programme that would make political overtures to Scandinavia worthwhile. The present Lilliputian peoples have no political influence].'

There is also a different type of Scandinavian contact in the notes: on 23 September 1916 there is an account of the previous evening's premiere of 'Master Olof' at the Volksbühne in a production by the famous director, Max Reinhardt. The first half was 'zum Davonlaufen [made you want to run away]', 'ein Geschrei, wie im Irrenhause [screaming as if in an asylum]'. The director clearly saw Strindberg as 'einen schwedischen Fanatiker [a Swedish fanatic]'. 'Wir schreien nicht, wie Waschweiber oder Berliner Rollwagenkutscher, wenn wir etwas tun wollen [we Swedes do not scream like fishwives or Berlin draymen when we want to do something]', observes Jansson, 'wir reden und nur in der zitternden Stimme darf im schwedischen die Leidenschaft Ausdruck suchen [we speak and, in Swedish, passion can be expressed solely through a quiver in the voice]'.

Other material of interest consists of two minutes from conferences with representatives from the Scandinavian Trade Union Confederation on 22 October and 10 November 1916. These conferences were, according to Herman Lindqvist, of special significance at a time when the trade union international too 'was itself in danger of splitting' (22 October). On both occasions international contacts

were central, rather than Scandinavian co-operation and labour politics as was the norm. The Scandinavian representatives decided after exhaustive discussions not to recommend either an international trade union conference at that time or the removal of the International Secretariat from Berlin to a neutral country. An international conference took place in Stockholm on 8 June 1917. The minutes are also in Jansson's papers.¹⁹ Naturally the peace activity following the Russian February revolution and the attempt to bring about a peace conference in Stockholm form the natural background to this initiative.²⁰ However, it was a rump of a conference: there were no representatives of the Entente countries, those present were from Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Hungary and Austria. According to Herman Lindqvist's speech of welcome, however, 'the first step toward co-operation' had been taken. Wilhelm Jansson acted as interpreter here as he did at many conferences. The meeting resulted chiefly in a general invitation to an international trade union conference in Switzerland in the autumn of 1917 to debate 'the social policy requirements that trade union organisations should promote in future peace negotiations.'

This conference took place in Berne from 1-4 October 1917. It was hardly more 'international': only the Swiss were new attendants. The conference formulated detailed social policy requirements for peace (right to free association, immigration and emigration, national insurance, health and safety at work, protection for women and children). The organising committee adopted these for the peace conference in Stockholm, referred to above, in its draft peace (10 October 1917).²¹ In Jansson's papers there is only a little official material relating to the Berne conference. There is extensive material on Scandinavian and international trade union co-operation, including Wilhelm Jansson's contribution, in LO's fonds.

From the notes and the few letters, manuscripts and other documents from the time of the First World War in Wilhelm Jansson's papers we are able to gain only a restricted glimpse of the political and trade union labour movement's policies in neutral Scandinavian countries at that time. This is also true about their relationship with the German labour movement and the role of Wilhelm Jansson. Consequently it is necessary to look to material in other archives and in the press to get the full picture.

Wilhelm Jansson and ARAB

Wilhelm Jansson also played a part as intermediary for the Labour Movement Archives. On 6 December 1905 the institution's first director, Oscar Borge, expressed his thanks – he also mentions an earlier letter – for the consignments of

Telegram from Hjalmar Branting in Stockholm to Wilhelm Jansson in Berlin, 13 August 1909. It contains information on the General Strike and on the incorrect reporting in bourgeois press and news agencies.

material and promises to ask for help again later on. He himself would send duplicates. Borge indicates that shortly after the establishment of the Archives he thought about having it 'transferred' to either the LO or SAP or to both jointly. 'It would thereby acquire a more official status.' He forgot, as becomes apparent from a card two days later, to request information about the German party archives. In his letter of reply of 16 December held at ARAB – written in German, 'because you wished it so, perhaps for practice' runs a PS – it appears that Wilhelm Jansson had sent among other things the German Trade Union Confederations' minutes and other publications. He himself had received circulars that were 'of less interest to me' along with pricelists and contracts of which he wanted more. Then he asked for *Lucifer*, 'a very remarkable publication'. He also provided an address in Hamburg where an important yearbook on the co-operative movement could be acquired. Later he provides information on the SPD's archives. The party archives presently runs to about 35,000 volumes. Karl Marx's private library after the death of Friedrich Engels – which is made up chiefly of scholarly and political literature – was incorporated. Because it is not

a lending library there is only an internal catalogue. Possibly a copy could be made available. Oscar Borge's comment on 9 January 1906 was that the SPD's archives is clearly 'as far as I can see [...] actually or in the main a party library'. His own institution, on the other hand, is 'an archives in the true sense, that is to say it contains organisations' documents in the widest meaning of the word.' However, the intention is 'gradually ... to set up a library of party literature.'

Wilhelm Jansson returned to the issue of the party archives on 26 April 1906 – he wrote in Swedish because 'it arises so seldom one tends to forget it' (the wording of a letter of November 1905).

'It is not an archives in your sense; that would be impossible for us – so great is the present size of the German labour movement. Thousands of different copies of leaflets, for instance, are distributed daily [...]. Consequently the party and trade union organisations cannot be collected into and kept as an archives of this form. We would have to employ a whole staff to collect and arrange the

NOTES

1. Wilhelm Jansson Papier- und Buchhandlung, Hamburg 6, Altonaerstr. 46. Letters 9 September 1900 in ARAB, LO, International correspondence, and letters 23 September 1901, 22 November 1901 and 6 November 1902 in Hjalmar Branting's papers, volumes 3.1:5.
2. Fackföreningsrörelsen i Sverige, Norge, Danmark, Tyskland, England och Frankrike jämte specialutredningar för Sverige Del 2: Utlandet [The trade union movement in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, England and France including special enquiries for Sweden. Part 2: Abroad. Stockholm 1912. pp. 235-370.]
3. The enquiry can be found in Gustav Möller's papers, volume 36, at ARAB. A fragment in Jansson's papers, volume 3.
4. There are odd copies held at ARAB.
5. Jan Peters: Arbeiterbewegung und deutsch-schwedische Nachbarschaft. Zur Vermittlerfunktion von Wilhelm Jansson [The Labour Movement and German-Swedish Neighbourliness. On the Intermediary function of Wilhelm Jansson] (1877-1923), in *Nicht nur Strindberg. Kulturelle und literarische Beziehungen zwischen Schweden und Deutschland 1870-1933* [Not just Strindberg. Cultural and Literary relationships between Sweden and Germany 1870-1933]. Hg: Helmut Müssener. Stockholm 1979, pp. 181-190.
6. Wilhelm Jansson's book collection (700 volumes) transferred in 1927 together with archives material. There are further accessions to Jansson's papers in 1978 (118), 1979 (7), 1980

- (34), 1982 (103), 2000 (49) and 2000 (67).
7. 13 letters to his daughter, Ingrid and documents from his wife, Berta Jansson.
8. Inter alia fully 70 letters from the years 1900-1921 in the foreign correspondence.
9. Also some of the Swedish translation of the German chairman of LO's, Carl Legien's, letter of 1903 in LO's fonds remain 'Translated by Erik Brunte'.
10. *Järnarbetaren* nos. 30, 31 and 33, 1913.
11. In a collection of Branting's information on journeys, telegrams, and more to do with his involvement in the General Strike of 1909 there are the following notes: '2 August – 4 September Expenses: the telegram to Berlin (Jansson o. Vorwärts) encl. specif. 288,35.' Branting's papers volume 1:7, ARAB.
12. Wilhelm Jansson to Lindqvist, 20 August 1909 in ARAB, the LO, International correspondence. There are also a 10 or so telegrams and letters from Jansson about the General Strike.
13. Branting to Lindqvist 6 September 1909, written from Berlin. According to the telegram from Jansson to the National Secretariat 10 September 1909 Gunnar Löwegren will 'immediately' travel to a meeting in Hanover. Both in ARAB, LO, International correspondence.
14. ARAB, Hjalmar Branting, volume 3.1:5. See also Martin Grass: International material in Hjalmar Branting's papers, in this book.

material. However, our party archives collect everything that is of any direct value to the movement, its leaders, politicians and so on, and in particular political, socio-political, trade union and similar literature, statistics etc. A group secretary is employed for the group's work and [underlined in the text] for the archives, which at present is really not as developed and organised as one would wish [...]. At least two to three people would be needed to bring this about [...]. It is, of course, impossible for us to collect the more important written documents as you do, because we might be open to daily visits from the police who might possibly find them of interest! For the moment a strong reaction prevails here and one can never be sure about the police.²²

There is interesting information here about both the archives in Stockholm and that of the SPD but at the same time there are indications of differences between the large German labour movement with its special problems and the differing circumstances of the developing movement in

Sweden. This information was of mutual interest then as it is for researchers today. It highlights the importance of Wilhelm Jansson as a person and of his personal papers in the study of relations between Sweden and Germany. His exposed position during the First World War has overshadowed his real significance as a 'key figure' in the communication and mutual exchanges between the Swedish and German labour movements during his years of involvement from around 1900 to the beginning of the 1920s. To be sure his papers provide only a snapshot of these activities but it is an excellent starting point for the worthwhile task of studying his intermediary function in its full breadth. It is interesting to note by way of conclusion that his sons, Ewald and Karl-Erik, became intermediaries of a different sort in another era of contacts between Sweden and Germany. They were active in the labour movement's refugee support campaign of 1933-1945 which to a large extent supported the labour movement's refugees from the German-speaking countries.²³

15. Wilhelm Jansson to Lindqvist, 20 August 1909 and telegrams to the National Secretariat 20 August 1909, in ARAB, LO, International correspondence.
16. *Social-Demokraten* 2 August 1923.
17. Agnes Blänsdorf: Friedrich Ebert und die Internationale [Friedrich Ebert and the International], in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, IX, 1969, pp. 375-378. About the journey Martin Grass: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität. Die skandinavische Sozialdemokratie und die neutrale Zusammenarbeit im Krieg, August 1914 bis Februar 1917* [Peace Activities and Neutrality. Scandinavian Social Democracy and Neutral Collaboration in the War, August 1914 to February 1917]. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975, p. 245f; Agnes Blänsdorf: *Die Zweite Internationale und der Krieg. Die Diskussion über die internationale Zusammenarbeit der sozialistischen Parteien 1914-1917* [The Second International and the War. The discussion in the international collaboration of the socialist parties 1914-1917]. Stuttgart 1979, p. 323f.
18. About Branting's journey see Grass: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität*, pp. 151-161; Blänsdorf: *Die Zweite Internationale und der Krieg*, pp.177-180.
19. The minutes and other material about this conference at which, amongst other things, Wilhelm Jansson's role as interpreter is evident, in ARAB, LO's fonds.
20. About this conference see Martin Grass: *Konferenzen kom aldrig till stånd. Stockholmskonferensen 1917. Den offentliga diskussionen i Social-Demokraten* [The Conference that Never

- Took Place. Stockholm Conference 1917. The Public Debate on Social Democracy] in *Arbetarhistoria* no. 43 1987, pp. 13-32.
21. Reprinted in *Stockholm. Comité organisateur de la conférence socialiste internationale de Stockholm* [Stockholm. Organising committee of the Stockholm International Socialist Conference]. . Stockholm 1918, 491-521; inter alia also in SAP, *Berättelse 1917* [Reports 1917], pp. 33-47.
22. The quoted correspondence in ARAB's archives, volume E 1:1. Any language errors have come from the original.
23. See Martin Grass: *The archives of the German-speaking exiles 1933-1945*, in this book.

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