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Aleksander Kesküla and Sweden 1914–1918

Michael Futrell, the first to write anything about Kesküla's activities in Sweden during the First World War, noted that an examination of Kesküla's Swedish contacts might be a rewarding piece of research for a Swedish investigator.¹ In essence this work is still undone. Thus this article will give a brief survey of Aleksander Kesküla in Sweden during the First World War and the motives of his activities.

Aleksander Eduard Kesküla was born in Tartu in 1882. He was one of the prominent figures in the events of 1905–1907 in the Estonian and Livonian provinces,² which according to him “constituted a combination of a yearning for national liberation and the revolts of workers and peasants”.³ Richard Pipes claims Kesküla to have been a leading Bolshevik in 1905–07. Later, Pipes writes, Kesküla turned into an ardent Estonian nationalist.⁴ Life is more varied, though. Aleksander Kesküla's tutor at that time, in his years of development, was another Aleksander, Aleksander Põrk.⁵

Unlike Kesküla, Põrk had an Orthodox background.⁶ He studied in Tartu in 1897–1903 and in 1905 he defended his candidate thesis in history here.⁷ In 1901–1903 he lived with the Keskülas.⁸ In 1899 Põrk had started to collect antiquities in different Estonian regions, in Ingria and Finland, and also in other places in Russia. In 1903–1920 Põrk lived and worked in Moscow. In 1906–1914 was he active in the Association of Uniting Russia's Nationalities. When he returned to Estonia in 1920, he became one of the founding members and chairman of the Estonian Cultural History Association, and the creator and enthusiastic advocate of the Estonian national pagan religion Taara.⁹ Today he might have been called a national fundamentalist.

Good relations between Kesküla and Põrk continued. When Kesküla lived in Moscow in 1908–1910, he stayed at Põrk's place.¹⁰ The card that Kesküla sent to Moscow in 1916 and that irritated Bukharin as it included an unknown name for him, actually mentioned Aleksander Põrk.¹¹ It is worth mentioning that in 1905–1907 another Estonian Taara-religion

KAIDO JAANSON

activist, Marta Lepp, also a revolutionary then, was closely connected to Kesküla. Something of the kind can also be noticed about the thinking of Arthur Siefeldt, who later became Kesküla's henchman.¹²

The beginning of the 20th century was the time when social democracy started to interest Estonians. The first social democratic associations of Estonian students were established around the year 1903 in Tartu. Aleksander Kesküla's ties with them are also known to have started then.¹³ About 1904 it is known that Aleksander was the leader of several circles that aimed at the political education of people.¹⁴ In 1904 an event occurred that obviously considerably influenced Aleksander Kesküla's further life and fate. When the Russo–Japanese war broke out Kesküla started to work at the newspaper *Postimees* as editor of war telegrams. Soon after that a conflict took place between Aleksander Kesküla and the editor of *Postimees* Jaan Tõnisson, undoubtedly the most prominent Estonian national politician of the time. It is unknown what exactly happened. Kesküla is said to have mentioned at home that he had had ideological disagreements with Tõnisson.¹⁵ What is more, this was not the end of the story; the culmination came when Kesküla challenged Tõnisson to a duel, which the latter refused.¹⁶ We know that on the night between 23 and 24 April 1904 a private meeting of the Estonian Student Society took place, which discussed the disagreement between the two men and accordingly, expelled Kesküla from the Society.¹⁷ At the meeting, the main attacker is said to have been Tõnisson, and Kesküla had defended himself in an excellent manner but had been expelled “on the basis of quite vague accusations”.¹⁸

From then on Aleksander Kesküla and Jaan Tõnisson found themselves on different sides of the front. It is known that in the autumn of the same year Kesküla organised a social democratic circle in the printing shop of *Postimees*.¹⁹ The situation was all the more tragic because in Estonian foreign policy both men represented the same orientation, i.e. orientation towards Scandinavia,²⁰ which was not at all characteristic of Estonian politicians of the day. Today the fate of these men, Aleksander Kesküla and Jaan Tõnisson, has one similar streak: the fact that we do not know exactly where their graves are. We only know that one must have been buried at one end of Europe, the other at the other end of Europe.²¹

Kesküla's stay in Sweden can be divided into three periods. The first started in autumn 1914 (in October) and lasted until either December in the same year or January 1915.²¹ The second was from May 1915 until June 1916, but this was not a continuous stay: he sometimes travelled to Germany or even to Switzerland. There are no data about him having been in Sweden during the second half of 1916. However, it is known that

he was back here at the turn of the year of 1916–1917 and then stayed in Stockholm for a longer time until the autumn of 1918.

Kesküla got in touch with Germany's ambassador, Bern Gisbert von Romberg on 7 September 1914.²² Three days later he gave the ambassador a letter for the German government in which he claimed that in Estonia a movement to be re-united with Sweden was strengthening. He also posed two questions to the German government: on what conditions would they recognise and support this movement and what would Germany want in return for its material and military assistance?²³ By agreement with von Romberg, in October 1914 Kesküla embarked on a reconnaissance trip to Sweden.²⁴

At the time of the First World War Stockholm constituted an important link on the pathway through which Lenin in Switzerland kept contact with Petrograd and his homeland. The man who administered this connection, Aleksander Shlyapnikov, appeared in Stockholm approximately at the same time as Kesküla – at the beginning of October 1914. It is known that on 11 October, Lenin, who was living in Bern, received a letter from Shlyapnikov in which the latter stated that he had arrived in Stockholm to administer a connection between the Central Committee and Russia.²⁵ From then on Lenin and Shlyapnikov were in lively correspondence. According to the information of Lenin's Biographical Chronicle, until December when Shlyapnikov travelled to Copenhagen, they exchanged 13 letters, of which 7 from Shlyapnikov to Lenin and 6 from Lenin to Shlyapnikov. These letters contained reviews of the situation in Russia; in addition, in these letters Lenin gave instructions to Shlyapnikov about how to organise via Stockholm transport to Russia of "both letters (1) and people (2) as well as literature (3)". Shlyapnikov also took care of Lenin's correspondence with the Bolshevik members of the Duma.²⁶ Even when Shlyapnikov left for Copenhagen, Lenin inquired about the situation of the illegal connections with Petrograd and so, in December, while in Copenhagen, Shlyapnikov informed him of the ties with Russia.²⁷

It is not impossible that Kesküla obtained an overview of the contents of these letters, at least the ones that had been sent in October and November. In the middle of November 1914, a Russian revolutionary, Aleksandra Kollontai, was arrested in Sweden and then expelled from the country.²⁸ Before that, however, Jakob Bogrovski, whose role Michael Futrell has described in great detail,²⁹ had introduced Kesküla to her.³⁰ Bogrovski was the secretary of the Bolshevik group. When Shlyapnikov was away, it was Bogrovski who was responsible for transport to and from Russia. It is possible that the acquaintance with the activities of Lenin's

organisation in Stockholm that Kesküla made through Bogrovski, became an incentive for him to call the Germans' attention to Lenin.

Futrell was unable to find out what ethnic group Bogrovski belonged to, referring to him as "either Estonian or Russian": he is said to have spoken both languages. Consequently Kesküla was not clear about it either, or maybe he had forgotten something. Futrell also writes that Bogrovski's fate is unknown.³¹ However, there is the following possibility: at the beginning of the 20th century the pseudonym Pokrovski was used by a Russian Social Democrat, a port official called Nikolai Dezhkin. Dezhkin was a member of Mikhail Kalinin's group. The 26-year-old Kalinin and the 15-year-old Dezhkin had become acquainted at the end of 1901. Later, Kalinin wrote about Dezhkin several times, calling him one of the most active underground workers in Tallinn. In 1903 Dezhkin was caught disseminating forbidden literature. He had then, and even later on similar occasions, used the pseudonym Pokrovski. He sat in prison until the autumn of 1904. When he was released, Kalinin had already left Tallinn, whereas Kesküla was to arrive soon. If Pokrovski is the same man as Bogrovski then he was not an Estonian. Dezhkin was born in December 1886 in the city of Ostaskov in the province of Tver.³²

In Stockholm, Kesküla's relations with Berlin were finally settled. The nervous ambassador of Imperial Germany to Stockholm, von Reichenau, in his letter to Bethmann Hollweg on 16 October, deemed Kesküla unreliable. However, on 27 October Kesküla met in Stockholm a former compatriot, Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, on whom he made a very good impression. On 3 November Ostwald sent a letter to Zimmermann, in which he gave his positive opinion of Kesküla, and on 17 December Reichenau suggested that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pay 10,000 marks to Kesküla, which was duly paid to the latter at the end of December.³³

In a letter sent from Stockholm, Kesküla characterised Lenin and the supporters of his direction, the Russian Social Democrats, who had settled down in Bern. He noted that if one is clever, those people could be used more than they would like it themselves. The letter was dated 30 November. The year was 1914. This was the first reference to Lenin in the German archives.³⁴ By the way, Kesküla was well ahead of the other Alexander, Alexander Helphand-Parvus, who had acquired a reputation in Germany as a patron of the Russian revolutionary movement. Parvus did not contact the ambassador of Imperial Germany to Istanbul until 8 January 1915, four months later than Kesküla with Romberg, and Parvus arrived in Berlin during the First World War for the first time at the end of February, 1915,³⁵ thus almost two months after Kesküla.

Kesküla was in Stockholm again in May 1915. At the beginning of this month, on 3 May, he had submitted a long memorandum to the Political Department of the German General Staff, in which he analysed Lenin's organisation and characterised Lenin as a strong organiser, who would be able to exercise the most brutal and inexhaustible energy: "Lenin is a real Moscovite".³⁶ On Friday, 14 May 1915, Aleksander Kesküla received a passport in the name of Alexander Stein from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The timing of this event was not a coincidence. In this way a week ended, during which Berlin had exerted considerable pressure on Stockholm to persuade the latter to join the military alliance against Russia.³⁷

On Tuesday, 18 May, Aleksander Kesküla had already started his journey. On this day, in Sassnitz, "Alexander Stein's" passport received its first stamp. All in all, this passport was stamped ten times during 1915. Seven of these were received in Sassnitzis – on 18 May, 20 July, 3 August (two), 23 October and 17 November, and three in Gottmadingen – on 31 August (two) and 4 October.³⁸

Be it accidental or not, Kesküla's second arrival in Stockholm coincided with the period when Kesküla's friend Bogrovski was the one to communicate more with Lenin than the other local Bolsheviks did. Some time after 11 May Bogrovski brought Lenin news about the arrests of Bolsheviks in Petrograd and informed the leader of the Bolsheviks about how to travel to Sweden and about living conditions there: the issues that Lenin had taken an interest in.³⁹ In July 1915, Kesküla emphasised to Berlin once again the importance of Lenin as the destroyer of the Tsarist regime in Russia and warned the Germans against a big and modernised Russia. In September, however, the Lenin programme that Kesküla had submitted to Berlin had, according to Fritz Fischer, caused a turning point in the German revolutionary policy towards Russia and helped to overcome the weaknesses of the concept of Parvus.⁴⁰

Since the summer of 1915, Kesküla spent increasingly longer time in Stockholm. In October he arrived together with the Lithuanian Juozas Gabrys. At the end of the month Gabrys returned to Switzerland, whereas Kesküla stayed in Sweden.⁴¹ This, by the way, happened while Berlin once again more actively attempted to include Sweden in warfare.⁴² By the autumn of 1915 at the latest, Kesküla has rented an elegantly furnished villa with a large garden and numerous servants in Stocksund, a suburb of Stockholm. Here he gave excellent dinners, where his wife, a nice little Swiss lady, acted as a hostess, and where one sort of wine followed another, as Hermann Gummerus recalled ten years later.⁴³ The first entrance in

KAIDO JAANSON

Gummerus' diary about a meeting between him and Kesküla was made on 4 November 1915.⁴⁴ Gummerus introduced Kesküla to Rafael Erich, the future Finnish Prime Minister in 1920–1921, and his other compatriots.⁴⁵ In the spring of 1916, Kesküla used his connections with the Finns to disseminate Bolshevik propaganda literature in Russia.⁴⁶

Kesküla came into contact with the Swedish activists and established particularly good relations with Swedish officers, by skilfully making use of the historical ties from the time when Estonia belonged to Sweden.⁴⁷ Kesküla stayed longer in Stockholm until June 1916, after which the Germans and Finns persuaded him to travel to Lausanne and participate in the 3rd Conference of the Union of Nationalities.⁴⁸ At this conference Kesküla did not speak, but he did submit a memorandum, which was published both in the Conference publication and as a separate brochure. Börje Colliander singled it out from among the declarations given to the Conference: "Here indeed speaks a spirit that despite the hostile circumstances stubbornly exalts itself and the like to be equal partners in competition with any other nation."⁴⁹

In summary, the principles of this memorandum that had been submitted in the name of Estonians were the following. In the core of Kesküla's thoughts was the Baltic Sea. The first three sub-chapters of the Memorandum, which bore the title "The Question of Estonia and the Question of the Nordic Countries", all dealt with the problem of ruling the Baltic Sea.⁵⁰ In his vision, three cultural areas collided in the Baltic Sea region: *Kulturkreis*, as he has called and drawn them with his own hand on the maps preserved at Stanford. These were the East European cultural area or Russia (*Osteuropäischer Kulturkreis* or *Russland*), the Central European cultural area (*Mitteleuropäischer Kulturkreis*) and the North European cultural area (*Nordeuropäischer Kulturkreis*). The latter started with Iceland in the west and comprised on the one hand Denmark, Norway and Sweden and on the other hand Estonia and Finland and reached as far as Karelia. In the Baltic provinces, true enough, its southern border ran along very schematic lines, i.e. it was somewhere around the present southern border of Estonia.⁵¹ Estonia, which had initially belonged to the Northern European cultural area, was annexed to the Central European cultural area in the beginning of the 13th century, regained its place in North Europe in the 16th century. In the 18th century it fell under the yoke of Eastern Europe, from which it now, at the time of the First World War, tried to liberate itself to rejoin the Nordic Countries. The last chapter of the Memorandum, "Estonian National Aspirations and the Question of the Nordic Countries", finished with the words: "On the solution

to the problem of the Nordic countries, which is also a world historical problem, depends the whole existence of the Northern European civilisation, as well as its grandeur. Such is the question of the Nordic countries.”⁵²

In 1985 a Swede, Hans Björkegren, published a book called *Ryska posten*, which ended with a chapter about Aleksander Kesküla, bearing the title “A Dream about a Baltic Sea State”.⁵³ Aleksander Kan mentions that historians have never reviewed this piece of writing.⁵⁴ The pages dedicated to Kesküla in this book deserve some comments. Björkegren’s methods of work were fast: when there were no facts available, he used his fantasy or relied too much on his memory, which, however, sometimes failed him. Some examples: Björkegren was convinced that Kesküla spent the last years of his life in the United States, where he died as well. He emphasised this more than once.⁵⁵ Kesküla did not die in America, he died in Spain and it is altogether unknown whether he visited the USA at all. Still, in the USA, in New Haven, lives Kesküla’s former pupil and a long-time friend, Juan Linz, Professor of Political Science at Yale University.⁵⁶ Similarly, Björkegren repeatedly emphasised that Kesküla had severed relationships with Germany already in June 1916.⁵⁷ In reality, this happened almost exactly one year later.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, it is true that in summer 1916 the relationships between Kesküla and the Germans did start to deteriorate. About the money that Kesküla had received from the Germans, Björkegren claimed to know that in 1923 Kesküla had offered to pay it back, but had received no reply.⁵⁹ In fact, he not only offered to pay it back, he did pay and the Germans have a written confirmation of receipt of money.⁶⁰ Neither is it true that Futrell met Kesküla in 1962.⁶¹ Sometimes it is simply editing that is missing. At first Björkegren wrote that the Swedish police had interrogated Aleksander Kesküla about Gustaf Paju for the first time in April 1918 and that Kesküla had made a number of revealing statements about the latter. He later claims that Kesküla had handed over his undisciplined agent to the Swedes in February 1918.⁶² Björkegren can be believed when other sources confirm what he says or when his data match the system that has been created with the help of other authors.

An essential part of the sub-chapter dedicated to Gustaf Paju comprises the interrogation and confession of Aleksander Kesküla to the Swedish police on 22 April 1918. Further investigation into the matter has verified that the majority of what Kesküla said about Paju was true.⁶³ Without delving into the story of Gustaf Paju, which would digress us from the topic, I want to mention that Björkegren has in principle made correct

KAIDO JAANSON

references to the minutes of Kesküla's interrogation.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Björkegren's conclusion that Kesküla's activities did not attract much attention from the Swedish police is also true.⁶⁵

In connecting this case and the case of Gustaf Paju, two hypotheses are possible. The first – is it not possible that the lack of attention of the Swedish police to Kesküla's activities was caused by the latter's good connections with the Swedish officers, which was emphasised by Gummerus? The Estonian was first interrogated when the police department whose task was to investigate espionage had been removed from the competence of the General Staff, in fact two months after this had happened.⁶⁶ The second – Björkegren criticises Kesküla for having mercilessly handed over his agent Paju to the Swedish police.⁶⁷ This may indeed seem to be the case if we assume that Kesküla was a common adventurer and an agent. Yet if we assume that Kesküla imagined the future of Estonia as part of Sweden or in close ties with Sweden and himself as a politician in this country, we can then interpret this behaviour as being loyal to the Swedish authorities.

It seems that during the second half of 1916, from the conference in Lausanne until the end of the year, Kesküla was away from Sweden.⁶⁸ At the end of 1916 or at the beginning of the next year he re-appeared in Stockholm, staying for a longer time again. In 1917 Kesküla established his own Estonian Office in Stockholm. According to a member of the Estonian Foreign Delegation, Ferdinand Kull, he had seen his mission as protecting the rights of Estonia, Livonia and Ingria.⁶⁹ When relationships with Germany start cooling down, Kesküla's contacts with the representatives of the *Entente* started to develop. In April 1919 he himself divided his activities during the World War into three periods: 1914–1917 as a German agent; 1917–1918 a supporter of the *Entente* and since 1918 – against the *Entente*.⁷⁰ In connection with Kesküla it has often been emphasised that besides the military, journalists were representatives of the other profession with whom he succeeded in maintaining good relations.⁷¹ Here I feel intrigued by the article “Some Traits of the History of the Development the Estonian Independence Thought”, which was published in the January issue of the pro-activist journal *Svensk Tidskrift*.⁷² Why do I dare to ascribe this article to Aleksander Kesküla? The author of this article is certainly an Estonian. This is confirmed by the journal itself, noting that the article has been obtained from “an especially professional” Estonian. In addition, the factual precision of the article is noteworthy, especially in places where a Swede could have made mistakes.

Who was the Estonian to write this article? The author of the article

claims that during three years he had received “trustworthy information” about events in Estonia not only from the Estonian press, but also from “well-informed” prominent Estonians. Hence we can conclude that the author had not been in Estonia all the time, which corresponds to Kesküla’s life. Secondly, a number of thoughts in the article correspond to the ones in Kesküla’s authentic texts. There are several arguments to prove that the author of the article could not have been Jaan Tõnisson, for instance. First, this issue of the journal had been sent to the printer’s right after 16 January because the column giving a review of current affairs bore that date, but Jaan Tõnisson arrived in Stockholm about ten days later, on 26 January.⁷³ Second, during the thirty years that I have done research on these problems, I have never come across a statement or even implication that the article could have been written by Tõnisson or any other Estonian.

We should not forget Nathan Söderblom either, the world-famous Swedish archbishop. It is not impossible that on 27 June 1928, when the archbishop as the special envoy of the Swedish king inaugurated the monument to Gustavus Adolphus in Tartu,⁷⁴ he was also thinking about the man from this town he had called his friend. If not earlier, this acquaintance could have emerged in spring 1917, when Kesküla twice visited Uppsala. He first arrived there on 20 March and probably returned to Stockholm on 2 April; on 16 May he came to Uppsala for the second time.⁷⁵ The first preserved postcard from Kesküla to the archbishop (depicting Toompea in Tallinn), dates from 25 July in the same year; the second (depicting von Baer’s monument of Toomemägi in Tartu) from 4 August. On 10 August 1917 Kesküla sent a hand-written letter to Söderblom, on 31 May 1918 a typed one. In the latter he wrote about the unification of the Ingrian, Estonian, Finnish and Swedish Protestant Churches because he thought that “[d]urch einen solchen nordischen Kirchenkreis würde das protestantische Imperium Gustav Adolfs vorläufig wenigstens auf dem kirchlichen Gebiet wieder in die Erscheinung treten können”.⁷⁶

In the memoirs of the member of the Estonian foreign delegation Ferdinand Kull, Kesküla somewhat unexpectedly disappears. At the beginning of September he is still mentioned,⁷⁷ but then Kull is concerned with other problems and he does not say what became of Kesküla. As Kesküla’s letter to Söderblom of 31 May 1918 betrays, he had hatched plans to leave Sweden since early spring. In that letter he also writes that he would stay on in Sweden for at least two more weeks.⁷⁸ However, more time was needed. At the turn of June–July (24/6–10/7) he and his wife spent two weeks in Visby on Gotland.⁷⁹ It is not impossible that he did that in order

KAIDO JAANSON

to say farewell to the Baltic Sea and his homeland, which lay behind it, for good, as there is no proof that Kesküla had at any time later visited Estonia or Scandinavia.

On 17 September 1918 he and his wife are still in Stockholm, staying at the Regina Hotel,⁸⁰ but a week later his comrade from Stockholm days, Oskar Elevant, sends him a letter to Christiania.⁸¹ In 1919 he is back in Switzerland, where he also lived in the 1920s. In 1932 he moved to Spain, where his sister was studying. He spent the last days of his life in Madrid in 1963. But any attempts to find his grave have failed; the author of this article has visited that country three times for this purpose.

Notes

- 1 Michael Futrell, *Northern Underground. Episodes of Russian Revolutionary Transport and Communications through Scandinavia and Finland, 1863–1917*, London 1963, p. 147; Michael Futrell, *Underjordiskt i Norden. Episoder från ryska revolutionära transporter och förbindelser genom Skandinavien och Finland 1863–1917*, Stockholm 1963, p. 146.
- 2 Eesti Riigiarhiiv Filiaal (The Branch of Estonian National Archives, ERAF), stock 27 (The Commission of History of the Communist Party of Estonia), series 1, item 128, p. 8, 10–11, 16–17; item 131, pp. 6–7.
- 3 Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. Archives (HIWRP, A). A. Kesküla Collection, Box number 2, Folder ID, Status of Estonia, La historia del ferrocarril (Translated by Liis Kallikorm).
- 4 Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution, 1899–1919*, London 1997, p. 381.
- 5 Heinrich Erits & Endel Kuusik, “Aleksander Kesküla inimese ja revolutsionäärina kaasaegsete mälestustes”, *Ajalooline Ajakiri* 1999: 3–4, pp. 47, 49.
- 6 Eesti Ajalooarhiiv (Estonian Historical Archives, EAA), stock 402 (Tartu University), series 1, item 21747, p. 3.
- 7 EAA, stock 402, series 1, item 21478, pp. 85–86.
- 8 ERAF stock 395, series 5, item 51, p. 22.
- 9 Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum. Eesti Kultuurilooline Arhiiv (Estonian Literary Museum. Estonian Cultural History Archives, EKM EKL A), stock 193, item 35:36, pp. 3–4.
- 10 ERAF stock 395, series 5, item 51, p. 31.
- 11 Futrell, pp. 137, 148.
- 12 Alfred Erich Senn, “The Myth of German Money During the First World War”, *Soviet Studies* 1976:1, pp. 87–88.
- 13 ERAF stock 395, series 5, item 51, p. 23.
- 14 ERAF stock 27, series 1, item 248, pp. 10–13.
- 15 ERAF stock 395, series 5, item 51, p. 23.
- 16 Oskar Loorits, “Eesti ajaloo põhiprobleemid”, *Iseseisvuslaste kirjavara* 11, Uppsala 1955, p. 110.

- 17 EAA, stock 1767, series 1, item 717, p. 2.
- 18 Elmar Kirotar, “EÜS-lasi E.V. välisteenistuses”, *EÜS album XV*, Stockholm 1970, p. 61.
- 19 ERAF, stock 27, series 1, item 248, p. 1.13.
- 20 Keskula, *La Question Esthonienne et la Question Septentrionale. Mémoire présenté au nom des Esthoniens à la III^{me} Conférence des Nationalités*, Lausanne 1918; Kaido Jaanson, “Estonia and Baltic Sea Co-operation: From Idea to Reality”, *Nationalities Papers* 1995:1, p. 79.
- 21 Jaan Tõnisson, who was arrested during the first Soviet occupation (1940–1941), vanished without a trace and any attempts to identify the circumstances of his death or find his grave have only resulted in various speculations.
- 22 Alfred Erich Senn, *The Russian Revolution in Switzerland, 1914–1917*, Wisconsin 1971, p. 61; Olavi Arens, “Aleksander Kesküla”, *Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised. Ühiskonnateadused* 1991:1, p. 32.
- 22 Werner Hahlweg, *Lenins Rückkehr nach Russland 1917. Die deutschen Akten*, Leiden 1957, p. 39.
- 23 Seppo Zetterberg, *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916–1918. Ein Beitrag zu Deutschlands antirussischem Propagandakrieg unter den Fremdvölkern Russlands im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Helsinki 1978, pp. 52–53.
- 24 Stefan T. Possony, *Lenin. The Compulsive Revolutionary*, Chicago 1964, p. 176.
- 25 Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. *Biograficheskaya khronika. Tom 3. 1912–1917*, Moskva 1972, p. 285.
- 26 Ibidem, pp. 287–288, 290–292, 294–295, 299–302.
- 27 Ibidem, pp. 304–305.
- 28 Aleksandra M. Kollontai. “*Revolutsiya – velikaya myatezhnitsa ...*” *Izbrannyye pisma 1901–1952*, Moskva 1989, p. 463.
- 29 Futrell, pp. 122–124, 126, 129–133, 136–138, 140–141, 146–147, 152.
- 30 Aleksander G. Sjlapnikov, *Kanun semnadsatogo goda. Semnadsatyi god*, Moskva 1992, p. 344.
- 31 Futrell, pp. 141, 143.
- 32 Kaido Jaanson, “See kummaline eestlane”, *Looming* 1990:7, p. 959. Mikhail Kalinin, also from the province of Tver, was the head of state of the Soviet Union in 1919–1946.
- 33 Senn 1971, p. 61; Zetterberg, p. 54; Inger Schubert, *Schweden und das Deutsche Reich im Ersten Weltkrieg. Die Aktivistenbewegung 1914–1918*, Bonn 1981, p. 23.
- 34 Arens, p. 32; Possony, p. 175.
- 35 Zbigneve Zeman, Vinfred Sharlau, *Parvus – kupets revolutsyi*, New York 1991, pp. 165, 175.
- 36 Arens, p. 33.
- 37 Wilhelm M. Carlgren, *Neutralität oder Allianz. Deutschlands Beziehungen zu Schweden in den Anfangsjahren des ersten Weltkrieges*, Stockholm 1962, pp. 102–111.
- 38 Yale University Library. Manuscripts and Archives. Keskula Papers. Group 311, box No. 3.

KAIDO JAANSON

- 39 *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, pp. 337, 340, 345, 357.
- 40 Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht. Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/18, Dritte Auflage*, Düsseldorf 1964, pp. 178–181.
- 41 Senn 1971, p. 71.
- 42 Carlgren, pp. 213–229.
- 43 Herman Gummerus, *Jägare och aktivister*, Helsingfors 1927, p. 192.
- 44 Suomen Kansallisarkisto (National Archives of Finland, KA), 602:220 (Herman Gummerus Collection), 40.
- 45 Gummerus, p. 192
- 46 KA, 602:220, 40.
- 47 Gummerus, p. 192
- 48 Kaido Jaanson, “Eestlane Aleksander Kesküla ja Rahvuste Uniooni III konverents Lausanne’ is 1916. aastal”, *Akadeemia* 2000:9, pp. 1840–1850.
- 49 Börje Colliander, “Lausannemötet 1916. Ett ideologiskt varsel under första världskriget”, *Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A, Humaniora* 1964:2, pp. 36–43.
- 50 Keskula, pp. 5–11.
- 51 HIWRP, A, A. Keskula Collection, Box number 2, Folder ID, Status of Estonia, Karte No. 2.
- 52 Keskula, pp. 19–20.
- 53 Hans Björkegren, *Ryska posten. De ryska revolutionärerna i Norden 1906–1917*, Stockholm 1985, pp. 312–339.
- 54 Aleksander Kan, “Lenin, Branting och Höglund”, *Scandia* 1999:1, p. 109.
- 55 Björkegren, pp. 331, 338, 365.
- 56 Juan Linz, “Between nations and disciplines: personal experience and intellectual understanding of societies and political regimes”, in Hans Daalder (ed.), *Comparative European Politics: The Story of a Profession*, London 1997, p. 101; Juan Linz, *Estonia Notes*, New Haven 1998 (Manuscript in the ownership of Kaido Jaanson).
- 57 Björkegren, pp. 316, 335.
- 58 Willi Gautschi, *Lenin als Emigrant in der Schweiz*, Zürich 1973, p. 172.
- 59 Björkegren, p. 339.
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