



# THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

## Edinburgh Research Explorer

### Text, Traffic and Transnational Thought

**Citation for published version:**

Thomsen, BT 2013, 'Text, Traffic and Transnational Thought: Perspectives on prose publications by Selma Lagerlöf in periodicals and anthologies, with particular reference to 'En emigrant' (1914), 'Lapland-Schonen' (1917) and the First World War period' *Scandinavica - An International Journal of Scandinavian Studies*, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 1-12.

**Link:**

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

**Document Version:**

Peer reviewed version

**Published In:**

*Scandinavica - An International Journal of Scandinavian Studies*

**Publisher Rights Statement:**

© Thomsen, B. (2013). Text, Traffic and Transnational Thought: Perspectives on prose publications by Selma Lagerlöf in periodicals and anthologies, with particular reference to 'En emigrant' (1914), 'Lapland-Schonen' (1917) and the First World War period. *Scandinavica - An International Journal of Scandinavian Studies*, 51(2), 1-12.

**General rights**

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

**Take down policy**

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact [openaccess@ed.ac.uk](mailto:openaccess@ed.ac.uk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



Bjarne Thorup Thomsen:

## Text, Traffic and Transnational Thought

Perspectives on prose publications by Selma Lagerlöf in periodicals and anthologies, with particular reference to 'En emigrant' (1914), 'Lappland-Schonen' (1917) and the First World War period

1.

A substantial segment of Selma Lagerlöf's production was published in periodicals, journals, magazines and anthologies, including international outlets. These forums could function as literary laboratories or shop windows, provide possibilities for popular and political engagement, give national or international prestige. They would frequently combine various forms and registers of cultural expression – e.g. textual and pictorial, factual and fictional, high-brow and low-brow – within the same volume. Even Lagerlöf's most famous book-length works are connected to the culture of periodicals. The writer's literary breakthrough thus began when five chapters from her then work-in-progress, *Gösta Berlings saga* (1891), in 1890 won a literary competition held by the woman's weekly *Idun. Praktisk veckotidning för kvinnan och hemmet*. 'Ingmarsönerna', the acclaimed opening chapter of the novel *Jerusalem* (1901-02), was originally published independently in *Svea. Folk-kalender för 1901*, the 57<sup>th</sup> installment of a national yearbook (published by Sweden's leading publishing house Albert Bonniers förlag) which brings together detailed lists of Swedish and international royalty, obituaries of cultural figures,<sup>1</sup> travel accounts,<sup>2</sup> literary contributions by leading contemporary writers, and a richness of pictorial representation. Only subsequently did the author decide to use the narrative of the sons of Ingmar as the portal for her major novel of emigration.<sup>3</sup> As for *Nils Holgersson* (1906-07), numerous extracts from both volumes of the national travelogue were,

---

<sup>1</sup> An obituary of Albert Bonnier (1820-1900), 'Sveas utgifvare', is included in the issue in question.

<sup>2</sup> The 1901 issue contains two accounts of journeys to 'exotic', but nation-related places of a very different nature, one destination being the nation's northern 'periphery' ('Från riksdagsmännens färd till höga Norden'), the other its representation on the global stage of the Paris 1900 exhibition ('Sverige i Paris år 1900'). Both accounts are richly illustrated.

<sup>3</sup> Also after the publication of *Jerusalem* did the shorter fiction of the sons of Ingmar continue its semi-independent existence when it entered the age of cinematic culture by forming the basis for a silent film adaptation by Victor Sjöström in two feature-length instalments in 1919, the release of which in turn resulted in its separate re-publication as a book in the same year, now illustrated with film images (see Lagerlöf: 1919).

more or less concurrently with the publication of the books, released in periodicals as diverse as the Christmas glossies *Bjällerklang* (1906) and *Jultomten* (1906), the teachers association's journal *Svensk lärartidning* (1906), the cultural journal *Ord och Bild* (1907), the illustrated family monthly *Bonniers månadshäften* (1907), and *Maneten* (1907), the inventively designed yearbook of a Gothenburg circle of artists. A further extract was published in a festschrift (1906) celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> birthday of Karl Otto Bonnier, Albert's son and successor. *Nils Holgersson* demonstrates, moreover, the possibility of a main work continuing its development in the domain of periodicals, as an additional chapter focused on the region of Halland was published in 1910 in the influential yearbook of the Swedish tourist association, *Svenska turistföreningens årsskrift*. This was in response to the sentiment that the region was underrepresented in the travel book proper, itself a testimony to the hold the narrative had on the national imagination.

## 2.

While the wonderful journey's panoramic as well as close-up perspectives on the Swedish landscape by no means produces a purely self-contained or unambiguous picture of national cohesion,<sup>4</sup> the period around the First World War seems to provide the foundation for a new, intensified scrutiny of and experimentation with the national parameters in Lagerlöf's production. A significant proportion of the writer's output from this period, including her main war-time work *Bannlyst* (1918),<sup>5</sup> shares an interest in using motifs of mobility, modern traffic and the encounters they facilitate to probe the validity of a singular national or nationalist perspective. Again, this type of enquiry is reflected strongly and finds innovative articulations in her

---

<sup>4</sup> For a consideration of the ways in which a new notion of the nation is forged in *Nils Holgersson* exactly by the narrative challenging established concepts of the fixity of place and borders and replacing them by dynamic and hybrid regional interrelationships, see my monograph *Lagerlöfs litterære landvinding*, especially the chapters 'Relative landskaber' and 'Tilsynekønstens roman' (Thomsen 2007: 69-101, 138-155). Cf. also Christopher Oscarson's observations that '[a]lthough the action in *Nils Holgersson* never leaves Swedish territory, the project involves a double movement of both overstepping and establishing boundaries. Lagerlöf uses the tension between oversight and entangled view to probe the limits of traditional local identities and then through creative narrative structures weaves them together to form a patchwork whole' (Oscarson 2009: 114).

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the connections in this novel between the promotion of an understanding of the porousness and connectedness of national territories and the exposure of 'territorial' behaviour in intimate relationships, see my article '(Trans)national Geographies and Alternative Families in Selma Lagerlöf's *Bannlyst*' (Thorup Thomsen 2012).

publications in periodicals and anthologies, where several instances can be found of transnational thought informing or supplementing the depiction of nation-wide travel.

In the following we shall explore two such instances in the shape of prose texts, one pre-war, the other from deep into war time, that originally formed part of publications which themselves constitute examples of the European transmission of Lagerlöf's writing. The earlier narrative, 'En emigrant', was first published in translation into German in the Easter supplement of the Austrian daily *Neue Freie Presse* (12 April 1914) and was only subsequently made available in Swedish in *Bonniers månadshäften* (1914, issue 6). It was also published the same year in the Norwegian journal *Tidens Tegn* (28 June 1914). The second narrative, 'Lapland-Schonen', fronted the German-language pocket-sized anthology *Schweden*, which was published by Norstedt in Stockholm in 1917 and sold in aid of wounded German prisoners of war transported by train from Russia through neutral Sweden towards Germany: 'Der Reingewinn der verkauften Exemplare fällt kriegsinvaliden deutschen Gefangenen zu, die Schweden passieren' (Lagerlöf 1917: reverse of title page). This type of transportation itself frames and forms the foundation of the storyline of Lagerlöf's contribution, which was never published in Swedish, although several variants or fragments of it exist in the author's *Anteckningsbok*, no. 11 (see section 4 below).<sup>6</sup> In addition to Lagerlöf's travel account, the anthology contains essays on Swedish history and ethnography (by Carl Grimberg and Carl Laurin), literary contributions by canonical writers (Tegnér, Fröding, Heidenstam and Lagerlöf again) and 16 colour reproductions of paintings by 12 leading contemporary artists (Björck, Eugen, Hesselbom, Jansson, Kreuger, Larsson, Liljefors, Norstedt, Nordström, Stenberg, Wilhelmson and Zorn) depicting Swedish landscapes, cityscapes and people. The anthology thus aims to provide an interdisciplinary and interartistic picture of the geographical, historical and cultural field of Sweden to a foreign readership. After the consideration of these two cases, we shall finish the discussion by briefly reflecting on the literary strategy of another strand of Lagerlöf's minor prose published in

---

<sup>6</sup> The full Swedish manuscript of the 'Lapland-Schonen' narrative is apparently lost. In the postscript to his edition of Lagerlöf's posthumous works, *Från skilda tider*, vols. I-II (1943, 1945), Nils Afzelius mentions how several known-about but unavailable or lost Lagerlöf manuscripts were advertised for in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens nyheter*, 22 February 1943, but with little success. One of the manuscripts listed in the advert, but not retrieved, was the Swedish original from which 'Lapland-Schonen' is translated. Afzelius adds that for this work Swedish-language sketches 'finns visserligen [...] bevarade, men alltför skissartade för att kunna tjäna till ledning för en återöversättning till svenska' (Afzelius 1945: 325).

periodicals or anthologies in the same period, the so-called *Stämningar från krigsåren* (Sentiments from the war years). These sentiments seem to take another route to the promotion of transnational thought by downgrading, or simply ignoring, the national perspective in favour of a pronounced interlinking of local/regional and international/global.

3.

A letter dated 10 February 1914 from Lagerlöf to her secretary Valborg Olander gives an insight into the author's ongoing engagement with the production of prose pieces for periodicals, both as an artistic endeavor and as a source of income:

Det hände sig år 1912, att jag skulle skriva en bit för Idun, som jag hade lovat under jubileumsåret, och jag vet inte vad som var åt mig, jag började den ena novellen efter den andra men kunde inte göra någon färdig. Dessa bitar äro inte så oävna nu, då jag läser om dem. En har jag gjort klar och två andra skall jag försöka göra i ordning för att få litet pengar, så att jag kan klara mig under denna svåra februarimånad [...] (Toijer-Nilsson (ed.) 2006: 102-103)

According to Lagerlöf bibliographer and scholar Nils Afzelius, one of the short story fragments the author re-visited in the early months of 1914 was 'En emigrant'. A subsequent letter dated 17 April 1914 to Karl-Otto Bonnier demonstrates Lagerlöf's skills and speed as an operator in literary market places, negotiating multiple publication possibilities for her story and achieving the release of the text in different countries and periodicals in quick succession:

Nu är jag litet bättre i tillfälle att besvara den vänlige förfrågan om bidrag till månadshäftet, som Ni ställde till mig för ett par veckor sedan. Bara ett par dar, innan Ert brev kom, hade jag nämligen efter enträgen uppmaning skickat en berättelse till Neue Freie Presse i Wien, men jag var ganska osäker om den skulle falla dem iismaken, (den var ämnad för deras påsknummer), och innan jag hade fått visshet härom, ville jag inte skicka den till någon annan. Nu har den blivit införd, jag fick i förrgår ett tacksamt telegram därom, och nu sänder jag den till Er, så snart som jag får tillbaka manuskriptet. Ifall Ni vill ha den, sedan den redan har varit ute i Tyskland lämnar jag den med glädje. (Afzelius 1945: 360)

The 'migration' which Lagerlöf's manuscript experiences would seem to mirror the subject matter of her story.

The narrative draws on actual events dating back to 1904-05 when a doll-like person-sized figure named Järnvägslaban became a national celebrity as Swedish railway personnel developed the joke of letting the doll travel as a train passenger between stations across the country, receiving him as a man of fame, awarding him orders and medals, reciting poems in his honour, and donating him a rapidly expanding range of human paraphernalia and travel accessories. 25 years later the professional journal *Svensk Trafiktiding* (nr. 45, 9 November 1929) carries a feature entitled 'Järnvägslaban jubilerer' which recapitulates and confirms the doll's remarkable rise to national cult status. The feature opens thus: 'Var finns Järnvägslaban nu? Mången har gjort den frågan. Existerar han än? Det vore intressant att få svar härå nu, då ett kvarts sekel förflutit, sedan han gjorde sina mångomtalade resor på svenska järnvägar' (R[eutermar]k 1929: 754). A related collective recalling of the unorthodox national (rail)road show is articulated in Lagerlöf's narrative: 'Det är säkert många här i landet, som än i dag påminna sig det roliga skämtet med den resande dockan' (Lagerlöf 1914b: 532). The national outreach of Laban's journeys is emphasized further by Nils Afzelius who in his notes on 'En emigrant' in his edition of the author's *Efterlämnade skrifter* proposes a tempting comparison between the doll and a contemporaneous traveling national celebrity from the Lagerlöf canon: 'under flera års järnvägasresor lärda [han] känna större delen av vårt vidsträckta land lika bra som en Nils Holgersson' (Afzelius 1945: 362). A further commonality between the two celebrities is their belonging to a borderland between human and non-human existence, both figures presenting challenges to a fixed anthropocentric perspective.<sup>7</sup> While the national coordinates of the collective joke are clear, in 'En emigrant', however, the strange railway story, 'som roade hela landet' (Lagerlöf 1914b: 534), only forms the nucleus of the narrative with Lagerlöf significantly adding a regionally rooted prehistory and an extra-national conclusion to this modern tale of transport, bonding and separation.

---

<sup>7</sup> In a convincing ecocritical reading, 'Nils Holgersson, Empty Maps and the Entangled Bird's-Eye View of Sweden', Christopher Oscarson situates Lagerlöf's fiction in general, and her geography reader-cum-novel in particular, in the emergence of a wider, intercultural ecological discourse at the turn of the nineteenth century, which challenges the hegemony of a anthropocentric thought and advocates 'the embeddedness of human and non-human organisms in their environments' (Oscarson 2009: 101).

Lagerlöf's additions centre on the intense emotional attachment a young boy, Fritz, develops to Laban when he receives the doll as a Christmas gift from his mother. After initially rejecting it on gender grounds – '[h]an undrade om hon hade glömt, att det var en pojke hon var mor till och inte en tös' (1914b: 517) – the relationship with the doll becomes essential to the boy's wellbeing and achievement, both at home and at school. It is, however, not tolerated by the wider environment in which he lives, leading to a succession of attempts by the boy to sever his ties with the doll, the fourth and final a conclusive 'exiling' as it is placed onboard 'den stora emigrantbåten' (1914b:136), hence the title of Lagerlöf's version of the Laban story. Lagerlöf's variant reads both as a more covert comment on the conditions available for 'alternative' forms of attraction and as an more overt inquiry into the role of creativity, fantasy and 'fiction' in life, cf. the equation of the doll with 'förmågan att skapa' (1914b: 537) in the conclusion of the narrative. Nils Afzelius emphasises the latter reading while also making the interesting proposal that Lagerlöf gives a coded representation of her own situation in the story: 'Djupare sett handlar En emigrant om fantasien, diktargåvan, som kan förhånas men inte kvävas. Det är Selma Lagerlöfs egen historia i sinnrik förklädnad' (Afzelius1945: 362). This observation would seem of relevance both to the complex challenges to realism found in her writing, to her national celebrity status, to the transnational 'travels' of her texts, and perhaps also to the role of same-sex attraction in her life.

The storyline of 'En emigrant' is played out in a modern cityscape modelled on Gothenburg, typifying the preference in Lagerlöf's work around 1914-18, both minor and major, for West Swedish regional settings offering proximity to coastal contact zones, access to international seaways and a sense of Atlantic exposure. Modern modes of transportation – tourist steamer, city tramways, national railways and, finally, the ship bound for America – are utilised systematically in the story as the attempts at deporting the doll escalate. Rather than sustaining the national perspective and purpose which underpin the railway personnel's play with Laban, Lagerlöf's narrative inscribes the authentic, 'realistic', episode as only one stage of the wider trajectory developed in its Laban fiction, noticing in the process how soon the doll is 'alldeles bortglömd av de store barn, som hade lekt med den' (1914b: 535). Instead, the conclusion of 'En emigrant' projects from the boy's perspective a utopian vision, reinforced graphically by the use of italicisation, of a place of tolerance which is

located beyond the national limitations: *'nu är den nog kommen till ett land, där man får behålla sina dockor'* (1914b: 536).

The type of transnational thought and wider vision articulated in 'En emigrant' would become a defining feature of Lagerlöf's subsequent production, directly linked to the First World War.

4.

In his study entitled *Space and Geography in Modernism*, Andrew Thacker argues that modernist writing 'can be located only within the movements between and across multiple sorts of space' (Thacker 2009: 8) and that modern means and systems of transportation are a key trope by which to interpret a more abstract sense of porous borders and fluid boundaries. He includes travel writing in the modernist period as a site for this kind of interpretation and sensibility. Lagerlöf's war-time travel account 'Lappland-Schonen' would seem to constitute a case in point, also confirming James Duncan's and Derek Gregory's conception of travel writing as 'an act of translation' mediating between foreign and domestic to produce a 'space in-between' (1999:4). The account of the nation-long railway journey, from Haparanda to Trelleborg, which the German war wounded and key target readership of the narrative experience, utilises a profoundly comparative approach to geographical depiction by which countries, Sweden and Switzerland,<sup>8</sup> and their characteristics are superimposed onto each other to create a truly transnational terrain. Complete with national map and route indication in red [see illustration], 'Lappland-Schonen' clearly echoes *Nils*

---

<sup>8</sup> The choice of Switzerland as parallel setting in the narrative is hardly accidental, but should be viewed in the context of Lagerlöf's interest in the country as a promoter of peace and as the home of the Red Cross movement, which figures as a motif in several of her texts from the period (see also the conclusion of section 4 of this article). In 1921 she published a fictionalised account, entitled 'Röda korset' or 'Guds kvarnar', which celebrates the emergence of the Red Cross as a global force. The narrative applies both centripetal and centrifugal perspectives on Switzerland as an exemplar of a place infused with transnational thought. First it depicts how the country develops into a safe haven for a range of outsider groups from all countries and then, complementarily (as symbolised by the interconnected flags), how this environment inspires the global growth of a humanitarian organisation in defiance of confining borders and dichotomies: 'Röda Korsets förening växte och utbredde sig från land till land. Dess tankar omfattades både av europé och asiat, både av kristen och hedning, både av män och kvinnor. Hos den fanns ingenting, som åtskilde, ingenting stängde dess väg, inte ras, inte språk, inte samhällsskick' (Lagerlöf 1933: 271). The narrative concludes by arguing that the Red Cross is the only organisation or institution which has emerged from the apocalypse of the First World War with any real credit and that its representatives are the true heroes and heroines of our time. Publication in 1921 in Red Cross periodicals in Sweden, Norway and Finland as well as in an independent edition ensured that the narrative was widely disseminated. It was re-published in 1933 as part of *Höst*, a collection of stories and speeches by Lagerlöf, with the information that the narrative was, additionally, '[u]ppläst som prolog vid ett antal Röda-Kors-fester 1921' (Lagerlöf 1933: 266).



*Holgersson*, but it also reads as an essential re-consideration of the notions of national mapping and imagination in an era of global conflict and geopolitical confrontations between countries or empires. The pedagogical challenge which this type of travel account faces is, moreover, of a somewhat different nature from the one involved in producing a geography reader for the national school system, in so far as the 'Lappland-Schonen' project seeks to capture and retain the interest of its intended readers in landscapes they could be forgiven for regarding as merely an extended stepping stone towards a desired destination: 'Das Land, das sie jetzt durchreisen, ist nur der Weg, den sie zu wandern haben, um nach Hause zu kommen. Allein was geht sie der Weg an, was kümmert sie die Landschaft ausserhalb des Fensters des Eisenbahnabteils?' (Lagerlöf 1917: 5)

As this passage suggests, issues of writing strategy and the relationship between book and reader are debated explicitly in Lagerlöf's account. The narrative conflates the roles of the war invalids as characters and readers, while the Swedish terrain becomes both subject matter and the site for the consumption of the story. Interestingly, the debate about textual effect and method is focalised through the book itself which is conceived as a subject with its own consciousness and concerns: 'Dieses Buch, das Kriegsgefangenen, die freigelassen worden sind und sich auf der Heimreise nach ihrem eigenen Lande befinden, in dem Augenblicke überreicht werden soll, wo sie schwedischen Boden betreten, weiss, dass es ihm schwer fallen wird, ihre Aufmerksamkeit zu fesseln' (Lagerlöf 1917: 3).<sup>9</sup> The answer to the book's ambition of attracting the interest of a target readership physically and mentally traumatised by war in the composition of the 'neutral' terrain through which they pass is to invite them to participate in an embodied play with geographies, dimensions, scale and, not least, types of travel or mobility. The spatial and bodily limitations that the war has

---

<sup>9</sup> The device of endowing a book with consciousness is also found and developed further in Lagerlöf's substantial but unfinished novelistic project *Rönnebergs sparbank* which, in a realistic Landskrona and Skåne setting, depicts the experiences and observations of a savings bank book, based on the premise that 'livlösa ting inte är alldeles så livlösa, som folk tror' (Lagerlöf: *Rönnebergs sparbank* manuscripts). Several hundred pages of manuscripts, drafts and sketches exist for the project, including [pieces that experiment](#) with the book itself as the narratorial voice. The project began as a commission from the Swedish association of savings banks to promote the culture of saving and occupied Lagerlöf on and off from 1933 to 1938. It gradually outgrew its narrower propaganda purposes, with Nils Afzelius arguing that, if the novel had been fully realised, 'så skulle den i fantastik ha överträffat Körkarlen, som på samma sätt hade börjats med ett rent praktiskt syfte för ögonen och under arbetets gång hade omformats till någonting helt annat' (Afzelius 1945: 382). The opening chapter of the narrative was published posthumously in the periodical for promotion of saving *Saldo. Tidskrift för sparfrämjandet*, 1943, no. 4, as well as in *Från skilda tider*, vol. I.

inflicted on the soldiers are alleviated by this topographical game, which also offers entertainment value. In a systematically *spielerisch* approach, the narrative adopts a two-stage strategy depicting, first, how a trio of Swedish hill walking tourists playfully decodes the various segments of the Swiss mountainscape through which they ascend by reference to latitudinal landscape variation in Sweden and beyond: “Sagen wir nun, dass wir vom Nordpol ausgegangen und jetzt nach Haparanda gekommen sind, dass der Hotel aber in Schonen liegt, so wissen wir ja ungefähr, wie weit der Weg ist, den wir noch zu gehen haben” (Lagerlöf 1917: 13). The tourists’ continued grafting of the Nordic geography onto the Alpine terrain offers the readers a scaling device and a method of miniaturisation which enable overview and orientation, while also inviting them to share a sensation of bodily command, including a superhuman ability to stride through entire lands. In the second stage of its strategy the book as subject then returns to the train setting to encourage its travelling target group to play a similar game of familiarising the foreign, only reversed:

Um aber nun zu den Reisenden, die mit den Invalidenzügen von Lappland nach Schonen fahren, zurückzukommen, so möchte das Buch ihnen vorschlagen, dasselbe Spiel zu spielen, wie die drei schwedischen Alpenwanderer, nur in umgekehrter Reihenfolge. Könnten sie sich nicht ganz Schweden als ein Hochgebirge denken und es mit einem Alpengipfel vergleichen, den sie selber bestiegen oder den sie wenigstens beschreiben gehört haben? (1917: 20)

The effect of this double mapping and its complementary ‘translation’ processes is to build a common, yet plural ground in natural and cultural terms and fill it with a shared dynamics that combines historical depth with the restless ‘traffic’ of the modern times, as exemplified by this conspectus of a busy Alpine valley which works as a metaphor for the Swedish central belt: ‘Hier fanden sie Eisenbahnen, Dampfschiffahrt, allerlei Verkehrsmittel. Ein altes geschichtliches Tal war es, besungen und geliebt wegen seiner Erinnerungen und gleichzeitig von der brausenden Unruhe und Eile der modernen Zeit erfüllt’ (1917: 17). While the immediate aim of the ‘Lappland-Schonen’ project is to provide information (didactically duplicated by the two-stage strategy) and entertainment as the wounded make their long approach towards ‘die ersehnte Küste’ (1917: 24) of their homeland, its more profound ambition is to challenge the nationalistic causes of war by

promoting the notions of countries as reflections of each other and capable of evoking parallel patriotisms.

This latter idea is developed further and made more explicit in the most substantial of the three Swedish-language variants of the travel account which are found in hand-written form in Lagerlöf's notebook no. 11 and which may signal an intention, never fulfilled, of re-publishing the story after the war. While the first of the three fragments focus solely on the tale of the three tourists, both the subsequent versions embed the Alpine episode in the account of the railway journey, but now replacing the book as focaliser with the perspectives of Swedish medical personnel onboard the train, a doctor and a Red Cross sister respectively. In a more elaborate ending than the one offered in the published version the third manuscript positions the Swedish Red Cross nurse and the German soldiers right at the edge of nation in order to articulate a patriotic feeling whose direction is fittingly ambiguous or flexible, pointing north and south at the same time:

Några timmar senare, då de stod på kajen i Trelleborg kom de fram och skakade hand med henne.

Farväl, syster. Var viss, att vi aldrig skola glömma ert skogklädda högfjäll.

"Ni hjälpte oss, syster," sade bajraren. "Ni drev bort trötthet och slapphet från mig. Ni ställde fram fosterlandet för mina ögon. Fosterlandet, som vi alltid har kvar att leva förr fosterlandet som aldrig kan få nog av kärlek." (Lagerlöf: *Anteckningsbok*, no. 11)

Interestingly, the motif of the intervention of a Swedish Red Cross sister to help prisoners of war held in Russia resurfaces in Lagerlöf's document fiction 'Bålet (brev från en dansk krigsfånge)', published in 1921 (see below) but dated 'Maj 1917', the year in which 'Lapland-Schonen' appeared. The story is narrated in the voice of a Dane, caught up in the conflict in Germany and consequently held captive in Siberia, whose ambition is produce poetry that is so powerful that it can persuade people on a global scale to gather all the manifestations of militant cultures into a mighty bonfire. As the situation worsens for the prisoner/poet, some hope is offered towards the end of the story: 'Jag har hört, att det har kommit en svensk beskickning till Irkutsk, och i dag har jag sett en svensk Rödakorssyster på sjukhuset' (Lagerlöf 1921: 209). The fiction could be said to logically precede the 'Lapland-Schonen' narrative by covering explicitly the type of traumatising prison camp conditions that the train travellers in the latter text have escaped as the narrative begins, and, conversely, by only hinting at

the prospect of rescue through a neutral country which is manifested in ‘Lapland-Schonen’. Common to both texts is their interest in the critique and combat of war and its causes through writing as well as their focus on various forms of transnational traffic, some of which offer routes that lead away from confrontation and confinement.

5.

The method, as used in ‘Lapland-Schonen’ and its manuscript variants, of letting parallel peaceful national orientations converge in the same site (and the same story), thus undoing the crucial connection between territorialism and nationalism, is employed elsewhere in Lagerlöf’s short prose production from the same period, notably in the posthumously published narrative ‘Patron Ivar Halenius’ (ca. 1915), which depicts a variety of responses in the western Swedish ‘periphery’ to the very outbreak of the war. One of these responses is a distinctly serial rendition of national anthems as the pupils at the renowned international folk high school for handicraft at Nääs outside Gothenburg gather together, unable to comprehend that they are now citizens of enemy countries: ‘Marseljäsen hade följt efter Die Wacht am Rein, och österrikarnas Gott behalte Franz, der Kaiser hade efterföljts av amerikanernas Yankee Doodle’ (Lagerlöf 1960/61: 21). In a similar vein the narrative employs visions of inter-European traffic and its vibrant flow of people, of the continua and density of civilization and settlement, of dynamic, life-enhancing and large-scale infrastructure, soon to be destroyed, to expose the moral and logistical preposterousness of war. Lagerlöf scholar Ulla-Britta Lagerroth, who edited and introduced the story when it was first published in 1960, discusses the fact that the manuscript version of ‘Patron Iver Halenius’ is entitled ‘Första kapitlet’, which could be interpreted as the script constituting either the opening chapter of an intended novel, or, more likely, the opening piece in the compilation of ‘war sentiments’ which Lagerlöf was planning (Lagerroth 1960/1961: 35). The combining ambition behind these sentiments, Lagerroth goes on to argue, was to ‘prismatically’ (1960/61: 35) reflect the impact of the world events on a variety of local, seemingly sheltered environments. Four of the sentiments were published in periodicals during the war and re-published, together with a further two texts (one of them being ‘Bålet’, see above) under their umbrella heading in *Troll och människor. Andra samlingen* (1921), again demonstrating the interface between publication in periodicals and in book-length form in Lagerlöf’s

production. Particularly noteworthy, alongside 'Patron Ivar Halenius' and the unpublished 'Den fridsamme', is the sentiment entitled 'Dimman', which had immediate exposure and impact through a triple publication in 1916: on its own in a folio edition, in the leading liberal newspaper *Dagens nyheter* (6 August), and in the anthology *En rättfärdig fred. Tankar och opinionsyttringar*. With the mist as its main metaphor the story develops the psychological impact of a nature-induced but symbolic shortened field of vision: from painful and unsettling via aesthetically revealing and rewarding in its close-up gains to, finally, morally unsatisfactory in the context of global conflict. It is a central piece which debates, and eventually dismisses, the temptation of isolationism and self-sufficiency in favour of transnational commitment, thus typifying the main thrust of Lagerlöf's ideological and artistic sensibility in the First World War period.

*Works cited:*

Afzelius, Nils (1945): 'Efterskrift' and 'Kommentar', in Selma Lagerlöf, *Från skilda tider. Efterlämnade skrifter*, vol. II, ed. Nils Afzelius. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag: 324-429.

Nils Afzelius (1975): *Selma Lagerlöfs bibliografi. Originalskrifter, Acta bibliothecæ regiæ stockholmiensis*, XXIII (Selma Lagerlöf-sällskapet Skrifter, 11), completed by Eva Andersson. Stockholm: Kungl. Biblioteket.

Duncan, James, and Gregory, Derek (1999): *Writes of Passage. Reading Travel Writing*. London & New York: Routledge.

Edström, Vivi (2002): *Selma Lagerlöf. Livets vågspel*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1900): 'Ingmarssönerna', *Svea. Folk-kalender för 1901*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag: 16-49.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1914a): 'Die Puppe als Erzieherin', *Neue Freie Presse, Osterbeilage*, 12 April: 31-38.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1914b): 'En emigrant', *Bonniers månadshäften. Illustrerad tidskrift för familjen*, no. 6: 517-538.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1916): 'Stämningar från krigsåren. Rachels gråt', in *Vår tid. Årsbok utgiven av samfundet de nio 1916*. Stockholm: Albert Bonnier: 9-14.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1917): 'Lappland-Schonen', in *Schweden. Beiträge von Selma Lagerlöf, Verner v. Heidenstam, Carl G. Laurin, Carl Grimberg. Gedichte von Esaias Tegnér, Gustaf Fröding*. Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners förlag: 3-24.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1919): *Ingmarssönerna. Berättelse. Illustrerad med filmbilder*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1921): 'Bålet (brev från en dansk krigsfånge)', in *Troll och människor. Andra samlingen*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag: 203-210.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1921): 'Dimman', in *Troll och människor. Andra samlingen*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag: 171-183.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1933) [1921]: 'Röda korset', in *Höst. Berättelser och tal*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag: 266-274.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1943): 'Rönnebergs sparbank', *Saldo. Tidskrift för sparfrämjandet*, no. 4: 3, 10.

Lagerlöf, Selma (1960/1961): 'Patron Ivar Halenius', *Lagerlöfstudier*: 11-29.

Lagerroth, Ulla-Britta (1960/1961): 'Världsbrand i småstadsperspektiv. Kommentar till Patron Ivar Halenius', *Lagerlöfstudier*: 33-[...].

Oscarson, Christopher (2009): 'Nils Holgersson, Empty Maps and the Entangled Bird's-Eye View of Sweden', *Edda*, no. 2: 99-117.

R[eutermar]k, [G] (1929): 'Järnvägslaban jubilerar', *Svensk trafiktidning. Organ för trafiktjänstemännens riksförbund*, no. 45 (9 November): 754-755.

Thacker, Andrew (2009) [2003]: *Moving through modernity. Space and geography in modernism*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Thorup Thomsen, Bjarne (2007): *Lagerlöfs litterære landvinding*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Contributions to Scandinavian Studies.

Thorup Thomsen, Bjarne (2012): '(Trans)national Geographies and Alternative Families in Selma Lagerlöf's *Bannlyst*', *European Journal of Scandinavian Studies*, 42:1: 1-18.

Toijer-Nilsson, Ying (ed.) (2006): *En riktig författarhustru. Selma Lagerlöf skriver till Valborg Olander*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag.

*Unpublished material cited:*

Lagerlöf, Selma: *Anteckningsbok*, no. 11, 1919-1921. Stockholm: Royal Library: Sign: L1: 55a: 11.

Lagerlöf, Selma: Manuscripts related to novelistic project entitled *Rönnebergs sparbank*, in 'Stora manuskript'. Stockholm: Royal Library: Sign: L1: 22.