# Exploring Swedish Jewish country houses, 1760s to 1960s

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Abstract • While much is known about Jews as economic actors, bearers of culture, and patrons in European cities between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, Jews as owners of country estates have until recently almost eluded investigation, even though some studies now have been pursued in different European contexts. This article marks a new approach within the field by presenting the results of the first systematic and quantitative historical study in Sweden. About a hundred country houses were owned by Jewish families from *c.* 1760 to *c.* 1960. Mostly, in the vicinity of cities where Jews were allowed to live until 1854, such as Stockholm, Gothenburg and Norrköping. Moreover, in 1850, Jews owned comparatively more country houses than the bourgeoisie in general. This study indicates that a plurality of Jewish identities was represented among the owners, and that social and economic assets possibly had a greater impact on Jewish country house acquisitions than did the regulations which were installed to prevent them.

In the increasingly liberal and industrialized Europe of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Jewish families assumed a central role in trade, crafts and finance. While much is known about them as economic actors, bearers of culture and patrons in the cities, the study of Jewish estate and ironworks proprietors in Europe is limited.

Recently, some researchers have, at the intersection of Jewish history, cultural heritage and art history, used Jewish country houses as a starting point for rewriting the history of historic houses and properties with previously obscured Jewishness.[1] By putting Jewish property acquisition at the centre of research, more complexity has been added to our understanding of modern Jewish history and the diversity of the identity of Jews in Europe. Thus, a Jew is not simply considered a city-dweller, and research in modern Jewish history – focused on the study of the emancipation – is regarded as insufficient (Silverman 2019, 428).

Nonetheless, research in the field is in its early stages, and several parts of Europe, such as the Nordic countries, have so far been excluded. This article aims to fill part of this gap by presenting the results of the first systematic historical study of Jewish country houses in Sweden. It is also one of Europe's first studies with a quantitative focus.

1 Between 2019 and 2024, this research has been pursued with the ambitious five-year pan-European project: 'Jewish Country Houses. Objects, Networks, People', with participants from Britain, France, Italy, Czech Republic and the Netherlands, based at the Faculty of History, Oxford University.

The first systematic and quantitative study of Jewish landowners was done in Galicia (Gąsowski 1999), in the heart of Europe, with a large Jewish population. The systematic quantitative study of Jewish country houses which we present here is thus the first pursued in the last quarter of a century in a geographic region on the outskirts of Europe, less populated by Jews: the Nordic countries.[2] Despite this, we have, in all, identified about a hundred Jewish-owned country houses in Sweden during the period 1760–1960.[3]

The introduction of the concept of 'Jewish country estates' in the Swedish context shifts the focus from Jewish life in the city to the rural context, forcing us to rethink Jews' relationship to 'Swedishness', and to emphasize their contributions to the local society of the Swedish countryside. In doing this research, however, we emphasize the quantitative element, focused on two sets of questions:

- How many Jewish families owned country houses? What activities were linked to the estates (such as ironworks), and how long did the estates remain in the possession of the families?
- When were the estates purchased, and where were they located geographically? How large were these properties?

The results of this quantitative research are intended to form the basis for future, deeper investigations, such as work on the Jewishness of these houses. Even so, we have chosen to touch upon this topic already in this article since questions of Jewishness are indispensable in defining a Jewish country house and as indications of what the lives of Jewish country-house owners in Sweden were like.

We have chosen a wide definition of Jewishness for these accounts because it reflects the conditions for Jewish life in Sweden during the long nineteenth century. Significant manifestations of a person's Jewishness are reflected through the choice of remaining a Jew or choosing to convert to Christianity, as well as the choice of Jewish/non-Jewish marriage and burial. Conversion was particularly common in the early nineteenth century, and in Stockholm, since it had long been necessary for Swedish citizenship, social acceptance and the achieving of a social position. Since these conditions had a strong effect on Jewish life, we consider conversion as a form of social strategy, and something that characterized the experience during the studied period.[4] Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that someone baptized also remained in Jewish social circles and kept some Jewish identification (Hammarström 2020, 65).

Consequently, a Jewish country house is defined here as an estate acquired by a person, or his or her spouse, who – regardless of current religious identity – is directly descended from a Jewish ancestor.

## Previous research

International research with a quantitative approach to Jewish country houses is rare. Analytical studies, utilizing numbers, are even more unusual. Definitions vary, as well as the period under investigation. Thus, it is difficult to find data that can be said to be truly comparable. For instance, the 'Jewish Country Houses' project's understanding of a country house is 'less rigid', including 'buildings of varying forms, sizes, and settings that had a rural setting' (Carey & Green 2024, 15). By using this somewhat loose definition, the

2 This pilot project: 'Svensk-judiska herrgårdar – en pilotstudie', has been financed with the generous support of Brandförsäkringsverkets stiftelse för bebyggelsehistorisk forskning; CGAS, Carl-Göran Adelsvärds Stiftelse; and Anérstiftelsen.

3 According to Ulväng's definition of a Swedish country house; see below.

4 See the discussion on who is a Jew in Carlsson (2021, 12–13).

project researchers have discovered a total of about a thousand Jewish country houses in Britain and continental Europe, with over a hundred in Italy, and a similar number in Britain (Carey & Green 2024,14–15). Antony Polonsky claims there were 561 Jewish landowners in Galicia by the First World War, and Sietske van der Veen has identified several dozen in the Netherlands (Polonsky 2013, 121; van der Veen 2024, 211).[5] However, a thorough quantitative study of Jewish landownership in Galicia by Tomasz Gąsowski claims that there were 289 landed estates in 1876, and 22.1 per cent of the landowners in Galicia were Jewish in 1912 (Gąsowski 1999, 124).

International research on Jewish country houses and other dwellings of the Jewish economic elite, both in European cities and rural residences, has often focused on the architecture and the owners' art collections, as indications of the Jewish owners' relationship to their homes (Green & Carey 2019; Bedoire 1998; Stammers & Davoli 2017; Stammers 2022, 427–39).

Another perspective on 'home', which has become increasingly present in the academic debate, is the Jewish *acquisition* of country houses as a form of elite manifestation that 'simultaneously consisted of a quest for emancipation and acceptance by the social elite of the majority culture', and as a symbol of how far Jews had come geographically and their social and cultural achievements (Green & Carey 2019, 393). This topic also intrigued Gąsowski, who asks whether Jews constituted a new social class in the social landscape, or if they made up a scattered heterogenous group of landowners who happened to be Jews (Gąsowski 1999, 135). This discussion is furthered by researchers who debate the relationship between Jewish country-house acquisition and emancipation, including how antisemitism prohibited Jews from acquiring country estates. This perspective on country-house acquisition adds complexity to our understanding of how Jews sought emancipation by pointing to the relationships that Jews had not only with their nation-states but also their local communities. Jews also had to circumvent laws that prohibited them from purchasing real estate from Christians, as well as residing in certain areas. Such obstructions existed, for instance, for Jewish landowners in Central Europe and in Britain (Cox 2019, 513–17, 519; Silverman 2019, 427–8).

Scholars in recent studies sometimes also use the analytical pair of 'country houses' and 'Jewishness', although for slightly different purposes.

The Jewish Country Houses project has applied a broader scope and has more generally sought to 'bring in a Jewish lens' to the study of country houses. It has focused on the question 'What, if anything, was specifically Jewish about these estates?', while the project's working definition of a *Jewish* country house breaks down to a 'country house that has a Jewish story to tell'. Highlighting themes of emancipation, assimilation and negotiation of Jewish and European identities, the project problematizes both the category of 'country house' in an international perspective (Carey & Green 2024, 15) and 'Jewishness', which is characterized as 'an elusive category' (Carey & Green, 2024,17), but can never be 'an exclusive category of identity' (Carey & Green, 2024, 15).

In her research on social mobility and integration in the Dutch context, Sietske van der Veen does not problematize what a 'Jewish country house' is, *per se*. However, when defining 'who is a Jew', she prefers a broad definition of Jewish backgrounds, including converts to Christianity, as well as so-called 'father-Jews'. She considers this definition necessary to avoid an 'only half-told' story (van der Veen 2024, 39–40).

5 van der Veen has only included people whose country houses were explicitly referred to in their biographies.

Fig. 1. Afvelsgärde in Blekinge, acquired by Fabian Ruben in 1811 (**https://digitaltmuseum.se/021016319950/lantbruksgarden**-avelsgarde-utanfor-lyckeby-i-blekinge-1950-tillhorig-agronom, Technology and Industiral History Archive, National Museum of Science and Technology, JUD01277, PD)

As far as previous research on Jewish country houses in Sweden is concerned, Carl Wilhelm Jacobowsky has been a pioneer. His commentated and detailed accounts focus on Jewish life on estates and material culture, mostly in the nineteenth century. Even though Jewish life on the estates after a generation or so was mostly secular, he uncovers Jewish culinary traditions being retained, Jewish literature and books on Judaism, the use of Yiddish words and the maintenance of certain Jewish traditions. Referring to testimonies and literary depictions, Jacobowsky also maintains that members of families on their country estates often manifested contradictions concerning their Jewishness.[6] For example, Jewish peddlers were, in some cases, driven away by dogs, while treated with kindness and generosity in other instances. Moreover, after one such episode, when the children on the estate had been mocking a peddler, the parents, after scolding them, revealed the family's Jewishness to their children, of which, up until that day, they had been unaware (Jacobowsky 1967, 33–4, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, etc.). Jacobowsky also gives insight into social networks, such as marriages between prominent Jewish families, and their purchase of country estates in proximity to one other, mostly on the outskirts of Gothenburg.

In the context of the Philip/Ruben family, Harry R:son Svensson puts the Jewish country house Afvelsgärde in the perspective of the family's social, economic and cultural strategies (Svensson 2017, Abstract). Just like Carey and Green, and van der Veen, he uses the analytical pair of 'country houses' and 'Jewishness' for this study. Because of the open and cosmopolitan environment of the naval city of Karlskrona, and thanks to Fabian Philip's contribution to the Swedish Royal Navy, Philip was able to

6 Testimony from her childhood at Vårgårda by Hilda *née* Heyman, in *Judisk Tidskrift* 1930 and depiction in the novel.

obtain an exceptional role. He was allowed to settle outside the three urban zones where Jews had permission to live – and, importantly, he was also allowed to remain a Jew. With the help of Karlskrona's officer staff, Fabian Philip was also able to circumnavigate the legislation and acquire the Afvelsgärde estate in 1811, even though Jews were formally prohibited from owning land until 1860 (Svensson 2017, 260).

Recent biographies of individual Jewish women in Sweden – Clara Lachmann, who lived at Charlottenlund in Skåne, and Emma Zorn at Zorngården in Dalarna – also provide important information about the Jewish woman and the country house, particularly when it comes to their social networks with artists and philanthropists. Clara Lachmann left the major part of her will to strengthening Scandinavian co-operation (Lottrup Rasmussen 2023), Emma Zorn devoted her fortune to initiating and financing a library and educational institution in Mora, as well as the Zorn Museum (Sandström 2014).

Despite what has been established by previous research relating to Jewish country houses, this review shows that there is a lack of systematic studies of how frequent Jewish ownership of country houses was on a national level.

## The Swedish context

As in many other European countries, Sweden was modernized in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, replacing an older, more feudal structure with a more liberal market economy, where the old landowning elite – the nobility – lost their privileges, and traders/businessmen and freeholders advanced. This also opened the way for successful Jews to acquire country houses. The acquisitions took place in three phases. According to the law, Jews were not allowed to own land until 1860, but in practice Jewish families had been buying manors and ironworks since the 1790s, most of them located near the towns where they were allowed to live. In the second phase, after 1860, the ownership of manors around these towns expanded, and in the third phase, they established themselves as landowners in the old feudal areas, where the nobility were the main owners.

Sweden was one of the least feudal states in Europe, with a highly regulated economy until the mid-eighteenth century, sparsely populated and with vast forests. The nobility controlled only a third of the land in the early 1700s, while the main landowners were the freehold farmers, who owned about a third of the land at this time, rising to 60 per cent by the end of the nineteenth century (Magnusson 2014, 191–4, 282–4, Gadd 2000, 204–5). The four-state parliament, with representatives from the nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie and freehold farmers, was the dominant political arena. Many members of parliament were landowners, but eligibility was mainly based on family (in the case of the nobility) or residence (Gadd 2000, 201).

The liberalization of the economy took place gradually. In 1809, after Sweden's loss of Finland, a new liberal constitution was introduced, abolishing the last of the nobles' privileges. Regulations were then gradually abolished, such as the guild system in 1846, which strengthened the class of successful merchants, who quickly became part of the local elite. Further reforms in the 1860s included the introduction of free trade in 1864; two years later, the parliamentary system of estates was abolished and replaced by a bicameral legislature in which wealth replaced estate affiliation as the basis for eligibility (Schön 2010, 94–7). As a result, the Swedish elite changed both in number and composition. By the mid-nineteenth century, the elite made up less than 3 per cent of the population, with the nobility accounting for only 0.3 per cent (Carlsson 1949, 12–33).

The process of liberalization, along with growing integration into the world trading system, opened the way for rapid industrialization from the mid-1800s onwards, with

the country's vast forests, rich in timber and iron ore, providing the basis for exports of wood, and paper, iron and machinery, complemented by exports of grain, meat and butter. Agriculture lost relative importance, especially after the decline in profitability from the 1870s onwards, despite the introduction of tariffs and later heavy subsidies (Magnusson 2014, 275–82).

## Restricted privileges and increased land competition – the nobility on the retreat

For a long time, the nobility were the main owners of manors, as most manors were tax-exempt and reserved for the nobility. By the early 1700s, about 10 per cent of manors were owned by non-noble families, many of them ironworks in the mining districts (Ulväng 2019, 107).

However, the influence of the nobility declined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the economic and political power of non-noble groups increased. In 1789 and 1809 almost all aristocratic privileges were abolished (von Konow 2005, 252–3).

In the mid-1700s, the nobility had owned about 80 per cent of all manors, in the mid-1800s about 60 per cent, and just 20 per cent in 1950. Over the same period, non-noble persons of rank increased their ownership of manors from around 15 per cent to just over 30 per cent. Many of them were wealthy merchants or manufacturers, who, by purchasing a manor, demonstrated their status and became members of the local noble elite. Some were even ennobled, which was possible until the new liberal constitution of 1809 (Ulväng 2019, 107).

Yet there were huge regional differences. The nobility were still prominent landowners in 1950 in the old feudal, rich grain-producing areas in the south and east of Sweden, close to the capital Stockholm, and in some areas with ironworks also in the east. Many of the estates of the nobility were also larger than average, some as large as 15,000 to 20,000 hectares. This was made possible by the fact that some families had entailed their property in the mid-eighteenth century. In western Sweden, by contrast, there was an early and strong presence of non-noble industrialists, but also many freeholders eager to buy land (Ulväng 2019, 117–23).

## The development of Jewish settlement and political rights

During the pioneering era, in the decades around 1800, several of the first Jews to settle in Sweden originated from Mecklenburg in the north of Germany, and even afterwards, spouses and business partners often originated from Hamburg. Some Jewish estate owners also had Danish Jewish origins, such as the Lachmanns, who purchased Charlottenlund in Skåne at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In addition to their well-developed social and business networks with contacts in Denmark and Germany, some also had business contacts in Amsterdam, and most of them also in Britain, which was often also the case with Swedish non-Jewish businessmen at the time.

Already in 1769, the Danish Jew, Adolf Ludwig Lewin (1733–1807), obtained permission to buy Arbottna on Muskö, Södertörn, because he had done the Swedish court several favours in his capacity as a broker and businessman. He had a mansion built there, making Arbottna and the nearby Ludvigsberg a *fideikommiss* (fideicommissum) for his descendants (Jacobowsky 1967, 33). However, at that time, Jews who settled in Sweden were not allowed to retain their religion, although a Jew who was ready to convert could obtain high social status. Therefore, Lewin had adopted the Lutheran doctrine after he moved to Sweden from Fredricia, in 1754. Throughout his life, Adolf Ludvig Lewin is said to have been in very close contact with the court, raising the sympathies of the higher circles for the Jews to a considerable extent. It therefore happened that during their early settlement in Sweden, Jews were rewarded with royal privileges. In

Fig. 2. Charlottenlund castle, the only Jewish country house in Skåne. (Wikimedia, photo by Jochr, CC BY-SA)

1811, the King issued a new decree granting certain 'Israelites', a certain freedom, to settle in the countryside (Olàn 1924, 161).

Meanwhile, King Gustav III had realized the benefits of such an industrious people as Jews. Thus, in 1775 he had allowed them to settle in Sweden without converting (Olàn 1924, 25–6). In 1787, 150 Jews were registered in Sweden, in their own Jewish communities, and Judereglementet, provisions regulating Jewish immigration and settlement in Sweden, were installed in 1782 (Bredefeldt 2008, 47).

Even though Jews were now allowed to settle in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Norrköping, to build synagogues there, engage in wholesale and retail trade, establish factories, participate in shipping companies, etc., and to practice certain crafts such as engraving, gem cutting, and instrument making, and to engage in certain civil occupations, they were forbidden to participate in elections to the Riksdag (the Swedish Parliament) and marry anyone other than their co-religionists (Olàn 1924, 53).

Moreover, Jews could not hold land titles. However, despite the limitations of the regulations, a Jewish congregation was also established in Karlskrona after a few years.[7] After the Judereglementet provisons were repealed in 1838, Swedish Jews were no longer called 'Jews', nor were they referred to as the 'Jewish nation' in the kingdom, but as 'Mosaic believers'. The opposition to extended rights for the Jews was very strong and unanimous (Olàn 1924, 169). During the so-called 'Crusenstolpska kravallerna' in Stockholm in the summer of 1838, crowds threw stones at homes belonging to Jews; the repeated street fights first caused the government to back down. As a consequence, some restrictions on residence and other civil rights remained in place. For example, Jews were not allowed to buy real estate in rural areas without the King's permission (Carlsson 2021, 81–4.)

7 Research on the Philip/Ruben family, who constituted the first members of this congregation, can be found in Svensson (2017).

From the mid-nineteenth century, life for Jews in Sweden gradually improved. Official Statistics of Sweden (Sveriges officiella statistik), 1840, stated that of the total 911 Jews living in Sweden at that time, 388 lived in Stockholm, the capital; slightly more, 415, in Gothenburg; 64 in Norrköping; and 21 Mosaic believers in Karlskrona. Only a few were impoverished. Swedish Jews wanted actively to contribute to Sweden's economic and cultural development, and to be seen as successful and well-behaved Swedes of the Mosaic faith. Therefore, they were also quickly integrated into Swedish society, despite certain restrictions by the remaining regulations (Bredefeldt 2008, 25).

Despite this, it was not until 1854 that Jews were given the right to settle in all Swedish towns, and until 1860 that Jews who were Swedish citizens were allowed to settle and own property anywhere in Sweden. This can be considered relatively late since Jewish landownership had already been recognized in several European countries: the Netherlands, Great Britain, Austria and Hungary. In 1863, Jews were permitted to marry non-Jews, and foreigners of other faiths, Judaism included, were granted the right to own property throughout the country. The complete emancipation of the Jews was enforced in the Riksdag on February 16, 1870, with a large majority of votes (Olàn 1924, 185).

The long-standing regulations concerning Jewish settlement and of Jews' professional activities resulted in the Jewish settlement pattern in Sweden coming to differ fundamentally in comparison with the national population as a whole. Still in 1920, half a century after the emancipation of Jews in Sweden, when the Jewish population had risen to 5,900, only 8.27% of Swedish Jews had settled in rural areas, while 91.73% lived in Swedish cities, mostly in Stockholm (42.47%) and Gothenburg (14.88%). The corresponding figures for the entire population of Sweden, in the same year, were 5,904,489, 70.5% living in rural areas and 29.5% in cities (Valentin 1924, 543).

Finally, it is important to emphasize that Sweden's Jewish population, unlike the vast majority of the Jews in Europe, escaped the Nazi persecution and the Holocaust. Moreover, this led to the arrival of Jewish refugees, which in turn resulted in a significant increase in the number of Jews in Sweden. Moreover, it is probably thanks to Swedish neutrality during the Second World War that many of the Jewish country houses in Sweden still exist today and remain in the families, to some extent.

## Mapping Jewish country houses in Sweden

This mapping of the Jewish ownership of country houses focuses on their number, location, size and changes over time. How common was it for Jewish families to own country houses? Did they prefer certain areas of the kingdom? And were they kept in the family or only owned for a short time as an investment?

Before embarking on this investigation, we need to clarify two things: first, what constituted a country house in the Swedish context? And second, what was the ownership of country houses in general in the kingdom?

The English term 'country house' has no equivalent in Swedish but is used here as a generic term for mansions in the countryside. In the Swedish context, there were two main types of country houses: *herrgård* and *ståndsgård* (Ulväng 2017, 46–8). The term *herrgård* is closer to the concept of manor: large, privileged estates with tenants paying rent, a large number of servants and large houses, mainly owned by noble families. There were around 3,700 manors in Sweden in the early eighteenth century and around 2,200 in the late nineteenth century, including 400 ironworks – iron being the kingdom's main export. The decline in the number of manors is linked to the transition from a regulated to a liberal and

capitalist economy, when manors with small acreages were dispossessed and amalgamated with nearby manors or bought by successful freehold farmers, who divided them into smaller farms (Ulväng 2019, 101–10).

A *ståndsgård* was usually the size of an ordinary farmstead, but with a stately house, outbuildings and garden, and was owned or rented by nobles, merchants and officials. Their number can be estimated at around 10,000 during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among them, we find state-owned military residences and vicarages, but also extravagant houses on the outskirts of towns.

We will use the terms *manor* and *stately farm* because it is important to emphasize their differences: the former, with hundreds or even thousands of hectares of land, represented the old elite, while the latter holdings were smaller and often built relatively recently and where most owners/holders were non-noble.

Manors, and to some extent stately farms, served a dual purpose. They were the main source of income for most families and a manifestation of the family's status in society as a whole and in the landscape, where subordinates and visitors were reminded of who was in power by the avenues, parks and vast complexes of buildings (Finch & Dyrmann 2019, 13–27).

In addition to manors and stately farms, Jewish families also owned villas in the fashionable suburbs of Stockholm and other major cities, as well as in the Stockholm archipelago.

## Identifying Jewish country houses in Sweden

To determine ownership, location and size, we used the Database on Swedish Manors,[8] a public, non-profit website that collects data on the owners of all manors and stately farms in Sweden and Finland. The database is searchable and we have taken advantage of the fact that the wealthier Jewish families, the ones that might be of interest here, had conspicuous surnames such as Philipson, Rubenson, Levin, Heckscher, Bonnier, Fürstenberg, Lamm, etc. All hits were then checked to exclude non-Jewish families. The surname Philipsson, for example, is not uncommon among freehold farmers in Sweden. In total, we have data on 270 people from 96 different families, all mentioned in Carl Henrik Carlsson's book on Jews in Sweden (Carlsson 2021). Another source is the digitized census from 1860 to 1930,[9] where it is possible to trace Jewish owners through their surnames, membership of a mosaic congregation and their profession.

So far, we have identified 100 country houses in Sweden, including 74 manors and 26 stately farms owned by Jews. No doubt, some may have been missed, especially smaller properties and those remaining in the same family for merely a few years. Additionally, the database does not contain any information on ordinary farmsteads – though they were probably less sought after by Jewish families, who seldom engaged in farming. There may also have been Jewish families in Sweden in the past that have not yet been identified and whose surnames, therefore, have not been used in the search.

## Jewish ownership of manors and stately farms over time

The investigation has shown that there were twenty country houses owned by Jews in the 1760s–1860s, thus *before* the emancipation of Jews in Sweden and before Jews had the right to own land and to settle in the countryside.

Acquisitions increased throughout the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, peaking between 1900 and 1920, when 35 manors and ironworks and 16 stately farms were owned by Jewish families

8 https://www.svenskaherrgardar.se

9 https://sok.riksarkivet.se/folkrakningar

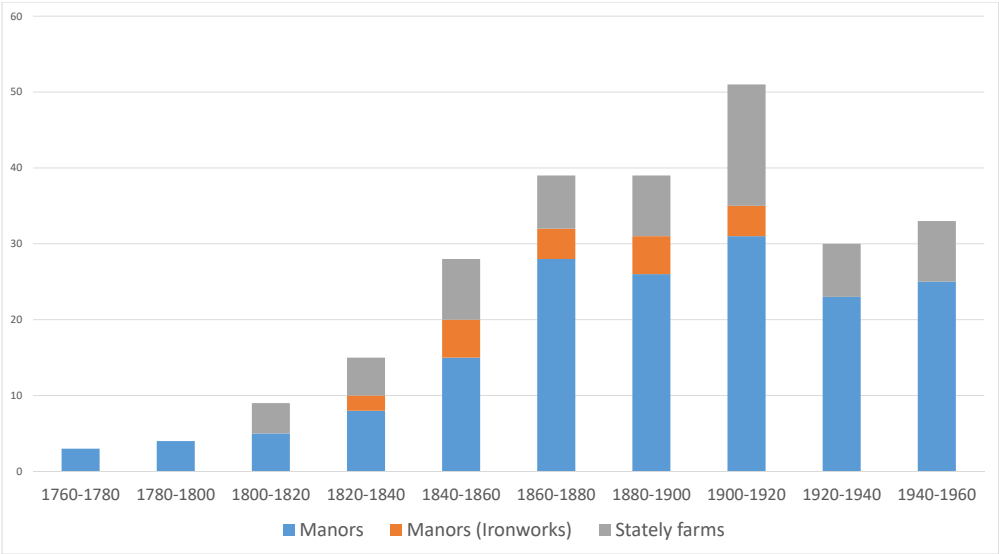


Chart 1. Number of manors and stately farms owned by Jewish families, 1760–1960.
Source: **https://www.svenskaherrgardar.se**

(Chart 1). A decline in ownership occurred in the period after 1920 to a total of 30 country houses. Altogether, the proportion of Jewish country houses was small: just over 1 per cent in 1880. In the period 1900–20, 45 estates were owned by Jews, or almost 2 per cent. Compared to the Swedish bourgeoisie, Jewish families more generally appear to have owned, on average, more country houses. Around 1850, nearly 13 per cent of Jewish families owned country houses, compared to around 4.5 per cent of bourgeois families.[10] These figures may suggest that Jewish families were actively seeking membership in the land-owning elite, although we must also bear in mind that the Jewish group at this time included a high proportion of successful businessmen and manufacturers, who perhaps also had the objective of developing land.

The trend of increasing purchases between 1800 and 1920, followed by a decline, fits well with the general trend of non-noble ownership: first, the long period of an expanding wealthy non-noble elite buying manors and ironworks from noble families, and then a second phase beginning in the late 1800s, when the returns on both agriculture and smaller ironworks were falling and manors were being sold to freehold farmers.

Most of the manors owned by Jewish families were small or medium-sized, as were most estates in Sweden (Table 1). In 1883, there were nearly 2,300 manors in the kingdom, of which 1,622 (69 per cent) had an assessed value of 199,000 SEK or less. This corresponded to an area of between 300 and 600 hectares of land or 100 to 150 hectares of arable land (Ulväng 2019, 106). Among the largest estates owned by Jewish families were the ironworks at Gysinge in Gästrikland province (20,000 hectares) and Klavreström in Småland province (6,000 hectares), and some of the manors in the provinces of Uppland and Södermanland in the east,

10 Around 1850, the nobility numbered 12,000, the bourgeoisie 79,000 (Carlsson 1949, 35, 39), and the Jews 935 (Carlsson 2021, 116). The average family size at that time was about four people, giving 3,000 aristocratic, 19,750 bourgeoisie and 233 Jewish families. At the same time, there were 1,380 manors owned by the nobility, 920 by the bourgeoisie (Ulväng 2019) and almost 30 by Jews.

Table 1. The assessed value of Swedish manors in 1883, by cohorts, and the assessed value in 1883 of manors owned by Jewish families at some point between 1760 and 1960.

| Assessed value in 1883 (SEK) | No. in 1883 | Owned by Jews at some point, 1760–1960 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % |
| 10K–199K | 1622 | 43 | 2.7 |
| 200K–399K | 384 | 18 | 4.7 |
| 400K–599K | 167 | 3 | 1.8 |
| 600K–799K | 31 | 2 | 6.5 |
| 800K–999K | 31 | 1 | 3.2 |
| 1M+ | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 2295 | 67* | 2.9 |

*Of the total of 74 manors, we lack information on the assessed value from seven, which, judging by their assessed values in the 1940s, could be characterized as small- or medium-sized manors.
Source: https://www.svenskaherrgardar.se

Arbottna, Yxtaholm, Sund, Forsby, Ulvhäll and Granhammar, all of which had between 1,500 and 1,800 hectares of land (https://www.svenskaherrgardar.se)

Interestingly, most manors and stately farms remained in the family for an extended time. The average period of ownership was around 30 years, with a mean of 39 and a median of 23, confined to just one generation, in most cases, as 59 per cent of purchased country houses were never passed on to the next generation. Of the 100, 22 were bought and sold in less than 10 years, many of them probably bought as short-term investments. Nevertheless, a total of 41 per cent remained in the family for two generations or more, half of them for three or four generations, or as a trust or family business. In general, stately farms stayed in the family longer than manors, probably because many were close to or even located in towns and seen as main residences. As homes rather than business centres, they were less exposed to economic cycles.

## Where did Jews buy country houses? Geographical overview

Despite considerable geographical differences, most of the Jewish country houses were located around the four urban areas where Jewish families historically had been allowed to settle: mainly around the capital, Stockholm, and Gothenburg, the port to the west, but also to some extent around Norrköping in the east and to a lesser extent close to Karlskrona in the south (Map 1, Table 3). Outside these regions, Jews rarely owned country houses, and when they did, they were usually ironworks in the north (Voxnabruk and Iggesund in Hälsingland province, Gysinge and Gammelstilla in Gästrikland province) or in the south (Bruzaholm and Klavreström in Småland province).

These ironworks were often owned or co-owned for very short periods at the end of the nineteenth century, mainly as a result of increased international competition in iron production, which led to a large number of ironworks being closed. Nevertheless, Gysinge

Table 2. The mean and median length of ownership and number of owner-generations at Jewish manors and stately farms in Sweden.

| | Ownership: Years | | Generations | | | | Company-owned/ Foundations | Sum% | Sum |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | Median | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4+ | | | |
| Manors (ironworks) | 26 | 15 | 67 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 0 | 100 | 9 |
| Manors | 39 | 24 | 60 | 23 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 100 | 65 |
| Stately farms | 36 | 38 | 52 | 36 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 100 | 26 |

Source: https://www.svenskaherrgardar.se

Table 3. Jewish manors and stately farms in Sweden by province. Source: https://www.svenskaherrgardar.se

| Province | 1760–1780 | 1780–1800 | 1800–1820 | 1820–1840 | 1840–1860 | 1860–1880 | 1880–1900 | 1900–1920 | 1920–1940 | 1940–1960 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Skåne (S) | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Blekinge (S, Karlskrona area) | | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Småland (S) | | | | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | | | |
| Västergötland (SW, Gothenburg area) | | | 2 | 3 | 7 | 12 | 15 | 16 | 6 | 5 |
| Östergötland (SE, Norrköping area) | | | | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 1 |
| Södermanland (E, Stockholm area) | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 14 | 9 | 12 |
| Uppland (E, Stockholm area) | | 1 | | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 11 |
| Gästrikland and Hälsingland (NE) | | | | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | |
| Others | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 3 | 4 | 8 | 18 | 28 | 35 | 40 | 51 | 32 | 33 |

and Skebo ironworks, which were bought earlier in the nineteenth century, were owned for several generations by the Benedicks and Michaëlson families. A few Jewish country houses can also be found in the province of Värmland in the north. In the southern province of Skåne, Sweden's most feudal and fertile region, close to Denmark, the estates were generally huge, many of them entailed and, if sold on the market, very expensive. Only one Jewish manor house is known of here, Charlottenlund, which was bought by a Danish Jew, Jacob Lachmann, and remains in the family even today.[11]

## The Stockholm area: From Jewish ironworks to manor houses in the most feudal areas

In the Stockholm area, including the provinces of Uppland and Södermanland, a total of 31 manors and 11 stately farms were owned by Jewish families.

In the nineteenth century, Jews in Stockholm were often well-off wholesalers or manufacturers and retailers (Bredefeldt 2008, 47). The region was, along with Skåne, the most feudal in the kingdom, with many huge manors owned by noble families. Merchants and officials, however, had long since acquired manors in the area.

11 https://www.gammalstorp.se/Slott_Charlottenlund.htm

Fig. 3. Jacob Lachmann, the owner of Charlottenlund (Svensk Biografiskt Lexikon, Riksarkivet, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=10818)

As mentioned above, already in 1769 Adolf Ludvig Lewin bought three manors south of Stockholm, which he entailed to his three sons. From the early 1800s, several additional Jewish families bought manors and ironworks in the area, such as Aspnäs in 1818 (Michael Benedicks), the Skebo ironworks in 1836 (Carl David Michaelson) and Siggesta and Sund in 1836 and 1838 (Carl Fredrik Theel, later inherited by his daughter, married name Nathanson). Almost all of these were passed on and remained in the family for many generations. In the


Map 1. Jewish country houses in Sweden. Red dots = manors, grey dots= manors (ironworks), blue dots= stately farms.

second half of the nineteenth century, there were few manor purchases by Jews in this area. It is difficult to find an explanation for this. The laws of 1860 and 1863 seem to have had no effect at all, which is unexpected, especially if one uses the Gothenburg area as a comparison, where 12 estates and stately farms were bought in the 1860s.


Map 2. Jewish country houses in the provinces of Uppland, Södermanland, and Västmanland. Red dots = manors, grey dots= manors (ironworks), blue dots= stately farms.

Suddenly, however, between 1900 and 1920, 13 manors and stately farms were acquired by Jews in the Stockholm area, many in central Södermanland, known for its beautiful scenery and as one of the most feudal areas. The buyers were well-known merchants from Stockholm (Lamm and Thiel), Norrköping (Philipson and Wahren) or Gothenburg (Leman), many of whom were sons and other descendants of the first Jews who had purchased manors in Sweden. Most of these newly acquired manors were then inherited.

Another wave of purchases came in the 1940s, during and after the Second World War, when seven manors were bought by Jews, many of them in the vicinity of Stockholm. Among them, we find Wahren (Janslunda), Carl Johan Lamm (Gräsö), Olof Philipson (Lissma), Vilhelm Josephson (Gällövsta) and Adam Bonnier (Kvallsta).

## Gothenburg and its environs

Gothenburg was Sweden's second-largest city: Sweden's major port to the west, a centre for iron, timber and herring exports and, from the eighteenth century, an important textile producer. Most Swedish imports of colonial goods, such as sugar, tobacco and cotton, entered the country via Gothenburg; thus, the city benefited from the rise of the Atlantic economy (Brismark & Lundqvist 2017). The surrounding province of Västergötland had been dominated by noble families in the past. However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most of the land was sold to successful merchants and freehold farmers who profited from the export of grain to Great Britain (Magnusson 2014, 173).

The 'continental blockade', from 1808 to 1815, led to Gothenburg becoming an important international trading metropolis since much

of the British foreign trade was diverted via the city. The number of merchants, including many Jews, increased significantly, and Jewish traders became a new group of immigrants among those already settled in the city, who were mostly Dutch, German and British. As in other countries, the kinship and business networks of Jews in Europe contributed to efficient information and credit flows, allowing Jews in Sweden to advance both socially and economically, especially as commissioners. As a result, Gothenburg's Jewish population was prominent and wealthy, exceeding the population in Stockholm in 1840. In 1850, 11.5 per cent of Gothenburg's traders were Jewish, and 18 per cent of that group were wholesalers (Brismark & Lundqvist 2016, 130–1).

## The early purchase of stately farms in Gothenburg's *landerier*

Before 1860, Jewish families in Gothenburg leased *landerier* owned by the city, on a long-term basis: small stately farms, often combined with small-scale industry (textiles, sugar distillery).

Already in 1804, Lazarus Elias Magnus (1770–1851), married to Göthilda 'Gitel' (*née* Henriques, b.1767, d.1825), was a tenant of Katrinedal, the first Jewish manor in the region. Magnus ran a sugar mill there from 1806, which in 1820 accounted for 13.5% of Gothenburg's total industrial output (Andersson 1996, 323). The factory burnt down in 1849, but in 1871, Magnus's son, the banker Eduard Magnus, had a magnificent villa built at Stora Katrinedal in simple wooden architecture (Bedoire 2003, 446).

In 1832, the wholesaler Levy Fürstenberg (b. 1796 in Fürstenberg, in the federal state of Brandenburg, d. 1860 in Gothenburg) leased the Oscarsdal manor; in 1833, he founded a factory there to manufacture scarves and other fabrics, with about seventy workers. Oscarsdal was then leased by the family until 1912 (Enhörning 2006, 108). Levy Fürstenberg was married to Rosa (1799–1874) from the prominent Warburg family, born in Gothenburg, and the daughter of Simon Elias Warburg, born in Hamburg, and Zippora Henriques, born in Copenhagen. The art collector Pontus Fürstenberg was one of Rosa and Levy's ten children.[12]

Fig. 4. Rosa (*née* Warburg) and Levy Fürstenberg. Year unknown, based on painting by Geskel Saloman (Unna & Höfferts Fotografiska Atelier, The Jewish Museum, Stockholm, JUDF01072, CC BY-NC-ND).

According to Levy Fürstenberg's daughter's memoirs, Oscarsdal was inhabited year-round from 1840 (Fürstenberg 1912). This was, as a matter of note, also the case at Katrinedal in the 1850s and 1860s (Enhörning 2006, 86). Louise Fürstenberg's memoir is a valuable peek into life at Oscarsdal and the varying kinds of Jewish identity of the members of the family and their friends. For instance, her mother, Rosa, came from an orthodox family, and she walked into town every Saturday, 'to church', to attend the Reform service (Fürstenberg 1912, 62–3).

12 https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Levy_Fürstenberg

Fig. 5. Nääs in the Gothenburg area, interior, 1890s (Photographer: Carl Victorin, August Abrahamsson's album, 1M16-A145023:66, Västergötlands Museum, PDM)

A shorter lease of the stately farm of Kristinedal in Västergötland was held from 1843 until 1850 by the wholesaler Philip Wilhelm Friedländer (1792–1863). The family had moved from Stralsund in Germany around 1810, which by that time belonged to Sweden, in order for Philip's father, Wolf Josef Friedländer, to become one of the directors of the synagogue. However, Philip Wilhelm seems to have converted.[13]

The wholesaler Isaac Leman (b. 1799 in Amsterdam, d. 1851), who bought the stately farm of Götaberg in Västergötland in 1847, was married to Henriette Pauline Valentin. After her tragic death from cholera, he married her sister, Dorothea Debora. Through his ancestors, Leman had important international connections, which were important for his career as a banker, and not least for Gothenburg. Isaac's maternal grandfather was the famous banker Michel Leman, owner of the trading house Leman & Sohn, with branches in London and Amsterdam, which temporarily settled in Gothenburg during the years 1812–13 because of Hamburg's occupation by Napoleon's armies at that time (Ivarsson 1952, 270).

Some of these stately farms remained in the families until the beginning of the twentieth century, when they were confiscated to make way for housing estates.

## Nääs and other manors purchased by Jews in the Gothenburg area during the second half of the eighteenth century

From the 1860s, the Jewish families in Gothenburg increased their holdings by buying twelve manors and two stately farms in the area north-east of the town, stretching from Gothenburg to the town of Mariestad by Lake Vänern (the Heyman, the Leman, Elliot, Delbanco and Abrahamson families).

13 https://gamlagoteborg.se/2015/09/15/slakten-friedlander


Map 3. Västra Götaland, Gothenburg area. Red dots = manors, grey dots= manors (ironworks), blue dots= stately farms.

The southern part of the region was forested and rocky but most of it consisted of very fertile plains. The Gothenburg–Stockholm railway ran through it, which was favourable for the grain, milk and butter-producing estates. When the railway was built between Gothenburg and the textile centre of Borås, the owner of Pixbo Manor, Josef Heyman, managed to get a railway station built on the estate.[14]

However, many manors were sold within the next thirty or forty years, perhaps as a result of the reduced profitability of farming in the early 1900s. Only four remained in the family, one as a joint-stock company (Vårgårda) and one as a foundation (Nääs).[15] The latter is famous worldwide for the handicraft school that was established there in 1872 by the Jewish businessman August Abrahamson. As a credit to his nephew, Otto Salomon (1849–1907), whose life and work illustrate the ideas and ideals of liberal Judaism and whose ideology was also linked to Swedish nationalism, Nääs became a showpiece of modernity. Importantly, the craft school illustrates how there was no contradiction in being simultaneously Swedish and Jewish in Salomon's and Abrahamson's identities: the work day started with morning prayer (following Protestant tradition) – which was not felt to conflict with the circumcision of Salomon's son in 1883, or with the burial of both Abrahamson and Salomon in the gardens of the estate 'according to Mosaic ritual' (Hammarlund 2013, 220, 231–2; Jacobowsky 1967, 36).

## Jewish country houses in the Norrköping and Karlskrona areas

Norrköping, located to the east, was known for its textile production. The two prominent

14 https://larsgahrnskriver.wordpress.com/tag/josef-heyman

15 After his death in 1898, August Abrahamson bequeathed the manor to the Swedish state.

Jewish families of Philipson and Wahren, who had settled there in the late eighteenth century (Carlsson 2021, 103), began to buy manors in the area in the 1830s, but there is little evidence that they intended to keep them. Most were sold after a few years. Only one estate, Marieborg, bought by Jacob Philipson, was kept for three generations. In Norrköping, we also found an entailed city estate that was established by Count Axel Löwen in favour of the Jewish Marcus family.

The town of Karlskrona in Blekinge, to the south, was the main Swedish naval base, with excellent conditions for farming on the coast. Here, the manors were rather small and were the homes of naval officers. Three manors were bought by Jewish families; the first, Avelsgärde, was purchased as early as 1811 by Fabian Philip, who belonged to the network of Aaron Isaac. Avelsgärde remains in the family even today (Svensson 2017, 31). A second estate, Hobykulle, was purchased in 1845 by Otto Isaac Ruben III, while Augerum was bought in 1855 by the nobleman Nils von Koch, who was married to Frances Eliza Lewin, who was Jewish and from Britain.

## The Lachmanns' Charlottenlund: The only Jewish country house in the province of Skåne

Jacob Lachmann (1844–1909) came to Sweden from Denmark when he bought the sugar mill in Ystad in 1881. There, he had raw sugar from St Croix in the Danish West Indies refined; after only a few years, the mill became one of the largest in Sweden (Lachmann 2016, 31). In Ystad, Lachmann first had a child, born out of wedlock, with a non-Jewish woman. Although inter-faith marriage had become legal in Sweden in 1863, it was not accepted by his family, who belonged to Danish Jewry. Hence, he married and formed a family with his Danish cousin, Clara Lachmann (1864–1920), who was brought to Sweden (Lachmann 2016–17). Of interest is that when Lachmann bought Charlottenlund in 1901, he wanted to remain anonymous as a buyer and therefore used Gustaf Smith (protocol secretary at Skånes Enskilda Bank) as an intermediary (Lottrup Rasmussen, 2023, 75). Despite this, the purchase of the estate, which consisted of around 486 hectares of land, was covered by Danish and Swedish newspapers. Charlottenlund had previously been owned by a count and a former prime minister; this acquisition was a big advancement for the Lachmann family and put them in contact with Swedish nobility (Lottrup Rasmussen 2023, 76). At Charlottenlund, the Lachmanns established a fine collection of nineteenth-century Nordic art. Among others, the famous Danish painter J F Willumsen, who was one of the pioneers of Danish modernist art at the beginning of the twentieth century, was commissioned to decorate the estate.[16] Moreover, Clara Lachmann was a vital driving force behind the establishment of the Sydsvenska konsertföreningen (Southern Swedish Concert Organization) in 1910 in the capacity of donor and, not least, as the organizer of a music festival at Charlottenlund, where several prominent Swedish musicians, as well as the Czech-Danish cellist Franz Neruda, took part. According to Lottrup Rasmussen, the 'elite of music lovers' gathered in Skåne for this event.[17] Charlottenlund is still owned by descendants of the family.

## Conclusion

To conclude, in this mainly quantitative pilot study of Jewish country houses in Sweden, we have focused on how many Jewish families owned country houses, when the estates were

16 Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=10817

17 Charlottenlund's private archives, according to Lottrup Rasmussen (2023, 90).

Fig. 6. Gysinge manor in Gästrikland, 1923 (Carl Larssons Fotografiska Ateljé, 1893–2003, Länsmuseet Gävleborg, XLM.CL001010, CC BY-SA)

purchased, the size of the properties and where they were located geographically.

We have also collected data concerning the nature of the activities linked to the estates and the length of time that the estates stayed in the families' possession.

In a similar way, for example, to Dutch Jewish financiers being the first to acquire country houses in Britain in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,[18] this investigation has noted that Jews circumvented the restrictions placed on them to acquire country houses, which enabled twenty purchases of Jewish country houses even before Jewish emancipation in Sweden in 1870.

The Jewish population in Sweden was smaller than in most other European countries. Therefore, the number of manors and stately farms, standing at at least a hundred, owned by Jewish families in Sweden between 1760 and 1960 stands out against figures mentioned in previous research, particularly given that a strict definition of 'country house' was used in this study. It is also interesting that Jews were more likely to own country houses in Sweden than the bourgeoisie in general in 1850. However, in relation to Gąsowski's comparable data, which shows that a remarkable 22.1 per cent of country houses in Galicia had Jewish owners in 1912, the 2 per cent of Jewish-owned country houses in Sweden is less impressive. Here, further quantitative research is needed.

Most Jewish estates lay close to the urban regions where Jews were allowed to settle from the late 1700s: the capital Stockholm; the port to the west, Gothenburg; Norrköping in the east; and Karlskrona, an important port city in the south. Jews also owned or co-owned some

18 In this respect, a comparison can be made with the Dutch Jewish financiers who settled in Britain and who were the first to acquire country houses in Britain in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Carey & Green, 2024, 17).

ironworks in the mining districts. However, the decreased profitability of iron production from the mid-1800s led to most being sold after a short time, except for two manors and ironworks purchased in the early 1800s and thereafter inherited: Gysinge and Skebo.

Jews in Stockholm began buying manors as early as the late 1700s to early 1800s, with most remaining in the families for a long time. Before 1870, during a period when Jews still lacked permission to buy land and live outside the cities, Jewish families preferred to buy manors in the classic feudal areas, such as the central parts of Södermanland or in the vicinity of Stockholm, areas with good agricultural conditions. Only a few families chose to buy manors further away from Stockholm.

In Gothenburg, the Jews began to live in stately farms leased from the city in the early 1800s. However, from the 1860s, when Jews were permitted to live in the countryside, they became substantial owners of manors in the textile-producing area north-west of the city in Västergötland. Many of these stately farms were then sold in the early 1900s, probably because of difficulties in making a profit. One of the country houses that remained in the family and was later donated to the Swedish state was Nääs Slott, bought by August Abrahamson, where he and his nephew Otto Salomon started a handicraft school in 1872.

This first systematic investigation of Jewish country houses in Sweden has also touched upon how the owners of the country estates related to being Jewish across different periods and geographical locations, which has been reflected through several biographical accounts. Concerning Jewish burial, for example, previous international research has shown that the choices of burial varied a great deal among Jewish owners of country houses; sometimes, a mausoleum was built adjacent to the country estate where members of the family could be buried.[19] In the case of Nääs Slott, we found a similar case in the Swedish context. In contrast, the Leman family at Salaholm in Västergötland, north-east of Gothenburg, apparently did not invite any of the Jewish country-house owners in the vicinity as guests (Jacobowsky 1967, 47).[20] These are just hints of what could be further researched concerning country houses and Jewishness. These accounts have furnished examples of micro-historical approaches with an emphasis on space, which Ines Koeltzsch and other scholars have suggested as a means to discover historical actors' paths towards modernity and 'modern conceptions of belonging' (Koeltzsch 2016, 64).

In further research, it would be interesting to study questions of varying kinds of Jewishness relating to country houses more systematically in order to further illustrate the plurality of Jewish identities and to find out more about how the purchase of a mansion should be understood. Moreover, since nothing visibly different has been noted about Jewish country houses, and no common denominators for Jewish country houses in Sweden have been found, at this point in the investigation further research is needed into the area of architecture and of the life at the country estates.

The conditions for Jewish country-house acquisition are also important to investigate further. In this pilot study, we have not encountered indications of resistance among the aristocracy against Jews buying country houses, such as

19 See, for example, the mausoleum built by Moses Montefiore at Ramsgate (Carey & Green 2024, 14); by the Ratenaus in the outskirts of Berlin in 1890 (*ibid.*, p. 28); and by Edouardo Cahen d'Envers in Italy (*ibid.*, p. 152).

20 Jacobowsky was informed of who the Lemans socialized with through an interview in the newspaper *Skara Tidning* in June 1966 with the eighty-five-year-old Maria Johansson, who at the turn of the century had been a gentleman's cook at Stora Salaholm.

research on other European country houses shows. Since antisemitism, naturally, was also part of the living conditions of Swedish Jews, this needs further investigation. Be that as it may, this pilot study has laid the foundation for further studies of how purchases were made, of potential changes over time, and what such changes tell us. Questions remain of whether Jewish purchases provoked antisemitism in the local community, among the general public, the aristocracy, or in the press.

We also need to do further research to determine to what extent Jewish country houses were permanent residences and how this changed over time.

Many of the Jewish country houses that we have discovered in this pilot study still exist, and several remain in the families. Valuable witness accounts need to be collected – while there is still time – by interviewing these owners and other descendants of Jewish country-house owners who are still alive. ■

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## Private archives

Charlottenlund's private archives

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