

# ZIONISM IN SWEDEN\*

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*Stockholm*

## Introduction

The first Zionist Congresses left the Jewish majority in Sweden relatively untouched. It is true that Professor Gottlieb Klein, the influential Rabbi of Stockholm, a student and personal friend of the great German reformer, Abraham Geiger, and to a lesser extent his colleague in Gothenburg, Dr. Koch, did oppose the Jewish national movement in speeches and study circles, but not until January 1910, when the first Zionist society was founded in Stockholm, did Swedish Jews seriously consider this alternative to their "prophetic Judaism". Small Zionist groups in other parts of the country had, in fact, previously existed and failed. According to "Die Welt", the German language Zionist newspaper, in a small notice of September 1902, Cantor Hurwitz was president of a Zionist club in Malmö. I have been unable to pin-down the exact date for this organization's birth but can relate that it was short-lived. It was apparently the first Zionist association in Swedish-Jewish history and the

result of hard work by the merchant, Salomon Blumenthal, who was called "Zionism's founder in Southern Sweden" in the 100 year Jubilee Volume of the Malmö Jewish Community (1971).

Efforts by the Zionists in Sweden to gain public attention for themselves were mainly ineffectual until Kurt Blumenfeld, the General Secretary and Chief of Information for the World Zionist Organization in Berlin, visited Stockholm and Gothenburg (9—17 April, 1912) to deliver several open lectures. Blumenfeld received extensive press-coverage. On 16 April his subject was "The future of the Jew" and on the 17th, "Zionist Activities and the Present Political Situation". These were each covered by at least three newspapers. Blumenfeld met with several community leaders, but not with Klein who demonstrated his antagonism. Eventually (Jan. 7, 1913) the Rabbi published in the influential newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, a hard critique of the national movement — "Why the Swedish Jews are not Zionists". Lacking intellectually competent leadership, the Zionist organization could not reply. But Reverend Lindhagen, Executive Secretary of the conversionalist "Judemissionen" of the Swedish Lutheran State Church, unsolicited answered, questioning Klein's interpretation of Judaism. The Rabbi had written that Zionism "is not Jewish in the prophetic sense. Jewish nationalism is a withdrawal from Israel's mission, a process of destruction within the organism of the Jewish religion." The missionary, Lindhagen, retorted: "Since the statement to which I refer comes from the man with the leading position in Swedish Jewry, it must be recognized as the most sorry

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\* The first part of my study of the early years (1897—1914) of Zionist activities in Sweden has not as yet appeared in its entirety. A long English language summary was, however, read as a paper at the First Nordic Congress of Jewish Studies in May, 1975. In Swedish translation this lecture, with footnotes, was published in "Religion och Bibel xxxiv 1975, Nathan Söderblom-Sällskapet's Årsbok" (pp. 59—69).

The first section of this article is an attempt to summarize that article which deals with Zionist activities prior to the First Scandinavian Conference in January 1913.

proof of Jewry's degradation as long as it is represented by such men. Absence of even a trace of concern for millions of Jews who do not have the material well-being of Swedish Jews means a complete alienation from the Old Testament's teachers of Israel, filled as they were with a glowing love and a sympathy for their people."

This concern for "the Jewish People" was fundamental for Swedish Zionists. And no wonder: they, themselves, were almost exclusively immigrants. Some had succeeded in becoming members of the Swedish Jewish Communities — membership was reserved for Swedish citizens — but most were not. In fact, the denigrating term "zionist" among the community elite, was another way of saying "foreign Jew". It is therefore not surprising that the Zionist leadership continually looked outside the country for inspiration and educated help. Rarely were they able to manage larger projects on their own and even those which were attempted in the public eye were often led by the few Swedish-born members of the association. Thus the unsuccessful attempt to form a Zionist summer camp as a response to missionary efforts among the penurious Jewish children in the southern part of Stockholm (some 30 children attended a Christian "vacation-camp" in the summer of 1911) was under the chairmanship of the native born H. Elliot and the magazine "Zionisten" appeared briefly under the editorship of Leopold Turitz, one of the few college graduates in the Zionist association. Rarely did Moritz Tarschis, the devoted founder and guiding spirit of the Zionist Association, publically stand alone in these early years. But Tarschis was actually the dynamo behind almost everything attempted by the small but energetic group: the founding of the Stockholm Zionist Association in January 1910, the proclamation of Jewish loyalty insisting that the next rabbi be a Zionist in March 1913 — which was sent to all Jews in Stockholm — and the various political manoeuvres eventually leading to the engagement of the world famous Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria and former secretary to Theodore Herzl, Marcus (Mordecai) Ehrenpreis as Rabbi of Stockholm. This was actually a superb political accomplishment, but because of the animosity that gradually developed between Marcus Ehrenpreis and those who worked behind the scenes to bring him to Stockholm,

neither side ever admitted that the former Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria was at one time the protégé of "the Zionists". Neither Ehrenpreis' book, "My Life Between East and West" nor the various Zionist publications relate the real developments that led Ehrenpreis from the Chief Rabbinate of 100,000 Bulgarian Jews to the position of Rabbi for some 3000 Swedish Jews in Stockholm, in the main secularly well-educated, culturally active and wealthy. But the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem contain numerous letters, printed invitations and the above mentioned "proclamation of Jewish loyalty" of March 1913. It is certain that the "Zionists" successfully convinced the Executive Board of Stockholm's Jewish Community to interview additional candidates to succeed Professor, Rabbi Gottlieb Klein and to consider Dr. Ehrenpreis' application. Unbelievably in retrospect, everyone was pleased when Ehrenpreis was nominated: Rabbi Klein, the assimilationists, the Board of Directors and even the Zionists. His interview, sermon and lecture in January 1914 were extremely well received, although by this time Professor Klein was sick and could not attend. Ehrenpreis went, instead, to Djursholm outside the city, to visit the ailing incumbent at home and had a warm and lengthy discussion with him. Marcus Ehrenpreis was elected Rabbi of Stockholm by the community in March 1914. The joy — at least on the part of those behind the scenes (the Zionists) — was to be relatively short-lived, as will be related below.

### **The First Scandinavian Zionist Conference, Stockholm, 5 and 6 January 1913**

In the more than two years during which the rabbi question was being decided, Scandinavian Jewry was moving toward an inter-Nordic cooperation although Finland, of course, could affiliate only after gaining its freedom from Russia. Several changes had occurred which seemed to indicate that the old sociological pattern might finally be interrupted and the normal assimilation with its concomitant disappearance from the Jewish community might be halted. All around them the immigrants could see numerous examples of a three generation assimilation. Orthodox parents had liberal children who intermarried with non-Jews and then baptised their children into Christian-

ity. The Jewish communities did little educationally to combat this pattern, relying upon a one-day weekly after-school instruction in preparation for a church-like "confirmation". The immigrants objected to the absence of the Hebrew language from the school curriculum and the existence of a symbolic Bar Mitzvah ceremony consisting of little more than a Swedish reading. During this time Sunday services, almost completely devoid of any Hebrew prayers, had replaced Sabbath worship in importance.

There were many who realized that something had to be done to help Jews survive culturally in Scandinavia. A new opportunity presented itself because an immigration was taking place. The Zionist magazine, "Ha-Olam"<sup>1</sup> reports: "In recent times some four thousand Jews from Russia have come to settle in Sweden. These Jews are travelling peddlers who journey with their merchandise. The Swedish Merchant's Organization has turned to the government with the request that it employ the applicable means against these Jews. This organization calls upon the government to return all Jews who engage in trade without possessing national citizenship to their homeland."

This new Yiddish-speaking population may account for the appearance of two Yiddish publications at this time in Copenhagen.<sup>2</sup> The first Yiddish paper in Scandinavia was called "Das Wochen Blatt". It began publication on 21 May 1911 and while the paper clearly claimed that it was not politically committed to any one position or party, it regularly published materials that could be called pro-Zionist. Subscription cost 4 Danish Crowns for those living in Denmark and 5 cr. for those outside the country. Its printer was Mr. I. Litschewskij, who also produced a shortlived second journal called "Der Judischer Student", first appearing in December 1912. The latter, while published by "Forlag das Wochen Blatt" (The Wochen Blatt publishing Co.), was really a magazine for young Russian Jews studying throughout Europe. Indeed the first edition asks for the formation of a union of the various Jewish Student Unions outside the country (Russia). Its price per edition was listed as 50 cents, 20 kopic, 40 pfennig. Because of censorship and insurmountable technical difficulties the magazine ceased publication with numbers 4—5, March—April 1913.

About this time the Zionist society in Stockholm produced an internal sheet in Swedish, entitled "Bulletins".<sup>3</sup> It attempted to inform the membership of what was occurring in local and international Jewry and urged increased contributions to the various collections. In typical Jewish fashion members were encouraged to celebrate a joyous occasion by contributing money to the Jewish National Fund (rather than a general Jewish charity). Thus, at the circumcision of the son of S. Glück celebrated on 11 Dec. 1910, 6.53 Swedish Crowns = 7.35 Marks were collected.<sup>4</sup> At the wedding of Miss Friedman and Mr. Dworetzki, 7.05<sup>5</sup> were contributed. Such occasions and collections were rather frequent but the grand result of all these small donations was not very remarkable. The following chart is taken from "Die Welt", 31 January 1913, number 5, p. 157:

	1912	1911	1910
Sweden	968.26 m.	171.18 m.	292.76 m.

(Proportionately, the paper estimated that Sweden and Denmark rated very high. Estimating that together the two countries had about 5,000 Jews, the 1300 marks that they had collected in 1912 averaged out to about 26 pfennig person. It was a sad comment that this placed them fifth highest in the world).<sup>6</sup>

The Stockholm Club's large assembly took place monthly but people came much more frequently to the club-house and often used the growing Zionist library. Generally the program consisted of a lecture or a musical presentation. Sometimes the topic could generate a great deal of heat when it struck close to home — like the rabbi question or the article in Stockholm's influential daily newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter* (8.1.1911). This paper reported the interview with Kiasum Nami Bey which had appeared in a publication called "Impartial" and was quite devastating to the Jewish national cause in its article, "Zionism and Turkey". Upset by this attack, the Stockholm Zionist leadership wrote to the central office, then still in Köln (Cologne).<sup>7</sup> A reply was forwarded by the WZO to the newspaper which printed it on 22 January 1911.

The Stockholm Zionists had developed a sense of responsibility toward the other groups in Scandinavia. Moritz Tarschis had traveled

to Oslo (Kristiania). Even earlier, on 12 November 1911, the chairman of the Stockholm society, Dr. L. Turitz, lectured in Gothenburg<sup>8</sup> and helped organize a club there. The 45 members elected his brother, H. G. Turitz, and L. Jacobsson, G. Jacobsson and S. Ausfrinsky to the executive board. As in Stockholm the community Rabbi, Dr. Koch, opposed its establishment.

About this time, an undated mimeographed eleven page brochure in Swedish was prepared, outlining the basic ideas of Zionism and, equally important, explaining all the various activities then being directed by the World Zionist Organization.<sup>9</sup> The list was obviously made to inform the Zionist and general reader but also tries to give the member of a Zionist society a sense of participation in a worldwide effort, even though he may live in an isolated corner of what might be called "The Jewish World". It also indicates what the Zionist movement was able to achieve in slightly more than a decade. That the brochure was prepared about the beginning of 1912 is evident from a reference to the Jewish National Fund and its conclusion.

... Since we have succeeded in such a short time in building local societies in those larger cities of Sweden where Jewish inhabitants are to be found, we now plan to establish a Nordic Zionist Union (underlined in the original). Then the fruit of our Zionist work will show itself and then we shall be (a source of) blessing and good fortune for all Jews living in the Nordic lands...<sup>10</sup>

The plans for a Scandinavian Union began to take concrete form in late 1912 when all the constituent organizations were contacted. Stockholm, then, wrote to the Zionist Actions Committee requesting them to send a representative to attend a First Scandinavian Zionist Conference. It was also suggested that he visit the various member cities and lecture<sup>11</sup> in each before departing Scandinavia. This proposal was approved and Dr. Gerson Bloede of Hamburg was selected to be the A.C. representative.

On Sunday, 5 January 1913, the First Scandinavian Zionist Congress was opened at 12 noon at the Hotel Kronprinsen in Stockholm. Josef Nachemsohn had come from Denmark. Two delegates, Leopold Oster and M. Kasdan, represented Kristiania (Norway). Four representatives had come from Gothenburg and

Stockholm, the host, had the largest contingent, 10 in attendance. Apparently M. Kasdan, one of the founders of the Stockholm society and a member of the Stockholm delegation, was instructed to vote with Kristiania. He appears twice on the list of 17 names and "Die Welt"<sup>12</sup> is, therefore, correct in its report that 16 representatives actually participated in the conference.

The chairman of Stockholm's society, Dr. L. Turitz, opened the conference with an historical lecture explaining Zionist theory and also relating how the first congress had come to pass. Dr. G. Bloede, the representative of the Actions Committee, then spoke. The protocols<sup>13</sup> summarize his speech:

Mr. G Bloede transmitted to the conference greetings from "A.C.", the Zionist central leadership. He said that the Actions Committee was very pleased that the First Zionist Conference of Scandinavia was being held and that they hoped that the session would achieve its goals. "A.C. urged the formative Scandinavian Union to hold rigidly to the basic principles of Zionism, in no way to preach a watered down "Rachmones" (compassion) Zionism but rather to build upon pure, national foundations." The speech ended with the encouragement to strengthen themselves as he called out the Hebrew motto "Be Strong, Be Strong and Courageous (Chasak, Chasak, Wämez)". Lively applause followed the speech.

Dr. Gerson Bloede apparently made a fine impression upon all he met and again proved that Zionism's leaders were not only immigrant Eastern European Jews but also men of western education and "delicate culture". Moritz Tarschis indicated years later that the Zionists began to observe a slight groping and approaching on the part of Swedish Jews.<sup>14</sup>

The conference then organized itself for the business meetings. They combined the delegates from Copenhagen and Kristiania plus M. Kasdan, considering them as representatives for both cities and entitling them to six votes. Then followed the reports from each of the constituents.

Josef Nachemsohn began by describing the history of the Danish Zionist Society: "The club was weak to begin with but was built up to a membership of 100 and sent two delegates to the Sixth Zionist Congress. Thereafter its membership sank to about half its former strength". They had recently played a

major role in establishing a Hebrew School Society in Copenhagen. The Jewish National Fund work was also progressing well there and some 750 additional crowns had been collected for the "Genossenschaftsfonden". But he admitted that the publicity and the debate which should come from a Zionist organization in Copenhagen was very limited; indeed weak.

He was followed by Mr. Leopold Oster of Kristiania who remarked that some 10 years earlier Cantor A. S. Tarschis (sic) had tried to establish a Zionist organization. Interest was limited and when Tarschys (as it should read) departed, nothing more was done until Rabbi Dr. M. Aschkenazi again tried and failed. "About 2 years ago a Dutchman and 1 1/2 years ago a German (a Mr. Hollander who much later established a firm in Stockholm) worked for Zionism and both succeeded in forming a society, which then disbanded thereafter". The present society consisting of 35 members has been able to survive only because the Swedish Zionist Society in Stockholm has sent speakers to them and distributed materials throughout the year 1912.

Gothenburg's report was read by Mr. L. Jacobson. He related how the society was established on 19 Nov. 1911 on the initiative of the Stockholm club. About 90 members joined at that time and the society constituted itself with a body of by-laws patterned on those guiding Stockholm's organization. In the course of time the Zionist organization has become strong and has, through propaganda and discussion, succeeded in overcoming some of the initial opposition. He thanked Dr. L. Turitz for his lectures, assistance and advice. The speaker told about Chanukkah celebrations and other programs of Jewish song and dance and reviewed the society's contributions to various charities in addition to the usual National Fund collections. Kurt Blumenfeld's visit of 14 April 1912 had been a great boost. The protocol then concludes with this paragraph: "In September 1912 they acquired a new locale for the club where magazines, newspapers and brochures in German and Jargon (Yiddish) are available. Members meet there twice weekly to read and discuss Zionist topics and the meetings are marked by a feeling of warmth (gemytlighet). At present they have 115 members."

Most of what M. Tarschis then related about

Stockholm has already been recorded. He did add that M. Kasdan had taken the initiative with Josef Nachemsohn of Copenhagen in founding the original Stockholm society, which opened with about 20 members. In its first year they raised 300 cr. for the national fund (1910). During 1911 they published a Swedish translation of Dr. Herzl's brochure "Mauschel" and when the rumors about the Young Turks' opposition to Zionism spread in Sweden, mainly through the Dagens Nyheter article, the society formed study circles, which have continued to function taking up Zionist history and, later, general Jewish history for discussion. "The society sent out a bulletin (rundskrifvelse) to some 20 places in Sweden, Norway and Finland at the end of its second year (1911), containing in abbreviated form details pertaining to Zionism's beginning, development, essence and goal. The result of this work was that a Zionist society was established in Kristiania and another will shortly take form in Trondhjem.<sup>15</sup> The society has also translated into Swedish the most important speeches delivered at the 10th Zionist Congress. It now has 145 members..."

Those assembled decided unanimously to form a Scandinavian Zionist Union (Skandinaviskt zionistförbund) and elected a committee to draft the by-laws. J. Nachemsohn (Copenhagen), J. Kirschon (Gothenburg), M. Kasdan (for Kristiania), G. Grünwald (Stockholm) and M. Tarschis (Stockholm), chairman, met after the first day's business sessions which closed when the assembled sang "Hatikvah".

The second day's proceeding, again under the chairmanship of Dr. L. Turitz, began with Hatikvah and then turned to the telegrams of greeting from F. Kamras, Malmö, the Swedish Zionist Society of Gothenburg, and the Norwegian Zionist Society of Kristiania. Mr. G. Grünwald read the rules proposed by the by-laws committee, which were unanimously accepted by the conference. They elected the following persons to the Union's executive board: L. Turitz, M. Tarschis, G. Grünwald (Stockholm); Nachemsohn (Copenhagen); Siew (Kristiania); and L. Jacobson (Gothenburg). Alternates were S. Glück and I. Abel (Stockholm). Thereafter the Central Fund board<sup>16</sup>, The National Fund board<sup>17</sup> and the accountants<sup>18</sup> were elected.

After a ten minute pause the debate con-

tinued with J. Nachemsohn in the chair. The topic raised by Herman Elliot was the question of publicity to change the anti-zionism of the various Jewish communities. This led to a discussion about fostering a more intensive Jewish education for children and youth. A resolution calling for the exploiting of every educational means to spread the Zionist idea was passed.

The meeting then took up the problem of East European Jews in Scandinavian lands and resolved to try to influence them toward Zionism by joining their clubs and organizations. The Zionists should try to approach them through Yiddish and should make use of the literature available in that language. S. Tarschys initiated a discussion of the position of the Hebrew language and its study in Scandinavia. He declared that the national tongue should be revived and concluded his speech with a "lefve" (a cheer, y'chi, "May it live") for the Hebrew language. Shortly thereafter a resolution was passed — "The First Scandinavian Zionist Conference has decided to sponsor the building of Hebrew School Organizations. It is incumbent upon the Union's executive board to support by word and act every Zionist society belonging to the Union working toward the establishment of the above mentioned school organizations."

Mr. G. Grünwald proposed that the Union publish its own magazine and presented a cost estimate. Unanimously the assembled agreed upon the following: "The First Scandinavian Zionist Conference has decided to produce its own organ in the form of a magazine. Because its own resources do not permit it at present to publish, it suggests the building of a corporation with 100 shares, at the cost of 5 Crowns each. It decides to give the executive committee the task of attending to the acquisition of such a magazine.

Reports by I. Abel and S. Glück then followed about National Fund and Schekel collections (see table).

The Conference then voted to try to increase Schekel sales, adding that a campaign should be conducted, even among non-Zionists.

Dr. G. Bloede's second speech concluded the conference. At this time he spoke on the political situation, emphasizing the work in Palestine. He emphasized the importance of Schekel sales and hoped that 800 would be sold

	JNF	
1910	about 275 cr.	
1911	about 450 cr.	
1912	about 850 cr.	(200 from Gothenburg)
	Schekel	
1910	90 members	50 cr.
1911	88 members	60 cr.
1912	145 members	70 cr.

in Scandinavia before the next World Zionist Congress. He concluded by urging all to work for the Jewish people's national new birth in the old homeland, Palestine. "Hatikvah" was sung and the meeting adjourned at 6 PM.<sup>19</sup>

Dr. Bloede was asked to remain and assist the Stockholm society in its conflict with the anti-Zionist Jewish Community. Just a few days before the conference Professor G. Klein had written an article for the newspaper "Aftonbladet" entitled "Why a Swedish Jew Cannot be a Zionist". Bloede composed a long reply in German which was translated into Swedish and appeared in that well-read newspaper on 14 Jan. 1913. He called his reply — "Why Jews Are Zionists". The author concluded:

It is true that Zionism demands work, sacrifice, dedication — in short, youthfulness in spirit, above all. He who no longer has this youthfulness and senses himself to be little and weak, is not mature enough to participate in this effort. "He who does not believe in himself, always lies" says Nietzsche. Zionism believes in itself. It knows that we Jews are a people and that we, ourselves, will create our own values. Here is a people fighting for its doctrine and for its freedom. The Swedish Jew will also place himself in the Zionist line and jump into the fray to the degree that he is a Jew and in so far as he possesses youth. He cannot remain inactive while the Jewish longing strives powerfully to express itself; when a new day rises over the homeland's ancient shores."

Under the article appeared the following announcement: "The above article was provided by the Swedish Zionist Union as a contribution to the debate on this question."

### "Zionisten"

The fourth resolution passed at the First Scandinavian Zionist Conference called upon the executive to produce a monthly publication. There were three major problems — staff, ma-

terial and financing. The first was solved when Leopold Turitz, chairman of the Stockholm society and a university graduate, agreed to accept editorship. To solve the second problem, the publication needed articles of interest on an academic level so that non-Zionists might be attracted as well as young Jewish academicians who were the children of immigrants. In this Turitz recognized his own limitations and turned to the Berlin Central office of the Zionist movement.<sup>20</sup> They, in turn, contacted several outstanding personalities and asked them to contribute articles to the Swedish Zionist publication. Many did, indeed, reply and keep their word. Thus in the first edition of the magazine, Robert Weltsch of Prague, a young intellectual and a colleague of Martin Buber, wrote "At the Crossroads". Likewise the lesser known Adolf Stand, Lemberg, made several contributions, "Theodore Herzl" and "The Modern Jew". These translations proved to be the highlights of "Zionisten" but editorials, news and many other articles were supplied by Stockholm talent.

The third problem, financing, proved insurmountable. I have not been able to locate any financial records for that time but there is reason to assume that the First Scandinavian Zionist Conference did raise enough money to begin publication but that the public response never reached the subscription level necessary for survival. After the "stock" money was consumed, the publication could not continue.

1913 seemed to be a good year to initiate a Swedish magazine about Zionism. People were talking about Palestine. The Professor of Exegetics at Lund University, Erik Aurelius, had published a book, "Palestinabilder" (Palestine pictures) about his journeys through the Holy Land and even though he did not take up the problems of Jewish colonization, it did make believing Protestants of Sweden aware of Palestine as a living reality. The last chapter, telling about the peasants from Dalarna who had settled in Jerusalem was, naturally, very exciting for the Swedish reader.

There was also another Swedish-Palestine matter of interest in the wind. As mentioned in an undated manuscript and the part of that document which appeared in *Zionisten*, Vol. 1, nr. 1, the Israel commercial Art School, Bezalel, often displayed its creations in the larger cities of Europe and America. The Bezalel Organization in Berlin had recently contacted

Moritz Tarschis about arranging for a "showing", in Stockholm. The intention, of course, was to sell the merchandise on display and Tarschis logically concluded that the best location for combining art and commerce would be a high-quality department store. Tarschis, therefore, replied<sup>21</sup> (on 20 May 1913) suggesting that the Bezalel Office write directly to Mr. Josef Sachs, director of Nordiska Kompaniet of Stockholm, Sweden's largest department store of that type. Mr. Sachs was a well known merchant and a member of the Jewish community. Unfortunately the file is silent about whether this display ever did take place. I would venture to guess that it did not because all other Zionist sources of the time are silent. In any event 50 copies of the Bezalel yearly report were forwarded to Tarschis but nothing is recorded as to what he did with them.

In 1913 the Zionist work in Palestine was progressing slowly but steadily. The Second Aliyah (immigration) had already created the kibbutz as a form for communal toiling of the soil and many Zionist cultural and financial projects had begun their arduous development. The all Jewish city of Tel Aviv had already pushed out haphazardly in several directions.

"Zionisten" wanted to communicate all this to a very ignorant Swedish public. But to tell its story, the publication had to first get that public interested in reading and this it could not achieve. Its failure to win subscribers points to the indifference of its non-readers.

The major magazines of the Zionist movement had a common format, generally preferred by both editor and reader. First came one or several editorials, followed by articles and lastly news. The latter was usually broken up into three categories: Jewish news from around the world; in the movement; and on the local plane. Naturally the larger publications like "HaOlam" in Hebrew and "Die Welt" in German, writing for a world-wide audience, omitted the latter category, including recent events in Russia or Germany under one of the other two categories. "Zionisten", a local organ, devoted considerable space to Scandinavian events. It is, therefore, an excellent but shortlived source for Scandinavian Zionist history.

The first edition appeared in July 1913 and the publication survived until almost the end of the year, Oct-Nov 1913 (numbers 4 and

Country	Total M	General donations	Collection boxes	Collection books	Golden Book	National Fund markers	Olive trees
Denmark	370.33	7.85	70.12	—	204	58.33	22.03
Sweden	968.26	173.20	323.55	95.67	186.84	76.91	109.39

5).<sup>22</sup> The magazine, in order to make its existence known to both Zionists and non-Zionists, was actually sent gratis to all known Jews in Scandinavia. It went to both members and non-members of the Jewish communities.<sup>23</sup> After the free first copy all subsequent numbers cost 25 öre each (double numbers — 50 öre).

The cover page was striking. Above the title, "Zionisten", there was a picture of an elderly, broken man in a black skullcap sitting behind a circle of thorns. Behind him stands a young, manly angel with a six-pointed star across the chest of his white robe. The angel's right hand rests upon the elder's shoulder while the left hand points in the same direction as his large left wing — toward a strong farmer, also with a skullcap, plowing with a pair of oxen away from the angel directly into a rising sun. The angel's right wing, like his right hand, encircles the tired old man who leans heavily on his cane. The imagery symbolizes a spiritual rebirth on and through the soil which will occur on a new day. This, of course, is the Zionist dream and goal and it is to this hope that "Zionisten" is devoted.

The first editorial notes that Zionism's goal is not well known in certain lands, among them Scandinavia. It insists that Zionists and non-Zionists will benefit from the existence of a Zionist magazine which will clarify the issues. To this goal "Zionisten" dedicates itself. Thereafter follows the article by Robert Weltsh, "At the Crossroads" and another by Henrich Loewe, "How Zionism Began". The news section tells about the forthcoming 11th Zionist Congress in Vienna (2—9 September), events in Palestine and finally international occurrences. An article by Mr. N. B. Joseph, apparently not a translation, tells about Moses Mendelssohn and Johan Caspar Lavater and their correspondence about Judaism and Christianity.

Jewish life in Scandinavia follows with a report about the 1912 National Fund collections (see table).

P. 14 related that the Jewish National Fund began its work in Sweden on 1 April 1910

and that it collected 275 cr. during the first year and 450 cr. in 1911. During the past few years the blue boxes have become popular and some 75 have been distributed in Stockholm, Gothenburg and the provinces. An appeal for the Central fund follows but this is succeeded by a special drive. The magazine cites another appeal, published in Berlin, by the "Society of Jewish Doctors and Scientists With Sanitary Interests in Palestine". This appeal asks every Jew to donate money, at least 6 marks — minimal membership contribution — to improve the sanitation of Jewish colonies. It notes that many Eastern Jews are going to Palestine to avoid persecution and need assistance in starting anew. Among the signatories are hundreds of doctors and scholars, mostly non-Zionists, among them Prof. Dr. G. Klein of Stockholm and Prof. Dr. D. Simonsen, Copenhagen.

Of interest to Scandinavians in number 2, appearing in August 1913, is an unsigned article about Religious Judaism and Zionism, indicating that Liberal Judaism leads to assimilation. The local news which follows tells about a Herzl memorial evening held at the small synagogue on Skansgatan in Gothenburg and about the Sch'kalim sales throughout the country. It is noted that Mr. Felländer of Karlstad sold 10 and Mr. H. Mossesson of Wäxiö, 6. The report concludes by reminding that 400 Sch'kalim must be sold in order to send one Scandinavian delegate to the congress and urges each Jew to buy at least one. After the results of the Central Fund collections and news from Palestine and around the world, the following appears on p. 36:

To the 11th Congress

The Zionist organization in Scandinavia asks that as many persons as possible remember to forward greetings to the forthcoming Jewish People's Parliament (sic) on 2 and 3 September and that they use Jewish National Fund telegram forms... These telegrams will be acknowledged in "Die Welt" and those from Scandinavia will be published in Zionisten.

In order to make the Jewish National Fund telegram even more popular, the JNF committee has



decided to publish in "Zionisten" the names of all who send such greetings to weddings or other festive occasions. Forms may be obtained from the local National Fund committee."

The magazine repeats the appeal for the improvement of sanitation in Palestine and lists the names of all contributors from Scandinavia. Donors were Prof. Klein, Prof. Karl Warburg; Gothenburg, Dr. G. Koch; Malmö, Rabbi Dr. J. Wohlstein; Copenhagen, Prof. Harald Goldschmidt, Prof. Dr. I. Rosenthal, Prof. Carl Jul. Salomonsen, Prof. D. Simonsen. The article adds that the organization plans to open an institute for bacteriological and microscopic diagnosis and to fight malaria, trachoma and will concern itself with child care and school hygiene. Membership, it reminds the reader, costs 6 marks.

Number 3 of "Zionisten" tells about the Stockholm society's first meeting after the summer vacation and its preparations for the coming year. At the club room (in Hotel Kronprinsen) they planned for the forthcoming High Holydays and the Minyan to be held at Odeon, Brunkebergsgatan 3 II. A. S. Tarschis (sic) agreed to serve as cantor again and to do so without salary, donating all funds to the Zionist society. An entrance fee 2 cr. per man and 1 cr. per woman would be charged. The meeting was to be concluded with a lecture by Moritz Tarschis on the 11th Congress. In the meanwhile Gothenburg had two meetings 14 August and 2 September. This edition also contains an article by Dr. J. Tschlenow about the Jews in Finland.

The same number also carried an article about the importance of the Hebrew language. It urges people to study Hebrew which it considers as important for a Zionist as donating money. I note this as an indication of the society's desire to put into practice the resolution of the First Scandinavian Zionist Conference. An even more concrete effort was made in Stockholm in 1915 when Iwriah was formed. This school society is outside the scope of this paper.

The fourth printing, Oct.—Nov. 1913, begins with an editorial lamenting how difficult it is to publish "Zionisten" despite its great importance. The editor bewails the shortage of money and the absence of assistants. He notes that 5 numbers have appeared and calls for aid so that the magazine not die. The world

news follows and the decision of the 11th congress to found a university in Jerusalem is noted. Thereafter the magazine prints the lengthy speeches of Pres. Prof. Otto Warburg, Nahum Sokolow and Schmarya Levin. Considering the financial insolvency of "Zionisten", it is difficult to understand why many pages are devoted to these speeches rather than employing the same space for additional number or numbers of the magazine. The Swedish texts of these talks consume forty pages. In any event, the last page of the final edition reports the Jewish National Fund collections. Contributions are noted from Oskarshamn, Malmö, Norrköping and Trondhjem, all but the last (45 cr.) being very small amounts. With this final page "Zionisten" ceases to appear.

### Before The War

The lot of Swedish Jewry has been to be numerically and politically insignificant except for periods of world conflict and immediately thereafter, until order replaces chaos. This role is easily explained. Sweden's neutrality has enabled humanitarian rescue actions to proceed from that peaceful land and to penetrate deep into the areas of bloodshed where the persecuted, the war victims and the injured innocent bystanders could all be helped. Since Jews, unfortunately, have suffered far more than their numbers should have evoked by the laws of probability, they have often been the recipients of such succor, much of which has come through, if not from, Sweden. It was thus during both the world wars which ravaged Europe in the first half of the 20th century.

Until July 1914 the Scandinavian Zionist Union continued its lackadaisical path. The Second Scandinavian Zionist Congress scheduled for 4—6 January 1914 was postponed even though paragraph 12 of the Union's regulations called for an annual meeting. In December 1913 Moritz Tarschis<sup>24</sup> wrote to the Central Office in Berlin requesting the attendance of a member of the Actions Committee at the projected second annual conference to be held this time in Copenhagen. Dr. Gerson Bloede's visit had meant a great deal for all who had attended the previous year and his speeches in Stockholm and Copenhagen had been very well received. A similar tour was expected

of this year's representative, with the unexpressed hope of including Gothenburg and maybe even Norway this time. Unfortunately the reply of 7 Dec. 1913 from Berlin was completely negative. The Actions Committee had too many activities and yearly reports to prepare before the year's end to spare even a single member. They suggested that the Berlin Office supply the conference with a detailed written report of political, economic and social activities of the past year, which could instead be read by a local person, thus replacing a guest speaker but providing new material. This report was actually prepared and forwarded as an express letter, received by M. Tarschis on 2 Jan. 1914.

The report is an important document for Zionist history and did indirectly influence the Stockholm society. It is concerned mainly with the Kulturkampf then being waged in Palestine between the Zionists and the representatives of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, a very important German-Jewish philanthropic organization. The Zionists had already enjoyed limited success in sponsoring Hebrew as the language of instruction in Palestinian schools. The Hilfsverein wanted German to be the language of instruction. The Yishuv (settlement), as the Zionists called Jewish Palestine at the time, was being torn by the cultural battle and the Zionist Actions Committee was, then, engaged in an intensive campaign to support the movement's demand for Hebrew at this critical moment.

Tarschis' letter of 7 Jan. 1914 omits this international concern and concentrates on local matters. He writes that Turitz is ill. Grünewald is completely negative and these leaders have not actively participated in the society's work during the past 5 or 6 months. A few volunteers, Mrs. S. Abel and Mr. M. Kasdan, have been helpful. "Zionisten" which has consumed so much money and effort has proven unsuccessful and has had to be dropped. He then adds that he has not written this letter to complain but rather to ask for new help from Berlin in reactivating the society. It is, he observes, rather obvious why the decision to postpone the Second Scandinavian Zionist Conference was reached. Without a representative of the Actions Committee the Zionists will not get the inspiration from the sessions that they now need for renewal. Unfortunately the Actions Committee still could not spare

one of their members and their reply concludes the correspondence on this matter.

In March 1914 Marcus Ehrenpreis was elected Rabbi in Stockholm. On the 17th Tarschis wrote to Berlin that the vote count had been 35 (for) and 6 (against), a rather minuscule participation considering that some 500 were eligible to cast a ballot. Tarschis adds that he is very pleased and hopeful for the future, especially after Eherenpreis, during his visit, had personally spoken with some outstanding Swedish-Jewish cultural personalities, all of whom were taken with the Rabbi. A month later, 19 April 1914, Tarschis again wrote to inform Berlin that the Zionist society was still alive, having just held its annual elections. He was now chairman. J. Levy was vice chairman, H. Schapira, secretary, S. Glück, treasurer, P. Kleineman, M. Kasdan and A. Pomedel (?) completing the board. He also lists the National Fund committee members, the library committee and finally the "festkommitte", responsible for organizing celebrations. On all these lists new names are to be found, indicating that a transition had been taking place after the unsuccessful conclusion of 1913.

This exchange of letters then took a very strange turn. On 26 Juni 1914 a letter was forwarded to Tarschis remarking that if Ehrenpreis was elected, good, but if not, they should push for the nomination of Dr. Joseph in Stolp, who had previously rejected the candidacy. The note conveys a slight feeling of doubt concerning Marcus Ehrenpreis' Zionist loyalty.

Tarschis, obviously confused, replied that his letter of 17 March had reported Ehrenpreis' election. The Stockholm Zionists had already written several letters to him in Sofia and he had responded, promising to meet with them when he commenced his duties in September. Tarschis also adds that a Dr. Feuer had spoken at the Rodef Chesed traditional Synagogue in Stockholm where some 50 persons attended.

Two brief final comments about Stockholm's new Chief Rabbi and his Zionist affiliations and loyalties: The file containing all the above noted letters also has a correspondence from Nachum Sokolow to Mr. Josef Nachemsohn of Copenhagen on 23 June. Sokolow reminds Nachemsohn of their conversation in London about Eherenpreis and asks that he be informed as to what has happened in the interim.

He wants to know if Ehrenpreis had arranged for the election himself or if another had contacted him. Unfortunately the reply, if written, does not appear with the other letters.

And lastly, the beginning of the Zionist estrangement from the new Rabbi for whom they did so much is evident from a comparison of two sources, both unpublished. In Tarschis' "25 Years of Zionism in Stockholm" the author writes on p. 13: "Who still remembers a delightful Chanukkah celebration? It was 1914 and Jewish "small-fry" (småttingar), for the very first time, sang and declaimed in Hebrew..."

About same time a letter<sup>25</sup> was written by Marcus Ehrenpreis in Hebrew to the executive of the Zionist Society of Stockholm (Vaad Agudat Hatsiyonim). It is dated the 8th day of Chanukkah 1914 and reads:

Thank you for your much appreciated invitation to participate in the Chanukkah celebration of your society. I very much regret that I have another invitation — from the Swedish Academy — to participate in its annual celebration, on the very same evening. I cannot come to your festivities as I would like. I would especially enjoy hearing the youth speaking and singing in Hebrew. "Be strong and of good courage" and continue on this path. Indeed, the revival of the Hebrew spirit will come because such is a necessity.<sup>26</sup> With honor and with the greetings of the revival, Mordecai Ehrenpreis.

I am certain that the board of the Zionist society was disappointed by this correspondence. They likely reasoned that the new Rabbi would have many future opportunities to attend the annual Nobel Prize festivities during his years in Stockholm while Zionist celebrations would not always fall on the 10th of December. In addition, as Ehrenpreis' letter indicated, the Hebraic content and form of that year's program was certainly a novelty for Stockholm. As would happen many times during the more than thirty years of his rabbinic, secular values would clash with Zionist values. From the very beginning the new Rabbi indicated that he would not always be loyal to the latter.

## The Outbreak of War and a New Role

When Chanukkah was celebrated in Stockholm in December 1914, the First World War was

already raging on the continent. Rather quickly Stockholm was changing from an insignificant Zionist outpost to an international center. Tarschis later recalled: <sup>27</sup>

World War came in 1914. With that, Swedish Zionism entered a new phase. Zionism received a more stable, broader platform. Jews, driven by the wind from East, South and West arrived here — among them were many intelligent and good patriots who wanted to be of service and were. Stockholm became a central point for Zionism. Everything began to assume huge proportions and there began to appear contours of something big. Thousands of Jews tried to get in touch with relatives and friends and it was only natural that they should turn to the Stockholm affiliate of the Zionist movement to make these contacts. I still have in my possession three completely filled address books containing the addresses of Jewish families in Germany and Russia. These pages testify to many and varying fates, of people who were torn from daily activities by war. Parents sought children and children, their parents.

The Zionist organization, widely branched in just those lands at war, seemed to be falling apart. Berlin could not correspond with Petersburg and Moscow — and not with London and New York either. Stockholm's organization became the connecting link. From that time — 1 August 1914 until the end of the year — all Zionist activities of note were organized through Stockholm. I still have some 50 telegrams from the leadership in Berlin which were transmitted to important Jewish centers: to New York, Moscow, Petersburg, Bordeaux, Seville, Madrid. A few examples: — I cabled a telegram to Schmarya Levin, who was then in America and could not return to Europe. In that telegram the American Zionist Organization requested power-of-attorney to take over the direction of the World Zionist Organisation. Confirmation was received from Louis Brandeis, one of America's most prominent Zionists, a member of the U.S. Supreme Court. Brandeis became the president of the organization and Schmarya Levin, its chairman. Even relief work for Jewish war victims was organized through us. Through me, the sad news of the death of David Wolffsohn (Herzl's successor as president of the World Zionist Organization) reached the Jewish world. Telegrams went to Moscow, Petersburg, Warsaw, London, New York, Cape Town.

A Zionist Conference was called in Copenhagen. I still have telegrams stating that "Nahum" (Sokolow) was coming; that "Jechiel" (Tschlenow) was delayed, that "Jabo" (Jabotinsky) was on his way...

These reminiscences convey the sense of urgency and importance that permeated Stock-

holm's Zionist society throughout the war years and extended throughout most of 1919. Much of that history is beyond the chronological scope of this paper but I do hope to winnow through the available material and record it at some later date.

The international role that Tarschis played in mediating between the main offices of the WZO began in August. I have found no correspondence from that time, but the letter from Rosenblüth written on 2 September 1914 is obviously a continuation of a correspondence that began the month before. (July is precluded since war broke out at its very end).

Rosenblüth has obviously asked Tarschis to forward a telegram on his behalf and to serve as temporary mid-station for telegrams to and from Berlin. Tarschis has agreed and has actually sent several telegrams during August. This is clear from the letter of 2 September:

We have received your letter of 28 August and deeply thank you for the friendly expedition of our wish. We are very appreciative because your comradly willingness makes it possible for us to retain contact and it is our hope that you will permit us to make yet another use of it.

Especially interesting for us was the information about the telegrams that you have sent on behalf of Dr. Tschlenow to Prof. Warburg. We have not received these telegrams. It would be interesting to learn from you the place from which Dr. Tschlenow sent them. We are now completely without news about his present address . . .

The remainder of this letter concerns itself with payment for telegrams and the question of private requests by various officials. Indeed, this letter concludes somewhat impertinently, questioning whether Tarschis wants to be paid for these services. He, in reply, refused remuneration.

Josef Nachemsohn in Copenhagen was also engaged in a similar service.<sup>28</sup> Apparently the office in Berlin felt it better to divide the telegrams, which must have been numerous considering the seriousness of the separation and the lack of preparation for this eventuality. It is, therefore, surprising that the General Council of the World Zionist Organization waited so long before reacting to the new situation. Its first meeting following the outbreak of the war was held in Copenhagen on 3—6 December 1914,<sup>29</sup> that is, four months after hostilities were initiated. It is this con-

ference to which Tarschis made mention.

That body decided to establish a Zionist bureau in neutral Copenhagen which would stand administratively under the Head Office in Berlin, where Otto Warburg and Arthur Hantke would remain in charge. Victor Jacobson, who had been in Berlin, was dispatched to Constantinople and Dr. Leo Motzkin was assigned the Copenhagen Bureau, which he directed until the end of 1916 when Victor Jacobson took over. As indicated above this office was not intended to be a rival to the centers in Berlin, London and New York but rather a connecting link between the Head Office and the Zionist federations located in belligerent or neutral lands.<sup>30</sup>

The Copenhagen Bureau of the Zionist Organization opened several weeks after this meeting and by the beginning of 1915 Stockholm's intermediating could be disposed with. Until that time some very important messages were transmitted through Moritz Tarschis. On 2 September 1914 the following message, in French, arrived in Stockholm and was forwarded, arriving in Berlin on 3 September:<sup>31</sup>

To support the Zionist organization and its institutions have formed here a provisional international Palestine committee by means of a special Zionist conference in conjunction with the actions committee. Brandeis president. A letter follows. Publicize the news. Schmarja Levin.

And on the very same day that Levin's telegram reached Berlin, the head office had posted a letter to Tarschis asking that he telegram Levin immediately. The Berlin office was almost bankrupt and asked that funds from America be forwarded to "Kann" and then transferred again to Berlin. Ruppin, who was the administrator of Zionist efforts in Palestine was also without funds. The exact text of the telegram reads:

Zionists Levin New York 142 Henry Street. Here without money. Please send immediately our American funds eventually over Kann. Schools without money. Please organize collections. Ruppin suggests voyage Jellin America. Cable Ruppin your decision. Warburg.

The Zionist organization had developed a telegraph code, the explanations of which were revealed on a "need-to-know" basis. Moritz Tarschis had in his possession a small copy

book in which these abbreviations were translated. This copy book is now owned by his son, Mr. F. B. Tarschis of Tel Aviv. The word "Kann" is one of those code references, the exact meaning of which I do not know. The word "eventually" in the telegram seems strange to a person whose mother tongue is English. But its appearance in the telegram is clarified when one remembers that the author's native tongue was German, for whom "eventual" would suggest not "time when" but rather "perhaps".

The telegram apparently had important consequences. American neutrality not only enabled funds to reach Germany to overcome the immediate crisis there but opened the way for American philanthropic efforts on behalf of the Jews in Palestine, which very soon reached very sizeable proportions. Here is the beginning of the replacement of German institutions in Palestine by American charities. This American assumption of responsibility was later to affect Sweden. American transfer of funds was temporarily severed when the United States and Turkey declared war against each other and remained cut until the British conquered Palestine. During that period Denmark and, to a lesser extent, Sweden were to permit transfers of minted marks in gold to Palestine, thereby saving the Yishuv from starvation and disaster. This Swedish contribution to Zionist history, to the best of my knowledge, has never been mentioned in any history of the period.

I have sifted through the numerous telegrams received by Moritz Tarschis<sup>32</sup> and have selected several which seem more important than the others. On 18 September 1914 this telegram was received:

David Wolffsohn died Wednesday evening Hamburg. Telegraph Tschlenow and Rassviet and Hafirah and Kolonialbank should also inform colleagues and friends and newspapers. Levin should also telegraph Clarence Sola.

Wolffsohn was the second president of the World Zionist Organization and his death was a matter of international concern. Tschlenow was a leading Zionist elder who had been approached after Herzl's passing and asked to assume the presidency but had refused. He was to pass away during the war years. Rassviet was a Zionist organ in Russia,

a parallel to "Die Welt" and "HaOlam", but it might be a code name in this instance. Either possibility is likely. The same applies to HaTsefira (as we would transcribe the name in English today), which was a Hebrew literary magazine. I do not know if the intention here was to notify the Jewish press or if the magazine titles like "Kolonialbank" (which was located in England) were code names representing outspoken Russian and English Zionists. It is well to remember that England and Russia were both at war with Germany and the censor might mutilate the message should he suspect 'contact with the enemy'. I do not know who Clarence Sola<sup>33</sup> was.

Despite the many uncertainties, the message of the telegram is clear. The various Zionist centers and their leaders are to be informed of Wolffsohn's demise.

On 9 November a self-explanatory telegram reached Stockholm:

Levin and provisional committee insist absolutely necessary central bureau be temporarily in the United States as neutral land and second largest Jewish center therefore imperative Tschlenow and either Sokolow or Jacobson come immediately — Brandeis

This request by Brandeis was not granted. The center remained in Berlin until the Balfour Declaration transferred the lead de facto to England, where it was physically established after the war. It was actually well that America did not become the world headquarters because in March 1917 war was declared against Turkey and America was no longer neutral. Nevertheless the role of American Jewry did increase because of the war and while the political center was not transferred across the Ocean, the financial center was.

On 14 December 1914 Tarschis received the following:

Telegraph Zionists New York following orgship cables. means immediately necessary continuation activity office and victor. send directly indispensable promised amount — Warburg

The key to this telegram is the word "orgship" which was the code name for the Berlin Head Office. The telegram informs New York that the financial crisis is so critical that the promised funds should be sent directly to Berlin. If not, that office and Victor Jacobson, who was on his way to Constantinople, would

be unable to function.

As far as I know the last telegram of this period was sent from Stockholm after the receipt of a letter dated 29 December 1914:

Dear Mr. Tarschis:

We ask you to please forward the following telegram to Mr. Ussischkin in Odessa, Chersonskaja 46: "Morgenthau forwards the monies that den Haag, London, Paris, New York have paid for him" — Warburg.

We ask you to confirm and note the receipt of this note. Thanking you in advance... (signed) Rosenblüth.

Thus concluded one of the most important interludes in Zionist history in Sweden. But another period was beginning during which truly significant accomplishments would be achieved by internationally recognized Zionist personalities temporarily living in Stockholm.

The only time that Zionism in Sweden was of international importance during this period occurred because Sweden was a neutral country and a Stockholm Zionist was in the position to assist the World Zionist movement. It was not due to the nature of Scandinavian Zion-

ism, indeed, it was the work of only one man, Moritz Tarschis. And whatever he accomplished, he did, not because of his position in Swedish society but despite the fact that he had no position whatsoever. On the several occasions of note during World War I, when larger Jewish support or the backing of the general Swedish society was needed, the Zionist leadership turned to others, among them the Chief Rabbi, Marcus Ehrenpreis. But for purely Jewish matters, Tarschis was the organization's man because he was the leading local Zionist and a dedicated Jew. The leadership continually turned to him to arrange for lodging and aid for the many visitors of note to pass through Stockholm throughout the war years and to schedule lectures for those who wanted to speak. Thus, Tarschis arranged for a public meeting at the locale of "The Women's Organization" (Kvinnoklubben) on 7 December 1914 (Grefuturegatan 24 a) where Boris Goldberg of the Large Actions Committee and the world famous orthodox Rabbi and Zionist, Meir Berlin, addressed those assembled. Many similar lectures by Zionist personalities were subsequently held, several of which were to have international repercussions.

## Footnotes

- 1 HaOlam, year 1911, number 41, p. 16.
- 2 Copies of this publication are available at the YIVO Library and Archives in New York. They may also be available at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.
- 3 Information obtained in a taped interview with M. Aisik Libman. I have not located any copies of this brochure although several examples of a "Meddelande" or circular from 1916 are in the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, file 16/33 II.
- 4 Die Welt, 1910, number 51, p. 1358.
- 5 *ibid.*, 12 July 1912, number 28, p. 857. Numerous other examples can be cited to illustrate this technique.
- 6 According to Die Welt, 9 Feb. 1912, number 6, p. 189, Sweden and Denmark collected 200 mark in 1911, averaging about 4.0 pfenning per person and giving them 16th place.
- 7 The correspondence is in Archives, Jerusalem Z 3 / 460 and briefly summarized in Die Welt, volume 17, Feb. 1911, number 7, Köln, p. 146.
- 8 Die Welt, Berlin 1 Dec. 1911, number 48, p. 1289.
- 9 Archives, Jerusalem file Z 3 / 905.
- 10 This brochure with several changes (for example, the final section) appeared in the first edition of "Zionisten".
- 11 Archives, Jerusalem Z 3 / 905. Dr. Blöde (Bloede) spoke in Copenhagen on 9 January 1913.
- 12 Number 2, 1913.
- 13 Archives, Jerusalem Z 3 / 905.
- 14 M. Tarschis, "Zionism in Sweden, Memories from 35 Years of Zionist Activity". Judisk Tidsskrift 1942, nr 11, p. 321 and 322. While Tarschis certainly recalls correctly the emotional reactions of the participants, his memory misleads him in dating events. He apparently wrote the article without checking his own papers and letters which he had saved. Thus he places Kurt Blumenfeld's visit in 1911 and the First Scandinavian Zionist Conference in the same year (p. 321). The article in the *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, p. 1080 makes the same errors, probably because it uses Tarschis' article as a major source.
- 15 It was founded on 13 November 1913 and had 60 members according to a letter from Tarschis. See Archives, Jerusalem file Z 3 / 907.
- 16 Central Fund: — H. Elliot, S. Kukelman (Stock-

- holm): L. Jacobsson (Gothenburg); J. Nachemshon (Copenhagen); H. Becker (Kristiania) were unanimously elected.
- 17 National Fund (also unanimous): — I. Abel, I. S. Tarschys and Mrs. S. Abel (Stockholm), H. G. Turitz (Gothenburg). I. Aronson (alternate, also Gothenburg); S. D. Oster (Kristiania). Mrs. Nachemsohn (Copenhagen).
  - 18 Accountants: — J. Levy and J. Kirschon (Stockholm).
  - 19 A brief account of the conference appeared in the "Report to the Congress" — *Berichte des Actions-Comites der Zionistischen Organisation am des XI ZIONISTENKONGRESS*, Wien, 2 bis 9, Sept. 1913, p. 60.
  - 20 This correspondence is in Archives, Jerusalem file Z 3 / 906. The Zionist head office was now in Berlin and would remain there until transferred to London after the first World War.
  - 21 Archives, Jerusalem file Z 3 / 906.
  - 22 In the article in *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 11, 1942, p. 319. Tarschis recalled that 7 numbers appeared. In the unpublished "25 Years of Zionism in Sweden" he wrote that 8 monthly editions had been published. *The Encyclopedica of Zionism and Israel*, p. 1080 also mentions 7 issues. The Royal Library of Stockholm has the entire issue of 5 numbers as explained here.
  - 23 This is mentioned in a letter by Tarschis to the Zionist Executive. It also appears in *Zionisten* vol. 1, number 1, p. 8 — "Detta nummer af Zionisten erhålla medlemmar samt mosaiska trosbekännare inom Skandinavien gratis och franco." This was followed by a promise of free mailing: "Ifyll medföljande postanvisning och sänd samma till tidningens expedition, då erhåller Ni Zionisten gratis hemsänd under ett helt år."
  - 23 Archives, Jerusalem file Z 3 / 907 for all correspondence referred to here until the outbreak of hostilities in July 1914.
  - 25 Loaned to me by Mr. F. B. Tarschis, Tel Aviv.
  - 26 The meaning seems to be that it is fated, by necessity, to occur.
  - 27 *Judisk Tidskrift*, Nr. 11, 1942 — "Zionism in Sweden, Memories of 35 Years of Activity", p. 319 and 320.
  - 28 Archives, Jerusalem, file Z 3 / 907 where both the letter of 29 September 1914 and other examples may be found.
  - 29 Article, "Copenhagen Bureau", *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, op. cit. p. 217.
  - 30 The Copenhagen Bureau did become more than just a link. Its printed news bulletins appeared in French, German and English and assisted the general and Jewish press to know about the pogroms and persecutions in Eastern Europe. In this work, Copenhagen's Bureau cooperated with the Jewish Press Bureau in Stockholm. Also of note was the Copenhagen Manifesto issued by the Bureau on 28 October 1918, listing the demands of the Jewish people addressed to the forthcoming Paris Peace conference — a) Palestine should be the Jewish National home, b) Jews in all countries should be granted full equality, c) Jews should be granted national autonomy in areas of Jewish mass settlement.
  - 31 The original is in the possession of Mr. F. B. Tarschis while the copy received in Berlin on the following day is located in Archives, Jerusalem Z 3 / 907.
  - 32 See note 25.
  - 33 After writing this I discovered that Clarence I. De Sola was the president of the Canadian Zionist Federation. See Rufus Lears, *Fulfillment*, New York (1951) p. 156.