

BLAU-WEISS IN STOCKHOLM 1916—1925

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I. Introduction

The late Hugo Valentin, the only major Swedish historian to devote his intensive studies to the Jews of that country, was a Zionist and an active member of both the Zionist Federation and the non-Zionist Mosaiska Församlingen¹ (Jewish Community) of Stockholm. He was thus in a unique position to write a history of Zionism in Sweden. That he did not do so is easily explained: being the pathfinder through the unpathed forest of Jewish settlement, adjustment and assimilation in the new northern homeland, time did not suffice for both basic studies and that which many saw as in insignificant movement attracting only immigrants.² This evaluation was shared by the Swedish Jewish majority — at least until the Nazi Holocaust, the arrival of numerous East-European survivors, and the establishment of the State of Israel converted the Jewish communities to a more positive attitude and led to significant economic support for the movement and for the Jewish State.

In the light of the above it is not surprising that Zionist activities in Sweden before and during World War I have never been researched. I discovered that the very existence of a Blau-Weiss youth group, the subject of this article, was unknown even to the authors who wrote on the subject in English³ and German⁴ language encyclopaediae.

The years of World War I were a time of heightened Zionist activity in Sweden. Attracted by Swedish neutrality Jewishly educated immigrants with Zionist interests settled permanently, more often only temporarily, in Stockholm and to a lesser degree in the other

large cities — Malmö, Gothenburg. The newcomers provided the impetus and support for projects that the original membership of the Stockholm Zionist Organization would neither have initiated nor have had the resources to carry through: the establishing in 1917 of a Yiddish language newspaper, *Jidische Folkschtime*, and especially the founding of the youth organization, Blau-Weiss, are but two examples of the intensification of Zionist activity. During the same year Hebrew classes met,⁵ a Hebrew speaking society was formed and the Zionist organization was compelled to acquire a clubhouse to bring many activities under a common roof. What is significant is that the Blau-Weiss group was able to continue after the war and thereby compel the adults to retain the clubhouse, while almost all the other projects failed to survive the cessation of hostilities.

The original Stockholm Zionist Organization was founded in 1910. Its membership consisted almost entirely of immigrants from Eastern Europe without any formal secular university education. The members were mostly lower middle class shop owners and the club and its officers had, as a consequence, neither the social standing nor the wealth necessary to move in governmental circles. This was not true of the Jewish establishment. The assimilated, Jewishly uneducated and often uninterested, "Mosaiska trosbekännare" — "Jews of the Mosaic Faith" — had both money and influence. While very much concerned with what the Swedish society thought about the immigrants, they were little interested in the internal activities of the newer arrivals. Few of these had as yet been granted Swedish

citizenship and were, on this account, even excluded from membership in the Mosaiska Församlingen (the Jewish Community). These groups never mixed and rarely met, a lack of communication which explains why the local Zionists of Stockholm whenever engaged in any international effort had to enlist the aid of key individuals from abroad. Leaders of world Zionism were on occasion asked not only to address the Swedish government but even to speak to influential Swedish Jews. Many of the leaders of the international Zionist Movement were old friends of Stockholm's Chief Rabbi, Marcus Ehrenpreis, from his youth in Poland and Germany and his years as Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria⁶ and were often able to enlist his aid on occasions of great need.⁷ He, of course, was extremely influential within and even outside the community, so that his support was a sine qua non for the success of any project.

In December 1914, several months after the start of hostilities, the Zionist leadership in Germany decided to open a branch in neutral Denmark and the Copenhagen office began to function in January 1915. Leo Motzkin (1867—1933) was in charge, assisted by Martin Rosenblüth (1886—1963) and Simon Bernstein (1884—1962). This office was soon contacted by Mauritz Tarschis (1886—1949), the founder of the Stockholm Zionist Organization, which was then the only functioning local Nordic Zionist club outside of Denmark. At the time it was in very poor financial and cultural straits but the sudden influx of war refugees⁸ would shortly provide an intellectual stimulation not to be repeated until World War II, if even then.

II. The Founding of of Blau-Weiss

The Copenhagen leadership soon recognized that no Jewish youthwork was taking place anywhere in Sweden. In a correspondence of 27 April 1915,⁹ Leo Motzkin suggested that they organize a club during his visit to Stockholm on 2 May. This lecture was covered by the general press and an interview with him made by Ernst Klein, son of the rabidly anti-Zionist late Chief Rabbi, Professor Gottlieb Klein, appeared in Dagens Nyheter on 6 May. But Motzkin either did not have time to meet with the youth or else was unpersuasive. Instead, it

was his colleague, Martin Rosenblüth, an expert in youthwork,¹⁰ who initiated the dynamics leading eventually to the formation of Blau-Weiss in Stockholm. Like so much else that deeply influenced Swedish Jewry, the impetus leading to this significant Jewish development came from abroad.

Lea Tarschis, a younger sister of the Zionist leader, Mauritz Tarschis, was a delegate to the Second Scandinavian Zionist Conference in Copenhagen on 28 and 29 May.¹¹ There she met Martin Rosenblüth from whom she learned of the Zionist Youth group in Germany, Blau-Weiss. In her own words: "Its program and goal seemed fitting for Jewish youth in Stockholm, and achievable".¹² She returned home and together with six other girls organized a "vandrareförening" (hiking society) patterned after the German Blau-Weiss and even assuming its name. Shortly thereafter this group took its first hike to the beautiful Drottningholm park outside of Stockholm and the Swedish Blau-Weiss club thereby came to existence.¹² Under various names and with slightly different emphases it would continue with only a few interruptions until today. Very few people in Stockholm know that the present youth organization "Nya Judiska Föreningen" (Nya JF) is its chronological successor. In terms of activity, however, the programs and projects sponsored by Habonim and B'nai Akiva in Stockholm are closer to the original intentions of the founders.

It was soon obvious that Blau-Weiss was meeting the needs of Jewish youth. They came to meetings and hikes to socialize, form an identity, learn about their cultural heritage and, in all, provide an alternate answer to the question of who and what is a Jew from that advocated by the established Jewish Community. Within a year it had 65-70 members and an active program: In addition to "hemaftnar" (meetings in various homes) and hikes, Blau-Weiss also celebrated Jewish holidays. From these general activities a song group, theatre group and Hebrew classes evolved.

Blau-Weiss compelled the Zionist Club to do something concrete about the often discussed need of acquiring its own locale. On 21 February 1917 the club house was dedicated, an event announced in the *Jidische Folkschtime*, which was then being published in Stockholm with support of the Zionist Organ-

ization in Copenhagen. This paper failed, unfortunately, after appearing a limited number of times, but before its demise the edition of 16 February 1917 related that "the locale at Stora Nygatan 36 will be a meeting room, buffet, and a reading room with newspapers and magazines. All expenses will be met by the membership". This apparently refers to the adult Zionists since neither the by-laws for the club¹⁴ nor those of the Blau-Weiss group call for financial support from Jewish youth.

The important role that this meeting place came to play in the lives of those assembling there can best be described by citing Todres Hirschblond's brief greeting from Ein Ganim, Palestine, to Judisk Ungdom on its 25th anniversary, written 28.8.1931: "In the beginning of my stay in Stockholm I had no contact with Jews. One day, to my great surprise, I heard two people speaking Hebrew while dining at the cafeteria I usually visited for lunch. I couldn't lose this chance to meet them and they brought me to Blau-Weiss. The initial fleeting impression of the club's locale at Stora Nygatan was not favorable. The place was comparatively small, rather dark and not especially comfortable. But within a few moments its character had changed. It was the members who gave it its tone (stämning). From that moment until I left Sweden I participated with heart and soul in the club's activities. The little Jewish club with its intense Jewishness became more than a youth organization for us Jews who were driven from our homes and from their beautiful old Jewish traditions and family life. It became a second home — a replacement for the one we lost..."

Blau-Weiss was indeed a Zionist youth group and advocated in its educational work the "national idea". This contradicted the "liberal" teaching, then dominant in the Stockholm community, that Jews were not a people nor a nationality but only believers in the Jewish faith.¹⁵ And yet — and this is worth analysis — it took some five years until the revised by-laws of the Stockholm Blau-Weiss formally avowed the club's Zionist leanings, the "national idea" being conspicuously absent from its original goal as formulated 1917 in paragraph 1:

Vandrarföreningen (hiking club) Blau-Weiss in Stockholm has the following purpose: to gather the Jewish youth and awaken a sense of belonging (samhörighet) and self-

awareness (självmédvetande). To achieve this goal the society is to a/ arrange hikes in open nature through which the members can learn to know one another better than they could indoors, while they at the same time benefit from natural and invigorating sport with all the delight that the out-of-doors can offer; b/ through "hemaftnar", where benefit will be combined as far as possible with enjoyment, the club will pursue its goal of preserving Jewish life and informing its members about everything that has to do with Judaism... It intends at the same time to strengthen the Jewish youth physically.¹⁶

The following paragraph insists that "hemaftnar" must be held once a week and should take up Jewish history, Jewish cultural questions and anything else connected with being Jewish. The by-laws insist that the organization must celebrate every Jewish festival. Obviously the phrase "everything that has to do with Judaism" would include "Zionism" but it is remarkable that the words "Zionism" or "Zionist" do not appear. Not even the frequent substitute — "national" — is to be found. Both of these omissions were, however, rectified in the revised by-laws re-worked several years later which include (§1):

The Jewish Youth Club (ungdomsföreningen — note the name change) Blau-Weiss in Stockholm exists to gather the Jewish youth and awaken in each the sense of national belonging and self-awareness, provide the possibility of acquiring knowledge about everything related to Judaism — its life and history — and also advance in every way the spiritual and physical development of its members.

§ 10 concludes:

Every member is obligated to support the club according to his own ability and always to be prepared to assist in all national work that the club takes upon itself.

Thus each name change through which the club went during its existence in the period under review indicates an emphasis or de-emphasis of one or another aspect of its work:

Date:	Name:	
1916	Vandrarföreningen Blau-Weiss	Zionist in function but not emphasized.
1920	Ungdomsföreningen Blau-Weiss	No longer a hiking club but emphatically "Zionist".
1925	Judisk Ungdom	Still Zionist but mainly social in function.

III. Competition from and Co-operation with "Judiska Akademiska Klubben"

The "nationalization" of the Blau-Weiss by-laws was most likely a response to the formation of a Jewish youth organization by the more assimilated, native born Jewish elite closely affiliated with the community. In 1918¹⁷ more than a year after the founding of Vandrareföreningen Blau-Weiss which had until then been the only Jewish youth group in Stockholm, the Judiska Akademiska Klubben (Jewish University Student's Club) came into existence — to "strengthen" the feeling of Jewish belonging and to work for "increased interest in Jewish cultural matters". This goal would be achieved by "lectures, discussions and studies about Jewish subjects".¹⁸

At no time did the Judiska Akademiska Klubben attempt to rival Blau-Weiss in its work with children nor did it become a hiking club. It retained an intellectual interest in Judaism. Note that religion is conspicuously missing from its goals and its activities, therefore, rarely becoming a way of life for its members, a large number of whom subsequently intermarried and raised their children outside the Jewish community.

Membership requirements were surprising for a university organization. According to paragraph 2:1 — "Membership is open to any Swedish academic, or previous academic citizen of Jewish origin; besides which, non-academics may enter the club, however, only to a maximum number of 1/3 of the club's entire membership". By the term "academic" the by-laws meant college graduates or students and not only faculty members. The next point in this paragraph makes it clear that even non-Swedish citizens could be members, but not easily. (2:2) — "The above membership requirements may however in special cases not exclude non-Swedish university students of Jewish birth from membership." This point (2:2) is rather poorly composed and seems to reflect bad writing rather than unclear thought. 2:1 restricts membership to Swedish university students but permits non-academics up to 1/3 membership. 2:2 restricts membership to Swedish citizens but does allow university students who are non-citizens of Jewish birth to apply and even to be accepted as exceptions to 2:1. This restrictive membership requirement

indicates the close relationship of the Academic Club with the Jewish community of Stockholm, membership in which was definitely limited only to Swedish citizens. This provision excluded most of Blau-Weiss youth and their parents, almost all of whom were immigrants and few of whom were then naturalized.

Like the omission of Zionist goals for the Judiska Akademiska Klubben, the exclusion of those who were not Swedish citizens from Community membership indicated an acceptance of the Swedish-Jewish form of Jewish liberalism and its definition of who is a Jew. Remarkably, the club thereby excluded the majority of Jews in Stockholm, the number of immigrants being significant, at least by Swedish standards. The records¹⁹ indicate that between 1900 and 1910 over 2.200 Jews were registered as having settled in Sweden. Official immigration figures for the war years and the 1920s are incomplete. They omit the numerous Jews temporarily in the country, who did not intend to stay. Most left after the war for America and some for Israel.²⁰ These immigrants were not directly eligible for membership in the Judiska Akademiska Klubben, even if college educated. Few bothered to join but many of them did, however, join the Stockholm Zionist Organization and sent their children to Blau-Weiss.

The historian of Swedish Jewry, Hugo Valentin, describes the Eastern European Jews in Sweden as largely Russian-Jewish or Polish-Jewish proletarian. Some were passing through Sweden and hoped to get aid from fellow Jews to continue their journey westward. Some were professional beggars. Some were peddlers who visited the countryside with packs on their backs, hampered by local regulations limiting soliciting and later by a 1927 law restricting immigration. The newcomers were called "Polacker" by the Swedish Jews.

The description above has to be altered slightly after the first years of the 20th century. The Eastern European Jews coming to Sweden now had some formal and even vocational training. In addition to a smattering of secular education, they were Jewishly knowledgeable, as Eastern European men and some women generally were, but they were frequently no longer orthodox in Jewish practice. Unlike their parents they were prepared to make sacrifices in religious custom for economic ad-

vancement: working on Sabbath, keeping their stores open on Jewish holidays, even eating forbidden food outside the home. Most belonged to the lower middle class and wanted to give their children an intensive secular education, thereby providing them with opportunities for social and economic advancement which they, themselves, never had. The parents were, therefore, very appreciative for the Jewish knowledge and social contacts with other Jewish youth that Blau-Weiss provided their children but those who remained in Sweden did not object to their children eventually becoming members of the *Judiska Akademiska Klubben*. The late Aisik Libman, who provided me with the source materials needed to prepare this study, and quite a few others, was a member of both. Joint membership became the rule by the time the younger children grew to college age — a good example is the late Bernhard Tarschys, who in his later years was certainly the spokesman for Swedish Jewry vis-a-vis the Swedish Society. In the late 1920s and 30s most college students and graduates belonged to both organizations as a matter of course, the one for social contacts and the other for cultural stimulation.

IV. Blau-Weiss Activities

As noted above, Blau-Weiss had a "youth group" which consisted of boys and girls from 9—14. There were also a "girl's group" (young ladies 15—18) and a parallel "boy's group". Young adults belonged to the "leader's group", attending lectures²¹ and participating in discussions, the purpose of which was to impart both Jewish content and leadership skills so that they, in turn, could teach those younger. Two "leaders" accompanied each weekly hike and one or more led the weekly discussion that each of the sections conducted during their meetings. On special occasions all sections hiked together and met for a theatre evening or a program. Jewish holidays were always celebrated in a more formal way, sometimes combining a program with the adult Zionist organization. As in such Zionist groups throughout the world Chanuka, Purim, Tu B'shvat and Lag B'omer assumed an importance that these minor feasts had never previously had. The music evenings soon led to the formation of a choir under the leadership of Samuel Rubin-

stein of Helsingfors (Helsinki). When he left Sweden, Moses Pergament, who subsequently became the best-known of all Scandinavian-Jewish composers, took over. On 24 February 1923²² Cantor Felix Saul formed the choir "Hasomir" of the Blau-Weiss song group. Through an unexpected Odyssey Hasomir graduated from Blau-Weiss in 1924 and eventually became the synagogue choir of the liberal Great Synagogue of Stockholm. This is, in itself, a remarkable metamorphosis: from an extra-ecclesiastical, non-establishment musical ensemble into the choir of the bastion of the Jewish establishment. This transformation proves that not only the adult Zionist organization but even the youth were far from ideological when it came to participation in Jewish activities. Hasomir thus preceded Blau-Weiss on the path to general acceptance.

An athletic section of Blau-Weiss went through several periods of growth²³ and disappearance, reflecting the fact that many of the Blau-Weiss children had interests other than cultural and religious. In this Blau-Weiss came closest to being Swedish, since an intense sport movement was very popular among non-Jewish Swedes, as it was throughout most of the Western world. The Federation of American Zionists²⁴ for example, noting that Jewish youth was in poor physical shape, adopted a resolution at an Executive Council meeting in November 1903 to form a group like the British Lad's Brigade, where military skills would be taught along with physical training. This athletic and military training not only improved the health of the children but gave the adults a psychological lift when the youth performed at a Purim meeting: "The sight of youngsters in the Zionist Movement was highly welcome to leaders who were accustomed to seeing primarily middle-aged and old people at Zionist meetings and conferences."²⁵

The intellectual programs at Blau-Weiss also fluctuated in quality.²⁶ Cultural leaders like Aisik Libman periodically lamented the lack of intellectual concern. This despite the renewed interest in the Hebrew language: The adult Hebrew group under the leadership of S. Barbanel in 1918 organized instruction for some 40 interested youth. The courses, which continued for two years, were later reorganized under other teachers for some 20—25 students.²⁷ A Hebrew speaking club was start-

ed by the adults. Both the community's religious instructor, Abraham Brody, and the Chief Rabbi, Marcus Ehrenpreis, participated. Thereafter interest waned and the classes ceased, although the Hebrew speaking club continued. Like the synagogue choir mentioned above, the Hebrew speaking club came under the supervision of establishment leadership, thereby greatly adding to its status and its ability to survive.

Judging from a comparison of the intellectual quality of the programs and extra-club activities, the Judiska Akademiska Kubben had much more to offer college youth.²⁸ The assimilated Jews were certainly ignorant of Jewish history, religion and culture but did open their meetings and lectures to controversial subjects.²⁹ This was especially the case with regards to Zionism and Jewish nationalism which frequently became the theme for debate.

When one considers the different backgrounds from which the membership of the two organizations came and the philosophy of Jewish life to which each gave verbal allegiance, it was remarkable that a jointly-sponsored³⁰ series of lectures by Chief Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis, Dr. Ragnar Josephson and Cantor Felix Saul could be held on Sunday afternoons twice monthly from 16 January — 17 April 1921. Josephson spoke on Jewish art; Saul on Jewish music; and Ehrenpreis — who with Josephson had recently translated into Swedish (*Nyhebreisk Lyrik*) many Hebrew poets — discussed literature. A neutral hall was rented since the Blau-Weiss locale was unsuited for such a gathering and the present community hall did not exist yet. From the notice about the lecture series it seems that the sponsors also hoped to attract interested non-Jews — tickets could be purchased at several general ticket offices around town, in addition to being available through the sponsoring organizations. Quite obviously the ideological differences between the establishment and the Zionists as to what is a Jew and the importance and role of Jewish nationalism in the diaspora were more "philosophical" than practical.

In the previous year Dr. Ehrenpreis had delivered a series of lectures on great Jewish personalities, which later also appeared in print. These talks, which were held at the St. Paulsgatan orthodox synagogue, had been sponsor-

ed by the Zionists alone. This in itself is not remarkable for non-doctrinaire Swedish Jewry, but in most European countries lectures by a liberal community Chief Rabbi in an orthodox synagogue, unaffiliated with the community, would never have been permitted.

The joint lecture series was part of a major literary effort undertaken in the Judiska Akademiska Kubben circles: the founding of the "Judiska Litteratursamfundet" (The Jewish Literature Society) in 1920 and the publishing of its book series.³¹ The first to appear was the above mentioned *Nyhebreisk Lyrik*, which was followed by works as varied as Valentin's *History of the Jews in Sweden*, Aron Isak's *Memoirs*, Agnon's *And the Crooked shall be made Straight*, essays by Dubnow *The National Solution of the Jewish Problem* and Buber's *Three Speeches on Judaism*. By publishing these books and by speaking on contemporary Jewish issues and proposed solutions, Dr. Ehrenpreis opened these subjects to assimilated college youth and drew the two Jewish intellectual circles — Blau-Weiss Literary Society and Judiska Akademiska Klubben — closer to one another. That there was a growing proximity is illustrated by the names of those elected to the board of the Judiska Akademiska Klubben on 5 December 1923. There we find a mixture of the children of long established families and those of immigrants. It is worth noting that in his book — *Mitt Liv mellan Öster och Väster* (Stockholm 1946) — Ehrenpreis devotes a great deal of space to the Jewish Literary Society (which was closely related to his work with the Judiska Akademiska Klubben), while he writes nothing of his Zionist and philanthropic efforts during the World War and immediately thereafter, which were quite considerable in retrospect. He was even the chairman of a committee to raise money on behalf of impoverished Eastern European Jews, a project on which both Zionists and non-Zionists worked devotedly and sometimes together; but not a word about this appears in his autobiography. The Chief Rabbi's silence may possibly be the result of his dislike of concrete Zionism vis-a-vis Ahad Haam's cultural Zionism which he advocated. More likely, Ehrenpreis simply acculturated to Swedish society, removing himself farther and farther from all that reminded him of his own Eastern European roots in Lvov. In any event he never gave his wholehearted support to the

Zionist organization in Sweden; neither to the adults nor to Blau-Weiss.³²

It is not difficult to understand the Chief Rabbi's hesitancy. Blau-Weiss and the Swedish Zionist Federation did not appear to be Swedish in the broadest sense of this term and aroused the suspicion of some non-Jews. Thus, for example, a book by Anton Nyström appeared in Swedish in 1919 entitled — *The Jews — Previous and Now, as well as the Jewish Question in Eastern Europe and its solution* (Stockholm, Svanbäck och Komp. Förlag) revealing the thoughts of a rather typical, non-negative Swedish author who recognized Eastern European Jewry's need for a refuge but doubted Palestine's absorptive capacity. Nyström wanted all peoples to aid them but he also noted a tendency towards chauvinism within Zionism and therefore warned that Jews must be careful about what they accept from their past:

We are glad that work has been undertaken that will let the good in Judaism come forth and be known to all. Such an effort is occurring in Stockholm where the "Jewish Literary Society" (Judiska Litteratursamfundet) is awakening the feeling for the best in "Judaism's essence" and is not religiously or politically bound to one or another form of Jewish thought... It is important that the new Jewish movement not lead to a separation of the Jew from the peoples among whom they live, so that they can avoid the appearance of foreigners and thereby evoke anti-Semitism (pg 242).

Double loyalty was thus the major problem and Professor Ehrenpreis tried to walk the tightrope between responsibility for fellow Jews and being accepted by non-Jews as "Swedes of Jewish faith". He acted as though guided by the opinion that it was better to "nationalize" the Judiska Akademiska Klubben rather than "denationalize" Blau-Weiss and adult Zionists. He would have agreed with Nyström who wrote:

"The religion of the Jews is the source of their unity. Unfortunately it has ossified and the negative customs and reactionary ceremonies should be forsaken, as well as the old Jewish nationalism. Then the Jews will be able to assimilate into the state as complete citizens. If not, they will remain foreigners and appear to others to be an enemy element" (pg 267, 268).

V. Conclusion

Blau-Weiss in Stockholm was a youth group the major goal of which was to keep the child-

ren of immigrants Jewish. The faith in a national ideal was a means to achieve this goal. The few who were serious about settling in Palestine did so when they could, departing quietly, it seems, without trying to obligate the others to follow.

While never receiving any financial support from the community,³³ Blau-Weiss was also never attacked by the leadership of the Mosaiska Församlingen. It was simply ignored. There is no way of knowing whether or not the Chief Rabbi was in any way responsible for this indifference,³⁴ but the historian, Hugo Valentin, seems to indicate that the entire community had fallen into a terrible lethargy. One salaried secretary and a janitor then sufficed as administration for Stockholm's Jewry.³⁵

Thus there is no reason to suspect that the leadership of Stockholm's Jewish Community was really concerned with the Blau-Weiss youth group during its existence other than to the degree that non-Jewish Swedes were looking in and trying to evaluate the loyalty of the very small Jewish minority in Sweden. They erred: Today's leadership, at least in Stockholm, consists to a large degree of the children and grandchildren of Blau-Weiss members. Encouragement might well have resulted in a more active community. Unfortunately the leadership did not follow Hugo Valentin's example.

Valentin was to be the only original member of the Judiska Akademiska Klubben of Swedish-Jewish origin to move freely in former Blau-Weiss circles. He came to understand their immigrant parents and his younger contemporaries. He may have been unable to share their feelings and their concern for rituals and traditions but he was one of the relatively few "old Jewish-Swedes" who really cared whether or not Jews and Judaism continued. He personally doubted that they could survive for several generations but supported efforts to establish a Jewish all-day school and a Jewish Center in Stockholm (where a room is dedicated to his memory) against others of his class and background. He was similar in the opposition when working to help the Yishuv before the establishment of the State of Israel. He then advocated Aliyah, against Ehrenpreis and an uncomprehending majority.

Hugo Valentin is no longer among the living nor are most of those who founded the Judiska Akademiska Klubben. They and most of

their children and grandchildren are Jewishly extinct. Today the children of Blau-Weiss members are all their parents were not. Indeed they are now the Jewish establishment —

except for the many who have gone the same way of assimilation as the children of their parents' rivals.

Footnotes

1. In 1980 the Jewish Community officially changed its name to Judiska Församlingen.
2. From a taped interview with Veterinary Doctor Emil Glüch, one of the first Swedish born children of Jewish immigrants to attend a Swedish university. For a description of the founding of Zionist organizations in Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm see my "Sionism i Sverige — de tidiga åren" (*Religion och Bibel*, XXXIV, 1975, Nathan Söderblom Sällskapets årsbok, Uppsala, pg. 59 ff and "Zionism in Sweden", *Nordiska Judaistik*, vol 3, nr 2, March 1981, pg 12-26.
3. For example: The article on "Blau-Weiss" in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem 1972, vol IV, column 1078 mentions Blau-Weiss clubs which flourished for a time in Austria and which in Czechoslovakia were called "T'chelet-Lavan" (Blue-White in Hebrew). The author obviously did not know of the Stockholm group. By the way, Blau-Weiss in Stockholm was aware of the Hebrew name. I have in my possession an invitation to a soiré with dance to be held on 22 April 1917. The heading reads Blau-Weiss and then the Hebrew letters TCHLTLV, reading "blue heart". Either the printer or the proof reader missed the final N which would have transferred the meaning to "Blue-White". This must have been an error or oversight. While Hebrew knowledge was not extensive in Stockholm, numerous individuals — and certainly the very active Aisik Libman — would have caught this error, had they been shown the invitation before printing and distribution.
4. *Jüdisches Lexikon*, vol III, column 480-481. Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin, 1929.
5. My article on "Iwriah — An unsuccessful Effort to Establish A Hebrew School in Stockholm", *Festschrift* to Dr Jakob Mayer, Holland, Neveh Ya'akov, 1982.
6. See for example M. Ehrenpreis *Mitt Liv mellan Öster och väster*, Stockholm 1946. The details of how Marcus Ehrenpreis became Chief Rabbi of Stockholm are to be found in my "Sionism i Sverige, de tidiga åren" cited above. Ehrenpreis' account in his autobiography is only a curtailed sketch of what really occurred. In this book he omitted the many difficulties that he was experiencing as Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria and the efforts of the Zionists of Stockholm on his behalf.
7. The work of fund raising in Sweden on behalf of "de av kriget nödlidande judarna" (Jews suffering because of World War I) has not as yet been researched and reported. What I have mentioned in the text are the humanitarian efforts initiated by the Copenhagen Bureau which eventually became projects sponsored by all factions of Stockholm's Jewry.
8. In a taped interview the late Aisik Libman claimed that there were 6000 Jews in Stockholm during World War I and that most departed at the end of the hostilities. The figure would seem to be an overestimate of several thousand but I must admit that many, if not most, of the names on the membership list in my possession are unknown to me from other sources.
9. Archives of the Zionist movement L6/33/I — Motzkin wanted to address Zionists in Gothenburg while in Sweden but the Zionist club there had disbanded. The situation was actually so bad that a lecture could not be arranged. He did speak in Malmö on 9 May, on the same program as S. Bernstein. The limited size of the Copenhagen Bureau's budget is indicated by the insistence upon a lecture fee covering the speaker's travel expenses.
10. I make the assumption of his competence in the area from the fact that he and Mr. Benjamin Sloor addressed the Second Scandinavian Zionist Conference on Monday 29 May 1916 on this topic. It is of interest that the Chief Rabbi of Denmark, Dr. M. Schornstein, preceded Rosenblüth, speaking on the theme — The question of education in Scandinavia. Certainly the membership of the Mosaik Troesamfund (Jewish Community) in Copenhagen were as anti-Zionist as were their Swedish counterparts, so that the Chief Rabbi's appearance and participation were not without political significance.
11. The first was held in Stockholm on 5-6 January 1913.
12. Quoted from a *Festschrift* published in 100 copies (I have in my possession number 93 given to me by the late Aisik Libman): *Judiska Ungdomsföreningen Blau-Weiss, Stockholm 1916—1921*, p. 8.
13. According to *Festschrift Judiska Ungdomsföreningen Blau-Weiss 1916—1921* the club began its work immediately after Lea Tarschis' return from Copenhagen. This is also the opinion of the *Festschrift* published by Judisk Ungdom (as the continuation of Blau-Weiss was called in 1926) 1916—1931. The club was subsequently called Judiska Klubben in 1932. When celebrating its 25th anniversary a *Festschrift* was published in 1942 which unjustifiably explained that youth activities really began in earnest in 1917.

- In a letter to the editor printed in *Israeliten*, vol 13, nr 1, Januari 1925, pg 17, Toni Klein, widow of Rabbi Gottlieb Klein, objected to Blau-Weiss' claim to being the first Jewish youth club. She wrote that a predecessor to Judiska Akademiska Klubben, which called itself Israelitiska Ungdomsföreningen, met once monthly (October to May) in her home 1915—16/1916—17 with an attendance of 40—50. None of these were East-European Jews. She believed that a "Diskussionsförening" had functioned between 1889—1903 with a theatre performance in 1891 and that a magazine was published in 1893. According to her a club for Jewish girls, "Trevnad", functioned in the beginning of the 20th Century. This was confirmed to me by Valerie Öberg, born 1889, who had attended the sessions at the Klein home in Djursholm.
14. I do not know if any club by-laws ever appeared in print. A hand-written Yiddish original was given to me by the late Aisik Libman. According to this document three types of financial support would pay for the locale: an entrance fee (5 kronor), monthly dues (2 kronor) and various fund raising activities — "bazaars, lottery-evenings, lectures, etc).
 15. For the strong anti-Zionist stand of Professor Gottlieb Klein (d. 1914), Ehrenpreis' predecessor in Stockholm, see my "Sionism i Sverige, pg 62, 64.
 16. A copy of both the original and revised by-laws were given the author by the late Aisik Libman. Both editions are undated but the Festschrift *Judiska Ungdomsföreningen Blau-Weiss, Stockholm 1916—21* indicates that the first provisional board was chosen on 31 October 1916 and the first election according to the by-laws took place on May 1917. So, too, the same Festschrift, pg 7, relates: "In October 1920 on the initiative of A. Libman, it was decided to change the name from "Hiking Club Blau Weiss" to "Jewish Youth Club Blau-Weiss". At the time new by-laws were produced, the first paragraph of which had the following text: (at this point the exact text of the revised by-laws is cited).
 17. The by-laws of the Judiska Akademiska Klubben are undated but the celebration of its tenth anniversary took place at the Grand Hotel on 2 December 1928.
 18. Summary of sections 1 and 2 of the first paragraph.
 19. The figures and the descriptions which follow are taken from H. Valentin: *Judarna i Sverige*, Stockholm 1942, pg 143-145.
 20. The Festschrift *Judisk Ungdom 1916—1931* contains on pg 17 a greeting from Todres Hirschblond, then living in Ejn Ganim, who relates how important Blau-Weiss and the Jewish club locale were for him and for the other immigrants. The same Festschrift, pg 12, mentions among former members Kitagorodskij, a lawyer in Haifa, Halpern, married to the composer Grad, living in Tel Aviv and several others.
 21. A most important study group for leaders was conducted by Isaac Feuerring who made a deep impression upon that generation of counsellors — see Festschrift "Judiska Ungdomsföreningen Blau-Weiss i Stockholm 1916—1921", pg 5.
 22. See *Israeliten*, vol 10 nr 8 of 17 April 1923, pg 2.
 23. Bernard Asarnej formed a group in 1919 which soon had 50 members. This was reorganized in 1923 according to *Israeliten*, October, 1923.
 24. Marnin Feinstein: *The First 25 Years of Zionism in the United States, 1882—1906* (doctor's thesis) Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1963, pg 287.
 25. *Ibid*, pg 288.
 26. The Festschrift *Judisk Ungdom Stockholm 1916—1931* relates on pg 8: "Each group had its "hemaftnar" with programs befitting its level. An unfortunate decision later united all three groups — leaders, boys and girls — with the result that all became dissatisfied with the programs. A. Libman proposed therefore that a third group be established where serious lectures and declamations could take place without interference. These evenings attracted even passive members and non-members and the organization decided thereafter to start a literary group." No date is given for the formation of this group but the revised by-laws do call for a literary group, thus indicating that these activities had already begun prior to October 1920. See footnote 16. The Festschrift on pg 10 mentions a study circle that existed for about 1 1/2 years.
 27. Festschrift *Judiska Ungdomsföreningen Blau-Weiss Stockholm 1916—1921*, pg 5.
 28. On occasion the same lecturers would address the Blau-Weiss Literary Group and the Judiska Akademiska Klubben. Thus, for example, *Israeliten* in 1923 records lectures by C. Vilh. Jacobowsky and Cantor Felix-Saul to both organizations at different times.
- My rather positive picture of Jewish activity should be contrasted with the dismal picture of Jewish life in Sweden as depicted by Ernst Blumenthal in an article — "Zionism in Sweden before 1933", published in *Judisk Tidskrift*, 1958. Blumenthal came to Sweden from Germany in the summer of 1920 to work for Feuerring. He wrote: "The Jewish renaissance which had captivated Jewish youth in East and Central Europe was barely known in Sweden. When the first signs of the movement reached Sweden in the beginning of the 20s, the Jewish communities were against it... The Jewish Student Club, the only forum where Jewish intellectuals met, was completely negative to the new ideas." Blumenthal attributes the positive change within and outside the community to Professor Frederik Böök's participation in the dedication of the Hebrew University in 1925 (which the Zionist Federation and Blumenthal arranged) and the publication of the important report of his travels — *Resa till Jerusalem*, which initially appeared as an article series in the daily newspaper, *Svenska Dagbladet*. Böök was a member of the Swedish Academy (which yearly selects the Nobel Prize winner in literature, a position of great cul-

tural status in Swedish society). His pro-German attitudes in the 1930s were a great disappointment to many Jewish admirers who remembered his pro-Zionism.

29. In 1923 the following lectures were delivered:

- 20/1 Vilh. Jacobowsky: Jewishness and Swedishness.
- 14/2 Rabbi Dr. Marcus Ehrenpreis: The Modern Hebrew Poet, Bialik.
- 14/4 Curt Marcus: A Few Impressions from Revolutionary Russia.
- 9/5 Pastor Torsten Ysander: Views from Poland.
- 27/9 Vilh. Jacobowsky: The Jewish Communities in Sweden, Impressions from a Journey.
- 31/10 Ephraim Levin: Zionism and Nationalism.
- 17/11 Chief Cantor Felix Saul: A Cry to our Time.
- 5/12 Leon Fried: Pirke Abot. A Picture of Late Jewish Religiosity.

The above list of lectures is taken from *Israeliten* of February 15, 1924. The article continues: "The meetings have attracted an average of more than 25 members and the number of non-members (excluding music programs) has averaged 11: lowest being

3 and highest 25... During the year 17 new members have joined, all but one is a college graduate... The present membership is about 125."

- 30. Rodef Chessed (a philanthropic organization) and the Swedish Zionist Organization were also co-sponsors.
- 31. See H. Valentin, op. cit. pg 162 and M. Ehrenpreis, op. cit. pg 358.
- 32. In my "Sionism i Sverige, de tidiga åren" I cite a manuscript of a major speech by Mauritz Tarschis who edited out his positive words of praise and appreciation for the Chief Rabbi and for his work on behalf of Zionism.
- 33. In a personal communication Julius Gavatin informed me that budget problems were relatively few: "We rented a small locale on Stora Nygatan. It cost 35 kronor a month and half of these funds were received from the Hazomir (sic) song choir, predecessor of the synagogue choir, which paid 15 kronor each month so that it could use the locale once weekly for its rehearsals."
- 34. Which I personally doubt since Ehrenpreis did become one of the editors of *Israeliten* when the magazine was moved from Oslo to Stockholm in 1922. As such he worked with — but really under — Daniel and Simon Brick, two local Zionists.