

The Situation and Responses of Jewish Women under German Antisemitism from the End of the Nineteenth Century to the Middle of the Twentieth Century

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Abstract: This paper examines the multifaceted experiences and responses of German Jewish women against the backdrop of rising antisemitism from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. It highlights the complexity of their dual identity as both women and Jews, which rendered them particularly susceptible to intersecting forms of discrimination and social marginalization. This dual identity not only subjected them to heightened inequality but also complicated their navigation through a society marked by entrenched prejudices. The analysis encompasses political, religious, and educational dimensions, revealing the specific harms inflicted upon Jewish women due to their unique position. Politically, they faced exclusion from mainstream feminist movements, which often overlooked the impact of antisemitism, while also contending with patriarchal structures within Jewish communities. Religiously, their roles were often constrained by traditional expectations, yet they sought to assert their agency. Educationally, the pursuit of higher learning emerged as both a tool for empowerment and a site of struggle, as systemic barriers limited access to opportunities. In response to these challenges, German Jewish women engaged in various strategies to advocate for their rights and enhance their societal standing. By focusing on their distinctive dual identities, this study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the interplay between gender and ethnicity in historical contexts, thereby illuminating the resilience and agency of Jewish women in Germany.

Keywords: jewish women, dual identity, antisemitism, Germany.

1. Introduction

The period from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century was a turbulent era for Jewish communities in Germany, marked by the rise and increase of antisemitism. This paper explores the unique experiences, influences, and responses of Jewish women during this critical time, examining their roles and challenges from religious, political, and educational perspectives.

Antisemitism in Germany during this period underwent significant transformations. In the late nineteenth century, it evolved from religious prejudice to a more racially-based ideology. The term

‘antisemitism’ was proposed by Wilhelm Marr in 1879, reflecting a shift towards pseudo-scientific racial theories.[1] This ideological shift coincided with the unification of Germany and the increase of nationalism. The emergence of volkisch nationalism further fueled antisemitic sentiment, eventually leading to the systematic persecution and genocide of Jewish people by the Nazi.[2]

With the rise of antisemitism, German society remained deeply rooted in patriarchal structures. Women, whether which religious and ethnic background, faced significant restrictions in social, political, and economic spheres. The concept of ‘Kinder, Küche, Kirche’ (children, kitchen, church) reflected the traditional role expected of women.[3] Despite the appearance of the female movement in the late nineteenth century, progress towards gender equality was slow and often met with resistance.[4]

German Jewish women occupied a unique position at the intersection of two marginalized identities: being Jewish and female. This dual identity subjected them to compounded discrimination and challenges. As Jews, they faced increasing societal hostility and legal restrictions. As women, they faced with gender-based limitations both within their communities and in broader German society. This intersectionality shaped their experiences, responses, and the strategies they employed to navigate their complex social landscape.[5]

The responses of Jewish women to these challenges were diverse and multifaceted. This paper will analyze the influence and responses of Jewish women under German antisemitism from the end of the nineteenth century from the perspectives of religion, politics and education to the middle of the twentieth century. In the religious sphere, German Jewish women developed different religious choices. Politically, some dedicated themselves to helping others within feminist organizations, while others actively engaged in legal reforms to strive for women’s suffrage. Educationally, Jewish women’s advancement and resistance against discrimination through learning basic knowledge and practical skills.

2. Literature review

On this topic, there are mainly four types of argument.

1. Concentrating on Jews of this period, mainly men, with women only marginally mentioned, e.g. *Jews in Weimar Germany* by Donald L. Niewyk. The author mainly talked about the role of Jewish people in Weimar Germany of different aspects like economic life, the antisemitism and how the Jews responded to the antisemism.

2. Focusing on German Jewish women in the Word War II and the Holocaust, e.g. *Women in the Holocaust-a feminist history* by Zoe Vania Waxman. Focusing primarily on Jewish women in the concentration camps of the World War II, the author noted the different circumstances of Jews of different genders in the camps, suggesting that women women were less likely to survive the camps.

3. Focusing on Jewish Women in Germany, but did not emphasize their circumstances and responses under the influences of antisemitism and sexual discrimination, e.g. *Women, Gender, and Modernity in Nineteenth-Century German Jewish History* by Benjamin M. Baader. In this account, the author made a slight reference to the behaviour of Jewish women in Germany from the end of nineteenth century to the beginning of twentieth century, mainly discussing the family role of Jewish women but she neglected to analyse the impact of antisemitism and sexism.

4. Focusing on Jewish Women's circumstances and responses, but not on German Jewish women, e.g. *The founding and early programs of the National Council of Jewish Women: study and practice as Jewish women's religious expression* by Ellen Sue Levi Elwell. This book provides a description of the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) in America, established in 1893, the first national association in history which united Jewish women in the promotion of Judaism. As the pioneer organization of the International Council of Jewish Women, the NCJW was also followed by many others around the world.

To sum up, the existing lit has certain problems: they didn't focus on the triple identities of the German Jewish women from the late nineteenth century to the middle of the 20th century. To fix these problems, we present our study particularly on their triple identities and will address their current situation and responses in three perspectives: politics, religion, and education.

3. Perspective: politics

From the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, with the unification of Germany, the Jewish people were emancipated to a certain degree, and Jewish women were able to gain more opportunities and political rights, however, at this time, antisemitism was also developing, and this paper focuses on the situation and responses of the Jewish women under the dual identity of women and Jews.

This period saw Jewish emancipation, with German Jewish women gaining wider rights and opportunities to participate in political life, as well as an initial awakening of female consciousness globally and the rise of many feminist organizations, which led to an increase in Jewish women's political participation. However, due to the gradual rise of antisemitism in Germany, the living conditions of women were still relatively harsh, not only in terms of discrimination in their lives, but also due to legal difficulties and the lack of protection of women's individual rights and interests, which compelled them to respond to the injustice and defended their own rights and interests.

Firstly, in the middle and late nineteenth century, Jewish emancipation enabled Jewish women to participate in political activities. According to the Constitution of the North German *Verfassung* (*Verfassung des Norddeutschen Bundes*) of 16 April 1867, 'Article 2, paragraph 3, subparagraph 1, of the Federal Law', the nationals of each federal state should be considered as nationals throughout the Federation. 'Throughout the Federation, the nationals of each federal state are considered nationals and are granted all civil rights, etc.[6] and thus the Jews were emancipated and granted their civil rights. Similarly, Jewish women, as an integral and important part of the Jewish people, were freed from the previous restrictions of non-citizenship, and began to be granted the right to participate in commercial trade and hold public office, and were granted a wider range of political rights, enjoying more diversified opportunities, and a substantial rise in political status.

Secondly, antisemitism was also prevalent throughout this period, as exemplified by *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* written by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, released in 1899, a typically antisemitic work, emphasizing theories of Aryan superiority and Jewish inferiority.[7] And a number of antisemitic political parties and organizations, such as the Christian Social Workers' Party and the Pan-German League, which spread antisemitic views through public speeches and rallies.

Thirdly, at the legal aspect, there was no law guaranteeing the rights of Jewish women, and their rights were not effectively protected. As an example of marital rights and interests, the first Jewish religious divorce case was taken up by a German court in 1904. In an agreement on alimony and property rights, the husband agreed to go to court to enforce an agreement. Subsequently, he refused to honour his commitment and the trial court directed him to do so. The Higher Court of Justice of the German Reich, however, overturned this judgement, stating that there were no legal norms pertaining to marriage other than those promulgated by the State. The relevant Jewish rules on divorce were of a purely religious nature, and therefore it was not within the jurisdiction of the State to perform such an act by means of legal coercion.[8]

From this it is clear that the decisions of the Higher Court of Justice of the German Reich were based exclusively on Judaism, and that, in addition to the constraints of Judaism itself, the Higher Court of Justice of the German Reich was inhumane since it referred directly and exclusively to religious judgement without considering the plight of the woman, regardless of her vulnerability in

marriage and in society, and regardless of the fact that women were more devoted to the family than to economic activity outside the family.

It is clear from this legal case that the court, by emphasizing the Jewish rule of marriage, did not regard the Jewish woman as a citizen of Germany and did not uphold her marital rights. As the Higher Reich Court of Justice, as the official body of Germany, represented the attitude of the Reich's bureaucrats and state officials, this judgement reflected the serious antisemitic and sexist tendencies of the German authorities during this period. Moreover, such sexual discrimination is also reflected in Judaism, with marriage rules prioritizing male rights.

As a result of both sexism and antisemitism, the situation of Jewish women was even worse. In addition to being discriminated against in their daily lives, more importantly, they faced more restrictions and pressures when participating in political life and social activities, and their voice were weakened or they were even marginalized. For example, within the Federation of German Women's Movements (Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine, BDF), there was discrimination against Jewish members, which was not explicitly stated but evident in practice. It can be seen that in the women's campaign, Jewish women were also constrained by their Jewish female identity and therefore suffered from the exclusion and discrimination of non-Jewish women.

However, during this period, even though they were affected by both sexism and antisemitism, there were still a huge number of outstanding Jewish women actively confronting antisemitism and sexism, and sparing no efforts to improve their status in society, beginning to enter German universities and professional fields, beginning to actively participate in the feminist movement, and being committed to the advancement and refinement of feminism.

In 1904, Bertha Pappenheim founded the Jewish Women's League (Jüdischer Frauenbund, JFB) in Germany.[9] She said, 'One Must be Ready for Time and Eternity', [10] and she devoted her life into the league. The league had played a leading role in the German women's campaign, focusing its activities on strengthening Jewish communal consciousness, advancing the bourgeois women's campaign and calling for women's ideas and consciousness, strengthening women's voices and influences in the Jewish community, providing vocational training for women, and combating trafficking in women.[11]

Within the Jewish community, the JFB had called for female's right to vote and equal representation (both at the national level and within the community), openly discussing the involvement of Jews in prostitution and trafficking in women, denouncing moral double standards, criticizing women's "second-class status" in Judaism, and making a strong plea for the need to increase employment opportunities for women, and for a greater respect of the role and influence of women.

The JFB had also made a strong plea for the need to increase Jewish women's working opportunities and for more jobs to be opened up to them. As a feminist coalition, the JFB provided vocational training for females by establishing employment offices and vocational guidance centers, setting up night schools to improve their work skills, and founding schools to offer courses in traditional female fields such as home economics, childcare, healthcare, and social work, in an effort to change the past situation in which women had been more confined to the home, as participation in the workforce not only provided economic support, but also helped to maintain women's psychological well-being. This was because participation in the workforce not only provided women with economic support, but also helped to maintain women's mental health and emotional independence, and enabled them to be effectively linked to society rather than being isolated from it.[12]

In addition, the League did actively contribute to feminist education, offering courses including politics, law, and so on, which helped to improve the cultural quality of Jewish women, increase their participation in society, break down the negative effects of sexism and antisemitism, and increase

their self-confidence and sense of self-fulfillment. On a macro level, the League was able to reach out to women's organizations in Germany and even around the world, to further awaken women's consciousness, to unite with other international women's organizations, to build up strength, to further expand the influence of feminism, to fight for wider rights and discourse for all women, to inspire future generations, and to form the educational significance of feminism.

Moreover, as the women's movement developed further, we can see more Jewish women becoming politically active, such as Josephine Levy-Rathenau, who devoted herself to career guidance for Jewish women. She established the first career guidance office for females in Germany, and she became a lifelong supporter of women's work. She also compiled numerous articles and books on women's careers, in which she pointed out that Germany needed women workers to flourish.[13] She refused to accept that economic independence and the free choice of a profession were a privilege reserved for men alone, arguing that the suitability of a person for a particular profession was based solely on the person's individual abilities and not on sexual differences, and that living a meaningful professional life under favorable working conditions was the only way for every woman to be able to work and connect with the society at that time.[14] It was the right of every woman to lead a meaningful professional life under favorable working conditions.

In 1902, Levy-Rathenau took over as head of the Feminist Women's Interest Information Office.[15] The office was founded to increase women's economic independence and embrace their professional ambitions. Subsequently, the office developed into Germany's first comprehensive career counseling office, meeting women's demands. The office not only provided a resource library to help women search for vocational training opportunities and learn about the job market, but also offered guidance from trained assistants to help them evaluate various jobs.[16] Influenced by this office, similar offices soon grew and united across Germany. Vocational counseling guided women to the right vocational education, provided them with vocational skills training and information on the job market, and created vocational networks to facilitate women's exchange of information on careers and the sharing of resources.

Through vocational education and training, Jewish women gained access to jobs, improved their economic status and expanded their participation in society.[17] Thus, the establishment of vocational counselling offices had brought economic income to Jewish women, whose economic power was the fundamental basis for the development of their personal abilities, and whose economic power had been increased, which had led to an increase in their political status and a strengthening of their voice. Career counseling solved problems from the ground up and provided a large number of outstanding Jewish female participants in political activities, which was constructive to the further improvement of the situation of Jewish women.

More significantly, during the Weimar Republic, women gained the right to vote and the progressive achievement of political participation. During World War I, when the German male labours were conscripted to fight in the wars, a large number of women began to take the place of men as the main producers in Germany, taking responsibility for the production and supply of the home front.[18] In this new phenomenon, Jewish women also played an important role. German women were given the opportunity to participate in a wide range of jobs, which not only reversed society's traditional perceptions of women, but also established an excellent foundation to promote the later emancipation of women effectively.[19]

After the war, according to Article 109 of the *Weimar Constitution* of 1919, all Germans were equal under the law, and men and women had the same civil rights and duties.[20] German Jewish women, as German female citizens, were firstly granted the right to vote and enjoy the same rights and duties as all male citizens, German Jewish women could cast a sacred vote and to stand as candidates in that for the first time in history. It was definitely a milestone achievement. Compared

to this, it was the Equal Franchise Act of 1928 that granted British women the right to vote, breaking the restrictions on women's suffrage imposed by the Representation of the People Act of 1918.[21]

In general, Jewish emancipation in this period enabled Jewish women in Germany to gain more opportunities to participate in life politically. However, under the influence of antisemitism and sexism, women's rights and interests could not be well protected, but in the face of these difficulties, they had continued to fight back, setting up leagues to promote women's movements, founding career counseling offices to solve the economic problems. In 1919, the Weimar Constitution granted political rights to all German citizens, and for the first time, Jewish women were legally guaranteed their political rights and were given more opportunities to participate in political life, which was a milestone achievement. We can see from this history that Jewish women had always sailed up cheerfully in adversity and made persistent efforts to show Germany and even the whole world the power of Jewish women, and step by step they had written their own 'herstory'.

4. Perspective: religion

From the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, the unique dual identity of Jewish women in Germany exposed the group to both antisemitism and patriarchy. This section explores the phenomena and reasons for the religious choices of German Jewish women through a religious perspective.

During this period, there were three main types of religious change among German Jewish women: first, the choice of Reform Judaism, second, adherence to traditional Judaism, and third, a shift to Christianity.

First of all, some German Jewish women chose to practice Reform Judaism. Reform Judaism emerged as a response to social change, seeking to adapt Jewish practice to contemporary realities, emphasising moral teachings, rational interpretations of Jewish law, and the integration of German language and music into religious rituals.[22] For German Jewish women Reform Judaism offers unprecedented opportunities for religious participation and leadership, challenging traditional gender roles within the Jewish community.

The appeal of Reform Judaism to German Jewish women can be divided into several key factors. First, the movement's emphasis on gender equality in religious practice enabled women to participate more fully in synagogue life. This included mixed-sex seating, women's participation in worship services, and the introduction of *bat mitzvah* ceremonies for girls.[23] Second, Reform Judaism's adaptation of rituals and practices to contemporary German society, for example, the incorporation of the German language into the liturgy, changes in the day of worship and changes in dietary laws to make religious observance more compatible with the lifestyles of modern, educated women.[24] Third, the movement's focus on ethics, theocracy and social justice resonated with many German Jewish women active in the broader social and political movements of the era, including women's suffrage and social welfare.[25] For example, the appointment of Regina Jonas as the world's first female rabbi in Berlin in 1935 demonstrated the movement's potential to expand the role of women in religious leadership.[26]

However, it is crucial to note that while Reform Judaism offered greater opportunities for women, it still operated within the broader context of German society, which was characterized by antisemitism and patriarchal structures.[27] These societal factors continued to place restrictions on Jewish women, who faced a dual identity of oppression based on both their gender and their religious background.[28] Therefore, Reform Judaism provided German Jewish women with unprecedented religious participation and leadership opportunities, challenging traditional gender roles within the Jewish community. Nevertheless, the movement's progressive perspective was tempered by the broader societal constraints of the time, highlighting the complex interplay between religious reform and social realities.

Secondly, some German Jewish women adhere to traditional Judaism. Traditional Judaism follows *halachah*, which means that observant Jewish women live strictly by the Torah, which includes dietary laws, the Sabbath, prayer services, and other religious norms.[28] For instance, figures like Chana Schneerson maintained rigorous practices such as separating meat and dairy and purchasing kosher-certified products, while Sarah Schenirer, found the Bais Yaakov school, emphasized the significance of Sabbath and festival observance among Jewish women.[29]

Their promise to traditional Judaism was driven primarily by a desire to preserve and perpetuate their Jewish identity amid pressures of cultural assimilation. Therefore, the main reason for their adherence is to maintain their identity and to resist cultural assimilation. This means, first of all, that German Jewish women want to strengthen their Jewish identity by preserving and transmitting traditional Jewish norms and practices as completely as possible. At the same time, they want the national cultural roots of the Jewish religion to resist assimilation into non-Jewish religions and cultures. Hence, German Jewish women who practice traditional Judaism want to use religion to preserve their national identity and cultural uniqueness.

Their preservation of traditional Jewish religion is not only reflected in their observance of norms, but also in the expression and retention of religious connotations. In the literary work of the poet Else Lasker-Schüler, for example, the religious connotations of traditional Judaism are implicitly incorporated into her poetry. In her poem *Mein blaues Klavier*, written in the mid-twentieth century, the colour blue has a sacred connotation in Judaism.[30] Additionally, music and art are seen in Jewish thought as a means of spiritual connection and transcendence, with the piano as the medium. Throughout the poem there is a prayerful tone to express grief and wanting to connect with God. Therefore, religious overtones are not directly reflected in her poetry, but are implied behind the words. These implied religious colours are also preserved through literature from generation to generation, thus helping to preserve and pass on the ideas of traditional Judaism.

Hence, Jewish women who adhere to traditional Judaism are able to defend themselves against non-Jewish cultural encroachment and assimilation by adhering to the norms of Judaism and by preserving and transmitting religious ideas to increase the internal cultural identity of the nation and to protect the uniqueness of Jewish religious culture.

Third, some German Jewish women turned to Christianity. From the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, antisemitism intensified, and Christianity, as the main religion of the non-Jewish people, was influenced by antisemitism. This was manifested in two ways for German Jewish women: discrimination and persecution of Jewish women, and induced assimilation of Jews into Christianity.[31] Some Jewish women changed their faith to Christianity in response to Christian persecution and assimilationist tendencies. For example, Edith Stein, originally a Jewish philosopher and nun, was indoctrinated and influenced by her Christian friends, and at the beginning of the twentieth century Edith Stein converted to Christianity and later became a leading figure in the Catholic women's movement. She expected that a special encyclical from the Pope would alleviate the antisemitic sentiments that were growing at the time.[32]

This paper argues that there were two main reasons why some German Jewish women chose to convert to Christianity during this period. The first was to seek a way out of persecution, hoping that their Christian identity would provide refuge from their Jewish identity. The second was the desire to discard the uniqueness of their Jewish identity and thus integrate into the German mass tendency. This is because the Jewish woman encompasses a dual definition of identity, not only as a Jew in a period of antisemitism, but also as a woman in a patriarchal society. This dual identity made Jewish women a socially vulnerable group during this period, making them particularly susceptible to social pressures. This intertwined oppression often left them voiceless and doubly marginalised. This means they were restricted from speaking out as Jews, or even banned, in the face of antisemitic sentiments. At the same time, they are restricted from participating in decision-making as women in a patriarchal

society. These drive them to desperately search for a new identity that might offer protection or acceptance.[33]

From a religious perspective, these conversions highlight the profound impact of societal pressures on personal faith and identity. The decision to convert was rarely purely theological; instead, it often represented a complex negotiation between personal belief, social survival, and cultural identity. For many women, conversion served as both a defensive strategy against antisemitism and an assertion of agency in defining their own identity.[34] Moreover, these changes emphasized the power dynamics at play in religious affiliation during this period. Christianity, as the dominant religion, held the promise of social acceptance and potential protection. However, this promise was often illusory, as converted Jews frequently faced continued discrimination and were often viewed with suspicion by both their new Christian communities and their former Jewish ones.[35]

From the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the religious choices of German Jewish women reflected a complex interplay between their dual identities, social pressures, and personal beliefs. Whether they converted to Reform Judaism, adhered to traditional practices, or converted to Christianity, these women navigated a challenging environment rife with antisemitism and sexism. Their varied religious responses demonstrate the adaptability and vulnerability of this unique group, providing important insights for the intersection of gender, religion, and identity in a turbulent period.

5. Perspective: education

This section delves into the significance of education for Jewish women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period marked by deep social, political, and cultural changes. The history of Jewish women's education is a testament to their unwavering commitment to learning and personal growth amidst a backdrop of societal constraints. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the world underwent rapid changes, Jewish women. This section aims to explore the motivations behind Jewish women's pursuit of education and the diverse methods they used to access it. The education for Jewish women has its unique and far-reaching significance. Additionally, the types of education received by Jewish women can be divided into basic education, vocational education and social and cultural education. Thus, different kinds of education have different influence for Jewish women. From the most basic and superficial perspective, the opportunities provided for Jewish women to receive education offer them a chance to acquire knowledge. As a result of enduring oppression, Jewish women lacked access to and perception of areas outside of Germany. Because they have received the basic knowledge and skills such as learning to read, counting and language to some degree, education is also a way for them to realize their current situation [36], which means that most of the Jewish women have to accept that even if they have accepted basic education, it is still difficult for them to change the current situation.

Some of the material reflects a greater emphasis on male education and far fewer restrictions on men's career choices than women's. Moreover, in the highly gendered traditional Jewish society, boys' teachers were invariably male [37].

Before analyzing the education for Jewish women, it is useful to briefly overview the British girls' school's movement which is the typical of the global women's movement. Compare and contrast the history of girls' education in England, British movement for girls' education is a long-term process. A notable example of this movement is Aphra Behn, a woman setting a precedent for women to be able to speak out freely. However, there has been a setback of British women's freedom and education during Georgian. Thus, some British women began to rebel, and the Bluestocking Movement emerged as they pursued education and the equal status of women in society. Even so, boys and girls were sent to different kinds of schools in England at that time. Additionally, Girls would mainly learn to converse elegantly or sewing. It is an obvious education inequality. The transformation took place in the Victorian era. For example, some lectures opened equally for men and women. Besides, some

girls' school have been established and the 1880 Education Act made education compulsory for girls. British women gained the right to vote in 1918. Moreover, sexual equality in education has been achieved [26]. Similarly, Sieff and Burstall have been important catalysts in firmly empowering women in the electoral process. Burstall is also pointing out that it is also important to have programmes in education that are relevant to girls [38].

The imperative for Jewish women to receive education became increasingly clear throughout the nineteenth century. In an era where women's rights were simply ignored, education emerged as a powerful tool for Jewish women to assert their independence and autonomy. By acquiring knowledge and skills, they gained the confidence to make informed decisions about their lives to some extent and contribute meaningfully to their communities. Basic education also helps them develop their perception of self-identity.

Education also played a crucial role in preserving Jewish cultural identity. By studying their religious texts, traditions, and history, Jewish women ensured that their heritage would be passed down to future generations. Moreover, Jewish women play an important role in imparting knowledge for the next generation. This knowledge served as a source of pride and solidarity, binding them to their community and reinforcing their sense of belonging [38].

The increase in the rate of education of Jewish women has stimulated the development of the Jewish society and economy to some extent. Moreover, education opened doors for Jewish women to participate more fully in society and the economy. With improved literacy and numeracy skills, they were better equipped to secure employment, manage finances, and contribute to the family's well-being. This, in turn, enhanced their social status and economic security.

After categorizing the education of Jewish women, it is also vital to explore the personal as well as social changes that have occurred as a result of Jewish women's education. Some organizations such as religious institutions and Jewish women's associations such as WIZO are major sources of education for Jewish women. Jewish women often turned to religious institutions as a source of education. Synagogues, yeshivas, and other religious schools provided opportunities for them to study Jewish texts, laws, and customs [39]. These institutions imparted religious knowledge and promote a sense of community and spiritual fulfillment.

With the development of Jewish Liberation Movement, the barrier to entry of Jews into secular society was gradually removed. Secular education systems aim to make Jews involve in their community in a simple and direct way. That is because secular education tends to socialize Jews to let them become a 'useful' part of this community [39]. As secular education systems expanded, Jewish women increasingly enrolled in public and private schools. These institutions offered a broader curriculum that encompassed science, mathematics, literature, and other disciplines. By attending these schools, Jewish women gained exposure to diverse ideas and perspectives, broadening their horizons and preparing them for a rapidly changing world. However, secular education caused a polarizing situation which was based on the relationship between human resources costs invested in shaping Jewish cultural values and return on education reflected in economics. Thus, secular education is strongly resisted by some Jews. This kind of Jews may benefit from the religious organizations with restrictions imposed on secular education.

Another way of Jewish women's education is informal learning networks and vocational education, which help Jewish women master some practical skills. In addition to formal educational institutions, Jewish women also relied on informal learning networks. These included family members, mentors, and peers who shared their knowledge and experiences. Through these networks, Jewish women acquired practical skills, such as cooking, sewing, and homemaking, as well as social and emotional support.

Finally, many Jewish women embraced self-education and lifelong learning. They sought out books, periodicals, and other sources of information to expand their knowledge and understanding of

the world. This commitment to continuous learning demonstrated their resilience and determination to overcome the barriers that often hindered their access to formal education. Gradual assumption by some Jewish women of responsibility for the education of their children within the family.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries got through a remarkable transformation in Jewish women's education. Driven by a desire for empowerment, autonomy, cultural preservation, and social and economic advancement, Jewish women pursued education through a variety of pathways. Their resilience and determination about facing societal constraints inspired people who seek to overcome barriers to education and personal growth. As we look to the future, it is important to remember the legacy of Jewish women's education and continue to support and empower women in their pursuit of knowledge and self-fulfillment.

6. Conclusion

This essay broadly explores religion, politics and education from three perspectives that typify the back-and-forth changes in Jewish women's access to education from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century and the impact of these changes, while at the same time, it looks at the intersection of the dualities of 'the Jew' and 'the woman'. In the meantime, the paper analyses the process of Jewish women's education and its significance from the dual intersection of 'Jew' and 'woman'. However, since some of the material was written by male authors, we believe that this type of article is somewhat subjective from a male perspective and does not truly reflect the situation at the time, nor is it able to put itself in the position of a woman to look at the issue of Jewish women's access to education at the time. Therefore, we need to look for more primary sources or articles written mainly by women writers, which will help us to analyze and study the issue in depth in the future.

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