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From Anna Kluger to Sarah Schenirer: Women's Education in Kraków and Its Discontents

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Abstract This article reconstructs the struggle for higher education of Anna (Chaja) Kluger, born into a Hasidic family in fin-de-siècle Kraków. Kluger's mother, Simcha Halberstam, was a direct descendant of R. Hayim Halberstam, the founder of the Sandz Hasidic dynasty. At the age of fifteen, after completing a prestigious primary school to which she was sent by her parents, Kluger was betrothed to a young yeshiva student and forced by her parents to abandon her studies. Being passionate about studying and determined to continue her education, Kluger fled home in 1909 and sued her parents to allow her to continue her university studies with the financial support of her father, Wolf Kluger. After a defeat in the local court, she appealed the decision to the Viennese Supreme Court and ultimately won her case. Kluger went on to earn a PhD degree in 1914 at the University of Vienna. The Kluger affair became a cause célèbre in Kraków and in Vienna, attracting much attention in the press. Among its repercussions, the article suggests, was the introduction of new norms in Orthodox Jewish society aimed at restricting secular education for Jewish women. These norms accompanied the introduction of formal religious education for girls and represented a development no less innovative for traditional Jewish society.

Keywords Female Jewish education · Orthodox Judaism · Hasidism · Bais Yaakov · Kraków Jews · Orthodox women

On December 20, 2016, thousands of Israeli ultra-Orthodox young women from Bais Yaakov seminaries attended a convention at the Jerusalem Pais Arena Sport Hall. The aim of the convention was to fight the growing popularity of university programs designed for ultra-Orthodox women. Leading rabbinical figures, sitting under the large banner of the convention, *Ḥomotayikh: ʿAl Ḥomotayikh Shomrim* ("Your Walls: On Your Walls, Guards"), virulently attacked programs that grant academic degrees for professions such as law and computers, among others.[1]

This was not the first time that Bais Yaakov students had been warned against the dangers of higher education. As we shall see below, such admonitions had been voiced from the outset of the Bais Yaakov movement

Based on content to be published within the forthcoming edition, *The Rebellion of the Daughters: Jewish Women Runaways in Habsburg Galicia* by Rachel Manekin, Princeton University Press, 2020. Reprinted here by permission.

[1] See short video clip at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K88QWXAdYKU.

in Kraków in the early twentieth century. Then, as now, the rabbis did not rely on classical halakhic precedents forbidding such study, for none existed. Unlike their male counterparts, Jewish women did not face clear halakhic barriers to secular learning.

The paucity of halakhic material concerning women's secular education stands in sharp contrast to the well-known exemption of women from Torah study, not to mention the prohibition against teaching women Torah, as reflected in the frequently cited rabbinic statement, "Whoever teaches his daughter Torah, it is as if he teaches her frivolity (*tiflut*)" (BT *Sota* 20a). A statement in the Palestinian Talmud is relevant to women's secular education: the early fourth-century Palestinian Amora R. Abbahu taught in the name of R. Joḥanan, "A man is permitted to teach his daughter Greek because it serves her as an ornament" (PT *Pe'ah* 1, 1 [15c]; see parallels in PT *Sotah* 9, 15 [24c]; PT *Shabbat* 6, 1), and he did so with his own daughter.

Saul Lieberman argues that the term "Greek" in this ruling refers to Greek literature and not to the vulgar Greek of the lower classes because only "Greek literature … could serve as an ornament to young ladies of social standing such as the daughter of R. Abbahu."[2] The young woman's knowledge of Greek literature, it seems, was considered an embellishment reflecting the high socio-economic status of the family. While not often quoted in discussions on women's education,[3] perhaps because it appeared only in the Palestinian Talmud, this saying was used as justification for the permission to teach girls secular studies, especially languages and literature, in the early twentieth century.[4]

This article tells the story of a young Hasidic woman from early twentieth-century Kraków, Anna (Chaja) Kluger,[5] who sued her parents in state courts

[2]Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II–IV Centuries C.E.*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1965), 23–24, 27. R. Simeon bar Abba doubted the attribution of this to R. Joḥanan, saying that "because he wants to teach his daughter (Greek) he ascribes it to R. Joḥanan" (24).

[3]According to Avraham Grossman, Simeon bar Abba's position "did not leave an impression upon medieval Jewish society, and in many places we find testimony of women who acquired general education for purposes of their economic activity as well." See Avraham Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe*, trans. Jonathan Chipman (Waltham, MA, 2004), 156. R. Abbahu's saying is absent from recent studies I have seen on the education of women. See, for example, Iris Parush, *Reading Jewish Women: Marginality and Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Eastern European Jewish Society*, trans. Saadya Sternberg (Waltham, MA, 2004).

[4]Regarding the phenomenon of educated Jewish women, see Emily Taitz and Cheryl Tallan, "Learned Women in Traditional Jewish Society," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, March 1, 2009. Jewish Women's Archive, accessed June 12, 2017, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/learned-women-in-traditional-jewish-society.

[5]See Rachel Manekin, "The Story of an Ultra-Orthodox Woman Who Fled Her Home because of Her Desire for Education [in Hebrew]," *Haaretz*, Literary supplement, July 29, 2016.

to allow her to attend university and to support her while doing so. The Kluger affair was a cause célèbre in Kraków and in Vienna, attracting much attention in the press. Among its repercussions, I will suggest, was the introduction of new norms in Orthodox Jewish society aimed at restricting secular education for Jewish women. We shall see below that these norms accompanied the introduction of formal religious education for girls in Kraków and represented a development no less momentous for traditional Jewish society.[6] As the Kluger affair followed a debate that had been conducted for several years in the Galician Jewish press over education for traditional Jewish women and the discrepancy between the educational experiences of men and women, we will begin with this debate.

The Galician Jewish Press and 'The Question of Our Daughters'

The awareness of the growing gap between young women and their prospective grooms based on their respective educational experiences came to the fore in 1900 following the highly publicized case of Michalina Araten, a young woman from a wealthy Hasidic family. Araten ran away from her home on December 30, 1899 and found shelter in the Felician Sisters' convent where she planned to convert to Christianity. Shortly thereafter she disappeared. Her father spared no effort in trying to locate her, including lobbying politicians, pressuring the police and meeting with Emperor Franz Joseph.[7] His claim that she was abducted by the Church was rejected, although the Viennese Jewish press continued to refer to the case of Araten and similar less publicized cases as abductions.[8] The Galician Jewish press,

An article about the Kluger affair appeared in Poland after I completed this article, however, as its author explains in her English abstract: "The case of the Kluger sisters has been discussed here not so much in the context of women's struggle for the right to education, or traditions in a Hasidic family, but rather selected aspects of the model of paternal authority at that time against Galician civil and penal legislation." See Agata Barzycka-Paździor, "Krakowska sprawa Klugerówien. Mikrohistorie galicyjskie," *Rocznik Przemyski. Historia* 52 (2016): 35–54. The author does not discuss the fate of the Kluger sisters' appeal to the Viennese Supreme Court or Anna Kluger's study at the University of Vienna.

[6]On the background for the introduction of formal religious education for girls, see Rachel Manekin, "Orthodox Jewry in Kraków at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Polin* 23 (2011): 165–98, esp. 189–92; idem, "Something Completely New: The Development of the Idea of Jewish Education for Women in Modern Times [in Hebrew]," *Masekhet* 2 (2004): 63–85.

[7]See Rachel Manekin, "Tehilah's Daughter and Michalina Araten, 'That Apostate, May Her Name Be Erased [in Hebrew],' " *Haaretz*, Literary Supplement, June 25, 2003.

[8]On the Jewish community viewing these runaways as abductees, see Tim Buchen, " 'Herkules im antisemitischen Augiasstall': Joseph Samuel Bloch und Galizien in der Reaktion auf den Antisemitismus in der Habsburgermonarchie," in *Einspruch und Abwehr: Die Reaktion des eu-*

on the other hand, viewed Araten's case as the culmination of a problem that was long brewing, and that resulted from the flawed education of young women.

Araten, while the most famous, was but one of a growing number of young Jewish women who converted to Christianity in Kraków during this period.[9] Since most rabbis avoided speaking publicly about what became known as "The Question of Our Daughters,"[10] the Hebrew language press served as the main platform for discussions on the topic. The moderate religious newspapers, generally Zionist in orientation, suggested establishing Jewish schools for girls in which they would be taught the Jewish religion, Hebrew language and literature, and Jewish history.[11] The local Orthodox press rejected this solution, insisting that there was no need to introduce innovations in the customary religious education of girls. Instead, it suggested limiting the secular education of girls, teaching them only what was mandated by the state, instead of teaching secular "adornments."

A few examples will highlight the different views expressed in the Orthodox press. In response to the call of *Ha-Magid*, the moderate nationalist paper, to teach girls Torah as a solution, the Galician Orthodox weekly *Maḥazikei ha-das* called to limit the extent of what the Orthodox author called "external sciences" (*ḥokhmot ḥizoniyot*) taught to women. He referred to the rabbinic prohibition against teaching women Torah as a holy tradition equal to all the customs of Israel. He was careful not to give the impression of rejecting secular education, assuring readers that no one contemplated totally uprooting schooling for girls, especially since that was the law of the land. Instead, he called on parents to avoid "overfeeding" their daughters secular studies that were superfluous (*seraḥ ha-ʿodef*) to the way of life and the ways of the world. For this journalist, it was the extra secular knowledge, namely, impractical knowledge, that should be discarded.[12] This was the first call in this paper to reject R. Abbahu's permission to teach daughters Greek without referring to it as such. After all, the original rationale was that it served girls as an ornament, not as knowledge to be put into daily practice.

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ropäischen Judentums auf die Entstehung des Antisemitismus (1879–1914), ed. Ulrich Wyrwa (Frankfurt, 2010), 193–214.

[9] Rachel Manekin, "Education and Female Conversion in Fin-de-Siècle Kraków," *Polin* 18 (2005): 189–219.

[10] As was the case in the 1903 rabbinical conference in Kraków, see Manekin, "Orthodox Jewry in Kraków," 190–92.

[11] Shimʿon Menaḥem Lazar, "Precious out of the Vile [in Hebrew]," *Ha-Magid*, no. 9, March 1, 1900, 100–01.

[12] Ab"g [Avraham Ginẓler], "Boastful Tongue [in Hebrew]," *Maḥazikei ha-das*, March 23, 1900, 2–3.

Two years later, the Orthodox organ *Kol maḥazikei ha-das* published a series of articles titled: "But We Are Guilty on Account of Our Daughters." The author aimed his barbs at the rich Hasidim, describing the way they educated their daughters as an "unforgivable sin." He too criticized the habit of providing daughters with more than basic primary schooling, especially the addition of private lessons in non-Jewish languages and literature. Such an education, he said, later led to a gap between husband and wife, which was against the Torah commandment, "And they shall become of one flesh (Gen. 2:24)."[13]

In trying to explain the reasons why the education of women had become a problem, the author described a time when Jews lived in seclusion from the outside world, surrounded by walls built by foreigners as well as, voluntarily, by themselves. Literature taught to young men included only the Talmud and the works of the legal decisors and literature for young women consisted of the *Ẓe'ena u-re'ena* and *Nofet ẓufim*. Daughters of Israel found happiness in marrying a learned husband, and this created a life of true partnership. Since the fall of the ghetto walls, all daughters of Israel, including those of the very pious, had been attending secular schools and forming friendships with Gentiles. The remedy he suggested was more supervision and control by fathers to eliminate contacts with Gentile men. Paraphrasing a verse from the Song of Songs, he declared, "It is the obligation of every father to understand that even if his daughter is a wall, he should enclose her with panels of cedar." The paraphrase differed significantly from the original verse, which reads: "We have a little sister and her breasts are not yet grown. What shall we do for our sister on the day she is spoken for? If she is a wall, we will build towers of silver on her. If she is a door, we will enclose her with panels of cedar" (Song of Songs 8:8–9). While the original took into account the young woman's character, saying that if she is a "wall," i.e., strong and not given to temptation, she would be embellished with silver, the Orthodox author suggested enclosing the daughter with "panels of cedar" *even* if she was a "wall."[14]

In a subsequent article, the author emphasized that the practice of giving girls an extensive secular education was particularly noticeable in Kraków. He quoted a friend who had told him: "Ten measures of external education (*haskalah ḥiẓonit*) descended upon the daughters of Israel in our country; the city of Kraków took nine of them." The author rejected an acquaintance's

[13] M. ben Yekeh [Mordekhai ben Yiẓḥak ha-Levi], "But We Are Guilty on Account of Our Daughters [in Hebrew]," *Kol maḥazikei ha-das*, January 31, 1902, 2–4.

[14] Ibid., 3. The banner in the recent Jerusalem Bais Yaakov convention mentioned above, "On Your Walls, Guards," and the name of the convention, "Your Walls," are distant echoes of this verse.

suggestion to teach the daughters Scripture, Hebrew, and the history of the Jewish people to the same extent that they were taught secular subjects and languages, arguing that this was but a minor remedy. The full remedy to the current problem was rather to limit the teaching of secular studies and foreign languages. Experience showed that men who had studied both religious and secular subjects abandoned religion. Torah and religion would not survive among daughters of Israel who were taught both.[15] Clearly, this author ignored or was unaware of R. Abbahu's permission to teach daughters Greek as an adornment, preferring instead to glorify an imagined past of a Jewish life that was physically and intellectually isolated from its surroundings.

A few years later, the Orthodox weekly published another article on the subject, this time titled: "What Should be Done with Our Sisters?" The author blamed the present crisis on a "breach" (*pirẓah*) in the house of Israel, namely, the permission to study "*treifah pasul*" (ritually unfit food, i.e., secular subjects). It is this "breach" that caused fathers to allow their daughters to benefit from higher education. Parents should ban their daughters from reading poisonous books and visiting the theater, providing for them instead the recently available books written in the spirit of Judaism.[16]

While the solution of the Orthodox journalists was clear—restricting secular studies for girls to what was necessary and mandatory—as publicists, it was not within their capacity to formulate religious norms in this area. They could only point to the flaw in the current system that allowed religious women to study extra secular subjects. What constituted "extra" remained vague.

In contrast to the local Kraków publicists, the Hamburg-born Ahron Marcus, who relocated to Kraków because of his attraction to Hasidism, cited R. Abbahu's saying about teaching daughters Greek as justification for his recommendation to fathers to register their daughters in public schools, a recommendation he limited to females. His only concern was the content of some of the textbooks, specifically Christian references and images, and the silence of rabbis on this issue. Marcus justified his speaking out on this controversial subject with the well-known rabbinic saying, "In a place where there is desecration of God's name, one does not pay respect to the rabbi (BT Sanhedrin 82a),"[17] implicitly criticizing the lack of rabbinical engagement with this subject.

[15] Ibid., 1.

[16] Shoha"m [Avraham Hayim Shenbakh], "What Should Be Done with Our Sisters? [in Hebrew]" *Kol maḥazikei ha-das*, February 21, 1907, 2–3.

[17] Ahron Marcus, "Peace Be on Israel and the Rabbis! [in Hebrew]" *Ha-Miẓpeh*, June 28, 1912, 1–2; July 5, 1912, 1–2. Marcus published both parts of the article also in *Kol maḥazikei ha-das*, August 16, 1912, 6–8.

Marcus's call was met with criticism. *Ha-Mizpeh* published an article that saw the solution in establishing special schools for girls where they would be taught religious and secular subjects by the same teachers, so that the two areas would not be viewed as contradictory. One should not put the blame on rabbis or women, as the whole nation was guilty. Even the most Hasidic of the Hasidim, according to this author, was joyful when he discovered that his future daughter-in-law played the piano, knew French and bookkeeping and was well read. He didn't inquire whether she prayed or whether she observed the Sabbath. He would cancel the betrothal of his son only when discovering that the prospective bride was a member of a Zionist organization.[18]

While the religious Zionists suggested establishing religious schools for girls, the non-Zionist Orthodox called for restricting secular education and leaving the religious education "as is," i.e., taught in the privacy of the home. The religious Zionists saw in the emphasis of national elements such as Hebrew language and literature and Jewish history, as well as Bible, an antidote against the defection of some young women to Christianity and the indifference of others to their religion and their people.

A sixteen-year-old S. Y. Agnon, himself a religious Zionist, added his own interpretation. In a four-line poem titled "Out of Hate," published in *Ha-Mizpeh*, the young Agnon offered a sarcastic parallel between the Hasidic families' habit of educating their daughters in Polish schools rather than establishing Jewish schools for them and the Moabites use of their daughters to entice the Israelites to the Baal worship in order to defeat them:

> *The Moabites fought the Israelites with their deceitful tools*
> *By abandoning their daughters to beguile.*
> *The Hasidim send their daughters to* [*Polish*] *schools*
> *Since they hate the Haskalah vile.*[19]

Although there was a growing realization that things needed to be changed, there was no sense of urgency or alarm, despite the phenomenon of the abandonment of and indifference to religion among young Jewish women. The debate in the Orthodox press in the first decade of the twentieth century was not formulated in a systematic manner or carefully thought out, but it alerted the Orthodox public to a problem to which many preferred to turn a blind eye. Since it was carried out in the Hebrew press, it remained a debate within the Jewish community. But the question of higher education became pressing when the Kluger affair transcended the Jewish community and entered the Austrian legal and public sphere.

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[18] Refaʾel Fefer, "The Education of Daughters: A Response to R. Ahron Marcus [in Hebrew]," *Ha-Mizpeh*, August 2, 1912, 1–2.

[19] המואבים צררו לבני ישראל בנכליהם/ ע"כ הפקירו להם בנותיהם לעשות נבלה./והחסידים ישלחו לבית הספר בנותיהם,/יען כי ישנאו את ההשכלה. Sh. Y. Tsh., "Out of Hate [in Hebrew]," *Ha-Mizpeh*, July 1, 1904, 6.

Anna Kluger and Her Struggle for Higher Education

Anna Kluger was born in 1890 to Wolf Kluger, the millionaire owner of a steam mill, buildings, and other assets, from Podgórze (later a district in Kraków),[20] then part of the Austrian monarchy, and Simcha Halberstam, a great granddaughter of R. Hayim, the founder of the Sandz dynasty, the Hasidic court known for its emphasis on Talmudic erudition.[21] As was the custom among rich Hasidim in Kraków, Anna Kluger attended the first few grades in the public eight-year *Volks* and *Bürgerschüle* in Podgórze,[22] and after that a private German *Töchterschule* in Kraków, which she completed in 1904. Such a private *Töchterschule* was designed for daughters of upper-class families and was a finer school than the one she had attended in her neighborhood.[23] Her parents also supplemented her formal education with private language lessons.[24] The education they provided for their daughter was not limited to what was mandated by the law but served also as an "adornment" reflecting their high socio-economic status.

When Kluger was fifteen, her parents arranged her betrothal to fourteen-year-old Zacharias Arak (Arik), a nephew of the famous Galician rabbi and Talmudic scholar Me'ir Arak, and grandson of the wealthy Mordekhai

[20]The Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* claimed that her father's fortune was worth two million krone; see "Ein galizischer Familienstreit," *Neue Freie Presse*, June 7, 1910, 11.

[21]On the Sandz dynasty, see David Assaf, "Sandz Hasidic Dynasty," YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, online edition, accessed June 12, 2017, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Sandz_Hasidic_Dynasty.

[22]The mandatory schooling law of May 14, 1869 issued by the Austrian monarchy replaced the older terms "*Normalschule*," "*Trivialschule*," and "*Hauptschule*" with the term "*Volksschule*," making attendance mandatory. When the number of students was sufficient, a *Mädchenschule*, an elementary school for girls, functioned parallel to schools for boys, and was required to teach also needlework and housekeeping. The *Bürgerschule* was a school that offered an extended curriculum beyond the *Volksschule* for students who did not continue their studies in secondary schools. There was also a combination of a *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* that was composed of eight grades. See "Gesetz vom 14 Mai 1869, durch welches die Grundsätze des Unterrichtswesens bezüglich der Volksschulen festgestellt erlassen," *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich* (1869): 277–88. The law also included instructions for a four-year program to train teachers, which was intended also for female students, a relatively new profession for women.

[23]See the curriculum vitae written by Kluger in her Vienna University file, Vienna University Archives, PH RA 3892, Schachtel 58, 7. According to her 1910 appeal to the Viennese Supreme Court (see below), this was the school of [Ludmiła] Tschapek, which was founded in 1881 and taught Polish, German, French, and English, as well as music and other subjects. The teachers were gymnasium professors. See *Krakowianin*, May 28, 1881, 5.

[24]See "Ein galizischer Familienstreit," *Neue Freie Presse*, June 20, 1910, 10. This is a letter from the lawyer of the family discussed below.

Bergmann.[25] Up until that point Kluger's life was not very different from that of other rich Hasidic daughters in Kraków, who were well known for their broad secular education. Such a match of an educated young woman and a Hasidic young man lacking any knowledge of secular culture and languages did not always make for a happy marriage, or so we learn from the contemporary Galician press. But it was fully expected by her parents that Kluger would follow the path of other Kraków Orthodox Jewish women, i.e., that she would marry and end her formal education.

Even after her betrothal, Kluger was determined to continue her studies; according to an Austrian law journal that reported on the case, she had a "*Wissensgier*," a passion for learning. She had to prepare privately for the matriculation examinations and sit for them as an external student in one of the gymnasia in town. Unable to purchase the books for herself, Kluger used the library of the Jagiellonian University, where she found what was necessary. Upon discovering this, her parents appeared at the library with their lawyer, Dr. Aronsohn,[26] who demanded that the head of the library not provide books for their daughter. They could make this demand because, according to the Austrian civil code, children were considered minors and in the legal custody of their father (as the head of the family) until the age of twenty-four.[27] Since Kluger had not yet reached the age of majority, her father's authority had to be respected. The parents' employment of a lawyer testifies to their absolute determination to stop their daughter's efforts at continuing her studies. What might have seemed to an outsider as a lack of consistency in the parents' attitude to their daughter's education was viewed by their social circle as quite normal. As one Orthodox man told his acquaintance: "When entering the marriage canopy, they will throw out all the nonsense (*shtutim*) and become pious women like their mothers."[28]

[25] Several newspaper reports relating her story mention the name "Zacharias Arak" as the bridegroom chosen for Anna by her parents; see "Eine Geschichte aus dem Ghetto," *Das Recht: Volkstümliche Zeitschrift für österreichisches Rechtsleben* 9:1 (1910): 5–9, esp. 6; "Sprawa Klugerówien," *Myśl Niepodległa*, June 1910, no. 138, 829–33, esp. 829.

[26] Dr. Jakob Aronsohn was a lawyer living in Podgórze; see *Verzeichnis der Advokaten und k. k. Notare in den im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern der österr.-ungar. Monarchie* 24 (1907): 58.

[27] *Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch für die gesammten deutschen Erbländer der Oesterreichischen Monarchie*, 1 (Vienna, 1811), §21, 8. The law defined three categories of children: *Kinder*—those who had not reached the age of seven, *Unmündige*—those who had not reached fourteen, and *Miderjährige*—those who had not reached twenty-four. While the civil code recognized the duty of the family to educate its children, it was above all the duty of the father. The mother's principal duty, according to the civil code, was to care for the child's body and health. On the rights of parents and children, see *Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, §§139–86, 54–72, esp. §§139, 141, 147.

[28] "What Should Be Done with Our Sisters?," 2.

Was Kluger's thirst for higher education unusual for her time and place? The Austrian authorities were not particularly supportive of educating women at the same level as their male counterparts; women's organizations had to promote the establishment of private female gymnasia. This was the case also in Galicia.[29] Although elementary education for girls was already common in the late nineteenth century, albeit with an emphasis on skills viewed as necessary for females, Austria was slow in introducing secondary education for women. The first such school, a women's four-year secondary school, was opened in Vienna in 1871. In the next few years, similar schools referred to as *Mädchenlyzeen* were established in the monarchy, including in several cities in Galicia. The aim of those schools was to teach girls languages and literature and a general education that was geared to women's domestic roles.[30]

In 1900, a new type of *Mädchenlyzeum*, a six-year school, became popular. These schools offered their students a graduation exam, but passing the exam did not qualify them to register as regular students in the university, but rather as special students to train to become teachers in secondary schools.[31] Despite pressure from women's organizations, the Austrian authorities refrained from introducing public high schools for women that offered matriculation exams, especially since they viewed the "female nature" as unfit for academic studies.[32] As a result, such gymnasia were private institutions, such as the first female gymnasium in Prague (1890) established by the *Minerva* society, and the first one in Vienna (1892) established by the *Verein für erweiterte Frauenbildung*.[33] Students in those private gymnasia had to take their matriculation exams as external students in male gymnasia. The Austrian authorities did not wish to copy the male educational system for females, since female schools were viewed as institutions that should take into consideration the "female character" (*weibliche Eigenart*)[34] of its students.

[29] Angelique Leszczawski-Schwerk, *'Die umkämpften Tore zur Gleichberechtigung': Frauenbewegungen in Galizien (1867–1918)* (Vienna, 2015), 293.

[30] Marina Fischer-Kowalski and Peter Seidl, *Von den Tugenden der Weiblichkeit: Mädchen und Frauen im österreichischen Bildungssystem* (Vienna, 1986), 20–23.

[31] Margaret Friedrich, *'Ein Paradies ist uns Verschlossen …': Zur Geschichte der Schulischen Mädchenerziehung in Österreich im 'langen' 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1999), 120–28; Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens: Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs* 4 (Vienna, 1986), 278–86.

[32] Friedrich, *'Ein Paradies'*, 210–19.

[33] Interestingly, when Anna Kluger and her sister studied at the University of Vienna, they became members of this society and paid four krone as an annual fee, see *Jahresbericht des Vereines für erweiterte Frauenbildung in Wien* (Vienna, 1912), 21.

[34] Friedrich, *'Ein Paradies,'* 284.

Since higher education for women was opposed by many, the teaching profession for primary schools became a more accepted option for women, especially after 1870 (when men still comprised the majority of teachers). In 1871, female teachers' seminaries were established in Kraków, Lwów, and Przemyśl, many of whose graduates later became students at the universities.[35] Unlike men, most female teachers in the Austrian monarchy remained unmarried, which may account for, in part, the large number of nuns who served as teachers until then.[36]

Galicia was quite advanced in the development of women's high schools.[37] Of the 4,997 female secondary school students in Austria in 1912 (including the *Mädchenlyzeum* type), 3,606 were in Galicia, more than in any other crown land.[38] Three private gymnasia in Kraków prepared their students for the matriculation exams; one was established in 1900 and the other two in 1906 and 1908. Between the years 1900 and 1918, 357 Jewish female students (including external students) received their matriculation certificates in two of the gymnasia, about 46 percent of the total students in those two schools (there were no Jewish students in the third gymnasium).[39] Kluger planned to take her matriculation exams through the gymnasium established in 1900.[40] Clearly, she belonged to the first generation of young women in Kraków seeking a higher education.

Kluger's intention to continue her studies did not at first affect her parents' plans for her. In August 1907, after a two-year betrothal period, she was married in a religious ceremony, avoiding the steps needed to make it a valid marriage according to Austrian law (as was the norm among many Galician Jews).[41] Her resistance to the marriage was weakened when her mother

[35] Leszczawski-Schwerk, *'Die umkämpften Tore,'* 226. On the public discussions in Galicia on higher education of women, see ibid., 225–56. See also Bogusława Czajecka, *'Z domu w szeroki świat . . .': Droga kobiet do niezależności w zaborze austriackim w latach 1890–1914* (Kraków, 1990), 90–98.

[36] Gunda Barth-Scalmani, "Geschlecht: weiblich, Stand: ledig, Beruf: Lehrerin. Grundzüge der Professionalisierung des weiblichen Lehrberufs im Primarschulbereich in Österreich bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Bürgerliche Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig (Vienna, 1995), 343–400.

[37] Friedrich, *'Ein Paradies,'* 398.

[38] Renata Dutkowa, *Żeńskie gimnazja Krakowa w procesie emancypacji kobiet (1896–1918)* (Kraków, 1995), 38. In 1914, their numbers rose to 3,921.

[39] Ibid., 77. See also the names of the students, many of them clearly Jewish, ibid., 88–108.

[40] See her name in the list of students who took their matriculation exams, ibid., 96. The students had to take their matriculation examinations at the św. Anny male gymnasium in the city; see Czajecka, *'Z domu w szeroki świat,'* 123.

[41] Such a marriage was considered invalid by the state (*ungültig*); *Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, §129, 50.

promised her that after her marriage she would be freer to pursue her studies.[42] Still, she was clearly not enthusiastic about her marriage. According to several reports, she initially refused to cut all her hair, as was the custom, consenting only after her mother had denied her food for two days.[43] Kluger told her sixteen-year-old husband on their wedding night that she would not live with him "as a wife," to which he quietly acquiesced. The couple lived in her parents' home and when it was discovered half a year later that the marriage had not been consummated, the grandfather, R. Mosheh Halberstam of Chrzanów, as well as the young husband's grandfather, were called for a family consultation on the matter. R. Halberstam's advice was that if this continued, the young husband should consummate the marriage by force on a Tuesday, which is according to Jewish tradition, a "twice-blessed day." His advice was not carried out since Zacharias Arak left that day on a trip,[44] perhaps to avoid carrying out such an act. According to a Lublin Polish newspaper, Anna Kluger's husband was "a man of gentle virtues. He didn't claim his right as a husband; allowed her to study, and even encouraged her to pursue her passion."[45] Despite all efforts of her mother to stop her from studying, Kluger managed to take her matriculation examinations. She received her matriculation certificate in 1908 and shortly thereafter she clandestinely registered at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków.[46]

The Kluger Case in the Local Court in Kraków

Realizing that she would not be able to continue her studies under such difficult circumstances, Kluger fled from her home in the summer of 1909 with her younger sister Leonore (Leja), who was studying at the time for her matriculation exams.[47] The sisters took with them valuables worth 20,000 krone

[42] "Aus dem dunkelsten Oesterreich," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, June 6, 1910, 7.

[43] *Das Recht* 9:1 (1910), 6.

[44] Ibid.; "Ein galizischer Familienstreit," *Neue Freie Presse*, June 7, 1910, 11. This was repeated in many other newspapers.

[45] "Ofiary ortodoxji Żydowskiej," *Kurier*, June 17, 1910, 1.

[46] See her name in the list of students, Mariusz Kulczykowski, *Żydzi–studenci Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dobie autonomicznej Galicji (1867–1918)* (Kraków, 1995), 375. Kluger studied in the philosophy department in the year 1908/1909. In that year, there were twenty-nine Jewish female students in that department and twenty-eight Jewish males (218). On women at the Jagiellonian University, see Czajecka, *"Z domu w szeroki świat,"* 140–49. Anna Kluger studied there until early November 1911.

[47] The not yet sixteen-year-old Leonore was expected to become betrothed to a certain "Freilich," younger than her and, according to her testimony, she fell on her knees begging her mother not to make her do that, but her mother pulled her up by her hair and hit her

and hid in a convent abroad, where they hoped they would not be found.[48] Merely running away from home was not an option because, according to Austrian law, the authorities were required to help parents find their missing children.[49]

Since the relationship between children and parents was regulated in the Austrian civil code, the only way for Anna Kluger and her sister to continue their studies was to fight their parents in court. Indeed, the sisters hired a lawyer, Dr. Siegmund (Zygmunt) Marek, a Social Democrat from Kraków (elected to the Austrian parliament in 1911), as socialists in Austria were among the supporters of granting women equal rights in education.

On October 30, 1909, the sisters petitioned the district court in Podgórze demanding (1) freedom to study, (2) separate residence, (3) appropriate living expenses, and (4) release from the father's legal custody. On January 21, 1910, the regional court in Kraków ruled that since the father had forced his older daughter, who attended the university, to marry according to the Jewish religion and not according to Austrian law, and since he had also forced her younger sister to become betrothed against her will, the parents' home was not a suitable place for daughters who wished to continue their studies and whose worldview was alienated from that of their uneducated parents. Such conditions, said the court, were painful for the daughters and the fact that a daughter was forced to enter into a religious marriage without a state-recognized marriage, which was illegal, was grounds for removing the father's custody according to section 177 of the civil code. According to this section, neglect of the education of the children (including abuse) is reason for removing the custody of the father over his children.[50]

In light of this initial view of the court, both sides continued to submit appeals and petitions. While the interrogation of the witnesses confirmed the claims of the sisters, the parents, who initially stated their opposition to the continuation of their daughters' studies, suddenly changed course and declared that they were willing to grant the wishes of their daughters to study.[51]

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head against the wall. Because of undisclosed reasons the betrothal was cancelled and her parents betrothed her to a fifteen-year-old Halberstam cousin who was supposed to become the rabbi of Rzeszów. See "Aus dem dunkelsten Oesterreich," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, June 6, 1910, 7. Leonore Kluger's story merits a separate study.

[48] Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, DPKr 75, 943/10 (Police file).

[49] *Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, §145, 57.

[50] See ibid., §177, 68–69. According to the Penal Code, §§414–15, abusive treatment of children was also cause for removing the father's legal custody over his children; see Joseph Ellinger, *Handbuch des österreichischen allgemeinen Zivil-Rechtes. Enthaltend den Text des Allgemeinen bürgerlichen Gesetzbuches vom Jahre 1811, mit kurzen Erläuterungen desselben* (Vienna, 1853), §177, 88.

[51] The Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* cited the parents' declaration in court on February 21 in which they said that they opposed with "complete determination and full awareness" the

Apparently, they realized that according to the civil code children past the age of fourteen who demanded a different education than the one given by the father, an education that was more suited to their inclinations and abilities, and were refused, may submit their request to the court. The court would make its decision based on consideration of the social class and wealth of the father, as well as the father's own arguments, and after an appropriate interrogation of the father and the request of the children.[52]

As for the sisters' claim that their consent to marriage had been coerced, the parents responded that they were initially unaware of their daughters' opposition. They informed the court that they had already annulled the betrothal of the younger daughter, and they promised to bring about the divorce of the older sister without any delay.[53] This declaration of the parents represented a concession to their daughters' principal demands and removed the legal basis for removing the father's legal custody or any other request. But the sisters, they insisted, would have to return home.

As a result of the conciliatory position of the parents, the Kraków court decided against the Kluger sisters on April 4, 1910. It also accused the sisters of not respecting their parents' religious practices while at home,[54] adding that parents were not obligated to send their minor daughters to university. Such a decision meant that the police were now required to search for and bring the daughters back home, even by force.[55] Disappointed with the court's decision, the sisters' lawyer decided to appeal their case to the Supreme Court in Vienna. As a result, the Kraków court decision was stayed. According to the police file, the lawyer was trying in the meantime to gain sympathy for his clients in the daily press.[56] Indeed, the Viennese and the Polish Galician press kept reporting about this sensational case, viewing it as a clash between backward Jewish parents living in the "ghetto" of the periphery of the monarchy and their educated daughters, rather than in the context of the question of the rights of daughters to benefit from higher education vs. the rights deriving from parental custody.

continued education of their daughter Anna, a declaration they reversed on the same day; see "Ein galizischer Familienstreit," *Neue Freie Presse*, June 7, 1910, 11.

[52]Ellinger, *Handbuch*, §148, 407–08.

[53]See *Das Recht* 9:1 (1910), 7. This article, which clearly sides with the daughters, cites the decisions and describes the events around the court case.

[54]The law stated that parents had the right to guide their children's actions and that it was the children's duty to respect their parents and be obedient; see *Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, §144, 56.

[55]*Das Recht* 9:1 (1910), 7–8. See also the law about missing children, *Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, §145, 57.

[56]DPKr 75, April 20, 1910.

The Kluger Case in the Supreme Court in Vienna[57]

In June 1910, the Kluger sisters' lawyer appealed the Kraków court decision to the Viennese Supreme Court.[58] The appeal, signed by both sisters, is the only known document in which the voice of Anna Kluger is recorded in the first person. While the appeal was carefully crafted by her lawyer, it is still *her* story reflecting *her* experience. Kluger begins by describing her formal education and informal studies after being taken out of school. When talking about her betrothal at the age of fifteen to Zacharias Arak, she says: "At that time I was still an ignorant child, but I was instinctively opposed to it; my parents, however, soon had to break this childish resistance, and assert their will through my betrothal."[59]

Her parents believed that a Hasidic girl about to marry should not occupy herself with advancing her education, but rather prepare herself for her future role as a mother. To impose their will, they destroyed her books and beat and cursed her. When Kluger's husband demanded the consummation of the marriage following the wedding, she told him that he was a complete stranger to her, that she did not know him nor would she consent to become his wife, and that any violence on his part would forever create an unbridgeable gap between them. "My husband, a fine lad, accepted my point of view and did not bother me with demands."[60]

Kluger describes the obstacles her mother placed on her studies, removing the electric light from her room and forbidding the director of the Jagiellonian library to let her read books there. This is when she started contemplating escaping from home: "I did not want to remain in my parent's home because everything I had seen there was strange and hostile to me and I can assert with a clear conscience that I have never experienced in our house what is called love of children."[61] Despite everything she had to endure, Kluger registered at the Jagiellonian University, although the first year was not easy: "During the most dreadful persecutions on the part of my parents, I rarely attended lectures and could not learn systematically at all, but I passed all examinations in the courses and seminars with the grade 'Excellent.' " She

[57] Since the 1927 fire destroyed many of the civil archival documents of the Viennese Supreme Court, I had to reconstruct the event based on other sources.

[58] A copy of the printed twenty-seven-page appeal is found in the library of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków; see *Revisionsrekurs der Anna und Eleonore Kluger*. My thanks to Dr. Alicja Maslak-Maciejewska for providing me with a copy of this appeal. It seems that copies of the appeal were sent by the sisters' lawyer to different newspapers, which then made use of them in their reports.

[59] Ibid., 2.

[60] Ibid., 3.

[61] Ibid., 4.

mentioned by name several of her professors, suggesting them as witnesses who "can confirm with what diligence, dutiful work, and interest I devoted myself to scientific work."[62]

The valuables that the sisters took with them when they escaped, such as linen, clothing, precious objects, and cash that had been deposited in savings accounts, had been given to them by the parents on different family occasions.[63] In mentioning the gifts they had received, the sisters admitted here indirectly that the parents did care about them.

The sister's appeal summarized the Kraków court's procedures and decisions, including the testimonies of the witnesses. One of the witnesses, a fellow female student, had told the court that the sisters never complained about their father, whom they described as a good but passive man under his wife's influence. The witness added that Anna Kluger told her that her father had once asked her whether she was indeed as educated as people were saying, and expressed his wish that if she planned to sit for her matriculation exams she should not do it in Kraków but rather in a place like Vienna. After his wife found out about that conversation, he too forbade his daughters to continue their studies. Another witness, also a fellow student, told the court that Anna Kluger had told her that she had injured her hand and smeared the blood on the bed sheet to deceive her parents and make them believe that she was a dutiful wife. Yet another witness, a neighbor, told the Kraków court that the two sisters were decent individuals and were known as well educated, however, she had never noticed that there were conflicts between parents and children.[64]

In order to receive a favorable decision, the sisters had to convince the Supreme Court that their parents' alleged change-of-heart was insincere. They did so by emphasizing that higher education was against their parents' religious beliefs. Considering that their family held rabbinic leadership positions all over Galicia, the sisters claimed, their parents' sudden about-face lacked credibility:

> Our parents come from backward-Orthodox Jewish families; especially our mother, whose origin is from the rabbinical family Halberstam, which provides all Orthodox Jewish communities of

[62] Kluger mentions Prof. Dr. Viktor Czermak, who taught world history, Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Michael Creizenach (grandson of the German-Jewish educator and theologian, Michael Creizenach), who taught German language and literature, Prof. Dr. Vinzenz Zakrzewski, a member of the Polish Academy of Science in Kraków, who taught the history seminar, and lector Paul Ronieger, who taught French. See *Revisionsrekurs*, 21. See also *Hof- und Staats-Handbuch der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* 33 (1907): 812.

[63] *Revisionsrekurs*, 26.

[64] Ibid., 8–11.

> Galicia with rabbis. In accordance with their origins and views, our parents are fundamentally against any higher education, for they uphold the view that a girl who comes from a Hasidic family is allowed to acquire only elementary knowledge, and she must get married and have children as soon as possible. [...] In the view of the Orthodox Jews it is altogether a sin if any of their children, especially girls, strive for a higher education, and therefore our parents resisted our studies with all their might.[65]

The sisters further explained that their parents' lawyer initially declared that they believed that it was "a very severe sin" (*eine sehr schwere Sünde*) to study at the university.[66] They called their parents "fanatics" who insulted their "human rights and dignity" (*Menschen Rechte und Würde*) by forcing them to marry, and expressed the hope that the Supreme Court would acknowledge their "absolute and unlimited right to personal freedom" and would not make them return to the parental home. They asserted that the physical and moral anguish they suffered at home made it impossible that affection for their parents would be reawakened in their hearts.[67]

They concluded that the Kraków court order to return to the parental home was tantamount to surrendering to the most shocking torments. "But it is also tantamount to a cruel disruption and destruction of our hitherto efforts and endeavors through which we can break down the barriers of a world full of superstition, a ghetto world, and step into the path of progress and of honest work," they stated.[68] The sisters claimed that after their escape from home, Orthodox rabbis ordered the recitation of a prayer for their deaths because they had brought a disgrace upon their family.[69] The appeal, with its harsh words against the parents, was formulated to satisfy the requirements of the sections in the civil code that would enable the Kluger sisters to be released from their father's legal custody, pursue their studies at the university, and live outside the parents' home. But for the average newspaper reader, the parts of the appeal quoted in the press entailed a lurid saga with sensationalist elements.

Aware of their negative image in the press and its possible influence on the Supreme Court judges, the parents' lawyer requested of the *Neue Freie Presse* to publish their version of the events. Of course, that version was also tailored to correspond to what the civil code deemed their legal rights as parents. This was a private court battle that was also waged in the press.

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[65] "Gettobilder aus dem Osten," *Deutsches Volksblatt*, June 9, 1910, 9; *Revisionsrekurs*, 11.
[66] Ibid., 12.
[67] Ibid., 13.
[68] "Gettobilder aus dem Osten," *Deutsches Volksblatt*, June 9, 1910, 9; *Revisionsrekurs*, 14.
[69] Ibid., 14. I did not see this claim in any other source.

The parents' lawyer opened with a section intended to demonstrate that the education they had given their daughters corresponded to the education common among people of their socio-economic class:

> The parents of the sisters Anna and Leonore Kluger, though devout Israelites (*strenggläubige Israeliten*), nevertheless did not fail to provide an appropriate education (*angemessene Erziehung*) for their daughters; not only did they not hinder their education, but offered them opportunity to achieve an education appropriate for the bourgeois classes (*bürgerliche Stände*). Both daughters not only attended the school for girls (*Bürgerschule*) but after completing it, they enjoyed further lessons in a private girls' school (*Pensionat*, *Töchterschule*), and were especially able to learn foreign languages with private tutors.[70]

The education the daughters were provided went beyond what the state required, which demonstrated that the parents were neither fanatical nor superstitious. They claimed that they learned only through the court filings of their daughters' lawyer that the girls not only wished to attend the university but also to be released from their father's custody and to live outside the home. The lawyer added that the parents had already given their agreement to allow their older daughter to continue her university studies if the sisters returned home, but despite that the daughters kept requesting to be released from their father's custody. As for the claim that Anna Kluger's marriage was coerced, the lawyer said that the parents had seen to it, with great sacrifice, that the ritual marriage of their oldest daughter was annulled, and that the bill of divorce was deposited at the appropriate office of the rabbinate. The only reason it had not been sent to their daughter was that her current residence address was unknown. The parents' lawyer concluded his account:

> The reason given for this fight, which goes against all natural feelings of a child, is that the sisters fear that the parents' promise, solemnly given in court, would later not be kept. As however the immediate agreement of the parents indicates that they only seek to obtain the return of the lost children, this fear appears to be unfounded. From an emotional point of view, the entire affair is such that it should be solved not through the courts but through mutual accommodation and trust, and the parents have brought enough proof that they consider this path the right one, and that they are always ready to extend their hand to forgive and forget.[71]

[70] "Die galizischer Familienstreit," *Neue Freie Presse*, June 20, 1910, 10.
[71] Ibid.

Realizing that the judges' decision rested on a thin basis, namely, a promise given in the Kraków court, the parents expressed their arguments in a humble, gentle tone, probably with the hope that the court would interpret the dispute as a family affair best resolved at home rather than in court. A short note was sent by the parents' lawyer to the liberal Kraków newspaper *Nowa Reforma*, in which he expressed the parents' resolve to allow their daughters to continue their studies as they wished, to terminate the marriage of the older daughter, and to grant both daughters complete freedom in marriage decisions. Nevertheless, he said, the parents insisted that their daughters return to their parental home.[72]

Reports about the Kluger Supreme Court appeal appeared also in the Jewish press, though not in the Galician Orthodox Jewish press. Perhaps the involvement of one of the most important Hasidic families made the story too sensitive even to mention. The unaffiliated Lwów Yiddish newspaper *Togblat* printed the story with all its details, but tried to stay neutral by describing it as a "family opera."[73] The more ideological *Ha-Mizpeh* used the opportunity to mercilessly attack Hasidim in general and the Halberstam family in particular. In a tone dripping with sarcasm, it explained that the mother had forgotten that her daughters were also descendants of the great R. Ḥayim and would not do anything against their convictions, an allusion to the zealotry usually associated with this Hasidic dynasty. The cause for what happened, according to the paper, was the lack of Jewish elementary schools where boys and girls could study both religious and secular subjects, thus eliminating the growing gap between young men and women.[74] Both papers failed to appreciate the passion women like the Kluger sisters had for higher education.

But the desire of Anna Kluger to study at the university soon became the focus of reports in the general press after it was raised in the budget committee of the Austrian Parliament by Herman Diamand, a member of the Social Democratic party from Lwów.[75] The shift from a sensationalist Hasidic family drama to the story of a young woman's struggle for higher education occurred after the Viennese Supreme Court delivered its verdict on September 3, 1910. That court annulled the decision of the Kraków court and appointed a guardian for the sisters to ensure the protection of their rights.[76] The Supreme Court refrained from making a final decision on the outcome and

[72] "W sprawie Anny i Leonory Klugerównych," *Nowa Reforma*, June 13, 1910, 2.

[73] "A Kraków Family Opera [in Yiddish]," *Togblat*, June 12, 4.

[74] "The Leech Has Two Daughters [in Hebrew]," *Ha-Mizpeh*, June 24, 1910, 2. See also the first report on the case, "Vengeance against Parents and Teachers [in Hebrew]," *Ha-Mizpeh*, September 10, 1909, 3.

[75] "Die galizischer Familienstreit," *Neue Freie Presse*, June 7, 1910, 11; "Aus dem dunkelsten Oesterreich," June 6, 1910, 7.

[76] "Der Fall Kluger," *Das Recht 7*, October 1, 1910, 111–12, esp. 111.

instructed the Kraków court to conduct a detailed investigation after which a final decision would be made.[77] The investigation, according to the Supreme Court, should determine whether the girls' books that the parents had torn and burned were textbooks or other books, whether the university lectures they attended had been accurately reviewed by the court, and whether the prohibition against the daughters to speak Polish at home applied during the week or only on Jewish holidays. The Supreme Court also asked that the investigation determine whether the harsh treatment of the girls resulted from their opposition to their parents' marriage arrangements, from their deliberate nonobservance of religious commandments, which would hurt the religious sentiments of the parents, or for other reasons.[78]

One of the Viennese law journals took issue with the type of questions detailed in the Supreme Court decision and voiced an open criticism:

> If posing these questions in this form is regarded as essential, then, depending on the different answers, a different decision on the case will likely be expected. Assuming that it was not school books that were torn up, but rather the works of a Friedrich Schiller or an Adam Mickiewicz, or even a volume by Zola—one does not even dare think of one of the great godless philosophers—will the brutal repression of the thirst for knowledge appear in a friendlier light? Or will the force used against the children for using a despised, seedy jargon instead of speaking with one another in the living language of their country be justified, when the people who are not allowed to use the name of God in vain, employed the required sanctification of God on Holidays as a pretext? And will the Supreme Court really take the position, as it implies it will, that the criminal misguidance of a girl, barely of age, to commit to a legally prohibited ritual "marriage" with a boy the same age—will the Court really say that such a "marriage" is an institution to be morally protected and approved, so that even abuses towards the resistant children should be excused?[79]

In any event, the Viennese Supreme Court's decision was sent by telegraph from Kraków, where it was first received, to the Viennese press, which published it in articles under such titles as: "The Struggle for Education,"[80] and "The Right to Education."[81]

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[77] Ibid., 112.
[78] Ibid., 111.
[79] Ibid., 112.
[80] "Das Kampf um die Bildung," *Grazer Tagblatt: Abend-Ausgabe*, September 6, 1910, 4; *Tages-Post*, September 6, 1910, 7; *Neue Freie Presse*, September 4, 1910, 15–16.
[81] "Das Recht auf Bildung," *Neues Wiener Journal*, September 4, 1910, 15.

The regional court in Kraków conducted additional investigations as instructed, and a succession of witnesses testified that the sisters were strongly forbidden from speaking German or Polish in their parents' home, reading scholarly books, or visiting the theater. Because of their modern outlook and thirst for study, they endured at their parents' home not only physical but also psychological anguish. Such treatment was enough to remove the father's custody of his children according to section 177 of the civil code and, hence, the court granted the daughters their wish to live outside their parents' home. The court relied on section 148 of the civil code and granted Anna Kluger's request to continue her university studies. The sisters' request for financial support was also granted, based on section 139 of the civil code, which, among other things, obligated fathers to provide their children with a decent livelihood.[82] The court obliged the father, Wolf Kluger, to support each of the sisters with a monthly sum of 200 krone, as they had requested; to ensure that its decision would be followed, the court appointed a lawyer, Dr. Salomon Oberländer of Podgórze, as their guardian.[83]

Following the investigation ordered by the Supreme Court, the Kraków court reversed its earlier decision and ruled in favor of the girls. The atmosphere in the city had changed somewhat in the meantime. For instance, on June 6, several months before the Kraków court delivered its second decision, and after the first reports about the Kluger sisters' appeal to the Supreme Court had been published in the press, students at the Jagiellonian University assembled in the Copernicus auditorium to express their support for their fellow student Anna Kluger, and to voice their anger at the Kraków court's earlier decision. A Lublin press report hinted that the first decision was a result of the influence of the economic power and wealth of the Kluger family. The students voted unanimously on a resolution supporting Anna Kluger and condemning the Kraków court's decision to accede to her parents' request forbidding her to pursue university studies.[84]

The Zionist youth expressed their opinion that the older Jewish generation opposed the higher education of the younger generation because experience proved that such education caused them to become indifferent to their people and traditions. As Zionists, they viewed the whole affair through a nationalist lens, placing less emphasis on the personal, individual issue. This explanation evoked some criticism among the participants, but in the end the Zionists'

[82] *Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, §139, 54–55.

[83] "Der Kampf um die Bildung," *Neue Freie Presse*, October 30, 1910, 17; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, October 30, 1910, 15; *Arbeiter-Zeitung: Morgenblatt*, October 30, 1910, 13; "Children against Parents [in Yiddish]," *Togblat*, November 2, 1910, 1.

[84] "Ofiary ortodoxji Żydowskiej," 2. See also "Przeciw chasidzkiemu klerykalizmowi," *Naprzod*, June 8, 1910, 2; "In den Fesseln des Ghettos," *Arbeiter-Zeitung: Morgenblatt*, June 9, 1910, 5.

resolution in support of higher education and uprooting evil from within the community was accepted by all.[85] The increased publicity concerning the case, especially when the investigation proved that the sisters were abused at their home, may have been a factor in the court's reversal.

Anna Kluger left the Jagiellonian University on November 6, 1911.[86] Although the court indicated that the city of Kraków should be the place for Kluger's university studies, in the winter semester of 1911/1912 she traveled to Vienna to begin her doctoral studies in the philosophy faculty of the university. She listed her residence as "IX Wasagasse 20/18, Vienna," and her name as "Chaja alias Anna Kluger." Her dissertation, "*Die Jugend Mazzinis und seine erste Verschwörung 1833*" (Mazzini's Youth and His First Conspiracy in 1833) was approved on May 25, 1914, less than four years after the Kraków's court final decision. Kluger's dissertation advisors, the historian Alfred Francis Přibram and the constitutional expert Joseph Redlich, gave the work the grade "satisfactory" (*befriedigende*), but added: "When assessing the work, it should be pointed out explicitly that by its scientific quality, the treatise in question surpasses the standard of the ordinary, and it demonstrates the aptitude for independent research in an exceptionally excellent manner." After her two-hour thesis defense on November 26, 1914, Přibram gave her the grade "distinguished" (*ausgezeichnet*) and Redlich, "sufficient" (*genügend*).[87]

In 1922, Kluger was married at the Kraków Temple to the attorney Dr. Jakob Bross, who was one of local Jewish *Bund* leaders. I do not know when she received her *get* (bill of divorce) from Zacharias Arak, which had been deposited at the office of the Kraków rabbinate. Arak had already received the permission of a hundred rabbis required to marry an additional wife before the writ of divorce was accepted by Kluger.[88]

As was the case with many women with university degrees at the time, Kluger became a teacher at a gymnasium, in her case, the co-educational He-

[85]"Ofiary ortodoxji Żydowskiej," 2.

[86]For her university file, see Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie, Katalog główny studentów, S Il 205 b, 1908/09 Filozofia; SII 206B 1908/09 Filozofia; SII 218 1909/10 Filozofia. See also Barzycka-Paździor, "Krakowska sprawa Klugerówien," 39, 51.

[87]"Rigorosenakt No. 3892," Vienna University Archives, PH RA 3892, Schachtel 58, 6 and unpaginated pages.

[88]Israel Cohen, ed., *Sefer Butshash* (Tel Aviv, 1956), 207. In the sisters' appeal to the Viennese Supreme Court, Anna Kluger explained that since her parents searched for her all over Europe, she feared that the purpose of the *get* was to discover her place of residence and that was why she did not show up to receive it. Moreover, one of the witnesses claimed that Kluger told her that her mother suggested a divorce from Arak (before she escaped), but she refused because of fear of another arranged marriage where the husband might be more forceful. Kluger responded claiming that she preferred the formal marriage with Arak since he did not harass her with demands of sexual relations. See *Revisionsrekurs*, 11, 18.

brew Jewish gymnasium in Kraków. She also worked in her spare time as a translator, advertising her knowledge of French, German, Italian, Hebrew, and Yiddish in addition to Polish.[89] During this period, she continued to publish her research, first in historical journals and later in pedagogical journals. In 1939, Kluger published her book which was based on her dissertation.[90] She and her husband were murdered in the Holocaust.[91]

To appreciate Kluger's extraordinary achievement, it should be noted that women were first admitted as regular students to universities in the Austrian Monarchy in 1897, and then only to the philosophy faculties.[92] (In 1900 they were admitted to faculties of medicine and in 1919 to law faculties.) Their admittance met with much resistance, especially because of fear of economic competition.[93] When Kluger began her studies in Vienna, there were only a few hundred female students in her faculty. Most of the women studied pedagogy and about a third studied history. Twenty-nine PhDs were granted to women in the philosophy faculty in the year 1913/1914 (fifty-one females altogether between the years 1903/1904 and 1911/1912).[94]

Interestingly, Galician women made up 14.2% of the female students in 1913/1914, more than any other Austrian province aside from Vienna. In that year, 2.7% of the female students in the philosophy faculty listed Yiddish as their mother tongue.[95] Among the Galician female students in Vienna, Jewish students were the largest group.[96] Clearly, Kluger belonged to the pioneer generation of female doctoral students in the monarchy. Her career signified the potential that educational opportunities held for capable Jewish

[89] *Dziennik urzędowy Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości* 1 (1936), 13.

[90] Anna Brossowa, *Józef Mazzini szermierz niepodległości Włoch* i *przyjaciel Polski* (Lwów, 1939).

[91] Her life after receiving her PhD deserves additional research.

[92] For the 1897 law allowing women to be admitted to the philosophy faculties in Austrian universities, see Leo Ritter Beck von Mannagetta and Carl von Kelle, eds, *Die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze: Sammlung der für die österreichischen Universitäten gültigen Gesetze, Verordnungen, Erlässe, Studien- und Prüfungsordnungen usw* (Vienna, 1906), 567–69.

[93] Waltraud Heindl, "Zur Entwicklung des Frauenstudium in Österreich," in *"Durch Erkenntnis zu Freiheit und Glück ...": Frauen an der Universität Wien (ab 1897)*, eds. Waltraud Heindl and Marina Tichy (Vienna, 1993), 17–26, esp. 18–20; Marina Tichy, "Facetten des Widerstands gegen das Frauenstudium von 1870 bis zur Jahrhundertwende," in ibid., 27–48, esp. 27–29.

[94] Renate Tuma, "Studienwahl – Fächerwahl – Studienabschlüsse," in Heindl and Tichy, *"Durch Erkenntnis zu Freiheit und Glück,"* 79–91, esp. 84, 87, 90.

[95] Waltraud Heindl, "Regionale und nationale Herkunft. Das Nationalitätenproblem in der Donaumonarchie und die Veränderungen nach 1918," in Heindl and Tichy, *"Durch Erkenntnis zu Freiheit und Glück,"* 109–28, esp. 114, 116.

[96] Waltraud Heindl, "Die konfessionellen Verhältnisse Jüdische und katholische Studentinnen," in Heindl and Tichy, *"Durch Erkenntnis zu Freiheit und Glück,"* 139–49, esp. 140.

women who thirsted for intellectual development. Such thirst was viewed as dangerous by the society which raised her, and it now needed strategies for containing and channeling that passion.

The Repercussions of the Kluger Case

Moving the issue of the education of Jewish girls from the Jewish public sphere into the civil court houses and the non-Jewish media was a turning point in the decade-long debate over "The Question of Our Daughters" that no one could have predicted. The complete lack of control of the Jewish traditional leadership in this case was a painful reminder of their ultimate helplessness when confronting state laws. The silence of the Orthodox Jewish press reflected the community's shock in the face of the public shame inflicted on the Halberstam family. This is arguably the moment when advanced secular education for women, which meant university education, became a red flag for the ultra-Orthodox community. The traditional permission to teach daughters "Greek," i.e., secular subjects, needed clearer parameters. Such wisdom could still be an adornment, but nothing more than that; most importantly, it would be conducted only under Orthodox Jewish auspices. Indeed, the innovation of the Bais Yaakov schools was not only the introduction of formal religious studies for women but also the inclusion of secular subjects within an Orthodox Jewish educational environment in an effort to minimize their independent value and control their dissemination.

Sarah Schenirer, the Kraków woman credited with initiating the first Jewish Orthodox girls' school, and who later became the figurehead of the Bais Yaakov educational movement, was a contemporary of Anna Kluger, the daughter of one of the most important Hasidic dynasties in Galicia. If Schenirer formed the idea to start an educational program for girls after hearing the sermons of Rabbi Moses Flesh in Vienna, the later decision of Agudas Yisroel's Keren Ha-Torah to establish in Kraków a teachers' seminary and not a gymnasium likely resulted also from the repercussions of the Kluger case.

The path that terminated in the seminary guaranteed that the university remained beyond the pale of the available educational options for Bais Yaakov graduates. Unlike the Orthodox gymnasia for women established in Warsaw and Lithuania by neo-Orthodox rabbis from Germany during World War I, the Kraków Bais Yaakov model created norms regarding the secular education of girls clothed in a religious language, norms that have essentially remained in place until today. The Kluger affair, while centering around one family, was the culmination of a series of problems affecting families of a

growing number of young Jewish women in Kraków, this time a family belonging to the most esteemed Hasidic elite in Galicia.

Schenirer writes in her diary that her father was among the first Sandz Hasidim.[97] She also credits "the young *rabbanit* Halberstam" as one of two people who helped her carry out her mission to establish a school. According to Schenirer, Halberstam helped with unusual zeal, recruiting girls, convincing parents and dedicating every free moment to the project.[98] These references to Sandz and Halberstam may testify to the impact of the Kluger affair on the new educational initiative. Schenirer may also be referring to the Kluger affair when she writes in her diary that "Each Jewish father must be sad today watching how ... his own child is walking around with different ideals, poking fun at him, the fanatic. No less, though, is it the fault of the mothers."[99] In another place, she writes:

> Many times already, in writing and in speaking, I reminded our brothers and sisters about their holy obligation to their children, and mostly their daughters, who are being educated in ways distant from the spirit and the culture of the Torah. This abnormal phenomenon damages and breaks the Jewish home, the Jewish family life. The children become their parents' enemies, as well as the enemies of the entire people with their sanctuaries.[100]

Whether it was a personal connection to her contemporaries, the Kluger sisters, or just being a witness to this scandal in her city, the Kluger affair and the problems in Orthodox society associated with it were apparently important motivating factors behind Schenirer's initiatives.

Indeed, one can look at the place of secular subjects in the Bais Yaakov curricula as an Orthodox response to the Kluger scandal. The secular subjects taught in the Bais Yaakov school system were tailored and filtered in such a way as to block any desire for university education. Polish language and culture lost their "ornament" status and were taught as obligatory subjects demanded by the state of every accredited institution. There was no preparation for the *Matura*, the exam necessary for entering universities. The Bais Yaakov teachers' seminary became the only legitimate ultimate goal for intellectually driven young women, marking as forbidden any additional higher education. This was stated explicitly in an assembly dedicated to the Bais Yaakov school system by the president of Agudas Yisroel, R. Jacob Rosenheim, who said that Jewish women should be women of valor and should not

[97] See Sarah Schenirer, *Gezamelte Shriftn* (Brooklyn, 1955), 5. Her brother was a follower of the Belzer zaddik, but in her writings Schenirer refers also to her connection to Sandz.
[98] Ibid., 17.
[99] Ibid., 23.
[100] Ibid., 24.

be sent to universities because their spirit would be corrupted there and they would not find suitable mates.[101]

In a comment published in a curriculum for Jewish subjects for Bais Yaakov schools, the author, R. Yehudah Orlean (later director of the Kraków seminary), explained that: "Since the influence of the secular studies in the upper grades doesn't offer any extra good for our religious educational work, I included parallel to those studies Judaism classes (*Yahadus lektsyes*) in order to weaken the damaging influence of the secular studies."[102] In other words, learning about Judaism in the higher grades was intended also to neutralize the effects of secular education.

The secular subjects taught in the Bais Yaakov teachers' seminary in Kraków included, in addition to pedagogy and psychology, six weekly hours of Polish and German subjects out of thirty-six hours in the first class, and eight hours out of thirty-nine hours in the second class. While the Polish subjects fulfilled state requirements, the German subjects included selected writings of R. Samson Raphael Hirsch as well as a selection of literary pieces in German by authors such as Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, Zweig, as well as other Jewish authors. Those pieces were taught from the textbook *Westöstliche Dichterklänge*, edited by Rabbi Leo Deutschländer. The carefully selected pieces in German dealt exclusively with Jewish themes, i.e., biblical figures, the Jewish people, Jewish holidays, great Jewish personalities, among others. They were originally aimed at creating harmony between the different subjects taught in the new Jewish high school in Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, established by Neo-Orthodox rabbis who served at the time in the occupying German army.[103]

Benefiting from institutions of higher education at home, the young women who were brought from Germany to teach in the new Bais Yaakov

[101] "Convention of the Orthodox Girls' Schools, Bais Yaakov [in Yiddish]," *Hajnt*, February 18, 1930, 6. R. Rosenheim visited the Bais Yaakov summer course in Jordanów in 1927, and in his speech to the girls he emphasized the three areas of influence of the laws of God: the intellect is the area pertaining to men, while the emotional life and will pertain also to Jewish women. Hence the study of Talmud, parallel to the study of non-Jewish sciences, is for men (intellect); the study of the prophetic books, Psalms, and Midrash is for women (emotions), as is the study of religious conduct (will). The boundaries between the duties of men and women, he warned, should not be crossed: "If nowadays our women wished with false ambition to leap over, God forbid, the boundaries that the law had drawn for them, they would totally endanger the development of the Jewish people, and would not only sin against the law, but also against life and the future," Leo Deutschländer, ed., *Bajs Jakob: Sein Wesen und Werden* (Vienna, 1928), 25–20, esp. 29.

[102] Yehudah Leib Orlean, *Program funem Yahadus limud far di beys yakov shulen in Poylen* (Warsaw, 1931), 3, comment 6.

[103] See *Bajs Jakob*, 40, 42–43. See also Leo Deutschländer, ed., *Westöstliche Dichterklänge: Jüdische Lesebuch* (Breslau, 1918). The inside title page includes as the first line of the title the Hebrew words "*Shem ve-Yafet*."

seminary in Kraków preached there a different attitude to secular studies. One of those teachers was Judith Rosenbaum (later Grunfeld), a Neo-Orthodox young woman who had been raised in Frankfurt in the spirit of *Torah 'im derekh 'erez*.[104] One of her first experiences was teaching Polish Jewish young women with Schenirer at an intensive summer course in Robów. One of her students writes in a memoir:

> Years later, when she [Rosenbaum] recalled her experience during her first days in Robov, she spoke with excitement about the girls who attended the course. ... "It was hard work," she continued, "but it was a pleasure to teach these intelligent, open minded girls. They loved literature and admired the world classics." She withdrew from a chest a miniature leather-bound copy of Goethe's *Faust*. "This is a gift from my favorite and most beloved student," she explained, eyes moist with nostalgia. "This girl was a rebellious student and lover of *Faust* and other secular literature. Eventually, however, she became both a lover of Torah and a pillar of Bais Yaakov movement and seminary." At that time, the girls were still inspired by Western literature and were influenced by its loud proclamation of humanitarian ideas. This sophisticated young woman [Rosenbaum], raised in Western culture, applied her personality and persuasive powers to dispel the girls' admiration of "great" Western civilization. "Girls," she would say, "the world's great writings are full of nonsense. If you find a meaningful thought and a decent moral concept in world literature, you should know that it was stolen from the rich treasure-house of Jewish knowledge."[105]

Rosenbaum later continued her studies at the Frankfurt University and received a doctorate in 1929. What was an educational option for a young, Neo-Orthodox woman in Germany was unheard of for a Bais Yaakov graduate in Kraków. In one of the first references of the Chofetz Chaim to the question of teaching religious texts to women, he claimed that although in previous times it was forbidden for a father to teach his daughter Torah, at present,

> because of our many sins, when the tradition from the fathers has become very weak, and it is common that one does not dwell in one's father's location at all, and especially those [women] who

[104] Tobias Grill, *Der Westen im Osten: Deutsches Judentum und Jüdische Bildungsreform in Osteuropa (1783–1939)* (Göttingen, 2013), 291.

[105] Pearl Benisch, *Carry Me in Your Heart* (Jerusalem, 1991), 61–62.

> have accustomed themselves to learn to write and speak the languages of the nations, it is of course a great mitzvah to teach them chumash, and also Nevi'im and Ketuvim, and the musar lessons of Ḥazal, such as the tractate Avos and Menoras ha-Maor, and the like, in order that our holy faith be confirmed within them. For otherwise, they are liable to stray completely from the way of the Lord, and to transgress all the foundations of religion, God forbid.[106]

Several years later, R. Dr. Michael Winkler, a graduate of Hildesheimer's rabbinical seminary in Berlin, who served at the time as the rabbi of the Maḥazikei Ha-Das congregation in Copenhagen, read the Chofetz Chaim as implying that the Torah forbade women to study foreign languages and literatures. He then cited the aforementioned statement of R. Abbahu in support of his view that there was not the slightest prohibition (*nidnud 'isur*) in such study.[107] For German-trained rabbis, secular education for women did not present a problem.

Postscript: The Bais Yaakov Kraków Model

Although university study was indeed off limits for Bais Yaakov seminary graduates, an exception was made in the case of Gutta Sternbuch from Warsaw.[108] Sternbuch's road to higher studies started in *Chavatzeles* gymnasium in Warsaw. Unlike the available options in Kraków, or in any other former Galician town, *Chavatzeles* offered Orthodox girls the option of a matriculation exam, success in which enabled continued studies in the university. The idea of establishing such a school was conceived and carried out by R. Dr. Emanuel Carlebach, one of the founders of Agudas Yisroel and a graduate of the Hildesheimer rabbinical seminary in Berlin. During World War I, Carlebach and R. Dr. Pinchas Kohn served as informal advisors for Jewish affairs in the German occupying forces in Warsaw. In addition to their work on the reorganization of the boys' Ḥeder system, Carlebach wished to introduce a modern high school for Orthodox girls in the spirit of R. Hirsch's *Torah 'im derekh 'erez* principle. *Chavatzeles*, the realization of that wish, was opened in October 1917 under the directorship of R. Dr. Moses Auerbach with the

[106] Israel Meir ha-Cohen (Kagan), *Likutei Halachot on Sota* (Piotrków, 1922), 21–22.

[107] Michael Winkler, "Torah Study for Women [in Hebrew]," *'Ozar ha-ḥayim* 5 (1929), 14–15, esp. 15.

[108] Gutta Sternbuch and David Kranzler, *Gutta: Memories of a Vanished World* (Jerusalem, 2005).

approval of the Gerer rebbe and was viewed as a solution to the growing problem resulting from the lack of formal Jewish education for girls.[109]

Sternbuch writes in her memoir that the general studies program in the school "was headed by a non-religious woman and the teachers were either Gentiles or secular Jews."[110] This was not the case in Kraków, as Sternbuch explains:

> [H]aving earned my *matura* (matriculation certificate)—something that no other Bais Yaakov girl had done—I conceived an ambitious, even audacious, plan. I set my sights on earning an undergraduate degree, and then—an achievement reached by few religious Jews in Poland and by no religious Jewish woman—a PhD. This was something one couldn't attain through the Bais Yaakov Seminary, which only issued a teacher's license.[111]

To keep her promise to her parents, Sternbuch then studied at the Bais Yaakov seminary in Kraków, and during the times off from school attended the University of Warsaw. After a difficult time at the beginning, Sternbuch's attitude to the seminary changed, a change she describes as a "rebirth." It was the charismatic figure of R. Yehudah Leib Orlean who was responsible for that change. Her description of his classes emphasized not the intellectual challenge they offered but rather the emotional and religious feelings he inspired in the students:

> Bais Yaakov brought about a revolution in our minds and hearts, greater than any social or political upheaval. It was a revolution of our entire being. It wasn't only a question of *frumkeit* or *davening*. Bais Yaakov changed our personalities. We thought differently, we saw reality from an entirely new perspective.[112]

Despite what she describes as a "rebirth," Sternbuch did not abandon her university studies, although she kept it a secret from everyone but her mother. R. Orlean found out that she attended the university, but did not say anything about it to her: "It was only later that I realized why. If I were to obtain a Polish PhD, and join the staff of Bais Yaakov, the government would provide the salaries of all Bais Yaakov teachers!"[113]

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[109] Grill, *Der Westen im Osten*, 275–83. "Polen: Orthodoxe Mädchenschule," *Der Israelit*: *Ein Centralorgan für das orthodoxe Judenthum*, October 12, 1917, 4. In a letter dated December 4, 1917, Carlebach wrote to his wife that the belated official opening ceremony would take place on the following Sunday, the last night of the holiday of Hanukkah; see Alexander Carlebach, "A German Rabbi Goes East," *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 4 (1961): 60–121, esp. 111.

[110] Sternbuch and Kranzler, *Gutta*, 18.

[111] Ibid., 33.

[112] Ibid., 42–45.

[113] Ibid., 54.

Sternbuch's path was indeed an exception, as she was successfully able to live for a while in two worlds. But her gymnasium education was less of an exception outside the former Galician boundaries, not only in Warsaw but also in Lithuania. In December 1915, a *Realgymnasium* was opened in Kovno with separate classes for boys and girls, and with the growth of the number of students it was reorganized with a separate division for girls. Just as in Warsaw, the initiative to establish the school was promoted by the Neo-Orthodox rabbis Joseph Carlebach, the brother of Emanuel, and Leopold Rosenack, both serving during World War I in the German military occupying this area. Carlebach was the first director of the school and he cooperated with the local rabbinic leadership, convincing them of the need for such an institution. The educational model Carlebach wished to implement in Kovno was the Frankfurt *Torah 'im derekh 'erez̤* model, hoping to make it an example for future schools in Lithuania.

The teachers of secular subjects included, in addition to non-Jewish German officers, also Nachman Schlesinger, Siegbert Halberstadt, and Leo Deutschländer, all from Germany. Deutschländer was also involved in teachers' training and after the war was for a while in charge of Jewish education in the Lithuanian Culture Ministry. The first gymnasium for girls in Lithuania was founded in Telz (Telšiai) in 1921, with significant involvement from Carlebach. It was followed by a similar gymnasium in Kovno in 1925 and in Ponevezh (Panevėžys) in 1928. All those schools were under the supervision of *Yavneh* (the association for Jewish education in Lithuania), whose members included local as well as Neo-Orthodox German rabbis. The latter continued to participate in *Yavneh* conferences for years after the end of the war. While with time those schools operated with their own local staff, the pioneers were the German Neo-Orthodox rabbis.[114]

Despite the involvement of the Neo-Orthodox rabbi Leo Deutschländer in some of the schools in Lithuania, he did not adopt the Lithuanian educational model for women when he came to Kraków to organize the Bais Yaakov seminary. While the need for formal education for Jewish girls was a burning issue also in Warsaw and Lithuania, there were no scandals there

[114] Ibid., 301–05, 316–17, 318–20, 326–27. The gymnasium in Ponevezh was called Bais Yaakov since it was housed in a former Talmud Torah by that name, but it came under the supervision of *Yavneh*. Ibid., 295–96. See also Shlomo Carlebach, ed., *Ish Yehudi: The Life and the Legacy of a Torah Great Rav*, *Joseph Tzvi Carlebach* (New York, 2008), 71–84; Mordekhai Zalkin, " 'It Should Be Entirely Hebrew': The 'Yavneh' Educational Network in Lithuania between 'Haredi' and 'Hebrew' Education [in Hebrew]," in *Zekhor davar le-ʿavdekha: 'Asufat ma'amarim le-zekher Dov Rappel*, ed. Shmuel Glick (Jerusalem, 2007), 121–36, esp. 130–32. Yiẓḥak Refaʿel ha-Levi ʿEzyon, "The 'Yavneh' Schools in Lithuania [in Yiddish]," in *Lite*, ed. Ch. Leikowicz, II (Tel Aviv, 1965), 351–67, esp. 360–63.

such as the one in Kraków associated with a famous Hasidic family that involved state courts and was broadly covered by the Jewish and non-Jewish press. Kraków, thus, required a different path, a path that would eliminate the option of independent university studies. The Bais Yaakov model born in Kraków that later spread all over Poland adopted as an institutional model the teachers' seminary, not the gymnasium. The type of indoctrination in the new system of education that started in Kraków attempted to turn the clock back to the late nineteenth century, when any intellectual passion of women for university studies was broadly viewed as suspect and inappropriate.

The university enabled young women in the first quarter of the twentieth century to utilize their intellectual abilities, at least during their time there. The Kluger affair was a turning point that resulted in blocking this option for young Orthodox Jewish women, at least for those who attended the Bais Yaakov seminary. The Jewish studies introduced in the Bais Yaakov school system, itself an innovation, did not challenge capable women intellectually, since their scope was limited and their level far below what the traditional educational system offered to young Jewish males. The balance between the intellectual life and the religious life in those schools was clearly meant to tilt towards the latter, making religious piety and ideological commitment the highest achievement for aspiring young Jewish women.

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