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BERTHA PAPPENHEIM -- THE CONTRIBUTION OF A GERMAN JEWISH PIONEER SOCIAL REFORMER TO SOCIAL WORK: 1859-1936

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# THE CONTRIBUTION OF A GERMAN JEWISH PIONEER SOCIAL REFORMER TO SOCIAL WORK: 1859-1936

BY

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study. In the broadest sense of the term, "social service" embraces all efforts toward the spiritual, social, economic and physical well-being of the community. It implies a conscious communal life, community-mindedness and a feeling of group responsibility. The striving for communal well-being is an ancient heritage of the Jewish people.

The Mishnah[1] states:

> These are the things which have no fixed measure but are left to the liberality of the individual: leaving for the poor the produce of the corners of the field,....the practice of charity, and the study of the Bible.
>
> These are the things the fruit of which man enjoys in this world, while the principle remains for him for the world to come: the practice of charity, hospitality to wayfarers, visiting the sick, dowering the bride, attending the dead,....., making peace between man and his fellow.....[2]

The rabbis composed a special prayer for the faithful communal workers:

> May he who blessed our fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, bless all this holy congregation, together with all other holy congregations: them, their wives, their sons and daughters, and

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1. Mishnah, a part of the Talmud, is a book containing the rabbinic interpretation and development of biblical law.
2. The Mishnah, Treatise Pe'ah, Chapter I, Verse 1, pp. 10-11.

> all that belong to them; those also who unite to form synagogues for prayer, and those who enter therein to pray; those who give the lamps for lighting, and wine for Kiddush and Habdalah,[1] bread to the wayfarers and charity to the poor and all those who occupy themselves in faithfulness with the needs of the community.[2]

In every Jewish community there were charity funds, free burial societies, and organizations for clothing the poor, feeding the hungry and giving free loans. The synagogue served as a house of prayer and as a community center, thus serving both spiritual and social goals. The individual felt a responsibility for his neighbor as well as for the entire community.

When the Jews lived together in a group, separated from the world around them, as they did in Palestine or in the ghettos of the diaspora, the community was a natural part of each individual's life. He was aware of the communal significance of his deeds and he knew that his existence depended upon his meeting his social responsibility. With the surrounding atmosphere of Jewish ideas and morality, it was impossible for any one individual to isolate himself from the community.

With the Jewish woman especially, sympathy and concern for her neighbor was the essence of her social being. The sages of old recognized woman's special aptitude in the field of social service and therefore referred to them as "kind

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1. Kiddush and Habdalah are Sabbath rituals, a part of which consists of a blessing over the wine.
2. Authorized Daily Prayer Book, pp. 152-153.

hearted women".[1] The first human being created to be a companion and helper for another was a woman.[2] Grace Aguilar said that it is the duty of a Jewish woman to influence and not command, to entreat and not to threaten, to lead by example and not by precept.[3]

The social and economic changes of the nineteenth century made certain adjustments in the social service structure necessary. With the breakdown of the ghettos of Western Europe the Jews left these closely knit groups and entered into the life of the nations among whom they lived. The question now arose as to what part of their lives would take on new forms in accordance with the larger community and which would retain their traditional Jewish garb. The social service of the ghettos was no longer adequate to deal with the changed forms of their social existence. This was an age of transition. Since social service was so central an element in Judaism, there could be no question of its being discarded for the sake of a new nationally administered social service. On the contrary, not only was it to be transformed into a new structure of charity which would serve the new Jewish community in as exemplary a fashion as the old, but it also made contributions to the rise of social service in general.

One of the last and most modern pioneers in this transition which lasted more than a century and is still not complete

1. Talmud, Treatise "Megilah", p. 14b.
2. Genesis, Chapter II, Verse 18, p. 19.
3. Women of Israel, p. 72.

is the picturesque figure of Bertha Pappenheim -- Jewess, pioneer, humanitarian. The pictures on the following page should give the author a more intimate acquaintance with the subject of this study.

Timeliness and Importance of this Investigation. Perhaps the fact making this study most appropriate is that Bertha Pappenheim herself expressed the wish that her co-workers, followers and admirers show their appreciation for her work by studying, evaluating and setting down the theory which was the basis for it. Bertha Pappenheim felt that such a study would point to the areas of social welfare which she and her generation neglected and would enable future social workers to use untapped resources for meeting the community's needs and to improve their social work methods.[1]

In our day and age when many social workers grapple with the problems of integrating religious principles with the basic concepts of social work and psychiatry, it may well be of value to write a historical study of a pioneer social worker, who despite having to take the modern psychiatry of Freud and his disciples seriously, was motivated to do her work almost exclusively by religious principles.

The timeliness of this study has been brought into clear focus by the recent publication of a biography of Freud by Dr. Ernest Jones in which the true identity of

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1. Käthe Mende, "Als Mitarbeiterin und Gast in Ihrem Heim", Blätter Des Jüdischen Frauenbundes, Vol. XII, Nos. 7-8, p. 23.

Freud's Anna O., his famous patient who helped Freud to bridge the gap between hypnosis and analysis, is revealed for the first time.[1] Anna O.'s correspondence with Martha Freud and a relative of Bertha Pappenheim has established the fact that Bertha Pappenheim and Anna O. were one and the same. Therefore, according to Dr. Jones, Miss Pappenheim was the real discoverer of Freud's cathartic method which was a direct forerunner of psychoanalysis.[2] Women who worked with Bertha in the Frauenbund and who are still alive today found it to be a breach of ethics to reveal the patient's name in this *new* biography of Jones and they have informed the author of this study of their intention of pointing this out to Dr. Jones.[3] As a young, brilliant girl in Vienna, Bertha suffered from hysteria and had to be under psychiatric care for many years. When she was cured, she moved to Germany where no one knew of her illness until Dr. Jones' book was published in 1953.[4] The success of Freud's treatment is borne out by the study of Bertha Pappenheim's contribution to modern social work which follows.

Since the Frankfurt Jewish community was almost completely annihilated during World War II, this study of

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1. The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, p. 223.
2. Loc. cit.
3. W. Hulse, "Bertha Pappenheim, Dr. Ernest Jones und die ärztliche Schweigepflicht," p. 20.
4. Op. cit. pp. 224-225.

Miss Pappenheim's work may well be a memorial to the outstanding social work done by the Jews of Frankfurt.

Statement of Delimitation of the Problem. This is a historical study of the contribution made by a pioneer social worker, Bertha Pappenheim, in Germany to modern social work from the year 1890 to 1936. Miss Pappenheim was born in Vienna in 1859 and died in Germany in 1936. When she was in her early twenties she moved to Frankfurt, Germany, where she spent the rest of her rich life. This study includes a detailed analysis of the three main branches of social work in which Bertha Pappenheim was particularly outstanding.

"Frauenarbeit", the women's volunteer social service, was the community organization work that Miss Pappenheim did for the women of the Jewish community of Frankfurt. The purpose of this work was to organize non-professional women in order to make them aware of the existing social problems and to have them initiate social action to meet their own needs and those of their fellow men.

"Mutterschaft Und Kinderschutz" was the branch of Miss Pappenheim's work dealing with mother and child welfare. Here Bertha Pappenheim utilized the women's volunteer services and showed great skill in applying casework principles and in coordinating government and private resources to help needy mothers and children.

Miss Pappenheim also struggled with the problem of

white slavery or "Mädchenhandel" as it is called in German. She traveled to many countries to study this problem. Her reports became world famous when the issue of white slavery came before the League of Nations. In this study an attempt is also made to show, against the general background of her time, how Bertha Pappenheim integrated religious principles into social work and how she succeeded and failed in her work.

Three working hypotheses were formulated. First, the religious approach is vital to social work. Second, we can learn as social workers today from the success and failure of the pioneer social workers. Third, Bertha Pappenheim was outstanding in her field and recognized the world over.

Answers were sought to the following questions as a partial test of the above hypotheses: What is it in the nature of social work that makes the religious approach necessary? How have we benefitted as social workers from Bertha Pappenheim's work and experience? What did Germany and the world think of Bertha Pappenheim's work? How was Miss Pappenheim a success? In what areas did she fail?

Since Bertha Pappenheim was such a many-sided person, many aspects of her life must be excluded from this study. Perhaps the most picturesque part of a biographical study, Bertha Pappenheim's personal influence on her relatives, friends and co-workers, has been omitted from this study. This study will not include Miss Pappenheim's numerous

religious writings and articles on many varied topics not related to social work. No consideration has been given to Bertha Pappenheim's beautiful life with her family nor her numerous hobbies of music, art, reading classics, writing, and doing delicate needle, lace and bead work.

Definition of Terms. There are some terms which should be initially defined since they are not defined in this study. "Modern social work" may be described as "a professional service to people for the purpose of assisting them, as individuals or in groups, to attain satisfying relationships and standards of life in accordance with their particular wishes and capacities and in harmony with those of the community".[1] Social work may be divided into social casework, social group work and community organization. Mr. Barry describes community organization as the process of creating and maintaining a progressively more effective adjustment between common resources and community welfare needs.[2] Case work is a generic process using study or investigation, diagnosis or interpretation and treatment or service to help a client to help himself.[3]

Review of Source Material. The bibliographical material used by the author for this study was collected, in large part, from Bertha Pappenheim's pupils, admirers, co-workers and relatives still living in the United States today. The author was given assistance by her grandmother,

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1. Arlien Johnson, "Community Organization in Social Work", Social Work Year Book, 1945, p. 92.
2. "Community Organization Process", Social Work Journal, October 1950, Vol. XXXVI, p. 157.
3. Gordon Hamilton, Theory and Practices of Social Case Work, Chapter I.

Mrs. Theresa Freimann and by her aunt, Mrs. Zeno Darmstedter, who were both co-workers of Miss Pappenheim's, as to the whereabouts of the owners of the source material used. Numerous persons had collected articles and books about and by Miss Pappenheim but they were lost when the owners of this material were killed by the Nazis or when the Nazis confiscated and burned this property. Practically all the records kept by the social agencies founded by Miss Pappenheim were destroyed, along with so many other accounts of the German Jews' activities, by Hitler after 1938.

One of the most important sources for this study was a monthly periodical, Die Blätter Des Jüdischen Frauenbundes, founded by Bertha Pappenheim in 1925. The author was given the complete collection of these periodicals by Mrs. Ottilie Schoenewald who succeeded Bertha Pappenheim in her presidency of the "Jüdischer Frauenbund". The 1936 folder of these magazines is badly stained with ink spots. Mrs. Schoenewald accounted for the ink spots by a description of how the Nazis ransacked her home in 1938 for books of Jewish content which could be used to feed the blazes started by the German Gestapo to burn down the Jewish houses of worship, and in their destructive frenzy the Nazis overlooked this collection of the Blätter Des Jüdischer Frauenbundes[1] but overturned a bottle of ink on it.

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1. It is the only extant copy in this country to the writer's knowledge.

These periodicals were published for the purpose of educating the Jewish women of the community in cultural matters, to keep them informed on current social issues and the activity of the German Jewish community. Each issue of the Blätter Des Jüdischen Frauenbundes contained reports on the work of the Jewish social agencies which Bertha Pappenheim founded and its affiliated agencies. Committee reports and future plans were included in each issue. This enabled the author to trace the growth and progress of Bertha Pappenheim's activity. In almost every issue there is a note about Bertha Pappenheim or an article by her. In 1936, when Bertha Pappenheim died, a memorial issue of the Blätter Des Jüdischer Frauenbundes was devoted to a review of Bertha Pappenheim's life and works. This issue helped the author to get a general systematic picture of the material to be used in this study.

Mrs. Darmstedter gave the author a large collection of letters written to her by Miss Pappenheim as well as speeches and many newspaper clippings written by and about Bertha Pappenheim. She also furnished the author with almost a complete collection of books, plays, children's stories and essays written by Bertha Pappenheim. Among the books are a German translation of a famous collection of Bible stories retold for women,[1] a collection of prayers composed by Miss Pappenheim,[2] a travel diary compiled when

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1. Zeenah U-Reenah Frauenbibel, passim.
2. Gebete, passim.

she studied the problem of white slavery in countries east of Germany,[1] and a volume of translated short stories taken from Rabbinic and Jewish folk literature.[2] Her plays portrayed social evils of her day.[3] She used to compose scripts for puppet shows and short stories to tell the children in the children's institutions which she founded. Most of these writings dealt with religious subjects or fanciful fairy tales, the majority of which were never published. Occasionally Miss Pappenheim would have such a story printed and sold for the benefits of the children's homes.[4]

To supplement this material, the author had many informal interviews with Miss Pappenheim's contemporaries living in the United States today to help her assort and evaluate the factual material.

The author also made extensive use of encyclopoedias, histories and books on research methodology and previous dissertations of students of the Fordham University School of Social Service, to become acquainted with the milieu in which the subject of this study lived and to become familiar with the research procedure used in this study.

Research Procedure. As has already been pointed out, the author used the historical technique in making this

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1. Sisyphus Arbeit, Vols. I, II.
2. Allerlei Geschichten, passim.
3. Tragische Moment, passim.; P. Berthold (pen name of M. Pappenheim), Frauenrecht, passim.
4. Die Haselnusstorte, Die Perlenkette, passim.

study. An attempt is made to relate critically the records of historic events clustering around Bertha Pappenheim's contributions to modern social work. The events are evaluated in terms of their interdependence and interpretation against the general and the specific background of the time. Both lower and higher criticism is used in incorporating the source material into this study. Both chronological and topical organization of facts has been used to show the impact of this study on the past, present and future. The author had to limit the scope of this study to coincide with the time available for its completion. This factor places a limitation on the procedure used since it does not allow the author to do a completely exhaustive study of the source material available nor of the background material having a bearing on this subject. In part, the degree of truth in the spoken word and the reliability of human memory also limit the historic value of this study. This limitation is due to the fact that some of the current records of Bertha Pappenheim's day have been destroyed.

Organization of the Remainder of the Problem. The focus of the remainder of this study will be on a description and evaluation of the three most important phases of Bertha Pappenheim's social work against a characterization of the time in which Bertha Pappenheim lived. The second chapter dealing with the general background of the time will deal briefly with the political, economic and social

picture in Germany between 1860 and 1935. It will also allude to the unique aspects of the German Jewish community and the social philosophy underlying the general current trend of social reform and Bertha Pappenheim's work. In summarizing this chapter an attempt will be made to show what bearing each subdivision had on Bertha Pappenheim's work and how the three main phases of this chapter are interrelated.

The third chapter deals with "Frauenarbeit" or women's voluntary social service, Miss Pappenheim's basic concept of social work out of which the other phases of her work evolved. This chapter will deal with and interrelate the national and international scope of "Frauenarbeit" as well as the necessity for this type of work and a description of the individual aspects of this work. The fourth chapter will be a discussion of "Mutter und Kinderschutz" or mother and child welfare. Bertha Pappenheim's unique contribution in this field is described in terms of the services that were available before Bertha Pappenheim began her work, the services Miss Pappenheim added and revised and the basic philosophy Miss Pappenheim had in regard to this work. The fifth chapter on "Mädchenhandel" or white slavery is a description of the problem as it existed in Bertha Pappenheim's day, the trips she made to study the problem and her attempt to help remedy this situation. The sixth and final chapter will summarize all the material previously presented in

order to conclude what this study shows or proves, to recommend areas in which a more extensive research problem could be done and to evaluate this study positively and negatively.

## CHAPTER II

## BERTHA PAPPENHEIM'S MILIEU

One of the unique characteristics of man is that he is a social being who cannot exist in a vacuum. Just as a person has physical needs, he also has social needs. Human beings are dependent upon one another for the striving toward greater perfection. Since no single individual can have all the knowledge he needs to live, he must rely upon his neighbor for assistance and a sharing of his knowledge and experience. Due to these facts, we have learned to consider the importance of a person's environment in his over-all functioning. To understand a person's thoughts and deeds we must be aware of the factors influencing, stimulating and impeding him.

It is for this reason that we must, before we describe in detail the work done by Miss Pappenheim, examine the political, economic and social influences exerted on Bertha Pappenheim by the German government, as well as the stimulus of the unique Frankfurt community in which she spent most of her days. The social philosophy of her day offered Miss Pappenheim stepping stones as well as stumbling blocks.

The Situation in Germany: 1860-1935. It would be difficult to review in a few words all that happened in Germany during these seventy-five years. The author has tried to focus on those events which molded Miss Pappenheim's

milieu.

The German political scene during Miss Pappenheim's youth was a struggle to unify into one national state. Those people who felt united by a common language, culture, historical tradition and a belief in a common race, wanted to undo the national evil of the 1815 Congress of Vienna which split up national units into small separate states.[1] The upsurge of nationalism at this time is to be attributed to the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. The seventy-five years from 1860-1935 were marked by a series of wars.[2] The Franco Prussian War of 1870 to 1871 marked the end of the wars for the unification of Germany. The German Empire was declared in 1871. Then Germany enjoyed four decades of peace during which many political reforms as well as social and economic progress were made. The Pan-Germanism, militarism, and imperialism which led to World War I were also causes of the fall of the German Empire. The peace treaties after World War I and the failure of the League of Nations again left Germany with the feeling that it must free itself from national and economic bondage in order to grow and excel as a race and as a nation. This urge led to the downfall of the German Republic in 1933 and to the rise of Hitler's national socialism in the form of one of history's most brutal dictatorships.

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1. J. H. Robinson, History of Western Europe, p. 639.
2. "Germany", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XI, pp. 866-877.

The cry of "liberty, fraternity and equality" of the French Revolution influenced the attitude of the German Empire and the German Republic toward minority groups. Thus the Jews were accepted to a greater degree as an integral part of the nation and they contributed their share to the growth of the German state.[1] However, in 1933 when Hitler came to power and promoted the theory of a "Master Race" and a new streamlined economy for Germany, antisemitism arose and it was considered a patriotic duty of every citizen to subdue the Jewish people whose cultural, racial and national background was a threat to the new totalitarian rule.

Economically, the wars of the German unification left the country crippled. The high cost of the wars made high taxes necessary. Thus the cost of living rose so high that the standard of living was depressed for some time.[2] Under Bismarck's rule, agriculture and trade were encouraged and efficient plans were made for the German economy and the utilization of the newly acquired natural resources which made Germany one of the leading industrial nations of the world.[3] The greedy desire for more economic power led Germany into World War I and resulted in the total crippling of its industry and finances. The very high indemnity levied upon this country by the victor nations of World War I

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1. M. L. Margolis and A. Marx, A History of the Jewish People, p. 699.
2. I. Elbogen, A Century of Jewish Life, pp. 408-409.
3. J. H. Robinson, op. cit., p. 661.

led to serious economic crises which planted one of the seeds of bitterness allowing the rise of a tyrant like Hitler, who promised the starved German people a false utopia with employment for all and economic reforms such as nationalization of banks and industry. Disregarding the debts and obligations Germany had to the allied nations of World War I, Germany began to raarm and to develop its industry in order to strengthen the nation so that it might conquer the world during World War II.

Along with their greater political and religious freedom, the Jews enjoyed greater economic freedom at the time of the German Empire and the German Republic.[1] The German Jews were considered citizens of their country in regard to taxes and economic opportunity. In 1933, the Nazis began a systematic expulsion of Jews from certain professions and businesses and an increasingly high taxation for Jews so that many immigrated to the United States of America, Israel and other democratic countries where there was greater equality of opportunity for all. The economic downfall of the Jews was proportionate to the number of years they remained in Germany after 1933.

The Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution and the ideas of such writers, thinkers and politicians as Bismarck, Karl Marx and Hitler contributed to the changes

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1. C. Roth, A Bird's-Eye View of Jewish History, p. 330.

in the social situation of Germany between 1860 and 1935. Modern government legislation was passed as early as 1870.[1] Labor legislation was adopted fairly early in Germany and was constantly strengthened, even at the time of Hitler when the improved benefits were limited to a select group. The educational system of Germany ranked high among the civilized nations of the world.[2] Women's rights were recognized and granted at a comparatively early date.

To round out the backdrop for this study, the plight of the Jews in other parts of Europe must also be described. The rise of a strong nationalistic feeling after World War I made other European nations intolerant of the heterogeneous bodies within their population.[3] Since such countries as Russia, Turkey and the Balkans were no longer desirous of citizens who differed from the state in their culture, religion, speech and former history, the Jews were persecuted and expelled from these countries. This new surge of nationalism helped to reenforce the earlier waves of antisemitism which prevailed in eastern Europe and resulted in such bloody massacres as the Kishinev Pogrom in Russia in 1903 where the Jews were falsely accused of "blood liable" and consequently attacked by their fellow citizens without police intervention.[4] At this time the

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1. "Germany", op. cit., p. 820.
2. Ibid., p. 822.
3. C. Roth, op. cit., p. 366.
4. M. L. Margolis and A. Marx, op. cit., pp. 709-711.

German Jewish community acted as a clearing house for emergency relief and permanent assistance for Jews fleeing from eastern Europe. This was possible since the German government's immigration policies were quite liberal. Such philanthropic organizations as the "Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden" was founded in 1901 to offer immigration services to some 200,000 eastern European immigrants and educational services to some 7,000 pupils.[1]

This mass persecution and consequent immigration gave the Zionist movement a great impetus. Those eastern European Jews who were not absorbed into the German Jewish community during this first quarter of the twentieth century moved on to a more permanent haven for the oppressed in Palestine or the United States of America.

In order to concentrate on Bertha Pappenheim's immediate environment it will be necessary to examine the nature of the community in which she spent the most fruitful years of her life.

The Unique Aspects of the Frankfurt Jewish Community. Even though the Jewish community in Germany was ancient, going back to the fifth century, constant persecution made for frequent shifts of population. The cities of Frankfurt and Worms were unique in that they had a continucus Jewish population for the last nine centuries.[2]

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1. I. Elbogen, op. cit., p. 411
2. A. Freimann, "Frankfurt-on-the-Main", The Jewish Encyclopaedia, Vol. V, p. 485.

From the twelfth century on, we find many references to Jews in the annals of Frankfurt history in regard to persecution, cultural contribution and trade. Frankfurt Jewry has a rich past of great rabbis and houses of worship and learning. The separate section of the city in which Jews lived until the ghetto walls collapsed was an architectural landmark until it was recently destroyed. The inscriptions on the ancient tombstones of the old Frankfurt cemetery, diaries in which individuals recorded the charity they gave tothe Jewish community, the records of the synagogues and the corrrespondence of the rabbis of the city have enabled scholars to re-create the community of old.[1]

To describe the inspiration that the current Frankfurt Jewish community was to those living during the last part of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the author will quote a passage from A Century of Jewish Life:

> The most distinguished continental Jewish community of the period was indubitably that of Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Its distinction did not rest on its size -- in 1910 it numbered no more than 26,228 persons -- but upon its intensely Jewish religious life and learning, the communal feeling of its members, and the rare combination of such outstanding leaders as Marcus Horovitz, its scholarly, versatile, and energetic rabbi; Julius Plotke and Julius Elau, the presidents of the community, both with a deep sense of

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1. A. Freimann, History of the Jews of Frankfurt, passim.

> responsibility for universal Israel; Charles L. Hallgarten, a genius of philanthropy; Herman Baerwald and Salo Adler, farseeing educators; and finally Bertha Pappenheim, who aroused Jewish womanhood and gave it leadership. This splendid example impelled other communities to realize their potentialities.[1]

During this period German Jews were financially well off and therefore able to carry out many philanthropic projects which helped to meet the needs of their less fortunate brethren.[2] The Frankfurt community was outstanding in its centralization of these social and religious activities to avoid overlapping or duplication of work. The Jewish community chest was endowed with large sums of money so that its future was firm and secure. It was in this atmosphere that Miss Pappenheim became inspired to make her contribution to society and religion.

The Social Philosophy Underlying the Current Trend of Social Reform. The Industrial Revolution drew women into the dual role of housewife and worker. During the early part of the twentieth century, economic classes could be distinguished by finding those women who contributed to their families' economic security by working, and those who held only the one role of housewife. However, the feminist movement with its aim to develop women's cultural powers into a strong social influence reached out to all women, regardless of class, at the beginning of this century.[3]

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1. I. Elbogen, op. cit., p. 410.
2. Ibid., pp. 410-411.
3. E. Rabin, "The Jewish Woman in Social Service in Germany," The Jewish Library Series III, p. 275.

This movement had its roots in the economic as well as the spiritual thinking of the time. Working mothers were overworked and women were exploited in the business world. The awareness of these problems as well as the hazards of large cities and industry gave rise to socio-political legislation for child welfare, public health, labor laws and insurance and public assistance. The awareness of the woman's role in providing for the economic, social, psychological and spiritual welfare of her family finally resulted in women's suffrage and decreased subordination of women to men.

The religious principles of the equality of all men, the dignity of the individual, and the holiness of man due to his creation in God's image also contributed to the trends of social reform. The reforms in marriage law and the rights of illegitimate children and the revisions in education illustrate the application of these religious principles. In her writings, Bertha Pappenheim shows her belief in these principles. In her discussion of the home, which she founded for unmarried mothers and their children, she refers to the children as individual mysteries and sanctuaries who should be considered innocent until they have proven themselves guilty.[1] She goes on to say that the Jewish hope for the coming of the Messiah is personified in each child needing physical and spiritual help to search

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1. "Isenburg: Aus Einem Arbeitsbericht", Blätter, etc. (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 12.

after his likeness to God.[1]

Bertha Pappenheim shows her agreement with the goals of the feminist movement in her writings on the goals of education where she claims that a woman's ideal should be making their lives full and worthwhile ones.[2] She goes on to explain that a woman of high social status should not be considered a luxury but should make herself useful.[3] Women who could afford house servants need not do housework themselves but they should make themselves useful in some other way and they should be aware of the strength and time needed to do housework so that they might treat their servants with kindness and fairness.[4] Such women should be made to see the world as it is and not through drama and literature alone. Then they should be able to combine sympathy with actual deeds such as organizing and leading child care agencies, home nursing projects, and educational institutions doing literary or statistical research or creative work.[5]

Interpretive Summary. In this chapter the author has described those elements of Miss Pappenhaim's background

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1. loc. cit.
2. "Zur Erziehung Der Weiblichen Jugend In Den Höheren Ständen", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 4.
3. op. cit., p. 3.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

or environment which acted as an enabling force and a stimulant for her work. The German government policies from 1871 to 1933 did not prevent German Jewry from reaching its peak during this period nor did they prevent the Jews thriving to the point where they could help their less fortunate brothers who were expelled from other European countries. The German Jewish community was inspired to carry on this charitable work by the ancient and illustrious example of their forefathers. The reality situations as well as the social and religious ideology of the time made the people aware of the needs of others. The factors impeding Miss Pappenheim's work were those which led to the destruction and tragedy of World War I and II.

The need was felt and the financial and other resources of German Jews were ample to set the stage for Bertha Pappenheim's life work -- an attempt to balance the community's needs and resources in the most effective way.

In the following pages the specific work done by Miss Pappenheim to meet the felt social needs are described. "Frauenarbeit" offered the over-all philosophy for the organization of the resources used to meet the people's needs.

## CHAPTER III

## FRAUENARBEIT

Literally translated, Frauenarbeit means work for women. Bertha Pappenheim, however, used this term in reference to a specific kind of work. Thus the more descriptive translation of Frauenarbeit is women's voluntary social service. The most important reason for discussing the topic of Frauenarbeit or women's social service first is that this is the concept upon which all of Miss Pappenheim's work is founded.

The principles upon which she based this type of Frauenarbeit had their roots in the feminist ideology which required women to become a united, alert and active force within and outside their homes. Miss Pappenheim was particularly interested in reaching women of the higher social and economic strata who spent most of their time in an unreal world of drama, concerts, novels and parties, thus acquiring culture but never putting this education to constructive use. Miss Pappenheim felt that the political and social situation in her day was such that women had to have courage and forget conventional timidity to attain a collective goal.[1] Being a wealthy heiress herself and having been carefully trained in cultural subjects, Miss

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Gedanken Über Sozialarbeit", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 11.

Pappenheim was able to set herself up as an example to others.[1]

The scope, need and application of Frauenarbeit will be described further.

Its Scope. Women's social service became of national importance in a very short span of time. Women all over Europe were imbued with the fight for women's rights and social improvements. They were propagandized by church, government and numerous labor and private organizations so that it was comparatively easy to get them to jump on the bandwagon. The problem was to encourage them to join the right cause and best groups. Jewish women's social service manifested itself mainly through two organizations.

In 1902 Miss Pappenheim helped to found the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge which was a Jewish organization centralizing all the different types of aid given to the needy.[2] It was an agency which spread from city to city as Jewish women united to strive toward the four main goals set up by Bertha Pappenheim. The first goal was to show women new trends and needs in social work.[3] To carry out the religious and political interests of the community was the second goal, and the third was to give women an opportunity

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1. R. Kohut, My Portion, p. 283.
2. P. Niedermayer, "Aufbau Der Judischen Frauenarbeit In Frankfurt-am-Main", Blätter, etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 7.
3. Ibid.

to work along with men as their equals. Women could act in line with basic principles of social work rather than acting upon an individual's need or desire to do good for others.[1] The fourth goal of this organization was to act as a framework through which men and women could be trained in women's rights.[2] By setting up this four-point program which met the women's desire to emancipate themselves and to show their ability to do what was until then considered men's work, Miss Pappenheim was able to channelize and harness the energy brought forth by national propaganda for social reforms to a constructive project.

In 1904 Miss Pappenheim, inspired by the existing Catholic and Protestant Women's Organizations, founded the Jüdischer Frauenbund.[3] The goal of this women's group was not merely to centralize existing social agencies but to make the entire body of Jewish women aware of their duties and spiritual obligations. Its aim was to train women in doing a "good deed"[4] through social work techniques and religious observance simultaneously.[5] The first

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Soziale Arbeit In Frankfurt a/M", Blätter, etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 6.
2. P. Niedermayer, loc. cit.
3. O. Schoenewald, "Jüdische Frauenarbeit in Deutschland: Der Jüdische Frauenbund", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 8.
4. "Good deed" is the English equivalent of the Hebrew word "Mitzvah" which Bertha Pappenheim used as a key word in the spreading of her philosophy.
5. O. Schoenewald, op. cit., p. 9.

chapter of the Jüdischer Frauenbund was established in Frankfurt and for many years Miss Pappenheim was its president. The cultural program and the organizational scheme of volunteer social workers of the Frankfurt group served as a mode for groups of Jewish women all over Germany. Miss Pappenheim, herself, or her co-workers traveled to other cities to help women organize a branch of the Jüdischer Frauenbund in their city.

The sub-groups of both the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge and of the Jüdischer Frauenbund held annual conventions at which past progress was reported and future plans were formulated to unite Jewish women in their striving for a common goal. The Jewish Women's groups were also represented at national conventions of German women's organizations.[1]

At the time that women's social service was a new and important movement in Germany, similar movements were founded in other countries and women sought still more strength by uniting the national groups into international organizations. The barriers of religious differences were also dropped in an attempt to make still a stronger union.[2]

Representatives of the organizations for German Jewish women's social service, such as the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge and the Jüdischer Frauenbund, played leading roles

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Die Frau Im Kirchlichen Und Religiosen Leben", Bericht Des Deutschen Frauenkongress, 1912, p.12.
2. Ibid.

in international conventions for the promotion of women's rights and for the fight against white slavery.[1]

To illustrate the international scope of Frauenarbeit, Mrs. Kohut's recollection of the first World Congress of Jewish Women, held in Vienna in 1923, is quoted here.[2] Mrs. Kohut was the president of the New York branch of the American Council of Jewish women, which she considered to be the American equivalent of the "Judischer Frauenbund."[3]

> I am loath to admit it but the work of the Council, of which I was, I feel justly, proud did not loom so very large in my mind after I had watched some of the Europeans in action. The American group was a quarter of a century old, but there were organizations in which several successive generations of the same family had devoted themselves to management of the same problems. Child welfare, religious education, women's industrial welfare, curbing of white slavery, had passed beyond the experimental stage abroad. All the new and high-sounding terms in the American vocabulary of social service were old and well tried in the European welfare systems. True, in several countries the Jewish women were so backward that we represented the latest word in progress. And in all countries we were an important factor because of our freshness and energy and eagerness to be of service. The women of Europe were spent and tried.[4]

Mrs. Kohut gives the reader some insight into the experiences that allowed her to make these observations.

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Aus Reisebriefen", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 26.
   The German women's groups' activities in eastern Europe and in the League of Nations for the prevention and abolition of white slavery will be discussed in Chapter V.
2. op. cit., p. 279.
3. Ibid., p. 199.
4. Ibid., pp. 280-281.

> The European woman with whom I was on closest terms of intimacy, I suppose, was Fraulein Bertha Pappenheim, with whom I still keep up a friendship. She, a wealthy heiress, was in the vanguard of the women of Germany in doing social work.....At the Congress she was still so imbued with the spirit of sacrifice that she refused to eat an orange, feeling she had no right to enjoy luxuries while the people went hungry. Nevertheless, the night before the closing of the Congress, she, along with the others of the ninety-two delegates, accepted an invitation to attend a gala performance of the opera. And after the opera was over, when we all assembled in the grand foyer, she and Dr. Sophie Werner, professor at the University of Hamburg, and Paula Ollendorf, a lecturer and official interpreter of the Congress, came to me with tears in their eyes and said that it was the first time in seven years that they had attended a theatrical performance.[1]

So it becomes quite clear that German Jewish Frauenarbeit, because of the seriousness, devotion and sincerity of its workers, made a deep impression on volunteer social workers of other nations and contributed to the science of social work developed by the countries of the eastern and western hemispheres.

Necessity for this Type of Work. The current situation in Europe described earlier in this study gives the reader some clue as to the need for this kind of work. However, Miss Pappenheim had several theories of her own which made Frauenarbeit a necessity.

Miss Pappenheim felt that in order to maintain a healthy atmosphere and an understanding spirit within a social agency, the paid staff should always be inadequate

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1. Ibid., p. 283.

and the social worker's salary should never be as high as that of an industrial worker.[1] Miss Pappenheim felt that social work should not merely be a way of making a living but it should be a way of fulfilling one's human and religious obligation to help others without seeking material compensation. She felt that the presence of volunteer social workers would serve as a constant reminder of the humanitarian attitudes that should motivate one to do social work. Paying the social worker slightly less than other professional workers would keep them constantly aware of the fact that theirs is not merely "a job" but "a calling", as that of a clergyman to his people.[2] This theory was opposed by many of Miss Pappenheim's colleagues because it was impractical. A good social worker who chose his or her profession for altruistic reasons could find a well-paid position and was therefore not attracted to the offers of Miss Pappenheim's agencies, and there were many jobs that necessitated the professional skill of a social worker within

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1. E.„R. Jungmann and B. Pappenheim, "Soziale Berufsarbeit", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 21.
2. B. Pappenheim, "Gedanken über Erziehung", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 11.

   Not a job but a calling is much more adequately expressed in Miss Pappenheim's own German words: "kein Beruf.....eine Berufung wie Priester in einem Volk".

a social agency.[1] However, the discussion of this Pappenheim idea made those interested in social work reevaluate the importance of objective, unselfish, genuinely human motives and attitudes in social work and made the administrators of social agencies define more clearly the place of the volunteer within the organization.

Miss Pappenheim also promoted the idea that cultured women who were educated in the arts had something to contribute to social work, since both the social worker and the artist make use of the same values such as ethics, esthetics, philosophy, hygiene and pedagogy. She felt that the social worker might apply these values in a more concrete way than the artist but that the ultimate goals of both were the same, namely, "to free the soul and let it live".[2] Since she was aware of the many specialized skills for which professional social workers had to be trained, she drafted volunteers, who had more time to develop and expand their cultural interests, to share their education with others whose life might be made more meaningful by this fund of knowledge and ideas.

At the crucial moment, Miss Pappenheim perceived the importance of having an organizational framework for

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1. The author was told of the opposition to this idea of Miss Pappenheim's in a conversation with Mrs. O. Schoenewald, the last president of the Jüdischer Frauenbund and Bertha Pappenheim's successor.
2. E. R. Jungman and B. Pappehheim, loc. cit.

Frauenarbeit which was in keeping with the traditional Jewish conduct of women. Perhaps her disapproval of the bizarre, exhibitionistic and unfeminine behavior of the women suffragettes prompted her to utilize the ideas of the suffragettes but to have these ideas expressed in a more constructive work program. In one of her letters from London in 1909, Miss Pappenheim described the rituals and the emotional fury of the suffragettes with humor.[1] She concludes her description saying that if Mrs. Asquith had come at that moment and informed the women of their newly acquired right to vote, they would have been frightfully disappointed because their fight would have to end. Miss Pappenheim shared this thought with one of the leading suffragettes who said that in this case they would have to educate women to use their new right. In closing her letter, Miss Pappenheim wrote that the end toward which the women were fighting was a useful and impressive one, but the means used to reach the end did not meet her approval.

Individual Aspects of the Work. Now that the general scope and the ideology of Frauenarbeit or women's social service have been discussed, it will be helpful to see how these concepts were applied in actual practice. To do

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1. "Aus Reisebriefen", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 26.

   Nevertheless Dr. M. Rapp related an amusing anecdote to the author. In the early twenties, knowing of her reputation for smoking, he offered Miss Pappenheim one of his cigarettes. She refused the offer saying that fifteen years earlier, when it was controversial for women to smoke, she would have had to accept.

this, the services of the two main organs for Frauenarbeit founded by Miss Pappenheim should be discussed individually.

Originally the central organization for social agencies rendering services to Jews, the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge, was divided into several commissions dealing with infant care, foster home finding, home nursing, travelers' aid, employment locating, family service and vocational guidance.[1] These commissions were for the greater part headed by professional people who were assisted by volunteer men and women.

During and after World War I, the work of these commissions was revised and several new commissions were added to meet the new and different needs. The vocational guidance was given for the most part to children who had to leave their country home and school at an early age to help support themselves and their family by finding a job in a large city.[2] This commission was instrumental in finding good dormitories for working men and women who had to live away from home. A new division had to be established to help refugees pouring into Germany from all parts of eastern Europe. The volunteers were invaluable in this work. They took many a homeless refugee into their own homes and found shelters for the others. They taught them

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1. P. Niedermayer, loc. cit.
2. Verein Weibliche Fürsorge Jahres Berichte 1914-1915, p. 10.

the German language so that they could get about more easily.[1] Many of the Frauenverein women persuaded their husbands to employ these refugees in their businesses.[2] The Frauenverein did more than its share in meeting the national emergency caused by the innumerable war orphans and war widows with large families needing shelter and support.[3] The increased demands of social services at the end of World War I knit the social agency structure of the different religions more closely together.[4] The agencies pooled some of their resources to prevent unnecessary overlapping, and Bertha Pappenheim's exemplary friendship with the Protestant and Catholic leaders encouraged the volunteer workers of the different religions to intermingle and exchange ideas.[5]

Whereas the main theme of the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge was to centralize social services, the main theme of the Jüdischer Frauenbund was to organize the women's forces to help render the necessary social services in the most effective manner. The organizational chart of the Jüdischer Frauenbund with its 50,000 members shows the various types of work the women did.[6] The interest of this

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1. Ibid., p. 5.
2. This was told to the author by Mrs. T. Freimann who was one of Miss Pappenheim's ablest and most active volunteer workers.
3. Verein Weibliche Fursorge Jahres Berichte 1914, 1915, p. 6
4. Ibid., p. 3.
5. This was told to the author by Mrs. T. Freimann.
6. The organizational chart on the following page was found in a membership drive brochure.

group was not primarily to sponsor their own services, but to supplement services already offered by other groups, to participate in existing activities where women should and could be of help, and to establish services of their own where existing social agencies could not help. All this is to be understood from this chart. The charitable work of the Jewish congregations was formerly done exclusively by men. Miss Pappenheim urged women to take over this work since they had so much more experience in meal planning and since they knew much better than men what was needed to run a household and to care for children.[1] She also urged the members of the Frauenbund to influence their husbands and to participate themselves in the affairs of the Jewish community. This was another way of making the women more aware of the worldly problems in their environment and of showing the world that women can work side by side with men as their equals.

Interpretive Summary. Having presented a clear picture of Frauenarbeit or women's voluntary social service and having examined the individual aspects of this work, the practicability of such a plan seems much more convincing. Miss Pappenheim applied the science of community organization both horizontally and vertically in structuring Frauenarbeit. The horizontal organization is evident in the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge whose work was the

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1. B. Pappenheim, Die Jüdische Frau Das Jüdische Mädchen, p. 10.

centralization of all the social services available for meeting the needs of the Jewish group. The community was organized vertically in the Jüdische Frauenbund whose main task was the collection and sorting out of the community's material and human resources to balance the community's needs. By supplying the volunteer workers, for each of the agencies under the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge, the Frauenbund directly controlled the vertical organizations of each agency. The latter organization made the felt needs known to the community, which responded by offering its services. The participation in the social welfare program made the women more keenly aware of the shortcomings of this program and of the many unmet needs so that they became more eager to help and remedy the social and spiritual ills of their time.

The master mind behind this plan of Frauenarbeit had no formal education in social work. She learned from experience and trial and error which of her underlying principles were sound and which were not. Even though Miss Pappenheim was a very strong-willed person, she was wise enough to admit her mistakes and accept the advice of her co-workers when she realized that her plans were not entirely successful. She was able to make Frauenarbeit such an overwhelming success because of her personal gifts of intelligence, integrity, creativity, perseverance, faith and keen insight into human behavior. She had as much

understanding for clients as for the volunteer and professional workers whom she charmed with her sense of humor, culture and hospitality.[1]

A close study of the mother and child welfare services initiated by Miss Pappenheim follows.

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1. S. Eisenstädt, "Die Dienstag Gäste", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, pp. 23-24.
F. Hirschhorn, "Von Stammbäumen Und Familienforschungen", Blätter etc., (January, 1931), Vol. VII, p. 5.
K. Mende, "Als Mitarbeiterin Und Gast In Ihrem Heime", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol XII, pp. 22-23.

## CHAPTER IV

## MUTTER UND KINDERSCHUTZ

The most comprehensive English translation of the German term Mutter und Kinderschutz is mother and child welfare.

The care of mothers and their children has been society's concern from the earliest time, because man understood that the future of the world rested on the mother and the children she bore. Woman may have been considered the weaker sex for so many centuries because her activity was restricted to a limited realm and she needed more protection to carry out her role, but when we consider the importance of woman's work as wife and mother, it appears grossly inaccurate to speak of her as an inferior person. Assuming this dual role she becomes educator, spiritual advisor, enabler, helpmate and molder of her own and the following generation. It is part of man's work in this world to protect wife and mother so that she may carry out her obligation to her children. When a society realizes that responsibility for the care of its members is not only an individual but also a collective obligation in which the strong and able must care for the weak and needy, the concept of social welfare arises. This is particularly true of the welfare of mother and child, the future of any society and that element of its totality which is perhaps most in need of protection and assistance.

A consideration of the mother and child welfare services existing in Germany between 1860 and 1900 and the underlying philosophy motivating Bertha Pappenheim to do this type of work will enable us to understand Bertha Pappenheim's contribution to the field of mother and child welfare.

Mother and Child Welfare Services Available in Germany: 1860-1900. We are focusing our attention on the forty-year period from 1860 to 1900, since these were the years during which Bertha Pappenheim was activated to participate in improving mother and child welfare services.

With the increase of Germany's industrialization in the nineteenth century and the consequent increase in employment of women, the number of children placed outside their own homes also increased. Their mortality rate, particularly that of the children of illegitimate birth, was so high that a need for special supervision of children's care became apparent.[1] At first the German government was fairly inactive in passing legislation for the protection of mothers and their children. Since the birth rate was so high, they felt they could afford to lose large numbers of infants. After 1900 the decline of the birth rate was rapid and the government became alarmed about the high child death rate to the extent of passing mother and child welfare legislation.[2]

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1. Placing of Children in Families, Vol. II, p. 110.
2. N. McGill, Infant Welfare Work in Europe, p. 109.

In 1878 the individual states within Germany passed legislation for the protection of foster home children up to six or eight years of age.[1] Until that time the placement of children outside their home was done on an individual private basis. One had to get a government permit to take a foster child or one had to report the foster child to the police after it was placed in one's home and to submit to supervision which was done by voluntary or paid visitors who could not come more than three or four times a year.[2] There was no legal protection against the foster parent's exploitation of their foster children. At very early ages the children were forced to work on farms and in factories. They were underfed and deprived of their material and emotional needs as children. Foster parents were in no way protected against the real parents' desertion or failure to pay for the upkeep of the child, and the real parents had no legal right to take their children back into their own home if the foster parent chose to keep the child.

Adoptions and the laws for adoption were non-existent during this period. Adoption was formally begun in Germany after World War I.[3]

Maternity benefits had not been organized on the local or national level in Germany until the twentieth century.

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1. Placing of Children in Families, Vol. II, p. 111.
2. Ibid., p. 119.
3. M. Kornitzer, Child Adoption in the Modern World, p. 334.

There was also no insurance for working mothers. Unmarried mothers and their children were discriminated against to the point where they could receive practically none of the mother and child welfare services already in existence on a private basis.[1]

It was not until the latter half of Miss Pappenheim's life that social reforms were made in the field of mother and child welfare. The periods before and after World War I were the years during which the changes were made.[2] The care of needy children was transferred from the jurisdiction of the police to that of the specialized child care agencies. Child and mother welfare services were made uniform for all of Germany by passing national legislation. Foster home finding was done with much more attention to the foster child's social, religious, emotional and physical makeup and needs. Emphasis was placed on giving the child a home environment as good or better than the one from which he came. The financial, spiritual, moral, personal and hygienic aspects of the home and family were considered more important than before.[3] Infant care centers were established to educate mothers in motherhood and to provide free milk for infants. Maternity benefits were increased by local and federal government's participation in national

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1. N. McGuill, op. cit., p. 149.
2. Ibid., p. 149.
3. Placing Children in Families, Vol. II, p. 116.

insurance. Provisions were made for children of working mothers. Midwives had to be licensed to protect the mother and child at birth.

During this period of transition when reformers were calling the people's attention to the existing social ills and social-minded citizens were helping the government to formulate a policy remedying many of its social problems, Bertha Pappenheim made her contribution to mother and child welfare.

Bertha Pappenheim's Motivating Philosophy. The two main pillars of her thinking were her Jewish religious heritage and her understanding of human nature from a social and psychological point of view.

Bertha Pappenheim felt that the German government social work was inadequate because it was not placed within a religious framework. To her the concept of welfare had a religious as well as a social connotation. Woman's need for protection in her role as wife and mother, which was considered from a general point of view a little earlier, was of religious significance.to Miss Pappenheim. She felt that Mutterschutz or mother welfare in the modern sense was expressed in Jewish law by the fact that Jewish women are exempt from all positive commandments requiring a specified time of observance.[1] To her this meant that, according to Jewish law, there is nothing more important

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1. B. Pappenheim, Die Frau Im Kirchlichen Und Religiosen Leben, p. 7.

than woman's fulfillment of her responsibility as mother and wife, which requires time and protection. Miss Pappenheim interpreted woman's subordination to man in the Jewish community outside the home not as an admission of the inferiority of the female but as another proof that woman, being relieved from community obligations, should assume the dominant role in her home so that she might train her children, uphold a traditionally Jewish way of life and open her door to the needy.[1]

Miss Pappenheim pleaded for the community's tolerance by pointing out the existing social ills, the respect due to a mother and the obligation to protect the unmarried mother according to Jewish law. As was pointed out in one of the earlier chapters, Bertha Pappenheim pleaded for the acceptance of the illegitimate child on the basis of the equality of all men in that they are created in God's image.

Miss Pappenheim's social and psychological attitude toward human behavior was, for her day, quite modern. She had such a keen sensitivity for the dynamics of human behavior that she was able to act along sound casework principles even though she had no formal training in social work. For example, she felt that the understanding of mothers could be enhanced by distinguishing between the feelings of motherliness or Mütterlichkeit, which is every woman's innate drive to be motherly, and the social

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1. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

obligation of motherhood or Mutterschaft which is the responsibility woman has to undertake when she becomes a mother.[1]

Aside from her desire to uphold the old Jewish tradition of rearing homeless, needy children in a family rather than in an institution,[2] Miss Pappenheim was aware of the emotional and social disadvantages of the institutional upbringing.[3] Miss Pappenheim observed that only the disturbed problem children who could not be placed in a foster or adoptive home were reared in institutions. The consequent lack of contact with well-adjusted individuals decreases the possibility of successful institutional upbringing. Since the backbone of religious training is the participation of children in family observance, the institution could only hope to influence inmates to a limited extent. She also felt that the possibility for normal sexual adjustment is not as good in an institution where the intimate family relations are lacking. Institutional children entered the world outside with a certain social stigma which made it hard for them to adjust once they left the institution.[4]

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1. C. Samuel, "Mutterschaft Und Kinderschutz", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 16.
2. W. Slingerland, Child Placing In Families, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1919, pp. 29-31.
3. H. Karminski, "Aussprache Jüdischer Frauen Über Erziehungsfragen", Blätter etc., (February, 1929), Vol. V, p. 2.
4. Ibid., p. 3.

She emphasized the importance of a child's background and environment in understanding his or her present problem.[1] This generic concept was not widely accepted in her day.

Miss Pappenheim saw the family as a most important factor making for emotional as well as spiritual stability. She felt that strong family ties could be preserved despite the threats of the urban way of life through the family participation in Jewish observance and through community-mindedness.[2] Here we see how Miss Pappenheim, contrary to many social workers and psychologists of her and our day, combined her religious beliefs with her scientific thoughts and actions.

Bertha Pappenheim's Contribution. It may seem from the forgoing discussion that the subject of this study was a woman with many fine theories but, what is more important, we shall show how she concretized these theories through practical work.

The home in Isenburg for unmarried mothers and their children was established by Bertha Pappenheim in 1907[3] to "educate girls to righteous independence in the material aspects of life and to the recognition of their family

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Isenburg", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 12.
2. B. Pappenheim, "Anregung Zu Einem Freien Zusammenschluss Jüdischer Eltern", Blätter etc., (February, 1929), Vol. V, p. 5.
3. "Lebensdaten Von Bertha Pappenheim", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 3.

ties as well as their position in the Jewish community".[1] In setting down the purpose of this home, Miss Pappenheim incorporated her ideas on illegitimacy, motherhood and religion.

The picture of a garden scene in Isenburg will give the reader some idea of the appearance of this home and its residents. One must remember that this picture was taken during the first quarter of this century.

The staff consisted of one nurse for every three infants, group workers, teachers and student and volunteer medical and psychiatric staff.

This home was financed in large measure by the Jüdischer Frauenbund. Private contributions, government subsidies and maternity benefits helped to meet the remainder of the budget. Some of the mothers in the home and someof their families paid part of the mother's and the child's expenses.

At first the capacity of the home was about fifty and was mainly for the preventive purpose of sheltering Jewish juvenile delinquents who were potential unwed mothers or prostitutes. In 1914 an annex to the home was established to house Jewish unmarried mothers and their children as well as unmarried pregnant girls whose family disowned them and Jewish school children of widowed or divorced women

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Isenburg", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 12.

who had to work and had no other protection or the means for adequate shelter.[1] Some of these girls were court-committed, and others came on a voluntary basis.

The pregnant mother was taken into the home six weeks before her confinement and was sent to the city or Jewish hospital, according to her choice, for the delivery. After her release from the hospital, she returned to Isenburg to nurse her child and to plan for her and the child's future.[2] Prior to confinement the girls were given medical care, instruction in infant care and individual guidance. The girls were encouraged to care for their children, to learn to love and cherish and to assume responsibility for them. Aside from spending time with their children, the girls were required to do some work in the home. They were encouraged to be creative in their housework so that they might acquire a liking for it and transplant it into their own lives.[3] Emphasis was also placed on a positively Jewish way of life. Even though the children attended neighboring public schools, they were given religious instructions in the home. The mothers and delinquent girls were also encouraged to participate in religious studies.[4]

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1. Verein Weibliche Fürsorge Frankfurt-am-Main Jahres Berichte: 1914-1915, p. 103.
2. Ibid., p. 102.
3. B. Pappenheim, "Isenburg", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 12.
4. Ibid.

Miss Pappenheim was the volunteer director of this home until she died. Her role there and her direct influence were of the highest importance. Not only did she formulate the policies of this institution but also she helped to carry them out. She tried to lend a home atmosphere, inviting the girls for intimate chats to her room several nights each week and by being somewhat of a mother to each child there. She fed and played with infants, settled minor squabbles among the school children, directed and trained personnel, counseled the delinquent girls, went to court with the residents, contacted their families to try to re-establish broken family contacts, sought out and reasoned with putative fathers, raised money for the home, grappled with government officials for their support and made each religious occasion a memorable experience for all with her own prayers, stories, plays and party games.[1] There was not a task which she considered too menial or unimportant. She recognized the psychiatric difficulties of some of the mothers as well as the children and she saw to it that they were treated effectively. Even though Miss Pappenheim was extremely strict with the personnel, even tyrannical at times, she recognized the fact that many of the residents found themselves in difficulty because of their problem regarding authority and she was therefore, in such instances,

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1. G. Ehrenwerth and E. Werner, "Isenburg", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 14.

very lenient and patient with them.[1]

In some cases the staff was able to arrange for a mother to return home after she had her child, and in other cases the father of the child married the mother. Sometimes the staff was instrumental in referring a resident to a public agency which would arrange for the father's partial support of the child who might remain in Isenburg while the mother went to work. In still other instances, girls decided to surrender their children for adoption, which had to be done through a governmental agency, or for foster home placement.[2]

Since legal adoption was in its early stages during Miss Pappenheim's lifetime, she was able to help in the formulation of adoption policies. Minna Neumann, in her article, gave a very clear picture of Miss Pappenheim's view on adoption as she expressed it in an inter-agency convention on adoption.[3] Miss Pappenheim advocated adoption through a central organization so that the choice of child and parents could be made by more experienced and better-informed staff, so that the medical examinations given to the child would be standardized and reliable and so that the parents might be furnished with as much information

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1. Miss H. Krämer, one of the chief staff members of Isenburg, trained by Miss Pappenheim, the author of this and many other facts related here.
2. Verein Weibliche Fürsorge Frankfurt-am-Main Jahres Berichte: 1914-1915, p. 102.
3. "Schulungskursus Der Adoptionszentrale", Blätter, etc., (January, 1931), Vol. VII, p. 6.

about the child as the agency was able to gather. She felt that the child should be placed in an adoption home on a trial basis before he is finally adopted. She felt furthermore that parents and children not qualified for adoption should be placed on a central file to avoid their going from agency to agency to find someone who will overlook the difficulty and grant adoption and to avoid unnecessary repetition of the costly and time-consuming investigations.

Miss Pappenheim also spoke of some of the dangers of adoption. It seemed apparent that many mothers were adopting their own out-of-wedlock children so that people would not know of their antisocial behavior. Many persons adopted only one child, thus rearing that child without companionship and with too much attention, both of which are detrimental to good personality development.

Miss Pappenheim was active in improving foster home care for children. She urged the placement of Jewish children in Jewish foster homes and would often go personally to take a Jewish infant out of a non-Jewish foster home, sometimes under the most threatening circumstances.[1] At this time the law did not require a child to be placed in a home of his own religion, but the real parents could authorize a social agency of their religion to take over the care of the child. Miss Pappenheim propagandized for this and continuous supervision of foster homes as well as

1. Mrs. T. Freimann related that she once accompanied Miss Pappenheim on a trip to take a Jewish infant out of a non-Jewish foster home when the foster father threatened them with a knife. Both women persevered and with the aid of police they were able to accomplish their mission.

foster home studies and evaluations. She would not allow the placement of a child having relatives in one city in another city or country because she recognized the importance of family ties for the child.[1] When children were to be placed in foster homes, institutions or adoptive homes in other countries, Miss Pappenheim would more often than not take the child to the country herself to orient him and the guardians in his new home and to assure herself that the placement was a suitable one.

Another preventive Jewish mother and child welfare service, founded by Bertha Pappenheim in 1902, was the Mädchenklub, a club for working girls who came from out of town and needed an educational and recreational outlet and who needed tobe kept off the streets.[2] This club was staffed by three paid persons and many volunteers whom Miss Pappenheim trained and supervised. The program was very flexible so as to allow the girls to express their changing needs and desires. The members could come from work and have supper at the club and then participate in the cultural, gymnastic, religious or social activities offered five nights a week. The sample rooms pictured on the next page are to show some of the facilities the

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1. C. Samuel, op. cit., p. 17.
2. Mrs. I. Darmstedter, volunteer leader and main financeer of the club, described its nature to the author in great detail.

Mädchenklub had for the girls. Bertha Pappenheim herself and members of the staff counseled the girls in personal problems, helped to find suitable husbands for them and kept them within the Jewish community. All the volunteers as well as the paid staff tried to stimulate the girls to be thinking, active citizens as well as Jews, to further themselves socially and culturally,[1] and to prepare themselves to be responsible, efficient and happy wives and mothers.

Within the Jüdischer Frauenbund there were many mother and child welfare activities. Dormitories for Jewish girls working away from home in large cities were established to give the girls a respectable home to keep them from being exposed to harmful influences.[2] Kinderfürsorge or child care department of the Frauenbund took care of those children who were physically, socially or spiritually endangered by their environment.[3] This department accepted referrals of Jewish children from the local and federal courts. Kinderfürsorge offered medical, psychiatric and convalescent and vacation care to infants and older children and placed those who needed shelter in kindergartens, after-school play groups, foster homes or institutions.[4] Kinderfürsorge also

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1. I. Darmstedter, "Aus Der Arbeit Des Mädchenklubs", Gemeindeblatt Der Israelitischen Gemeinde Frankfurt-am-Main, (June, 1929), Vol. VII, p. 357.
2. Verein Weibliche Fürsorge Frankfurt-am-Main Jahres Berichte: 1914-1915, p. 10.
3. Jüdischer Frauenbund-Ortsgruppe Breslau Gedenkbuch: 1908-1928, p. 27.
4. Ibid., p. 28.

cared for orphaned or impoverished Jewish children coming from eastern Europe.

The Hausfrauengruppe or housewives' group of the Frauenbund helped women to adjust to such limitations placed on Jews after 1933 as the prohibition of gentile domestic workers in Jewish homes or the release of Jewish professional women from their professions. This necessitated the creation of Jewish homemakers and home nursing groups. The development of more efficient homemaking methods which would make housekeeping less complicated and time-consuming and the re-education of the career woman who was married and had a family but who now had to satisfy herself with her home responsibilities.[1]

The Jüdischer Frauenbund also established infant care centers where mothers were trained in motherhood, counseled for individual problems and given medical care for their children.

The employment of women and vocational guidance was another preventive mother and child welfare services rendered by the Frauenbund. TB homes were established for mothers and children and convalescent homes were also open to mothers during those seasons when they were not occupied by the children.[2]

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1. H. Krämer, "Hausfrauengruppe Des Jüdischen Frauenbundes", Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt, (November, 1935), Vol. XIV, p. 73.
2. Jüdischer Frauenbund-Ortsgruppe Breslau Gedenkbuch: 1908-1928, p. 51.

The organizational chart of the Judischer Frauenbund (Figure 2) will help to clarify all the mother and child services rendered by this organization.

Interpretive Summary. In this chapter, that phase of Bertha Pappenheim's work in which she was most successful and for which she was most famous has been discussed. Her contribution to Jewish as well as general child welfare services, the founding of the home for delinquent girls and unmarried mothers in Isenburg, the founding of the Mädchen-klub for unprotected working girls, the planning of mother and child welfare services sponsored by the Jüdischer Frauenbund and the formulation of more modern adoption and foster home policies has been clarified and presented in its context by describing the mother and child welfare situation in Bertha Pappenheim's formative years, 1860 to 1900, and by considering the underlying philosophy stimulating her to make this contribution.

Her contribution did not lie primarily in originality of thought but rather in synthesis of theory and practice which she expressed in a concrete manner. The Mädchenklub was not the first of its type but was molded after one Miss Pappenheim saw and studied in the United States.[1] The organization and administration of the home in Isenburg, which showed recognition of the importance of individual

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1. Mrs. I. Darmstedter told this to the author during an informal talk on the Mädchenklub.

contacts as well as family and religious spirit, was an attempt to remedy some of the disadvantages Miss Pappenheim saw in other institutions. Miss Pappenheim was also able to put her ideals of Frauenarbeit into practice by encouraging and training the volunteer women to participate in the mother and child welfare services which were both preventive and relief in nature. The clearest example of this is the work done by the Jüdischer Fraunbund.

The home in Isenburg was not easy to found, since society condemned delinquent girls without considering the social ills bringing these girls into difficulty, the emotional environment breeding delinquency and society's responsibility to redirect those who have gone astray in its labyrinth. The attitude, still in existence today, toward unmarried mothers was that helping them was tantamount to sanctioning their behavior and encouraging them to repeat the offense already committed. Out-of-wedlock children were considered sinners from the time they were born and were often treated as inferior human beings, thus forcing them to become the same antisocial people as their parents. The outstanding advantages of this home were that it, in a concrete way, represented the Jewish community's attitude toward these girls and tried to re-educate those members of society holding fast to the complete and blind condemnation of these offenders by publicizing the general background of the girls coming to the home, the treatment of the

girls in the home and the result of this treatment. The delinquent girls coming to Isenburg were protected from society's harsh and harmful opinion and they were offered the type of environment preventing them from further delinquent behavior and helping them to become independent, conforming members of society.

By educating Jewish women to the implications which the social doctrines of Judaism expressed, Bertha Pappenheim was able to instill in them a more genuinely Jewish and human attitude toward delinquent girls and thus she succeeded in establishing, to the best of the author's knowledge, the first home of this type under Jewish auspices.

Miss Pappenheim's ideas on adoption and foster home care seemed extremely modern. Perhaps the only thing we could not agree upon with Miss Pappenheim is the fact that foster home and adoptive parents should be given as much information as possible about the orphaned or abandoned children being placed in their homes. Experience has taught that foster home and adoptive parents are able to accept a child on his own merits more readily if nothing of his background except vital information is revealed.

Now that the work in which Bertha Pappenheim was successful has been discussed, we come to a consideration of her work in regard to white slavery which she called Sisyphus Arbeit, because just as the Greek mythical character, Sisyphus, when in Hades, had to roll a huge stone up a hill

only to have it roll down again, Miss Pappenheim tried to push white slavery out of existence only to find an overwhelmingly strong force opposing her.[1] The existing problem of white slavery as Miss Pappenheim saw it in her survey trips and her attempt to remedy this situation will be discussed.

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1. "Sisyphus", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXV, p. 161.

## CHAPTER V

## WHITE SLAVERY

The sanctity and the sanctification of life which is both God's gift and His challenge to man, was the primary motivation for Bertha Pappenheim's work.[1] This motto characterized all of her endeavors, and through the fulfillment of this motto, she became one of the world's leading women's educators. More specifically, Miss Pappenheim chose as her task: youth, the sanctity of its life and its need for protection from impure influences.

Miss Pappenheim maintained that to know of injustice and be silent about it is the same as perpetrating that very injustice,[2] and, applying this principle to her fight against white slavery, she said that the theoretical denial of the reality situation -- the existence of white slavery -- is at one and the same time an easy evasion of the truth and an outright lie.[3] To fight for the abolition of white slavery, Miss Pappenheim urged society to stand above the limitations of sex, age, religion or political affiliations. At a convention she said that the fight against white slavery was only a part of the weighty task

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1. P. Ollendorf, "Mädchen-und Frauenschutz", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 19.
2. Sisyphus Arbeit, p. 3.
3. Loc. cit.

of combatting immorality which was based on the double standards of public and private morals.[1] The goal of society must be the establishment and maintenance of purity and truth in all aspects of public and private life so that indecency might no longer exist.

What is white slavery? It is the trade, traffic, or transport of women and girls for immoral purposes: the procuring, enticing, leading away voluntarily or by force, blackmailing or tricking women and girls into prostitution.

The Existing Problem. State recognition and limitation of prostitution has been a controversial issue for many centuries. There have been two bodies of opinion: some countries recognize prostitution as a necessity which cannot be ignored but which calls for control by registration and sanitary supervision; in other countries, there is strong opposition to legalized prostitution and no such recognition is favored.[2]

In Germany in 1792 prostitution was pronounced a necessary evil which had to be tolerated "to avoid greater disorders which are not to be restrained by any law or authority, and which take their rise from an inextinguishable natural appetite".[3] The government regulations of the

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1. "Bekämpfung Des Mädchenhandels", Deutsches National-Komitee Zur Bekämpfung Des Mädchenhandels Bericht, n.p.
2. R. E. Crowdy, "White Slave Traffic", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, p. 579.
3. A. Shadwell, "Prostitution", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XVIII, p. 599.

nineteenth century were based on the theory that the health of those living in and coming to houses of prostitution must be protected. This gave rise to the State licensing and sanitary inspection of brothels.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the question of prostitution became international through the movement to suppress white slave traffic. Many countries all over the world had passed legislation abolishing white slavery within the state but there was no legal international coordination and therefore no effective suppression of white slave trade until the turn of the century, when international conventions met to plan a united warfare against this antisocial profession. At these conventions the member countries agreed to pass legislation punishing anyone who transported women or children for immoral purposes and licensing of brothels and prostitutes.[1] Voluntary committees were formed in principal countries to study the problem and collect information which would help to abolish this evil.

When the League of Nations was formed, it took up the problem of white slavery under the title of "traffic in women and children" and in accordance with the provisions entrusting the League with "the general supervision over the execution of agreements in regard to traffic" and "the

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1. Ibid.

protection and welfare of children and young people."[1] In 1921 the League called an international convention at which thirty-four governments were invited to make annual reports on the traffic and the measures taken to curb it,[2] and plans were made to repatriate women who had been transported out of their native land for immoral purposes.[3]

In 1923 an advisory commission of the League recommended that a detailed and thorough study be made by trained experts in several limited areas to which women were alleged to have been sent for purposes of prostitution.[4] In 1927, after visiting twenty-eight countries and after the tabulation of replies to questionnaires sent out to governments all over the world by this committee, a report was submitted to the League of Nations. The report stated that white slave traffic existed beyond a doubt, that closer international cooperation was needed to curb the traffic and to arouse public opinion against this immoral condition, that more severe penalties had to be dealt out to those making profit out of white slave trade and that the licensing of brothels and the legal registration of prostitutes was an incentive to traffic, both national and international.[5]

This committee's report on Germany summarized the existing problem of white slavery there. Germany still

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1. J. A. Salter, "League of Nations", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XIII, p. 842.
2. A. Shadwell, loc. cit.
3. J. A. Salter, loc. cit.
4. R. E. Crowdy, op. cit., p. 581.
5. Ibid.

held fast to the policy of licensing brothels and registering and examining prostitutes. Procuration was forbidden by law but still existed. In fact, procuration by parents, guardians and teachers was not uncommon despite the very severe penalty for this form of white slave trade.[1] With regard to international traffic, Germany claimed not to be a country of destination but one of transit. Foreign prostitutes and procurers, when arrested, were expelled from Germany. The law required agencies providing employment in other countries to be licensed and supervised and it required the consent of the juvenile courts for female employees under the age of eighteen.

Having sketched the background of the struggle against white slavery in a general manner, we are better able to understand the not insignificant role which Bertha Pappenheim played. Conditions being as serious as they were, it was perhaps only natural that she felt that the Jewish women forces of Germany represented by the Jüdischer Frauenbund, along with other voluntary social, civic, and religious organizations, had to join in the fight against white slave trade.

Bertha Pappenheim's Survey Trips. Miss Pappenheim's contribution to the suppression of white slave trade lies mainly in the voluntary trips she made to the Balkans,

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1. A. Shadwell, op. cit., p. 600.

Russia, the near East and Palestine in 1911 and 1912. The first volume of her book, Sisyphus Arbeit, is a collection of Reisebriefe or letters which Miss Pappenheim wrote in the form of a travel diary to certain key members of the Jüdischer Frauenbund. The letters were not to give a comprehensive description of the problem of white slavery but to convince people that the problem existed and that the Jewish community had to act to remedy the problem -- especially in those areas where it affected and concerned Jews.[1]

Bertha Pappenheim's twofold purpose in making these extensive tours was to study the progress of Jewish women's social welfare organizations outside of the city of Frankfurt and outside Germany and to study the problems of white slavery, especially as it related to Jews. She founded organizations to abolish white slave traffic. These groups were organized on a local level but they were designed in such a uniform way that they could at some later date be integrated into an internationai league striving toward the same goals. The main work of these local committees was the protection of unsheltered girls, the exposing of government and social evils promoting white slavery and the attempt to remedy these evils. Miss Pappenheim also

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1. B. Pappenheim, Sisyphus Arbeit, Vol. II, p. 4.

helped groups that were in the process of organizing to establish themselves and to make them aware of similar groups with whom they could work together, since they too were trying to help combat white slavery. She tried to evaluate the seriousness and the extent of white slave trade in eastern European cities having a large Jewish community, and the ways in which government and sectarian groups were combatting this problem.

Some of the conclusions Miss Pappenheim drew from her observations during these trips were of international significance. Later speeches at Jewish international conventions to fight white slavery were based upon the experiences gained during her survey trips. At one of these conventions she enumerated the factors contributing to the making of a prostitute. She had learned that girls who had been kept ignorant about the facts of life, who had been led astray by immoral literature, who had been forced to give way to their lust and desire out of curiosity or feelings of rejection, who had been made to feel inferior because they were women, who had been deprived of an education or an occupation which might have made them independent, who had thus assimilated to the culture in which they lived, forgetting their religious heritage, and who had been subjected to antisemitism which promoted poverty and insecurity, were likely to take up the antisocial occupation of prostitution.[1]

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1. Ibid., p. 225.

In some countries, such as Greece, the moral and physical corruption resulting from child labor promoted prostitution.[1] Such forces as Communism led to the dissolution of family ties which was an indirect factor leading to prostitution.[2] The inadequate child welfare services made it possible for people to sell children into white slavery and thus furthering prostitution.

The attitude toward and the treatment of prostitutes was atrocious, according to Miss Pappenheim's findings. For example, in Vienna, prostitutes were considered insane or criminal and this opinion was typical for many other countries all over the world.[3] Women in general were held to be inferior to men but prostitutes were even less than moral women. Many countries did not consider the prostitute worthy of being raised from her lowly position.[4] In Sofia their lives were considered so cheap that the then most effective cure for syphilis, Salvarsan, was substituted by a cheaper less effective drug when it was to be used for a prostitute.[5] Furthermore, many governments encouraged prostitution since it was a source of income for the State.

That the child welfare problem became more serious when white slave traffic was prevalent in so many countries of the world was not surprising. The number of abortions

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1. Ibid., p. 42.
2. Ibid., p. 236.
3. Ibid., p. 15
4. Ibid., p. 65.
5. Ibid., p. 25.

increased and there were many more dependent and abandoned out-of-wedlock children as the occurrence of tuberculosis and venereal disease increased among the neglected mothers of these infants. Miss Pappenheim described many beautiful modern hospitals into which women of ill repute could not gain entrance, and many unsanitary, poverty-stricken and ill-equipped clinics where unmarried mothers could not obtain sufficient care for themselves or their children. The out-of-wedlock child was completely unacceptable, especially in Jewish society. It was not uncommon that a Jewish mother would sell her illegitimate child to a church mission for fear of disgracing herself or her family.[1] This finding stimulated Miss Pappenheim to carry on her work in the home in Isenburg and she was able to rescue many such infants from their ill fate and bring them to Germany for institutionalization or adoption. She made a careful study of the child welfare services existing in several of the countries she visited and was able to encourage some of the backward states to model their services after those existing in neighboring lands.[2]

Miss Pappenheim was of course particularly interested in the role of Jews in the white slave traffic. Jews, especially in eastern Europe, had been attacked because of their active part in the trade and Bertha Pappenheim felt

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1. Ibid., p. 165.
2. Ibid., p. 155.

that the only way to answer this challenge was to examine the truth of the accusations. Miss Pappenheim found that the percentage of Jews participating in white slave trade, in proportion to the Jewish population, was far smaller than the proportion of non-Jews taking part in this traffic. Only in those cities where Jews had abandoned their religion to assimilate to the culture in which they lived, was the number of Jewish procurers and prostitutes comparatively high.[1]

Miss Pappenheim condemned the inadequate attention of the Jewish clergy to the problem of Jewish prostitution and white slavery. In Vienna, for example, Miss Pappenheim found that the rabbis were blind to the existence of this type of immorality.[2] To cite another example, she described the poor pedagogy used by one of the leading rabbis in Turkey, who threatened to punish such girls by painting their faces with indelible ink, cutting off their braids or publicizing their photographs if they were "bad" or who promised a prostitute a husband as a reward for two years of good behavior.[3]

Bertha Peppenheim also found that the plan to repatriate prostitutes to the country from which they were procured or bought created serious problems. Upon their return, the

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1. Ibid., p. 51.
2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. Ibid., p. 37.

girls were not socially re-accepted by the community or their families, who feared being disgraced by their immoral daughters.[1] In many countries the girls were considered criminals and imprisoned as soon as they were repatriated.

Making these trips and these observations was Bertha Pappenheim's first attempt to remedy the problem of white slave traffic.

Bertha Pappenheim's Attempt to Remedy the Situation. Before the numerous remedies Miss Pappenheim tried to effect are further discussed, it may be helpful to consider how the observations of her survey trips helped to combat white slave traffic. Miss Pappenheim was able to arouse public opinion by printing her travel diary in the form of collected letters. People who read this diary, Sisyphus Arbeit, were convinced of the seriousness of the problem and the need for organized action to understand and combat this social issue. By applying her knowledge of the psychology and emotional needs of women to the specific problems of the women she saw during her trips, Miss Pappenheim was able to interpret to government officials and rabbis, who were in a position to suppress white slavery, the factors leading to prostitution and white slave trade.[2] In this way she was able to effect some sound plans for the fight against immorality.

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1. Ibid., p. 52.
2. Ibid., p. 37.

While on these trips, Bertha Pappenheim visited several brothels despite her male guide's fear of such dangerous ventures. Miss Pappenheim's influence on these prostitutes and her attempt to help these girls to free themselves from white slavery is best exemplified by the fact that she was able to persuade several of those who could not return home for fear of disgracing their families or for fear of being disowned by their families, to come to the home in Isenburg and start life anew, and by the valuable records she made of some of the reactions of the prostitutes she visited. In Alexandria, Miss Pappenheim visited a brothel which was situated in such a terrible slum that no respectable person would ever come near it, and if out of necessity an official would enter this house of ill repute, he would have no charitable words for any of its inhabitants. However, Miss Pappenheim recalled one of the prostitutes speaking to her interpreter, saying: "May she and her family be granted good health and many blessings, for she is the first lady of her kind who has ever come to speak to us".[1] Miss Pappenheim was also instrumental in persuading existing Jewish institutions in the countries she visited to extend their services to change her way of life.

Perhaps one of the most important ways in which Bertha Pappenheim tried to combat white slavery was through preventive measures which she was able to establish with the

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1. Ibid., p. 132.

help of Frauenarbeit. She helped to establish vocational schools for women so that young girls would be occupied with constructive work and could become self supporting.[1] Inspired by Miss Pappenheim, the Jüdischer Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge established a traveler's aid society in many cities to help single girls and young traveling mothers to find a respectable place to live and to help them finance their trip when it was necessary. This was to prevent these girls falling into the clutches of the white slave traders who found it most lucrative to procure young destitute girls at railroad stations.[2] While traveling through the different countries, Miss Pappenheim was able to find those welfare agencies in need of trained and experienced personnel. She sent many an urgent request for personnel and money to the German Jewish community whose structure and resources she knew so well and whose respect she had won so completely that there was hardly a request not granted to her. The education of women in religion, womanhood, motherhood and women's rights, which was discussed earlier, was another phase of her prophylactic work.

The kindergartens and after-school care programs as well as the educational facilities Miss Pappenheim tried to establish in every country she visited, were to enable

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1. Ibid., p. 28.
2. Ibid., p. 208.

mothers to earn a respectable living and to offer the children of working mothers a secure and beneficial childhood which Miss Pappenheim recognized as a vital factor for good adjustment to adult life.[1]

It is important to note that in all her educational work and her dealings with young girls, she encouraged religious piety and early marriage to overcome the temptations of everyday life and to prevent moral degradation.[2]

Her attempt to coordinate the national and international organizations to fight white slave traffic was the phase of Miss Pappenheim's work in which she was least successful. Miss Pappenheim was instrumental in calling together an international congress of the various religious organizations, whose purpose it was to fight white slavery, and which met eight times. She was the only woman who attended all eight conventions. Her main goal was to clarify the role that Jews were playing in this traffic and to take action against them. Miss Pappenheim was able to contribute valuable experience to these conventions and she helped to draw up many of its resolutions. Nevertheless, she felt that the congress was a failure because none of its practical plans materialized.[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 45.
2. Ibid., p. 109.
3. B. Pappenheim, "Der Warschauer Internationale Kongress Zur Bekampfung Des Mädchenhandels", Blätter etc., (December, 1930), Vol. IV, p. 1.

Through her work with this international congress, Miss Pappenheim was able to help bring the issue of white slavery to the attention of the League of Nations, which included the work of this group in its plan. However, Bertha Pappenheim was disappointed with the results of the League of Nations' report and was courageous enough to voice her opinion. She felt that the League's report showed a lack of sympathy toward and understanding of Jewish marriage customs and thus gave a distorted picture of the extent of immorality among Jews. She felt that since in this report Jews were considered as a separate entity along with other nations, they should have a Jewish representative just as each nation had its representatives.[1] Her opposition was not recognized by the League of Nations but Miss Pappenheim did not give up in despair.

Instead, she tried to introduce the idea of "Weltsammelvormundschaft" or collective guardianship for abandoned, neglected, dependent children of transient emmigrants, of permanent residents of one place to whom the government welfare program did not apply, of people who could not be helped adequately by local agencies, or of needy, pregnant, widowed or unmarried mothers.[2] When

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1. B. Pappenheim, Sisyphus Arbeit, Vol. II, p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 61.

she was not successful in interesting the League of Nations, she tried to interest Jews on an international basis to accept this plan.

Miss Pappenheim felt that a collective guardianship for such children would be more effective and more efficient than the single or individual guardianship which would always be inadequate for a specific child's needs and which involves the risk of friction due to maladjustment of the child to the guardian or vice versa.[1] She thought that legally entrusting these Jewish children to a large Jewish organization would broaden the base for finding a suitable home for each child, would standardize the criterion for home finding, would minimize the risks of the individual guardianship and would integrate and coordinate Jewry the world over.[2] Even though this idea did not materialize during Bertha Pappenheim's lifetime, it has been under constant scrutiny by welfare agencies the world over.

Interpretive Summary. This study of the problem of white slavery as it existed in Germany and its neighboring countries during Miss Pappenheim's lifetime, of her survey trips to study the problem and of her attempts to suppress this social evil, leads to several conclusions.

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Patenschaft Oder Sammelvormundschaft", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 18.
2. Ibid.

Perhaps Bertha Pappenheim was not as unsuccessful as she thought she was. It is unfortunately only too often true that one of the criteria of a great person is that she is not completely recognized and accepted by her generation. Evaluating her work today, it seems that Miss Pappenheim, in her generation, laid the cornerstone for the fight against white slave trade. Today it seems clear that many of her failures were not due to her own shortcomings but to the public's retarded acceptance of reality and their feeble attempt to improve the social ills which were prevalent.

In her eagerness, Miss Pappenheim forgot one of the most important principles of social work: moving at the client's pace. Keenly aware of many of the causes of immorality, she became impatient with those who were not yet able to see contemporary society from an objective and scientific point of view. Perhaps the well-meaning legislators and clergymen of her time were too much involved in the day-to-day living of the people to stand back and to view their situation broadly or comprehensively. Perhaps Miss Pappenheim tried to accomplish too much in a short span of time. Indeed, some of the ideas she introduced before World War II are still too modern for us today.

History revealed that the number of Jews participating in white slave traffic was very misleading when one considers that the only way a Jewish girl could gain

permission to leave eastern Europe was by securing a prostitute's passport.

Bertha Pappenheim's clairvoyance is illustrated by her sharp perceptiveness of the environmental factors leading to immorality and by her understanding of the relation of a secure childhood to a well-integrated adulthood. By studying her contribution to the suppression of white slave traffic, one is able to view Bertha Pappenheim's over-all motivation to engage in social work. From religious teachings, she maintained that all men are created equal and that each has a mission to perform in this world. Thus she advocates the equality of the sexes and women's working side by side with men. The specific mission assigned to woman is mainly the domain of the home: to be wife and mother, but also to use her talents outside her own home to benefit society. To bear out this point, Miss Pappenheim furthered Frauenarbeit or women's voluntary social service. To insure the Jewish woman's ability to accomplish her mission, she tried to establish adequate mother and child welfare services. Now this entire plan was to prevent such moral degrdation as prostitution and white slavery which was principally caused by the inequality of the sexes, by the failure to educate women to their responsibility and by the lack of adequate mother and child welfare services.

In the concluding chapter, the entire study of Bertha Pappenheim, The Contribution of a German Jewish Pioneer Social Reformer to Social Work: 1859-1936, will be summarized. General conclusions and recommendations will be made, the study will be evaluated, and the need for further research will be considered.

# CHAPTER VI
# CONCLUSION

General Summary. This is a historical study of the contribution made to modern social work by Bertha Pappenheim, a German-Jewish, pioneer social reformer. Miss Pappenheim was born in Vienna in 1859, but she lived in Frankfort, Germany from her early twenties until her death in 1936. The contributions Miss Pappenheim made to social work were on an unpaid voluntary basis, and they fall into three main groupings: Frauenarbeit, Mutter und Kinderschutz, and Mädchenhandel.

To see this work in its true light, Bertha Pappenheim's milieu was considered initially. After the Industrial Revolution and the unification of Germany, Germany enjoyed four decades of comparative peace and socio-economic progress. During this period the breakdown of the German-Jewish ghetto walls, which had begun a generation before, was completed, and Jews shared to a greater extent in the peace and prosperity of the land. After World War I, as a result of the destruction brought about by the war and the resurgent antisemitism, many Jews from eastern Europe moved west to and through Germany, seeking the protection of the German-Jewish community which was firmly established and equipped to help their needy brethren. With the growing unrest in Germany after World War I, culminating in the rise

of Hitler, many persecuted Jews sought a new haven in Palestine and the United States.

The feminist movement aiming to develop women's cultural powers into a strong social influence and reaching out to all women, regardless of class, had a strong influence on Miss Pappenheim. The socio-economic factors requiring many women to assume a dual role as housewife and provider and forbidding others any interest outside their home were the basis for Miss Pappenheim's work.

Frauenarbeit or women's voluntary social service was the concept upon which all of Miss Pappenheim's work was based. This work was really, in large measure, her application of the goals of the feminist movement to specifically Jewish social work. She organized the German Jewish women for this type of work by founding the Frauenverein Weibliche Fursorge, which was a Jewish organization centralizing all the existing Jewish social agencies; and the Judischer Frauenbund, whose goal it was to make all Jewish women aware of their social duties and spiritual obligations and to train them in doing traditional charity by means of planned social work. Miss Pappenheim also introduced these national groups into the international organizations working toward the same goals, so that her work was of national as well as international scope.

The European political, economic and social situation of Bertha Pappenheim's time made this type of women's

voluntary social service vitally necessary. Miss Pappenheim's unusual ideas about the way in which this work should be done necessitated the creation of completely new agencies. A very detailed analysis of the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge and the Jüdischer Frauenbund were made to show the extent of the work done by Miss Pappenheim and her followers.

Mutter und Kinderschutz, or mother and child welfare, is the second phase of Miss Pappenheim's contribution to social work. Immediately prior to her work in this field, the welfare services available to mothers and their children were entirely inadequate. Miss Pappenheim helped to improve these conditions, first, by her motivating philosophy, which combined religious teachings with social and psycological concepts, a union considered incompatible by most of her contemporaries and still regarded as such by many today; and, secondly, by the practical application of her philosophy with the establishment of the home in Isenburg, her work in adoption and foster home finding, her direction of the Jüdischer Frauenbund in the establishment of its mother and child welfare services, and her founding of the Mädchenklub.

The suppression of Mädchenhandel or white slave traffic was the third and least successful aspect of Miss Pappenheim's work. It is, nevertheless, of some importance because of her contributions in the form of theoretical concepts as

well as prophylactic work. Nations were still in the process of formulating their attitude toward prostitution and white slave trade, when Miss Pappenheim was firmly convinced that it was both a social as well as a religious misdemeanor which was caused by the inadequacies of the spiritual and material environment afforded these girls. Bertha Pappenheim made several trips to the Balkans, Russia, the Near and Middle East to study the problem of white slave trade, the extent to which Jews were involved in this trade, and the government, civic, and sectarian attempts to solve these problems. Firsthand evidences obtained in this manner proved of great value. Prevention and educational work as well as her participation in national and international conventions combatting white slave traffic were further evidence of Miss Pappenheim's deep concern with the problem.

Conclusions. The most important conclusion to which this leads is the fact that social work might derive much benefit from further research in the field of Jewish social work. Through the study of Bertha Pappenheim's life and work, it is apparent how her deepreligious feelings served as the fountainhead for her activities, providing inspiration, justification and a goal toward which to strive. For her, all social work followed from the spiritual nature of men who, as children of one God, are joined in brotherhood to one another and are obliged to

help their brothers who are in need. This conclusion is important because of the fact that many social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists today still feel that a religious philosophy retards progress in their work and the belief in a merciful God is only a symptom of one's unresolved father complex or dependency needs. Reading about the practical results of religious thinking in a research study such as this should help convince these scientists of the value of religion, indicating that neither social work, psychology, nor psychiatry involve the totality of man if they seek to exclude the ontological fact of the religious dimension.

In the light of this, it may be concluded that Bertha Pappenheim made several contributions to social work which extend beyond the mere establishment of a social agency or an institution. She enabled many women, who today represent a strong force in the field, to, for the first time, enter the social work profession and thus made a constructive effort to have women gain equality with men.[1] By interesting women in social work, she was able to make the nineteenth century woman of the higher strata useful and effective. As was pointed out earlier, her concept of Frauenarbeit was of great significance in preventing delinquency.

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1. G. Ehrenwerth and C. Werner, "Isenburg", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936), Vol. XII, p. 15.

Miss Pappenheim also had a contribution to make in social work methodology. She emphasized and insisted upon uniform, accurate and well-kept records which would be completely intelligible ten years from the time they were written. Social workers today are still striving toward this goal because the importance of the continuity of the knowledge of a social work contact in treating a client has been recognized. Miss Pappenheim felt that social work was always emergent and that delay in seeing clients, answering correspondence, making referrals and contacts for clients was unforgivable. She recognized the fact that there were indeed clients who could not be helped but that one could only make this decision after very careful consideration of the worker's efforts to solve the problem. She stressed, too, the importance of generic thinking in trying to understand a problem in social work. Today we take these aspects of our work for granted, but, considering that Bertha Pappenheim had no formal training, it is remarkable how many sound social work principles she used. It would be interesting to ascertain through extensive research how much of her actual thinking and writing were incorporated into the modern science of social work which was in the early stages of development during her lifetime.

Bertha Pappenheim's eye doctor[1] remarked to the author

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1. Dr. I. Horovitz.

that she was able to see many things from a great distance while at the same time overlooking objects that were quite close by. That this medical observation had figurative as well as literal validity is revealed in one of the many prayers she wrote:

Prayer

Only not to become blind - not with the soul,
So that I no longer see what is small, what great,
What is narrow, what high and uplifting,
What shining in eternal light
Only not to become blind --
Not with the soul![1]

As has already been pointed out, almost all of her work is characterized by clairvoyance and a keen understanding of what lay hidden in the future, but there were likewise some pressing issues of the very time in which she lived which she did not see objectively and which she could not understand. Two examples of this were her firm belief that social workers should be underpaid to ascertain their altruistic motives and her irrational hostility toward those of her co-workers who left Germany after 1933 because of the imminent Nazi danger to which she remained blind.

After studying Miss Pappenheim in action as well as in thought, there emerges a rather clear picture of her personality. She was a cultured and creative woman who used her talents to help others and to reach greater spiritual

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Prayer", Prayer - Gebete, p. 20.

heights herself. Her perseverance gave her perpetual strength to overcome failure, to achieve her goals and to lead others toward these same goals. She was quite intolerant of those whose work did not meet with her standards of efficiency and of those who disagreed with her. At the slightest provocation or disappointment she wrote bitter letters to her best friends, criticizing them almost unmercifully for their shortcomings. However, her sincerity of purpose, her radiant warmth, her sharpness of mind, wide range of knowledge, and charming character won her such respect that these oft-rebuked friends remained all the more devoted to her. This trait of her personality is reflected in yet another one of her prayers.

Prayer

I am filled with indignant anger!
I shall hold firm to it.
And let it burn within -
So long as conditions justify.
I shall not become indulgent,
I shall not become blind to acts of
hate and harm,
I shall not excuse what is inexcusable.

Only let me have the strength to protest,
Again and again,
With anger's indignation,
Against every injustice! [1]

Her sharp sense of humor enabled her to write her own eulogies which became famous in her time.[2] Her personality

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Prayer", op. cit., p. 14.
2. B. Pappenheim, "Humor", Blätter etc., (July, August, 1936) Vol. XII, pp. 28-29.

was made extremely forceful by her sensitive, energetic and, at the same time, temperamental leadership qualities. She speaks of leadership in one of her prayers, entitled "Thanks":

> Thanks that I can dam up, as in a
> cool mill-dike,
> The mental power, voluntary, unforced,
> Sufficient for my own need.
>
> But thanks too for the hours when
> I found words to express what touched me,
> So that I could influence others.
> To feel power is to live -
> To live is to deserve to serve.
> [1]
> Let me.....

Miss Pappenheim's contribution to the field of child as well as adult education cannot be overlooked. Aside from taking an active part in the education of the children and young women in the institutions she established, she was instrumental in publishing educational material for children and adults. The unusually high level of the literary content of the Blätter Des Jüdischer Frauenbundes is an important exqmple of this fact.

In the light of the recent revelation of Bertha Pappenheim's mental illness and her treatment by Sigmund Freud which constitutes one of the classic cases in early psychoanalysis, it is interesting to consider the fact that all social workers as well as members of other professions are fulfilling a personal need by pursuing the

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1. B. Pappenheim, "Thanks", op. cit., p. 24.

work of their choice. Perhaps her need to express motherliness was met by her work with unmarried mothers and abandoned or neglected children who were in dire need of a mother's affection. The fact that she was able to meet their problems so effectively and objectively makes any selfish motive on her part fairly unimportant. Her complete preoccupation with the problems of women may also be related to her early experiences; but her success in this field shows that she was able to resolve her conflicts effectively.

That Bertha Pappenheim was a benefactor of humanity is further testified to by the fact that one of a series of stamps being printed today in Germany in tribute to the "helpers of humanity" is dedicated to her. We also have proof of the lasting influence she has maintained even long after death upon her co-workers. The writer of the study was privileged to attend an annual memorial meeting sponsored by those of Miss Pappenheim's inner circle who now reside in New York City. At these meetings this small group of ten elderly women -- each a personality in her own right -- read to one another from B. Pappenheim's writings, exchange memories, report on whatever work they are still doing which is in the spirit of their mentor's teachings, and try to reproduce the charming and stimulating atmosphere they must have experienced when invited to Miss Pappenheim's own house. The fact that each of these women

feels that she was closest to their leader and understood her best is another proof of her leadership qualities. The indelibly spiritual impression of strength and dedication which such a meeting must leave the occasional visitor is more eloquent testimony to the person Bertha Pappenheim was than the many articles and books which attempt to describe her.

Recommendations. In this atomic age when our very existence is threatened, it becomes the more necessary to return to the Source of our existence, to consider with some seriousness the relevancy of religion to social work. Social workers should take example from a pioneer like Bertha Pappenheim and devote more time and thought to the integration of their work with religion. At national and international conventions this should be a primary issue. Modern social work, having grown out of a religious environment (in many cases), has to a large extent severed this relationship, and the question arises whether the fruit can exist without the tree, without the very source which made it possible. It is particularly unfortunate, for example, that no Jewish school for social work exists.

In child welfare the fear of encroaching upon someone's religious freedom has caused our government to adopt such a non-committal and permissive policy that many children have been deprived of their right to a religious training. The attitude that a child, when he becomes of age, should

choose whether he wants a religious training is no more sound than allowing a child to subject himself to the dangers of malnutrition while you wait for him to reach the age where he is able to decide whether or not he wants to eat nutritious food. Since Bertha Pappenheim was courageous enough to take a positive stand on religious training for dependent and homeless children as well as for endangered and delinquent adults, similar social agencies today might benefit from her example.

An Evaluation of this Study. Since this study was limited to a small research project, it has several shortcomings. The material presented is not as clear as it might have been if more time and space had been devoted to the description of the background. Charts, maps, graphs and tables would have helped to render this material more graphic, concise and interesting.

The types of people interviewed for factual information could not be geared by an interview schedule or a questionnaire so that the factual material secured in this way was not uniform enough to be drawn off and tabled for any benefit. Many of the women interviewed found it difficult to respond to direct questions and preferred to talk according to their own devised plans. The factual data collected in this manner is subject to error, therefore, which may be due to subjective rather than objective thinking on the part of the person interviewed.

The limitations of this study made it impossible to deal with all aspects of Miss Pappenheim's work. However, the strength of this study lies in its concentration on the initially defined area of study, Bertha Pappenheim's contribution to social work, and on its exhaustive research. The data presented has been documented with bibliographical material and highlighted with pictures and other illustrative figures. The data have been organized and interrelated in such a way as to give the reader a picture of her achievements and failings.

Further Research Needed. There is much room and need for further research on Bertha Pappenheim and related subjects. Aside from studying in some detail her contribution to literature and education, it might prove interesting to make a careful analysis of her influence on her friends, colleagues and disciples. This would give us further insight into her personality and a keener understanding of her goals, ideas and talents.

If a research worker had the opportunity to travel to Germany to try and locate those records not destroyed by the Nazis relating to her social work activity, enough material might be gathered to make a comparative study of Bertha Pappenheim's contribution to social work and the work of a similar pioneer of another country or another faith. Indeed, even if the acquisition were not possible, such a comparison would prove highly interesting.

It is fitting to end this study with a prayer of Bertha Pappenheim's in which she attempts to describe herself for posterity.

Prayer[1]

Wind blows over the graves,
Sunlight lies on the stones.
Drop by drop, memories trickle through
my thoughts.
I lay a small stone on the dear spot and,
Childless,
Wish for myself small memorial stones
Placed on the rim of the red stone,
With the inscription:

"Sie war sehr streng."
"She was very severe."

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1. Ibid., p. 10.

# APPENDIX

## CALENDAR OF EVENTS IN BERTHA PAPPENHEIM'S LIFE

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|---|---|
| 1859 | Born in Vienna. |
| 1880 ca. | Ill; under treatment of Breuer and Freud. |
| 1881 | Moved to Frankfurt; |
| | Was housemother of the Jewish Orphan Home for girls for twelve years; |
| | Became active in government welfare organization; |
| | Founded a Jewish kindergarten and sewing schools. |
| 1902 | Organized Jewish Frauenarbeit in Frankfurt by founding the Frauenverein Weibliche Fürsorge and the Mädchenclub. |
| 1903 | Survey trips to Galicia and Russia. |
| 1904 | Founded the Jüdischer Frauenbund of Germany; |
| | Remained its president for twenty years; |
| | Participated in the work of the general Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine. |
| 1907 | Founded the home in Isenburg sheltering juvenile delinquents, pregnant unmarried mothers, infants and children; |
| | Remained its director until she died. |
| 1910-1911 | Survey trip to the Balkans, Palestine and Russia to study problems of women, the suppression of white slavery and Jewish life; |
| | Wrote Sysiphus Arbeit, Vol. I. |
| 1912 | Delivered paper, "Frau Im Judentum", at the International Congress for Women of the three religions. |

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| 1922 | Founded in Frankfurt the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Zur Bekämpfung der Tuberkulose Unter Der Juden; |
| | Began writing Vol. II of Sisyphus Arbeit. |
| 1923 | Organized and participated in an international Jewish women's convention in Vienna. |
| 1926 | Survey trip to Russia to study social work methods, problems of education and frontiers to pioneer settlements. |
| 1929 | Initiated and conducted conference on Jewish education sponsored by the Jüdischer Frauenbund. |
| 1934 | Trip to England and Scotland with a group of children, some of whom came from Isenburg, and all of whom were to be placed in a Jewish orphanage in Glasgow; |
| | Studied Jewish social services offered in England and Scotland. |
| 1935 | Survey trip to Poland to study progress of social work, education and the work of Beth Jacob; |
| | Inspired Joint and Agudas Israel to found a school of education and social work for Jewish girls in Poland. |
| 1936 | Died. |

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