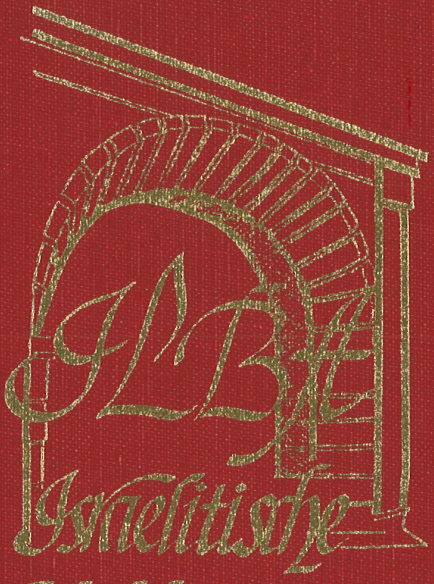


Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt Würzburg, 1864–1938

למען ידעו דור אחרון
בנים יולדו
יקומו ויספרו לבניהם



Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt Würzburg, 1864-1938

by the Alumni of 1930-38

Editors:
Max Ottensoser
and Alex Roberg



Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2024

Copyright © 1982 by Ilba

13128 Wales
Huntington Woods, Michigan 48070

Cover Design and Calligraphy
by Ilse S. Roberg

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 81-81930
ISBN 0-8187-0046-7

Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2024

Harlo Press, 50 Victor, Detroit, Michigan 48203

ILBA

ISRAELITISCHE LEHRERBILDUNGSANSTALT
WÜRZBURG



Entrance to Seminary Building, Bibrastrasse 6
At right plaque in memory of the Würzburger Rav

EDITORIAL BOARD

Ruth Fruchter
Walter Hes
Justin Hofmann
Samuel Hopfer
Irving Kahn
Walter Kaufmann
Eric Levi
Max Ottensoser
Brigitte Pearl
Curt Pearl
Alex Roberg
Ilse S. Roberg
Phillip F. Veit
Lisl Weinberg

Werner Weinberg

Dedicated
to Teachers and Students
who perished in the Holocaust

הנאהבים והנעימים בחייהם
ובמותם לא נפרדו
שמואל ב:כג

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S PREFACE 13

INTRODUCTION:
REUNIONS AND A BOOK,
by Ilse Roberg 15

THE HISTORY

A HISTORY OF
THE JEWISH TEACHERS SEMINARY,
by Walter Kaufmann 25

BIOGRAPHIES

SELIGMANN BAER BAMBERGER: 1807-1878,
by Norbert Hellmann 98

IN MEMORY OF
THE WÜRZBURGER RAV.,
by William Stern 103

DIRECTOR JAKOB STOLL: 1876-1962,
by Eric Levi 110

TEACHING CHUMASH ACCORDING TO
JAKOB STOLL,
by Hugo Mandelbaum 121

YEKUTIEL JAKOB NEUBAUER: 1895-1945,
by Alex Roberg 126

BARON ERNST VON MANSTEIN: 1869-1944,
by David Schuster 134
Eric Greenbaum, Translator

REUBEN M. ESCHWEGE: 1890-1977,
by Ruth Thaler and Henry Eschwege 140

MEMORIES AND ESSAYS

MEMORIES, by Samson R. Weiss 145

EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY,
by Justin Hofman 159

VOM AUFBAU UND AUS DEM LEBEN DER SCHÜLER-SCHAFT DER ISRAELITISCHEN LEHRERBILDUNGS ANSTALT WÜRZBURG, by A. Bergmann 175

THE LAST DAYS OF THE SEMINARY—PERSONAL MEMORIES,
by Hilde Cohn 179
by Schammai Zahn 183

SAMUEL GUNDERSHEIMER: A TYPICAL JEWISH TEACHER: GERMANY—U.S.A. by Menachem Gundersheimer 189

TO BE A *JÜDISCHER LEHRER:* GERMANY 1936-39, by Werner Weinberg 193

מוירצבורג לארץ ישראל מאת בנימין אופנהיימר . 209

STATISTICS

TEACHING STAFF OF ILBA AND PRÄPARANDENSCHULE HÖCHBERG, by Alex Roberg .. 221

NAMENSVERZEICHNIS, Reproduced from *FESTSCHRIFT ZUM 50 JÄHRIGEN BESTEHEN DER ISRAELITISCHEN LEHRERBILDUNGSANSTALT ZU WÜRZBURG, 1894-1914.* Ed. N. Bamberger. Würzburg, 1914 223

LIST OF GRADUATES: 1915-1938,
by Alex Roberg 234

STUDENTS OF CLASSES 1-5
ON NOVEMBER 10, 1938, by Alex Roberg 238

CAPSULE BIOGRAPHIES BASED ON
ANSWERS TO A QUESTIONNAIRE,
1980, by Ruth Fruchter 240

EDITOR'S PREFACE

"So that the last generation may know—
sons yet to be born
They will arise and tell their own sons."

We have chosen this passage from Psalm 78, verse 6, as the motto for our ILBA book.

It was the intent of the great teachers of the *Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Würzburg* to transmit to their students the eternal values of our Jewish heritage and to equip them with methods to transmit this knowledge to future generations. We, the alumni of this great institution consider it our sacred duty to tell the story of Würzburg to our children and grandchildren and to the many friends who by now live in all parts of the world.

With the closing of the ILBA on November 10th, 1938, almost all school records were destroyed. It was therefore very difficult to find the resource material for the writing of this book. Fortunately we found copies of the *Festschriften* published in 1914 and 1929 on the occasion of the 50th and the 65th anniversary of the school. Additional material was made available by the Leo Bäck Institute in New York and Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, the Hebrew University and the Bavarian State Archives at Würzburg and Munich. Former students provided us with class

lists, pictures, diaries and personal recollections. Extensive material was received from Moshe Barkol, Shlomo Bigil, Norbert Hellmann, Eric Neumann and Willi Neumann. To all we would like to express our sincere appreciation.

We wish to acknowledge the contributions of the following individuals who helped to make the book a reality:

Walter Kaufmann, our historian; Ruth Fruchter, who prepared the capsule biographies; Eric Levi, the editor of our Newsletter, who arranged the typing of all manuscripts; Irving Kahn and Hugo Apt, our financial experts; and Werner and Lisl Weinberg, who were always ready and generous in making their vast expertise available to us.

Our profound thanks to the authors of articles, which appear in the book.

We would have liked to include many more biographies devoted to outstanding teachers of the seminary. Unfortunately the lack of sufficient background material prevented us from doing so.

Our statistics for the years 1865 to 1914 and the years 1927 to 1938 are complete. According to the Festschrift of 1929 ninety-one candidates graduated during the period 1915 to 1926. Of this group we were able to identify only 20 graduates.

It is our fervent hope, that the publication of this book will keep alive the memory of one of the finest institutions established by German Jewry. May it strengthen the bond of friendship among all its alumni.

—Max Ottensoser and Alex Roberg

INTRODUCTION
REUNIONS AND A BOOK

by Ilse Roberg, née Herz

IT was a development over many years that a more substantial gathering of former *Würzburger Seminaristen* came about. Early in the 1940's, re-rooting in a strange land was all absorbing and consuming for each one of us, yet we could not overlook the needs of and help for our fellowmen. Restitutions were not settled yet and especially older citizens had a hard time earning a livelihood. The so-called "Stoll-Fund," originated by Leo Adler, put into action by Betty Neuhaus and Martin Pressburger, was created out of voluntary gifts from those who could be reached, and from it came many a welcome support for those in need. After a while restitution and resettlement progressed and *Stoll Fund* was only active upon request. The participants in this good deed became the first nucleus for all further meetings.

All through the years of our life in the U.S.A. Alex and I had welcomed every bit of an opportunity to meet "Old Würzburgers." On every trip to New York we would contact Walter Hes or Sidney Baumann to let our friends

know that we were coming and would love to see as many of them as possible.

Every time it was a lovely experience for all in attendance, including Rav S. R. Weiss and his wonderful wife Leni (née Carlebach).

I would write about these gatherings to friends who could not be there, among them our dear Ruth Fruchter (née Lehmann) in Indianapolis.

One fine *Shovuos* Ruth was our houseguest and we talked about our forthcoming 40th graduation anniversary. How would it be to get as many of our co-students together sometime in the Summer of 1976, somewhere in the Catskills, easy to be reached by the majority, namely those residing in New York?

The idea was fascinating and in her quiet, well-organized, efficient ways, Ruth *"schlug alles zu Faden"* (in the vernacular of our revered teacher *Oberstudienrat* Thorwart). Walter Hes and Sidney Baumann again provided us with addresses, contacted the Lake House in Woodridge, N. Y., made arrangements for our stay there and took care of the transportation for those who needed it. It came about! We had nametags prepared in order to cause no embarrassment—after all: 40 years and more had gone by since most of us had last met. What joy, what laughter, what happy tears while recognizing each other! No one had become a minute older—we turned back to the moment we had last seen each other—a magic wand had touched us, and all of us were 15-19 years old.

No one asked about occupation, accomplishment, financial success or religious orientation—we were happy to see each other in the same relationship as we had been in Würzburg: members of a *Schicksalsgemeinschaft* (community of fate) in our house of learning and observance, namely the *Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt* in Würzburg. There we had found ourselves protected from the oncoming tidal waves of destruction and disaster, we had received inner strength and courage to go out and teach the searching generation of an uncertain tomorrow. Indeed our reunion had become a very unique experience!

Of course we took pictures and on the album I imprinted: Our unforgettable ILBA Reunion 1976. When Rabbi Offenberg and his wife Trudl (née Roth) came from Jerusalem to visit us a year later, I showed them the album and Trudl remarked: "For the time being I see only older people and don't recognize anyone."

It was indeed a trick of the mind to create the impression of being transported back into 1936—but who cared? Was it not beautiful to completely snap out of one's routine and experience such a heartwarming, refreshing happening?!

During long sessions of talking about days gone by it was of course inevitable to come across so many names of old friends, who had not been as lucky as we and had died *Al Kidush Hashem* or who had been called by their Maker away from this world. Many incidents that were recalled, many personalities who were mentioned awakened in us the desire to preserve these precious memories for generations to come and the idea of a Book was born.

After our second reunion in 1978 our "Newsletter" edited by our tireless Eric Levi in Baltimore, brought among other appreciations an article by Lotte Lapian, née Neumann from Israel. Permit me to quote the first chapter of her "Experience Extraordinaire."

> "Is it possible, I wondered, or reasonable to expect anything but embarrassment and awkwardness when meeting a large number of 'school-friends' after more than forty years? Quite apart from the time factor there were bound to have arisen so many imponderables that I had, reluctantly, to admit to myself that there was little chance of spending the weekend as I had pictured it for more than a year. So, by the time I arrived at the "Lake House" I was thoroughly miserable and apprehensive. The scene which greeted me was like a textbook illustration of a perfect Summer's day: White facade, green lawn, and groups of people relaxing. Panic—not a single familiar face. Suddenly horribly aware of my own aged and unrecognizable self, I approached a cluster of people. A woman turned

around—Ilse. What a relief! Smiling and happy to welcome me, she started introductions, and all at once there was no unease. Exclamations, who are you and you and you! Animated responses, more questions and answers, and sooner than expected, something in the face of the stranger with the well-remembered name approximates and matches the equally well remembered face, fixed in memory forty years earlier. It is a profoundly moving experience. I wander from group to group and marvel at what is happening. There appears to be an underlying empathy between us which, in a wondrous fashion, emerges when, after a lifetime, we meet. I cannot explain it but am happy at its manifestation. There are about sixty of us, mostly couples, and the lovely fact is that the respective spouses seem to enjoy themselves as much as the "originals." Three "foreigners" take part from abroad: Hedi Rosenthal, née Rothschild and Lotte Loewenstern, née Schaps from London and I from Jerusalem. Those not present were mentioned and asked about, and much information given and received. All too soon it was time to prepare for Shabbat, and we all came together again for Kiddush and dinner. The atmosphere was wonderful and I had to smile over my doubts of only a few hours ago. After dinner the first formal meeting was scheduled but I am happy to say that it turned out to be anything but formal. Walter Hes gave us a warm welcome and a report and survey of the two years since the last (first) reunion. Then some announcements and an old fashioned "sing-along" led by Eric Levi. I had forgotten (maybe I never knew) about his sonorous voice. I don't think I joined in the singing. I sat in a happy glow, thinking of—I know not what. By then it was rather late but we were reluctant to leave each other and went for more tea and coffee. Gradually people did drift away, and still we stood and talked. We finally talked our way upstairs, and there found that "'s Louisle" (Al Kleeman) had a little midnight feast going which, of course, was too good to be missed. At last, in the early morning, it really was bed time. I was far too exhilarated and emotionally drained to fall asleep. I went

over everything in my mind, looking forward to a beautiful Shabbat and grateful to have been able to come and share this extraordinary experience."

The third reunion on the weekend of June 27-29, 1980, was to be quite different from the previous ones. We had a very concrete goal in mind: the ILBA book was to be discussed in detail. The editorial staff met on Thursday night, June 26, and convened all day Friday. Since a few weeks before the meeting a copy of all finished essays, biographies or articles had been sent to every member of the board, we were able to discuss, evaluate and make recommendations. Thus we did not have to occupy precious time of our reunion, and a very precise report could be given at our Motzoe Shabbat session.

The highlight of this get-together was the presence of four colleagues who had graduated in 1930 and were now celebrating their fiftieth Anniversary in the field of Jewish education: Eric Neuman and Joseph Zucker from New York, Avraham Bartura and his brother Yerach Bar-Chai from Jerusalem. Of course such an event had to be acknowledged and the four received a plaque, inscribed with a portion of *Ahava Rabba; v'ten B'libeinu . . . lilmod ul'lamed* . . . b'ahava. The idea for this was conceived in Indianapolis, when Alex and I visited with Ruth Fruchter on our way from Florida to Chicago in March. It was my sincere pleasure to create these gifts and their grateful acceptance was heartwarming to all of us.

The gathering was graced with the presence of yet another Israeli colleague, the former Leo Meer, now Leo Meyer from Bnai Brak. To see him again after having lost track of his whereabouts for over 40 years was a special grace of Hashem.

By now we do have a fine number of regular attendants at out reunions and the fact that we feel so close to each other made us strong enough to formulate two resolutions: one addressed to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, expressing our solidarity and a second one to

the German Government as a protest to its Near-East policy.

Time and again it has been said, that our reunions are unique, the *Divre Torah* spoken at these occasions by various chaverim are precious and inspirational. At each one of our three get-togethers we had the pleasure of a Shabbat-afternoon shiur in Pirke Avot by Justin Hofmann. His ways have unmistakably remained the ways in which we were trained: bare of any strife for personal glory, with serene simplicity in method and clarity of thought the gems of wisdom of the Ethics of our Fathers penetrate our hearts and souls.

The cradle for our ILBA book stood at our reunions, and with the creation of it we shall have erected an everlasting memorial to our beloved alma mater.

Forty Years - מ' שנה

What are the key words of our lives, מַפְתֵּחַ
the qualities we were taught at the ILBA? מִדּוֹת
to live according to our tradition מַסֹּרֶת
and to strive to fulfill the laws of מִצְוֹת
the Torah.
Judaism has become the staff of our lives, מַטֶּה
on which we can lean, which makes us strong.
We learned the foundations of moral living מוּסָר
so we could become responsible leaders מַדְרִיכִים
in Israel
and conscientious teachers מוֹרִים וּמוֹרוֹת
who guide our youth in the Torah way
We give thanks to the "ILBA" from מִמַּעֲמַקִּים
the depth of our hearts
for the indelible impression it has מַיִם חַיִּים
left on us, on each and everyone's personality!

by Ruth Frucht

Page of the program at the First ILBA Reunion, 1976

The History

זכור ימות עולם בינו שנות דור ודור
דברים כב:ז

A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH TEACHERS SEMINARY IN WÜRZBURG (ILBA)

Walter H. Kaufmann

I

ON October 5, 1864, the *Amtsblatt* (official gazette) of the Bavarian administrative district of Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg (as it was then called) announced "in the name of His Royal Majesty the King" the imminent opening of a Jewish teachers' training institute in Würzburg to be known as *Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt (ILBA).*[1] The Jewish press followed this notification with advertisements to attract qualified applicants for enrollment and appeals for financial backing from the Jews of the district since the institution had to be maintained entirely by private means. Common benefits derived from this school warranted the most generous support.[2]

With these public notices a project came to fruition whose seed-corn had been planted more than half a cen-

tury before. On January 15, 1801, Maximilian Josef, elevated by the grace of Napoleon Bonaparte from duke to king as ruler of a much enlarged Bavarian realm, issued guidelines regarding the status of his Jewish subjects. Still stating his aversion for Jews in the ugly jargon of medievalistic anti-Semitism, he made some grudging concessions to Napoleon's more rational attitude in this respect. "Since we cannot—without cruelty—expel the Jews from our realm *(Erbstaaten)*," the king declared, "they must be furnished with such institutions by which they can gradually be educated toward useful citizenship."[3]

War and ensuing political turmoil postponed the implementation of the royal pronouncement for several years. Only in summer 1804 the Bavarian government turned its attention again to this problem. A decree of June 18, 1804 *(Minister-Erlass)*, using verbatim Maximilian Josef's phrase of gradually turning Jews into useful citizens, imposed compulsory secular and religious education upon Jewish children and ordered that these children receive instruction in their own school, provided qualified teachers were available, or else in Christian schools.[4] In June, 1813,[5] and January, 1828, additional regulations amended the original directive. Only citizens *(Inländer)* could be accepted as teachers and only if they had attained officially prescribed *(vorschriftsmässige)* standards and passed examinations at a teachers seminary. This applied also to religious school teachers, even those in the smallest communities; in fact, requirements for these teachers were even more stringent. They had to demonstrate proficiency in the German and the Hebrew language, Jewish or Biblical history, exegesis of the Holy Scriptures *(Auslegung der heiligen Schrift)*, prayers, ritual *(dinim)*, Talmud and a subject called "the relationship of Jews to state and community."[6] In addition, to save their employers' expenses, they had to function as cantors *(Vorsänger)*. A three-man examination commission consisting of a member of the district government, a Christian fluent in Hebrew and the incumbent district rabbi had to

attest to a candidate's qualification.[7] For those who had met all requirements, appointments as cantors and religious school teachers, even in small communities, went through a rather cumbersome procedure. Selected by the elders of a congregation, the candidate had to meet the approval of the district rabbi who then would recommend his appointment to the district's school authorities and this body would submit his name for final approval to the Department of Education and Church Affairs. The district rabbi was charged with the supervision of such teachers. He received his visitation schedule from the district authorities and had to furnish them with detailed written reports and evaluations after every inspection.[8]

On the surface, this benevolent concern of the Bavarian government for the quality of Jewish education seemed to be a well-disposed measure; in reality it confronted the Jews of Bavaria with vexing problems. The difficulties arose from demographical and procedural factors.

Although authentic statistical information is quite spotty for the era under discussion, it is assumed that about 50,000 Jews lived in Bavaria during the first half of the 19th century, more than 80 percent of them in small rural communities where they eked out a living as small shopkeepers, peddlers, cattle dealers and something rather vaguely called *Handelsmann,* sort of a Jack-of-all-trades. In virtually every one of these small towns and villages existed a *Kultusgemeinde,* or *Gemeinde* for short, which maintained all local religious installations and facilities like schools, synagogues, cemeteries, mikvot (ritual bath), etc. and carried out all religious functions.[9] After introduction of compulsory education for Jewish children, many of these *Gemeinden* organized elementary schools, usually as extension of existing religious schools, rather than have them attend Christian schools, so-called *Werktagsschulen,* which stood strongly under clerical influence. The Bavarian government granted approval for such schools provided they had a minimum enrollment of twelve students and qualified teachers. Eventually, there were 150 of these schools, almost all of them of the one-

room type in small rural communities. Würzburg was unique among the larger communities in Bavaria with a seven grade school, the *Jüdische Erziehungs und Unterrichts-Anstalt,* which was founded in 1855 by Rabbi Seligmann Baer Bamberger.[10] The proliferation of small schools in small communities created the serious problem of finding enough teachers acceptable to the supervisory authorities to staff these schools. Since they were expected to perform multiple duties as elementary and religious school teachers and as cantors (and frequently as ritual slaughterers), they had to be trained in a wider range of disciplines than their Christian counterparts who had few, if any, duties beyond their classroom assignments. The Bavarian system of teacher training mitigated against the production of candidates for Jewish positions. Until 1866, Bavaria used the so-called school-apprentice *(Schul-Lehrling)* method in teacher education. Upon completion of the seventh grade of their elementary schools, gifted students who had chosen the teaching profession would continue in their school as apprentices for an additional three or four years. They would be assigned to a master teacher as auditors and teaching assistants so as to familiarize themselves with the curriculum and methods of instruction. At the age of 17 or 18 they then entered a two-year teachers seminary (not unlike the Normal Schools that existed in much of the United States well into the early part of this century). After finishing the seminary and upon passing the final examination *(Austritts-Examen)*, these 19 or 20 year olds were then admitted to the Bavarian school service as provisional teachers for a four to five year probationary period.

The liberalizing regulations of 1813 accepted Jews into this apprentice system and admitted them to the Bavarian teachers seminaries of Bamberg, Kaiserslautern, Schwabach and Würzburg where they could attend class but were unable to use dormitories and dining rooms. However, while this system was quite effective for the training of Christian school teachers who were not expected to teach religious subjects since this was done by ordained cler-

gymen, it did not adequately provide for Jewish needs. The curriculum devoted very little time to religious instruction, none for school apprentices, and a mere three periods weekly at the seminary level where the demanding schedule left scant opportunity for Jews to study religion with private teachers. As a result, a great many Jewish teachers possessed pedagogical expertise but were unfit to perform their communal duties as religious school teachers, leaders of adult education courses and cantors. On the other hand there were many Jewish teachers who excelled in the knowledge of religious subjects who were fine cantors and shochtim, but lacked formal education qualifications. In both cases, the Bavarian government reluctantly granted emergency licenses to fill vacancies, a fact which left the government as well as the supervising district rabbis dissatisfied.[11]

Another factor that accounted for the critical shortage of qualified teachers was the proverbial penury of most small communities. Unable, and at times unwilling, to pay the higher salaries which certified teachers could command, they often accepted teachers with emergency licenses who were in a poor bargaining position for material benefits. The willingness to accept low salaries became more often the criterion for employment than a candidate's ability and qualifications.[12] As a result, teachers often were forced to live in dire poverty which induced many to leave their chosen profession for more lucrative fields.[13] Needless to say, these discouraging prospects attracted fewer and fewer students with desirable qualities. This combination of the lowering of scholastic standards and the decrease in the number of teaching candidates caused an educational emergency which put into jeopardy the communal existence of a great number of Jews in Bavaria.

II

THE Bavarian government reached a point where it was no longer willing to tolerate this ominous development.

On July 7, 1859, acting for the Department *(Kammer)* for Church Affairs and Education in the Ministry of the Interior, the administration of Lower Franconia, the district containing the largest concentration of Jews, addressed Rabbi Seligmann Baer Bamberger of Würzburg—by many considered the spokesman of Bavarian Jewry—with an urgent request for his assessment and suggestions *(Gutachten)* concerning the deplorable situation. The government left no doubt that it would no longer grant emergency and provisional licenses to candidates who did not meet the prescribed educational requirements and that, as a result, future vacancies would remain open. Rabbi Bamberger, who often had stated his conviction that the survival of Judaism depended on thorough *(gründliche)* teacher training and well maintained schools,[14] immediately contacted his colleagues in Lower Franconia, the district rabbis of Aschaffenburg, Burgpreppach, Kissingen and Mainbernheim (later transferred to *Kitzingen*) to invite them to a conference on this subject.[15] The consensus of this meeting was stated in a lengthy memorandum *("unterthänigstes Gutachten")* by Rabbi Bamberger.[16] He maintained that the system of teacher training in Bavaria was tailored to the requirements of Christian communities where the teacher could concentrate on his school duties and at best would have to play the church organ or conduct the church choir, while his Jewish counterpart had to demonstrate proficiency in two different areas of instruction. The shortcomings of Jewish teachers were the result of the inadequacy of the teacher training curriculum which neglected the preparation for religious school instructors. It therefore became inescapable that Jewish teachers had to be trained under an expanded program in Jewish institutions whose aim it would be to provide them with the educational tools to meet the highest demands in secular and religious education and any other concomitant communal duties.[17] Rabbi Bamberger referred to a decree enacted in May, 1857, which removed mandatory seminary attendance for Jews as a criterion for teacher certification stating that "Israelites who did not attend a

seminary may, with permission of the district government, take the final exam provided they can give evidence of adequate preparatory instruction."[18] To attain such a goal, Rabbi Bamberger proposed a six-year teacher training institution *(Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt)*, whose course of instruction would be divided into three phases:

1. Instead of becoming auditors and teaching assistants in their home-town schools, prospective school-apprentices would enter into a two-year program of intensive and rigorous *(gründlich und kräftig)* Jewish studies at a special preparatory school, at the end of which period their general aptitude for the teaching profession as well as their progress in Jewish learning would be evaluated.
2. In case of favorable results, they would then be admitted to a second two-year phase, in which they would continue intensive religious education and begin the study of the secular subjects prescribed in the state curriculum.
3. Upon completion of these four preparatory years, the students could now attend the actual seminary for the final two years of pedagogical and professional education.

Rabbi Bamberger applied for permission to open a teachers training institution along these lines in Würzburg. Students could attend it without charge; the financial responsibility for the founding and maintenance of the school would entirely be born by the Jewish communities of the district without any expense to the state of Bavaria. He pointed out that the Talmud-Torah schools at Aschaffenburg and Burgpreppach were thriving on voluntary contributions and that there was no reason to doubt an equally generous response to the projected school. The government seemed amenable to the idea and after requesting some more specific information, Rabbi Bamberger, in April, 1862, was authorized to begin with the implementation of his project. Without in any way neglecting his demanding duties as the spiritual leader of the Würzburg rabbinical district, Rabbi Bamberger embarked

on the task of soliciting the necessary funds by personal visits and letters, of designing a detailed curriculum, recruiting teachers and finding suitable quarters for the school.

After painstaking examinations and investigation and much correspondence back and forth, the government granted final approval of the school on October 4, 1864, followed by a public announcement the next day. The governmental directive created a *Kuratorium* (board of Overseers) with Rabbi Bamberger as the chairman *(Vorstand)* and the head of the seminary; his colleagues from Aschaffenburg, Burgpreppach, Kissingen and Mainbernheim as well as a number of prominent lay leaders were to join him on the Board. *The Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt in Würzburg,* Rabbi Bamberger's "most beautiful and exalted monument . . . his most cherished child" was born.[19]

III

ON November 7, the seminary opened with two classes (the first, lowest seminary class and the third, highest, preparatory class) in a rented building located outside the city. Its exact location can no longer be identified.[20] It contained two small classrooms, a dormitory, dining room, small chapel *(Betsaal)* and living quarters for the family of one teacher, the so-called *Präceptor,* who supervised the students outside their classroom activities.

A considerable number of teachers from all parts of Germany had applied for the two original full-time *(hauptamtliche)* seminary positions. The *Kuratorium,* after interviews and consultations, selected Ludwig Stern from Freudenthal in Württemberg and Isak Schlenker who had taught at a Jewish school in Moers on the Rhine, but was at that time a member of the faculty of Würzburg's Jewish elementary school. Several secular subjects—usually referred to as *Realien*—were taught on a part-time basis by non-Jewish instructors from Würzburg's public schools. Mr. Stern was named Präceptor and moved into

the designated quarters of the building. The 12 students who were admitted to the two classes had been prepared by the Talmud-Torah schools at Höchberg and Aschaffenburg or by their home-town rabbis in private courses. They had passed their entrance examination on November 2. In the fall of 1865, at the end of the first academic year which seemed to have passed without extraordinary events, an official of the lower Franconian school administration presided over the final exams in both classes given over a three day period. As a result of these, the six students of the first seminary class moved up to the newly formed second class and the six students from the preparatory class were promoted to the existing first class of the Seminary. At the same time, entrance examinations for the preparatory class were given to 20 applicants of whom only ten were admitted, two of them from foreign countries (probably Switzerland or Austria).[21] The astonishingly high number of rejections was not caused by academic shortcomings of candidates but by lack of space.[22] This condition, which imposed a system of rigorous selectivity on the seminary and led to the exclusion of many promising and qualified students, was to plague the institution for almost two decades.[23]

The seminary opened its second year with three classes and 22 students. Jakob Weisbart joined the faculty as a full-time teacher and two additional part-time instructors from local high schools were employed. Even this modest expansion of the school rendered its present premises inadequate. The search for a new home began and a suitable building was located at Kettengasse 6, "a spacious house with a large garden attached to it in which the students (could) engage in physical exercise."[24] (Physical Education did not become a mandatory subject until 1878). Relocation to the new premises took place at the end of the school year.

In 1866, a reform in the method of teacher education took place which profoundly affected the Seminary and necessitated a change in its structure. The Bavarian government abolished the system of school-apprenticeship

and replaced it with special three-year preparatory schools *(Präparanden-Anstalten).* This regulation led to the establishment of formal ties between the Würzburg Seminary and the Talmud-Torah school in Höchberg, which would soon add an appropriate title to its name. Since the Höchberg school would henceforth play a significant role in the aim and work of the Seminary and would eventually become an integral part of it, a brief look at its history may be here in place.

The Talmud-Torah of Höchberg was founded around 1840—"informally, so-to-speak around the living room table"[25]—by Rabbi Lazarus Ottensoser. "Reb 'Loser," as he was fondly called, had come to Höchberg in 1829 to assume the leadership of a then flourishing community, often flatteringly referred to as "Little Frankfurt." Originally, Rabbi Ottensoser offered intensive courses in Chumash, Mishnah and Gemara to Höchberg boys in his own home, but he soon attracted students from neighboring communities and even from more distant places for whom board and lodging had to be found with local families. Following the principle of *Torah im derech eretz* (the teachings of the Torah applied to contemporary living), Rabbi Ottensoser insisted that his pupils also acquire a sound foundation in secular subjects and urged them to attend the Jewish elementary schools at Würzburg, Heidingsfeld and Zell, all of which lay within walking distances. The increasing number of students encouraged Rabbi Ottensoser in 1861 to organize a *"Bürgerschule"* in Höchberg to offer a combined religious and secular program of education under one roof. (*"Bürgerschule"*—literally: citizens school—constituted a type of educational institution that had become popular in Germany during the second half of the 19th century. It was a kind of intermediate school offering gifted students upon completion of the fourth elementary grade a six-year course in mathematics, science, foreign languages and, in most cases, commercial subjects. Graduates usually embarked on business careers or entered the seventh year of a nine-year high school or *Gymnasium.*) Following the school-

apprentice reform of 1866, the Höchberg school added a branch that was exclusively designed to prepare students for entrance into the Würzburg Seminary, the *Israelitische Vorbereitungsanstalt* (Israelitic preparatory institution), under the same administration and essentially staffed by the same faculty.[26] Graduates from this division of the school still had to pass the entrance examination to be admitted to the Würzburg Seminary. In 1891, however, an arrangement was worked out by which Höchberg preparatory school graduates could be admitted to *ILBA* for a six-week probationary period, at the end of which they would either be definitely accepted, sent back for further preparatory studies or rejected as unsuited for the teaching profession.[27] The minimum age for attendance of the preparatory division in Höchberg was fourteen (although some students received special waivers from the district government for admission at 13). Most transferred from the *Bürgerschule* branch, others came from the last year of an elementary school.

The success of the multifaceted school at Höchberg precipitated a problem that also plagued the Seminary: it could not accommodate all applicants because of limited space. There seemed to be room for another preparatory school. Such a school opened in Burgpreppach under similar circumstances as at Höchberg. The district rabbi of Burgpreppach, Abraham Hirsch, like his colleague Ottensoser, had instructed young Jews in religious subjects in private *shiurim,* and many of them had been accepted at Würzburg. Under his direction, a Talmud-Torah Association *(Verein)* was organized with the sole function of founding and maintaining a Talmud-Torah school to institutionalize and widen religious education. In 1875, Rabbi Hirsch applied to the Bavarian authorities for permission to make this school into an official preparatory institution for the Würzburg Seminary. He stated that there was still a lack of qualified Jewish teachers in Bavaria and that the Höchberg school had not enough room (*"hat keinen Platz"*) for all the applicants that sought admission. The government acceded to his request, and in the

fall of 1875 the private Talmud-Torah school at Burgpreppach became known as the *"Talmud-Torah Schule und Präparanden—Anstalt für Israeliten,"* another official feeder school for the Seminary.[28] It showed an immediate success with a first year enrollment of 24 students, which grew in the second year to 40. Up to World War I, the school was able to maintain a respectable enrollment figure in cooperation and sometimes competition with Höchberg, but afterward the school declined rapidly.

Rabbi Hirsch's effort was undoubtedly prompted by the high esteem in which the Würzburg graduates were held and by an increasing demand for them. The six students of the second class who had graduated in 1866 after passing their final exams at the Royal Seminary in Würzburg "with good or very good results,"[29] had established this reputation which the Seminary would enjoy throughout its existence.[30] This, and the assurance of a choice position, attracted an increasing number of candidates so that the number of graduates grew from an average of six to eight yearly to 18 for the next decades.[31]

The sudden death of Rabbi Seligmann Baer Bamberger on the second day of *Sukkot* (October 13, 1878) deprived the Seminary of its founder and inspiring leader. His ideals and his spirit remained the guiding lights and would be scrupulously observed. In his memory, the alumni of the institution endowed the Seligmann-Baer-Bamberger-Foundation whose income was used to confer a monetary award upon students with excellent achievement in Talmud.

Nathan Bamberger succeeded his father as district rabbi of Würzburg and became the obvious choice to take over the leadership of the Seminary, especially since he had assisted his father in its administration. However, the government did not feel that Rabbi Nathan Bamberger had an automatic claim on this office. It opened the position to a wide range of applicants, while Nathan Bamberger presided over the *Kuratorium* and the school as caretaker. Only in November, 1879, after serving in this situation for more than a year, was he confirmed as the regular head; he was finally selected when he gained the

first place, with a grade of 1.7, in a competitive examination.[32]

One of the first tasks that pressed its attention on the new leader was the need for more spacious facilities. To accommodate the demand for new teachers, the Seminary was willing to admit a larger number of applicants from Burgpreppach and Höchberg if suitable premises could be acquired. After a search of several years, the *Kuratorium* chose a house in the center of the city at Domerpfarrgasse[6] (later renamed Bibrastrasse). The house, in which the *ILBA* would be located for almost half of a century, belonged to a Mrs. Feldhahn, widow of a local wine merchant. It seemed to suit the needs of the Seminary. The supervisory authorities of lower Franconia, however, were not easily persuaded to approve the premises for the projected use. After scrutinizing a number of reports *(Gutachten)* of architects and medical experts, they rejected the building for hygienic reasons. Air circulation and access to natural light were held to be unsatisfactory; the rooms were large enough, but the acoustics were bad. The *Kuratorium* had to undertake expensive renovations before an occupancy permit was granted "with reservations."[33] In 1884, the Seminary could finally move into the new quarters, consisting of ample classroom space, dormitories, a mess hall, kitchen, gymnasium and a chapel. The new building was bought for the astonishingly high price of RM 74,400.[34] After the sale of the Kettengasse property, the *Kuratorium* had to borrow RM 40,000 from a Munich bank to pay for the house and the extensive renovations. This imposed an additional annual expenditure of RM 2,000—for amortization and interest—on the Seminary's annual budget but did not impair its financial health. In fact, continued generous donations and a growing income from *Yahrzeit* endowments permitted the administration not only to meet all obligations but also to sink money into a growing reserve fund.

IV

As stated before, the Seminary had been licensed as a private institution whose sole function was the preparing of candidates for the final state examinations at the Royal seminary in Würzburg. The private status of the Seminary, however, was confined to raising the funds necessary for its operation. In every other aspect it was subjected to strict control and supervision by the Bavarian government delegated to the administration of Lower Franconia. Curriculum, weekly schedules, appointments of administrators and teachers and even term examinations had to be submitted for approval. At least once a year the Seminary underwent a rigorous inspection of all its activities and facilities, and often there were unannounced visits. Long, detailed reports to the ministry in Munich, of which the Seminary received a copy, evaluated the findings. Usually these reports emphasized much that was not flattering.[35] There was, for instance, strong objection to the lack of punctuality in beginning of classes and to frequent early dismissal. Dr. Tachauer, who had replaced Mr. Stern in 1872 when the latter accepted the position of principal at the Jewish school in Würzburg, and Mr. Weisbart were cited for both delinquencies. There were students in the halls at a time when they should have been in class; students appeared to be sloppy in personal hygiene and attire; one student wore slippers in class and no one objected to such lack of grooming. The condition of the building "made an unfavorable impression" *(macht einen ungünstigen Eindruck)*; there were unmade beds in the dormitory, dirty linen and disgusting *(ekelerregende)* towels in open display. The kitchen was anything but attractive *("auch der Eindruck der Küche war kein verlockender")* and it produced a rather monotonous and unbalanced diet for the students. In general, the physical appearance of students and installations was summed up as "unpleasing" *(unerfreulich)*.[36] Due recognition was given to general academic excellence of the students in all areas except German. Here the impression was quite nega-

tive. Students, so the evaluation reproved, read and spoke too fast; moreover, they spoke with an accent (most likely not different from the vernacular of rural Franconia); they answered questions too vaguely and too impulsively *(unüberlegt)* and tended to stray off the subject or to ignore it completely *("... sie gehen auch leicht vom Inhalt ab oder überhaupt nicht auf ihn ein")*.[37]

Whatever the justification of this criticism may be, we must realize that the government stressed German literature and composition in the training of elementary teachers as well as history and citizenship education, subjects which were de-emphasized and received only peripheral attention at the Seminary where they were scheduled usually for the late afternoon periods of a strenuous schoolday. It was quite difficult to fit all the mandatory subjects into a crowded schedule that incorporated many hours of intensive religious studies.[38] To make this possible at all, the government allowed a deviation from the normative curriculum by exempting Jewish students from music examinations at the Royal seminary where music education played a major role and fourteen periods a week were assigned to music theory and composition, vocal music, violin, piano and, especially, organ playing. In addition to formal instruction, students were expected to devote many hours to practice sessions. On the other hand, religious subjects received a rather cursory treatment. At *ILBA* the priorities were reversed. Music was presented only as an elective subject. Students could choose either violin or piano or both if they could fit it into their schedules; organ was not offered for obvious reasons. Part of the vocal music lessons were devoted to cantorial training. Thus, with the cooperation of the government, the Seminary gained the time for intensive religious education which occupied 14 to 16 periods a week.

In 1886 this accommodating arrangement was suddenly abrogated as the Bavarian government, without stating reasons, withdrew the dispensation from music examinations and insisted on a full program of music in-

struction with the exception of organ. The Seminary requested permission to extend the weekly teaching periods to fit the additional music classes into its program without curtailing religious instruction. The government rejected this appeal on the grounds that extended classroom work with concomitant practice and study periods would lead to an unacceptable overburdening *(Überbelastung)* of the students.[39] To comply with the new regulations without jeopardizing the school's religious program, the *Kuratorium* decided to distribute the Seminary's two-year program over a span of three years. A petition to this effect submitted to the government reiterated Rabbi S. B. Bamberger's presentation of 1859 that this (then projected) seminary had to train students to meet fully the state-imposed standards for elementary and religious school teachers; that to accomplish this task under the new regulation would necessitate a one-year extension of its program. To this the government acceded, and the following year the Seminary began to operate as a three-year institution.

A new crisis, which again brought into jeopardy the Seminary's capability to fulfill its mission, arose in 1912 when all Bavarian seminaries became three-year institutions with revised and more extensive curricula. But this time the government showed greater understanding for the plight of the Jewish seminary. It again exempted Jewish candidates from final examinations in piano and music theory (but not violin) and permitted cantorial training in substitution for these two. It also agreed to the transfer of the fourth-year preparatory classes from Höchberg and Burgpreppach to the Würzburg school, making it thus possible to spread the new curriculum over a four-year period.

Aside from the concern and worry caused by the reorganization of the Bavarian seminary system, the year 1912 brought great satisfaction to *ILBA*. Announcement was made that beginning with the academic year 1913/14, final examination could henceforth be administered at the Seminary by its own faculty under the supervision of a

state official.[40] The examination would be given in two stages: upon completion of the second seminary year (later called the fifth class at *ILBA*) students would take tests in all religious subjects—although religious studies would continue during the final year—and in most secular subjects; after the final seminary year, there would be examinations in pedagogics, music, physical education and hygiene. The Seminary rightly interpreted these regulations as a vote of confidence in its academic and administrative record.

Meanwhile a number of changes had taken place in the Seminary's faculty. As was reported before, the first Präceptor, Mr. Stern, had left the staff in 1872 to become principal of the local Jewish school. Isak Schlenker, the other of the first two full-time seminary teachers, died in 1902. He was briefly replaced by Dr. M. L. Bamberger who left in 1905. Also in 1905, Mr. Stern's replacement, Dr. Tachauer, and the third full-time teacher, Jakob Weisbart, retired, and the *Kuratorium* found itself in the position to fill three vacancies. After a long, painstaking and most difficult search involving many applicants and interviews, the final selection fell on Dr. Abraham Klein to succeed Dr. Bamberger as *Rabbinischer Seminarlehrer* (rabbinical teacher), Leopold Anfaenger from the Würzburg Jewish school, who for some time had participated in the Seminary's practice teaching program, and Jakob Stoll, a teacher at the municipal Junior High School for girls *(Städtische Töchterschule)* in Nuremberg.[41] Stoll was hired as the principal teacher,[42] the *Seminar-Oberlehrer* (analogous to the position of Dean of Instruction), in which capacity he would direct the academic activities of the school. Rabbi Nathan Bamberger, as chairman of the *Kuratorium,* still remained its head *(Vorstand)*, paid daily visits and continued to teach some courses, but the day-by-day management was transferred to Stoll. Under him, *ILBA* entered into a new phase: he led the Seminary from limited provincial importance to nationwide recognition as the most significant Jewish teachers' training institution in Germany. Harmonizing his deep roots in Jewish ortho-

doxy with modern trends in pedagogy and science and translating his religious and philosophical ideals into pragmatic policies, he emerged as an innovative educator whose students, like himself, combined loyalty to their faith with the demands of an increasingly complex and difficult professional and political situation.

One of the first changes which Stoll effected in Würzburg was the designation of the local Jewish school as the official training school for the Seminary. Until then, Jewish teacher candidates had attended selected classes in the city's public schools as *Hospitanten* (outsiders) to observe the teaching of experienced instructors, study methodology and give practice lessons. With the government's approval, this could now be accomplished at the Jewish elementary school which was located in the vicinity of the Seminary. Included in this new arrangement was the religious school, which the Würzburg *Gemeinde* maintained in addition to the elementary school, for practice teaching in religious subjects. This religious school existed for the many Jewish children who attended the Würzburg public school system rather than the Jewish elementary school. Since religion was a mandatory subject in Bavaria, they had to report there for their lessons on Wednesday afternoon and Sunday morning.[43] Stoll spoke with great satisfaction of this "most important" innovation at the very beginning of his tenure at Würzburg.[44]

V

IN July, 1914, the Seminary celebrated its golden Jubilee, an occasion marked with a festive assembly attended by leading Bavarian Jews as well as dignitaries from the local, regional and State Governments. A special journal, the *Festschrift,* issued for this event contained, among other contributions, a concise chronicle of the origin and development of the Seminary and a long essay by Stoll which displayed great originality and his particular ability to present biblical narratives within the context of modern scientific findings.[45]

The manuscript of the journal had hardly reached the printer, when the first World War erupted. Amazingly, this cataclysmic event seemed to have exerted little impact on the life and work of the Seminary.[46] Only one of its five regular teachers (K. Hamburger) was drafted. Seven (of an average of 40) students reached conscription age during the war and went into military service. (In such cases, the Government permitted members of the fifth class to take an emergency final examination for this grade immediately; sixth class students were expected to return to school upon their discharge). Of the seven draftees from the Seminary, one was severely wounded, but could eventually resume his studies; the other six came back after the armistice. A number of younger students from the Seminary were periodically required to report for agricultural labor services *(landwirtschaftlicher Hilfsdienst)* but usually could return to their school work after harvest time. Students of preconscription age also participated in a new program of basic military exercises *(Wehrübung)* conducted by local units of the Bavarian State Militia *(Bayrischer Landsturm)*. The Seminary responded to the repeated war bond drives with large institutional subscriptions and by encouraging student participation with individual purchases as an expression of patriotism. As the war progressed, the Seminary encountered increasing difficulties caused by food and fuel shortages; to provide heat and light for classrooms and the dormitories and sufficient provisions for the kitchen became quite problematical but never led to a disruption of its work. War time shortages, however, forced the cancellation of the annual report in 1917. A combined account for the years of 1917 and 1918 appeared in November, 1918, shortly after the armistice. (Höchberg issued a report incorporating the last three war years, 1916 to 1918.) It included a long list of names of young Bavarian Jews who had fallen in the war and for whom special *Yahrzeit* memorials had been endowed. It also reported with great sorrow the untimely death of one Moses Oppenheimer, son of the cantor of Treuchtlingen, a fourth year student who had died of

natural causes during the fall vacations. This was the first incident of the death of an active Seminary student.[47] Otherwise, terse statistics indicate that, indeed, the Seminary had experienced many inconveniences during the war but no major interruptions of its activities and that it also had been able to maintain its fiscal health.

The war brought to the Seminary's satellite schools at Höchberg and Burgpreppach more serious dislocations. In Höchberg, four of the five full-time teachers joined the army[48] and were replaced by teachers who were called out of retirement or were classified as physically unfit. In 1916, Selig Steinhäuser, since 1913 director of the Höchberg school with the title of *Präparanden-Hauptlehrer,* was called to active duty; his temporary replacement, Eldod, had joined the faculty of Höchberg first in 1879 and had long been retired. A similar dismal situation existed in Burgpreppach which also lost four of its five regular teachers to war service, including the head of the school, Rabbi Cohen, who went into the army as a chaplain. Because of such severe personnel shortages and inadequate replacements, the two schools decided to combine classes for the duration of the war. By this arrangement, Höchberg took the introductory course *(Präparanden-Vorklasse)*, which was attended by eleven and twelve year old boys, and the third preparatory class of both schools; the first and second preparatory classes were taught in Burgpreppach.[49] In 1920, the two schools resumed their separate existence.

In March, 1919, the Seminary was jolted by the death of Rabbi Nathan Bamberger who had led the institution for over 40 years. With his passing the so-called "Bamberger Dynasty" came to an end. Rabbi Stein of Schweinfurt, a member of the *Kuratorium,* temporarily became the acting chairman of this body and Stoll assumed complete leadership of the school *(Schulleiter)*. He accepted the expansion of his administrative duties without a reduction of his teaching load and without additional remuneration. In 1920, Dr. Siegmund Hanover came to Würzburg as district rabbi. A year later the government confirmed

him as chairman of the *Kuratorium,* but aside from teaching (without pay) a course in *dinim,* he was not involved in the day-by-day operation of the Seminary as the two Bambergers had been; this remained the exclusive task of Stoll.

The structural change in the Seminary also affected the rabbinical teachers, as they were called, who taught Talmud and other advanced religious subjects. They henceforth were referred to as *Seminarrabbiner* and in this capacity became the spiritual leaders of the student body. These men had come to the Seminary usually soon after receiving their ordination and upon attaining their doctorate from a German university. They stayed for comparatively short times, leaving the Seminary to accept a call to a congregational pulpit for a wider range of activities than the Seminary could offer them. Thus, Dr. M. L. Bamberger went to Schoenlanke in Eastern Germany, his successor Dr. Abraham Klein became the Rabbi of Congregation Adas Yisroel in Nuremberg, Dr. Wohlgemut moved to Königsberg, and Dr. Feinberg took a position in Heilbronn. The next Seminary Rabbi, however, found in teaching his life's vocation. Dr. Jakob Neubauer, an outstanding talmudic and wordly scholar with a double doctorate in law and mathematics, taught at the Seminary from 1926 until 1933 when he accepted a professorship at the renowned Rabbinical seminary of Amsterdam. Caught by the Nazi invasion of Holland, he became a victim of the holocaust, succumbing in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp to typhoid fever shortly before its liberation in April, 1945.[50] Dr. Josef Unna took the rabbinical position at *IL-BA* after Rabbi Neubauer's departure. He emigrated to Eretz Israel after the spring semester in 1934. In September of that year, the 24 year old Rabbi Samson Raphael Weiss arrived from the Mir Yeshiva and immediately established himself as a most popular leader. In the summer of 1938 he left for the United States where he was able to build a new and distinguished career in the orthodox rabbinate. Rabbi Henry Carlebach, his brother-in-law, took over the Seminary post, as it turned out to be, for the final

four months of *ILBA*'s existence. During his tenure at *ILBA,* Rabbi Weiss took a one year leave of absence to complete work on his doctorate. Rabbi Siegfried (Ephraim) Offenberg from Berlin was chosen as his substitute for this period.

While the political upheavals which followed in the wake of the war and which were especially tumultuous in Bavaria had very little effect on the activities of the Seminary, the economic crisis of the early twenties brought it to the brink of extinction. The severe inflation that had begun toward the end of the war and grown in leaps and bounds led in 1923 to a complete collapse of the German currency.[51] The Seminary had come out of the war years in a sound financial condition. It had been able to pay off its mortgage and even to accumulate a reserve fund of almost RM 150,000. The inflation wiped out this account together with its holdings in securities and war bonds. The only asset left was the property at Bibrastrasse, assessed at a theoretical value of 140,000 Gold Mark, but now actually at an uncertain amount of worthless paper money, unacceptable as collateral for a loan.[52] The generosity of donors dried up and whatever contributions still arrived became rapidly inconsequential because of the daily deterioration of the money. The Seminary literally ran out of funds to finance even daily operations, let alone for the monthly payment of salaries and utility bills. Parents no longer could afford to keep their sons at the school. During the academic year of 1923/24 enrollment slumped to the incredibly small number of eight students. It seemed as if the Seminary no longer was fulfilling a useful function. The Prussian Jewish teachers seminaries of Hannover, Kassel and Münster succumbed to the economic catastrophe. That the Würzburg seminary survived and, eventually, regained its viability can be accredited largely to the untiring, tenacious efforts of Stoll. Giving up all his vacation time and even some of his teaching assignments, he took to the road, soliciting funds for his hard-pressed school in Germany and Switzerland whose solid currency, indeed, became a life-saving finan-

cial transfusion.[53] Stoll was especially successful in persuading the *Bayrischer Landesverband Israelitischer Gemeinden*[54] (Union of Bavarian Jewish Congregations), organized in 1921, to pledge an annual subsidy to the Seminary. (Eventually the Jewish state-wide organizations of Baden, Württemberg and—to a lesser extent—of Prussia also promised annual contributions.) This support was of vital importance for the continued existence of the institutions at Würzburg and Höchberg, where the preparatory school precariously weathered the financial calamity. But the school at Burgpreppach was forced to close. Since the end of the war, when the two preparatory schools resumed their separate existence, a keen rivalry for students arose between the two institutions, a competition that was wasteful, unnecessary and untenable. Between 1920 and 1924, Burgpreppach catered to an average of only 18 students; thus, it reluctantly dropped out as a preparatory school and continued only as a one-room elementary school.[55] Höchberg proved to be more resourceful. In 1920 the school resumed its work as a three-pronged institution, the *Präparanden-Anstalt,* and the *Bürger und Handelsschule,* again under the same administration and with the same faculty.[56] The two sections of the school not connected with the Seminary were attended (on average 65 to 70) by pupils from rural communities, referred to as *Landkinder,* who sought education beyond the elementary grades and especially a more intensive religious education, and by students from larger cities who for one reason or other did not succeed in their local middle and high schools.[57]

VI

DURING the years following the inflation (which finally came under control in early 1924 by a complete reorganization of the German monetary system), the Seminary experienced an astonishing growth from 18 students in 1925 to 55 in 1929. Two factors account for this development. Between 1924 and 1930 Germany enjoyed a period

of political stability and prosperity which exerted a beneficial influence on the Seminary. Of greater import, however, was a change in the system of teacher education that took place in Germany's largest state, Prussia, and a number of other states (Baden, Hesse, Saxony and Thuringia). Effective April, 1927 (the beginning of the school year had been shifted from Fall to Spring), the seminaries were replaced by university-level pedagogical academies *(Pädagogische Hochschulen)* which would accept only students with the *Abitur,* the baccalaureate diploma awarded after completion of a nine year high school and the passing of a battery of difficult examinations. The new regulations sounded the death knell for specifically Jewish teachers education in those states, and the two North German Jewish teachers seminaries of Berlin and Cologne, which had survived the inflation, had to close their doors. Since the new pedagogical academies offered no courses in religious education at all, Jewish students had to find other sources for this type of preparation. Hoping to play just such a role, the Cologne seminary reorganized as a religious teachers training institution under Rabbi Carlebach. With such a limited educational scope, however, it attracted few students; by 1932 there were a mere dozen (seven males and five females) left.[58] An attempt to divide the educational scope with Würzburg—Würzburg providing the elementary and Cologne the religious phase of education—was, of course, rejected by *ILBA* as being contradictory to the intention of its founder.[59] In 1936 the Cologne institution went out of existence.

The Seminary in Würzburg continued to work and prosper. The state of Bavaria which stuck to its traditional seminary system entered into reciprocal agreements with the other German states by which graduates from their various teacher training institutions could mutually be employed without limitations. Thus, as the only specifically Jewish seminary in Germany, *ILBA* occupied a virtually monopolistic position which accounted for the rapid enrollment growth. The Catholic-conservative government of Bavaria had been reluctant to replace the denomina-

tional teachers seminaries with "free" pedagogical academies; but it seemed a foregone conclusion that it could not long resist the modern trend in teacher training. In 1928, the state legislature *(Landtag)* authorized the Ministry of Education to draw up plans for such a reform. The projected design did not actually threaten the continued existence of the Seminary, although seminaries as such would no longer operate; it would, however, fundamentally change the structure and scope of *ILBA*. The original blueprint envisaged a gradual changeover, involving a time span of three years. Beginning with the school year 1929, the existing seminaries would be converted into so-called *Aufbau-Schulen* (literally: build-up schools), a type of senior high school with a six year program leading to the *Abitur* and, therewith, the eligibility to attend pedagogical academies which were to be opened in conjunction with the new type of schools.

It was in this area that the Seminary anticipated problems of a similar nature as had confronted it in 1886 and 1912. There would be no difficulty to reorganize the Seminary as an *Aufbau-Schule;* it possessed all the prerequisites for such a conversion. But could it build a religious teachers program into the intensive and concentrated curriculum of a six-year high school? Stoll felt that this could only be accomplished if the government permitted certain modifications—as it had done in the past—to leave room for religious education. He addressed a lengthy memorandum to this effect to the authorities.[60] This time, however, the government refused to accommodate. Additional teaching periods, as requested by *ILBA,* would not be granted, since the curriculum provided an extension of the weekly teaching schedule from 32 to 36 hours in order to accomplish in a six years' program the goal of the normal nine-grade high school. Any further increase would be counter-productive; it would either overtax the students or derogate the quality of the courses. In a personal interview with Stoll, a spokesman for the Ministry of Education also refused to permit *ILBA* to spread the *Aufbau-Schule* curriculum over a period of seven years;

the experimental nature of the new school type precluded any deviation from the prescribed norm.[61] On the other hand, the government would in no way interfere with the training of religious school teachers under the same administration and under the same roof, if need be, but not within the curricular framework of the *Aufbau-Schule.* The government would also accept a seventh year following the graduation from the *Aufbau-Schule* entirely devoted to religious education. This posed a dilemma for the Seminary. While the proposal assured the institution a strong role in the education of Jewish elementary teachers, it ominously threatened its function in the training of religious school teachers. Converted to an *Aufbau-Schule,* the (former) Seminary's responsibility would end with the granting of the *Abitur* diploma; it would have no control over the actual professional choice of its students, who could seek admission to a pedagogical academy or, if they preferred, to any university for other academic professions. To prevent such defections, Stoll proposed to offer generous scholarships to students who pledged to become elementary and religious school teachers for a specified number of years. Parents of these students would sign an agreement to refund all financial aid granted by either the school or other official Jewish sources in case the beneficiary did not honor his promise.

The second problem, the education of religious school teachers within the new setup, proved even more vexing. As stated above, *ILBA* rejected the Cologne seminary as a training school in religious subjects. Instead, the idea to organize a special *Kultusbeamtenschule* (a training school for cantors, religious school teachers and other congregational functionaries) as a parallel institution of the envisioned *Aufbau-Schule* gained support among many rabbis and prominent lay leaders in Bavaria. Stoll strongly opposed this concept. In a position paper[62] he enumerated the dangers that he perceived in such a plan. He warned that graduates of such a school would be excluded from the mandatory educational continuation program under supervision of the regional school authorities which led to

the important second state examination (without which no teacher could attain a tenured position). Lacking this important phase of guided growth, the mere-religious school teacher *("Nur-Religionslehrer")* would remain a professional diletant *("Stümper")*. Stoll pointed out that it had been just this pedagogical ineptitude among religious school teachers that had given the impetus for the founding of the Seminary. Furthermore, Stoll asked, what kind of student would choose to attend a *Beamtenschule* instead of the *Aufbau-Schule* and the pedagogical academy and enter into economically and socially less rewarding careers in small rural congregations, because "neither large nor medium-sized communities would want to employ teachers with such limited educational backgrounds."[63] He feared that mostly students of low ability *("geistig arme")* and proven failures *("gescheiterte Existenzen")* would seek admission to the *Beamtenschule,* which further tended to depress the academic caliber of such a school. Stoll supported his contention with the result of an unofficial poll taken in two consecutive years at Höchberg and the Seminary, involving about 100 students in each case. They were asked: "Would you prefer a two-year extension of studies at a pedagogical academy leading to an elementary teaching certificate, or would you prefer only a religious school teacher diploma earned on the basis of the present six-year program." Not a single student, Stoll reported, opted for the "religious teacher only" plan.[64] He suggested that the Seminary be converted into the new type *Aufbau-Schule* and that in conjunction with this institution a privately financed, state-supervised Jewish pedagogical academy be established with a strong program in Jewish studies. Its graduates would be capable to perform any educational and congregational function within the Jewish community. As events turned out, the anxieties were groundless, the planning and controversy in vain. First, the Bavarian legislature repeatedly postponed the implementation of the educational reforms because of a controversy about the part religious education should play in the curriculum

of the academies and also the financial burden it would place on the state budget. When finally the first *Hochschule für Lehrerbildung* (Higher Institute for Teacher Training), as the academy was called, opened in Würzburg in November, 1936,[65] Jewish teacher education had become of little concern to the Bavarian government.

VII

THE prospect of imposed changes by reforms in teacher training which faced the Seminary brought the realization that the premises at Bibrastrasse had become obsolete and inadequate for a widened scope of activities. No major improvements had been undertaken since the original renovations in 1884 except for the addition of a larger chapel in 1927. It lacked the facilities required for a modern high school. With greater emphasis on science education since the end of the war, it needed a larger and better equipped laboratory as well as a larger gymnasium, a playing field, an auditorium, more functional music and individual practice rooms and more dormitory space. In addition, the Seminary's capacity to accept more students has reached once again its limit. Projections for the near future indicated that the school's population might double within a few years.[66] Also, the time had arrived when the Seminary had to consider the admission of female students who had no longer access to a Jewish teacher training institution since the closing of the Northern German seminaries.

Realistically assessing the challenges of new demands and expectations, the Seminary began to plan for the future and to adjust to modern trends without difficulty and without impairment of its strict traditional orientation.

This spirit of innovation led to the establishment of a student government, variously called *Schülerschaft* or *Schülerrat*. Organized after lengthy discussions in September, 1928, by Walter Riesenfeld, it elicited great enthusiasm and excitement with its proclaimed aim of student involvement in the improvement of standards of be-

havior and academic achievement. "We demanded—and received—rights, and now it is incumbent upon us to accept duties and obligations, since the Seminary is not only our school but also our home," wrote Abraham Bergmann, one of the student organization's founders. "Young people will respond more readily to directions and instructions from their peers than from their elders. The greater the age difference and the educational gap *(Bildungsunterschied),* the more difficult it becomes to gain understanding and cooperation."[67] The most active section of the *Schülerschaft* was the student court that dealt with simple infractions of discipline and codes of behavior. It was authorized to hand down penalties in the form of a graduated loss of leave privileges *(Ausgehverbot).* According to Richard Seif, one of the "judges," most cases before the "court" involved tardiness for religious services, especially for Shacharit. Arriving after *Baruch she'omar* earned one demerit *("Strich auf der schwarzen Liste"),* after the *Pesukei de Simra,* it would bring two demerits; for missing *Keriat Shemah,* the culprit could be restricted to the premises for a whole week. The system seemed to have worked; we are told that punctuality dramatically improved. In addition to operating the disciplinary court, the *Schülerschaft* made valuable contributions to extra-curricular activities in the Seminary. It organized and coordinated *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* (literally: work- communities or workshops), founded and led by Wolf Berlinger. There was a music club which gave recitals, a literary club, art club and others. The *Schülerschaft* also supervised the branches of Jewish Youth organizations which functioned at the Seminary. The two groups with the largest following were the *Brit Chalutzim Datijim* (BACHAD) of the Mizrachi movement and the *Noar Agudati,* the youth organization of the Agudat Yisrael.[68] And finally, the peer-counseling and tutorial service, a concept well ahead of its time, helped students who needed emotional guidance or assistance in academic work. The *Schülerschaft* flourished during the last years of the Seminary's residency at the Bibrastrasse

but declined, and finally went out of existence, as the founders graduated and the Seminary moved to a new location.

In 1928 also, the *Kuratorium* passed a resolution to admit girls to the Seminary in spite of certain rabbinical reservations.[69] Höchberg took a similar step. However, the reluctance of the Bavarian government to agree to this innovation held up the implementation of the measure for almost two years. Teacher training in Bavaria was strictly segregated by sex, and the leading Bavarian Peoples Party was opposed to a relaxation of this standard. It finally made a concession for *ILBA* and Höchberg, and thus, in May 1930, the first female students[70] were admitted to the third class in Höchberg and a year later to the fourth Seminary class in Würzburg. From then on, co-education was accepted as a matter of course at the Seminary.

Meanwhile, plans for the relocation of the Seminary progressed. The *Kuratorium* had decided that no existing building could serve the envisioned purpose of the institution and, therefore, searched for a construction site. In 1929 an available plot of about 40 acres (4,000 square meters) was located outside the city in the sparsely populated Frauenland district along the Sandbergerstrasse. It included a spacious building suitable for housing the superintendent *(Hausmeister)* and the provisioner *(Speisemeister)* as well as the female employees of the school. The sales price of RM 86,000 was deemed acceptable. When the executive committee of the Bavarian *Landesverband* promised a most generous subsidy of RM 200,000, the *Kuratorium* proceeded with its ambitious plans. The original design called for a modern school building that could easily house the projected *Aufbau-Schule,* containing laboratories, art and music rooms, a large auditorium and a synagogue; there would be separate buildings for dormitories, kitchen and mess halls and a gymnasium; there was also space for a standard-size soccer field. The property was acquired and a reputable local architect was commissioned to submit blueprints and a scale model. A great disappointment, however, soon

dampened the elation. The General Assembly of the *Landesverband* which met later that year in Aschaffenburg greatly admired the exhibited model and the blueprints but found the design much too expensive. It cut down the promised subsidy to a mere RM 25,000 but granted an interest-free building loan of RM 50,000. Even this reduced support was made contingent on the unification of the Höchberg preparatory school with the Seminary on the new premises.

The parsimonious attitude of the *Landesverband* compelled the *Kuratorium* to proceed with the construction on a much less ambitious basis. The plans for separate dormitories, synagogue and gymnasium were scrapped. The necessity of moving the kitchen and the mess halls into the school building pre-empted much room that had been designed for other features. Thus, the new school was constructed with a number of modifications. There was no space for the synagogue and an auditorium; the large art room *(Zeichensaal)* and the study hall had to serve for these purposes. The Bibrastrasse building was kept as a dormitory for male students, thus depriving the Seminary of additional building funds from the projected sale of this property. The problem of providing facilities for physical education was solved when the district government offered the gymnasium of the State-School for the Deaf, located near Sandbergerstrasse, for the use of *ILBA* students.

Not surprisingly, the merger of the Höchberg and Würzburg schools met with determined opposition on the part of the Höchberg *Kuratorium.* The difficult issue, aside from the reluctance to accept a loss of identity, were the by-laws governing the Lazarus-Ottensoser-Foundation which assigned the trusteeship over its funds to the preparatory school in perpetuity and did not foresee the eventuality of the school's closing. Rabbi Rafael Breuer of Aschaffenburg, an influential member of the Höchberg *Kuratorium,* cited halachic reasons why the transfer of proceeds from the foundation to another institution would violate posthumously the will of the endowers. Eventual-

ly, however, the Ottensoser-foundation was transferred to Würzburg together with all other assets of the school, without resolution of the halachic dispute. The reason that prompted the settlement was the government's condemnation of the Höchberg facilities, upon recommendation of the district physician, as inadequate and unhygienic; it would not permit their further use without extensive renovations which the school could not afford. Also, Höchberg had not been a "little Frankfurt" for a long time. It no longer possessed a viable congregation; in fact, only four Jewish families were left in 1930, and in three of these the man of the household was over 70 years of age.

The *Kuratorium* bowed to the inevitable and voted the merger with the Seminary.[71] After the move of the preparatory section of the school, the two other divisions closed because the *Landesverband* stopped its subsidies, and it proved impossible to raise the necessary funds from other sources. The remaining teaching staff of the Höchberg school found employment at the Seminary, with Selig Steinhäuser as assistant to the Director.

The closing of the Höchberg school revived the Talmud-Torah in Burgpreppach as a *Bürgerschule* under the leadership of Rabbi Saul Munk. It did not become a preparatory school for the Seminary, but attempted—after 1933—to come to such an accommodation with the Cologne seminary. This did not materialize because the institution in Cologne could admit only students with the *Abitur*. The Burgpreppach school experienced a brief period of prosperity during the early Nazi period when many Jewish children were withdrawn from "Aryan" schools and sent there. Rabbi Munk was especially active in seeking apprentice and Hachsharah positions for his students to prepare them for emigration. At one time he tried to have the entire school relocated to Eretz Israel as a combined Talmud-Torah and agricultural training school. This attempt failed because the British mandate authorities would not admit Jewish children outside the small quota. During the Spring vacations of 1938, the Nazis closed the school without warning, although the elemen-

tary school, with which the *Bürgerschule* was connected, could continue as a one-room school.[72] The Würzburg seminary attempted to take over the Burgpreppach memorial endowment, the *Grabfeld Stiftung,*[73] but it eventually was transferred to the Jewish orphanage in Nuremberg.

In June, 1931, the new building of the Seminary was officially dedicated. It had been in operation actually since April, the beginning of the academic year. Stoll reported this as a major event in the life of the Seminary, witnessed by representatives from the state, district and municipal governments, the heads of the other Würzburg institutions of higher learning and leaders of the Bavarian and Württemberg Jewish state organizations.[74] In spite of sharp retrenchments from the original plan, the expenditure for the new building and the construction of the soccer field still amounted to RM 300,000. The Seminary had used up its entire reserve fund in this venture but—as Stoll proudly stated—aside from the interest-free loan from the *Landesverband,* no other debt existed.[75]

The new and large quarters of the school and the fact that the entire Bibrastrasse building could now be used as dormitory, permitted the Seminary to accept more students. A growing number of these students came from high schools, usually with the intermediate maturity diploma (*Mittlere Reifezeugniss,* often called by the obsolete term *"Einjährige"*) which enabled them to enter the fourth class. (If their Hebrew training was insufficient, they had to enter the third class.) A few had passed their *Abitur;* in that case they could either enter the fifth class or take the difficult qualifying examination in religious subjects, including Talmud, and Psychology, which would admit them to the final seminary class. In this respect the Seminary approximated the structure and operation of a pedagogical academy.

The expansion brought few changes in the composition of the faculty. Most full-time *"Präparanden"* teachers became part of the Seminary's instructional staff when the

two schools merged. (Emanuel Eldod retired and Julius Roberg accepted a position in Thüngen and later transferred to the Jewish elementary school in Würzburg.) In addition, the Seminary acquired full-time teachers for Music (Anton Lang) and Art (Baron Ernst von Manstein),[76] subjects which until then had been taught by members of the Würzburg high schools. It is one of the ironies of history that the Seminary reached this peak of recognition and educational status at a time when general conditions were at work to promote the forces which would eventually lead to its destruction. Germany was writhing in the throes of a world-wide depression. While this calamity had little material effect on the Seminary (Stoll in his account does not refer to it at all), it contributed to a further erosion of an already weakened foundation of the Weimar democracy. On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler received the call to form a government. The Third Reich began.

VIII

THE Seminary soon felt the impact of anti-Semitic measures. When the new term opened in Spring 1933, the school authorities informed the Seminary that permission to use the gymnasium of the School for the Deaf would be withdrawn and that it would have to make other arrangements. A similar notification went to the Jewish elementary school and to the two Jewish athletic clubs *(Bar Kochba* and *Schild)* which used municipal facilities.[77] The *Kuratorium* saw no other solution than to build a gymnasium which had been eliminated from the original plan for financial reasons. The expenditures (RM 34,000) were held low because the Seminary owned the building grounds—the site that had originally been designated for this purpose—and because its students performed a major part of the construction work.[78] The gymnasium was completed early in 1934. It was an attractive wooden structure not only used by the Seminary, the Jewish elementary school and the Jewish Athletic clubs, but also as an auditorium for cultural presentations by the *Kulturbund*

(cultural league) after Jews were banned from theaters and music halls. During vacation time, the Seminary made the facility available as a youth hostel for Jewish hikers. It also hosted several regional teacher conferences and educational workshops.

In Spring, 1933, the Seminary was exposed to a financial crisis which once again threatened its life, paradoxically at a time when the general Jewish community in Germany came to rely more than ever before on the work of the institution. All state governments stopped their financial contributions to the various Jewish state organizations. As a result, the Bavarian *Landesverband* felt compelled to reduce its annual subsidy to *ILBA* from RM 30,000 to 14,000.[79] This decrease may appear on the surface as comparatively moderate, but with the Seminary's stringent budget of RM 65,000 the loss of income was nothing less than catastrophical. In order to keep the school functioning, the *Kuratorium* instituted harsh emergency measures. Salaries, until then based on the current state schedules and constituting the Seminary's largest expenditure, were reduced on a sliding scale from twelve percent for non-instructional personnel to twenty-seven percent for the director of the school. The Seminary had to discontinue its traditional free or partial scholarship policy and was forced to impose an annual tuition fee of RM 200 in addition to charges for room and board. (The Seminary, however, was very helpful in arranging stipends for needy students). In spite of these austere measures, the budget could not be balanced, and Stoll again had to travel widely to raise enough money for the school's basic needs.[80] (In this effort, he was assisted by Mr. Massenbacher, major domo and husband of the Seminary's cook.) For almost a year the Seminary continued on this precarious basis until the *Reichsvertretung*[81] brought welcome relief with the grant of an annual subsidy of RM 18,000. With its financial resources thus secured again, the school could concentrate on the overwhelming challenge which national-socialist policies posed for Jews and Jewish institutions in Germany. For the

Seminary the new situation dictated a shift of priorities from the cantor's pulpit to the classroom desk. "The Jewish teacher of the future," Stoll wrote, "must be the elementary school teacher."[82]

The extent of the task that confronted the Seminary can best be appreciated by a look at the situation of Jewish education in general at the beginning of the Nazi era. Until the Nazi takeover of power, *ILBA* had catered, so to speak, to a known market. In a ponderous, almost leisurely pace, it could train a sufficient number of cantors and teachers to fill vacancies in existing positions. There were hardly any entirely new openings. Actually, the demand for Jewish teachers was slowly ebbing, as Jewish demography and attitude in Germany changed. At the end of the war, there were about 200 Jewish schools in Gemany with a total enrollment of approximately 20,000 students.[83] In 1933, when the Nazi government came to power, only 150 schools were left with 13,000 students.[84] Two developments account for this decline. In line with a general drop in the German birth rate following the war, the Jewish population also showed a marked decline. Furthermore, there was a steady movement of Jews from villages and small towns, which often had maintained Jewish elementary schools, to larger cities where Jewish children would attend municipal schools, especially since comparatively few *Grosstädte* (cities with a population of over 100,000) had Jewish schools. In fact, only twelve of the 150 Jewish schools listed in 1933 were located in large cities.[85] And even in those places, the majority of Jewish pupils attended non-Jewish schools or only their first four grades before transferring to a local high school. Jewish secondary schools—with the exception of the liberal oriented Philantropin in Frankfurt and the Loewenberg school in Hamburg—functioned under the aegis of the ultra-orthodox Agudat Yisrael.[86] Zionist organizations were usually the founders of eight-grade elementary schools like the Theodor Herzl school in Berlin which was instituted by the Zionist *"Jüdischer Schulverein"* (Jewish school association). Zionists, however, represented a

numerically inconsequential—though culturally significant—minority among German Jews, most of whom thought of themselves as Germans of Jewish faith and belonged to the *Centralverein* (Central Association of German Citizens of Mosaic Faith) which propagated this view. For them, this concept of a Jewish school evoked the unflattering image of the *"Judenschule,"* with the attribution of noise, disorderliness and parochialism; they considered it a retrogression into the dismal era of segregation and humiliation. The bulk of Jews in Germany had advanced from rural backwardness to urban sophistication, from the lower social and economic strata to the comfortable bourgeoisie and even the wealthy classes, from a religion-centered way of life to secular acculturation. A Jewish school seemed a step in the wrong direction.

In a very short time, however, the Hitler regime converted these scoffers into strong supporters. While there were no exclusionary laws that would bar Jewish pupils from German schools, it soon became obvious that they could no longer attend them without suffering psychological and often physical harm. The schools, for a long time a hot-bed for Hitlerite agitation, became quickly nazified, *"gleichgeschaltet"* in the idiom of those days. This process was carried out quickly and with a minimum of effort. In 1933, the Easter vacation was extended by two weeks; when the schools reopened, all anti-Nazi personnel and many "neutrals" had been removed, especially those in administrative positions, and had been replaced by activists. Jewish students became the helpless victims of discrimination and prejudice by teachers and abuse and violence by fellow students. Yet the law of compulsory education still applied to Jews.[87] Jewish leadership came to the inescapable conclusion that education of Jewish children could only be carried out in Jewish schools. They undertook to expand them where they existed and to organize them where none had been before.[88]

There were usually only minor difficulties in providing the physical facilities for this; the problem of finding

enough qualified teachers involved greater complexities. A number of Jewish teachers became available who had been forced out of German public schools in April, 1933, by the "Law for the Institution of Professionalism," the euphemistic title for a decree designed to eliminate Jews and politically unreliable "Aryans" from public service.[89] Its article III, however, specifically permitted Jewish teachers' employment in Jewish schools, and almost all of them quickly found positions as principals or classroom instructors. But this did not quite solve the problem of teacher procurement. To begin with, a rather insignificant number (approximately 300) of Jewish teachers had been employed in the German public school system, and especially few at the elementary level. Even during the brief era of the Weimar Republic, when many policy-making officials in the state ministries of education had espoused liberal philosophies (which was not the case in conservative Bavaria), Jews found employment barriers on the local level. Their best opportunities existed in secondary schools in large cities.

Then there was the question of their suitability for a transfer to the new type of Jewish elementary schools. Before the Hitler regime, Jewish schools had been "German schools for Jewish children;"[90] now Jewish schools directed their educational thrust toward a more positive position regarding Jewish values. Every subject had to be taught from a Jewish point of view and "the total education of Jewish children had to be deeply rooted in Jewish life and knowledge *(Leben und Wirken)*."[91] Even before the establishment of the Reichvertretung, the *Zentralstelle für Erziehungsfragen der Landesverbände* (Central Office for Educational Questions of the *Landesverbände*), the precursor of the former's education department, decided in June, 1933, to "maintain all Jewish educational institutions in Germany and to intensify *(vertiefen)* their Jewish spirit according to the demands of the hour."[92] Teachers coming from German public schools were in most cases the product of the German university system, exponents of progressive education, completely assimilated and rooted

in German culture, often unreligious and alienated from Judaism. They simply were teachers who happened to be Jewish by accident of birth. They could bring to the Jewish classrooms their consummate pedagogical skill and proficiency in subject areas, but they had little to contribute to the demand for the "intensification of the Jewish spirit." It was observed that pupils transferring from German schools adjusted to the new educational environment with much greater facility than these teachers did.[93] Understandably, Zionist and orthodox circles opposed the blanket acceptance of dismissed teachers into Jewish schools. An orthodox spokesman cautioned that "we can only use teachers *(Lehrkräfte)* who are able to impart instruction permeated *(durchdrungen)* by knowledge of Judaism and Jewish spirit *(Geist)* . . . We reject proposals . . . to utilize dismissed high school teachers *(abgebaute Studienräte)*." He submitted that the Würzburg seminary was the only institution left in Germany at that point which could produce teachers with the requisite qualifications."[94] But was the Seminary capable to train fast enough a sufficient number of teachers to respond to the educational emergency of the Jewish community in Germany?[95]

Various suggestions came under consideration. The *Kuratorium* decided to discontinue a mandatory postgraduate year *(Fortbildungskurs)* for additional Jewish studies and to release students into the teaching practice after the sixth year. In its place, the Seminary considered a retraining course *(Umschulungskurs)* for experienced Jewish teachers who had been forced out of the German schools to give them a thorough foundation in the theory and practice of traditional Judaism. Since the course envisioned the study of religious subjects on the scope and intensity of the regular curriculum and since presumably almost all prospective participants would lack more than, at best, a rudimentary knowledge of Judaism, it was calculated to cover a period of two or three years. Not surprisingly, there were so few applications that the course never materialized. Under the circumstances, the well-in-

tentioned plan was somewhat unrealistic. Potential candidates for this projected course were usually persons of—or approaching—middle age, in most cases men with family responsibilities who did not have the financial resources to attend such a lengthy retraining course on a full-time basis.[96]

Still, the basic idea of the project had its merits. Stoll suggested to offer a course similar in content and duration to Jewish high school graduates *(Abiturienten)* and students who were forced out of German universities.[97] Under this concept, applicants, after careful screening of their academic records, would be admitted to the fifth-year level without further entrance requirements. (Those who could pass the examination in Religion and pedagogical subjects could, of course, enter immediately into the last class). A special *Übergangskurs* (transition course) would be organized where they would receive intensive instruction in religious subjects of "at least 22 periods per week, supplemented by private studies."[98] They would join the parallel fifth class for the mandatory subjects of Psychology, Music and Physical Education. Originally, the Seminary had planned to extend the religious program of the *Ü-Kurs* (as the *Übergangskurs* came to be known) over a period of two years. However, the pressing demand for teachers to staff the fast increasing number of Jewish schools persuaded *ILBA*'s leadership to condense the course to only one year.

Beginning in February 1934, advertisements appeared in the Jewish press in Germany inviting qualified students to apply for this two-year program. It is no longer known how many applicants responded to the advertisement, but the number must have been considerable—Stoll speaks of a "rush" *(Andrang)*[99]—because this was the first year when virtually no Jewish *Abiturient* was admitted to a German university, and rigid currency restrictions made studying at foreign universities impossible for most. While under normal circumstances very few of the high school graduates would have chosen the teaching profession, the Seminary at least offered an opportunity of continuing

education in Germany and upon completion excellent prospects for employment in the quickly expanding Jewish school system.

In April, the *Ü-Kurs* opened with 28 students (with a great variety in social and religious backgrounds), swelling the Seminary's enrollment to its capacity of 120. Probably not more than half a dozen came from orthodox homes and possessed a fair knowledge of Hebrew and *Halacha;* most of the others had grown up in liberal or assimilated surroundings. A few even professed outspoken leftist tendencies and had belonged to radical youth organizations before Hitler's rise to power. Their knowledge of religious matters was in most cases limited to an acquaintance with the Hebrew alphabet and ability to read. To them the words of Rabbi Saul Munk of Burgpreppach applied, that they brought with them "a healthy *amhoratzus* (ignorance of things religious)."[100] This lack of familiarity with halachic prescriptions and proscriptions led to some retrospectively amusing situations, such as the introduction to a depilatory paste for shaving, demonstrated by the dormitory supervisor Emanuel Stolberg, who finally wore more of this sulphurous substance on his dark-blue Shabbat suit than some of us did on our faces. On the first Friday at the Seminary, the *Ü-Kurs* members received a brief but intensive Shabbat observance lecture about such prohibitions as bathing and the use of soap, combs, hair brushes and toothbrushes, which elicited groans of disbelief and dismay from the novices. Yet adjustment proceeded quickly and with a minimum of complications. The *Übergangskurs,* the transition course, was more than a passage from the high school to the final seminary class; it became for the new students a transition into an entirely different lifestyle. This process was facilitated by the tolerant attitude and understanding of a dedicated faculty and the acceptance, cooperation and warmth of established students whose help was especially valuable in their leading participation in extra-curricular study groups. Special merit for this smooth metamorphosis fell to the new Seminary rabbi, Dr. Samson Raphael Weiss. Almost a

contemporary of the older seminarians, trained at Eastern Yeshivot and Western universities, imbued with a precious sense of humor, enthusiastic and deeply committed to his task, he combined charisma with profound scholarship and superb articulation; a man to be admired, adored and emulated.

Only two *Ü-kurs* students found life at the Würzburg seminary too restrictive and withdrew from the class after six weeks. They were both from Berlin and chose to enter the new Jewish teachers seminary there. (This institution under the leadership of Dr. Fritz Bamberger had opened in April 1934. It had a liberal orientation and functioned in conjunction with the Society for the Promotion of Judaism *(Gesellschaft zur Förderung des Judentums).* Organized according to the pattern of the pedagogical academies, it accepted only *Abiturienten* as students. During its brief lifespan—1934 to 1938—it graudated 60 elementary teachers.)[101] The 26 remaining *Ü-Kurs* students successfully completed the transition course and moved on to the final grade, producing in March 1936 the largest graduation class (42) in the history of the Seminary. With the exception of a few who either emigrated or continued their education at a Yeshiva, all found teaching positions almost immediately; in fact, many had been hired before their graduation. Encouraged by the great success of the experiment, which originally had its doubters and detractors, the Seminary incorporated a transition course into its program for the rest of its existence. Increasingly fewer students, however, enrolled in this course, since very few Jewish pupils were able to complete their nine-year high school programs.

The year 1936 brought several months of great anxiety to *ILBA*. The Bavarian government finally began to phase out the teachers seminaries and to replace them with pedagogical academies as they existed in the rest of Germany for over a decade. The Seminary inquired whether the new regulation applied to it and whether it should institute the change-over. For several months there was no answer, and the State Ministry of Education in Munich merely report-

ed that the matter was out of its hands. The Seminary continued with its traditional program but hovered nervously in limbo, facing three possible decisions affecting its future: to participate in the conversion, continue in its present way or close. Finally, a negative answer arrived, which did little to relieve the apprehension: the restructuring of Bavarian teacher training institutions did not apply to *ILBA*. Stoll then learned confidentially that the long delay in answering his quest for information was caused by its referral to the federal Ministry of Education in Berlin since a policy of national importance *("staatspolitisch")* was involved. The Bavarian authorities had forwarded the Seminary's inquiry with a positive recommendation, but Berlin overruled Munich. The reason was, according to Stoll's confidential informant, that the new pedagogical academies were designed to train teachers for military leadership.[102] Stoll found confirmation for this ulterior assignment in two facts. Contrary to established practices no syllabi were published and, according to press notices, distinguished Hitler youth leaders were eligible for admission to these institutions even if they lacked the educational prerequisites. At his visit to the Ministry of Education, Stoll received first oral and finally written assurance that the Seminary was authorized to continue with its functions in its usual form.[103] *("Behördlicherseits besteht keine Einwendung dagegen, wenn die Anstalt die Ausbildung ihrer Bewerber in der bisherigen Form fortsetzt.")*

Thus assured of its future role in the education of Jewish teachers, somewhat sheltered and shielded from attacks and indignities which German Jews increasingly suffered, encouraged and supported by well-meaning officials in the Bavarian Ministry of Education,[104] the Seminary bent to its task. Not only were there close to 45,000 Jewish children who needed Jewish schools and Jewish teachers, but they had to be trained for a new life outside Germany and outside their normal educational expectations. The anti-Semitic "Nuremberg Laws" of September 1935[105] had officially deprived the Jews of their Ger-

man citizenship and reduced them to the status of rightless aliens *(Reichsangehörige* instead of *Reichsbürger)*; and although the official commentary to these laws spoke of a "tolerable co-existence of both peoples,"[106] there would be no life for Jews in Germany. Jewish schools, and therewith Jewish teacher training, had to focus their aims on preparation for emigration. *"Umschulung"* and *"Umschichtung"* became the key concepts, aiming—in the meaning of these two words—at a change from academic professions to agriculture and handicrafts. Most "teacher-wanted" ads specifically called for teachers with such practical skills and the ability to teach foreign languages, especially Ivrit, and *"Palästinakunde"* (study of Palestine). In spite of Britain's exclusionary immigration policy, many young Jews hoped to settle there and, therefore, prepare for *aliyah*. Ivrit had long been a mandatory subject at the Seminary, and to give graduating students a first-hand knowledge of Eretz Israel and its people, the Seminary sponsored a six-week study trip in the Spring of 1935 which would help them later to meet their students' needs in this phase of preparation.[107] In a realistic reassessment of the immigration possibilities, the Seminary in 1937 added English and Spanish to its index of mandatory subjects—at the same time demoting the study of French to an elective—as the destination of most emigrants would be English and Spanish speaking countries. Since 1937, its advertisements in the Jewish press emphasized these curricular modifications.

Also, since 1937—first appearing in the regular springtime advertisements to solicit applicants and subsequently on letterheads—the name of the institution was changed from *"Israelitische"* to *"Jüdische"* (Jewish) *Lehrerbildungs Anstalt,* although in the rare cases where they appeared, the initials *"ILBA"* were maintained. No reason for this alteration was anywhere articulated, but it may be assumed that the change was imposed by the government in compliance with the accepted Nazi terminology which used only the designative words *Jude* or *jüdisch*. In 1938, advertisements and letterheads added the word "private"

to the Seminary's name, obviously indicating with this adjective the—by then—unique position of the teacher training institution as the sole survivor of the old seminary system. Still, the government continued to exercise its control over the school. Thus, we read that in March, 1938, "twenty young ladies and gentlemen passed their final examinations under government supervison *(unter behördlicher Aufsicht)*"[108] and are informed that all found immediate employment. Obviously, the demand for Jewish teachers had not abated. In fact, many positions became vacant due to emigration of teachers.

While the Seminary reaped satisfaction from the acclaim for its graduates, it felt great concern about their professional progress. Unlike the present practice in the United States, where teachers usually attain tenure of office after a probationary period of three years, teachers in Germany were subject to an official continuation obligation *(amtliche Fortbildungspflicht)* involving at least four years. Under this system, they entered their first teaching assignments as "teacher candidates" *(Schulamtsanwärter)* and performed their duties under the close scrutiny of a regional administrator (titled *Schulrat* in Prussia and *Bezirksoberlehrer* in Bavaria). During this probationary period, teachers received monthly classroom visits by their supervisor; they had to attend five educational seminars a year where they were expected to give written and oral evidence of professional growth and to present practice lessons before an audience of critical peers. Every year they had to submit a research paper of at least 3,000 words and finally, if they had satisfied all these requirements, take a second comprehensive state examination *(Anstellungsprüfung)*. Only then would tenure be granted to them and they became full-fledged *Beamte* (officials).

Although no law excluded Jewish probationary teachers from completing this second phase of professional education during the Nazi regime, it became practically impossible for them to attain this goal. Very few administrators would accept supervisory responsibility because they refused to enter a Jewish school for the obser-

vation of candidates. In August, 1933, the Bavarian Minister of Education limited eligibility for the continuation phase to graduates of *ILBA,* which eliminated those with credentials from Cologne and—later—Berlin. Other applicants were rejected because the school in which they taught was considered too small, as happened to the incumbent teacher of the Burgpreppach school. There seemed to have been no definite pattern; it appears that acceptance or rejection depended entirely on the attitude of the regional school authorities.[109] Whatever the policies were, there is no known case of a Jewish probationary teacher receiving tenure under the Nazi regime. The de facto exclusion, however, did not become official until November, 1938, when a directive from the federal Ministry of Education eliminated Jews, even theoretically, from this program.[110] They were permitted to function as employees of Jewish communities, in the official jargon as *"Angestellte"* or *"Bedienstete"* rather than *"Beamte* (officials)." Such complications and problems, however, did not distract the Seminary from its immediate priority of supplying critically needed teachers, and it concentrated on this immediate task seemingly secure and unworried.

IX

DISASTER struck suddenly with the destructive force of a tornado. Strange as it may seem, there were no forewarnings. On the contrary, in early summer, 1938, an official of the Bavarian Ministry of Education *(Referent für Lehrerbildung)* intimated to Stoll that in his view the time had now come for *ILBA*'s reorganization into a six-year *Aufbauschule* with a superstructure of a two-year pedagogical academy to be added later. He instructed Stoll to proceed with arrangements immediately and to submit plans as soon as feasible.[111] In September, 1938, Stoll forwarded his recommendations with the optimistic expectation that they would be basically accepted. The official in the ministry had emphasized the importance of Jewish teacher training and indicated that the minister

himself shared this view. *ILBA* appeared to have arrived at its pinnacle.

On Thursday, November 10, 1938, while awaiting a decision from Munich, the Seminary ceased to exist, a victim of the *Kristallnacht* that followed the shooting of a German embassy official in Paris by a desperate 17 year old Jewish boy.

No one was prepared for the extent and violence of the obviously well organized retaliation against the entire Jewish community in Germany. In 1935, the assassination of a German Nazi leader in Switzerland, one William Gustloff, by the Yugoslav Jewish student David Frankfurter elicited little more than propagandistic agitation, although the ominous slogan *"Aus dem Blut wächst die Saat"* (from the blood rises the seed) may then not have been appreciated as a warning. No direr repercussions were anticipated from the new incident.

At *ILBA* it was examination time. As was the custom, the Seminary had scheduled an excursion day *(Wandertag)* prior to the tests to alleviate the strain and tension. Thus, on Tuesday, November 8, one day after the shooting at the Paris embassy—but prior to the death of the victim—the students spent an enjoyable and relaxing day in the lovely Franconian countryside before immersing themselves in their studies again.[112] For the following day the regular class schedule had been cancelled to give students the opportunity to concentrate on their reviewing. Everything seemed to be routine and tranquil at the Seminary, except that some students received some baffling and disquieting responses when they telephoned home; but there was nothing specific, no personal involvement, merely hearsay.[113]

At half past three in the morning of Thursday, November 10, the boys in the Bibrastrasse dormitory were awakened by the crash of splintering wood and glass, as a mob of Hitler Youths—many identified as students of the nearby pedagogical academy—broke down the heavy oaken entrance gate and stormed upstairs howling and screaming to begin the systematic destruction of furniture and fixtures. The terrified boys who feared for their lives were

warned, "This time the furniture—next time you." Stolberg, the supervisor of the dormitory, naively called the police only to be told that they were understaffed at the time and unable to interfere. A short while later the police did arrive—to arrest Mr. Stolberg and Sip Rothschild, a recent *ILBA* graduate and then its physical education instructor, who occupied a room in the dormitory. Afterwards, the students huddled in the Stolberg living room where Mrs. Stolberg served them tea at candle light because the hoodlums had smashed all lights in the apartment. They still believed that the attack on Bibrastrasse was an isolated incident but wondered about the fate of the school building in the Sandbergerstrasse. They decided to send two teams of two boys each to find out, and one of these succeeded to reach the school where they witnessed the vandals at work. Soon afterward the police returned to the Bibrastrasse and took all the boys into custody. They marched them through a threatening, cursing crowd to the nearby prison. "We all breathed a sigh of relief when the prison gates closed behind us," wrote Michael Rosenberg. There they were to meet the entire *ILBA* faculty including the severely handicapped Mr. Hirnheimer.

After the dormitory had been evacuated, looters ran into the deserted building and carried off blankets, sheets, clothing and luggage.

Toward five o'clock that morning, a Gestapo official took the surprised and completely unaware Director Stoll to the school building. From the outside the building seemed undamaged, but near its entrance a large bonfire was fed by uniformed rowdies with books and papers. The archives, files and the library of the Seminary were going up in flames. The Gestapo officer forced Stoll to conduct him through the building and insisted that he be shown every room and closet. Stoll found all closets and cabinets broken open with their contents littering the floor. Walls and blackboards in every room were defaced with anti-Semitic graffiti. The Gestapo official selected most lamps, typewriters and office furniture for shipment to Gestapo headquarters. He then informed Stoll that the Seminary

was closed and that buildings and grounds were confiscated by the State of Bavaria.[114] Thus, at about 6 a.m. on Thursday, November 10, 1938, the 74 year old *ILBA* reached its end. It is possible that some remaining faculty members, foremost Mr. Hirnheimer and Mr. Steinhäuser, who both were unable to emigrate conducted some private courses in their homes, but there were no more institutional functions, and a report that the Seminary continued on a reduced scale until 1943 has no basis in facts.[116]

Stoll was taken to the Würzburg prison and after two days' detention shipped to the Buchenwald concentration camp,[117] as were the other members of the faculty with the exception of Mr. Hirnheimer who was released because of his physical disability. Students who had reached the age of 18 were sent to Dachau; the younger students and those with foreign passports were set free. They went without delay to their home towns. There was neither place nor purpose for them to remain in Würzburg.

After ten days of "protective custody," Stoll was released from Buchenwald and permitted to return to Würzburg. There, the Gestapo commissioner in charge of Jewish affairs ordered him to make available the deserted and vandalized building in the Bibrastrasse to the Jewish community. It was to accommodate a new synagogue—the main synagogue of the Würzburg community had been burned to the ground during the *"Kristallnacht"*—and the Jewish school which also had been destroyed. Later it also housed Jewish tenants who were evicted by their landlords.

Stoll and the chairman of the *Kuratorium* were forced to execute a power of attorney document for a government appointed lawyer to dispose of the Seminary's properties for a nominal sum of money, constituting less than half of their assessed value. Stoll was able to emigrate to the United States in August, 1939.

The state of Bavaria meant to acquire the school in Sandbergerstrasse for the Würzburg *Aufbauschule* which as yet had no permanent quarters. However, before this school could move in, the building, gymnasium and play-

ing field were occupied by a German army quartermaster unit stationed in Würzburg. Only two years later did the Bavarian government succeed in taking possession. In a letter of December 23, 1940, the municipal government informed the *Kreisleiter* (Nazi district leader) of Würzburg that "the former private Jewish teachers seminary (had) applied for permission to sell the school buildings and a dwelling *(Wohnhaus)* at 9 Goebelslehenstrasse to the state of Bavaria for the price of RM 190,000." Permission was granted on January 7, 1941.[118] The impersonal reference to the "Seminary" without the inclusion of a name seems to indicate that the "sale" was transacted on the basis of the aforementioned power of attorney. Not one cent of the price was ever paid.

The events of November, 1938, had a somewhat ironical epilogue which indicates that the German bureaucracy was not always attuned to the aims of the Nazi party. On December 1, 1938, policy-making officials met at the federal Ministry of Education in Berlin to discuss the implications of a directive of November 15 which banned all Jewish children from German schools.[119] It was resolved to continue compulsory education for Jews—even for *nicht-reichsangehörige* (those of foreign nationality or stateless)—but that they could attend only Jewish schools.

All Jewish schools were to be removed from the administration of the *Gemeinden* and placed under the jurisdiction of the *Reichsvereinigung* which would be solely responsible for their financial upkeep. The *Reichsvereinigung* was also charged with the training and supervision of Jewish teachers *(Ausbildung und Fortbildung)*. And finally, in order to put the Jewish schools back into operation, the Ministry requested the immediate release of all Jewish teachers from "protective custody" (read: concentration camps).[120] No mention was made of the fact—if indeed it was known—that the Seminary no longer existed.

During its span of 74 years, *ILBA* had graduated almost 900 teachers, 136 of them during the emergency years from 1934 to 1938.[121] Members of the anticipated graduating class of 1939 received religious school teacher

diplomas from the school's administration;[122] younger students, upon request, could obtain a statement from the regional school authorities attesting *ILBA*'s status as a recognized and accredited teachers' training institution.

X

ALTHOUGH the American Air Force destroyed 85 percent of the city of Würzburg toward the end of World War II, the building at Sandbergerstrasse survived with only minor damages. The house on Bibrastrasse had received a direct hit and was completely demolished. After the war, the city lost no time to repair the Sandbergerstrasse building and put it back to use as a school.

In accordance with the restitution laws, the state of Bavaria, which held no legal title, had to surrender the *ILBA* properties to the United Restitution Organization (URO), set up by the American Government as trustee for unclaimed Jewish properties in Europe. Unfortunately, this measure led to lengthy litigation between the URO and surviving members of the *Kuratorium* and administration of *ILBA*. While the restitution laws designated the URO as the sole recipient, administrator and disposing agent of Jewish communal property, Stoll and Rabbi Hanover, the last chairman of the *Kuratorium,* both then residing in New York, believed that they should be considered as the legal administrators of the *ILBA* assets. They based their claim on a provision in the Seminary's bylaws according to which in case of dissolution of the institution money from the disposal of properties was to be used for a pension fund for eligible former employees or their widows and also for a continuation of endowed memorial observances.

After almost six years, the lawsuit ended in a compromise. The basis for this settlement was the German Federal Republic's agreement to pay pensions to all former Jewish officials and communal employees, which settled the most pressing aspect of the conflict. The URO consented to pay the court costs and to provide the money

for endowed *Yahrzeit* observances. Upon Stoll's recommendation this obligation was transferred to the Yeshiva "Kol Torah" in Jerusalem which was led by rabbis from Germany. The state of Bavaria bought the Sandbergerstrasse property from the URO as the home for a public school, the *"Staatliche Realschule für Knaben."* Fittingly, the city council of Würzburg voted in 1968 to name this school *"Jakob Stoll Schule,"* and after the usual bureaucratic delay, the Bavarian Ministry of Education officially changed the name in 1974. This act of honor not only paid tribute to a remarkable educator, but also created a monument for a great institution which decisively had influenced the course of Jewish education in Germany and also in countries where Würzburg alumni and alumnae resumed their teaching profession.

A short time before his death in January 1962, Jakob Stoll wrote his brief history of the Seminary, mostly from memory, concluding his account with proudly stated satisfaction: "many of the Würzburg students (actually: *"Absolventen"*) today live in all parts of the world. Many function *(amtieren)* in Israel, others in England, Australia, Canada, South Africa and Latin America; most of them found refuge in the United States. A great many have kept in touch with me. And as I am assured again and again, virtually all—with infinitesimally *(verschwindend)* few exceptions—bring honor to the name of the Jewish Teachers Seminary of Würzburg."[123] The spirit of Würzburg, indeed, had penetrated into the core of its students' life and shaped their outlook and direction. After more than 40 years, the strong bonds of brotherhood, based on shared experiences and indoctrination, have shown their vitality by bringing together with fond memories many who had the privilege to attend this unique institution. No one summarized better the import of *ILBA* on its graduates than one of its alumni when he wrote shortly after his graduation in an article entitled "Yearning for Würzburg:" "In our new spheres of professional activities we found ourselves in a new *galut*."[124]

NOTES

1. Quoted in Nathan Bamberger, *Jubiläumsausgabe des Rechenschaftsberichtes über die Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt in Würzburg für das 25. Jahr ihres Bestehens.* (Würzburg 1889) pp. 3-4.

2. Nathan Bamberger, "Die Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt in Würzburg, Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und Entwicklung." *Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen der Israelitischen Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt 1864-1914.* (Würzburg 1914) Hereafter referred to as Festschrift p. 31.

3. Simon Dingfelder, *Die jüdische Volksschule in Süddeutschland.* (Frankfurt a.M. 1913) p. 2.

4. Stefan Paulus, *200 Jahre Lehrerbildung in Würzburg.* Band 10-*Historischer Verein* Schweinfurt. (Würzburg 1975) p. 510.

5. This regulation, at the same time, removed several general civic disabilities from Bavarian Jews; one of the most important of these was the permission to settle in any locality of the state. This led to the re-establishment of a flourishing community in Würzburg and the transfer of the dictrict rabbinate from Heidingsfeld to there. Moses L. Bamberger *Ein Blick auf die Geschichte der Juden in Würzburg.* (Würzburg 1905) p. 12.

6. Paulus, *op. cit.* p. 512

7. Bayrisches Staats Archiv, Würzburg (hereinafter referred to as BSA-W) Folder 3907.

8. Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People (hereinafter referred to as CAHJP), Jerusalem, Folder F-VIII-1.

9. There is no equivalent of this kind of organization in countries with a system of separation of church and state. The *Kultusgemeinde* was a public corporation with semi- governmental functions, empowered to collect taxes *(Kultussteuer)* and to represent the Jews in all public and private matters. Its powers and functions were prescribed by specific state laws. A Board of Representatives, which in turn picked an executive committee and officers, was elected by heads of households for specific terms. Since *Kultusgemeinden* often consisted of two or more congregations, the term is best translated by "Jewish community."

10. Nathan Bamberger, *Rabbiner Seligmann Baer Bamberger, dessen Leben und Wirken.* (Würzburg 1897, p. 17.

11. Such a situation is documented by a copious correspondence of Rabbi Abraham Hirsch of Burgpreppach with government officials and leaders *(Vorstand)* of various communities in his district. CAHJP, folder F-VIII-1.

12. Dingfelder, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

13. Dingfelder *(loc. cit.)* calls the situation "shameful" *(beschämend)*. He cites yearly salaries as low as 500 Mark which was less than a third of the pay given to elementary teachers in the public school system.

14. Rabbi S. B. Bamberger, as quoted in *Festschrift,* p. 8.

15. Rabbis A. Adler, Aschaffenburg; J. G. Adler, Burgpreppach; Lippmann, Bad Kissingen; Thalheimer, Mainbernheim.

16. *Festschrift.* pp. 16-25.

17. " . . . (daraus) Lehrer zu gewinnen, welche gründlichen aus der Quelle zu schöpfenden Religionsunterricht erhalten, und befähigt werden, hl. Schrift, Talmud und Ritual wahrhaft gründlich zu lehren und zu ächt (sic) religiösen und moralischen Männern gebildet werden. (sic) So wie auch Unterricht in den weltlichen Wissenschaften erhalten, das sie befähigt das Final-Examen am Schullehrerseminar mit Erfolg zu bestehen." *Festschrift,* pp. 24-25.

18. *Ibid,* p. 23.

19. Nathan Bamberger, *Rabbiner Seligmann Baer Bamberger* . . . p. 3.

20. " . . . in einem ausserhalb der Stadt gelegenen völlig freistehenden und nach allen Seiten Aussicht gewährenden Mietshaus." Jakob Stoll, *Die Geschichte der Israelitischen Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt Würzburg. (hereinafter referred to as History).* Handwritten manuscript, Leo Baeck Institute, New York. n.d. p. 11.

21. Seligmann Baer Bamberger, "Die Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt in Würzburg," *Der Israelit,* November 14, 1865.

22. Stoll, *History,* p. 12.

23. A situation much deplored by Rabbi A. Hirsch of Burgpreppach in a letter to the *Kuratorium,* June 12, 1879. CAHJP, File F-VIII-1.

24. Seligmann Baer Bamberger, in *Der Israelit,* December 14, 1870.

25. Nathan Eschwege, *Leben und Wirken des Rabbiners Lazarus Ottensoser in Höchberg.* Sonderabdruck aus dem Jahresbericht der Lazarus-Ottensoser-Stiftung. (Höchberg 1885) p. 10.

26. CAHJP. Folder WR No. 898.

27. *Loc. Cit.*

28. CAHJP, Folder F-VIII-1

29. viz. Jakob Loebenfried, Oberthulba; Maier Rosenthal, Oberlauringen; Hermann Saenger, Kleineibstadt; Siegmund Schwanthaler, Westheim; Abraham Weimann, Fischbach; Moses Wormser, Gersfeld

30. Nathan Bamberger, *Julilaeumsausgabe . . .*, p. 5.

31. Stoll, *History,* p. 13.

32. BSA-W, Folder 3907.

33. *Loc. Cit.*

34. The rather high price paid for this obsolete building reflects the general rise of urban real estate values in Germany as a result of the rapid industrialization and urban growth following the victorious Franco-Prussian war.

35. Many of these reports are preserved in the Bavarian State Archives in Würzburg, Folder 3907.

36. The virtually literal repetition of the same objections *(Beanstandungen)* in the course of several years and signed by the same officials would justify the suspicion that the evaluators might have been influenced by the prevalent cliché of the *"Judenschule"* rather than by actual conditions. The Seminary received a copy of the evaluation and was required to respond; corrections would certainly have been made.

37. *Loc. cit.*

38. Various annual reports list *ILBA's* curriculum. It was taught during a five and a half day week with classes running averagely from 8 to 12 and from 1 to 6 p.m.

The following is a typical course outline, published in the annual report *(Rechenschaftsbericht)* for the school year 1904/1905. The numbers in parentheses indicate the weekly periods:

Pentateuch with Raschi (2)
T'nach (1)
Mishna (3)
Talmud (4)
Dinim (3)

Hebrew Grammar (Ivrit) (2)
Jewish History (1)
German literature and composition (3)
Mathematics (2)
Geography (1)
History and Citizenship education (2)
Science (2)
Art (2)
Physical Education (2)
Music (8)
French (1)
Pedagogics (3 to 5, depending on class).

39. BSA-W. Folder 3808.

40. *Festschrift,* p. 48. This arrangement was briefly interrupted during the last three years of World War I, when owing to a shortage of faculty members, Jewish students took their examinations again at the Royal seminary before a commission consisting of members from the faculties of both institutions. Stoll, *History,* p. 20.

41. Nathan Bamberger, *Rechenschaftsbericht über die Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt in Würzburg fuer das 41. Jahr ihres Bestehens.* (Würzburg 1905) p. 6.

42. The life and achievement of Jakob Stoll are presented in an essay in this volume.

43. High School students received religious instruction at their respective schools from the local rabbi.

44. "Mit dem Eintritt des Berichterstatters in die Anstalt erfuhr dieselbe manche neue Einrichtungen, von denen hier nur die wichtigste angeführt werden soll." Stoll, *History,* p. 16.

45. Jakob Stoll, "Biblische Berichte im Lichte der geographischen Wissenschaft." *Festschrift.* pp. 73-98.

46. Aside from the brief reference cited in note No. 40, Stoll never mentions the war in his *History.*

47. As far as this writer could ascertain, only one other student died while enrolled in the Seminary. On the first day of Passover, 1937, Ludwig Steinhäuser, the only child of the deputy director and former Höchberg principal, Selig Steinhäuser, passed away after a brief illness.

48. One of these four, R. Adler, became a French prisoner of war and could not rejoin the faculty until 1920.

49. BSA W. Folder 3808.

50. Yad Vashem, *Pinkas Hakehillot Germania.* (Jerusalem, 1972) p. 42.

51. The following exchange rates of *Reichsmark* and dollars will illustrate the chaotic situation: At the beginning of the war: $1 = RM 4; 1920: $1 = RM 75; 1922: $1 = RM 400; January 1923: $1 = RM 18,000; August 1923: $1 = RM 160,000; September 1923: $1 = RM 1,000,000; November 1923: $1 = RM 4,000,000,000,000.

52. Stoll, *History,* p. 21.

53. *Ibid.* p. 23.

54. Hereinafter referred to as *Landesverband.*

55. CAHJP, Folder R. I. (3)

56. The Höchberg faculty roster at that time contained the names of teachers who would remain joined to the memory of the Seminary. Ernst Von Manstein, an art instructor in the high schools of Würzburg, took over drawing class at Höchberg shortly before the outbreak of the war. In 1919, he was appointed to the chairmanship of the Höchberg *Kuratorium.* Benno Hirnheimer, who was one of the most versatile teachers with competence in a great number of often unrelated subject areas; Emanuel Stolberg, a recent Würzburg graduate, who became a *"Mädchen für alles"* (a jack of all trades) teaching such diverse subjects as German, Botany *(Naturkunde),* and violin (in which subject an inspection report criticized him as "inept") and the affable Josef Erlebacher. BSA-W. Folder 3808.

57. At one time or other, students from most major German cities attended the Höchberg school. In 1930, one student came from Trondheim, Norway, CAHJP, Folder W 898.

58. Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden, *Fuehrer durch die jüdische Gemeindeverwaltung und Wohlfahrtspflege in Deutschland 1932-1933,* p. 510.

59. J. Salomonsohn, "Um die Zukunft der jüdischen Lehrerbildung," *Der Israelit* March 8, 1934.

60. Jakob Stoll, *Die Neuordnung der Lehrerbildung in Bayern und ihre Auswirkung auf die jüdische Lehrerbildung. Denkschrift.* (Unpublished position paper, 1928?) CAHJP.

61. "Von dem staatlich aufgestellten Muster (kann) in keiner Weise abgegangen werden." *loc. cit.*

62. Jokob Stoll, *Die Lehrerbildungsfrage in Bayern. Denkschrift.* (Unpublished position paper, 1929?) CAHJP.

63. *loc. cit.*

64. *loc. cit.*

65. Paulus, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

66. Jakob Stoll, "Der gegenwärtige Besuchsstand und die Entwicklung der künftigen Besuchsziffern," in *65 Jahre Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt Würzburg* 1864-1929. (Würzburg 1929) p. 5.

67. This and other quotes concerning the *Schülerschaft* from "Berichte aus der Schülerschaft der Israelitischen Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt Würzburg," *ibid.* pp. 9-14.

68. Originally, there existed only one youth organization at the Seminar, the *"Ezra."* After years of internal struggles concerning the organization's position toward Zionism, it split into two groups: the *BACHAD* and the *Noar Agudati.* In 1934, this writer—coming from an assimilationist and RJF (League of Jewish Front Fighters) environment—failed to attract fellow students to Hans Joachim Schoeps' anti-Zionist *"Vortrupp"* movement or the BdJJ (League of German-Jewish Youth).

69. *" . . . aus dem Geist des rabbinischen Judentums sich ergebenden Bedenken . . . "* CAHJP, Folder 898.

70. Martha Mann and Frieda Steinhof.

71. CAHJP, Folder 898.

72. The reasons for this "effective immediately" closing were never articulated. In a letter to the *Reichsvertretung* (dated May 1, 1938) which had supported the school with a modest annual subsidy of RM 900, Rabbi Munk stated that "the reasons are of local nature and will be explained at a proper occasion." CAHJP, Folder F-VIII-1. Some veiled references seem to indicate that the local Nazi leadership objected to the presence of foreign *(nichtreichsangehörige)* Jewish children who lived with local Jewish families.

73. Correspondence Stoll—Munk, June 1938. *loc. cit.*

74. Stoll, *History,* p. 26.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

76. Baron von Manstein actually became a full-time teacher (in 1933) when the Nazi authorities discharged the converted Jew of "aryan blood" as politically unreliable from his position at the Max-School of Würzburg. (See essay in this book.) Ironically, the Nazis seemed to have no objections against the continued employment of "aryan" teachers at the Seminary with the exception of a physical education instructor who was an officer of the S. S. Thorwart (Foundations of Education), Schunk (Methods of Instruction) and Englert (Piano) continued in their positions to the very end, as did the music instructor Lang.

77. Stoll, *History,* p. 28.

78. William Stern, "Eine Stoll-Schule in Würzburg," *Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung,* January 11, 1974.

79. Since 1921, the Bavarian government had paid the *Landesverband* a yearly sum of money to be distributed as subsidies to various Jewish institutions of which *ILBA* was one of the most important recipients.

80. *"Ausgedehnte Werbereisen."* Stoll, *History,* p. 29.

81. The *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden* (Federal Representation of German Jews)—later renamed *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* (Federal Representation of Jews in Germany) and since 1939 *Reichsvereinigung* (Federal Union etc.)—was organized upon the demand of the Nazi government, which wanted to deal with only one representative body of Jews, in September, 1933. It absorbed all the functions of the—now subordinate—*Landesverbände.* Under the leadership of Rabbi Leo Baeck of Berlin and a seven member *Präsidialausschuss* (executive committee) it incorporated all major Jewish organizations and coordinated and directed all Jewish cultural, political and social activities in Germany. Its educational *(Erziehung und Bildung)* department under Adolf Leschnitzer had a special section for Jewish teacher training for which Jakob Stoll acted as consultant.

82. Jakob Stoll, "Zur Frage der jüdischen Lehrerausbildung," *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* February 8, 1934.

83. Hans Gaertner, "Problems of Jewish schools in Germany during the Hitler Regime," *Yearbook I,* Leo Baeck Institute (1956), p. 124.

84. Salomon Adler-Rudel, "Das Jüdische Schulwerk," in *Jüdische Selbsthilfe unter dem Nazi-Regime 1933-1939.* (Tuebingen 1974), p. 20.

85. S. Andors, "Grosstädte, in denen noch keine jüdischen Schulen bestehen," *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* June 28, 1934.

86. "Was für jüdische Schulen gibt es in Deutschland?," *Jüdische Rundschau,* Beilage I, June 16, 1933.

87. In several towns and cities, over-zealous administrators banned Jewish students from their schools, only to be reminded by the Ministry of Education that such actions were unauthorized and contrary to existing laws.

88. The great majority of Jewish schools existed in small localities in the Prussian provinces of Hesse, the Rhineland and Westphalia, often with an enrollment of fewer than 20—in some cases as few as ten—pupils *(Zwergschulen).* Large elementary schools were in Berlin, Breslau, Cologne, Dortmund, Essen, Frankfurt, Gelsenkirchen, Hamburg, Leipzig, Munich and Würzburg. There were secondary schools in Berlin, Breslau, Cologne, Frankfurt, Fürth, Halberstadt, Hamburg and Leipzig. In 1933 the government closed about 70 of the "mini-schools." In the same year, schools were organized by the Jewish communities of Bonn, Darmstadt, Lübeck, Mainz, Offenbach, Stettin and Stuttgart.

89. *"Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufbeamtentums vom 7. April, 1933." (Reichsgesetzblatt* 1933, Teil I, Nr. 34) in Johannes Hohlfeld ed., *Deutsche Reichsgeschichte in Dokumenten 1849-1934* (Berlin 1934), Vol. IV, pp. 629-636.

90. Adler-Rudel, *Op. cit.,* p. 19.

91. Benno Hirnheimer, "Die Israelitische Lehrerbildungs Anstalt Würzburg in der Zeit der Umstellung." *Jüdische Rundschau,* Dec. 28, 1934. Also, Adolf Leschnitzer, *Richtlinien zur Aufstellung von Lehrplänen für jüdische Volksschulen* (Munich 1933).

92. Adler-Rudel, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

93. Gaertner, *op. cit.,* p. 129.

94. Israel Bamberger, "Zur Frage der jüdischen Lehrerbildung," *Jüdische Rundschau,* February 20, 1934.

95. By the end of 1933, there were still 60,000 Jewish pupils subject to compulsory school attendance, only 15,000 of whom were able to attend Jewish schools. The others had to be with-

drawn from the hostile environment of the German schools as fast as schools could be established for them.

96. Many Jewish communities organized in-service courses for such teachers, but such "crash courses" were mostly of short duration and transmitted little more than a basic knowledge.

97. Stoll, *History,* p. 30.

98. Hirnheimer, *Loc. Cit.*

99. Stoll, *History,* p. 30.

100. Letter, dated June 12, 1934, to Rabbi Carlebach of Cologne. CAHJP, File VIII-1.

101. Josef Walk, *The Education of Jewish Children in Nazi Germany.* Jerusalem, 1975, p. 102.

102. Stoll, *History,* p. 31.

103. *Ibid.,* p. 33.

104. "Aus persönlicher Erfahrung muss der Berichterstatter feststellen, dass die der N.S.D.A.P. angehörenden Referenten für Lehrerbildung ihm bei seinen Besuchen im Ministerium jederzeit mit einem unverkannten Wohlwollen gegenüber getreten sind." *loc. cit.*

105. cf. "Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre." *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1935, Teil I, Nr. 100 in Walter Hofer (ed.), *Der National-sozialismus.* Dokumente 1933-1945 (Frankfurt 1960) pp. 284-286.

106. " . . . ein erträgliches Zusammenleben beider Völker . . . " Quoted in *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* January 9, 1936.

107. Under the leadership of Mr. Stolberg, the following students participated: Herman Adler, Hugo Apt, Hans Ermann, Jakob Faerber, Ludwig Friedmann, Gretel Eichelberger, Heinrich Goldschmidt, Siegfried Hopfer, Erna Ledermann, Hannah Oberndörfer, Leo Rose, Alfred Walter. Also Ruth Lehmann and Max Ottensoser of the Ü-Kurs. Originally it had been planned to make an excursion to Eretz Israel a permanent feature of the sixth year curriculum, but the course of events made further trips impracticable.

108. *Der Israelit,* April 7, 1938.

109. In the Nuremberg-Fürth region, the following teachers were admitted to the continuation program, some as late as 1937: Martha Mann, Liesel Klein, Hannah Oberndörfer, Albrecht Jonas, Julius Neuberger and Hertha Muehlfelder. One teacher was rejected, because she was a graduate of the Cologne seminary. BSA-W: Folder 3912.

110. "Jüdische Schulamtsbewerber sind mit sofortiger Wirkung von der beruflichen Fortbildung auszuschliessen." *loc. cit.*

111. Stoll, *History,* p. 33.

112. Jakob Wiener, *The Last Day* (unpublished).

113. For the following eyewitness accounts this writer is indebted to Rabbi Jakob Wiener's unpublished recollections *(An Unforgettable Night)* and to Michael Rosenberg of Jerusalem, who made parts of his personal diary available.

114. Stoll, *History,* pp. 34-35.

115. Steinhäuser's name appeared once more in an official letter of information from the Gestapo informing him as president of the Jewish Bavarian Teachers Association *(Bayrischer Lehrerverein)* that his organization was dissolved and forthwith incorporated into the *Reichsvereinigung.* BSA-W, Folder 3912.

116. Solomon Colodner, *Jewish Education in Germany under the Nazis.* (Jewish Education Committee Press, New York 1964), p. 75.

117. A Gestapo interrogation report of that date described Stoll's attitude as "upright" and his general appearance as "neat." Apparently the only black mark against him was his inactive membership in the former insignificant "German Democratic Party." Gestapo file "Stoll" BSA—Munich.

118. Gestapo file, "Seminary" BSA—Munich.

119. *"Neuregelung der Erteilung des Schulunterrichts an Juden."* Quoted in Walk, *op. cit.,* Appendix, pp. 308-313.

120. *Ibid.,* p. 314.

121. *Ibid.,* p. 102.

122. Stoll, *History,* p. 38.

123. *Loc. Cit.*

124. Werner Weinberg, "Sehnsucht nach Würzburg." *Mitteilungen der Junglehrer im Verein gesetzestreuer Lehrer. (Jüdich-pädagogischer Arbeitskreis).* December 1, 1936.



Seminary Building,
Kettengasse 6:
1865-1884

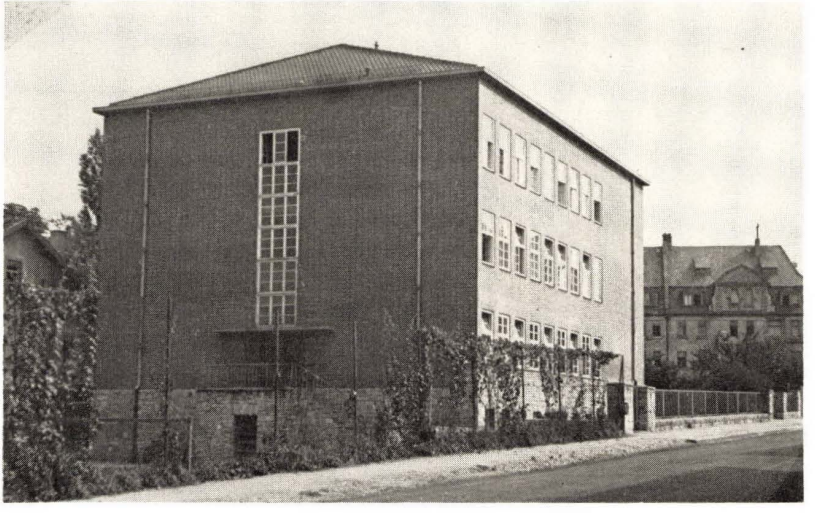


Seminary Building
Bibrastrasser 6



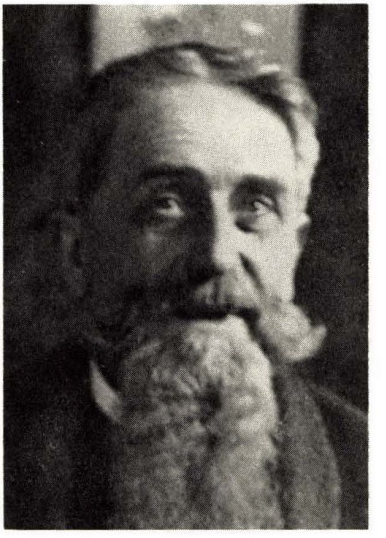
Synagogue
Bibrastrasse

Seminary Building, Sandbergerstrasse 1: 1930-1938





Seminarrabiner
Samson Raphael Weiss



Seminaroberlehrer
Leopold Aufänger

Teachers in Höchberg 1930: Left to Right: Julius Roberg, Joseph Erlebacher, Jakob Hönlein, Gustav Geiger, Oberlehrer Emanuel Eldod, Direktor Selig Steinhäuser, Emanuel Stolberg





Seminary Class 1929

Seminary Class 1930





Chamber Music with Baron von Manstein

Seminary Class 1933 with their teacher Mr. Guckenberg





Class Presidents
Überganskurs
around 1935



Football Stars
at the Seminary
around 1935



Spring Outing
to the
Rhön Mountains



Mischnah Schiur given by Rav Joseph Heineman 1935



Sixth Class Excursion to Kitzingen for Class Observation in 1935



Sixth Class before leaving the Seminary 1936



Fifth Class with
Dr. Felix Guttmann
1936



(above) Graduation Class 1937 — (below) Graduation Class 1938



Biographies

אשרי תמימי דרך ההולכים בתורת ה׳
תהלים קיט:א



Memorial to Seligmann Baer Bamberger

SELIGMANN BAER BAMBERGER

1807-1878

Norbert Hellmann

RABBI Seligmann Baer Bamberger was born the fifth of Marcheshvan 5568 (November 6, 1807) in Wiesenbronn, a little town near Kitzingen in southern Germany. His father, Simcha Bamberger, was a merchant there; his mother, Yehudith, was the daughter of Rabbi Moshe Leib Hatzfeld of Heidingsfeld. At that time there was no *kehilla* in Würzburg, so the nearby town of Heidingsfeld was the seat of the *Distriktsrabbiner* (district rabbi).

Seligmann Baer attended the local school in Wiesenbronn and received special religious instruction from the local rabbi, Gershon Levi. Shortly before the age of fifteen he was sent to the renowned Yeshiva in Fürth, where for one year he learned with the well known Dayan, Rabbi Yehuda Leib Halberstadt. The *Rosh Hayeshiva,* Rabbi Wolf Hamburger, very soon recognized the outstanding qualities of the young Bamberger, and it did not take very long before Seligmann Baer became the favorite student

of the *Rosh Hayeshiva,* and the highly admired friend of his peers. Bamberger stayed in Fürth five years, even though this was not easy for his parents, since there were neither stipends nor free meals. After five years he received *Hatarat Hora'a* (ordination) from Rabbi Hamburger.

Bamberger did not want to make a living from his learning, so at the age of 20 he started a grocery store in Wiesenbronn, but kept on learning day and night. Two years later he married Kela Wormser, daughter of Seckel Wormser, Rabbi in Fulda. Although she was no businesswoman, she helped as much as she could to free him for his learning. Yet, when he would sit in his store and the door would open to admit a customer, he would ask wryly, "Isn't there another store in town?" If he were proposed a guaranteed profit in a business deal that would require him to be absent from his home and books for a few days, he refused to do so, saying that he would rather skimp and live on less than to be away from his learning for even a short time.

By that time, Bamberger already had many pupils listening to his *Shiurim.* He, of course, did not charge them for this privilege; on the contrary, he supported many of them himself. Among those he ordained were Stern, later Chief Rabbi of Hamburg and S. Fromm, of Frankfurt am Main, who became his son-in-law.

Bamberger was one of the foremost opponents of the emerging Reform movement. In 1836, a meeting was called by the Bavarian government to review some Reform charges that certain Jewish laws were antiquated and outdated. Owing to Bamberger's presentation and explanations, the Orthodox viewpoint prevailed.

At about the same time, *Oberrabbiner* (Chief Rabbi) Abraham Bing of Würzburg, without having been asked to do so, sent Bamberger a *Hatarat Hora'a.* As he was ailing, Bing also directed his congregants to ask their religious questions of Bamberger. When Bing died on Adar 7, 5599 (1840), Bamberger was chosen from among many candidates to become Rav in Würzburg. This was a very important position, since officially more than 100

Kehillot were part of the *"Königliches Landesoberrabbinat Würzburg."* Furthermore there were many theologians studying at the Würzburg University, and it was therefore important that a great scholar and G'd-fearing man would head the Würzburg rabbinate.

From all parts of Germany students now came to study at Bamberger's feet. In his two daily lessons he taught not only the theory, but the actual practice of the *Mitzvot.*

Besides the learning there was a tremendous load of daily correspondence, issuance and recording of official documents and bookkeeping of gifts and donations. Many of his responsa were not printed in his lifetime, as he did not want to risk their becoming outdated. Some later appeared in print under the name *Yad Halevi* dealing with the four parts of the *Shulchan Aruch,* supplemented later by the *Netia shel Simcha* and the *Zecher Simcha,* which have recently been reprinted in Israel.

One of the very important tasks of the Rabbinate was the inspection of about 30 religious schools that were found in his district. In his weekly sermons Bamberger always asked for *Kiyum Hamitzvot* (observing the commandments) and *Ahavat Yisrael* (Love of Israel). There were also his weekly Shabbat Lectures attended by many Baalei Batim, his disciples and University students. These lectures were given in his *Lernzimmer* (study) in the Bibrastrasse.

In spite of all these demanding tasks, Bamberger found time to write and he produced six books: *Melechet Shamayim* (first published in 1853) on laws for the scribe; *Amira l'Veit Yaakov,* on the religious obligations of women; *Shaare Simcha,* a commentary on the *Mea Shearim* of Rabbi Yitzhak Ibn Giat; *Moreh l 'Zovchim,* a guide to the laws of Kosher slaughtering; *Nachlei Dvash* (1867), on *Chalitza; Koreh b'Emet,* to understand the *Al-Tikra* according to the *Mesora.* Each of the works of S. B. Bamberger was enthusiastically received by his contemporaries and remained standard works to this very day.

Bamberger also found the time to participate in a

translation of the Chumash into German. Along with Rabbi Adler of Aschaffenburg and Rabbi Lehman of Mainz, the *"Orthodoxe Israelitische Bibelanstalt"* was founded, whose purpose was to preserve the traditional translation and interpretation of the Torah. Bamberger also wrote articles in German on other subjects, especially where it was necessary to defend the honor of Judaism, and to fight for the emancipation of the Jewish citizens in Bavaria and elsewhere.

At the time Bamberger accepted the Rabbinate in Würzburg, the town's Jewish children received only a few hours a week of religious instruction after public school hours. Bamberger founded a Jewish elementary school, which opened its doors in 1855 and whose last director was the author's father, Moritz Hellmann of blessed memory, who was there until November 1938.

Bamberger was instrumental in helping to found the Shaare Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem in 1873. He also helped to provide for the local poor and saw to it that the Jewish military personnel were provided with Kosher food.

Most important of all, though, was Bamberger's farsightedness in the need for good Jewish teachers, whose standard in those days was at an all time low, especially as far as their Hebrew knowledge was concerned. On October 7, 1864, he was able to open the *Israelitische-Lehrer-Bildungs-Anstalt* in Würzburg, after he had received permission for such an institution from the Bavarian government. It was he who singlehandedly raised the necessary funds and organized the entire undertaking within the span of two years. The *ILBA,* chartered by royal decree, was to consist of a six-year course of study with the first four years in preparatory training and the last two years in seminary. At first a house was rented outside the city; it contained classrooms, bedrooms, a prayer hall and an apartment for one teacher's family. The first teachers were Ludwig Stern and Isaac Schlenker, in addition to whom two non-Jewish teachers were hired to teach secular subjects.

A total of twelve students, six seminary and six preparatory, enrolled in November, 1864. After the first year, Bamberger was able to buy a house within the city, at Kettengasse 6. After a two-year course, the six seminary students took the "Koenigliche Schullehrer Examen" and passed with excellent results.

In 1870, twenty-two students registered, almost all of whom had prepared at the Präparanden-Schule in Höchberg (near Würzburg) under the auspices of Rabbi Lazarus Ottensosser. In 1875, the prep-school in Burgpreppach was added to provide candidates for the Würzburg seminary; it was under the leadership of Rabbi A. Hirsch. At the close of the 1877/78 school year, after thirteen years of existence, eighty-seven teachers had been graduated from the *ILBA*.

In 1877, the famous controversy with Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch about *"Austritt"* (separation) took place. The open letter to Bamberger as well as Bamberger's rebuttal are found in Hirsch's Gesammelte Schriften. Volume 4.

In the midst of the Torah reading on the second day of Sukkot, October 13, 1878, Seligmann Baer Bamberger suddenly died. From then on every year on his *Yahrzeit* a memorial service was held and a shiur was learned in his study, Bibrastrasse 17. In later years it was an alumnus of the *ILBA,* Simon Kissinger, who would relate the events of that fateful day.

Bamberger had six sons and three daughters, all of whom, but one, either became rabbis or were married to rabbis. A Bamberger family tree was first published in Israel in 1965 with an updated edition appearing in 1979.

IN MEMORY OF THE WÜRZBURGER RAV.

William Stern

THE Gaon R. Seligmann Baer Bamberger (Yitzchak Dov ben Simcha Halevi), who was born in the year 5568 (November, 1807) and in the course of time became widely known and famous in the Jewish world as the "Würzburger Rav," passed away on the second day of Sukkot 5639 (October 13, 1878). In October 1978, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his death—his 100th "Yahrzeit"—the present-day Jewish community of Würzburg, together with the civic authorities of the city, organized a special commemorative gathering, on a considerable scale, which was attended by visitors and guests from many parts of the world, including rabbis and Jewish lay leaders, members of the far-flung Bamberger family and other descendants of the Rav, together with an appreciable number of non-Jewish admirers.

The Jewish cemetery at Höchberg, a suburb nestling on a mountainside approximately three kilometres from the

city centre, was not desecrated during the Nazi era. The gravestones are all standing, the graves themselves distinctly recognizable, and where inscriptions had faded in the course of time, these had frequently been renewed. Nowadays, the legal status of the cemetery is that of an "ancient monument," and as such it is under the care of the municipality; although there are still unused plots, it is no longer being used for burials. The last resting places of R. Seligmann and his wife Kela, nee Wormser, are in the front row, slightly to the right after the caller passes through the entrance gate, and easily identifiable.

An illustrious group of people, from different walks of life, paid due homage to the Rav's memory on the stated occasion. The detailed arrangements were in the hands of the president of the local Jewish community, Senator David Schuster. It goes without saying that the celebrations and observances could, in practice, only take place after the festival of *Sukkot* had terminated; and therefore the actual date was fixed for Monday, October 30, 1978; i.e., as soon as practicable thereafter.

The day started, of course, with the Shacharith service in the synagogue, conducted by a member of the Bamberger family in a Western Ashkenazi and "Yekkish" fashion which would have greatly pleased any true adherent of the former Würzburg tradition! Afterwards, all participants attended an official reception, held in the ancient "Wenzelssaal" of the city hall and given by the Lord Mayor, together with a few of the town councillors. Contrary to normal custom governing such official receptions, only soft drinks, in plastic beakers, were served. In brief addresses, the civic dignitaries and some Jewish representatives paid tribute to the memory of the Rav as one of Würzburg's greatest sons and "ambassadors."

The entire assembly was then taken by coach and cars up the steep hill to the Höchberg cemetery for an *"Askara"* (remembrance gathering) in front of the graves of R. Seligmann and his wife Kela. Framed by cantoral renderings, commemorative addresses were given by the District Rabbi of Hessen, Professor Ernst Roth, and by

Dr. William Stern, of London, the latter speaking also, at their request, on behalf of the Bamberger family as well as on behalf of the former graduates and students of the Würzburg *ILBA*. This was followed, in the afternoon, by a well attended memorial meeting in the Würzburg synagogue itself, and here, too, addresses were given by a number of speakers.

As those celebrations were drawing to a close, Mr. Schuster was able to inform those present that in the course of just the preceding few days official approval had been received for a commemorative plaque (see illustration) to be affixed, when ready, outside the building Bibrastrasse No. 6 where the *ILBA,* one of Rav Bamberger's most important foundations, had been housed between 1884 and 1930 (and even afterwards it continued to serve as students' sleeping quarters).

The building is now part of a nunnery, and its present administrators readily gave their consent for the memorial plaque to be affixed. The plaque is similar, in its shape and style, to the one in the nearby Domerschulgasse, standing on the site of the former main synagogue which was also destroyed by the Nazis.

The unveiling ceremony in the Bibrastrasse was held on February 25, 1980, in the presence, again, of an illustrious (though somewhat smaller) gathering of friends and guests. It was explained in the course of the proceedings that originally the idea had been put forward that one of the streets of Würzburg should be named after the Rav. But this plan was abandoned once it was realized that a street-name like "Bambergerstrasse" could be misleading, since people might mistakingly think that the street or road in question was leading to the town of Bamberg, in Upper Franconia. Consequently, the plan of a permanent plaque was conceived instead.

One of the speakers at this unveiling ceremony was the Lord Mayor of Würzburg, who said that, regrettably, it had so far not been possible to research into the entire length of the history of Jews in Würzburg, from earliest times to the present, and to write and publish a definitive

volume on the history of the local community. But he explained that efforts were at least underway, in conjunction with the university, to allocate certain smaller parts of it as theses for the conferment of a degree or a doctorate.

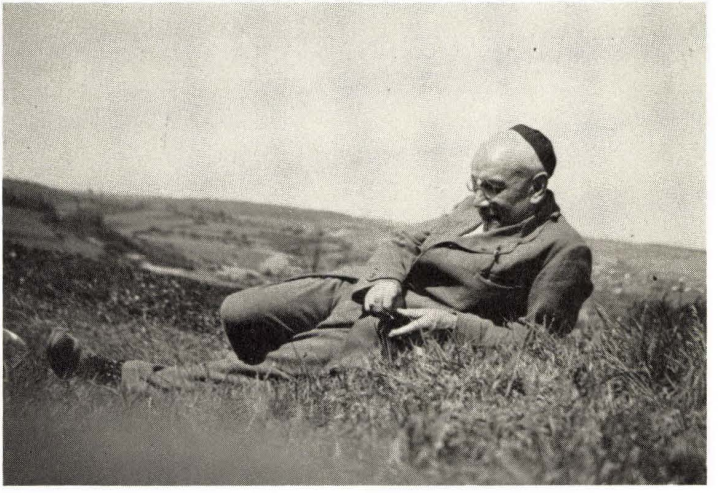
It should not be thought that a tablet of stone, exhibited outside a certain building in a certain place, was merely of symbolic significance, and that this then indicated an end not only of an era but of a whole tradition. The opposite is true. Surviving graduates of the *ILBA* have carried the spiritual bequest of its founder and great mentor, R. Seligmann Baer Bamberger, into the far corners of the earth; deservedly, they enjoy a high reputation as well-trained and experienced teachers, as rabbis, cantors, scholars, administrators and Jewish leaders generally. The name of the *ILBA* as such and its certificate of graduation are, and remain, a guarantee of achievement and performance. And this precisely is why the Würzburger Rav is being considered, as it were, an "ambassador" for his city, because—as one of his descendants put it in his speech—"he carried the name of Würzburg into the wide world outside, as probably no other citizen of the town had done before him."

So the spirit survives, but even physically and materially there is no permanent cessation, no complete hiatus. For in the town of Zichron Yaakov, in Israel, a new Würzburger *Beth Hamedrash* has been established and is now being further developed. Zichron Yaakov is, unhappily, known as a centre and focal point of missionary activities, where Christian missionaries are constantly trying to make inroads into Jewish allegiances, concentrating in particular on attracting children and young people and alienating them from Judaism, their families and circles, and their Jewish traditions altogether. Already in his time, R. Seligmann Baer Bamberger was actively engaged in fighting such missionary depredations in what was then Palestine. The best antidote is of course—and this will be especially appreciated and readily endorsed by all who are engaged in teaching, in its broadest sense—a well founded, thoroughly thought-out and executed guardianship of

Torah, together with all the Jewish spiritual values deriving from Torah, the Written and Oral Law and its sacred traditions.

This is the objective of the new institute. The Conference of Rabbis in West Germany has accepted the patronage over the Beth Hamedrash, the Central Council of Jews in Germany has made a financial contribution, various other friends and supporters have done the same. The head of the institute is Rabbi S. M. Jungermann, formerly of Vienna; its official Hebrew designation is *Merkaz L'Chinuch Torani* and its English title "The Würzburger Rav Memorial Project." It contains, at the moment, a boys' boarding school, a girls' boarding school (it is intended that this is eventually to grow into a teacher's seminary), a *Kolel* (higher rabbinical academy) and a publishing house for works in Hebrew. A special *Shikkun* (housing development) is attached to the *Beth Hamedrash,* and ultimately there is to be built, on the site, a synagogue which will bear the name of the Würzburger Rav.

The official inauguration of the institute took place in the late summer of 1980; it was attended by members of the Bamberger family, several famous rabbinical personalities and also a delegation from the Würzburg city council. Thus, the memory of Gaon, teacher and inspiring leader, R. Yitzchak Dov ben Simcha Halevi Bamberger, is being kept ever fresh and flourishing, in the hearts and minds of his descendants and followers and also, as indeed it should be, in generation after generation of *TaSHBaR" —Tinokot Shel Beth Rabban.*



Director Jakob Stoll
1876-1962

DIRECTOR JAKOB STOLL: 1876-1962

Eric Levi

JAKOB Stoll, administrative head and dean of the Würzburg Seminary for more than three decades, was born in Massbach, a small township in the Bavarian County of Lower Franconia, on January 21, 1876. In 1889 he entered the Präparandenschule (teachers' prep school) in Burgpreppach, not far from his hometown. In 1892, he entered the Würzburg Seminary and graduated with honors in 1895. For ten years, he taught in the twin cities of Nüremberg and Fürth. In 1905, he was selected, over many applicants, to return to his alma mater to fill the important position of *Seminaroberlehrer* (head teacher and part-time administrator). In 1911, he successfully completed the academic examination in Munich which entitled him to assume a position as Dean of a college. In 1919, after Rabbi Nathan Bamberger passed away, Stoll took complete charge of the Seminary, and the Bavarian Ministry of Education promoted him to the position of *Seminardirektor*. In 1930, he succeeded in uniting the pre-

paratory school in the neighboring town of Höchberg with the Seminary into a full six-year Teachers' College and Training School. New facilities were built, and the student body expanded. On this occasion, the Bavarian Ministry of Education conferred the title of *Studiendirektor* on Jakob Stoll. With the advent of the Nazi Government in 1933, he recognized the imminent demand for new Jewish schools and additional teachers. Due to his initiative, a large number of new students entered the Seminary in 1934 and 1935. Within a few years, the Seminary graduated many new, well qualified teachers who served their community well. In 1934, Stoll decided to build a gymnasium which was also used as an assembly hall and a focal point for educators' conferences and workshops. In November, 1938, after the infamous *"Kristallnacht,"* the Seminary was closed, Stoll was arrested and taken to Buchenwald. A few weeks later, he obtained his visa to the United States and made his new home in New York City. For several more years he found a limited field of activity by teaching Chumash and Mishna classes in the newly founded Congregation "Ohev Sholom" in Washington Heights. He retired completely in 1945. The last seventeen years of his life he spent very quietly. Occasionally, he attended meetings of the "*ILBA* Alumni Organization" which had been formed by his former students. When he was visited by students, he liked to refer to them as his "children," never having been blessed with children of his own. He died on November 29, 1962, mourned by many members of the world's Jewish community who owed him a deep debt of gratitude.

The Educator

When Jakob Stoll retired in 1945 at the age of nearly 70, he reputedly told his friends: "I entered school at the age of six, and I never left it until this day. Now, after almost 64 years, I am ready to stop." This characterizes the love and devotion this illustrious leader in Jewish and secular education had for his profession during many decades of his life. With his incisive mind, he recognized,

at the turn of the century, the urgent need to combine and coordinate religious and secular sciences during the teaching process. Thus, he wielded great influence on the shaping of Jewish educational policy during the first half of the 20th Century.

This new approach was highlighted by the appearance of several of his educational articles in the *Festschrift,* published by the Seminary in 1914 on the occasion of the institution's 50-Year Jubilee Celebration. It was a collection of four essays entitled "Biblical Reports in the Light of Geographical Science." Following are the topics of the essays:

"Mesopotamia, the Original Home of the Semites"
"Encounter of Ishmaelites and Midyanites with Joseph's Brothers"
"Location of the Town of Shéchem and its Significance in Jewish History"
"The Land of the Bible: Its Climatic and Economic Conditions"

One of his more significant contributions appeared in 1916. He wrote a series of 15 articles entitled The Methodology of Instruction in Jewish Religion *(Die Methodik des Jüdischen Religionsunterrichts),* which were combined into one volume and published in Frankfurt. The first five chapters deal with basic psychological principles to be applied by the pedagogue who engages in religious instruction, while the subsequent ten chapters concentrate on actual methods and techniques recommended for teaching Biblical History. These essays were widely acclaimed by Jewish educators all over the country.

All his writings emphasized the scientific approach to teaching in general, and particularly to Biblical and Talmudic subjects.

In the aftermath of World War I, many new trends and approaches gained momentum as a result of liberalization of Government policies during the Weimar Republic. Educational circles on high policy-making levels felt strongly that the time had come to deprogram parochial

school education, including teachers' training. This move was opposed by wide segments of church and synagogue leaders, especially in a Catholic state such as Bavaria. Jakob Stoll took a leading part in the opposition. He wrote and published a position paper entitled "The Problem of Teachers' Training in Bavaria" (1928). In this essay he explained with logical rationale, which was so typical of him, that the Seminary could not go along with the separation under any circumstances for two reasons: (1) A separation would violate the original philosophy of the Seminary's founder, Rabbi S. B. Bamberger; (2) the combination of secular sciences with Jewish religious teachings is a most essential ingredient in the process of effective training of Jewish teachers in modern times. He maintained that if the two areas of study would be separated, the Seminary would lose the basis for justification of its existence. His persuasive logic convinced the officials of the Bavarian Ministry of Education to go along, and the Seminary continued on the path of its time-honored tradition.

Although Jakob Stoll was preoccupied with a multitude of administrative problems, he always kept his hand in teaching and never lost touch with his students. Until the end, he taught Methodology and other pedagogical subjects to the senior classes. He had established a working relationship with the Jewish elementary school in Würzburg, where he taught regularly scheduled exemplary demonstration lessons. He was a keen observer when his senior students did their student-teaching assignments. Every Sunday morning he showed his expertise when, in class conferences, he discussed with his students what he had observed during the previous week. His highly professional critiques and evaluations were precise, short and helpful. During the years of the Nazi regime when new schools had to be organized, dozens of community leaders came to see him, many from far away, to seek his advice and recommendations. After the gymnasium was built in 1934, the Seminary became a center for teachers' and principals' conferences for the entire area. The gymnasium was used as a multi-purpose room, where educational lec-

tures and workshops were conducted. In all of these events, Jakob Stoll participated as one of the most influential and illustrious lecturers and workshop leaders. His reputation as an educator was second to none.

The Organizer

Jakob Stoll's organizational talents were recognized when he was still a young man. In 1905 when three simultaneous vacancies occurred on the Seminary's staff, the committee conducted a long search and screened many applications. Stoll was selected to fill the position of *Seminaroberlehrer,* and many of his contemporaries were wondering. At that time it was unusual that a 29-year-old person was chosen for such an important position at such a widely known institution. Besides teaching pedagogy, he was responsible for staffing, updating of curricula, presenting demonstration lessons and observation of student-teachers. Furthermore, he was put in charge of the custodial staff as well as the supervisory personnel of the dining hall, kitchen and dormitory, all connected with the Seminary. The *Curatorium* (Board of Governors), under the chairmanship of Rabbi Nathan Bamberger, still was in control of the basic religious philosophy and fiscal policies of the Seminary. When Rabbi Bamberger passed away in 1919, even these fundamental responsibilities were transferred to Jakob Stoll. The *Curatorium,* under the chairmanship of the new local Rabbi, Dr. Siegmund Hanover, continued to function as an advisory board.

Jakob Stoll was described by some of his contemporaries as a financial genius. In spite of many serious difficulties which resulted from the war years, the ravaging inflation of the 1920's, and the subsequent years of economic depression and Nazi oppression, he always managed to balance the Seminary's budget. He obtained funds from private sources, from local, provincial and national Jewish organizations. Only a small part of the budget was raised from tuitions; there were many students who received partial scholarships. Due to Stoll's excellent

connections and the respect he enjoyed at the Ministry of Education, the Seminary also received financial support from the State of Bavaria prior to 1933. Blessed with a good sense for business, Stoll often involved himself in the purchase of food and supplies; bargain hunting was one of his hobbies.

With his practical and perceptive mind, Stoll was able to make important decisions quickly after recognizing community problems. After 1933, when conditions changed rapidly and he knew that the demand for additional teachers was imminent, he conceived a rather bold plan for a project one might call "mass production" of teachers. The Seminary received many applications for enrollment from young men and women who qualified to enter universities but were prevented from doing so by the Nazis' discriminatory practices. To study at the Seminary was one of the few opportunities left open to these young people for continued education. There were two major problems: Most of these people had a very limited Jewish education and most of them came from nonobservant homes. To overcome these two essential handicaps for entering the Seminary seemed to be an impossible task. Jakob Stoll decided that the pressing community need had priority. He accepted only the best honor students and organized a special course for them. He called it "*Ubergangskurs*" (Transition Course). This was actually a two-year crash program. The first year was exclusively devoted to intensive Jewish education and simultaneous training to lead an orthodox Jewish life in the natural surroundings of the Seminary. For most of the young people, this meant a complete change of their lifestyle—a real transformation. The second year was devoted to training in teaching and pedagogy, practical and theoretical, along with the remainder of the students who had attended the Seminary for three, four or five years prior to that program.

It was a daring experiment and it succeeded; Jakob Stoll's courage and foresight were rewarded. Some of these young people became excellent educators who con-

tinued to work in this profession after they emigrated. Some became leaders of orthodoxy in their new environments. Jakob Stoll found the greatest satisfaction in the knowledge that he had rendered a valuable service to the hard-pressed Jewish community of Germany. He took great pride in his *"U-Kurs"* idea for the rest of his life.

The Orthodox Jew

Jakob Stoll's lifestyle and conduct far surpassed what is generally known as the average image of an orthodox Jew. He was a shining example to every Jewish person, orthodox or otherwise. With remarkable conscientiousness and punctuality, he attended daily religious services at the Seminary, morning and evening. These services were turned into an educational experience for the students. They were used to train students as *Baalei Téfilah* (cantors) and *Baalei Kériah* (Torah readers). This was a part of the Seminary's curriculum; Stoll wanted to be there to supervise it. Students were required to attend; frequent absenteeism by a student could have serious consequences. After each service, Stoll studied a part of the *Mishnah* and recited *Kaddish*. This was done to commemorate Yahrzeits for people whose families had donated funds for just that purpose.

Shabbat was not entirely a day of rest for Jakob Stoll. As a genuinely Torah-true Jew, he dutifully spent a part of the day learning and teaching Torah. Here again, he saw to it that his students benefitted from his activities. After morning services and *Kiddush,* he frequently scheduled classes in either *Chumash* or *Mishnah* for the younger students. The senior class was required to be present as observers; thus, he turned these *"Shiurim"* into demonstration lessons. In his own masterful way, he showed during these classes how modern thoughts and approaches can be combined with the traditional teachings of *Chumash* and *Mishnah*. His favorite selections for these lessons were parts of Genesis and Leviticus and Mishnaic texts that deal with legal matters.

In keeping with the basic orthodox philosophies of the Seminary's founding fathers, Stoll always hired a competent Rabbi as a full-time staff member *(Seminar-Rabbiner)*. The Rabbi's duties not only included teaching advanced Hebrew subjects, but he also acted as a spiritual guide and mentor for the entire student body. It is to Jakob Stoll's credit that such outstanding luminaries like Rabbis Jakob Neubauer, Josef Unna, Samson R. Weiss, Ephraim Offenberg and Naphtali Carlebach served in this capacity at the Seminary.

Jakob Stoll was an example of the modern orthodox Jew of Western Europe. His own broad scope of education enabled him to be aware of modern trends in science, mathematics and history. He utilized this secular knowledge in his religious teachings. He was a member of the Democratic Party although he did not engage actively in politics. He was willing to accept students who had grown up in nonorthodox homes with the understanding that they were to adjust to the Seminary's orthodox surroundings. He had confidence that a few years of Seminary environment would influence the young teachers sufficiently to remain Torah-true Jews who would go out and teach Torah-true ideas. In most cases he succeeded; the Transition Course *(U-Kurs)* was a classic example which was repeated several times over a period of three to four years.

Because of his dignified behavior and his uncompromising adherence to his principles, Stoll earned the respect and admiration of a wide variety of people. Local government officials, his colleagues in the Bavarian Ministry of Education, mostly of the Catholic faith, respected his personal observances of Sabbath, Holidays and dietary laws. They accommodated him in every way because they appreciated his deep religious convictions. In times of rising antisemitism this was a real *Kiddush Hashem*.

The Mensch (Human Being)

In spite of all his accomplishments, Jakob Stoll was a modest person. He carried himself with dignity, without

claim to pretentiousness. He dressed very simply; sometimes too simply for a man in his position. His devotion for his beloved Seminary was unlimited. It is said that in times of precarious financial situations he always saw to it that the teachers were paid, but payment of his own salary was postponed until the funds were available, and at times he even donated his earnings to the institution. He was a wealthy man who knew that religious law required him to give charity, but the Seminary was his favorite *Tzedakah*.

The same incisive mind which enabled him to excel in professional and administrative matters, helped him also to develop a healthy relationship with his teaching staff and the students. True to his time and environment, he was a strict task-master who expected a lot of himself as well as those around him. He was a great believer in rules and regulations and did not hesitate to enforce them if necessary. Among the students, his presence produced a mixture of such feelings as admiration, respect, anxiety, and among the younger ones, an uneasiness, sometimes bordering on fear. The trait which earned him more respect than anything else was his keen sense of justice. Whenever a disciplinary problem was brought to his attention (and there were many over the years), he analyzed it and considered it from all viewpoints, including the students'. Whenever he took appropriate action, it was not so much designed to punish the student but to help him. Whenever he announced his decision, he justified it in a short, concise and accurate manner. He showed a great deal of understanding for most problems encountered by teachers and students, to many of whom he was like a father figure. Understandably, a number of students did not appreciate him until much later.

Jakob Stoll's interest in his students went way beyond the time of their graduation. He was vitally interested in securing teaching positions for them, and he used his office as a placement agency. Quite a few of his former students characterized him as follows: "Stoll never doubletalks or hedges on a problem; his grasp and response are immediate, and he will never duck a tough issue."

Conclusion

Since Jakob Stoll died in 1962 at the age of 86, his memory lingers on among many, particularly among his students. Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote: "An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man"—in the truest sense this can be applied to Jakob Stoll, the "*Seminardirektor of Würzburg.*" The last exponent of a magnificent institution, to which he had provided outstanding leadership for more than three decades, had finally gone the way of all mankind.

It may be interesting to note that the former Seminary building in Würzburg was renovated and is now being used as a public school. Several years after Stoll's death, the Mayor and City Council decided to name it "Jakob Stoll Schule"—a well deserved tribute to a great man.

TEACHING CHUMASH ACCORDING TO JAKOB STOLL

Hugo Mandelbaum

WHEN our class left the *Seminar* in 1920 the world of education was in revolution. New ideas on how to teach and what to teach broke into the classroom from all sides —*Arbeitsschule, Kunsterziehungsunterricht, Freischule* and so forth changed the form of teaching from drill and verbalism to active participation of the student in the process of gaining concrete concepts in a surrounding conducive to the development of a healthy natural personality. But very little of that turmoil entered the walls of the *Seminar* at that time. Our books were still of prewar date. We learned correctly that teaching did not mean lecturing, that whatever the student could find by himself should not be given to him, but should be drawn out from him by skillful questioning. But beside the general formal training there was little that helped me enter the world of revolution in education when I started my teaching career.

One subject, however, I was sure how to teach. That was *Chumash,* as Seminaroberlehrer Jakob Stoll had shown us. That was also a revolution. At the time, at least in Jewish schools in Germany, and surely in most *Chadarim* in Eastern Europe teaching of *Chumash* meant nothing more than translation verse by verse. As homework students prepared themselves with the help of a printed translation to recite in class the next day five, ten or twenty verses in proper German. The goal was to enable the student to follow the reading of the Torah on Shabbat with some understanding. When we learned *Chumash* in the preparatory school in Höchberg our teacher, Emmanuel Eldod, insisted that we were to be conscious of every grammatical detail of the translation. I envied my classmates from the village of Thüngen, who had been trained by their teacher, Eschwege, in just such a method. But even in Höchberg the content of the *Chumash* played a negligible part of the classwork until we started to learn Rashi.

At the seminary Jakob Stoll instructed us to change the teaching from the formalism of only verbal translation to a content-filled introduction to the concepts of the oral law based on the study of the text of the written law. Both *Torah-sheb'al Peh* and *Torah-shebi-K'tav* were to be taught as an undivided unit.

The laboratory classroom for the realization of this idea was a small group of boys ages 9 or 10 who came twice a week, Sunday morning and Wednesday afternoon, to one of our classrooms in the seminary building in the Bibrastrasse. They were taught in demonstration lessons by Stoll and in trial lessons by us. This group of boys gave us the opportunity to apply what Stoll taught us, and to gain experience in teaching *Chumash.* Since there was no regular classroom teacher, all teaching had to be done by the seminarians; we thus each had the opportunity to teach a lesson quite frequently.

The main problem for us was that preparation for our knowledge of *Torah-sheb'al Peh* was only rudimentary at best. Fortunately at that time the two volumes of the com-

mentary on *Vayikra* by David Hoffman appeared in print showing how the biblical text had to be understood on the basis of our oral tradition with reference to the original Talmudic sources. Thus our laboratory class studied *Vayikra* as taught by the seminarians using Hoffman's commentary. The result was a new way of teaching *Chumash*. Stoll taught us to lead the students to relevant questions, to sense the necessity for an explanation, to compare a new phrase with one already interpreted, so as to eliminate lecturing as much as possible. The students were to be guided to sense the textual problem as well as to find its solution. S. R. Hirsch's commentary to the *Chumash* was also consulted and extensively used, especially with regard to the meaning of the laws.

The search for a true understanding of the biblical text eventually led to a greater appreciation on the part of the student and became an inspiration for continuous study on the part of the teacher.



Yekutiel Jakob Neubauer
1895-1945

YEKUTIEL JAKOB NEUBAUER

1895-1945

Alex Roberg

YEKUTIEL Jakob Neubauer was born in 1895 in the city of Leipzig, a community most of whose members were descendents of East European immigrants. Neubauer received his religious education at home from tutors hired by his father, an enlightened merchant who had become a Beltzer Chassid, and his general education in German public schools. In 1913 at the age of 18 he passed the matriculation examination, and soon afterwards earned rabbinic ordination from two great scholars of Galicia—Rabbi Yehoshua Bombach of Auschwitz and Rabbi Meir Hakohen Rappaport of Cracow. At about that time he married the daughter of Rabbi Chayim Dym of Azevorks, in Western Galicia. After his marriage he remained in Leipzig, and entered the university where he studied jurisprudence as well as Semitic languages. Professor Kuschaker, celebrated scholar and researcher of com-

parative jurisprudence, took special interest in him, and under his guidance Neubauer wrote his dissertation on the history of Biblical and Talmudic marital laws. It was published in 1920 in two parts under the title *"Beiträge zur Geschichte des Biblisch-Talmudischen Eheschliessungrechts. Eine rechtsvergleichende historische Studie,"* in the journal of the famous *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft.* The work made a tremendous impression on the scholarly world, received favorable reviews in the professional publications, and opened the door to a university career for its young author. Neubauer, however, refused to accept a university appointment, because he wanted to advance his knowledge of Torah and dedicate all his talents to the research of *Halacha.*

Even as an undergraduate, he wrote, and in 1913 he published a book against biblical criticism, which aroused great interest among Jewish and Christian scholars who were opposed to the Wellhausen method. Following this book he published other biblical studies, but his major concentration became the study of *Halacha.*

When his father bought an estate in Hermansberg, Bavaria, and moved there from Leipzig, he followed him. There he gathered around him a circle of disciples, primarily university students. The relative isolation of the estate made it possible for the young rabbi to delve deeply and uninterruptedly into his studies and develop his views and ideas about Torah and science, religion and faith, exile and Zion. There the young man matured, and his course in life and scholarship became clear to him. He concluded that there were no boundaries between science and Torah; if one wished to be a researcher of *Halacha*—even if only in the manner of the ancient scholars—then one must consider the literary-historical aspects of the subject, the sources of *Halacha* and also the relationship of the ancient scholars to one another. Moreover, he reasoned, all disciplines are influenced by one another: *Halacha* and *Agada, Midrash* and philosophy, history and *Poskim.*

The years he spent on the Hermansberg estate under

the patronage of his father served to crystallize his views and thoughts and gain knowledge in all areas of Torah and Judaica. But it was not just mere erudition without an objective. Everything was directed towards one purpose: an understanding of Halachic Judaism and all its principles.

Because of economic pressure, Neubauer was forced to leave Hermansberg in search for a livelihood. In 1926, at the age of 31, he found employment at the Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Würzburg, Bavaria, where he was engaged as *Seminarrabbiner.*

To the *ILBA* students Dr. Neubauer seemed to be a man of contradictions. He had the appearance and mannerism of a *Chassid* yet at the same time was at home in the academic world; talmudic scholar, involved day and night in learning, but quite at ease to discuss the latest German, French or English literature; strongly opinionated in religion and politics but of saintly gentleness in dealing with his fellow man.

His coming to Würzburg brought about a complete reevaluation and strengthening of Hebraic studies at the *ILBA*. Out of necessity the future teacher had to be an expert in many fields. Besides the government requirement to pass the examination as a public school teacher he had to be prepared to serve as *Religionslehrer,* cantor, preacher and very often as *shochet.* In order to be qualified in all these areas a great amount of material had to be covered, very often at the expense of depth and real understanding. Also the majority of *ILBA* students came from small Jewish communities with limited facilities for intensive Jewish learning.

On the other hand Dr. Neubauer up to this time had been surrounded by young people with yeshivah or university training who were highly motivated in their search for religious fulfillment and scientific excellence. In order to bring about an understanding between teacher and student a great effort in adjustment had to be made on both parts.

For example, there was the matter of class time. Dr. Neubauer was at a complete loss when, in the middle of a

discussion the bell rang, signalling the end of the session. In frustration he called out, "No janitor will tell me when to stop my *shiur.*" But when he left the classroom and saw the redfaced *Seminaroberlehrer* Leopold Anfänger pacing the floor, he realized that there was reason for an exact timetable, and very soon found ways for intensification of studies within the allotted time.

Thus before he introduced a new *Sugya* his students had to be acquainted with its biblical references and its sources in Mishnah and the Talmud. This preparation had to be done by self-study or in groups under the leadership of more advanced students; Dr. Neubauer, however, was always available for assistance. In this way the students became motivated and eagerly looked forward to the hours of stimulating study with their beloved teacher. The goal of study was no longer the amount of material to be covered, but rather the ability to understand new texts by using all available sources.

Not all students were able to totally follow this ambitious program and soon Dr. Neubauer spotted in each class his *Talmudisten* whom he challenged to the limit of their abilities. With them he established a very close personal relationship which lasted far beyond the seminary days.

Very soon this new trend in the *ILBA* program became known throughout Germany, and a different type of student, many with an excellent Hebraic background, enrolled in the school. In many cases *ILBA* graduates postponed the acceptance of teaching positions in order to devote time to intensive talmudic studies with their teacher. Dr. Neubauer followed the careers of his students after their graduation and he was especially pleased that quite a number went on *Aliya,* his own most cherished dream.

Apart from his teaching at the *ILBA,* he conducted a seminar in his home for students of the University of Würzburg. In those days, many of the alumni of the rabbinical seminaries of Berlin and Amsterdam used to come to Würzburg for their final university courses and degrees.

A number of those students studied for years at Eastern European Yeshivot and were talmudical scholars of considerable standing. Thus the seminars were of very high standard. In his book *Three Generations* Dayan Dr. I. Grünfeld, a participant in these sessions, writes of Neubauer: "He was supreme in the analysis of a Talmudical *Sugya* and to listen to such an analysis was an intellectual pleasure and an unforgettable religious experience. His legal and historical training made him no less supreme in the field of the history of Jewish Law and the exposition of the development of a particular *Halacha,* ranging from the biblical text, the Halachic Midrashim and Talmudical sources to the latest *Posek.*" Students of the seminary considered it the greatest honor to be invited to join this elite group in their study sessions. One of his *Talmudisten* was always chosen to write a summary of each session.

The high quality of Dr. Neubauer's students and these sessions is illustrated by the following: Some time ago a former student of Dr. Neubauer named Shlomo Bar Kol (Kula) enrolled at Bar Ilan University in Israel. He was surprised that in his outline of courses Talmud was eliminated. In questioning the late Professor Binyamin DeVries he was told that among the manuscripts of Dr. Neubauer in DeVries' possession the summaries of these *Shiurim* were found and many of them were signed by Shlomo Kula.* The faculty came to the conclusion that anyone capable of such writing would not be required to take the course in Talumd.

Dr. Neubauer's home became a center of Jewish intellectual life, where students of all subjects—law, philosophy, natural science, medicine and rabbinics, met in free discussion while enjoying the wonderful hospitality of Neubauer's home. These encounters were of special importance to the young *ILBA* students who later were to become leaders of Jewish communities throughout Germany.

In those days many of Dr. Neubauer's famous articles on Jewish law, biblical exegesis, Jewish legal history—the

fruit of his seminars with young *Talmidel Chachamim* and students—appeared in *Jeshurun,* the *Magazin für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* and other Jewish and secular scholarly journals. His addresses at the annual conventions of the *Bund Jüdischer Akademiker* and the *Lehrerverband* will never be forgotten by those who were privileged to listen to them.

The fame of Dr. Neubauer spread beyond the borders of Germany, and students from Holland came to study with him. In 1930 the position of director of the Ashkenazic Rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam became vacant, and the leaders of Dutch Jewry contacted him. For a number of years he made regular visits to Holland to lecture at the Rabbinical Seminary, but found it difficult to leave *ILBA,* the place that gave him so much pleasure and satisfaction.

In 1933 Dr. Neubauer, who very early recognized the serious threat to Jewish existence in Germany, moved to Amsterdam. The Board of Governors of the Seminary appointed him Dean for Talmud and Poskim. The position suited him well and also a circle of students from outside the seminary were attracted to him. The scope of his lectures broadened because of his duty to prepare students for ordination.

The sphere of his interest widened to include the history and nature of the Karaite Halacha, on which he published a number of articles. Most of his work, however, was directed to studying the development of Halacha from the Tanaitic period to the scholars of his day through the use of the critical-historical approach.

With the onset of political unrest and finally, war, came the Holocaust, which utterly destroyed Rabbi Yekuthiel Jakob Neubauer, both spiritually and physically. It was difficult for this sensitive and delicate person to withstand the spiritual and physical tortures of the Amsterdam ghetto and the concentration camp of Bergen Belsen. He departed from this world on the eighth of Nisan

5705 (March 22, 1945), not long before the liberation of the camps by Allied forces.

In the Memorbook—Pictorial History of Dutch Jewry from the Renaissance to 1940 by Mozes Heiman Gans, the author states:

> "The activities of various refugees led to a religious and cultural revival. In this connection we need only mention Dr. Jakob Neubauer, of whom Dr. Menachem Elyakiem Bolle, born and educated in Amsterdam and now resident of Jerusalem, wrote in his doctorial thesis in 1960. The arrival of Dr. Jakob Neubauer in the Netherlands in 1933 would have been as important an event in the history of the Dutch Israelitic Seminary as the arrival of J. H. Dünner (Chief Rabbi of Holland and Director of the Rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam 1862 to 1874) had the war not intervened.
>
> Professor DeVries, one of his students states; "No one privileged enough to study under him will ever forget the extraordinary force and personal magnetism of this great man, a true Chassid in all his ways."

---

*Based on manuscripts of Dr. Neubauer the *Mosad Horav Kook* published in 1957 *"Harambam al Divrey Sofrim"* with an introduction by Professor Binyamin DeVries.



Baron Ernst von Manstein
1869-1944

BARON ERNST VON MANSTEIN, THE GER TSEDEK OF WÜRZBURG

1869-1944

David Schuster, Würzburg
translated by Eric Greenbaum

BARON Ernst von Manstein was born in Thuringia in Germany on May 18, 1869, an offspring of well-known nobility.

The life story of this man deserves to be presented.

Around the year 1890, Baron Ernst von Manstein came to Würzburg to fulfill his military duty with the ninth regiment of the infantry. Since he was an outstanding musician, he was assigned to the military band of his regiment. Even during his first military assignment he established friendly relations with several Jewish families in Würzburg, but especially in the suburb of Heidingsfeld which in the meantime had been annexed by Würzburg. This city was considered an *Ir Voeim Beyisroel,* wherein famous Talmudical academies flourished and notable

scholars resided. One home in the city of Heidingsfeld best known as a center for Torah scholars was that of Isaac Gutmann, a Torah scholar of great fame. It was in this environment that Baron von Manstein became acquainted with the laws and traditions of Judaism; thus, it came about that his determination grew to convert to Judaism. Amongst the teachers of the Baron were the son of that famous Torah scholar, Rabbi Lipmann Bär Bamberger and Jonas Ansbacher who was also a Mohel. The last director of the *ILBA,* Jakob Stoll, of blessed memory, gave the writer of this article a precise life-story of Baron von Manstein. In this presentation it is recorded that Jonas Ansbacher himself traveled with the Baron to Amsterdam to finalize his conversion. It was there that he was warned once more to reconsider the seriousness of his decision and to be aware of the heavy burden that he would assume by becoming a Jew. Since the Jewish law does not permit a Jew to induce a non-Jew to convert, the Baron was urged to be careful in his decision. Only when Ernst von Manstein firmly announced his determination to convert to Judaism was he finally accepted into the fold. His circumcision had already been performed in Amsterdam. Henceforth, a scion of German nobility who was strictly observant in all details of the Jewish laws was now a member of the orthodox Jewish community of Würzburg.

Strange also is the life-story of the woman with whom the Baron later shared his life. Miss Franziska Bezold was a young gifted writer, highly acclaimed for her talents. She had been raised in Würzburg in a Christian family after being orphaned at an early age. She had Jewish friends, frequented their homes and became acquainted with Baron von Manstein. While enjoying the hospitality of her friends, she learned to love Jewish life and its customs. Gradually it dawned upon her that she must have observed these traditions during her childhood, and the conviction grew within her that she must be of Jewish origin. Franziska was so certain in her newly found faith that she took the decisive step to convert to Judaism.

It was shortly after her conversion that she became the Baroness von Manstein. The home of the von Mansteins in the Keesburgstrasse was a place that radiated holiness, where true and careful observance of all Mitzvot was obvious and, above all, kindness to the poor was especially practiced.

The professional activities of Baron von Manstein included music as well as art. He trained to be an art instructor and studied at the University of Strassburg to be an historian of art. In Würzburg, the Baron worked for many years at the private Realschule of the Adam Institute and in the art department of the Max-Schule as well as the Würzburg Seminary.

During the years of intensive persecution, Baron von Manstein was spared from actual deportation since—according to legal standards—he was considered to be of "Aryan" extraction. Nevertheless, he had to bear the humiliation and deprivation suffered by his fellow Jews. Soon he was forced to relinquish his activities in the various schools of the public and private sector. Only in the Jewish Teachers' Seminary was he permitted to continue his instruction. Apart from their artistic endeavors, the von Mansteins were unusually devoted to the pursuit of nature study. The Baron possessed an orchard, produced fruit and occupied himself with apiculture. But his greatest distinction was the sincerity of his faith and his fear of God. He was a regular worshipper and also a member of the presidium in a smaller Synagogue, the so-called "Mazzestub." His wife passed on in the year 1941 and she was interred in the Jewish cemetery in Würzburg; the inscription on her tombstone was the work of her husband.

The attempts of Baron von Manstein to emigrate to what was then Palestine were not successful; his whole life he had been yearning and preparing for this fulfillment. His disappointment he described vividly in the letters to his friends. As a strictly orthodox Jew, the Baron shared the fate of his fellow Jews in the so-called "Jew House" in the Domerschulstrasse with all those who forcibly had to

take up residence there because they had Jewish relatives, until he was sent to the emergency ward of the Julius Hospital where he passed away on January 17, 1944.

A beautiful description of the exemplary life of Baron von Manstein has been given by a member of the Jewish community in Würzburg, a proselyte woman who describes his sterling character and dignity during the most difficult situations in the last years of the persecution until his death. The coffin, covered with a swastika of the infamous Hitler brigade, was carried to the grave by SA men in uniform. In this manner they tried to camouflage the life of Baron Ernst von Manstein.

In the year 1946, the last Würzburg rabbi, Dr. Hanover in the U.S.A., began to take steps to have the remains of the Baron reinterred on the Jewish cemetery in Würzburg. Later on, in the year 1959, Dr. Harry Maor who had been then working on his doctoral dissertation about "Jewry in Germany" approached the Jewish community in Würzburg, whereupon the author of this article contacted the authorities of the city in this manner. When the municipal cemetery committee was approached concerning the reinterment they were not amenable to the idea, since no fees had been paid for more than 15 years. At long last the Jewish community in Würzburg was willing to assume the obligation of paying new cemetery fees that might be levied. Thereupon the city of Würzburg was willing to forego all these obligations and agreed to the reinterment. With permission of Rabbi Dr. Lichtigfeld of blessed memory, of the "Jewish Congregational Organization" in Bavaria, the Jewish community in Würzburg fulfilled its sacred obligation and duty of honor on May 22, 1960, to reinter the Baron in the Jewish cemetery.

There was an overflow participation when the Jewish Baron was buried next to his late wife. The ceremony was conducted by the late Dr. Lichtigfeld while the president of the Jewish community vividly described the life-story of the Baron.

Since that time, the graveside of Baron von Manstein and his wife Fanny on the Jewish cemetery in Würzburg has become a favorite attraction, frequented by a constant stream of visitors.



Reuben M. Eschwege
1890-1977

REUBEN M. ESCHWEGE

1890-1977

Ruth Thaler and Henry Eschwege

REUBEN M. Eschwege pursued a number of professions during his lifetime, many of them concurrently, all of them in the service of G-d and mankind. He was a Cantor, a Mohel, an artist, the secretary of the Würzburg Kehillah, but perhaps he was best known to those associated with the Jewish Teachers Seminary in Würzburg as a teacher or *Fachlehrer.*

Reuben M. Eschwege was born in 1890 in Thüngen, a village in Unterfranken, not far from Würzburg. He attended the local Jewish School taught solely by his father. The student body of about 55 met in a single classroom, embodying a total of 8 grades. He entered the preparatory school in Höchberg and subsequently attended and graduated from the Jewish Teachers Seminary of Würzburg in 1911. His diploma shows an overall grade of *sehr gut* ("very good").

Following cantorial positions in Camberg and Emden, Reuben M. Eschwege was selected as Chief Cantor of the Würzburg Congregation in 1915. He remained in that position almost 25 years until 1939, when he and his family emigrated to London and subsequently to New York City.

For the more than 20 years of his stay in Würzburg, Reuben M. Eschwege taught at the Jewish Teachers Seminary, an institution founded by the great-grandfather (Rabbi S. B. Bamberger) of his wife, Sara, née Unna.

He found much delight in imparting his knowledge in cantorial music, Torah reading and religious customs and laws. It was his task to help prepare candidates for careers as teachers and cantors. At the Seminary he also served as a member of the State-appointed Board of Examiners for religious subjects.

He required diligence and serious efforts from his students. A *Hashkiveinu* by Kirschner or a *V'ye-esoyu* by Lewandowski had to be recited without deviation from the music text. When he was satisfied with a student's performance you would hear the commendation *sehr fein* ("very fine").

The Torah reading needed to be exact, stressing the proper syllable and recognizing every dot and line. The "Trope" had to be clearly distinguishable, such as between the marking on the last syllable *(Pashto)* and the same marking *(Kadmo)* on other than the last syllable.

Reuben M. Eschwege drew on his vast library of *Minhagim* books to contrast the customs of different European regions and different cities and towns. He emphasized to his students the practical application of laws *(Dinim)* to daily life and the conduct of religious service.

Jakob Stoll, Director of the Seminary, wrote of his impact on that institution: "Endowed with outstanding knowledge in these subjects, he achieved in his lectures the very best results. He enjoyed the fullest devotion of his students, complete respect of his colleagues and the highest recognition of his superiors."

The events of November 9, 1938, brought his formal

association with the Seminary to an end. But throughout the rest of his life he relived these earlier years and the many incidents and circumstances which had transpired during his teaching career. He would meet with many of his former colleagues and students in the United States. They would come to hear him as he resumed his cantorial career in New York City. Former students would visit him frequently and listen as he recited many anecdotes and songs from the earlier times. Not only did he remember every one of his students, but he recalled—with the help of his little black notebook and occasionally to their slight embarrassment—how well they performed in his classes years ago.

In 1977 at the age of 87, Reuben M. Eschwege passed on. He felt assured that his former students would carry on and perpetuate the rich heritage and the tradition of the synagogue service which he instilled in them at the Seminary.

Memories and Essays

כי שאל נא לימים ראשונים
אשר היו לפניך
דברים ד:לב

MEMORIES

Samson R. Weiss

MY father of blessed memory wrote me in the Spring of 1934 to Zürich, where I had been studying since October 1933, that the position of *Seminarrabbiner* at the Würzburg Jewish Teachers Seminary, the *Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt,* had become vacant, and urged me to submit my application. I had left the Mirrer Yeshivah after 4½ years of deep inner satisfaction and happiness, to complete my secular studies and to earn my doctorate. Already at that time, German Universities no longer accepted Jewish students. In Zürich, most of my previous credits had been accepted and the language of instruction was German. Having graduated from a humanistic Gymnasium neither English nor French were at my command. Latin and Greek and a smattering of Italian were, aside from Hebrew and from Yiddish, acquired in Mir, my only linguistic background. This is why I had gone to Zürich to enroll there at the university. Also, in 1934 one could still get a German passport valid for Switzerland without

proof of emigration to that country. Later, when I went to Dropat, I had to bring proof that my intention was to find a position so that I could leave the Third Reich.

Reluctantly, and mostly to please my parents, I wrote to Director Jakob Stoll, of blessed memory enclosing copies of my *S'michoth,* of my *Abiturium* certificate and of my college credits. I was invited for an interview and some trial lessons. I probably was the youngest candidate, just having turned 24 and looking not at all like a Rabbi, but rather like a young student. I nevertheless was elected to the position and notified of the decision still before I left on my return trip to Zürich. I was to commence my activities on the 20th of Elul 5694, Monday, September 3rd, after the summer vacation. To my surprise, I was quite ready to accept the appointment. My initial reluctance had evaporated under the impact of the students and of the unique challenge the position represented at that specific point of time. The institution itself gave me somehow the impression of a strange mixture of exaggerated rigidity, missing the warmth and soul without which no education can succeed, and on the other hand, of a pride in its traditions and principles which, if carried over to the student could be an invaluable asset in the forming of the student's character and Weltanschaung. Later on, I came to recognize that beneath the outer rigidity was a core of sympathetic understanding and participation, albeit not often enough and not sufficiently articulated. The typically German distance between teacher and student further exacerbated the difficulty of dialogue and communication. For a newcomer, however, the first impression was one of coldness and lack of personal involvement of the staff in the lives of their charges. For me, who had so deeply been impressed and literally transformed by his Yeshivah years, this was the very opposite of what I had learned to admire and revere in my great teachers, the Mirrer Rosh Yeshivah, of blessed memory, and the Mirrer *Mashgiach* of blessed memory, the teacher of what in the terminology of the Lithuanian Yeshivot is called *Mussar* (ethics and Jewish thought). They had taught me that a

Rebbe must live for his students, share and shoulder their innermost problems and worries, and identify with them like a father does with his own flesh and blood. They were accessible to their disciples literally day and night. A relationship like that had come to me as one of the great and revolutionary revelations of the Yeshivah spirit. I had never known such proximity to a teacher, nor experienced such reverence and awe before any human being. To me until then, teachers, even teachers of Torah, were to be given respect and to be feared; mostly the last, because they gave marks and could cause trouble. But I never had felt such love, accompanied by a deep humility and a yearning to come close to such moral and intellectual greatness, towards any of my previous teachers. True, most of my Torah learning before I came to Mir had been at the feet of my father and my feelings for him, therefore, were greatly intensified and quite different from the usual filial relationship. To have had one's father as one's *Rebbe*—and he taught me from *Aleph-Beth* to *Gemara—Tosfot*—is a rare privilege for which I am to this very day grateful to *Hashem*. Yet, to find masters who could evoke in me similarly strong emotions, and on an entirely different plane, caused a veritable upheaval in my young, impressionable soul. I shall never forget the moment, when I took leave for the first time from my *Rosh Yeshivah* to go home for a vacation, and he kissed me. It brought tears to my eyes, though I knew quite well that this was the custom in the Lithuanian Yeshivoth: The *Rebbe* kissed his *Talmid* (disciple) when he took leave and when he came back. At that moment, I had become one of the circle, accepted as a *Talmid,* embraced by that unbounded love and presence heretofore so utterly unknown to me.

With these precious imprints still fresh and vivid in my mind and heart—and they have remained so as very few others have—small wonder that I looked at the Würzburg Seminary as at an institution to be changed, if my being part of it was to be worthwhile and to make any sense. That changes could indeed be accomplished became clear

to me as soon as I met the students, however fleeting and however burdened by the strictures of classroom atmosphere our encounters were. These young people were so very obviously open and waiting for the purpose-giving and soul-filling teachings of Torah, that my first acquaintance with them sufficed to convince me of the great potential, inherent in the position offered to me. Since 1933, profound changes had taken place in the field of education as far as Jews were concerned. The Nazi government had closed to them all possibilities for academic training. It also had limited the enrollment of the Würzburg Seminary to exactly 96 students, based on the figures of the 1932 roster. The institution was the only one left for Jews in Germany where graduates of High Schools could continue their studies and hope to attain upon graduation some meaningful certificate and title. Suddenly, the Seminary had become a desirable place of study and was swamped with applications for admission from all parts of Germany, for it held out after 2 years of study for holders of an *Abiturientenzeugnis* (the certificate of graduation from High School) the degree of *Voksschullehrer,* (public school teacher) and a separate document entitling the graduate to serve as *Religionslehrer* (teacher of Jewish religious disciplines). In 1934, enrollment in the existing Jewish Day Schools had more than doubled and more teachers were needed. Also, in the wake of the treatment by teachers and fellow students alike to which Jewish pupils were exposed in the German public schools, new Jewish schools were rapidly being established. In all these Jewish Schools, the double qualification to teach secular as well as Jewish subjects was highly desirable for obtaining a full position.

As a consequence, applicants came not only from religious homes but also from non-observant ones, with little or no background of Jewish knowledge. It was mainly for them that the Seminary established the so-called *Übergangskurs,* an intensive course of studies to facilitate the transit into the upper class of the institution, by bringing the student up to the level of those who had had

the benefit of four years of regular instruction in the lower classes of the Seminary. This *Übergangskurs* proved to be of great value to the entire institution of which it quickly became an integral part. It offered a challenge to, and widened the horizon of the other students, since the participants in this special course represented an elite group of high intellectual capacity. To be admitted, one had to pass a quite difficult examination. Since the Seminary was so severely limited in its enrollment, only the very best could be accepted. It was a heartbreaking experience to see the sadness and the tears of those who had to be rejected, a number above 50% of the applicants.

Thus, in 1934 the student body of the Seminary was far from a homogeneous group. Sons and daughters from traditional Jewish homes studied and lived together with those from highly assimilated ones, where Shabbos-observance and Kashruth were unknown and regarded as atavistic remnants of a period in Jewish history long brought to an end by cultural and legal emancipation and modern enlightenment. In these homes, contemporary culture at the apex of which stood, of course, German culture was the life-filling ingredient and the source of all values. The young people brought up in them experienced their first Shabbos in the Seminary. They initially kept the Jewish observances like other houserules, simply because they were required of the students.

Obviously this group was much less equipped than the children of orthodox parents, to withstand the soul-wrenching shock of the Nazi era. The sudden disillusionment and isolation, the naked hatred experienced everywhere, and the open contempt encountered in the many unavoidable dealings with German officialdom, from the policeman on the street to the postal carrier and the lowliest clerk in the government office. Bewildered and lost, much of their natural youthful exuberance gone, serious beyond their years, they came to Würzburg, thrown together by the common fate of exclusion with other young people who, while similarly affected by persecution and programmed humiliation, were yet able to

draw strength from indigenous Jewish values and less inclined to doubt their own worth, so stridently and coarsely denied by the *Herrenvolk* (master-race).

In this anomalous, tense, and emotionally highly charged atmosphere, I was to be active as teacher and, as I saw it, also as guide and friend. So began a period of four years and one month, from September 3, 1934, to October 4, 1938, which in many respects was the most challenging and the most fruitful of my career. I tried to transfer to Würzburg the spirit of Mir, to a Teachers' Seminary the depth and enthusiasm of devotion and dedication to Torah learning and Torah observance which I had experienced in the Yeshivah. What I had learned from my great masters, I tried to apply to my lesson in class and to my many private conversations with individual students. These private sessions soon became to me, and I felt also to them, as important and sometimes even more important than the formal classes, which I endeavored to transform into *Sheurim.*

Once the spirit of "learning" took hold, we soon found out that the limited class hours were not nearly sufficient to satisfy the awakened thirst for Jewish knowledge. Extra-curricular study-periods came into being, not imposed by the institution but by the desire of the students themselves, where one did not merely do homework or prepare for a test, but *learned* with a *chavrussah* (study companion). The boys concentrated on Gemorah in ever increasing measure. The girls strove for knowledge in *Chumash* and *Rashi,* soon adding other commentaries to the widening circle of their interest in *T'nach* and *Dinim.*

From my side, too, opportunities to learn were added. On *Shabbos* morning, a *Shiur* on the *Sidrah,* mostly based on *Midrash, Ramban* and *Sforno,* took place in the *Lehrerzimmer,* (the teachers' lounge) between Kiddush-Breakfast and the noon-time *S'udath Shabbath.* Limited in attendance, it proved to be a very intensive hour and one half of study. The biggest beneficiary probably was I myself. I had to prepare the selection of the portions to be

studied and thus had to go over, every week, all of *Ramban* and *Sforno,* together with a good part of *Medrash Rabba.* The second extra curricular *shiur* was a *Mussar* talk, given after the *S'udah Shlishit* in the big *Zeichensaal* which also served as the Seminary's *Bet Haknesset.* Modelled after the *Schmuessen* of the Lithuanian Mussar Yeshivoth, these talks dealt with the fundamentals of our faith, with the core concepts of the Jewish world view and the Jewish notion of human greatness. Not necessarily based on the Sedrah of the week, it introduced the students to some of our greatest thinkers, from the Medieval period of the *Rishonim* to the *Alter of Slobodka, Rabbi Nosson Zvi Finkel and the Chofetz Chaim.* There also was hardly a talk when I did not quote my own Rebbe, the *Mirrer Mashgiach.* The atmosphere of the departing *Shabbat Kodesh,* the slowly increasing darkness in the unlit room and the spirit of repose and serenity so particular to this sacred hour, gave these talks a special impact. The attendance was rather large, since students of the three upper grades and of the *Ü-kurs* could attend.

Another *Shabbat* occasion of meeting with the students was the Friday night "open house" in the home of Mrs. Bertha Neuberger, of blessed memory, where I boarded until my marriage. Mrs. Neuberger, a wonderful human being full of wisdom and goodness, rejoiced in the fact that her home was filled with young people on Friday nights and she lovingly prepared the refreshments served at these gatherings. The conversation roamed from contemporary events, mostly frightening in nature, and more immediate personal concerns, such as developments in the Seminary, complaints, injustices allegedly or actually suffered, to questions of ideological substance. In the spirit of intimacy which prevailed in these hours, the young people were able to open up and to speak of their innermost concerns and vexations with utter truth. I, too, could say many things not given to classroom teachings and came to look forward to these informal Friday evening meetings. I saw in them one of the prime opportunities for my en-

deavor to bring my students closer to Torah and the acceptance of Jewish responsibilities.

My colleagues on the staff, and especially Director Stoll, gave me the utmost cooperation. Where I had feared, based upon my first impression, resistance and rejection of anything new in content and approach, I found instead after understandable initial skepticism, full and warm acceptance and encouragement. In fact, the Seminary staff took a certain pride in the young, revolutionary Rabbi who did not stand on any formal dignity—and how could he, being but a few years older than his graduating class, playing football and handball together with them, as one of the team, and taking them to the *Jahrmarkt* (the fair) to shoot for them for prizes and, being a good shot, often succeeding, to their great joy and admiration.

When in 1935 a delegation of the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden* (the representative organization of the German Jews under the Nazi regime) visited the Seminary, I was exhibited as a novelty and the fact that they were very impressed with my Gemora lesson certainly did me no harm in my relationship with Director Stoll to whom I often had to come with all kinds of requests for changes or additions to the school program and in the interest of individual students.

Among my colleagues, all of whom I appreciated greatly and with whom I quickly became good friends, I want to mention only two for special reasons. One is Dr. Benno Hirnheimer, of blessed memory, a man of an intellect probably in the genius class, who from childhood on was badly crippled. In spite of his severe handicap, he was the soul of goodness, a quality very seldom found among people in such condition. Imbued with deep faith, possessed of Jewish and secular knowledge of a truly astonishing range, he was a unique personality. The other one is Director S. Chaim Steinhäuser, of blessed memory, who had an only child, a son, who attended the Seminary, a brilliantly gifted student, who excelled especially in his Talmud Studies. Erich Eliezer, for whom to buy a *Shass* I was asked by his parents, died after a brief illness on Shab-

bath, the first day of Pessach 5697 at the age of 16. The unimaginable pain and sorrow of his passing was born by his father and mother with such strength and nobility of spirit and such humble submittance to the inscrutable divine design, that all of us felt small indeed in the face of such faith and fortitude. Later Director Steinhäuser gave me the Shass as a gift. I inscribed in it appropriate words of memory and the *Jahrzeit* date, added a picture of the tombstone, erected on *Taanit Esther* 5698, with the text which I had the privilege to write, clearly legible. Whenever I learn in it, I remember this beloved Talmid and his great parents who died as martyrs in the Holocaust.

In the publication for which these recollections are intended, there will be mentioning and appropriate appreciation expressed, I am sure, of all the other colleagues, those by the grace of Hashem still alive and those no longer with us. My describing them and evaluating their specific and individual contributions to the living entity which the Seminary constituted would, therefore, be redundant.

My relationship to the students continued to develop each term. Many of them I held in deep affection. The passing years and geographic distances have not dimmed these feelings and the difference of age has become even more insignificant. We have remained friends over the major part of our lifetimes, our friendship being based on shared ideas and ideals. By now, most of them are grandfathers and grandmothers. Many of their sons and grandsons have gone and, respectively, are going now to Yeshivoth, their daughters and granddaughters to Beth Jacob schools or institutions of similar trend. Looking back I am biased enough to think that possibly some seeds of thought and conviction planted by me in these bygone years have contributed to this beautiful human harvest.

It is indicative of the changed spirit of the institution that after the second graduation during my tenure, seven students left for the Mirrer Yeshivah. Two of them did not even wait to complete their studies in Würzburg and joined these graduates. In addition the son of Mrs. Neu-

berger, Herman Naphtali, not a Seminary-student, but through his home part of our circle, also went to learn in Mir. Shortly after he returned he emigrated to the United States and settled in Baltimore, Md. where he had relatives. He continued his studies at the Baltimore Yeshivah Ner Israel and became in time its Executive Director. He built one of the most beautiful campuses of any Yeshivah anywhere. It was he who saved the lives of my wife and myself as well as of 23 students, all of whom received affidavits from Ner Israel, enabling us to obtain visas to the U.S.A., the students as accepted enrollees and I as "Professor of Codes." Thus, I was able to apply for a non-quota admission. I was professor by a twist of fate worthwhile relating, for it shows so vividly the hand of G-d, the *Hashgachah Pratit*. Until 1936, the *Lehrerprüfung* (final examination) was administered and supervised by professors of the Bavarian *Kultus Ministerium* (the Ministry of Education) of that German state. In 1936, among the many decrees continuously tightening the rope around the neck of German Jewry, the Nazi regime did not permit non-Jews to give these examinations any longer to Jewish students in a Jewish institution. Still recognizing, however, the need for a teachers' seminary for Jews, they permitted Jewish qualified professors to administer final exams and grant diplomas. Director Stoll, for instance, had the rank of professor. For the Jewish disciplines it was more difficult to find a qualified examiner. The Bavarian *Kultus Ministerium* therefore notified me at the beginning of the 1936 fall term, that I had been named *Studienprofessor*. At that time it was a sad joke—a professor at the age of 26—the result of plain, unvarnished *Rishuth* (Antisemitism). Two years later, when I applied in Stuttgart for an American non-quota visa, the consul did not want to credit the story, until I verified it by official documents. When I explained to him that my professorship was an outgrowth of anti-semitic persecution, he got red in the face with anger and said: "I shall recognize this title. You have had it already for two years now, exactly the time required by our laws for a non-

quota academic visa. They meant evil, but we shall make it turn out for the good" or words to this effect. Jews were standing all night long in line in front of the doors of the Stuttgart American Consulate, not to lose their turn for an early "waiting number," the quota of regular visas having long been over-subscribed. The "joke" of my professorship enabled my wife and me to emigrate to the States. Two days after we had left, the Gestapo came to Annastr. 9, our residence, to arrest me. I was later told of this visit at which they mistakenly smashed the furniture of a S. S. *Sturmführer* who had cut through some red tape to get for the Jew the passport and other papers needed for emigration because he wanted his apartment. Already then, the Nazis had begun to build up Würzburg as a major military airfield and training center, and apartments were almost impossible to get. The day we left, this Nazi had moved in.

Thus, we were able to escape. I recall this story in detail, to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Rabbi Neuberger and to the founder and dean of Ner Israel the Gaon Rabbi J. I. Ruderman, who issued to me the invitation to serve as professor at the Rabbinical College Ner Israel and who also accepted 23 of our students.

I must come back to 1935 to relate two events. I took a leave of absence of several months to go back to Mir, upon the advice of the *Mirer Mashgiach,* whom I had visited in Karlsbad where he had gone that summer for a few days of rest. He apparently noted a deep inner exhaustion, not physical but rather emotional, and he told me to come back to re-fuel myself by learning, day and night. I myself had not been aware of this exhaustion until I left my strenuous duties and schedule. Secondly, I had become very close to my future wife, a student in the graduating class, and I felt that I could not propose to her and, if accepted, continue to teach her class. This second reason for my leave was, of course, unknown to my colleagues and, at the time, even to my future wife. From Mir I proposed to her in writing and my father went to Leipzig to ask her father, of blessed memory, and her mother, may she live and be well, in my behalf for her hand. We were engaged

in the Spring of 1936 after my fiancee Leni Carlebach had graduated and we were married on Teveth 8, 5897 in Leipzig. Director Stoll delivered at the wedding meal a touching talk, claiming credit as *Shadchen* (Matchmaker). In truth, however, a lifetime of gratitude to the Seminary would not suffice as recompense for having met there my life's mate, the mother of our children.

In this connection I must mention a winter vacation in 1935, when I led a small group of boys and girls, among them Leni, on a ski-tour in the Rhön. We rented two houses, one for the boys and one for the girls. Until about 3 in the afternoon we toured and skied. A fair skier, I taught the rudiments of this pleasureable sport to most of the participants, assisted by two or three students who already had more or less mastered this art. With the girls in charge of cooking, we ate the main meal of the day after Mincha. Then came Maariv and afterwards about 4 wonderful hours of learning. We also spent one memorable Shabbos on this vacation tour, saturated with Torah study. In our isolation—there was no place where Jews could go at the end of 1935—we drew strength from each other and from our learning. It was on this tour I now believe, that the lasting bonds between Leni and me developed. After our wedding our home became the focal point of my extracurricular *sheurim* talks, and the by then traditional Friday night gatherings.

In early 1937, the clouds over German Jewry had darkened. Soon the *Anschluss* was to come. One day the janitor of the Seminary disappeared. He returned about a week later to tell us, that he had driven a military truck into *Sudetenland* participating in the action which was the beginning of the terrible events, culminating in World War II and the Holocaust. The exclusion of Jews was total. Whoever could obtain an immigration visa to whatever Western country left, in spite of having to leave behind most of his possessions. I took another short leave, having obtained permission to go to Dorpat, Estonia to "try to find a position" but in reality to pass my Ph.D. examination. I came back to Würzburg with my new title, to

be duly registered by the Bavarian ministry of Education, which thereupon addressed me as *Studienprofessor Dr. Weiss*. Upon the urging of my father I had gone to Dorpat. He saw our days in Germany numbered and felt that an academic title would help me to find a position in America or somewhere else in the free world. Of course, he was right. Without the doctor title, I doubt whether the benevolent American consul could have issued a professorial non-quota visa for me.

A much larger group of students, over 20 if memory serves me right, wanted to leave for Mir at the beginning of 1938. None of them were given passports to Poland. Later we were to learn the reasons why. The invasion of that country was by then all planned. So were the subsequent deportations of European Jewry from all countries of Nazi conquest. Why look for these Jews later on in a conquered country? Keep them here, ready for the hellish design, where their addresses were known and every movement supervised by police and Gestapo.

It was in September of 1938 that we got our American visas and I had to take leave from the Seminary, its students and its staff. We left in October. All of us were aware of the fact that the end was close. Two months later, on November 9, the destruction came. The Seminary was closed, the students dispersed and some of them deported or arrested. Not all came back. May the memory of their martyrdom forever be sacred in the annals of our people.

With the closing of the Seminary a glorious chapter of German Jewish history came to an end, a chapter rich in meaning and good fruit. In 1977, almost four decades later, I was in Würzburg for about 24 hours. I visited the new Synagogue erected by the Würzburg municipality on the grounds of the Jewish Old Age Home. There were in 1977 eighty Jewish families in Würzburg, with a total of nine youths below the age of eighteen. I was shown the former Seminary, taken over in 1938 by the Nazis and now used by the municipality as a school.

The Jewish community of Würzburg is proud that the

Staatliche Realschule für Knaben (Highschool for Boys) housed in our Seminary is called *Die Jakob Stoll Schule.* Nothing could have brought the enormity of our tragedy closer home to me than the fact that a non-Jewish school for the children of our persecutors is named after our unforgettable *Pappa Stoll.* I did not enter. I stood outside and cried.

EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Justin Hofmann

ON the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt—hereafter to be referred to by the abbreviation *ILBA*—a student, M. von D., contributed a poem to a *Festschrift*. In it he gave expression to what he conceived to be the educational philosophy of his school:

> G-ttesfurcht und Menschenliebe
> Jeder Tugend Edelreis
> Pflanztest du als kräftige Triebe
> In den weiten Schülerkreis.
>
> Thoratreue, eng vermählet
> Mit des Wissens hohem Gut,
> Blieb das Ziel, das du erwählet
> Deines Wirkens Fleisch und Blut.[1]

The student, in this poem, is speaking of two basic concerns of his *alma mater's* educational philosophy. To begin with, he is referring to the goal of cultivating deep

spiritual and moral commitments in students. It is the very same notion which the founders of *ILBA* included in their original proposal for establishing a school for the education of Jewish teachers when they stated, as one of their educational goals, the forming of genuinely religious and moral men.[2] From this goal, *ILBA* never swerved throughout its existence. Thus, Studiendirektor Stoll asserted in 1936 that the aim and task of the school is to bring the youth to the conviction of the truth of the Torah way.[3] And a young graduate wrote that same year: "Der ganze Unterricht muss getragen werden von dem G-ttesgedanken. Das Ziel des gesamten Unterrichts ist, das Kind zu erfüllen mit dem Gefühl für G-ttes Walten. Das Bildungsideal ist der aktiv-gläubige Mensch."[4] In short, the educational goal is the spiritually and morally committed individual.

The second concern of *ILBA's* educational philosophy to which the student is alluding in the poem is the relationship of Jewish and general studies. The founders of *ILBA,* in formulating the educational program of the new school, must have posed for themselves a number of important questions: Should Jews steeped in Jewish tradition and learning include such subjects as literature, philosophy, and science in their formal educational experience, or should they continue to remain aloof to them? Do general studies pose a threat to Jewish commitments, or do they supplement and support them? If general studies are to be included, shall they be considered as equal in importance with Jewish studies? What about conflicting ideas? Shall Jewish ideas give way to general studies, or shall conflicts be resolved in favor of Jewish ideas? Is it possible to bring about a synthesis of Jewish and general knowledge, or must there be a dichotomy, so that Jews will have to learn to live in two intellectual worlds?

The position which the leaders of *ILBA* adopted on the question of the relationship of Jewish and general knowledge and to which the student poem is referring is the view known as the *torah im derekh erets* philosophy. Thus, Nathan Bamberger, the son of the founder of *ILBA* and

his successor as its administrative head, writing in the *Festschrift* of 1914, points to the historical precedent of the Golden Age in Spain in which Jews successfully combined Jewish and general learning and asserts that there is ample evidence in both Talmudic and post-Talmudic literature that "knowledge and education in both the religious and general disciplines *(Torah im Derech Erets)* was at all times highly esteemed by the people of the Bible."[5]

There can hardly be any doubt that Rabbi Seligmann Bär Bamberger, the founder and moving spirit of *ILBA* and its administrative head for the first thirteen years of its existence, was imbued with the *torah im derekh erets* philosophy. To begin with, S. B. Bamberger was characterized by his son Nathan as a man "to whom the general human element was very important and who always combined with it, in intimate harmony, the specifically Jewish element."[6] Moreover, Auerbach observed that S. B. Bamberger "considered the establishment of good schools in which pious and able teachers would transmit to the youth the elements of general education in intimate relation with thorough Jewish knowledge and love for Torah law the best protection of Torah true Judaism."[7] Furthermore, in an open letter to Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, dated May 7, 1877, S. B. Bamberger defends himself against the accusation of not subscribing to the *torah im derekh erets* principle, thus leaving no doubt about his attitude. "Ich bin dem Grundsatze *torah im derekh erets* ganz und vollkommen hold,"[8] Bamberger writes. His only reservation, in no way opposed to Hirsch's point of view, is that the study of Torah must not suffer as a result of the time that is being devoted to general culture. "Ich will," Bamberger asserts, "dass Religionslehrer weltlich wissenschaftliche Bildung sich aneignen, ich will aber nicht, dass dies auf Kosten der Religionswissenschaft geschehe . . . "[9] Bamberger concludes his letter, attempting to show his commitment to *torah im derekh erets,* by quoting from the most recent "Rechenschaftsbericht über meine Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt":

> Das Licht der allgemeinen Wissenschaften steht daher mit nichten im Gegensatz zu jener höhren Sphäre, vielmehr in richtiger Auffassung und Würdigung im schönsten Einklange und Verhältnis mit und zu derselben. So wie die in den Tiefen jener höhren Wissenschaftssphäre entspringenden und sprudelnden Lichtquellen auch über das allgemeine Wissensgebiet sich erleuchtend und segnend ergiessen.[10]

The foregoing is a statement worthy of the most ardent supporters of Hirsch's *torah im derekh erets* principle. What is missing, however, in the writings of S. B. Bamberger and in those of his successors at the helm of *ILBA* is a detailed exposition of this important aspect of their educational philosophy. For this we must turn to the writings of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch who originally used the phrase *torah im derekh erets* to characterize his own educational philosophy and who had founded a Realschule based on this principle in 1853, only eleven years before *ILBA* was established.

Hirsch rejected the negative approach to general knowledge, an approach which, no doubt, enjoyed a great deal of support in the Jewish community of his day. To begin with, Hirsch asserts, denying children a general education is not likely to achieve the desired result. In the modern world it is not possible to isolate people from contact with the general culture. Secondly, such a negative approach would have to be coupled with a misrepresentation of the value of general culture. But only those who lack knowledge of this culture, Hirsch insists, could present it in derogatory terms. The fact is that there is much of value in the general culture even from a Jewish point of view.[11] Finally, Hirsch notes, the demands of modern life are such that a general education is an absolute necessity. This being the case, it is preferable that youngsters receive this education under Jewish rather than under non-Jewish auspices. A general education obtained in a non-Jewish school will lack a Jewish orientation. At best, it will ignore the Jewish point of view. But more likely than not, Hirsch believes, it will be antagonistic to Jewish teachings.[12]

The only real solution of the educational predicament of the modern Jew, Hirsch maintains, is the development of a school that would combine Jewish and general studies in its program. This pattern, Hirsch asserts, was clearly anticipated by our Sages in the maxim, *"yafeh talmud torah im derekh erets,"* which according to Hirsch means, "beautiful is the study of Torah together with general culture," and in the maxim, *"im ein torah ein derekh erets—im ein derekh erets ein torah,"* which Hirsch would translate as, "where there is no Torah there is no general culture—where there is no general culture there is no Torah."[13]

Hirsch describes several of the features which such a school should possess. Both areas of study should be pursued with equal seriousness and care. Sufficient time and energy should be devoted to both.[14] Moreover, Jewish and general studies should be molded into a unified whole. Religious knowledge and religious aspirations, Hirsch proposes, should be brought into an intimate relation with what is a "true general education." Specifically, Jewish insights and generally human wisdom shall be treated as a "unified educational element."[15] Hirsch thus takes a firm stand against those who belittle the importance of a general education. He also opposes the dichotomy that often prevails between Jewish and general studies. He suggests, in fact, that in the school that he envisions there must be achieved a certain synthesis of Jewish and general knowledge.

Hirsch further specifies the character of this synthesis. General knowledge, he asserts, should be viewed from the perspective of Jewish truths and the results of general studies should be utilized for a fuller understanding of the Jewish heritage.[16] It is this feature of the proposed synthesis that differentiates it from the approach of certain non-orthodox groups. "To them," Hirsch writes, "progress is the absolute and religion is conditioned by it. To them, religion has validity only insofar as it agrees with progress. To us, progress has validity only insofar as it agrees with religion."[17]

That the wisdom of the Jewish heritage shall assume a position of supremacy in this educational synthesis, Hirsch emphasizes repeatedly. "The core and crown of all knowledge for every Israelite shall be Torah . . . , " he asserts. "There is a helpmeet for this Torah knowledge, it is: Knowledge of nature and of man . . . There is a second helpmeet: Knowledge of history. But all this shall be only supporting knowledge for his real knowledge—for Torah. At the hand of Torah and Prophets let him become acquainted with G-d in nature and in history . . . "[18] General knowledge is here relegated to the position of a "hand maiden" to Torah. Its major role is to support the insights of wisdom and understanding that are found in Torah.

Mendel Hirsch, the son of S. R. Hirsch and his successor as the head of the *Realschule,* is in complete agreement with his father's conception of the relationship of Jewish and general studies. Mendel Hirsch defines a "Jewish *Realschule*" as not merely a school that is attended by Jewish youngsters and teaches Hebrew along with general subjects, but rather as a school in which prevails a "mutual penetration" of the two major subject areas. "However," he hastens to add, "not in the sense that the Jewish element first has to obtain clarification and enlightenment from the realm of general knowledge, but rather that all knowledge is viewed and grasped in the light of the Jewish conception . . . "[19]

In S. R. Hirsch's view it is absolutely essential that to Torah shall be assigned the position of priority in the synthesis; that Jews shall understand G-d, the world, and themselves only through Torah. Any attempt to reverse the order of priority by seeking knowledge of G-d through a study of man and the world is bound to lead to erroneous conceptions, Hirsch asserts. Human reason, Hirsch states, is led to the existence of a "first power," a so-called *Urkraft.* But human reason, he points out, cannot infer the notion of a "personal G-d," the kind of G-d that appears in the verses of the Torah. "Him you will not have—omnipotent, life-giving, all-just, all-loving, high above all and yet, near everywhere . . . ,"[20] Hirsch con-

cludes. Moreover, the conception of man and the world must be derived from the study of Torah, Hirsch goes on to say. Only by following this approach, Hirsch maintains, will the world be understood as the handiwork of G-d and all creatures as beings who are serving His wise purpose. From the study of Torah will also emerge the true conception of the Israelite as "the foremost servant in the large realm of beings, who freely fulfills the will of G-d that was revealed to him."[21] In short, Hirsch is convinced that only by assigning a position of priority to Torah will the proposed synthesis of Jewish and general studies be prevented from doing any violence to the spiritual convictions of Judaism.

The Hirschian conception of the synthesis of Jewish and general knowledge involves both a positive and a negative principle of selection. The positive aspect of his method consists of an affirmation of those ideas of general knowledge that are judged to be consistent with the views of Judaism. The negative aspect involves a recognition and rejection of the ideas of general culture that are found to be in conflict with Jewish tradition.

Several examples of how this synthesis is to be achieved are supplied by Hirsch. One of these is provided on the occasion of a Schiller celebration. Hirsch's enthusiastic appraisal of Schiller's poetry is based on Schiller's conception of life, the world and history. "Who understood as he did to sing words of faith about freedom, about virtue, and about G-d . . . ?" Hirsch exclaims. It was Schiller, Hirsch continues, who wrote about family life in all its dignity and exalted meaning, who expressed sublime thoughts about eternal things and purposes, and who spoke of the ultimate victory of right over might. But all these ideas, Hirsch concludes, are truly Jewish ideas and conceptions. Consciously or subconsciously, they were drawn by the great poet from the treasure house of Judaism.[22]

On the other hand, Hirsch is led to reject certain ideas which he judged to be in conflict with Judaism. Thus, in a critical essay on a certain materialistic view of the world,

Hirsch comments on the fact that, while there is a growing number of scholars, there is much that is false and worthless in what passes for scholarly work. As an example of what he means he cites the notion of the eternity of matter. The conception of "a world which contains exclusively within itself the grounds of its own structures," Hirsch considers a speculative and rather primitive notion.[23] Here as before, the principle of selection is the "Jewish standpoint." Hirsch realizes the synthesis of Jewish and general knowledge through the application of this principle.

The intellectual foundation of the Hirschian synthesis is the conception of the unity of all truth. "In the view of Judaism," Hirsch writes, "there lives the consciousness that truth, like its ultimate source, namely the one and only G-d, is undivided, and hence its recognition, the recognition of truth, can also be only a unified, undivided one."[24] Hirsch thus grounds his monistic conception of truth upon which his educational synthesis is based in the theological monism of Judaism.

But while truth is one, the ways in which it is mediated are two. "Two revelations are lying before you: Nature—and Torah,"[25] Hirsch asserts. It is in the reading of these two revelations, Hirsch is likely to explain, that conflicting ideas arise. The conflicts are to be resolved, however, in favor of Torah, because there is less likelihood of error in reading the book of the Torah than there is in reading the book of nature, Hirsch would probably maintain.

The conception of the unity of truth, Hirsch believed, makes the synthesis of Jewish and general knowledge possible. The rationality of Judaism, he held, makes it a relatively easy task to achieve. The rationality of Judaism is seen by Hirsch in the empirical basis of its affirmations. Such fundamental convictions of Judaism as the existence of G-d and His steering of the course of nature and of history are derived from the historical experiences of the Jewish people, Hirsch asserts.[26] Even such an apparently irrational concept as that of a miracle, Hirsch goes on to say, is consistent with this position. A miracle is an irrational concept only if it is considered in the context of a

naturalism or a mechanism, Hirsch notes. If it is considered in the intellectual framework of Judaism, however, it does make sense. In the light of the theological conceptions of Judaism, the concept serves to explain certain aspects of Jewish historical experience. It is in this sense that it should be judged a rational notion, not fundamentally different from those explanatory devices of experience known as scientific principles, Hirsch maintains.[27]

It should be pointed out, however, that Judaism and science do not derive their ideas from experience in the same way. Judaism is first and foremost a commitment to certain principles or a religious faith. It is, among other things, a commitment to monotheism and to a purposeful universe. Science, on the other hand, does not involve a commitment to any particular explanation of the world. It represents a commitment to human reason. The faith of the scientist is primarily a faith in a method. It is the faith that the use of logical procedures known as the scientific method will lead to more satisfactory results in the search for truth than any other method. There is thus a significant difference between the way Judaism derives its ideas from the historical experience of the Jewish people and the way in which science derives its ideas from experience in general. In the case of Judaism it would, perhaps, be more correct to say that its ideas are reflected experience. They are not really derived from it, since the commitment to the ideas is prior to the examination of the empirical data. Science, on the other hand, does not approach the data of experience with a commitment to a specific explanation. It rather approaches them with hypotheses, with suggested solutions, tentatively held. There is no *a priori* preference for a given idea. The selection of the explanatory principle follows the examination of the empirical data. And even after a principle has been selected, the case may be reopened at any time for re-examination and possible revision. The "rationality" of Judaism thus differs in important respects from the "rationality" of science. But this is not to say that the explanation offered by Judaism may not be preferable to the scientific view.

Hirsch goes even beyond the above noted assertion of rationality. He claims that no rational conception of nature and of history is possible without the fundamental ideas of Judaism. In fact, Hirsch continues, only since men became acquainted with the theological conceptions of Judaism did they begin to formulate rational conceptions of nature and history. Even the most irreligious scholar, at the moment he attempts to deduce from the phenomena the laws of nature and history must presuppose the existence of G-d, Hirsch concludes.[28] No further elaboration of this assertion is offered. Hirsch may have had in mind the principle of the uniformity of nature which science presupposes and which has a certain resemblance to the Jewish notion of monotheism. To overlook the important differences between these two ideas, however, would have to be judged an oversimplification of the issue.

Hirsch seems to argue more convincingly when he turns to historical considerations. He seeks to support his thesis of the feasibility of an educational synthesis by stating that such a synthesis has been achieved in the past.[29] Although Hirsch does not identify the historical period to which he is referring, it may be safe to assume that it is the encounter of Judaism and Arab culture of the Golden Age in Spain, between the tenth and the fourteenth century. The Jewish intellectual giants of that era were not only profound scholars of Judaism, but were also thoroughly conversant with the culture of their time. They were translators, interpreters, and transmitters of that culture. But most important for the present context, they were synthesizers. They tried to forge a consistent position out of the apparently conflicting views of Judaism and Greek-Arabic wisdom. If this feat was achieved in the past, Hirsch seems to reason, it can be repeated in the present. As has already been noted above, the founders of *ILBA* also looked to the historical precedent of the Golden Age in Spain as a possible model for their educational project.

But why did the position which Hirsch took on the sub-

ject of an educational synthesis encounter so much opposition in the Jewish community of his day? Inasmuch as such a synthesis had existed in the past and inasmuch as Judaism shares with general culture a rational approach to life as Hirsch had claimed, his proposal should have found wide acceptance. Hirsch offers as an explanation the long isolation of Jews from general culture. In the course of time, Hirsch notes, an estrangement took place. Religious institutions, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, grew suspicious of general knowledge and transmitted this suspicion from one generation to the next.[30] But while there may have been some grounds for this suspicion in the case of other faiths, there was no valid basis for it among the Jewish people, Hirsch writes. Judaism is unique, Hirsch continues, in that it does not make an exclusive claim for salvation. It is the only religion, according to Hirsch, that does not say *extra me nulla salus* and that "welcomes with joy every progress in enlightenment and goodness" regardless of whence it originates. This friendly attitude toward intellectual and moral progress no matter what the source, Hirsch sees reflected in the blessing which Jews recite on encountering a great gentile scholar.[31] In short, Hirsch interprets the opposition to his views as far from being an indication of any serious conflict between Judaism and general culture. He attributes it rather to historical circumstances which, although long passed, are still exerting their negative influence in the present.

The educational synthesis which Hirsch envisions is succinctly summarized by him in his formulation of educational means and ends. The unification of Jewish and general knowledge, he states, must be realized in the curriculum of the Jewish school as well as in the school's end product—the educated Jew. In the school curriculum, Jewish and general knowledge must become the "intimately related, mutually complementary parts of a great, harmonious educational whole . . . "[32] The program of the school must reflect the conditions of modern life outside of the school. Just as modern life has ceased to be divisible into a Jewish and a non-Jewish compartment, so the cur-

riculum can no longer be compartmentalized, Hirsch maintains. In like manner, the educational product must be a unified one, Hirsch goes on to say. The "Modern Jew must be an intellectually and morally educated Jew and an intellectually and morally educated citizen."[33] It is no longer possible, Hirsch asserts, to separate "modern" and "Jew." The educational ideal is a person who is both "modern" and "Jewish" in every area of human experience.

S. R. Hirsch's educational synthesis is noteworthy for several reasons. To begin with, it comes to grips with the problem of the relationship of Judaism with general culture. Secondly, it represents a formulation that combines a positive attitude toward general studies with a determination to preserve Jewish tradition. The pursuit of general studies, Hirsch maintained, should be encouraged both for practical and theoretical reasons. But a position of priority is to be enjoyed by Jewish learning, in the sense that general knowledge is to be evaluated in terms of Jewish conceptions. In this way, Hirsch felt, the principles of Judaism need not be compromised and general studies need not be neglected.

The successful implementation of the Hirschian synthesis, it seems, depends very much on the attitudes that permeate the school that is attempting to apply it. The priority position granted to Jewish studies could easily lead to a down-grading of general studies in the students' minds. A definite attitudinal consensus on part of the faculty and the administration of the school is required lest the tension that may develop between Jewish and general studies upset the balance that is considered appropriate for the two subject areas. Great care needs to be taken to maintain the equal seriousness toward Jewish and general studies which Hirsch promulgates. In short, a chief danger to be guarded against in implementing the *torah im derekh erets* philosophy is the emergence of a negative attitude toward general studies. It must be said to the credit of *ILBA* that this pitfall was successfully avoided.

In the very first issue of the *Mitteilungen,* a graduate of *ILBA* raises the question of how the objectivity of the subject-matter would be affected by the priority to be granted to Jewish teachings.[34] From what has been said so far, there remains little doubt that subject-matter would be evaluated in terms of Jewish ideas and that it would thus be presented from a subjective standpoint. But this should hardly be considered a shortcoming of the *torah im derekh erets* position. As a matter of fact, every presentation of subject-matter involves an element of subjectivity, namely the philosophical commitments of the teacher. Thus, teaching history, for example, is never a completely objective undertaking, but entails an interpretation of events in terms of the values which the teacher holds. In fact, the very selection of subject-matter to be taught or not to be taught is a subjective process.

While it appears quite feasible and proper to view historical events, literary expressions, or philosophical positions from a Jewish perspective, the objection may be raised that this is improper with respect to the natural sciences. If Jewish teachings were to contradict empirical facts which careful scientific investigation has established, the point may be well taken. But if it is a matter of interpreting the empirical data, formulating the purposes of scientific investigation and defining the conditions of scientific experimentation, a Jewish perspective is appropriate. By way of illustrating the first point, many former students of *ILBA* will recall how Studiendirektor Stoll used to interpret the unique quality of water as a manifestation of divine providence. He would refer to the fact that material substances contract as their temperature is lowered. Water is the lone exception to this rule, he would say. It expands as it is being cooled and turned to ice. As a result of this unique quality the soil is broken up by the expanding ice that is forming in the ground and the soil's potential for growing things is enhanced.

It is equally appropriate to view the purposes for which scientific research is carried on from the vantage point of Judaism. If science is made to serve destructive rather

than constructive ends, the Jewish position must be made known. If instead of working for human survival and well-being, science were to pursue the goal of genocide or racism as it did under the Nazis, then the objections of Judaism should be heard.

It is similarly in order for Judaism to evaluate the conditions under which scientific research is carried on. Thus, Judaism may appropriately criticize the cruel medical experiments that were conducted by the Nazis on the ground that they violated the most elementary human values by inflicting suffering and death on those who were compelled to participate in them.

The educational end of the Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt was the Hirschian ideal of *torah im derekh erets.* It aimed at developing a Jew whose commitment to Judaism was complete and firm, but who, at the same time, did not have to resort to intellectual ghettoization in order to safeguard this commitment. It rejected, as Hirsch had done, the path of intellectual assimilation—of living in Western culture exclusively. It rather insisted on both—Judaism and general culture, tradition and modernity. And it tried to show the way how this was possible. It should be said to the credit of *ILBA* that it succeeded in large measure in realizing its educational goal.

A part of this essay appeared originally in *Jewish Life,* June, 1962, under the title, "S. R. Hirsch on Educational Synthesis." It is reprinted here by permission of *Jewish Life,* a publication of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, 116 West 27th Street, New York, N. Y. 10016.

NOTES

1. *Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen der Israelitischen Lehrerbildungsanstalt zu Würzburg, 1864-1914,* p. 4.
2. *Ibid.,* pp. 24-5.
3. Wilhelm Stern (Editor), *Mitteilungen,* Vol. 1, Number 1, p. 1.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

5. *Festschrift, op. cit.*, p. 13.

6. Nathan Bamberger, *Rabbiner Seligmann Bär Bamberger dessen Leben und Wirken* (Würzburg: 1897), p. V.

7. Auerbach, "Seligmann Bär Bamberger, Z.T.L.," *Jeschurun,* 1928, p. 531.

8. Naphtali Hirsch (Editor), *Gesammelte Schriften von Rabbiner Samson Raphael Hirsch* (Second Ed.,; Frankfurt a.M.: Sänger und Friedberg, 1922), Vol. 4, p. 565.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, p. 566. Auerbach's view that S. B. Banberger was no enthusiastic supporter of Hirsch's *torah im derekh erets* philosophy does not appear to be warranted by the evidence.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 431-33.

12. *Ibid.* (First Ed.; Frankfurt a.M.: J. Kauffmann, 1902), Vol. 1, pp. 277-8.

13. *Festschrift Zum 75 Jährigen Bestehen Der Realschule Mit Lizeum Der Isr. Religiongesellschaft Frankfurt Am Main* (1928), p. 4.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Gesammelte Schriften, op. cit.* (Second Ed.; Frankfurt a.M.: J. Kauffmann, 1921), Vol. 3, p. 501.

18. S. R. Hirsch, Horeb—*Versuche über Issroels Pflichten in der Zerstreuung* (Altona, 1837), pp. 542-3.

19. *Festschrift Zum 75 Jährigen Bestehen Der Realschule, op. cit.*, p. 37.

20. *Horeb, op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

22. *Gesammelte Schriften, op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 311.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 415-17.

24. *Ibid.* (First Ed.; Frankfurt a.M.: J. Kauffmann, 1904), Vol. 2, p. 454.

25. S. R. Hirsch, *Neunzehn Briefe über Judentum* (Frankfurt a.M.: J. Kauffmann, 1901), p. 104.

26. *Gesammelte Schriften, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 454.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 454-5.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 455.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 451.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 433.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Mitteilungen, op. cit.*, p. 5.

VOM AUFBAU UND AUS DEM LEBEN DER SCHÜLER-SCHAFT DER ISRAELITISCHEN LEHRERBILDUNGS-ANSTALT WÜRZBURG.*

Von A. Bergmann

DIE Seminaristen und Seminaristinnen der Israelitischen Lehrerbildungsanstalt bilden eine geschlossene Gemeinschaft, die "Schülerschaft." Die Schülerschaft verwaltet sich selbst. Diese Selbstverwaltung kann nur bestehen unter zwei wesentlichen Voraussetzungen: der friedlichen Zusammenarbeit mit Schulleitung und Lehrerschaft und der Selbstverantwortung eines jeden Gliedes der Gemeinschaft. In dem Augenblick, wo die Schülerschaft oder Teile der Schülerschaft den strengen Willen zur Selbstzucht, die völlige Bereitschaft zur nützlichen, oft

*Zu ihrem einjährigen Bestehen. *(Jüdisches Wochenblatt für Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg.* 1. 1. 1930)

uneigennützigen Mitarbeit verlören, schwände ihr Recht und ihre Kraft zur Selbstverwaltung. Aus diesem Bewusstsein heraus hat sie sich bei allen inneren und äusseren Kämpfen und trotz der grössten Schwierigkeiten durchzuringen vermocht. Nach einem Jahr Selbstverwaltung können wir ein freies Urteil abgeben: Ziel und Weg sind klar gezeichnet, unser Wille und unsere Kraft sind gestrafft. Das bedeutet nicht, dass wir nichts mehr zu tun hätten. Denn das ist ja das Wesen des wachen, lebendig sich entwickelnden Aufbaus: jedes Stück Zeit von neuem zu erringen, jeden Tag von frischem zu überwinden.

Das Leben unserer Gemeinschaft duldet keine Schlafmützen, der eine mehr, der andere weniger, aber jeder wird zur Mitarbeit, zum Mitleben gezwungen. Starker Kräfteaustausch, bewusstes und unbewusstes Nehmen und Geben: das ist jeder Gemeinschaft umgestaltende, oft auch schöpferische Kraft. Und wir können bereits heute sagen: Es wird keiner nach dreijährigem Besuch das Seminar verlassen, dem nicht unsere starke Gemeinschaft ihren Stempel unverwischbar aufgedrückt hat.

Die Wechselwirkung zwischen Gemeinschaft und Einzelnem erfolgt auf mannigfache Weise. Sie hat, nicht nur nach dem Erstrebten sondern auch nach dem Erreichten, sittliche und fachnützliche Werte in sich. Es wird statt aller beschreibenden Worte ein Auszug aus der Verfassung, die wir uns gegeben baben, am besten das Wesen unsres Gemeinschaftslebens darlegen.

Auszug aus der Verfassung der Schülerschaft.

1. Die Schülerschaft der Isr. Lehrerbildungsanstalt hat sich zu einer Gemeinschaft zusammengeschlossen, um unter sich Verantwortungsbewusstsein, jüdischen Geist und Frohsinn zu wecken und zu fördern.

2. Für alles, was innerhalb der Schülerschaft vor sich geht, ist jeder einzelne verantwortlich. Um die hieraus und aus der im I. Abschnitt umschriebenen Zielsetzung sich ergebenden Aufgaben in zweckmässinger Weise zu lösen, wählt die Schülerschaft aus ihrer Mitte einen Schülerrat und ein Schülergericht.

3. Der Schülerat (Sch R) vertritt die Schülerschaft in vernünftiger Anwendung der Selbstverwaltung in all ihren Angelegenheiten nach aussen . . .

7. Das Schulgericht (Sch G) dient dem Frieden und der Eintracht innerhalb der Gemeinschaft. Es verhandelt und urteilt auf Grund freiwilliger Unterordnung aller Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft bei Verstössen von Schülern (Schülerinnen) gegen die Verfassung oder Hausordnung oder bei Zwistigkeiten zwischen Schülern (innen).

9. Das Sch G tritt zusammen entweder aus eigenem Antrieb—wenn vonseiten eines Schülers (einer Schülerin) ein Verstoss oder der Verdacht eines Verstosses gegen den Geist der Verfassung vorliegt— oder auf Wunsch des Sch R oder auf Antrag eines Mitgliedes der Schülerschaft . . .

11. Zur Unterstützung der Schularbeit werden die Klassenordner, die dem Sch R unterstehen, angewiesen, enge Fühlungnahme mit der Lehrerschaft zu pflegen, über die freiwillige Mitarbeit eines jeden einzelnen zu wachen und alle aus dieser Aufgabe ergebenden Wünsche, Anregungen und Beschwerden aller Beteiligten an den Sch R zu leiten.

13. Ausser zur schulischen Arbeit schliessen sich die Schüler (innen) zu Arbeitsgemeinschaften zusammen, die einer Vertiefung und Erweiterung ihres Wissens und Könnens auf den ihnen besonders zusagenden Arbeitsgebieten dienen sollen. Aneignung jüdischen Wissens, weltanschauliche Vertiefung, pädagogische Weiterbildung, kurz alles, was für einen künftigen jüdischen Lehrer von besonderer Bedeutung ist, bilden die vornehmsten Aufgaben.

Dass die Arbeitsgemeinschaften den bedeutendsten Teil unseres Gemeinschaftslebens einnehmen, braucht kaum betont zu werden. Da sind z. B. die Arbeitsgemeinschaften für Musik, für Sport, für Religionswissenschaft und Pädagogik, die Talmud- und die hebräische Arbeitsgemeinschaft und die Lesegemeinschaft. Sie werden alle von Seminaristen geleitet. Alle Teilnehmer erfahren Bereicherung und werden nachhaltig beeinflusst. Unsere Bücherei, neu geordnet und in dauerndem Wachsen begriffen, hilft uns in reichem Masse bei unserer Arbeit.

Und so leben wir alle Tage im Kreise Gleichgesinnter. Schön ist's bei uns, lustig wechselt mit ernst, wir werden immer gern an die Seminarzeit zurückdenken.

50 Jahre Später
(Jerushalayim Ir Hakodesh)

NICHT alle von uns haben wohl dasselbe Mass von Wissen und Weisheit aus diesem Born getrunken, das ist natürlich. Aber mir ist kein Zweifel, dass wer immer die Luft unsrer Würzburger Alma Mater in sich aufgenommen hat, sich zutiefst dankbar unsrer Lehrer, ihrer Aller, bis ans Ende seiner Tage erinnern wird. Ich persönlich möchte, es sei mir vergönnt, drei von ihnen namentlich aufführen, ohne die anderen damit irgendwie abgewertet zu wissen: Rabbiner Jekutiel Jakob Neubauer, Oberlehrer Anfänger und Baron von Manstein. Jeder von ihnen verdient es, jeder einzeln, und ganz ausführlich, von uns gewürdigt zu werden—ihre Menschlichktei, ihre Edelkeit, ihre Uneigennützigkeit und Aufopferung, sie leuchten in unsren Herzen und ermöglichen uns, von dem Geist, den sie auf uns ausschütteten und in uns erweckten, Einiges auf unsere Schüler und auf unsere Kinder weiterzugeben. Mit diesem Lichtlein, das wir ihnen in aller Bescheidenheit hiermit anzünden, geben wir unsererseits dem alt- und immer und ewigjungen jüdischen Segen von neuem Ausdruck: *Sichram livracha, lechaje ha-olam haba!*

In diesen Segensspruch möchten wir auch die Direktoratssekretärin mit einbeziehen, Henny Ullmann, die nicht nur eine Büroangestellte war, sondern sich jederzeit mit unseren Sorgen und Nöten, identifizierte. Es war ihr, wie so manchem unsrer Lehrer und Genossen nicht vergönnt, ihr Leben voll und zuende zu leben. Dem gilt unsre Trauer bis zum Letzten.

Jeruschalayim, Simchat-Tora-Ausklang 5740

Avraham Bartura
("Hom" Bergmann)
Hom

THE LAST DAYS OF THE SEMINARY—

PERSONAL MEMORIES:

Hilde Cohn, nee Stern

AT 2 a.m. during the night of November 9, 1938, the janitor came to wake us up. We were the seven or eight female students housed on the upper floor of the building adjacent to the seminary. The lower floor was occupied by the Family Massenbacher who took care of the Seminary kitchen and was generally in charge of the physical upkeep of the institution.

I was not quite 15 years old at the time and had never been up at such an unusual hour, a fact that made an enormous impression on me. The other girls were moving around the hallway and several entered my room to tell me to get dressed.

The janitor, a non-Jew, was standing near the window, looking out toward the town of Würzburg: "They are burning the synagogues and I heard that a whole gang is headed this way. Take my advice and get out of the building.

They are sure to ransack the seminary and, who knows, perhaps come right up to your rooms."

We knew who "they" were and needed no further encouragement.

The road into town was, indeed, filled with marching S.A. and *Hitlerjugend* (Stormtroopers and Hitler youth) moving towards the Seminary. Since this way was blocked to us, we just started to walk in the direction away from Würzburg into the autumnal peaceful countryside.

We had been taking sewing lessons at a convent nearby and the nuns were known to us, if not as friends, then, at least, as benevolent strangers. Their pious demeanor seemed to indicate that they were beyond the propaganda of the Third Reich and their allegiance was to their religious faith, something which we could understand and with which we could identify. Instinctively, therefore, we headed for the convent.

The massive medieval buildings were enclosed by a deep stone wall and the gate, which we usually found open, was shut. We realized that the early morning hours were not the best time to get the attention of sleeping nuns. Soon, however, we noticed that quite a few of them were engaged in an early morning prayer procession, walking silently in single file around the buildings, carrying candles, their dark habits billowing.

We banged at the gate and called out to them over and over again, but they did not seem to hear us. The iron gate remained closed.

I felt personally outraged and betrayed, because I had trusted in their aura of devotion and impartial kindness.

As the dawn lightened the sky we became aware of fire tinted smoke rising from the city. The janitor's report was confirmed; synagogues and Jewish homes and businesses were burning. We could not stay near the convent walls much longer in indecision and, therefore, headed toward Würzburg. The streets were deserted and still dark, our foot steps the only sound around us.

Soon, however, we had acquired a companion. A man on a motorcycle, wearing a leather outfit and goggles

followed us silently and slowly. We tried to dodge him by changing over to the other side of the street or quickly entering side alleys. He kept stubbornly at our heels, a silent, ghostly personification of evil forces let loose that night.

We finally arrived at the home of the president of the *Kehillah* which adjoined the smoldering synagogue building. Inside the apartment people were moving back and forth, coming in with the latest reports from the streets, being given refreshments and leaving again. During the hours I spent in their home, I was never able to figure out who belonged to the family, and, who, like myself, was there for temporary shelter. It was much, I would imagine, like military headquarters of a besieged city.

I remember consulting with some of the older people present about my plans for the immediate future and I decided to call my parents, who at this time still lived in a village in Oberhessen, Nieder-Ohmen. I was able to talk with my mother by telephone and found her distraught and near panic. The *"Volksaktion"* had taken its toll also in Nieder-Ohmen. "They" had ransacked our home and caught up with my father in another city, where they arrested him and sent him to Buchenwald. My mother was left alone in Nieder-Ohmen with the remnants of the Jewish *"Gemeinde."* We agreed that I would travel to Frankfurt-a-Main, about 80km from Würzburg and temporarily stay with relatives. As soon as conditions permitted we would unite in Frankfurt. My sister, her only other child, meanwhile was safe in the *Jüdische Bezirksschule,* Bad Nauheim, for the time being.

It was not possible to retrieve any of my belongings from the Seminary at that time. Someone must have lent me some money on that day because I set out for the train station and bought a ticket to Frankfurt.

On the train, I tried to make myself as inconspicuous as possible, not too difficult for a 100 pound, 5 foot 2 inch girl. The compartment in which I travelled was occupied by several Party members, some in full uniform, others

with medals indicating rank and sub-group in addition to the housewives and rank-and-file male citizens. There was much discussion about the "political events" and the "deserved punishment" of the "Jewish swine" for the murder of a German attaché in Paris. It was clear, went the consensus of the discussion, that the German people had had enough and that the *"jüdische Parasiten"* better watch out. I felt very conspicuous, indeed, cowering in my corner of the compartment.

Arriving in Frankfurt at dusk I was afraid to use public transportation and decided to walk to any friend whose address I could remember near the station. The name and address of my biology teacher at the Samson-Raphael Hirsch School near the zoo, Dr. Fuchs, jumped into my memory. She was a stocky, red-haired lady much concerned with her students' hygiene and general health habits. I headed for her apartment and strangely again a motorcyclist accompanied me, wordlessly and would not leave my side. I shuddered.

I finally arrived at Dr. Fuchs' apartment in exhaustion and as I came up the stairs she ushered me into her comfortable apartment and looked at me questioningly. She did not need to ask and just told me to sit down and drink some warm milk. "We will discuss everything tomorrow," she told me, gave me supper and prepared a bed. Then as she dimmed the light, she handed me a copy of Christian Morgenstern's poems. I went to sleep with:

> Es war einmal ein Lattenzaun
> mit Zwischenraum hindurchzuschau'n . . .

I vaguely remember going back to Würzburg some weeks later to pick up some of my belongings. The place was quite empty, there was an air of finality, a distinct message that a chapter in the history of the German Jews had come to an end.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE SEMINARY—

PERSONAL MEMORIES

Shammai Zahn

FOR me, the beginning of the end was the 28th October 1939. It was as we were about finishing *Shacharis* when all those who had Polish passports were called out. We were met downstairs by the Gestapo officials and marched off to the dormitories in the Bibrastrasse where we were told to pack a small suitcase each and then were led to the town's prison. There we were first searched and then conducted to the cells. By that time a number of families from the town had joined us; one man had brought with him two bags full of food—it was Friday morning and the Shabbos meals were already prepared—he left them outside the room whilst he underwent a body search and then promptly picked them up when led to the cells. I was allotted to his cell and so at least did not go hungry. We were six in a small, dark and evil smelling cell, and when the door was locked behind us, we finally realized that we were at the mercy of the beasts. The loss of one's freedom

of movement is a terrible thing in itself and I still remember very clearly the feeling of desperation which overtook me! And so *Shabbos* came. We davened as best we could and had something to eat. The food pushed under the door by the prison warden was, apart from being non-Kosher, quite inedible, and was returned untouched. Late Friday night we suddenly heard whistling from outside. Some of our *Chaverim* must have found out where we were, and whistled one of the tunes usually sung for *"L'cho Dodi"* at the Seminary. This was wonderful and it gave us new hope and courage. I still do not know who these thoughtful *Chaverim* were, but if they are amongst those who read these lines, I wish them to know how grateful we were for this wonderful gesture; it reminded us that normal life went on outside and that one day we would again enjoy the same freedom.

Very early on *Shabbos* morning we were told to get up and were led outside where we had to get onto waiting vehicles which took us to the railway station. We still had no idea of our destination or fate. The train took us to Nürnberg where we were all gathered in one of the *Bahnhof*-halls, which were still decorated with welcome signs and swastikas, etc. from the recent *Reichsparteitag*. There were already hundreds of people, mostly women and children, in the hall. They came from Nürnberg, Munich and other cities in southern Germany. The babies and children were crying as there was no food for them, when the large doors which led to the street opened, and the venerable Rav of Nürnberg, Rav Klein, appeared together with a Jewish taxidriver carrying crates of milk etc. for the children. Finally, we were loaded onto a long train (there were about 1,100 people on it) and started the slow journey to Poland. By then we had learned that this was to be our destination. One transport of mainly men and women without children had already left and had reached the border; (my father and sister were on it) and my mother and my younger brother and sisters were on my train, but we were not allowed to communicate as each carriage was sealed off and guarded. So the train moved

slowly through the autumn landscape. At one or two stations local Jewish people were allowed on the platform and they handed food, milk and warm children's clothing through the windows, all of which was very urgently required and greatly appreciated. Late at night as we were approaching the Polish border, the train stopped and after a long wait an announcement was made. Germany had come to an arrangement with Poland and we were free; we could leave the train or, if we wished, we could stay on as the train would take us back to our home towns—and this is what everyone did. Apparently, the Poles had closed their border and the Germans decided to rather let us go back than to turn us loose in this sensitive area. The feeling of relief at our regained freedom was indescribable. I now stayed at home in Nürnberg to help my mother and the children when on the 9th of November it was decided that I should return to Würzburg for the time being. And so we come to the events of November 10. Around midnight we could hear from our beds in the Bibrastrasse the noise of a demonstration and eventually the sound of marching jackboots on the cobblestones. They came nearer and nearer until they stopped at the heavy wooden doors of the building. We listened with rising fear as they knocked heavily and shouted to us to open the door. Before long we heard the splintering of wood, and we knew that they were about to break into the house. Now it was everyone for himself. I ran up to the attic where I hid in a cupboard. I do not know how long I stayed there; I heard the noise of breaking glass, splintering wood and heavy articles dropping down onto the stones in the yard. I had no idea what had happened to the others—I could not but fear the worst. Eventually all became quiet and I ventured slowly out of my hiding place. When I came downstairs, everybody was sitting around in good humor and telling tales. It became clear that the Nazis had not touched anyone but had taken their vengeance on the furnishings and other contents. The bedding was torn and was smeared with flour and honey which came from one of the rooms where the *"Winterhilfe"* had a store. The beds and

cupboards were smashed, and a number of typewriters lay broken in the courtyard. We all breathed a sigh of relief, thinking that this was it and that it was all over now. Little did we know that the worst was still to come! Later on that morning we all found ourselves in the ground floor flat of *Lehrer* Stolberg when a group of Nazi hooligans broke in and assumed very threatening postures. They pointed at one of us and said he looked like Hershel Grünszpan (the young boy who had shot von Rath, the German diplomat, at the Paris Embassy as revenge for the deportation of his parents to Poland on the 29th of October), and with murder in their eyes and on their faces they came closer and closer, encouraging each other to start a pogrom. We feared the worst. At that moment the Gestapo entered the room and told the mob to leave, and we were all rounded up and marched through the jeering and spitting hooligans to the local prison. Here I was again in the same place after less than two weeks, when I thought that I had seen the inside of this particular prison for the first and last time. An officer came forward and asked whether there were any Poles amongst us. We stepped forward—there were two or three of us—and after a moment's hesitation when we thought we were going to be shot, since Hershel Grünszpan had been Polish, we were told to leave and to depart for Poland. And so we found ourselves in the street, free again. All the others were taken, as we know, to the concentration camp.

I went to the Sandbergerstrasse and there I saw a sight that haunted me for a long time. The *Sifrei Torah* and other *Seforim* of the Library were piled high on the playing field in front of the Seminar and were burning fiercely. Director Jakob Stoll was held by his arms and forced to watch, surrounded by the wildly jeering crowd. I left as quickly as I could and spent the day in the Jewish Hospital across the road, which I reckoned was the safest place. I was worried about my mother and the children in Nürnberg and wanted to travel there but was frightened to be seen in the street, especially at the station where I feared there might be some sort of control. So I returned to the

Sandbergerstrasse and asked *Herr* Hüffner (the caretaker) to lead the way for me on his bicycle and I would follow. We arranged a number of appropriate signals to indicate whether it was safe to proceed, and so I caught the train home. On a visit to Würzburg after the war I met *Frau* Hüffner, who lived at that time in the basement of the Seminar, and she told me that her husband was killed by a bomb during the war and that she had received de-nazification papers after Director Jakob Stoll had testified that they never had been Nazis and that they had behaved in a friendly and helpful manner to the Jews, which indeed was true.

Some years ago, when passing through Germany, I stopped in Frankfurt and there I met the *Gemeinde- Rabbiner,* Dr. Szobel who, when hearing my name, showed me a Siddur which he was using every day that he had found amongst other *Seforim* in his Synagogue. Inside was an inscription in Hebrew stating that this *Siddur* was a farewell gift in memory of the hours spent learning together at the Seminary with someone called Oppenheimer from Aschaffenburg, and it was signed by Shamai Zahn. Walter Oppenheimer was one of the many who did not survive. The Seminar building survived and is now used as a boys' school named after Jakob Stoll. However, the *ILBA* lives amongst all those who benefited from its education and companionship. The *Gemoro* tells us in *Avodah Zarah* about Rabbi Chaninoh ben Tradion who was caught by the Romans as he was teaching Torah to the masses when it was forbidden, and he was condemned to death. They wrapped a Torah around him and set him on fire. When his pupils who surrounded him asked him, "Rabbi, what can you see?," he answered them that he saw the parchment burning, but the letters of the Torah were escaping and flying away. The Nazi criminals burnt the *Sifrei Torah* and other *Seforim,* they killed many of the *Chaverim* and closed down the Seminary but its spirit lives on; many of its *Talmidim* and *Talmidot* are engaged in spreading the message of Torah and *Yirat Shamayim* in the four corners of the world.

SAMUEL GUNDERSHEIMER

TEACHER: GERMANY—USA

Menachem Gundersheimer

Samuel Gundersheimer was born in Mittelsinn, Unterfranken in 1883. He was orphaned at a very young age. His mother remained a widow and struggled to raise her three daughters and her son. Samuel was sent to the *Präparanden Schule* in Höchberg and continued his education at the Teachers' Seminary in Würzburg. He graduated in 1902.

After serving as *Religionslehrer,* Cantor and *Shochet* in a number of small communities (Zeitlofs, Hammelburg) he was appointed leader of the Jewish Volksschule (grammar school) in Kleinheubach, where he taught both general and religious subjects. During World War I the authorities assigned him to teach classes of gentile children as well. Because of his success with these large classes the *Pfarrer* (minister or priest) asked the authorities to defer his induction into the army. When in 1922 the Jewish *Volksschule* in Kleinheubach was closed

because of lack of children he was transferred by the school authorities to Brückenau where a new *Jüdische Volksschule* was established. He served in Brückenau until 1938.

The Jewish community in Brückenau (referred to as *Gemeinde*) consisted of no more than thirty-five families, yet in 1913 that small group succeeded in building a beautiful new synagogue. They also managed to purchase the building next to the synagogue for the teacher's living quarters and the one room school. Not only was there a physical proximity between the teacher's private residence, the school and the synagogue (even the ritual slaughterhouse was close by) but more significantly his entire life was with and for the *Gemeinde*—like an extended family. The teacher's house was the community center, and he was the respected spiritual leader and public servant. He opened the Synagogue every morning and evening, led the services, read the Torah, (blew the *Shofar),* gave a timely *Drash* (sermon) every *Shabbat Mevarchim* and aroused both the solemn feelings for the *Yamim Noraim* and the joyous atmosphere for *Simchat Torah* through his heartfelt rendition of the traditional melodies.

Brückenau was a community in which *Talmud Torah* was practiced on a regular basis. A *"Chumash with Rashi"* class met in the teacher's home on Wednesday night. Friday night after dinner, lessons in the weekly Torah portion were given and a popular class in the laws *(Kitzur)* met at noon on Shabbat. Not much time was allowed for sleeping after the Shabbat meal since the *Mishnah* class met an hour before *Minchah* in which the "scholars" of the community had a chance to challenge each other. The *Mishnah* class met again on Sunday afternoon. All these classes were led by the *Herr Hauptlehrer* (the title given to Gundersheimer) and when an issue was not resolved satisfactorily the teacher corresponded with the *Bezirksrabbiner* (Dr. S. Bamberger) in Kissingen for additional enlightenment.

The joy of the minor holidays, *Chanukah* and *Purim,*

was not neglected in Brückenau. Soon after *Sukkot,* the young people of the community met in the teacher's home to practice for appropriate dramatic and musical presentations at a Chanukah party. The musical skill of both *Herr* and *Frau Hauptlehrer* (he played the violin and she the piano) raised the artistic levels of these events whose climax was usually reached in the humorous speech given by Mr. Gundersheimer.

All occasions of individual happiness or mourning were shared by the entire *Gemeinde,* and the teacher was always called upon to express these feelings in a speech. He directed the functions of the *Chevrah Kadisha.* His eulogies were usually delivered in the out-of-doors and attracted gentile listeners as well as Jews.

In addition to his regular busy schedule, he still found time for designing and writing a *Wimpel,* preparing Bar Mitzvah boys, officiating at weddings and writing the inscriptions for tombstones. Many members also asked him to learn a special *shiur* at the *Jahrzeit* of their beloved ones.

He also served as secretary at the official meetings of the Gemeinde and was in charge of keeping records and correspondence with state-wide organizations. The administration of the *Kuppah shel Tsedakah* (charity distribution) was also entrusted to him. In recognition of his piety and leadership functions, he was honored by the Bezirksrabbiner, Rabbi S. Bamberger, with the *Chaver* title.

As the acknowledged leader of the Jewish *Gemeinde* he served as its representative at various city-wide celebrations and as the contact man with government officials. Unfortunately, these contacts increased in frequency during the Nazi period when members of the community were unjustly arrested and he pleaded their cases with the government officials whose respect he had gained. They were sympathetic toward his requests and did whatever they could without arousing the wrath of the Nazi party.

He himself escaped deportation to Dachau after the events of the *Kristallnacht* when the government physician

and the prison warden were successful in preventing his transfer from the local prison to the concentration camp. Soon after his release from prison, he and his wife moved to Frankfurt a/Main where they lived until 1939 when they immigrated to the United States. (Their children had left Germany earlier.)

In the United States, after a few months of hard struggle to make an adjustment while working as a salesman and office worker, he gained sufficient command of English to return to his life-long vocation, teaching. First, he taught only in the afternoons at various Talmud Torah schools. The last years of his professional career he devoted to the Beth Jacob Day School where his professional approach, his sincerity and his painstaking preparation for every lesson were fully appreciated.

He was active in founding and leading a *Chevrah Kadisha* in Philadelphia whose membership consisted of immigrants from Germany but which served and continues to serve the general community as well. He also acted as *Baal Korei* for many years in his neighborhood *Shul.* When his hearing failed him, he decided to retire from teaching after a career of more than fifty years. He died at the age of 83 in 1966.

Zecher Tsadik Livracha.

TO BE A *JÜDISCHER LEHRER*

GERMANY 1936-39

Werner Weinberg

MY first official act as a newly-appointed teacher was to have a rubber stamp made: Werner Weinberg, *Lehrer*. My own Jewish teacher had used such a rubber stamp, and the word *Lehrer* on it had always conveyed to me a sense of awe and authority. My own new rubber stamp affirmed not only my leadership position within the Jewish congregation—which happened to be the one in my home town—but also my social advancement within the community at large. Teachers, together with doctors, clergymen, the pharmacist and some notables, had always represented the intellectual elite of our town, demanding respect and receiving it.

I am setting down these things not so much for any autobiographical consideration; rather, I want to present certain facts and memories about my short career as a *Jüdischer Lehrer* that lend themselves as points of departure for observations and abstractions about the ministry of graduates from *ILBA,* during the last half dozen tur-

bulent years of that great institution's existence. What problems did we face, how did we cope with them, how well had we been prepared to meet them, and what was our philosophy then about life in general and Jewish education in particular under the shadow of the approaching catastrophe? In addressing these questions I do not feel compelled to be offering a few morsels for thought to those historians, sociologists, anthropologists and theologians for whom, quite suddenly, in the 1970s the Holocaust has become a subject for academic study. Rather, I want to give to our children and grandchildren some idea about one aspect of Jewish life in Germany in the 1930s that has played such a decisive role in our lives.

Let me begin by justifying my use of *Jüdischer Lehrer* in this English-language setting and, incidentally, rehearse some facts basic to this narrative. Obviously, I want the term to convey connotations and associations that put it apart from its English equivalent. Further, I want to exclude from this term just any teacher in Germany who happened to be Jewish. *Jüdische Lehrer* were trained and certified to be grade school teachers like their Christian colleagues *(Volksschule,* i.e. Grades 1-8). Beyond this they were teachers of the Jewish religion for all grades including high school, and finally, they were *Kultusbeamte,* professional religious leaders of Jewish congregations.

With respect to the last function, a differentiation must be made between male and female teachers as well as between positions in a small town with a one-room school and in a city whose Jewish school featured several combined or even the full number of separate classes. In the latter setting the Jewish teacher's function was actually little different from that of his Catholic or Protestant colleague. Let us recall that there was no separation of Church and State in Germany—next to secular government grade schools, parochial government schools were common. If, however, in smaller places a local religious minority—Jewish, Catholic or Protestant—had too few children to form its own school, these children were integrated into the school of the religious majority. In the multi-class schools,

then, it was either the priest, the minister or the rabbi who provided religious instruction to their respective charges. The Jewish teacher in the multi-class school taught his or her class or his or her subject of specialization.

The non-sexist language employed in the last sentence cannot conceal the fact that Jewish women teachers had little choice but to seek positions in larger Jewish schools. There, instead of being only classroom teachers, they might also teach Jewish subjects in several classes; they might, privately, give adult courses, lead youth groups or be otherwise active within the Jewish community; but they could not perform the full range of functions included in the term *Jüdischer Lehrer*. The curriculum and training at *ILBA* (and at the other Jewish teacher seminaries that formerly existed) had exempted women students from subjects dealing with liturgical, homiletical, life-cycle and pastoral functions (instead they studied home-economics to be taught to girls). The classical *Jüdischer Lehrer* position in Germany was for men only. It was found in the many small towns with their small Jewish congregations, where the *Lehrer's* activity centered more around the Synagogue than the school. Jewish grade schools in small towns had begun to decline long before the rise of Nazism. It was a sociological phenomenon: the migration of young adults to the large cities, part of the general trend toward urbanization. In many cases the Jewish grade school had shrunk to a handful of children or only a religious school was left, the remaining Jewish children attending the local Catholic or Protestant or secular grade school (which was possible in some cases until 1938). The *Jüdischer Lehrer* in such a congregation was cantor, Torah reader, preacher and pastor *(Seelsorger)*. He conducted weddings, funerals and Bar Mitzvahs; he counseled, comforted and exhortated, practically fulfilling all rabbinic functions (only large congregations had a rabbi). *Jüdische Lehrer* of a generation or two before ours had often also been *mohalim* (performers of circumcision), *schochatim* (ritual slaughterers) and *sofrim* (scribes for Torah scrolls, philacteries and *mezuzot*); but in our progressive and specializing genera-

tion the concept of *Jüdischer Lehrer* had shrunk to embrace mainly the offices of *Religionslehrer* (religious and Hebrew teacher), *Vorbeter* (cantor) and *Prediger* (preacher.) Still, we graduates of the 1930s were continuing a proud tradition, and proud I was when my rubber stamp arrived: Werner Weinberg, *Lehrer.* The name combined with the profession made it clear that I was not just a teacher, but a *Jüdischer Lehrer.*

The circumstances of entering upon my career were quite typical for the times. My own *Jüdischer Lehrer*—the same who had advised me after my graduation from high school in 1934 to seek admission to *ILBA* as the closest equivalent for study at a university from which we were effectively barred*—had moved to a larger city within the same year. His immediate successor, who attended to my home-town congregation part-time on weekends while teaching full-time at a multi-class Jewish school in a large town, was preparing to emigrate in 1936, the year of our graduation from *ILBA.* I applied and was accepted, firstly, because of local pull if not outright nepotism, and secondly, because there were no other applicants. This position was lacking in attraction to my classmates not only because the congregation was small and getting smaller, but also because its religious tradition was liberal. I did have to give a model lesson though, which went very well thanks to the fine preparation for this type of thing under Director Jakob Stoll, with the Jewish grade school of Würzburg as our training ground. My second trial performance, a sermon, was not quite as successful. However, I cannot blame anyone but myself for the yawns, the shaking of heads and the not-so-stealthy glances at pocket watches, which I registered in growing panic. I had shown my sermon manuscript to Rabbi Hannover in Würzburg, and he had warned me that it was a typical beginner's work, containing too much and too heavy material ("You cannot tell them all you know the very first time!"). Be that as it may, the congregation suffered through the sermon and gave me a contract anyway. Not that they had a choice.

My congregation comprised also Jews from a second small town and from a large village nearby. Jews living farther away—often single families in townlets and rural areas—were only loosely connected with it. They came into town for the High Holiday services, and the *Jüdischer Lehrer* met with their children in central locations once a week for religious instruction. He also went to their places for weddings and funerals. Even tiny hamlets that had never formed a congregation or built a synagogue had, as a rule, a Jewish cemetery. I think I was the first of my profession in that part of Germany who commuted to outlying districts by motorcycle, a feat that soon earned me the epithet *der rasende Religionslehrer* (the racing teacher of religion).

Our school was a separate building on the synagogue grounds. When I had attended it in the early twenties it still had been a one-room grade school. Now it was reduced to the status of a religious school with classes held twice a week. More than a few of the children were my relatives. This, however, was no license for laxity. I took my work extremely seriously, applying all techniques and principles we had learned in Würzburg. But it was not just the mechanics that determined my pedagogical pursuits, it was even more the spirit of *ILBA* with which I tried to imbue my charges. This spirit can probably be described as love of G-d and love of men, knowledge of Judaism and living by its precepts.

It was an educational program, actually, and it was along these lines that we, the graduates of the spring of 1936, at a reunion in Würzburg that same summer, formulated the essence of our task ahead. As one rereads the reports about that meeting, one is struck by this fact: a full three years after the Nazis' coming to power, well after the Boycott Day, the Nuremberg Laws and a whole string of other legal and illegal crimes against the Jews, with a large percentage of Germany's Jewry already emigrated, we saw our main task as educating our children—the children of a people in the throes of death—to be good Jews. Were we then blind? Were we unfeeling? Were we stupid? Were

we—at best—unrealistic idealists? It is quite easy to arrive at such a judgment forty years later. It might be closer to the truth to conclude that we had no choice but to ignore as well as we could the crumbling of our world, barring to the best of our abilities the mortal danger from our consciousness and concentrating our entire will and skill on securing and strengthening in Jewish children the one asset that could lighten up the darkness around them, that they could easily carry with them in their emigration luggage, and that could, perhaps, even assist them in a moment of extreme anguish—their Judaism. Is it too presumptuous when I conclude today that we were trying to lay the foundation of a new Yavneh while our Jerusalem was being destroyed?

My understanding of my personal task was not different just because my congregation had been a liberal one since the days of Israel Jacobson, reformer under Napoleon's brother Jerôme, *Roi de Westphalie.* It did not disturb me that I had to begin from scratch: *tefillin, tzitzit, kashrut,* the Sabbath. I was not fazed by parents' complaints that I was using their children unfairly to overturn family traditions that had become hallowed, Jewishly hallowed, to them. I was full of religious fervor, thundering from the pulpit about *teshuvah* (repentance), removing the organ from the synagogue, withdrawing damaged Torah scrolls from active service and trying to enforce fast days of which most members of the congregation had never even heard the name.

But unless my memory extenuates circumstances, or an inner censor does not allow me to see myself, earlier in life, as a person without mellowness or compromise, it will seem to me in retrospect that, somehow, I knew how to combine tolerance and understanding with missionary zeal, avoiding to create hardships and injury. It is also very well possible that my congregants—my aunts and uncles and the others who had watched me grow up—let me teach and preach and continued to express their Judaism the way they had seen their parents and grandparents express it. I remember that I mollified my con-

gregation by chanting the Service, using the Lewandowski melodies and recitatives rather than introducing the outlandish music by Scheuermann, et al., which I had learned in Würzburg with such a great effort.

No conflict of conscience arose with the service in general, for—even though the congregation was liberal—the liturgy was not shortened. On the contrary, attempts on my part to be more selective, when it came to *piyutim* and *selichot* (poetical prayers inserted at special occasions), met with determined resistance from some old-timers. The only prayer said in German was the first paragraph of the *alenu.*

With regard to *minyan,* the prayer quorum of ten men, my congregation had been wont "not to count so precisely" *("man zählt nicht so genau").* But here I could not be trifled with. I would wait before *Barechu,* the call to prayer, as long as it took for the quorum to be complete, deaf to mumblings behind my back such as "and what if the 10th is some *hergelaufener Scherenschleifer* (vagabond scissor-grinder)" or voices coaxing me to continue with *"hackel jauduche" (hakol joducha* 'all shall thank Thee'), the next prayer that could be said without a quorum.

One memory stands out in my mind as an example of my youthful ardor. My first funeral happened to be in one of the neighboring Jewish congregations that long since had not had a *Jüdischer Lehrer.* As we had been taught in Würzburg, I made inquiries about the deceased, in this case an old lady who had lived by herself and had not had much contact with the other Jews. Since it was Pesach time I paraphrased the verse about the Egyptians embittering the lives of the Jews (Ex. 1:14) to "they embittered her life," chiding the assembled for ostracizing the poor woman and not seeing to her material and spiritual needs. After the service a man drew me aside, assuring me that it was only due to the deafness of their *parnes* (president) that the congregation would not sue me for libel, for the deceased had been a shrew, a nail in the flesh of the con-

gregation, whose poisonous tongue had spared nobody and nothing . . .

During my first year in office the newness of my work, together with my sense of mission and certainly also with the weight of self-importance, caused me to focus my attention and to concentrate my energies much more on my professional activities than on the growing terror around us. I added an Oneg Shabbat to the children's program on Shabbat afternoons and established an entire curriculum of adult courses: Ivrit, Jewish History, Rashi and Mishnayot (the last two never heard of in this congregation)—even though there were few adults left to take advantage of them and it became ever more dangerous to be on the street at night.

It was the period when the Nazis tolerated, and in a way even encouraged Jewish cultural activities, especially when these could be presented as constituting in some way a preparation for emigration. But permission had to be obtained from the Gestapo office and an exact schedule of classes deposited there. Soon we got used to the presence of a Gestapo officer at our study meetings. He had to make sure that we were not plotting to overthrow the Third Reich, but in addition, participated in our discussions and, in a way, caused me to paint all facets of Judaism in the rosiest colors. Once, at dusk, we were assembled near the school entrance before the beginning of class, and a latecomer—not noticing the Gestapo man—greeted us with a loud "Heil Moses!" It was one of those moments when life seems to hang in the balance. But the latecomer had the presence of mind as well as the nerve to calmly explain to the officer: "It is a Jewish custom to mention the name of our *Führer* in greeting, just as you do with yours."

Meanwhile our living conditions deteriorated fast. The stainglass windows of the synagogue were shattered. We were molested on our way to services. Pots of paint and even roof tiles "fell" from building scaffolds as we passed on the narrow sidewalks. Uniformed Nazis initiated the sport of breaking into a Jewish home at night, taking out

the family into the woods or to the river, chasing, harassing, tormenting them. One night, late, when I returned by train from a Megillah reading in a neighboring town, I was waylaid and beaten unconscious by local Nazis. Aside from vexations like those, almost no Jew in small towns any longer had an income. Those who did not have a chance to emigrate began to move to larger towns, where the terror was, at least, less personalized.

Only a year after my assuming the position, my congregation could no longer support a *Jüdischer Lehrer* nor was there a full-time job left for him. It was, therefore, agreed that I apply for an opening at a large Jewish school in the big city while ministering to my home congregation on weekends only. What strikes me now as downright anachronistic is the fact that, still in 1937, a Jew in Germany could make a new beginning in a Jewish setting which had all the trappings of normalcy. Here was a Jewish grade school with several hundred children and a full faculty on which a vacancy had occurred—through normal death, not through emigration—a vacancy for which there were several qualified applicants. The classes were normal-sized; the curriculum was prescribed by the state; during recess those teachers who were not on duty in the school yard met in the teachers' lounge and talked about pedagogical matters. They received their salaries on time, and the contributions for their old-age pensions were deducted together with the taxes. The students were respectful, did their homework, had to stay after class—a regular school life! I do not remember at all any feeling that the place in which we were teaching German, music, gymnastics, *Heimatkunde* (knowledge of the closer geographical region) and religion was located on the top of a volcano.

Perhaps the only concession to reality was that we taught a subject called *Auswanderungskunde* (knowledge of emigration). This was a combination of the geography and sociology of "emigration countries" with foreign language instruction. One activity in the framework of *Auswanderungskunde* stands out in my memory as if it

had some kind of symbolic meaning (though I cannot say exactly why): I was constructing a full-size wall map of Brazil because our school did not possess a map of that "emigration country." The project took several months, my ambition being to produce a near professional map with green for the valleys, brown for the mountains, red dots for the cities and blue for the pieces of the Atlantic and for the long, long Amazon River.

Whenever a student and his family emigrated, the event was duly noted with a little farewell speech, but—and again I hope that my memory is not playing a trick on me—I do not think that either students or teachers envied those who had found an escape from Germany, but, rather, they wondered just a little and perhaps even pitied those who had severed their roots and were setting out for unknown shores.

At any rate, such events were only interruptions of the routine and not the normal and most important events they appear to be in historical hindsight. At the time it was normal and important to spend an afternoon drawing a picture relating to one of the next day's lessons or stories with colored chalks on the blackboard, as we had learned to do from Baron von Manstein in Würzburg. It was normal and important to get material from city hall to prepare teaching the water and sewer system of our city. To be normal meant to think of a way to connect organically the German with the Geography lesson, the Drawing lesson with Biblical History, applying the concept of *Gesamtunterricht* (inter-disciplinary approach) which had been stressed in Würzburg.

In this connection, I remember how I once deviated from still another educational concept, that of free expression in art. During a drawing lesson, following one in Biblical History, where we had covered the Ten Plagues, I had the entire class draw the identical picture: Pharaoh at the Nile as the latter turns to blood. A blue sky bordered on the right hand by pyramids, beneath it a wide band of red Nile, in the foreground Goshen-green pastureland, with Pharaoh and his court in the left wing. The widths of

the blue, the red and the green were prescribed in centimeters. Why such an uncreative conformity? To make all the water color sheets into a continuous frieze as a classroom decoration for our open house. Yes, we still had open house evenings for parents in 1937 and even in 1938!

All in all, and in the face of historic reality, I believe I am telling the truth when I say that I never enjoyed teaching more—and I am still teaching as I write this—than when I taught those seven-and eight-year-old, bright-eyed Jewish children in the years of 1937 and 1938. And I do not think that I am exaggerating when I further state that never have I received a greater compliment about a professional achievement than when the parents of my second-graders got together at Eastertime in 1938 to petition the principal that I should advance with my class to the next school year and teach them again in the third grade.

The *Kristallnacht* of November 9-10, 1938 put an abrupt end to this fool's paradise. As everyone knows, it formed the watershed between a still possible continuation of Jewish life in Germany and its total breakdown. Beginning with that night, the well-understood need to emigrate turned into a mad scramble to get out of Germany.

It is likewise well known that this catastrophic event had cast ahead its shadow long before. In 1938 alone, the registration of Jewish property (decrees of April 26 and June 14), the destruction of the Munich and then the Nuremberg synagogues (June 9 and August 10), the failure of the international conference on refugees in Evian (July 6-15), the issuing of special ID cards for Jews (July 23) and the marking of passports with the letter "J" (October 5), the forced addition of *Israel* and *Sara,* respectively, to Jews' given names (August 17), Chamberlain's Munich (September 29) and, most of all, the round-up and expulsion of Jews with Polish passports on the night of October 28—all these should have given us ample warning and alerted us to the cataclysmic event to come. They probably did. Only there was nothing we could do but tell ourselves that

life had to go on as normally as possible and wait for events to take their course.

On the morning of October 29, a good third of our school children did not report for class. They, with their parents, were by then camping on a strip of no-man's land between Germany and Poland. Also the parents of Herschel Grynspan were there, the young man who, on November 7, in desperation, shot the German embassy official in Paris, thereby giving Goebbels the pretext for unleashing the powers of evil on the backs of German Jewry.

The school continued to operate also after the *Kristallnacht,* but there was a clear difference. Until that night, staying on the job could have expressed an individual teacher's belief that to continue Jewish education in Germany constituted an option. This kind of ideology vanished overnight. Emigration had now clearly become more important than education. There was no longer deep regret when educational programs had to be altered or scrapped because the classes grew smaller and had to be combined. Nobody considered it a breach of professional ethics when teachers grabbed the first chance for emigration and quit on short notice. In fact, during the months following the catastrophe, Jewish schools, assisted by the department of education of the *Reichsvertretung* (Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany) did an admirable job of adjusting to circumstances most adverse to an orderly course of the educational process.

Small schools were the first to fall by the wayside. Until the *Kristallnacht* I still made regular weekend trips to my congregation at home and upheld my functions as a *Jüdischer Lehrer.* On November 10, a Thursday, I telephoned the *parnes* to announce that I was planning to come the next day, as usual. But his wife, who answered the telephone, told me, for G-d's sake, to stay where I was and hung up. Later I learned that all men of the congregation had been arrested that night, while synagogue and school were burning. I never went another weekend. Never again was the *Barechu* chanted or a Hebrew letter taught in that place.

Lisl (Halberstadt, of our class of '36) and I had been engaged to be married. Both of us taught at the same big-city school. Of the many rumors that were rife after the *Kristallnacht* and added to our misery, one had it that Jews would be forbidden to marry. We had planned our wedding for the time when our emigration was assured, which was then somewhat of an equivalent to the old-fashioned custom of marrying when the man was able to support a family. But now we advanced the date and were married the next month. The ceremony took place in a classroom, under a *chuppa* that had been rescued from the synagogue and was singed at the edges. We were married by the district rabbi; the city rabbi had already emigrated.

After the wedding, Lisl retired from teaching; her class was to be combined with another one anyway. She devoted her entire time now to "preparing our emigration." This is written easily; it was quite a hopeless task at that time. We had neither relatives in the USA nor did we have the money for a "capitalist certificate" to enter Palestine. Thus Lisl wrote at random to organizations, to consulates, to prime ministers and even to a queen. We studied maps and followed up any reports on distant corners of the globe where one could go without a visa. Lisl travelled to the American consulate of our district just to receive a quota waiting number. That number's turn would have come up several years from then. All in all, our "preparing for emigration" was a hectic and desperate effort to escape before the closing of the gates.

In those days I wrote a short story. It had what I considered an original plot, and I hoped the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* might print it, if and when it resumed publication (all Jewish newspapers had been stopped in the orgy of evil decrees that followed on the heels of the *Kristallnacht).* It was a love story, and the happy ending led to marriage, founded on the rock of two visas to New Zealand. Today it seems to me that my writing that story and my drawing the map of Brazil form two outlets for the same font of desperate creativity, one before and one after

the *Kristallnacht*. The map was still put to good use, but the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* never appeared again.

By the spring of 1939, all gates for immigration seemed closed indeed. Those who had not succeeded in getting out would have to come to terms with the thought of staying in Germany, of leading a life of pariahs. An eery calm settled over the remaining Jewish community and over our school. And since the reality was more than anyone could live with, we set out, once again, to conduct our school as though we lived in normal times. I remember that I prepared for my classes as meticulously as for a *Lehrprobe* (student teaching by a teacher-in-training) which Director Stoll would personally evaluate. Miraculously, our salaries were still paid punctually, taxes withheld and "stamps pasted" toward our old-age pensions. There were more than a few Jewish teachers in the first stage of their careers, who industriously prepared themselves for the second state examination (actually no longer open to them) that would confirm their professional status forever. As for myself, I still taught school with the high sense of importance and of mission that, three years earlier, had inspired me to have that rubber stamp made.

How, exactly, in the spring of 1939 did we imagine the continuation of a Jewish school, of Jewish life, of our bare lives in Germany? I do not remember. I cannot even imagine now to what illusions and delusions, to what frantic hopes and depths of despair our unprecedented situation might have led us at that time.

One early day in March of 1939, out of the blue sky and no longer expected, Lisl and I received an invitation to immediately report to duty as teachers at the *hachsharah* (preparation of young Jews for Palestine) in Holland. We left a few days later. We were anxious about the fate of our school in Germany and were worried because Holland was not far enough away. We were right on both counts. But these are two other stories whose endings, alas, are known.

*For historical accuracy it must be stated that at that time Jews were not yet completely banned from German universities. But the numerus clausus had been in force for a year, and already legislation had been passed that doctors and dentists could no longer serve under the nationwide health insurance. Further, Jews in different academic fields were no longer admitted to exams. The eventual closing of academic careers for Jews was quite obvious.

מוירצבורג לארץ ישראל

מאת בנימין אופנהיימר

(דברים שנאמרו ביום כ"ב סיון תשמ"א, (24.6.81) בירושלים בכנס בוגרי ביה"ס למורים, וירצבורג).

היה זה בשנת 1937 כאשר נכנסתי לבית המדרש למורים וירצבורג (ILBA), ואני נער בן 17, בן עיירה קטנה בדרום גרמניה ברייזך על נהר ריינוס (Breisach a/Rhein) אשר רוב יהודיה היו סוחרי בהמות, וקומץ האמידים שבהם - בעלי חנויות לטקסטיל ושאר ירקות. היתה זאת קהילה טיפוסית מסוג ה-Landsjuden, שומרי מסורת שחיו בצל האנטישמיות הלטנטית של הסביבה הכפרית - הלך רוח אשר גבר ויצא מן הכוח אל הפועל מאז שנת 1933. הורי גרו ברחוב היהודים, בו מרוכז היה רוב מנינו ובנינו של הציבור היהודי. שפת היהודים בינם לבין עצמם היתה יידיש מערבית, והמו"מ עם הגוים שבסביבה התנהל בניב האלימני. כמעט בכל בית שברחוב היהודים היתה חצר ומאחוריה רפת ש"תושביה" התחלפו בדרך כלל בימי רביעי, יום שוק הבהמות בעיר הקרובה. עבודות הרפת, הדאגה לבהמות והחליבה היו בדרך כלל מסורת בידי שרת גוי, ולא פעם קרה ששרת כזה "התבולל" במשך השנים בסביבתו היהודית עד שדיבר בשפתם, וליצני הדור אף רצו לצרפו למנין. בבית הורי נתרוקנה הרפת כאשר הייתי בן עשר, כי אבי ז"ל נפטר ואמי נתאלמנה ופרנסת שלושת ילדיה היתה עליה.

למדתי ארבע שנים בבית הספר העממי, ואח"כ עברתי לבית הספר הריאלי במקום, שהגיע עד לכתה העשירית בלבד. מי שרצה להשיג תעודת בגרות היה אנוס להמשיך את לימודיו במשך שלוש שנים נוספות בפרייבורג, העיר האוניברסיטאית הקרובה - דבר שלא היה בהישג ידם של רוב היהודים במקום. נכנסתי איפוא לסמינר

למורים בוירצבורג כאשר בידי התעודה "האקדימית" הגבוהה ביותר שאפשר היה להגיע אליה בברייזך - תעודת הגמר של הכתה העשירית.

שש שנים חמימות למדתי בביה"ס הריאלי של עיר מולדתי. ובמשך התקופה הזאת חשתי בבשרי את השינויים הפסיכולוגיים הכבירים שהתחוללו עם עלית הנאצים לשלטון. מאז 1933 עלתה וגאתה ההסתה האנטישמית עד ששטפה כל חלקה טובה. לנאומים החשובים של היטלר, שהצטיינו תמיד ברוח של טירוף ושנאת ישראל ארסית, האזינו כל המורים והתלמידים במשותף. זאת היתה חובה! הרגשתי יום יום כיצד הרעל האנטישמי כובש לאט לאט את בני כיתתי אשר רובם ככולם היו חברים ב"היטלריוגנד". זר ונכרי הייתי לחברים של אתמול עד שפסקו במשך שתי השנים האחרונות לדבר עמי ועם חברי היהודי. שנינו ישבנו בכיתה מוחרמים, אנוסים לשמוע מידי יום ביומו את השיחות הפרובוקטיביות על יהודים ויהדות ולהיתקל במבטים רווי שנאה. איש מן המורים לא העז לפצות פה ולהעיר על כך. רק פעם אחת קרה שמחנך כיתתי, שהיה אדם הגון, התאזר עוז בנפשו להפגין את אהדתו כלפי בפומבי. היה זה בזמן ההתחרות השנתית לשחיה של כל בית הספר: שלושת השחיינים הטובים ביותר - ואני ביניהם - זינקו, וכל התלמידים שעמדו מסביב לבריכת השחיה התחילו להשתולל ולעודד את שני יריבי הגרמנים בקריאות מרעישות אזניים; והנה לפתע פתאום, כאשר היה ברור ללא צל של ספק כי יריבי נוצחו, נדמו הקולות; כאילו לפי פקודה הושלך הס. מן האלם הפתאומי בקע רק קולו של מחנך כיתתי שהמשיך לעודדני בקריאות רמות. ספונטניות האלם הפתאומי העידה על עומק ההשפלה שחשו ילדי בית הספר למראה היהודי המנצח את "גזע האדונים", ורק בהיחבא ניגשה אלי ילדה מכיתתי כדי לברכני....

והנה פתאום, ללא תקופת-מעבר, זכיתי לשבת בבית-מדרש המורים היהודי, ובני כיתתי כולם חברים של אמת. אוירה של חום, אינטימיות וידידות הקיפה אותי; נשמתי לרווחה, כי בתוך עמי אנכי יושב. במגרש הספורט שליד בנין בית הספר התמודדתי עם

חברים ולא עם יריבים עוינים.

הסמינר בוירצבורג היה אכסניה של תורה, וסימנה המובהק היה רוח של לימוד, לימוד תורה לשמה - חידוש שאין ערוך לו אחרי שנות הבדידות, הניכור והשממון הרוחני המדכדך בביה"ס הגרמני - הנאצי. רק עתה באוירה של חופש אישי נפתח סגור לבי והרוויחי את תשוקתי הבוערת לתורה ולמקורות ישראל. תשוקה זו גאתה בלבי כבר בביה"ס הריאלי ככל שהלכה והתעצמה שנאת ישראל שהחדירו ספרי הלימוד הנאציים אשר הופיעו במהירות וביעילות מדהימה.

באותם ימים רחוקים, משנת 1934 ואילך, פקדה אותנו, בני הנוער היהודי בברייזך לעתים תכופות קבוצת סטודנטים ציוניים שבאו מפרייבורג כדי לעשות נפשות לתנועת "החלוץ". נפשי כבר היתה עשויה, ובצמא שתיתי את דבריהם על הגיאוגרפיה של ארץ ישראל ועל תולדות הציונות. רובם עזבו את האוניברסיטה כעבור זמן קצר, מי מאונס מי ברצון, כדי לצאת להכשרה ולעליה. הם זקפו את קומתי ויצרו בלבי את הנוגדנים להשמצות האנטישמיות היום יומיות שעלולות היו לשבור אותי. מעל הכל, הופעתם עוררה געגועים עזים על ארץ ישראל ועל מקורות ישראל.

נער הייתי ועשיתי ככל שעלה בידי כדי להיכנס לפרוזדור של אותו טרקלין ששמו תורת ישראל: עברית למדתי בשיעורים שנחפרסמו מדי שבוע בעתון Jüdische Rundschau . על פרשת השבוע או על מקצתה עברתי בערבי שבתות בביתו של המורה וחזן הקהילה מיכאל אייזמן ז"ל, שנפטר בראשית 1939 אחרי שיחרורו ממחנה ההסגר של דכאו, ואני הספדתי אותו על קברו הרענן, כי רבנים כבר לא היו בנמצא.

נחרטו בזכרוני רגעים בלתי נשכחים שעברו עלי בימים הראשונים בוירצבורג. הואיל וידעתי קצת עברית, הורשיתי להשתתף מיד בשיעורי נביאים ראשונים אצל מורנו עמנואל שטולברג, שדיבר עברית באופן חפשי - אגב, הרשו לי לברך אותו ממקום זה בשם כולנו בברכת רפואה שלמה, שיזכה לימים טובים

וארוכים! לעולם לא אשכח את הקסם שהילך עלי השעור הראשון: למדו פרק כ"ג בס' שמואל א' על נדודי דוד במדבר זיף ביהודה. השיעור התנהל על סהרת השפה העברית, כאשר המורה מברר את הקשיים בשיחה בעברית צחה - ואני יושב וכולי אוזן, שכן הבנתי כל מלה. מעולם לא הרגשתי התרוממות רוח כמו ברגעים אלה. באתי על שכרי על שנים של עמל כאשר צרפתי מלה במלה. ולא זה אף זה: מדי חודש בחודשו הדביק מר שטולברג עתון-קיר מטעם "הקרן הקימת לישראל" בפרוזדור הסמינריון - עתון שסיפר בעברית קלה את החדשות האחרונות מארץ ישראל. והימים ימי המאורעות תרצ"ו-תרצ"ט, ימי חומה ומגדל, ימי הגבורה של חלוצי טירת צבי וחניתה. עוד היום אני רואה לפני את הצילום של מגדל ההגנה בטירת צבי ועליו ניצבים חלוצים ונוטרים ורובים בידיהם. בלעתי את הגלויות הללו מתחילתם ועד סופם, כנאמר: בן אדם אכול את המגילה הזאת... ותהי בפי כדבש למתוק. אך לא היתה זאת המתיקות המרה של מגילת "קינים והגה והי" שבפי יחזקאל כי אם המתיקות המתוקה של בשורת ארץ ישראל החיה שהיתה רשומה עליהם.

אספר על שתי התרשמויות מרכזיות: היו אלה שיעורי המשנה והתלמוד מפי הרב ש"ר וייס נ"י, שהגיע לוירצבורג ישר מישיבת מיר שבליטא והדביקני ברומנטיקה לישיבות המוסר. הוא האיש שהפגישני לראשונה עם העולם המופלא של חז"ל. מפיו שמעתי את השעורים הראשונים בגמרא: יציאות השבת, שנים אוחזים בטלית, ארבעה אבות נזיקין - אלו הסוגיות הראשונות שדרכן נכנסתי מן הפרוזדור לטרקלין. להט הנעורים של הרב וייס, והכוח הסוגסטיבי ויכולת ההסברה כבשו אותי; נאבקתי בכל כוחי כדי לפלס את דרכי בשבילי התורה; ובקנאה ובהערצה הסתכלתי על שנים שלושה צעירים, ביניהם יוסף היינימן ז"ל - לימים פרופסור באוניברסיטה העברית - שהגיעו לסמינר ישר ממיר, כאשר מטרתם להשיג תעודת הוראה. התאגדנו קבוצות קבוצות לשם לימוד יומי וכל מי שידע יותר מחברו מוכן היה ללמוד וללמד. אחד השיעורים הקבועים נוסף על משנה ותלמוד היה פרשת השבוע עם רש"י: אלברט שילד, חיים ציגלר ואני

ישבנו יום יום על התורה ועל העבודה. לימים זכיתי ללמוד את תורת ירושלים מפי ר' חנוך אלבק וגדליה אלון זכרונם לברכה וא"א אורבך יבלחט"א - אך פתיחת הלב המסעירה לעולמם של חז"ל זוהי זכותו של רש"ר ויס.

האיש השני שרישומו ניכר היה, הוא ד"ר פליקס אורי גוטמן, שהלך מאתנו השנה. זכיתי להכירו ולהתידד אתו במשך שנים כאן בירושלים.

ד"ר גוטמן ז"ל היה בעיני נציג ההומניזם האירופי הגדול, שעליו לא שמעתי דבר וחצי דבר בביה"ס הנאצי. הוא הוביל אותנו לראשונה אל תומאס מן ואל הרמן הסה, אל גיתה, אל רוסו ואל ההוגים המדיניים. הוא קרבנו למחשבה הציונית המודרנית מבובר עד הרב קוק, ששמו החל לחדור לאט לאט אל תודעתנו בימים הללו. אישיותו ופתיחות רוחו יצרו איזון מצוין והשלמה נאותה למשקע היהודי העשיר ולמזג הכריזמטי הסוער שחברו אצל הרב ויים. הלהט להרבות תורה הצטרף לרפלקסיה העצמית אשר בעזרתה התחלתי לתרגם את העושר הנדלה מן המקורות ללשוננו האישית, הווה אומר בדרך הרפלקסיה הביקורתית הפכה תורת ישראל לתורתך אתה.

הדחיפה ללימוד עצמי, ללימוד תורה בצורתא - זה היה עיקר העיקרים שקבלנו שם. באוירה אינטנסיבית זו הסחתי דעתי מגלי השנאה שהשתוללו סביבנו. על אי שקט זה ספגנו את המזון הרוחני שעתיד היה להזין אותנו עם רדת החושך.

וכאן אני מגיע ליומי האחרון בוירצבורג: ליל הבדולח. בעיצומו של לילה ואנחנו ישנים שנת ישרים בפנימיה שברחוב ביברך - פתאום נפתחה הדלת בטריקה ובחבטות וקולות גסים צרחו: לקום, לא לנוע! (Hufstehen! Rührt Euch nicht!) ולהוותי ניצבת בחדר השינה קבוצת בריונים של ה- SA הם היו לבושים אזרחית כדי להפגין את "זעם ההמונים" על הריגת השגריר הגרמני בפריס בידי נער יהודי; בידיהם פטישים, גרזנים, מכושים, סכינים וכל מיני כלי משחית. בשצף-קצף הם הפכו את מטותינו, היו

מרסקים אותן, מנפצים ומשברים את השמשות, את קערות הרחצה, המראות, הארונות, הכסאות וכל מה שהיה בהישג פטיש, גרזן או סכין. אחרי עבודת ההרס הם הסתלקו כמות שבאו והשאירו אחריהם תל חרבות.
ואנחנו עמדנו בפיז'מות רועדים מן הקור ומן האימה למראה טבטוניות ממושמעת זו, שכן הפקודה היתה לפגוע "רק" ברכוש. כעבור כמחצית השעה, אחרי ההלם הראשון, נכנס מר שטולברג, שהיה אב הבית, וסיפר לנו על המון משתולל המרקד ברחובות שהצית את בית הכנסת וחילל את ספרי התורה שהיו מתגוללים בחוצות העיר. מר שטולברג ואשתו הגישו לנו קפה חם וחילקו איתנו את מעט האוכל שנשאר בביתם... עד שהגיעו בשעה 10:00 בבוקר קלגסי הגסטפו, סגרו על הבנין ועצרו כל מי שהיה למעלה מגיל 18. כתחנו הועברה במקובץ לבית הסוהר שבמקום; אחרי שלושה ימים שישבנו בתא אחד העבירונו למחנה ההסגר שבדכאו. זה היה יומי האחרון בוירצבורג.

ועוד רגע גורלי: היה זה בערב שבת יום 13 בינואר 1939; בשעה חמש בבוקר הגעתי הביתה אחרי נסיעת לילה ארוכה כששוחררתי מדכאו. בתחנת הרכבת במינכן הוגשה לי עזרה ראשונה מטעם הקהילה היהודית שבמקום, שכן קשתה עלי ההליכה בשל פצע מזוהם ברגל שנגרם על ידי הקור העז. למשמע הדפיקה הראשונה קמה אמי הי"ד ממטתה, פתחה את הדלת, חיבקה ונישקה אותי בדמעות ללא מלים.
כשוך גלי ההתרגשות הראשונים, היא סיפרה לי כי הגיעה תעודת קבלה לאוניברסיטה העברית. לפי תומי הגשתי כחודש לפני ליל הבדולח בקשה להתקבל כסטודנט בירושלים. בשעתו התיעצתי במורנו בנו הירנהיימר, זצ"ל, שמת על קידוש השם. היה זה טיפוס מיוחד במינו: איש נכה-רגליים וגיבן, מן היהדות הכפרית של פרנקוניה העילית. דרך חייו היתה מובהקת של נצחון הרוח על מיגבלות הגוף. בנעוריו הוא סיים את ביה"ס למורים בוירצבורג ולמד את"כ מתימטיקה ופיסיקה באוניברסיטה שבמקום. בסמינר הוא שימש כמורה למתימטיקה ולתנ"ך, לפעמים לימד גם דינים. אצלו למדתי את ס' שופטים. זכורים לי עדיין השיעורים המרשימים על שירת דבורה ועל מלחמת דבורה, שהובילו אותנו ישר לעמק יזרעאל שעליו שרנו בימים

הללו. כאן נקשר המקרא ממש בנוף של ארץ ישראל. אכן, לפני שהגשתי את הבקשה לאוניברסיטה העברית התיעצתי בו. "מה אתה רוצה ללמוד שם?" שאלני בתמיהה. "חקלאות" עניתי בהיסוס קל, שכן חשבתי על מקצוע "מעשי" בארץ ישראל. "איזו חוצפה יש לך? הרי אין בידך תעודת בגרות!" בזה נסתיימה השיחה. משום מה לא שעיתי לדבריו והגשתי את הבקשה הרשמית. לא האמנתי למראה עיני כאשר אמא הראתה לי את תעודת הקבלה לאוניברסיטה העברית, ועליה מתנוססת החתימה של המזכיר הכללי; אך אליה וקוץ בה – שכן תעודת קבלה לחוד וסרטיפיקט לחוד, כי סרטיפיקטים לא היו בנמצא בימים הללו, בימי הספר הלבן.

הנייר השני שהראתה לי אמא היתה Affidavit לארה"ב, שנשלח לכל הסמינריסטים שנכלאו במחנה הסגר, וזאת בזכות מאמציו החשובים של הרב ויים שהגר לארה"ב כמחצית השנה לפני כן ועסק משם בהצלת נפשות. היום הוא איש ירושלים.

לא פיקפקתי אף רגע: בשום פנים לא רציתי ל"הגר" כי אם לעלות לארץ ישראל, אף כי הסיכויים המעשיים היו קלושים מאד. אחרי חליפת מכתבים קצרה עם המשרד הארצישראלי בברלין החלטתי ללכת למקום הכשרה ליד ברלין, בשטקלסדורף, מקום הכשרה חקלאית מטעם הבח"ד (ברית חלוצים דתיים). הממשלה הבריטית הואילה בימים הללו להתיר שהייתם הארעית של פליטים מגרמניה בתחום הממלכה המאוחדת. ד"ר פיק הי"ד מן המשרד הארצישראלי הברלינאי, שנשאר על מקומו עד שהנאצים שלחוהו למחנה השמדה, יעץ לי לעבור לשם עד שיהיו סרטיפיקטים, וכן עשיתי. ביום 6.6.1939 בשעה שעברתי עם קבוצת פליטים יהודיים את הגבול הבלגי הוציא אחד חצוצרה מנחושת וחגג לפנינו את הרגע של יציאתנו מעבדות לחירות. באנגליה נכנסתי למחנה פליטים ב- Richborough , הוא מחנה קיטשנר (Kitchener) מימי מלחמת העולם הראשונה, ליד החוף הדרום-מזרחי. הפליטים היהודיים שיקמו אותו והקימו שם עיר צריפים שפעלה באופן מופתי. כעבור חודשיים פרצה מלחמת העולם, והתגייסנו למילוי שקי-חול לשם הקמת מערכת-הגנה בפני התקפות-אויר. במחנה ביקרה

משלחת ובראשה נורמן בנטויץ, הארכיבישוף מקנטברי ועוד כמה אישים רמי מעלה כדי לקרוא אותנו להתנדב למלחמה נגד היטלר. בשל מחלה אושפזתי אז במשך כשבועיים בבית החולים היהודי בלונדון. בצאתי משם פניתי אל משרד הפליטים היהודיים ב- Bloomsbury house כדי לקבל כרטיס נסיעה חזרה למחנה. להפתעתי פנתה אלי הפקידה בשאלה: "האם אתה מוכן לנסוע לפלסטיין?" חשבתי שהיא מחלוצצת, אך מיד היא הוסיפה שעלי להחליט במקום. "מה פירוש הדבר?" שאלתי, "פירוש הדבר, שאתה חייב להחליט אם מחרתיים בבוקר אתה מוכן להפליג לפלסטיין!" "אבל כל המיטלטלים שלי הם במחנה קיטשנר (Kitchener) "נשלח לך את הכל באניה הקרובה ביותר". "עליך לדעת כי זאת הזדמנות בלתי חוזרת כי הסרטיפיקטים המעטים בידינו לא נוצלו משום שאנשים אינם מעיזים לנסוע עכשיו, כאשר הנאצים מקיפים את אנגליה במוקשי ים מגנטיים". בלא היסוס נוסף עניתי בחיוב. ביום 21 בדצמבר 1939 בקור מקפיא עליתי על אניית מסע בלגית שהפליגה מנמל קרדיף שבאנגליה המזרחית.

האניה הובילה פחם לבירות כדי להמשיך דרכה לנמל תל-אביב ולהעמיס תפוזים. אתי נסעו עוד כחמישה ידידים ממחנה הפליטים, ביניהם החימאי ד"ר קפלן שהיה מורי לעברית במשך שהותי במחנה הפליטים. הוא עתיד היה להיות מסגנן הכנסת. משנכנסה האניה למיצרי גיברלטר הופיע רב החובל לראשונה וסיפר לנו על הסכנות, על הצוללות הגרמניות ועל המוקשים הימיים, שחמקנו מהם במשך נסיעתנו באוקינוס האטלנטי.

ביום 13 בינואר 1940, יום השנה לשחרורי ממחנה דכאו, דרכה רגלי על אדמת ארץ ישראל משהשליכה האניה עוגן בנמל העברי הראשון, נמל תל-אביב. כחולם צעדתי בחוצות תל-אביב ושמעתי את פטפוט הילדים בעברית, אך דבר לא הבנתי מן השטף הצברי. כאן בארץ ישראל התחילו חיים חדשים....

והנה עכשיו, ארבע עשרות שנים ומעלה מאז הימים הללו מתכנסים אנחנו כאן בירושלים, בירת ישראל. ואל נשכח: מפגש זה בא בצל שני מאורעות סמליים

שקרו סמוך למעמד זה: הכינוס העולמי של שרידי השואה שהתקיים לפני כשבוע כאן בירושלים בבנייני האומה: לעינינו קמו שוב מחדש כבשני האש ותהומות האבדון אכזרי, ציני ועוין התיר את דמנו והפקירנו לידי הרוצחים הנאציים. המאורע שקדם לכינוס הנזכר הוא פצצת הכור הגרעיני בבגדד בידי חיל האויר הישראלי, זרוע הברזל של מדינת היהודים המשוחררת. אכן, כאשר ברוחנו קמו מחדש כבשני האש של אושביץ משנות האימה, קרסו תחתיהם הכבשנים של שנת 1981 שנועדו לנו ולבנינו בידי תלמידי היטלר המקיפים אותנו מכל עבר. עמי אירופה התרבותיים, צמאי הנפט והפטרודולרים, מוסרים לפראי אדם אכולי שנאה ותאוות רצח את הכלים כדי להפיק זממם - ובמצח נחושה של מתחסדים הם מגנים את ישראל על מעשה ההגנה וההצלה העצמית. סדנא דארעא חד הוא, אך נפל דבר בישראל: קם דור חדש אשר צמח על אדמת המולדת, דור שלא הכיר את המן.

אם ניעצר ונהרהר אך לרגע קט במה שעבר עלינו, על דור זה, דור החורבן והתקומה - הרי צמרמורת אוחזת בנו למראה התהומות אשר לתוכן הושלכנו ולמראה הפסגות שעליהם העפלנו. בגופנו חשנו במשך הדור הזה את המימדים האפוקליפטיים המחרידים ואת הפסגות המשיחיות המופלאות של ההיסטוריה היהודית. מאז חורבן הבית לא קם דור אשר זכה בשנות חייו הקצרות לעבור כברת דרך דמיונית כזאת.

מי פילל ומי מילל בנעורינו כי כאלה יהיו שבילי דורנו. זכינו, איש איש בתחומו, ליטול חלק בבנינו החדש של העם ובתקומתו רבת היסורים והדמים. גורל הפרט וגורל העם היו לאחדים בזכות עצמה הגעגועים לגאולה שפרצו כל גדר וכל גבול בשעה שדרכה רגלנו על אדמת ישראל. כאן כל אחד כאילו נולד מחדש: זה מקור כוחו ועצמתו של הדור. כאן למדנו לקרוא מחדש את מקורותינו ולהבין את עצמנו ואת גורלנו הבנה עמוקה יותר. כאן נשתחררו כוחות יצירה שהיו חבויים וגנוזים בעומק לבנו במשך שנות הגלות. אמנם סולטלנו למרכז ההיסטוריה של ימינו, אך זכינו למה שלא זכו ששת המיליונים: לעמוד על נפשנו ולעצב את

חיינו. אמת, גדולות הסכנות לפנינו, אך גדולות מהן התקוות המפעמות את לבנו, כי למדנו להביע בחרדת נפש שלא הכרנוה את התפלה:

שמחה לארצך וששון לעירך וצמיחת קרן לדוד
עבדך ועריכת נר לבן ישי משיחך, במהרה בימינו.

זאת תוויית השיחין שמוטל עלינו להורישה לבנינו ולבני בנינו. ראשית הדרך לעצה נפשית זו בשבילי ובשביל היושבים כאן הוא הסמינר בוירצבורג.

Statistics

דור לדור ישבח מעשיך תהלים קמה:ד

TEACHING STAFF OF THE *ILBA*
1864-1938
(In sequence of employment)

DIRECTORS

Rabbi Seligmann Baer Bamberger 1864-1878
Rabbi Nathan Bamberger 1879-1919
Jakob Stoll 1905-1919
Seminaroberlehrer (Dean of Instruction)
1919-1938 Director

Rabbinische Seminarlehrer (Rabbinical Teacher)

Dr. M. C. Bamberger
Dr. Abraham Klein
Dr. Joseph Wohlgemut
Dr. G. Feinberg

Seminarrabbiner:

Rabbi Yekutiel Jacob Neubauer
Rabbi Joseph Unna
Rabbi Samson R. Weiss
Rabbi Ephraim Offenberg
Rabbi Henry Carlebach

Full-Time Teachers 1864-1938

Ludwig Stern, Isaac Schlenker, Jakob Weissbart, Dr. G. Tachauer, Jakob Stoll, Leopold Anfänger, Dr. M. C. Bamberger, Dr. A. Klein, Dr. J. Wohlgemut, Dr. G. Fein-

berg, Emil Bodenheimer, J. Freudenberger, Emil Bechhofer, S. Dingfelder, Hugo Kahn, Israel Rosenthaler, Baron Ernst von Manstein, H. Oppenheimer, Robert Einstädter, J. Koschland, K. Hamburger, Selig Steinhäuser, Dr. Benno Hirnheimer, Joseph Erlebacher, Dr. Bernhard Bamberger, Emanuel Stolberg, Dr. Felix Gutman.

Part-Time Teachers

Dr. Wolfram, Dr. Loll, G. Berg, Hugel, Reichell, Kohler, Huber, Bischoff, Baier, Hesselmeyer, J. Englert, Anton Englert, Dr. List, V. Reitmaier, Cantor S. Lehman, Dr. Full, A. Eschenbach, W. R. Fischer, Weippert, Fr. Riegel, Franz Weinberger, Ritzel, Fritz, Klemmert, K. Bauer, Ch. Hirschman, Wernhauser, Korner, Hessel, Dr. Stossel, Dr. Appel, Aurich, Dr. H. Bamberger, Joseph Wehr, Kuffner, Wolf, Zeller, S. Schulhofer, Koop, Dees, Oberkantor Eschwege, Kapellmeister Schadowitz, E. Schunk, Dr. Leberman, Böhm, Rot, Guckenberg, Rabbi Selig Auerbach, Siegfried Rothschild, Senta Kahn, Ehrenreich, Nathanson, Lang, Thorwart, Volpert, Schmidt.

Full-time Teaching Staff—
Präparandenschule Höchberg 1930

Selig Steinhäuser, Director; Emanuel Eldod, Dr. Benno Hirnheimer, Joseph Erlebacher, Jakob Hönlein, Julius Roberg, Emanuel Stolberg, Gustav Geiger.

Namensverzeichnis

der Schüler, welche seit Bestehen der Anstalt dieselbe besuchten.

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Adler Abraham	Dittlofsroda	1867
Ambrun Hirsch	Rödelmaier	1867
Adler Samuel	Laudenbach	1869
Adler Leopold	Mittelstreu	1868
Altmann Joseph	Schopfloch	1870
Adler Hermann	Heßdorf	1879
Anfänger Salomon	Höchheim	1880
Adler Maier	Urspringen	1882
Anfänger Leopold	Waltershausen	1886
Adler Bernhard	Gnodstadt	1888
Adler Lion	Urspringen	1888
Adler Hermann	Urspringen	1898
Adler Nathan	Burgpreppach	1898
Adler Salomon	Kleinsteinach	1898
Adler Louis	Karbach	1911
Adler Raphael	Brückenau	1911
Aufseßer Adolf	Aufseß	1911
Adler Max	Brückenau	1913
Ausübel Isidor	Stuttgart	1914
Adler Alfons	Roth	*)
Antmann Moses	Baden	
Baum Israel	Nordheim	1868
Bing Jakob	Oberseemen	1869
Bein Alexander	Steinach	1871
Bein Simon	Steinach	1871
Bachrach Benzion	Goßmannsdorf	1873
Bergenthal Gerson	Fuchsstadt	1873
Braunold Joseph	Wiesenfeld	1875
Bachmann Felix	Schwanfeld	1877
Bamberger Seckel	Aschaffenburg	1879
Berney Leser	Karbach	1881
Buttenwieser Moses	Rimpar	1881
Blatt Nathan	Maßbach	1884
Bachmann Joseph	Schwanfeld	1885
Bravmann Julius	Unteraltertheim	1886
Bacharach Levi	Rhina	1887
Buttenwieser Salomon	Rimpar	1887
Baumann Baruch Hirsch	Untererthal	1888
Bamberger M. L.	Aschaffenburg	1889
Bamberger Simon	Würzburg	1890

*) Die Schüler, bei denen diese Rubrik nicht ausgefüllt ist, befinden sich noch in der Anstalt.

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Blumenthal Simon	Heidingsfeld	1891
Blumenthal Simon	Laudenbach	1891
Blumenthal Salomon	Laudenbach	1892
Bamberger Isac	Sennheim	1894
Bamberger Naphtali	Sennheim	1895
Blumenthal Maier	Laudenbach	1895
Bloch Benno	Cham	1897
Bierschild Salomon	Heßdorf	1899
Bravmann Samuel	Unteraltertheim	1899
Bravmann Heimann	Unteraltertheim	1903
Bergen Wilhelm	Gelnhausen	1903
Bierschild Jakob	Heßdorf	1902
Bick Aron	Preßburg	1904
Bloch Heinrich	Merzweiler	1906
Bravmann Sigmund	Unteraltertheim	1906
Bravmann Salomon	Oberaltertheim	1906
Berlinger Abraham	Würzburg	1907
Benedikt Benjamin	Mattusdorf	1907
Berlinger Arthur	Würzburg	1908
Bader Abraham	Dukla	1909
Brückheimer Simon	Külsheim	1909
Blum Jakob	Seubelsdorf	1911
Blum Jakob	Burgpreppach	1911
Caron Isidor	Merzweiler	1906
Dispecker Jakob	Oberwaldbehrungen	1869
Dorfzaun Hermann	Neustadt a. S.	1871
Danziger Niem	Laudenbach	1874
Dottenheimer Hirsch	Berolzheim	1878
Distelburger Markus	Oberthulba	1891
Dorfzaun Semmi	Fischach	1909
Dorfzaun Julius	Fischach	1913
David Marcel	Insmingen	
Einstein Daniel	Fellheim	1866
Eschwege Ascher	Karbach	1869
Ehrlich Salomon	Reichmannsdorf	1870
Eschwege Nathan	Karbach	1872
Ehrmann Heinrich	Poppenlauer	1875
Eisemann Salomon	Steinbach	1879
Eisemann Salomon	Marktbreit	1881
Eldod Emanuel	Höchberg	1882
Ellinger Benzion	Niederstetten	1882
Ehrenreich Nathan	Höchberg	1883
Eisemann Jakob	Marktbreit	1885
Einstädter Heinrich	Königshofen	1888
Eisfeld Heinemann	Zeitlofs	1888
Edelstein Heimann	Unterriedenberg	1890
Ehrlich Jakob	Impfingen	1890
Eldod Naphtali	Höchberg	1890

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Eschwege Salomon	Thüngen	1896
Eschwege Seligmann Bär	Höchberg	1897
Eschwege Simon	Thüngen	1899
Ehrenreich Nathan	Schopfloch	1900
Einstädter Robert	Königshofen	1900
Ehrenreich Elieser	Schopfloch	1902
Eschwege Joseph	Höchberg	1904
Eschwege Samuel	Thüngen	1905
Eschwege Ruben	Thüngen	1911
Eisemann Michael	Bad Orb	1913
Eichstetter Ernst	Randegg	1914
Eisemann Karl	Westheim (Würzburg)	1914
Frank Abraham	Rimpar	1868
Friedenhain Nathan	Werneck	1867
Franken Nathan	Rödelmaier	1871
Friesner Simon	Ermershausen	1871
Friedmann Heßlein	Autenhausen	1875
Falk Benjamin	Aub	1877
Frank Benzion	Würzburg	1881
Frank Markus	Nieder-Ohmen	1881
Falk Gedalja Hirsch	Aub	1882
Freudenberger Juda	Heidingsfeld	1882
Fröhlich Abraham	Unteraltertheim	1883
Frank Hirsch	Oberaltertheim	1884
Frohmann Abraham	Rimpar	1884
Fuchs Seligmann	Würzburg	1884
Fulder Bernhard	Thüngen	1884
Feibelmann Heinrich	Rülzheim	1885
Freudenberger Sandel	Heßdorf	1885
Fink Hermann	Oberlauringen	1886
Franken Julius	Rödelmaier	1886
Frank Max	Brückenau	1885
Freudenberger Simon	Heßdorf	1887
Fränkel Ernst	Altenstadt	1894
Fröhlich Abraham	Unteraltertheim	1894
Feinberg Gerson	Regensburg	1895
Friedmann Hugo	Illingen	1895
Frank Salomon	Ichenhausen	1896
Fröhlich Joseph	Edelfingen	1896
Friedmann Berthold	Königshofen	1899
Friedmann Louis	Aschenhausen	1900
Frank Nathan	Westheim (Haßfurt)	1901
Fröhlich Samuel	Unteraltertheim	1902
Freudenberger Leopold	Veitshöchheim	1903
Fein Hermann	Oberaltertheim	1904
Friedmann Joseph	Hofheim	1904
Fröhlich Elias	Unteraltertheim	1904
Früh Emil	Fürth	1908

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Friedmann Joseph	Schweinshaupten	1913
Fuchs Moses	Oestringen	1913
Friedmann Benno	Schweinshaupten	1914
Goldberger Samuel	Ermershausen	1866
Geßner Jakob	Steinach	1867
Grünebaum Pfeufer	Oberaltertheim	1870
Goldstein Hirsch	Bischwind	1873
Grünebaum Jakob	Oberaltertheim	1878
Gutmann Leser	Westheim	1878
Goldstein Simon	Traustadt	1881
Gutmann Alexander	Kleinsteinach	1882
Gottlieb Viktor	Neuhof	1882
Goldstein Simon	Burgpreppach	1883
Grünwald Moses	Karbach	1885
Gundersheimer Isak	Mittelsinn	1885
Gutmann Bernhard	Kleinsteinach	1885
Grünwald Jakob	Altengronau	1887
Goldschmidt Simon	Sterbfritz	1888
Grünspecht Abraham	Wüstensachsen	1885
Grünfeld Simon	Tauberrettersheim	1892
Gutmann Max	Kleinsteinach	1895
Ganzmann Siegmund	Burgpreppach	1896
Goldschmidt Joseph	Heßdorf	1896
Godlevsky Elias	Gerolzhofen	1899
Gundersheimer Abraham	Mittelsinn	1898
Gunzenhäuser Abraham	Tauberrettersheim	1900
Goldschmidt Emil	Kleinheubach	1902
Gundersheimer Samuel	Mittelsinn	1902
Grünebaum Leopold	Nürnberg	1904
Goldberg Israel	Ichenhausen	1905
Goldbach Siegfried	Höchberg	1910
Gönninger Jakob	Ermreuth	1911
Goldmann Max	Burgpreppach	1914
Goldstein Julius	Oberlauringen	1913
Grünewald Sally	Straßburg	
Gutmann Benno	Ottensoß	
Haas Jakob	Hörstein	1865
Hirsch Isak	Goldbach	1865
Henle Salomon	Ichenhausen	1870
Hirsch Naphtali	Traustadt	1871
Hofmann Moses	Dittlofsroda	1871
Hahn Emanuel	Nenzenheim	1879
Heimann Nathan	Wenkheim	1880
Hubert Abraham	Cronheim	1881
Hammelburger Moritz	Niederwerrn	1882
Hirschmann Julius	Burgpreppach	1882
Hirnheimer Wolf	Reichmannsdorf	1888
Hirschberger David	Hainstadt	1888

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Hamburger Joseph	Alzenau	1887
Held Max	Wannbach	1889
Heß Emanuel	Ermreuth	1890
Hofmann Aron	Steinach	1890
Heilberg Salomon	Maudt	1890
Hausmann Leopold	Dornheim	1891
Heinemann Joseph	Heidingsfeld	1896
Hofmann Seligmann	Rimpar	1896
Heimann Emanuel	Schwanfeld	1897
Heller Moritz	Weilersbach	1895
Heineman Aron	Heidingsfeld	1899
Hamburger Wolf	Hörstein	1900
Haimann Hermann	Colmberg	1900
Halle Max	Geroda	1901
Hammelburger Siegmund	Niederwerrn	1901
Hellmann Julius	Autenhausen	1901
Hausmann Elias	Nenzenheim	1904
Hesky Adolf	München	1904
Hirsch Edmund	Zeilitzheim	1908
Hamburger Karl	Burgsinn	1909
Herz Fritz	Mittelsinn	1909
Heippert Max	Karbach	1910
Hammelburger Ludwig	Haßfurt	1911
Heimann Jakob	Fürth	1911
Hellmann Norbert	Marktbreit	1909
Hammelburger Ludwig	Niederwerrn	1911
Heimann Felix	Nürnberg	1913
Heß Abraham	Geroda	
Judas Luzian	Wünzenheim	1908
Kissinger Joseph	Rödelsee	1871
Kissinger Maier	Rödelsee	1875
Kaufmann David	Altenstein	1877
Kissinger Simon	Rödelsee	1878
Kaufmann Karl	Altenstein	1880
Kissinger David	Rödelsee	1879
Kraus Salomon	Maßbach	1879
Kahn Markus	Westerburg	1880
Katz Moses	Mühlfeld	1881
Kahn Isidor	Burgpreppach	1882
Klein Bernhard	Veitshöchheim	1883
Kahn Hugo	Bibra	1887
Kahn Simon	Veitshöchheim	1887
Kohn Leopold	Uhlfeld	1888
Krämer Max	Höchst	1887
Kellermann Benzion	Gerolzhofen	1888
Kahn Bernhard	Aschenhausen	1890
Kahn Simon	Heidingsfeld	1892
Karlsberg Siegmund	Fränkisch-Krumbach	1893

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Kahn Joseph	Mainstockheim	1895
Kahn Joseph	Mittelsinn	1896
Kahn Siegmund	Aschenhausen	1896
Kahn Hermann	Dörmigheim	1898
Kleemann Julius	Theilheim	1898
Kahn Emil	Kleinbardorf	1904
Klugmann Hermann	Wiesenbronn	1904
Krämer Leopold	Mönchsroth	1903
Kissinger Maier	Frankenwinheim	1905
Klaus Siegmund	Haßloch	1905
Kahn Leopold	Oberaltertheim	1906
Krämer Jakob	Frankenwinheim	1906
Koschland Israel	Ichenhausen	1907
Katzmann Max	Geroda	1908
Kissinger Ferdinand	Urspringen	1910
Kahn Friedrich	Großkarben	1912
Katz Simon	Rhina	1912
Kaufmann Alfred	Hainstadt	1912
Kissinger Julius	Urspringen	1913
Kahn David	Mittelsinn	1914
Kahn Arnold	Wiesenfeld	
Katz Max	Babenhausen	
Krämer Leo	Gerolzhofen	1867
Löbenfried Jakob	Oberthulba	1866
Levi Nathan	Heubach (Preußen)	
Löwenthal Moses	Erfurt	1868
Lehmann David	Rimpar	1874
Lichtenstädter Jakob	Wiesenfeld	1881
Lomnitz Wolf	Bischhausen	1881
Levi Emanuel	Volmerz	1883
Liberles Abraham	Karlsruhe	1883
Ledermann Gustav	Oberlauringen	1884
Lichtenstädter S mon	Kleinsteinach	1884
Lebermann Jakob	Würzburg	1886
Lipmann Moses	Gaukönigshofen	1886
Lipschütz Hirsch	Memel	1886
Lebermann Leopold	Würzburg	1887
Ledermann Jakob	Kleineibstadt	1891
Lachmann Moritz	Schwersenz	1894
Lippmann Max	Würzburg	1894
Lehmann Samuel	Wiesenbronn	1895
Levite Max	Mönchsroth	1898
Lion Heinrich	Niederwern	1899
Lamm Julius	Unsleben	1906
Langstädter Siegfried	Memmelsdorf	1906
Lederer Jakob	Dierburg	1909
Levy Lazarus	Düppigheim	1909
Levy Armand	Püttlingen	

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Lehmann Bernhard	Eschau	
Maßenbacher Jacob	Burghaslach	1867
Mannheimer Gustav	Okriftel	1874
Maßenbacher Samuel	Burghaslach	1874
Marx Moses	Maßbach	1878
Mittel Simon	Unsleben	1882
Maier Samuel	Fischach	1884
Maier Moses	Schnaittach	1885
Mannheimer Abraham	Okriftel	1885
Mannheimer Gerson	Sulzbach	1885
Mandelbaum Aron	Platz	1886
Maier Moritz	Fischach	1887
Mannheimer Jacob	Okriftel	1889
Mandelbaum Philipp	Platz	1890
Mannheimer David	Niederndorf	1890
Maier Adolf	Neidenstein	1891
Morgenroth Abraham	Gersfeld	1892
Maier William	Steinach a. S.	1897
Maier Wilhelm	Schöllkrippen	1900
Mischkowsky Max	Johannisburg	1903
Müller Heinrich	Schweinshaupten	1904
Marx Isidor	Bödigheim	1905
Marx Hermann	Bödigheim	1909
Müller Sebald	Marisfeld	1910
Marx Siegmund	Bödigheim	1914
Nordhäuser Jonas	Wüstensachsen	1868
Neumann Wolf	Burgsinn	1873
Neu Abraham	Aschaffenburg	1874
Nußbaum Moses	Unterriedenberg	1874
Niedermann Nathan	Jerkendorf	1880
Neumann Joseph	Külsheim	1881
Nußbaum Ruben	Burghaun	1882
Nußbaum Moses	Weimarschmieden	1884
Nagel Selig	Niederstein	1886
Nußbaum Leo	Burghaun	1886
Neuburger Moritz	Binswangen	1887
Nußbaum Jacob	Weimarschmieden	1888
Neumann Salomon	Burgpreppach	1900
Neuhaus Leser	Sulzbürg	1902
Nußbaum Ludwig	Schweinfurt	1906
Neuberger Karl	Mühlfeld	1914
Neumann Moses	Schöllkrippen	
Oppenheimer Herz	Schöllkrippen	1873
Oppenheimer Moses	Rieneck	1877
Oppenheimer Abraham	Schmalnau	1880
Oppenheimer Jacob Hirsch	Zeitlofs	1882
Oppenheimer Max	Theilheim	1881
Oppenheimer Bernhard	Miltenberg	1884

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Obendörfer Isac	Creglingen	1885
Oppenheimer Hirsch	Miltenberg	1887
Ottensoßer Samuel	Burgpreppach	1902
Oppenheimer Maier	Neumarkt	
Pfeifer Seligmann	Gerolzhofen	1880
Popper Isidor	Wilmars	1883
Popper Ignaz	Wilmars	1894
Plant Moses	Storndorf	1909
Rosenthal Maier	Oberlauringen	1866
Reinhold Max	Kleineibstadt	1870
Roßmann Aron	Obereuerheim	1873
Rothschild Hieronymus	Großmannsdorf	1873
Röthler David	Ermershausen	1875
Rapp Hauna	Eiterfeld	1877
Reuß Heinrich	Oberlauringen	1881
Roßmann Anselm	Maßbach	1881
Rosenstein Jakob	Bechhofen	1883
Rosenthal Julius	Birstein	1883
Rau Abraham Moses	Ermershausen	1883
Regensburger Leopold	Sulzbürg	1885
Rosenbusch Joseph	Borken	1885
Rosenstein Maier	Bechhofen	1885
Rosenblatt Aron	Fürth	1887
Rosenblatt Herz	Fürth	1888
Rosenthaler Israel	Hürben	1888
Rose Hermann	Oberwaldbehrungen	1888
Rosenberger Maier	Kraisdorf	1890
Rosenberger Moses	Platz	1891
Roos Benjamin	Werneck	1894
Rosenthal Max	Nürnberg	1894
Rosenwald David	Sulzbürg	1898
Reich Hermann	Zeitlofs	1899
Rotschild Sally	Hörstein	1897
Rosenstiel Isidor	Fegersheim	1901
Rosenfelder Sally	Aidhausen	1902
Roth Jakob	Darmstadt	1902
Reinhold Emil	Kleineibstadt	1903
Reis Louis	Oberwaldbehrungen	1903
Rosenberg Mendel	Kalisch	1907
Suhler Aron	Marktsteft	1866
Sonn Jakob	Schweinshaupten	1867
Sänger Hermann	Kleineibstadt	1866
Seemann Abraham	Aschbach	1873
Speyer Joseph	Kirchbrombach	1876
Sommer Juda	Höchheim	1878
Silbermann Maier	Hofheim	1882
Steinhäuser Lazarus	Oberlauringen	1882
Schloßmann Louis	Rödelmaier	1882

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Stern Joseph	Heßdorf	1883
Schloß Jonas	Fuchsstadt	1883
Strauß Abraham	Altenhaslau	1883
Strauß Maier	Burghaun	1883
Seewald Willy	Babenhausen	1886
Sulzbacher Hirsch	Mergentheim	1886
Sulzbacher Simon	Tauberrettersheim	1888
Sonn David	Theilheim	1891
Sulzbacher Joseph	Tauberrettersheim	1895
Strauß Manes	Autenhausen	1896
Schwarz Otto	Binswangen	1897
Sichel Max	Kleinsteinach	1897
Speier Siegfried	Haigerloch	1877
Sonn Moses	Großlangheim	1878
Simon Moritz	Echzell	1899
Strauß Max	Hofheim	1902
Sichel Bernhard	Mergentheim	1909
Secunda Nehemias	Frankfurt a. M.	1914
Simon Siegfried	Michelstadt	
Schwanthaler Siegmund	Westheim	1866
Schwab Hirsch	Burgpreppach	1870
Schweitzer Manase	Goßmannsdorf	1870
Schloß Simon	Gleicherwiesen	1877
Schüler Isac	Frankfurt a. M.	1877
Schüler Joseph	Frankfurt a. M.	1885
Schamburger Joseph	Angerod	1886
Schwarzenberger Samuel	Maßbach	1886
Schloß Leopold	Nidda	1887
Schwarz Leopold	Pfersee	1890
Schwabacher Jakob	Fellheim	1893
Schämann Benjamin	Lösnich	1891
Schmalzbach Leopold	München	1902
Schloß Samuel	Oberlauringen	1902
Schloß Jacob	Giebelstadt	1902
Schottland Heinrich	Burghaslach	1903
Schmidt Sally	Fischach	1905
Schloß Eduard	Obbach	1906
Schneider Isac Leo	Leipzig	1908
Schapiro Leopold	Burghaslach	1909
Schiff Berthold	Oberthulba	1909
Scharf Benno	Großhettingen	1910
Schäfer Alfred	Mühlhausen	1911
Schloß Leo	Urspringen	1911
Schapiro Julius	Burghaslach	
Schönfeld Joseph	München	
Strauß Abraham	Kleinheubach	1868
Strauß Joseph	Eschau	1868
Strauß Moses	Kraisdorf	1870

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Stiefel Abraham	Hammelburg	1870
Stropp Hieronymus	Maßbach	1871
Strauß Samuel	Homburg	1875
Stern Moses	Wenings	1876
Strauß Abraham	Lohr	1876
Stern Abraham	Poppenlauer	1884
Stern Simon	Niederwerrn	1885
Strauß Joseph	Hörstein	1884
Strauß Maier	Kleinlangheim	1886
Strauß Simon	Oberseemen	1886
Strauß Moses	Geroda	1885
Stern Abraham	Wenings	1887
Strauß David	Dittlofsroda	1887
Strauß Hirsch	Mühlen	1887
Stoll David	Maßbach	1887
Stern Salomon	Bindsachsen	1888
Strauß Assur	Burghaun	1888
Strauß Simon	Adelsberg	1888
Strauß Seligmann	Kitzingen	1888
Stein Lipmann	Giebelstadt	1890
Strauß Samuel	Berlichingen	1893
Strauß Hermann	Eppertshausen	1894
Strauß David	Miehlen	1890
Stoll Jakob	Maßbach	1895
Strauß Hermann	Berlichingen	1895
Stiebel Jakob	Langenschwarz	1894
Strauß Max	Hofheim	1902
Steinberger Selig	Oberlauringen	1902
Strauß Isac	Crailsheim	1903
Stern Max	Hintersteinau	1905
Strauß Julius	Hammelburg	1906
Stein Arnold	Burgsinn	1909
Stein Julius	Mellrichstadt	1910
Steinhäuser Simon	Oberlauringen	1913
Stern Armin	München	
Thalmann Jeidel	Würzburg	1872
Thalmann Gumbel	Würzburg	1878
Tannenwald Lazarus	Karbach	1882
Treuhold Hermann	Steinach	1891
Translateur Hermann	Lodz	1905
Uhlfelder Jonas	Forchheim	1892
Uhlfelder Jonathan	Weisensdorf	1898
Uhlfelder Louis	Weisensdorf	1900
Vorchheimer Gerson	Thüngen	1884
Vogel Siegmund	Großostheim	1893
Vandeward Theodor	Jeckendorf	1898
Vogel Leopold	Großostheim	1898
Weinstock Samuel	Schmalnau	1867

Vor- und Zunamen	Heimat	Jahr des Austritts
Weimann Abraham	Fischach	1866
Wormser Moses	Gersfeld	1866
Wolf Baruch	Heßdorf	1872
Weiler Louis	Fischach	1872
Wetzlar Simon	Langstadt	1873
Wormer Leopold	Gersfeld	1874
Wertheimer Emanuel	Düdelsheim	1875
Wolfram Wolf	Kleineibstadt	1875
Wechsler Abraham	Aschbach	1879
Würzmann Moritz	Demmelsdorf	1880
Weichselbaum Jakob	Heßdorf	1883
Wechsler Emanuel	Aschbach	1884
Weikersheimer Leo	Goßmannsdorf	1884
Wormser Joseph	Höchst a. M.	1884
Wahler Kolmann	Hörstein	1886
Wißmann Hirsch	Schwabach	1888
Wißmann Selig	Georgensgemünd	1888
Weißbart Nathan Gabriel	Würzburg	1888
Wechsler Benjamin	Höchberg	1893
Weglein Jacob	Demmelsdorf	1894
Wolf Max	Sulzbürg	1892
Weigersheimer Moses	Heßdorf	1896
Wormser Isak	Zeitlofs	1896
Wechsler Jakob	Schwabach	1900
Weimann Ruben	München	1899
Wachsmann Joseph	Feuchtwangen	1901
Wolfram J. M.	Kleineibstadt	1903
Wieser Hirsch	Baden	1906
Wolf Jakob	Baisingen	1907
Weil Leopold	Sulzbürg	1908
Weimann David	München	1908
Wassermann Eig.	München	1908
Weingarten Julius	Neustadt a. S.	1910
Welsch Samuel	Schirrhofen	1913
Wormser Joseph	Zeitlofs	1913
Weinbock Felix	Bastheim	
Weichselbaum Hugo	Adelsberg	
Zimmermann Levy	Oberseemen	1882
Zeilberger Elieser	Ermershausen	1894
Zwillenberger Wilhelm	Ortelsburg	1890
Zucker Maier	Thüngen	1893
Ziegler David	München	1895
Zielinsky Emil	Ichenhausen	1910

LIST OF GRADUATES 1915-1938

(incomplete)

Bernhard Adler 1920
Herbert Adler 1933
Hermann Adler 1935
Karl Adler 1932
Leo Adler 1936
Arthur Antwort 1934
Hugo Apt 1935
Siegfried Baumann . . 1937
Issi Bayer 1920
Max Bayer 1927
Abraham Beller 1935
Joachim Berg 1935
Avraham Bergmann . 1930
Jerachmiel Bergmann 1930
Arthur Berlinger 1916
Avraham Berlinger . . 1915
Michael Berlinger . . . 1930
Simon Berlinger 1934
Wolf Berlinger 1930
Manfred Bernheim . . 1937
Justin Bernheimer . . . 1933
Osse Bernstein 1929
Jacob Breuer . . Nov. 1938
Siegfried Bügeleisen . 1932
Leni Carlebach 1936
Salo Carlebach 1938
Adolf Cohen 1931
Adolf Cohn 1929
Arthur Cohn 1929
Joseph Cysner 1933
Ruth David 1932
Gretel Eichelberger . . 1935
Regina Eldod 1932
Carola Elter 1931
Herman Elter 1928
Fred Erlebacher 1932
Gustav Erlebacher . . 1922
Hermann Erlebacher 1931
Hans Erman 1935
Jacob Farber 1935
Jacob Federgrün 1933
Kurt Flamm 1930
Ludwig Fleischmann 1934
Justin Frank 1936

Eva Borchardt 1938
Benjamin Braunhold 1922
Bella Bravmann 1938
Berthold Bravmann . 1937
Siegfried Fries 1934
Adolf Frohmann ... 1932
Nandor Fruchter 1927
Rosel Fürst 1936
Klaus Galinsky 1936
Joseph Gallinger 1933
Günther Gassenheimer 1936
Gerhard Gluskinos .. 1937
Fritz Goldschmidt ... 1932
Heinrich Goldschmidt 1935
Israel Goldwein 1933
Alfred Gruenebaum . 1929
Erich Grünebaum ... 1936
Max Grünebaum ... 1934
Isi Grünfeld 1922
Moshe Grünfeld 1933
Adolf Gutmann 1936
Isak Gutmann 1937
Max Guttmann 1929
Mally Habermann Nov. '38
Lisl Halberstadt 1936
Rosi Hanover 1937
Hugo Hanauer 1933
Sally Hecht 1920
Hans Heinemann ... 1937
Justin Heinemann ... 1936
Julie Hellmann 1932
Heinrich Herbst 1931
Joseph Hertz 1931
Ilse Herz 1936
Walter Hes 1936
Benno Hess 1920
(?) Hess 1929
(?) Hess 1928
Erwin Hirsch 1937
Theodor Freihan 1937
Ludwig Freimark ... 1920
Simon Friedeman ... 1929
Ludwig Friedman ... 1935
Jacob Hönlein 1920
Jacob Hohenemser .. 1931
Siegfried Hopfer 1935
Kurt Isacksohn 1932
Moritz Isak 1938
Herbert Israel 1933
Ilse Jakobowitz 1935
Albrecht Jonas 1936
Susie Jotkowitz 1937
Harry Kahn 1931
Herbert Kahn 1937
Isbert Kahn 1936
Leo Kahn 1920
Nathan Kahn 1932
Heinz Kälbermann .. 1934
Hilde Katz 1935
Moses Katzenberg ... 1932
Walter Kaufmann ... 1936
Benno Kesstecher ... 1938
Joseph Klebe 1937
Liesel Klein 1935
Julius Kleinmann ... 1933
Babette Kohn 1932
Ernest Kohn 1930
Markus Königsbuch . 1932
Karl Krebs 1931
Felix Kuhn 1932
Moses Kula 1932
Alois Kurzweil 1930
Salo Lauber 1928
Paul Lang 1936
Martha Lange 1936
Erna Ledermann 1935
Ruth Lehman 1936
Erich Levi 1937

(?) Hirschberger 1931
(?) Hirschfeld 1922
Gretel Hirschheimer . 1932
Gustav Hönlein 1934

Herman Lieber 1920
Joseph Lieberles 1929
Herbert Lichtenstein . 1933
(?) Lichtmann 1938
Adolf Lischner 1928
Nathan Lischner 1928
Julius Limnitz 1928
Herman Mahlermann 1928
Hugo Chaim
Mandelbaum 1920
Liesel Mann 1936
Martha Mann 1934
Israel Mannes 1934
Moshe Mannes 1938
Sigmund Margolis .. 1937
Rosel Marx 1938
Hertha Mayer 1936
Leo Meer 1938
Simon Meisner 1932
Rosi Mosbacher Nov. 1938
Hertha Mühlfelder .. 1936
Trude Mühlfelder ... 1936
Henry Nathanson ... 1934
Leonard Natowitz ... 1938
Andor Neufeld 1933
Erich Neumann 1930
Walter Neumann ... 1930
Willy Neumann 1931
Ruth Neumark 1936
Louise Neumayer ... 1937
Martin Norden 1938
Miriam Nothmann .. 1936
Hannah Oberndörfer 1935
Leopold Posnanski .. 1934

Fritz Levi 1933
Trude Levinsky 1936
Sidi Levy 1937
Moses Lewkovitz ... 1932

Paul Possenheimer .. 1933
Martin Pressburger .. 1937
Josef Reinhold 1920
Leo Renzer 1937
Adolf Reutlinger 1931
Walter Riesenfeld ... 1929
Avraham Riwkes ... 1933
Alex Roberg 1933
Julius Roberg 1927
Alfred Rosbasch 1935
Leo Rose 1935
Samuel Rosenbaum . 1932
Alfred Rosenberg ... 1931
Benno Rosenberg ... 1936
George Rosenstock .. 1935
Martin Rosenthal ... 1936
Trudl Roth 1937
Hedi Rothschild 1937
Siegfried Rothschild . 1937
Shlomo Rottenberg .. 1933
Sallo Säbel 1920
Siegfried Samson ... 1936
Julius Schapiro 1919
Leopold Schapiro ... ?
Lotte Schapps 1936
Albert Schild .. Nov. 1938
Justin Schloss 1937
Richard Seif 1930
Alfred Seligmann ... 1937
Aaron Sezemski 1932
Sally Sichel 1920
(?) Silbermann 1922
Henni Simon 1936
Philipp Singer 1929

Trudel
Oberndörfer Nov. 1938
Joseph Oppenheimer 1938
Max Ottensoser 1936
Tony
Pachtmann . Nov. 1938
Eduard Paim 1937
Friedl Perl .... Nov. 1938

Caesar Steinhof 1929
Frieda Steinhof 1934
Martin Stern 1927
William Stern 1936
Julius Stolberg 1934
Ludwig Tauber 1929
Ruth Translateur ... 1937
Gustav Trepp 1936
Ilse Vogel-Stein 1936
Aaron
Waldman .. Nov. 1938
Alfred Walter 1935
Kurt Weil 1938
Lotte Weil 1936
Harry Weinberg 1930
Kerry Weinberg 1938
Sally Weinberg 1928
Werner Weinberg ... 1936
Salo Weingarten 1933

Hilde Sonntag 1936
Ellen Spitzer 1937
Ludwig Stein 1919
Leo Steinhäuser 1936
Caesar Steinhof 1929
Leo Steinbruch 1932
Meier Steinharter ... 1933
Julius Steinhauer ... 1932

Erich Weiss 1936
Hans Weiss 1932
Käthe Weiss ... Nov. 1938
Leah Wiesner .. Nov. 1938
Edgar Wetzler 1938
Fränze Wislicki 1938
Kurt Wimpfheimer .. 1936
Ruth Wolferman ... 1938
Betti Wolff 1937
Hirsch Worimklein .. 1932
Julius Zellner 1937
Avraham Zentman .. 1936
Karl Zimmerman ... 1937
(?) Ziwiakowski 1932
Adolf Zucker 1932
Joseph Zucker 1930
Gerhard
Zwienicki .. Nov. 1938
(Jacob Wiener)

STUDENTS OF CLASSES 1 TO 5 ON NOVEMBER 1938

(incomplete)

Adi Abramson
Hannah Ahrend
Fanny Ansbacher
Naftali Ansbacher
Zev Aron
Tilly Berg
Heini Bialik
Peter Braunschweiger
Werner Cohn
Liesel Dollmann
Heinz Dünner
Ludwig Eisenmann
Ruth Eschwege
Trudel Farntrog
Joseph Faust
Adolf Friedenberg
Rosa Friedman
Brigitte Fröhlich
Renate Fuchs
Alfred Grünspecht
Kurt Greenbaum
Hermann Lowy
Hannah Maas
Lotte May
Werner Mayer
Alfred Metzger
Else Mittelhöfer
Gretel Neuberger
Lotte Neumann
Heinz Ney
Gerda Oppenheimer
Max Öttinger
Albert Pappenheim
Kurt Perlmutter
Rahel Pfeuffer
Mishon Rosenberg
Julius Rothstein
Irwin Schild
Bruno Schmitz
Marianne Blumenthal
Rudolf Simon
(?) Sinaisohn

Rosi Grodzienski
Marianne Gunzenhäuser
Simon Gutmann
Ruth Hanover
Norbert Hellmann
Felix Hess
Werner Hess
Hilde Jochsberger
Herbert Kahn
Irma Kahn
Trude Kaufmann
Sigmund Kaufmann
Alfred Kleemann
Heini Kranzler
Kurt Kohn
Nathan Königshöfer
Helene Litzbarski
Kurt Silvermann
Norbert Sirkus
(ç) Speyer
Walter Steinhardt
Frieda Stern
Hilde Stern
Benjamin Uffenheimer
Philipp Veit
Ruth Weil
Ruth Weiss
(ç) Wesel
Else Wittelhöfer
Ernst Wolf
Shammai Zahn
Hans Ziegler
(?) Zuckerman

CAPSULE BIOGRAPHIES

Based on Answers to a Questionnaire
Compiled by Ruth Fruchter, née Lehmann

Abbreviations: AH—Attendance at Höchberg (Präparandenschule); AI—Attendance at ILBA; AIG—Attendance at ILBA with Graduation; B—Born in; D—Deceased; E—Continued Education; F—Formerly: Name change or Maiden Name; OG—Occupation in Germany; OE—Occupation in Land(s) of Emigration; RES—Residence; RET—Retired; T—Teacher.

ADLER, KARL—See: Nesher, Kalman

APT, HUGO; B Niederaula; RES Detroit; AH 1929-31; AIG 1931-35; OG T Hamburg; OE T Hebrew Schools, Accountant; E BA Business at Wayne State.

BAR-CHAI, YERACHMIEL Y; F Yerach Bergman; B Jerusalem; RES Jerusalem; AIG 1927-30; OG T Hoffenheim, Karlsruhe, Plauen; OE T in various places in Israel, now RET; Now: Sofer.

BARCHAY, MIRIAM—See: Neumeyer, Luise

BARKOL, MOSHE; F Moses Kula; B Chemnitz; RES Givataim, Israel; AH 1926-29; AIG 1929-32; OG T Frankfurt/M.; OE In Israel; Lecturer, Headmaster, RET.

BARKOL, RUTH; F Ruth David; RES Givataim, Israel; AIG 1929-32; OG T Waisenhaus Dinslaken; OE T Public Schools in Israel; RET

BARTOV, MOREDCHAI; RES Beer Sheva, Israel; AIG 1925-28; OG T Frilendorf, Bez. Kassel; OE T Public Schools in Israel.

BARTURA, AVRAHAM ELIEZER: F Hom Bergman; B Jerusalem; RES Jerusalem; AIG 1927-30; OE T and Headmaster Public Schools in Israel, Director Youth Village. Author of many books, articles, children's stories; RET.

BAUMANN, SIDNEY S. RES New York City; AIG 1933-37; OG T Frankfurt am Main; OE Commercial work.

BENJAMIN, HANNAH: F Hannah Oberndörfer; B Fürth; RES Capetown, South Africa; AIG 1933-35; OG T Darmstadt; OE T and principal in Israel, and T in Capetown. E Degrees from University of Capetown.

BERGMAN, HOM—See: Bartura, Avraham

BERGMAN, YERACH—See: Bar-Chai, Yerachmiel

BERLINGER, MARGALIT; F Gretel Hirschheimer; B Lehren-Steinsfeld; RES Haifa; AIG 1929-32; D 1979; OG Schulrätin, Studienrätin in Germany; E MA degree Columbia University New York City, OE Consultant in Education for Gifted Children in Israel.

BERLINGER, MICHAEL; B Berlichingen, Württemberg; RES Haifa; AH 1924-27; AIG 1927-30; OG T Aschaffenburg; OE T Youth Aliyah and work in Department of Education and Culture in Municipality in Haifa. Editor of various books. RET.

BERLINGER, SEEV WOLF; B Berlichingen, Württemberg; RES Haifa; AH 1924-27; AIG 1927-30; OG T; OE Science T and Headmaster, Supervisor Science Education, E Associateship London University, M.A. Science Ed. Columbia University, M.SC. Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Author and Co-author of many publications. RET.

BERN, FRED H.; F Manfred Bernheim; B Buchau, RES New York City; AIG 1931-37; OG T and Cantor; OE Paper merchant.

BERNHEIM, MANFRED—See: Bern, Fred H.

BI-GIL, SHLOMOH; F Bügeleisen, Siegfried; B Baiersdorf; RES Chibath Zion, Israel; AH 1926-29; AIG 1929-33; OG T; OE T Arts and Crafts and Art.

BRAUNSCHWEIGER, LOTHAR—See: Brown, Lothar

BROWN, LOTHAR; F Braunschweiger, Lothar; B Wüstensachsen, Rhön; RES New York City; AI 1934-37; OE Attended Yeshiva University, participated in Invasion of Normandy with United States Army; now in business Carpentry and Cabinet Making.

BÜGELEISEN, SIEGFRIED—See: BI-GIL, Shlomoh

COHEN, HILDE; F Stern; B Nieder-Ohmen, Oberhessen; AI 1936-38 "Teacher's Aid" provincial boarding school at Bad-Nauheim; 1941—deported to the Lodz Ghetto from there to Auschwitz. Arrived in United States in 1946; RES Waterbury, Conn; OE Teacher, Waterbury Community Religious School.

DAVID-MAAS, Hannah, D. 1979; AI 1937; RES Haifa, Israel. (Submitted by Kerry Weinberg)

DAVID, RUTH—See: Barkol, Ruth

ERMAN, HANS; RES Dayton, Ohio; AIG 1934-35; OG T München, Berlin; OE T Tel Aviv, Director of Bureau of Education Atlanta, New Haven, Dayton, E

Degrees from Hebrew University, Roosevelt University, Chicago, Emory University, Atlanta.

ESCHWEGE, RUTH—See: Thaler, Ruth

FARNTROG, TRUDEL—See: Wiener, Trudel

FLAMM, KURT JACOB; B Kitzingen/Main; RES Baltimore, MD; AIG 1927-30; OG T Heilbronn/Neckar; OE T Baltimore 1940-78; Semi- RET.

FLEISCHMANN, LUDWIG; B Altenmuhr; RES New York City; AH 1928-31; AIG 1931-34; OG T; OE Accountant; E Graduate Maryland School of Accounting; RET.

FRIEDEMAN, SIMON; F Siegfried Friedeman; RES Fort Myers, Florida; AIG 1926-29; OG T and Cantor; OE Rabbi, E Attended Yeshivat Torat Emet, London. Degree Muskingum College, Ohio. RET.

FRÖHLICH, BRIGITTE—See: Pearl, Brigitte

FRUCHTER, NANDOR; B Fulda; D 1971, Indianapolis; Graduate ILBA 1927; OG T and Cantor: OE Rabbi in Zanesville, Ohio and Indianapolis; 1942-71. Developed Cong. B'NAI TORAH into large Orthodox Synagogue. Smicha 1954.

FRUCHTER, RUTH; F Ruth Lehmann; B Frankfurt/M; RES Indianapolis; AIG 1934-36; OG T Wiesbaden; OE Principal Religious School, T Hebrew Academy Indianapolis; RET.; Publications.

GOLDSCHMIDT, SHLOMOH; F Fritz Goldschmidt; RES Jerusalem; AIG 1929-32; OE T and headmaster in various schools in Israel. Worked at Ministry of Education Curriculum Center. E Degrees Hebrew University. Various publications.

GREENBAUM, ERIC; F Erich Grünebaum; B Aschaffenburg; AIG 1934-36; OG Teacher in Hamburg; OE Teacher, Assistant Principal Detroit Public Schools, Principal Yeshivath Beth Yehudah, Detroit; E Juniata

College, Huntington, PA; B. A. Wayne State University, Detroit, M.A., post-graduate work, University of Michigan, Michigan State; RES Oak Park, Michigan.

GRÜNSPECHT, ALFRED; B Wüstensachsen/Rhön; RES New York City; AI 1936-38; OG Hachsharah; OE Butcher.

GUNDERSHEIMER, ERNEST; B Kleinheubach a/M; E Breuer Yeshivah in Frankfurt, Mizrachi Teacher's College in Jerusalem, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, PhD Dropsie College—Department of Education; OE Jewish Studies Department Head—Akiba Hebrew Academy; RES Philadelphia.

HALBERSTADT, LISL—See: Weinberg, Lisl

HELLMANN, NORBERT: B Würzburg; RES New York, N.Y.; AI 1936-38; OE Hachsharah in Holland; T Holland, Denmark, USA: Samson Raphael Hirsch School in New York City; E Degree from Teachers' License Board of Jewish Education.

HERZ, ILSE—See: Roberg, Ilse

HERZ, SUSI; F. Jotkowitz, Susi; RES Rechovot, Israel; AIG 1935-1937; OG T Berlin, Bonn. OE T of Science and Principal of Lubavitch School in Melbourne, Australia; T Israel. E Degree Melb. University.

HES, WALTER; B Papenburg near Emden; RES New York City; AH 1930-1933; AIG 1933-36; OG T and Cantor; OE Cantor and T, Administrator of Congregation Shaare Hatikvah. E Attended St. Louis University. Music and Cantorial Studies.

HESS, JOEL; RES New York; AI 1933-36; OE In USA: T, Diamond cutting.

HESS, LIESEL B.; F Mann, Liesel; B Heilbronn/Neckar; RES Baltimore, MD; AIG 1933-36; OG T Orphanage Fürth; OE In charge of Girls' department in Children's Home and T. RET.

HESS-BLUMENTHAL, MARIANNE—See: Shotland, Marianne

HIRSCHHEIMER, GRETEL—See: Berlinger, Margalit

HOENLEIN, EPHRAIM B.; B Ermreuth near Nürnberg; RES Philadelphia; AH 1928-31; AIG 1931-34; OG T; OE Mechanical Engineer; E Degree from Drexel Institute of Technology. RET.

HOFMANN, JUSTIN; B Königshofen im Grabfeld; RES Buffalo, N.Y.; AI 1934-37; OE Ordained Rabbi, Director of Hillel Foundations at University of West Virginia and Buffalo. E Degrees from Roosevelt University and University of Buffalo, Graduate of Hebrew Theological College. Publications: Articles, Reviews, Sermons. RET.

HOPFER, SAMUEL; F Siegfried; B Rexingen, Württemberg; RES Brooklyn, N.Y.; AIG 1933-35; OG T Stuttgart; OE Attendance at Yeshiva in Mir: 1936-40, Director of Research and Vice President of General Microwave Corporation, Farmingdale, N.Y. E Degrees Cornell University and West Virginia University. PHD Polytech. Institute, Brooklyn. Publications, Patents.

JOTKOWITZ, SUSI—See: Herz, Susi

JOCHSBERGER, TZIPORAH H. F Hilde; B Leutershausen; RES New York City; AI 1934-38; OE T of Music and Choral Director in Israel and New York City. Founder and Director of Hebrew Arts School for Music and Dance, New York City. E Degrees Palestine Academy of Music, Jewish Theological Seminary, Doctor of Sacred Music from JTS; many Publications in the Music field.

KAHN, Harry, F Helmut; B Baisingen; RES Burlington, VT and Boca Raton, FL; AH 1927-28; AIG 1928-31; OG T Rexingen; OE Professor at University of Vermont, Professor Emeritus since 1977; E Degrees from

Middlebury College, VT, and Ohio State University, Columbus, OH; Established Judaic Studies Program at University of Vermont.

KAHN, IRVING, F Isbert; RES West Hartford, CT; AH 1930-31; AIG 1931-36; OG T Talmud Torah Oberrealschule, Hamburg; OE Business Executive.

KAUFMAN, WALTER H.; RES Hartsdale, NY; AIG 1934-36; OG T Danzig; OE US Army: Lt. Colonel, Ret. 1941-46. T History Roosevelt High School, Yonkers, NY; E Degrees from New School for Social Research, including Ph.D. Publications.

KLEEMAN, ALFRED; B Gaukönigshofen near Würzburg; RES Baltimore, MD; AI 1934-38; OE Businessman.

KLEINMAN, JULIUS J.; B Fürth, RES Forest Hills, NY; AH 1928-30; AIG 1930-33; OG T Duesseldorf; OE Diamond Business, RET.

KOHN, ADOLF (AVROHOM DOV); RES Gateshead on Tyne, England; A Präparandenschule and Yeshivos 1918-26; AIG 1926-29; Staatsexamen Wuerzburg: 1934; OG Jüdische Realschule Fürth and Nürnberg. OE Headmaster Hebrew Classes, Gateshead; since 1944: Principal of Beth Midrash Lamorot, Gateshead, which he founded, and which now has 240 students.

KOHN, ERNEST; RES New York, N.Y.; AIG 1927-30; OG T; OE T Yeshiva Samson Raphael Hirsch, NYC; Hebrew Academy, Cleveland; Jewish Orthodox Orphan Home, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford, N.J.; Stern College for Women; YM and YWHA of Williamsburg, Brooklyn: Director of Nurses Aides Training and Job Development Program; E Degrees from Yeshiva University: Master of Rel Education and Doctorate.

KULA, MOSES—See: Barkol, Moshe

LEHMANN, RUTH—See: Fruchter, Ruth

LEVI, ERIC; B Öhringen/Württemberg; RES Baltimore, MD; AIG 1933-37; OG T Bad Nauheim; OE T and Principal Beth Tfiloh School, Baltimore. From 1968 on: Coordinator Social Security Center for Continuing Education. E Studied at Ner Israel Yeshiva, Baltimore and University of Maryland, M. Ed. from Loyola College, Baltimore. "Jewish Education Award" for Three Decades of Jewish Education Leadership, Beth Tfiloh Community Day School, 1972.

LEVY, FRITZ—See: Tuteur, Fred L.

LEWINSKY, TRUDE; B Berlin; D. ; AIG 1934-36; OG T Adass School, Berlin. Last Red Cross Letter received: June 1942. (Submitted by Lotte Schaps Lowenstern.)

LOEWY, HERMANN; D ; AI 1937-38; Attended Yeshiva in Mir. Hachsharah at Enschede, Holland. Killed at Mauthausen Concentration Camp in 1941.
(Submitted by Philipp Veit.)

LOWENSTERN, LOTTE, F Schaps, Lotte; B Bad Nauheim, RES London, England; AIG 1934-36; OG T Halberstadt; OE T Evacuation Area of Jewish Children, RET.

MANDEL, MARTHA, F Mann, Martha; RES Kiryat Tivon, Israel; AIG 1934. OG T Fürth, Leipzig; War years: In France, married in Switzerland. In Israel since 1950.

MANDELBAUM, HUGO; B Sommerhausen, Bavaria; AH 1914-1917; AIG 1917-1920. E Realgymnasium of the Johanneum, Hamburg. University Hamburg Highschool teacher certificate, Ph.D. 1933; OG Israelitische Präparandenschule Burgpreppach, Talmud Toraschule Hamburg; OE Principal Yeshivath Beth Yehudah, Detroit, Professor Wayne State University, Detroit. RES Jerusalem. RET. Many publications.

MANN, LIESEL—See: Hess, Liesel

MANN, MARTHA—See: Mandel, Martha

MARGULIES, SIGMUND. B Nürnberg; D Manchester, England in 1973; AIG 1931-37; OG T Munich; OE Clerk to Shechitah Board of Beth Din, Manchester, England, Reconstituted the Beth Din, worked for other organizations there. In World War II: Chaplain of British Army, serving in Scotland and Calcutta, India. (Submitted by Walter Hes.)

MAYER, HERTA; RES New York City; AIG 1934-36; OG T Bad Nauheim; OE Social Work: Director of Bronx Office of Jewish Board of Family and Children's Services. E Degree from Columbia University School of Social Work. Publications in field of Social Work.

MEER, LEON—See: Meyer, Leon

MEYER, LEON, F Meer, Leon; B Karlsruhe; RES B'nei B'rak, Israel; AIG 1932-38; OE Attended Yeshiva Strassburg, served in French Army. T and Cantor in France. Since 1969: In Israel: Ministry for Finances, Ramat Gan. RET. Medals of honor from French Army.

MITTEL, WALTER; B Unsleben, Bavaria; RES Jackson Heights, N.Y.; AI 1936-37; OG Toolmaker Training; OE Toolmaker, Co-owner of machine shop; Founder, president and volunteer-Chazan of Elmhurst Jewish Center.

NESHER, KALMAN, F Adler, Karl; RES Kibbutz Chofetz Chayim, Israel; AIG 1929-32; OG T Hammelburg near Wuerzburg; Yeshiva and Hachsharah; OE T and Librarian in Kibbutz.

NEUMEYER, LUISE, Married name: Barchay, Miriam; D 1972; AIG 1935-37; she and her husband were well-known community leaders in Kfar Haroeh, Israel.
(Submitted by Susi Herz.)

NEUHAUS, BETTI, F Wolff, Betti; RES New York City;

AIG 1935-37; OG T and Counselor in Berlin; OE T Brooklyn and New York. RET.

NEUMANN, ERIC; B Kassel; RES New York City; AIG 1928-31; OG T, Cantor and Shochet in Spangenberg, Giessen, Schlüchtern, Eschwege; OE in England: T London, Manchester. In USA: T, Cantor at Congr. Ohav Sholom since 1947. Semi-RET.

NEUMANN, WILLI-SHIMON; RES Tel Aviv; AIG 1928-31; OG T, Cantor, Shochet; OE Laundry owner. RET.

OBERNDÖRFER, HANNAH—See: Benjamin, Hannah

OTTENSOSER, MAX; B Markelsheim near Bad Mergentheim; RES Elizabeth, N.J.; AIG 1934-36; OG T Karlsruhe; OE Merchant. From 1967 on: Social worker for City of New York. E Degree in Social Work from Seton Hall University, So. Orange, N.J.

PEARL, BRIGITTE, F Fröhlich; B Würzburg; RES New York City; AI 1934-38; OE Office Work; E Attended New School for Social Research in New York City.

PEARL, CURT C., F Perlmutter; B Fürth; RES New York City; AIG 1936-38 (abbreviated Graduation); OG "Hilfslehrer" and "Erzieher" Fürth; OE Chemist, Technical Director Paper Industry, President Packaging Division of NYSE; E Chemical Engineering Degree at University of Cincinnati; Publishings, Patents.

PERLMUTTER, CURT—See: Pearl, Curt C.

PRESSBURGER, MARTIN; B Rexingen; RES New York City; AIG 1931-37; OG T Bad Kreuznach; OE: Insurance.

RIWKES, ARNOLD; B Berlin; RES Kfar Shmaryahu, Israel; AH 1927-30; AIG 1930-33; OG T Berlin; OE Music and Art T in Israel. RET.

ROBERG, ALEX; B Berlichingen/Württemberg; RES Detroit, MI; AH 1927-30; AIG 1930-33; OG T Niederstetten, Stuttgart; OE Principal United Hebrew Schools, Detroit, Executive Director Congregation Gemilluth Chassodim, Detroit. Now: Chairman Detroit Friends of Shaare Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem; Publications. RET.

ROBERG, ILSE, F Herz; B Beuel near Bonn; RES Detroit; AIG 1934-36; OG T Stuttgart; OE T United Hebrew Schools of Detroit. RET. Now: Calligraphy in Hebrew and English.

ROBERG, JULIUS; B Berlichingen/Württemberg; RES London, England; AH 1921-24; AIG 1924-27; OG T Präparandenschule, Höchberg, Thüngen, Jüdische Volksschule in Würzburg; OE Principal Broughton Jew. Primary School; RET.—Received "MOREINU" Title by Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of Great Britain.

ROSE, LEOPOLD; RES Jerusalem; AIG 1933-35; OG T Öttingen, Gunzenhausen, Hörstein; OE T in England, later moved to Israel, worked in other occupations.

ROSENTHAL, HEDI; F Rothschild; RES London, England; AIG 1934-37; OG T Frankfurt/Main. Moved to London.

ROSENTHAL, MARTIN; B Mittelsinn, Unterfranken; RES Astoria, N.Y.; AH 1929-33; AIG 1933-36; OG T Schweich, Aschaffenburg; OE Businessman.

ROTHSCHILD, HEDI—See: Rosenthal, Hedi

SCHAPS, LOTTE—See: Lowenstern, Lotte

SCHILD, ALBERT; RES Philadelphia, PA; AI 1936-38—Graduation November 1938; OE Professor of Mathematics and Chairman of Department, Temple University, Philadelphia. E Yeshiva Torath Chaim, Toronto—Attended University of Toronto. Ph.D. at University of Pennsylvania; many publications.

SCHLOSS, JUSTIN; B Berlichingen/Württemberg; RES Brooklyn, N.Y.; AIG 1935-37; OG T and Chasan; OE Public Accountant. E Studied at various Yeshivot, received Smichah, Hebrew Teacher's License; Degree in Accounting at La Salle University, Chicago.

SHOTLAND, MARIANNE, F Hess-Blumenthal; B Stuttgart; RES Silver Spring, MD; AI 1937-38; OE Export Statistician, now Real Estate Agent. Active in Democr. Party, League of Women Voters. E Business Coll., NYC New School of Social Research, Real Estate and Business Law.

SIMON, RUDOLF (Rudolfo); RES Buenos Aires; AI 1936-38; OE Businessman.

STEINHARDT, WALTER; B Würzburg; RES Baltimore, MD; AI 1936-38; OE CPA; E Graduate Baltimore College of Commerce.

STERN, HILDE—See: Cohen, Hilde

STRAUSS, MAX; D; B Thüngen; A Burgprepach 1917-20; OE in USA; Businessman. (Submitted by Walter Mittel.)

THALER, RUTH, F Eschwege; B Würzburg; RES Flushing, N.Y.; AI 1935-38; OE T Assistant Nursery /Kindergarten at Young Israel and Beth Jacob Schools.

TUTEUR, FRED L., F Fritz Levy, RES Flushing, N.Y. and West Palm Beach, FL; AH 1930; AIG 1930-33; OG T and Cantor in Augsburg; OE Accountant; RET.

UFFENHEIMER, BENJAMIN, B Breisach am Rhein R Jerusalem AI 1936-38 OE Professor of Biblical Studies University of Tel-Aviv Co-Editor of Immanuel—Quarterly for Jewish-Christian Relations, Jerusalem. Many publications.

VEIT, PHILIPP F.; B Goddelau near Darmstadt; RES Buffalo, N.Y.; AI 1936-38; OE Professor at State University of New York at Buffalo; E Degrees, including Ph.D. from University of Toronto; many publications in USA and Germany.

WEINBERG, KERRY; RES Spring Valley, N.Y.; AIG 1936-38; OG T Düsseldorf; OE T High School and College—now only part-time; E Degrees from Hebrew University, Temple University, Philadelphia, and Ph.D. from New York University. Many publications.

WEINBERG, LISL, F Halberstadt; B Vienna; RES Cincinnati, OH; AIG 1934-36; OG T Wolfratshausen, Pforzheim, Hannover; OE T in Grand Rapids, MI, Louisville, KY, Albany, NY, Dayton, OH; now: Research assistant for husband.

WEINBERG, WERNER; B Rheda/Westfalen; RES Cincinnati, OH; AIG 1934-36; OG T Rheda, Hannover; OE T and, Hebrew School principal and Educational Director in Grand Rapids, MI, Louisville, KY, Albany, N.Y., Dayton, OH. Now; Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH; E Degrees from University of Louisville, Ph.D. from Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; many publications in English, Hebrew, German.

WIENER, JAKOB; F Zwienicki, Gerd; B Bremen; RES New York City; AI 1937-38; OE Training Specialist in Social Work Administration with New York City Dept. of Social Services; E Attended Ner Israel Rabb. College, Baltimore, received Smichah,— Degrees from Columbia Univ., and Ph.D. from N. Y. Univ. Graduate School; many publications; Founder of Ohel Children's Home in Brooklyn, N. Y.

WIENER, TRUDEL, F Farntrog; B Fürth; RES New York City; AI 1938 (5 months); OE Biology La-

boratory Specialist at Evander Child High School, Bronx, NY; E Degrees from City College, N.Y. and Teachers' College, Columbia University.

WISLICKI, FRÄNZE—See: Zimmels, Frances

WOLF, ERNST; RES B'nei B'rak, Israel; AI May to November 1938; OE Manager in Telegraphic Department of Post Office, B'ne B'rak; E Attended Talmudic High School in Montreux, Switzerland.

WOLFF, BETTI—See: Neuhaus, Betti

ZAHN, SHAMAI: RES Sunderland, England; AI 1934-38; OE Rosh Yeshiva of Sunderland Yeshiva, Principal of Jew. Teachers' Training College, Gateshead; E Attended Yeshivos and Kollel.

ZEILBERGER, BENJAMIN; B Königshofen/Grabfeld; RES Brooklyn, NY; AI 1934-36; OE Rosh Yeshiva at Beth Hatalmud, Brooklyn; E Mir Yeshiva 1936—with Mir Yeshiva in Shanghai.

ZENTMAN, AVRAHAM; RES Detroit, MI; AIG 1932-36; OG T Köln; OE Hebrew T and now Principal at United Hebrew Schools, Detroit; E Attended Ner Israel Yeshiva, Baltimore; Degrees from Wayne State University, Detroit.

ZIMMELS, FRANCES, F Fränze Wislicki; RES London, England; AIG 1934-38; OG T Leipzig; OE T at Leeds, England and at 2 Hebrew Schools in London. RET.

ZUCKER, JOSEPH; B Thüngen/Unterfranken; RES New York, NY; AH 1925-28; AIG 1928-30; OG T Dieburg, Hessen; OE Chazan Congregation Kehillas Yakov, New York, NY.

ZWIENICKI, GERD—See: Wiener, Jakob