

THE HISTORY OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

by

Aron Moskovits

A Thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning
Philadelphia

1 9 6 0

2HT 29A
LC
JAF
8H.
2F24
0091

A P P R O V A L

This dissertation, entitled

THE HISTORY OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

by

Aron Moskovits

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

Mir Restor

Salomon Zuck

Abraham Lerner

Date

May 9, 1960

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
PREFACE	1
I THE INFLUENCE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS UPON JEWISH EDUCATION AND THE RISING CONFLICT BETWEEN CONSERVATIVES AND PROGRESSIVES PRIOR TO 1848	5
II THE JEWISH SCHOOL FUND; PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH TEACHERS' INSTITUTE; THE CONSERVATIVES OPPOSE THE NATIONAL RABBINIC SEMINARY.	34
III THE IMPACT OF HUNGARIANIZATION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH ELEMENTARY, MIDDLE SCHOOL, AND TEACHERS' INSTITUTE	82
IV THE HUNGARIAN JEWISH CONGRESS -- ITS EFFECT ON JEWISH EDUCATION; CHANGES IN THE MIDDLE SCHOOL AND IN THE JEWISH TEACHERS' INSTITUTE; FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL RABBINIC SEMINARY AND THE POLGARI SCHOOL	114
V THE IMPACT OF ANTI-SEMITISM UPON JEWISH EDUCATION IN HUNGARY; PRELIMINARIES OF THE JEWISH GYMNASIUM; PROPOSED CURRICULA FOR TEACHING RELIGION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS; REORGANIZATION OF TALMUD TORAH SCHOOLS; INFLUENCE OF HOME AND SYNAGOGUE ON EDUCATION	206
VI THE RECEPCIO, THE 1907 EDUCATIONAL LAWS' EFFECT ON JEWISH EDUCATION: PROPOSALS FOR A UNIFIED CURRICULUM IN TEACHING RELIGION IN THE GYMNASIUM AND POLGARI SCHOOLS; STATISTICS DURING WORLD WAR II	316
VII CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY	407
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	414
FOOTNOTES	415
BIBLIOGRAPHY	458

PREFACE

The Purpose Of Thesis. The purpose of this thesis is to study the historic development of the Jewish schools in Hungary from the downfall of the Hungarian War for Independence to the First World War (1848-1914). I have made a study of this phase of the history of the Jewish school for many reasons. First, there is no extensive Jewish educational history of Hungary written in the English language to meet with the need of the English-speaking public. The reason for this is partly due because Hungarian Jewish educators who wrote about the development of the Hungarian Jewish school wrote in the Hungarian language, a tongue that is not generally known by scholars who are concerned about Jewish education. Secondly, I was born in Hungary where I received my basic secular schooling, also my rabbinic education which enables me to make this study.

Through my educational experience, I was privileged to examine and study the vast literary production written about Hungarian education and culture. I feel that such scholarly achievement should be made known to all who are interested in the field of education. I also feel that my thesis will throw added light upon the subject of the history of the Jewish school in Hungary.

In establishing this thesis I have been confronted with many problems. While I am qualified to examine and compare educational data, a great deal of authentic background material is not available in the American libraries because there has been no request for it -- a result of the English reading scholar's inability to read Hungarian.

During the last three years, I was seriously occupied with the thought of how to get adequate source material that would meet with my objective. I communicated with Bela Bachkai, National Secretary of the American Hungarian Federation, Washington, D.C. Through his influence, I came in contact with Sergius Yakobson, Chief of the Slavic and Central European Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The former wrote to several Hungarian Jewish scholars who he thought would have adequate libraries containing the necessary background material; but, unfortunately, very little, if any definite results, came from this correspondence. A few years ago, I was fortunate to become acquainted, by means of correspondence, with Dr. Sándor Scheiber of the National Rabbinic Seminary of Budapest and through his help I was able to get an extensive number of books, periodicals, and other source materials, which enabled me to begin my project. Later, he introduced me to his friend, Dr. Jenő Zsoldos, director of the Girl's gymnasium of the Jewish

congregation of Budapest. Both Dr. Scheiber and Dr. Zsoldos are in communication with me, and through their able scholarly assistance I trust that I shall achieve my objective.

In the first chapter, I have discussed the influence of economic and political conditions upon Jewish education and the rising conflict between Conservatives and Progressives prior to 1848. The second chapter begins with the downfall of Hungarian independence to the disbandment of the Bach period, 1849-1859 (The Jewish school fund; proposals for the establishment of a Jewish Teachers' Institute; the Conservatives oppose the National Rabbinic Seminary). The third chapter -- from the October Diploma to the Jewish emancipation, 1860-1867 (The impact of Hungarianization on the development of Jewish elementary, Middle school, and Teachers' Institute). The fourth chapter -- from the emancipation to the Tisza Eszlar blood accusation, 1867-1882 (The Hungarian Jewish congress -- its effect on Jewish education; changes in the Middle school and in the Jewish Teachers' Institute; formation of the national rabbinic seminary and the polgari school). The fifth chapter -- from the Tisza Eszlar blood accusation to the Recepcio, 1882-1895 (The impact of anti-Semitism upon Jewish education in Hungary; preliminaries of the Jewish gymnasium;

proposed curricula for teaching religion in public schools; reorganization of Talmud Torah schools; influence of home and synagogue on education. The sixth chapter -- from the millennium to the First World War, 1896-1914 (The Recepcio, the 1907 Educational Law's effect on Jewish education; proposals for a unified curriculum in teaching religion in the gymnasium and polgari schools; statistics during World War I). The seventh chapter -- the Summary, completes my thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express his appreciation for the guidance, constructive criticism, and helpful suggestions given by Doctors Abraham A. Neuman, President, Solomon Zeitlin and Meir Ben-Horin, members of the faculty.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Ben-Horin, Chairman, for the many hours he devoted to my thesis and the many helpful aids in arranging and expanding my study.

I am sincerely grateful to Dr. Sándor Scheiber, Director of the Theological Seminary in Budapest, and Dr. Jenő Zsoldos, Director of the Jewish Girl's Gymnasium of Budapest, who helped me collect and compile data.

I also acknowledge with gratitude the scholarly guidance given to me by Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, President, and the Faculty of Dropsie College for the many fruitful hours spent with them as we have discussed many major educational problems which aided me in writing this thesis.

A. M.

To the unfailing encouragement

of my wife

Ethel Moskovits

And the love for our children

Judith and Robert Rosenthal

and their children

Alan and Ilene

Shirley and Robert Ellis

and their sons

David and Jonathan

This study is dedicated.

CHAPTER I

The Influence of Economic and Political Conditions Upon Jewish Education and the Rising Conflict Between Conservatives and Progressives Prior to 1848.

In a study of the history of the Hungarian Jewish School, beginning with 1848 (the year marking the downfall of the attempt of Hungarian independence from the Austrian dynasty), two major economical and political events that had definite bearing upon the cultural development call for consideration. Both occurred at the close of the XVIII Century. One came about during the rule of Joseph II, and the other immediately following his death as Leopold II succeeded him to the Austrian throne.

Joseph II who became Emperor of Austria in 1780, issued the "Sistematica Gentis Judaicae Regulatio" on March 31, 1783, in which he made many drastic changes in the economic, political, and cultural life of the Jew. His concern in making these changes was not so much to promote the welfare of individual Jews, for he never intended to consider them equal to the rest of his Austrian subjects, but the benefit that the country could derive from them. In order to raise their economic and cultural status, Emperor Joseph ordered that the avenues to the Jews for making a living should be expanded. They should not be

limited to peddling and money-lending but include such things as petty trade and commercial enterprises. "Damit sie aber auch durch vermehrte und erweiterte Nahrungsweige von dem ihnen eigenen Wucher-und betrugerischem Handel abgeleitet werden" (in order to increase the means of pursuing a livelihood, such means should be expanded and not limited to usury and the trickery of commercial enterprises). Among the various occupational pursuits that the Emperor proposed were: agriculture, transportation, petty trades, and general education.¹

In the field of agriculture, his Jewish subjects should be permitted to lease land on "Arenda".* The time limit of such a lease should not exceed twenty years and the farmhands must be Jews.

In the matter of transportation, Jews should be allowed to occupy themselves with preparing farm produce to be transferred within the country or for export out of the country. They should also have the opportunity to learn such common trades as tailoring, shoemaking, carpeting, and bricklaying; and, later when they had acquired the essentials of mathematics, they should be permitted to pursue the building profession.

*The term Arenda is derived from the Latin "arendator" meaning that the lessee is given special government permit to sell tobacco, government stamps, wine and other alcoholic beverages.

The Emperor was equally concerned in raising the cultural level of the Jews -- not so much for the personal advantage of the Jews as for promoting the general welfare of his country. Instead of studying "Jedish deutsch" (Jargon), they should become efficient in German, the language of the country. His aim was to break down barriers of segregation; consequently, he ordered that the Hebrew language should be used exclusively in the services of the synagogues. In general business and trades, the German language should be used. *ed. used.*

Furthermore, he ordered that his Jewish subjects be permitted to settle in the cities with the exception of the royal mining towns. ² This order, the Emperor believed, would give the Jews an opportunity to develop themselves in commerce and industry and to apply their talents to the common welfare of the land. As he put it, the advantage of commerce and industry depended in a large measure upon the degree to which the Jew was made a part of the country. ³

All these proposals were viewed with malice and distrust by the general population of the Hungarian cities, especially by those who were engaged in merchandising and petty industries. They looked upon the Jews as competition and many cities openly rebelled against these orders and tried to stop them by prohibiting the settlement of Jews in their midst. The city counsels ordered regulations to

that effect, but the Jews appealed to higher authorities -- to the vice-regents, who represented the Emperor. These over-ruled the regulations of the city counsels.

Among the many cities which drastically prohibited Jewish settlements were Pressburg and Pest. In Pressburg, while the vice-regent did not permit group settlements, he nevertheless, could see no reason why individuals should not establish residence and that with reservations, the Jews should practice their trades exclusively with Jewish patrons and not to interfere with the commerce and trades of the general public. Since the Jewish tailors and shoemakers could not enter the "ceh" (trade unions of the city), they were considered "kontars" (outsiders) and, therefore, had to make their living from fellow Jews. ⁴

The city of Pest followed suit. Already in 1764, Jews were not permitted to live in the city though they were given permits to visit. In later years, they were granted permission to visit the markets but were prohibited from displaying their goods. Individuals who purchased from Jewish merchants were punished by paying a fine called "Losung" (the buyer and the seller were both fined an amount equal to the purchasing price of the goods). The city of Pest, even as late as 1773, boasted that it was free of Jewish residents. ⁵ The only allowance the city made was that sixteen days prior to marketing days and during

the severe winter, the government granted permission to the Jewish community of Obuda to rent hotel accommodations for which the Jews were taxed 100 Florin. ⁶

All these restrictions and limitations were changed after Joseph II ascended the throne. In the beginning, dwelling permits were granted only in the suburbs of the city of Pest (Terezia district); but in 1786, permission was granted to settle in the innermost parts of the city to those who had a "kommorans" license. In 1786, we find that the city council permitted Israel Abraham Offenheim, formerly of Obuda, to rent a home and open shop in the center of the city. He was the first to whom a dwelling permit was granted by the city of Pest. In 1787, the number of such "tolerant" Jews reached 14.* By 1812, the number of Jewish merchants in Pest reached 163. Their chief occupations were fur, glassware, tobacco, fruit crops, liquor, flour, paper, and junk dealers. Among the prominent first settlers were the Mauthner and Kádisch families who established a textile (wool) factory in Majkon, the district of Komárom, and the Ullmann family who established the first commercial Bank in Pest. ⁷

* Izsak Offenheim, his brother Mordecai Gumpel, Márkus Leitersdorfer, Salamon Mandel, Boruch Abelsberg, Samuel Schellenberger, Márkus Sachsel, Mozes Liebner, Salamon Bauer, Joel Berkovics, Mozes Strauss, Mozes David Mándel, David Helfer, Izsak Almuslin. ⁸

Parallel to the growth of Pest we find a similar development in other cities: Komarom, Miskolcs, Nagyvarad, Nagybecskerek, etc.⁹ In 1803, there were a number of prominent families dwelling in Pest whose businesses supplied many cities. Among the manufactured goods were flax and linen yarns, muslin and woolen goods, toys, and household goods.¹⁰

On January 28, 1790, Joseph II, before his death, with one stroke of his pen, withdrew all the orders he had made in behalf of the Jews. The city of Pest and the neighboring cities welcomed this decision of the Emperor, whereupon they demanded of the vice-regent that he deny Jews the right of residence and pursuit of business. The counsel of the vice-regent refrained from such a move as this would cause a drastic relapse in the commercial and manufacturing enterprises of the country. "The expulsion of Jews from cities," he stated, "is a matter of general economical concern to the country and should be decided by the General Assembly."¹¹ The General Assembly convened in 1790 to deal with this vital question and the outcome of this decision was of great historic significance to the Jewish population in Hungary. This Assembly formulated the so-called 1790 Annual XXXVIII Law known as "DeJudaeis."¹² The basis for this law could be summed up thus: Hungarian Jewry, in order to defend their rights against the complaints of the city merchants and shop-

keepers, appealed to the diet of the upper ruling class. The words of this petition were not formulated by Jews, yet it expressed the general concensus of their opinion -- they sought justice for their desperate plan.¹³ In this application they stated, "We, the Jews of Hungary, suffer undue abuses and neglect. To be sure we do not deserve that we should be treated in such a way; certainly we do not deserve to be looked upon as slaves or as animals of burden. Europe, today has reached a higher level of understanding -- that is, the people of today are capable of evaluating the harmonious relationship that must exist between duty and responsibility in the light of which every man should be treated. Jews who lived in this country almost from the beginning of its inception, should not be discriminated against, merely because they differed in matters of religion. He is aware of his obligations to the country and the welfare of our people. At the time of Louis II (1526), even at that early date, there were many occasions upon which the Jews were ready and willing to give their entire wealth to the service of the King. In all those pressing moments, Jewish wealth not only helped to save the country but even insured the safety of the King's treasury. At that time, the Jew was known as, 'the servant of the court'. We do not wish to be paid for our services rendered in the past, but we do ask to be looked upon as payers of taxes as every citizen of the

country, for in addition to other taxes, we also pay the tolerant tax. We must further emphasize that we do not take our accumulated wealth abroad but use it in circulation toward the advancement of the country. Consequently, why shouldn't we have the right to live in peace like other members of the Hungarian nation."

After this justified presentation, the petition made the following requests:

1. Freedom of religious practice.
2. Freedom to establish residence in any part of the city and country.
3. Permission to acquire land property and practice trades.
4. The right to be judged by the upper-class (the gentry) -- a right given to landowner's counsel, two selected judges, district judge, jury men. ¹⁴

The General Assembly discussed this petition and ruled that a committee study the petition and make recommendations. Until such time as the XXXVIII Law should become effective, conditions that had prevailed before January 1, 1790, should again be in effect; and, if for some reason any inhabitant had been driven out, he should be reinstated. ¹⁵ Hungarian Jewry was grateful for the ruling of the General Assembly for on the basis of these rights they were governed until 1840.

That the rights of Hungarian Jewry remained the same was due to many reasons. First, the sudden passing of Leopold II (1790-1792), Emperor Ference's coming to the Austrian throne and the French Revolution motivated the holding back of all

activities which would have led to progress. Perhaps this fear had motivated Joseph II to nullify his reforms. During the Napoleonic Wars and the following economic depression, the Nobles were occupied with the internal affairs of the country and did not concentrate upon the problems of the Jews. The DeJudaels Law assured the practice formulated by Joseph II, yet this did not prevent the Jews from being molested by the city dwellers. The city council of Pest interpreted this law that those who dwelt in the city before 1790 could continue to do so but it would not permit new arrivals to settle; consequently, in 1794, Jews who did not possess a "tolerant" permit had to leave the city. ¹⁶

At the 1802 National Assembly, the trade unions (ceh) brought malicious complaints against the Jews. Most outrageous was the complaint of the union of Pressburg which pointed out that the Jewish merchants and shopkeepers were like leeches who thrive on the lifeblood of their people. Although the Jewish merchants and the industrialists paid taxes, this group felt they should not receive the privileges that depleted the finances of the peasants and laboring classes. Libels of such nature often brought harmful effects because they undermined the trust and confidence of the people which not seldom motivated the governing body to formulate restrictive laws against Jewish merchants and shopkeepers.

Similar to the union's demand of Pressburg that Jews be

prohibited from selling guns and gunpowder was the Commercial Association of Pest which proposed that Jews should not peddle or sell wine or tobacco, neither should they be permitted to acquire property." 17

In view of all this, the economic outlook for the Jews was far from being lucrative, as they were confronted by many economic obstacles which could not be solved without difficulty. For this reason, they appealed to the governing body of the 1807 Annual National Assembly. In their petition they emphasised, "In view of the fact that commerce is the only means of support for the Jew, it is of great concern that he assures, in some measure, the economic future of his children. The condition becomes grave when children reach marriageable age and must establish means of support for themselves and their families. In order to help the newly-married couple to make a start, parents depleted their finances. How different would this be if the trade unions (ceh) would open their doors to the Jewish youth. Children could learn a trade and support themselves without relying on the financial assistance of their parents." The petition further gave emphasis, "Christian merchants never filed complaints against the Greek and Italian storekeepers who were in a goodly number in the country and whose main purpose of pursuing business was to gather a sizeable fortune which they usually take out of the country. How different is this with the Jewish merchant whose capital remains in circulation in the homeland?" 18

The 1807 annual National Assembly contemplated formulating some solution that would alleviate the economic conditions of the Jew, yet time did not permit it to take up this matter; if it had, truly something would be said pertaining to the economic plight of the Jew, especially about the major problem of having the right of securing landed property (the right to buy landed property was not uniformly organized throughout the country, for at this Assembly emphasis was given that the Jews could have settled and bought land after having been in the country ten years. Later, in 1831, the question developed to such a degree that it allowed that when a Jew reached maturity and wished to build his own home, he could do so after a lapse of fifteen years.

Generally speaking, the Jews did not at some places own land, yet at the close of the XVIII Century Jews did in some places possess land and homes. Many vineyards at the Tokay mountain slopes were owned by Jews.¹⁹ Because a part of this district was Jewish property the opposition group of the 1807 Assembly began to formulate complaints against Jews.²⁰ While a small group did possess landed property, the great majority of Jews were merchants, many of whom had begun with peddling and in their wagons had covered the hamlets and villages. Only later had they an opportunity to establish their businesses in the city. It is worthwhile to mention that although they were not permitted to open businesses, they were allowed to sell their goods on market

days. There were exceptions in some cities. In Szekesfehervar only at the close of the XVIII Century were Jews permitted to transact business.²¹ The Hungarian Jews did well in the exporting of wine -- a commodity which was in a large measure a Jewish enterprise.²² A great many Jews leased sizeable properties from the gentry and many worked the land on a profit-sharing basis. They also established distilleries and beer breweries but the most widely known occupation was as keepers of inns and hotels which they leased from the gentry.²³ So much for the economical events that had such important bearings on the Hungarian Jewish School.

The second major event affecting the Hungarian Jewish School was the political situation which did not change vitally until 1840; however, we should not fail to mention that at the National Assembly of 1807 and at those of the following years, even if no practical solution came out of them, the Jewish question was at least discussed. Especially did they try to modify the Toleration Tax Law.²⁴ This so-called, "Taxa Tolerantialis" was constantly raised by the government so that in 1813, the payment of this tax reached 160,000 Florin which the Jews of Hungary were compelled to pay. This assessed tax, beginning with the year 1828, was not collected and the districts were not eager to assist in this so-called unjust law collection. Only in 1846 was this matter organized when the King was willing to abolish the Tolerant tax on condition that the Jews would pay the back

payments of the tax which amounted to 1,200,000 Flrin.²⁵ When King Francis, in 1825, called the National Assembly, Jews again appealed to the Upper House to remedy this injustice and many unsettled questions which had been pending since 1790, were taken up by this Assembly. Emphasis was given that the Jews were living in more favorable condition in Hungary in the XII and XVI Centuries than they were in the XIX Century.²⁶

Although this so-called Reform National Assembly did not discuss matters pertaining to the Jewish question; it did, however deal with matters of education in general. Beginning with this year, the country made great adjustments. In the 1832 annual National Assembly, two prominent Hungarian leaders, Francis Kölcsey and Francis Deák, presided. They expressed their opinion that it was about time that the Tolerant Tax be abolished. After many heated discussions, the Lower House was ready to adopt this decision. The adopted law however, did not become a practice as the King declared that the Viennese Court could not give up this great source of income.²⁷

A decisive decision, with regard to this question, was made in the 1839-40 National Assembly, when the progressive party pressed the issue that laws must be adopted dealing with human rights in which Jews must share equally. The number of representatives who supported this proposal grew; wherefore, they moved to alleviate the long-neglected Jewish question. Simon Dubraviczky, representative of Pest, made the following proposals:

1. They should abolish the Tolerant Tax.
2. Jews should enjoy equal political rights with the peasants (the serfs) that tilled the land of the gentry.

This proposal was unanimously accepted by the Lower House. Although in the Upper House the majority did not oppose this recommendation, they did consider it slightly radical, and suggested that the Jewish question be solved gradually. Consequently, they made the following proposals:

1. They should abolish the Tolerant Tax.
2. The Jews should be permitted to dwell in any part of the country.
3. They should be allowed to pursue all professions.
4. They should be allowed to purchase property (rights similar to that of the peasants).
5. They should permit the Jews to immigrate into the country if they could prove that they had ample financial support and that their education would not be a disadvantage to the country.

These modifications appeared not to be in the favor of the city dwellers who viewed with antipathy the privilege given the Jews to move into the city. They sent a delegation to Vienna to the King to have these laws repealed. Their demands found response. ²⁸ The King publicized the following 1840 XXIX By-law which read as follows:

1. Every Jew in Hungary or in the related dominion of

the Empire who received permission to settle therein, could continue to do so if there was no complaints against them or their moral behavior, with the exception of those in mining cities.

2. They could establish factories and could pursue commerce or industry, either themselves or by the assistance of help. They could train their children in such professions.
3. They were ordered to establish given and family names and these names were to be registered.
4. Credentials and business agreements must be written up in the language of the country.
5. In all cities where Jews had already been given the right to dwell, they could buy property. ²⁹

The 1840 XXIX By-law merely promised such rights instead of actually granting them to the Jews. For instance, the Tolerant Tax was not abolished. In many cities, permission for dwelling was not given; common property could not be purchased by them. They could practice their trades but could not engage Christian assistants to help them. In spite of all these limitations, every means of prohibiting the Jews from entering the cities were applied and Jews who were already established met many difficulties. The "ceh" fought with hatred against the Jews. They decided that Christian shop owners could not employ Jewish help and the Jewish mas-

ters should place a sign over their shops; in other words, they could not operate an open shop. ³⁰

In spite of all this, the Jews did establish trades and they inspired their youth to follow the professions and to pursue trades and agriculture. ³¹ Similar to the conditions in the cities and suburbs, commercial organizations were established to hinder Jews in their enterprises. These commercial enterprises joined the "ceh" in placing stumbling blocks for the Jews. In the past, the condition of the Jews had been more favorable than in the 1840's. The Jews had their own organization, "The Jewish Commercial Institute." Among the Christian merchants, some were ready to work with the Jews. In 1842, Christians and Jewish merchants appealed to the governor for rights to organize a commercial body. At that time, 120 large business establishments were already in Pest. ³²

Statistical figures: In 1830, the Jewish population in Hungary reached 202,800 -- 2.34% of the general population. Most of these lived in hamlets and villages and later received permission to settle on the property of the gentry, who favored the Jews and appreciated the services they rendered. In addition to the property owners, many Jews found homes on church property where dignitaries gave them permission to settle. Many Jews lived on church properties that were under the control of the bishops and higher church dignitaries. ³³

The Rising Conflict Between the Conservatives and Progressives

Along with the development of the economical and political conditions there was a gradually growing disagreement between the Conservatives and the Progressives. Both conditions influenced, for better or for worse, the shaping of the Jewish school in Hungary.

In Hungary, we should make clear that the term Conservative actually meant Orthodox, a group of people who were rigid in their religious practices; while the Progressives were those who made timely allowances, whenever the innovations were not in direct contradictions with the basic teachings of the religious laws prescribed in the Torah.

The rising conflict between the two religious sects in Judaism became intensified by the following major events: the two waves of immigrants that poured into the country from the Northwest and East; the General Assemblies of Pressburg and Pest and the Rabbinic Conference of Paks.

The Two Waves of Immigrants

A large wave of Northwestern immigrants came to Hungary in 1724 when King Karoly III issued severe laws of expulsion against them and forced the Jews of Czecho and Moravia to leave their country. The number of the unfortunates was estimated at four thousand. From the East came the poverty stricken Polish Jews who sought to improve their

living conditions in Hungary. ³⁴

The two differed in their ideologies. The Westerners were governed by the modernistic tendencies of Mendelssohn's XVIII Century Judaism so popular in the 19th Century. The advocates were willing to permit external influences to affect their personal and communal life; while the Easterners, rigid in their religious practices, opposed every form of secular education. ³⁵

The General Assembly of Pressburg in the Interest of Education

The results of the general assembly called by the government in Pressburg on September 15, 1825, to discuss educational problems were negligible, yet the Jews of Pressburg were inspired to call a meeting to which thirteen districts * sent representatives to discuss measures and proposals to be presented to the General Assembly. On October 11, 1825, a committee of eight was chosen to formulate proposals. This was the first attempt by Jews of Hungary to devise a joint program for their religious and communal life. ³⁶

Two Proposals

It could have been an historic moment, but unfortunately, they could not agree and, therefore, decided to send in two proposals instead of one. The one chosen to

* Bács, Baranya, Csongrád, Fehér, Esztergom, Sopron, Pest, Pozsony, Somogy, Tolna, Torontal, Vas, and Zala.

draw up the proposals for the Conservatives was Arje Leb Rapoch*, President of the Vespren Congregation, while Aron Chorin**, Rabbi of Arad, was appointed by the Progressives. 37

From the biographies of the two representatives, we can assume the following conclusions: Judging the life history and educational preparation of Rapoch, we can

* Arje Leb Rapoch was born in Vespren, Hungary, in 1780. He studied in the Yeshiva of the famous rabbi, Wolf Rapoport in Pápa, where he spent his early life until the age of eighteen. His educational background was mainly in the Talmudic field which gave him a high standing in the local community of Vespren. At first, he was appointed as "Judenrichter", or Jewish judge usually performing minor duties. Later, he became the president of the Vespren congregation. As leader of his congregation, he was chosen to attend the conference of Pressburg. 37.

** Aron Chorin was born in Weisskirchen, Moravia, August 3, 1766, and died in Arad, Hungary, August 24, 1844. He was a disciple of the famous rabbi of Prag (present Czechoslovakia), Exekiel Landau, where he received his rabbinic training and German cultural background. His first rabbinic position was in Arad which he accepted in 1789, and filled until his death. His "Emek Hashaveh" (Vale of the Plain), was published in 1803, in which he expressed the desire that Jews return to the simple faith of Maimonides' Creed. In this he boldly argued that rabbis should modify the traditional laws. His work aroused the Orthodox who gave him serious trouble and compelled him to reject his views. In 1826, he published, "Iggereth Eliasaf" (Letter of Eliasaph), in both Hebrew and German and in which he advocated that praying in the synagogue should be conducted with uncovered heads; also, that organs should be placed in the synagogues. He continued to advocate further changes in Jewish law... His chief innovation was in the school system where he insisted that the school should be a community project supported and under the supervision of the state -- a consistorium. In other words, it should be an academy for higher study supported by Jewry at large. Zs L p.170.

gather that the study of the Talmud was regarded by him as primary importance; consequently, in his proposal he stressed the study of the Talmud and that an educational supervisor should have a Talmudic background. He was further concerned about the teachers in the community schools --that they conduct themselves according to the "Shulhan Aruch" (Prepared table), the authoritative code of the Orthodox of Judaism. He continued to emphasize that there should be a school where children received their education in accordance with the laws prescribed in the "Shulhan Aruch". 38

In his proposal, Rapoch voiced the spirit of Conservative Judaism by placing the major emphasis of Jewish education on the study of the Talmud; but Rabbi Chorin considered secular needs important in the program of Jewish studies. Chorin further maintained that the community school be supported by the community. It should be a community enterprise to meet the needs of the times and should be established by means of a consistorium (a board consisting of a Nassi - Chairman, two rabbinic leaders and a secretary). They shall pass on the credentials of the rabbi and the teacher.

In comparing the two proposals, it appears that even at this period there existed a drastic difference of opinion between the Conservatives and the Progressives not

only pertaining to the qualifications of the rabbi but also about the administration and supervision of the school. The former placed the knowledge of the Talmud above everything; while the latter stipulated that the rabbi must possess secular knowledge as well. The difference of opinion laid to the foundation of a rabbinical seminary. In other words, the post of the chief rabbi could only be filled by individuals who met with the requirements of both secular and religious knowledge. To supervise the Jewish school, an authoritative body should be elected which should also help in the direction of all religious questions in the community. ³⁹

But these proposals remained mere aspirations which helped in widening the gap between the two parties.

Conference in Pest, 1832 - A Break Between Conservatives and Progressives

The conflict between Conservatives and Progressives reached its breaking point in 1832, when Jewish representatives gathered in Pest to confer on ways and means of submitting proposals to the General Assembly. At this conference Ullmán Gábor, president of the Pest congregation and an advocate of religious reform, proposed that the representative committee be limited in number. Abraham Hirsch, president of the Pressburg Jewish congregation and

leader of the Conservatives, opposed Ullman's proposal. Abraham Hirsch's religious stand was taken by the rigid position of Moses Sofer,* the chief rabbi of Pressburg -- an outstanding scholar and highly respected personality

* Moses Sofer, born in Frankfort on Mayence, Germany, September 24, 1763 (the 27th of Tishri 5523), and died in Pressburg on October 3, 1839. His father Samuel (son of Moses) was a scribe who traced his family tree back to Rashi. Moses displayed the traits of a scholarly genius at a very early age. As a lad of seven, he mastered several tractates of the Talmud and was able to offer sound interpretations on many complex Talmudic problems.^a At the age of ten he became a student in the Rabbinic school of Nathan Adler, Rabbi of Frankfort and later at the advice of his master studied under the guidance of Rabbi Michael Shier of Mayence, Germany.^b At the age of thirteen he returned to Frankfort and resumed his study with his former master, Rabbi Adler and Rabbi Pinchat Hurowitz, the author of the "Hophla". When Rabbi Adler accepted the rabbinic post in Boskowits, Moravia, Moses knowing that his master was unable to transfer his school, preceded him and was waiting for him as he arrived at Boskowits. In this new environment, young Moses distinguished himself by his scholarship and was generally known as the student of Frankfort. After a brief stay, Rabbi Adler returned to Frankfort but advised Moses not to return to Germany.^c At first, he established residence in Prosnitz where Rabbi Hirsh Yarwitz, a man of wealth, furnished him financial support so that he could continue his study without interruption. He also married Yarwitz's daughter and became the head of the rabbinic school of Rabbi Wolf Buskowitz, rabbi of Prosnitz. Later, when his father-in-law, due to business failures, lost his possessions and due to lack of finances could not depend on him for support, he accepted the rabbinic post in Drosnitz and, in 1798, became rabbi of Mattesdorf, Hungary. In 1806, he was elected rabbi of Pressburg. In Pressburg, he became famous and established a prominent "Yashiva of the Hatam Sofer" a school where at times there were 500 students enrolled.^d

- ד'כ"ד ירושלים ה'תנ"ה
ד'ר' ע"ב מונקאטש תרנ"ה
- a. ה'תת"ס סופר ותלמידיו גמראל הכהן וינהרין
ה'תת"ס סופר חוט המשולש
- b. גמ' ארצ' ישראל חלק שני ע'ד ק"ט. שם דה' ע"ב
גמ' חוט המשולש ד' י"א ע"ב ; שם ה'תת"ס סופר ותלמידיו ד' כ"ה
- c.
- d. מכתבי רבינו משה סופר ז"ל איגרות סופרים הרב שלמה סופר
ביראפעטט - וויען תרנ"ה) מד' א - ט

who placed his mark of scholarly individuality not only upon his contemporary age and immediate Hungarian surroundings but also upon traditionalist Jewry everywhere. Among the Hatam Sofer's numerous manuscripts, the following were published. *

In 1818, as the reform movement unfurled its flag in Hamburg and threatened by its radical reforms to undermine traditional Judaism, Hatam Sofer vehemently fought the movement with all his intellectual and spiritual might opposing any measure that in his opinion would gradually weaken the practices of traditional Judaism. He petitioned Emperor twice in 1832 and again in 1833 to order the Hungarian Jews to adhere to the prescribed rules of their religion but he failed both times. ⁴⁰

The Rabbinic Conference of Paks

The leader of the Conservatives, aware that the emancipation from political and economical intolerance was closely related to religious reforms, took a stand against emancipation.

* Hatam Sofer respansa of the four divisions of the "Shulhan Aruch" (containing 370 responses) in six vols. (Pressburg, 1855-64); Hatam Sofer's notes on the following Talmudic tractates: Sabbath, Pesachim, Nedarim, Gittin, Baba Bathra, Kethuboth, Hullin, Niddah; Hatam Sofer's "Torat Moshe" (Deroshot -- Sermons on the Torah consisting of 200 lectures) (Pressburg, 1879 and 1895; reprinted in Cluj, Rumania, 1929); "Safer Sikoron", memoirs of the Napoleonic War (Pressburg, 1896); "Haggadah Shel Pesach" commentaries (Pressburg, 1896)

In order to stem the growth and influence of the Progressives, the Conservatives called a rabbinical conference on August 21, 1844, in Paks.⁴¹ At this meeting, seventy-five members were present to which only two of the liberal-minded rabbis had received invitations: Rabbi Löw Schwab* of Pest and Rabbi Götz Schwerin** of Baja.

* Löw Schwab, rabbi of Pest; born in Kruknaú, Moravia, March 11, 1794; died in Budapest on April 3, 1857. He was a disciple of Rabbi Mordecai Benet of Prag. He was also a student at the Yeshiva of the Hatam Sofer of Pressburg. He attained extensive scholarship in higher mathematics and philosophy. Schwab was conservative in his religious observances. The only reforms he allowed were those not in opposition to the teachings of the Torah. He was the first rabbi of Hungary who preached in literary German and who performed wedding ceremonies in the synagogue. During his brief administration, he instituted the Jewish hospital in Pest and the "Tabak Temple", the largest synagogue in Pest. He had an integral part in the attainment of the emancipation of the Hungarian Jew. He petitioned the government's General Assembly in the name of the Jews of Hungary. He also took an active part in the organization of the Hungarianization Society. He was the spokesman and strong advocate for Hungarian liberty during the War for Independence. Because of this patriotic endeavor, after the downfall of Hungarian independence in 1848, he was given a prison sentence for twelve weeks. His chief literary contribution: "Emlekeztetes a vallásban nyert oktatásra az iskolából kilepő izraelita ifjúságnak ajándék gyánnant" (Educational recollection of duties received in the religious school -- presented to the graduating Jewish Youth) (Budapest, 1846). ZsL p. 776 (S.R.)

** Götz Schwerin, born in Schwerin in 1760; died in Baja in 1845. He received his rabbinic training in Pozsony and many other Yeshivot. In 1796, he came to Hungary and his first position was in Szabadka; then, in 1815, he accepted the post in Baja. Due to his rabbinic scholarship, a great number of Hungarian communities appointed him as their chief rabbi to decide about religious problems, giving him the right to ordain and place religious leaders. His jurisdiction and sound advice was felt in many major problems that Hungarian Jewry faced in those days. He was liberal in his religious views, permitting the use of the pulpit of the synagogue for matters other than the interpretation of religion. ZsL p. 779 (S.R.)

The Conservatives, having the overwhelming majority on their side, had no difficulty in passing a resolution that a rabbinical diploma be earned exclusively from a rabbinic body which would also supervise the educational system of the community school. ⁴²

Schwab opposed such one-sided rabbinical authority and proposed that an authoritative body consisting of rabbinic and lay-leaders supervise the training of rabbis and the administration of the Jewish schools. He placed special emphasis on the education of the youth and proposed that in every community there be schools where children could receive both religious and secular education -- "We must raise a generation of good Jews and loyal citizens."

This meeting failed because it was represented by one faction only. The wise suggestions of Schwab were utterly ignored. ⁴³

From the records of this meeting, we learn that no agreement was reached that would be helpful in the advancement of Jewish education. It was agreed that these problems pertaining to education should be brought up at the following meeting. The meeting in Paks was not a success; in fact, it had negative results for the Conservative movement. It reiterated the pathetic truth that the gap between the two could not be repaired. The two parties had drifted too far apart.

Emancipation and Assimilation

The progressive-minded rabbis tried to advance their objectives of Hungarian citizenship by adjusting their people to the cultural needs of the time while the Conservatives viewed it as the road leading to assimilation. To clarify the position of the Progressives, Low issued, on June 22, 1847, a signed declaration appealing to Hungarian Jewry for the need of advancing combined Jewish and secular culture. He stressed that rabbis in all communities take the initiative to further the advancement of educational means by issuing well edited books.⁴⁴

On September 23, of the same year, Jonas Kunewalder, president of the Jewish Congregation of Pest, issued a circular in which he endorsed Schwab's appeal, "Emlékeztetések a vallástanban nyert oktatásra" (To reflect attention to the religious educational lessons received in our schools). That meant that members of the Jewish faith should refrain from all religious practices and rites that were not in accordance with the customs of the country in which they lived proving thereby that they were loyal citizens.

In summation, we can state that the liberal-minded rabbis had not achieved the objectives that were a pressing issue of the time. There is ample evidence that a good number of them lost the objective leading to cultural

reforms which were an essential prerequisite to citizenship. They instead, proposed religious reforms. Pest and Arad, the two leading congregations of Hungary, at their annual meeting of 1848, gave ample proof of this. In their deliberations, Pest proposed to abolish all religious practices which they thought were in contradiction to the general customs of the country; consequently, this would prevent them from achieving emancipation. The city of Arad, on the other hand, proposed the change of the observance of the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday.⁴⁵

The Hungarianization Policy

Hungarian Jewish leaders, both professional and lay, realized that the acquisition of the Hungarian language is an essential prerequisite to Hungarian culture and the means by which such could be attained is the school. They therefore urged, that the congregation establish elementary schools where in addition to religion, Hebrew, and German, the Hungarian language would be coordinated into the curriculum of the school. The Jewish school of Obuda, which was organized in 1834, serves as an example. Although the teachers of this school received their professional training in the Teachers Institute of Prague where German was the language of instruction, they realized the urgent need of the Hungarian language. They studied privately, the Hungarian tongue which they applied in their daily practice

in the school. Similar to the Jewish school of Obuda was the achievement of the Jewish Primar School of Pozsony (Pressburg) where the Hungarian language, as early as 1840, was a required subject of the school.⁴⁶

With the beginning of the 1840's, the Hungarianization spirit rapidly grew in the schools so that when the Hebrew German Primer school of Pozsony held a foundation festival in 1844, the students were able to sing songs in the Hungarian language.⁴⁷ The use of the Hungarian language in the Jewish school became so popular that in 1844, Salamon Neumann of Obuda petitioned the government to erect a Jewish elementary school where, "Unterricht Gegenstande Blos in Ungarischer Sprache Vorgen-tragen Werden" (that Hungarian be the language of instruction).⁴⁸

The Progressives Gained Control.

In the secular cultural trend, conservative rabbis foresaw the road leading to assimilation.⁴⁹ They applied every possible means at their command to stem the growth of the assimilation movement by curtailing the study of secular education in the religious school.

In spite of all the preventative measures of modernization applied by the Conservatives in preventing secular education from entering into the Jewish school, the center of gravity shifted to the Progressives.

Whatever the cause may have been that led to dissen-

sion, Hungarian Jewry nevertheless, stood united in the efforts for Hungarian liberation in 1848. ⁵⁰ Jewry was not in full agreement in determining their educational philosophy but concurred in the concept of freeing Hungary from Austrian domination through the leadership of Kossuth. What the Jews could not attain during many years, was finally realized by their willingness to bring sacrifices for Hungarian liberty. ⁵¹ Their loyalty was given recognition by Bertalan Szemere, Minister of Internal Affairs, in his petition on July 28, 1848, to grant the Jews the right of citizenship. He also expressed his desire that the Jews reform themselves. ⁵² Because of the outcome of the War for Independence, this was not granted and the Jews had to take up the struggle again.

CHAPTER II

The Jewish School Fund; Proposals for the Establishment of a Jewish Teachers Institute; the Conservatives oppose the National Rabbinic Seminary.

In order to study the educational progress of the Hungarian Jewish school during the second half of the XIX Century, a brief survey of the prevailing economic and political conditions of the Jews is essential. The ill-fated War of 1848, led by Kossuth in behalf of Hungarian independence, brought serious consequences upon the entire nation, and especially upon the Jews. After the Hungarian patriots were compelled to lay down their arms in Vilagos and the Treaty of Olmutz was signed on March 3, 1848, the general peasant population returned to their farming -- an occupation that provided their physical necessities of life and brought to them a psychological healing by helping them adjust to the newly developed political conditions.

For the Jews, this adjustment was more difficult as they had been overly enthusiastic in the Kossuth movement. They had had great confidence in Kossuth's devotion and leadership and therefore looked forward to the establishment of a free Hungarian government, independent of Austrian domination. In order to attain that political objective, the Jews had placed their business enterprises in jeopardy through the purchase of Kossuth banknotes, which, after

the war, proved worthless. Furthermore, they had become suspected by the Austrian government which looked upon them with suspicion and considered them seditious.

General Haynau, Commander of the Austrian Army, became the appointed vice-regent of Hungary and placed a heavy penalty tax upon the Jews for taking part in the uprising. He demanded that they repay the financial losses suffered by the government.¹ He imposed this tax on the following communities: Arad, Cegléd, Kecskénét, Irsa, Nagyörös, and -- after much maneuvering -- upon the community of Pest. The latter appealed for leniency but to no avail. The War Department, in a declaration on September 17, 1849, stated that all these communities would have to pay the sum of 2,300,000 florins as penalty. This tax was too much for them to pay, for their entire wealth was drastically reduced.

They appealed to the War Department and the only relief given them was the assurance that this obligation was to be met by the entire Hungarian Jewish population. The War Department insisted upon payment as a punishment because it held that the Jews were to blame for the war and that the rest of the Hungarian population would not have ventured into such a hazardous attempt without their instigation. This order further indicated that payment must begin on January 1, 1850, and that it must

be paid quarterly for a period of four years.

Since there was so little time before the first payment, the Jews were compelled to appeal again for an extension.² Because the military commander was annoyed by their continuous petitioning, on March 10, 1850, he challenged them to produce, if they could, authentic documentary proof that they had not taken part in the uprising. If they could do this, they would be excused from payment. The Jews could not substantiate such proof, and in return proposed to pay a half-million florins, a sum to be used for the Jewish school fund, in the event that they would be released of this penalty.³

On June 30, 1850, this petition brought the following reply: "The Internal Minister of the Austrian government is willing to release the Jews from this penalty on condition that they make payment of at least one-million florins to the government office of Buda to be used by the government as a separate religious educational fund."⁴

The petitioning committee accepted this proposal and promised that this sum would be collected without delay. On this basis, Emperor Francis Joseph I, on September 20, 1850, issued an order relieving the Jews from paying the war indemnity but imposing the sum of one million, two hundred thousand (1,200,000) florins to be applied toward the Jewish school fund. (See page 70)

Koller, Minister of Religion, established, "Das Israelitische Landesschulfondsbegrundungs Komite". He appointed Kossowitz to make collections under the direction of the Viennese National government. Promising that the fund would be fully collected by 1855, this committee assessed each community on the basis of their financial status. ⁵

Conditions for the Jews would indeed have been deplorable if their economic status had not changed. Fortunately, their means for making a living slowly became normalized and the Jews resumed their former occupations in commerce and industry. The Handworkers Union was reopened by Jacob Keren. Furthermore, when the law was issued that no individual should be excluded because of his religion, progress in the field of industry was accelerated. Consequently, the Pozsony advisory board, in 1852, licensed many industrialists to open shop in the city. ⁶ All these incidents helped the Jews to regain their economic status and to meet their obligations toward the imposed school fund.

Important Events that Influenced the Plight of the Jews

Simultaneously with the progress made by the school fund committee in collecting the assessed tax, there occurred many important events which call for special attention. Baron Geringer Karoly, who became

the temporary vice-regent of Hungary, issued a proclamation on February 6, 1850, calling upon all district officers of the nation to gather from trustworthy individuals opinions pertaining to the existing Jewish conditions -- their schools, synagogues, and other functioning religious organizational offices. According to this order, he desired, "specific information about the following": The prevailing Jewish school systems in Hungary; proposals on how these should be properly organized. He appointed several trustworthy men who were experienced in school organizations and educational procedure and also appointed a Jewish school board. ⁷

Furthermore, he wished to learn about the qualifications of the rabbi and the mission he was called upon to fulfill. From the information gathered, he learned that opinions varied in both groups -- the Conservatives and the Progressives.

Majer Eisenstadt, * Rabbi of Ungvar, an advocate of the Conservative movement, took a firm stand in opposing the establishment of denominational Jewish public schools. ⁸

* Majer Eisenstadt, noted rabbi and scholar who received his early rabbinic education in Kismarton and later in Pozsony. He was one of the distinguished scholarly disciples of the Hatam Sofer. He became the son-in-law of David Deutsch, rabbi of Vagujhely, who was the author of "Ohel David". Eisenstadt's first rabbinic position was in Baja. In 1833, he became rabbi of Ungvar where he conducted a rabbinic school to the very last day of his life -- 1853. His son, Menachem, who succeeded him in his rabbinic position, was the author of the following books: "Imre Esch", published in two volumes in 1853 and 1854; and, "Imre Bino", published in Ungvar in 1866. Zs 1. p. 217. (S.R.)

Rabbi Majer Eisenstadt's Proposal for the Conservatives.

Eisenstadt opposed the denominational Jewish parochial schools saying: "The main objective of any Jewish community in establishing its own denominational elementary schools is motivated by one desire -- namely, to have the opportunity to give their children a good religious education in addition to their secular studies." He emphasized the idea that religion is not a subject to be taught along with secular studies but one that must be acquired in a school that is dedicated solely to the study of religion, the Heder, or must be studied by means of private tutorship.

In his report to Geringer, on April 17, 1850, he urged that in small communities, where the number of children were limited and the community was unable to establish separate schools for secular studies, the children be exempt from attending such denominational schools if they could substantiate by an examination, that they possessed the required knowledge set forth by the school.

He further stated that in large communities, where Jewish congregations were in a position to erect and support secular schools, the teachers of those schools should be Christians who would not influence the Jewish children to deviate from their religious concepts.

He further emphasized that even as the public

school was not suitable for the study of religion, so the books assigned as general reading matter were not fitting as religious textbooks. Consequently, the publishing and the acquisition of such books should not be used for the purpose of teaching religion. The only religious text is the Bible. He also maintained that the sole right to prepare and qualify rabbis should be reserved for Conservative rabbinic authorities. ⁹

Dr. Frigyes Grosz's Proposal for the Progressives.

The collective opinion of the Progressives, formulated by the congregation of Nagyvárad and signed by Dr. Frigyes Grosz * stated:

* Dr. Frigyes Grosz, philanthropist and physician (eye specialist), was born in Nagyvárad on November 16, 1798; died in the same city, January 3, 1858. In 1816, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Pest; in 1825, his M.D. from the University of Vienna. His first medical practice he attained in Teltsch, Moravia, where he established a private clinic, giving him the opportunity to acquire surgical skill. In 1829, he returned to his native city where he devoted most of his time to the Jewish hospital, helping humanity to get rid of the dreaded eye disease for which the Jewish hospital of Nagyvárad became nationally famous. Records prove that he performed more than 1500 operations successfully. In 1865, King Francis Joseph I, visited the hospital and dedicated a marble plaque in honor of the hospital and community for its humanitarian service. The Jewish community also expressed recognition to Dr. Grosz for his faithful service by placing a life-size oil portrait of him in the National Museum of the city. Zs L. p.324. (S.R.)

It is our consensus that the welfare and growth of Jewish life in Hungary depend on the quality of leadership; wherefore, it is essential that a rabbinic seminary and a teacher's training school be among the first concerns of the Hungarian communities. These schools should be supervised by the government and by a congregational and hierarchical body of rabbinic authorities. A central office in the capitol city of Pest, with a chief rabbi should be established..¹⁰

The Conference in Buda

After the opinions and proposals were considered by the government, a conference was called in Buda to iron out the conflicting differences. Invited to attend were: Lob Schwab, rabbi of Pest; Leopold Low, rabbi of Szeged; and Majer Zipser * Rabbi of Szekesfehervar; J. H. Kasso-

* Majer Zipser, born August 14, 1815, in Balassagyarmat and died in Rohonc, December 10, 1869. He received his early rabbinic studies in Prossnitz and Nikolsburg. In 1844, he became rabbi of Székesfehérvár, a nationally renowned historic city where Jews lived for centuries. After he accepted his rabbinic post, he organized the by-laws of the congregation and furthered the progress of its educational system by equipping the school with an adequate library and reading rooms. Rabbi Zipser received his Ph.D. from the University of Pest in 1851. During the Boch period, the community split into two parts which cost him great aggravation as he sensed in it the dissipation of cultural progress. He became so disappointed to see the crumbling of his life's work that he made preparations to leave the country; but, in 1858, the Jewish community of Rohonc requested him to accept the post of rabbi and educational director where he functioned till the very last day of his life. Dr. Zipser was a prolific writer and author of many important works. Among these were, "Kritische Untersuchung uber die Originalitat der im Talmud und Midrschim vorkommenden Parabeln und Sentenzen" and, "Die magyarische Sprache und die Juden..." Zs.L. p. 974.

vitz, who was appointed to collect the school fund; Dr. Ignác Löblin, physician-supervisor of schools; Dr. David Schwimmer, physician of Pest; and, Ignác Bárnáy, Secretary of the congregation of Pest. ^{10a}

After several days of discussion, the meeting of September 24, 1851, empowered Leopold Löw to draw up by-laws by which the Jewish communities should be governed. The proposed constitutional by-laws framed by Löw consisted of two hundred and eighty-five paragraphs. The school problems with which we are primarily concerned, he treated in paragraphs 194-233 inclusive. ¹¹

Löw's Educational Proposals.

194. Every Jewish congregation should be obligated to maintain a parochial school where besides the assigned school subjects, religious subjects could also be taught. The officers of the congregation and the educational school board should join in the supervision thereof so that the children of all ages who do not attend public or privately-owned schools may be enrolled. The tuition fee should be determined by the individual's financial ability.

195. The school should consist of at least three classes -- a preparatory and two main classes.

196, 197. It is the privilege of the congregation with the consent of the district school inspector, to increase

the number of classes of the school as long as the congregation is willing to bear the expenses.

198. While it is the privilege of the Jewish congregation to maintain a specific general school, it must be, in every respect, exactly in accordance with the prescribed rulings of the general public school with the exception that the congregation should have the right to designate an ample number of hours for its religious instruction.

199. Subjects for religious instruction are:

- a. Popular beliefs (traditions), ethics.
- b. Hebrew lessons.
- * c. Bible translations and Prayer Book translations.
- * d. The history of the Jews.
- e. Hebrew grammar (basic principles).

* Girls should be permitted to omit "c" and "d".

200. Religious instruction must be done by means of texts.

201. Textbooks must be under the supervision of the Cultus minister (minister of religion and education).

202. In communities where children of various religious beliefs and languages live, the Jewish community can limit its schools to religious education.

203. The Jewish religious school must teach the assigned Jewish required subjects.

204. Children attending private schools or schools of other denominations must at the end of each school semester pass an examination on the assigned religious subjects in the congregational school.

205. The time designated for such examinations should be twice a year (the end of each semester -- during the intermediate days of Passover and the intermediate days of Sukkoth). After eight days of these holidays, instructions must resume.

206. Such a joint secular and religious school can only be operated by the permission of the District Supervisor. No denominational organizations are permitted to operate such joint schools.

In the succeeding paragraphs, Low deals extensively with the necessary financial problems, ways and means. He prescribed in detail the laws pertaining to the training and general welfare of the teacher:

"In order to secure a position, teachers must prove that they have completed the prescribed three classes of the higher elementary school and must provide references on their moral and political status. Also, they must show whether they were employed as private or public school teachers."

The reason Low allowed private teachers to occupy positions in the Jewish public schools was that, before the establishment of the Jewish Institute, very few teachers were qualified. After the Institute was in existence and had

functioned for three years, he permitted only teachers who were graduated from this Institute. The supervision of the schools were by the government and local Jewish authorities.

Low's Educational Program Including the Hadarim and Yeshivot

The basic or elementary schools, as well as the high schools for talmudic students, should also be under the supervision of the educational board. A student who wished to be admitted to the study of the Talmud could then be accepted only if he could prove to the local school officials that he had completed his tenth year of age and that he had acquired the subjects prescribed in the three main classes; he must also possess a certificate of his third year. Such documents were to be in possession by all those who pursued the higher learning of the Yeshivot.

The talmudic student, as well as the elementary student, must undergo at the end of each semester, an examination in the religious subjects -- subjects that are taught by the Jewish school of the community.

The talmudic teachers (rabbis) must keep records of the students in the language of the country and must conduct written examinations and keep records of the educational progress of the students.

these requirements were out of the question; therefore in September of 1850, immediately after these proposals were presented by Löw, they appealed to the governing office in Vienna stressing the fact that the majority of Hungarian Jewry were Conservative in their religious convictions and whose concern was that their rabbis be Talmudic students. In order to meet such qualifications, it required most of any diligent student's time; consequently, they maintained that the supervision of such talmudic knowledge must be given preference to secular studies. ¹³

Abraham Hochmuth's Proposals Pertaining to the Establishment of Jewish Teachers' Institute.

Before Löw completed his educational program, Abraham Hochmuth,* director of the Jewish school in Miskolc, proposed the establishment of a teachers' institute. Hochmuth emphasized that it was a matter of utmost urgency

* Abraham Hochmuth, rabbi and educator, born in Baan, Hungary, December 14, 1816; died in Veszprém, June 10, 1889. After attending the Yeshivot of Verbo, Vágújhely, and Nyitra, he served as an assistant rabbi in Miskolc where he directed the Jewish school and in his spare time, finished the requirements of the gymnasium of the city. After graduating from the eighth class of the gymnasium, he continued his studies at the University of Pest and later in the philosophical faculty of the University of Prague. In Prague he studied Talmud and Hebrew under the direction of the chief rabbi, Solomon Judah Löb Rappaport. In 1859 he became rabbi of Veszprém and as its representative attended the National Jewish Congress in 1868. Among his literary contributions was, "Die jüdische Schule in Ungarn" (May, 1851).
Zs L p.374;
(S.R.)

and the concern of the Jewish people to establish such an institution. Hochmuth's book, "Die jüdische Schule in Ungarn" (May, 1851) dealt with many phases of the Jewish educational problem. Much of it was devoted to the qualifications of the teacher and the means by which the best result could be obtained. He also gave consideration to the school fund -- the stepping stone that laid the foundation for Jewish education in Hungary.

Hochmuth spent a great deal of time and effort in the study of the internal structure of the school and in determining the leading language of the school. "It is indisputable", he maintained, "that the language of the Synagogue and the home is German and because of patriotic necessity, also Hungarian. In order to prove that the Jew is loyal to the ideals and sentiments of the country, he studies history and geography in the Hungarian language. One does not necessarily need to be a philologist in order to determine that an elementary school cannot be conducted by the use of a bilingual method -- no individual can have two mother tongues." Consequently, he insisted that Hungarian be the language of the school.¹⁴

Hochmuth protested against the manner and method by which the Humash was taught in the Heder -- he called it a parrot-like teaching. The Melamed read whole sentences from the Humash and translated it into Yiddish; while the

pupils, without having the slightest concept as to its meaning, repeated it verbatim. This method was used the entire week until the pupil mechanically retained the lesson. "This", he stated, "should not be the system of studying the Bible; it should be studied by means of applying grammar and the basic concepts of the text. Therefore, it should not necessarily contain the entire text but selected passages which give the sequential meaning of the Humash to the child." ¹⁵

Hochmuth opposed the reasoning of the Conservatives who maintained that since the study of religion became a specific school subject, Hungarian Judaism had weakened. "The strength and weakness of Judaism", he said, "is not to be determined by this special course of study. The Jewish school in Hungary never before tried to establish an extensive and meaningful school curriculum by which it has strengthened its religious growth as we have today. The cause for the weakening of religion rests on the general conditions of our time. We live in a changing civilization, when material substitutes have an upper hand over spiritual values. We seem to lose sight of the fact that our way of life differs from that of our fathers. This difference results in the gradual disappearance of the old without trying to supplement it with the new. It is, or at least it should be, clear

that the study of religion in these modern times rests upon the pattern that the parents and the teacher jointly must set for the child to follow. They must set an example by actual deeds rather than by specific courses given in the school."

Höchmuth, in conjunction with this direct way of teaching religion, gave emphasis to the importance of instituting special schools for girls. He advocated that along with religious studies, girls too, must receive secular education. "In the past, girls also received education but only in the home. Whatever girls acquired in the field of education was within the walls of the home -- primarily motivated by religion. Conditions have changed; girls must be on the same level as boys. Schools must be established to meet this requirement, and because the home has shifted its responsibility toward religion to the school, girls, also, must receive their education in the Jewish school."

Höchmuth discussed extensively the financial part of the overall community problem -- how and where the first collected school fund be allocated. He gave a detailed account of the three major educational institutions; the teachers' institute, the rabbinic seminary and the Consistory -- an institution to supervise Jewish education and cultural life in the Hungarian Jewish community. "It

is reasonable, and does not require too much argumentation, that one German-speaking Seminary in Austria should be ample to meet the rabbinic requirement of our country, as positions for rabbis with a secular background are still limited. This, however, is not true of the teacher; we cannot depend on teacher-training schools in Moravia and Czechoslovakia. We, therefore, must have our own teaching institute for many reasons. First of all, we need four or five times as many teachers as we need rabbis; secondly, the Hungarian teacher, in order to teach Hungarian children, must receive his education in an Hungarian institute. To the rabbi, the language is a minor problem because all Hungarian students that would attend the German rabbinic school must beforehand complete the gymnasium at home, which already has given him ample Hungarian background which they can continue to develop along with their rabbinic studies. With all these reasons in mind, we must make the teachers' institute our first and utmost consideration. The school fund money should be first allocated toward the establishment of a Teachers' Training Institute. We should not overlook another prevailing condition -- that if ten communities should decide to erect a Jewish public school, they would hardly find ample professional staffs to fill such positions. Consequently, we cannot wait until the money is collected --

this will take four more years -- we must act immediately."

Besides this immediate emergency, Hochmuth felt they should not overlook other factors. Most important of all was the teacher's training time. According to the order of the minister of education, the Austrian teacher could receive his qualification in one year; to prepare Jewish teachers required at least three years for the teacher had to comply not only with the general subject requirement but also with his Jewish subjects: the Hebrew language, Bible, religion, and Jewish history.

In addition to the prescribed curriculum, they should not overlook the practice-teaching requirement which only the Jewish school could provide for the teacher in training. This necessitated the presence of a well-functioning elementary school so that the teachers could get their student-teaching practice.

Hochmuth included another vital school requirement subsidized by the Jewish school fund -- a book fund for students of limited financial means. Since the Jewish school needed many expensive books -- more so than other schools -- and since any school of good standing required that each student have ample textbooks, it was the purpose of the school fund to meet these requirements.¹⁶

Daniel Pillitz's Viewpoints Concerning Teachers' Institutes.

During the '40's, Daniel Pillitz, rabbi and school

director of Szeged, approached the school fund problem from another point of view. The educational problem in the Hungarian Jewish school, in his opinion, could be solved in three words: school, teacher, and money. "We need both a rabbinical seminary and a teachers' training school. However, since we do not have the necessary means to erect both, the seminary must wait for better times. We must have a teachers' training school, for the destiny of Judaism depends on well qualified reliable teachers concerned about the ideals of our religion. Consequently, we must have a school that will provide such dependable Jewish teachers and we must create them ourselves." 17

Pillitz emphasized the importance of a teachers' institute in Hungary by stating,

"We cannot expect a teacher who received his training in Moravia or present-day Czechoslovakia to teach Hungarian Jewish children."

In a lecture delivered in Pest, on the occasion of the abolition of the Tolerance Tax, he referred to the already functioning Jewish schools of the city where a teacher-in-training would receive ample practical experience if the school fund would provide for an ample teachers' institute. 18

Pillitz touched on the sore spot of the teaching profession:

"The reason our able young men are not willing to follow the profession lies in the laxity of security -- uncertainty of tenure. If provisions for suitable living conditions were assured, many capable young men would be inspired to choose the teaching profession. A

scholarship fund should be provided from which diligent students can defray part of their expenses."

Pillnitz reported that each of the three hundred existing schools received approximately 166 florin^s which did not begin to meet their expenses.¹⁹ As it was imperative that they establish schools which could not be done without funds, and as the school fund did not suffice to meet this, they simply had to reach into their own pockets.

Jewish education, as well as the Jewish school and community fund problem, became gradually stabilized. This was true in the life of the Jew as well as in the educational department of the government where the Jewish school problem was a burning question. In the same year in which Hochmuth wrote his book and Pillnitz's work appeared, Istvan Majer, director of the elementary and real school of Pest, and in 1855 inspector of the Jewish boys' school of the city, was commissioned by the government and the advisory board of the city to study the educational situation of the Jewish school. Majer issued to the Jewish community of Pest, a questionnaire to which he requested a reply within two days. The questions were:

1. Would it not be advisable to think about the training of teachers before the Jewish community organizes Jewish schools?

2. Would not the upper normal school be suitable

for the practical training of teachers?

3. Would the community of Pest assume the responsibility of training these teachers if the expenses were to come from the already collected school fund? ²⁰

We do not know the answers received from the community of Pest, but we do assume that it was of a positive nature although no definite benefit came from it.

The Germanization Policy Affected the Growth of Jewish Schools.

From the preceeding we learn that the Jewish School Fund aroused considerable action, and the exchange of opinion and reasoning led to the development of the Jewish community school. Let us now make a few observations pertaining to the conditions of the Jewish school prevalent during the period of Absolutism, (imposed by Austria-1850-57).

During the Boch Period the government had applied every effort to exert Germanization by and through the Jewish school. This influence was attained by two direct measures:

1. The vice-regent of each community represented by the judge of the local board, called upon Jewry to establish, without delay, their Jewish community schools. As a result of this order, the number of Jewish schools in 1858, reached 308.

2. The local board applied every means to limit

the rights of Jews in their own schools. The government supervised the development of the schools and assured its Germanizational influence.

In spite of these limitations, the Jewish school made great strides. The government ordered that the Jewish community establish a permanent home for its school. This demand caused great financial difficulty to many Jewish communities, as their schools could no longer remain in rented houses. Because of this order, many communities came to own their permanent school buildings.²¹

Internal Changes Within the Schools in the '50's.

In conjunction with the external physical progress we can detect changes within the school itself. One of these changes was the increasing influence of the Catholic church upon the Hungarian school.²² In 1850 Leo Thun, Minister of Religion and Education in Austria, ordered the Hungarian school system to be placed under the supervision of the Vatican. Because of this order, many able churchmen were appointed to direct the education of the Hungarian schools. As this alliance between the state and church became intensified, all the schools of the monarchy gradually came under the influence of the Pope. According to a concordance issued in 1856, Jewish teachers were prohibited from teaching Christian children. In 1857, a new order appeared which stated that Christian schools could accept

Jewish children if the latter numbered enough to make up a special class so that their religious education would not be in conflict with that of the Christian children. ²³

While the general educational supervision was in the hands of the clergy, the religious and Hebrew education of the Jewish school was supervised by the rabbi. In special cases where the rabbi was a qualified individual, the supervision of the Jewish community school was entrusted to his care. This was the case of Rabbi Leopold Löw when the council of the vice-regent of Csongrád in 1857 entrusted him with the supervision of the Jewish schools. ²⁴ As a rule, directors of the Jewish school were appointed by the council of the vice-regent at the recommendation of the Jewish community, which action meant that any educational order came from the educational director-in-chief and could not be altered by the local district director.

What benefit could the school derive from all this as long as they were governed by the authority of the director-in-chief of the Vatican? As a rule, the educational directors appointed by the church were highly qualified individuals with sound pedagogical backgrounds and qualities of educational leadership. These qualities were of great advantage to the Jewish school in general and to the Jewish teacher in particular.

Dr. Mihály Haas, chief inspector of the school, who later became Bishop of Szatmár, was a man of considerable culture who proved to be a devoted friend to the Jewish teacher. After every district inspection, he called a conference and lectured on advanced theories of education which the teachers were to apply in their schools. In addition to this professional service, he helped the teacher in his economic plight. Previously, teachers were dismissed at the whim of the local board, but while Haas was in office, no teacher could be dismissed from his post without the consent of the vice-regent. ²⁵

Many essential advancements in the educational system of the Jewish school resulted from the applied restrictive measures of the Viennese court. Some of these essential modifications came to the Jewish community schools when they applied for the right to issue certified credentials that would be accepted in other schools and that could be issued to students who did their studying and preparing for examinations privately. The government issued the following requirements: Teachers must be certified; the school must have its permanent building; the elementary school must consist of not less than four classes; the textbooks of the school must be issued by the Viennese Press of Public Education; the curriculum must include music and drawing as well as handwork -- such as embroidery for girls.

The difficulty with these electives was that they required special teachers and classrooms, a requirement which was not easy for many congregations to meet. ²⁶

In addition to these requirements, the school inspector expected not only a detailed expense record but that the school expenses be defrayed from tuition. If this income did not take care of the expenses, the community was free to assess its members with an additional tax placed on Kosher meat. Tuition fees differed in many communities. For instance, in Szeged, in 1851, boys paid forty-eight Krajcárt and girls one Florin. In 1852, the first grade boys continued to pay the same, while those in the second to the fourth grades paid one Florin. ²⁷ Very few Jewish community schools -- in fact, only 29 of the 308 Jewish schools -- could meet these requirements. Most of the schools that qualified belonged to the district of Buda -- there were eight of them: Baja, Lovasberény, Kecskemét, Obuda, Vác, Székesfehérvár and two schools of Pest. ²⁸

The prevailing internal conditions of the Jewish schools in the 1850's can be studied best by investigating some of the concrete details of some of the schools in the country. Some of the schools tried to elevate themselves from the category of elementary -- that is from the two or three class schools to the status of high elementary. The

government encouraged these undertakings. ²⁹

One instance is the Congregational Boys' School of Pest, which was classified as high elementary in 1851; the community was given the right to expand the school with vocational classes which gave its students a commercial background similar to the school of Austria -- Real Commercial Schule. As the subject matter of these additional classes prepared the students for commercial life, the primary emphasis naturally was mathematics, percentage, discount, double bookkeeping and banking law. Conditions of this school in the middle '50's can be observed by the following tabulation which indicates that the students of this school were limited to boys. ³⁰

	KINDER- GARTEN	PREP. CLASSES	HIGH ELEM. CLASSES				REAL CLASSES		TOTAL
			I	II	III	IV	I	II	
BOYS	75	68	93	114	88	58	33	16	545
GIRLS	62	66	58	48	-	-	-	-	234
SUM TOTAL									779

This proves that the community strove to give its boys a commercial training.

The same was true in Nagykanizsa. Before the War of Independence, the school consisted of three classes and later became a four-class high elementary school which opened its additional two real classes in 1856. This school developed its commercial department to the extent that it

became Hungary's oldest Jewish "Middle School".³¹

Similar to the strivings of Nagykanizsa were those of the Jewish community of Pécs. In 1852, the community had a three-class Jewish public school; in 1856, it became a four-class high elementary; and, in 1857, the school was maintained by the school fund as a model school. The leadership of the community of Pécs petitioned that their model school be expanded with a teacher's institute; but, this was not granted.

In the middle '50's, many cities such as Pest, Arad, Temesvár, Nagykanizsa, Vágújhely, and Sátoraljaujhely, expanded their high elementary schools with two additional vocational classes. However, with the exception of Vágújhely, they were of short duration.³² Among the Hungarian Jewish schools that progressed during the '50's, only two attained a high status -- the school of Nagykanizsa, which became a Real commercial; and, the school of Vágújhely which became a Real school. Both attained great importance in the educational system of the Hungarian Jewish school which will be discussed in another chapter.

In general, the Jewish school as far as its Hebrew studies were concerned, did not have a uniform curriculum. Every school determined its Jewish curriculum by its staff at the opening conference of the year; consequently, it varied in each community as indicated on the next page.

City	Year	Total Weekly Hrs.	Jewish Studies	Percentage
Mako	1851-52	In the IIII class - a total of 48 hrs.	Bible - 3 Hebrew, reading & grammar - 5 Humash- 11 Religion- 3 Total -22	46
Eger	1856	32 hrs.	12 hrs.	37.5
Liptoszent-miklos	1855	preparatory school - 20 hrs., of which 9 hrs. were for Hebrew studies. higher elementary classes II and III - 34 hrs. of which 16 hrs. were for Hebrew studies. In the IIII and IV classes - 36 hrs. of which 15 hrs. were for Jewish studies.		38.5
Baja		43 hrs. of which 20 hrs. were for Hebrew studies.		46.5

In addition, in many Jewish communities, the rabbis instructed students in Talmud after school hours. For instance, in Pápa the students of the IIII class had to take advanced studies in the community Talmud Torah. Here, Hebrew -- grammar, writing, and Humash with Rashi's commentary was taught which was in close collaboration with the Jewish elementary school.. 33

The hours children spent weekly in school were many. Elementary school children averaged six to seven hours daily.

The government often had to restrict the schools in order to avoid over-burdening the young. In the high elementary school of Pécs, in 1856, children attended from 8:00 to 11:00 A.M., and from 2:00 to 5:00 P.M. Besides this, extra time was added to the curriculum as follows: music, one hour; handiwork for girls, one hour; and, choir practice, one hour. In 1858, the council of the vice-regent ordered the reduction of school hours.³⁴

Hungarianization Versus Germanization.

During the period of Absolutism, the German language became compulsory in the schools. The influence of Germanization was felt in the entire educational system, even in the teaching of Jewish subjects, as the language of instruction was German. The emphasis of Germanization was strengthened by the fact that there was a shortage of Jewish teachers, and the Hungarian Jewish school had to depend on teachers and professional leadership coming from Moravia and Czechoslovakia. In the middle '50's, there were very few native-born Hungarian teachers who had received their professional education in the country.³⁵

For this reason, the Hungarian language was taught by Christian teachers or by students from the upper classes of the gymnasium. In spite of this condition, the Hungarianization spirit was advocated by the lay and professional leadership of many congregations. Enlightened

rabbis and community leaders laid the groundwork of Hungarianization much before the Hungarian Revolution. As the director and rabbi of Nagykanizsa, Rabbi Leopold Löw in 1844, and later during the Boch period, furthered the advancement of Hungarianization. He formulated the educational concept of the Jewish school in the '40's, and, as rabbi of Szeged and inspector of the school district of Csongrád, he strengthened these principles in the '50's. 36

Löw maintained that the Jewish school had a three-fold objective: humane, religious and national. His belief was, that before anything else, children should be taught the principles of humanity and that they should be worthy members of the Jewish family and an integral part of the Hungarian nation. In other words, the Jewish school should help the child adjust to the immediate and over-all Jewish environment of his people by transforming the historic past into a living present and by sharing in the experiences of his Jewish community. This so-called general humane, religious and national consciousness must be the ideal of Jewish education. 37

The Heder and Yeshiva.

While Löw struggled to transform his three-fold educational concept into a living reality, the advocates of the Heder and Yeshiva exerted every effort to keep

secular studies out of the Jewish school. This condition was not specifically an Hungarian phenomenon, for even outside of the Hungarian realm we find individuals like Dr. Moritz Eisler, * Director of the Jewish school of Nikolsburg, who praised the achievement of the Heder, and who maintained that it preserved the spirit of Judaism in our youth -- an achievement lacking in the parochial schools. ³⁸

No conscientious teacher would underestimate the religious and cultural value of the Heder during the time of the Ghetto -- Then it occupied an important place in Jewish life. With the disappearance of the Ghetto, it lost its intrinsic educational value. Fülöp Csukási ** maintained that it would be a crime to punish a child by keeping him in a

* Moritz Eisler, petagog and philosopher, born in Prossnitz, Moravia in 1823; died in Troppau, Eastern Silesia in 1902. In 1853, he became a teacher of religion at the gymnasium of Nikolsburg and principle at Israelitische Hauptschule. He was a contributing editor of the Ben Chananja. In his articles he opposed the method of teaching by rote. UJE, Vol. 4, p. 40.

** Fülöp Csukási, author and editor of school books. Among many are: "A Heber nyelvoktatás jelentosege, terjedelme es methodicaja az interconfessionalis nep es polgari hitoktatasba" (The educational value and function of the Hebrew language in the study of religion in the interconfessional public and polgari schools) (Budapest, 1890); "Majumni es kora" (Maimonides and his age) (Budapest, 1885); "Zsidok tortenete" (Jewish history). He published the National Jewish Teachers' Bulletin beginning with the year 1875. His most outstanding contribution was his co-editorship of "A Magyar-Zsidó Felekezet Elemei és Polgári Iskolainak Monografiája" (The monograph of the Hungarian Jewish denominational elementary and polgari schools) (Budapest, 1896). Zs L p. 185..

musty room on hard benches from morning to evening to learn Torah in the Yiddish jargon, instead of teaching him the Humash in Hebrew. Such an education could hardly meet with the spiritual development of a XIX Century child. It should be made clear that the five books of Moses with Rashi's interpretation and a smattering of knowledge of the Talmud is not and cannot be termed the sum total of Jewish education. ³⁹

Hungarian Jews could not build the educational system of the Heder upon the ruins of the Ghetto by excluding from its curriculum all forms of secular education. Yet, this procedure persisted even in the higher department, the Yeshiva, where all secular studies were prohibited. In the Yeshiva of Pressburg, Abraham Samuel Sofer, son of the Hatam Sofer, who succeeded his father as the head of the Academy, placed a ban on all secular studies -- even the reading of a general newspaper was prohibited. ⁴⁰

In spite of all these limitations and restrictions, however, the Yeshiva of Pressburg received its governmental recognition in 1859. Leo Thun, minister of culture and religion, authorized the school to train Hungarian rabbis and as theological students, they were exempted from military service. ⁴¹ He also prepared a bill that would make the Hatam Sofer Yeshivah of Pressburg the national seminary for training rabbis. His reason was that the majority of Hungarian Jewry were advocates of traditional Judaism, and consequently

not concerned whether or not their rabbis were accomplished in other cultural fields or were polished public speakers as long as they had the qualifications to render decisions on religious laws. With the fall of Thun's administration in 1860, his ruling was nullified. ⁴²

Hildesheimer, an Advocate of Secular Education

It would be erroneous to imagine that conservative Judaism, as a whole, opposed secular education. A goodly number of traditionalist rabbis advocated secular education. Among these was Israel Hildesheimer, * whose educational

* Israel Hildesheimer, rabbi, founder of neo-Orthodoxy; born in Halberstadt, Germany, May 20, 1820; died in Berlin on July 12, 1899. At an early age, he attended the talmudic school of Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger in Altona, Germany, after receiving his basic talmudic education from his father. In 1840, he attended the University of Berlin and received his Ph.D. from the University of Halle in 1844, studying under the guidance of two prominent orientalist -- Gesenius and Roedinger. His dissertation: "Über die Rechte Art der Bibelinterpretation". In 1851, he accepted the rabbinic post of Kismarton -- converting the congregational religious school into a parochial school and the already famous rabbinic school founded by Rabbi Meyer b. Isaac (Mram Ash) to which secular studies such as higher mathematics, Latin and Greek became integrated along with the talmudic curriculum of the Yeshivah. The Orthodox element of the city observed with disfavor Hildesheimer's educational reforms, interceding the authority of Sopron to close his rabbinic school which remained closed till 1858. In 1868, Hildesheimer took sides with the Orthodox group at the National Jewish Congress but when he learned that they did not approve of his modern concept of secular education, he and 35 of his friends formed a separate group, the "cultured Orthodox". In 1869 he resigned, accepting a call to Berlin where he established the famous rabbinic school. His important works: "Materialien zur Beurtheilung der Septuaginta", "Die Epitaphien der Grabsteine auf dem hiesigen jüdischen Friedhof" (1849), and "Minhah Tehorah" (Pressburg, 1860). Zs L p. 364. (S.R.)

background of both talmudic and secular studies made it possible for him to formulate a specific educational program for modern Orthodox Jewry to follow. Hildesheimer had great faith in the feasibility of his rabbinic school curriculum in which secular education was to be integrated along with talmudic studies.

It is understandable that fanatics such as Jozsef Akiba, who classified Hildesheimer as, "Kein emesdiker Jud", would view with disfavor his educational program; nevertheless, it is doubtful whether or not any Jew would dare to place him under a ban. It is surprising that Max Schloessinger, in his biography of Hildesheimer states that he was placed under a ban and that he established a parochial school.⁴³

After Hildesheimer had reorganized the Rabbinic school of Kismarton, he appealed to the government for the right to establish a theological school where he hoped the students would be able to complete in four years, the eight

I searched for factual evidence to substantiate Schloessinger's statement. It is doubtful whether Hildesheimer was put under a ban. I did find authentic evidence, however, that before he reorganized the rabbinic school, he established a parochial school. Several educational historians, who wrote about Hildesheimer's educational activities in Hungary, failed to point out this major educational contribution.⁴⁴

years study of the gymnasium. The government rejected his plans as the weekly hours were extremely high. He then prepared another curriculum which allocated thirteen weekly hours to rabbinic studies and twenty-eight hours for the gymnasium but, this too, was rejected. Guaranteeing that he himself would teach Talmud, German, Latin, Greek and mathematics, he finally opened his school which had to meet with the strict requirements of the Orthodox, and which he himself had to supervise. It is clear that the extreme wing of the Orthodox group was never in agreement with his school of Kismárton. ⁴⁵

In 1858, the government issued new rulings by which to govern the Jewish school:

1. The Jewish school was to follow the pattern of the Christian school.
2. The weekly hours of instruction, including religious study, were not to exceed twenty hours. This, however, did not include the study of Hebrew.
3. Teachers were to receive an adequate salary.
4. Teachers were not to be compelled to teach more than one class.
5. Teachers were not to be dismissed without a thorough investigation.
6. Hebrew was permitted to be taught, in addition to other subjects, if it would not overburden the student.
7. Girls were required to spend certain hours for home economics. ⁴⁶

Re-allocation of School Fund Influenced the Establishment of Many New Schools.

These new rulings aimed to improve the educational system, but before they were applied, a radical change occurred in the educational life of the Hungarian Jew. On March 29, 1858, the government had established a procedure as to how and where the school fund was to be allocated.

1. The establishment of a rabbinic institute -- the location, internal arrangement, supervision, and support was to be assumed by the overall Jewish community of Hungary.

2. The establishment of model high elementary schools. One model school was to be established in every administrative district. The congregation in that district should contribute toward the erection and equipment of the school. In conjunction with these model schools, there should be erected a teachers' institute (Praparanden Course) for candidates and other educational purposes.

3. Establishment of school support. Congregations unable to support these schools should be assisted by the government.

4. Establishment of girls' schools. Wherever model schools were located, schools for girls should be established.

5. Establishment of schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind. Schools for these handicapped individuals were to be established before other schools. 47

According to the governmental order, four model high elementary schools were to be established in Pest, Temesvár, Pécs, and Sátoraljauhely. Teachers in these schools were government employees, independent of the congregations.

On June 14, 1856, the Austrian minister of education ordered the vice-regent of Pest to inform the congregation of Pest of the governmental ruling. The congregation of Pest, without hesitation, assumed the responsibility and in the course of one year, purchased a one-story house on Lazar Street, at the corner of Hermina Place (known today as Dalszinház Utza 10, near the Opera House). They equipped the house completely and turned it over to the service of the model school. The dedication took place October 8, 1857. In the absence of Dr. Mihály Haas, the school counselor expressed his appreciation to the Jewish community of Pest on this occasion. In response, David Fleischl, representing the Jewish community, thanked the counselor. The dedication address was given by Dr. Jozsef Bach, who then turned the school over to Abraham Lederer, the director. With this event, the first part of the governmental order had been fulfilled. The second part of the order -- to establish a teachers' institutute -- soon followed. 48

Hungarian Jewry Urged the Establishment of a Jewish Teachers Institute.

There were several reasons why Hungarian Jewry urged the establishment of the Teachers Institute. The teaching positions of the four model high elementary schools maintained by the school fund were open for qualified teachers who had received their education in Hungarian teachers institutes. A goodly number of congregational schools throughout the country were in need of Hungarian teachers who had received their training in Hungarian institutes for they were thought the only ones suitable to teach Hungarian children. In the course of eight years, between 1850-58, the cities of Buda and Pest grew from eight to fifty-eight schools. The over-all growth in the country was from fifty schools in 1850 to three hundred and eight in 1858. According to government regulations in 1855, in Hungary, only graduate teachers who possessed Prepandium (a diploma), were permitted to teach. Because of these requirements, in 1857-58, we find that in the Catholic teachers college, there were one hundred Jewish students enrolled, a number surpassing that of the Christians in the school. All these facts gave ample reason to hasten the establishment of the Hungarian Jewish teachers training school. This fact was amplified by Mihaly Haas, school counselor and former Bishop of Szatmar. 49

The consensus of Hungarian Jewry was in full agreement with the great need of establishing a teacher's college in Pest. On September 19, 1859, permission to open a teacher's institute that would be maintained by the school fund was finally granted. The Jews of Pest lost no time in opening this school in time for the 1859 school year. In less than one month, all the essential preparations were made for its opening. On October 24th, the school was dedicated by Jozsef Barton, the successor of Haas. Of the first thirty-two students who enrolled at the opening, twenty-five passed their graduating examinations in 1861. The institute received its official charter as the "Royal Jewish Teachers Institute" in 1864.⁵⁰ The supervision of the school was jointly performed by the educational director of the city and the Jewish community of Pest. The former supervised its secular studies; while the latter primarily concerned itself with Jewish background. In order to meet with the Hebrew requirements of the institute, Dr. Benjamin Zeev Meisel, chief rabbi of Pest, devoted four hours weekly to offering a review course in Hebrew. Since these four hours were not in the curriculum, he added them to the Jewish elementary school; consequently, in 1862-63 school year, eleven of thirty-three hours were devoted to Hebrew learning. Besides these four extra hours, he gave four additional hours of

private instruction. Since these extra hours overcrowded the curriculum, the school came in conflict with the city authorities. Another cause for disagreement was that students studied religious subjects bareheaded and the chief rabbi protested that they wore their caps only when they quoted Hebrew texts. Therefore, the institute allowed many reforms -- especially beginning with the year 1864.

The first year course in the institute offered the following subjects:

Religion - 2 wkly.hrs.	Reading (use of books)	4 wkly.hrs.
Hebrew - 3 wkly.hrs.	Hungarian language -	2 wkly.hrs.
Education - 2 wkly.hrs.	German language -	3 wkly.hrs.
German spelling- 1 wkly.hr.	German composition -	2 wkly.hrs.
German literature- 1 wkly.hr.	Government -	2 wkly.hrs.
Math - 3 wkly.hrs.	Drawing -	2 wkly. hrs.
Penmanship - 1 wkly. hr.	Music -	2 wkly. hrs.

It is evident that this curriculum bore the seal of the Germanization of the Boich Period. The Viennese government returned the schedule with its approval but remarked that Hungarian government, as a subject, was not necessary. In 1860, when the institute had already functioned its second year and students were preparing for their qualifying examinations, the curriculum was modified as follows:

Subject	Class I Hours	Class II Hours
Hebrew	5	4
Education	2	1
Reading	5	2
Class Observation	0	10
Practice Teaching	1	1
Hungarian	3	2
German	2	3
Government	2	1
Math	2	1
Drawing	2	1
Penmanship	1	1

50a

On October 20, 1860, with the appearance of the October Diploma, the door opened for the Hungarianization process throughout the country. This was also followed in the Jewish schools. The Catholic and Jewish teachers' institutes that had used German as their language of instruction changed to Hungarian. The administration of the Teachers' Institute requested that the educational council permit it to teach government in the Hungarian language. Candidates spent many weekly hours in the Hungarian department of the model schools. In order to emphasize the importance of the Hungarian language, a new teacher was engaged in that department. Hungarian history was then added to the curriculum. In 1863, candidates were required to pass their oral and written tests in the Hungarian language. Before 1870, the Jewish teachers' institute was a two-year course; in 1870-71, it was changed to a three-year course; and, in 1881, it became a four-

year course.

The number of pupils during the time of the two-year course reached its highest mark in 1864-65, when the institute had thirty-eight students; it decreased in 1869-70, when the institute had twenty pupils -- its lowest number.

Graduates received two types of qualification certificates. Those that mastered the general prescribed subjects were given diplomas to teach elementary school. Those who had added to this the knowledge of Jewish history and Hebrew (extensive) were qualified to be high elementary school teachers. 51

After two years, the model high elementary school of Pest was merged with the institute and functioned in that capacity for ninety years, during which time it offered its services to the candidates for practice teaching. The other three model schools were of short duration; because they bore the stamp of Germanization of the Boch Period, the people were dissatisfied with them. During the emancipation period, one anonymous writer stated: "While it is true that the local Jewish administrative board had little or no influence over the model high elementary schools, this lack of influence in itself would have helped the progress of the school; nevertheless, its abolition was a blessing because it bore the stamp of Germanization of the

Boch Period." ⁵² To bring an end to these model schools the congress ruled that with the exception of the model school of Pest, all three would cease in 1871-72.

The previously quoted anonymous writer bemoaned the deplorable condition of the Hungarian Jewish teacher. "With very few exceptions," stated the writer in a circular, "salaries are exceedingly low; the future, most uncertain; hours of instruction are much longer than for teachers of other denominations." ⁵³ Henrik Buxbaum, teacher of Pozsony, voiced the same criticism; he felt the teacher (Jewish) dedicated his strength and health to his profession. Not only did he spend seven to eight hours daily in the classroom, but after these hours he was compelled to give two to three hours private tutoring in order to supplement his meager salary. The Jewish teacher's future was not secure; he had no sick benefits, no pensions, and no insurance for his family. In 1858, the city of Pest started a teacher's insurance plan and shortly after, other cities followed suit. Buxbaum appealed to the rabbis to help the teachers in their desperate struggle. ⁵⁴ This appeal brought about the formation of the Jewish Teachers' Society in 1859.

The community of Pest, three years prior to the establishment of the model school, urged the government and the educational department that permission be granted

to them to open additional Jewish schools in the city.⁵⁵ Its reasons for this request were that Jewish pupils were compelled to attend other denominational schools and very often, were exposed to conversion, especially in the missionary school of the "Scottish Order". The Jewish community of Pest gave the following statistics in order to prove its concern was justified. The number of students in the elementary schools of the city of Pest in 1858 was 18,279, and out of this number 1,973 boys and 493 girls were Jewish. Among these 2,466 Jewish children only 770 attended Jewish schools. Students attending the middle schools and colleges were in proportion to the positions open in the professional and cultural life of the country. For instance, in 1853-54 in the "Kegyes-rendi Gymnasium," of 496 students, 50 were Jews. In the same year in the Evangelical gymnasium, there were 42 Jews among the 124 students. In the year of 1859-60, in the Catholic gymnasium there were 144 Jews, 116 Christians. In the country or townships, there were some Jews. In 1850-51, Győr had 17 students; Nagyvárad 19 students. In 1853-54, both Eger and Arad had eight students. Among the 960 university students in 1852, Pest had 9 Jewish students in the school of Jurisprudence, 160 medical students, and none in the school of Philosophy. In 1855, out of a student body of 247, Pest had 77 Jews in the medical department and 60 Jews in Surgery.⁵⁶

Despite the internal life of the Jews in Pest in 1859, when Dr. Benjamin Zeev Meizel accepted the rabbinate in Pest, great progress was made. He persuaded many parents to take their children from the "Scottish Mission" school. The Jewish school of Sip Utca was removed to the Dohány Utca.⁵⁷ That year the community dedicated their beautiful synagogue, the famous Tábák Temple. The members of this temple exerted great influence upon the cultural life of the city.⁵⁸ This spirit was further activated by the appearance of the October Diploma which changed the internal organization of Hungary in general, and the Jewish school in particular, by changing the language of instruction from German to Hungarian.⁵⁹

Government Control over the Jewish Denominational School During the Boch Period.

Throughout this chapter, emphasis has been given to the fact that prior to the War for Independence the Jewish denominational school was under the control of the state. During the Boch period, the Catholic church assumed the supervision of all schools. The appointed vice-regent of Hungary then received his orders directly from Vienna, the Austrian capital from which all schools were directed by the so-called "Leo Thun's Organization Entwurf". Since the chief objective of this system was to utilize the Germanization policy as fully as possible, it had to lay

its groundwork in the school system which is the basic structure upon which life is erected. As the Jewish schools had laid great emphasis on the Hungarianization policy, the minister of education restricted the Jewish denominational schools so that he might direct their efforts toward the furtherance of the purposes of the Austrian government. However, all the restrictions were limited to external control but not to the actual progress within the educational system. Throughout this period of apparently undesirable control, the Jewish school derived from the church's supervision many benefits which aided in its progress. The Catholic school had adequate school leaders who applied their professional ability to the program of the Jewish denominational school. Their leadership was instrumental not only in establishing permanent school buildings for the Jewish elementary schools but also in reconstructing the curriculum by applying advanced pedagogic procedure which aided in the advancement of both school and teacher. Dr. Mihaly Haas, chief inspector of the schools, inspired many Jewish teachers to continue their studies and this influence brought beneficial results to other teachers in service as well. He also protected the teacher against unjust treatment. This protection naturally strengthened the teacher's morale -- hence, the entire school system was benefitted.

In order to be classified and publicly recognized as fit to issue certified credentials, the Jewish school had to meet certain specifications requested by the government, such as: a permanent school building, a minimum of four elementary classes, teachers who had diplomas, and an adequate financial budget. The government also imposed upon them other minor demands which may be considered limitations as far as the financial budget of the congregation was concerned, but from an educational point of view, all these restrictions led to the general advancement of the school. The only disadvantage of the church's supervision of the schools was its demand for Germanization -- which meant that the German language should replace the Hungarian -- of which the Jews had been great advocates. However, this disadvantage was short-lived, as the October Diploma, discussed in the following chapter, restored to the Jews and all denominational schools, the right to be governed by their own communities. This naturally resulted in a restoration of the Hungarianization spirit.

CHAPTER III

The Impact of Hungarianization on the Development of Jewish Elementary, Middle School, and Teachers' Institute.

In 1860, a great change occurred in the life of the Hungarian people when the Austrian government offered them partial independence by the issuance of the October Diploma, an affirmative declaration by the Emperor Francis Joseph which gave the districts and cities a free hand to govern themselves. This change of policy came about when the emperor lost the Italian War in 1859.

It had become clear to Emperor Francis Joseph that as long as a government of absolutism embittered the lives of the people, conditions would remain uncertain. Consequently, the Emperor dismissed Boch, his Internal Minister, and, on October 20, 1860, issued a new temporary constitution for the Hungarian people. ¹

The Reorganization of Jewish Hungarian Society.

Soon after the downfall of the Boch Period, several events of major importance occurred in the cultural development of Hungarian Jewry. Immediately after the appearance of the October Diploma, Leopold Löw considered it a favorable time to reorganize the Hungarian Association which had been founded in 1844 and disbanded in 1849, after the downfall of the Hungarian War of Independence. Löw had great hopes that the mission of the Society, which was primarily organized to advance the cultural life of Jewry,

would continue in bringing about its beneficial results. ²

In order to attain this objective, he sent out circular letters on October 29, to those members who previously had held leading positions in the Society: Rabbi Mayer Zipser of Rohonc; Abraham Hochmuth of Veszprem; Henrik Deutsch * of Putnok; Leopold Rokonstein **

* Henrik Deutsch, rabbi and pedagogue, born in Ban (district of Trencsény) in 1822; died in Budapest on December 18, 1889. He studied in various Hungarian rabbinical schools. His studious nature made it possible for him to acquire both talmudic and secular knowledge. His first teaching position was in Lovasberany and later in Kecskemét. In 1859, the community of Pest engaged him to teach in the Talmud Torah where he served until 1868. After this position, he became the active director of the National Jewish Teachers Institute where he served till 1872. During these years he published the "Magyar Israelita Közlöny" (Hungarian Jewish Gazette) and the National Jewish Teachers Bulletin. With the establishment of the National Rabbinic Seminary of Pest in 1877, he became the professor of Talmud, which post he filled for twelve years. Among his works were Hebrew grammar, published in Pest in 1859; Pirke Aboth (a school text about the ethics of the Jewish fathers), which was published in 1866. He also published in 1887-89, the Five Books of Moses, equipped with the text of the "Messorah", with Hungarian translation; and, "T'filos-Israel" with excellent Hungarian translation which was reprinted many times. Zs L p. 198. (S.R.)

** Leopold Rokonstein, rabbi and author. His first position was in Bácsstopoly; later in Zógráb. From 1865 till 1871, he was rabbi of Szombathely. In 1841, he published a text of religion and ethics in Buda. His lectures were published in both Hebrew and Hungarian in Nagyvárad in 1847; in Nagykanizsa in 1857; and, in Szombathely in 1865. Zs L p. 749.

of Pest; and Jakab Steinhardt * of Arad. He emphasized his belief that the time had arrived for the Society to resume its function. He expressed hope that in the future, the Society would be all-inclusive with professional and lay leaders. ³ Löw used scholarly initiative in advising his friends of this major requirement; for when the Jewish Hungarian Society assembled on November 13, 1860 in the beautiful meeting hall of the Jewish community of Pest to listen to the lecture of Joseph Rozsay, the cross-section of those assembled were delegates consisting of professional and lay-leaders of both city and suburb. He pointed out the objectives of the organization by stating

We must continue to build Hungarian Jewish culture where we left off by furthering the advancement of properly functioning cultural club houses, issuing periodicals, and providing lecture and reading rooms. We should observe the national events of our country and above all, institute schools where the national and Jewish spirit is advanced. ⁴

* Jakab Steinhardt, rabbi born in Mako on December 17, 1818 and died in Arad, February 2, 1885. After having received rabbinical education from his local rabbi, Eleazar Ullman, he attended the Yeshiva of the Hatam Sofer of Pressburg. Following the death of Aron Chorin, he succeeded him in his rabbinic post which he occupied for 40 years. During these fruitful years he set an example of religious and cultural progress. In 1868, he took an active part in the National Jewish Congress and served in the formation of the National Rabbinic Seminary of Pest. To this great institution of learning, he dedicated many years of cultural leadership. He lectured in both Hungarian and German and was generally known as an outstanding orator. Many of his sermons were published. Of special mention is his sermon delivered in Arad at the occasion of the abolition of the Tolerant Tax, August 29, 1846; also his memorial oration given in honor of his colleague and friend Leopold Löw. Zs L. P. 807.

At this meeting, plans were also laid for translating the Bible into the Hungarian language. Löw was appointed chairman to carry out these gigantic tasks. Löw, Zipser, and Steinhardt assumed the responsibility of translating the Five Books of Moses; the remaining books were to be left to volunteers. Although the attempt to translate the Bible was unsuccessful, the Society accomplished most of its educational endeavors. ⁵

The Jewish Hungarian Society and its Reforms in the Jewish School.

The Royal Council of the vice-regent of Hungary gave the Jewish Hungarian Society permission to use its initiative to bring about timely reforms in the Hungarian Jewish school. On May 27, 1862, Joseph Rozsay, the newly elected president, called a conference to find a remedy for the neglected school. As on former occasions (so it was at this conference) the participants constituted a cross-section of the country's professional and lay-leadership whose chief objective was to raise the cultural status of the school. After a lengthy conference and exchange of views, the appointed school committee proposed the following resolutions:

1. Every Jewish congregation is obligated to establish and maintain a Jewish public school (Parochial).
2. Every such public school is also a religious institute.

3. Every community public school must consist of at least two classes -- the addition of classes to depend on local ability.

4. The election or the appointment of teachers should be left to the individual community. ⁶

The elaboration of this last point required that the teacher who was appointed to teach Bible and religion be qualified in Hebrew as well as in German and Hungarian. Teachers possessing the knowledge of Hebrew should be given preference. The maintenance of the school should be a community project, and the educational supervision should be under the direction of the educational department of the state and the educational board of the local Jewish community. Teachers who neglected their duties or failed to lead exemplary religious and moral lives should be removed from their positions, and this should be determined by the council of the educational board.

Because Jewish studies in the primary school were on a low level suitable to the general perception of the age of the child, the committee thought that capable students who sought to advance their studies by entering the seminary, teachers' institute, or cantorial schools, should be given the opportunity. In view of the gap between elementary school and schools of advanced learning, the committee also proposed these resolutions pertaining to a

Middle School:

1. Larger communities should add two additional classes to their fourth year elementary course of study.

(a) In the fifth class, students should devote ample time to advance their exegetical studies.

(b) In the sixth, the Mishna and Talmud should be pursued along with the study of the Bible.

2. Congregational Middle Schools should be established.

3. A study should be made to determine the basic principles of this educational institution.

4. A committee should be appointed to formulate basic principles and by-laws.

The proposed resolutions submitted by the educational committee of the Hungarian Society which pertained to the establishment of an excellent elementary and middle school was of great significance, as this was the first proposal by Hungarian Jewry concerning the necessity of establishing a middle school. 7

Even before the middle school question was considered by the Society, Henrik Deutsch had written an article dealing with the middle school problem in which he pointed out the importance of such an educational institution from the standpoint of higher Jewish education, especially from the standpoint of the Jewish Teachers'

Institute. "Because of the laxity of a Jewish middle school," stated Deutsch, "the achievement attained in the elementary school gradually becomes nullified. The student, after completing his elementary studies, naturally enters the general middle school; he makes progress in the many fields of his cultural endeavor but not in his religious education. The latter not only reaches an immobile position but also reacts negatively, so that all that the student had acquired with great difficulty in previous years is gradually decreasing. The essential prerequisite a Jewish student should possess upon entering the teachers' institute can only be offered by the Jewish middle school." 3

The conference also discussed an introductory curriculum and books for the Jewish elementary school. The members insisted that the language of instruction of both religious and secular subjects be Hungarian and that teachers who did not have command of the language be assigned to teach mathematics, German, and writing. The conference rendered valuable service in its attempt to unify the school curriculum. The resolution committee, however, did not take a firm stand. Instead of requiring a maximum curriculum they were satisfied with the minimum. They had hoped that capable teachers would strive for higher goals.

The committee's resolution pertaining to textbooks expressed hope that the textbooks would meet with certain

standards -- that is, that the over-all picture in each paragraph be clearly stated, that other essentials such as content material be easily determined, and above all, that the religious content of the book be given sufficient emphasis. This last demand forcefully supported the development of the Jewish school.

We should not overlook the fact that in 1856, when the government had ordered the establishment of the model school, it also prescribed that the reading books for such schools contain the essential Christian topics as used in the denominational schools. This distasteful situation was not radically changed even when the Viennese minister of religion ordered, in 1858, the reworking of the textbooks for the Jewish editions. However, the appearance of the October Diploma -- the change of government -- made it possible for the previously prescribed textbooks to be reworked to meet the demand of the Jewish school. ⁹

The Hungarian Society made sure that this demand was filled. The educational conference agreed that in the future Samuel Kohanyi and Mano Schutz, teachers of Pest, should compose the text and that the Society should publish the reading books to be used. This Hungarian and Hebrew reading book expressed both the Hungarian and Jewish spirit and was therefore, prescribed as the reading book for the first and second classes; while the third and

fourth classes used the original Hebrew Bible as their reading text.

Another important requirement presented at this conference was that the reading material in the geographies and the terms applied in the natural history textbooks be adjusted to the perception of the student. ¹⁰

This conference was also vitally concerned with the application by the teachers of the subject matter procedure or the class method. Those who supported the subject procedure thought that if a pupil were placed in the care of a teacher who did not possess a knowledge of the Hungarian language, he would remain with the teacher only for the duration of the subject. But if the class procedure were followed, the student would be compelled to remain with that teacher throughout the day. In spite of this logical reasoning, the majority adopted the class procedure -- only in case of emergency should the subject procedure be applied. ¹¹

The conference assured educational progress in the following matters:

1. The Hungarian language became the official organ of the school.
2. Advancement was made in the attempt to establish a uniform curriculum.
3. It introduced textbooks expressing the Jewish spirit.

4. An increase in school attendance was attained between 1859-62. (Rabbi Meisel * appealed to the Jewish parents in 1858 not to send their children to missionary schools which at that time had reached 1,000. By the influence of the conference, it was reduced to 400.)

5. It was the first Hungarian attempt to materialize Henrik Deutsch's ideal -- the establishment of a Jewish middle school.

The Hungarianization and Nationalization Spirit are Emphasized.

The establishment of the middle school induced great interest among Hungarian Jews in furthering Jewish education. The Hungarian press dealt with this question emphasizing the fact that Jewry was supporting the project of establishing a gymnasium -- "A Jewish gymnasium

* Benjamin Wolf Alvis Zeeb Meisel, rabbi and author, born in Janowitz, Bohemia in 1815; died in Budapest in 1867. Following his early talmudic education in Bohemia, he studied at a gymnasium in Hamburg and at the Universities of Berlin and Breslau, continuing also the study of the Talmud. In 1843, he was called to the rabbinate of Stettin and in 1859 accepted the rabbinic post in Pest, Hungary. In his periodical, "Hakarmel", he tried to bridge a gap between the Conservatives and the Progressives. He could not avoid being bitterly denounced as a reformer. In Pest he founded a Talmud Torah where Alexander Kohut, the author of "Aruch Hashulhon" was among his pupils. He was an excellent speaker. His outstanding works were: "Homilien über die Sprüche der Vater" which was published in Stettin in 1851 and in Hungarian in 1862; "The Life History and Activities of Hartwig Naphtali Wesselys" in 1841; and, the dictionary to the Five Books of Moses in 1860. Zs L. p. 585. (T.I.)

is being planned in Pest." ¹² One of the popular daily newspapers remarked: "In Pest the Jews are supporting the establishment of a Jewish gymnasium. We hope that it will be conducted in the Hungarian language." ¹³

This last remark was a painful experience for the Jewish Hungarian Society because the very same paper in 1860, had stated that the Jewish community of Pest had ordained that the Hungarian language be used as the chief tongue in both the school and synagogue. ¹⁴ The remark made by the press was especially distasteful to the Society as its directors had classified the achievement of the Jewish schools of Pest by the degree to which they had acquired facility in or fluency of the Hungarian language.

In 1862, five public and eight private Jewish schools functioned in Pest. The progress reports of these schools disclosed the following: In the congregational boys' school of Pest the student used the Hungarian language in conversation as well as in the explanations of other subject matter such as Hebrew grammar, geography, etc. In the congregational girls' schools the students spoke excellent Hungarian, sang Hungarian songs, and recited Hungarian poetry. The examining officer expressed hope that the Hebrew students would make the Hungarian language universal in their daily life. ¹⁵

It should also be known that in one of its programs in 1861, the Hungarian Society pointedly indicated a Hungarianization project when, during a synagogue service, it sang Hungarian liturgical music, composed by Adolph Tatay * and chanted by Cantor M. Friedman.

As in the secularization of the schools so in the Hungarianization movement, the chief purpose was to bring Hungarian Jewry close to the Hungarian people by means of education. Through environmental adjustment, they hoped to acquire the right of equal citizenship, but in the breaking down of the barriers of segregation, they weakened the foundation of tradition.

The writers of the Hungarian Society, in emphasizing the Hungarianization and nationalization spirit, often came in conflict with passages in the prayer book, such as those dealing with the restoration of Zion. Many of these writers felt that these passages were contradictory to the Hungarian national spirit. There was a goodly num-

* Adolf Tatay, physician, born in Tata in 1840 and died in Budapest. After completing his medical studies in the University of Pest, he established his medical practice in Obuda, where he distinguished himself as a medical officer by promoting the health conditions of the city. In addition to the general services he rendered to the over-all community of Obuda, he also took an active part in the Hungarianization attempt in his Jewish community. With his help, Obuda established the Jewish Polgari school (equivalent to our high school). In view of his faithful services, the government endowed upon him the title of "Király Tanácsos" (royal commissioner). Zs L p. 885.

number who justified these passages for they felt it was possible for the children of Israel to express hope for the restoration of Zion and still be loyal citizens of Hungary. Among those who advocated such a belief was Joseph Natonek, * rabbi of Jozsbereny. In his writings he explained that love of Zion was not in conflict with the Hungarian national spirit. 16

The attempt of the Hungarianization of the sixties, as related in the previous chapters, hastened assimilation -- especially in the domain of the schools. Because of this, an antipathetic feeling developed toward the model school among Hungarian Jewry. Since this school

* Joseph Natonek, rabbi, born in Komlod in 1813; died in Bator on November 25, 1892. Before attending the Yeshiva of the Hatam Sofer, from where he was ordained, he studied in Zágráb and Nikolsburg. After the completion of his rabbinic studies, his first position was in Nagysurany as school director and later became rabbi in Jozsbereny where he had the opportunity to distinguish himself by his Hungarian oratorical ability when Emperor Francis Joseph visited the city in August, 1857. On that occasion, he addressed him in Hungarian. A few years later, he accepted the rabbinic post of Székesfehérvár where he advanced the cultural status of his congregation. In 1867, he resigned from this position for he had an ardent desire to advance the rehabilitation of the restoration of Zion in Palestine. In order to attain his objective, he appealed to the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris and Sir Francis Abraham Montefiore in London to establish, "Yishub Eretz Israel". In this work, he was a forerunner of Dr. Herzl's Zionist movement. In his memorandum he expressed hope for the colonization plan but his idealistic endeavor was interrupted by his sickness and the outbreak of war in Crete. During his last days he was afflicted with consumption and spent his remaining days in Pest. ZS L p. 639-40.

was maintained by the Jewish school fund, the Jews felt that Jewry should have supervision over it.

The Conference of Pest in Behalf of the School Fund and the Establishment of a Rabbinical Seminary

The development of Jewish education in Hungary as in other countries began with the development of the higher school.¹⁷ From primary sources, we have ample reason to state that in order to have adequately functioning elementary and middle schools we had to have qualified teachers and rabbis. They are indispensable in order to rear a generation of cultured Jewry. The primary objective of the Jewish leadership in Hungary was to first develop its higher schools of learning. As we have seen in previous chapters, the teacher's training school had to precede the rabbinical seminary. This, however, did not mean that the later was not essential, neither did it mean that there was no need for cultured rabbis. The root of all the disappointment, however, lay in the absence of a rabbinical school where qualified rabbis would receive their education so that they in turn could direct the educational progress of the Jewish school in Hungary.

In view of this, it was essential that a representative body of Hungarian Jews be assembled as soon as possible. To the progressive Jews in Hungary, this gathering served as a vital means of solving the pressing

Jewish problem. For this reason Dr. Ignac Hirschler * president of the Jewish congregation of Pest appealed to the court chancellor, Grof-Antal Forgách on August, 1862, to convoke the representatives of the Jewish congregation in Hungary for the consideration, among many other questions -- the allocation of school fund, and especially of the establishment of a Jewish seminary. 18

As a result of this request, the government in 1864, invited a gathering in Buda consisting of nine lay and four rabbinic leaders to confer on the allocation of the school fund, and especially on the establishment of a rabbinical school. Strangely enough, among the invited delegates no leading figures of the rabbinical seminaries had been invited although the rabbinic seminary was the chief subject on the agenda. 19

*Ignac Hirschler, professor of medicine and a member of the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament, born in Pozsony (Pressburg) in 1823 and died November 11, 1891. After completing his medical studies in both the University of Pest and the University of Vienna, he spent several years as a surgical assistant in Paris. In 1850 he returned to Pest where he became one of the foremost aphtolmologist. Due to his distinction in the medical profession, he was elected president of the Royal Medical Association and in 1869 became a member of the Hungarian Educational Academy and with the beginning of 1885, a member of the Upper House in the Hungarian Parliament. His contributions toward the advancement of the cultural status of the Hungarian Jew -- the Hungarianization and nationalization of his people deserves special mention. He was presiding officer at the National Jewish Congress in 1868-69; later became president of the Jewish congregation of Pest. His chief contribution however, was in the medical field where he was an outstanding aphtolmologist. Zs L p. 366. (S.R.)

On March 30, 1864, the assembled delegates of the conference convened under the leadership of the vice-regent, Heuber Zsigmond, and a secretary appointed by Jozsef Eotvos, the minister of religion, who compiled the minutes of the meetings which lasted for three days. The vice-regent accepted, with some modification, the proposed memorandum of Rabbis Jacob Steinhardt of Arad, Samuel Lob Brill * of

* Samuel Lob Brill, son of Rabbi Azriel Brill. He was born in Pest on Yom Kippur Eve, 1814; died April 8, 1897. Before attending the Yeshiva of Moses Perls in Kismartin, he completed the six classes of the gymnasium in the Evangelic Gymnasium of Pest. At the age of 19, he studied at the Yeshiva of Hatam Sofer where he distinguished himself by his scholarly ability yet was looked down upon because of his interest in secular studies. This condition compelled him to sever his affiliations with the Yeshiva and accept a tutoring position with the Pappenheim family in Pressburg, which made it possible for him to continue his studies and perfect himself in Hebrew, Latin and Greek literature. After spending four years in the prominent Pappenheim family, he transferred his studies to Prague where he attended the philosophical faculty and also continued his rabbinical studies with the help of Rabbi Samuel Kauders, rabbi of Prague. After completing his studies, he went to Pest where he assisted his father in his rabbinic duties and after his father's death in 1853, succeeded him in his post. At the Congress of 1868-69, he expressed his views in favor of the moderate progressives. In 1874, he became president of the Rabbinic Association of Pest. He was also appointed by the government to take part in the preliminaries of the National Seminary and also at its opening in 1877, where for a decade he served as professor of Talmud. It was a great loss to general Jewish scholars that Rabbi Brill refrained from putting his studies in writing -- that his 50 years of faithful service was not handed down to posterity. He occupied a dignified position throughout his life. At his death his entire library was transferred to the National Seminary of Pest. He died in the very same house in which he was born, in Kiraly utza, at the age of 82. His life history was written up by Rabbi Lajos Blau.

Zs L. p. 139 (G.Zs.)

Pest, Markus Hirsch * of Obuda, and Abraham Hochmuth of
Vesprem. 20

In this memorandum, a plan for the establishment of a rabbinical seminary was given. This school should be erected in some suburban area and should function as a religious as well as a general educational institution. The seminary should have two courses of study -- one of five years and the other of three. In the five-year course, the student should be required to complete the prescribed studies of the gymnasium plus the entire Scripture in Hebrew, the Talmud, and Jewish history. In the three-year course, the curriculum should consist of subjects such as Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic languages, Talmud, liturgy, Midrash, Jewish history, religious philosophy, ethics, pedagogy, catechism, and homiletics. After the completion

* Markus Hirsch, chief rabbi of Hamburg, Germany; born in Tiszabo, Hungary in 1833; died in Hamburg, 1909. From 1861 to 1880, he occupied the rabbinic post in Obuda (Alt-Ofen), Hungary, where he conducted a large Yeshiva. Hirsch was held in high esteem by the Hungarian government wherefore they appointed him as an associate to render opinion concerning the formation of the National Seminary. He was also commissioned by the government to arbitrate communal strife which had broken out in upper Hungary when the Orthodox Jews agitated against proposed reforms in Jewish practice. His opinions with reference to this dispute was published in Hebrew, German and Hungarian under the title, "Dibre Shalom Veemeth" (Words of Peace and Truth). At the Congress of the Hungarian Jews in 1868-69, Hirsch was a leader of the "status quo" or the middle party. From 1880 till 1889, he was rabbi in Prague and in 1890 he occupied the post of the Jewish community of Hamburg where he served till his death. UJE, Vol.5, p. 375.

of the seminary, the candidates could enroll in the university to enrich their secular knowledge -- this, however, was not compulsory. The language of instruction in the seminary was to be Hungarian and German.

"Das Elaborat der Rabbiner-Commission, Arad. 1864..."

This proposal stated that the seminary which was to be erected should not deprive any rabbi of his prerogative of maintaining a Yeshiva of his own or of issuing a rabbinic qualification certificate -- Hattara. ²¹ This Elaborat emphasized the idea that without the rabbinical seminary and educated rabbis, the congregational and the educational problem could not be solved. ²²

The Conservatives Opposed the Idea of a Rabbinical Seminary

The leaders of the Conservative movement did not favor this development. Therefore, before the conference was called together in Obuda, they gathered in Satoraljaújhely and later in Nyíregyháza. At the Satoraljaújhely conference, the following rabbis took part: Meir Perls * of

* Meir Perls, son of Isaac Moses Perls (1811-1893); a worthy successor to a scholarly father. In 1834 he became rabbi of Nagy Károly. At the Nyíregyháza Conference of March 15, 1864, he took an active part in formulating and drafting the petition for the Conservatives. He was also present at the National Conference in 1868-69, representing the community of Nagy Károly but did not express his views for he was leaning to the "status quo" (middle party). Due to this factor there was a split in his congregation. In 1877, at the opening of the National Seminary, he was requested to accept the chair of Talmud but refused. Zs L. p.696.

Nagy Károly, Menachem Eisenstadt * of Ungvár, Hillel
Lichtenstein (Reb Hillel) ** of Sziks, Aron Landesberg ***
of Nagyvárad, and Joachim Schreiber of Szentpéter. They

* Menachem Eisenstadt, son of Mayer Eisenstadt. His first position was in Chust where he conducted a rabbinic school. After his father's death, he took the position in Ungvár. Like his father, he opposed secular education and when the Conservatives convened to formulate the petition to be sent to the Vice-regent of Budapest and the Royal Chancellor at Vienna, he expressed strong opposition against the seminary. From the time they convened in Nyiregyháza, on March 15, 1864, until April 8, 1864, he had gathered about 100 signatures from rabbinic authorities confirming the opposition to the seminary. He upheld this opinion at the National Conference in 1868.

Zs L p. 217. (S.R.)

** Hillel Lichtenstein (Reb Hillel), born in Vecs in 1815; died in Kolomea, Galicia, November 18, 1891. He was one of the distinguished students of the Hatam Sofer and occupied the rabbinic position in Siksz during the conflict between the Conservatives and the Progressives. He was greatly annoyed at the National Conference of 1868-69, where he was the leader of the extreme Orthodox group -- opposing with fanatic enthusiasm every possible endeavor that would lead to secular education. He was one of the extreme opposers of the formation of the rabbinic seminary of Pest. His rigidity surpassed all the Orthodox rabbis of Hungary. His literary contributions were in Hebrew and Yiddish, "Maskil El Dol" and "Ais Laasot". Zs L p. 534 (S.R.)

*** Aron Landesberg. In 1853 he was elected as chief rabbi of the congregation of Nagyvárad and at the Nyiregyháza conference in March 15, 1864, he helped in formulating the petition that was sent to the Royal Chancellor of the Emperor in Vienna. He was also a representative at the National Jewish Congress of 1868-69. Through his influence, the government granted the community of Nagyvárad permission to conduct a Jewish school in which many students attended. He served his congregation for twenty-six years, till his death in 1879. Zs L p. 522. (S.R.)

had very little hope that the vice-regent of Obuda would support their cause as he leaned toward the Progressives. Consequently, they sent a delegation consisting of seven members to the Court Chancellor, presenting a petition signed by about 100 rabbis in which they implored the kind-hearted Emperor, Francis Joseph, to recognize this just claim of Orthodox Jewry who were in the majority in the country. After considering this petition, the Court Chancellor advised the vice-regent of Obuda to remove, at least for the present, the seminary question from the agenda. ²³

Progress of the Lower Real School.

While the battle raged between the Conservatives and the Progressives, progress could be detected in the development of the Lower Real School of Nagy Kanizsa, Vágújhely, and the teachers' college of Pest which had showed signs of improvement during the '50's and rapid progress in the '60's.

The Real School of Nagy Kanizsa.

The elementary school of Nagy Kanizsa had been formed in 1832. This school had gradually advanced from a lower to a high status. This growth can be ascribed to the able leadership of Lipot Löw who had become the spiritual leader of the community on February 23, 1841. ²⁴ In 1857, the elementary boys' school had been increased

by two additional classes of the lower technical preparatory school.

At the end of the school year, the Jewish community appealed to the vice-regent for governmental recognition and for permission to issue certified school credentials. The vice-regent refused such rights because of many short-comings in the school. He did not approve of the unequalized tuition fee -- 40 Krojcar to 2 Florin per month (from 25¢ to \$1.00 per month). For three years he kept the community in suspense and not until December 31, 1860, after the appearance of the October Diploma, did he accept the official status of the school. ²⁵

After this, the community made attempts to develop its curriculum by adding music and art as required subjects, which previously had been considered mere electives. In 1865, the vice-regent was informed by the district governor that the Real School was operating without a permit; whereupon the congregation justified itself by explaining that since the Real School was a continuation of the elementary school, they had felt that there was no need for a special permit. The vice-regent further objected to the teachers teaching in both schools; he felt that one or the other of the departments would suffer. In order to remedy this, the leadership of the congregation instituted a two-class Real School to meet

the commercial demands of the time; and in 1866, the vice-regent gave the school its commercial status. The Real school began its functioning in such capacity in 1867. ²⁶

The Real School of Vagujhely

From the Memorial Issue of the 50th anniversary of the government subsidized Real school of the Jewish community of Vagujhely, we learn that in 1855 the Jewish community expanded its high elementary school of four classes by adding an additional class which converted it into a Lower Real school. ²⁷ The addition of one class, however, did not satisfy the need of the community, therefore, the members asked the community to reorganize it.

As a result of this request, a separate Real school was established in 1862 which was duly recognized by the vice-regent and placed under the directorship of Rabbi Joseph Weisse * when a new "Letter of Foundation" was given to the community. ²⁸

* Joseph Weisse, rabbi, born in Plumenau, Moravia, November 23, 1812; died in Vagujhely in 1904. In 1855, he became rabbi of the city and in the same year he reorganized the community school in which students of the higher class were offered courses usually prescribed in the curriculum of the Lower Real school. He established Junior Congregational Services which he conducted throughout his life. Among his literary contributions are: "Über den Wahren Verfasser und seine Zeit" (Prague, 1841); "Biographische Einleitung zu Bechinath Olam" (Vienna, 1847); "Die Bücher der Könige mit deutscher Übersetzung und hebraischen Commentar". Zs L p. 959.

As a result of the Hungarianization endeavor, classes were required to be conducted in Hungarian. Foreign-born teachers put forth great effort to learn the language as soon as possible in order to meet the specified requirements; but during the first year, necessity compelled them to use German. Beginning with 1865, the Real school was officially recognized and having made such great strides was highly praised by the higher educational department of Jozsef Barton, Director of Schools.

In the course of time, the number of students who attended middle school increased; this was in keeping with the economic and material progress of the country. Economics and education are two inseparable factors. With the increase of material prospects in the '60's, it was natural that people's thoughts were directed toward middle schools. The following statistics of the year 1860-61 emphasized the percentage of Jewish youth who shared in cultural advancement of the schools of Pest. In the Evangelical gymnasium, 73 of the 158 students were Jews while in the Real school of the city of Pest, 108 of the 463 students were Jews.²⁹ Since Jewish parents were concerned about their children's religious education, they had to provide means by which students in the middle school received ample knowledge of Hebrew and religion. To meet this request, Talmud Torah schools were instituted whose

educational progress was parallel with the curriculum of the gymnasium. In the next chapter, we shall deal with the coordination of the Talmud Torah and the middle schools and what effect this had upon the general development of Jewish education.

The Jewish Teachers' Institute.

In the early '60's, few momentous events occurred that deserved recording in the Jewish teachers' college. In the administrative department, two changes that took place should be mentioned. One was that of governmental or state, and the other, of community concern. In 1866, the government removed the college from the educational supervision of the city and placed it under the supervision of the district. This change was detrimental to the educational advancement of the institution, as the district supervisor's time was limited and he could not render the service that the city supervisor had given them. This resulted in a general deficiency. ³⁰

Although the change relevant to community concern was of a later date, it should be mentioned here. In the beginning of 1868, Jozsef Eotvos, Minister of Religion and Education, removed the Jewish schools from Catholic supervision and organized a Jewish superintendency. He appointed, as the Jewish supervisor of the schools, the director of the elementary schools of Pest.

This initial honor was given to Dr. Samuel Kohn,*
 rabbi and lecturer of Pest. Dr. Kohn had taken an important interest in the cultural development of Hungarian Jewry. In 1866, when he became rabbi of Pest, he was the first to deliver Hungarian sermons in the synagogue. When Eötvös appointed him to be director of the Jewish schools of Pest, Dr. Kohn spared no time in advancing Jewish and general education. Although he held that appointment for only two years, his concern for cultural advancement continued throughout his life, and his contributions to the progress of Jewish education were many. He was an instructor in the Jewish Teachers' College and in the higher classes of the city schools where he taught such subjects as Talmud and homiletics. He rendered invaluable service to the Seminary by preparing its educational program and took much pride in the formation of a

* Samuel Kohn, chief rabbi, born in Baja on September 21, 1841. He was the grandson of Götz Schwerin, rabbi of Baja. Before attending the Seminary and University of Breslau, he studied in the Yeshiva of Kismarton. He was ordained in 1865 and also received his Ph.D. degree from the University. In 1866, he became rabbi of Pest. At the National Jewish Congress in 1868-69, he belonged to the Moderate Progressive Party. From 1899 to 1905, he lectured in homiletics at the Jewish Seminary of Pest, applying every possible means in his command to advance the cultural status of his people. Among his literary contributions is, "Zsidok Története Magyarországon" (Hungarian Jewish History), the first volume of which appeared in 1884. He devoted a great deal of time to the Samaritan language and literature. The King bestowed upon him the title of Court Chancellor. His life history was written in the Hungarian Jewish Revue of 1920. Zs L p. 494-95. (F.D.)

Jewish gymnasium where he worked with great results. Realizing the need for the establishment of a teachers' society, he became its first president and in 1889, was made honorary president. ³¹

Jewish Teachers' Society Organized in 1866.

Although the Jewish Teachers' Society was organized in 1866, Henrik Buxbaum had emphasized the need for this society in 1859. Rabbi Meizel, chief rabbi of Pest, issued a call to congregations and teachers of the country to organize such societies, as it was urgent that Jewry provide for aged teachers, widows, and orphans. He pointed out in his call, "The Jewish communities think little of their teachers' material and moral status; above all, we cannot add a number of communities who look upon the teacher's deplorable condition with pity, a condition that does not warrant admiration." ³² Rabbi Meizel's ideas were similar to Buxbaum's but less organizational in nature. In previous years, the thoughts concerning the organization were directed toward awakening interest among the members of the profession, describing the aims and purposes, and determining the destination and sphere of activity of the organization. In the circular letter of Dr. Meizel, the pedagogical purposes were also emphasized. "We hope", stated the circular, "that Hungarian communities realize the magnitude of this

organization. It is of utmost importance to promote culture and to advance the security and respect of our teachers." 33

The organization's aims and purposes became even more evident when its by-laws were accepted by the Minister of the Interior. The organization widened its sphere and became not only self-sufficient but also a vital organ for education. During its entire existence, from 1866 to 1944, its aim was to advance Hebrew language and other religious subjects as well as pedagogical theory. 34 On September 27, 1866, the Society observed the inauguration of its founding. At this gathering, measures were discussed to promote its ideals. Dr. Meizel, chief rabbi, became president; its vice-president was Abraham Lederer, * who

* Abraham Lederer, author of pedagogic literature; born in Libochovitz, Czechoslovakia, January 9, 1827; died in Budapest, September 17, 1916. He studied in the Real School of Prague and also received his teacher's training in the Institute of Prague. In 1855, he became a teacher in the Jewish Community School of Tata where he successfully re-organized the school which induced the vice-regent of Pest in 1857, to appoint him with the organization and direction of the Model School. In 1859, when the National Jewish Teachers Institute was added to the Model School, Lederer became professor of Natural History and director of the Institute. From 1868, he served only the Teachers Institute. With his pedagogic qualifications and patriotic feeling, he raised the Jewish school to a high level. In 1867, with the aid of the Jewish teachers of the country, he organized the National Jewish Teachers Society and became its vice-president. His literary achievements were: "Heimatskunde Ungarns" (Pest, 1859); "Erziehungslehre" (Pest, 1865); His Hungarian works: "Az oktatás módszere" (Methodology) in 1884; "A XX. század módszere" (The 20th Century Educational Methods). Zs L. p. 525. (M.B.)

served untiringly to organize this Society.

The Agreement Between Austria and Hungary and Its Effect
on Jewish Education.

In the '60's, a political crisis arose which had a definite effect on the Jewish question in Hungarian political life. Since the solution of the Jewish question of emancipation was so necessary to the advancement of the Jewish school, it is important to understand the political events that led to the Emancipation and the ultimate effects it had on Jewish education. Due to this political development, Emperor Frances Joseph sought means to bring about an agreement between Austria and Hungary. This agreement was enhanced by the Austro-Prussian War and the influence of Ferenc Deák's Easter Article.

On April 16, 1865, in the "Pesti Naple", Ference Deák's Easter Article became the corner stone leading toward agreement. The Emperor came to Pest on December 14, 1865 under the sponsorship of Gyorgy Majláth and recalled the General Assembly. Although the Jews had little faith in this government, as it consisted of members primarily from conservative aristocracy, nevertheless, they looked forward with hope to the good intentions of Ference Deák and Joseph Eötvös who were of a liberal attitude. Because of these developments, the Jews did not press the issue but left

the entire matter to Providence. ³⁵ Deak's party which represented two-thirds of the vote in the Assembly, decided that the chief objective of the General Assembly would be to solve the equality question -- the "Ausgleich". This agreement would place Hungarian government on equal footing with the Austrian government. Through this equality the Jewish question, of which the progress of the schools was an integral part, would also adjust itself. The Emperor, after arriving at Pest on December 18, received a delegation of the Jewish community and expressed the hope that the Jewish question would soon be solved.

The General Assembly that had opened on December 14, consisted of two houses: the Lower House of Representatives and the Upper House of Nobles. The slogan adopted by the House of Representatives was "Equal rights for all religions and citizens". The Upper House, however, did not specify its platform. In debating their differences they finally agreed that the Hungarian government should give the Jews their rights on the basis of "Emancipation" -- a law that would give the Jews equal citizenship rights but would not determine their religious status. ³⁶

In the meantime, the Austro-Prussian War broke out and necessitated a hastening of an Austrian agreement with Hungary. In the very same year, on November 17, the

Assembly was recalled, and the Independent Hungarian Ministerium was appointed with Andrassy Gyula, President, and Eotvos, Minister of Religion and Education. The Jewish community gave praise to God for the re-establishment of a free and independent government. The Pest congregation sent greetings by means of a delegation to the newly elected officers. This representation was accepted on March 3, by the president who expressed his appreciation to the members of the committee in the name of the government and promised that the government would do its utmost for Jewish rights, a matter to be acted upon.

To advance unification, the circular, "Die Juden Frage im Ungarischen Reichstag Pest 1866", was issued. Its keynote was that although political events had greatly enhanced the equalization of the Jews with the Christians, the Jews must emancipate themselves.³⁷ In the entire movement, lack of unanimity among the Jews was quite noticeable. Help and salvation from outside could be expected only after they were internally unified. To further the unification of the Hungarian Jew, the Jewish Congress was convoked. Its mission was to organize their congregational life and school systems. The House of Representatives was reopened on May 12, 1866. Among the commissioners were Baron Eotvos, Tisza Kalman, Graf Szecheny

Bela, and others.

In the meantime, on June 8, the Festival of Coronation took place which quieted all political demands. The Jewish community observed this festive occasion in all synagogues. They offered special prayers for Emperor Ferenc Jozsef -- prayers that later were incorporated in all Siddurim throughout the country.

At the November 25 meeting, Graf Gyula Andrassy, President, proposed the following amendments:

1. Jewish population shall have equal political and social rights with the Christians.
2. All other laws or customs that opposed this shall be nullified.

The representatives greatly applauded these proposals. Although these proposals did not deal with religious rights, they emphasized the necessity of giving equal rights to the Jewish population along with the Christian population. That was considered a great Jewish victory. ³⁸

Tisza Kálmán, the appointed speaker of the House, on December 20, 1867, proposed the adoption of this bill. Since the House unanimously accepted it, it went on to the Upper House on December 23. Among the sixty-eight members of the Upper House, sixty-four voted for its adoption and only four were against it. It was almost a unanimous agreement. On December 28, 1867, the bill was received by

the Emperor for signature and so became a law under the title 1867 XVII. The Minister of the Interior informed all branches of the government of this law and it became incorporated with the other statutes.

On January 5, 1868, the congregation of Pest sent out circulars to all Jewish communities throughout the country informing them of this joyous event. Since the dispatching of this circular happened to coincide with the festival of Channukah, the topic sentence bore the title, "The Maccabean Victory and Political Freedom". This festival was observed throughout the country with a two-fold objective -- thanking God for miracles occurring in days of yore and the deliverance of the Jews in the present. 39

On January 12, in a synagogue oration, Dr. Samuel Kohn emphasized that the Jews had received citizenship rights by almost unanimous consent. "This magnanimous spirit should inspire Jewry to work together in eliminating obstacles in congregational and educational agreement. Independent political equality, and cultural progress -- both secular and religious -- are inseparable."

Hungary provided the Jews with this opportunity. From this point onward, it was up to the Jews to effect a logical solution in the Hungarian Jewish Congress which was called together for that purpose. 40

CHAPTER IV

The Hungarian Jewish Congress -- its Effect on Jewish Education; Changes in the Middle School and in the Jewish Teachers' Institute; Formation of the National Rabbinic Seminary and the Polgari School.

Out of the agreement formed between Austria and Hungary in 1868, many laws developed. The laws that concern us most are those dealing with education, especially those with reference to Jewish education. It is within reason to assume that the peace between the Emperor and the Hungarian people brought about favorable conditions leading toward economic and cultural progress for all concerned. If a large scale agricultural, industrial, and commercial development were to be secured, it was essential that the general laboring class be given an opportunity to acquire an education, at least elementary school level. Although it is not often the case, cultural advancement should be a concomitant to economic progress. It is important to provide those who are instrumental in building our economy with cultural opportunities as the acquisition of culture breeds an enlightened people imbued with the ideals and attitudes that are necessary to educational progress.

The educational status of Hungary, at the time of the agreement, was considered low. The number of school age children was 2,284,741. Of this number, only 1,152,115 received any type of general education. Even this low per-

centage, which was about fifty percent, was due to the effort of Jozsef Eötvös, Minister of Education and Religion, in 1867. Eötvös had been minister in that capacity before 1848; but because of the downfall of the War for Hungarian Independence, he had been replaced by Boch's administration that forced Germanization upon the Hungarian people. Later, Schmerling relieved the Hungarian public from being forced to attend the German schools but did not provide them an opportunity to attend Hungarian schools. It was not until 1868, when Eötvös again took over the educational leadership, that public education changed in Hungary. ¹

The 1868 General Educational Law.

The 1868 XXXVIII statute of the law, pertaining to public education, prescribed that the state, religious denominations, organizations and private individuals were permitted to conduct schools. But, all communities were obligated to maintain an elementary form of education. In all public schools the following subjects were to be taught: religion, ethics, reading, writing, mathematics (written and oral), grammar, speech and content, geography, natural history, physical science (elements), agriculture, political science (rights and obligations), geometry, drawing (art, music, gymnastics, and home economics.

Denominations were privileged to work out their

own curriculum within the framework of the law but could not deviate from the basic requirement set forth by the government. In the state, community, and private schools, as among the religious denominational schools of the Jews, only those textbooks that were authorized by the Minister of Religion and Education could be used. The textbooks for the Christian denominational schools were determined by the head of the church.

The supervision of the elementary, higher elementary, and polgari schools was under the direction of the superintendent of the schools. The higher schools were supervised by the Royal Inspector of Education. The law placed the teachers' institute under the supervision of the Council of School Inspectors and the Royal Inspector of Education. The law of 1876 which gave the denominational schools a more specific ruling required that religious denominational schools be supervised by the Board of Religious Educational Council and the Inspector of Schools. The director of all these schools was the Minister of Religion and Public Education. ²

By law, the elementary, higher elementary, middle school, and teachers' institute were all classified as public schools. The middle school was included in this category for it had developed as a continuation of the fourth class of the elementary school. The polgari or middle school

for boys had six classes; while those for girls consisted of four classes. The two upper classes for the boys gradually disappeared. ³ The law prescribed the following subjects for the middle school: religion, ethics, language (mother tongue), German (added in the third class), mathematics, geometry, geography, history, natural history, physical science, chemistry, agriculture, statistics, commerce, laws pertaining to bookkeeping -- bank notes, art, music, penmanship. ⁴

The law which dealt with the teachers' colleges, as it did with all the other schools, required that every religious denomination maintain a teachers' college in conjunction with its practice teaching school. If, after three warnings, the denominational schools did not meet this requirement, the government would have the right to establish a community school. ⁵

Before the commission of education presented the educational bill before the House for discussion, Samuel Kohn, chief rabbi of Pest and school director, Henrik Deutsch, director of the teachers' college, and two lay representatives of Pest, came before the committee in behalf of the Jewish community. In the presence of Jozsef Eötvös, Dr. Kohn requested that in the city schools there should not prevail a spirit that would conflict with religion. The community school should be non-sectarian.

The denominational school should be given the right to collect tuition fees. Students attending the city schools should be given time on the Sabbath to attend religious services at the synagogue. Jewish children should study only such subjects on the Sabbath that does not require writing and drawing or calculations -- subjects that do not violate their religious practices. The hours assigned for religious education in the higher Jewish schools should be more than those given to other denominations, as Jewish children had to study Hebrew as well as religion.⁶ Among the requests of Dr. Kohn, only the one pertaining to the tuition fee was agreed upon -- the denominational schools continued in the previous manner.⁷ That the children be relieved from writing on the Sabbath was to some degree granted but with great difficulty.

Hungarian Jewry remembered with gratitude Jozsef Eötvös for his liberalism and his efforts in winning equal rights for the Jews. In 1840 he had written his famous circular exalting Jewish endeavor and requesting that they be emancipated. His last endeavor was to call together the Jewish Congress in order to bring about the autonomy of the Jewish people. According to him, the state had no jurisdiction over their religion and he maintained that the state and religion should be independent of one another.⁸

The Progressives Attempt to Have a Jewish Congress Called.

Progressive Jewry, after the emancipation of 1867, realized the necessity of establishing Hungarian Jewish autonomy, the right to supervise its internal religious and cultural development -- a prerogative the Christian denomination was enjoying in Hungary. In order to bring about such a privileged state, it was essential that a general assembly of representative Jewry be called. The right to call such a body together only the minister of religion could exercise. In the early part of 1867, the Jews of Pest presented a memorandum to Jozsef Eötvös to assist them in this enterprise. They expressed the hope that by calling together the congress, they would be given an opportunity to work out their religious and cultural organizational laws in relation to rabbis, teachers, and other officials of the community. This right would guarantee Jews religious self-government, independent of the state. By this, they hoped to establish not only equal citizenship but also equality of religion. ⁹

The leaders of the Conservatives looked upon this move of the Progressives with suspicion and distrust. Taking a firm stand, they presented to the minister of religion a counter-memorandum that stated, "While we do not have any objection to the calling together of the congress, nevertheless, we wish to be informed about the following: Under

what condition can the Congress be assembled? What kind of questions can come before the assembly of the Congress and what sort of a majority will be necessary to pass on its by-laws?" From these questions we can assume that the Conservatives preferred that the Congress not be called together for they had no desire to have any dealings with "the new Religionists".

The Conservatives Organized the "Shomere Ha-Dat" in Protest.

At the time the Conservatives issued the counter-memorandum, they also organized the "Shomere Ha-Dat" -- Preservers of the Faith. In this organization they hoped to bring together a great number of individuals who would fight against the Progressives. Eötvös did not accept the laws of the "Shomere Ha-Dat", basing his objection on the fact that any autonomy must be supervised by a mutual consent of lay and professional authorities. The "Shomere Ha-Dat" was solely under rabbinic supervision. Although the by-laws did not receive immediate governmental acceptance (they were recognized by Eötvös' successor), nevertheless, the Conservatives continued this conflict. The members of the "Shomere Ha-Dat" voiced their opinions throughout the country emphasizing their fear that the innovators of the law, those who were not concerned with Jewish tradition, were breaking down all that the Jews had preserved with great difficulty throughout the century. 10

If we are to understand the status of Hungarian Jewry at the time of the agreement of 1868, we should bear in mind the closely interrelated development that reached its culmination with the agreement. Political emancipation resulted in religious separation -- a complex paradox in the life of Hungarian Jewry. The Hungarian Jewry had struggled for their citizenship rights, the right of emancipation. So that it might obtain this objective, Jewry united its forces to help Kossuth, leader of the liberal movement, in his attempt for Hungarian independence. However, though the Jews did receive the right of citizenship that they had long sought, they did not their religious rights, which was a discrimination against them.

Eotvos Called Together a Jewish Congress.

Then Eotvos, who had fought for the rights of Jewry, realized the complex predicament that had befallen them. He had tried to help them by calling together the Jewish Congress. He had hoped that the Jews would work out their religious and educational progress independently of the State. What Eotvos failed to realize was that during the struggle for independence a cleavage had developed between the two religious parties -- the Conservatives and the Progressives. At the time of the emancipation, the gap between them had widened to the degree that it had reached a breaking point. In fact, the emancipation was

one of the factors that had led to the separation. As it has been stated, the Conservatives objected to the calling of the Congress; but, just as they could not stop emancipation, so were they unable to prevent the calling together of the Hungarian Congress.

On February 17, 1868, Eötvös called thirty-six lay-leaders of the Jewish community in Hungary to confer on the organization of their internal Jewish life. In this invitation, he emphasized the importance of their educational need: "The Hungarian government considers it essential that Hungarian citizens be given the opportunity to adjust their communal educational organizations -- its school endeavor -- to meet with the need of the newly organized Hungarian government in which Jewry should share with the rest of the Hungarian population".¹²

By inviting lay-leaders exclusively, Eötvös tried to emphasize that at this conference only matters pertaining to organizational procedures would be discussed; no religious question was on the agenda. In his opening remarks he expressed the objectives of the conference which were:

1. Electional regulations
2. Organizational regulations (communal)
3. School organization

At this conference, the Conservatives requested

that the government recognize the fact that the Jewish community consisted of two separate religious organizations. The minister claimed that there was but one Jewry and that the Emancipation Law spoke of but one Jewish community. The school commission presented a bill which stated that religious denominations were not to be compelled to erect middle schools, but it was essential that an ample number of Talmud Torah * schools be established to meet the need of those who enter the teacher training institutions and the rabbinic schools. They offered basic elementary Hebrew education which made it possible to train educated rabbis and teachers. In addition, the bill recommended that the Yeshivoth in existence and those to be erected in the future be recognized and that the Yeshivoth be subsidized out of the school fund which should be applied exclusively for educational purposes. When this bill had been presented, the minister considered the Congress closed. 13

A certain amount of agreement was found among the educational committee members in working out the requirements of the Teachers' Institute, but these requirements were limited to the specific question indicated in the

* Talmud Torah, as the term indicates was applied to the school that offered instruction in Torah -- Humash, Siddur, religious law, simpler Talmudic passages -- in preparing the pupil for the Yeshiva. Talmud Torah schools, in later days, became the community school in contrast to the Heder-- the school of the private teacher.

governmental bill that instead of a two-year course there would henceforth be a three-year course. In 1870-71 the Teachers' Institute opened its three-year course. Jozsef Bánoczi *, outstanding writer of philosophy and history,

* Jozsef Bánoczi, professor of Philosophy and History of Literature; born in 1849 in Szentgalon and died in 1926 in Budapest. He was a graduate of the pedagogic and philosophic department of the University of Budapest; also studied at the Universities of Vienna, Berlin, Gottingen, and Leipzig. After receiving his diploma from the University of Budapest, his first professorship was in the Real School and later with the founding of the National Rabbinic Seminary in 1877, he became its regular professor of History and Philosophy. In 1878, he also became visiting professor at the University of Budapest. In 1879, the National Literary Academy elected him corresponding member. In 1887, he became the director of the National Teachers' Institute. His literary accomplishments were in his two major fields -- philosophy and history of literature. He edited and translated G. H. Lewes' three volumes of history of philosophy from Thales to Comte and with the aid of Bernat Alexamder, translated Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason", in which the apriori ideas were developed. His most outstanding works were in the realm of the history of literature of the Hungarian people. He dealt extensively with the lives and literary activities of Miklos Révai and Károly Kisfaludy. Both were standard bearers of Hungarian culture. By this literary contribution, he set an example of pure Hungarian diction to the future teachers and rabbis. As professor of the National Rabbinic school, with the aid of Vilmos Bácher, edited the "Magyar Zsidó Szemle" (The Hungarian Jewish Revue), the first issue of which appeared in 1884; he filled this post till 1889. During this period, the Revue appeared quarterly expressing not only the scholarly opinion of matters pertaining to scholarship and religion, but discussed matters such as the Recepcio - religious autonomy of Hungarian Jewry. Bánoczi was also the founder of the IMIT -- "Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Tarsulat" (The Hungarian Jewish Literary Society). To both the Revue and the IMIT, he dedicated his scholarly opinions by his literary contributions and endeavored to advance the Hungarian language and literature. This, he expressed most emphatically when the IMIT published the Scriptures in the Hungarian language, which he had supervised - ZsL p. 84 - 85 (Sz.G.)

the president of the organization, stated, "The limited progress that has been made in the educational development of the teachers' college has been due to party strife." Whatever had been attained in the Institute at that time was due to governmental endeavor in raising the standard of the teachers' college. ¹⁴

Congressional Resolutions.

The delegates of this conference were called together to the Congress in Pest on December 14, 1868. Eotvos opened the Congress with words of wisdom and sound advice. In his hearty message he expressed the earnest hope that the Congress would attain the objectives for which it had been called together. The Congress continued to meet until February 23, 1869. During those days the organizational by-laws were established by a vote of the majority; matters regulating the school proceedings and the disbursement of the school fund were also voted on. ¹⁵

On February 20, Mor Wharmann, president of the school committee, opened the discussion of the meeting by calling upon Henrik Deutsch, representative of Pest, to report. Deutsch gave a detailed report of the prevailing school system -- elementary, middle school and teachers' colleges. He pointed out that from a general educational point of view the congregations could depend on the city to carry on their education if they were unable to maintain their own

schools, but they must maintain schools such as Talmud Torah schools for the religious education of their children.

Dr. Samuel Kohn, also a representative of Pest, submitted his lengthy presentation pertaining to the seminary to which the Progressive party responded with a great ovation. ¹⁶ Israel Hildesheimer, representative of Kismarton, took the stand for the minority group. He accepted the bill of the congregational public school and the rulings pertaining to the school fund but did not agree that the Congress should decide on the rabbinic school question. ¹⁷ After these discussions the matter was put to a vote -- nine were in favor and five opposed. Those opposed were against the rabbinic school but some were also opposed to the public school. Israel Grün, representative of Kolozsvár, dropped the seminary question -- to him it was not a matter of education but of religion. He did not accept the public school bill but added his vote for the city school. ¹⁸

Of the 220 representatives who had been elected to attend this conference only 98 were present at the voting; of these, 68 accepted, 2 opposed, and 28 abstained. Dr. Ignac Hirscher directed the detailed discussions led by the oppositional group. He tried to create order in the meeting hall and his energetic leadership always re-

assured his co-religionists that their traditional views would be respected and that the Congress would seek measures to aid the cultural advancement of Jews. He emphasized that he was a leader of the whole Congress and not of the majority group. After a few modifications, the Congress accepted the decision of the majority.¹⁹ During the discussions of the school problems, some delegates openly expressed preference to the city schools. The reason they opposed congregational schools was that they had no supervision over them. The Orthodox group abided by the law of the congregational school, favoring these laws because they wanted to supervise the religious education of their children, whereas in the city schools this was impossible.²⁰

The only professional educator at this conference was Henrik Deutsch, who protested: "The Congress is discussing educational problems and is leaving the educators at home; if you would have the teachers present, they would know how to face their educational problems from the point of view of an educator. They would say to you, 'erect teachers' institutes in the various districts of the country'." ²¹

The decisions of the Congress were presented to King Frances Joseph II on June 14, 1869, for his signature. Among the by-laws countersigned by Eotvos, the third by-law section dealt with education.

First Section - decreed the erection of public schools by the Jewish community. These schools, they felt, should be governed by the general educational laws. Every community was obligated to erect and maintain a public school and only those who were financially unable to maintain it would be relieved from this obligation.

Second Section - dealt with material provisions such as tuition fees, endowments, school tax and school funds for indigents.

Third Section - dealt with the purpose of the school. The objective of the school was that Jewish children of both sexes should be taught religion and ethics (studies for practical religious observance) in addition to the prescribed general education. In addition, the boys should study as much of the original Bible text as they could absorb.

Fourth Section - was concerned with the curriculum of the elementary school consisting of six classes. In this school the following Jewish subjects were taught: religion, ethics, Hebrew reading, Bible (original text combined with Hebrew grammar), selected passages of prayer translations, Jewish history (up to the destruction of the second temple). Beginning with the fifth class, religion was taught as a special subject. An advanced study of the Bible was also offered in which the minimum of the five

books of Moses as well as selected passages from the early prophets Joshua, Judges, and the Proverbs. The study of the Talmud was compulsory in the upper grades. The school curriculum was adjusted to meet the needs of the local community. The textbooks, as well as the method of instruction, were at the discretion of the local educational board and the practices of the community.

Fifth Section - concerned the amount of time devoted to instruction and recess

CLASS	WEEKLY HOURS
I	20-25
II - IV	26-30
V - VI	30-33

Sixth Section - stated the teachers' qualifications. Every teacher in the Jewish school was required to have a teacher's qualifying certificate or diploma, a certificate indicating religious and moral conduct, and a qualifying certificate of his religious education. In teaching, the class method should be followed, but in some cases the subject method was also accepted. This section also granted the teacher tenure. A teacher should be hired for a temporary period of one to three years. After this trial period, if the teacher was satisfactory, he was automatically to be given life tenure. He could not

be dismissed unless he was repeatedly warned of neglect in his teaching duties or laxity in his moral and religious behavior. This dismissal was up to the superior authority.

Seventh Section - defined local school supervision. Every Jewish community school belonged directly under the supervision of the local school board consisting of five members which included the rabbi and a teacher.

Eighth Section - emphasized superior school authority. Throughout the country the Jewish school was divided into twenty-six districts. In addition to the local board, schools were supervised by a superior inspector of the district.

Ninth Section - determined salary and pensions. Every certified teacher was to receive a minimum of 450 - 500 Florin (approximately \$ 250.00) per annum. From the school fund 4,000 to 5,000 Florin were to be used toward the pension fund.

Tenth Section - regulated the review of public education. The law governing public education prescribed that every student who had reached the age of twelve and was not going to continue his studies should review the required studies. In conjunction with this law of public education, the student was to follow a similar procedure

in religious education. ²²

An Important Decision of this Conference Concerned
Religious Education in the Middle School.

In the "middle school" (lower, real and gymnasium, upper real and gymnasium, polgari school, and teachers' institute) the student received the following religious education: Classes I and II of the lower real school reviewed the five books of Moses, the early prophets, Hebrew grammar, and selected passages from the Proverbs and Psalms occurring in the liturgy. Classes III and IV continued the study of the Bible, Jewish history from the destruction of the second temple to the present, religion--traditions and customs, the Proverbs and passages of the Psalms occurring in the liturgy. In the upper four classes of the gymnasium and real school, they studied part of the Nevi'im and Ketuvim with special reference to the Haftorah and a detailed study of Jewish history. In addition to the above-mentioned curriculum, the history of Jewish literature was also studied in the upper two classes as was the ethics of the Fathers. The supervision over this educational department was the educational board of the community.

The professors teaching religion in the public school should be schooled in general pedagogical, as well as religious studies. This post was to be filled by the

rabbi of the community if he were qualified and if he had the time to devote to it.

The Congress also passed an important resolution pertaining to the rabbinic seminary. It ruled that an independent rabbinical school be erected and maintained out of the Jewish school fund. This also should be a preparatory school to educate students of religion and teachers. The rabbinical school should be the center of theological study; the educational program of the school should be rooted in the Mosaic Rabbinic tradition; the Talmud and religious law be of a major concern; and the curriculum of the school as well as the entire supervision should be under the direction of seven professional authorities.

The Congress also resolved that out of the school fund the Talmud Torah school be established or at least subsidized. It was resolved further that in these schools the youth be given the opportunity to expand his Jewish studies so that this school might serve as a preparatory institute for teacher training and rabbinic study. As these Talmud Torah schools were supplementary to the middle school, their courses of study were to correspond to and run simultaneously with the general courses in the middle school. They should consist of four years -- each of two semesters. Only those students who had a basic Hebrew

knowledge and were familiar with a major part of the Humash were to be accepted. The subject matter assigned to each class follows:

- I Class: Humash, Nebi'im Rishonim -- early prophets, and Nebi'im Aharonim -- or later prophets; also selected passages from the Kethubim (Hagiographa), Ezra, Nehemiah with part of the Rashi commentary.
- II Class: Mishnah -- a collection of Hebrew literature generally known as the "Oral Law", the text upon which the Talmud comments, with Rashi commentary; Proverbs, applying Hebrew grammar, and selected passages from the Psalms.
- III Class: Talmud with Rashi and other standard commentary; Nebi'im Aharonim and Kethubim applying grammatical interpretation and explanation. This class studied extensively the Humash -- the weekly portion of the Torah which is generally known as the Sidra -- with Targum (Aramaic grammar commentary).
- IV Class: Review of the subjects of the III Class with larger range of commentary, i.e.,

the Talmud with Rashi, Tosafot, Isaac Alfasi, and other standard commentaries; Hebrew literature, oral and written work.

The Talmud instructor was not remunerated, as the Talmud was usually taught by the rabbi of the community. The supervision was jointly exercised by the members of the local school board, the professionals, and the leading educational professor of the school.

Congress also resolved that the supervision of the school fund be under the jurisdiction of the religious and educational minister until the Jewish congregations decided differently. The school fund money was to be used as follows:

- a) rabbinic school
- b) teacher training school
- c) middle schools -- religious education
professorships, Talmud Torah subsidies.
- d) country-wide Jewish teachers' pension fund.
- e) publishing of religious educational textbooks.

Any remaining funds were to be used for congregations to help defray their school expenses. A special resolution stated that the model schools of the cities of Pest, Pecs, Temesvar and Satoraljujhely be transferred to public schools and that these schools be supported by the congregations. 22 a

In conjunction with the educational resolutions passed by the Congress was a resolution that the school fund be under the supervision of the Minister of Religion and Education, a regulation which was in force until 1939. After that, this law -- the so-called "Fascistic Jewish Law"-- which was issued by the Hungarian government, pointed out that the Minister of Religion and Education should apply restrictive measures to control the socio-economic life of the Jew. The fourth paragraph of this law invested the minister of religion and education with the control of the educational curriculum of the Jewish religious schools, the number of the courses and all their functions, as well as the entire Hebrew study.²³ While this ruling was never put into practice, nevertheless, the school fund came to an end with the Jewish persecutions. In 1942, paragraph VIII of this law stated that the minister of religion and education no longer accepted the responsibility of the school fund but that it should be in the possession of the Jewish community. The community-wide Jewish office, organized by Congress as the place where the district representatives gathered for consultations, was the only means of keeping the community together during the Jewish persecutions. It served as a go-between for the government and the community. To this office, in a letter of transfer, the minister entrusted the disbursing of the

school fund. In this new condition the school fund was limited to subsidizing the rabbinic, seminary and teachers' institute. 24

The Orthodox group did not accept the by-laws adopted by Congress. As faithful followers of tradition they protested against its adoption. They found supporters who helped them to carry out their convictions. Many outstanding literary and political leaders of the country criticized Eotvos, the Minister of Religion and Education. Ede Horn pointed out to him in a news article that he did not apply logical reasoning by accepting the Congress's resolutions. He overlooked the fact that it was but a year since the government had given the Jews equal rights of citizenship -- rights by which they were considered equal in the eyes of the law. By favoring the religious convictions of one group and discriminating against the conviction of others, the Orthodox group, this law was defeated. 25

On the basis of the rights of individual conviction, the "Shomere Ha-Dat" appealed to the General Assembly of the Hungarian government. Its petition was brought to the floor for discussion. Mor Jokai, the famous writer and political figure, took the part of the "Shomere Ha-Dat" : "We cannot", he stated, "conscientiously force the Orthodox people to accept the resolutions of the Congress if their convictions are against it. The government should not

show special favoritism to any group, and consequently the educational supervision should be maintained by the government." 26

On March 18, 1870, the House informed the Minister of Religion and Education that the laws passed by the Congress were not to be forced upon any group. According to this ruling, no individual or group of individuals was compelled to accept them. Acceptance or rejection of the Congress' resolution was left to the discretion of the group. The King signed the decision of the government on October 22, 1871, and ordered the minister to issue a ruling to this effect. On November 15, the 16,915 - 1871 order was issued that gave the right to any congregation to accept or reject the Congress' resolutions. 27

Because of this order, the Jewish community of Hungary was split into three groups: the Progressives who accepted the resolution, the Orthodox who rejected them, and the Status Quo who had adhered to these laws before the laws were passed by Congress. As a result of this development, the Jews of Hungary lost hope of religious independence. As long as there were radical differences of opinion among them which could not be ironed out, any attempt to gain agreement was vain. "Religious conviction", stated Albin Csaky, Minister of Religion, on the

occasion of the Recepcio, * "cannot be forced upon one group, and to indicate the variations of laws in which they differ is also of no avail." 28

Interest in Congregational Schools Diminished.

With the hope of religious autonomy gone, the people gradually lost interest in advancing their congregational public schools. There were well founded reasons for such lack of interest. Primary to all was the law that restricted the Jews in governing their own schools. As citizens of equal political standing they felt that they had the right to govern their own schools without interference. As other denominations were free to publish their own textbooks and to conduct their own examinations without the interference of the royal inspector of education, Jews felt that they should have the same privilege. Because of the internal disagreement among the Jews the government would not grant them their religious autonomy; they had to appeal to the minister of religion and education for permission to publish even their religious books. All official transcripts had to go through the royal commission of education. Private examinations of students who wished to qualify for entrance or credit had to be supervised by the Commission of Education, while other schools conducted their own private examinations by receiving their orders directly from the minister of

* See chapter 6, page 316.

religion and education. On all such occasions, when receiving such orders, the text merely indicated, "The above order I am pleased to present to your valued attention"; this was signed by the minister. 29

These developments undermined the foundation and hindered the growth of the Jewish community schools. This division gradually led the Jewish youth into the city elementary schools. The middle and higher institutions of learning where Jewish youth went to receive their secular education were, to a great extent, denominational. Students who wished to further their knowledge in Jewish fields attended in addition, the Talmud Torah schools, the teachers' institute, or the seminary. The Jewish denominational elementary school, where Jewish youth received their Jewish studies, along with their general elementary studies, were compelled to close because of a lack of finances, a disaster resulting from the split. Even when they had been combined, many congregational schools had to struggle to keep up their institutions, and with the split, became an impossibility.

The Progressive supported the community schools primarily because the school was a community project. They had welcomed the congressional resolutions because they were convinced that only by standing united could Hungarian Jewry hope to attain religious autonomy and de-

velop their educational system without governmental interferences. When this was made impossible, they had no choice nor desire to maintain schools over which they had no authority. They preferred to send their children to public schools where all children were equal rather than to maintain denominational schools that segregated them from other citizens. The Status Quo group was perhaps the only group that wanted to maintain the denominational schools as long as finances would allow it. The Orthodox group was glad to be freed from financing the congregational schools for now it could concentrate all its means toward the advancement of the Heder and Yeshiva.

Disbandment of Jewish Denominational Schools Effected Radical Changes in the Educational System.

As a result of these new developments, radical changes in the general educational system occurred. In localities where the Jewish elementary schools were disbanded because the majority of parents preferred their children to attend the Heder rather than the public school, a condition of illiteracy developed. Statistics in 1870 provide proof of this fact::

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>No.School</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. Enrolled</u>
Máramaros	26,000	4,200		19
Bereg Megye	21,000	3,500		238
Zala Megye	12,000	2,040		1,485
Csongrád Magye	6,800	1,156		1,021

The above statistics prove that in localities of Hungary where the Orthodox were in majority, such as in Maramaros and Bereg, the closing of the congregational public school resulted in great changes in the general development of students.

This condition also brought about great changes in the outlook of Jewish teachers. Teachers who were dismissed from denominational schools gradually drifted away from the Jewish Teachers' Society after they found employment in the city schools. They expressed preference for the city schools and encouraged Jewish parents to send their children to the general public school. A declaration given by Nathan Bauer, a former Jewish teacher, is an example of the attitude of some of the teachers. He said, "I favor the city schools because they are better equipped than the denominational Jewish schools and they help break down barriers of discrimination." 31

On the tenth anniversary of the school, Abraham Lederer, director of the Jewish Teachers' Institute, made the following declaration: "The developed conditions did not favor the Teachers' Society. The reason for it was that a great many teachers who found positions in the city schools gradually drifted from the Jewish Teachers' Society, which drifting brought about a weakening of that Society." 32

The causes that led the Jewish denominational

school to disband were many. One of these was the order issued by the superintendent of the Jewish school of Pest at the opening of the 1873-74 school year which stated, "Students of the Jewish denominational school who wish to enroll in the middle school would have to pass an entrance examination; while pupils coming from the city schools were exempt." This order came as a great surprise to the Jewish educational leadership of Pest as Gregely Baja, president of the educational council, in a transcript at the close of the 1873 school year, had praised the high level of educational progress of the Jewish school. 33

There was no need to restrict students from entering denominational schools, as many communities were afflicted by financial difficulties. Pal Tenczer *, educator, rendered an invaluable service to the Jewish community school of Pest when, at the annual 1873 meeting,

* Pal Tenczer, born on April 11, 1836, in Nagybjom and died February 6, 1905, in Budapest. After completing his studies in Keszthely and Budapest, he became a teacher. In the '60's he rendered great service in the interest of Jewish youth. From 1862-1867 he helped in the formation of the Hungarian Jewish Society and edited the weekly paper of the Hungarian Israelite in which the need for the advancement of Jewish culture and the Emancipation received an expression. In 1868, he was elected as the representative of the Keszthely district to the National Jewish Congress and joined the Progressive party. He edited the album of the Congress representatives which appeared in two brochures in 1869 and included their pictures and brief biographies. In 1876, he edited and published the "Magyar Ujság" (Hungarian News), and later became the editor of the "Newes Politisches Volksblatt" (The New Political Peoples's Paper). ZsL p. 891-92.

it was disclosed that the community school of Pest had a deficit of 25,000 Florin and would have been relieved to relinquish their school, he voted to keep the school open, pointing out that it was the obligation of the capital city to set an example to all Hungarian Jewry. 34

Due to financial difficulties, other cities such as Obuda, Buda, Temesvár, Nagyvárad, Gyöngyös, Zalaegerszeg, Kecskemét and Székesfehérvár did close their schools. 35

To summarize the objectives of the congregational schools, Rabbi Immanuel Löw's * opinion deserves special consideration: "Soon after Hungary was given the right of independence and became free from Austrian domination and

* Immanuel Löw, son of Leopold Löw; born on January 20, 1854 in Szeged. Succeeded his father in the rabbinic post. His contribution as an author and orator was widely known. Due to his inspirational leadership, the Jewish congregation of Szeged built the most beautiful temple in Hungary in 1903. He mastered the Hebrew and Aramaic languages at an early age. Löw's literary contributions were: "Die Flora der Juden", which appeared in three volumes and exemplified great knowledge in archeological, philological and botanical fields. Löw, while leaning towards conservative Judaism yet acknowledged the need for secular knowledge. He preached in classic German and Hungarian. In addition to the above three volumes he published "Aramäische Pflanzen Name" (Wien, 1881); "A Szegedi Zsidók" (Szeged, 1885); "Leopold Löw's Gesammelte Schrieften" -- Vols. I - V (published 1889-1900); "Száz beszéd" (100 orations published in Szeged, 1923). He was contributing editor to the "Délmagyarország" (South Hungarian paper); "Egyenlőség" ("Equality" Jewish weekly); "Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums" (the monthly periodical for the advancement of Jewish history and literature); "Magyar Szinagoga" (The Hungarian Synagogue); "Magyar Zsidó Szemle" (The Hungarian Jewish Revue); "Orientalistische Literaturzeitung" (The Oriental Literary Paper); "Szegedi Napló" (The Daily News of Szeged); and numerous others. ZsL p.543. (E.M.)

the Jew was given his rights of citizenship, many Jewish communities seized the opportunity to free themselves from assuming the financial burden of conducting their congregational schools. This they achieved by declaring their schools general public schools. That condition almost took place in Szeged when, in 1970, a proposal was presented -- that their school, which had flourished for decades, would also be converted into a city public school. What prevented this was the unfavorable experience that this Jewish community learned from other cities; such transfers resulted in a deficiency in Jewish education. This motivated the city of Szeged to retain its school." Rabbi Löw further emphasized that even as the city of Szeged resolved to retain their elementary school, so did they in 1854 take a definite stand by opposing the establishment of the real school, in spite of the fact that the government suggested they follow the example of the other large Jewish communities. Rabbi Löw explained that their main objection in this matter was that they did not feel that Jewish communities established added barriers of segregation. 36

This thought, emphasized by a leading Jewish educator, gave ample proof that Jewish education in Hungary had one distinct objective -- the strengthening of Jewish ideals by means of education. They felt that this

could be attained only by organizing public schools where Jewish education would be given equal recognition with their general studies without creating barriers of discrimination.

Nathan Halász Attempted the Establishment of a Jewish Women's Institute.

In view of the prevailing conditions, Nathan Halász * the director of the Jewish high elementary school of Pest, tried in vain to win Jewish public opinion in establishing a countrywide Jewish women's institute. Even though the district president supported Halasz's proposal in the July 1873 meeting, the institute did not materialize. The time did not seem to be ripe to establish a Jewish women teachers' institute that would provide the necessary Jewish education in the Hebrew and other Jewish

* Nathan Halász, pedagog, born in Apostagon (the county of Fejer) in 1834; died on April 3, 1910. His first position was in a country school but in 1867, Baron Jozsef Eötvös, Minister of Religion, placed him as director of the Jewish congregational girl's school of Pest and later he became secretary of the National Jewish Teachers' Society. His professional interest in influencing others to edit textbooks and professional papers was widely known. His personal contribution was, "Oktató és nevelő mulattató elbeszélések a talmud és midrásból, valamint a zsidók történetéből (instructive and amusing discussions given in the Talmud and the Midrash as well as from Jewish history) (Budapest, 1886). He also edited the first Hungarian public school bulletin (Gyor, 1862); Halász also published the first Hungarian Jewish youth paper (1862-63).

studies for girls. Only after six decades (1929) was the first Jewish women teachers' institute established in Miskolc. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note the major points Nathan Halasz made in his memorandum.

1. The Jewish woman, the future mother, is also the educator in the family; therefore, even if she does not occupy a teaching position, it proves to be essential that she acquire the scientific knowledge of proper upbringing.

2. It is extremely important that the number of educated Jewish women increase in the country in order that they may teach our girls.

3. Jewish girls would have more confidence in themselves if they had an education. With the establishment of this institute they hoped that those who employed governesses would be able to employ qualified Jewish women instead of being compelled to engage foreign governesses lacking both Jewish and Hungarian training.

4. The establishment of such an institute would not require great financial sacrifice as the present elementary girls' school of Pest had three available classrooms to be utilized for that purpose and the present elementary school could provide practice teaching opportunities. The only added expense would be three additional professional staff, two men and one woman. In spite of all

the logical reasoning, the proposal failed. ³⁷

The Effects of the Educational Laws Upon the Life of the Teacher.

The 1868 general educational law and the Congressional resolution not only had a far-reaching consequence on the lives of the Jewish population, it also made the already embittered life of the teacher more unbearable. The public education law as well as the Congressional ruling aimed to protect the teacher in that after three years of a trial period, he would be given life tenure. This did not work out in practice, as there were many congregations who, in order to free themselves from such an obligation, forced the teacher at the expiration of the trial period, to tender his resignation with the promise that he would be re-employed. Such mal-practice made it impossible for a teacher to receive life tenure.

In reality his contract was based on a yearly renewal basis. This practice lowered the dignity and economic status of the teacher. ³⁸ The general economic status, at its best, meant 500 Florin per annum. From this meager salary, the teacher had to pay his rent which was approximately 100 Florin. The balance was hardly sufficient to meet the bare necessities. This desperate struggle of the teacher was often voiced. From the prevailing desperation the sarcastic slogan, "The teachers

of the Israelites are the Jews of the Jew," was voiced immediately after emancipation: "Will the emancipated Jew free his Jews?" ³⁹ They answered yes. The established Jewish Teachers' Society assumed the responsibility of protecting the teacher and of improving the situation in which he had been placed. It brought to light the abominable conditions that existed between the teachers and their communities. In 1875, the Society issued its first bulletin which presented a detailed program which solved many pedagogical problems in methods of educational proceedings. In its columns great emphasis was placed upon the leading figures in Jewish cultural life of both past and present. It published policy by which the teacher's dignity could be maintained.

In its first issue, Eleazer Szanto, * director of the Jewish boys' school of Pest and the Society's president, requested that teachers present their problems to the

* Eleazer Szántó, school director, born May 29, 1829, in Kajaszó-Sentpéter; dies in Budapest on February 24, 1893. As the son of a rabbi, he at first followed in his father's footsteps studying theology; but later changed to pedagogy. After receiving his teacher's diploma, he served in the following communities: from 1850-55, in Szekesfehervar; from 1855-59, in Szeged; from 1859-69, in the model school of Pecs; in 1870 became director of the boys' school of Pest. In 1874, he was elected as president of the National Jewish Institute and the editor of the Jewish Teachers' Bulletin. In this paper, he fought relentlessly to advance the economic and cultural interest of the Jewish teacher. The King honored him for his educational services with the Golden Distinguished Cross. ZsL p. 825-26. (M.B.)

Society. He stated, "Let the Society and the National Office intercede in behalf of the teacher." He further declared: "Only recognized authority can deal with congregations that have stooped so low as to force teachers who had served for ten to fifteen years to resign so that they would not be able to claim permanent employment or tenure." ⁴⁰ There were many such situations where the National Office requested the district supervision to intercede in behalf of the teacher so that the unlawfully dismissed be reinstated to his former position. ⁴¹

These events motivated Aguston Trefort, Minister of Education, to issue a ruling that a teacher who had served for many years, whether or not he had a written agreement, be considered permanently engaged. He ordered that the school inspector of the district enforce these laws. This law is known in the statutes of public education as 8830 - 1878. ⁴² The minister of education had been motivated by Jonas Barna, a professor and active member of the Society, to formulate the law. "Since the government does not have the right", stated Trefort, "to issue that law, they hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs of the Jewish school system; nevertheless, I feel that in so far as the Jewish school is in some measure under the supervision of the public school there is no reason why I cannot serve an ideal purpose wherever it is

needed." The National Office, on the other hand, hesitated to interfere in the strife between the congregation and the teacher as it offered many congregations the opportunity to shift from one form (Orthodox or Status Quo) to another status which shift would result in further strife.

No matter in what light we observe the change of the new ruling, this change was beneficial to all concerned. It strengthened the teacher's pension fund and helped the teacher as well as the congregation. The by-laws regulating the teacher's pension had already appeared in the National Jewish Teacher's Pension Regulations. ⁴³

Although we find many complaints from teachers, even after the issuing of this law, the teachers in general were greatly indebted to Trefort's endeavor. In 1885, he issued another ruling to the district educational authorities that all teachers who had been removed from their posts unlawfully should be reinstated. The Jewish teachers requested of the minister that this ruling, in its entirety, be presented to the Jewish school authorities of the country. ⁴⁴

Development of the Curriculum of the Real School.

Thus far, we have observed the development of educational history of the Jewish school of Hungary with special reference to two major events -- the public educational laws and the changes brought about by the Congress-

sional resolution. We shall now observe the development of its curriculum and the internal changes.

The Real school of Nagy Kanizsa, as already indicated, was primarily designed to be a commercial school. This school, in the '70's, became modified to some extent. After the emancipation, instead of following the pattern of the Austrian commercial schools, it adapted itself to the middle school design by following the style of the gymnasium -- the Real gymnasium.

It is necessary that we formulate a distinction between the two types of gymnasiums, the general and the Real. The former stressed the importance of languages -- Latin and Greek (humanism); while the latter concentrated on sciences -- chemistry, physics, descriptive geometry and algebra.

Eötvös, the Minister of Education in 1868, endeavored to establish a curriculum for the Real school in which the lower division should consist of four years and the upper, three years. After his death in 1871, his plans did not materialize. Instead of this system, which consisted of but three years in the upper division, it became an eight-year course in which both the upper and lower consisted of four-year courses. 45

According to this plan, the upper division of the commercial school could be entered only after the com-

pletion of the four years of the lower department of the middle school. In view of this new arrangement, the Real school of Nagy Kanizsa could no longer function in its previous setting; consequently, the educational inspector of the district informed the Jewish community that, if they desired to continue with their Real school, they must convert it into a three-year course; and only those students who had completed the four-year course in the middle school could enter. Because of this new arrangement, the school had to go through a structural development -- that is, two additional school years to the present six-year elementary school were required. This would satisfy the requirement by making it comparable to the four-year middle school. Besides the two-year course in the Real school, one additional year was to be included to meet the three-year requirement. However, as the school board could not see its way clear financially to make these changes, the school was compelled to continue as a private school. ⁴⁶

The Real school of Nagy Kanizsa was fortunate to secure the services of Samu Bun,^{*} author and textbook

^{*} Samu Bun, pedagog; born October 29, 1844, in Lakompak. At first he was a public school teacher but after receiving a commercial professorship diploma, he served as professor in the Real school of Nagy Kanizsa. In 1883, he accepted a position in the Jewish community school of Hatvan but soon returned to Nagy Kanizsa in 1891, and conducted the Polgári school. Later he became director of the upper Real school, a post he filled till his death in 1916. He was a member of the National Teachers' Society and author of many books. ZsL p. 159. (S.R.)

writer, who later became the director of this school and who helped solve the complex situation of the school. Through his efforts, the upper division of the commercial school was extended into a three-year course. In spite of all this, the school did not receive public status because the lower division was lacking the two additional school years to make up the middle school requirements.⁴⁷

The Real school of Vágújhely also developed after emancipation. In 1873-74, the school offered a three-year course. This additional year extended the curriculum by introducing the study of Physics and Chemistry. The school was also fortunate in that it had members in the community who were willing and able to contribute liberally toward the school fund making it possible to equip adequately, the long needed science department. Through the influence of Dr. Lojos Bortstieber, the director of the school, Antal Latzka, of Vágújhely, contributed funds for the erection of the science building which was adequately equipped to meet the modern requirements. From others, he collected enough to build a gymnasium. With these improvements, the Real school received recognition from the Department of Education.

In 1877 Jozsef Weisse, rabbi and director of the school of Vágújhely, resigned and was replaced by

Dr. Miksa Mahler.* At that time Karoly Wiederman, royal director of schools, in his memorandum, praised the school for its high achievements, and emphasized that close to half a century the Real school of Vágújhely had exemplified its untiring effort in promoting education in the country. Dr. Miksa Mahler was the first in the school to apply the Hungarian language in the study of mathematics, geometry and natural history.

He had been motivated by the reforms that the government officials were introducing in the middle schools, which were still under the influence of the Leo Thun's "Organization Entwurf" educational direction.⁴⁸ In the middle schools of the '70's, the educational endeavor became a reality when students prepared themselves to meet the fine arts requirements of the university. Since this necessitated completing eight years of gymnasium studies, the gymnasium had to extend its course from six to eight years. This ruling was passed in 1876 and more specifically emphasized in 1879 when the government issued new school requirements.⁴⁹

All this motivated the educational directorship

* Miksa Máhler, professor, born in 1846 in Szimon (county of Komárom). After completing his studies, he became professor of the Real school of Vágújhely and later became director of the school. He was contributing editor of many periodicals and newspapers. ZsL p. 568.

of the Real school of Vágújhely to extend their three-year course by developing its lower division into a four-year middle school. On August 1, 1882 the community received its permanent permit from the inspector of schools to open their four-year school, but a shortage of funds prevented their opening. 50

Changes in the Jewish Teachers' Institute.

In the Jewish Teachers' Institute, the change in educational supervision proved important. Since its inception in 1857, the director of the schools in Pest and the Jewish community jointly exercised the right of supervision. From 1866, the government control of both community and Jewish schools belonged to the royal inspector of schools; but after the Congressional resolutions were passed, the denominational supervision was transferred to the National Office. This condition prevailed until 1880. Throughout this time the National Office consisted of five board members who administered the religious needs of the Institute. They represented the body, the go-between for the Institute and the minister of education. All qualifying examinations consisting of wordly topics were prescribed by the minister of education, while the Hebrew subjects were designated by the National Office. This method of supervision was practiced until 1879 when the minister ruled that the National Office have

sole authority over the Hebrew department of the Teachers' Institute. 51

As indicated in previous chapters, in 1870 the Teachers' Institute became extended to a three-year course, in which capacity it functioned for eleven years and was then expanded into a four-year course. Throughout this time only one copy of the curriculum of 1872-73 was preserved in the National Office.

SUBJECT	WEEKLY HOURS PER YEAR			TOTAL HOURS
	I	II	III	
Hebrew	5	5	5	15
Education	3	3	4	10
Hungarian	3	3	2	8
German	3	2	2	7
History	1	2	2	5
Geography	1	1	1	3
Mathematics	1	2	2	5
Geometry	3	2	2	7
Natural History	2	2	1	5
Drawing	3	2	1	6
Penmanship	1	1	1	3
Music	2	2	2	6
Bookkeeping	0	1	1	2
Class Observation	0	0	2	2
TOTAL	28	28	28	84

That very same year the Government Teachers' Institute had the following weekly hour arrangement:

30 31 32 93

It exceeded the study hours of the Jewish Institute by nine hours even though the latter offered fifteen weekly hours of Hebrew. However, the Government Institute had offerings

in the natural sciences which the Jewish school omitted.

The Jewish school had seven weekly hours of geometry, while the government school had but two. ⁵²

The first curriculum of the four-year course in the Jewish Teachers' Institute in 1881-82 follows:

SUBJECT	WEEKLY HOURS PER YEAR				TOTAL HOURS
	I	II	III	IV	
Religion -- Hebrew	4	6	5	6	21 *
Education	3	3	3	2	11
Practice Teaching	0	0	2	8	10
Hungarian Language & Literature	3	3	2	2	10
German Language & Literature	2	2	2	1	7
Mathematics	2	2	2	0	6
Geometry & Descriptive Geometry	2	2	1	1	6
History & Government	0	2	2	2	6
Geography	2	2	0	0	4
Natural History	2	0	2	1	5
Natural Science & Chemistry	0	0	3	0	3
Drawing	2	2	2	0	6
Penmanship & Bookkeeping	1	1	1	0	3
Music	4	4	4	2	14
Gymnasium	1	1	1	1	4
Total	28	30	32	26	116

* Description of Courses

Religion -- Hebrew	0	0	0	2	2
Pentateuch	2	2	2	2	8
Prophets	0	1	0	0	1
Hagiographa	0	0	2	0	2
Hebrew Grammar	1	0	0	0	1
Rabbinic Readings	0	0	0	1	1
Liturgy	1	1	0	0	2
Jewish History	1	1	1	0	3
Jewish Ed. History	0	0	0	1	1
Total	5	5	5	6	21

Of the early history of the Teachers' Institute, we have the following information:

STUDENT BODY and GRADUATE STUDENTS

1869-70 at close of two-year course --
20 students (9+11)

1870-71 in the three-year course --
25 students (12+6+7)

1880-81 at close of three-year course --
81 students (24+33+24)

At the beginning of four-year course --
80 students (25+20+28+7). 53

In the course of the referred period the Teachers' Institute changed its director. The first director of the Institute was Abraham Lederer, who was succeeded by Henrik Deutsch. Lederer had established a high record in the field of Jewish education in Hungary by distinguishing himself in educational supervision and in textbook writing.

There were a few replacements among the educational staff of the Teachers' Institute, especially in the Hungarian language and literature departments. Some of the teachers of the Teachers' Institute included Ignac Halász,*

* Ignac Halasz, philologist and university professor; born in Veszprem in 1855 and died August 9, 1901. He received his basic pedagogic knowledge in Budapest and in 1893, he became regular professor of the University of Kolozsvár as Finn-Ugor and Hungarian literature. The Academy of the Hungarian Literary Society sent him to Norway and Sweden to make a study in the comparison of the Hungarian and the Slavic languages. Halász wrote children's stories in the style of Grimm's Fairytales -- "Moka bácsi" (Uncle Moka). 61
ZsL p. 340.
(S.R.)

Vilmos Rado, * and Ignac Fűredi. **

According to the congressional resolutions, all model schools had to cease with the school year of 1871-72. In complying with this ruling the model schools of Temesvar, Eecs, and Satoraljaújhely were converted into congregational elementary schools. This fate also awaited the school of Pest.⁵⁴ However, this destiny was averted when in 1872, the model school merged with the Teachers' Institute which used it as a means for its practice teaching.⁵⁵

* Vilmos Rado, born in Eger in 1847; died in Budapest, 1919. A graduate of the Teachers' College of Budapest where he was professor of education and director before his retirement. He distinguished himself in pedagogical literature by writing texts for the Jewish elementary schools' second, third and fourth grades, which was published in 1884. He was inspired follower of Herbart's educational theories which he put to use throughout his studies. Besides writing textbooks, he also wrote Hungarian children's folk stories: "Eredeti Magyar gyermek és népmesék", "Robinson Crusoe's Adventures" in Hungarian, and, "The Travels of Armin Vambery". ZsL p. 730. (Sz.G.)

** Ignac Fűredi, born in Ladmóc on August 15, 1837; died in Budapest, January 16, 1906. During his early days he studied in the Heder and later in the Yeshivot of Kismarton, Pozsony, and Nikolsburg. In 1858, he received his diploma in the Catholic Teachers' College and his first position was in Satoraljaújhely in 1862. In 1872, he became professor of languages in the Teachers' Institute. He translated the "Machzor" in nine volumes and "Siddur". Besides his religious books, he translated from French, Rousseau's "Emile". He was an excellent textbook and dictionary author. His books had many reprints -- his history was reprinted eighteen times; his geography -- fourteen times; his mathematics -- six times. ZsL p. 299.

Establishment of the National Rabbinic School.

At the annual educational meeting of 1873, the presidents of the districts presented a memorial memorandum to Aguston Trefort, the minister of religion and education, in behalf of the Jewish communities of Hungary in appreciation of his service. Emphasis was given to the fact that during the fifteen years, among the many achievements in the field of education was the work preparatory to the establishment of the Rabbinic School takes an important place.⁵⁶

For decades, Hungarian Jewry had carried on a relentless struggle of pro and con, pertaining to the establishment of the National Rabbinic Seminary which was finally opened on October 4, 1877. As this Institute served, in a large measure, to aid in the progress of Jewish education in Hungary, we should become more familiar with its historic background.

The origin of the National Rabbinic Seminary in Hungary is linked with the name of David Friesenhausen, who

* David Friesenhausen, mathematician, born in Friesenhausen, Germany, about 1750; died in Gyulaféhervár, March 23, 1828. Prior to his coming to Hungary, he spent 30 years of his life in the study of rabbinics which he followed up by spending an additional 10 years in the study of mathematics and astronomy. He wrote two volumes on Algebra and Geometry in Hebrew: "Kelil Ha-Heshbon" (Berlin, 1796) and "Mosedot Tevel" (Vienna, 1820). In the latter volume he explains Copernicus' theory. Friesenhausen had the opportunity to evaluate the necessity of both the Talmud and secular studies; wherefore, he cherished the hope to establish a modern rabbinic school in Hungary. ZSL p. 297. (S.R.)

had come to Hungary from Bavaria, Germany, and had made his home in Hunfalva in the early part of the XIX Century.

Friesenhausen cherished the hope that with the establishment of a modern rabbinic school the educational problem in Hungary could be solved. "As long as rabbis oppose secular education," he emphasized, "we cannot hope to advance Jewish education. We must have religious and educated rabbis who can duly protect the ideals of Judaism and who also can represent the Jewish community in the sight of the world." He proposed that the school have two main courses of study, a lower and an upper. In the lower, the following subjects should be offered: Pentateuch and selected passages of the early prophets; later prophets, also selected passages of the Hagiographa, Ezra and Nehemiah, Psalms, Chronicles, Hebrew grammar, Talmud -- Berachoth and Moed -- Hungarian and German languages and literature, mathematics and physical science. Students entering the upper course must be past the age of thirteen and their studies were to be arranged by the director of the school. The subjects for the upper courses were: later prophets, Hagiographa, Talmud, Yore Dea, Hoshen, hamishpot, geography, geometry, astronomy, physics, natural history, world history, rhetoric and philosophy. After the fifteenth year of existence of this school, only graduates recommended by the director of the school were

to be engaged in congregations.

Friesenhausen's plans were not accepted by the Archduke, Jozsef Nador, the vice-regent of Hungary, who refused these proposals on the grounds that Jews were already struggling to meet the Tolerance Tax and could not be burdened with additional taxes.⁵⁷ It was also the general opinion of the government that such schools would be superfluous, as Jews were permitted to attend Christian schools where they could receive secular education, if they so desired. In addition to the refusals of the government, Friesenhausen also met opposition from the Conservatives.⁵⁸

In spite of this governmental and Conservative refusal, the motivating force for the advancement of the secular qualifications of the rabbi was kept alive in the hearts of progressive Jewry in Hungary. This was expressed by examples set in other countries in Europe: Metz erected its "Seminaire Israelite" in 1829, and Padua established its "Collegio Rabbinico" in 1830. Germany also tried to erect a modern rabbinic school, but because of lack of funds, postponed it until a later date. The same conditions prevailed in Hungary. The urgent question of the erection of a national rabbinic school, "Országos Rabbi Képző" had to wait until funds were available. If Frances Joseph I, on September 20, 1850, had not converted the war penalty

fund into a school fund, the school could not have been a reality.

To make plans for the internal development of the rabbinic school, Baron Jozsef Eotvos, Minister of Religion and Education, called a conference in 1864 to make plans for the internal development of the rabbinic school and to lay the cornerstone of Das Elaborat der Rabbiner Commission, which prepared the educational platform of the seminary of Pest. This commission consisted of the following rabbis: Samuel Löw Brill, Rabbi of Pest; Abraham Hochmuth, Rabbi of Veszprém; Jacob Steinhardt, Rabbi of Arod; and, Markus Hirsch, Rabbi of Óbuda. The rabbis of this conference agreed that the school should offer two courses -- a lower and upper division -- and that five theological and four gymnasium professors be engaged. Among the gymnasium professors that should be engaged there should be two who were qualified to teach Bible, Hebrew language and Jewish history.

A few years later, on February 23, 1869, Congress appointed a commission to supplement the commission appointed by Eötvös. Those included in the commission were: Henrik Deutsch, director of the Teachers' Institute; Dr. Samuel Kohn, rabbi of Pest; and Majer Zipser, rabbi of Rohonc.⁵⁹

On May 7, 1873, Emperor Frances Joseph I set his

signature to the establishment of the "Orszagos Rabbi Kepzo Intezet," a seminary which was to be maintained by the school fund. Jozsef Eötvös, Minister of Religion and Education, officially notified the president of the National Office of this historic event.

The rabbinic seminary had the following by-laws:

1. The Institute shall consist of two courses, a six-year course for the lower and a five-year course for the upper. The lower course shall embrace the study of subjects prescribed in the upper gymnasium, as well as the religious subjects, Hebrew and Aramaic languages. Only students who have completed the fourth class of the gymnasium or who are qualified to pass the entrance examination shall be accepted.
(The sixth year was later eliminated.) ⁶⁰
2. The lower course of study shall not be directed exclusively to preparing students for the rabbinic school, but also to giving individuals ample knowledge to teach religion in the public schools and in the Talmud Torahs.
3. The curriculum of the upper course shall include: religious study, Scripture interpretation, Talmud, ceremonials, midrash, religious philosophy, ethics, Jewish history, Hebrew and

cognate languages, literature and sermonizing.

4. Education shall be an obligatory subject in every department. Students of the upper classes shall be required to attend the University of Budapest so that at the completion of the five years they may receive both rabbinic and Ph.D. degrees.
5. In both courses the study of German as well as the Hungarian language shall be obligatory. Special emphasis shall be given to the Hungarian language so that eventually it will replace the German language.
6. The Institute shall have one director who will also be professor and president of the staff. The supervision shall be directed by the appointed commission.
7. The Minister of Religion and Education, upon whom the government has vested the right to supervise the seminary, shall also have the authority to appoint professors for the secular departments and to assist in formulating the lower class curriculum.
8. Six professors shall be engaged temporarily for the gymnasium -- most students are in the lower division -- but gradually as the upper

classes increase the staff shall be adjusted accordingly.

9. The salary of regular professors shall be 2,000 Florin per annum, with an increase of 200 Florin every ten years. The salary of director shall be incremented 500 Florin per year. Increase in salary shall be permitted where justified.
10. The Institute shall be given the authority to secure permanent housing for the seminary and the Teachers Institute. ⁶¹

Thus, in the administration of Agoston Trefort, Minister of Religion and Education in 1877, the seminary was erected jointly with the Teachers Institute. It had its mutual building in Rökk Szilárd utca (street). The dedication took place October 4, 1877. Dignataries participating in the festivities were: Kalman Tisza, Prime Minister; Agoston Trefort, Minister of Religion and Education; Gedeon Tauarky, Secretary; György Majláth, Chief Justice; city officials, university professors and representatives of the various religious organizations. Among the foreign representatives were: Dr. Henrik Graetz, historian representative of Breslau Theological Seminary; Dr. Leopold Kompert, representative of Jewish community of Wien; Dr. D. Cassel, representative of the Berliner Hochschule. Among

the speakers were: Marton Schweiger, President of the National Office of Pest; Dr. Samuel Kohn, Rabbi of Pest; and Dr. Wilhelm Bacher,* professor of the Seminary. It seemed strange that none of the governmental representatives brought messages.

* Wilhelm Bacher, orientalist, born on January 12, 1850 in Liptoszent-miklós; died in Budapest, December 25, 1913. His elementary education he received in his home town and the middle schools in Pozsony. Studied at the University of Leipzig from where he received his Ph.D. in 1870 and his rabbinic diploma at the Seminary of Breslau, Germany. He became a professor at the National Rabbinic Seminary of Budapest in 1877, to which institution his scholarship brought dignity and renown. In 1907, he became director of the Seminary. His special fields in which he did extensive research were Biblical Exegesis and Hebrew Philology -- the Haggada and Judo-Persian literature. Bacher's writings on these subjects were the first to give a systematic and critical presentation of supreme importance to students in this field. He made a thorough survey of Biblical Exegesis from the earliest time to the close of the Middle Ages, and the development of Hebrew Philology that accompanied it. He also wrote important works on the Aramaic translation of the Bible (Targum); also the early Hebrew grammarians such as: "Ibn Hayyuj", "Abraham Ibn Ezra", and "Jonah Ibn Jonah". He devoted much time to the latter and the editing of his dictionary of the Hebrew roots in the translation of "Judah Ibn Tibbon". His Haggadic material consisted of 6 volumes: "Die Agada der Tonnoiten" in two volumes (1884-1890); "Die Agada der Palastinischen Amoraer" in three volumes (1892-1899); "Die Agada der Babylonischer Amoraer" in one volume (1878). To the systematisation of the study of the Halachah, Bacher continued his "Tradition and Tradenten" in 1914, and the "Exegetische Terminologie der judischen Traditon l literatur". In the latter, he was a pioneer. Bacher was a consulting editor for a list of publications which were compiled on January 12, 1910, for his 60th birthday which comprised 611 books and treatises. To his effort, we can ascribe the rising interest and the centralization of the studying of the Talmud in the seminary in a period when the Talmudic studies had declined. He and Banoczi were the founders of the "Magyar Zsidó Szemle" which he edited from 1884-1890), and the "IMIT". ZsL p. 73. (F.D.)

On November 15, 1877, the Emperor Frances Joseph I visited the Seminary. Forty years later, after the Emperor's death, the Royal House gave the Seminary permission to bear the deceased King's name. The Seminary became known as "Ferenc Jozsef Orszogos Rabbi Kepzo Intezet". 62

The Seminary opened its first year 1877-78, with twenty-five students in the lower department and six students in the upper. The number of students gradually increased until it reached its peak in 1887-88, when it had 129 students. From its very inception, the seminary was proud of its educational staff. Among the outstanding professors at the Seminary and the time they functioned were: Dr. Wilhelm Bacher (1877-1913); Moses Lob Bloch * (1877-1907);

* Moses Lob Bloch, rector of the Budapest Rabbinic Seminary who was born in Ronsperg, Bohemia, on February 15, 1815 and died in Budapest, August 10, 1909. His early rabbinic education he received at his uncle's Yeshiva in Nagytapolcsa and was ordained by the chief rabbi, Solomon Juda Rappaport of Prague. His first rabbinic position was in Wotitz from 1841-1852; in 1856 he became rabbi of Leipnik, Moravia, where he spent 21 years. In 1877 he received an invitation to the National Rabbinic Seminary of Pest to fill the chair of Talmud and theology. During his entire administration, he was president of the faculty and one of the greatest Hungarian Talmudic scholars. His most outstanding contributions: "Die Institution des Judentums nach der in den talmudischen Quellen angegebenen geschichtlichen Reihenfolge Geordnet und entwickelt" (I-III); "A rendör jog Mozaikó-talmudikus alapon" (the rights to maintain order) (Budapest 1897); "A polgári perrendtartás a mozaikó-rabbinikus jog szerint" (civil rights) (Budapest 1886); "Az etika a halachába" (ethical rights) (Budapest 1886); "A Mozaik-talmudikus örökösödési jog" (inheritance law) (Budapest 1890) ... "Rabbi Meir von Rothenburg's bisher unedirten Responsen" (Berlin 1891). ZsL p. 129. (F.D.)

and David Kaufmann * (1877-1899). Among the gymnasium professors were Jozsef Banoczi, the distinguished Hungarian

* David Kaufmann, theologian, born in Kojetein, Moravia, January 7, 1852, and died in Karlsbad on July 6, 1899. He received his Jewish and secular education in the Judisch Theologischen Seminar in Breslau, where he was ordained in 1877. His scholarly achievement was widely known even at this early age and he was invited to fill the post of philosophy and history at the National Rabbinic Seminary at Pest where he spent many fruitful years. Together with Marcus Brann, in 1892, he undertook the renewal of the publication of the "Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums" (the monthly periodical of the history and culture of the Jews). Kaufmann drew his material of philosophy and history from the Jews in the Middle Ages. This information gave him high standing as a philosopher and historian. His library consisted of rare collections among which was a lucky discovery of the memoirs of Glückel of Hammeln -- one of the most important sources of information dealing with the knowledge of Jewish life between 1640 and 1720. Kaufmann was an outstanding orator known not only in Hungary but abroad as well. His important works appeared in three huge volumes, "Gesamelte Schriften", edited by Brann (Frankfort, 1908-15). His literary contributions: "Die Theologie des Bachja ibn Pakuda" (The Theology of Bachja) (Wien 1874); "Geschichte der attributenlehre i d. Jüdischen Religionsphilosophi d. Mittelalters" (The philosophy of religion of the Jews from Saadja to Maimonides) (Gotha 1877); "Al Batlajusi nyomai a Zsidó vallásbölcsezetben és jelképes köreinek héberfordítása" (The traces and symbolic surroundings of Al Batlajusi in Jewish religious philosophy) (Budapest 1880); "Az érzékek Adalékai a Középkor physiologiaja és pszchologiajának történetéhez" (The perceptions -- physiological and psychological contributions to the history of the Middle Ages) (Budapest 1884); "Zur Geschichte jüdischer Familien: I. Samson Wertheimer" (To the history of the family of Samson Wertheimer) (Wien 1888); "II. R. Jair. Hayim Bacharach" (Heine's ancestry and the family of Gomperz compiled by Max Freudenthal) (Trier 1894); "A zsidók kiűzése Bécsből és Also-Ausztriából" (The expulsion of the Jews from Vienna and lower Austria) (Budapest 1889); "Okmányok Wertheimer Samson élettörténetéhez" (The historic records of Samson Wertheimer) (Budapest 1891); "Melanges d'archeologie juive et chretienne" (Paris 1888); "Jakob Maulino un page de la renaissance" (Budapest 1894); "Die letzte Ersturmung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte" (The last disturbance of Ofen and its proceedings) (Trier 1895). His Hungarian works also appeared in German. ZsL P.456. (F.D.)

Jewish scholar; Solomon Schill,* professor of classical philology; and Karoly Bein,** professor of natural sciences. The first rabbinical graduation was held on February 28, 1883. ⁶³

The rabbinical school was under the supervision of the minister of religion and twenty-four members of the board. Twelve were from the city of Pest and twelve were from various parts of the country. These men decided that the upper and lower divisions each be five-year courses. Basically, the curriculum did not change except that the lower division was authorized to function as a Jewish gymnasium. ⁶⁴

* Solomon Schill, professor, born October 14, 1849 in Budapest; dies on May 31, 1918 in Budapest. He completed his studies in Gyor, Budapest and Vienna. After receiving his professorship diploma, he specialized in Greek and Latin. He served as professor in the gymnasium of Arad and in 1878 became professor of the National Rabbinic Seminary where he taught Greek and Latin in the lower department. He wrote many textbooks -- several of them dealing with Biblical topics. He served in compiling the articles of Moses Bloch on his 60th birthday and the 25th anniversary celebration of the Rabbinical school. He also translated one of Philo's works. ZsL p. 771.

** Karoly Bein, professor, born in 1853 in Baranyamagocs; died in Budapest in 1907. After completing his studies at the University of Pest in 1878, he became professor of mathematics and physics at the National Rabbinic Seminary, in the lower division. He was an excellent mathematician and was noted by the Academy of Science where he taught in the commercial department. ZsL p. 100. (S.R.)

The following courses in theological studies in the lower division were agreed upon:: Scriptures -- five books of Moses, Prophets, Hagiographia, Talmud -- Babylonian and Palestinian; Hebrew grammar; Aramaic grammar; and Jewish history. Among the gymnasium subjects were the usual humanities -- Greek and Latin languages and literature. The science courses offered fewer hours than usual, but in the final arrangements the curriculum had 104 weekly hours::

26+26+26+26	=	104 Wkly.hrs. for the gymnasium
19+19+21+23+23	=	105 Wkly.hrs. for the theological seminary.

In the upper division, the secular subjects were: Hungarian, Latin, Greek, German, history, natural history, physics, mathematics, and an introductory course to philosophy. ⁶⁵ The Religious courses given were: introduction to Scripture, interpretation of Scripture, exegetical literature, Talmud -- Babylonian and Jerusalem; Shulhan Aruch, Midrash, Jewish history, religious philosophy, history of religious philosophy, homiletics, and Hebrew application. ⁶⁶

Hungarian Jewry assumed responsibility in fostering and supervising the studies of the Rabbinic school. It means more than merely providing the country with cultured rabbis; it meant rearing a generation of lay Jewish leadership who would appreciate such a cultured rabbinate. In keeping with such an enlightened atmosphere, the staff of

the seminary issued in 1884 a quarterly periodical, the Magyar Zsido Szemle * (Hungarian Jewish Review). It was the joint effort of Wilhelm Bacher and Jozsef Banoczi that brought to the public the fruitful activities of the professors and the students. This has continued to the present day (1960). Dr. Alexander Scheiber, Director of the Seminary, continues the publication.⁶⁷ By his untiring efforts he has proven to the world that the seminary is loyal to its mission even in the face of adversity.⁶⁸

Qualifications of the Rabbi, a Matter of Controversy.

The rabbinic studies of the Orthodox were conducted within the walls of the Yeshivoth. In 1871 the government ratified the by-laws of the Orthodox which were known as, "The Rules of Organization of Traditional Jews of Hungary and Transylvania". While the Congress did not

* The Magyar Zsido Szemle (the Hungarian Jewish Review), a scholarly periodical appeared in 1884, with editors Wilhelm Bacher and Jozsef Banoczi. In 1891, Lajos Blau and Ference Mezey took over the editorship and with the beginning of the year 1896, Blau assumed the editing of the review and reserved it exclusively to literary content. Many times the review appeared almost monthly but later it appeared only quarterly. In 1923, Simon Hevesi took over the editorship when it also became the organ of the rabbinic seminary. During the war years, due to financial difficulties, the review appeared but with a limited content. In 1927, Denes Friedman and Simon and Ference Hevesi took over the editorship and the review appeared semi-monthly containing also the Gazette of Religious Instruction. In this review we find material dealing with history, literature, to which rabbis and professors were the contributors. Zs L. p. 567. (F.D.)

issue specific rules pertaining to the qualifications of the rabbi, it did emphasize their conviction that he must receive his qualification certificate from a rabbinic school. This was most specifically indicated in the 26th paragraph of the Orthodox organizational laws which states that only individuals who possessed rabbinic qualifications (Hattara) from three recognized rabbinic authorities could be engaged as rabbis.⁶⁹ This requirement remained in force and became incorporated in the rabbinic qualifying certificate by which the publicly recognized Yeshiva of Pozsony was governed. The students of the Pozsony Yeshiva had enjoyed this public recognition since 1857, twenty years before the establishment of the seminary of Budapest. Because of this, they had been exempted from military service. In 1866, however, the school was somewhat restricted in that only those students with five years of completion in the Yeshiva would be exempt from military service. Two years of the required five could have been spent in other government-recognized schools. The vice-regent named thirty-one such Yeshivoth entitled to that privilege.

The peace and safety of the Yeshivoth were disturbed when the "Honved" Minister of National Defense issued a questionnaire to the minister of education and religion asking him to give the names of those rabbinic schools whose students were exempt from military service. On this basis,

the Kultus minister studied all those Yeshivoth that the vice-regent had made reference to ten years prior. He was also eager to learn more about the educational system pursued by them. ⁷⁰ Of course this was a tedious process for they had not followed a systematic curriculum, and evidently his findings were not satisfactory.

On February 6, 1884 Agoston Trefort, the minister of education, issued to the National Office in Pest, which was in direct communication with the Orthodox congregations, an order in which he repealed the 26th paragraph of the statutes. "For the time being", he stated, "only a rabbi who is an Hungarian citizen and possesses certificates proving that he has completed at least four years of middle school can function." ⁷¹

This ruling brought great disappointment to the Progressives as well as to the Orthodox. The Progressives were mainly offended by the statement that only Hungarian citizens could be rabbis, and that indicated that others might not be loyal to the cause of the country. They retaliated saying: "Where can the Minister find rabbis with deeper and more sincere conviction than those foreign-born rabbis such as Löw Schwáb, Lipot Löw, Fassel Hirsch, and Majer Zipser, who had fought valiantly in the interest of the country and the Hungarianization endeavor of its schools?" The Progressives blamed the Orthodox for these

developments and pointed out that the government would never have had the right to mingle in their internal religious educational system if the Congress's constitutional by-laws had been unanimously accepted by all Hungarian Jewry. 72

The Orthodox protested by appealing directly to the Emperor asking that he reinstate the 26th paragraph of the law, and that he order the minister not to interfere in the religious endeavors of their schools. This petition which was presented in Budapest on February 27, 1884, had been signed by these rabbis: Joachim Katz, chief rabbi of N. Keresztur; Solomon Kutna, chief rabbi of Kismarton; Bernat Schreiber, chief rabbi of Pozsony; and Karoly Reich, chief rabbi of Verbo. "According to law, the Jew was given freedom of religion; the educational curriculum of the school was directed to strengthen religion and not secular education. Studying in the Hedarim and Yeshivoth was a religious requirement and was not to be interefered with as that would have been a direct violation of religious principle." Their petition was not granted as far as the secular requirements were concerned; the 26th paragraph remained in force with the restriction that rabbis who were not citizens could not serve as rabbis, nor could those who did not possess at least four years of polgari school education. 73

Progress of the Polgari School that Jointly Fostered Jewish Education.

This new government restriction motivated many of the larger congregations to establish polgari schools (four years of middle school). However, before this law came into force, the city of Baja had already established its polgari school. This had been accomplished with the able help and leadership of Samu Beck, president of his congregation, on June 9, 1878. The first professors of the school were Samuel Steckler, who later became director of the school, Jacob Walder, Jeremiah Mándl, Jozsef Spitzer, Vilmos Grof, and Gyula Geralczi. The community of Baja had an outstanding record for its high standard of scholarship in both secular and Jewish studies. Its members spared neither time nor material in maintaining that standard. Out of this school came world renowned scholars: Dr. Samuel Kohn, rabbi of Pest, gifted orator and scholar; Dr. Simon Nascher, who received his Ph.D. in Berlin where he also served as lecturer and rabbi; Dr. Jozsef Perles, rabbi of München, who was the son of Baruch Asher Perls. He completed the gymnasium in Baja and his theological studies in Breslau; Lipot Schulhof, famous astronomer; Dr. Gyula Donath, renowned medical professor; and Dr. Jozsef Balassa, philologist, who was born in Baja in 1864 and was a graduate of the University of Budapest. These men

had received their educational background in the school of Baja. ⁷⁴

The school of Nagyvarad also deserves special mention for its high standards of education. Originally, this polgari school consisted of the fifth and sixth grade elementary classes. Finally, at the request of the school commission on June 28, 1888, it was expanded to a complete four-class polgari school. ⁷⁵ The polgari school of Nagyvarad deserves special recognition as its Hebrew studies were in close collaboration with its secular department in which high educational standards were developed. The curriculum which is on the following page (page 178) testifies to this. ⁷⁶

Imre Szenes, royal inspector, praised the school of Nagyvarad for its scholastic achievement saying that the school could be compared with any other school in the country. Regardless of the fact that the school devoted much of its time to the religious studies, it still maintained its high record of secular scholarship. ⁷⁷

The Organizing of Talmud Torah Schools and the Teaching of Religion in the Public Schools.

In the early '70's, the Jews of Hungary were confronted with two new educational problems -- the organizing of Talmud Torah schools which pupils of the elementary and high schools attended after regular school hours, and the

THE HEBREW CURRICULUM OF THE POLGARI SCHOOL OF NAGYVARAD

A - Religion and Ethics

CLASS I

- (a) Bible - Deuteronomy with Rashi Commentary.
- (b) Prophets - Samuel I.
- (c) Hebrew grammar parts of speech, Morphology.
- (d) Laws and Customs - weekly hours for all four courses - 14.

CLASS II

- (a) Bible - 1st and 2nd Books of Moses, Genesis and Exodus with Rashi Commentary.
- (b) Prophets - Samuel II, Review of previous study.
- (c) Hebrew grammar (syntax) written and oral exercises; Prayer book translation.
- (d) Laws and Customs - pertaining to Tephilin and Tzitzit, also calendar study of Hebrew festivals; Four courses together - 14 weekly hours.

CLASS III

- (a) 3rd and 4th Books of Moses, Leviticus and Numbers with Rashi Commentary.
- (b) The Haftoras of the weekly assigned portions and translation into Hungarian.
- (c) Hebrew grammar compositions in Hebrew; One composition per week; Prayerbook translation.
- (d) Laws and Customs - pertaining to the following festivals: Pessach, Purim, Chanuka; Four courses together - 13 hours weekly.

CLASS IV

- (a) The weekly portion with the Haphtoras with Rashi Commentaries.
- (b) Haftoras study with 3rd class together.
- (c) Hebrew grammar compositions more extensive; Free translation from Hebrew to Hungarian and from Hungarian to Hebrew.
- (d) Laws and Customs - Grace before and after meals - Laws pertaining to the Sabbath and other festivals; Four courses together - 13 hours weekly.

teaching of religion in public schools. Both were new experiences in the field of Jewish education in Hungary. When the Jews had their own denominational schools, there were no problems in adjusting religion to the curriculum; but after the congregational schools were disbanded and many became public schools, it was difficult for the parents and the congregations to permit their children to be brought up without the proper religious studies, for these studies were not included in the curriculum of the public elementary or the middle schools. This was not a Jewish problem alone, as other denominations had similar problems to contend with; yet, to the Jew, religious education was not mere catechism but required a detailed course of study consisting of Hebrew language, Bible, Jewish history and traditions and customs. Consequently, this gave Jewish educators just cause for careful implementation, an effective curriculum in order to solve their educational problems.

The arrangement of Talmud Torah schools was specifically a community problem. The teaching of religion in these schools was the concern of the Jewish community while religious education in the public school was the concern of all denominations. In order to get at the root of this new development, the teaching of religion in the Hungarian public school, let us study Agoston Trefort's

ruling of 1873, in which he pointed out that the Hungarian public school was an institution for the teaching of general studies but that the responsibility of the religious education of the children rested upon the parents. Tisza Kalman, Prime Minister, proposed at one of his educational meetings that after conferring with religious organizations in each community, the minister of religion and education make definite arrangements to engage teachers to teach religion in the public schools. They would receive salaries as prescribed by the law. ⁷⁸

The minister of education could not have found a better qualified man than Mor Karman * to administer the Jewish educational and religious needs in the public schools.

* Mor Karman, born on December 25, 1843, in Szeged and died in October, 1915. His first education he received in Szeged. After receiving his Ph.D. in Budapest in 1866, he taught Jewish religion in the secondary school and in the Commercial Academy of Budapest. In 1869, Eotvos, minister of religion and education, sent him to Leipzig to study methods of teacher's education for the secondary school. In Leipzig the famous pedagogue, Ziller, entrusted him with the organization of the writing of a curriculum for the training of teachers at the model elementary school. This curriculum was published under the title, "Vademecum für die Praktikanten des Paedagogischen Seminars zu Leipzig". When he returned to Hungary in 1872, he became lecturer of pedagogy, ethics and psychology at the University of Budapest. Karman organized and served as director of education in the model secondary school of Budapest and was known as the "Praeceptor Hungorae", a title bestowed upon him after many years of practical experience in the field of teaching and lecturing at the University of Budapest. He was an outstanding pedagogical figure in the educational history of Hungary and was worthy of assuming this post.

Before Karman became prominent in his profession, he was presented with the problem of working out a curriculum for the teaching of religion in the public schools -- the elementary and high schools. It is pathetic that out of his entire study of this subject that was so dear to him, only an introductory outline was preserved. We have some idea, however, of his basic concept that motivated this great undertaking. Religious education, to Karman was the basis of morals and ethics. Judaism to him was not in conflict with science; in order to lead a moral life he believed that one must have a scientific viewpoint toward religion. He also believed that in a period of transition the materials for instruction and the methods applied should be carefully studied before being adopted. Consequently, this gigantic undertaking was not the work for one individual but for many scientifically trained men.⁷⁹ This major question will be elaborated upon in the following chapters.

In the '70's, the Talmud Torah school, which was dedicated to teaching elementary and middle school children after public school hours and during summer vacation, was neglected in many communities. This situation was due to the split in congregations which had developed as a result of the Congressional resolution.

To the Orthodox, religious education was no problem because he literally practiced the Biblical

command, "And thou shalt teach thy children". To him education meant religious instruction -- teaching the children Torah according to the prescribed ruling, "While sitting in thy house...morning and night." The program of religious education for his children often began before the age of six. The curriculum consisted of the study of the Siddur and the Humash. When a child reached the stage of studying the Talmud, the local rabbi usually assumed the responsibility for his continued study. Very often the student was sent to an out-of-town Yeshiva for advanced Talmudic studies.

After the congregational schools had been abandoned and the children were enrolled in the public schools where no religious education was offered, the Progressives did not see the need for the Talmud Torahs as they did not wish to overtax these children with extra Hebrew studies.

Only the middle group (the Status Quo group) showed great concern about the establishment of the Talmud Torahs. They organized adequately equipped Talmud Torah schools where specially trained teachers were engaged. There were some communities that had excellent Talmud Torahs, such as the Jewish community of Pápa, where the children were sent for two to four hours daily after attending public school. For instance, from the first to the fourth

grade, four hours daily or twenty-four hours a week were spent in the Talmud Torah; while the fifth grade spent three hours daily or eighteen hours a week. ⁸⁰

Communities with these arrangements were not in need of religious education in the public schools. However, there were a great many communities where, after the dissolving of the congregational elementary schools, their children were sent either to the public schools or to the Christian elementary schools where there was no religion taught. For instance, in the community of Jaszbereny, where children attended the Catholic elementary and later the Catholic high school, the children reached the stage of knowing more about Christianity than Judaism. This motivated the Jewish community to organize its Talmud Torah where religious classes were taught in a private room given to them by the Catholics. During the summer classes were held in the women's division of the synagogue. ⁸¹

The Talmud Torah school curriculum was not clear to the government supervisors; therefore, many unpleasant incidents developed. The minister of religion and education often closed the schools accusing them of teaching subjects that were not to be taught in a religious school. He termed such schools "Zug iskola" (illegal schools). To control these schools he issued the following orders:

1. The school must be supervised by the Jewish congregation.
2. Teachers must be citizens of Hungary.
3. Talmud Torah schools must not teach any secular studies but religion; for secular studies, children must be sent to public schools. All schools not complying with this were to be closed. ⁸²

In addition to this regulation, the minister issued another declaration in 1880 in which he said: "It becomes essential that I issue this ruling -- that children not be permitted to attend Talmud Torah schools until they complete at least two years of public school and until every child can read and write." ⁸³

The city of Pest had a well-organized Talmud Torah. The Talmud Torah coordinated its curriculum to meet with the needs of students who attended gymnasium and actively functioned until the opening of the Seminary in 1877. ⁸⁴

In this school Ede Neumann, who was the first to enter and the first to graduate from this Seminary in the year 1883, received his preliminary Hebrew education which qualified him for entry to the Rabbinic Seminary in Pest. ⁸⁵ Their teachers were highly qualified men. Among them were Samuel Low Brill, president of the rabbis of Pest, who taught Talmud; Henrik Deutsch, director of the Jewish Teachers'

Institute, who also taught Talmud with specific Hungarian interpretation and religion; Dr. Moritz (Mayer) Kayserling,* rabbi

* Moritz (Mayer) Kayserling, rabbi and historian; born in Hanover, Germany, June 17, 1829, and died in Budapest, April 21, 1905. He was a graduate from the University of Halle in 1856, and became rabbi in Endingen (Canton of Aargau), Switzerland, in 1861. Here, besides occupying the rabbinic post, he took part in the successful struggle of the Swiss Jews for equal rights. In 1870, he came to Budapest where he filled the rabbinic post after the death of Rabbi Meizel in the Tabak Temple. Kayserling, in his orations, followed the methods of modern German rabbis, emphasizing the ethical concept in his lectures. During his thirty-five years of fruitful literary activities which he spent in seclusion, Kayserling was an authority on the history and literature of the Jews in Spain and was the author of several important studies of the period. His chief literary contributions centered around the period of the emancipation of the German Jews, the Middle Ages, and the history of expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Among these was, "Christopher Columbus und der Anteil der Juden an den spanischen und portugiesischen Entdeckungen" (1894) which appeared also in English (trans. Charles Gross, "Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries" (New York, 1894; 2nd ed. New York, 1928); and the Hebrew translation (Warsaw, 1895). "Don Isaac Abravanel Seine Leben und Seine Dichtungen" (Don Isaac Abravanel's life and poetry) (1902). "Die Juden von Toledo" (The Jews of Toledo) (1901). Kayserling also revised Emanuel Hecht's "Handbuch der israelitischen Geschichte" (Leipzig, 1874; 10th ed., 1922), and was the author of "Die judische Literatur von Mendelssohn bis auf unsere Zeit" (1896). His other works included "Sephardim" (1859), "Moses Mendelssohns philosophische und religiöse Grundsätze mit Hinblick auf Lessing" (1859), "Geschichte der Juden in Navarra, den Baskenländern und auf den Balearen" (1861); "Die judischen Frauen in der Geschichte der Literatur und Kunst" (1879); "Das Moralgeschichte des Judentum in Beziehung auf Familie Staat und Gesellschaft" (Jewish ethics in regard to family, state and Society) (1882). In collaboration with S. Kohn, he was the editor of the "Ungarische-Judische Wochenschrift" and contributed to Hebrew, German, English and French periodicals. He was a member of the Trinity Historical Society and of the Royal Academy of Madrid and the American Jewish Historic Society. Zs L p. 457. (S.R.)

of Pest and teacher of history; and, Samuel Kohn, also rabbi of Pest who taught Biblical exegesies.

The Writing and Publishing of Textbooks.

Hand-in-hand with the educational development of the Hungarian Jewish school went the efforts of those who rendered valuable service toward Jewish education by furthering the writing and publishing of textbooks. In previous chapters reference has been made to several men who rendered such service. One of the most outstanding among them was Mor Szegfi, a teacher of the Hungarianization Society, who translated the Five Books of Moses into Hungarian. His untiring efforts were hailed by not only parents and teachers of the Jewish faith but also by Christian students who utilized Szegfi's translation of the Pentateuch to advance their studies of Biblical Hebrew. Szegfi also revised Moric Rosenthal's prayerbook, which was distributed free of charge among the students of Pozsony by Fulop Korn, whose aim it was that students become familiar with the Hungarian version of the Hebrew prayers. 36

Preceding the Hungarian War for Independence there were textbooks writers who enhanced the cause and who are worthy of mention here. Morc Braun, who followed the methods of Phillipson, wrote religious textbooks for youth in 1845. Salamon Neumann wrote an Hungarian history text. This text, composed in both Hungarian and German and arranged in ques-

tion and answer form, was published in Budapest in 1844. He also published a geography text in Pest in 1845. Lipot Rokanstein, who at first was a rabbi in Zagreb and then in Szombathely wrote the, "Dath Jehuda", a text dealing with religion and ethics and published in Buda in 1841.

The following were eminent authors of textbooks after the War of Independence: Salamon Kohn, director of the Jewish school of Pest, translated a prayerbook into German, "Tefilath Benei Yisrael", which was published in Obuda in 1859, as well as a religious text, "Lehrbuch der Mosaischer Religion", published in Pest in 1860. In later years, as the Hungarianization endeavor became accelerated, he also wrote these texts in Hungarian: "Biblia Tortenete" (History of the Bible) in Pest in 1861; "Vallastan az Ifjusag Szamara" (Study of Religion for the Youth) in Pest, 1862. Samuel Kohanyi, a music teacher of the Jewish school of Pest, wrote popular texts, "Első hangoztató és olvasó könyv a magyar Izraelita népiskolák számára" (The first Hungarian reader and enunciation book for the Jewish public school), Pest, 1864. József Manheimer at first wrote for kindergarten music textbooks which were published in Pest in 1861, and later wrote, "Az első Nemzet Tortenete Osidoktól Kezdve Korunkig Palestínai Foldrajzával" (The history of the Jewish nation from its inception to the present with the geography of Palestine), Pest, 1862. Nathan Fischer, teacher in Győr

and later director of the Jewish Girls' School of Pest, wrote primarily for youth: "Ifjusagi Iratak a Magyarhoni Izraelitak Szamara" (youth publication for native Hungarian Jewish students), Gyor, 1863; and "Magyar Zsido Ifjusag Lapja" (Hungarian Jewish youth paper), 1885-86. 87

As the Jewish Teachers' Society became organized, the publication of textbooks came under their supervision. The Jewish Teachers' Society exerted great effort in translating the Bible into Hungarian. Eleazar Szanto, the author of the periodical of the Teachers' Society stressed, "Hungarian Jewry cannot become thoroughly Hungarianized until it adopts the musical Hungarian language as its mother tongue--until every Hungarian Jewish school teaches Bible in Hungarian. Let the price of the Bible, especially the Five Books of Moses, become so reasonable that it will be within reach of the poorest child." 88

In 1877 at the annual meeting of the Teachers' Society, Ignac Fuhrer, Chairman of Religious Education, proposed in the form of a motion that a commission consisting of three members be appointed to make a study of this vital question and write the Five Books of Moses so that it would meet with the needs of the public school. 89

The first volume of the Pentateuch appeared in 1879 and was immediately put to use in the schools; the other four volumes soon followed. Among the Society's publications

was the first school prayerbook which appeared in 1873. Since the primary pedagogic emphasis of this prayer book was to make it simple for the students to find any prayer in the prayer book, the topic sentence of each prayer was written in both Hebrew and Hungarian at the top of each page -- each page was also numbered in both languages. ⁹⁰

At the direction of Mor Karman, Vilmos Rado published in 1881 the Hungarian reading texts for all four classes of the elementary schools. The "Neptanító Lapja" (Public Teacher's Paper) of the year 1881, made the following remarks about these reading books: "We are filled with joy knowing our Jewish youth receive information concerning our country from such well written books." ⁹¹

The community of Pest also supported the publishing of textbooks for the Jewish school. Reshit Hakria -- the Hebrew alphabet (Hebrew First Reader), which was placed in the Jewish congregational schools of Pest, contained important information in Hebrew about the Ten Commandments and the Thirteen Principles of Faith, etc. Many felt that it would have been a great asset if the Hungarian translation also had been added. ⁹² This book was not published as an exclusive basic reading text for the study of religion in the Jewish school but as a religious text to the study of Hebrew for the Jewish children in the public elementary school. ⁹³

Henrik Deutsch, director of the institute, wrote a text for the use of the institute and middle school "Eletforras Vagyis Mosesi Vallastan" (Foundation of Life -- Mosaic Religion) in which a special heading was directed for the development of knowledge; published in Budapest 1877 - 1879. It aimed to instruct that religion is not contradictory to general wisdom. The text is apologetic in nature and its chief merit is that it supports its contentions. It quotes not only from the Bible but also the Talmud, Midrash and Maimonides' works. ⁹⁴

The rabbis and teachers throughout the country participated in the writing of textbooks for the schools. Mark Handler, Rabbi of Havas and director of the Jewish school of his community, father of Siman Heveti, an excellent speaker and leading Rabbi of Budapest, wrote, "Wajabinu Bamikra" , a book containing grammatical rules for the Humash. It also gave a complete vocabulary for the book of Genesis. He was among the first who wrote grammatical text for the Jewish schools of Hungary. ⁹⁵ Another important textbook was written by Elias Schafer, teacher of Kecskemet, "Bibliai Tortenet" (Bible history). It stressed the Biblical text in its literal form and was a clear concise presentation of the Humash beginning with the creation to the death of Moses. ⁹⁶ These authors were individuals who had attained their ideological and practical competence

not in the field of general education but in their close relationship with the Jewish school.

The most outstanding textbook writer of Hungarian Jewish education was Mor Karman. According to Vilmos Rado, Karman's many publications emphasised the folk spirit and directed its readers to scientific thinking..⁹⁷

Statistics Pertinent to Jewish Education in 1870.

Despite the unlogical development of Jewish education, the following statistic data attests the high stage to which it advanced. According to the Minister of Religion and Education, the country in 1870 had the following stratification:

<u>DENOMINATION</u>	<u>Population of</u>	<u>No. of Schools Maintained</u>
Catholic	7,500,000	5,217
Protestant	3,140,000	3,847
Jewish	500,000	490 (98)

The total student distribution in 1872 was 1,440,694. The 58,118 Jews -- 4% -- were distributed throughout the various schools in the number indicated in the following chart:

<u>TYPE OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Public School	1,401,473	53,104	3.78
Gymnasium	27,707	2,247	11
Real School	6,730	1,281	19
Academy	1,925	80	4.60
University	2,348	458	19.50
University of Arts	511	50	9.80 (99)

In the medical field there were two students and in the department of philosophy there were seven enrolled. The inspector of schools of Budapest, in 1876, gave the following statistics: In 1876, in Budapest, there were 77 city schools, 22 denominational schools, 3 governmental schools, and 47 private schools. Altogether there were 147 elementary schools in Budapest. In these schools, out of 41,937 children of school age, 35,134 or 83.77% attended. When this number is broken down to religious denominations, we have the following:

Catholics	-	21,309
Jews	-	8,301
Protestants	-	1,317
Evangelical	-	1,145

100

The 1880 statistics concerning Hungarian education gave the following data:

Roman Catholics	-	47.21%
Greek Catholics	-	10.83%
Greek Orthodox	-	14.11%
Protestants	-	14.78%
Evangelical	-	8.07%
Jews	-	4.54%

The following are statistics of the population who could read and write:

Roman Catholics	-	46. %
Greek Catholics	-	11.27%
Greek Orthodox	-	16.18%
Protestants	-	63.96%
Evangelical	-	70.58%
Jews	-	71.93%

According to these statistics, the educational development of the Jew occupied the highest stage. Three-quarters of the Jewish population could read and write.¹⁰¹

In this chapter special emphasis has been made concerning political, denominational and pedagogic events: The agreement between Austria and Hungary; the emancipation; the formation of public school laws; and, the Jewish Congress. Throughout this period the Jewish school showed contradictory marks of development. By this I mean that while the overall number of Jewish schools increased, at the same time we can detect a state of indifference in many Hungarian communities concerning their Jewish education. This indifference resulted in the closing of many well-founded congregational schools. From this state of indifference Hungarian Jewry was aroused by the shock of the Tisza Eszler ritual blood accusation.

Note: By mistake in typing, Chapter V begins with page 206 instead of 194. This, however, does not effect the thesis as nothing has been omitted.

CHAPTER V

The Impact of Anti-Semitism Upon Jewish Education in Hungary; Preliminaries of the Jewish Gymnasium; Proposed Curricula for Teaching Religion in Public Schools; Reorganization of Talmud Torah Schools; Influence of Home and Synagogue on Education.

Despite the progress Hungarian Jews had made in various educational problems both external and internal, their difficulties increased by the anti-Semitic Tisza Eszlar blood accusation. From what sources did this criminal anti-Semitic notion arise? What events -- political, religious, and educational -- nurtured this trend against the Jew? What destructive and constructive effects did this movement have on the education of the Jew? In the opening of this Chapter, I shall attempt to trace the growth of the hatred and bigotry that culminated in "The Great Trial" and the far-reaching effects it had upon the Jews and their education.

This anti-Semitic movement developed in an inverse proportion with the expansion of the human right program in the many countries of Europe. The French Revolution, which gradually spread its wings of enlightenment and equal rights for all men, no doubt helped the Jews in their striving for emancipation. It may have given them the opportunity to adjust themselves culturally and economically to the

European environment by permitting them to take an integral part in the advancement of human progress, but simultaneously with such privileges, developed a strong undercurrent of hatred and bigotry motivated by competitive jealousy. Before the emancipation, the Jew was tolerated because of his usefulness in industry, commerce, and trades. However, whenever he could be replaced he was no longer tolerated and was consequently compelled to be constantly on the move. With emancipation, toleration gave way to hatred as competition in industry, commerce, and the professions increased. Since the Jew could no longer be forced from his rightful place, his neighbors with whom he was in competition worked against him by influencing public opinion and undermining his general security.

The Jews were the first to feel this anomaly, and they felt it most keenly. They had scarcely been granted equal rights when these same rights were put into question. As long as good-will, democracy, and humanity prevailed in Europe, everything seemed orderly and correct. But when ill-will, nationalism, and egoism gained dominion and baser instincts were aroused, men began to cry over the rights that had been granted the Jews as over spilt milk. Particularly if any toes were trodden on, the cry arose: *Herchez le Juif!* - no further cause need be sought. The Jews were a community without protection and so a convenient target for any attack. ¹

There were many contributing factors that cast their clouds upon the Jewish horizon. Among these was the accusation uttered by Pope Pius IX who claimed that the

Jewish journalists were the cause of the diminishing prestige of the Catholic Church. ²

Another major factor nurturing seeds of hatred was the press. The German press stamped the Jew as the political enemy of the country. Dr. August Rohling, Professor of Theology at Munster, in his book called, "Der Talmudjude" written in 1871, tried to prove that the blood accusation with which the Jews were libeled had their origin in the Biblical commentaries -- the Talmud. Joseph Samuel Bloc, Rabbi of Florisdorf, near Vienna, publicly charged Rohling, "was not equipped neither morally nor in scholarship to engage in criticism of the Talmud." ³

All these unfounded accusations subsequently led to a status as unendurable as that which prevailed prior to the emancipation. Similar conditions prevailed in the countries of the Czar, where propaganda was spread that the cultured Jews were causing political unrest in the world -- propaganda which resulted in the infamous pogroms in Kiev and Odessa in 1881. Poland followed Russia's example with pogroms in Warsaw in 1881-82. ⁴

Anti-Semitism in Hungary.

Hungarian Jews were not spared these ill-fated treatments. While it may seem, and justly so, that the Jews in Hungary had adjusted themselves to the prevailing

conditions which gave them good reasons to be part of the Hungarian population, nevertheless, the occurrence of anti-Semitism in Hungary was not prevented. They had overlooked the incident of Istoczy (Victor) Gyorgy, representative in Parliament, who in 1875 raised the question whether or not the government would protect the Jew against anti-Semitic attacks. Wenckelheim, the Minister of Interior, had replied in the affirmative pointing out that it was their duty to protect their citizens. In spite of all the reassurances an anti-Semitic party was organized in 1880 at the head of which was Geza von Onody, who jointly with Istoczy, it is believed, were instrumental in bringing about the Tisza Eszlar blood accusation.

In Tisza-Eszlar, a small Hungarian village on the Theiss, on the Sabbath before Easter, April 1, 1882, a fourteen-year-old girl, Esther Solymosi by name, disappeared. No trace of her could be discovered, but it was the Easter season and she had last been seen in the vicinity of the synagogue, and that was sufficient to spread the rumor that she had been done to death in the synagogue by several slaughterers from another place who were there present, that her blood had been drained, that the body had then been dismembered and buried. Local police and court officers conducted the investigation with this in mind, but could not find the slightest basis for establishing guilt. The support of the charge was the testimony of the twelve-year-old son of the janitor of the synagogue, Scharf. He recounted all the details of the procedure with the greatest minuteness: peeping through the keyhole of the locked synagogue, he claimed to have seen the gruesome business of the binding, the slaughter, the draining of the blood, and the disposition of the members of the body. 5

This was known as the "Great Trial" which lasted

for nearly a year and shook the entire Jewish population and decent citizens throughout the world. Although the trial proved the accusations false, it had sown the seed of hatred and bigotry. There were many uprisings in cities such as Pozsony, Sopron, Budapest, Zalaegerszeg making it necessary for the government to intervene and issue martial laws in order to stem the turmoil. In 1884 the anti-Semitic party consisted of seventeen members who presented the following bill, which was not passed in the National Assembly:

1. Jews should not be permitted to hold public office.
2. Jews should be prohibited from leasing land.
3. Jews should not be allowed to pursue the medical or legal professions nor to be pharmacists, grocers or bakers.
4. Jews testifying in court must take the Jewish oath (Oath used in the Middle Ages). ⁶

All these developments were instigated by some of the Catholic clergy who for many years had been advocating anti-Jewish sentiment in their incendiary speeches and sermons in the church and had brought about the massacres of innocent people and the burning of homes and synagogues. In 1886, in Dunaszerdahely, the district of Pozsony, there was great turmoil and rioting which was a direct result of the infamy

spread by the Catholic leaders of that community. ⁷

In Hungary there was an additional reason for this deplorable condition which perhaps was not found in other countries. After the agreement between Austria and Hungary and the emancipation, Jews had been given the opportunity to enter into the agricultural field and to lease land from the aristocrats or the gentry who were little concerned about the development of the land but rented it so that they could spend their time in pleasure - hunting and gambling in foreign countries. Leading such lives of luxury and chance, many often lost their fortunes and could not meet their payments. When their estates were placed for public auction, it was often the Jew, the lessee, who was able to purchase the estate. The impoverished gentry had to seek public employment, usually in the governmental office of the district of his ancestral estate, so that he could at least maintain his prestige. Inevitably he would look with malice upon the Jew who had bought his estate, thereby increasing the feeling of anti-Semitism in the country. This was abetted by the fact that when the "Recepcio" law, known as the 1895 XLII Law, was passed and it was mutually agreed that the Jews have equal rights with the Catholic church, added currents of hatred were brought forth.

The Effects of Anti-Semitism Upon the Student.

In view of all this it is reasonable to believe that the position of the student who attended government or city schools was far from being congenial, for the anti-Semitic sentiment had found its way into the public schools. Jewish students were often exposed to harsh treatment not only by their classmates but also by their teachers and professors. When cases of usury and dishonesty were discussed in the classrooms, professors often cited the Jewish student as an example.⁸ Examinations were made especially difficult so that it would be almost impossible for a Jewish student to enter the first grade of the gymnasium. When Jewish students were accepted, they were segregated as inferiors and received no help from their professors, which action resulted in building up antipathetic sentiment toward the Jewish students who incurred insults and brutality.⁹ These unbearable conditions were the cause of the decrease in the enrollment of Jews in the middle schools of Budapest -- approximately seven percent.¹⁰

Declarations were heard throughout the county, "Let them not study, and if we cannot stop them from studying, at least let us see that they stay away from public office."¹¹ Aguston Trefort, the Minister of Education, repeatedly declared that his advice to the

Jewish youth was that he should follow any pursuit or vocation but should decline the cultural field. In view of this official declaration coming from the Minister of Public Education, Jewish educators, as well as the general public who were concerned about the advancement of education, advised the youth not to be motivated or misled by the distorted admonition of the minister, whose anti-Semitic advice was directed to undermine the intellectual progress of the Jews.¹²

The general anti-Semitic sentiment gradually forced its way into the school system to such an extent that, in one of the gymnasiums of Budapest, the director denounced the Jewish community's action for sending a presiding officer to supervise the religious examinations of the gymnasium, a person who did not have the command of the Hungarian language. This individual was the distinguished Dr. Meyer Kaserling, Rabbi of Pest, whose scholarly reputation was known not only in the country but beyond its borders. This malicious objection was almost unbelievable since it was but a short time before that this same gymnasium and its director were under the Royal Catholic School District whose language of instruction was German.¹³

The anti-Semitic influence injected into the schools reached such a towering height that, while on the

surface Aguston Trefort, Minister of Education, may have issued an order to the directors of the middle schools in which he reprimanded them because, according to his knowledge, a goodly number of the professors of the schools were actively engaged in spreading anti-Semitism in the school and because they openly harboured hatred against Jewish citizens and exerted a harmful influence upon the mental attitude of the youth, he did not have the order enforced.¹⁴ Trefort's orders were not publicized by many school directors; this hush policy soon had its harmful effect on the students.¹⁵

Anti-Semitism Forced Prompt Action on the Erection of the Gymnasium.

With the establishment of the new public school law of 1867, many denominational elementary schools had been transferred into general public schools. With this new anti-Semitic development, however, many Jewish communities had a change of heart, especially when the question of erecting a Jewish gymnasium became the topic of discussion, and although Jewish leaders in the field of education were far from being unified in this burning issue, they could not evade it as long as their children were exposed to embarrassment and inhuman treatment in the gymnasium. Consequently, the question rapidly forced itself toward the front, demanding prompt action.

The wavering attitude on the part of Jewish leadership was due to the fact that the establishment of a Jewish gymnasium was urged by the anti-Semites of the country whose chief motives for the erection of such an institute were to segregate the Jews. Some Jewish leaders insisted upon the Jewish gymnasium regardless of the anti-Semitic opinion which meant segregation.

The idea of the establishment of a Jewish gymnasium was not new; it had had its origin in the '60's. With the development of anti-Semitism it took on a new phase -- it became a necessity. Opinions differed as to the advisability of erecting this school. Ignac Goldziher, the world renowned orientalist and secretary of the Jewish community of Pest, opposed the establishment of the gymnasium. Many prominent leaders joined him in his opposition but Mor Karman, the great Jewish pedagogue, favored it. ¹⁶

That it was not a matter of minor concern was simple to determine, for it occupied the minds of the major part of Hungarian Jewry -- especially those who were directly concerned about the problem of education.

The left wing of the Assimilationists opposed the Jewish gymnasium because it would lead to segregation, a barrier to assimilation. ¹⁷ They fought desperately against any idea that would separate the Jew from the

general Hungarian public; and, since a Jewish gymnasium would lead to this, they opposed it.¹⁸

Others opposed its establishment simply because the anti-Semites urged it. The anti-Semitic press repeatedly encouraged the Jews to establish the middle schools similar to those of other denominations, the Catholics and the Lutherans.¹⁹ Many refrained from sanctioning the establishment of the gymnasium because Trefort, the minister of education, wanted it; they felt there was an ulterior motive for his urgency in the matter.²⁰ It was difficult to understand that a man of his position would urge the establishment of a denominational school when he should have been instrumental in the opposite direction.

The religionists, on the other hand, preferred the denominational middle school, hoping that it would stem the tide of atheism that was prevalent in the country. The general consensus among the religionists was that Jewish students attending the general or Christian denominational gymnasiums for eight years would be inclined to lose their religious convictions. The little religious instruction they would receive would be overbalanced by the athiestic influences of many of the professors. Only a Jewish gymnasium would remedy this situation.²¹

The religionists contended that the fears of the

assimilationists were unfounded; they said the Jewish gymnasium would not build barriers because they would also accept students of other denominations and, therefore, would have a tendency to further integration. It was the only means of avoiding unnecessary embarrassment and cruelty to the Jewish student. ²²

Among those who favored the establishment of the Jewish middle schools were the advocates of promoting religious ideals and the advancement of Hebrew culture. Mor Karman gave three lectures to the Jewish teachers of the Institute, only one of which was preserved by the press. Only fragments of the other two lectures were talked about in which he declared that the establishment of the middle schools would be of great advantage to the religious and ethical progress of the Jewish people, as its subjects could be coordinated with the secular curriculum of the school. ²³

Pleading that it would serve as a vital factor in promoting Hebrew culture in Hungary, the Hebraists urged the erection of the Jewish gymnasium. Armin Perls, rabbi of Kecskemet, maintained that even as the study of the Greek and Latin languages are essential prerequisites in every gymnasium, so Hebrew would be made essential in the Jewish gymnasium. ²⁴ Many believed that if the Hungarian Jews could maintain many elementary schools,

there was no reason why they could not establish at least one gymnasium. This school would serve to give the student a basic Hebrew knowledge since many barely knew how to read Hebrew and even fewer could speak or understand it. ²⁵

Adolf Silberstein, the prominent aesthetician and publicist, made an appeal in the name of Hebrew culture, deploring the fact that the Hungarian Jewish public had not established even one gymnasium. He also said that while they did not openly support denominational schools, they had no reason for not establishing a denominational school of their own; and since they sent their children to other denominational schools, why not to their own? ²⁶

Jewish Professors Share the Plight of the Students.

Among the many reasons for building a Jewish gymnasium was the problem the professors had. Trefort did not appoint a single Jew to a professorship maintaining that, because of the prevailing political conflict, the office could not be assigned to Jews. ²⁷ Only on condition that a Jew accept Christianity could he be given a professorship. His anti-Semitic position was generally known and so was his fanatic conviction to gain proselytes.

At a meeting of Jewish professors, this plight

was discussed in order to seek a logical solution. The Real school of Vagujhely had two openings for professors; one was filled by a Jew and one by a non-Jew. Many professors were indignant; they felt that since Jews did not receive appointments in public middle schools, these posts should have been filled only by Jewish professors.²⁸ The school board of the Vagujhely Real school justified its action by announcing that its motives were to prove it was democratic and that the Jew is more liberal than are the other denominational schools. This excuse was not acceptable to the Jewish professors who felt the administration was not concerned about their desperate plight.²⁹

They decided that something drastic would have to be done; they would have to fight their own battles and this could be done best by the erection of a Jewish gymnasium.³⁰ In a memorandum they appealed to the conscience of the wealthy Hungarian Jews to contribute liberally toward the establishment of the gymnasium. They also informed the people that many professors were forced, out of desperation, to accept Christianity in order to get an appointment.³¹

Tivador Low, the son of Lipot Low, a prominent lawyer, directed an appeal to the Jewish people in reference to the establishment of the gymnasium. "No

individual," he stated, "can consider himself a good Jew if he does not recognize the fact that our youth is classified in the middle schools on the basis of their religion. Christians are placed in Class A, while Jews are placed in Class B. This gives authentic proof that segregation will not be created by the erection of the Jewish gymnasium, as it is already in existence in the middle schools. The establishment of a Jewish gymnasium is an urgent necessity so that our youth can attend with dignity and not because of desperation; he has no alternative. This will also help in some measure to alleviate the professorship problem; it should offer educators the opportunity to find dignified employment. The gymnasium will also prove that, in a peaceful pursuit, the Jewish religion and the national culture can develop amicably. This school will prevent the eventuality of a large scale alienation of our youth. Let us put aside all petty excuses and put together the florins and establish the first Jewish gymnasium." 32

The major opposition to the erection of the gymnasium came from the Jewish leadership of Budapest. Ullman Sandor, representative to the Parliament at the 1887 General Assembly, voiced his objection to the gymnasium by striking back at the anti-Semites who proposed that Jews erect their own gymnasium, and by saying

that Jews were not willing, or ready, to build walls of segregation. He said that the Jews were the first to transfer their denominational schools into general public schools at the request of the government and he saw no reason after one decade to revert to their former status.

At the 1888 Annual Congregational Meeting in Budapest, Ullman seemed to have had a change of heart; this was due to the desperate conditions of the professors and students. He was willing to go along in the erection of the school if it was to be an over-all community enterprise. He proposed that the gymnasium begin with the first grade so that the expense would increase gradually with each succeeding year as additional numbers or classes were added. Consequently, he felt that the financial question at that time was not the main criterion. He also suggested that as Budapest was the major city of the country, the first gymnasium be established there. He further emphasized that other denominations maintained their middle schools even at great sacrifice, for they knew that through these institutions they built their internal strength and external prestige. "The Unitarians, who have only 500,000 population, have two gymnasiums of their own; yet the Jews have none. We know that the percentage of Jewish students is comparatively high, and because of this our youth is compelled to attend, not

only the public high schools, but the gymnasiums of other denominations. Statistics prove that in 1887, among 39,114 students in the middle schools, 7,747 or 19.8% were Jews. This condition cannot continue; all opposition raised against the Jewish gymnasium is meaningless; the time has arrived when we must correct our shortcomings of the past." He, therefore, proposed that a budget be worked out and immediately be put into use for the following year. He trusted that the amount required for the maintenance of the gymnasium would be covered by congregational contributions and individual donations.

Mor Wahrmann, president of the congregation of Budapest, in his reply to Ullman repeated his previously expressed point of view. As he saw it, the necessity for the erection of the gymnasium was questionable. He admitted that many people would like to have it, but he refused to acknowledge that it would be an asset to the community of Pest. Therefore, he felt that it was not the obligation of the community to erect it. He maintained that it was not the duty of the Jewish community to establish middle schools, for that should be the responsibility of the state, especially since Jews paid taxes for the use of these schools. He raised the question, "Why do other denominations maintain middle schools? They too pay taxes." He explained that the

denominational schools were established centuries before out of such funds that we could call state funds (by this he had reference to the Royal Catholic Gymnasiums which were maintained out of government funds). A Jewish gymnasium should be of individual concern; therefore, it should be the work of a society and not the community. He did not refuse to acknowledge the fact that as soon as the society would lay its foundation, the community of Pest would support it wholeheartedly. But at that time there was no trace of such a society.

A great deal of detailed discussion, pro and con, took place at the 1888 annual congregational meeting; members felt it the official duty of the community to consider the desperate plight of the Jewish students and professors.

Mor Wahrmann was, in a way, correct when he said that the Jewish community was lacking deep concern or a sacrificial spirit;This could be observed in the field of education, for those individuals who were appointed to visit and supervise the schools hardly ever fulfilled their duty. ³³

While the question of the Jewish gymnasium was not removed from the daily agenda of the Jewish community, yet the zealous striving for such an institution was motivated not by inner convictions but by the urgency of the time. The press gave a lucid picture of the prevail-

ing situation: "Those Jewish circles in the capitol city that engage themselves with the idea of establishing a Jewish gymnasium are not doing it because of an idealistic motif; for, as a matter of fact, they would like to see all denominational gymnasiums removed. The majority of these people are not friends of secular education and, consequently, would gladly abolish all denominational schools throughout the country. The reason they engage in the erection of a Jewish gymnasium is the deplorable situation into which their students and professors have been plunged." 34

The Hungarian Jewish Middle School Society Was Established.

Jewish leaders, though not fully in favor of this movement, could not oppose it because the over all Jewish community was in favor of it. After all these deliberations a resolution was passed asking that the "Hungarian Jewish Middle School Society" be established. According to the by-laws of the society, its objective was to erect and maintain a Hungarian language public middle school. The society was to erect its first school in Budapest, and as soon as means permitted, similar schools were to be established in other cities of the country where they were needed most. The society decided to accept foundation contributions coming from bequests and individual donations. It was resolved that, in case of disbandment of the insti-

tution, its wealth would be automatically transferred to the Jewish community; and, if this could not be done, it should go to the state with the reservation that the property always be designated as "The Jewish Middle School Foundation". Interest on the money was to be used to maintain Jewish schools. 35

At the very beginning of the founding of the Society four five-thousand-florin contributions were made. Among the first contributors was Mor Wahrmann who was emphatic in stating that the Jewish gymnasium could be established only on the basis of being a social institute.

About the early history of the society we know little. But we do know that, after the lapse of one year, Miksa Mahler, director of the Real school of Vagujhely, proposed a budget, helped change some of the by-laws, and asked that the name of the society be changed to "The National Jewish Middle School Society". This change meant a radical difference -- the former would be supported through donations, but by Mahler's proposal its support would come from regular membership dues which were to be paid annually. According to Mahler's budget proposal, the expenses of an eight-class gymnasium would be 21,300 florins. Out of this tuition, income from congregations and government subsidy would total 14,000 florins; the difference of 7,300 florins was to come from membership

dues of ten florins per year. ³⁶

From the foregoing we can see that because of the political and social attitudes, the general Jewish public opinion urged the establishment of a Jewish gymnasium in Budapest. We can conclude that the Jewish leaders of Pest, Mor Wahrmann, president, and Ignoc Goldziher, secretary, expressed their opposition. The Jewish professors without employment were waiting for the opening of a Jewish middle school.

Educators Views on the Erection of a Jewish Gymnasium.

In view of all this, what stand did the official organ of the pedagogues of the country take? At the 1883 annual meeting of the National Jewish Teachers' Society, rabbi R. Groszberg among his explanations pertaining to the religious education in the middle schools, pointed out the pathetic truth, "Insofar as the Jewish community cannot state that it has established even one single gymnasium in the country, it is painful that in these critical days our youth must attend denominational schools where they are looked upon as strangers or even worse -- unwelcomed visitors." ³⁷ While this was the truth it was not the Society's general opinion, for its president, Eleazer Szanto in 1885, made other declarations, "The Jewish gymnasium question was developed in reactionary times. In the '70's this question could not have been

possible since the State was struggling to free itself from denominational influence. Still, it was only natural that the Jew would ask the right to establish its denominational school. Now, however, anti-Semitism has made this demand justifiable. But why should the Jew concentrate his attention to the establishment of a gymnasium when the students who graduate cannot find employment? If we are sincere about this problem, why not establish Real schools and industrial schools? For the time being, there has been no mention of this. The whole question of the gymnasium basically is the result of the anti-Semitic movement, and we play on the strings of their fiddle, making the situation pathetic." ³⁸ The general opinion of the Teachers' Institute could be summed up thus, "What the Jews are now engaged in is the effort to increase the number, or solidify their denominational schools; a movement which is in direct opposition to free government policy." ³⁹

The Citizens' Attitude Towards the Gymnasium.

We have considered the attitude of the educators toward a Jewish gymnasium, but what feelings toward it were prevalent among the citizens? Dr. Nandor Lutter, royal school inspector of the district of Budapest, sized up critically the attitude of the Jew concerning the establishment of the gymnasium. He declared: "The Jews repeatedly defend themselves by saying that they do not

intend to erect barriers between themselves and their Christian neighbors; to be sure, a Jewish gymnasium would create such a barrier. I wonder whether or not the Jews are sincere in this statement? If they are, why did they appeal to the minister of religion and education on December 17, 1886, demanding that Jewish students in the middle schools be exempt from writing on the Sabbath? Either they do not understand what such an exemption would mean -- part of the class would be engaged in writing and the other would be sitting idle -- or they are not sincere in their statement that they do not wish to create barriers. I wonder who it is that creates barriers? Certainly our Jewish citizens do not think that for their convenience the Christians would exchange their Sunday for the Jewish Sabbath -- if they wish to observe the Sabbath, let them erect their own gymnasiums." Lutter, in conjunction with his declaration referred to some important statistical data, by which he tried to motivate the importance of the erection of a Jewish gymnasium. He proved that between 1860-61 and 1880-81, in the denominational gymnasiums -- Catholic, Reform, and Evangelical -- of the city of Budapest, there were 29,595 Christians and 14,344 Jewish students, approximately 50%. With these figures he tried to prove that the proportion of Jewish students in the denomi-

national gymnasium was so high that it justified the erection of a school of their own.⁴⁰ But even such tangible evidence could not motivate Jewish parents to erect their own gymnasium.

In spite of everything, the question raised by Jewish educators was whether there was a real need for this school. Some of the congregations such as Nyitra in 1890, and Liptoszentmilos in 1900, attempted to erect a gymnasium in spite of the opposition but were compelled to abandon it although the need was great. It was not a mere question of segregation; more important was the great need to advance Jewish subjects, Jewish upbringing, and the building of Jewish personality. These urgent reasons needed a solution; and if we add the fact that in other schools the Jewish student was looked upon as an unwelcomed visitor and was accepted only if he paid a high tuition, we have ample reason to believe that the erection of a Jewish gymnasium was justified, and communities who could afford it should have built it.⁴¹

These thoughts were uppermost in the minds of the people for nearly ten years -- from the Tisza Eszlar event until 1890 -- which lapse of time proves there was great hesitation and wavering among the members of the various Jewish communities. This was finally brought to an end by Samuel Kohn, rabbi of Pest, who was a strong

advocate of Jewish education.

Bequests of Prominent Citizens for the Erection of Gymnasium.

To his influence and prestige we can ascribe Antol Freystadtler's transferring the originally assigned bequest from the Jewish hospital to the Jewish gymnasium.⁴² In 1892, Freystadtler, presented one million florins to the minister of religion and education so that from the interest of this money (45,000 florins per annum) a Jewish gymnasium could be built.

According to his bequest, a Jewish gymnasium was to be built in Budapest in which Jewish students were to be enrolled first, and then students of other denominations would be admitted. He asked that plans for the erection and equipment be made immediately and that the following be appointed as the board of directors: Sandor Kozma, royal district attorney; Bernat Deutsch, industrialist; Dr. Samuel Kohn, rabbi of Pest; Dr. Mor Karman, gymnasium professor, and Dr. Fulop Weimann, royal secretary and temporary chairman of the Jewish community of Pest. The bequest emphasized that as long as Dr. Kohn was a member of the board he should be the chairman. The minister of religion and education accepted this request with the reservation that appointments of professors be sanctioned by the government.⁴³ (Sandor Kozma was the only member of the board who was not of the Jewish faith.)

The promotion of this bequest was considered a decisive event in the history of Jewish education -- especially of the gymnasium. Its origin, however, did not mean that all was well; this fact was stressed by authors of leading periodicals such as The Magyar Zsidó Szemle where we read for example: "This magnanimous foundation made it possible to lay the foundation of an important school, but to this we could add many additional words -- whether we have the right to establish a Jewish gymnasium in times like this when Christian denominational middle schools are subsidized by government grants and the state takes in hand the administration of Jewish schools." But after all, it was Antol Freystadtler's request and it rendered a great service both to him and to the Hungarian Jewish community.⁴⁴ It became a fact that the erection of the Jewish gymnasium motivated others to follow its example -- even though the erection of this edifice did not occur until twenty years later.

In 1893, Sandor Wahrmann, the brother of Mor Wahrmann, donated 600,000 Kronen towards the erection of a Jewish gymnasium in Budapest. In his bequest, he remarked that it should serve students of the Mosaic faith the opportunity to extend the Hebrew knowledge, an opportunity not given in the other gymnasium. Salaman Toub

followed this donation in 1895, with his gift of 120,000 Kronen toward the erection and maintenance of Jewish public schools. ⁴⁵

Growing Religious Solidarity.

In conjunction with these financial contributions, which no doubt helped the advancement of Jewish studies, there were three major occurrences that were instrumental in bringing about religious solidarity:

1. The government's permission that Jewish students abstain from classes on major Jewish holidays.
2. The exemption from writing on the Sabbath day.
3. The assigning of special hours for religious instruction in the public elementary and middle schools.

All these were apparently in the hand of the government, but they were also dependent upon the parents and the immediate and over-all Jewish community. In 1877, the minister of religion and education had already issued the regulation dealing with observance of the Jewish holidays in which it was emphasized that Jewish students attending the middle schools be exempt from attending classes on both days of Rosh-Hashanah and Yom Kippur, as well as the following days of the three pilgrim seasons:

the first, second, seventh and eighth day of Sukkoth;
the first, second, seventh and eighth day of Pesah, and
both days of Shabuoth. ⁴⁶

The permission to excuse the Jewish students from writing on the Sabbath became a question disputed at great length. Its complexity increased with the rising tide of anti-Semitism. Before that, it was a rather simple matter for the director of the school to decide upon a request. It was often granted without any strings attached.

But in the '80's, when anti-Semitism raged in the country, Trefort, the minister of religion and education, who repeatedly indicated that he was part and parcel of the movement, tried to lay stumbling blocks in the path of the Jewish student wherever and whenever the cause permitted. Consequently, if a Jewish student wished to observe the Sabbath law, the minister ordained that the student had to appeal to him for such permission, which he was reluctant to grant. His excuse was that because it drew hardship on the class and the student, this permission could not be granted. This complication compelled the parent to appeal directly to the minister for such a grant.

In reply to all these petitions the minister issued an order in 1885, which only partly satisfied the

request. His order was that, "The permission can be granted only to those students who are either the sons of a rabbi or who are preparing for the rabbinic vocation." In view of this permission, the individual students had to appeal to the minister for his exemption which was given only as indicated, on special occasions. ⁴⁷

The limitation of this order brought about many disputes. Abraham Hochmuth, rabbi of Veszprem, raised the question, "Why does the minister limit his order to rabbis' sons or those who seek the rabbinical vocation? Is it not a grave problem even for the average individual to know that his son can attend the middle school only if he is willing to barter with his religion? Is this not a direct violation of the principle of freedom of religion, which even the minister of religion has no right to violate?" ⁴⁸

Aron Buchler, rabbi of Jaszbereny, drew up a petition countersigned by forty-three rabbis, in which he petitioned the minister to remove the limitations concerning the Sabbath grant, stressing the fact that the Jewish religion does not show preference to anyone. The observance of the law is obligatory to rabbis and laymen alike. Therefore, if permission was granted to one, it should be extended to all. ⁴⁹

The very same thought was repeated in the petition

issued by the community of Budapest. Signed by Mor Wahrmann, the president, and Ignac Goldziher, secretary, in December, 1886, this petition emphasized the following:

"The issued order of the minister indicates that he is willing to make an exception of granting permission to abstain from writing on the Sabbath to rabbis' sons and to those who are to become rabbis -- it is difficult to assume that any officer of the government can make a decision on this -- which student should be exempt. Perhaps only the parents can decide on this, but all this is baseless for our religious law emphatically indicates that there is but one law; therefore, if the permission is granted to one, it should include the others. By so doing, the youth will have respect for the government because it gives consideration to the religious laws of its citizens." 50

The Kultus minister, Trefort, did not reply to these petitions. He did, however, send to the directors of the middle schools on January 8, 1888, an order in which he reiterated the conditions he emphasized in his previous order of 1885. In fact, he made the terms therein more emphatic in that, in those cities where there were gymnasiums and Real schools, only students in the gymnasium could apply for exemption; but where there was only a Real school, its students could also apply. 51

The reason for this was obvious. Students preparing for the ministry usually attended schools of the gymnasium where languages -- Greek and Latin were of major importance, while the Real school emphasized the sciences.

Albin Csaky, Trefort's successor as minister of religion and education, made but minor changes in his 1890 order. They were more of an administrative nature -- that the applications henceforth be addressed to the director of the school district instead of the minister of religion.⁵² On February 15, 1893, the Sabbath question finally reached a decisive point when Csaky emphasized that exemptions were henceforth to be given by the director of the school. He was empowered to issue grants without any limitations or restrictions if the parents so desired and applied for it in writing.⁵³ This change came as a result of the "Recepicio", a law which brought amelioration and improved conditions in general for the Jew. The Sabbath question, as well as the exemption from attending classes on the holy days, was finally settled.

The third problem dealing with the religious instruction in the public schools and of major concern was yet unsolved. With the establishment of the public educational law of 1868, a new problem had arisen in the field of Jewish education -- the teaching of religion in the public elementary and middle schools.

While the denominational schools were in existence, there was no question as to the teaching of religion in the public schools. After 1868, when many denominational schools were transformed into public schools, these conditions changed. Hebrew and religious education were not included in the public school curriculum, and students had to get there in some form or another. In the district of Budapest, where Jewish population was dense, the number of Jewish students reached 4,500; of this number only about 1,000 students attended the denominational schools of the community where Hebrew and religious education were still part of the curriculum. But for this religious study the remaining 3,500 Jewish students depended entirely on the new type of education that was prescribed by the Government Inspector of Education. The time allotted for this was limited to two hours a week.

Certain Jewish educators believed that, because of the limitation of time, the Hebrew language should be omitted from the religious educational program. Others maintained that Biblical history should be excluded and that attention should be concentrated on the liturgy and the prayer book. It was decided, at least for the time being, to distribute a small portion of all the studies in the curriculum; however, this did not satisfy the

requirement, for this distribution only resulted in ignorance in all of the fields. Naturally, the question of discussion among the Jewish educators for many years was, "What should the program be?"

In 1882, the community of Pest appointed a committee consisting of three educators whom they sent abroad to Germany to study and compare conditions. The committee utilized the educational achievements of the many cities of Germany and on this basis presented their report. They indicated that in many communities there were special institutions devoted to religious education besides the government assigned programs. In all those places where these institutions were segregated from the organizations of the government, the educational effort was pursued with greater intensity. In other words, community enterprise should supplement the hours assigned by the government to Jewish education. The committee made the following proposals:

1. Individuals appointed to fill the position as religious teachers in the public school must be adequately qualified for the post.
2. The denominational schools must be increased to supplement the religious teaching in the middle school.
3. Institutions must be established for the

advancement of religious study.

4. A unified curriculum must be established without delay.

5. A two-fold religious educational program should be established: A limited program within the framework of the public school and a more extensive program outside the public school for religious education in the community.

6. The religious teachers must have a definite program to follow.

7. Adequate religious textbooks should be agreed upon to solve the problem.

8. The community of Pest, as the leading Jewish community, in cooperation with the rabbis and the central office must work jointly to attain such a unified system and curriculum. 54

This committee referred to the deplorable conditions that prevailed in the public school and recommended immediate action. At the annual teacher's meeting in 1883, Dr. Rafael Goldberger, rabbi of Buda, discussed the religious educational problem that existed in the middle schools. He pointed out that religious education in the middle schools lacked essential objectives such as order and sequence; and that above all, it lacked a unified curriculum. One teacher found his delight in teaching

Psalms; another, in religious philosophy of the Middle Ages; and a third, in teaching Humash with Rashi commentary. A great many of the students often were not prepared for such an advanced study, for they lacked the rudiments of the Hebrew language. Neither were they ready to study advanced history of the Jewish people. In other words, there was great disorder in the objectives and purposes of Jewish education because of lack of readiness in general.

Most of the communities lacked Talmud Torahs, where the opportunity was given to the student, if he so desired, to supplement his religious study in the public and middle schools after regular school hours, on Sundays, and vacation time. Here they could acquire a basic Hebrew education which they could not hope to get in the public schools or middle schools where the time was limited to two hours a week. The most they could ever expect to achieve in those two hours was a systematic study of Biblical history and post-Biblical history in the Hungarian language. If these two courses were properly distributed through the eight years, the student would benefit greatly. They could, in addition to completing this, perhaps acquire a few Hebrew prayers and selected passages from the Psalms. 55

It took many years to plan and extensive experimentation to crystallize these thoughts. Until that was

attained, Jewish education in the middle schools was disorganized. Few were the teachers qualified for the job, but most of them did their utmost to do justice to the difficult task. They were conscious of the needs, but could do very little to solve them. 56

The governmental law known as the 1883 XXX helped substantially to meet this problem. The ninth paragraph of this law read, "The teaching of religion and ethics to students belonging to a religious group and a congregation should be undertaken by an authorized person who should also be registered by the minister of public instruction and religion and have his certified appointment to this effect. The minister, however, has no right to reject the acceptance of the individual submitted by his religious denomination, unless this individual fails to be a citizen of the country." 57

The director of the school was obligated to issue an annual report to the minister about the appointment of the religious professor in the school. If the chair of the religious teacher was not filled, then the director should make such a report to the minister.

The questions on this appointment:

1. The number of the document (certification).
2. The name of the teacher.

3. The religion he is teaching; his date of birth and location of birth.
4. Qualification -- schooling and language background.
5. Length in present position.
6. Grade and hours taught.
7. Salary. ⁵⁸

Jewish Educators Labor to Work Out an Adequate Religious Curriculum.

The order of the minister of education and religion played great importance in the development of religious teaching in the elementary and middle schools. All these requirements motivated Jewish educators to work out a curriculum relevant to these problems. The following Hungarian Jewish educators were involved:

Abraham Hochmuth, rabbi of Veszprem, who presented a curriculum which could and should have been applied in the elementary and middle schools. ⁵⁹

Ede Neumann, rabbi of Nagy Kanizsa, who also referred to a curriculum that could have been offered to the two types of schools. His was a detailed curriculum which should have been applied in the public elementary and middle schools. ⁶⁰

Emmanuel Low, chief rabbi of Szeged, who prepared a review of the material to be applied in the

elementary boy's and girl's schools. 61

David Schon who applied basic principles in the selection of the religious program of the gymnasium. He offered his logical reasoning in what the study of the Talmud meant to students in the years gone by. According to his analysis the study of the Talmud was chiefly applied toward the interpretation of the law and not so much the emphasis that should be advocated in the law. It emphasized the obligations, but not the basic principles. "This laxity must be repaired in the religious study of the gymnasium. Our mission is to advocate the principles of our religion and the truth they imply by rendering our students the proper prospective. On this basis he should get acquainted with Biblical history, the major portion of the prophets, and the ethical teachings they imply. To awaken such a religious feeling in the heart of our youth is the primary objective of this study." 62

Program for Teaching Religion in the Public Schools.

Out of the many presentations and proposals was crystallized the curriculum presented by the Jewish community of Pest. It appeared at first in the 1887-88 school year as the accepted program for teaching religion in the public schools.

This program was not concentrated on catechism but on the basic principles on which the Jewish religion

should have its foundation in order to inculcate respect and admiration in the hearts of the students. According to this detailed curriculum, the following was assigned:

I and II Class -- Biblical History, (From the creation to the destruction of the first temple). This study was supplemented with geographical maps of the Holy Land. From each discussion, the ethical and religious lesson was carefully emphasized.

III Class -- Biblical History, (Continuation from the destruction of the first temple to the destruction of the second temple). Special attention should be given to principles imbued in these teachings and the familiarity of the basic prayers, their objective, and content.

IV Class -- Psalms. Two weekly hours of study should be devoted to special selections from the Psalms (These selections were to be studied from the original Hebrew text).

V Class -- Prophets. Each should deal with selective passages from the Prophets, their historic significance and ethical content.

VI and VII Class -- Jewish History, (The study of the history of the Jews during the Middle Ages and the later period). Careful studies should be devoted to the highlight exerted by each period, its leaders,

and the teachings they endeavored to convey.

VIII Glass -- Religious Principles. The religious and ethical principles of Jewish religion and its development should be summarized systematically. ⁶³

This curriculum further motivated the education and leadership of the city of Budapest, as they were the representative body to take the initiative. They established an office for a school inspector (an idea that was already in the mind of the educational leaders in 1884) who should have a two-fold mission -- that of a cultural director and an administrator. As the intellectual leader, he should call conferences of teachers who should gather from time to time to work out a curriculum by unanimous consent. As the administrator, he should exert ample influence upon the schools so that this plan was applied in practice. ⁶⁴

Curriculum Prepared by Dr. Jozsef Barany, Rabbi of Debrecen.

In 1888, the community of Pest elected Dr. Jozsef Barany, rabbi of Debrecen, as their school inspector. Through his initiative, he prepared a curriculum which he thought would meet with the general consent of the teaching staff of Pest and would be put to use in the middle schools of the city and the country. His plan consisted of the following:

1. A general plan and the instructions.
2. A detailed curriculum and resolutions.

Each of these had three sub-divisions,

- a. Biblical History
- b. Religion
- c. Hebrew

In order to present a model of this structure that Dr. Barany had in mind, it was necessary to give to the schools a curriculum of the first grade of the gymnasium and the eighth grade.

I Class

1. General Plan

- a. Biblical History: From the Creation to Revelation. Original Hebrew texts of the Humash were to be used; from these, selections of specific passages were to be made. Each of such selected passages was to be studied, and the ethical and religious lesson inferred in it was to be emphasized. Only those passages were selected that contained a definite central thought, a thought that would be instrumental in the building of religious and ethical personalities.

2. Detailed Plan

- a. Biblical History: The detailed plan pointed out the following selected passages: The Beginning; the first couple, Adam and Eve; Cain and

Abel; Noah and the Great Flood; the Tower of Babel; Abraham; Sodom Gemora; Isaac and Jacob; Jacob and Esau; Jacob and his Sons; Joseph and his Brethren; the Children of Israel in Egypt; Moses and his Mission; the Redemption from Egypt; the Manna.

b. Religion: The eternity and omnipotence of God; the immortality of the soul; the sanctity of the Sabbath; respect for parents; sin and its consequences; jealousy and its consequence; repentance; God's love and mercy; the unity and the providence of God; the love of peace and submissiveness (humility); hospitality; the insatiable appetite for wealth and its consequence; the ritualistic significance of the Pesah festival -- season of freedom.

c. Hebrew: Study of the Hebrew text of the Humash: Genesis II:1-3, IV:6-7, VIII:20-22, IX:12-15, XII:7-8, XVII:1-7, XVIII:23-26, XXII:15-18, XXXII:25-30; Exodus II:1-8, III:1-6, 13-16, XII:14-28, 39-42, XVI:16, 28-29; the Shema Prayer, Deuteronomy VI:4-9; Adon Olam -- Elokai N'shama; Blessings: over bread, water, fruit, and vegetables; Grace after meals.

VIII Class

1. General Plan

a. Jewish history beginning with Mendelssohn to the present. A brief history of the Jews

in Hungary. Selected passages out of the Pirke Aboth. The ethical significance to everyday life.

2. Detailed Plan

a. Mendelssohn's enlightenment policy -- the French Revolution and Jewish emancipation; emancipation in Germany; Ludwig Börne and Heinrich Heine; Reform movement among the Jews; the rebirth of Jewish scholarship -- its leaders Zunz, Rappaport, Luzzato, Jost, ^eRisser, Krochmal, Munk, Philipsohn, Montefiore (The detailed history of Jews in Hungary was missing in his report).

b. Religion and Hebrew -- extensive study of selections of the Ethics of the Fathers. ⁶⁵

Barany resigned from his school inspectorship and accepted the rabbinic position in Kecskemet even before his proposed school program was tried out or contested by the contemporary educators. His curriculum, designed to meet the need of the middle school, was far from being adequate for many reasons. His subject arrangement was neither psychologically sound -- a discussion of the immortality of the soul with ten-year olds -- nor was there ample time allotted for this school program to cover all his proposed material. There is a logical difference between drawing a curri-

culum and executing it in the classroom. Barany did not seem to have such a pedagogic qualification.

Bernat Munkacsi Formulated the "Universal Religious Educational Programs."

Barany was replaced in 1890 by Bernat Munkacsi, the prominent professor of Finno-ugric languages. He engaged himself wholeheartedly to this major project of advancing religious education in the middle school. He endeavored to formulate a curriculum which the whole city could accept, and to establish religious education on a healthy foundation upon which the coming generation might continue to build.

He was fortunate in selecting individuals especially qualified in their fields. One of those was Dr. Martin Schreimer, to whom he assigned the writing of a religious educational text for the VIII grade of the gymnasium. Schreimer, professor of religion of the Teachers' Institute of Pest, was a scholar with an extensive religious and historic background.

Munkacsi formulated the Pesti Hittkozseg Vallas Oktatasanak Egyetemes Tanerve Az Ifjusagi Istentiszteletek Szabalyzata (Universal Religious Educational Program) for the Jewish congregation of Pest (Budapest, 1891). In the introduction of his religious education plan, Munkacsi proposed two basic ideas which were in opposition to the

general religious educational viewpoints advocated by the rabbinic Seminary of Budapest which read, "The dignity of religious educational policy can only be maintained and perpetuated if its teachings do not run counter to the student's belief, to his accepted truth-- what the student conceives as positive knowledge. We need inner conviction in order to advocate religion to our youth. It must be positive conviction. The Seminary fails to recognize this so-called 'truth of the day' as positive truth. It maintains that this is merely a relative truth. Giving as a reason that religion often has to combat the so-called seemingly accepted truth, consequently should not be considered as contradictory to the child's educational conviction." Another point was: "How can we teach children to sanctify the Sabbath when we know that their parents do not observe the Sabbath? The seminary advocates that we have to teach Biblical truths even if parents of the children do not observe them. All Biblical laws must be taught regardless of whether the parents of the children observe them in their homes or not. Take for instance the Dietary Laws. Although many of the Jewish homes do not enforce these laws, nevertheless, they should be taught and emphasized." 66

Dr. Bela Vajda, in his evaluation of Munkacsi's

universal curriculum of the city of Pest, stated that he found loop holes in his curriculum in that the study of the five books of Moses was not made a prerequisite among the other books of Scripture. The study of the Humash was always considered basic and could not be replaced by other books of the Prophets or the Hagiographa. ⁶⁷

Even more difficult, Vajda believed, was the carrying through of the Hebrew part of Munkacsi's curriculum, in which he prescribed that the fourth class of the gymnasium should study Psalms during the year -- twenty-seven of these in Hebrew. The fifth and the sixth year of the gymnasium had to cover 315 prophetic passages, which coverage he conceived an impossibility in the limited time of two hours per week. ⁶⁸

In spite of the criticism raised against Munkacsi's pedagogic endeavor, we must admit that his plan served as the basis for later developments.

The "Budapesti Gyules" (The Assembly of Budapest) and its Work on a Religious Program for the Middle Schools.

The question of formulating an adequate curriculum for the religious instruction in the middle school was primarily the concern of the rabbis -- perhaps more so for those in the suburban districts than for those in the cities who not only endured a full program of religious duties but also taught religion in the public and the

middle schools. The rabbis of Budapest had issued a call to the rabbis of the country in 1885, to get together in Budapest. This conference was known as "Budapesti Gyules". The main question on the agenda was to discuss a normal religious program for the middle schools. It is clear that this call received ample response. Also, in this call it was emphasized that only individuals who possessed both secular and Hebrew scholarship could be engaged as professors in the religious department of the middle schools. 69

Not all the rabbis were in accord on the possibility of carrying out a universal program in the teaching of religion in the middle schools. Many believed that such a plan could not function. Dr. Gyula Diamant, rabbi of Vukovar, gave four such reasons:

1. Students entering middle schools usually come from a variety of Jewish, Protestant or Catholic denominational elementary and public elementary schools where the Hebrew program is far from being the same; consequently, the background of these students is of a great variety. For instance, pupils graduating from the Jewish denominational elementary schools where eight to ten hours of Hebrew is devoted per week are certainly better qualified than students coming from elementary schools where little or no religious education is offered.

2. The variety of teachers and their convictions on what they deem important for a student to acquire in the middle school must be taken into consideration. One teacher, for instance, prefers the teachings of the Messianic concept and the Jewish position of survival in the surrounding world history among the nations. Others refrain from treating the Messianic subject altogether.

3. In communities where rabbis in addition to their rabbinic duties, perform the mission of religious teachers in the middle school, all such rabbis are compelled, due to lack of time, to combine two classes of different grades. This situation which is far from being ideal; consequently, the curriculum of such schools could hardly follow a universal plan.

4. Religious instruction depends, to a large measure, upon the administrative effort of the individual director who constructs the general curriculum of the school, by helping to line out the hours assigned to the study of that which would be satisfactory to the religious professor who in many cases is a rabbi in the community. Due to inadequate program arrangements assigned by the school, the rabbi preferred to conduct the classes in the synagogue although the minister's regulation is that religious education must be performed within the walls of

the school.

In his finale, Dr. Diamant emphasized that success in the religious instruction in the middle school can be attained only if this instruction was performed in the mother tongue and if it dealt exclusively with teachings of Biblical, post-Biblical history, and systematic religion. Original Hebrew Bible study was out of the question for reasons indicated.

Consequently, the rabbinic assembly of Budapest could only pass on overall opinions of what and how to perform such religious instruction in the middle schools. Whether this should include original Hebrew Bible or mere Biblical history was up to the individual professor to work out for himself. They knew their problems, and it was up to them to fill in the lines of their educational program. ⁷⁰

The rabbinic assembly did not debate the religious educational program; however, it decided that the rabbis and spiritual leaders should exert the utmost endeavor to render the student a successful religious upbringing. ⁷¹ It was moved and passed by the assembly that a rabbinic body be elected to formulate by-laws and consider, with some restrictions, a uniform religious curriculum.

Dr. Jacob Steinherz, rabbi of Szekesfehervar,

was elected to draw up and submit a bill that stressed the fact that the rabbinic organization should always strive toward the attainment of its chief objective -- the improvement of the religious educational program of its youth. This, if possible, should be conducted by a uniform program throughout the country. 72

There were many complaints against the indifferent attitude practiced by many religious teachers, who did not seem to be serious in their work as there were against many students, who were not qualified to pass their religious examinations but who, nevertheless, passed with high marks. It was declared that if a student in the gymnasium were not familiar with the names of the Greek and Roman Gods, he failed the course; but, if a Jewish student knew little or nothing about the God of Israel, he passed! This was largely due to the fact that many religious teachers were concerned only about receiving their salaries. There were still other complaints that teachers who were qualified to teach merely in the German language preferred to use German in their religious instruction. To this we may add the indifference of the parents. All this could have been remedied if the seminary of the rabbinic school offered a special course of study to train religious instructors for their teaching positions. This course should also have been attended by the students of

a teacher's institute who sought qualifications for teaching religion in the middle school. Since the students of the teachers' institutes were to be given the opportunity of securing religious training at the seminaries and as both schools were in the same building, it was suggested that the religious studies should be eliminated from the institute curriculum and that it should be limited to secular studies. On March 21, 1886, the Jewish community of Pest established the Hittoktato Tantestulete (The religious teaching staff) which was called together to formulate and exercise a harmonious educational program in the capitol city of Budapest. The objective of the staff was to develop, by mutual consent, a workable program for all the middle schools of the country. 73

In 1890, the religious training endeavor finally came to a decisive point when it was decided that by-laws pertaining to the teacher's training course be worked out by the professionals of the Rabbinic Seminary. These by-laws, consisting of twenty-two paragraphs, were formulated and signed on June 23 by Dr. Moses Bloch, president of the professional staff, and Dr. Martin Schweiger, chairman of the committee, in Budapest. These by-laws were countersigned on October 27, by Albin Csaky, the minister of religion and education. 74

Among the important factors indicated in these by-laws was that university students should supplement the course constituting two years of study with the following subjects: Hebrew grammar, Bible interpretations, Jewish history, and religious philosophy. According to these requirements, the students had to become familiar with the contents of the various books of the Bible and significance of each, as well as the history of the Gaonic Period and its movements. Students of the rabbinic school were privileged to choose as their specialty religious teaching in the middle schools. For this reason, the faculty arranged that in the upper division of the Seminary special courses be designed to meet with this requirement. Before a teacher received his qualifying certificate, he had to pass a written and oral examination. After the oral examination, the candidate had to choose a special topic to present as a trial lecture. Upon the successful completion of all these, he received his qualifying certificate. Students who, in addition to assigned courses, could pass an examination on Biblical commentary, the Talmud, and Hebrew language, received a qualifying certificate to teach in a Talmud Torah. 75

Pedagogical Committee of 1882 Recommended Publishing of Adequate Textbooks.

The appointed pedagogical committee of 1882,

which the city of Pest had sent to Germany to study the educational progress and present their recommendations, had proposed that the progress of Jewish education could be accelerated by publishing adequate textbooks. There was an abundance of new textbooks on the market dealing with Biblical history and catechism, ethics, and others. Many rabbis and teachers wrote and published such texts without possessing adequate pedagogical knowledge. Individuals having little or no knowledge about philosophy and education wrote textbooks.

A few observations may throw some light on the prevailing situation. It is an accepted fact that by means of indoctrination we cannot carry through a scientifically planned and constructed curriculum. It must be attained by an open-minded procedure of questions and answers. Only by the inner-conviction of the students can the educator achieve his objective. In spite of all this, we find the market flooded with books written by men such as Gusztav Grosz, a teacher who wrote, Vezetfonal A Nepiskolai Izr. Ifjusag Vallasoktatasara (Leading Threads for Jewish Children's Religious Education). This book was not at all a leading thread to the child for Grosz endeavored to teach religion not in the form of questions and answers but by indoctrination. Besides this, the book was designed for six or seven-year old children too young

to deal with philosophic questions such as the attributes of God; many other topics which were far above the mental capacity of a child. ⁷⁶ Another example is the book written by Natan Halsz, Zsido Hittan Katechismus Polgari as Felsobb Leany Iskolak Szamara (Jewish Religious Catechism for the Polgari and Upper Girl's School). A critical review concerning this book was given by Abraham Stern, professor of religion and education of Pest. He pointed out that the book did not satisfy the basic pedagogic requirements. In his opinion interest can only then be attained if the child formulates his own ideas and not by means of catechism, for such indoctrination does not allow ample ground for the student's understanding and the formulating of his own thoughts. Interest must be motivated by the students and not merely by the author. By proper presentation of the historic past the student could formulate his own view about the events and would retain pictures of those events in his mind for years to come. ⁷⁷

In opposition to this theory, we find Gustov Grosz, author of Machane Israel (Camp of Israel), writing a history extending from the Creation to the destruction of the second temple in Jerusalem, an extensive period of history condensed in forty-eight pages. The major part of this history is treated in twenty pages, while the

desolation of the Temple -- the city of Jerusalem -- was treated in the remaining twenty-eight pages. The book is nothing but a compilation of events which cannot be considered an adequate text for study of history for children. 78

Still others wrote texts by applying philosophic reasoning. One of those authors was Joseph Conne, religious teacher of Arad. In his historic text, Izraelitak Tortenete Birodalmanak Vegleges Felbomlasaig (Jewish history till the final disbandment of the political state). In this he tried to rationalise religion and tradition by eliminating all historic facts that were supernatural, such as the creation in six days, Balaam's ass, Josuah's incident concerning the sun's standing still on Gibeon. All these, he omitted from the text. Since this historic book lacked sequence, it was not in the present writer's opinion an adequate text for teaching Jewish history. 79

Religious education was promoted by the publications of many excellent authors. Among these were Fulop Csukas and Jozsef Schon, who wrote, Zsido Hittona Szentiras Elbeszelsei Kapcsan (The Jewish Religious Study Based on Scriptural Relations). The authors selected Hebrew reading materials quoted from the Bible and then expanded these readings of Hebrew with Biblical history. The book consisted of both Hebrew texts and translations

in the Hungarian language. They also wrote an excellent history. They took as their basis Mayer Keyserling and Samuel Kohn. In this book they tried to give emphasis to the pedagogic point of view that the student's imagination is vivified and intensified by the printed work of the author. The letter serves as the image reflected in the mirror of the heart and the mind. For this reason it is essential that supplementary notes be added to the text which helps the students to clarify those reflections. They also wrote an important book about Jozsef Eotvos, a study of Jewish emancipation in Hungary. ⁸⁰

Among the outstanding texts dealing with Biblical history was Abraham Stern's, Izrael Tortenete (The History of Israel), in which harmonious relationship was established between the knowledge of subject material and pedagogic principles. The miraculous events pictured in the book were skillfully treated. The book was a study of Hebrew phraseology of the Biblical text, and also referred to grammatical commentaries. ⁸¹

This book was prepared for the student in the lower classes of the gymnasium and the polgari. The appearance of such text hastened the establishment of the unified religious system. Its first step had already been taken when the authors of these books followed in the footsteps

of Munkacsi who had paved the road for them. This truth was exemplified by Dr. Ede Neumann, rabbi of Nagy Kanizsa, in his, Zsido Vallas Tortenete (The History of Jewish Religion), written for the students of the gymnasium. ⁸²

In these books, attention was given to the religious motivation of the student who drifted from religion because of the laxity of the home; a study was made between the relationship of subject matter and religious ideals; light was thrown upon the essential prerequisites of adequate training of teachers and professors for the religious schools; attention was given to the publications of textbooks for the religious schools. We shall now, briefly, point out the influence that ceremonials and youth participation in the synagogue had in bringing about a religious awakening of youth.

The Effects of Youth Participation in the Synagogue Upon Religious Education.

First I must point out the obstacles religious education had to face as a result of the lack of cooperation between the school and the home -- between theory and practice. The school and the home were always considered partners, co-workers in an idealistic mission. Religious education, according to Jewish concepts, was never limited to mere materials of instruction, the textbook and the school, but it continued in the activities

of the home and the general environment of the synagogue and the community. In this concept, the home served as the fertile grounds where religion was not only planted but culminated and reaped a rich harvest. Therefore, when the home shirked its obligation, the entire responsibility was shifted to the school; and, whatever the student learned was due to the untiring effort of the teacher, learning which was extremely curtailed when religious education in the public and middle schools was limited to two hours per week.

Armin Frisch, rabbi of Mohacs, portrayed the prevailing conditions of the Jewish home in Hungary. It was generally known that the Jewish home, which still had some strength in the traditional observance, gradually was losing out, diminishing in number from the Jewish scene so that those who attended religious service and observed the faith of Israel were gradually disappearing. It was, therefore, no surprise that this laxity had a harmful effect upon the religious teachings of the school. What could the school expect of students whose parents did not believe in God, did not attend religious service, and had no conception of the teachings of the Bible? ⁸³

In helping to solve this problem, the synagogue was greatly instrumental. It served as an "island within" by creating an artificial environment that was lacking in

the home. In helping to build such an artificial home environment, great credit was due to Dr. Israel Bak, rabbi and teacher, who instituted the confirmation of girls in Hungary. He ascertained that girls not only attended religious service but took an active part in the performance of such service. All this should be motivated by love rather than by compulsion. This movement, according to many educators, helped to intensify religious interest in the Jewish student's life. ⁸⁴

Israel Bak's endeavor expressed itself mainly in the life of the girls who attended the polgari. To bring about the same result among the boys was more difficult. They were not concerned about attending religious service, nor were they interested in listening to religious sermons. ⁸⁵

The community of Pest put forth special effort toward the intensification of religious service conducted by the youth for the youth. This service was given special attention not only during the Sabbaths but during the holiday seasons as well. In the educational program of Munkacsí, we find the foundation for youth participation for it was one of the basic requirements of his plan. Armin Frisch expressed hopes that the communities, throughout the country, follow the example of Budapest in arranging youth services for boys and girls.

The religious instruction of the school program emphasized the study of religious participation in the synagogue as one of its assigned subjects for study. In the institute of teachers, it was necessary that they acquire the knowledge of participation in synagogue service. Teachers took part in religious choirs, and conducted religious services of the week and holiday seasons. They read the portions of the Torah which the students had to perform themselves. ⁸⁶

Re-organization of Talmud Torah Schools.

Simultaneous with the participation of religious service and religious teaching in the public and middle schools great effort was exerted towards the re-organization of the Talmud Torah schools. The institutions founded by the Jewish Congress resolutions dealing with questions pertaining to Talmud Torah did not prove satisfactory to the overall Jewish community because they were designated to serve as preparatory schools for the rabbinic seminary. In reality, the existing Talmud Torahs did not fulfill such a mission either in theory or in practice. The preparations students received in the Talmud Torahs were not adequate to meet the entrance requirements of the rabbinic seminary -- a few pages out of the Talmud, the study of the Humash with Rashi and some other commentaries, a few chapters of the prophets -- all

this without a system could hardly meet such a requirement.

Ignac Goldziher expressed his sharp criticism about the Talmud Torahs of Pest when he pointed out the existing conditions that prevailed in these schools. In his opinion, the Talmud Torahs should not be the place where students received their preparation to enter the rabbinic seminary but rather where students became qualified to be lay leaders of the community. For the mere limited time assigned to religious instruction in the middle school could hardly suffice to meet such a requirement. The Talmud Torah should supplement this deficiency. "We, therefore," stated Goldziher, "need such an educational institution if we should prepare our youth to be concerned about Judaism. This objective can be obtained only by those who have ample knowledge of the Bible and the classical concepts of Jewish religion: The Hebrew language, Jewish history, liturgy, and history of Jewish literature of the Middle Ages. To attain such study requires that a course be instituted that would run parallel to the study of the gymnasium, a program which should embrace a curriculum of Jewish studies for eight years."

In his memorial issue, Goldziher proposed that the Talmud Torah should no longer be classified as the

Talmud Torah Society but should be incorporated among the educational organizations of the city. He expressed hope that this institute be reorganized and its curriculum be intensified. He stated, "We live in an age when atheism and indifference sways the country and only a basic study of Judaism can lead us out of these difficulties." ⁸⁷

He presented his proposal in May 1884, and the rabbinic body of the community of Pest replied in March, 1885. The rabbinic body believed that the Talmud Torah should remain as it was, that its curriculum should also remain very much the same as it was, that it should consist of two classes, each of two years, and that the following subjects should be taught:

1. The Humash - with the easier parts of Rashi commentary.
2. Selected passages from Proverbs and Psalms.
3. Hebrew grammar - morphology.
4. Biblical and post-Biblical history up to the close of the second temple.
5. Major parts of the Bible - laws based on Biblical history.
6. Liturgy, and readings of the easier parts of the Mishnah and the Talmud.

The purpose of the reorganization was to make an end to frailty and slackness in the school system. ⁸⁸

In the August, 1885 meeting, the congregation of Pest, recognizing the need of the reorganization of the Talmud Torah, decided on Goldziher's proposal. They elected Dr. Vilmos Bacher, the rabbi and seminary professor, as the director-professor of the school. Bacher did not lose time; after the election he immediately worked out a curriculum to meet the need of the Talmud Torah. According to Bacher, the basic objective of the Talmud Torah was, "to familiarize the student with the basic subject material of the Jewish religion." Speaking of basic material, Bacher did not limit himself to the mere study of the Biblical books. but included historic studies that developed after the closing period of the Bible, which helped to advance the knowledge and understanding of our religion. In order that such knowledge be acquired, he included the prayer book and the liturgy of the synagogue. Bacher's curriculum was as follows:

First and Second Year

Prayer bookone weekly hour.

Selective passages from the Humash.....

three weekly hours.

Biblical history.....one weekly hour.

Third and Fourth Year

Prophets - elected books....three weekly
hours.

Pirke Aboth.....one weekly hour.

Mishnah - selected passages...one weekly
hour.

According to plans of both Bacher and Goldziher, the Torah and prophetic portions were given an equal allotment of time. In Bacher's plan, Rashi was omitted for specific reasons; although the commentary, no doubt, threw added interpretation for understanding of the Biblical text, yet at the same time, it held the student back from making rapid progress in familiarizing himself with the text of the Humash.

Instead of giving a detailed description of Bacher's plan, I have merely indicated his general views. The Hebrew language, according to him, could not be treated as a special subject because of the limitation of time; however, that did not mean that grammar was omitted from the curriculum. Grammatical rules were emphasized from time to time as the Bible and Prophetic text were discussed. The same was true of Biblical history. It served as a special subject during the first and second year, but during the last two years it was not treated as a specific topic. Here, too, while studying the prophets, historic events were given ample consideration. The elaboration of the Pirke Aboth equally offered the opportunity to enlighten the student on the Greek and Roman periods -- its movements, influence and personalities that helped to develop the age. During the first and second year, Bible study, the Humash, the five books of Moses were extensively

treated. During the last two years, the books of the major prophets were studied in conjunction with the passages of the Psalms and Proverbs. All passages were to be treated with the intent to develop and express religious motivation. The Biblical narrations dealing with the founding fathers, selected passages dealing with the laws of the Torah, the teachings of the prophets, and the composition of the Psalms to be given ample consideration. Even though the student was not given enough time for detailed study, nevertheless, the religious essence of the text was given ample treatment. Among the Talmudic literature, first the ethical teachings of the Tanaim beginning with the Mishnah, especially Seder Moed, were to be treated; those passages were to be considered that had special bearing and practical application to religious laws pertaining to the holidays.

From the standpoint of organization, Bacher's plan did not run parallel to the eight years of the gymnasium. Students were taken into the higher classes by entrance examinations. Only in later dates did the Talmud Torah develop its higher classes.⁸⁹

The development of the Talmud Torah found the response in other communities throughout the country which followed the example of the city of Pest. They gave emphasis that Goldziher's and Bacher's ideals would serve as a model for others to follow with only one reservation --

that it should not serve as a stepping-stone for the seminary. According to Hochmuth, rabbi of Veszprem, this deficiency could be repaired if, in addition to Goldziher's plan of the fourth year, a special instructor of Talmud be engaged to prepare the students with the necessary Talmudic preliminaries. ⁹⁰ Armin Perls, rabbi of Kecskemet, objected to Goldziher's opinion in not favoring the Talmud Torah as a preparatory school for the seminary, as he stated, "We are not here to raise rabbis but learned laymen." Perls objected to this because this was not the general Jewish point of view. "Judaism does not discriminate between rabbis and laymen; it merely differentiated between Talmud Hohom and Am-Haarez -- the cultured and the uncultured. Our religion expects the layman to know the law even as the rabbi. The Talmud Torah, therefore, must be so situated and its courses so organized that a student, after completing the fourth year of the gymnasium, should be able to enter the first class of the lower division of the seminary-- that is, the fifth year of the gymnasium without an entrance examination." Perls' reasonings were well-founded. He was concerned about Jewish scholarship in general and about Jewish students attending the gymnasium of the seminary, where in addition to secular studies they be given the opportunity to advance their Jewish background. ⁹¹

Mor Klein, rabbi of Nagybecskerek, was of the same

opinion and an advocate of the pre-seminary who wanted to see the Talmud Torah help the Jewish students to obtain this objective -- to be able to enter the fifth year of the gymnasium of the seminary; and, even if he could not meet the rabbinic requirement after completion of the eighth year, at least shall gain added Jewish knowledge, the credit of such achievement would be due to the Talmud Torah. 92

Others approached the Talmud Torah question from some other point of view. Rabbi Mor Lowy, rabbi of Temesvar, believed that very few cities could follow the pattern of Pest for some obvious reasons, such as the teacher and the pupil problem. According to Goldziher, to manage a well-functioning Talmud Torah calls for at least four teachers. "It stands to reason," said Rabbi Lowy, "that not all communities are financially able to meet such an expense. And even if they should make the sacrifice, where will they get the students? Goldziher is optimistic that the majority of the Jewish students will attend. The proof lies in the fact that even in Pest only a minority did attend." 93

In order to substantiate this, he referred to some statistical figures which proved that in 1885-86, there were only 73 students enrolled in the Talmud Torah of Pest; and in 1886-87 while there was an increase to 89,

the fact still remained that this was a very small margin considering the overall number of students in the capitol city. One would think that students of the model gymnasium and those preparing for professorships would certainly seek such an additional knowledge that the Talmud Torah offered, yet most of these students did not enroll in the Talmud Torah. It was also true that most of the students enrolled in the Talmud Torah were in the lower grades. In the upper grades, from the V to the VIII gymnasium, there were only five students.⁹⁴

In 1888-89 the students increased to 117. Out of these were 51 of the gymnasium, 31 of the real gymnasium, 25 of the polgari and commercial school; 8 students attended the elementary V and VI grades. Out of these, 45 were enrolled from previous years. In 1887-88 only two were accepted into the rabbinic school.⁹⁵

Lipot Seltmann, a country elementary school teacher, called to the attention of his colleagues the obvious truth, that if students were properly orientated and prepared, a great number would attend the Talmud Torah. The reason for their not attending was due to the insufficient Hebrew background of most of the students of the middle schools.⁹⁶

Goldziher briefly replied to the argument by stating, "I do not have any objection that the Talmud Torah

is so constituted that it can meet with requirements of the seminary -- that is that students be prepared to enter if they so desire; but this is not the congregation's problem. What we, the congregation, are mainly concerned about is to provide for the children of our members the possibility to receive an adequate Jewish education. The Talmud Torah, as a preparatory school for the seminary, is not a congregational but a national problem." 97

Besides the Talmud Torah school, the Jewish community of Pest also had a lower grade Talmud Torah for the elementary school children. The city of Pest had three such schools in the different parts of the city. These so-called Hebrew schools showed the following statistical enrollment: In the 1891-92 school year, the number of students was 55, 50 and 40; in the 1892-93 school year, the number of students was 62, 54, 60. 98

In these schools the hours of instruction were gradually increased, for in the beginning they had only from two to four weekly hours. The students attending these schools also increased in proportion; for instance, in 1893-94, the students numbered 214. 99

As we have seen, the Talmud Torah schools offered but a smattering taste of Talmudic knowledge. They spent a great deal of time on the subject, but the

result was hardly in conformity to the effort put forth. The furthering of the study was left to the Yeshivot, where the pursuit was exclusively in the study of the Talmud, excluding all secular studies; even the study of Hebrew was made secondary. This fact raised the question, "Did the Yeshivah consider its program of study to prepare the individual for the rabbinit?" It was a fact that only those who could prove that their father or grandfather was a rabbi could aspire for a position. ¹⁰⁰

As a result, the number of Talmudic students decreased. In the '80's among the functioning Yeshivot were the following: Pozsony, 150; Nagyvarad, 80; Satoraljaújhely and Homonna, 60; Szikszó, 50; Nagymarton, 50; Vac, 40; Bonyhard, 50; Papa, 50; Kismarton, 25; Sarospatak, 20; Eger, 25; Nyitra, 30; Nemetkeresztúr, 30; Putnak, 30; Ungvár, 20; in the other known Yeshivot such as Paks, Tolcsa, Galanta, Dunaszerdahely, the students were limited. The most outstanding of all these Yeshivot were those of Pozsony, Nagyvarad and Papa. ¹⁰¹

The Neologs (the Progressives) repeatedly voiced their pleas that the Yeshivot give up their one-sided educational pursuit. In addition to Talmud let them study the Hebrew language and the other essential secular studies. Only by means of an integrated curriculum of study can we advance Judaism. ¹⁰²

There were some who suggested that the directorate of the Yeshivot should accept only those students who had completed the sixth grade of the elementary schools. These students should be obligated to continue their secular studies. The law should prescribe that they attend at least one hour daily some reviewing courses of the school and at the end of each year undergo an examination. By such a move they would have some connection with secular studies and the opportunity would be theirs to aspire to greater gains and higher achievements.¹⁰³

In consideration of all that has been said, the acquisition of a secular education was essential if the Jews were to maintain a respected place as citizens of Hungary. Somehow there had to be a compromise between attaining a secular education and acquiring the Talmudic knowledge that was essential in Jewish education. Any student entering the rabbinic school or intending to teach the Talmud, should be orientated in other related fields in order to qualify to draw comparisons between the statements made in the Talmud and other studies.

Attempts at the Restoration of the Talmud.

Dr. Lajos Blau, director of the National Rabbinic School of Budapest, offered his scholarly opinion of how the dignity of the study of the Talmud could be restored in modern times. The general complaint among Jewry, Dr.

Blau stated, was that the pursuit of the knowledge of the Talmud was rapidly decreasing. This condition was due to economic and social changes which diverted the student from devoting his time exclusively to an education dealing with religious study, such as the study of the Talmud, to new types of professions -- more profitable ones. This change naturally caused a scarcity among the students of the Talmud, and the remaining few who were still in existence struggled to meet the bare necessities of life. This deplorable state was a detriment to the advancement of religious scholarship, as the Talmud was one of the most essential basic foundational sources after the Bible, from which students of religion could draw authentic information pertaining to the development of religious law.

"With this brief evaluation of the significance of the Talmud, we can readily see that, from a religious educational point of view, the study is a major problem in Jewish education. It is our duty to stop its decay by opening new avenues for scholarly research in which the study of the Talmud can take an integral part. The only logical reason", stated Dr. Blau, "why there is a scarcity in Talmudical scholarship is the laxity of the teachings of the Talmud and not the many other reasons given. It is equally unreasonable to assume that students do not choose this study because the study of the Talmud requires many

hours of devoted study, and modern scholars cannot spend too much time on one type of study. This statement can only prove that students of the Talmud today cannot hope to become Talmudic experts in all the fields of a study that develop in the Talmud as a result of a thousand years of scholarly activity, but they can acquire a specific knowledge in one of the many fields indicated in the Talmud. In olden days the primary objective of the study of the Talmud was to interpret the law. To raise such students required the knowledge of the whole Talmud -- all the Tractates of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmud, but it is possible to orientate a student in one branch of interest to him, such as history, education, archeology, or theology, without detailed study of the entire Talmud. In drawing the relationship between the teaching of the Talmud and the modern development of this science in question, we can serve a two-fold purpose. We shall not merely prove that the ancient study is helpful even today, but we shall also establish the truth that from the experiments of the old we can enlighten upon the study of the new."

"But in order to establish such scholarly relationship, we must have Talmudic students who possess the knowledge of both modern science and the Talmudical knowledge that concerns those sciences. In other words,

we must have scientifically trained rabbis who will apply their rabbinic studies in conjunction with the development of modern science. For only by such means can we hope to raise the dignity of Talmudic scholarship." 104

Lack of Jewish Education as a Result of Jewish Attendance in Non-Jewish Schools.

The striving of the Jewish community of Pest, as the capitol city of the country, to advance Jewish educational policy and reorganize the religious education of the Middle Schools and the Talmud Torah Schools no doubt helped many Jewish students, yet undoubtedly assisted Jewish education in a limited way. For even if there were a few hundred denominational Jewish schools where many thousands of Jewish students received a systematic Jewish education, still most of the students in the gymnasium and the Real gymnasium -- besides the limited two hours a week religious study -- rarely received an additional Jewish education. In order to prove this stratification, let us refer to some statistics. In the school year of 1888-89, there were 7,887 Jewish students in the Middle Schools which amounted to 19.7% of the total student-body. The gymnasium was attended by 5,480 and the Real gymnasium by 2,407 Jewish students. 105

In the same year the total number of all Jewish school-

aged children was 123,673. Out of this, 99,168 attended school.

We have no statistical proof of how many children attended the non-Jewish schools, but from the statistics of Budapest we can draw our conclusions on other cities. In 1888-89, 6,564 Jewish children attended the city elementary school. In the Christian denominational schools -- orphan homes, deaf and dumb schools -- the total was 387 students. Hence, there was a total of 6,951 Jewish students in non-Jewish schools. 106

In the polgari schools in Budapest the sum total of students was 8,114. Of these, 1,512 were Jewish children, 580 Jewish boys and 932 Jewish girls. In the gymnasium there were 880 and in the Real gymnasium there were 884. The sum total was 1,764 Jewish students. 107

In the commercial department, there were 470 Jewish children and in the industrial, 1,089. From these figures we can see that in Budapest alone there were above 10,000 Jewish children attending non-Jewish schools.

However, in all of the Jewish congregational schools there were 1,163 students. They were distributed in the following manner: In the Sip utcu boys' schools there were 521 students; and in the Nagymezo boys' schools there were 152 students. 108

Statistics Pertinent to Increase of Jewish Schools.

Since the annual public school law came into existence in 1868 the Minister of Religion reported the conditions that existed throughout the schools of the country. In these educational reports important statistical data of the Jewish school could be observed. It proved that in the school year of 1883-84 there were 516 Jewish denominational public schools, an increase over the number of schools in the 70's when many Jewish schools had disbanded. In the 80's, however, as a result of unfavorable political conditions, some of the Jewish schools that had previously disbanded were reopened. Although among the Jewish schools we can see a fluctuation -- schools opened and closed -- yet the direction pointed to an increase. In 1881 there were 469 Jewish schools; in 1882, 510 schools; and, in 1883, 516 Jewish denominational schools.

Hungarian as a Tool of Instruction.

According to the annual public school law of 1879, Acts VIII, the language of the instruction in all schools should be Hungarian. Among the detailed information pertaining to this law of the minister, we find by-laws pertaining to attitudes in reference to the question of teaching the Hungarian language in the school.

Among the Jewish denominational schools there

were 350 pure Hungarian and 166 non-Hungarian schools, of which the majority instructed in the Hungarian language successfully. Statistics proved that 82% were Hungarian language schools. The conversion to the Hungarian language as the official organ of the school made slow progress in the denominational schools -- Unitarians, 100%; the Reformed, 98.1%; Jewish denominational school, 67.8%; Roman Catholic, 55.9%; Evangelical, 22.5% and the Greek Catholics, 6.4%.

Teacher Qualification.

The Jewish schools also presented a favorable picture of teachers' qualifications. Statistics show that in the year of 1883-84 there were 979 teachers among 516 Jewish schools. Of these 944 or 96.4% could successfully teach the Hungarian language. Here also, the Jewish school ranked third; in the Unitarian schools, 100% of the teachers could teach the Hungarian language; in the Reformed 99.8%; in the Roman Catholic 90.9%; and, in the Evangelical 71.8%.

School Attendance of Jewish Children.

The statistical figures also showed that the number of Jewish children who attended any school was not satisfactory. In 1883-84 there were 79,299 Jewish children of school age. In proportion to a population of 630,000 this amounted to 7.9%. Of these school-aged children

more than 27% did not attend school. Only the Greek Catholics showed a greater percentage of non-attendance. According to this average, every Jewish teacher had about 81 students. 109

This appalling figure proves that in view of the Jewish population, the attendance was not in proportion to the number of school-aged children and there was an insufficient number of Jewish schools. To what can we ascribe this fact that so many Jewish children did not attend school when we know that Jewish parents respected education? Was it that there were a great many Jewish people living in hamlets and country places where there were no schools or that there was still a great number of Jewish parents who refrained from sending their children to non-Jewish schools to receive secular education? For this reason they kept them in the Heder. Among the particulars of the following school years 1884-85, the non-attendance of these children decreased from 27% to 24.4%, but at the very same time schools also decreased by 33 Jewish schools. Although in other places 27 were reopened, it still made the difference of 7 schools. So the number of Jewish schools in 1884 was 509. Of these, 35 were boy's schools; 19 girl's schools; and 455 mixed schools.

Among the 509 Jewish schools, 368 applied the

Hungarian language as the language of instruction; only 13 were exclusively German; 128 were German and Hungarian. Consequently, the Hungarian language schools amounted to 97.4%.

In the 509 schools were functioned 958 teachers. In comparison to other denominational schools, we can call this figure favorable as of these, 866 possessed teacher's qualification certificates which indicated that 90.4% were graduate teachers. It is to be noted, however, that among these teachers there were only 86 women teachers. ¹¹⁰ Judging from these statistical figures, we may say that from an over-all point of view they were not entirely satisfactory for the number of schools was not in proportion to the population. The Jewish population was 4% of the general population; while their schools amounted to a mere 3.32%. The percentage of non-attendance was also very high, 25%. Even in 1888, the non-attendance was 24.5%. The only satisfactory evidence in the progress of statistical figures was the qualification of the teacher and the number of Jewish schools that applied the Hungarian language as the language of instruction.

Fluctuating Conditions in Jewish Education.

Pertinent to the statistics was the fluctuating number of Jewish schools which was due to a few important

factors. The Jewish community was sometimes compelled to give up its schools because of financial reasons, but also very often because many of the Jewish people in the community sent their children to public schools. This caused many community schools to be turned into private schools, for according to the law the Jewish community had to meet its contract with the teacher; and if the congregation were unable to fulfill this contract, the teacher who was a certified teacher took over the school as a private school in order to release the congregation from its contract. lll

In spite of the fluctuating conditions that existed to the time of the "Recepcio", the number of Jewish schools was comparatively high when we take into account that in 1888 there were 551 active Jewish schools; in 1892, 578; and in 1893, 576. With due respect to all this, the statistics prove that the overall attendance in the elementary school of the Jewish children was still low at the time of "Recepcio" in spite of the fact that the Jewish parents have great concern for education.

The reason for this is quite obvious as the statistics were computed out of an over-all attendance throughout the country. Hence, in a few counties like "Maramaros" the attendance was so drastically low (out of 8,300 school-aged children, about 300 attended) that

it brought the average down. We can understand that this was a very peculiar situation. This was mainly due to the fact that, in those parts of the country, the parents were extremely fanatical and were not concerned whether or not their children received a secular education. The only education they aspired to was the Heder, where Jewish children attended from early morning to the late hours of the night studying the Humash with a few standard commentaries. 112

To the computed facts already given, we may add that in 1892-93 among the 576 schools, only 30 did not use the Hungarian language as the language of instruction; and among 1,040 teachers, 126 were women teachers and only four could not speak the Hungarian language. At the same time, statistics prove that in the Roman Catholic schools, of the 8,077 teachers, 327 did not speak Hungarian and 928 teachers did not have teachers' qualifying certificates; while among the Jewish teachers, only 24 were not holders of teachers' certificates.. 113

Establishment of New Schools - The Polgari.

Among the newly established schools was the Jewish children's orphanage of Budapest. Previous to 1882, the children of the orphanage attended the congregational schools. Then the long awaited hope that the orphans have a new home, a better equipped place where they could re-

ceive their education, was finally realized in 1882, when the new building was erected in Mihaly Munkacsy Utca. ¹¹⁴

In 1886, the Orthodox Jewish community of Pozsony opened its commercial institute jointly with the polgari school. While the school was nonsectarian, yet the number of its students increased slowly. The school opened with 68 pupils and after 25 years of functioning the number of its enrollment was still low -- not exceeding 178. The reason for this slow growth was that Pozsony was a traditional Jewish community that refrained from secular education. After children finished their elementary schooling, they stopped attending higher schools. The Conservatives did not consider the fact that many of the boys were preparing to enter the Yeshiva of Pozsony, which required at least four classes of the polgari. ¹¹⁵ Most of these students who did intend to enter the rabbinic school and had to have at least four classes of the middle school, privately attended evening courses and passed examinations in the polgari. ¹¹⁶

In 1888-89 the Orthodox congregation of the Nagyvarad followed the example of Pozsony. They also opened in conjunction with the commercial school, a polgari school. In the previous chapter we described the polgari school of Nagyvarad which maintained a dis-

tinguished position as one of the best schools of the country in spite of the fact that the school devoted a great deal of time to religious education and the study of Hebrew. The Jewish community of Nagyvarad expected their children to make progress in both fields -- secular and Jewish; therefore, in advertising for new professors for their polgari, they emphasized in the ad that they were willing to pay from 700 to 800 florins to a teacher who was qualified in Hebrew as well as in secular subjects, although the regular salary for teachers was only 600 florins.. 117

The Jewish school of Szekesfehervar had ceased to function in 1874. Since the parents had enrolled the children in great numbers in the mutual public school of the city, they could not maintain their own institution. This resulted in such a decrease in student population that the school was forced to close. Financial conditions did not play any part in the closing of the school, because it received subsidy from the city. Furthermore the school had an adequate increase from its tuition fees which formed the major factor in the budget. The school did not function for fifteen years; but in 1889 when the rabbi of the community, Dr. Jacob Steinherz, complained about the low status of the children's religious knowledge, the question of reopening the school was brought up again. However, since the Jewish community

was not satisfied with the old building, they made arrangements to erect a new edifice and engaged an architect from Vienna, Frigyes Shon, to draw up the plans for the new school. 118

Even though the Jewish school of Nagykanizsa has already been discussed in previous chapters, some further development that came about with the year of 1885 should be added. In this year the Minister of Religion and Education issued a new regulation concerning the commercial polgari schools. A by-law of the so-called 1868, annual XXXVIII, ruled that with the completion of the fourth class public elementary school, the polgari should commence with six classes for the girls and four classes for the boys. In Nagykanizsa, this was modified by adding an additional year to the sixth year of the polgari and making it a seven-year course of study. In this so-called seven-class polgari, the three years above the fourth year, (V, VI and VII) functioned as the commercial school for boys. 119

In 1885 the board of education had already proposed to establish such a school for the community, and the body acted on this proposal at the April meeting of 1887 when they appealed to the Minister of Religion and Education for such permission. They supported their petition by emphasizing the following: "Our community,

for more than a half a century, has been concerned about the ethical and cultural advancement of our youth. We gave emphasis to this fact by maintaining a separate six-year elementary school for boys and girls and a two-year commercial school. In keeping with the budget of the school system, we maintained two large school buildings. In order to finance this, the Jewish community has to meet an annual expense of over 11,000 Florins as almost half of the number of the students attending these classes (out of 653 -- 300) received free tuition and free school supplies -- in many cases the community supplied even their clothing, as the parents of some children were unable to clothe them. The community is ready to assume all these additional expense^s if the minister would expand their commercial schools to a possible higher level; that is, give our school an equal rating with that of the middle commercial school." In 1888 the minister granted the community that request by which the Jewish community of Nagy Kanizsa attained a school status of rendering to its youth not only a higher level of general education, but an enlarged standard of commercial preparation. This added schooling would give the graduate a certificate known as "Eretsegi" (Matura certificate), a document indicating that the holder of such is qualified to enter the University. This privilege also gave the qualified graduate the right

of reduced military service consisting of but one year instead of three years service in the general army and two years for Honved (the Hungarian national guard); this prerogative, the government granted only to those students who could furnish an "Eretsegi" certificate, that is to those who had completed the eight years of the gymnasium or the Real school.

With such a permission in hand, the community was ready to work out the necessary plans. This was soon accomplished with the result that with the establishment of 1890-91 the four years of the polgari would be open for the boys, as well as the first year of the commercial school, which should follow the fourth year of the polgari. In other words, students who completed the fourth elementary were to be enrolled in the first polgari; the fifth, into the second; and sixth into the third. The following graph shows the setting:

<u>Elementary Classes</u>	<u>Polgari for Girls</u>	<u>Polgari for Boys</u>	<u>Commercial for Boys</u>
I	I	I	I
II	II	II	II
III	III	III	III
IV	IV	IV	
V	V		
VI	VI		

With the beginning of the school year of 1890-91, the polgari school was opened. After passing an entrance

examination, students graduating from the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades of elementary were accepted in the corresponding classes of the polgari. Along with the opening of the polgari, the first year of the commercial school also accepted students of whom there were thirty-five enrolled the first year, and as additional classes were added, the number gradually rose. In 1894-95 it became a full-fledged commercial school where all three classes were fully equipped. The city of Nagy Kanizsa helped in the financing of the commercial school, as they realized that it was a great asset to the industrial and commercial development of the city and vicinity. Vilmos Guttman, president of the congregation, contributed 11,000 florins at its founding, a contribution which laid the foundation of the school. Funds were later substantially increased by additional contributions.¹²⁰

The commercial school held its first graduation exercises in July, 1895 -- the Eretsegi Vizsga (an examination for entrance to the university). Two chairmen who were specialists in their field were chosen by the education department of the government to supervise these examinations. In evaluating the examinations, they felt that with such educational leadership and devotional service rendered by the faculty, this school was bound to make progress.¹²¹

The Middle School Law of 1883, which ruled that the school must consist of at least four classes, was a great influence upon the development of the Real school of Vagujhely. Their school had been functioning as a "Csonka Iskola", a reduced school, for it had only three classes. It was up to the community to decide either to add another class to the already existing three classes or to close the school altogether. At the June meeting of 1884, the community voted to advance the school even though there was great opposition because of the lack of funds. Immediately after that meeting, they appealed to Agustan Trefort, Minister of Religion and Education, for government aid. The minister voted 1,200 florins, which the community received during the 1884-85 school year. In spite of all this, the school was still in great need of financial support. This was attained when Miksa Mahler, president of the school, appealed for such funds. As a result, the school received many contributions, among which we can especially mention the 25 Holdnyi plowable ground and five Holdnyi of forest (1 Holdnyi is 142 English acres) and also many landed properties which were on this ground. During this year, the Vagujhelyi Magyar Izr. Közepikolsi Egyesulte (The Hungarian Jewish Middle School Society of Vagujhely) was organized. This organization understood that advancing

its material assets was necessary in supporting the intellectual progress of the school. They hoped that in due time the real school would consist of eight years. In 1892, on the occasion when the community celebrated to 80th birthday of their aged Rabbi Weisse, they established the Rabbi Weisse Society which pledged to pay annual scholarships for forty or fifty poor students and to supply them with clothing for the year.

Dr. Bernat Sonnenfeld became the president of the congregation to whom we can credit the use of the Hungarian language in the religious education of the school. The sermons of the synagogue conducted in the Hungarian language became the order of the day. When the national assembly of the Government learned about this, the minister of religion and education, Albin Csöski raised the government subsidy for the school to 2,400 florins per annum. At the November 11, 1894 congregational meeting, it was decided that the new Real school building should be erected. The congregation thought that by erecting a new building and making other improvements within the school, they hoped to stem the constant changing of professors like it was with the case of Dr. Miksa Mahler, who had accepted a position as professor in the Government Real school of Pozsony, but to intensify the general educational structure of its school. 122

The Jewish Teachers' Institute.

After reaching the stage of four years of study, the Jewish Teachers' Institute seemed to have attained its external educational structural development; but internally, we find some modifications, especially after Dr. Jozsef Banoczi took over the directorship in 1887. Before that, the majority of the library books were of Hebrew collection; after 1888, we find many others that were distinctly necessary to the educational progress of the school. The library contained the standard collections of Hungarian literature dealing with pedagogy and philosophy source books and the majority of Hungarian Jewish public school books from the latest to the present.

Effects of Student Financial Distress.

The financial situation of the majority of the students was desperately low and going from bad to worse. Something had to be done in order to alleviate their financial distress. Dr. Banoczi organized a new type of student aid. The first financial aid that he instituted was the library fund aid, which gave the student the possibility of acquiring most of his essential textbooks for a minimum fee of 40 crajcar (less than half a florin per annum). Even this small fee the student could pay out in very small installments. The distri-

bution of these books was performed by students of the second, third and fourth year, who assisted the professor in charge of the library. This development was brought to the attention of the minister of religion and education, who in an appeal in 1890, ordered the National Teachers' Institute to follow the example of the Jewish Teachers' Institute by granting such library assistance to the poor students.

The poverty stricken students reached such a desperately low stage that it became necessary for Banoczi to seek constantly for new means of helping them. Among the new measures was the distribution of the free meal ticket in the dining hall of the institute and the supply of clothing to many desperate students -- for many did not possess adequate winter clothing. The organization of the Jewish Teachers' Aid Society assumed the responsibility of looking after all of these. ¹²³

Many desperately poor students were compelled to leave the Institute to find some employment as private tutors in the country in order to continue in a private way with their studies. This condition caused a great percentage of the graduate students to attain their diplomas by means of private study -- passing examination "Magan-Vizsga", a type of regional examination.

The following statistical figures will show the

percentage of students who dropped out: in 1883-84 - 19.26%; in 1890-91 - 21%; in 1891-92 - 26.28%. These figures in comparison with the National Teachers' Institute were extremely high; for the percentage there was on the average 6.8%. In the Christian Reform School, it was 12.7% and in the Jewish Teachers' Institute, it averaged 18.8%. Considering all this, Banoczi claimed that the Jewish Teachers' Institute did not produce an ample number of teachers, a condition which was a great disadvantage to the country. The average need in the Jewish Teachers Elementary School was at least 30 or 35 teachers annually; and during the entire existence of the Institute (from 1857 to 1897), only three times did the graduates number 30 and at other times, the number was 18 or 20. This proves that on the average, there were 21 or 22 teachers annually.¹²⁴ Since there were, no doubt, some of these few graduate teachers who did not continue their profession, we can figure an average of about 20 teachers per year.

The result of this shortage was that the deficiency had to be covered from other sources or graduates from the National Teachers' Colleges or other institutes. This affected mainly the Hebrew and religious subjects departments. Graduate teachers usually were the weakest in these subjects that the Jewish school needed

the most. This was quite obvious because in the Jewish Teachers' Institute five hours per week were devoted to Hebrew and religion which meant that during the course of four years the students received 20 weekly hours; yet in the National Teachers' Institute, the most they received was two weekly hours. 125

Not only were there few graduates from the Jewish Teachers' Institute, but also some of the teachers who held diplomas were not equally qualified. As we have already stated, a goodly number of them had to leave the Institution because of financial conditions and had to receive their qualification certificates by means of private study. These students comprised about 25%, and could be classified into two groups. In the first group were those who due to financial needs found private teaching positions in small communities and hamlets. The other belonged to a group of students who studied in the Yeshivot as talmudic students. 126

While dealing with the question of helping individual students, we should be concerned to know in what proportion the school fund supported the struggling Jewish teachers. After the Jewish Congress in 1870-71, the Teachers' Institute received 1,200 florins per annum. At that time the number of students was 31. Beginning with the year 1872-73, the school fund allocation amounted

to 3,000 florins per year. At that time the student enrollment reached 47. This favorable condition ceased with the year 1877, as the Rabbinic Seminary was opened, and the sum of 3,000 florins was divided between the two, and so, the Teachers' Institute received merely 1,500 florins. This limited fund gave very few students even limited support as the proportion of students increased. The number of students reached 100 and assistance per capita was a mere \$15.00, which was almost no help to speak of. In 1895 when the number of students reached 122, the minister of religion reduced the school fund to 1,000 florins. In drawing a comparison between the subsidy the National Teachers' Institute received from the Government and the amount the Jewish Teachers' Institute received from the school fund, we shall find that in the city of Iglo, where the number of students was only 50, they received 3,760 florin as government subsidy. 127

The Growth of the Rabbinic Seminary.

In the Rabbinic Seminary we can also observe some changes. As pointed out in the previous chapter, in 1882-83 the seminary observed its first graduating exercises when only one student was graduated; in 1885-86 there were three graduates. From then on, the number increased substantially until after three decades, in

1895-96, there were 52 graduate rabbis. According to the regulations, students had to meet the following preliminary examinations before they could receive their qualification certificates. Candidates had to complete all the required courses in the five years of the upper division and prove that they had enrolled in the University of Budapest and had met the requirements of a Ph.D; they also had to prove that they had preached in a synagogue of the seminary twice in Hungarian and German. After these examinations, they applied for the written examination in the seminary. The preliminary written examination consisted of five subjects, of which three were in Rabbis (in the Casuistic field) which had to be worked out in the rabbinic language -- one dealing with Biblical interpretation in the Hungarian language, and one on philosophy which could be in either Hungarian or German. Four months were allowed in which to prepare for these examinations. After these students passed these, the result was sent to the two members of the staff who conducted the oral examination. One of the two was the chairman who conducted the questions. If the whole faculty were satisfied with the results of the preliminary written examination, after eight days the candidate was subjected to two four-hour examinations, one in Rabbis and the second in one of the other fields; these were to

be taken under close supervision in two four-hour periods. These examinations were followed by an oral examination consisting of four hours -- two hours in the Talmud, one hour in Jewish history, and one hour in Jewish philosophy. After completing all this, the candidate received his diploma "Hattara" from the dean of the college, and in a festive celebration of graduation, the faculty presented him with a Rabbinic diploma. 128

The Text of the Hungarian Diploma

Mi a csaszari es apostoli kiralyi felsege legkegyesebb elhatarozasa alapjan Budapesten fennallo orszagos rabbi-kepzo-intezet vezerlo bizottsaga kikuldott tagjaibol es ugyan-ezen intezet felső tanfolyama rendes tanaraibol allo vizsgala bizottsag..... urat, ki szuletett, theologiai tanulmányait..... vegezte es az intezet szabalyzataiban eloirt rabbikepesito szigorlaton altalunk megvizsgaltatott, a vizsgalat eredmenye es tanusitott hitszonoki kepessege alapjan, a felsobb helyen jovahagyott intezeti alapszabalyok szerint bennunket megillető jognal fogva, a Rabbi címmel felruhazuk es a rabbisagi hivatal betoltesere es ezen hivatellal jaro mindennemu teendok vegzesere kepesitettnek nyilatkoztatjuk. Minek hitelere

a heber nyelven kiállított H A T T A R A
okirattal együtt ezen rabbikepsito oklevelet
kiadtuk.

The substance of this Hungarian diploma is --
"In the name of the Emperor, His Apostalic Majesty, the
King, we the faculty present this diploma to
who was born and who submitted himself to be
examined and we found him qualified in all
the prescribed fields. He also exemplified speaking
ability, wherefore, according to the law invested upon us,
we confer upon him the title of Rabbi and in conjunction
with this, he is privileged to all the honor appertaining
to that degree. Signed and sealed by the faculty of the
seminary."

In 1890, the seminary modified some of its
basic laws. According to the new law, after the comple-
tion of the second half year, students in the upper
division were called upon to take their basic examination
and at the close of the sixth half (the close of the
third year), the preliminary examination. On November 28,
1891, the minister of religion and education also
lightened the burden of the seminary student by granting
him the privilege of selecting in a two-year period, in
weekly twelve hours, the courses necessary for his
doctorate. Modifications were also made in the lower

division. Before this, the student had to pass only one oral examination from Hebrew. Henceforth, they were also asked to pass a Hebrew written examination. 130

In 1884-85, in order to advance the scholarly ability of the student, the seminary staff selected topic questions for the students to work on. These questions had their origin in the Bible, Talmud, history, language, and religious philosophy. Those who were successful in the appointed topics won prizes. The first list of these topics was, "The Woman's Position in the Jewish Ritualism"-- "The Life and Function of David Ibn Abi Zimra", "Samuel David Luzzatto as Language Investigator and critic in Scripture Interpretation", and "Moses Mendelssohn and His Scriptural Interpretation: The Origin of the Synagogue Literature to the Rise of the Piyutim". Prize winners were the following: Lajos Blau, Sandor Buchler, Armin Frisch, Miksa Weisse, Jacob Spira (Mehrisch Astrab), Ignac Ziegler (Karlsbad), Samuel Krausz (Professor of Wiener Lehreranstalt). 131

Attempts to Alleviate Dire Need of Women's Institute and Seminary Students.

The poor financial condition that prevailed among the students of the Teachers' Institute was also to be found in the seminary. There, too, the administration had to seek means to alleviate the dire need among the

students. After its 20th year of existence, we read the following about this condition: The Orszagos Robbiképző intézete (in the National Rabbinic Institute) most of its students were so poor that the seminary did not collect fees for registration, library or tuition, and so were all the examinations free of charge. Even the necessary Hebrew and other books which they had to return at the close of the year were distributed among the students free of charge. Many congregations, as well as many kind-hearted individuals, contributed donations to make possible this support of the student. ¹³²

The Ez Haim Aid Society established in 1879, did all possible to assist the student financially. There were other sources from which the students obtained aid: Governmental aid, grants, and Ladies' Auxiliary funds (the latter supplied free dinners for the students). Beginning with the year 1884-85, the congregation of the Jewish community of Pest contributed 200 kronas, and in 1890-91 the Hebrah Kadisha also took part in helping the poor student, by contributing annually to the Institute 80 florins, which they gradually increased. ¹³³

The staff of the Rabbinic Institute was not only concerned about advancing the personal scholarship, but it also organized a collective scholarly body which was known as "I M I T" -- Izr Magyar Irodalmi Tarsulat

(The Jewish Hungarian Literary Society). The first member of this society was Dr. Ignac Goldziher. Later Dr. Samuel Kohn, Immanuel Low, Vilmos Bacher, and Jozsef Banoczi carried on the necessary preparation, and finally it came to life in 1894. The first mission of this literary society was to translate the Holy Writ and the books of post-Biblical period, religious literary developments, and translation of publications. The organization gave lectures on general subjects of mutual literary interest. The first year book of the I M I T appeared in 1895, and an additional book appears annually since then. Among its contributors were the graduate students of the Rabbinic Institute. 134

Women's Teacher's Institute.

In conjunction with the religious educational question of the elementary and middle schools, the problem of the Jewish women's education also came to light. This question came to the forefront from three viewpoints: the Jewish standpoint, the religious educational point of view, and from the general educational development.

During the past decade, the Jewish girl had received her education from three sources. The first was "the home". As far as the Jewish life at home was concerned, it was the most effective means of education. The mother of the home exerted the greatest influence upon the

girl's religious upbringing. She gave her the necessary preparation for Jewish motherhood and for the management of the home in general -- an education that only the mother of the household could render to her child. But this basic foundation gradually weakened in supplying the Jewish girl with this life-producing knowledge.

The general social conditions brought about a change. From one side the families were compelled to move into the city. This gradually loosened the ties that held the Jewish home together and the mother who formerly was engaged exclusively as the housewife and mother to her children became engaged in business enterprises and left the upbringing of the children to some outside help -- to the governess.

These governesses in most cases were not Jewish, a situation which naturally resulted in the children's becoming strange to the traditions. The Jewish school had to step in and replace the deficiency that had resulted in the home. The school, by necessity, could not accomplish in the limited two hours per week the work of the mother that was a full day's job.

Before the woman took an active part in the general pursuit of life she was the sole manager of the home. From here emanated the religious environment that supported the child throughout life. With the change in

social and economical conditions, this became an impossibility. Many believed that in order to restore the mother's influence, even in a limited manner, special effort should be devoted to establishing a womens teachers college. Pal Tencer had already spoken about this problem many decades before. He had made reference to the establishment of a Jewish women teachers college in the 60's. Later, Natan Halasz had spoken in the interest of a women teachers institute in the 70's. The graduates from the women teachers's college in the government school were not qualified to cope with this problem.

The question that naturally arose was, "Was there ample opportunity for a Jewish woman teacher to find employment?" There was also the question of whether there would be an ample number of candidates to make up the student body. The answer was that there were quite a few gifted students who attended the polgari school; among them there were a number who considered themselves privileged to know that there was a possibility for them to continue their education and to prepare for some distinctive profession. 135

Mor Altmann, teacher of Nagy Kanizsa, elaborated on the purpose and the ideals of such an institute. He indicated how such a school could serve the people. He stated, "It would rear our daughters in the spirit of our

tradition and would help them attain its major objective. To make this possible, to prepare our daughters for Jewish motherhood, only the teachers institute can supply them with the necessities. Even if our daughters should not pursue the teaching profession after graduation, they would nevertheless, exert ample influence upon their own families. This in itself would be a major achievement." 136

According to Altmann, "Before establishing a women teachers institute, attention should be given to establishing a Jewish women's kindergarten teachers training school. It could, from its very foundation, start to bring up and correct the mistakes of Jewish mothers by bringing back religious consciousness in the Jewish household. It would be of interest to introduce a study that would be linked to nature -- gardening and agriculture, an education that is closely related to household obligations of rearing and developing life from a naturalistic point of view, a policy pursued by many progressive educators -- gardening and schooling. 137

"This pursuit should be specially indicated as we are contemplating the establishing of a Jewish women's institute. We can readily see that our daughters are striving for higher education. They are not satisfied with the completion of the four-year polgari school. A great many of the graduates enroll in the teachers insti-

tutes of other denominations or government schools. It is a proven fact that in Budapest, in the only higher girl's school, in 1883-84, among 354 students, 229 were Jewish, and in the eight functioning higher schools for girls in the country among the 771 students, 336 were Jewish.¹³⁸ In the same proportion we notice that in the year 1886-87, in the higher schools for girls in the city of Arad among 88 students, 39 were Jews; in Temesvar among 98, 49 were Jewish; in Trencseny among 60, 32 were Jewish; in Budapest among 357, 164 were Jewish."¹³⁹

The Need for a Higher School for Girls.

In order to give ample proof why it was essential that the higher school for girls be established we should refer to the girls school in Budapest that was opened in 1875 in collaboration with the polgari. This type of school had its origin in Germany, the so-called Hohere Tochter-Schulen (advanced schools for girls) or the French, "Lycees de Jeunes Filles". This school consisted of two types: one of a six-year course and the second, a four-year course. The first continued with the fourth elementary and lasted for six years. It was more of a finishing girl's school. The second was identical to the polgari but in addition, it taught the French language.¹⁴⁰ According to the organization of the second was the one of Vagujhely. This school was brought about through the

effort of Dr. Miksa Nahler, director of the Real school of the Jewish community. After its opening, he became its director. 141

The Jewish curriculum for the higher girl's school was prepared by Nandor Toub, professor of Vagujhely polgari school, for the first to the fourth grades. It dealt with the same subject matter as was prescribed to the polgari, according to the government's allowed time of two hours per week, with the exception that instead of mere dealings with religious subjects it explained the various practices of the traditional observances -- the performance of the ritual, after all is the primary objective in the study of religion.

First Class: Biblical History

- a. From the creation to the death of Moses.
- b. Hebrew. Reading of prayers, primarily, mechanical reading with special reference to some important translations.

Second Class: Biblical History

- a. From the death of Moses to the division of the Kingdom (Juda and Israel).
- b. Hebrew -- Reading and trans-

lation of prayers. Daily prayers, Sabbath, new moon -- most essential translations.

Third Class: Biblical History

- a. From the division of the Kingdom to the return from Babylonian exile.
- b. Hebrew -- the thirteen principles of faith; their detailed analysis. The three pilgrim seasons: the Pesach, Shevuouth, Sookoth prayers; their order and selected translations.

Fourth Class: History

- a. The destiny of the Jew. Development of institutions till the destruction of the second temple. The life of the Jew in Spain, France and Germany in the Middle Ages and the period following it.
- b. Hebrew -- the ten commandments, its detailed description (when dealing with the Sabbath to make references to other festivals -- their significance and religious observance). The order of the festival prayers and some of the translations.

Fifth Class: Review of Biblical History

- a. A study of the biographies of distinguished personalities with special reference to women.
- b. Hebrew -- the Machzor -- the three pilgrim seasons, their significance and their emphasis to synagogal observance.

Sixth Class:

- a. The Woman's Responsibility as Mother; Director of the Household.
- b. The Machzor -- the high holidays. Rosh-Hashana and Yom Kippur.¹⁴²

We can understand that the Vagujhely higher school for girls spent more than two hours per week on religion. This, however, did not modify the course. It emphatically impressed the importance of the mechanical reading of the prayers and some translations. General public opinion of the religious group opposed girls studying the Hebrew Bible text, and some Jewish congregations complained even as late as 1930, "We do not consider it proper according to the Talmudic law that girls study Hebrew Scripture text." They took this from the Tractate Sota, 3.¹⁴³ This opinion, however, was never enforced by the scholars. As proof we had great women

scholars even in Talmudic times.

Samuel Kandel gave his evaluation, "It is a mistaken notion that in modern times, when women take an integral part in all matters of life, that they be restricted from the study of Hebrew. Perhaps when this was not the case, it might have had some sense, for then the cultural view was, in most cases, restricted; but not today." 144

1895 -- The Period of the Fulfillment of the Emancipation and Recepcio.

With 1895, an important period of Jewish history came to a close in Hungary. The emancipation law was not fulfilled until the attainment of Recepcio. The former gave the Jew only its political, while the latter also gave him his religious emancipation. The strife for the Recepcio began December 6, 1880, when the National office in Budapest appealed to the Minister of Education and Religion, requesting that a law be issued by which the Jews would be given equal rights in both political affairs and religion. 145 After the lapse of a decade, on April 25, 1893, Albin Csaky, Kultus minister, presented this petition before the National Assembly, but only in 1895 was the question brought to the floor for discussion. After the House of Representatives accepted it, it was rejected by the Upper House. Only after the third appeal

did the Upper House finally agree to accept it with some modifications.

According to this law, Christians were to be allowed to accept the Jewish faith. This became adjusted in later days as a growth of religious freedom. In 1895, October 16, this law was incorporated among the statutes and was known as the 1895 XLII. The first paragraph of this law read, "The Izraelitic Religion is declared by law equal to other religions". In this paragraph, many radical changes were brought about. The Jewish religion received equal status in government practice along with the other religious denominations. Jewish representatives occupied equal positions not only in the House of Representatives, but also in the Upper House. This privilege had great advantages in the advancement of educational policy -- their educational and religious subsidy which was allotted in proportion to the population of the country. Until the acceptance of the Recepcio, the Jewish community of Hungary received about one-fifth of what they were entitled by law. 146

At the close of the century, the Neolog Jewry thought that they had reached their objective, for the Emancipation and Recepcio gave them equal rights with all the other citizens, and they pursued their part in the economical and cultural part of the country. With this,

however, the religious bounds became weakened. It proved an old fact, that by breaking down barriers of discrimination, we simultaneously open the door for assimilation.

CHAPTER VII

The Recepcio, the 1907 Educational Laws' Effect on Jewish Education; Proposals for a Unified Curriculum in Teaching Religion in the Gymnasium and Polgari Schools; Statistics During World War I.

In 1896, Hungary observed its 1,000th year, a millennium of growth. This observance had a special significance to Hungarian Jewry, as a year prior they had received the Recepcio Law in which Hungarian Jewry was assured not only their political but also religious equality. Although they had ample reason to be proud of their country -- for it opened many avenues of material and cultural advancement -- yet we should not overlook the fact that along with personal success, came many religious and cultural difficulties. In the case of the Hungarian Jewry their attainment of wealth had, in many cases, a negative effect upon their affinity toward traditional observance and the practice of their faith. This weakening gradually worked on undermining and putting a stamp of disapproval on the structure of Jewish education also. ¹

Fight for Full Religious Autonomy.

The Recepcio for which Jewry had fought for decades, even after it was granted to them by the government, was not a universally established fact. It took an

additional three decades before full religious autonomy was granted. For, whenever the question of people's religious rights was brought up in the Upper House, it was rejected on the grounds that the Jews were not properly organized -- that is they had no uniform system in their religious practice. Only in 1926, when XXII annual by-laws which stated that Jewry also have two representatives in the Upper House were adopted, was the question finally solved.² In other words, it took thirty years after the issuing of the Recepcio Law before the Jews received due governmental recognition: in representation and in the sharing of equal governmental subsidies in aiding the synagogues and the denominational schools. Consequently, in the 1898 annual XX by-laws assurance was given, "that every accepted religious denomination, its schools, and churches are entitled to receive governmental subsidy". This was not so as far as the Jew was concerned. They may have been receiving some allotments, which we may call subsidies, but it was more like charity.

Subsequently, the presidents of the districts, in 1906, in a memorandum requested the Kultus Minister to present their petition to the government to raise their "Dotacio" (allocation grant) in accordance with the number of the population.³ As Hungarian Jewry had to pay dearly for every privilege the government allowed them, so did

they have to struggle for the attainment of their religious autonomy.

The district presidents again appealed in 1908 to the Kultus Minister to call together the Jewish Congress, for the Jews were not given the privilege of calling a conference themselves -- even though according to the Recepcio this right was assured them. It was, therefore, necessary that they appeal to the Minister to do so. They hoped that by calling together such a Congress they might be able to iron out the differences and establish adequate measures for the Recepcio. They also realized that the Recepcio Law must be incorporated among the other national laws of the country or else their rights would not reach even the extent of attaining disciplinary rights. ⁴

Even though the 1907 XXXVII By-law assured all denominations the right to supervise the teaching staff of their elementary schools, this right was denied the Jew. The basis for this denial, as we have already indicated, was that they did not have autonomy. In 1914, 250 congregations held a conference in Budapest at which time they declared that they regretted that permission had not been granted them for a large assembly and they proposed that they appoint a commission to draw up the autonomy. This conference also presented a memorandum to the Kultus Minister on June 14, 1914, but because of the outbreak of

the war this was tabled. ⁵

Organization of "Országos Magyar Israelita Közalap"

Hungarian Jewry in behalf of the Recepcio not only had to fight a double battle with the government, but they also had to call to the attention of their own people the necessity of being prepared to assume mutual responsibility. In 1896, after the Recepcio Law was issued, they organized the "Országos Magyar Izraelita Közalap" (The National Hungarian Jewish Mutual Fund). In this meeting, it was moved that the historic event of accepting Jewish religion among all the other religions be celebrated by the establishment of this mutual fund. The objective of the "Közalap" was to help in the establishment of all the aims and purposes by which the Hungarian national endeavor could be promoted. ⁶

Although the Közalap had a limited budget, nevertheless, it was in a position to help finance many Jewish schools, one of these being the school of Korosmezo. The "Közalap" had the opportunity to finance these schools through many donations and the interest it received from the grants. It also helped to supply many schools with textbooks, assisted rabbis and religious teachers to publish their work and promoted scholarships for ambitious and worthy students who aspired to a higher education. It further helped the "I M I T" to publish its Hungarian Bible

translated into the Hungarian language, and aided many scholars and educational leaders to establish a uniform program for the religious teachings in the public and Middle schools. 7

The Rabbinic Assembly Beyond the Danube River.

Immediately after the Recepcio was issued, the progressive rabbis in many communities beyond the Danube River called a conference in 1895, so that they could discuss the major questions and work out a religious educational program. The conference ruled that they should organize themselves, at least for the time being, and to be limited to the, "Dunátuli Rabbi Egyesület", the Rabbinic organization beyond the Danube River. This first meeting was held in 1898, in Komárom. At this conference Bela Bernstein, Rabbi of Szombathely, was appointed to work out an outline of a uniform educational program. Soon after this conference, Rabbi Bernstein was transferred to a new post to Székesfehérvár, where the organization assembled again and continued discussing the program. This endeavor continued without interruption, as it became one of the major concerns of the many rabbis of the district. After the organization adopted the name "Országos Rabbi Egyesület" (National Rabbinic Society), (O R E), the rabbis of Buda, on the basis of this frame in 1903 reorganized themselves. After the ministers ratified

their by-laws, they held their first meeting in 1907. ⁸

Bela Bernstein presented the "dunántuli tanterv" educational plan which was accepted. This educational program stressed the idea that in order to rear youth in accordance to tradition it was imperative that they acquire at least a basic knowledge of Hebrew. Enveloping all the previous educational curricula this educational plan stressed the importance of the study of the Hebrew language -- the study of the Bible in the language of the Bible for religious education, it was believed, depended on the degree by which Jewish youth was made familiar with the Book of Books. All this was given emphasis so that Jewish youth might become orientated in the original Bible text. But this could not be attained in many schools, as the time limit was exceedingly short, especially in the Polgári, where religious teaching was limited to one hour per week, and the teachers' institute of the National Teachers' Colleges, where the religious education was limited to the first and second year. Therefore, according to Bernstein, it became essential that the Hebrew course, as well as the study of the Bible in the original text -- the most essential prerequisites for religious instruction -- be somewhat limited. With this point in view, the arrangements of the religious education course were as follows:

1, Hebrew text; 2, Jewish History; 3, Jewish Religion and Ethics. His views and general perspectives pertaining to religious education are reviewed in the following outline.

Bernsteins's Educational Program.

1. Hebrew. In the framework of teaching the Hebrew language belongs the following:

- a. Reading of prayers -- familiarity of the liturgy.
- b. Translation of the prayers.
- c. Bible text translation.
- d. Hebrew grammar.

(a) Elementary School -- Reading of prayers in the Elementary School emphasis should be given not only to the fluent reading of the prayers (Mechanical reading) but to the familiarity of using the prayerbook. Here, the school must supplement the home. Special emphasis should also be given to the systematic teaching of the prayerbook. According to this plan, while the first graders studied mere mechanical reading of the prayers, the second class of the elementary school should be given to the weekly prayers,

the III class, to the Sabbath, and the IV, to the Holy Days' prayers.

Middle Schools -- Reading of prayers.

This study of the prayers should be continued and supplemented by additional elaboration. This should continue in the polgari where, as we already stated, Jewish educational time was limited and the student could not devote too much time to Bible translations. He should, therefore, put greater stress on studying the prayerbook. This must be intensified by additional text translations. This should also be true in the education of girls. In the curriculum for girls, Bible translations did not appear so that they should concentrate on the prayerbook.

- (b) Translation of the prayers -- In the various classes, the importance of the prayers and the linguistic difficulties should be stressed. Selected passages should be translated.
- (c) Elementary School -- Bible text trans-

lation. In Bible translation, emphasis should be given to the pupil's gaining an overall view of the five books of Moses -- each pupil should know the framework of the Bible. In selecting passages for detailed study, an attempt should be made to establish a connection between individual parts. The essence of the content should be given great consideration.

Middle School -- Bible text translation. From class I to IV, consideration should be given to familiar material. In each religious lesson -- meeting, 15 or 20 minutes should be devoted to reading exercises; the remaining part of the time, to Bible translation. From the V to the VIII, time should be devoted to the two major prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah -- also some passages from the Psalms and Job. In the Bible translations, as in the translations of the prayerbook, emphasis should be placed not only on becoming familiar with the language, but also on the acquisition

of religious and ethical teachings.

Using the whole Bible should be a great advantage to the students. Even as it is important that they get acquainted with the whole prayerbook before they can utilize the general frame of the prayers, so it is essential that they have a general structural view in their minds concerning the books of the Bible.

(d) Elementary School -- Hebrew Grammar.

In the elementary school, the teaching of grammar should be limited, for elementary students do not have full conception of the meaning and the application of grammar; however, they should have some idea of a few nouns and the most essential verbs.

Middle School -- Hebrew Grammar.

The study of grammar should be advocated and advanced in the middle school. Here too, only the most essential part of the grammar should be emphasized -- the conjugation of the most used verbs.

2. Jewish History -- Elementary School.

In teaching Jewish history in elementary schools,

we should refrain from mere compiling of facts and dates; we should always deal with situations, social and religious settings and environmental factors that played an integral part in the cultural development of the people. The history curriculum should begin with the Creation and extend to the Kingdom of Solomon.

Middle School.

In the Middle school, the I and II classes should deal with the establishment of the two kingdoms, Juda and Israel. The III class, the history of the first temple to the destruction of the second temple. The IV class, after the destruction of the second temple to the establishment of the Talmudic schools. The V class, the history of the Jews in Europe -- the Spanish Jews, their religious and educational qualities. VI class, from the death of Moses Maimonides to Moses Mendelssohn. VII class, Jewish history of Hungary from its inception to the present. This arrangement was only possible in the gymnasium, where the classes consisted of eight grades; while in the polgari and in the commercial schools, where the classes were merely four and three years respectively, the subject material was to be abridged.

3. Jewish Religion and Ethics.

This subject should only be introduced in the highest classes of the gymnasium or in the third class of the commercial schools, while in the other schools, religious ethics and religious philosophy could hardly be treated effectively. In the lower schools this subject should be integrated with other studies. Religious services of the synagogue should also take an integral part in the religious educational program. Here we should bear in mind that junior congregation services should correspond with that of the adult congregational services. The only difference perhaps should be in acquainting the youth to sing in choirs and to take active part in responsive readings. ⁹

Educational Program Developed by the Sixth Congregational District.

Simultaneously with the educational program of the congregations beyond the Danube in April 1899, the sixth district of Pest and the surrounding communities of the city appointed two rabbis -- Illes Adler of Obuda and Lajos Venetianer of Budapest -- and Bernat Munkacsi, the school inspector of the congregation of Pest, to

work out a uniform curriculum for all the branches of the elementary and middle schools. This curriculum they maintained, should serve as a model and guide to all the surrounding schools. They also decided that the curriculum primarily used in 1891, should serve as the basis for this educational plan. Furthermore, consideration was to be given to the timely evaluations and practical experiences gained since the curriculum of 1891 was formulated. In considering the two plans -- the one of the Danube and the one of the district of Pest -- there was some difference, but both emphasized that the study of the Hebrew text was highly essential. Consequently, the passages dealing with the laws of Moses and the translations of the prayers were to be considered. While in the framework of the middle schools, the time allotted for religious education was limited, yet the teaching of the Humash and the Siddur was not to be neglected. The polgari school was to place emphasis on the practical aspects of religion with special reference to the attainment of the familiarity of the Siddur. However, instead of prayerbook translations, they deemed it of great importance that the polgari students place greater emphasis on the study of the Humash. What they did suggest was that the religious teachings be concentrated on the Hebrew text of the Bible. They considered it an unfor-

givable mistake if the translation of the Humash were not included in the educational program of boys. ¹⁰

This program was presented by the committee and issued by Bernat Munkacsi; consequently, there were two curricula -- the one prepared by the rabbis of the Danube Assembly and that of the Sixth Congregational District. The Development of an Educational Plan of Nation-Wide Uniformity.

A uniform and congruent plan which had to be developed was still in the making. In bringing about such a result, the "National Office" assumed the responsibility. In March, 1903, the presidents of the congregational districts empowered the National Office to call together representatives of the individual districts. These representatives were to make up "A National Advisory Committee" which should be empowered to evaluate and consider plans for both the elementary and middle schools, with special emphasis on the middle school's religious education. This program was to be so constructed that it could be adapted by all congregations. Therefore, the educational program was by necessity to be a "nation-wide" uniform plan.

The National Office sent out copies of this plan to those individuals who were selected to be members of the committee which would formulate such educational plans

and to the sixth congregational district with a request to point out their corrections and communicate their remarks. 11

On December 28, 1903, the National Committee opened its conference with Dr. Samuel Kohn as chairman. After two days of consultations, they established the general objective of the plan and the materials of instruction for the individual classes of the various schools -- the elementary and middle. To work out details for such a program, they appointed a "Curriculum Committee". After this was prepared and passed on, the educational plan was sent out to all the members of the committee for investigation.

After this was accomplished and was returned to the National Office, the plan was finally adopted and in 1906, was published in the National Office: "A Magyarországi Izraeliták Vallás Oktatásának Egyetemes Tanterve" (The Hungarian Jewish Unified Religious Educational Plan). To enforce this plan was naturally impossible, yet it was accepted by most of the Congress communities (communities that accepted the Congress Resolutions of 1868). This curriculum served for a quarter of a century as an educational program in their schools. 12

Criticism of the Unified Curriculum by the National Jewish Teachers' Association.

Although the members who drew up this universal educational plan were instructed to consider and take extra care that this curriculum satisfy all concerned, yet from an educational point of view it did not prove satisfactory. The educational staff of the national Jewish schools contested this plan in 1906, and the National Jewish Teachers' Association prepared a memorandum which they presented to the national committee; but, unfortunately, this complaint and constructive criticism was not even given consideration. It was not acknowledged; consequently, it was not given a response. "It was not necessary to wait long", said Aladar Abronyi, President of the Teachers' Association, "before we realized that our emphatic evaluation which pointed out the weaknesses of this plan had failed to touch the respective constituents...We need not worry", continued Abronyi, "for the practical results that should come out of this curriculum testifies this ... The plan did not bring the expected results... The very basis of the curriculum proved this ... Actual experience will testify whether or not this plan is fruitful -- we need not overthrow it." 13

The complaints of the Teachers' Association

were justifiable. It was, no doubt, an inexcusable oversight that religious leaders had discussed the construction of a workable curriculum -- an educational plan -- without inviting the teachers, the experts, to sit in on such a consultation. I am sure that the intentions of the members of the conference were not influenced by an ulterior motive; yet, after all, they were mere lay leaders and their job was, or rather should have been, the execution of the educational program -- not its construction. Among the entire thirty-two members of the union conference, there was but one professional, the school inspector of Pest. This gave ample proof that the expert was not considered in this matter. They had sufficient reason to feel that they should have been asked to this conference, for the teachers were not only deeply concerned about the progress of Jewish education, and could have offered sound advice, but they also had to carry out this educational program. Certainly, they should know what it required.

The Jewish teachers, on the occasion of the millennium celebration of the country, published "A Magyar Zsido Felekezet Elemi es Polgari Iskolainak Monografiaja" (A monograph of the Hungarian Jewish Denominational Elementary and Polgari Schools). This work gave evidence of the educational progress of many Jewish schools in Hungary.

It compiled and arranged the plan of their school system. This work was done by Jonás Barna and Fülöp Csukasi. We have ample reason to state that the Jewish Teachers' Association certainly deserved to be taken into the consideration of the carrying out of a universal educational plan. The Jewish Teachers' Association appealed to all the Jewish communities of the country to prepare a historic description of the development of their schools. If all the Jewish communities throughout the country had complied with this call, we, today, would have had a more or less detailed evaluation of the educational program of the Hungarian Jewish school. The fact that a great many congregations did not comply with this request proved the state of disorganization. They did little to support the organization financially and, perhaps did even less in their educational and cultural endeavors. "It seems strange", stated the authors of the monograph, "that the historic development of many Jewish denominational schools such as those of Satoraljaújhely, Kecskemét, Kismarton, Ungvar, and many others did not appear, and even more strange that in this monograph the history of the Jewish girls school of Pest is not to be found, although this school had an outstanding pedagogic leader as its director -- Natan Halasz, who certainly would not fail to include his school among the collective history of the

Hungarian Jewish schools." In vain, did the administration of the Monograph hope that these schools would appear somewhere later. ¹⁴ There were many important facts which should be known and would have been known if the history of these schools had been published; however, it is regrettable that with the destruction and the horrors of the second World War, many Jewish congregations and their historic records were destroyed and with them went their important achievements. Some communities of which there was no trace would at least have been preserved in history. The authors of the Monograph -- with almost prophetic foresight -- gave emphasis to the pathetic proof. "With the cooperation of enthusiastic Jewish teachers, it was made possible to publish these two volumes, for in a century hence", they said, "they will prove to be of immeasurably great historic and cultural value." Indeed this work is of great educational and cultural value; second to it we can hardly find in the history of Jewish education in Hungary. ¹⁵

The Jewish Teachers' Influence in the Progress of General Education Policy.

The Jewish denominational schools performed invaluable service also in the field of secular scholarship, a service that was duly appreciated and was made known by the educational council of the nation. When the

"Orszagos Kozoktatasi Tanacs" (The National Educational Council) discussed the reorganizational problem of the elementary schools -- to arrange it to a six-teacher school -- the proposals were sent to the Jewish Teachers' representative body. The office of the Jewish Teachers' Association, to whom the detailed proposals were submitted, emphasized the fact that the Jewish teachers were not only qualified to deal with general observational questions but showed excellent ability in detailed work -- in particular situations on evaluation of professional pedagogic opinion. That is to say, that to every object in question they offered timely remarks. Of special interest is the passage of the proposal in which it states "that the terminology in the school texts should be made uniform" (The very same thought must be conveyed to the student in all the schools). The Jewish teachers deemed it essential that all the schools of the country use the same terminology in describing a specific term. They also considered it essential that every text book should have some riddles and historic data. They objected to the fact that in their Hungarian text books so few women's biographies were found. ¹⁶

The Jewish teachers established their pedagogic qualifications and respect not merely through teaching experience, but also by means of education received from

the teachers' educational bulletin, in which the opportunity was given to the teacher to advance his pedagogic ability by sending in articles to the paper. They continued to develop this kind of a scholarship by pedagogic discussions and exchange of views. The chief advantage they derived from such discussions was methodology. The number of these articles increased with the passing of time. The publications dealt with methods of teaching Hebrew, religious education, teaching of Hungarian language, physical exercises, and teaching of composition in the elementary school. Emphasis was also given to methodology of teaching geography. ¹⁷

Among the many renowned pedagogic scholars and writers at the turn of the century was Abraham Lederer, who enriched the Jewish educational literature with his contributions. In one lengthy article, he deals with the psychological topic of patience. In another, he emphasized education in the home. ¹⁸

Another renowned pedagogical figure was Ignac Furedi. One of his contributions was the translation of Rousseau's "Emile" into the Hungarian language. ¹⁹

To these older scholars and pedagogical leaders we can add many of the younger generations such as Dr. Mihaly Malani, Professor of the Jewish Teachers' Institute, and the competent Jonas Barna, who already in the '70's had spoken boldly in the interest of the Jewish teacher. ²⁰

In the '80's, he had established for himself a great name by his "Nemet Nyelv Gyakorlo" (German language practice). He had received permission from the minister of education to publish this book in 1880, and in 1900, the book was published in its seventh reprint. He was also associate-editor in the publishing of the "Magyar Olvasokonyv" (Hungarian Reader) and "Magyar Nyelvkonyv" (An Hungarian Grammar).. 21

The Jewish educational bulletin was represented by Jonas Barna's articles. We can judge from those his scholarship and ability as textbook writer.

Among the publications of the Jewish Teachers' Institute also appeared the Hungarian Jewish readers which were in use over twenty years in the first and second classes of the Jewish school. According to Mor Karman, these volumes written by Barna gave emphasis to Herbart's Ziller's and Rein's educational principles. Their teachings became obsolete with the advancement of time; nevertheless, we acknowledge the fact that Herbart's formal grading principle can be applied and is applied in many schools. 22

According to the formal grading principle in every method of teaching, we should follow the five steps: motivation, preparation, correlation, evaluation,

and application. Out of these developed the necessity that the Jewish Teachers' Institute arrange the publication of new reading text books. ²³ It also became known that these reading books should meet with requirements of modern pedagogical principles, which indicated that the duty of the school is not only to teach the three "R's" -- reading, writing, and arithmetic -- but also that the reading material be adjusted to living conditions of the time. It is the duty of the school to inform the students of the struggles of life. The Association decided that the author of reading textbooks must deal with such conditions. ²⁴

Jonas Barna was assigned to write a four-volume text book for the use of the Jewish public school. In his books he kept in mind the decision of the new public school plan and the requirements of the Jewish denominational schools which he expressed successfully. The Jewish ideals he hoped to attain by referring to the Biblical and historic narrations which he supplemented by events dealing with the Jewish holidays and everyday life. ²⁵

The composition of textbooks undertaken by the Association dealt with the social aspects of life as well as with pedagogic ideals. The association entered into an agreement with the publishing firm of Singer and Wolfner.

This should have been a favorable agreement and should have proved to be a great advantage not in the cultural and social aspects of life alone. But, if all Jewish schools had used these publications the profit from these books would have amounted to such a sum that the publications would have helped important institutions and undertakings. However, according to statistics, only every fourth student used the textbook of the Association. Complaints to this effect were made by the editor of the Teachers' Association, "If all the Jewish students would successfully undertake these books, it would make it possible to prepare programs of great advantage to all concerned. It would be the Association's privilege to render financial help in many needed places-- to widows, orphans, and many needy schools. It could also render financial aid towards the advancement of educational literature and youth publications; the National Teachers' Bulletin could appear weekly instead of monthly".²⁶

The Association requested its members to utilize every possible means of getting their schools to use the Association's textbooks. This they did not carry out as means of propaganda, for the Association did not wish to make the Bulletin of the Educational Association an advertising agency for remunerative purposes, but rather they wished to advance education and help where there were

educational needs. If the second edition of the textbook was useful to the teachers, the Association requested that they should call this fact to the attention of the publisher. That the bulletin did not try to act as an advertising agency is evident from this incident. A book dealer of Pecs issued an Hungarian ABC first reader to be used in the Jewish elementary schools. This book was evaluated by the Bulletin Association thus: "The educational qualifications of this first reader testifies that it is an excellent textbook, and we warmly recommend it to the users." 27

This article also gave emphasis to the need of the teacher's cultural advancement, about which we should say a word or two. The complaint was raised that the Jewish teacher did not have any opportunity to advance himself. The highest stage he could ever hope to attain was to become a teacher director, but he could never become an inspector of schools or even a professor of the Teachers' Institute, although the teacher who achieved many merits could have justly filled those posts. Even though he could aptly have been a professor of the Teachers' Institute, it was a practice that only university graduates could reach such a state in our pre-parandium. 28 This thought no doubt embittered the heart of the Jewish teacher.

But there were other problems that should have disheartened every culture-loving individual when we consider the financial agony and the plight that the Jewish teacher had to meet. This was especially true of the country teacher. The average salary of a country teacher was 400 florins per annum. From this meager salary he had to clothe his family and teach his children -- at least send his son to the city for higher education which entailed extra expense not to mention his daughters' futures. It happened that the position of the sexton became vacant and this one country teacher applied to fill it as the few extra florin that that position would bring home to him would help to meet the essentials of his household. The foundation of all the teacher's trouble dated back to the shameful financial status; and in spite of this low salary, he had to possess high qualifications because the Jewish teacher had to be versed in three languages -- Hebrew, Hungarian and German. Besides this, he had to teach from 28 to 30 hours a week while other teachers taught from 24 to 26 hours. The teachers should have agreed that they would not accept a position for less than 600 florins for salary and 200 florins for rent, which was the minimum salary of many of the city schools. 29

It was, therefore, the duty of the Teachers'

Association to go to the aid of the struggling teacher. It should also have gone to the aid of the smaller communities by helping them to maintain their schools. The National Hungarian Jewish Community Fund was hardly sufficient to meet this expense, although the educational director passed judgment that the common school fund should function in supplying some of the schools with needs, especially those at the borders of Galicia (Mármaros, Bereg, Ugocsa). "I would like to introduce regular religious teachings and entrust the rabbis to disburse of these community funds. In the Heder we can not attain regular religious education as opposition is still there. It cannot be subdued. It would be a great advantage if the common school fund would establish modern public schools -- at least fifty of them throughout the country. In well organized community schools, the religious teaching would also be adjusted. But as the common school fund does not possess ample funds we cannot expect them to enter into such a project. The little they do and can do is to supply and support needy public schools of smaller-type congregations, who are at the verge of closing. They should come to their assistance so that they may continue. They could attain that by allowing from 100 to 150 florins amount support annually." 30

Statistical Data of the Jews in Hungary at the close of
the Millennium.

In conjunction with the study of the situation of the Jewish school we should learn a few statistical figures: In 1896, the number of Jewish school-age children was 144,191. Out of these 118,485 attend, which is about 82.17%. From the standpoint of school attendance the Jews occupied the fourth place. The distribution of numbers of the Jewish schools in the country ran -- 526 elementary, 7 polgari. Changes in school statistical figures since 1870, after the issuing of the new public school law indicated that there were 490 Jewish schools. In 1887 there were 554; in 1889, 564; in 1891, 566; and in 1892, 578. From then on the number decreased. In 1893, there were 576; in 1895, 540; in 1896 only 533 schools were functioning in the country. In the five years from 1892 to 1896, they decreased by 45 schools, a decrease which proves that on the average five Jewish schools closed every year. In 1896, according to the minister's report, there were 996 Jewish teachers. Of these, only 21 did not possess diplomas. Only 127 were women. In this report only in the government schools was the condition better. Of the denominational schools, the Jewish schools had the highest percentage of graduated teachers. The number of assistant teachers reached 27 in comparison with the pre-

vious year when there were only 17 assistant teachers. Among the 996 teachers, there were 861 whose mother-tongue was not Hungarian, yet only one of them could not speak the Hungarian language. ³¹ From this statistical stratification we can establish that the advantage rested on the fact that the Jewish school had a great number of graduate teachers; but, at the same time, the number of assistant teachers also increased. This indicates that some graduate teachers were replaced by assistant teachers, for the salary was lower. Also favorable was the fact that the percentage of attendance increased, but it is regrettable that with the increase of attendance there was a decrease in denominational schools. In the very next year, in 1897, the minister reported only 528 Jewish schools. In three counties, Maramaros, Ugocsa and Szilagy, there was not a single Jewish school. And in four counties of Zempelen, Saras, Szatmar and Ungvar, there were only 34 Jewish schools. We can understand why in seven counties, among 32,824 school-age children 17,707 did not attend -- approximately 65%. ³² In 1898, according to the Kultus minister, the number of Jewish schools decreased to 322. ³³

Statistics of the Schools of Pest.

In 1894, there was the following number of school-age children in the schools of Budapest: In the

public schools there were 4,177; in the polgari, 2,203; in the Middle schools, 2,464; in Jewish Teachers' Institute, 24. In the Jewish schools in 1894, there were the following: Elementary, 992; Talmud Torah, 138; Hebrew school, 229. Altogether there were 10,227 students on the record who received religious instructions in the territory of Pest. ³⁴

In 1897, the number increased to 11,168, in the Elementary school; 2,647, in the polgari; 3,106, in the Middle school; 375, in the commercial school; and, 28 in the Teachers' Institute. In the Jewish congregational school: Elementary, 851; polgari, 549 (decrease in the elementary school was due to the fact that the fifth and sixth elementary classes were discontinued and the students went over to the polgari); Talmud Torah schools, 98; Hebrew, 227. The total number on the records for 1897-98 was 19,059. ³⁵

In considering the decrease in the above statistical figures, the Talmud Torah school needs some clarification. The reason for this decrease was that all the students were compelled to attend religious educational classes which led some of the parents to believe that such a religious education would satisfy their religious needs without their attending additional hours in the Talmud Torah schools which usually conducted classes after the

regular school hours. Another fact may be that at the turn of the century, many Jewish homes in the Capital city, as a result of the change in economical and social conditions, loosened their religious bounds and became relaxed in their religious observances. The Hebrew school students of the Talmud Torah showed little variations because the children who attended Talmud Torah were concerned about their knowledge of the Hebrew language, which became intensified with the Zionist movement in its upsurge at the turn of the century.

A New Educational Program Appeared in 1907.

The school year of 190-07, brought two important events in the history of Hungarian education. In 1907, there appeared the new educational program which was known as XXVII Educational By-Laws which spoke of privileges and benefits for the non-governmental elementary schools in general. We can conceive of two important factors in this law. While the new educational program did not place the Jewish teacher in a special category, yet it expected to elevate the methodology of individual subjects and to raise the national spirit of the country. This was expected in equal measure from all the schools. The achievement attained in these fields in the Jewish denominational school was generally acknowledged. Another very important result of this law was that in reviewing

schools the Hungarian language became compulsory. In the 1868 basic educational law, emphasis had been given to two courses of study:

- a. The six-year old student who had to attend school daily for six years.
- b. The students who completed the elementary schools had to attend for three years in taking review courses.

As far as the teaching in Hungarian language, the Jewish school showed greater interest than most of the other denominational schools. Only the Unitarians had a higher rating as far as the Hungarian language was concerned. But the deficiency rested on the fact that in many places the Jewish elementary school consisted of only four classes. It lacked the fifth and sixth grades. The city Jewish schools could easily explain this deficiency because Jewish students after completing the fourth elementary, entered into the first polgari or gymnasium; consequently, there was no need for the fifth and sixth elementary. While the country school claimed that their financial condition did not warrant them to maintain more than four years of elementary school, this laxity caused the Jewish denominational schools to be lacking in studies such as natural history and courses which were usually given in the fifth or sixth grades. In the new educa-

tional plan, the elevation of the importance of subjects that were henceforth known as electives such as drawing, singing, and physical exercises became of major concern. These were also lacking in the Jewish schools. The reason for this is obvious for many Jewish country elementary schools very often were one or two-teacher schools. They were over-taxed with additional Hebrew studies which the public elementary schools did not have on their programs. Consequently, there was little or no time left for seemingly minor subjects such as drawing, singing, or physical exercises. With the new law, Jewish schools had to meet the same curriculum. Congregations were compelled to place an additional teacher which they could not have done before, but by the additional grant of the 1907 XXVII law, the Jewish school was able to meet this added financial burden. ³⁶

The Advantage of This Law to the Teacher.

Among these by-laws, the following regulation proved to be to the advantage of the Jewish teacher. According to this law the denominational elementary school teacher with the beginning of July 1, 1907, was mandated to receive the same pay as the public school teachers. Only those congregations who could prove that they are unable to meet such a payment were able to get out of this. They were given a time limit to September 1, 1910, to file

their claims with the administration office that they could not meet the obligation. At the same time, the congregation appealed for government subsidies. But here we should bear in mind that only those elementary schools that could prove that they operated a full six-year elementary course could apply for such governmental subsidies. For reasons already stated, a goodly number of the Jewish schools were unable to operate six-year classes and were prevented from receiving government subsidy. ³⁷ There were some Jewish schools who added the fifth and sixth years in order to gain such government grants. There were also many who, in their requests, gave as their reason for not having the fifth and sixth classes that most of their students, after completing the fourth grade, entered the Middle schools, became apprentices or entered the commercial department in education. ³⁸ Naturally there were some congregations who seized the opportunity to give up their denominational schools altogether. This condition proved that in 1907, among 455 Jewish schools, 251 were of six classes; 78 of five classes and 126 of four classes. ³⁹

In 1904, among the 467 Jewish denominational schools, 26 were boys' schools, 15 were girls' schools, and 426 were co-educational. Among these only 156 offered repeating or reviewing classes. From these

statistics we can observe that 80 to 90 percent were co-educational and only about 30% offered review classes. Among the 467 schools, 264 were of six classes; 73 of five classes; and 192 of four classes. Only one was a two-class school. ⁴⁰

The 1908 Annual XLVI Accelerated Disbandment of Jewish Schools.

The acceleration of the disbandment of the Jewish schools was hastened by the 1908 Annual XLVI. This law insisted that elementary education be free of tuition. According to this law, on September 1, 1909, none of the elementary schools could enforce collection of tuition. The government subsidized all the schools by allowing them 16 florins per student. This amount may have been sufficient in many other denominational schools but the Jewish school could not operate on 16 florins per child. Since their enrolment was limited, it compelled them to collect higher fees in order to remain solvent, which the government was not ready to permit. ⁴¹ This condition placed the teacher of the Jewish school in a critical state.

Another factor involved was that the students in Jewish schools received added religious education which students in the government elementary schools did not. Some parents complained that the school overtaxed the children. This argument was raised most by those

who wanted to abandon the Jewish schools rather than pay additional tuition.

The teachers tried to maintain the Jewish school; as they pointed out, even if the congregation was ready to give up the school, it would not be easy to get out of its obligations to the teacher. The following were the conditions emphasized by the teacher:

1. In case of disbandment, they would have to pay a year's salary to the teacher at the final settlement. They would have to continue to pay their allotment to the pension fund until the teacher was placed in another position in the event that they did not have a school of their own. The law held the congregation responsible to maintain a religious teacher who could teach religion in the elementary school. Above all this, the Jewish community had to pay a 5% school tax (subsidy school tax).
2. In case they should turn the school over to the state, they would have to give over the school building in perfect condition. They would have to engage a religious teacher and must pay the 5% subsidy school tax.
3. If transferring the school to a private

school, the government would not guarantee subsidy. It would have to depend on the parents and whether or not they would be willing to maintain the school at their own expense. The religious education could not be extended to more than two hours per week. Consequently, members of the congregation, even by raising their tuition fee, would not gain by sending their children to private schools. The congregation should not pay the 5% to the state but rather apply it to the maintenance of their own school as means of security, and should endeavor to tax members by paying in accordance with their means. 42

The Jewish teachers tried to convince the congregation that it should not give up its schools. But, they reported to the government that the free tuition law had an unfavorable effect upon the Jewish school. The National Jewish Teachers' Association, in a memorandum, petitioned the Kultus minister (Prior to this they sent a memorandum to both offices of the Neolge and the Orthodox Jews). 43 In their petition they requested the minister to show some mitigation in behalf of the Jewish school, for the Jewish school could not operate on the 16 florins per student per

annum. They also sought permission to collect the surplus needed from those parents who were able to meet the deficiency (If a child's parents were financially able to pay 40 florins they should pay 24 -- the remaining 16 to be paid by the state). They asked that any of the congregations that were financially unable to meet the 5% tax, be allowed to apply it to the maintenance of its own school. And, finally, they requested that if any congregation must disband the school, that it be done by a vote of 2/3 majority, and that such a teacher, when applying for position, be given preference in order to alleviate the burden of the congregation. ⁴⁴

Representatives of the Teachers' Institute appeared in person before the minister. The new minister, Janos Zichy, gave them reassurance. He stated that the two laws were brought about by his predecessor, Albert Apponyi. The Jewish school received permission to collect the tuition fee as they had the 40 florins less 16 florins from the government subsidy. But he stated that since the law was to be enforced September 1, 1910, they should appeal for an extension until October 3, 1910. ⁴⁵ He permitted them to collect this tuition fee until December 31, 1910. ⁴⁶ The omission of tuition fee and the subsidy grant by the government did not bring satisfaction as only in a few communities did this grant meet the expense. A

few were the cities where the members assumed greater responsibilities, while smaller congregations tried to be relieved from taxation. This condition resulted in the decrease of Jewish schools. ⁴⁷

The following statistical figures testified to this: In 1904, Hungary had 467 Jewish schools. ⁴⁸ In 1906, there were 462 Jewish schools; in 1907, 465 Jewish schools. ⁴⁹ In 1908, there were 450 Jewish schools in Hungary and in 1910, 430 Jewish schools. ⁵⁰ The decrease was never as low as in 1910, when the free public education law was put into effect.

Material Condition of the Teacher Versus Educational Progress.

The progress of the Hungarian school, like all other schools, was in close harmony with the teacher's economic status. The struggling Jewish teacher, in supplying his family with the essential physical necessities, had a definite effect upon the cultural advancement of the school. As a rule, before we can grow intellectually, we must satisfy our physical needs. Rabbi Eliezer sized up this condition by saying, "If there is no bread, there is no Torah." Indeed, the two are closely related to one another.

The 1913 annual XV Educational Law helped the public school teacher immensely. It provided special

subsidy not only for housing but also for each additional child. This law proposed that denominational teachers might receive similar increases but the government would not subsidize it. The city teacher received similar advancement in the Jewish schools; but the rural community where the general population lived in dire poverty, could hardly raise the teacher's salary.⁵¹

The teacher's financial difficulty greatly affected not only the cultural advancement of the pupil but also hindered the nurturing of his own intellectual growth. The teacher's educational advancement in service, which was an important aspect in education, was greatly assisted by the Teachers' Society who made every possible attempt to advance the cultural faculties of the teacher by publishing articles in the Teachers' Association Bulletin and also by arranging lectures dealing with pedagogical problems. Abraham Stern arranged such lectures by engaging university professors to enlighten the Jewish teacher. All this was good as far as it went, but a teacher who was not comfortably adjusted materially could hardly reap the necessary benefits.⁵² In its bulletin, the Teachers' Society made special attempts to advance the teacher's religious qualifications by publishing studies on the Bible and Jewish history.⁵³

The First World War had Deleterious Effects Upon
Educational Progress.

These dire situations were further complicated by the outbreak of the war in August, 1914.⁵⁴ The 1914 World War was detrimental not only to the cultural advancement of the school but to life in general. It would be an over-estimation to assume that the Jewish pedagogical growth stopped altogether because of the struggle of this destructive war. There were many educational leaders who were not directly implicated in the war effort -- who were too old to enter military service. Individuals such as Abraham Lederer, who was active in his literary production to the age of 88, served in a great measure in the advancement of educational literature during the war. In 1915, he wrote, "Hebrew Instructional Reforms".⁵⁵ In these treatises, he criticized the manner of teaching Hebrew, the mechanical reading. "It is true," he stated, "that at the time when the pupil begins his first grade we cannot deal with grammar as children are too young to conceive grammatical rules. Consequently, in the first grade, pupils, by necessity, must study mere mechanical reading; but, in the second grade they can translate the Hebrew Bible text into Hungarian. They should not do this mechanically; they should have some definite concepts as far as content and also the meaning of the vocabulary. Along with the

accumulation of vocabulary -- words that must be explained -- the pupil should become familiar with prefixes and suffixes, definite articles, and many important basic grammatical questions, which should not be overlooked. It should be taught not so much as basic grammar but as essential content material.⁵⁶ During the war years, Jonas Barna revised his Hungarian reader which the firm, Singer and Wolfner, again published as the Teachers' Association's new prayerbook.⁵⁷

Although a few individuals who were not in the service may have devoted some energy toward the cultural advancement of the schools, all that was insignificant when we consider that 60 to 70% of the teachers were in military service.⁵⁸ Consequently, the Teachers' Association did not meet for five years (1913 to 1918), although they were planning a fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Teachers' Institute which should have been observed in 1916. Even such an important occasion by necessity had to be postponed to a later date.⁵⁹

During the war period, the teachers' bulletin was primarily concerned about immediate war news and war problems. It was concerned about helping to alleviate conditions in the country in general but with special reference to the families of those teachers in service.⁶⁰

With the rise of the cost of all materials, it became almost impossible to publish new books, as publication costs also had risen during the war.⁶¹ The newly erected and dedicated recreation hall, which was completed in 1911 and to which the Teachers' Association had devoted a great deal of effort, was handed over for use as a war hospital. Whatever the Teachers' Association could afford was turned over into war bonds.⁶² In their 1917 annual report the administration of the Jewish congregation of Pest recorded that because of the war conditions most of their schools had been turned over into hospitals. The religious education, however, still continued even though on many occasions they were deprived of proper heating or lighting facilities, and the classes were very often conducted in dingy rooms or halls. Of course, when there was a scarcity of coal, they had to call a recess during the severe winter season.⁶³

As a result of such conditions many things planned in the program of Jewish education before the war were not accomplished. In fact, in 1912, in an attempt to advance religious education and to render adequate service, the Jewish community of Pest appointed two professors to assist Bernat Munkacsi in his inspectorship of the Jewish schools in Pest. The two professors who were appointed to assist Munkacsi were Mor Fenyes and

Miksa Weisz. Fenyes was an ordained rabbi who had attended the seminary at Budapest between the years of 1882 and 1892 and had been ordained in 1893. His chief contribution in the educational field was, "a Grammaticai Genius a Hebruban" (The innate Grammatical Essentials in the Hebrew Language). He also wrote for the middle and polgari schools of the first and second grades a Biblical history beginning with the Creation and the destruction of the first temple. Miksa Weisz had also been ordained in the rabbinic seminary in 1894, and had functioned as religious professor and assistant rabbi in the city of Pest. He was also librarian to Bacher and Kohan Library.⁶⁴ In 1912, Bernat Munkacsí completed a series of religious text selections to be applied in the polgari and Middle schools, but because of the war effort this program could not be carried out in a full measure.

Among the most outstanding timely religious educators and professors were the already mentioned Miksa Weisz, David Schon, Armin Frisch and Mor Fenyes. Among the authors of textbook writers the renowned Rabbi Keszthely, Sandor Buchler, the great historian Ede Neumann, rabbi of Nagy Kanizsa, deserve recognition.⁶⁵

The Erection of the Polgari School of Budapest

We have dealt with many educational aspects of the millennium years. I have explained some statistical

problems leading to the decrease of many schools. This, however, did not have any reflection on the necessity of increasing the polgari schools, as was the case in the establishment of the polgari in Pest. It is a known fact that many cities throughout the country had preceded Pest in the establishment of the polgari. Although the leadership of the Jewish community of Pest had discussed and planned the erection of a polgari in 1887, it was not until the 1890 congregational meeting that this question became a pressing issue urging that the fifth and sixth grades of the elementary be converted into a polgari school. A committee was appointed to study the means of making this transfer. In the meantime, in 1891, the elementary boys' school of Nagymezo Street was joined with the elementary school of the Ship Street school where 753 students were overcrowded. This condition accelerated the establishment of the polgari school. It was definitely decided to erect a school which should meet with the overall needs of the polgari school and the pedagogic requirements of the time. ⁶⁶

The erection of the new school began in April, 1895, in the most populated section of the city, in the 7th District, at the corner of Wesselenyi and Kertesz Streets. The dedication service was held on December 1, 1896, in the presence of the officials of the city and

the district representatives of the royal school inspectors of Budapest. At a festive occasion, the Jewish community took over the direction of the school. The school building was constructed according to the most modern plans devised by the construction engineer, Vilmos Freund. The front of the building was made of beautifully polished red bricks. It was a three-story structure equipped with all modern school furnishings. The only short-coming of this structure was that the playground was not large enough to meet the essential requirements of such a school. The third floor also had a synagogue for the children's religious services. ⁶⁷

After the building was completed and the elementary fifth and sixth grade students were transferred, ample room was provided in the Ship Street School for the remaining students to be comfortably situated. This also made it possible for the girls' school to be transferred from the Romboch Synagogue Building to the Ship Street school. The pupils enjoyed their new surroundings, a situation which enhanced the advancement of both the polgari and the elementary schools. ⁶⁸

Here, it is timely that I digress to explain why it was essential that the Jewish community of Pest establish this school. With the advancement of the Industrial Revolution, specialized working men from shops

and factories required a greater education than the elementary school could offer them. It became essential that working people and smaller storekeepers receive adequate mechanical and scientific education such as mathematics, chemistry and bookkeeping, subjects that were offered in the polgari. Abraham Stern, director of the polgari, offered his timely evaluation concerning the aims and purposes of the polgari school. He stated that the aims were to fill the needs of an individual who did not desire to enter the higher linguist study of the gymnasium nor the specialized scientific study of the real gymnasium, but who wished to comply with demands of the time. 69

With the establishment of a boys' polgari, it was essential to establish a girls' polgari even though some of the conservatives maintained that there was no need for such a school for girls. They held that there was no advantage in providing further education for girls after the completion of elementary school. This was an erroneous conception, for even as the boys' polgari was intended to meet the most essential demands of the time, so the girls' polgari was directed to prepare the Jewish future mother to be qualified in meeting the cultural and religious needs of her home -- to advise her husband who very often did not receive any secular

education and to help her children to adjust themselves to the modern environment in general and to the religious environment in particular. ⁷⁰ At the turn of the century, as we have already indicated, religious observances in many Jewish homes had weakened. Those who were concerned with the destiny of Jewish religion saw that the only way to solve this problem was by rendering adequate means to the Jewish mother to be in a position to act as a priestess to her religion. ⁷¹

At the opening of the boys' polgari and after the departure of Eleazar Szanto, Abraham Stern became its director in 1893. The congregation entrusted Stern with the leadership of conducting their elementary and polgari schools, while the polgari school for girls was directed by Natan Halasz in conjunction with the girls' elementary school. Stern was a middle school professor who had assumed his educational mission at the age of thirty as a religious professor of the community of Pest. He belonged among the disciples of Mor Karman. He applied excellent methods of teaching the Bible in the original Hebrew. He also wrote valuable textbooks. As director, he advanced the standard of his school and raised it to one of the best in the country. He proved his educational initiative in the creation of many institutions. In the congregational elementary and polgari schools for boys

he served for 35 years, in which time he brought it eternal fame and cultural dignity. He linked the atmosphere of the school to the home -- that is, no sooner was the student through with his daily study when the school was transformed into an atmosphere of the home. This was especially a great advantage to those students whose parents were at work or away from home. He organized the school as a home for the summer period. The teachers took on vacation trips, the poor students who could not afford to go on vacations but had to remain in Pest during the season. Not only in social aspects did he render great service but also in the advancement of modern educational culture. He made investigations into the aptitudes of the student and offered them vocational guidance.⁷² Beginning with 1903, he arranged consultations with parents by studying the environment of the home; with the accumulation of such facts, he was in a position to advise the students.⁷³

Beginning with 1896-97, in the boys' school, the fifth and sixth elementary was transferred into first and second polgari. The number of pupils was 180. In the coming year from the first to the third class there were 234 pupils, and in 1898-99, the polgari became complete and the number of pupils reached 275.⁷⁴ Thirty-six pupils graduated from the fourth grade. It is noteworthy to review this follow-up of the graduates: 16 pupils entered

the Teachers' Institute; 4 students, the commercial college; 2, in mechanical arts; 2, agricultural schools; 4 entered business; and 8 entered industry. ⁷⁵

The polgari girls' school was conducted by Natan Halasz, whose name was well known in the educational field. He exerted untiring influence in pedagogical literature. He specialized in women's educational programs, a procedure which advanced the courses of girls and endeavored to enlighten them in their future educational pursuit. He instituted French conversational classes, and in 1904, he also introduced Hebrew language courses for girls. In 1908, he was pensioned and was succeeded by Armin Schichtanz, professor of the polgari boys' school who had performed valuable service in the life of National Jewish Teachers' Association.

The girls' polgari like the boys' polgari developed from the fifth and sixth elementary which when transferred became first and second polgari. And so, the elementary school which formerly had consisted of six grades was reduced to four classes. This occurred in the year of 1898-99. We should notice, however, that while the transformation of the boys' school took place in 1890-91, the girls' school continued to function as a six-year elementary until 1898. ⁷⁶ In the undivided classes, the number of students in the year 1892-93, was 73, and

in 1894-95 was 66.⁷⁷ The number of the students in the girls' polgari was much higher than in the boys' school; for instance, in the 1897-98 school year the boys' polgari of first to third classes had 234 and the girls' school numbered 315 students.⁷⁸ The attendance gradually increased in both of the polgari as indicated by these figures: In 1906-07, 316 boys, 409 girls⁷⁹; in 1912-13, the boys were 327 and the girls, 496; in 1917-18, the boys approached the 400 mark with 385 boys while the girls number reached 508.⁸⁰

As the congregational polgari boys' schools and elementary schools joined and buildings became crowded in the Wesselenyi Street, with the large enrollment of children, the school of the orphanage was separated from that school during the following year which separation brought about the following statistical conditions. In the Wesselenyi Street School, there were 509 elementary and 316 polgari -- together, 825. In the Ship Street School, the girls' elementary was 409 and the polgari 460 -- a total of 869. The orphanage moved into "Varosligeti Fasorba", the city park district, where the number of children was 156. The polgari of the orphanage adjusted itself in the Munkacsi Street building where its number was 134.⁸¹ In 1917, the orphanage's polgari first class was not opened and gradually went out of

existence.⁸² The professors in the polgari school only in part possessed a polgari teacher's diploma which required university graduation. This fact is revealed in the Hungarian Jewish Archives, Volumes 2 and 3, which were edited by Bernat Mandel. The congregation tried to advance the number of higher-class professional leadership in view of the fact that when the first Jewish gymnasium should open they would have adequate professors to take over.

The Formation of the Jewish Gymnasium.

At the turn of the century the plans for establishing a gymnasium took a definite step forward. Yet there were obstacles of which we cannot lose sight. The question again was raised in 1902, when the Freystadtler Foundation which had been placed into a trust bank reached its tenth year and the accumulated interest, which was to be used toward the erection and the maintenance of a Jewish Middle school, was at hand. Two facts should be taken into consideration

A. There was no mutual agreement in the concepts pertaining to the establishment of the gymnasium. Ignac Goldziher and Jozsef Banoci requested that the classes of the gymnasium already in existence in the National Rabbinic School be expanded -- that is, that the lower division of the seminary which was functioning from one

to four be completed into an eight-year gymnasium. On the other hand, Bernat Munkacsi suggested an entirely independent gymnasium which should begin to function in the Jewish boys' polgari building in 1903. Mor Karman had a different outlook. He wanted to establish two kinds of gymnasiums. Out of the Freystadtler Foundation, a Latin Greek Hebrew Classical gymnasium, and out of the Wahrmann Foundation, a modern gymnasium which would feature modern languages with special emphasis on natural sciences. 83

B. The establishment of a Jewish gymnasium was hindered by the fact that the Freystadtler Foundation was handled by the minister of education and religion and the Wahrmann and Taub Foundations, by the Jewish congregation of Pest. For a long time, it was clear that the two could not be joined together. Only in 1909, when Rabbi Samuel Kohn and Fulop Weimann, the congregation's president, successful in bringing about an agreement between the Kuratorium (supervisory board members) of the Freystadtler Foundation and the Jewish congregation which had been entrusted to handle the Wahrmann and Taub Foundations. This agreement brought the establishment of the gymnasium closer. The agreement was sanctioned by Grof Albert Apponyi, the minister of religion and education, and it became incorporated on April 2, 1909,

as the Statute of 1909 -- 40.917, which contained the following conditions

1. On the account of the Freystadtler Foundation the gymnasium be established in Budapest. By the establishment, we mean: the procurement of the ground, the construction of the building and furnishing it with all the necessary equipment.

2. The gymnasium (ground, building and equipment) forever remain as the property of the "Kovesgyari lovag Freystadtler Antal" foundation. The high gymnasium's name according to the grant should be, "Pesti izr. hitkozseg alapitvany fogimnazium" (the high gymnasium of the Jewish community of Pest Foundation).

3. The foundation of the congregation of Pest permits the use of the building to the Kuratorium. In its maintenance (including structural, reparations, and replacement of school equipment), the following means should serve as a guide: In the first place, after the erection of the building, the remaining amount of the Freystadtler Foundation be placed at interest and the second, the Wahrmann and Taub Foundations, which are under the jurisdiction of the Jewish community of Pest, and the later incoming donations and funds. If the mentioned funds and the tuition fees do not cover the expenses, the Jewish congregation of Pest obligates it-

self to an amount not exceeding 10,000 crowns per annum.

4. The entire transaction, with the exception of the professional education management which should be under the directorship of the professional staff, be under the jurisdiction of the advisory board, the Kuratorium. The Kuratorium of the Freystadtler Foundation will consist of six members and the election of five members of the Jewish congregation of Pest. Among these, if he is not already a member of the Kuratorium, must be included the vice-president of the congregation and the financial and the educational representatives of the congregation. The rabbinate be one of the members of the Kuratorium during the life of Dr. Kohn be always filled by him. After that, the president of the congregation of Pest fill that office.

5. The jurisdiction of the supervisory board:

- a. The purchase of the lot; erection of the building and supplying the school with the necessary equipment.
- b. The appealing to the government for educational subsidy.
- c. Questions of organization of the gymnasium.
- d. The stipulation of tuition fees.
- e. The appointment of the director and the election of the professors.

(The appointment of the director must

be countersigned by the Minister of Education; the election of the professors -- their names should merely be recorded in the office of the minister.)

6. The high gymnasium be conducted by didactic (systematic) and pedagogic instruction. In keeping order, the Hungarian Royal minister of religion and education be the supervisor.

7. Instruction be recessed on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays -- as well as on holidays legally set aside by law.

8. The number of hours for religious education be three hours weekly in addition to two hours extra a week for Hebrew language and literature. ⁸⁴

After the agreement was completed, the supervisory board was divided into two groups: the educational board and the financial board. At the request of the educational board, Dr. Mor Karman prepared the outline of the curriculum for the gymnasium. Karman, hoping to attain subsequent permission from the minister of education planned a nine-class gymnasium which would already accept students after the completion of the fourth elementary. The Jewish gymnasium would in that event teach three languages: the first year, beginning with German; the second, third and fifth, Greek. The history, geography,

and natural sciences without interruption were to be divided into nine classes. In the first class, Hebrew grammar and literature was to be instructed for four weekly hours. This was to be carried on to the sixth year. Beginning with the sixth, Hebrew and Latin were to have seven weekly hours. He placed psychology in the seventh, logic in the eighth, and ethics in the ninth. ⁸⁵

The financial board purchased a four-cornered lot in the Park District bordering Abonyi and Saint Dominikos Streets. The architect Bela Lajta was appointed to draw up the plans for the building. After he had drawn up the specifications, the board issued announcements for bids. The outbreak of the war prevented them from carrying through the building project. Only the foundation, the walls, and the flat roof was placed on the building. ⁸⁶

In conjunction with the establishment of the Jewish gymnasium, but to a less degree, there was kept alive the ever urgent question in Jewish education of Hungary, of the erection and the maintenance of a Jewish woman's teachers' college. The primary objective of this college would be to assure girls, the future mothers of Israel, a specific religious background. To review in our mind such a need we need only recall the proposals

of Natan Halasz in 1873. This question was tabled at that time, even though the educators realized the necessity of such an institution, and very little was done to make this hope a reality.

Miksa Szabolcsi, the editor of the "Egyenloseg" dealt extensively with this question in the late '90's. He pointed out that the Hungarian Jewish home had lost its inner-sanctity on account of the laxity of religion in the home; because great changes in the pursuit of life motivated mothers to take part in the business and professional world it became necessary to place governesses in the Jewish homes. They were entrusted with the rearing of the children and molding their character. These governesses, as a rule, were non-Jewish and had no conception of what it meant to manage a Jewish home. In the sixth district representative meeting of 1898, the question of a women's teachers' institute was raised by Miksa Szabolcsi and Pal Tencer, but Mezei, the president of the national office, rejected their proposal. ⁸⁷

David Kaufmann was also concerned about the question. In 1893, in the February issue of the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift" he had already stated, "Wie heben wir den religiösen Sinn unserer Mädchen und Frauen" (by what means can we raise the religious spirit of our daughters and women?). ⁸⁸ In this article,

Professor Kaufmann ascribed religious assimilation to laxity of the religious administration of the home. This was primarily brought about by foreign governesses; therefore, he pointed out the necessity of the erection of a women teachers' institute. Kaufmann's mother-in-law, Mrs. Zsigmond Gomperz, left in her will and testament of 1917 more than 1,000,000 Crowns for the establishment of a Jewish women teachers' institute.⁸⁹ The war condition did not help the cause as the evaluation of the money drastically decreased.

After the war, the issue of erecting this institute became urgent. It seemed that new Jewish schools would be established and that teachers would be needed to fill positions in the elementary school. A knowledge of Jewish culture would be of great importance, and therefore, it would be an unforgivable mistake if the erection of such an institution were neglected. There would also be a great need for Jewish teachers in the day schools, and especially in the kindergartens.⁹⁰ To this question, the Jewish people of Miskolc gave an answer nine years later.

Among the active Middle schools or Middle class schools, the commercial school of Nagy Kanizsa, which made its progress in the field of commerce and industry in the previous century, did not consider other important

factors as a Jewish school -- for it was Jewish only by name, maintained by the Jewish community. The curriculum of all the classes in the commercial department allowed only one weekly hour for Jewish education which time naturally gave very little opportunity for students to receive any meaningful amount of Jewish education. Perhaps the only important factor that allows us to call this school Jewish was that the Sabbath services were maintained and the school did not have Sabbath classes. The reason for its negligence in Jewish education was due to the fact that the school was under the influence of the Neolog Jewry of Nagy Kanizsa, who at the turn of the century had little regard for Jewish ideals. Their chief rabbi, Ede Neumann, who was mindful of the universal educational plan of the congregation of Pest, had prepared for the school of Nagy Kanizsa the religious educational program. He tried to test his congregation's attitude by saying that such antipathy demands that we make our youth familiar with the knowledge of the Holy Scripture and the Hebrew grammar and that we awaken such spirit in the heart of the parent so that Jews become familiar with the religious Holy doctrinage. ⁹¹

Such religious laxity and the indifferent attitudes toward learning which the parents of Nagy Kanizsa

exemplified in their commercial school were appalling. In the polgari and the Catholic gymnasium religious education in the four lower classes were three, three, two and three weekly hours, while in the school of Nagy Kanizsa, in the lower classes from one to four, there were only two and two weekly hours. At the end of the lower four classes, the Hebrew study was almost completed, as in the commercial school there was only one weekly hour offered, in which there was no opportunity to study Hebrew. The program of religious education in the commercial school was as follows:

- I. a.. Religious history
 - b. The knowledge of the prayerbook.
- II. a. Religious history
 - b. Familiarity of the Holy days' religious services.
- III. a. Systematic study of religion and ethics.⁹²

The student could not meet the requirements of Jewish history even in the Hungarian language. As a result most of the students in the commercial school were badly qualified to pass their examinations in religion. Very often one-third of the students received the lowest passing mark -- "Elegsages (sufficient)."⁹³ The classifications of marks were: "Jeles" (excellent), "Jo" (good), "Elegsages" (sufficient), and "Elegtelen" (Insufficient).

Since there was no showing of great concern toward the school at the turning of the century, the number of enrollment decreased to about 100; in 1904-05 to 85⁹⁴, and in 1907-08 to 101. The administration expected that the school would show an increase in the future years.⁹⁵ The reason for the decrease could be that though the Jewry of Nagy Kanizsa were business people -- one would expect that they would give their children an opportunity to attend commercial colleges -- yet a great many parents were concerned that their children attend the gymnasium and go for higher scientific study rather than pursue a commercial education. Also noteworthy is that in 1902-03, out of 106 students, about 33 were not of the Jewish faith.⁹⁶

In spite of this situation and because the school was rapidly decreasing, a commercial school for girls was opened. After receiving permission from the educational minister for opening this school, it also became a department of the commercial school for girls where they were prepared to act as corresponding secretaries, or general business women. Its chief intention was to prepare girls to assist their fathers in business or to be engaged as private secretaries.⁹⁷

In this course of study, there was no religious education at all. This omission of religious education

was also motivated by the fact that in 1906, among the enrolled students, only 25 were Jewish and 13 were of other denominations. In 1907, 14 were Jews and 15 were Christians.⁹⁸ When Dr. Erno Winkler became rabbi and devoted many years of activity to the cause, the religious life of the community finally improved.⁹⁹ Even the woman's commercial division was permitted at least one hour weekly for religious study.¹⁰⁰

In 1918, when the minister of religion and education issued a ruling that all upper commercial schools must be a four-year course, the commercial school of Nagy Kanizsa was also transferred to a four-year commercial school.¹⁰¹

The school of Vagujhely was a reduced or "Csonka" school which reached the status of a regular school at the turn of the century when it could maintain itself without much extra effort. In 1895, Jacob Altmann took over the directorship of the school. In order to strengthen the school's financial existence, he sought government grants or subsidies. In this effort he was greatly assisted by Imre Firchals, chief director of Pozsony and the leader of the government educational director, who assisted him in his application for a higher grant. In 1898, the government made a new agreement with the Jewish community of Vagujhely which sup-

ported immensely the existence of their Real school. According to this agreement, the Jewish community should pay 7,000 crowns annually, and the government would issue 10,000 crowns per annum, but the school must come under direct supervision of the minister of education and religion and the educational directorship of Pozsony's chief directorate. This was also true of the pedagogic and didactic sense and the directorship and supervision of its professors. According to the government agreement, the minister would have the right to elect the director and two of his professors.¹⁰² In view of this subvention the Real school lost its right to establish its own curriculum. But this right in reality did not mean much to them, as the school hardly practiced such a privilege.¹⁰³

An Improvement in the Professor's Status.

Along with the material advancement of the Real school, the stability of the position of the professor grew. This ended the frequent exchange of professorships and gave the educational leadership the opportunity to advance the old and create new institutions in the Real school. One of those new developments was the opening of the girls' gymnasium with the year 1899. Unfortunately, however, this undertaking did not last long, as it was closed with the end of the year.¹⁰⁴ In 1902, the congre-

gation resolved that with the opening of the school year of 1902-03, they would open the fifth class of the school and build it up to a complete middle school. But the minister of education did not give his consent to this because of the lack of adequate financial means to operate a full-fledged Real school. ¹⁰⁵

The professor's material status also was improved by the 1907 order which stated that the salary of the non-governmental professors be equal to that of the governmental. In 1910, with the death of Jacob Altmann, Gyula Meszaros became the new director. He made preparations for the 50th anniversary celebration of the school which was held in 1913. In that year, the school had an enrollment of 170-180 students. This was Hungary's perhaps most populated "Csonka" Middle school. ¹⁰⁶ In 1913-14, after many attempts, the school was transformed into a high Real school. At its opening, the fifth class had 15 students. This number was considered high compared with the number of enrollments in other rural districts, such as the district of Debrecen's governmental gymnasium, where in all classes of 1913-14, there were only 9 students enrolled. ¹⁰⁷ During the change of regime, the Jewish Real school was closed. ¹⁰⁸

The Educational Progress of the National Jewish Teachers' Institute.

The National Jewish Teachers' Association, from the time of the millennium to the outbreak of the first World War, underwent two changes. A ruling of the minister brought about new educational plans which also affected the school in its religious educational program.

The 1905 annual modification of the educational program increased the number of the weekly hours of the religious subjects. Instead of the 120 hours prescribed by the government, it was increased to 128 hours ($32+32+32+32 = 128$); in the governmental teachers' college the total hours of instruction were 124. In the Jewish Teachers' Institute, in order to make it possible for teachers to attend the necessary religious courses, some of the worldly subjects were reduced. For instance, in history instead of 8 weekly hours, they had only 6; in mathematics, instead of 11 hours, they had only 10, etc. In the government teachers' college, agriculture was given 2 weekly hours, but in the Jewish Institute this course was not listed at all. In the government teachers' college there were only 8 weekly hours allocated for religion; in the Jewish Teachers' Institute, the weekly hours for religious teaching were

23. These were divided as follows:

	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>Together</u>
Bible translation	2	3	3	3	11
Hebrew grammar	2	0	0	0	2
Liturgy	2	0	1	0	3
Jewish History	0	2	2	1	5
Religion	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	6	5	6	6	23

109

With the year of 1913, the Teachers' College educational program again changed by raising some of the subjects' weekly hours. The weekly hours were 124 until 1913 when they were raised to 144. The National Jewish Teachers' Institute also raised its hours which in 1905-06 were 128. In 1913 the weekly hours were increased to 145. The Institute had a difficult task and at the same time it had to raise the weekly hours of the general educational topics while it maintained the requirements of the Jewish schools. This they could accomplish only by continuing in the same manner as they did before; that is, agriculture was again left out of the curriculum although the government had raised the requirements from 2 to 8 hours. Also omitted was penmanship to which the government teachers' college assigned 2 hours. Only by omitting these weekly hours and by cut-

ting down on other subjects was the National Jewish Teachers' Institute able to maintain its curriculum without placing too heavy a burden upon the students. Consequently, the religious education remained the same only by distributing some of the subjects; for instance, instead of having liturgy 2 and 1 hours, it was distributed in three one-hour classes. 110

In the Jewish Teachers' Institute, the student-teaching requirement, which was until then extended from the first to the fourth classes, was expanded -- in the 1906-07 school year, to the fifth and sixth classes of the elementary school; this was done because it became an essential prerequisite. This change, because of its its student-teaching requirements, became a vital factor since it was much harder for the student of the Jewish Teachers' Institute to meet this than it was for the students of the other teachers' colleges. The reason for this was that there were hardly any pupils enrolled in the fifth and sixth elementary. After the children were graduated from the fourth elementary, Jewish parents enrolled them either into the first gymnasium or the first polgari. For this reason, Jozsef Banoczi stated "that students of the Jewish Teachers' Institute can only meet this requirement by means of an extreme effort on the part of the student and with

the permission granted to them by one or two city school directors who allowed them to teach there the fifth and sixth elementary classes." ¹¹¹ For, in the 1906-07 school year in the fifth class of the Jewish elementary there were only three students, while in the sixth there was only one; in the 1907-08 school year, a similar number of students was enrolled, but at the close of the year there was only one student left. In later years, this condition did not improve. On the contrary, in the 1910-11 school year, there was no sixth elementary at all. The fifth grade had only two students enrolled; and, in 1912-13, again only two students enrolled but at the close of the year there was only one left. ¹¹²

This small enrollment in the fifth and sixth classes, no doubt, made it impossible for the students to meet their student-teaching requirement. This had to be worked out by the development of the practical subject matter so that they might gain practical experience in methodology for which there was no opportunity beforehand. For instance, in each practice teaching hour, each of the fourth grade students in the Institute taught the following subjects: the destruction of the realm of Israel; the Prophet, Jeremiah; or out of the worldly subjects which only the fifth and sixth grade elementary students studied there were the steam engine, poetry and prose,

etc. ¹¹³ The pedagogic direction of the candidates was under the supervision of Dr. Jozsef Banoczi, director, and Dr. Mihaly Malnai, professor, assistant to Banoczi. In its meetings, the faculty discussed the pedagogic and didactical problems related to those practice teaching hours. Mihaly Malnai gave lectures on questions dealing with pedagogic principles. On the basis of these lectures, and on those occasions Malnai interpreted and made suggestions, also proposed topics suitable for practice teaching. He spoke of references and written exams. From the Hebrew language requirement each student, each month, had to prepare a written paper dealing with the subject of simple sentence structure. In the lower classes, these sentences had to be translated into Hebrew; and the fourth class dealt with compositional work. ¹¹⁴

With the 1907-08 school year, the entrance exam for the first class ceased. Until then, a student could enter without a certificate if he passed an entrance exam and could prove that he was qualified to undertake the study. But with the 1907-08 annual school year, the student had to present a certificate that he had completed the fourth class of the polgari before he was admitted to the first class of the Teachers' Institute; also, he had to certify that he had met the Hebrew qualification re-

quirements which consisted of the familiarity with the prayerbook, the history of the five books of Moses, and the translation of the first book from Hebrew to Hungarian. 115

With the turn of the century, the number of students in the Institute increased. In 1901, it reached 171. It became necessary for the faculty to decrease this number. This was shaped in the following manner:

In 1902-03, 169 students

In 1903-04, 154 students

In 1904-05, 150 students

In 1905-06, 138 students

In 1906-07, 139 students

In 1907-08, 128 students

In 1908-09, 125 students

In 1909-10, 97 students

In 1910-11, 95 students

In 1911-12, 73 students

In 1912-13, 74 students

In 1913-14, 78 students

116

In these statistical figures, we note the following significant fact. In the past, the students in large numbers, came from the following counties: Nyitra, Veszperem, Pest, Trencsen, Fejer, Komarom. The students

represented in large number Veszperem and Fejer. With the turn of the century, this condition changed. The students of the district of the Danube entered the gymnasium and subsequent universities in large number. Most of the students of the Teachers' Institute came from upper Hungary. For instance, they came from counties where there was hardly any secular education, such as Nyitra, Zemplen, Pozsony, Bereg. In these districts dwelt many financially poor. It is noteworthy that from Maramaros counties (which bordered Galicia) there was not one single student until 1897; but in the following ten years, we find six students representing that county in the Institute. This explains that the second generation of the imigrants from Galicia, became adjusted to the educational conditions and, therefore, served as a vital factor toward cultural assimilation.¹¹⁷

The county of Pest and the city of Budapest were constantly pathfinders. In the three school years preceding the war, 1911-12 to 1913-14, Budapest took first place by giving 27 students to the Institute; next to it was the county of Nyitra with 24 students; Pozsony, 17 students; Pest County, 14 students; and Maramaros, 4 students. At the same time, of the former leading districts, Veszperem sent only 4 students, and Fejer, 1 student.¹¹⁸

Achievement tests gave the following stratifi-

cation: 1898-99, qualifying certificate winners of the fourth class out of 31 students received the following grades: 8 excellent, 22 good, and only one sufficient. In 1905-06, the 30 graduates received the following grades: one was an honor student, 21 excellent, 8 good. between 1897-98 to 1907-08, during the lapse of 11 years, only 7 students in the four classes did not pass. ¹¹⁹ In the succeeding years, statistical figures show that from 1908-09 to 1913-14, there was not a single student who did not pass, and requeently we find honor students. In 1909-10, there were 3 honor students; 10 excellent; 11 good; and only two were sufficient. In 1912-13, there was one honor student; 10 excellent; 5 good; one sufficient. ¹²⁰ Only occasionally do we find reports about the qualifying examinations. For instance in 1905-06, 31 students passed the qualifying examinations. One was graded honorary, 21 excellent, 9 good. In 1907-08, two students were of honor grade; 14 excellent; 14 good; one sufficient; and only 2 insufficient. ¹²¹ We rarely find recordings of the written exams. We do have one recorded in 1907-08 -- the topic of the written Hebrew exam was: The Social Laws of the Bible. And, in 1910-11, the topic was: to indicate out of the Yom Kippur prayers and ceremonials, the religious aspects. ¹²²

During the years 1896 to 1918, happily the percentage that indicated how many students dropped out was reduced. Since the founding of the school in 1859 to 1897, the average number of students compelled to drop out was 18.28%; during the last decade this percentage dropped to 7.10% compared to a drop-out of 18.28% for each of the first four decades. The following $1\frac{1}{2}$ decades showed a drop to 13.46%.¹²³ This improvement we can ascribe to the fact that the Teachers' Institute was able to grant better social facilities to its students. The director timely remarked, "With us, assistance rendered to the pupils is not like that in many other institutions where it is considered charity, but to us it is a mark of elevation or progress."¹²⁴

The Society of the Jewish Teachers' Institute was established jointly by the Aid Societies, mutual fund, the scholarship, the congregation and Hevra Kadisha. These all joined together constituted the most significant social agency to assist the students. This Society came about through the assistance of past students of the Institute, and although it had a small beginning, it developed into a large agency.¹²⁵ In 1909, the Institute already had 16 students in the internate (dormitory). Later, they hired a larger home so that the indwelling

students received supervision by the steward or the educational director concerning their educational progress and ethical life. ¹²⁶ It was due to the teachers' effort that the idea of the internate of which they were the originators, became a reality. With the aid they received from government subsidies, the internate was established. The Kultus minister, Janos Zichy, after much laboring in this direction, issued the order in January, 1913, for the establishing of the internate. The total number that the internate could house was sixty students. Of these, four had to pay the full board and room. The minister also determined the income sources to maintain this internate. Toward its financial aid, he allocated 15,000 crowns which he took out of the school fund money. Toward this end, the school rented nine apartments. They remodeled and furnished them, appointed an educator, and hired a house mother; after all the necessary preparations were finished, in November 1913, the internate was opened in the VIII district of Baross Street, on the fifth floor. In the dining room, they also had a holy arc with a Torah for religious services. Every morning, between 7:30 and 8:30, religious services were conducted. On Friday nights, the members of the internate had special Sabbath services and also lectures on timely topics. Occasionally they invited a guest speaker, but most of the times the educational director of the

Institute delivered the lecture. His topic mostly referred to questions on how to teach history, the model school, and investigations leading to student educational growth. ¹²⁷

In 1917, the students had to move out of the internate, as it was occupied for war purposes. For the intermediate time of the war, the students were housed in the gymnasium of the school. ¹²⁸

The students of the Institute, besides pursuing the various assigned courses of the curriculum, had four cultural and one self-developing professional circles. The self-developing circle which honored the poet Jozsef Kiss by bearing his name, made a festive occasion on the 40th anniversary of the poet in 1907. The author came to this meeting in person and expressed his appreciation to the students for honoring him. ¹²⁹ The music circle which consisted partly of lecturing on the history of music was also organized in 1898. Its aim was to advance the teacher's individual cultural development of music appreciation, which in itself is a major objective in pedagogy. In conjunction with such lectures, the group also organized and conducted its own choir. On such occasions they offered musical programs and musical contests, as for instance, the Mozart musical voice contest. In 1912, this circle became strictly a choir

practice endeavor.¹³⁰ In 1906, the Maimonides Club, whose objective was to spread Hebrew language culture and Hebrew literature among its members had been founded. According to the program of this club and its foundation requirements, only personally prepared Hebrew lectures, discussions, poetry could be presented or read before the group at each meeting. The topics were to be taken from the following sources: the Bible, Hebrew grammar, traditional ceremonials and the Talmud.¹³¹ Another club organized by the students was the Excursion Circle. This circle arranged trips to historic places. Its purpose was to enrich the future teacher with geographical places and to offer deeper insight to nature. For instance in 1908, the students arranged an excursion to Fiume (a city in Yugoslavia bordering the Adriatic Sea), and in 1911, they made a study of other coastal cities of the Monarchy.¹³² At the head of each Circle was a professor to advise the students in their selections. Sandor Harmos, who assisted Dr. Michael Guttman in his Sabbath Prayerbook publication, lead the self-developing circle in their Hebrew melodies and Gyula J. Major, famous music composer, directed the music circle's activities. The leader of the Maimonides Club was Moses Richtmann, who was the authority on Jewish historical study.

Decrease of Number of Schools and the Teacher's Life.

The constant decrease of the Jewish elementary school could not help exerting its harmful influence upon the teacher's life. As a result of this constant downswing of the Jewish school, it became essential that the administration of the Institute reduce the number of its students. The Institute was compelled to take account of the necessity of instituting the Cantorial course of study, a study which was in direct harmony and served as a subsequent additional service that the teacher could render at a time when his teaching profession alone was not needed for full-time employment. In the previous century, the cantorial question was brought up by the faculty of the Teachers' Institute, but tabled at that time. It was now a question with which they had to deal because they realized that it would fit into the framework of the teacher.¹³³ The Teachers' Institute tried to establish this course in the latter part of the century; but only in 1913, when the teacher's employment became so acute that the impoverished and drastically reduced Jewish school had no other alternative, did it combine the two kinds of services in order to secure a position for the teacher. Banoczi, the director of the Teachers' Institute wrote, "The Cantorial course will offer ample possibilities for the teacher because at the

very first year that this course was instituted, three communities out of the suburbs applied for a teacher who was also qualified to fill the cantorial position.¹³⁴

The war threw back the progress of this course; as a matter of fact, it disrupted the entire structure of the educational system. In the 1917-18 school year, the Institute was not able to fill a teacher's position even for each of the four classes -- that is a home-room teacher. The entire staff, during this period, consisted of the director and two regular professors.¹³⁵

The Rabbinic School's Condition Between 1900 and the First World War.

In the Rabbinic Institute, a great change of professorship occurred between 1900 and the first World War. The first gallant, scholarly generation passed away and its place had been taken by a worthy succeeding generation.¹³⁶ Moses Bloch, the Seminary's first president had left the seminary in 1907 and in 1909 he passed away at a ripe old age of 94. He was one of Hungary's outstanding scholars and Talmudic figures.¹³⁷

In 1913, another luminary departed from the Seminary. Vilmos (Wilhelm) Bacher, who had occupied the post of second rector in the Seminary and who from its very inception had exemplified exceptional leadership because of his scholarly nobility. His multiple acti-

vities branched out in many directions of Jewish and secular learnings: Jewish history, religious philosophy -- Arab and Persian, Bacher's Agada. ¹³⁸

A little later than Bacher there came to the Seminary of Budapest, David Kaufmann (his life and literary achievements on page 169).

In 1897, Samuel Low Brill, the president of the Rabbinic Assembly of Pest, passed away. He had taught the Talmud in the lower division of the Seminary. ¹³⁹

New figures filled the Seminary's professorship posts to take the place of these departed scholars. In 1913, Lajos Blau who had functioned in the Seminary since 1887, and who took the place of Brill, became the director of the Seminary. He was also a great scholar, a fact all educators fully recognized. ¹⁴⁰ In 1899, Samuel Kohn, chief rabbi of the congregation of Pest, taught Hungarian-Jewish history and literature in the Seminary. ¹⁴¹ In 1900, the world-renown orientalist, Ignac Goldziher taught religious philosophy in the Seminary. ¹⁴² In 1905, Simon Hevesi, rabbi of Pest, stepped in as the lecturing professor continuing the activity of David Kaufmann in lecturing homeletics. ¹⁴³ In 1907, Mihaly Guttman, who occupied a professorship chair in the Seminary was the author of the famous, "Mafteah ha'Talmud" (The Key to the Talmud). This

monumental work was planned to be published in ten volumes, but only four volumes saw print. In 1933, he took the place of Lajos Blau as the president of the Seminary.¹⁴⁴ In 1912 came the historian Lajos Venetianer, who wrote about Jewish religious rites, their origin and methodology,¹⁴⁵ and Gyula Fischer who since 1913, had been the lecturing professor of Bible and Midrash.¹⁴⁶ Miksa Weisz, rabbi of Pest, in 1917, began his teaching of Midrash in the Seminary. His many-sided qualifications testified to the fact that there was hardly a vital topic on the range of the Midrash, religious philosophy, and homeletics that he did not discuss.¹⁴⁷

Concerning the number of students of the upper division throughout these years we have the following statistical figures: In the middle of the '80's, the number of students in the Seminary rose to 94; in 1886-87, 115; the highest enrollment was reached in 1997-88, when there were 129. After that, it continually decreased. The fact is that during the 1919-20-21 years, the student enrollment in the Seminary was exceedingly low. For instance, during 1897-98, in the upper division there were only eight students. From the standpoint of the student's home environments and the occupations of their parents, the students attending during the four decades

of the Seminary's existence offer an interesting picture. Most of the students came from the following communities: Zemplem (Northeast of the county), 61 students; Nyitra (Northwest district), 54 students; Budapest, 43 students; the other counties were exceedingly low. For instance, Moson County, 1 student; the city of Győr, 2 students; and Zala, 4 candidates. The occupation of the parents varried; most of them merchants (grocers, agents, in-keepers), they numbered 288. Among the parents who were mechanics, there were 62. Parents who were teachers, 61; parents who were rabbis and religious teachers, 56. The smaller number came from professors -- 2 of them, engineers and lawyers, 3. All these gave their children a Seminary education. During the entire period the enrollment in the Seminary was 702. Out of these, 313 completed the gymnasium; 195 students attended the upper division. 148

Concerning the internal structure of the Seminary, it is worthwhile for us to mention the following changes that took place in the theological subjects in 1912. The new curriculum departed from the old which could be indicated in a few lines. The study of the Talmud was extended to ten years. The changes that were made from that of the preceding years was that the lecturing professor could not select the topics according to his choice

but had to follow a definite procedure. This ascertained that every student during the duration of ten years studied, on the average, the same Talmudical passages, had the same subject arrangements in the Talmud. The lower division was divided into two sections in which they studied the Talmud, Bible, Hebrew grammar, and also Jewish history. Jewish history, no longer taught in sections, was not studied in a systematic way -- the lower division consisted of four years; the upper division of five years. ¹⁴⁹

The Student's Financial Aid.

The student's financial aid was gradually modified to a larger extent than it had been in previous years. Lajos Blau writes, "In the preceding period of the Seminary, it was often the case when students, after attending morning prayer services, which were compulsory, went straight to their assigned classes without breakfast; that is, they started a difficult task with an empty stomach. This was changed when in 1903-04, Baron Jozsef Hatvany Deutsch gave an annual donation of 2,000 crowns which he continued to give for ten years, to supply needy students with breakfast. After that, the organization "Ez Hayim" met this need. ¹⁵⁰

The rabbinic seminary, in addition to its mission of educating rabbis, concerned itself with advancing

Hungarian-Jewish scholarships. Its intention was to continue to deepen its activity. It established, in the Hungarian language, the first complete Bible translation based on the original Hebrew text. The preparation of the Bible translation for Hungarian Jewry was stalled for lengthy decades; but now, it came about through the associate editorship of ~~W~~ilhelm Bacher, Jozsef Banoczi and Samuel Krausz, that the Hungarian-Jewish Literary Society (I M I T) directed the leading rabbis who were called upon to assume the responsibility of translating the books of the Bible. The first book appeared in 1898, and the second in 1900. This was followed by another in 1903, and later in 1907, the last volume of the Bible translation went to press. Its influence was greatly noticeable in the field of Bible study, particularly in the school.¹⁵¹ But it did not solve the question of Bible reading, either in the school or in the home. It did not serve as selected material which the Bible was intended to do. There was need for Jewish Bibles which with omissions, should familiarize youth with the total content of the Bible. This should serve as a constant guide for home reading. ~~W~~ilhelm Bacher made a start to select such a youth-and-family home Bible, but his meager beginning for many years hardly saw the printer's ink. Even though the

plan was interrupted, the Torah and the historic books were published in youth edition in 1926. To satisfy the urgent need for such a Bible, Dr. Bernat Frenkel, the Jewish gymnasium religious teacher, assumed the responsibility. Already, in 1920, he helped to publish, at his own expense, such a Bible called "Szentiras a Csalad es az iskola reszere" (The scripture for the family and the school). In these selections were enjoyable translations for Hungarian youth to study the Bible. Four volumes in succession left the press. The volume dealing with hagiographia appeared in 1926.¹⁵² An abridged one-volume of this Bible also appeared in 1933, and later in 1942. In 1903, by the editorship of Armin Frisch, appeared the most essential historic source method: the Hungarian-Jewish archives, volume I. In 1911, the rabbinic Seminary's learned rabbi circle published their quarterly periodical, "haZofe" (the beholder), which Lajos Blau said: "It is Jewry's most scientific Hebrew organ in the world."¹⁵³

Cultural Attainment of the Seminary.

In advancing the cultural attainment of the Seminary and the scholarly faculties of the rabbinic functions, the library was indispensable. In the general libraries of the capital city there were hardly to be found those books dealing with professional knowledge of Jewish

scholarship. This truth was known to the professional Jewish teachers at the very inception of this professional institution. Special attention was required to remedy this deficiency of the library by acquiring the most essential books. At the opening of the seminary, its library already had 5,000 volumes of such needed books which had been secured as purchases or as donations. The first of these needed books came from the library of the deceased rabbinic scholar, Letio della Torre, who had passed away in 1871. He was the former professor of the "Collegio Rabbinico" (Rabbinical college of Padua, Italy). In his collection of books were many rare copies that had gone out of print ("incunabula") during the 16th century. Books also came from the deceased scholar David Oppenheim, rabbi of Kecskemet, who died in 1876, and whose library contained the newer Hebrew publications. Later, there were added donations of books from other rabbis and scholars such as Ede Ehrlich, associated rabbi of Nagyvard, who bequested a collection of 2,300 books to go to the seminary. Abraham Hochmuth also bequested that his library go to the Rabbinic School of Pest. This was transferred in 1890, after the scholarly rabbi of Veszprem had passed away. The great collection of books was added to the library at the close of the century. The Hevra Kadisha of Pest purchased the library of the

deceased rabbi, Samuel Low Brill, who had been the president of the Rabbinic Assembly of the City of Pest and whose library contained 2,510 volumes. On the 40th anniversary of the library, its volume collection numbered 34,416. ¹⁵⁴

The Educational Progress Between 1896 and 1918.

The educational progress between 1896 and 1918 can be described as great aspiration which led to small attainment. In order to raise the standards of religious conduct and Hebrew scholarship, many plans were formulated and new methods were applied, but the result was in inverse proportion to the hope, the hard work, the plans. The youth's irreligious outlook was not a mere rumor but a sad reality. A few statements may help to clarify this. Although it was the earnest endeavor to achieve progress in the field of education and religious observance, Jozsef Patai, the author of the "Mult es Jovo" (Past and Future) described negative educational condition of Jewish youth, "Whose parents", he stated, "can afford to hire a 'bonnet' -- governess to the children; we can expect the child to grow up advocating the faith of the governess. The reason for it is that this is more fashionable. A child reared in such an atmosphere will not choose to attend the Jewish gymnasium even though that school meets with all the modern prescribed rulings.

He would rather attend an evangelical or a missionaric school. It is strange, but is actually true that Jewish traditional observances were exchanged with Christian observances. It is not the non-Jewish nurse who was reared in the traditions of her belief to have a christmas tree that wanted such a display in the Jewish home, but it was the Jewish parent who made such a selection..."¹⁵⁵

Finally, it was the parents who instructed the Jewish teacher that if her child were reprimanded, he would be transferred to Christianity.¹⁵⁶

According to many authentic religious educators the general concensus of opinion was that religious laxness and indifference reached the very height of losing all sense of comprehension. Lawfully and officially, this made its next in the tender heart of youth. This fact we must acknowledge, and the consequences that such brought about out of our consciences. It is not necessary that we discuss Bible critics -- for our youth can deny without any critical analysis or evaluation.¹⁵⁷

This factual proof gives evidence that professional planning toward which our teachers gave great attention at the close of the century developed in inverse proportion. The same inverse proportion we find when we consider the untiring effort of the teacher to keep up the Jewish school. Yet in spite of everything, it de-

creased in number. The Jewish teacher displayed -- the teaching "Pat be Melah tohel" -- that not only he but his family, was denied the most essential in order to teach Torah to the youth. Many Jewish communities were not willing to keep the Jewish school up for they felt that it paid not to sacrifice in vain. So they closed the doors of the school. As a result, the number of congregational schools in 1911 was reduced to 416, and in 1912 to 403.¹⁵⁸ In 1913, this decrease halted -- in fact, three new schools were added.¹⁵⁹ This brings us to a close in the educational development of the period because of the pursuit of war which laid hardship on every factor of life.

A Comparison of the Educational Development of the Years Between 1896 and 1913.

At the turn of the century, the following statistical figures may help us to draw some conclusions:

	<u>1896</u>	<u>(160) 1912</u>	<u>(161) 1913</u>
No. of Jewish school-aged children	144,191	111,498	no figures
Those that attended school	118,485	94,704	95,274
(figures in percentage)	82.17%	84.93%	----
The number of functioning Jewish schools in the country	583	403	406
The number of functioning teachers	996	838	830
The teachers who did not have diplomas	21	2	2

Even though the number of Jewish children attending Jewish schools grew in percentage and with the decrease of Jewish schools, the Jewish teacher diminished in proportion; nevertheless, it is shocking that since 1896 to 1913, the Jewish schools decreased by 127. In 1892, the Jewish school reached its peak of 578, and twenty years later the school decreased by 127. This fact speaks for itself.

To this we may add a few facts and figures of the prevailing conditions of the Jewish community of Pest:

	<u>Total Population</u>
1890	102,377
1900	166,198
1906	186,047
1910	203,687 (162)

It is only natural that with an increase in population there was an increase in the Jewish school-age children. The following statistics prove that the number of children under the jurisdiction of the community of Pest was as follows:

	<u>1897</u>	<u>1912</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1918</u>
Jewish religious education received	20,817	28,962	29,204	30,407
Out of these attended the Jewish schools	1,400	2,056	1,995	2,136

	<u>1897</u>	<u>1912</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1918</u>
Talmud-Torah schools attended	98	414	453	467
Hebrew schools attended	272	1,463	1,344	969
				163

We should not lose sight of conclusive evidence by considering the number of students but on the irreligious attitude of the student and the decrease of the number of the Jewish schools rested the actual results -- the sum total of Jewish cultural enthusiasm. This condition of indifference caused many individuals to change their religious affiliations. It was not a question of evaluation, to accept or reject one for the better, for they had no such conception. They did not know what it meant to remain in the fold. In 1916, the records show that in Pest alone, 290 changed their religion, and in 1919, the number who turned their backs on their Jewish faith reached 3,547.¹⁶⁴ The actual number, to be sure, was much higher, not only in Pest, but throughout the country. Unfortunately, Hungarian Jewry lacked the spirit of unity and mutual understanding that were so necessary in rising above the obstacles of religious indifferences. This inability to surmount its difficulties paved the way for assimilation and the gradual disbandonment of its schools.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion and Summary

It has been the purpose of this thesis to study the history of Jewish education in Hungary. The writer, born and reared in the Hungarian environment, had the opportunity to learn directly from active situations, as well as by means of factual evidence, that Hungary was one of the few countries on the European continent where Jewry was given the opportunity, after the French Revolution, to build up its economy as well as to development of its intellectual faculties, both religious and secular, to the utmost advantage of all concerned.

Mindful of these privileges and opportunities, Hungarian Jewry strove to adjust themselves to the environment of their country as quickly and thoroughly as time would permit. In order to accelerate this process of adaption, the Hungarian government urged that Jews establish denominational elementary schools where the children, in conjunction with their Jewish studies, could acquire secular education. The first of such schools gave adequate proof that they were zealously Hungarian in their attempts. Students, after the lapse of but few years, acquired the Hungarian language and were proud to call themselves

Hungarians -- men and women who illuminated the Hungarian cultural horizon in the various fields of cultural, economical, and social life. Hungarian Jewry proved the cultural-pluralism theory almost a century before the Americans followed the adaptation theory known as the "melting pot" concept -- in other words, they proved that one does not have to relinquish his old culture in order to be accepted in his new environment, for both can contribute in a large measure to the total progress of the richness of life.

Hungary, after emancipation, offered Jewry such cultural opportunities. The country was also blessed by having individuals such as Schwab, Low, Hochmuth, Hildesheimer, and many others too numerous to mention; men, imbued with Torah in a broad sense of the term; men endowed with the necessary foresight and direction which enabled them to lay the foundation of the Hungarian Jewish school where Jewish culture and general education could be harmoniously integrated..

In this summary, space does not permit reiterating the many logical statements -- facts that are definitely directed toward offering adequate solution to this problem -- we cannot ponder over conditions discussed and decided upon but we can refresh our minds with a few major facts that are considered basic, stumbling blocks in modern education --

the influence of State and church upon Jewish education. The question we should review is, was it the interference of the state or church that hindered the growth of the Jewish school in Hungary.

Beginning in the time of Jozsef II, whose aim was to advance the education of all his subjects, including the Jews, by opening to them the doors of the already existing schools and permitting them to establish institutions of their own, until the Boch Period, the educational control was vested in the State. With the beginning of the Boch Period, the control of the school was transferred to the hands of the church. During the control of either the State or the church, we have seen that the overall educational trend led to strengthening rather than weakening the foundation whereupon the Jewish school was erected.

During the Boch Period, when the Jewish denominational school changed its internal structure and supervision from Hungarian to German and from the State to church -- a supervision that was directed by the educational minister of Leo Thun's Educational Entwurf Theory -- all education was under the direct supervision of the Vatican. In spite of all seeming limitations and restrictions, the religious education remained in the hands of the rabbis; and so, too, in special areas where the

rabbi was qualified to supervise secular studies -- such was the case of Lipot Low, when the vice-regent of Chongrad in 1857 entrusted him with the supervision of the entire Jewish schools.

Many essential advantages in the educational system of the Jewish schools came about during this period. Not only was the number of the Jewish denominational schools increased to 308, but many which previously were housed in some private, rented dwelling were established in permanent school buildings. Also, classes increased from two to three and four. All through this period, not only the physical facilities but also the curriculum was reconstructed by the application of advanced pedagogic procedures which aided the school and the teachers. Dr. Mihaly Haas, chief inspector of schools, inspired many Jewish teachers to continue their teacher's training during service. He also strengthened the teacher's morale by protecting him against unjust treatments. The only disadvantage of this period was that the Hungarianization suffered from the predominant German influence which characterized the entire Boch era.

With the agreement between Austria and Hungary, Jozsef Eotvos, the former minister of religion and education, was reinstated. He continued to direct the education of the Hungarian school. At this point, it is worthwhile for

us to bear in mind that since the Emancipation Law was limited to mere political rights, the denominational schools of the Jews continued to remain under the control of the government. Eotvos hoped to help the Jews in adjusting their internal organization and in ironing out their difficulties, for which purpose he convoked the Jewish Congress.

From the lengthy proceedings of this Congress, the decisive point was reached when the majority ruled and accepted measures by which the future Jewish school, as well as other organizational methods of the congregation, should be governed. The Conservatives (the Orthodox) who were unwilling to accept the Congress' resolutions, organized the "Shomrai Hadath", protesting against the government's sanction of these resolutions. They appealed to the liberal-minded members of the government who took sides with them by basing their claim on the right of individual conviction -- a decision which cannot be decided by majority rule. On democratic principles, individuals have the right to differ even though the majority is against them; consequently, the government could not force them to accept the Congress' resolutions.

This decision which changed and undermined the structure of the future plan of the Congress, brought

grave consequences to the future destiny of the Jewish school -- a condition which gradually weakened, and ultimately lead to assimilation of many members in the congregation.

It is impossible to reiterate the entire transactions which were the result of the split, but it is imperative that we note that it occurred in spite of the pleadings and reasoning of the educational leadership who denied themselves all the necessary material security -- ample salary, tenure, and pension. The Jewish teachers, consisting of a body of men worthy of their name, sacrificed themselves and their families for the ideal of strengthening the Hungarian Jewish education -- both Jewish and secular.

In reviewing the essence of this thesis, it should be clear that neither the control of the State or the church, nor the negligence of the teacher, weakened the Jewish denominational school. The split not only diminished the number of schools but created a state of indifference among many members who gradually shifted their responsibilities which they had previously held, as they had no desire to continue in being instrumental in a school system over which they had no supervision.

While it may be proven that the chief cause of

the weakening of the school system was a result of the split, nevertheless, it would be a great injustice to brand a group of Orthodox leadership as an inferior element; in reality they were conscientious men who had deep conviction for Torah, and who were willing to relinquish even the right of citizenship rather than take part in a movement that would weaken the structure of their Jewish religion. Yet, we must equally agree that this body of conscientious Jewish religious scholars were not qualified to pass judgment on educational issues which involved secular education, as this was a problem of which they had little or no knowledge. They failed to realize that Jewish education in modern society must adjust itself to prevailing conditions, and that by necessity it must be of a dual nature in order to commend respect and recognition.

The Hungarian Jewish school lacked such unified action, a spiritual "Briah haTihon hoOmed bain haKerashim", a link that must be all-inclusive, must engulf all the elements that constitute the spiritual edifice of the Mishkon Hatorah -- the sanctuary of Jewish learning in a modern society.

Hungarian Jewry lacked such mutual understanding, which unfortunately resulted in assimilation and the gradual abandonment of its schools.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ZsL = Zsido Lexikon (Ujvari Peter, editor), Budapest,
1929.

E. M. = Eisler Matyas dr.
F. D. = Friedman Denes dr.
G. Zs. = Groszmann Zsigmond dr.
M. B. = Mandl Bernat
S. R. = Seltmann Rezso dr.
Sz. G. = Szilagyi Geza dr.
T. Zs. = Tieder Zsigmond
T. I. = Tisbi Illes

UJE = The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia (Isaac
Landman, editor), New York City, N.Y., 1948.

Footnotes

CHAPTER I

1. Henrik Marczali, "A magyarországi zsidók II József Korában" (The Hungarian Jews during József II) Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1884 (The Hungarian Jewish Review - 1884) (Budapest, 1884) p. 356-357.
2. Lajos Venetianer, A magyar zsidóság története (The History of Hungarian Jewry) (Budapest, 1922) p. 78.
3. Henrik Marczali, loc. cit., p. 358.
4. Lajos Venetianer, p. 82-83.
5. Sándor Buchler, A zsidók története Budapesten (The History of the Jews of Budapest) (Budapest, 1901) p. 337-339.
6. Ibid, p. 341-342.
7. Ibid, p. 362-363.
8. Ibid, p. 347.
9. Lajos Venetianer, p. 82.
10. Ibid, p. 81.
11. Sándor Buchler, p. 351-352.
12. László Újvári, Magyar Zsidó Lexikon (Hungarian Jewish Lexikon) (Budapest, 1929) p. 192.
13. Mózes Richtmann, Magyar Zsidó Szemle (Hungarian Jewish Review) (Budapest, 1912) p. 11.
14. Sándor Buchler, "DeJudaëis" Izr. Magyar Irodalmi Társ. Evkönyve (The IMIT Yearbook of 1900) (Budapest, 1900) p. 277-304; Lajos Venetianer, p. 85-92.
15. Lajos Venetianer, p. 93.
16. Ibid, p. 93.
17. Sándor Buchler, A Zsidók története Budapesten, p. 354.
18. Mózes Richtmann, p. 12.

19. Ibid, p. 103-104.
20. Ibid, p. 117.
21. Ibid, p. 119-120.
22. Ibid, p. 115.
23. Ibid, p. 112-113..
24. Ibid, p. 12..
25. Zsigmond Groszmann, "Tűrelmi ado" (the Tolerance Tax) Magyar Zsidó Lexikon (The Hungarian Jewish Lexikon), (Budapest, 1929) p. 914-915.
26. Mozes Richtmann, p. 13.
27. Lajos Venetianer, p. 95-96.
28. Zsigmond Groszmann, A magyar zsidók V. Ferdinand alatt (The Hungarian Jews under the rule of Ferdinand V -- 1835-1843) (Budapest, 1916) p. 6-8.
29. Lajos Venetianer, p. 102..
30. Zsigmond Groszmann, p. 20-21..
31. Lajos Venetianer, p. 141.
32. Ibid, p. 142-144.
33. Ibid, p. 105-114.
34. Samuel Kohn, Emlékkönyv (testimonial volume of Samuel Kohn) (Budapest, 1941) p. 59-60.
35. Ibid, p. 60.
36. Lajos Venetianer, A zsidóság szervezete a európai államokban (The organization of the Jews in the European states) (Budapest, 1901) p. 479. László Bakonyi, Hatvan év előtt (sixty years ago) Magyar Zsidó Szemle (Hungarian Jewish Review) (Budapest, 1929) p. 6.
37. Leopold Low, Zur neuen Geschichte der Juden in Ungarn (The recent history of the Jews in Hungary) (Budapest, 1874) p. 91.
- 37a. Ibid, p. 91.

38. Ibid, p. 91.
39. Lajos Venetiáner, p. 481-82.
40. Leopold Löw, Ibid p. 109.
41. Ibid, p. 202. Lajos Venetiáner, Ibid p. 487-89.
Zsigmond Grossmann, p. 39-40.
42. Lajos Venetiáner, Ibid p. 482-83.
43. Sámuel Kohn, A paksi rabbigyűlés határozatai (The resolutions of the rabbinic assembly in Paks). Magyar Zsidó Szemle (The Hungarian Jewish Revue) (Budapest, 1898) p. 373-76.
44. Árpád Zeller, A magyar egyházpolitika (The Hungarian Church politics, 1847-1894) (Budapest, 1894) Vol. 1, p. 3.
Lajos Venetiáner, Ibid p. 491.
45. Jenő Zsoldos, editor, A Magyar Zsidóság Életeben, 1848-49, (Experiences in Hungarian Jewish life) (Budapest, 1948)
p. 94.
46. Barna és Csukási, editors, A pozsonyi Talmud-torával egyesített orth. izraelita elemi fiúiskola keletkezésének és fejlődésének története (The historic development of the Jewish elementary school of Pozsony) (Pressburg, 1896)
p. 424-25.
47. Ibid, A pesti izr. hitközségi fiúiskola monografiája (The history of the boys' school of Pest) (Budapest, 1896) p. 46.
48. Bernát Mandl, A Magyarországi Zsidó Iskolák a XIX Században (The history of the Hungarian Jewish School during the XIX Century) (Budapest, 1909) p. 178.
49. János Kosa, Pest és Buda elmagyarosodása 1848 - ig (The Hungarianization of Pest and Buda till 1848) (Budapest, 1937) p. 113-114.
50. Béla Bernstein, Az 1848-49 iki magyar szabadságharc és a Zsidók (The 1848-49 Hungarian War for Independence and the Jews) (Budapest, 1898) p. 89.

51. Ernő Ballagi, A magyar zsidóság harca az emáncipációért (The Hungarian Jew's struggle for their emancipation) (IMIT Yearbook, 1940) p. 135-167. Ibid, 1848, és a zsidó emáncipáció; Guttman Mihály-Emlékkönyve (The Jewish emancipation and the testimonial volume of Mihály Guttman) (Budapest, 1946) p. 1-20.
52. Jenő Zsoldos, 1848-49 a magyar Zsidóság életében (The 1848-49 events in the life of Hungarian Jewry) (Budapest, 1948) p. 217-221.

CHAPTER II

1. Jenő Zsoldos, 1848-49, a magyar zsidóság életében (Events of 1848-49 in the Hungarian Jewish life) (Budapest, 1948) p. 215-216.
2. Miksa Weisz, Elsárgult levelekből (The Faded Leaves) (Budapest, 1917) p. 1.
3. Béla Bernstein, Az 1848-49, ike Magyar szabadságharc és a zsidók (The 1848-49, Hungarian War for Independence and the Jews) (Budapest, 1918) p. 289-310.
4. Ibid, p. 301.
5. Zsigmond Groszmann, A magyar szidók a XIX. század közepén (Hungarian Jewry in the middle of the XIX Century) (Budapest, 1917) p. 9.
6. Ibid, p. 35.
7. Leopold Low, Zur neueren Geschichte der Juden in Ungarn (The recent history of the Jews in Hungary) (Budapest, 1874) p. 214-215.
8. Ibid, p. 215.
9. Ibid, p. 219.
10. Ibid, pp. 220-221, 275.
- 10a. Zsigmond Groszmann, A magyar zsidók V. Ferdinand alatt (The Hungarian Jews under the rule of Ferdinand V - 1835-1843) (Budapest, 1916) p. 44.

11. Leopold Löw, *ibid*, p. 214-274.
12. *Ibid*, p. 266.
13. Lajos Venetiáner, A Zsidóság szervezete a europai államokban (The organization of the Jews in the European states) (Budapest, 1901) p. 494-495.
14. Abraham Hochmuth, Die Jüdische Schule in Ungarn wie sie ist, und wie sie sein soll (The Jewish school in Hungary as it is and as it should be) (Miskolc, 1851) p. 24.
15. *Ibid*, p. 52.
16. *Ibid*, p. 141-152.
17. Daniel Pillitz, Zur Schulfrage der Israeliten in Ungarn (The Jewish educational problem in Hungary) (Pest, 1851) p. 57-58. Low es Kulinyi, A Szegedi Zsidók, loc. cit., p. 169-171.
18. Daniel Pillitz, Der Lichtblick des Königs (Pest, 1847) p. 30-31.
19. Pillitz, Zur Schulfrage, p. 64.
20. József Bánoczi, As Országos Izr. Tanítóképző-intézet története (The History of the National Jewish Teachers' Institute) (Budapest, 1897) p. 13.
21. Jonas Barna, introductory passage, A magyar-zsidó felekezet elemi és polgári iskolának monográfiája (The monograph of the Hungarian Jewish elementary and polgári denominational school) (Budapest, 1896) p. XXXVII. Bernat Mandl, A magyarországi zsidó iskolák a XIX században (The Jewish schools in the XIX Century) (IMIT Yearbook 1909) p. 186.
22. Sándor Marki es Gusztav Beksics, A modern magyar-ország (A modern Hungary) (Budapest, 1898) p. 522-23..
23. Zsigmond Groszmann, loc. cit., p. 54-55.
24. Immanuel Löw és Kulinyi Zsigmond, loc. cit., p. 208.
25. Jonas Barna, *ibid*, p. XL-XLI. Zsigmond Groszmann *ibid*, p. 55-56.

26. Jonás Barna, Ibid p. XXXVIII - XL. Bernat Mándl, Ibid (IMIT Yearbook, 1909) p. 183.
27. Löw-Kulinyi, Ibid p. 342.
28. Jonás Barna, Ibid p. XXXVII - XXXVIII.
29. Aladar Fürst, Magyarország zsidó középiskolái (The Hungarian Jewish public school) (IMIT Yearbook, 1931) p. 212.
30. Barna-Csukási, A magyar-zsidó felekezet elemi-és polgári iskoláinak monografiája (The monograph of the Hungarian Jewish elementary and polgári schools) (Budapest, 1896) Vol. I, p. 55.
31. Ibid, Vol. I pp. 378, 392. Aladar Fürst, Ibid p. 211.
32. Bernat Mándl, Ibid (IMIT Yearbook, 1909) p. 186.
33. Barna-Csukási, Ibid Vol. I, p. 307; Vol II, p. 63; Vol. I, pp. 318, 361.
34. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 120.
35. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 216.
36. Bernat Mándl, Ibid (IMIT Yearbook, 1909) p. 188.
37. Löw-Kulinyi, Ibid p. 180. Barna-Csukási, Ibid pp. 385, 386..
38. Leopold Löw, Ben Chánanja (monthly periodical) (Szeged, 1859) pp. 83, 184, 221.
39. Eleazar Szánto, Magyar Zsidó Szemle (The Hungarian Jewish Review) (Budapest, 1885) p. 34-37. Barna-Csukási, Ibid p. 376-77.
40. Magyar Zsidó Szemle (Budapest, 1908) p. 104.
41. Ben Chánanja, Ibid, p. 423. Magyar Zsidó Szemle p. 104.
42. Zsigmond Groszmann, Ibid, p. 75.
43. Jewish Encyclopedia, (New York and London, 1904) Vol. 6, p. 395-96.

- 44.. Zevi Scharfstein, History of Jewish Education in Modern Times (New York, 1945) p. 224. Ismar Elbogen, A Century of Jewish Life (Philadelphia, 1944) pp. 28, 99, 250, 575..
45. Zsigmond Groszmann, *ibid*, p. 75-76.
46. Mandl, *ibid*, p. 56-57.
47. Bela Bernstein, *ibid*, p. 306-309..
48. Jozsef Bánoczi, *ibid*, p. 14-18.
49. Ben Chananja, 1859, p. 436.
50. Jozsef Bánoczi, *ibid*, p. 19-20.
- 50a. *Ibid*, pp. 22, 24-25.
51. *Ibid*, p. 34-35.
52. *Ibid*, pp. 56, 62.
53. A Zsidók reformatioja (The reformation of the Jews) (Budapest, 1867) p. 21-23.
54. *Ibid*, p. 17-18.
55. Leopold Low, Ben Chananja, 1859, p. 423-425.
56. Jozsef Bánoczi, *ibid*, p. 15..
57. Imre Csetényi, Az ötvenes évek sajtója és a zsidókérdés (The press in the 50's pertaining to Jewish question) (Memorial issue of Samuel Kohn - Budapest, 1941) p. 94-96..
58. Bernat Mandl, A pesti izr. hitközségi fiúiskola monográfiája (The monograph of the boys' school of the Jewish congregation of Pest) (Budapest, 1896). Barna-Csukasi, *ibid*, p. 62-63.
59. Zsigmond Groszmann, A pesti szinagog (The synagogue of Pest) (Budapest, 1915) p. 5. A 90 éves Dohány utcai templom (The 90 year old Tabak Street temple) (Budapest, 1949).

CHAPTER III

1. Ferenc Eckhardt, Magyarország Története (The history of Hungary) (Budapest, 1933), p. 281-83.
2. Zsigmond Groszmann, A magyar Zsidók a XIX. század közepén... (Hungarian Jewry in the middle of the XIX Century) (Budapest, 1917) p. 50.
3. Leopold Löw, "felszólítása a Magyar Egylet ügyében" (His appeal in behalf of the Hungarian Jewish Society), Pesti Napló, (The Daily News of Pest) (Budapest, 1860) November 4.
4. Ibid, November 21.
5. "A tanügyi értekezletből" (Educational conference) Magyar Izraelita (Hungarian Izraelit) (Pest, 1862) p. 141-145.
6. Henrik Deutsch, "Mikép lehet jó és képes népiskolai tanitokra szert tennünk" (By what means can we attain adequate elementary school teachers), ibid, p. 133-34.
7. "Javaslat. A középiskolák és tanítói képezde tárgyában" (Proposals in behalf of the middle school and the Teachers' Institute), ibid, p. 145-46.
8. "Javaslat. Az izraelita hitfelekezeti tanodákban behozando tanterv és tankönyvek tárgyában" (Proposals towards the establishment of an adequate educational program and textbooks in the Jewish denominational schools), ibid, p. 148.
9. Ibid, p. 164.
10. "A tanügyi értekezletből" (Educational conference), ibid, p. 169. Zsigmond Groszmann, ibid, p. 56-57.
11. Magyar Izraelita... ibid, p. 169.
12. "Hir a Különféle rovatban" (Variety news items), Pesti Napló, 1862, August 13. (Zsigmond Kemeny, editor).
13. Ibid, November 18.
14. Ibid, 1860, November 18.

15. Magyar Izraelita, *ibid*, 1862, p. 333.
16. Jeno Zsoldos, A Palesztina-gondolat magyar irodalmi multjához (The concept of Palestine with reference to the history of Hungarian literature) (IMIT Year-book, 1948) p. 256-57; Bernat Frankel, Jozsef Natonek (Tel-Aviv, 1953) p. 9-11.
17. Nathan Drazin, History of Jewish Education (Baltimore, Maryland, 1940) p. 44.
18. "Az izraelita országos iskolai pénzalap" (The Hungarian Jewish School Fund), Magyar Izraelita, 1862, p. 237.
19. *Ibid*, pp. 254, 270, 277.
20. Lajos Blau, A Rabbiképző első 50 Éve. Emlékkönyv a Ferenc József Országos Rabbiképző Intézet Ötvenéves jubileumára 1877-1927, I. kötet (The memorial issue pertaining to the 50th jubilee of the National Rabbinic School of Budapest) (Budapest, 1927) p. 8-9.
21. Zsigmond Groszmann, *ibid*, p. 76-77.
22. Lajos Blau, *ibid*, p. 8.
23. Zsigmond Groszmann, *ibid*, p. 78-79.
24. Albert Farkas, Editor of Magyar Zsidó Felekezet Monographiája (The monograph of the Hungarian Jewish denomination) p. 383; Henrik Villanyi, The History of the Jewish Schools of Nagy Kanizsa, p. 375.
25. Albert Farkas, *ibid*, p. 394.
26. Henrik Villanyi, A nagykanizsai izraelita hitközség tanintézetének története (The educational history of the Jewish school of Nagy Kanizsa) (Nagy Kanizsa, 1891) p. 74-84; Aladar Furst, Monatsschrift (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1931) p. 209-10.
27. Gyula Mészáros, A vágyhelyi államilag engedélyezett izraelita realiskola ötvenéves fennállásának jubilaris emlékkönyve (The 50th anniversary issue of the government subsidized Real school of the Jewish community of Vagujhely) (Vagujhely, 1912) p. 33-36.

28. Bernat Heller, Zsidó középiskolák (The Jewish Middle Schools) (IMIT Yearbook, 1912) p. 89; Gyula Meszaros, *ibid.*, p. 35-36; Aladar Furst, Magyarország Zsidó középiskolái (The Jewish Middle Schools of Hungary) (IMIT Yearbook, 1931) p. 215.
29. Imre Csetenyi, A hatvanas évek és a zsidóság (The Jews in the '60's); Mihaly Guttman, Memorial Book (Budapest, 1946) p. 111.
30. Vilmos Rado, "Az országos izraelita tanítóegyesület" (The National Jewish Teachers Institute), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1885, p. 610.
31. Zsigmond Groszmann, "Dr. Samuel Kohn", Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1929, p. 32-34; Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő (The Jewish Educational Bulletin) (Budapest, 1941) p. 92-93; Odon Kalman, "Dr. Samuel Kohn", Emlékkönyv a Ferenc Jozsef Országos Rabbiképző Intézet ötvenéves jubileumára (The 50th Jubilee Anniversary of the National Rabbinic School of Budapest) (1877-1927, II. kötet -- Volume II) (Budapest, 1927) p. 70.
32. Jozsef Bánoczi, Az országos izraelita tanítóképző... (The National Jewish Teachers' Institute) p. 25-26; Izraelita Tanügyi Értesítő (The Jewish Educational Bulletin) (Budapest, 1886) p. 44.
33. Ferenc Vilner, Egyesületünk hetven esztendeje (The 70th anniversary of our Society) (The Jewish Educational Bulletin) (Budapest, 1937) p. 159.
34. A magyar izr. országos tanító-egylet értesítője (The Bulletin of the National Jewish Teachers' Institute) (Budapest, 1877) p. 28.
35. Zsigmond Groszmann, *ibid.*, p. 27.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
37. Erno Balagi, A magyar zsidóság harca az emáncipációért (The battle of Hungarian Jewry for emancipation) (IMIT Yearbook, 1940) p. 159-67.
38. Zsigmond Groszmann, *ibid.*, p. 33.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

CHAPTER IV

1. Laszlo Felkai, "Hogyan valositottak meg Eötvös Jozsef népoktatási törvényt" (How was Jozsef Eötvös' educational endeavor transferred into a public educational law?), Köznevelés (Public education), (Budapest, 1951), p. 921.
2. Dr. Dezső Márkus, Judge of the Royal Hungarian Court, "XXXVIII t. cz. A nepiskolai kozoktatás tárgyában" (The XXXVIII Statute of the law pertaining to public education), Magyar Törvénytár (Corpus Juris Hungarici, the 1836-68 by-laws) (Budapest, 1896) pp. 451, 452.
3. A Közoktatásügy Magyarországon (Hungarian Public Education issued by the Minister of Education) (Budapest, 1908) pp. 15-16, 20, 25, 33, 42.
4. Magyar Törvénytár, ibid, p. 460.
5. Ibid, p. 452.
6. Dr. Samuel Kohn, "Kérvénye" (Petition in behalf of education), Izraelita Közlöny (Jewish weekly Gazette) (Budapest, 1868) p. 397.
7. Magyar Törvénytár, ibid, p. 451.
8. Bernat Heller, "Baró Eötvös Jozsef" (Baron Jozsef Eötvös), IMIT Yearbook of 1913, p. 20-21.
9. Zsigmond Groszmann, A Magyar Zsidok a XIX. század közepén (The Hungarian Jews in the middle of the XIX Century) (Budapest, 1917) p. 85.
10. Lajos Venetianer, A zsidóság szervezete az europai államokban (The organization of Jews in the European countries) (Budapest, 1901) p. 500-502. Zsigmond Groszmann, ibid, p. 86-88.
11. Laszlo Bakonyi, Hatvan év előtt (Prior to the '60's) (Budapest, 1929) p. 15.
12. "Meghívó level" (A letter of invitation sent by Eötvös to sixty lay-leaders to confer on the Jewish question) Magyar Izraelita (Jewish weekly paper) (Budapest, 1868), p. 41.

13. "Az iskolai szabályzati javaslat mellett felterjesztett akadatuló jelentés" (School regulation proposals dealing with matters pertaining to educational reasoning) *ibid*, 1868, p. 75. Zsigmond Groszmann, *ibid*, p. 89-93.
14. József Bánoczi, Az országos izraelita tanítóképző-intézet története (The history of the National Jewish Teachers Institute) (1857-97) (Budapest, 1897) p. 26.
15. Arpad Zeller, A magyar egyházpolitika (The Hungarian Church Politic 1847-1894) (Budapest, 1894) Vol. I, p. 945. Lajos Venetianer, *ibid*, p. 509-14.
16. "Az 1868, december 10 - dikere összehívott izraelita egyetemes gyűlés naploja" (The diary of the December 10, 1868 meeting of the Universal Jewish Congress), Országos Zsidó Múzeum (Jewish museum) (Pest, 1869), p. 12-17.
17. *Ibid*, p. 19.
18. *Ibid*, p. 26.
19. *Ibid*, (31st meeting) p. 1-44.
20. Albert Farkas, editor's remarks in the Magyar Zsidó (The Hungarian Jew), Orthodox Jewry's first newspaper, (Budapest, 1869) pp. 85, 110.
21. "Level a szerkesztőhöz" (A letter to the editor), Izraelita Neplap (The Jewish people's paper) (Budapest, 1869) p. 3.
22. "Eötvös József által szentesített szabályzatok és határozatok nyomtatott másolati példány" (A printed copy of the original congress resolutions signed by József Eotvos, Minister of Religion); Országos Zsidó Múzeum (Jewish Museum) 1913, no. 252, p. 26-39.
- 22a. *Ibid*, p. 37-39.
23. László Hatai, A vallás - és közoktatásügyi igazgatás hatályos jogszabályainak gyűjteménye (The collection of by-laws dealing with religion and public instruction) (Budapest, 1948) p. 344.
24. *Ibid*, p. 348-51.
25. "Horn Ede cickenek szövege" (The text of Ede Horn's article), Magyar Zsidó, *ibid*, 1869, p. 300.

26. Ibid, 1870, p. 459.
27. Grof Csáky Albin, "Vallásés közoktatásügyi miniszter Tudositasa" (The order of Grof Csaki, Minister of Religion and Education), Magyar Zsido Szemle, 1893, p. 342.
28. Ibid, p. 342.
29. Ibid, p. 344.
30. Fischer és Halász, "Statistical adatok" (Statistical report), Izraelita Hitközségi és Iskolai Lap (Jewish congregational and school paper) 1873, p. 7.
31. Ibid, p. 22.
32. Abraham Lederer, "Az országos magyar izr. tanítóegylet első évtizedének rövid története" (A brief history of the National Hungarian Jewish Teachers' Institute), A Magyar Izraelita Országos Tanító-egylet Értesítője (The bulletin of the Hungarian National Jewish Teachers' Society) (Budapest, 1877) p. 2.
33. Nathan Halász, "Pest városa és a felekezeti iskolák" (The city of Pest and the denominational schools), Izraelita Hitközségi és Iskolai Lap, 1873, p. 9.
34. Jonas Barna és Fülöp Csukasi, "A pesti izr. hitközségi fiúiskola monografiája" (The monograph of the Congregational boy's school of Pest), Magyar Zsido Felekezet elemi és polgari iskolainak (A survey of the Hungarian Jewish denominational elementary and polgari schools) (Budapest, 1896) p. 74-75.
35. Ibid, p. XLV.
36. Immanuel Löw és Zsigmond Kubinyi, A szegedi zsidók (The Jews of Szeged 1875-85) (Szeged, 1885) p. 343.
37. Nathan Halász, ibid, 1873, p. 1.
38. "A zsidó tanító - a társadalom mostoha gyermeke" (The Jewish teacher - Society's step-child), ibid, 1873, p. 21.
39. Ibid, p. 21.

40. Vilmos Roth, "Néhány szó az izr. hitközségekhez iskolaink ügyében" (A few remarks to the Jewish congregation in behalf of our school affairs), Magyar Izraelita, 1868, p. 11.
41. Ibid, p. 11.
42. Eleazar Szántó, "Zsidó nyomorúságok" (Jewish miseries), A Magyar Izraelita Orsz. Tanítóegylet Értesítője, 1876, p. 85.
43. "Döntvények tanítók ügyében" (Decisions in behalf of the teacher), ibid, 1877, p. 100.
44. Ibid, 1877, p. 81.
45. A Közoktatásügy Magyarországon, ibid, p. 122-23.
46. Ibid, p. 64.
47. Henrik Villányi, A nagykanizsai izr. hitközség tanintézetének története (The educational history of the Jewish congregation of Nagy Kanizsa) (Nagy Kanizsa, 1891) p. 85-88.
48. Magyar Törvénytar, ibid, 1882-83 by-laws, (Budapest, 1896) p. 265.
49. A Közoktatásügy Magyarországon, ibid, p. 123.
50. Gyula Mészáros, A vágujhelyi...reáliskola ötvenéves fennállásának jubilaris Emlékkönyve... (The Jubilee Yearbook of the Real School of Vagujhely) p. 37-39.
51. József Bánoczi, ibid, p. 27.
52. Ibid, p. 42.
53. Ibid, p. 43.
54. "A pesti mintatanoda" (The model school of Pest), Magyar Zsidó, ibid, 1868, p. 67-68.
55. József Bánoczi, ibid, p. 84.
56. "Az izraelita községkerületi elnökök gyűlésének emlékirata Trefort Agoston vallás- és közoktatási miniszterhez, az izraelita hitfelekezeti viszonyok rendezése tárgyában" (The meeting of the Jewish district presidents -- their testimonial letter to Minister Trefort in behalf of his effort to organize Jewish conditions in the country), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1884, p. 71.

57. Sándor Büchler, "A Zsido reform uttörői Magyarországon" (Pathfinder of Jewish Reform in Hungary), Magyar Zsido Szemle, 1900, pp. 113-18.
58. Ibid, p. 118.
59. Jozsef Bánoczi, "Az országos rabbiképző intézet első évtizedének története" (The history of the first decade of the National Rabbinic School), Seminary Bulletin of 1888, p. 5.
60. Bernát Heller, "Zsidó középiskolák" (Jewish Middle Schools), IMIT Yearbook, 1912, pp. 91-92. Lajos Blau, "A Rabbiképző első 50 éve." (The first 50 years of the National Rabbinic School), Jubilee issue, 1877-1927, (Budapest, 1927) pp. 7-10.
61. Bernát Heller, ibid, p. 93.
62. Jozsef Kiss, editor, Zsido Évkönyv (The Jewish Yearbook) (Budapest, 1875) pp. 9-10.
63. Lajos Blau, ibid, pp. 10-12, 19.
64. Miksa Klein, "A rabbiképző első 50 éve.", Jubilee issue, 1877-1927, (Budapest, 1927) pp. 35, 42, 68, 77.
65. Jozsef Bánoczi, ibid, pp. 54-55.
66. Ibid, pp. 56-58.
67. Sándor Scheiber, "A budapesti orsz. rabbiképző intézet Hetven évi fenállásának története" (Seventy years of history - progress and development of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary, 1877-1947), Seventieth Anniversary Issue, (Budapest, 1948) pp. 8-30.
68. Sandor Scheiber, "Az ötvenéves Magyar Zsido Szemle jubileumára" (Fiftieth anniversary of the Hungarian Jewish Revue), Fiftieth Anniversary Issue, (Budapest, 1934) pp. 3-12.
69. "Autonomiánkrol" (Our Autonomy), Magyar Zsido Szemle, 1884, p. 129.
70. "A jesibák és talmud-torák" (The Yeshivot and Talmud Torahs), ibid, 1884, pp. 637-38.
71. "Trefort rendelete" (Trefort's order), ibid, 1884, p. 157.

72. "Autonomiankrol", *ibid*, 1884, pp. 130-31.
73. "Az orthodox rabbik felségfolyamodványa" (The appeal of the orthodox rabbis to the Emperor), *ibid*, 1884, pp. 664-67.
74. Jonás Barna és Fülöp Csukási, A Magyar Zsidó Felekezet elemi és polgári iskolainak, vol. II, p. 364.
75. *Ibid*, vol. II, pp. 114-130.
76. *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 126.
77. *Ibid*, vol. II, pp. 18-19.
78. Agoston Trefort's 1873rd Annual Ruling pertaining to the teacher, Magyar Tanügy (Hungarian educational affairs) (Budapest, 1874) p. 249.
79. Bernat Heller, "Mor Karman", IMIT Yearbook of 1916, pp. 255, 257. Aladar Komlos, "Mor Karman", Mult es Jovo (Past and Future) (Budapest, 1943) p. 105. Mor Karman, "Hitoktatas elvei es rendszere" (Aims and methods of religious education), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1884, pp. 276-83.
80. Jonas Barna es Fülöp Csukási, "Pápa orth. izr. hitkozség népiskolájának monográfiaja" (The monograph of the Jewish Congregational School of Papa), vol. I, Magyar-Zsidó Felekezet Monográfiaja, 1896, p. 129.
81. Adolf Szabó, "A jászberényi izr. elemi népiskola története" (The history of the elementary school of the Jewish Congregation of Jaszbereny), *ibid*, vol. II, p. 41.
82. "A zugiskolák megakadalyozasarol" (Unlawful schools), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1892, pp. 66-67.
83. "A jesibak és tálmud-torak", *ibid*, 1884, p. 636-37.
84. Lajos Blau, "Adalekok az országos rabbiképző-intezet történetéhez" (Additions to the history of the National Rabbinic School) (Budapest, 1917) p. 9.
85. A tizedik Ertesitoje az országos rabbiképző intezet-ehez (The tenth bulletin of the National Rabbinic School -- additions, 1886-87) (Budapest, 1888) p. 74.

86. Jenő Zsoldos, "A Magyar Zsidó írok irodalmunkba" (The status of Hungarian Jewish writers in our literature), IMIT Yearbook of 1939, pp. 183, 189.
87. Lajos Venetianer, A Magyar Zsidóság története (The History of Hungarian Jewry) (Budapest, 1922), pp. 225-27, 267-69.
88. Seligmann, "A biblia eredeti szövege magyarra fordításának fontossága" (The original text of the Bible translated into the Hungarian language), A magyar izr. országos tanító-egylet Értesítője, 1877, pp. 54-61.
89. Ignac Fuhrer, "A vallás-oktatás eloadójának beszéde" (instructions to be followed by religious teachers), *ibid*, p. 134.
90. "A Tanítóegylet imakönyve" (The Teachers Institute's Prayerbook), Izraelita Lapok (Jewish papers), 1874, p. 6.
91. Ferenc Villner, "Egyesületünk hetven esztendője" (Seventy years of our Society), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő (Jewish Educational Bulletin) (Budapest, 1937) p. 165.
92. "Héber abc - és olvasókönyv a pesti izr. hitközségi iskolák számára" (The Hebrew abc and reading textbook for the Jewish Congregational School of Pest - book review), Izraelita Lapok, 1874, p. 6.
93. "Könyvkiadványok" (Textbook publishers), A Magyar izr. országos tanító-egylet Értesítője, 1877, p. 87.
94. Ignac Führer, "Életforras vagyis Mozesi vallástan" (Rudiments of the religious teachings of Moses - a review of Henrik Deutsch's book), *ibid*, 1877, p. 103.
95. Dr. Izrael Bak, "Wejabinu Bamikra" (Book review of Mark Handler's book), *ibid*, 1877, p. 14.
96. Elias Schafer, "Bibliai történet" (Bible history), *ibid*, 1877, p. 79.
97. Aron Kiss, A nevelés és oktatás-történet kézikönyve (A handbook of the history of education) (Budapest, 1887), pp. 225, 239, 249.

98. Gergely Boja, "Budapesti tanfelügyelő kimutatásából" (Statistical accounts taken from the report of the school inspector of Pest), A Magyar izr. országos tanító-egylet Evkönyve, 1877, p. 52.
99. Ibid, p. 52.
100. Lipót Paloczky, "A műveltség állapota Magyarországon különös tekintettel a zsidókra" (The educational conditions in Hungary with special reference to Jews), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1884, p. 52.
101. Ibid, p. 54.

CHAPTER V

1. Ismar Elbogen, A Century of Jewish Life (Philadelphia, 1944) p. 141; Armin Kecskemeti, A zsidók egyetemes története (The Universal History of the Jews) (Budapest, 1927) Vol. II, pp. 275, 280, 284.
2. Ismar Elbogen, ibid, p. 141.
3. Ibid, p. 152-153.
4. "A Zsidók Helyzete az 1878 ^{iki} berlini Kongresszus óta" (The position of the Jews since 1878th Congress of Berlin) Magyar Zsidó Szemle (Budapest, 1886) pp. 623-35.
5. Ismar Elbogen, ibid, pp. 149, 155.
6. Miksa Szabolcsi, "Antiszemizmus" (Anti-Semitism) Egyenlőség (Jewish Weekly) (Budapest, 1886) no. 24, p. 11.
7. Mor Bogdányi, "Az Antiszemizmus a középiskolában" (Anti-Semitism in the Middle School) ibid (1883) no. 6, p. 5.
8. Ibid, "Középiskolai miseriak" (Miseries in the Middle School) 1884, no. 35, p. 2.
9. Ibid, 1884, no. 41, p. 3.
10. Ibid, 1884, no. 45, p. 4.
11. Ibid, 1884, no. 41, p. 3.
12. Ibid, Miksa Szabolcsi, 1886, no. 26, p. 1.
13. "Egy foljelentés a pesti izraelita hitközség ellen" (An accusation against the Jewish congregation of Pest) Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő (Jewish Educational Bulletin) (Budapest, 1886) p. 262.
14. "Antiszemizmus az iskolában" (Anti-Semitism in the school) Egyenlőség, 1883, no. 54, p. 4.
15. "Középiskolai miseriak" (Miseries in the Middle School) ibid, 1884, no. 41, p. 3.

16. "Zsido felekezetü gimnázium" (Jewish denominational gymnasium) ibid, 1884, no. 35, p. 2.
17. "Zsido gimnázium" (Jewish gymnasium) ibid, 1885, no. 37, p. 1.
18. Dr. Miksa Máhler, "A zsido középiskola kérdéséhez" (In reference to his Jewish Middle school question) ibid, 1887, no. 46, p. 3.
19. "Zsido gimnázium" (Jewish gymnasium) ibid, 1885, no. 37, p. 1.
20. Dr. Tivadar Löw, "Zsido gimnasium" ibid, 1887, no. 2, p. 1.
21. "A zsido gimnazium kérdéséhez" (Remarks to his Jewish gymnasium question) ibid, 1887, no. 2. p. 6.
22. "Zsido felekezetü gimnásium" (Jewish denominational gymnasium) ibid, 1884, no. 35, p. 2.
23. Mor Kárman, "Zsido gimnásium" Az Országos Magyar Izraelita Tanító-egyesület Értesítője (The bulletin of the National Hungarian Jewish Teachers' Society - the memorandum of Dr. Ignac Goldziher) (Budapest, 1884) p. 54.
24. Ármin Perls, "Dr. Goldziher memorandumáról" (Memorandum pertaining to Dr. Goldziher) Magyar Zsido Szemle (Budapest, 1885) p. 617-18.
25. Miksa Zsabolcsi, editorial in Egyenlőség, 1886, no. 38, p. 2.
26. Dr. Adolf Silberstein, "A zsido oktatásról" (Pertaining to Jewish education) ibid, 1888, no. 1, p. 4.
27. "Antiszemitizmus a középiskolában", ibid, 1884, no. 8, p. 4.
28. "Tanárok akciója" (Action by the professors) ibid, 1885, no. 4, p. 3.
29. József Bánoczi, "A zsido tanárok" (Jewish professors) Magyar Zsido Szemle (Budapest, 1884) pp. 511-12, 642-43.

30. "Az állásnélküli zsidó tanárok" (Jewish professors without position), *ibid*, 1885, p. 143.
31. "Zsidó felekezeti gimnázium" (Jewish denominational gymnasium) Egyenlőség 1886, no. 16, p. 6.
32. Dr. Tibor Löw, "Zsidó gimnázium" *ibid*, 1887, no. 2, p. 1.
33. "Országos ügyek a pesti izr. hitközség közgyűlésén" (National affairs at the meeting of the Jewish congregation of Pest) *ibid*, 1888, no. 9, p. 2-3.
34. "Miben áll az zsidó gimnázium ügye" (In what consists the problem of the Jewish gymnasium) *ibid*, 1887, no. 8, p. 6.
35. "Magyar zsidó középiskolai egyesület "alapszabályai" (Constitutional by-laws of the Hungarian Jewish Middle School Society) *ibid*, 1887, no. 8, p. 7; no. 10, p. 11.
36. Dr. Miksa Máhler, "A zsidó középiskola kérdésehez" (Pertaining to his Middle School question) *ibid*, 1888, no. 11, p. 1; no. 12, p. 5.
37. Dr. Groszberg, "Felszólalása a Tanítóegylet" (His remarks at the Teachers Institute meeting) Az országos Magyar Izraelita Tanító-egyesület Értesítője (Budapest, 1883) p. 170.
38. Gabor Weisz, "Zsidó gimnázium", *ibid*, 1885, p. 34.
39. Eleazar Szántó's editorial remarks, *ibid*, 1886, p. 182.
40. Dr. Nándor Lutter, "Fővárosunk középiskolai" (Statistical figures pertaining to the Middle Schools of our capitol city) Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1887, p. 253-55.
41. Armin Adorjan, "Zsidó középiskola", *ibid*, 1890, p. 490-92; Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő (Bulletin of Jewish education) 1900, p. 151.
42. Dr. Zsigmond Groszmann, "Samuel Kohn", Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1929, p. 33.

43. Antal Freystädtler, "Zsidó gimnázium", *ibid*, 1892, p. 417-18.
44. *Ibid*, 1892, p. 353.
45. Bernat Heller, A pesti izr. hitközség alapítványi főgimnáziumának Értesítője az 1919-20 iskolaévről (The bulletin of the Jewish congregation of Pest -- the foundation of the gymnasium of the year 1919-20) (Budapest, 1920) p. 3.
46. P. Buchler, "A zsidó ünnepek az iskolában" (The Jewish holidays in the school), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1887, p. 108-09.
47. Aguston Trefort, "A szombat a középiskolában" (The Sabbath in the Middle Schools) *ibid*, 1886, p. 78.
48. Abraham Hochmuth, "A szombat és a középiskolai oktatás" (The Sabbath and education in the Middle School), *ibid*, 1886, p. 189.
49. Áron Büchler, "A szombat a középiskolákban" (The Sabbath in the Middle School), *ibid*, 1886, pp. 258, 682-83.
50. "A budapesti izr. hitközség kérvénye a szombati írás és rajzolás alól való felmentes ügyében" (A signed petition by Mor Wahrmann, President, and Ignac Goldziher, Secretary, pertaining to release from writing and drawing on the Sabbath) Egyenlőség, 1887, no. 2, p. 2-4.
51. "Trefort válasza" (Trefort's reply to the petition), *ibid*, 1888, no. 1, p. 5.
52. Grof Csaky, "Miniszteri rendelet a főigazgatókhoz a zsidó középiskolai tanulóknak szombati és ünnepnap írás alól való felmentéséről" (The minister's order to the directors of the Middle Schools pertaining to the release of students from writing on the Sabbath and holidays), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1890, p. 634.
53. *Ibid*, 1893, p. 216.
54. Jakab Morgenstern, "A zsidó hitoktatás kérdéséhez" (In reference to the question of Jewish religious education", Az Országos Magyar Izraelita Tanító-egyesület Értesítője, 1883, p. 108-11.

55. Fülöp Csukási, "Titkári jelentése a Tanítóegylet közgyűlésén" (Secretary's report at the Teachers' Society meeting) *ibid.*, 1883, p. 159-61.
56. "Mit tett a pesti zsidó nagyhitközség a hitoktatásért" (What was the action of the Jewish congregation of Pest concerning the religious education) Egyenlőség 1889, no. 26, p. 1.
57. "Hitoktatás a népiskolába" (Religious instruction in the public school), Magyar Torvenytár (Corpus Juris Hungarici, the 1883 XXX Educational By-law Collection) (Budapest, 1896) p. 268.
58. Agoston Trefort, "Két miniszteri rendelet" (two orders of the minister) Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1884, p. 65-66.
59. József Schön, "A hitoktatás a népiskolába" (A religious education in the public school) *ibid.*, 1884, p. 153.
60. Ede Neumann, "Hitoktatási tantervek" (The curriculum of religious education in the Nagy Kanizsa boy's and girl's school) *ibid.*, 1884, p. 218-19.
61. Immanuel Low, "Hitoktatási tantervek" (The curriculum of religious education in Szeged) *ibid.*, 1884, p. 410.
62. David Schön, "A középiskolai hitoktatás" (Religious education in the Middle Schools) *ibid.*, 1886, pp. 362, 421, 572.
63. Ignác Goldziher, "Jelentés a pesti izr. hitközség hitoktatásáról az 1887/8 - iki tanévben" (A report of the 1887-88 annual religious educational instruction of the Jewish school of Pest) *ibid.*, 1888, p. 505.
64. Adolf Györi, "A zsidó hitoktatás a fővárosi elemi és polgári iskolákban" (Religious instruction in the capital city's elementary and polgari schools) *ibid.*, 1884, p. 656-57.
65. Dr. József Bárány, "A középiskolai hitoktatás tantervjavaslata tekintettel a héber oktatásra" (Religious educational proposal pertaining to the teaching of Hebrew) Egyenlőség, 1889, no. 26, pp. 8, 10.

66. Dr. Sándor Rosenberg, "A Pesti Izr. Hitközség Szabályzata" (The by-laws of the religious education of the congregation of Pest), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1891, p. 466-467.
67. Dr. Bela Vajda, "Vallásoktatás" (Religious education), *ibid*, 1891, pp. 755-56, 758-59.
68. *Ibid*, 1892, p. 125-26.
69. P. Buchler, "Fölhívás Magyarország rabbijaihoz" (An appeal to the Hungarian rabbinate pertaining to the establishment of a uniform religious educational curriculum), Egyenlőség, 1895, no. 33, p. 1.
70. Dr. Gyula Diamant, "A középiskolai egységes hitoktatás kérdéséhez" (Pertaining to a uniform religious educational program in the Middle Schools), *ibid*, 1895, no. 39 (addition 2-3).
71. "Az 1895. október 15. - en és 16 - an tartott rabbigyűlés határozatai" (The resolutions of the Rabbinic Assembly of October 15 and 16, 1895), *ibid*, 1895, no. 42, p. 5.
72. "Alapszabályzat-javaslat az alapítando országos rabbiegyesület számára" (The resolutorial by-laws by which the future Rabbinic Society was to be governed), *ibid*, 1895, no. 40 (addition 1).
73. N. Weizsmann, "A hitközségek és a hitoktatás" (Jewish congregations and religious instruction), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1885, p. 183-84.
74. Goldziher and Halász, "Jelentés a pesti izr. hitközség hitoktatásáról az 1887/8 - i tanévben" (Religious educational report of the 1887-88 school year), *ibid*, 1888, p. 509.
75. "Az országos rabbiképző-intezet szabályzata hittanárak képzése és képesítése tárgyában/Csaky miniszter rendelete" (Minister Csaky's ruling pertaining to educating teachers for the religious school in the National Rabbinic Seminary), *ibid*, 1891, p. 765.
76. Lövy, "Izr. könyvismertetése Grosz G. tankönyvéről" (Review of Grosz's Schoolbook) Az Országos Magyar Izraelita Tanító-egyesület Értesítője, 1884, p. 9.

77. Ábraham Stern, "A hittanítás és irodalma" (Religious instruction and literature) Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1886, p. 112-13.
78. Ibid, 1886, p. 110.
79. "Könyvismertetés /Dr. Conne József könyvéről/" (Review of Dr. József Conne's book), Az Országos Magyar Izraelita Tanító-egyesület Értesítője, 1883, p. 207.
80. Ferenc Maislis, "A zsidók története" (The history of the Jews), A Review of Fülöp Csukasi and József Schön's book, Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1886, p. 26-27.
81. Dr. Béla Vajda, "Izrael története" (The History of the Jews - A Review of Abraham Stern's history textbook) Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1892, p. 656-57.
82. Dr. Mátyás Rubinstein, "Még egyszer hitoktatásunk kérdéséhez" (Expressing once more his opinion on the religious educational question), Egyenlőség, 1895, no. 1, p. 6.
83. Ármin Flesch, "Ifjúsági Istentisztelet a fővárosban" (Religious services for the youth in the capital city), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1886, p. 425.
84. Dr. Izrael Bak, "Az ifjúsági istentisztelet" (Religious services for youth), Országos Magyar Izraelita Tanító-egyesület Értesítője, 1885, p. 134-35.
85. Ármin Flesch, ibid, 1886, p. 426.
86. József Bánoczi, "Templomrend" (Synagogue ordinance), Az országos izraelita tanítóképző-intézet története (The History of the National Jewish Teachers' Institute) (Budapest, 1897) p. 95-96.
87. Ignac Goldziher, "A pesti talmud-tóra" (The Talmud-Torah of Pest), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1885, p. 538-44.
88. "A pesti izraelita hitközség rabbínátusa véleménye a talmud-tóra reorganizációjáról" (The opinion of the Rabbinic body of Pest pertaining to the reorganization of the Talmud-Torah), ibid, 1885, p. 544.

89. "Igazgató kinevezése a talmud torához" (The appointment of a director of the Talmud-Torah), *ibid*, 1885, p. 545-550.
90. Ábrahám Hochmuth, "A talmud-tóra" (The Talmud-Torah), *ibid*, 1885, p. 615-16.
91. Armin Perls, "Dr. Goldziher memorandumáról" (Pertaining to Dr. Goldziher's memorandum), *ibid*, 1885, p. 661-62.
92. Mor Klein, "A talmud-tóra" (The Talmud-Torah), *ibid*, 1885, p. 661-62.
93. Mor Lowy, "A középiskolai hitoktatás kérdésehez" (Pertaining to the religious educational question in the Middle Schools), *ibid*, 1886, p. 72-73.
94. "A fővárosi talmud-tóra tanuloanyaga" (The curriculum of the Talmud-Torah in the capitol city), *ibid*, 1886, p. 635.
95. "A Zsidó tanulok a fővárosban" (Jewish students in the metropolis), *ibid*, 1888, p. 578.
96. Lipot Seltmann, "Talmud-tóra, intézetek" (Talmud-Torah institutions), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1886, p. 274.
97. Ignác Goldziher, "Talmud-tóra, hittanítás, proszeminarium, szeminarium" (Talmud Torah, religious instruction, pre-seminary, seminary), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1886, p. 215.
98. A pesti izr. hitközség tantesztületének orarendi értesítője az 1891-92. iskolai évre (The bulletin of the schedule proposed by the educational committee of the Jewish community of Pest for the year 1891-92) p. 44; also the year 1892-93, p. 62.
99. "A pesti hitközség számadása" (The report of the congregation of Pest); The reorganization of the educational system. Egyenlőség, 1895, no. 14-15, addition 2.
100. Áron Wallesz, "A jesibák" (The Yeshivot), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1886, p. 692.

101. Jakab Zempléni, "A jesibák állapota hazánkban" (The condition of the Yeshivot in our country), *ibid*, 1886, p. 418.
102. *Ibid*, 1886, pp. 622, 417.
103. Lajos Laufer, "A talmud-tanulók iskoláztatása ügyében" (The schooling of the Talmudic students), Az Országos Magyar Izraelita Tanító-egyesület Értesítője, 1885, p. 152.
104. Dr. Lajos Blau, "Talmudtanítás hajdan és most" (The study of the Talmud in former years and today), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1891, pp. 208-213, 220-21.
105. "A közoktatásügyi miniszter jelentéséből" (The report of the educational minister - his instructions), Egyenlőség, 1889, no. 48, p. 5.
106. Fulop Csukasi, "Budapest főváros közoktatásügyi statisztikája különös tekintettel a zsidó tanulókra" (Educational statistics report of the metropolis of Budapest with special reference to the Jewish students), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1890, p. 627.
107. Fulop Csukasi, *ibid*, 1890, p. 629-30
108. "Zsidó tanulók a fővárosban" (Jewish students in the metropolis), *ibid*, 1888, p. 577.
109. Ignac Spitzer, "A magyar zsidók népoktatása" (The public education of the Hungarian Jew), Az Országos Magyar Izraelita Tanító-egyesület Értesítője, 1885, p. 1-2.
110. Bernát Alexander, "A magyar közoktatás állapota 1884/85 - ben" (The status of Hungarian education in the school year 1884-85), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1886, p. 290-92.
111. "A hazai zsidó népiskola" (The Jewish public school in the country), Egyenlőség, 1889, no. 46, p. 2.
112. "A zsidó népiskola a vallás - és közoktatásügyi miniszter jelentésében" (The minister's report on the Jewish public school - his instructions), *ibid*, 1893, no. 47, p. 2.
113. *Ibid*, 1893, no. 47, p. 3.

114. Béla Csajagi, "A fiuárvaház története" (The history of the boys orphan-home), *ibid*, 1895, no. 1, addition 3.
115. Miksa Öesterreicher, A pozsonyi orth. izr. hitközség által fenntartott, kereskedelmi szaktárgyak tanításával kapcsolatos, államilag segélyezett nyilvános polgári fiuiskola értesítője (The bulletin of the polgari and commercial school of the Pozsony Orthodox Jewish Congregation) (Pozsony, 1911), pp. 4, 6.
116. "Iskolai beszámolók" (School reports), Egyenlőség, 1893, no. 30, p. 7.
117. "Pályázat" (Vacancy ad published by the school director) - *ibid*, 1888, no. 32, p. 12.
118. "A székesfehérvári izr. iskola története" (The history of the Jewish school of Székesfehérvár), Magyar Zsidó felekezet Monografiaja (The monograph of the Jewish denominational elementary and polgari schools - Jonas Barna and Fulop Csukasi) (Budapest, 1896), vol. 1, pp. 278, 282, 284.
119. Magyar Pedagógiai Lexikon (The Hungarian Pedagogic Lexikon) (Budapest, 1933), Vol. II, column 522.
120. Henrik Villanyi, A nagykanizsai izraelita hitközség tanintézetének története (The history of the Jewish Educational Institute of Nagy Kanizsa) (Nagy Kanizsa, 1891), pp. 90-91, 93, 99, 103.
121. "Hír" (News), Egyenlőség, 1895, no. 27, p. 10.
122. Gyula Mészáros, A vágujhelyi államilag segélyezett izr. realiskola...Emlékkönyve... (The testimonial book of the government subsidized school of the Jewish community of Vagujhely), p. 39-42.
123. József Bánoczi, "Könyv és Szertár" (library and school supply) Az országos izraelita tanítóképző-intézet története (1897), pp. 105, 120, 124.
124. "Tanulók Statisticája" (Student enrollment statistics), *ibid*, pp. 57, 139.
125. *Ibid*, pp. 42, 135-36.

126. Ibid, pp. 137, 139-40.
127. "Az Izr. iskola alap" (The Jewish school support), ibid, pp. 111, 113.
128. Salamon Schill, A budapesti országos rabbiképző-intézet története (The history of the National Rabbinic School of Budapest) (Budapest, 1896) pp. 22, 24.
129. Jozsef Bánoczi, Az országos rabbiképző-intézet első évtizedének története (The history of the National Rabbinic Institute -- its first decade). A budapesti országos rabbikepző-intézet X Ertesitoje (The tenth bulletin of the National Rabbinic Institute of Budapest) (Budapest, 1888) p. 73.
130. Salamon Schill, ibid, pp. 6, 19, 21.
131. Lajos Blau and Miksa Klein, A rabbiképző első 50 éve (The first 50 years of the Rabbinic Seminary -- the memorial book of its 50th Jubilee, 1777-1927) (Budapest, 1927) pp. 19, 61-62.
132. Salamon Schill, ibid, p. 37.
133. Lajos Blau and Miksa Klein, ibid, p. 79-81.
134. Dr. Immanuel Löw, "Népszerű irodalmi vállalat" (Popular literary enterprise) Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1884, pp. 254, 318, 397, 442. IMIT Yearbook (Budapest, 1909) p. 392.
135. Ilona Goldziher, "A hitoktatás a leányiskolában" (Religious education in the girl's school). Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1885, p. 64-65.
136. Mor Altmann, "A nőnevelés" (The schooling of women), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1898, pp. 192, 220.
137. Ibid, p. 223.
138. Ilona Goldziher, "Az állami felsőbb leányiskolák" (Governmental higher schools for women), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1884, p. 659.
139. "Leányaink oktatása" (The education of our daughters), ibid, 1888, p. 115.

140. A közoktatásügy Magyarországon (General educational policy in Hungary) (Budapest, 1908) pp. 105-16, 108, 116.
141. Gyula Mészáros, *ibid*, p. 38-39.
142. Nandor Tauber, "Leányaink oktatása" (The education of our daughters), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1888, p. 318-19.
143. Bernat Munkacsi, Az izr. vallásoktatás újabb országos rendezésének előmunkálatai (Preliminary preparations for a nationwide program for Jewish religious studies) (Budapest, 1930) p. 24.
144. Samuel Kandel, Imakönyv vagy biblia? (Prayer book or the Bible?) A Magyar Zsidók Naptára az 5695. évre. (Hungarian Jewish calendar for the year 5695) (Budapest, 1934), p. 53.
145. "Felterjesztés az izraelita vallás recipiáltatása iránt az izraeliták országos irodájától" (The petition of the National Jewish office pertaining to the Jewish Recepcio -- religious equality), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1893, p. 277.
146. Miksa Szabolcsi, "Van-e jelentősége a recepcionak abban a formában, melyben a főrendiház megszavazta?" (Does the vote of the members of the Upper House with regard to the Recepcio have any meaning?), Egyenlőség, 1895, no. 20, p. 1-2.

CHAPTER VI

1. "A letűnő század" (The vanished century), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1900, p. 4.
2. László Bakonyi, "Az izraelita felekezeti igazgatásra vonatkozó újabb jogszabályok" (Newer administrative by-laws pertaining to the Jewish denominational school), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1939, pp. 21-22.
3. "Az új kultuszminiszter előtt" (Testimonial presentation before the new minister Grof Apponyi), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1906, pp. 233-34, 240.
4. "Az izraelita községkerületi elnökök emlékirata" (The district president's presentation -- Testimonial to the educational minister), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1908, p. 353.
5. Ernő Munkácsi, "Közjogi törekvéseink az utolsó évtizedben" (Our striving for constitutional rights during the last decade), Jewish Yearbook of 1927 (Budapest, 1927) pp. 164-166.
6. Lajos Venetianer, A Magyar Zsidóság története (The History of Hungarian Jewry) (Budapest, 1922) p. 431.
7. "Az Országos Magyar Izraelita Közalap tisztikarának jelentése az 1904. es 1905. közigazgatási évekről" (Administrative report of the Hungarian Jewish Mutual Fund pertaining to the school year, 1904-05), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1906, pp. 244-45.
8. Arnold Kiss, "Ifjak és öregek" (Youth and the aged), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1931, pp. 407-12.
9. Bela Bernstein, "Egyetemes, részletes hittani tanterv" (General and detailed curriculum for religious education), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő (Jewish educational bulletin) (Budapest, 1899), pp. 52-55, 79-81.
10. A VI. izr. községkerület vallásoktatásának tanterve (The Jewish educational plan for the VI denominational district) (Budapest, 1900), pp. 3-5.

11. Az izr. vallásoktatás országos tanterve (Nationwide plan for teaching Jewish religion) (Budapest, 1904) pp. 1-2.
12. Bernát Munkácsi, ibid, Morijah, 1930, pp. 4-26.
13. Aladár Ábranyi, "Megjegyzések az Egyetemes Részletes Hittani Tantervhez" (Remarks to the general and detailed curriculum for Jewish religious education) Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1922, p. 70.
14. Jónás Barna, "A monografiakról" (The monographs), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1896, pp. 151-52.
15. Simon Lob, "A zsidó iskolák monográfiája" (The monographs of the Jewish schools), ibid, p. 83.
16. "Beadvány az Országos Közoktatási Tanácshoz" (Petition to the National Educational Council), ibid, 1899, pp. 207-12.
17. József Vadnai, "Javaslatok a földrajzi oktatás módszeréről" (Proposals pertaining to the methodology for teaching geography), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1900, p. 162. Zsigmond Kuthi, "Írásbeli dolgozatok és a fogalmazás tanítása az elemi iskolában" (The teaching of written exercises and compositions in the elementary schools), ibid, 1899, p. 187. Jakab Barna, "A testgyakorlás tanításáról" (The teaching of physical exercises), ibid, 1898, p. 287. Vilmos Neumann, "A héber tantárgyak módszere" (The methodology of teaching Hebrew subjects), ibid, 1898, p. 241. Lipót Spitzer, "A vallásoktatás direkt módszere" (The direct method of teaching religion), ibid, 1898, p. 267. Ignác Bodrogi, "A magyar nyelv tanítása iskoláinkban" (The teaching of the Hungarian language in the schools), ibid, 1898, p. 110.
18. Ábrahám Lederer, "A családi nevelés" (Family upbringing), ibid, 1899, p. 111; "A türelem" (Patience), ibid, 1898, p. 123.
19. Ignác Füredi, "Könyvismertetés" (Book review), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1896, p. 15.

20. Dr. Mihály Málnai, "A Zsidó Tanítók" (The Jewish teachers), Magyar Zsidó Lexikon..., p. 90.
21. "Tankönyvjegyzék" (Listing of textbooks -- German and Hungarian grammars), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1900, p. 275.
22. "Az olvasókönyvek kérdése" (The publishing of textbooks discussed at the Teachers' Society Meeting), *ibid*, 1898, p. 202.
23. Odon Wessely, "Új olvasókönyvek" (New reading textbooks), Pedagogia (Budapest, 1905), pp. 90-93.
24. "Az olvasókönyvek kérdése" (The question of textbooks for the Jewish public schools discussed at the teachers meeting), *ibid*, 1898, p. 202-03.
25. "Az Új olvasókönyvek" (The new textbook question discussed by the appointed committee), *ibid*, 1900, p. 142-43.
26. Jakab Morgenstern, "Teendőink a könyvvállalat körül" (Our task regarding the publishing of books), *ibid*, 1897, p. 181.
27. *Ibid*, 1899, p. 197.
28. Jakab Banyai, "A magyar Zsidó tanítók aspirációi" (The aspiration of the Hungarian Jewish teacher), *ibid*, 1898, p. 32.
29. Samu Weisz, "A magyar Zsidó tanítók sorsa" (The plight of the Hungarian Jewish teacher), *ibid*, 1898, p. 57; Zsigmond Kuthi, "Helyzetünk" (Our condition), *ibid*, 1898, p. 59; 1896, p. 61. Jakab Banyai, "A magyar zsidó tanítók aspirációi", *ibid*, 1898, p. 77.
30. Jonas Barna, Országos Magyar Izraelita Közalap (National Hungarian Jewish Mutual Fund Bulletin of 1898), p. 50-53.
31. Simon Adler, "A számok tanúsága" (Statistical proof), *ibid*, 1897, p. 140-41.
32. "Nepiskolaink a miniszteri jelentésben" (Minister's report pertaining to our public schools), *ibid*, 1899, p. 120-21.

33. "Nepoktatasunk allapota" (The status of our public education), ibid, 1899, p. 291.
34. A pesti izr. hitkozseg oktatassugyenek...Ertesitoje az 1894-95, iskolai evre (The educational bulletin of the school year of 1894-95, concerning the statistics of the Jewish congregation of Pest), p. 83.
35. "Statistikai jelentes" (Statistical report), ibid, 1897-98, pp. 48, 49.
36. Melleklet az izr. Tanugyi Ertesito 1907, evi 8. szamahoz (Supplement to the 1907 annual educational bulletin of the Jewish school with references to No. 8), pp. 12, 17.
37. "A vegrehajtsi Utasitasok" (implementational regulations of the 1907 XXVII Law), ibid, 1907, pp. 349, 347.
38. "Kozerdeku kerdesek az 1907, XXVII. tc.es annak vegrehajtsi Utasitasa ertelmeben megvilagitva" (Questions of public interest in the implementation of the 1907 XXVII Law), ibid, 1907, pp. 383, 384.
39. Simon Adler, "Nepoktatasugyunk allapota" (The status of our public education), ibid, 1910, p. 157.
40. Ibid, 1907, p. 162.
41. Simon Lantos, "Az ingyenes nepoktatas" (Free public education), ibid, 1909, p. 409.
42. Adolf Szabo, "Az 1908, XLVI. torvenycikk es varhato kovetkezményei a zsidó iskolara nezve" (The 1908 XLVI Law and its expected results upon the Jewish school), ibid, 1909, p. 391.
43. "Ket memorandum" (Two memorandums), ibid, 1909, p. 481.
44. "Memorandum a miniszterhez" (A memorandum to the minister, ibid, 1909, p. 517.
45. "1910. szept. 1-en." (September 1, 1910, the day when the 1908 annual XLVI Law was put into force but the implementational regulations had not as yet appeared), ibid, 1910, pp. 325, 326.

46. Rezső Bard, "A végrehajtási utasítások" (Instructions for enforcement of the 1908 XLVI Law), *ibid*, 1910, pp. 373, 378.
47. Simon Lantos, "Az ingyenes népoktatásról szóló, 1908 evi XLVI. tc. hatása az izr. elemi népiskolákra" (The effect of free public education upon the Jewish elementary school), *ibid*, 1912, p. 316.
48. Simon Adler, "Népoktatásügyünk állapota" (The status of public education), *ibid*, 1907, p. 162.
49. *Ibid*, 1910, p. 156.
50. *Ibid*, 1912, p. 177.
51. Rezső Bard, "Ismét anyagi ügyeink" (Again, our financial conditions), *ibid*, 1914, pp. 6, 7.
52. "Tudositas a központi választmány üléséről" (Report of Abraham Stern at the Central electoral meeting), *ibid*, 1911, p. 173.
53. "A tanitok továbbképzése" (The furtherance of the Jewish teachers religious education in service), *ibid*, 1913, p. 446.
54. Ignac Pinter, "Titkári jelentés" (Report of the secretary), *ibid*, 1918, p. 122.
55. Abraham Lederer, "A figyelem" (Attention), *ibid*, 1915, p. 163.
56. Dr. Samuel Klein, "A héberoktatás reformjáról" (About the reforms of teaching Hebrew), *ibid*, 1917, p. 231.
57. "Tudositas a központi választmány üléséről" (Information at the Central electorate meeting), *ibid*, 1918, p. 53.
58. Zsigmond Kuthi, "Hitközségeink és iskoláink" (Our congregations and our schools), *ibid*, 1915, p. 244.
59. Rezső Bard, "A közgyűlés" (The General Assembly), *ibid*, 1918, p. 99.
60. "Ruházat beszerzési segély -- családi potlék" (The acquisition of clothing in aiding needy families), *ibid*, 1917, pp. 169, 206, 215.

61. "Könyvkiadványaink áremelkedése" (The rising cost of publications), *ibid*, 1917, p. 215.
62. Ignac Pintér, "Titkári jelentés" (The report of the secretary), *ibid*, 1918, p. 133.
63. Sandor Eppler, "25 év története. A pesti izraelita hitközség utolsó negyedszázada" (25 years of history of the Jewish congregation of Pest -- the fourth quarter of the century), Múlt és Jövő (Past and Future) (Budapest, 1935), p. 332.
64. *Ibid*, p. 331.
65. Bernát Munkácsi, A pesti izr. hitközség oktatásügyének tanszemélyzeti, orarendi, statisztikai és iskolaszéki Értesítője az 1912/13. iskolaévre (The 1912-13 annual bulletin of the Jewish congregation of Pest dealing with its educational personnel, curriculum, and other statistical figures) (Budapest, 1912), p. 110.
66. Bernát Mándl, A pesti izr. hitközségi fiúiskola monografiája (The monograph of the Jewish congregation of Pest - Boys school), Barna-Csukasi, *ibid*, pp. 85, 86.
67. "Új iskolaépület, új iskolák" (New school buildings, new schools), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1896, pp. 223; 1897, p. 29.
68. *Ibid*, 1896, p. 223.
69. "Iskola-felavató ünnepély" (Abraham Stern's message at the dedication festival), *ibid*, 1897, p. 35.
70. Edené Szantó, "A zsidó leányok neveléséről" (About the education of the Jewish girls), *ibid*, 1896, p. 77.
71. "Magyar Zsidó Nő" (The Hungarian Jewish woman -- book review), *ibid*, 1900, p. 107.
72. Rafael D. Fuchs és Ábrahám Stern, A pesti izr. hitközség realgimnáziumának Értesítője 1934/35 (The bulletin of the Real gymnasium of the Jewish congregation of Pest pertaining to the year 1934-35) (Budapest, 1935), p. 3-6.
73. Armin Billes, *ibid*, p. 7.
74. Loc. cit.

75. "A pesti izr. hitközség elemi és polgári fiúiskolájának Értesítője" (The bulletin of the polgari boys school and elementary school of the Jewish congregation of Pest -- book review), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1899, p. 195.
76. Bernat Mándl, *ibid*, p. 85.
77. A pesti izr. hitközség tantestületének orarendi Értesítője az 1892/93. iskola évre (The bulletin of the faculty schedule of the Jewish congregation of Pest, pertaining to the year 1892-93), p. 90; pertaining to the year 1894-95, p. 72.
78. *Ibid*, pertaining to the school year 1897-98, p. 48.
79. "A pesti izr. hitk. oktatásügyének értesítője az 1906-07 iskolaévre. Közli Dr. Munkácsi Bernát" (Dr. Munkacsi's report in the bulletin of 1906-07 school year pertaining to the educational matters of the Jewish congregational school of Pest), Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő, 1907, p. 113.
80. Bernat Munkácsi, *ibid*, 1912, p. 91; pertaining to the school year of 1917-18, p. 47.
81. "A pesti izr. hitk. oktatásügyének értesítője az 1906/07. iskolaévre. Közli Dr. Munkácsi Bernát" *ibid*, 1907, p. 113.
82. Bernat Munkacsi, *ibid*, 1918, p. 44.
83. Bernat Heller, A pesti izr. hitközség alapítványi főgimnáziumának Értesítője az 1919/20. iskolaévről (The bulletin of the gymnasium grant of the Jewish congregation of Pest, pertaining to the school year of 1919-20) (Budapest, 1920), pp. 3, 4.
84. "A Freystädtler-féle alapítvány kuratoriuma és a pesti hitközség előljárosága között kötött szerződés a pesti hitközség alapítványi gimnáziuma tárgyában" (The text of the agreement between the Freystadtler grant and the Jewish congregation of Pest -- the Freystadtler electors and the Jewish congregational representative), Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1919, pp. 374-77.
85. Bernat Heller, *ibid*, 1920, p. 5.

86. Salamon Goldberger, A pesti izr. hitkozseg alapitvanyi fogimnaziumanak Ertesitoje az 1923-24. iskolaevrol (The bulletin of the gymnasium grant of the Jewish congregation of Pest, pertaining to the school year of 1923-24) (Budapest, 1924) p. 4.
87. "Kozsegkeruleti gyules" (Community district meeting's report), Magyar Zsido Szemle, 1898, pp. 197, 199.
88. Izsak Pfeifer es David Kaufmann, "A zsido tanitonokepzo" (The Jewish woman's teacher institute), Egyenloseg, 1917, no. 32, p. 9.
89. "Millios alapitvany egy zsido tanitonokepzo letesitesere" (A grant of a million for the Jewish woman's teacher institute), ibid, 1917, no. 29, p. 6.
90. Arthur Geyer, "Zsido iskola program" (The Jewish school program), Mult es Jovo, 1920, no. 23, p. 7.
91. Samu Bun, A nagykanizai izr. hitkozseg altal fenntartott elemi, polgari es felső kereskedelmi iskola Ertesitoje az 1897-98. tanevrol (The bulletin of the commercial and polgari schools maintained by the Jewish congregation of Nagy Kanizsa, pertaining to the school year of 1897-98) (Nagy Kanizsa, 1898), p. 102.
92. Ibid, p. 107.
93. Ibid, p. 89 Samu Bun, A nagykanizsai zsido hitkozseg altal fenntartott...iskola Ertesitoje az 1907-08. tanevrol (The bulletin of the school year 1907-08, concerning the school maintained by the Jewish congregation of Nagy Kanizsa) (Nagy Kanizsa, 1908) p. 71.
94. Samu Bun, Bulletin pertaining to the school year of 1904-05 (Nagy Kanizsa, 1905) p. 57.
95. Ibid, year 1907-08 (Nagy Kanizsa, 1908) pp. 4, 69.
96. Ibid, year 1902-03 (Nagy Kanizsa, 1903) p. 65.
97. Ibid, year 1907-08 (Nagy Kanizsa, 1908) p. 72.
98. Ibid, 1908, p. 75.
99. Magyar Zsido Lexikon, p. 629.

100. David Balog, A nagykanizsai izr. hitközségtől fenntartott negyévfolymu felső kereskedelmi iskola és női kereskedelmi szaktanfolyam Értesítője az 1927/28. iskolai évről (The bulletin of the upper commercial and the woman's commercial school maintained by the Jewish congregation of Nagy Kanizsa for the school year 1927-28) (Nagy Kanizsa, 1928), p. 46.
101. Magyar Pedagógiai Lexikon (The Hungarian Pedagogic Lexikon) (Budapest, 1934), vol. II, p. 46.
102. Gyula Mészáros, A vágujhelyi államilag segélyezett reál-iskola...Emlékkönyve (The memorial book of the government subsidized Real school of Vagujhely), pp. 42, 43.
103. Bernat Heller, "Zsido kozepiskolak" (Jewish Middle schools), IMIT Yearbook of 1912, p. 90.
104. Gyula Mészáros, *ibid*, p. 43.
105. Bernat Heller, *ibid*, 1912, p. 91.
106. Gyula Mészáros, *ibid*, p. 44.
107. Múlt és Jövő, 1913, p. 550.
108. *Ibid*, 1920, no. 32-33, p. 2.
109. Jozsef Bánoczi, Az Országos Izr. Tanítóképző-intezet Értesítője a XLIX, L es LI. tanévrol 1905/06, 1906/07, es 1907/08 (The 39th, 40th and 41st bulletins of the National Jewish Teachers Institute, pertaining to the school years of 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-08) (Budapest, 1908), pp. 5-7, 15.
110. *Ibid*, Bulletins of 45th, 46th and 47th school years, 1911-12, 1912-13, and 1913-14 (Budapest, 1914), p. 6-8.
111. *Ibid*, 1908, p. 8.
112. Lásd a Tanítóképző-intezet Értesítőinek "Gyakorló iskola" címu fejezeteit (See the bulletin of the Teachers Institute earmarked "Practice Teaching").
113. Jozsef Bánoczi, *ibid*, 1908, p. 45-48.

114. Ibid, pp. 9, 10.
115. Ibid, pp. 8, 87.
116. Ibid, p. 24. Bulletins of the 52nd, 53rd, and 54th school years, 1908-09, 1909-10, 1910-11, 1911, p. 11. Jozsef Banoczi, ibid, 1914, p. 20.
117. Ibid, 1908, pp. 54,55.
118. Ibid, 1914, p. 22.
119. Ibid, 1908, p. 29.
120. Ibid, 1911, p. 14; 1914, p. 23.
121. Ibid, 1908, p. 51.
122. Ibid, 1908, p. 51; 1911, p. 31.
123. Ibid, 1908, p. 28; 1914, p. 23.
124. Ibid, 1908, p. 29.
125. Ibid, 1908, p. 67.
126. Ibid, 1911, p. 49.
127. Ibid, 1914, pp. 53-56.
128. Samu Szemere, Az Orszagos Izr. Tanitokepzo-intezet Ertesitoje a LXI-LXXI, 1917-18, 1927-28, taneverkrol (The bulletin of the 61st to the 71st annual information of the National Jewish Teachers' Institute, from 1917-18 to 1927-28) (Budapest, 1928), p. 18.
129. Jozsef Banoczi, ibid, 1908, p. 75.
130. Ibid, 1914, p. 12.
131. Ibid, 1908, p. 78.
132. Ibid, 1914, p. 69.
133. Jonas Barna, "Magyar-zsido kantor-iskola" (The Hungarian Jewish cantorial school), Izr. Tanugyi Ertesito (Bulletin of Jewish education), 1898, p. 285; 1899, p. 6.

134. Jozsef Bánoczi, *ibid*, 1914, pp. 51, 52.
135. Samu Szemere, *ibid*, 1928, p. 18.
136. Lajos Blau and Miksa Klein, Emlékkönyv a Ferenc Jozsef Országos Rabbiképző Intezet ötven éves jubileumára 1877-1927 (Testimonial book of the National Rabbinic Seminary of its 50th Jubilee Year) (Budapest, 1927), vol. I, pp. 35, 36.
137. Lajos Blau, Simon Hevesi, and Dénes Friedmann, Emlékkönyv a Ferenc Jozsef Rabbiképző Intezet ötven éves jubileumára 1877-1927 (Jubilee volume of the National Rabbinic Seminary of its 50th Jubilee year) (Budapest, 1927), vol. I, pp. 35, 36.
138. *Ibid*, pp. 18, 19. Magyar Zsidó Lexikon..., p. 73.
139. Blau, Hevesi, and Friedmann, *ibid*, p. 61-65.
140. Blau and Klein, *ibid*, pp. 35, 36. Magyar Zsidó Lexikon..., p. 128.
141. Blau, Hevesi, and Friedmann, *ibid*, p. 67-75. Magyar Zsidó Lexikon..., p. 494. Emlékkönyv néhai Kohn Samuel pesti főrabbi születésének századik év fordulójára (Memorial book commemorating the 100th birthday anniversary of the late chief rabbi of Pest, Samuel Kohn) (Budapest, 1941) P. I-XXXIV.
142. *Ibid*, p. 45-58. Magyar Zsidó Lexikon... pp. 319, 320. Bernat Heller, Izr. Magyar Irodalmi Társulat Evkonyve (The IMIT Yearbook of 1932), p. 7-33.
143. Pal Vidor, Hevesi Simon a Rabbiképző katedrajan. Emlékkönyv dr. Hevesi Simon pesti vezető főrabbi papi működése negyvenedik évfordulajára (The memorial book indicating the 40th anniversary of Dr. Simon Hevesi's rabbinic function as chief rabbi of Pest) (Budapest, 1934), p. 40.
144. Samuel Lowinger, "Tudományos irodalmunk fejlődése a görög-zsidó kulturkapcsolatok tükrében" (Our educational development viewed in the field of Greek-Jewish culture), IMIT Yearbook (Budapest, 1943), p. 54-60.
145. Blau, Hevesi, and Friedmann, *ibid*, p. 75-81.

146. Samuel Löwinger, Az Országos Rabbiképző Intezet Évkönyve az 1943-44, 1944-45, es az 1945-46, tanevről (Yearbooks of 1943-44, 1944-45, and 1945-46 of the National Rabbinic Institute) (Budapest, 1946), pp. 22-23.
147. Pal Weisz, and Miksa Weisz, Izr. Magyar Irodalmi Tarsulat Evkonyve (The Yearbook of the I M I T of 1932), pp. 73-95.
148. Mihaly Guttman, Az Orszagos Rabbiképző Intezet növendékeinek statisztikája (The statistics of the students of the National Rabbinic Institute) Lajos Blau, Adalekok a Ferenc Jozsef Orsz. Rabbikepzo Intezet történetéhez (Additions to the history of the National Jewish Rabbinic Institute) (Budapest, 1917), pp. 119-21, 122-41.
149. Blau and Klein, ibid, p. 18.
150. Ibid, pp. 83-84.
151. Ibid, p. 26. Magyar Zsido Lexikon..., p. 118.
152. Magyar Zsido Lexikon..., p. 118.
153. Blau and Klein, ibid, pp. 26-27.
154. Miksa Klein, A Ferenc Jozsef Orsz. Rabbiképző-intezet könyvtára (The library of the National Jewish Rabbinic Institute). Blau, Adalekok a Ferenc Jozsef Orsz. Rabbiképző Intezet történetéhez (Additions of 1917), pp. 106-07.
155. Mult és Jövő, 1913, p. 428.
156. Izidor Schwarcz, "A nepiskola és különönsen a zsidó nepiskola feladatai a jövőben" (The public school and especially the Jewish public school's task in the future), Izr. Tanügyi Ertesítő, 1914, p. 247.
157. Magyar Izrael, 1913, p. 69.
158. Izr. Tanügyi Ertesítő, 1914, p. 238.
159. Ibid, 1915, p. 195.

160. Ibid, 1914, p. 238-39.
161. Ibid, 1915. p. 195-96.
162. Mihály Szabo and Dezső Zentay, Mit mondanak a számok a zsidokérdésben? (What do the numbers say in the Jewish question?) (Budapest, 1938), p. 10.
163. Bernat Munkacsi, A pesti izr. hitközség oktatási ügyének...Ertesítője az 1897/98. iskolaévre (The bulletin of the Jewish congregation of Pest for the 1897-98 school year) (Budapest, 1897), p. 49. Ibid, pertaining to the school year of 1912-13 (Budapest, 1912), p. 92. Ibid, pertaining to the school year of 1913-14 (Budapest, 1913), p. 95. Ibid, of the year 1918-19 (Budapest, 1919), p. 45.
164. Múlt és Jövő, 1935, p. 332.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hebrew Sources

Scharfstein, Zevi, History of Jewish Education in Modern Times, New York, 1945.

תנ"ך ויוניאון פרדס אוצר ישראל יהודה דוד אייזענשטיין
 תש"ה ירושלים הפועל המזרחי חתם סופר ותלמידיו שמואל הכהן וינגרטן
 תרנ"ה ויען-בודאפעטו יוסף שלעזינגאוי אגרות סופרים הרב שלמה סופר
 תרנ"ה מונקאטש חוט המשולש הרב שלמה סופר

English Sources

Drazin, Nathan, History of Jewish Education, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1940.

Elbogen, Ismar, A Century of Jewish Life, the Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1944.

Jewish Encyclopedia, New York, 1904.

The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, edited by Isaac Landman, New York, 1948.

German Sources

Hachmuth, Abraham, Die Judische Schule in Ungaru wie sie ist und wie sie sein soll, Miskolc, 1851.

Low, Leopold, Zur neuen geschichte der Juden in Ungarn, Ludwig Aigner, Budapest, 1874.

Pillnitz, Daniel, zur schulenfrage der Israeliten in Ungarn, Budapest, 1851.

Pillnitz, Daniel, Der Lichtblick des Konige, Budapest, 1847.

Ben Chananja, Leopold Low, editor; first issue appeared in Leibzig, Germany, in 1844. It was discontinued for fourteen years, resuming publication in Szeged in 1859, and continued till 1858 under the same editorship.

Monatsschrift, Fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentume, Begrundet von Z. Frankel, Breslau, 1851.

Hungarian Sources

- Ballagi, Ernő, A Magyar Zsidóság harca az emancipációért, Budapest, 1940.
- Barna, Jonas és Csukási, Fülöp, A Magyar-zsidó Felekezet Elemi és Polgári iskoláinak Monografiaja, I es II Kötet, Corvina Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság, Budapest, 1896.
- Barna, Jonás, Országos Magyar Izraelita Közalap, Budapest, 1896.
- Bakonyi, László, Hatvan év előtt, Budapest, 1927.
- Banoczi, József, Az Országos izr. tanítóképző intézet története, 1877-1897, Hornyánszky Victor Könyvnyomdája, Budapest, 1897.
- Berenstein, Béla, az 1848-49 iki magyar szabadságharcz és a zsidók, Franklin Tarsulat, Budapest, 1848.
- Blau, Lajos, és Klein, Miksa, Emlékkönyv a Ferenc József Orsz. Rabbiképző Ötven éves Jubileumára, Budapest, 1927.
- Büchler, Sándor, A Zsidóság Története Budapesten, Budapest, 1901.
- Csetényi, Imre, Az Ötvenes évek sajtója - a zsidó Kérdés, Budapest, 1941.
- Csetényi, Imre, a hatvanas évek és a zsidóság, Budapest, 1946.
- Deutsch, Henrik, Életforrás vagyis mózesi vallástan, Budapest, 1877-79.
- Eckhard, Ferenc, Magyarország története, Budapest, 1933.
- Felkai, László, Köznevelés, Budapest, 1951.
- Fuchs, Rafael D., és Abraham Stern, a pesti izr. hitközség realgimnáziumának Értesítője, Budapest, 1935.
- Groszmann, Zsigmond, a magyar zsidók a XIX század közepén, az egyenlőség könyvkiadó vállalat, Budapest, 1917.
- Groszmann, Zsigmond, a magyar zsidók V. Ferdinand alatt, Budapest, 1916.

- Guttman, Michael, az Országos Rabbiképző Intezet növendékeinek statisztikája, Budapest, 1946.
- Guttman, Michael, Memorial Book, Budapest, 1946.
- Kandel, Samuel, Imakönyv vagy biblia, Budapest, 1934.
- Lőw, Immanuel, A szegedi zsidók, Szeged, 1885.
- Mahler, Miksa, a zsidó középiskola kérdésében, Tanáregyesületi Közlöny, Budapest, 1887.
- Mandle, Bernat, a magyarországi zsidó Iskola XIX Századba, Franklin Társulat Nyomdája, Budapest, 1909.
- Márki, Sándor, és Gusztav Beksics, a modern Magyarország, Budapest, 1898.
- Meszaros, Gyula, A vágujhelyi államilag engedélyezett izr. real. iskola ötven éves fenállásának Jubilaris emlékkönyv, Vagujhely, 1912.
- Öesztreicher, Miksa, A pozsonyi izr. hitközság értesítője, Pozsony, 1911.
- Richman, Mozes, a régi magyarország zsidósága, Kohn Mor könyvnyomdájában, Budapest, 1913.
- Schill, Salamon, a budapesti országos rabbi képző intezet története, Budapest, 1896.
- Szabó, Mihály, és Dezső Zentay, mit mondonak a szövek a zsidó kérdésbe, Budapest, 1938.
- Venetianer, Lajos, a magyar zsidóság története, Fővárosi nyomda Reszvénytársaság, Budapest, 1922.
- Venetianer, Lajos, a zsidóság szervezete a europiai államokba, Franklin Társulat Nyomdája, Budapest, 1901.
- Villányi, Henrik, a nagykanizsai zsidó iskoláinak története, Nagy Kanizsa, 1891.
- Weisz, Miksa, Elsárgult levelkből, Budapest, 1917.
- Wessely, Ödon, új olvasókönyvek Pedagogia, Budapest, 1905.
- Zeller, Árpád, a magyar egyház politika, Budapest, 1894.
- Zsoldos, Jenő, a magyar zsidóság életében, Neuwald Illés Utodai könyvnyomda, Budapest, 1948.

Hungarian Periodicals

- Egyenlőség, * A Jewish political weekly, Budapest, 1881.
- IMIT, Az Izr. Magyar Irodalmi Társulat, edited by Bacher Vilmos and Jozsef Bánoczi, Budapest, 1895.
- Izraelita Közlöny, Jewish Weekly Gazette, edited by Henrik Deutsch, Budapest, 1868.
- Izraelita Néplap, Jewish people's paper, edited by Ference Roth, Budapest, 1868.
- Magyar Israelita, denominational weekly paper, edited by Lipot Rokonstein, Budapest, 1861.
- Magyar Israelita Országos Tanügy Értesítő, Bulletin of the Hungarian National Jewish Teachers Society, edited by Eleazar Seligmann, Budapest, 1879.
- Magyar Törvénytár, Corpus Juris Hungorici, Budapest, 1896.
- Magyar Zsido Szemle, edited by Bacher Vilmos and Jozsef Banoczi, Budapest, 1884.
- Mult és Jövő, Hungarian Jewish Literary Weekly, edited by Jozsef Patai, Budapest, 1911.
- A Nagykanizsa izr. Hitkozseg Értesítője, Nagy Kanizsa, 1898.
- Országos Zsido Muzeum, Jewish Museum, edited by Mezey Ference, Budapest, 1913.
- Pesti izr. Hitközség Oktatásaügyének Értesítője, Budapest, 1894-95.
- Zsido Lexikon, edited by Peter Ujvari, Budapest, 1929.

* Established in 1881 by Mor Bogdanyi. In 1886, it continued under the editorship of Miksa Szabolcsi. During his administration, it expressed Hungaring Jewry's striving for political, social, and cultural values.