Samson Raphael Hirsch as an Educator

Ernest Gundersheimer

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Samson Raphael Hirsch as an Educator

Abstract
The purpose of this study is to arrive at an understanding of the educational philosophy of Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808 - 1888) and to see by what means he tried to realize his educational goals. Today the ruins of German Jewish communities clearly illustrate that the period we are dealing with is now a closed chapter in Jewish history. Nevertheless, our interest in this subject is not merely that of the historian who seeks to know how past events lead up to present conditions. We rather realize through the reading of Hirsch's writings and those of his contemporaries, that in spite of the unique features of that period—features that never repeat themselves in the same form and composition—the general and basic issues in Jewish education in nineteenth century Germany are still alive in most countries of the Diaspora and even in Israel.

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SAMSON RAPHAEL HIRSCH AS AN EDUCATOR

by

Ernest Gundersheimer

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

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This dissertation, entitled

SAMSON RAPHAEL HIRSCH AS AN EDUCATOR

by

Ernest Gundersheimer

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to arrive at an understanding of the educational philosophy of Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808 - 1888) and to see by what means he tried to realize his educational goals. Today the ruins of German Jewish communities clearly illustrate that the period we are dealing with is now a closed chapter in Jewish history. Nevertheless, our interest in this subject is not merely that of the historian who seeks to know how past events lead up to present conditions. We rather realize through the reading of Hirsch's writings and those of his contemporaries, that in spite of the unique features of that period--features that never repeat themselves in the same form and composition--the general and basic issues in Jewish education in nineteenth century Germany are still alive in most countries of the Diaspora and even in Israel.

It was Hirsch's generation that became fully aware of the great challenge to Jewish education caused by the transition from the Jewish Middle Ages to the modern era. German Jewry of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the first to be confronted with those new forces that threatened to break down the very foundation of Jewish life. For eighteen hundred years of exile the pages of Jewish
history are replete with instances of grave danger to the survival of Jews. Yet, as long as there were Jews alive, there never existed a serious threat to the survival of Judaism, and there were few significant changes made in Jewish education during these eighteen centuries, although the Jewish people never lived completely isolated from the stream of life of its host peoples. However, this situation was to change radically due to the nature of the new forces that were to shape the life of the Western world in the modern era and owing to the new relationship of the Jewish group to this Western world. Now, at the time when the future for Jews seemed brighter and Jewish life appeared to be more secure, the survival of Judaism was threatened seriously. To the degree to which Jewish life prospered materially and made considerable advances socially and politically it disintegrated Jewishly. Formal Jewish education was now called upon to work for the perpetuation of Judaism, a process that formerly went on automatically by the forces inherent in Jewish community life. At Hirsch's time most German Jews were ready to surrender their Jewish way of life in return for the cultural and political emancipation they were yearning for so strongly.

The century that separates us from Hirsch's time has seen in a short span of time great upheavals in human history that affected all aspects of human life. The optimistic belief in a gradual continuous progress towards the victory of liberalism that permeated all thinking during Hirsch's life has since
been shattered. First the progress towards a free and peaceful world was thwarted by the unrestrained play of nationalist passion. Then, it was the open rejection of liberalism by the fascist philosophy of life that led us to World War II and presented our modern enlightened era with the most horrible display of human bestiality. The lot of the Jews was affected by these events more markedly than in any previous period. They have brought upon the Jewish people the greatest disaster in its history, and also they have opened through the establishment of the State of Israel the greatest opportunities for the fulfillment of our Messianic hopes. And yet, we still live in that modern era that had its dawn in the late eighteenth century. Unless we believe in the doom of Western civilization, we must now in the second half of the twentieth century continue to build on all that was sound in nineteenth century liberalism and improve on its weak points. For Jewish education this would mean, that our basic educational problem remains the perpetuation of Judaism permitting a full Jewish participation in modern life. Neither the unique form of Jewish emancipation in American society nor Jewish autoemancipation in the independent State of Israel have yet produced conditions that would lead to this goal automatically. Just as at Hirsch's time we must now resort to conscious educational efforts to safeguard Judaism in the life of the Jewish people.
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INTRODUCTION

The French revolutionary movement had had a profound impact upon the thinking and attitude of German intellectuals by the time Samson Raphael Hirsch commenced his career as a leader in German Jewry in the third decade of the nineteenth century. It was an era of liberal and humanistic ideas, the day of Hegel and Fichte, with their philosophy of idealism. The great Kant was still vividly remembered, and Goethe was yet alive in Weimar.

True, the political effects of the revolutionary movement had been far less radical in Germany than in France. German despots were successful in suppressing demands for immediate radical changes. Philosophy and literature had to serve as the only legitimate outlets for the revolutionary movements. In Germany the ideal citizen was depicted as one who submitted unreservedly to the "divine authority of the state. This categorical demand that the individual should serve a higher authority finds a parallel in Hirsch's educational thinking, though, of course, in the context of Judaism and divine authority.

In the light of the idea that the value of a citizen was measured by his ability to serve the state, national education was advocated. The motto of the day was: The ideal
man for the ideal state. Every man, as Schiller explained, carries within himself, according to his endowment and destination, a pure ideal man which is an unchanging entity. In order to unfold this ideal man, national education was considered indispensable.

At the same time, however, it was expected that this education, by its own intrinsic power, would generate loyalty and devotion to the Prussian State. Neo-humanistic ideas dominated this educational program; education was intended to bring out the full potential in man, his ideal self. Without education man was mere "element" (Goethe). Such intensive cultivation of personality harmonized well with Jewish precepts and became an essential feature in Hirsch's educational work.

This requirement of education for good citizenship found the Jews woefully unprepared for emancipation. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the cultural level of German Jewish communities had sunk to its lowest level. Ousted from economic position by the rising middle class, the ghetto Jews had little to live on and little to live for materially. The struggle for subsistence in a scornful environment drained their energy so that little was left them for the pursuit of Jewish learning. The masses lapsed into ignorance, while continuing to strictly observe the rituals of Judaism without deeper understanding.
An effort at improving the social and political status of the Jews through raising their educational standards had begun almost a century before Hirsch's time. The way was shown in the eighteenth century by those few prominent Jewish families who rose to the height of the general culture of their day, and enjoyed the respect of their intellectual Gentile friends. Their success seemed to indicate that the new society of intellectuals was open to all who were capable of participating in the general intellectual life of the enlightenment.

Jewish culture was confined to the private circle of the family or, as in most cases, neglected altogether.

The vast majority of the Jewish youth in eighteenth century Germany did not have the opportunity nor the desire to advance themselves in secular studies. They received an elementary Hebrew education either at home, from private teachers, or in the Talmud Torah that was established in almost every community for the children of the poor. Several higher Talmud schools, Yeshivot, were still in existence, mainly in southern Germany. Talmudical studies were generally on a low level. Most of the teachers and rabbis were Polish Jews.

Only towards the end of the eighteenth century, through the concerted efforts of some wealthy Jews and liberal gentiles, several free schools in which secular studies were taught to Jewish children were established. These efforts coincided
with the growth of the public school in Prussia. Although compulsory education became law in Prussia in 1717, it was limited to those places in which schools already were in existence. In the year 1737, a general school code provided government aid for building schools and paying schoolmasters, but complete control of the schools was still in the hands of the Church. Among those who now demanded secular control of schools and admission of children of all faiths was Johann Bernhard Basedow, well-known for his educational writings and his school, called the Philanthropinum. Through his influence the school code of 1787 transferred the supervision of the schools from the hands of the clergy into the hands of a state ministry of education. However, no compulsion was used to bring the benefits of secular education to Jewish children.

The dissemination of general culture among Jews was largely left to their own initiative. Both the Enlighteners and the Reformers devoted themselves to this task with great zeal. Between 1778 and 1809 about fifteen free schools for Jewish children were founded in various German cities. First among them was the Jewish Free School of Berlin, established in 1778. Among the others were: the Wilhelmschule of Breslau (1791), the Jacobsohnschule in Seesen (1801), the Philanthropin in Frankfurt on the Main (1804), the Samsonschule in Wolfenbuettel (1807), the school attended by Jost and Zunz,
and others in Dessau, Hamburg, Kassel, Paderborn, Braunschweig, Halberstadt, Detmold, and Hildesheim. The general purpose of this school movement is well stated in the decree providing for the establishment of the Breslau Wilhelmschule: "A regular school should be founded in which the children, besides receiving instruction in the religious branches, should be taught pure morality, love for humanity, their duties as subjects, as well as writing, arithmetic, language, geography, history, and natural sciences, in order that the rising generation may be educated to become useful citizens of the State." The general tendency in the further development of these schools was to gradually crowd everything Jewish out of the curriculum. It became a source of special pride to count gentiles among the student body. It is known of the Breslau School that in order to set aside the suspicions of the traditional Jews, the government official had to insist on the inclusion of Talmud in the curriculum. However, the Enlighteners succeeded, under various pretexts, to remove this "archaic feature" from their modern school. In Wolfenbuettel a Jewish school existed since 1786. Here, Talmud was the predominant subject until, under the influence of the Seesen School, its traditional character was changed in 1806, and it was transformed into the modern Samsonschule. (Zunz attended the school both before the change and two years after it.)
During the age of rationalism it appeared as though attainment of education and culture by the Jew would automatically gain him admittance into German society. The matter of particular religious affiliation was supposedly of little significance. This situation, however, changed when, under the neo-Christian romanticism of Schleiermacher, religion again came into vogue. Many of the assimilated Jews found the atmosphere of the traditional synagogue incompatible with their newly acquired status. They were carried away by the stream of Christian revivalism and found a safe haven in the Church. Conversions to Christianity were numerous at the end of the eighteenth century. In order to stem this flood of conversions the Jewish Reform movement came into being.

It is of interest to note that the efforts of Jews for secular education and for religious reform were strongest in lands that put great obstacles in the way of emancipation. Little concerted activity in these directions was going on in Denmark, Holland and France where complete equality before the law was granted at a comparatively early time.

It is true that many liberal Germans raised their voices in defense of the Jews, pointing out the absurdity of accusing the Jews of being harmful to the State, while at the same time retaining laws that prevented them from becoming useful. A wide gap existed, however, between these liberal
ideas of a group of German intellectuals and the attitudes that influenced the actions of cabinets.\textsuperscript{12}

The official position of the rulers of Prussia since the time of Frederick the Great had been that the Jews were a foreign group, on the whole harmful to the State, and that special laws were justified in order to keep their numbers to a minimum and counteract their harmful potential.\textsuperscript{13} Even Karl von Dahlberg, the liberal Imperial Chancellor of Frankfurt on the Main, qualified his position favoring emancipation by advising that complete equality could not be granted as long as the Jews did not show themselves worthy of it by forsaking their peculiarities and adopting the customs of the country.\textsuperscript{14}

Liberal statesmen in Prussia initiated lengthy investigations in order to prove that certain improvements in the legislation for the Jews would benefit the State and were therefore justifiable. Even then their efforts were opposed by numerous Jew-baiting pamphleteers and impeded by pedantic bureaucrats. This situation brought bitter disillusionment to the fervent fighters for Jewish enlightenment, and many of them found in baptism the only solution.\textsuperscript{15}

At the time of Hirsch's childhood, a decisive change in the attitude towards the Jews was seemingly taking place as a result of the great crisis in the national life of Prussia. After the defeat of the Prussian State at the hands of Napoleon,
all forces were required for the task of reconstruction. This
time the Jews were no longer excluded. Chancellor Hardenberg
insisted on legislation that gave full equality of duties and
of rights to the Jews. Only appointments to judicial and
administrative offices were for the time not open to them.
The Edict of 1812 made all Jews of the Prussian monarchy
citizens. They now had to "adopt and register family names;
they had to be able to sign their names in a readable alphabet
and they had to keep their business records in a European language,
that is, not in Yiddish or Hebrew. Their existing communities,
based on political and fiscal foundations, were dissolved and
rabbinical jurisdiction in civic affairs terminated. A new
regulation of the status of the communities was to be estab-
lished.

The Jews of Prussia were naive enough to rejoice.
Finally their sincere efforts appeared to be crowned with
success. Justice was to replace deep-seated prejudice.
Wholeheartedly did they join their Christian brethren in the
movement of liberation from the foreign oppressor. Already
in the year following this edict they were given ample oppor-
tunity to prove their enthusiastic devotion to the German
cause in the War of Liberation.

No sooner had the last French soldier been driven from
the German soil than the Jew-baiters came out of hiding in
order to raise their voices and even their threatening hands against their newly adopted "brethren." The forces of reaction won out at the Congress of Vienna; the pre-Napoleon order was reinstated, and with it the discriminatory code against the Jews. In Prussia, too, everything was done to limit the effectiveness of the Edict of 1812. Not only were all their hard-won gains lost to the Jews, but a new violent anti-Jewish drive soon spread throughout Germany. The "hep hep" agitation resulted in actual rioting. Jewish property was destroyed in many places, and in some cases even Jewish lives were lost.

The Jews were considered enemies of the German people. Napoleon was identified as the liberator of the Jews, the freethinkers as their friends. What sympathy could be expected from the Christian rulers of the Holy Alliance for the Jews, branded as they were radical foes of the existing order?

The material crisis that came over Germany's Jews was a serious one. Even more severe was the internal spiritual crisis that resulted from this sad turn of events. When in past centuries persecution threatened the life of the Jews, they could turn to their inner convictions and faith. Now this inner defense had been broken. The forces of the new world had entered the Judengasse, and its dwellers had left their seclusion to join the stream of world affairs. Great was their shock when, with the unexpected reaction, new obstacles
blocked their way. The greater the estrangement from the Jewish past, the more painful was the disappointment. Large numbers of the educated Jews saw no way of reconciling Judaism with modern culture, and in their helplessness they paid the "admission ticket to modern civilization," as conversion was described in Heine's style.18

At this age of mass desertion it seemed as though the end of German Jewry had come. The young Reform movement in its superficial first steps had nothing substantial to offer to the young educated Jew and therefore was unable to stem the flood of conversions. The old-style rabbis remained uncompromising in the distant world of their own. Most of them had taken an adamant stand against all forms of secular culture. They had even opposed Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible, and had proclaimed a ban against teaching secular studies.

The leading orthodox rabbi of the time, Rabbi Ezekiel Landau of Prague (1713-1832), thought that the mere system of teaching Hebrew grammar was leading children away from the traditional path of life. In spite of the many obstacles, the secularization of Jewish life in Germany made rapid progress. Many congregations no longer wished to have rabbis from Poland, held in low regard because they did not know the German language. Some of the rabbis who still enjoyed widespread
authority were Mordecai Benet in Nikolsburg, Jakob Issa, Akiba Eger, and Moses Sofer. When the first Reform attempts became known, these rabbis were stirred into action, which, however, consisted merely of bitter denouncements. The sincere apprehensions of these rabbis were well justified, but a much-needed positive program did not come forth.

At the time of the "hep hep" riots in Berlin, a constructive attempt was made by a group of university students in that city, under the leadership of Leopold Zunz and Edward Gans. They organized the "Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft" (Society for Culture and Knowledge), which aimed at "thoroughly reshaping the peculiar culture of the Jews in order to guide them to the point at which the rest of the European world has arrived." They tried to raise the prestige of Judaism in the eyes of Jews and gentiles by explaining its cultural values in a modern style. This organization was unsuccessful at the time, but out of it grew later the movement of the "Science of Judaism." 19

After the attempts at religious reform in Berlin had failed, the group shifted their efforts to Hamburg. In order to counteract the stream of Reform the traditional faction of Hamburg Jewry called Isaac Bernays to become its spiritual leader. Bernays was one of the first scholars who had acquired
both a profound Jewish and secular education. Haham Bernays had great influence on his young student, Samson Raphael Hirsch, who was to be the great champion of the orthodox faction in German Jewry.
CHAPTER I

HIRSCH'S EARLY LIFE

Samson Raphael Hirsch was born on the 23rd of Sivan, 5568 (June 20, 1808), in Hamburg, three years before that city opened its doors to the armies of Napoleon. His family tree is traced back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Among his ancestors many names prominent in the annals of German Jewry are mentioned. Some of them were rabbinical leaders, others were known and respected as prosperous merchants and community leaders, all of them were very pious and generous men.\(^1\) Hirsch's loyal disciples in Frankfurt stressed with special pride that one of his ancestors of the fourth preceding generation, Rabbi Mendel Frankfurter (his grandfather's grandfather), had originally come from Frankfurt and that it was as though with Samson Raphael Hirsch the Torah had at last returned to its former dwelling place.\(^2\)

Hirsch's early years stood under the direct influence of his grandfather, the second Rabbi Mendel Frankfurter (1742-1833), who was a man of learning. This grandfather had received his early Jewish education from his father (the Dayan, Rabbi Shlomo Frankfurter), and had entered the Yeshivah of the famous Rabbi Jonathan Eibeschutz. At the same time he had not neglected to acquire on his own a sound general
education in secular subjects. For a time he was a teacher in Stuttgart, Frankfurt, and Berlin, later to return to his hometown Hamburg where he settled down as a merchant and continued to teach without accepting any compensation. His efforts on behalf of Jewish education were crowned with the foundation of the Talmud Torah School of Hamburg. According to a tribute paid to him in the periodical Measef he was moved by the plight of the children of the poor who had no proper educational opportunities. His appeal to the rich members of the community helped establish a school in which both general and religious education were provided. The educational goals of that school, as laid down in its Sefer Hatakanoth (Book of Regulations), are of interest to the student of his grandson's educational work.

The most fundamental goal in the establishment of the Talmud Torah in Hamburg was to educate Israel's children so that they would know the word of God and the fundamentals of the faith; to accustom them to 'derekh eretz' (proper conduct), morals, and good character traits; to teach them the fundamental skills necessary for earning a livelihood justly and expertly. The youngsters may then choose according to their own inclinations either the way of Jewish learning (א"ת), or the way of commerce and handicraft. The school will provide the poor with food and clothing.

It is worth noting that already at the time of Hirsch's grandfather the leaders of a strictly orthodox Jewish community listed together with the traditional goals of a Jewish school also the task of providing youngsters with
skills for some trade or profession. In German education it was the great innovation of the Protestant Reformation to consider the acquiring of a trade or profession a moral and religious duty. The early fighters for Jewish emancipation accepted this attitude wholeheartedly for the Jewish people. Many of them were ready gradually to abandon traditional goals to make room for a new educational pattern. Rabbi Mendel Frankfurter and his co-workers were probably among the first to aim wholeheartedly at a synthesis of both aims in a Jewish school, the aim to which his grandson, Samson Raphael Hirsch, devoted his whole life. Rabbi Mendel Frankfurter left an ethical will drawn up eight years before his death in which every word reflects his great piety and unusual fervor for the study of Torah. It was under the influence of this grandfather that Samson Raphael Hirsch spent the first fifteen years of his life.

Hirsch's parents fully observed both the letter and spirit of their father's ethical will. Raphael Hirsch, though a merchant, devoted much of his time to Hebrew studies. The atmosphere of his parents' home is best described in Hirsch's own words:

You know that in my earliest youth these subjects engaged my soul, that, reared by enlightened but God fearing parents, the voices of Tanach early spoke to my spirit, and that of my own free will, when my intelligence had already matured, I permitted the Tanach to lead me to Gemara—that no external necessity caused
me to select the vocation of rabbi but my own inner life plan.\textsuperscript{5}

In dedicking his important work, the \textit{Horev}, to his parents he calls them "the guardians of his childhood, the guides of his youth and the friends of his manhood."\textsuperscript{6}

During his childhood his parents' home was the scene of dramatic events in the struggle against the Reform Movement. After attempts to organize a Reform Congregation had been crushed by royal decree in Berlin, Israel Kley set out to preach the new doctrine in Hamburg. The famous Hamburg Temple, founded in 1818, gave rise to bitter protests by the traditionalist group. It was in Raphael Hirsch's house that those who remained loyal to tradition held their meetings. The anguish of his parents and their pious friends in the face of the Reformers' attack made a deep impression on the young child and already so early in life he pledged himself to take up the fight on behalf of the Torah.\textsuperscript{7}

The rabbinate was not considered a promising career for a young man in early nineteenth century Germany, and thus the young Hirsch was forced to start his training as an apprentice to a merchant. Yet before he had completed his first year of apprenticeship he felt unmistakably the inner call for a higher vocation. He left the office for good, entered a Gymnasium and continued his Jewish studies under
Isaac Bernays who had become head of the Hamburg community in 1821. The great influence of Bernays on his star student, the young Samson Raphael Hirsch, obliges us to include here a brief sketch of this remarkable man.

Our knowledge of Bernays is derived entirely from secondary sources, since no literary remains of Bernays are known to us. He was a man of unusual mental ability and personal charm who combined harmoniously deep Jewish learning with systematically acquired classical education. He pursued studies of philosophy and language at the Universities of Wurzburg and Munich, and received his rabbinical ordination from the noted Rabbi Abraham Bing in Wurzburg. He was recommended to the leaders of the Hamburg congregation as a man who, due to his well-rounded educational background, was qualified to meet "the enemies of Jewish tradition on their own grounds." He must have been an inspiring preacher and teacher as witnessed even by a man like Heine who belonged to an entirely different world of thought. Bernays also aroused in Hirsch an interest in Jewish philosophy through his weekly lectures on the Book of Kuzari. Imbued from early childhood with an ardent desire to defend traditional Judaism, Hirsch now found in Bernays a teacher who provided him with an intellectual basis for his endeavor. It was under Bernays's inspiring influence that Hirsch decided to
to choose the vocation of rabbi.

At the young age of twenty he left his hometown to devote himself more intensively to the study of Talmud at the Mannheim Yeshivah of Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger, who later became chief rabbi of Altona. On his trip to Mannheim Hirsch sojourned for several days in Frankfurt and there was introduced to Baron Anselm von Rothschild. This Jewish magnate was so favorably impressed by the young man's sincerity and fervor that two years later Rothschild recommended Hirsch to the Government of Oldenburg as *Landrabbiner.*

Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger, his new teacher in Mannheim, combined with his profound talmudic scholarship a thorough classical education. Ettlinger had been a fellow student with Bernays at the University of Wuersburg, yet his prime interest revolved around the world of the Talmud which he fully explored and expounded to the delight and enlightenment of Hirsch. Hirsch stayed in Mannheim only one year, and in 1829 we find him already enrolled at the University of Bonn, then renowned in the fields of classical and oriental languages.

During his student year in Bonn Hirsch associated with a group of young students who had at least one thing in common: an ardent desire, almost a prophetic calling, to do something about the sad state of Judaism in German lands. These young men, among whom was Abraham Geiger, the future
leader of the movement which Hirsch was to oppose with all his might, were aware of the spiritual crisis in which the masses of German Jewry found themselves. They fully agreed that the ills in German Judaism could not be cured through superficial changes in the traditional ritual. They rather felt impelled to reinterpret Judaism and to make it meaningful to the modern mind. They strove to put Judaism on a sound foundation of scholarly investigation and philosophical reasoning. This group considered it the foremost task of a young Jewish theological student to become an effective preacher and teacher of his people, the emphasis on preaching being new at that time. In order to be able to carry out this task efficiently, Hirsch and Geiger, after an evening's earnest discussion about the desolate state of the Jewish ministry, decided on founding a society for the practice of public speaking. The first sermon for practice was delivered by Hirsch on the topic, "The Rabbi as a Preacher in Israel." In the discussion that followed Geiger expressed strong differences with Hirsch, yet he admired his extraordinary eloquence, his ingenuity, his clear and rapid comprehension. Although their argument did not bring them closer together and later events made them drift far apart, Geiger never ceased to admire Hirsch's talent, his mental ability, his austere virtue and generous heart. In those early years their
friendship was furthered through their frequent gatherings for the study of the Talmud. Yet even then he could not accept Hirsch's views without reservations. He objected to what he termed Hirsch's immoderate reverence for the Bible and his overemphasis on philology in exegesis, which he ascribed to the influence of Bernays. Still Geiger paid tribute to Hirsch in later years by acknowledging his great influence on him in those enjoyable days at Bonn.12

In 1830 Hirsch, then only twenty years old, accepted a position as rabbi in Oldenburg. His function was that of Landrabbiner, i.e., the rabbi recognized by the Government of Oldenburg as the religious head and representative of all the Jews in the land. Rabbi Nathan Adler (later chief rabbi of England) upon his departure from Oldenburg had proposed Samson Raphael Hirsch as his successor. He wrote to the government:

Among all candidates who have applied for this office, Samson Raphael Hirsch seems to me to be best suited for the position. He is at present a student of philology at the University of Bonn. I have been informed that Hirsch is of good character, possesses excellent knowledge of languages and is in every way qualified to fulfil the obligations of a rabbi.13

While the Bonn circle had offered Hirsch ample opportunity to teach young intellectuals and propagate his views on the true meaning of Judaism, now in Oldenburg it became his task to enlighten the uneducated mercantile class and the manual workers among the Jewish population. His fervor in combating
ignorance and in spreading the knowledge of Torah was great and strong. He translated portions of the Mishnah and sent handwritten copies to the teachers of his district to spread the knowledge of the oral law.\(^\text{14}\)

Besides performing his regular duties as a rabbi, Hirsch devoted much time to literary work. In this period Hirsch occupied himself with the writing of a book of great importance, \textit{Horev}, modestly subtitled "\textit{Versuche ueber Jissroels Pflichten in der Zerstreuung}," (\textit{Attempted Essays on Israel’s Duties in the Diaspora}). To prepare the public for this first major work, he composed upon his publisher’s advice the \textit{Neunzehn Briefe ueber Judentum}, known as \textit{The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel}, which appeared anonymously in 1836. \textit{Horev} was published two years later.

The contents of \textit{The Nineteen Letters} will be discussed later. Suffice it here to say that its publication electrified many of the young Jewish intellectuals, then floundering in utter confusion. Heinrich Graetz, then still a young student, was so overwhelmed by Hirsch's impassioned plea for strict orthodoxy that after a short correspondence with the author he asked to become his disciple. Graetz took up residence in Hirsch’s home and remained in Oldenburg for three full years. Graetz continued to hold his former teacher in great affection even later on when he had rejected some of
his basic views. Still five years after his Oldenburg discipleship with Hirsch, he dedicated his doctor's thesis to "Samson Raphael Hirsch, the brilliant champion of historical Judaism, my unforgettable teacher and fatherly friend in love and gratitude."15

After Oldenburg a wider field of rabbinic activity opened for him with the appointment as Chief Rabbi of Aurich and Osnabrueck with residence at Emden. Emden was a poor community and the young rabbi with all his varied duties in synagogues and schools, of representing his flock before the government, took also the initiative in establishing a fund for short-term loans to the needy ones in his community. Because of the high reverence in which the community held their Rabbi, they made every effort to justify his trust in them and all loans were paid back on time. Hirsch's educational philosophy paid off: his method consisted in taking people for what they ought to be and not for what they were.16

During this time Hirsch's name as modern defender of traditional Judaism gained additional prominence through his masterfully written polemical essays against the reforms of Holdheim and others. They brought him the highest honor open to a rabbi, the occupancy of the seat of Landrabbiner of Moravia and Silesia at Nicolsburg, an office hallowed by a long tradition of distinguished Talmudists who had occupied
that seat before him. In the Orient we find an enthusiastic report about the great interest and hopes which were aroused by the appointment of the new Landrabbiner.\(^{17}\) A man known for great piety and sincerity who at the same time had an open mind and a positive approach to the new Zeitgeist was a most astonishing phenomenon in the land of the Pressburger rabbis. And indeed the community was not quite ready to appreciate such a man fully. Hirsch was not satisfied merely with a glorious rank and title, and all the nominal power that accompanied it. He set out to tackle the task of organizing and administering the congregation of Moravia. He sent out questionnaires about the state of all Jewish schools, and issued regulations concerning conduct in the synagogue. He made, however, little headway with these Kehilloth which had never known such thoroughgoing systematic measures. Likewise the government failed to keep its various promises in matters relating to the welfare of the community which in turn gave less than their full cooperation. The original enthusiasm demonstrated at his royal reception soon ebbed down. He was not the type of a man who would go out of his way to satisfy all sides. For the reform-thirsty modern elements in the community he was too strict in his requirements of observances of the Law; the old-time talmudists on the other hand were dissatisfied with his method of learning (he opposed
Pilpul), and some were not fully convinced that he was their superior in the mastery of talmudic literature. As to Hirsch’s emphasis on understanding Jewish ideals through scriptures, it is worthwhile to mention a typical complaint by a disillusioned old-timer: “There were times when they learned Talmud and said T’hilim (psalms), now they say Talmud and learn T’hilim.”

In spite of these dissonances Hirsch’s [pure aristocratic] personality gained the reverence and admiration of his people and sincere respect among rabbinical authorities. Particularly he showed bold leadership in the fight for Jewish emancipation and became a deputy to the Landestag.

While on one hand Hirsch devoted all of his energy and great literary skill to the struggle for equality of rights for his people, he warned on the other hand against the possible ill effects of this political victory. In a message to the Austrian Jews he wrote:

The newly awakened feeling of justice in the heart of the nation has brought us the first taste of security... For truly, my brethren, what would we have gained when at the very moment when, thanks to God, we are permitted to be free Jews we would cease being Jews in devotion and faith.

In order to strengthen devotion and reinforce faith he had set himself three major goals: To improve decorum and order in the synagogue; to improve the education of laymen by establishing a Jewish gymnasium; and to train rabbis both in
Jewish and general studies in a rabbinical seminary. He was unable to make any considerable progress in any point of this program. During the four years of his stay at Nicolsburg Hirsch had come to realize that the Moravian environment was not the proper seedbed for the prospering of his educational ideals. He, therefore, decided to leave his high position in order to follow the call of a handful of faithful fighters for Jewish tradition in Frankfurt on the Main. There he planned to lead that small group in their struggle for survival.

Hirsch came to Frankfurt in 1851. From then on his life story becomes the tale of his efforts to turn into reality his philosophy and educational ideas in the life of this young thriving Jewish community. This inspiring story we shall reserve for a later chapter. First due consideration will be given to his educational philosophy and to his position in regard to significant Jewish movements in life at this time.
CHAPTER II

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF HIRSCH'S EDUCATIONAL THEORY

Hirsch never wrote a systematic exposition of a philosophy of Judaism. The idea of reconstructing Judaism as a science ripened in his mind early in his life.¹ This required persevering inquiry into the philosophic content of Jewish teachings. Jewish law (Bible, Talmud and Midrash) does not present a coherent philosophy but contains only elements for such philosophy. It was Hirsch's basic outlook on method to attempt to derive the principle of Judaism from a direct examination of the text. The philosophic framework had to be scrupulously constructed from a multitude of elements found in Jewish traditional sources.

To be sure, Hirsch was convinced that the stamp of absolute truth was imprinted on the pronouncements of Scriptures alone, and that even the most masterfully constructed philosophy would be subject to possibly faulty human reasoning.² Nevertheless, Hirsch considered it a definite obligation incumbent upon scholars to make use of the power of inductive reasoning in their search of the Jewish Weltanschauung. The results of his own investigations Hirsch intended to present in a complete work of two volumes. A first volume was to contain, according to this plan, "the views of Judaism concerning God, the world,
man, Israel, and the Torah." A second volume was to explain in the light of these general concepts the Mitzvot (laws), "as far as it is our duty, deprived as we are of our national soil, to fulfill them." Although this intended sequence of the two volumes would have followed a logical order, urgent practical considerations impelled him to compose the second volume first. "Hostile forces were undermining the foundation of Judaism" and in this crisis he felt called upon to combat the "enemy" directly wherever he chose to strike. He saw the greatest threat against Judaism in the false opinions and notions concerning the Mitzvot. It was therefore a matter of great urgency to complete the work on a true explanation and interpretation of Jewish laws. This work was published in 1837, entitled, Horev: Essays on Israel's Duties in the Dispersion. Motivated by the practical educational need of supplying the teachers under his supervision with a book in which they could read and acquaint themselves with Judaism before they began to rear young souls for Judaism, he wrote first these essays about the meaning of the particular laws.3

The first volume about the general philosophical foundations was never written. We can, however, get an idea of Hirsch's philosophical thoughts from his other works. Fragments of the contents of the unwritten first volume are scattered over all of his writings. They can often be traced in
his commentary on the Pentateuch, they appear in the *Horev* in brief introductions to the discussion of the particular Mitzvot, and they are embodied in many of his essays written at different occasions throughout his long and fruitful literary activity. The first expression of his philosophical views appeared in short sketches in *The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel* in 1836. These will serve us best as a basis for our presentation. Yet, since later on he never wavered on any of the philosophical positions taken in the early work, we will also be able to draw freely on his later writings, whenever suitable.

Both in content and in form *The Nineteen Letters* betray the influence of Yehudah Halevi who in his *Kuzari* so valiantly defended Judaism against the Karaite attacks. Like Halevi, Hirsch attempted to enlighten his confused generation with the true spirit of traditional Judaism taking cognizance of existing alternative views. Adopting also Halevi's literary device, Hirsch sketches his philosophy of Judaism in the form of responses to a friend. His imaginary friend, caught by the spirit of the time, launches a bitter attack on traditional Judaism in the following paragraphs:

> Every religion, I believe, should bring man nearer to his destiny. This destiny, what else could it be but the attainment of happiness and self-realization?

> But if we take these principles as a criterion for Judaism, how utterly depressing are the results that we obtain! To what happiness does Judaism conduct its professors? From time
immemorial misery and slavery have been their lot; unknown or despised by the other nations, and while the rest of mankind mounted to the summit of culture, prosperity, and fortune, its adherents remained always poor in everything which makes human beings great and noble, and which beautifies and dignifies existence.

The Law itself interdicts all enjoyments, is a hindrance to all the pleasures of life. For two thousand years we are as the plaything of fate, as a ball tossed from hand to hand, even in the present time driven from all the paths of happiness. And as for the full development of human potentiality, what culture, what conquests in the domain of science, art, or invention, in a word, what great achievements have Jews produced compared with Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Italians, French, English, or Germans?

Robbed of all the characteristics of nationality, we are, nevertheless, deemed a nation, and every one of us is by his very birth doomed to form an additional link in this never-ending chain of misery. The Law is chiefly at fault for all this: by enjoining isolation in life, and thereby arousing suspicion and hostility; by breaking the spirit through the inculcation of humble submissiveness, thereby inviting contempt; by discouraging the pursuit of the formative arts; by dogmas which bar the way of free speculation, and by removing, through this enjoined isolation, every incentive to exertion in science and art, which, therefore, do not flourish among us.

As for our own lore, it perverts the mind and leads it astray into subleties and the minutiae of petty distinctions, until it becomes incapable of entertaining simple and natural opinions, so that I have always wondered not a little how you, who have taste and understanding for the beauties of Virgil, Tasso, and Shakespeare, and who are able to penetrate into the consistent structures of Leibnitz or Kant, can find pleasure in the rude and tasteless writing of the Old Testament, or in the illogical disputations of the Talmud?

And what effect has the Jewish Religion upon heart and life? The heart shrinks into anxious scrupulosity about insignificant trifles; nothing is taught except to fear God, everything, even the pettiest details of life, is referred to God; life itself becomes a continuous
monastic service, nothing but prayers and ceremonies; and he the most celebrated Jew who lives withdrawn from the world, does not know it, allows it to support him—though he himself wastes his life in fasting and praying, and the perusal of senseless writings. Look yourself at the book which is put into our hands as 'The Way of Life,' and which contains all the duties of the Jew, what else does it teach except praying and fasting and the keeping of holidays? Where is there one word concerning the duties of the active, productive life around us? And this, especially, in our time! Indeed, it is quite impossible to keep these laws intended for an entirely different time. What limitation in travelling, what embarrassment in association with Gentiles, what hindrances in every business!4

Instead of attempting to refute the various points of this indictment one by one, Hirsch questions their philosophical foundation and asks: Is happiness and self-realization really the destiny of man? Can everyone be permitted to be his own judge as to what constitutes happiness to him? Can the value of Judaism be assessed by the degree to which it supplies abundance and happiness? Is it not fallacious to evaluate Judaism by its usefulness for attaining goals derived from alien sources?

The scope of Judaism comprises human life in its totality. It formulates both the goals of human life and the means for attaining them. Once we have apprehended what the destiny of mankind is according to Jewish teachings we will be justified in appraising the effectiveness of Jewish living for its own goals. All these considerations must lead the questioning Jewish mind towards a study of Judaism from its sources—the Torah.5
"Aus sich selbst begriffenes Judentum" (Judaism comprehended from its own sources) was for Hirsch the goal of all Jewish learning. He insisted that Judaism must become meaningful. Mere mechanical observance of its teachings is not enough. They must enlighten the mind and guide towards a Weltanschauung. He cautioned against the danger of drawing such enlightenment from foreign sources and imposing it upon Judaism from without. On this account Hirsch ventured to criticize the method used by Maimonides in the *Guide of the Perplexed*. He calls Maimonides a great man who deserves credit for preserving practical Judaism for modern times, yet he finds fault with him as an interpreter of the spirit of Judaism. Maimonides' intellectual orientation, says Hirsch, was thoroughly Greek and instead of deriving the meaning of Jewish teachings from Biblical and Rabbinic sources, he concentrated in his philosophical work on the Bible alone and sought to reconcile it with the concepts of the Greek mind.6

This position of Hirsch towards the giant of Jewish philosophy might be surprising. One might ask whether Hirsch was not as deeply rooted in German philosophy as Maimonides was in that of the Greek thinkers. Indeed many of Hirsch's interpretations and educational concepts are in close harmony with those of German neo-humanism. Kantian thought and terminology are found in Hirsch's commentary and his great admiration
for Schiller as a teacher of ideas is a matter of record. However, Hirsch's criticism of Maimonides is not inconsistent with his own position because Hirsch's indebtedness to German culture was of a different nature. In the nineteenth century basic Biblical ideas had thoroughly influenced the minds of outstanding non-Jewish scholars. Hirsch welcomed the enunciation of Biblical ideas from whatever quarter it came. He therefore accepted teachings of the neo-humanistic German philosophical school insofar as he judged them to be in harmony with traditional Jewish concepts. In a speech devoted to Schiller, Hirsch quoted passages from the works of that great poet which clearly express fundamental Jewish ideas; he also makes mention of views held by Schiller that were not in line with Jewish teaching. Hirsch never felt subservient to German philosophy and saw no need to reconcile Judaism to any of its schools. His knowledge and appreciation of German philosophy and literature played a significant role in his understanding of Scriptures and is reflected in his interpretations of Biblical passages.

Despite all differences between Maimonides and Hirsch as to ways of interpretation, both of them accepted Scriptures as the revealed word of God. Hirsch's quarrel with the rationalistic students of Bible of his own generation was of a much more fundamental nature. The issue concerned the origin and
nature of the Biblical books. The difference between Hirsch's approach and that of the young rationalistic Jewish theologians is well stated in the Nineteen Letters. By way of introducing his young student of Judaism to the study of Scriptures Hirsch instructs him:

Not for the purpose of making philological and antiquarian investigations, not to find support for antedeluvian or geological hypotheses, nor in the expectations of un­veiling supermundane mysteries, but as Jews must we read it—that is to say, looking upon it as a book given to us by God that we may learn from it to know ourselves, what we are, and what we should be in this our worldly existence. It must be to us Torah—that is instruction and guidance in this divine world; a generator of spiritual life within us. Our desire is to understand Judaism, therefore we must take our philosophical position within Judaism, and must ask ourselves, 'What will human beings be who recognize the contents of this book as a basis and rule of life given to them by God?'

The concept of revelation is the basis of Hirsch's philosophy. He states unequivocally that the criterion for a stand within or outside the precincts of Judaism is the accept­ance or non-acceptance of the words, "And God spoke unto Moses as follows..." as being true in their very literal meaning. The unreserved acceptance of the written and of the oral law as divine teachings revealed to mankind on Mount Sinai is the cornerstone of Hirsch's system. He was convinced that neither through intuition nor through the power of reasoning could men arrive at absolutely true concepts of the nature of the universe. Nor could they, by reason or intuitive experience evolve abso­lutely just standards for what is good or bad in human conduct,
for men do not construct moral systems on the basis of a world view at which they have arrived after objective reasoning. They proceed in the opposite direction and construct a world view that would harmonize with the moral system of their choice. In other words, philosophy merely provides a rational explanation for the ethical practices existing in a given society. Therefore, only the creator alone could provide an absolutely just moral system and this happened when at Mount Sinai rays of divine light pierced the world of phenomena and brought down to it concepts and rules of absolute truth.

Hirsch is convinced, beyond any doubt, of the historicity of the supernatural revelation of the Torah. In his view the presence of an entire community at this event and its lasting impact on the consciousness of the Jewish people throughout its history make it bear the hallmark of a historical fact. This unique historic experience, the granting of the Torah, "lifts it high above anything else that was considered by mortals as a revelation of gods," above all that under the name of religion and creed claims rule over the human mind. This collective experience gives to revelation a unique stamp of validity, and differentiates it once for all from dreams, illusions or idle fancy.

In line with this concept of revelation Jewish consciousness of God is "not a matter of belief but of knowledge,
this knowledge of God does not rest on a hearsay report, nor on the mediation of intellectual conclusions, but on the certainty of immediate and contemporaneous observation on the part of the entire Jewish community."  

Although Hirsch never attempted to adduce a rational proof for the divine origin of the Torah—an attempt that would contradict the basic assumptions of his philosophy—he mentions factors that might strengthen the belief in it. This is not the place to discuss them in detail, we shall merely list them briefly:

a) The uniqueness of Jewish history.

b) The opposition of the desert generation to the ideas expounded by Moses.


d) Modest and humble Moses—not a personality to impose his own legislation.  

It is on the basis of this certainty of the existence of God and of the truthfulness of his revealed Torah that there evolved in Hirsch's mind his idea of reconstructing Judaism as a science. In an important note to the Nineteen Letters Hirsch draws an analogy between the use of the scientific method in the study of nature and in the study of Torah.

In the Torah, as in nature, God is the ultimate cause; in the Torah, as in nature, no fact may be denied, even though the reasons and the connection may not be comprehended; as in nature, so in the Torah, the traces of Divine
wisdom must ever be sought for. Its ordinances must be accepted in their entirety as undeniable phenomena, and must be studied in accordance with their connection with each other, and the subject to which they relate. Our conjectures must be tested by their precepts, and our highest certainty here also can only be that everything stands in harmony with our theory. But as in nature, the phenomena are recognized as facts, though their cause and relation to each other may not be understood, and are independent of our investigation; the ordinances of the Torah must be law for us, even if we do not comprehend the reason and the purpose of a single one. Our fulfillment of the commandments must not depend upon our investigations. Only the commandments belonging to the category Edoth, which are designed to impress the intellectual and emotional life, are incomplete without such research.

The use of the term "scientific method" in regard to Hirsch's approach to Torah study needs clarification. Hirsch certainly did not mean to test the validity of the contents of Torah by a critical scientific investigation. He never intended to bring rational proof for the basic postulates on which his philosophy rested. This indeed was a weak point in his position, inasmuch as his educational influence became confined to those who accepted his postulates without question. Whoever considered the scientific method as the exclusive road to any truth could not become a disciple of Hirsch. Yet the faithful Jew who accepts certain truths apriori and sees both in nature and in Torah creations of the divine spirit can also accept Hirsch's analogy between the science of nature and the science of Torah. The scientist of nature searches
for the divine idea embodied in nature, the student of Torah seeks the divine ideas underlying even the minute details of Torah teaching. In the spirit of the Mishnaic saying "Turn it (the Torah) and turn it over again, for everything is in it," Hirsch believed that inexhaustible treasures of divine ideas are contained in Torah and a proper scientific method must be followed to reveal them.

Through such systematic inquiry into Torah the Jew must strive to arrive at the knowledge of God, i.e., a knowledge of how God wishes to guide and direct the world. A knowledge of the nature of God is beyond the reaches of human investigation and not contained in Torah teachings.  

"Theology in its general meaning contains human thoughts about God...but the Torah contains God's thoughts about man and about human affairs." Scriptures instruct man how he should relate himself to all that surrounds him and how he ought to regulate his life with his fellow man.

To obtain this ethical message Hirsch observed nature with the sentiment of the Psalmist and beheld history with the eyes of the prophets. He studied the chapter of the creation not in order to compete with scientists in establishing facts about the physical history of our world, but in order to arrive at the moral implications of the creation account. He sees
the handiwork of God revealed in its manifold forms, its beauty and usefulness. He marvels at the sight of the "great throng of beings distinguished by peculiar construction and different purposes, yet united in one great harmonious system." He feels compelled to conclude that this wonderful harmony of manifold powers must be created and governed by the Harmonizer who causes them to pervade each other and influence each other in accordance with His will.

This relationship between creation and creator is described in numerous Biblical passages. Contrary to the pantheistic concept which sees God in nature and identifies him with nature, the Bible sees the will of God revealed in nature, He himself transcends nature, as its external cause and moral guide. All natural phenomena are His messengers carrying out faithfully their assigned tasks. The universe is seen as a huge organism made up of a multitude of beings which exist through mutual interdependence. The accent in His entire creation is on service, cooperation and assistance. Irresponsible acts would disrupt the harmonious operation of the universe and hinder the achievement of His purpose.

Among the manifold forms in the universal organism is man. He too must have his place and assignment in it. He too must contribute with his measure of force to the preservation of the All. "Or is it conceivable," Hirsch asks
the accuser of Jewish tradition from the hedonistic camp, "that man alone should only serve himself? Can he be born only to take, and to revel in plenty or to starve in misery without working?"

Indeed the position of man in the vast harmony of the universe is a unique one. While he is born, lives and dies like members of the animal kingdom, there is a special bond that connects him with the spirit of the Absolute. A spark of the divine spirit was planted in the human being, giving him knowledge and freedom. He was endowed with the capacity of comprehending himself as a creature of God and with the freedom to carry out his mission. Yet should, therefore, he alone be permitted to abuse his privilege and live only for himself? Should he disrupt "that glorious chain of giving and receiving" that unites all creatures and live only to take? No--the destiny of man, too, is revealed in Scriptures. It is to serve, to carry out his assignment. Man's position is unique inasmuch as "the law to which all powers submit unconsciously and involuntarily, to it shalt thou also subordinate thyself, but consciously and at thy own free will."22

The divine revelation calls upon man to comprehend the uniqueness of his position in the universe and to put himself freely into the service of the great Harmonizer of the cosmos. His insight into the true mission of mankind
should strengthen him to subdue the temptations of his sensual nature. With shame and with contempt must he cast away the ideals of silver and gold and particularly that ever-present word "pleasure." Yet his renunciation of sensuous enjoyment should by no means lead him to "indolent withdrawal from the active tasks of life." Hirsch does not see in the life of the hermit nor in that of the ascetic a fulfilment of man's mission. A study of the constitution of man, both physical and intellectual, clearly indicate that he was created for an active, vigorous life of inquiry, artistic creativeness, and intelligent action. Man should use all his powers and possessions but never should he see in their use an end in itself, they always must serve as means for carrying out the duties towards the maker of the universe. There is value in human internal ability and external possession only inasmuch as they serve for "truly human, God serving deeds."

The mission of mankind, thus comprehended, is attainable by all men in every time, with every equipment of powers and means, in every condition. Whoever in his time, with his equipment of powers and means, in his condition, fulfills the will of God toward the creatures who enter into his circle, who injures none and assists everyone according to his powers, to reach the goal marked out for it by God—he is a man.23

While man is thus capable of ennobling his powers and abilities by making them obedient tools for the will of God, he is also liable to lower himself by devoting his entire efforts
to the gratification of animal lust.

Hirsch accepted the narrative of Genesis not as a "myth" but as historical truth and sees in the "fall" of mankind in Eden the first failure in the human struggle for becoming "man." He sees in this event the prototype of all future sin and finds God revealing himself not only as judge but also as Father and Teacher. Adam had forfeited all claim to the right of existence on earth, nevertheless

God does not exact the incurred penalty of sin from His fallen child, but strives, with paternal love and forbearance to guide him to the right. Sorrows and hardship are the providential rods of correction to remind him forcibly that the material world is a gift of God which he may use in accordance with His will.

Man's freedom delays the attainment of his moral destiny. History becomes the path of man's education. Hirsch sees the beginning of history in the generation following Noah when "God no longer wills the destruction of humanity, but its education. By experience He desires to train mankind to the knowledge of themselves and of Him." To make this experience full and complete mankind was spread to diversified parts of the globe to be challenged by divergent environmental conditions to a development of all his capacities and faculties. In the early steps of human history men failed to recognize the supreme dominion of God over His creation. In merciless battles with nature and among themselves men struggled to obtain wealth and enjoyment. Not for
long, however, did any people hold on to the "summit of material greatness." Those who deemed themselves in possession of indestructible power crashed into destruction and hardly a trace of their existence was left to posterity. Thus, through studying Isaiah's prophecies on Israel and the nations, Hirsch arrives at his philosophy of history as well as at his philosophy of education. The inevitable tragic fate of once powerful nations recurs as long as nations permit the grave error of adhering to "the illusion that only mechanistic physical forces and laws were active in nature and history and because of that the victory over nature and one's rival must go to the shrewdest and strongest."

In order to eradicate this costly error from human consciousness and thereby to bring mankind closer to the goal of its historic pilgrimage a unique people was introduced to the scene of human history. The Hebrew tribes having advanced to nationhood through the receiving of the Torah at Sinai were to manifest through their history and life that "there is one God ruling nature and society, who has laid down the moral law as the first, nay only foundation of man's relation to nature and to fellow man, and who only grants His lasting blessing to man's rule over nature and human society at the price of voluntary submission to this moral law."26

Since the nations of the world in the trials and errors
of their experiences had failed to formulate good and just laws, the absolute law had to be handed down through revelation and the sons of Jacob were entrusted with the mission of living in it as an example to all mankind.

Israel was to realize in its national life the idea of harmonious cooperation between people finding happiness in serving each other as against the various political and social structures conceived by men and based on the desire to become master of the world by becoming more powerful and wealthier than rival groups. Hirsch admits that only for short intervals did the Jewish people fulfill this destiny of being a holy nation of priests. This historical fact, unfortunate as it is, did not affect in the least the ideas of Judaism. These are absolute, they were formulated by the creator of the universe and handed down in the Torah to the Jewish people as a goal to be realized. Since Judaism was not created by the Jewish people, a knowledge of it cannot be obtained through an empirical study of the cultural status of the Jewish people at any time of its history; although the results of such a study would indeed be of great significance not so much as a measure of Judaism but as a measure of the relationship existing at any time between Judaism and the Jewish people. The measure of proximity of the existing life of Jews to the absolute, revealed ideal indicates the degree
of success or failure in the education of the Jewish people towards their destiny. It determines Israel's historic fate. Ideally the Jewish people was chosen to fulfill its mission by representing a model life to mankind. Actually when the stiff-necked people refused to live up to the standards set for it, they were to serve in their suffering as an example and warning to all people. The form of Israel's mission changed again when through the destruction of its independent state life it was made apparent to the world that the observation of the moral law is a prerequisite for the peaceful life of nations. What was tolerated in the life of other nations could not be excused in Israel "for its special office was to preserve itself pure from all sin and perversity...."28

A new field for the fulfillment of Israel's mission was opened for it in the dispersion. Deprived of all material means that designate the greatness of a nation, Israel continued to exist through its fidelity to God and His law. While the chief purpose of Galuth (Diaspora) was improvement and correction, Israel showed through its survival as a people that men and nations do not live by power and force, but by their spirit. Hirsch looks upon Israel's past history in the Galuth as on "one vast altar, upon which it sacrificed all that men desire and love for the sake of acknowledging God and His law." But this way of carrying out Israel's task
through martyrdom and suffering must not continue forever. Hirsch recognized in his time a turning point in Jewish history and he welcomed a new era in which Israel would be permitted to fulfill its mission under more fortunate conditions. He was happy to see that the altars were ceasing to smoke and that in some lands "the scattered ones of Israel were tolerated, protected and accepted as citizens." Israel will now be able to follow the prophet's word and "attach itself closely to every state which has accepted its children in citizenship and seek to promote the welfare and the peace thereof." At the same time Israel will have the task to develop in the measure that the nations will permit, in peace and quietude, the full grandeur of the Israel-life.29

On the basis of his understanding of the past and with his eyes focused on ultimate future goals, Hirsch formulated the educational needs of the Jewish communities at his time, together with his attitude towards significant movements in the Jewish life of his time.
CHAPTER III

HIRSCH'S POSITION IN RESPECT TO EMANCIPATION, NATIONALISM AND REFORM

"I do not want to create a new Judaism but to try to grasp and present the basic ideas of the existing one."1

In these lines Hirsch defends himself against those who thought they could discern in his early activity some similarity with the position taken by the Reform movement. Hirsch was convinced that his efforts merely aimed at a rehabilitation of fundamental Judaism. He did not believe, however, that adherence to traditional Judaism would oblige him to accept without criticism the prevailing conditions in orthodox Jewry of his time. His was the time when interest in historical developments preoccupied the minds of German philosophers. According to Hegelian thinking the existing historical situation represented the unfolding of the absolute idea in the best possible form for that period. Consequently all educational effort had to be directed towards accepting obediently the existing situation. For Hirsch, however, history was not the scene of the unfolding of the absolute. The absolute idea had been fully unfolded already at the beginning of history. It was the human heart and mind that needed unfolding and development in history to become the
willing bearer of the absolute idea. History, therefore, was and is the scene of human education. To be sure, important changes are being brought forth through historical development. Yet it is not the absolute idea, nor its embodiment in Torah law that undergoes change, it is rather the relationship of man to the absolute law of life as well as to his natural environment that changes, and it is, therefore, the task of the faithful to work out the proper application of the absolute and eternal law to the newly evolving modes of human living.

Hirsch rebelled against the idea held by most of the contemporary old-time rabbis that in order to hold on to Jewish tradition one must oppose changes in the conditions of Jewish life. He did not consider Judaism as being bound to any particular form of political, social or economic organization. He saw behind historical evolution the hand of Providence summoning the faithful cooperation of humanity in guiding the world towards its destiny. The ultimate goal of Israel's mission remains constant for ever, yet with changing environmental conditions new forms for its realization must evolve. Hirsch has been called a legitimist revolutionary, because he realized that a new historical period was at hand, and did not deem it necessary to cling desperately to the outgoing mode of living in order to preserve Jewish tradition.
saw man's duty in cooperating with Providence to bring about a new and better era in human history. He had boundless confidence in the potency of Torah teachings to cope with changing situations and with courage and devotion did he work to make its light shine even brighter in this new era.

Hirsch shared wholeheartedly the optimism of the liberals of his time who greeted the commencement of an age of mildness and of justice. While he admired the strength of the Jewish spirit during the periods of persecution, he never idealized suffering as the only condition for the fulfillment of the Jewish mission in the Diaspora. He maintained that "in the centuries of hatred and scorn our mission was but imperfectly attainable" and he happily took up the challenge of a more liberal age to work for the full realization of the Jewish way of life.³

It is, therefore, understandable that Hirsch supported with enthusiasm the movement for Jewish emancipation. We already had occasion to mention his active part in the political struggle for emancipation of the Austrian Jews, when, in 1848, as Chief Rabbi of Moravia, he represented the Jewish community forcefully in its demand for equal rights. Long before that time he had taken his stand in favor of full emancipation and had given his attention to the possible conflicts which this new relationship between the Jew and his
gentile environment would create for the traditional Jew.

Hirsch asked the basic question: Is acceptance of citizenship in a gentile state compatible with fundamental Jewish teachings as given in the Bible and as interpreted by the Rabbis? Does that acceptance imply "a close union with that which is different and alien, and a severance of the ties that bind us to Israel's lot?" Hirsch's answer is a firm "No" and he finds support for his position in the advice given by the Prophet Jeremiah to his brethren in the Babylonian exile: to work actively for the welfare of the foreign city.4 Hirsch's conclusion is that "to be pushed back and restricted upon the path of life is not an essential condition of Galuth."5 On the contrary, he considers it the duty of every Jew to join himself as closely as possible to the state that receives him as a citizen, to promote its welfare, and not to consider his own well-being in any way distinct from that of the state to which he belongs.6

Hirsch welcomed emancipation because he saw in the improvement of the material and political conditions of Jewish life a forceful lever for raising the standard of Jewish spiritual life, and a means to the fulfillment of Israel's mission. This position was fully in line with his general conviction that none of the forces of nature, no material possessions nor worldly pleasures are intrinsically evil.
Instead of suppressing them in fear, man must rather rise to the challenge and develop them fully as useful means for the advancement of mankind to its ultimate goal.

He blessed emancipation because he saw in it the victory of the idea that all men were created equal and a step forward to greater justice on earth. He greeted in emancipation "the dawn of humanity in mankind as a preliminary step to the universal recognition of God as the only Lord and Father." While Hirsch saw in emancipation no inherent contradiction to any principle of Torah Judaism, he did see in the resulting prosperity and material abundance for Jews a greater temptation than in the life of suffering. While he considered it the duty of the individual and of the community to take full advantage of every alleviation and improvement in the conditions of life whenever possible, he solemnly warned his people not to look on emancipation "as the goal of its task, but rather only as a new condition of its mission, and as a new trial, much severer than the trial of oppression."

At this point it is appropriate to consider Hirsch's concept of the Jewish people in regard to nationalism. We must remember that Hirsch's concepts had crystallized long before the appearance of the Zionist form of Jewish nationalism. Yet Hirsch's teaching largely determined the attitude of his disciples towards Zionism in the following generations. Hirsch
consistently uses the terms "Jewish people" and "Jewish nation" in his writings. Although he saw the immediate future of Jewish life in close connection with the respective states in which the Jews lived, he does not conceive of Judaism only in terms of a religious faith. He shows no liking for those of his contemporaries who triumphantly declared the death of the Jewish nation and the elevation of Judaism to the refinement of a pure religious faith. For Hirsch the concept of Jewish nationhood had not changed since the days of King David. He maintained that ideally soil and land had never been the bounds of Israel's union. It was rather the Law which nourished and gave vitality to Jewish nationhood. The ideal form of life within Torah law, he admits, can be realized only in Israel's Holy Land. For the attainment of that end he hoped and prayed, yet he did not consider it permissible to rush divine providence by trying to accelerate the coming of the Messiah through practical steps. As long as the Almighty sees fit to keep Israel scattered among the nations, it will have to fulfill its mission under these conditions. Jewish nationalism, being conceived by Hirsch as of a purely spiritual nature, is thoroughly compatible with a life of the most intimate union with other states. Jewish nationalism does not require separation from the national life of its host people; rather it demands the realization of its ideals within
that national life. At the same time according to Jewish ideal any state must be regarded only as a means towards the fulfillment of the mission of mankind. The goal of a state should never be to gain superior material strength in order to dominate weaker peoples. Thus Hirsch asks his brethren to relate themselves closely to the life of their respective states and yet to retain their Jewish identity. In his vision he pictures the ideal of "every son of Israel a universally exemplary priest of righteousness and love, disseminating among the nations not specific Judaism, for proselytism is interdicted, but pure humanity."

Hirsch's strong stand for full Jewish participation in the national life of Germany did not diminish in the least his feelings of brotherhood with all of the Jewish people wherever they were. His warm appeals for aid to Russian Jewry in 1882 as well as his partially successful intervention through diplomatic channels in their favor remove any doubts on this point.

There is also evidence that Hirsch appealed for financial support for the settlers of Petach Tikvah. In a letter of recommendation dated March 6, 1883 to one of the founders of that colony Hirsch states that this undertaking, being founded on a sound economic and religious basis, deserves the full support of all friends of Jewish affairs.
Hirsch's attitude to the establishment of a modern national Jewish state in Palestine is expressed in his discussion of Isaiah's prophecies on the Messianic Age. At the end of days Hirsch sees Israel's future centered in Palestine. However, the Return to Zion will take place not for the sake of transplanting to the Jewish State the ways of political and social conduct practiced by the nations among which Jews lived, but rather to fully realize that way of life that was revealed to mankind in the Torah. Instead of bringing Europe's culture to Palestine, the true culture of mankind as embodied in the divine law should emanate from Palestine to the world.\(^{14}\)

It is of interest to note that the two diametrically opposed movements, Jewish nationalism in its secularized form, and Jewish religionism in its Protestant form, were vehemently rejected by Hirsch for the very same reasons. Both of these movements arrived at their opposing conclusions by applying a purely rational method to the interpretation of the Jewish past. Hirsch, therefore, declared their standpoint as being outside of Judaism and their goals antagonistic to the attainment of the Jewish mission. Jewish nationalism was at that time in a very early stage of development. The main target of his fiery speeches and articles was the Reform movement.

Hirsch saw in the efforts of Reform to reduce Judaism
to a religion a fatal blow to the very essence of Torah.

Hirsch distinguishes sharply between Torah Judaism and the cultural phenomena generally described by the term "religion." While religions are the product of man, Torah is the product of God. Religions are natural phenomena because they deal with man's conception of God and with His relationship to the world. The seeds of religions are to be found within the innermost experiences of the human mind and soul. Ever since men have been on earth religions have been created by them. Religions are one aspect of the culture of a society representing the reaction of the spiritual faculty of man to his environment. Just as human culture has developed and has a history so have human religions. The level of a religion is dependent on the general level of human culture; it cannot put up goals of a higher standard than those already attained by the members of the society that created it.\(^\text{15}\)

Torah, on the other hand, was presented to man from the outside through revelation; it presents absolute ideas and modes of conduct that are not subject to the process of natural evolution. Torah does not address itself to one segment of human life alone; it rather aims at shaping all aspects of human culture, by prescribing a total way of life. It presumes that man's natural thoughts and feelings are being generated by his ways of acting and by his experiences in his environment.\(^\text{16}\) Only good actions and good environmental conditions can produce good thoughts and feelings. By prescribing
a way of life the Torah, therefore, aims at creating those environmental conditions that will properly stimulate human faculties toward right thinking and feeling. We thus arrive at the focal point in Hirsch's understanding of Judaism—the centrality of observance of Mitzvot.

The Torah does not demand verbal profession of dogma. Verbal expressions of disbelief are very rarely punishable according to Torah law, just as hardly any obligations can be fulfilled by mere expression of abstract ideas. Declarations of faith merely reflect the momentary recognition of the human mind which is an unreliable instrument, constantly subject to fluctuations and change. Absolute truths cannot be entrusted to the vagaries of the human mind alone. They rather have been embodied in institutions of human conduct. For instance, by observing the laws prohibiting work on the Sabbath, the Jew does not express his subjective personal views regarding the creation of the world; rather, he upholds through his symbolic observances a revealed truth which became manifest through divine language in the Sabbath institution. These legal institutions are permanent monuments of the revealed truth and not subject to the transient states of the human mind. They are capable of surviving periods of duress during which their language might have become obscured. Even during such periods when observed mechanically only,
without stimulating the intellect and appealing to emotions, the substance of the eternal truth is being preserved for a brighter day when a new generation will be able to revive the spirit embodied in that law and decode anew its symbolic language.17

Hirsch clearly sensed that divorcing Judaism from the numerous observances that penetrate all phases of human life spelled the death of Judaism. Yet exactly this was the professed goal of the Reform movement. A unique pattern of life for the Jewish group was no longer considered as being in conformity with the spirit of the time. Judaism, brought up-to-date, was to be confined to special holy places of worship, where at not too frequent times the German Jew was to pay homage to his Lord in all the dignity and decorum that was appropriate to such special occasions of devotion. Here Reform saw the challenge to German Jews, to show that they respect and sanctify their God as much as their Christian brothers do, by erecting beautiful houses of worship and conducting in them their ritual (Kultus) in aesthetic and artistic forms that would impress even a Gentile visitor.

Just as Hirsch had opposed the general concepts of religion and of theology as alien to the spirit of Torah, he deplored the new emphasis on Kultus as entirely foreign to the Jewish idea of serving God. According to the spirit of
Torah, to worship God means to follow his ordinances in all walks of life during all hours of the day. Holiness should not be restricted to special places and certain times, it should rather permeate all human activities. The house of prayer never took the central place in Jewish life; the house of study was its superior in degree of holiness. Jewish piety was never measured by the sacrifices in wealth brought for the building of God's house, but rather by the way Jews built their own homes, conducted their family and business life, and educated their children. The synagogue, instead of being merely a place for paying homage to God, ought to be a place for the education of the Jew and for his spiritual elevation. There, through prayer and readings from Scripture, the Jew ought to prepare himself for his mission and to consecrate himself to the service of God in every activity of his life.16

It was with sadness that Hirsch observed a tendency, whenever loyalty to the inner Jewish life had weakened, to lavish great attention upon the externals of the synagogue—whether structural or ceremonial—with a view to enhancing their aesthetic effect. Hirsch himself certainly introduced various practices into his own synagogue in order to improve the decorum and dignity of the service. But, he emphasized, these innovations, sanctioned by Torah law, were intended to intensify, not to substitute for, devotion to the letter and spirit of the Law.
CHAPTER IV

THE SCENE OF HIS EDUCATIONAL WORK

The Jewish community of Frankfurt was the scene of Hirsch's full unfolding as an educator. We have become acquainted in the previous chapters with the growth of the young Hirsch and with the basic views he held when in his young manhood he started his rabbinical career. These were the things that Hirsch brought to Frankfurt. We now must turn to the realities that Frankfurt presented to him. For only on the basis of a thorough familiarity with both of these aspects will it be possible to understand and evaluate the specific features of his educational theory, his practical educational steps, his successes and failures. What, then, were the conditions in Frankfurt that proved so fertile a field for Hirsch's efforts and devotion?

In trying to assess the status of a community at any given date, we must of necessity look back at least into its recent past. Memories of past experiences determine the character of a community and form its attitudes towards present issues.

For many generations Frankfurt had been the acknowledged center of Torah study in Germany, and renowned rabbis headed the Frankfurt Kehillah. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the celebrated author of נשים רוא Rabbi Pinchas Horowitz,
headed the Yeshiva of Frankfurt, and students came from afar to study at this center of Torah learning.¹ Until the year 1808, the Jewish community had been allowed complete autonomy in its internal affairs, and the then new liberal tendencies were not permitted to make any inroads on the firmly established patterns of strictly traditional Jewish community life.² Privately, however, many Frankfurt Jews came under the influence of modern educational tendencies. Since 1760 there was a steady increase of those who sought for their children private tutoring in secular studies. In most cases, those who did acquire a secular education ceased to remain loyal to Jewish traditions and observances, so that secular studies were suspected of gradually leading to the desertion of the Jewish way of life. Nevertheless, private tutoring in languages and arithmetic was tolerated, and was widely employed among those who could afford it. However, the formation of a Jewish school offering such instruction in addition to the traditional Jewish curriculum was strongly opposed by the rabbinate and the leaders of the community. It is interesting to note that in 1793, only six decades before Hirsch opened his Realschule, the chief rabbi of Frankfurt used his strongest weapon, the Ḥerem, to deter those who would have sent their children to a projected school of this type. When the Senate of Frankfurt demanded the withdrawal of the ban, a long legal battle ensued
concerning the constitutionality of their action.3

Jewish life in Frankfurt thereafter underwent a radical transformation. The various political reorganizations under Napoleon brought an end to the independence of the Jewish community. The power of the Rabbinate did not return even after the fall of Napoleon, for it had lost the respect in which it had been formerly held. The Rabbi was compelled to recognize the Board of Management of the Gemeinde as his superior authority even in religious matters. The liberal laymen who gained the power in the management of the Frankfurt Jewish community were resolved to destroy the spirit of Talmudic Judaism. The study of Talmud they deemed an obstruction to the advancement of German Jewry. When in 1818 a wealthy Frankfurt Jew contributed 50,000 guilders towards the founding of an additional school for the teaching of Talmud and related subjects, the plan was defeated. The faithful few who continued the study of Talmud notwithstanding the new regulations were persecuted. The police were called upon to ferret out teachers and pupils who met in secret for the study of Talmud, and such teachers were excluded from the city. It thus became increasingly difficult for the orthodox minority to maintain the pattern of traditional life within the Frankfurt Jewish community. Paid officials took over the functions of the Hevrah Kaddisha after it had been dissolved. The community
ceased to care for the ritual bath, and it fell into decay.4

Finally, in 1843, the Board elected a Reform rabbi, Leopold Stein, to assist the incumbent Rabbi Solomon Trier, who had reached the age of eighty-seven. Rabbi Trier was asked to accept his new colleague or resign. He resigned and refused to accept the pension offered to him. It is of significance that this bold action of the Board was taken over the objections of the wealthy and influential Rothschilds, who consequently withdrew an endowment given to the community for the building of a synagogue. A last attempt to preserve the unity of the Jewish community was made in 1848 during the time of general political upheaval. A new constitution was to be worked out, and in the Constituent Assembly, called to reorganize the community, one third of the members were strictly observant. However, the majority was not ready to make any concessions to the orthodox minority, which saw no other way but to form a separate congregation.

In 1849 eleven members of the Frankfurt community, tired of religious oppression, petitioned the Frankfurt Senate for the establishment of a new Jewish communal organization. This was granted, with the provision, however, that the members of the new religious association continue to pay their religious-community tax to the official Jewish community for theirs was not to be a new community (Gemeinde),
but a religious association (Religionsgesellschaft). When this new association had increased its membership to about a hundred, they began searching for a rabbi, and soon approached the Landrabbiner of Moravia, Samson Raphael Hirsch, who saw in this call an opportunity to fulfill his lifelong ambition.5

As Landrabbiner in Oldenburg, Hirsch had been highly respected and honored, yet the prevailing indifference about Jewish matters disturbed him greatly. At this time, the publication of his Nineteen Letters, and of his volume entitled Horev brought him fame and admiration among a small group of intellectuals. However, it was his ambition to bring his message to the masses of his people and to shape Jewish community life in accordance with his ideals. This he had hoped to accomplish when he entered upon the office of Landrabbiner of Moravia and Silesia. But there again, while honor and respect were accorded him, neither of the two radically opposed factions in the community was prepared to accept Hirsch's new approach to Jewish education.6

Hirsch met in the founders of the Religionsgesellschaft a group of determined laymen who in their struggle with the Frankfurt community had proven their deep loyalty to Jewish tradition, and a fighting spirit to preserve it. They found in Hirsch an inspiring leader and teacher who had been waiting to fill just such a challenging position.
Hirsch had distinct ideas both about his goals and about the means to achieve them. He did not lose much time in implementing his course of action. He came to Frankfurt in August, 1851. Only a few weeks later he addressed a letter to the board of directors of the Religionsgesellschaft, calling their attention to the status of the Jewish education of the youth. In this letter he suggests that the only effective way of dealing with the existing problem is to establish an educational institution with a full program of instruction in all branches of Jewish and secular learning. Until this plan materialized, he would offer a number of weekly courses directed to the youth of the community.

For the boys advanced in Hebrew he suggested a few weekly lessons "about what our Holy Scriptures contain about Torah and Mitzvot (Instructions and Duties) to be practised in their daily life."

A parallel course was planned for the girls. To the young adults he proposed lecturing, several times each week, about the Books of the Bible, "since the divine spirit contained in the Bible is the only light and guide in all fields of study and of life."

In the same letter, he also asked for the privilege of supervising and guiding the already existing Hebrew instruction, which lacked a systematic approach.
This letter was followed up, only ten months later in July, 1852, by a second letter in which Hirsch proposed to the board of directors the foundation of a school in which elements of religious living and of general social and civic education should be cultivated with equal care and sincerity. In response to this letter, the board appointed a special committee which was entrusted with doing the groundwork for the foundation of the school. In April, 1853, the school was opened. During these few months the consent of the Frankfurt Senate had been obtained, a building for the school had been bought, and eighty-four students had been recruited for this new enterprise.

In the meantime, Hirsch's efforts on behalf of his school were being greeted with skepticism, as well as with outspoken criticism, from among the "Traditionalists," as well as the "Reformers." Only sixty years had elapsed, it will be recalled, since the Rabbi of Frankfurt had pronounced a Herem against a similar school, and neither side had forgotten the incident. Hirsch, therefore, had to convince the one camp that he was not encroaching on the supremacy of Torah, and the other, that he was sincere in his desire to spread general culture. He used his great polemical prowess to dispel the notion of an opposition between religious life and worldly affairs, which, he declare, had no basis in Jewish
teachings. He reminded his contemporaries that at various favorable periods in Jewish history, before ghetto walls forcibly restricted their activities, Jews had been deeply involved in the intellectual life of their neighbors while concurrently living a full, creative religious life.11

Turning first to those of the younger generation who, under the influence of various exponents of modern thought and culture, had absorbed anti-religious prejudices, Hirsch suggested that their attitude showed a lack of discernment. Judaism, he maintained, is unique; it cannot be classed with other religions. Other religions are more or less insulated from the ordinary activities of life. Judaism, to the contrary, permeates and refines the totality of human existence.

As for the traditionalists who feared the inroads of modern education, Hirsch admitted that they were to some extent justified. Many Jewish youths had indeed been led away from the study and observance of the Law. Nevertheless, Hirsch pointed out, the old rabbis were unable to fully comprehend the situation. Due to prevailing political and social conditions, they could not familiarize themselves with and properly appraise, the values to be found in general culture.12

The views, novel at the time, set forth by Hirsch in his estimate of this conflict aroused objections in both camps. Nevertheless, he made rapid progress in the implementation
of his educational ideas, an achievement that speaks eloquently for the convincing power of his personality, for his fervor and persistence.

One of Hirsch's admirers and supporters was Baron Wilhelm Carl von Rothschild, whose loyal support was naturally of great help in the financial struggles of the young Religionsgesellschaft. The head of the Frankfurt branch of the Rothschild family, Baron Anselm von Rothschild, was also very helpful. He contributed generously for the building of the synagogue, which was dedicated two years after Hirsch's arrival in Frankfurt.

It is noteworthy that the school was opened several months before the synagogue was consecrated. Certainly Hirsch did not undervalue the synagogue; the pulpit could be a most effective means of adult education, and Hirsch was, by all accounts, a masterful preacher. It was his deep conviction, however, that the foundations of Jewish life rest in the Jewish school.
CHAPTER V

THE SCHOOL

In its letter to the High Senate of the city of Frankfurt, the Board of the Congregation (obviously through the Rabbi) stresses the vital importance of the opening of a school for the life of the congregation. The school is described as the raison d'être of the congregation; all of its members are said to be convinced that their entire endeavor can hope for fruition only if they succeed in the educational process of their youth to transmit the high religious principles in an undimmed fashion. These principles are explained to the High Senate as the cultivation of the genuine spirit of the faith of our Fathers, together with the genuine spirit of all true culture and their realization in life. It is also stated that the High Senate is surely aware of the fact that none of the existing schools satisfy these goals.¹ This last point was of significance since it was aimed at the Philanthropin, a Jewish school established as early as 1804 under the auspices of the Frankfurt Gemeinde.

The founders of the Philanthropin were under the influence of an educational movement that originated with the founding of Basedow's school in Dessau.² The object of this philanthropinistic movement was to make room—in opposition
to the antiquated classical studies of the old grammar school—
for an education which prepared for real life in the growing
commercial middle class. This was likewise the objective of
the movement for Realschule of the same time. The Philanthropin,
however, added an emphasis on education in accordance with
human nature, thus preserving a tinge of Rousseau's ideas.
It emphasized the use of playful activities in trying to make
the learning process a satisfying, happy experience leading
to utilitarian goals. The Frankfurt Jewish Philanthropin
followed the liberal approach to Jewish religion of the Reform
movement. Its leaders opposed violently the opening of Hirsch's
Realschule as a reactionary step.

The falsity of the charge of reaction is evidenced
in the detailed plan for his school (Schulplan) which Hirsch
presented to the Senate of the city. The following is an
approximate translation of that plan which included goals
in terms of general objectives and in terms of subject
matter:

Plan for a Jewish Bürgerschule (school for citizens) with
One Preparatory and Four School Classes

The purpose of the institution that is to be established
is to fully provide for our youth of both sexes the instruc-
tion that they need for their future vocation (Beruf) as men,
Jews, and citizens.

The institution will, therefore, include in its courses
all fields of learning and teach with equal care and sinceri-
ty both the scientific and the religious branches.
The school will be based on the ancient principle sanctioned by Judaism that social life and knowledge and religious life and knowledge are not mutually exclusive but rather necessitate, complement and accomplish each other, and only through their most thorough interaction can happiness on earth be attained. Social knowledge and life find their foundation and sanctification only in the religious and the religious its corroboration and realization in the social.

Culture without nihilism, religion without fanaticism, that is the school's motto. Its task is to educate cultured Jews and Jewesses as Jewishly religious citizens of the state. Its soil is the entire scope of genuinely and truly humane culture and the genuine and uncurtailed Faith of the Fathers. Its most sincere concern is to win over human reason for truth, the heart for fear of God, as well as to give full attention to the development and training for proficiency of all forces and capacities of the individual for dutiful performances in vocation and trade.

For this purpose the school takes in both boys and girls that reach school age (i.e., the age of five) and graduates them at the age of fourteen. The selection of subjects in social and civil instruction is determined on one hand by what is necessary for general human culture and on the other hand by what is required for preparing the students for a future trade or profession. The social curriculum of the school will therefore comprise the following:

a) **German language.**

1. Speech and exercise in thinking leading to free expression and oral recitation.

2. Grammar leading to correct, literal style, expressing the individual's personality.

3. Reading of prose and poetry of average difficulty with comprehension without assistance.

b) **Natural and social sciences (Weltkunde).**

1. Natural history with popular anthropology.

2. Natural science and technology.


4. World history.
c) Mathematics.

1. Arithmetic, with special consideration for commercial needs.

2. Geometry, algebra.

d) Writing, with special consideration for commercial needs.

e) French leading to comprehension of prose and poetry of medium difficulty, conversation, style.

f) English leading to comprehension of prose and poetry of medium difficulty, conversation, style.

g) Drawing.

h) Singing.

Two considerations determine the religious instruction. The one is to transmit to all of the young generation knowledge of our religious literature and of our religious law to the extent that it should be common possession of all Jews. The second is to equip through this instruction the gifted ones with the ability to advance themselves in the field of Jewish science to the highest level. Not all of our children must become theologians; however, none should remain ignorant in the field of religion, all should obtain that knowledge that is seemly to a good Jew and the acquisition of which is a primary religious duty; all should be guided to the source and should be prepared to draw by themselves religious truth from the well of the divine word throughout their lifetime. Therefore, the religious instruction will comprise:

a) Hebrew language.

1. Reading the script with and without vowels.


3. Hebrew literature—preparing for unassisted reading of the Hebrew Bible and other popular religious books such as the Talmud, for bright students.
b) **Religious instruction.**

   1. Knowledge of religious faith and duties.

c) **Biblical History.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Detailed Plan of Instruction for Each Class</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preparatory Class (two divisions)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Speech and Thought Process - all grades</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exercise of the speech organs, of thinking capacity and of expression through correctly naming the concrete objects and phenomena that make up the world of the little ones. Training in correct comprehension of the word concepts and judgment that are used in dealing with children through utilization of material given in the primer. Memorization of short tales and poems.</td>
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<td><strong>Grade IV</strong></td>
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<td>Exercise in speech &amp; thought for accurate understanding &amp; expressing of abstract relationships between objects. Training towards concluding correct ethical judgment on the basis of ideas gained through instruction. Memorizing longer poems and selected pieces of prose.</td>
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<td><strong>Grade III</strong></td>
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<td>Exercise in thinking &amp; expressing through small written compositions matters taught in class. Guidance in free &amp; correct oral recitation. Story telling, conversation, memorization &amp; recitation of longer poems with selections from prose.</td>
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<td><strong>Grade II</strong></td>
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<td>Continued &amp; expanded exercise in the powers of thought perception &amp; emotion, &amp; of their corresponding expression in form of compositions, stories &amp; letters, both original and thru imitation. Memorization &amp; recitation of own creations as well as of selected poetry &amp; prose. Continued exercise in free oral expression.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Grade I</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Continuation of the work previously mentioned and guidance in the use commercial expressions and style.</td>
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**Fundamentals of Reading**

Hebrew & German are begun the same year. Spelling & recognition of syllables are taught in accordance with the phonetic method.

- German-up to fluent reading of sentences, reading different types of script, reading handwritten material, spelling exercise, oral and written.

Hebrew-fluent reading
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<th>Table 1--Continued</th>
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<td><strong>Preparatory Class</strong></td>
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<td><strong>LITERATURE</strong> - all grades</td>
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<td>German: Primer &amp; first reader</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>German: Reading exercise from the book used in reading class.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Hebrew: Pentateuch 3 &amp; 4 book &amp; reviewing of 1 &amp; 2.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hebrew: Pentateuch 5th Bk; reviewing of Bks 3 &amp; 4.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hebrew: Pentateuch. Selections from Rashi Samuel, Kings, Psalms.</td>
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<td><strong>ARITHMETIC</strong> - all grades</td>
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<td>Counting, enumerating</td>
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<td>Oral arithmetic, simple addition &amp; subtraction</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Fractions, decimals</td>
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<td>Commercial arithmetic Regel de Tri, Kettermann</td>
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<td>Commercial arithmetic Regel de Tri, Kettermann</td>
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<td>German &amp; Hebrew alphabet</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>German, Hebrew, French writing according to regulations. Also home assignments in penmanship</td>
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<td>Penmanship, artistic writing Frakturschrift</td>
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<td>Penmanship, artistic writing Frakturschrift</td>
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<td>Preparatory Class (two divisions)</td>
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<td>NATURE STUDY: Stories about natural history in connection with reading.</td>
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<td>GEOGRAPHY: Elementary concepts; general knowledge about continents, mountains, seas, rivers, countries &amp; capitals</td>
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<td>HISTORY: Historical stories &amp; important chronological data in connection with reading</td>
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**TABLE 1—Continued**

- **DRAWING:**
  - Grade IV: 2
  - Grade III: 2
  - Grade II: 2
  - Grade I: 1
- **NATURE STUDY:**
  - Stories about natural history in connection with reading.
  - Grade IV: 2
  - Grade III: 2
  - Grade II: 2
  - Grade I: 1
- **GEOGRAPHY:**
  - Complete study of five continents
  - Grade IV: 2
  - Grade III: 2
  - Grade II: 2
  - Grade I: 2
- **HISTORY:**
  - Ancient history & Jewish history up to Babylonian exile.
  - Geography of Palestine.
  - Grade IV: 2
  - Grade III: 2
  - Grade II: 2
  - Grade I: 2
- **FRENCH:**
  - Grade IV: 3
  - Grade III: 3
  - Grade II: 3
  - Grade I: 3
- **ENGLISH:**
  - Grade IV: 3
  - Grade III: 3
  - Grade II: 3
  - Grade I: 3
- **SINGING:**
  - Grade IV: 1
  - Grade III: 1
  - Grade II: 1
  - Grade I: 1

**Notes:**
- Completion of nature studies with astronomy & anthropology, both presented in popular form.
- Technology.
- Detailed geography of Germany & review.
- Modern history & review of ancient history & Middle Ages.
TABLE 1--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preparatory Class (two divisions)</th>
<th>Hrs</th>
<th>Grade IV</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>GRAMMAR</strong></td>
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<td>German grammar: exercise in the linguistic feeling, in correct use of inflections, of article, noun &amp; adjective &amp; of the simple changes in the noun.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Grade</td>
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<td>Hebrew: first elements about noun, adjective &amp; verb &amp; of their simple connections. Short exercises in oral translation, memorization of vocabulary.</td>
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| RELIGION: Bible stories & their moral implications, using passages from the original text. | 2   | Grade II | 2   | Grade I   | 2   | Grade | 1   | Grade | 1   |
|                                                                                   | 2   |          | 2   |           | 2   |        | 2   |        | 2   |

Both the exercises in thinking and the study of religion should become the integrating agents for the total instruction and should mould it into one of vivid reality. While the former supplies the manifold thought materials of the class work for coherent and independent treatment, the latter should collect it under the focus of all inner life, under the spirit of religious consciousness and correct it, purify it, dignify and complete it with the light of divine teachings.

For girls essentially the same plan will be used as indicated in Table 1. There will be for the girls appropriate limitations in certain Hebrew subjects. Handicraft will be added, (needlework). The preparatory classes and class IV will be co-educational. Some of the Hebrew reading time will be given over to needlework.
CHAPTER VI

HIRSCH'S THEORY OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Hirsch based his theory of Jewish education on his historical perspective. The new era that had opened in the history of the Jewish people gave a new form to Israel's mission. New educational ways were necessary to fulfill this mission under the new circumstances. After the dark centuries in which Israel had to live in isolation and fulfill its mission through martyrdom, it was now in the new era going to live in close association with all the people in the modern states. Israel should now "attach itself closely to every state which had accepted its children through citizenship, and should seek to promote the welfare and the peace thereof." At the same time the Israel mission is to "develop in peace and quietude all the grandeur of the Israel life."¹

The first part of this new task required a well-rounded education for citizenship—a goal readily accepted by the large majority of German Jews. What were the implications of the second part? How were Jews to develop the grandeur of the Israel life as full-fledged citizens of their states? Did Hirsch believe like the Reformers that this new era brought an end to all national aspirations of the Jewish people and the "grandeur of the Israel life" would have to
be developed within the confines of the synagogue? His answer to this last question is a definite "No." He does not maintain that loyalty to the German State required of the Jewish citizen the exclusive acceptance of the German national culture. He actually believed in cultural pluralism within the German state. Hirsch asserts that uniformity is the handmaid of stagnation and that true progress comes always through the free interchange of a multiplicity of ideas. This was not a popular point of view in nineteenth century Germany. It was close to political heresy.

In their struggle for a united Germany the Germans saw in a uniform German culture and spirit the binding cement for their national state. Being foreign and different was identical with being inferior and dangerous to German national aspirations. It could not be conceived how the "superior" German culture could possibly benefit by permitting a strange national group to cultivate their unique values among the German people. There was, however, much concern on the part of the Germans in the homeland for the cultural loyalty of the large number of German nationals who had settled in foreign lands. It was taken for granted that the cultivation of Deutschtum in foreign lands would raise the cultural level there. Hirsch dared to suggest that the same would be true for the cultivation of Judaism by the Jewish group in Germany.
Specifically he compared the position of the Jewish citizens of Germany to that of the Germans in the United States of America who were known to consider themselves wholeheartedly sons of their new homeland although they attempted to remain loyal to German language, character and spirit.

Discussing the educational problems of national minority groups, Hirsch warns not to rely on easy superficial educational means for the perpetuation of cultural values. Neither acquainting their children with the names of national heroes nor the reading of a few literary selections translated into the language of the new homeland will suffice. They must thoroughly study the language of their forefathers in order to read its literature in the original. "Only in the original vigorous words in which thoughts had been stated, in which feelings were expressed, can mind kindle intellect, can heart warm heart." 4

Hirsch threw all his vigor into this battle for the preservation of the Jewish culture among German Jews. His motto in this campaign was Torah im Derekh Erez, which was inscribed on the banner of the Realschule. This phrase was taken from the verse in the Ethics of the Fathers: א"ת ('א"ת) יפל ר"פ וברל יאש תלמוד תורא im Derekh Erez.5 Hirsch defines the words Derekh Erez in his commentary on the prayer book as follows:
Derekh Erez embraces everything which is conditioned by the fact that man has to cope with his existence upon earth, his destiny and his common life with others, and has to achieve this by the earthly means at his disposal. Hence it signifies especially the means of subsistence and of a respectable conduct of life, as well as everything connected with general human and civil education.  

This principle found its concrete application in the curriculum of the school where social, scientific and religious studies were included as elements deserving equally serious cultivation. Jewish schools for the dissemination of general knowledge and German culture among Jewish children had been the goal of Jews and gentiles who were interested in bringing about Jewish emancipation since 1778 when the Berlin Freischule was established. In this respect Hirsch made no original contribution. Even in orthodox circles the necessity to equip Jewish children with knowledge and skills had already been realized at the time of Hirsch’s grandfather, who as we have noted, was instrumental in establishing the Hamburg Talmud Torah. Hirsch’s revolutionary innovation in Jewish educational thinking consisted rather in his new evaluation of secular studies, in the fact that he considered them an integral part of an educational program which aimed at the preservation of the supremacy of the Torah in Jewish life.

He clearly understood that there was close kinship between values in both domains and he was confident that through
a proper approach secular and religious education would enrich each other. The thought that his school was only reluctantly yielding to the pressure of the outside world in inviting general studies aroused his deepest indignation. He was very emphatic in asserting that he was not making a concession to the general trend of his time by diverting time and effort from the study of Torah.

As a concession, it would be an educational crime. We rather cultivate general knowledge with the same devotion and sacred obligation with which we study Torah. It is an educational principle to give absolute parity to both elements. 'Nur was im Boden der Uebersonzung wurzelt wird mit Begeisterung ergriffen, das Kind des Kompromisses wird immer nur einer Pflege stiefmuetterlicher Berechnung gewaertig sein duerfen.'

Hirsch felt that his school could gladly open its door to all sources of true culture. Judaism is not a particularistic religion. It is interested in truth whatever its source may be. Real wisdom is respected whether it resides in a Jewish or in a Gentile mind. Jews are not taught to be jealous of genuine advances made by its daughter religions. The ultimate goal is a perfect world, every progress in this direction from any quarter brings closer the goal of Judaism.

Neither is there any hostility in Jewish teachings towards the rational scientific method. Judaism rather teaches that truth as well as its Source are one, no separation between the truth of faith, and the truth of reason is compatible with Jewish thinking. The Jewish religion, unlike others, does
not demand the subordination of reason to faith. Conversely, the important tenets of Jewish teaching challenge the human reason to fully comprehend them. As to the basic Jewish metaphysical dogmas about the existence of God and his guidance of human destiny and history, their acceptance does not require abandonment of human reasoning. They are firmly based on great natural experiences for which eloquent testimony is given by the historical existence of the Jewish people.\textsuperscript{10}

The so-called miracles appear, in Hirsch's view, as rational consequences of the divine purpose of educating the people. They demonstrated before the unaided human eye, in simple human terms (\textit{פֶּסַח וַיַּעַן הָעֹלָם}), the existence of the creator and sustainer of the universe who also actively participates in the shaping of human history in accordance with the divine goal. Thus conceived, miracles had a historical and significant role to play in the education of mankind, and therefore should in no way preclude an objective approach to the natural sciences.

In regard to the controversy that raged at the time in Christian circles about Biblical statements that conflict with the findings of physical science, Hirsch states the Jewish view that the Bible was never regarded as a code of physical, hardly even of metaphysical, dogma. Its teachings contain laws to guide human behavior for a better social and ethical
life. The few metaphysical principles of Judaism by no means prejudice scientific research; on the contrary, Hirsch sees in them a motivating power for human research—\textquotesleft\textquotesingle a basis for a philosophy of science. The scientist who endeavors to disclose the secrets of nature approaches his work with the assumption that there must be a definite order, a system according to which nature works. He assumes that ideas become manifest in nature; consequently he must assume the existence of Him who put his ideas into nature.$^{11}$

Far from objecting to the inclusion of secular studies within his curriculum, Hirsch in fact could not see the development of a flourishing Jewish life without it. He was fully aware of the need to devote much time in his school to subjects that would prepare the students for participation in the economic life of Germany. This requirement, dictated as it was even by practical considerations, was elevated by the teachings of Judaism to the status of a moral and religious obligation. The fulfillment of the Tanaitic rule that the father must teach his son a trade$^{12}$ ( ) required in nineteenth century Germany quite an extensive training program, including modern languages, commercial subjects, and science. Hirsch did not hesitate to provide these facilities in his Realschule and in doing so he knew that he was complying with Jewish teaching. At the same time, he
warned against undue extension of this practical trend. He recognized in the widespread doctrine of utilitarianism among educators a great danger to all of German education.¹³

The scope of Derekh Erez as interpreted in Hirsch's educational principle goes beyond the confines of matters necessary for man's material existence upon earth. There is a moral and ethical existence destined by the creator without which human life would be without a purpose. Both peoples and individuals have a mission to fulfill during their stay on earth; namely, to help in some measure to bring human life closer to its moral goal. This mission is to be accomplished in society within the framework of contemporaneous social, economic, political, and cultural conditions, that is to say in Hirsch's words: in relation to the Derekh Erez of the period. The intensive study of the Derekh Erez of one's period and of its evolution becomes, accordingly, an essential prerequisite to the Jew if he is to successfully fulfill his mission as man, as Jew, and as a citizen of his state. Particularly in Hirsch's time—a period during which the Jew was being newly admitted into fields of endeavor from which he had been excluded for centuries—was it a matter of prime importance to thoroughly acquaint the Jewish youth with the complex forms of their environment.¹⁴

The attempt to realize the principle of Torah im
Derekh Erez in the curriculum obviously made the task of the school a more difficult one. The German Realschule was dedicating the entire school day to the achievement of its goals. Both the law of the land and practical considerations made it necessary for Hirsch's school to meet the standard scholastic requirements in full; and to these were to be added courses of specifically Jewish content.

There were many who considered Hirsch's plan to introduce the child simultaneously into two cultures an impracticable and visionary conception. Hirsch deemed theirs to be a superficial judgment. By means of a searching examination of the essential components of general education and of Jewish education, he demonstrated that in reality the two had much in common, both in respect to general purposes and to specific content.15

As to the general purpose and aims of education, Hirsch's presentation bears much resemblance to the formation idea of Herbart.16 To Hirsch education is a process of formation through the encouragement and inhibition of various natural capacities, tendencies, and desires in such a way that the human being so developed will be fit to carry out the divine purposes on earth. No human potentiality is beyond the formative influence of the educator. The total human being, his physical, mental, and emotional faculties, must be purposefully shaped in order
to form *homo sapiens* into Man.\textsuperscript{17}

To achieve this aim of general education, schools must welcome everything that makes reflective thinking enjoyable, everything that trains the mind and "its messengers, the senses, in perception, comprehension, differentiation, combination, conclusion, and judgment." Through such exercises the nobler qualities of man must be reinforced, cultivated and guided, so that, through his mental and ethical consciousness (*geistiges und zittliches Bewusstsein*), he will know his place in his physical and social environment, and recognize the task that he is expected to fulfill. Hirsch sees in this education, in the training of human faculties for the sake of creating a better ethical personality, the main goal of education. He deplored the shift to the practical in the curriculum, which threatened to obscure the essentials of formative education, and called upon all schools to counteract this one-sided trend that endangered man's welfare.

Nevertheless, Hirsch himself founded a *Realschule*. Generally the German *Realschule* was intended to meet the educational needs of the middle class which had gained importance in the growing German cities. Its course of studies transcended the scope of the ordinary primary school, not in the direction of classical and university education, but in the preparation of the students for the actual needs of...
modern life. Most of the members of Hirsch's community wished to prepare their children for a career in the urban trading class, and a Realschule fitted best their practical needs.\(^{18}\)

It was Hirsch's conviction, however, that his own Realschule differed from the ordinary Realschule most significantly, for in addition to the usual practical courses his school was most fortunate to possess, in its Jewish studies, (disciplines that are for most persons useless for bread-winning purposes) a suitable means of strengthening the otherwise neglected faculties of thinking and feeling. For he believed the selfsame educational values that the German Gymnasium hoped to cultivate through Latin and Greek had been successfully imparted and achieved in the schools of Jewish classical studies for many centuries. This tradition of Jewish learning Hirsch intended to continue in his school and thereby realize the primary goal of all good education.\(^{19}\)

In similar manner, Hirsch sought to analyze and evaluate the second level of interaction and kinship between general and Jewish studies, namely, that of their specific content.

Hirsch was a firm believer in formal discipline and transfer of training,\(^{20}\) that is to say, he subscribed to the notion that the human mind is endowed with certain distinct and independent faculties such as observation, recollection,
willing, and thinking, which are capable of being strengthened through exercise. These pre-existing powers, although strengthened through exercise in specialized subject matter, are nevertheless applicable to other, even unrelated, subject matter, thus resulting in a transfer of training.

In accordance with this view of formal discipline, Hirsch saw in the study of Hebrew an excellent exercise for the power of thinking and perceiving, quite apart from its specifically Jewish import. Precisely because the ancient Hebrew idiom was quite difficult for German-speaking children to master, Hirsch considered it to be a more useful discipline than the study of easier foreign languages. Since Hebrew is a highly inflected language, its comprehension requires quick perception of the basic meaning of the root, and skill in differentiating between its many different variations of form.21

The value of Hebrew language study for training the faculty of thinking will be greatly increased, according to Hirsch, if the Hebrew word and idiom be studied and analyzed according to his etymological interpretations. He sees in the very Hebrew word and language a revelation. It is a vehicle of divine thought and reveals Jewish philosophical precepts. Hirsch says, "In no other language, at least in no other language accessible to the youth, is the work of the
speech-creating idea recognizable in the form of the word as it is in the Hebrew." ("Vielleicht in keiner, jedenfalls in keiner sonst der Jugend zugaenglichen Sprache, ist so wie im Hebraeischen die Arbeit des Sprachschaffenden Gedankens in den Worten noch sichtbar.")21 The Hebrew word does not merely signify an object; it expresses the characteristically Jewish concept of that object. For instance, the Hebrew word for man, הָאָדָם, derived, according to Hirsch, from אָדָם, meaning being alike, reveals the idea of man's creation in the image of God, while being at the same time of the earth.22

In extending his etymological inquiries, unaided as he was by analogies with related languages other than the Aramaic, Hirsch evolved a unique system of sound-similarities which he used frequently in his commentary on the Pentateuch and on the psalms as a tool for disclosing the idea of a verse.

A typical example of the use of this method would be Hirsch's study of the simple word הָאָדָם. The replacement of the letter "gimmel" by a "yod" in the word הָאָדָם, according to Hirsch enhances its meaning, for the word הָאָדָם, meaning being, signifies the realization of the divine thought (נֶפֶשׁ) underlying being (יָד). Similarly, the substitution of a letter "het" for the "heh" in הָאָדָם, being, raises its value to הָאָדָם, living. Thus Hirsch sees that in the beginning there was the idea, the divine thought (נֶפֶשׁ), which through Creation...
caused Existence (החי), which attains a higher level through Living (החי) in accordance with the divine idea.\textsuperscript{23}

Hirsch's etymological investigations were concerned with the conceptual content of the word rather than with its external form. This approach, although it resulted in thought provoking observations, is, however, untenable in the light of scientific linguistics.

Conversely, Hirsch emphasized that the secular studies, by providing exercises in thinking and acquisition of concepts, furnished excellent apperceptive assistance to the study of Hebrew idiom and Jewish ideas.\textsuperscript{24}

Hirsch considered the most significant contribution of the Jewish curriculum to the aims of general education to lie in the Hebraic Weltanschauung which the student will attain through an intelligent study of Jewish books. He proudly asks, Where are there in the national treasuries of modern Western culture such truly fine and beautiful works that do not carry some imprint of Jewish ideas? He considers Western culture as the child of Hebrew and Greek teachings: Hebrew thought and Greek perception (Empfindung), and Hebrew truth and Greek aesthetics, are reflected everywhere in our cultured and refined modern surroundings. Hirsch sees threatening signs on the horizons of modern human thought. He sees the rise of systems of thought that carry Western culture
away from Biblical ethics. At such a time schools following the principle of Torah im Derekh Erez are most urgently needed instruments to counteract these dangerous trends of modern thought.25

In an earlier chapter, we have discussed the place of nature and history in Hirsch's world view. In accordance with this philosophy, Hirsch sought to teach in his school natural and social studies and Bible as complementary subjects. The former were to provide the realities about nature and history, the laws that govern the universe; the latter was to provide the meaning of this world in the light of divine teaching. A thorough understanding of the functioning of nature as God's handiwork is most helpful, in Hirsch's view, to increase respect for the Creator. Most essential in the total educational process, however, was the study of history which alone, if interpreted properly, could provide an understanding of the mission of Israel.26

Hirsch also assigns a respected place in the curriculum of a school following the principle of Torah im Derekh Erez to European languages and literature. True to his emphasis on the universal outlook and mission of Israel all valuable literary achievements must be of interest to the Jewish student, and the school must hand down to him the keys to the treasures of world literature. Hirsch believes that the sparks of light
that spread from Sinai have kindled great minds among many nations and that ultimately the masses of the earth-dwellers will become enlightened by that light. A critical study of world literature in the Jewish school will therefore trace the ups and downs on the road towards this goal. Hirsch shared the optimism of nineteenth century liberals, and thought his generation was fortunate in being able to see the great progress mankind has been making towards moral and ethical perfection. The Jewish student, even more than others, will observe with interest the gradual refinement of world culture through the ages. He will see that his fathers had lived and died for a purpose, and that the true teaching proclaimed at Sinai has already gained faithful adherents among many nations.

We have tried to show that the principle of Torah im Derekh Erez, although it advocates the combination of two seemingly different fields of study, is not dualistic in reality. Oneness is the most basic idea in Judaism; it applies to God, to the human organism, to knowledge, and to study. While acquiring knowledge, we may for convenience divide it into different fields and subjects, but these never should remain isolated in our conception. True knowledge will be attained only if all the separate subjects will have become integrated in the mind of the student, and the artificial barriers will have melted away. Hirsch, therefore, consistently
demands that equal sincerity and care be devoted to all branches of study because neglect in one phase must cause some weakness in the total structure. For this reason his Realschule throughout its existence tried to follow the policy that only teachers who sincerely believed in the principle of *Torah im Derekh Erez* and carried it out in their personal life could be entrusted with the sacred task of teaching the young. The influence of the teacher of geography or of science or of history was considered as essential as that of the Bible or Talmud teacher—if not more so. While all areas of knowledge contribute to the sum total, the unifying principles, the basic ideas that radiate through all subjects and give them meaning for practical conduct, must emanate from the source of all truth as vouchsafed to mankind in the Scriptures. In this sense, the supremacy of Torah is preserved in Hirsch's educational theory.

Torah was to provide the orientation for all activities of the classroom—"to collect [the manifold thought materials of the classwork]...under the spirit of religious consciousness, and correct [them], purify [them], dignify and complete [them] with the light of divine teachings."28

With this basic idea that in his school Torah provides orientation for all learning, Hirsch met his opponents from the right who challenged the *Torah im Derekh Erez* principle
on halakhic grounds. They apparently found strong support for the prohibition of all studies besides Torah in a halakhic commentary on Leviticus 18:4: "Mine ordinances shall ye do, and my statutes shall ye keep, to walk therein; I am the Lord your God." The Torat Kohanim derives from the words "to walk therein" a legal obligation for every Jew to make the words of the Torah his main concern, and not to assign to them a subordinate role. This general rule is followed up by the detailed instruction that one's concern should be only with the words of the Torah; one should not mingle with them extraneous matters. One should not say: I have learned Israel's wisdom, now I shall turn my attention to the wisdom of the nations. For one is not permitted to divert himself from the words of the Torah.

Hirsch would never have questioned the binding authority of the Torat Kohanim. It is a major source of the oral tradition which alone makes the written Law comprehensible. Hirsch absolutely accepted the talmudic legal decisions as divine law. The question for Hirsch therefore was: Did the Torat Kohanim really contradict the Torah im Derekh Erez principle? Hirsch followed the method of talmudic argumentation to prove that the Torat Kohanim statement was never intended to prohibit all studies other than Torah in the narrowest sense. This interpretation he sees clearly expressed
in the general rule stated in the ר"ע that the Torah must be one's main concern (י"ע), which clearly provides room for other studies, if in spirit they are not opposed to Torah. In brief, Torah must provide the orientation for all studies, and no system that has grown in other soil should be permitted to share in this prerogative.
CHAPTER VII

LAW OBSERVANCE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Observance of the Law (Torah) is the cornerstone of Hirsch's Weltanschauung, and consequently also of his educational theory. According to Hirsch's cosmology, man's submission to Law is required for full harmony in the universe. Law, not faith, is the basis of Judaism. "Faith can enlighten the mind, comfort the heart, but it is only the Law that can on earth wed justice to love, happiness to holiness, life to peace...that can make paradise return to earth, and lead man to his perfection already in this world."

It is the mission of Israel to serve for all mankind as an example of a Law-abiding community. The good life on earth can be achieved only through observing the Law, which must accordingly be studied continuously for guidance. Indeed, Israel's very existence depends on the Law. Deprived of her national territory, Israel survived as a people because of her loyalty to the Law. It was this close attachment to the Law which formed Israel's distinctive character traits.

The Law-observing individual does not deprive himself of all the pleasures of life; he rather elevates his tastes respecting these to a truly human level. It was God who created in man his instincts and desires. It certainly cannot have
been the intent of the Law to completely negate these—a vital portion of His creation. But neither are the natural drives to assume the rank of all-absorbing primary motives. The proper limits for their indulgence have been prescribed by the Law, which sets forth the ideal ways of conduct for men.\(^5\)

While the Law itself is intended to guide the Jew in all his actions, the study of the Law is to shape his thinking. Study of the Law, in turn, has always been pursued within two separate provinces: קדמם and קדמך, which have as their common subject matter the same body of laws. The first field of study, קדמם, consists of legal interpretation and discussion—the Halakhah. It is concerned with the laws as they are to be observed in daily life. A closed field, its exclusive sources are the dicta handed down in the twofold Law, the Written and the Oral, with legitimate interpretations and elaborations by the Rabbis. After the conclusion of the Talmud there was but little room for essentially new additions to this body of laws.

The second field of study, קדמך, consists, in its wider sense, of homiletical interpretations of the Bible, but, as used by Hirsch, it refers specifically to the rationale of the divine commandments. It is essentially speculative in nature, seeking to penetrate to a profounder understanding of the Law. Because obligation of law observance
is not conditioned upon the outcome of any speculative studies, the field of Ḥakham and has always been receptive to original contributions. While the views of generations who lived closer to Sinai should naturally be respected, their blind acceptance is not required. With changes in time and place, new approaches in understanding are permitted to take their place next to the old ones, as long as they are in accord with tradition.

Hirsch felt that the Ḥakham, the investigations into the deeper meaning of the laws, had been badly neglected during several centuries preceding his time, for obvious reasons. In order to find in the study of the laws a source of spiritual inspiration they must be approached with a real consciousness of the vital issues of life which they are supposed to govern. Yet the Jewish people had lacked this consciousness since it had lost intimate contact with the life around it during the ages of suppression and persecution. It still continued to cling faithfully to its Law, yet isolated from the stream of life, only the externals of the Law were adhered to while its spirit ceased to enlighten the minds. Hirsch observes that "the object of study was not what it should chiefly have been, the attainment of knowledge of duty for use in the world and in life. Study became the end instead of the means, the subject of investigation became a matter of indifference, the dialectic subtleties thereof the chief concern;
people studied Judaism but forgot to search for its principles in the pages of Scripture." Thus barred from sound approaches to the study of the laws, the depressed minds of the Jewish masses readily accepted gravely distorted conceptions about the Law which resulted from misinterpretations of the sources. The laws were considered as "mechanical, dynamical or magical formulae for the upbuilding of higher worlds." Law observance was degraded into mere amuletic or talismanic performances.

Hirsch approved neither a retreat behind the intellectual formalism of hair splitting with its sterile talmudical dialectics nor of escape into the imaginary safety of mystical dream worlds; both were denounced by Hirsch as unfortunate and hazardous currents in the stream of Jewish life. To him the spiritual and intellectual unfolding of the Jewish personality was a major goal in Torah-education. To become a human being (in the sense of German Neo-Humanism), is a prerequisite for becoming an essential Jew. The voice of nineteenth century ethical idealism resounded from Hirsch's mouth as fervently as from the preaching of the Reformers. The lack of intellectual growth and of spiritual vigor among the Jewish masses was decried by both with equal pathos. Yet while the Reformers contended that adherence to "obsolete forms of law" stunted the Jewish spirit, Hirsch considered the "eternally valid forms of the revealed Law" to be the embodiment of the spirit of
Torah. It accordingly became one of Hirsch's educational goals to rediscover this spirit and thereby make Law observance into a meaningful experience. Thus uncompromising Law observance was to be accompanied by systematic study of all its tenets, aiming at disclosing their deeper meaning.

Hirsch's own efforts at revitalizing the field of **search for meaning of the laws** (Horev) produced two major works, the *Horev* and the Commentary on the Pentateuch. Hirsch presents the results of his investigations as the modest attempts of a frail human mind at finding a deeper meaning of the laws. Although no human mind can achieve absolute perfection in this great task, every caution must be taken to rule out wrong approaches and mistaken conceptions. This field of study does not invite the fanciful imagination and the witty mind of amateurs who feel like voicing ingenious views. It should be approached with greatest sincerity of purpose and with a clear understanding of what the legitimate methods are which alone might lead towards true results. Hirsch asserted that every opinion that he expressed was the result of many years of study of Bible, Talmud and Midrash. The content of the laws, the context in which they were given and the Hebrew words used in their pronunciation served him as key and framework for all possible interpretations. All ideas must be in consonance with the laws themselves and must provide
meaning for all its detailed instructions as given by talmudic interpretations. "...Every detail finds its corroboration in the Gemara, if the latter is apprehended according to the true meaning of its words and if, at every point, we put to ourselves the questions, What is the message here? What is the underlying concept of this statement? What is its purpose? What is the object of this symbolical act? What is its natural meaning under the given conditions and what is its purpose?" It was along these lines that Hirsch thought of reconstructing Judaism as a science. In accordance with scientific methods he first classified the numerous commandments into the following six categories according to the character of the Law and the realm of human life governed by it:

1. Instructions or doctrines (אלהים). The historically revealed ideas concerning God, the world, the mission of humanity and of Israel, not as mere doctrines of faith or science, but as principles to be acknowledged by our mind and heart, and realized in life.

2. Judgments (פָּרָשִׁית). Statements of justice towards creatures similar and equal to oneself, by virtue of their resemblance and equality, that is, of justice towards human beings.

3. Arbitrary statutes (פָּנֵים). Statements of justice towards subordinate creatures by virtue of the obedience due to God; that is, justice towards the earth, plants, and animals, or such as have become assimilated with one's personality, e.g., one's own body and soul.

4. Commandments (נְצָרֵי). Precepts of love towards all beings without distinction, purely because of the bidding of God and in consideration of our duty as men and Israelites.
5. Symbolic observances. (ד"ר). Monuments or testimonies to truths essential to the concept of the mission of man and of Israel. These testimonies are symbolic words or actions which bear a lesson for the individual Jew, collective Israel, or mankind in general.

6. Service or worship (ת"ת). Exaltation and sanctification of the inner powers by word-or-deed symbols to the end that our conception of our task be rendered clearer, and that we should be better prepared to fulfill our mission on earth.13

Each category contains, on the average, twenty chapters; one chapter is devoted to each Mitzvah. The chapters are subdivided into usually brief paragraphs which deal with a great many different aspects of the Mitzvot. The introduction gives the scriptural source of the Mitzvah in Hirsch's own translation. Then follow philosophical discussions establishing the meaning and function of each Mitzvah in our life. These are supplemented by fiery sermons on Jewish morality, quotations from Talmud, Halakha and Midrash, together with interpretations within the established philosophical framework. All these are presented in a powerful style, appealing directly to the heart and conscience of the reader. Hirsch pleads particularly with his young readers in genuine fatherliness to see clearly the great temptations inherent in modern life, to resist them valiantly and to achieve through conscientious Law observance the high standards of Jewish morality embodied in the Mitzvot.

The Ḥorev strongly impresses the reader with the author's unwavering faith, his strong and lofty purpose and with his
zeal for teaching in order to save the young generation from spiritual and moral degeneration. The Horev found its place in many Jewish homes, served as source book for teachers and as guide for many young intellectuals. Thus it became a significant educational factor even for those German-reading Jews who did not come into personal contact with the author. Even those who criticized Hirsch's basic philosophy and refuted it, together with the author's hermeneutics, had high praise for the quality of this work.14
CHAPTER VIII

SYMBOLISM

In his effort at bridging the chasm that in the eyes of many Jewish intellectuals had opened between law observance and the lofty Jewish ideas, Hirsch resorted very frequently to symbolism. All the Mitzvot of the fifth category, of נְדָבָה, derive their meaning only through symbolic interpretations. Seen in the light of symbolism they ceased to be magical formulae designed for a supernatural realm, and became instruments for the internal and external purification of man. Hirsch recognized that the merely theoretical acknowledgment of fine moral principles will do little for the actual building up of a life in accordance with them. Rather these principles have to be impressed upon the mind and absorbed by the heart repeatedly and emphatically by actions and practices which follow a purposeful design. ¹

The very assumption that God commanded man to make certain objects and to carry out certain actions for the purpose of creating outer signs for His ideas had to be defended and justified against attacks from both the left and the right wing. The Reform group was thoroughly opposed to any symbolic interpretation of ritual observances. They had declared the Law as a remnant of primitive religion, and
would not allow these obsolete forms to be dignified and made up-to-date through symbolism. On the other hand the old-time observant Jews saw no need for this kind of rational support of the word of the Torah. In their strong faith no questions were raised as to the meaning of the Mitzvot. They rather feared that the study of the ideas of the laws might replace their observance.2

In order to give an effective answer to both of these opposing views, Hirsch decided to get to the roots of this issue by presenting his position in a systematic thesis on symbols. In a series of essays he discusses the general nature of symbols and their use in society; he gathers evidence to the effect that symbolic language is frequently used in Scriptures, both in its narrative and legal portions.3 He therefore concludes that it is fully justifiable to follow a carefully designed method for discovering the symbolic intent of each detail of the Law. Since symbolic interpretation of scriptural passages was a significant part in the Jewish curriculum of Hirsch's school, we present in the following the salient points of these essays.

The study of symbolism performs a twofold task:

a) It provides rules for the art of expressing known ideas by means of symbolic signs.

b) It discloses the ideas embodied in known symbolic expressions.
It was the second task with which Hirsch was mainly concerned.4

Different Types of Symbolic Expression

The most common forms of symbolic expression are mimicry and other motions that accompany our speech or take the place of verbal expression. They add to the intensity of expression and give it a personal touch.

Mimic expressions are a language of short duration. The need for longer lasting expressions is met by a series of symbolic actions (such as on occasions of joy or grief). If permanency is desired concrete symbolic signs must be instituted (e.g., souvenirs, trophy, ring).

Besides subjective feelings and individual thoughts there are also objective ideas, logical concepts and universal judgments that find expression through symbols. In the political and religious life of peoples symbolic signs have always served to give permanent expression to ideas, principles and doctrines of natural or religious origin.5

Through the use of symbolic actions it is also possible to have huge masses of people join in giving simultaneous expression to the same idea. Therefore, teachings of preeminent significance have become embodied in symbolic signs and actions. The more conscious a nation gets of its unity and the larger a role the spiritual principles have played in its feeling of unity, the more prominent are symbolic signs and actions in
the political and religious life of such a nation.ό

All these advantages of a symbolic language will materialize only after we have succeeded in identifying the idea the symbol represents. The symbol itself often lacks clarity and gives us only vague clues about its ideological content. In many cases we can arrive at a clear understanding only after thoughtful investigations.

The first step in such investigations must be to determine that the object or action involved was at all intended to transcend its natural or primitive meaning and was to assume a figurative role. The next step is to trace among a variety of possible symbolic meanings the one intended by the originator of the respective symbol.

The following factors must be scrutinized in answering both of these questions:

a) The personal (personality of originator and of the audience to whom it was directed), spatial and temporal associations of the given symbol;

b) The verbal statements made in connection with the symbol;

c) The context in which it was given;

d) The objects used, their physical, social and historical connotations;

e) The metaphorical meaning of the word used for the object.
Hirsch realized the shortcomings and limitations of this method for the discovery of symbolic meanings. He knew that one could never expect results with mathematical precision. An imaginative mind might think up all kinds of fanciful ideas which would lack any truth. The basic criterion for false and true in this kind of investigation is a subjective one, namely, whether or not it is plausible that the creator of a symbol intended to express his particular thought in a given form. The intuitive grasp of a symbol is permissible only after full acquaintance with all the facts available about the originator of the symbol and the public to which it was directed. The milieu in which the symbol is created will provide the clue to its meaning. All elements of a symbol are rooted in traditional thought. The symbol avails itself of living associations of a social body. Nothing entirely new is introduced. Otherwise it could never be decoded. Symbols merely activate thought through intimation and allusion.7

In separate essays Hirsch demonstrates his method by applying it to the laws of circumcision, Zizit, Tefillin and the Mishkan.8 A complete summary of any one of these essays would go beyond the scope of this thesis. We shall merely try to give a few illustrative examples from Hirsch's investigation into the meaning of the Tefillin. His first step is a close examination of the scriptural source of this law which
is found in the following four passages:

Section 1  
Exodus 13: 1-10;

Section 2  
Exodus 13: 11-16;

Section 3  
Deuteronomy 6: 4-9

Section 4  

At the conclusion of each of these passages the following instruction is given: "And you shall bind them for a sign upon your hand and they shall be frontlets between your eyes."

The symbolic intent of the Tefillin law is thereby clearly stated. We now can proceed to a thoughtful study of the entire text of the four sections in order to learn about the ideas embodied in this symbol.

The first two sections refer to the exodus from Egypt which marked the founding of the Jewish nation through His powerful intervention in the course of history. In Section 1 the happy aspect of the exodus is stressed, God appearing as the redeemer of slaves whereas in Section 2 God, the severe judge—brings punishment upon an immoral nation. Sections 3 and 4 teach Israel about its mission which lies in the recognition and love of the one God and in carrying out his commandments. While Section 1 traces the origin of the relationship between Israel and God, Section 3 gives it a meaning and destiny. While in Section 2 Israel sees God bringing judgment upon Egypt, Section 4 warns that Israel's own future...

*Section 1 reads instead of "frontlets" a "memorial."
might become subjected to the same judgment. These four sections contain the most fundamental precepts of Judaism which are given their symbolic expression in the Tefillin. Thus an analysis of the scriptural source provides Hirsch with an ideological framework for his further investigations into the symbolic meaning of all the legal details pertaining to the Tefillin which are found in Rabbinic law. 9

The oral law requires that the four sections of Torah written on parchment be put into little square "houses" which stand on a parchment base. Attached to the base must be a loop to hold the leather laces of the Tefillin. The "house" for the arm contains all four sections written on one sheet of parchment, whereas the "house" for the head contains four separate compartments, one for each section. All of these are essential legal requirements belonging to the category of or laws going back to Moses, and therefore Hirsch could not overlook them as mere legal technicalities. He rather saw in them supplementary clues for a fuller understanding of the symbolic message contained in Tefillin. The following ideas are the result of his further investigation:

1. The symbolic significance of the "house."—Since the exodus from Egypt it became the task of every Jew to build a house for Torah and Mitzvot. It is not enough that one sanctuary for the Torah—a Temple—be established. Judaism requires
that the life of all individuals be dedicated to God so that every home be a sanctuary.

2. The symbolic significance of the base.—The place of residence prepared for the divine Torah on earth should have all characteristics of permanency; it should be founded on a solid base. This is in line with the Jewish concept of the life on earth which does not see in our world a permanent seat of sin and evil. The positive Jewish concept was expressed by Isaiah in the words: 

\[ \text{יהוה יתנש \יושב יושב את} \] (to plant the heavens and lay the foundations of the earth and say unto Zion, thou art My people).

According to Hirsch's interpretation this verse asks the Jewish people to prepare on earth a scene for fruitful interaction between heavenly ideas and human earthly existence. Thereby the divine idea will find a place of growth and development, and all earthly existence will be provided with a sound foundation. Through the realization of the Torah on earth it will become more god-like than heaven, and the Rabbinic saying 

\[ \text{ימין או ימין שמה שמה אל} \] (the glory of God should find its place primarily on earth) will materialize.

3. The symbolic meaning of the loop that attaches the Tefillin to the body.—The permanency providing base in turn must be borne by man himself. No external structure in itself, be it the holiest of holiest, can be relied upon to bring man
closer to his destiny. Only within the inner life of a personality can the interaction between the heavenly and earthly take place. Hirsch again finds support for this thought in the words of Jeremiah: 7, 4: \[\text{which in Hirsch's translation means: we have built a temple for the Torah, a temple for the Torah, but we forget that we ourselves should become a temple of God.} \]

This significant idea that holiness must be cultivated within man and can never be inherent in material objects finds its symbolic expression also in the structure of the Holy Ark. There the following instruction is given: "And thou shalt put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, whereby to bear the ark. The staves shall be in the rings of the ark, they shall not be taken from it." In consistency with his interpretation of the loop of the Tefillin Hirsch sees here in the prohibition against the removal of the staves a symbolic hint that at all times the people must feel themselves as the bearers of the ideas contained in the ark.

4. The symbolic significance of having four compartments in the Tefillin of the head, and only one compartment for the four sections in the Tefillin of the hand. In the mind the four sections should be remembered in accordance with their distinctive ideological content. On the acting arm, however, the four ideas should merge and create one strong motivating force.
These examples selected from Hirsch's investigation into the symbolic meaning of the Tefillin typify his general approach and method, through which he infused lofty ideas into what appeared to be merely legal technicalities. The weakness of his work is the looseness of the connections between the ideas and the objective symbol. Hirsch was well aware that his derivation of the ideas from symbols was not always convincing. Nevertheless, he thought they deserve serious consideration because they were not the result of sheer imagination, but all the ideas expressed were rooted in traditional Jewish thought.

Some of his passages surely give support to the criticism voiced by Max Heller that in applying his rules of symbolic interpretation Hirsch "loses himself in a maze of trivialities such as are not likely to appeal to the modern reader." In spite of this Heller concludes "that it must in fairness be admitted with Samuel Appleman Hirsch that the "Symbolik" is a remarkable effort in which the eloquent and ingenious author proves beyond doubt that a Jewish symbolism really does exist."¹²

The same critic sees also an inconsistency between Hirsch's "elaborate sophistications" in establishing reasonable interpretations of the Mitzvot on one hand, and on the other his "unquestioning childlike obedience in the manner of old-fashioned orthodoxy." He considers this charge a valid one
although he admits that Hirsch, anticipating this rebuke, had answered it with a "valiant and logically strong defense."

No doubt Hirsch is on logically sound ground. His implicit unquestioning obedience is based on the acceptance of the written and the oral law as the will of God revealed to us at Sinai. Compliance with this will is a categorical imperative in need of no further rationalization; just as natural phenomena continue to operate irrespective of the progress made by scientists explaining them. His taking occasional resort to "far-fetched reasoning" is in response to the intellectual challenge not only to fulfill but also to comprehend His commandments. This writer is inclined to think that it is not Hirsch's approach that lacks consistency. It is rather because his critics are unable to overcome a strong resistance to his basic premises that there seems to be, from their own biased point of view, a contradiction between the two approaches followed by Hirsch.
CHAPTER IX

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL VIEWS

In the spirit of idealism Hirsch made a clear distinction between the things as they appear to human senses and their real nature on a higher level. Empirical data about human behavior are certainly of practical value to the educator, but they cannot be relied upon to yield essential truth about human life. In the Kantian metaphysical concepts he found a means of giving philosophical expression to Jewish traditional ideas about the nature of man.

One basic postulate is that all human beings are created with the potential power of an ethical free will. Human nature is realized only when man learns to exercise this ethical will. The ethical power must be generated within man; the ethical substance—the Law—was furnished from without through Revelation. The Law is neither the creation of reason nor of intuitive judgment.

On this last point Hirsch differs with Kant. According to Kant:

The moral is not a law imposed by some external authority, but the essential expression of reason itself. The theological theory of morality that derives the law from the arbitrary will of God and finds its sanction in the power of the Almighty to punish and to reward, is refuted by the notion of autonomy. There is no being except myself that can say 'thou shalt' to me....It is
true the moral law is God's will, but God's will and the will of the rational being harmonize spontaneously, as being both expressions of the nature of reason itself.\textsuperscript{2}

Hirsch too postulates an ultimate harmony between human nature and the rationale of divine law (the latter not being the expression of God's arbitrary will). Yet this harmony is a goal to be achieved by man. It is the ideal end result of living conscientiously in accordance with an externally revealed law. The originally heteronomous character of the divine law will change gradually in man's consciousness inasmuch as he succeeds through meaningful observance of the law to arrive at an inner harmony with it. When the demands of the law will be felt as springing out of his inner self, he will have arrived at real human freedom and will enjoy real human happiness in this world.\textsuperscript{3}

The exercise of the free ethical will is an art that must be learned. The human being is born with natural capacities, impulses, drives, and desires. None of them are basically good or bad. There is no dualism in the sense of the evil body and the good spirit. However, they can become either good or bad.\textsuperscript{4} If they can be brought under the control of the ethical will they will serve as valuable tools for the good. But before man achieves the realization of his ideal self, his actions and thoughts are guided by another will—a primitive will—that follows the dictates
of all sensual desires. If this primitive will should remain in power then everything that appears as desirable to the sensual nature will become the goal of human activity and the inborn potential ethical power will gradually decay.

The education of man, therefore, is fundamentally a struggle between these two forms of will. All specific educational goals can easily be attained once man has freed himself from the shackles of his sensual nature. Then intellectual and physical capacities, whether rich or poor, stand ready at the command of the ethical will to fulfill their mission. In regard to the ethical will power all human beings are created equal; it is a power that can be applied by all to whatever abilities each may possess.\(^5\)

Besides this basic ethical goal, a full education must also be concerned with the development of the physical and intellectual capacities. Skills and knowledge must be acquired in order to reach high achievements in carrying out the human mission. To train in ethical living and to equip with intellectual knowledge and manual skills are, therefore, the two main roads of the educational process.\(^6\)

Only rarely, however, should they be followed in isolation from each other. According to Hirsch's educational view there must be a great deal of interaction between the two and for long stretches they should actually overlap. This
interrelationship between the ethical and intellectual goals has been expressed in a number of talmudic statements that are quoted and interpreted by Hirsch as a basis for his views. A statement stressing the primacy of intellectual training is found in Aboth II, 6: "חירב מבקש כהן הגדול האל על כל" (which in Hirsch's translation means that no ignorant person can truly fear sin and no uninstructed individual can attain the ethical nobility of selfless devotion. Other statements favor ethical action over intellectual knowledge, Aboth I, 17: "אף פעם לא עלון אלא עלון ידיעת", translated by Hirsch: the test of right knowledge is right action. In Aboth III, 11 it says that true knowledge should be sought only where it is based on ethical grounds (אף פעם לא עלון אלא עלון ידיעת). Equal emphasis on both ethics and intellect is given in Aboth III, 21: "לך עכ" (without cultivation of the mind no ethical culture, and without ethical culture no cultivated minds). Although according to a talmudic decision ethical action was seen as the ultimate goal, priority was given to knowledge because only right knowledge will lead to right action.

Leaning on this decision, Hirsch declares that the ethical goal is really at the core of his school, although intellectual activity is predominant in its daily work. The cultivation of the right knowledge is the major demand of
Jewish ethical law and it is this knowledge that his school aimed to teach through all its subjects.

Through this approach Hirsch proposed to extricate his school from the educational predicament that faced all followers of the philosophy of idealism at his time. With the rapid growth of technology and commerce, greater knowledge and perfection in skills became powerful tools in acquiring material wealth. The schools became training grounds for successful businessmen and professionals. The emphasis in school aims shifted toward practical knowledge and skills. The question was raised whether schools make any contribution at all to the child's ethical growth. The general view that the primary task of the school is to give instruction in knowledge was not disputed by Hirsch. He maintained that any attempt towards making the school "child-centered" would necessarily defeat the school's main purpose concerning subject matter. But he was far from conceding that a school which emphasized subject matter could not affect the child's ethical growth. He repeatedly pointed out that real knowledge is of ethical value and that many steps in the learning process are simultaneously exercises in ethical living, if they occur in a school that is thoroughly permeated with an idealistic spirit, and in which the motivation for all activities stems from the ethical will power.
It is, therefore, according to Hirsch the general philosophy of the school that determines the ethical value of its particular activities. If all learning is merely to serve the money-making capacity of the individual, then naturally no ethical value can be attached to any of the school's activities. If, however, all learning is motivated by the ethical will; if it is not merely a means for material success, but is a value in itself; and if, in this spirit, learning becomes a satisfying, enjoyable occupation, then each step in acquiring knowledge becomes charged with ethical power.9

School life requires submission to authority, punctuality, conscientiousness in carrying out assigned duties.10 It provides opportunities for deriving pleasure from achievement, for acting with courtesy and friendliness. Through all these, if practiced with idealistic motivation, the school contributes even in the age of Realschule and vocational schools to the ethical development of the student.11

Thus Hirsch spanned the apparent rift between intellectual and ethical goals in a manner reminiscent of his Torah im Derekh Erez principle, already exemplified in his synthesis of Jewish and general studies.

Hirsch values very highly the ethical training that should be given to the child during the first five years of his life. Before the child can be made aware of an ethical
law, his parents must represent authority to him. The same "desiring" drives that must at a later age be controlled by the youngster himself, as well as the ethical will that must win control, are already functioning in the young child. It would, therefore, be an educational sin to permit the infant full gratification of all of his desires, whether out of ill-conceived tenderness for the child, or because of the selfish interests of the parents (e.g., to stop the child’s annoying crying). Is it not most unfair, asks Hirsch, to imbue the child for several hundred weeks with the illusion that he need but express a wish to have it fulfilled without delay, and then to expect him, suddenly, at the age of six, to accept authority without a struggle?  

Habit formation through persistent training is the goal at the early stage. Once the child is capable of understanding, he should be given reasons for the demands made of him, and he should be made to perceive why his freedom must be curtailed in certain instances. While it is not necessary that the child agree with the reasoning and accept the explanations, he should be made to realize that his parents are guided by the dictates of a higher good, and that their control of his behavior is not mere caprice.  

It is of interest to note that Kant, too, "emphasizes very strongly the necessity of early training the will by
means of discipline. The purpose is to restrain the natural wildness by accustoming the child to law and actions based on uniform principles. This negative influence is the prerequisite of the positive training of the will, which uses as its essential means the mere representation of the moral law in its purity."14

Hirsch censures the young fashionable mothers of his time who, in order to keep up with the social obligations of the upper middle class, seriously neglect the ethical training of their offspring during the most formative years. He singles out for particular scorn the practice of delegating the care of tender, impressionable infants to ill-prepared and frequently apathetic maids.15

For the sincerely concerned and well-meaning parents Hirsch offers some good practical advice:

1. Train and accustom your child from his first year to reasonable obedience.

2. Early in his life, and as far as possible, avoid granting your child a wish which has previously been denied him as being improper or harmful because of his insistence and your impatience.

3. Train yourself in bearing with patience the symptoms of the child's peevishness and vehemence so that you will not grant him out of selfishness what you would deny him out of loving consideration.

4. Therefore, be reasonable, cautious and sparing in giving orders and in denying, so that you will not have to change your mind. Consistency is the A B C of ethical child training; you cannot begin early enough.16
Most emphatic is Hirsch in pointing out to young parents the outstanding importance of their personal example. Complete self-control is necessary not only in the exercise of deliberate educational measures, but even more so in their personal behavior which is closely watched and unconsciously appraised even by the youngest in the family. "Children have sharp eyes, quick ears, and an infinitely truthful and alert soul, which absorbs all impressions in their naked reality and reacts sympathetically by tuning their inner self to identical moods and states of mind." No admonishing and moralizing can equal the impressions which the parent's example inscribes on the child's mind and soul for good or evil.\(^{17}\)

Even after the first five years, when the child is already attending school, Hirsch assigns to the home the major responsibility for Erziehung, i.e., for rearing the total personality and training in manners through the unfolding of the ethical will. The school's job is mainly instruction; training in intellectual and manual skills its primary concern. While these should definitely make an important contribution to character education as discussed above, the natural scene for Erziehung remains the home "and nothing—no other institution—can substitute for it," for "Erziehung is possible only through individual attention. The educator (Erzieher) must devote himself wholeheartedly to the study of the child's...
personality; he must listen to the stirrings of his heart and trace the motif of his expressions. On the basis of these studies he must challenge the child with tasks geared to his unique weaknesses and to his still latent ethical talents, and then encourage him with loving persistence for victory over his own self and towards the fulfillment of his obligations. 18

Furthermore, Hirsch asserts that character training cannot be successful in an atmosphere associated with compulsion of some kind; it is most effective in a home full of love and of deep concern for all of the child's needs. Use of reasonable rewards and of sparingly and tactfully administered reproof must not be excluded from the field of character training. And here again the home alone has the opportunity of making the child realize in manifold ways that good behavior is rewarding. Seldom should it be necessary for the home to resort to corporal punishment in support of ethical demands. A deadening of the moral sense must result from the use of this degrading method. 19

Hirsch was most exacting in outlining the educational responsibilities of the home. He was familiar with the goals of pre-school training that led at his time to the growth of the kindergarten movement. While he fully agreed that such training was necessary, he charged the mother with giving it. The mother should guide the baby in the development of his
verbal expression. She should open his eyes to the world of objects that surrounds him, and enrich his mind through sense perception. These lessons must lead towards correct naming, thinking, and relating. Much of the mother's time should be given to talking with the youngsters, thus satisfying their thirst for audible sensation and for verbal expression.\textsuperscript{20} The topics for these conversations should come from the real objects in the child's immediate environment. Hirsch strongly criticized the widespread practice of entertaining young children with fairy tales. He even refers to some of the classics by the Brothers Grimm, and questions the wisdom of saturating the receptive minds with fanciful misrepresentations of the real world.\textsuperscript{21}

During the pre-school age, the mother's nature is best suited to guide the child in learning. At a later stage, during school attendance, it becomes the father's duty to introduce the child to the duties of good citizenship, to show him mainly through his example how communal responsibilities must be discharged. He should come to realize that all these duties stem directly from the general obligation of serving God. He should learn that being a Jew is not in conflict with being man and citizen, but rather that in order to be a good Jew one must be a good man and a responsible citizen.\textsuperscript{22} We might point out in this connection that in Hirsch's view a
better society can be brought about not through mere social and political action, but through the education of the individual child at home. "Not a better time makes better people, but better people make a better time."^23

Hirsch warned the teachers that in trying to form an ethical personality one has to reckon with the resistance of the youthful mind against anything imposed from without that lacks deep roots in the inner self. Yet the thoughtful educator will see in the obstinacy and stubbornness of the youthful reaction both a necessary condition for the lasting effectiveness of his work and a cue as to the best method of approach. It is this obstinacy that will be called upon to defend the educational values, once they are acquired, against attacks from other camps. It makes for stability and steadfastness, and prevents the exchange of convictions like fashions.^24

But how can the initial battle for the child's convictions be won against the odds of a forcefully resisting nature? No superficial approach will do. Neither preaching, nor memorizing by the youngster of ethical dogma and principles, nor even insistence on external conformity with them in daily life can be effective. Success can be hoped for only if the educator will be able to lead his pupil to inner convictions by having the good ideas evolve within his inner consciousness as his own personal treasure. Through the intellect he must
come to touch upon the heart, through knowledge to acknowledgment.

In order that this task might be accomplished, Hirsch finds it necessary that the youngster be considered in accordance with his individuality (ידודנ). The phrase is explained by Hirsch as the course the child might have taken if left alone to his natural inclinations and to the natural environment into which he was born. This course must be borne in mind by the educator when determining the methods of directing the child.25

In this connection, Hirsch refers to two opposing educational theories, each containing in his view a sound pedagogical element, which, however, is carried to an extreme. First he describes the view, traced, he says, to Rousseau in his Emile, that the child is not only the object of educational endeavor, the one for whose sake the process of education is carried on; he is in fact the sole determinant of the educational goal. Hirsch, however, rejected the idea that the natural individual should be considered identical with the ethical.

He likewise disapproves of a theory that in reaction to Rousseau ignored all natural inclinations in proposing one inflexible educational ideal and one uniform pedagogical scheme for all children. In Hirsch's view, this theory evades the basic educational responsibility of recognizing all of the child's natural traits in order to work with them in directing
the child towards the absolute educational goal. Hirsch warns that natural inclinations are a most potent force within the individual and, if ignored, will develop behind the scenes and ultimately obstruct the success of all educational effort.

The Jewish educational canon, as Hirsch saw it, contains the sound elements of both of these theories. On one hand Jewish law sets up a definite pattern for the education of all children, and on the other, when the Rabbis describe a human being as a small world within itself, full recognition is given to the significance of individual differences. Therefore, the realization of the common ethical ideal must be tuned to the uniqueness of each individual. "Da ist nicht eine einzige Seite, nicht eine einzige Anlage des jungen Menschen die in diesem Gesetze nicht ihr sittliches Ziel gezeichnet faende, dem sie entgegenreifen, und in dessen Verwirklichung sie ihre sittliche, gottheilige Bedeutung finden soll." 26

In addition to these two factors—absolute ideals and human nature—a third, the environment, must be given due consideration in the educational process. Both natural inclinations and social environment have a strong hold on the child's growth. Only through skillful manipulation of both can the educator clear the road towards his educational ideal. He must be aware of the manifold currents in the cultural
climate of his time which might either enhance or block his progress. Hirsch fought valiantly against those who attempted to build a protective wall around the child so that harmful currents might not touch him. He rather advised anticipating these harmful blows and including in the educational diet ingredients that would make the child immune to their adverse effects.

Hirsch thus arrives also by way of psychological considerations at his formula of Torah im Derekh Erez. He concluded that for the harmonious mental and ethical growth of the young Jew in nineteenth century Germany it became necessary to broaden the base of Jewish education and provide a profound understanding of the culture that surrounded him. Furthermore he maintained that only in a school based on this principle could a harmonious Jewish personality be created. Neither public school education with privately supplemented Jewish studies nor a Jewish school with privately supplemented general studies can fulfill that need.²⁷
CHAPTER X

CONGREGATIONAL POLITICS

Hirsch's interest in Jewish schools did not distract his attention from his tasks as spiritual leader of a congregation. Because he knew that without a thorough Jewish education a community of Jews cannot become essentially Jewish, he labored hard for the establishment of his schools which he devotedly supervised and directed. Knowing that the goals of Jewish education have to be realized within the framework of a community, he exerted himself greatly to build up his congregation.\(^1\) He was not only a spiritual leader in synagogue affairs but sought to establish a sound basis for effective rabbinical leadership through political and organizational policies. Through his success in this field his name became closely associated with what is known by the term Trennung-orthodoxy (separatist orthodoxy), a unique feature of German and Hungarian Jewish community life in modern times. It refers to the founding of an independent orthodox congregation within a community that had come under the control of the reform elements. This separatist orthodox movement whose champion Hirsch was has frequently been reproached with destroying the unity of the Jewish people. A closer examination of this
unfortunate development will show that circumstances beyond Hirsch's control forced him to lead his Religionsgesellschaft (religious association) to secession from the old Frankfurt Kehillah. This drastic step became almost unavoidable in face of the actions taken by his opponents in the Reform movement. We have briefly described the development leading to the establishment of the Religionsgesellschaft in 1849 and to the appointment of Hirsch as its Rabbi.² This event did not terminate the struggle between the orthodox and reform groups in Frankfurt, it merely signaled the beginning of a new phase in it. The orthodox minority was no longer restrained in its religious activities by the rule of the Gemeindevorstand (board of directors of the community). Through the generous support of the Rothschild family they were able to establish speedily all the necessary facilities for a traditional religious life. Emanuel Schwarzschild, the president of the Religionsgesellschaft for many years, lists the following material accomplishments during the first twenty-five years of its existence:

1. A synagogue with 1,000 seats. In 1907 an even larger synagogue was dedicated, costing $400,000.
2. A school recognized by the government with more than five hundred pupils and thirty teachers.
3. A ritual bath, recording an attendance of 1,500 in 1876.
4. Two slaughterhouses with three shochtim.
5. Two kosher bakeries.
6. The three largest restaurants supervised by the Rabbinate.
7. Supervision over baking of matzos.
8. An over-all yearly budget of 110000 Mark.

The membership of the congregation had grown from one hundred in 1851 to five hundred in 1888 at the time of Hirsch's death, and to about one thousand in 1908. This rapid growth naturally increased the hostility of the Reform leadership of the Frankfurt Kehillah which considered the new Religionsgesellschaft as a center for reactionary forces. They did not refrain from attacking the orthodox group through pamphlets which contained threats to solicit government support in this internal Jewish affair.

On the opening day of the Realschule the Frankfurt Journal carried in a supplementary page a denunciation of that new enterprise, marking it as reactionary and hostile to culture. The author of this article entitled "Rabbinical Judaism and Social Education" was Dr. Hess, the head of the Philanthropin.

Another bitter attack followed in 1854 from the pen of Leopold Stein, the rabbi of the Frankfurt community. He published a pamphlet with the theme, The Religious Chaos within the Community of Frankfurt on the Main, in which he, too, labels the members of the Religionsgesellschaft "dark opponents of progress and civilization, who sow the dragon's teeth of hate and strife within a peaceful community." He makes the
accusation that it had been their wish to turn back the clock and to lower the contemporary educational level to that of the fifteenth century.5

The orthodox minority did not remain silent in the face of these attacks. It had in Hirsch an able spokesman who obviously relished the opportunity of striking back with biting sarcasm. In his reply to Dr. Hess he attempted to show that the author of "Rabbinical Judaism and Social Education"6 had provided evidence that he lacked the most elementary knowledge both of social education and of rabbinical Judaism.

As to the motives of Dr. Hess, Hirsch asserts in "Rabbinical Judaism and Dr. Hess":

What is causing Dr. Hess to take up arms is not so much the fact that our institution devotes itself to historical Judaism but rather because we are bestowing equal care on the general, the social and scientific education of the young. If we had founded a school in which every word of German had been scrupulously avoided, he would not have minded at all and would have allowed us to proceed in peace.

In his reply to Leopold Stein Hirsch calls him with irony "one who in lamb-like patience and Hillel-like gentleness seeks to frighten the Religiongesellschaft with the threat of government interference." After listing numerous oppressive measures taken by his opponents he concludes that the establishment of an orthodox association in 1848 was well justified and that no one could rightly accuse them of willfully disturbing the peace of the community.7
The feeling of bitterness between the two camps ruled out any reconciliation. The two groups in their political fervor were no longer mindful of any common interests in their community but concentrated exclusively on issues dividing them. To a large extent it was the actual use of governmental authority solicited in regulating inner Jewish affairs which created bitter antagonism between the two camps. By virtue of the Prussian law of 1847 each Jewish community was raised to the status of a public body and membership in it was compulsory for every Jew. In order to be excused from paying his taxes he had to declare himself to be no longer of Jewish faith. In this way the members of the Religionsgesellschaft in Frankfurt were forced to support the Reform institutions of the old Frankfurt Kehillah. This state of affairs was not only economically unjust, but it put a heavy burden on the conscience of all those who were forced to support what they considered sacrilegious institutions. Therefore, the permission for secession from the officially recognized Gemeinde (community) became a major political objective of Hirsch, yet not until 1873 could he take practical steps in this direction.

In 1873 the Prussian Landtag (legislative assembly) passed a bill "Concerning Secession from the State Church." This bill was limited to Christian citizens and gave them the
right to secede from the State Church, without thereby leaving Christianity. Hirsch now submitted to the Prussian Landtag a "Denkschrift über die Judenfrage in dem preussischen Gesetz betreffend den Austritt aus der Kirche," (memorandum in regard to the Jewish question in the Prussian law concerning secession from the church) in which he asked that the Jewish citizens be granted the same right that had been accorded to those of Christian faith. He testified that no rift between any of the Christian creeds could possibly exceed the divergence of convictions prevalent within Jewry. He denied the existence of any community of interests between Reform and Orthodoxy, and pointed out that the extension of the law to Jewish affairs would merely recognize a situation actually existing for some time. He pleaded strongly for the freedom of conscience and against the existing religious coercion. His arguments won the support of Eduard Lasker, the liberal-minded member of the Prussian Landtag whose resolution was passed. It read "that the government be asked to place a bill before the Landtag by which the Jews, too, in every part of the kingdom, would be entitled to leave a religious community for reasons of conscience, if they so desired, without thereby leaving Judaism itself, and that all existing legislation to the contrary in different parts of the country should be annulled."9

In spite of the efforts of Herman Makover, lawyer and
president of the Representative Council of the Berlin Jewish Community, toward preventing this resolution from becoming law, the bill was finally passed by the Prussian Landtag on July 28, 1876. Thus Hirsch's ceaseless endeavors over a period of three years were finally rewarded with success. He was supported by Rabbi Hildesheimer of Berlin and Rabbi Lehmann of Mainz.¹⁰

After Hirsch at the age of sixty-eight had won his great political victory over the Reformers, he was to suffer a bitter defeat from within. The response to his call for secession from the old Frankfurt Kehillah was disappointing. Only seventy out of several hundred members declared themselves ready to secede. Among those who disregarded the Rabbi's decision were some influential members. Their leader was Moses Mainz, one of the eleven founders of the Religionsgesellschaft, who was widely respected as the greatest living Talmud scholar in Frankfurt. Strange to say, Hirsch's success in having the law of July, 1876 passed removed for many of his followers the need to avail themselves of it and secede, for now the Board of the Frankfurt Kehillah was ready to make concessions to its orthodox members. They were ready to set up separate institutions under orthodox leadership and provide them with community funds. Furthermore, through separate bookkeeping the orthodox members were assured that their taxes would be channeled towards their own needs, if they so desired.
A provision in the Secession Act that the seceding member had to declare in a court of law that he felt impelled to secede "for reasons of conscience" prevented many from taking this step, especially after the community board offered acceptable terms. The unexpected refusal of so many members to secede was explained also on psychological grounds. An emotional attachment towards the old Frankfurt Kehillah kept even Hirsch's admirers in the community fold. There were too many personal ties with members of the Kehillah to be suddenly ignored merely on the basis of a legal decision. In spite of its reform leadership many of Hirsch's partisans saw in that community the continuation of the historical Frankfurt Kehillah and found it difficult to part from it.

Hirsch remained uncompromising. He asked the Board of the Religionsgesellschaft to circulate among all members his comments on the concessions offered by the Reform, asserting that anyone remaining voluntarily a member in the Frankfurt community tacitly sanctioned reform institutions, separate bookkeeping notwithstanding. Neither sentiments of kinship nor considerations of the great past of the Frankfurt Kehillah modified his stand on a matter which he considered a strictly legal issue. He had clearly defined the principles on which a Jewish community must be based. The Frankfurt reform community was based on the negation of these principles.
Therefore, this community of Jews could no longer be considered the legitimate successor of the historical Frankfurt Kehillah. Continued membership in the reform community amounted to approval of a heretical ideology, inconsistent with Jewish law. If orthodoxy is true then reform is a lie. If reform is true then orthodoxy is a lie. They are like thesis and antithesis which cannot be adhered to at the same time without playing havoc with ideas. It would be comparable to a baptized Jew continuing Jewish practices.14

On March 20, 1877 Hirsch was deeply saddened by the report that his legal decision was disputed by Rabbi Seligmann Baer Bamberger, the renowned orthodox rabbi of Wuerzburg, who hitherto had fully supported his fight for the secession law. Hirsch learned about this serious blow against his authority through this notice that appeared in the Frankfurter Boersen und Handelszeitung:

A short time ago I was asked by several members of the Religionsgesellschaft of Frankfurt to go thither with the object of persuading a certain person who had hitherto refused to do so, to secede. In view of the importance of the matter I complied with this request. In the course of the discussion I learned that the Communal Board were now prepared to deal fairly with orthodox members who did not secede; that the institutions which they needed would be established on their behalf out of communal funds and would be entirely under orthodox guidance and supervision; that, on the other hand, orthodox members would be exempted from contributing towards the cultural institutions of the Reform Movement. I thereupon replied that provided all the necessary guarantees were given for the carrying out of these concessions, it could no longer be deemed necessary to secede from the Reform Community.15
The question of secession became now a crucial issue within the orthodox group. Hirsch implored Rabbi Bamberger in a long, open letter to revoke his statement. Bamberger replied, also in an open letter, and gave the reasons for his decision. He declared that the concessions of the reform community had created a new situation which no longer required secession. The disputation between the two rabbis ended with Hirsch's critique of Bamberger's reply in which Hirsch could not refrain from using sharp terms against his revered opponent.16

This episode had important results not only for Frankfurt but for Jewish life all over Germany. On the basis of the Hirsch-Bamberger dispute two types of orthodox congregations rose in large German cities. The followers of Hirsch formed "secession congregations" (Austrittsgemeinden) whereas those who established orthodox synagogues within the frame of the city-wide Jewish community claimed to act in accordance with the decision of the Rabbi of Wuerzburg. They were called Gemeindeorthodoxy. They did not, however, always adhere strictly to the conditions laid down in Bamberger's decision.

A rival organization to the Religionsgesellschaft rose in Frankfurt, too. Markus Horovitz, a pupil of Esriel Hildesheimer, accepted the position of rabbi in the newly established orthodox synagogue. Both orthodox congregations flourished and existed side by side until under Nazi rule all Jewish life in
Germany was destroyed. Although Rabbi Horovitz and his successors lead the Gemeindeorthodoxy in accordance with strictly orthodox law, they were never acknowledged by Hirsch and his disciples as a legitimate Jewish community.17 Much personal abuse and invective was aimed at the rival Gemeindeorthodoxy which "through their unholy alliance was, figuratively speaking, attaching a Mezuzah to the sanctuary of idolatry."18

Hirsch did not live to see that ultimately his decision was accepted by the large majority of the Religionsgesellschaft. When in 1899, according to a new law, only a written declaration was required for leaving the old Frankfurt Kehillah, at least eighty per cent of the members of the Religionsgesellschaft ceased paying taxes to the old Kehillah.19 The basic issues of secession orthodoxy versus Gemeindeorthodoxy reappeared later under different circumstances in the conflict between the Agudah and Mizrachi World Organizations.

Hirsch's adamant stand against those who held divergent views about Judaism was consistent with his idealistic philosophy. The idea is a true measure of all things or, as the Rabbi said, the Torah preceded the creation of the world. A community of Jews can rightly be called a Jewish community only if its goal is the realization of the revealed Jewish ideals. Once a community is based on these ideals it may well tolerate
within its fold disagreeing individuals, but if the rebellion takes over and destroys the faith in those absolute ideas then the community no longer deserves a Jewish name.

This radical position of Hirsch can only be appraised against the background of the Jewish situation actually existing in Germany. Politically the Jews had become emancipated and they mingled socially with non-Jewish groups; it was only the religious bond which upheld Jewish identity. Therefore, Jews who no longer shared common religious convictions had lost their common ground. What allegiance could an orthodox Jew feel towards a community which fostered untraditional ideas?

Although Hirsch fought the Reform relentlessly he himself was regarded a Reformer by some because of modernistic changes that he introduced in synagogue services. Especially during his stay in Nicolsburg he was severely criticized for innovations which later on were adopted without protest in Frankfurt. In Hirsch's synagogue service everything was regulated to the minutest detail, much attention was given to perfecting the aesthetic form, singing by an all male choir became an integral part of Sabbath and holiday services. The Rabbi's sermon in German became a significant means of adult education and aided in consolidating a community spirit.

One of Hirsch's admirers describes his power as a preacher as follows:
With a preacher like Hirsch it is as with a great singer. The effect of the performance must be felt, but cannot be described and is lost to posterity. Whenever in his sermons some struggle, some hesitation was noticed, it was because he was applying to himself the reins not the spur. He had to restrain the great copiousness in the outpour of his ideas, in the exuberant flow of words which suggested themselves to him; and with the greatest skill he selected, on the spur of the moment, those that were most fitting. The effect his addresses had on his audience was always electric. Suffice it to say that the instances were by no means few, that men of culture and education entered the synagogue with opinions antagonistic to his, and left it again with serious doubts as to the correctness of their views, to end in becoming his most ardent followers.22

Hirsch also insisted that the orthodox rabbi's attire match the dignity of his counterpart in the Reform Temple. Even in Nicolsburg Hirsch dressed in a frock coat and white tie, in Frankfurt he wore complete clerical garb. Weddings were held in the synagogue instead of under open sky and an address by the rabbi in German became part of the ceremony.

In introducing these practices Hirsch did not blindly follow the fashion of his time. He did so deliberately. He knew that outward manners and appearance were valued by many as a measure of culture and education; therefore, orthodoxy, too, had to become well polished and dignified in external appearance. Hirsch's motive was well expressed by I. Heinemann as follows:

The new was not tolerated in a spirit of weak compromise, nor was it indiscriminately placed next to the old. Modern pedagogy, oratory and aesthetics were to be harnessed in the service of tradition. The weapons forged by the Reform
Movement were to be instrumental in its defeat. Through the introduction of the choir, the congregation's devotion during the traditional service was to be, if possible, intensified.\(^{23}\)

Hirsch would, however, not sanction anything that was not fully compatible with traditional law. An article written by him in 1870 deals with the question of repeating the name of God or other words by the cantor in chanting the prayers. On the basis of which he prohibits this practice and adds a warning to all Jewish communities not to keep a cantor who would make out of prayer a frivolous game.\(^ {24}\)
CHAPTER XI

LATER DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING THE SCHOOLS
OF THE RELIGIONSGESELLSCHAFT

Hirsch’s manifold congregational and journalistic\(^1\) activities did not prevent him from devoting much of his time to his most cherished undertaking, the school. A very active principal, he took care of both administrative and educational matters. Even the pupil’s register was written in his own hand. He taught Scriptures in the higher grades and insisted on teaching secular subjects also in order to demonstrate the unity of all learning. He was present at the school even on the Sabbath for the weekly examination of the Talmud class. He did not expect, nor did he receive, any remuneration for his work at the school. Only when his efforts on behalf of the secession law made too heavy demands on his strength—at the age of sixty-seven he travelled eleven times to Berlin—did he entrust the direction of the school to his son, Dr. Mendel Hirsch in 1877.\(^2\)

Even after his resignation as principal of the school, the educational needs of his community remained his primary concern. In particular, his attention turned to the problem of schooling for the poor Jews of Frankfurt. As a physician his son, Dr. Markus Hirsch, became familiar with the poor
Jewish population of the eastern part of Frankfurt, the Ostend. His reports concerning the economic and religious situation of the small businessman and craftsman in the Jewish Ostend stirred the father to action. The elder Hirsch was profoundly disturbed by the fact that the high tuition charged in the Jewish higher schools compelled more than two hundred Jewish children to attend Christian Volksschulen (public schools).

In describing this situation from the pulpit, he emphasized that of all these Jewish children attending Christian schools, only three did not write on the Sabbath.

The old rabbi initiated steps to provide Jewish schooling for the children of the poor. In a letter to the Board of Directors (Vorstand) of the Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft, dated April 27, 1881, Hirsch recommended strongly the foundation of a Jewish Volksschule for those whose parents could not afford to send their children to the Realschule.

Hirsch's choice of this particular method of providing for the educational needs of the poor Jews can be understood only in the light of the then existing system of schools in the city of Frankfurt.³

There were in 1880 four different types of schools in Frankfurt.

a) The Volksschulen (public schools) were the schools of the very poor. Since 1886 no tuition fee at all was charged,
since it had been impossible in many cases to raise the previously charged nominal sum of six marks.

b) and c) The Buergerschulen and the Mittelschulen represented an intermediate level. The program was more intensive than in the Volksschule, and included the study of French in the upper grade. The tuition charged in the Buergerschule was 36 marks, in the Mittelschule, only 18 marks.

d) The higher schools (hoehere Schulen), viz., Realschulen and Gymnasia, with an intensive commercial or academic curriculum, charged a high tuition and were consequently attended only by the children of the well-to-do.

The Jewish population of Frankfurt at that time was 14,000 (ten per cent of the total population). The following tables show the distribution of Jewish children among the various types of schools.4

TABLE 2

JEWSH ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volksschulen</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mittelschulen</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buergerschulen</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3

JEWISH ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Jewish Higher Schools</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Jewish High Schools and</td>
<td>1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>various Private Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2391</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the large majority of the Jewish children of Frankfurt attended higher schools. The need for schooling of about two hundred fifty children on the lower level was to be met in a Jewish Volksschule as proposed by Hirsch.

Following their Rabbi's initiative several wealthy members of the Religionsgesellschaft formed a school committee and stated the need for and the purpose of the new school in the following appeal for contributions:

The educational needs of the children of the wealthy are well taken care of, but there are no suitable Jewish schools for the children of the less wealthy. They have no alternative but to attend Christian schools, while these are the children who more than others need a positively Jewish atmosphere at school because their homes are ill prepared to provide it. At present 200 to 250 Jewish children attend Christian Volksschulen. We need not linger on the manifold disadvantages for these children, nor on the unwholesomeness of their situation there. The undersigned have gladly taken it upon themselves to work for the foundation of a better public school (eine gehobene Volksschule) for Jewish children, which will be based on the same educational principles as the Realschule and will be connected with it. We permit ourselves, therefore, to appeal to the generosity of the friends of humanity and
of all those interested in the education of our youth.... The educational direction of our school will be associated with that of the Realschule. A very reasonable tuition fee will be charged. Following the example of the Mittel­schulen of the city the training given to the children will be related to their practical needs and prepare them for a future trade. The educational goal is to rear Torah-law-abiding Jews who will also be diligent, skillful, and capable of making a living.5

The Frankfurt Jewish community responded very generously to this appeal. The Religionsgesellschaft undertook to provide continuous support for the school. After various financial and administrative difficulties had been overcome, the school was opened on June 1, 1882 with a beginners' class of forty pupils. By 1887 the enrollment had reached three hundred in six grades. The direction of the school was in the hands of Dr. Mendel Hirsch, the director of the Realschule.6

At the time of the foundation of the Juedische Volks­schule, the Realschule had been in existence for twenty-nine years. On its opening day, April 1, 1853, it had only eighty-four students. From this modest beginning its enrollment had increased in less than three decades to more than five hundred pupils. In December, 1881 the Realschule moved into a spacious, newly-erected building.7

While the growth in student enrollment and in material support of the Realschule was impressive, it was unable to achieve commensurate educational success during the first decades of its existence. Jacob Rosenheim, one of its outstanding students during this period, reports that of the classes
from 1859 to 1888, only those who stayed in the Frankfurt community after their graduation at the age of fifteen until they were at least twenty years old remained loyal to the ideals of the school.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of extreme materialism. Darwin’s theory applied by Spencer and Huxley to educational thought became a menace to religious idealism. During this time Hirsch was quoted as confiding to one of his friends that “if we consider the cultural climate that surrounds our youth today and the poisonous spirit that penetrates their minds through every newspaper article, it is a marvel that our school succeeds in saving even one single soul for our ideals.” Hirsch presented in many of his articles the Jewish point of view in regard to materialism, evolution, and classical humanism. His aim was to implant these views in the minds of his pupils through studies in Jewish and secular subjects whenever opportunity presented itself. Yet he could not find qualified teachers for his task. Rosenheim reports that in his schooldays Dr. Mendel Hirsch, Hirsch’s son and successor as principal, was the only teacher able to integrate the two fields. Science was taught either by Gentile teachers or by Jews who kept strictly to the confines of their subject.8
Nevertheless, the aims as laid down by the founder continued to guide the school during these difficult initial decades until later a fuller realization of these ideals became possible. For the years 1890 to 1903 the proportion of graduates who followed the Torah im Derech Erez ideal was up to sixty per cent, and it continued to rise afterwards. The school also succeeded in filling its staff both for Jewish and secular studies with teachers who had been raised on Hirsch's educational ideas. Only the teachers for physical education and for arts and crafts were Gentiles.9

In another respect the school had to face even greater difficulties as time went on. The pressure of the government for reduction of the time devoted to Jewish studies increased. In the 1850s the School Commission of the Free City of Frankfurt had no objections to a school week of fifty hours for the thirteen to fifteen age group. On Sundays and Wednesdays classes were held in the afternoon, too, and on Thursday the school day was extended to seven o'clock. Ten hours were devoted to Talmud and ten hours to Bible and Commentaries, in addition to the thirty hours set aside for secular studies. By the year 1877, however, the Jewish program had already been limited to fifteen weekly hours and later it was reduced to ten hours per week. In the study of the Pentateuch much time was devoted to the understanding of Hirsch's commentary.
When Mendel Hirsch became principal, this commentary, written in German, was the exclusive text in Chumash and students starting their studies of the Talmud had not yet become familiar with the commentary of Rashi. Nevertheless, the students in the highest class progressed to the ability of reading and understanding passages of the Talmud.\textsuperscript{10}

While this educational level represented a definite achievement under the given circumstances, it was far below the minimum requirements of Jewish learning as envisaged by Hirsch for the realization of the Torah im Derekh Erez ideal. Most students who left at the age of fifteen or sixteen were not prepared to continue intensive Jewish studies on their own. In the school year of 1904-1905, an extension course was added for the graduates in order to deepen their knowledge in Jewish subjects. Yet these classes were attended only by a few, and did not raise the level of Jewish learning to any considerable degree.\textsuperscript{11} The plan to develop the school from a Realschule of six classes to an Oberrealschule of nine classes had to be abandoned due to the outbreak of World War I.\textsuperscript{12}

The Realschule was therefore unable to complete the educational task written on its banner. Hirsch was well aware of the need of more intensive Jewish studies for the formation of his Mensch Isroel ideal. In his unpublished blueprint for the constitution of the Religionsgesellschaft he had included a plan for the foundation of a Yeshivah, as a continuation
of the Realschule, from which ultimately rabbis and teachers would come forth. This plan was at the time most unrealistic, however. The members of the congregation were too eager to introduce their sons as soon as possible into the world of business. Most of them lacked Jewish learning and would have considered years spent at a Yeshivah as a waste of precious time. Even later, in the early twentieth century when Hirsch's son-in-law and successor in the rabbinate, Rabbi Dr. Solomon Breuer, insisted on having a Yeshivah, he had to import the students from his native Hungary. Not until after World War I, when German Jews had come into closer contact with their East European brethren, would Frankfurt Jews send their sons to the Frankfurt Yeshivah, and this only in exceptional cases.

Both schools of the Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft, the Realschule and the Volksschule, functioned without interruption from the time of their foundation by Hirsch until the destruction of the Jewish community by the Nazis.
CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

Throughout our work we have repeatedly shown that Hirsch incorporated in his educational theory and practice seemingly divergent elements:

He demanded unwavering loyalty to the Jewish way of life and at the same time active participation in the economic, political, and cultural life of modern German society.¹

He did not surrender his identity as a member of the Jewish nation, yet felt himself wholeheartedly a son of his land of adoption.²

His absolute faith in supernaturally revealed truth did not impair in his mind the function of the rational power in the educational process.³ He saw no conflict between the ethical and the intellectual goals in education.⁴

He asked that equal devotion be given to the study of natural and social sciences and to the study of Torah.⁵

His basic philosophy was theistic; man's primary task, he asserted, was to serve God, yet he proclaimed neo-humanistic goals in explaining that this service consists in realizing man's own self for the sake of achieving the moral destiny of mankind.⁶
He insisted on unconditional submission to the Law, while his educational work was devoted to making Law-observance meaningful so that the Law would serve as a means for spiritual enlightenment and as a lever for the purification of man.7

Finally, he defined the distinct assignment of the people of Israel, which, however, was to be carried out as an integral part of a universal divine plan.8

Hirsch emphasized that in spite of seeming divergencies, his stand on all issues was based solely on the teachings of Torah, in its comprehensive meaning. Indeed there is an intrinsic harmony in all his statements. The dominion of the divine precept is the core of his philosophy. His educational theory is determined by an acute historic sense. History to Hirsch was the scene of human education for which Israel was assigned a special mission. He did not want to create a new type of Judaism because its essential ideas never change. But he did introduce a new approach to the issues in Jewish life. He studied the Jewish scene from a historical perspective and sought solutions for the problems of his time with a view on the ultimate destiny of the Jewish people.

Whereas in the minds of many of his contemporaries the concept of historical evolution had shattered the authority of the Law, for Hirsch this concept gave new meaning and greater vitality to the divine precept.
Hirsch's major accomplishments, however, were not in the field of theoretical thought. He fought zealously for the propagation and realization of his ideas, and thus became the religious leader of a significant segment of German Jewry, called by its opponents neo-orthodox.

There surely were at Hirsch's time many German Jews, especially in small towns and villages, who remained orthodox because they had not been sufficiently exposed to the modern spirit. The neo-orthodox movement, however, consisted of those who had felt the impact of the new currents, who had struggled with them and had been able to resist the powerful drift that had swept away many of their brethren from their Jewish fold and heritage. Shocked by the mass desertions, this neo-orthodox group became determined to renew the covenant of their fathers for German Jewry. They declared themselves the watchmen of an unchanging faith at a most vulnerable outpost. In order to strengthen their morale in the fight against assimilation and reformation, a proud sectarian spirit developed. With a feeling of superiority and occasionally even with haughtiness, they looked down on the opposing Jewish camp where Jews had compromised with basic principles and had become disloyal to their group.

The rise of such a self-confident orthodox movement can be ascribed to the devoted efforts of a small group of
rabbis thoroughly trained in both Jewish and German culture, among whom Hirsch was the leading and most militant figure.

Hirsch realized more than others that purely educational means, limited in the sense of schooling, were not sufficient for a revival of orthodox life in Germany. For the purpose of strengthening the individual against the temptations inherent in his assimilationist environment, he made him feel that he was part of a community that gave actual support to his ideals. Through social ties a new environment had to be created in which educational ideas, though in conflict with the general trend, would find a favorable climate for their growth.

The immediate result of Hirsch's educational efforts was, therefore, the consolidation of a community of prosperous laymen in which strict observance of Torah law was accepted as a categorical imperative. Profound Torah knowledge was highly respected, but considered to be the portion of a select few. Participation in the cultural, social and political life of Germany was taken for granted by all members of the community, and again only a few outstanding members arrived at a theoretical synthesis of the two cultures.9

The attainment of profound scholarship was not within the scope of the educational institutions of the Frankfurt Religionsgesellschaft. This was the goal of the other branch
of German orthodoxy which centered around the Rabbinerseminar
of Hildesheimer in Berlin.

Hirsch's strategy in his fight for traditional Judaism differed with that of Esriel Hildesheimer, his slightly younger contemporary. Hirsch was opposed to apologetics. Defending Judaism against assaults from scientific quarters through an attempt to reconcile it with science meant for Hirsch a weakening of the position of Judaism. The absolute truth of Judaism needed no defense through weak compromises. Hirsch based his views on postulates apriori and thus removed himself from a position in which he would be exposed to attacks originating from the schools of different philosophies. He did not care for those who refused to accept these postulates without proof. From this safe position he was able to move freely and forcefully in expounding his ideas about Judaism and the modern world in a form and style that inspired and convinced through its emotional impact.

Instead of justifying Jewish beliefs scientifically he attempted to rehabilitate the psychological foundation for living within the frame of Jewish law. In his view it was mainly a psychological phenomenon which associated law observance with ghetto spirit in the minds of German Jews; that they misinterpreted piety as an obstacle in their way to success in the world of enterprise, and considered the exit from the
Beth Hamedrash necessary for entering the cultured society and the houses of science. Hirsch succeeded in his psychological strategy by dispelling these wrong attitudes in his community where a fine harmony between worldliness and Jewishness prevailed throughout.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION


4 Martin Philippson, Neueste Geschichte des juedischen Volkes, (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1922), I, 153.


6 Schnabel, op. cit., p. 422.

7 Philippson, op. cit., p. 158.

8 Bernfeld, op. cit., p. 34.

9 Ibid., p. 35.

10 Ibid., p. 24.


15 Mendelsohn must have anticipated this development because in a letter to Basedow and in one to Herz Homberg he expressed his opposition to organized attempts at spreading general education among the Jews so long as their civil disabilities had not been removed. He asked Basedow what was the advantage in acquiring higher education for the Jews if the result would be only a greater awareness of the chasm between them and the world around them. (From an article on "Juedische Erziehung" in the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, (1851).
NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 E. Dukesz, "Zur Genealogie Samson Raphael Hirsch's," 
Jahrbuch der Juedisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft (J. Kauffmann: 
Frankfurt am Main, 1926), XVII, 103.

2 Ibid., p. 104.


4 Ibid., p. 91.

5 Samson Raphael Hirsch, Neunzehn Briefe ueber Judentum 
(Berlin: Welt Verlag, 1919), p. 17; trans. Bernard Drachman, 
The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 

6 Hirsch, Horev, Versuche ueber Jissroels Pflichten 
(Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1889), Introduction p. v.

7 Hermann Schwab, The History of Orthodox Jewry in Germany 

8 H. Graetz, History of the Jews, V, p. 577.

9 E. Dukesz, "Zur Biographie des Haham Isaak Bernays," 
Jahrbuch der Juedisch-Liberarischen Gesellschaft (Frankfurt am Main: 
J. Kauffmann, 1907), V, 299-306.

10 "Israelit," Samson Raphael Hirsch Jubilaeumsnummer 
(Redaktion des Israelit: Frankfurt am Main, 5668, 1908), p. 9.

11 Dukesz, Ivah Lemoshav, op. cit., p. 4.


13 Schwab, op. cit., p. 31.


15 H. Graetz, op. cit., index volume, p. 12.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 Hirsch, Neunzehn Briefe, op. cit., p. 120: "Ich habe den Weg zum Aufbau des Judentums als Wissenschaft in meinem Innern fast allein gemacht."

2 An opinion has been expressed that perhaps because of this consideration (that even the most masterfully constructed philosophy of Judaism would be subject to faulty human reasoning) Hirsch has modestly tied away from stating systematically his philosophical thoughts, and that, therefore, the first volume that was to precede Morev never appeared. (W. Wolf, Nahlat Zewi, III, pp. 132-138.)

3 Hirsch, Neunzehn Briefe, op. cit., p. 123: "Ich freue mich deshalb nun, dass mir die erste Anregung zu diesen schriftlichen Versuchen durch das Bedürfnis wurde, den Lehrem ... ein Buch in die Hände zu geben in dem sie sich selbst erst zu Juden lesen konnten, ehe sie junge Gemüter zum Judentum erzogen ..."

4 Ibid., pp. 14-16

5 Ibid., p. 19: "Aber aus der Quelle müssen wir es kennenlernen, die es uns selber reicht ... aus seiner Thauoh."

6 Ibid., pp. 103, 104: "Die erzeugte die Zeit einen Geist, der, gleichzeitig in unbegriffenem Judentum und in arabischer Wissenschaft erzogen, -- in sich selber den Zwiespalt auszugleichen hatte, wie er ihn ausglichen, aussprach, und damit Führer ward fuer alle im gleichen Kampf Begriffene. Dieser grosse Mann, wie wir ihm, und nur ihm die Erhaltung des praktischen Judentums bis auf unsere Zeit verdanken, hat gerade darin, und dass er auf anderer Seite nur ausglich, nicht schöpferisch das Judentum aus sich selbst entwickelte, und wie er es ausglich, -- alles Gute und Böse geboren."

7 Hirsch, Der Pentateuch I, 2:19 (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1911): "Nach diesen Eindrücken nennt er die Wesen, in diesem Namen spricht er die Eindrücke aus, die seine von den Dingen erhaltene Vorstellung bilden, und damit weist er ihnen ihr ρο' (daher ρο'), ihren Ort an, reiht sie in die entsprechende Gattung, Art, Spezies u.s.w. ein. All unser Wissen von den Dingen ist nichts als eine solche Namengebung. Dieses Wissen ist aber nur subjektiv, ist nur das ρο (ρο', ρο, ρο, ρο) , wie sich der Mensch die Dinge von seinem subjektiven Standpunkt aus nennt, was er von ihnen, nach den von ihnen erhaltenen Eindrücken, begreift, was sie ihm sind. Das Wesen der Dinge an sich schaut kein sterblicher Geist."

8 Because of this fact Hirsch's name is not found among those who contributed to the field of systematic philosophy.

9 Infra., chap. VII.

12 Hirsch, "Jesaias und seine Welt," Gesammelte Schriften II (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1904), p. 188.
16 Hirsch, Gesammelte Schriften I, op. cit., p. 432.
21 Ibid., pp. 27, 28; trans. Drachman, pp. 28, 29.
22 Ibid., p. 30; trans. Drachman, p. 33.
23 Ibid., p. 32; trans. Drachman, p. 37.
24 Ibid., p. 39; trans. Drachman, p. 50.
28 Ibid., p. 55; trans. p. 80. 29 Ibid., p. 57; trans. p. 84.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III


4 Jeremiah, 29:5-7.

5 Hirsch, Neunzehn Briefe, op. cit., p. 93: "Jenes Zurueckstossen und Beschaenken in den Bahnen des Lebens also nicht wesentliche Bedingung des Goluss; vielmehr Pflicht, sowiel nur immer moglich sich dem Staate anzubuergern ... und des eigene Wohl nicht getrennt von des Staates Wohl zu achten."

6 Ibid., p. 94; trans. p. 161.

7 Ibid., p. 96: "Ich segne die Emanzipation, ... und begruesse freudig, wo dieses Opfer gebracht wird, als eine Morgenroete wieder erwachenden Menschtums in der Menschheit—eine Vorstufe zur Anerkennung Gottes als des alleinigen Herren und Vaters, aller Menschen."

8 Ibid., p. 97: "... ich segne sie nur, wenn Jissroel die Emanzipation nicht als Ende seines Berufs, sondern als eine neue Seite seiner Aufgabe, als eine neue Pruefung, und als eine viel schwerere als die des Druckes, entgegenimmt."


10 Hirsch, Neunzehn Briefe, op. cit., p. 94: "Nie war Land und Boden sein Einigungsbond, sondern die gemeinsame Aufgabe der Thauoch; darum ja auch eine Einheit noch, wenn auch fern vom Lande,—und darum noch Einheit, wenn auch ueberall in der Zerstreung eingebuerget; ... bis sie Gott einmal auch aeußerlich als Volk auf einem boden vereinigen und die Lehre der Thauoch wieder als Prinzip eines Staates dastehen werde, zum Muster und zur Offenbarnung Gottes und des Menschenberufe—eine Zukunft, die, als Ziel des Golus gesteckt, verheissen isst, aber ja nicht taeig von uns gefordert werden darf ..."

11 Ibid., p. 95.

12 In "Samson Raphael Hirsch und das juedische Russland" Israelit Jubilaumsnummer, op. cit., the writer reports that during the early eighties Hirsch communicated with Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Spector of Kowno about the sad condition of Russian Jews. He was urged to ask for the intervention of the governments in London and Paris with the Russian government in favor of the Jews. When these attempts failed Hirsch initiated contacts with a German princely family who exerted great influence on the Russian ruler. This German prince checked carefully the reports from the Jewish side with information received from his trusted friends in Russia and suggested that Hirsch write an article in defense of the Talmud which was considered by the Russian rulers as subversive literature. As a result of this Hirsch wrote, 'About the Relationship of the Talmud to Judaism and to the Social Status of Its Adherents.' The German prince was greatly impressed with Hirsch's paper and according to the report in the Israelit the removal of the Russian minister Ignatiew was a direct result of the intervention of the German prince.
"Eine historische Erinnerung" Nach 'lath Z'wi, Eine Monatschrift fuer Judentum in Lehre und Tat (Frankfurt am Main: David Droller), IV, 326.


Ibid., p. 87.

Ibid., p. 88.

Ibid., pp. 91-97.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV


Schwab, op. cit., p. 38.

Festschrift op. cit., p. 161.

Schwab, op. cit., p. 39.

Ibid., p. 40.

A. Susbach, "Zur Geschichte der Schulanstalten" Festschrift zur Jubiläums-Feier des 50-Jahrigen Bestehens der Unterrichtsanstalten der Israelitischen Religionsgesellschaft zu Frankfurt a/M (Frankfurt am Main: Louis Golde, 1903), p. 3.

Ibid., p. 8.

Ibid.; p. 5.

Ibid., p. 6.


Ibid., p. 452.

Schwab, op. cit., p. 41.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 A. Sulzbach, op. cit., p. 33.

2 Johann Bernard Basedow, (1724-1790) in 1774 founded a new school which he called Philantropinum. His goal was to prepare children in this new type of school for useful and happy living. Basedow was also a strong advocate for state control of education. Fredrick Eby and Charles Arrowood, The Development of Modern Education (New York: Prentice Hall, 1934), p. 519.


4 A. Sulzbach, op. cit., pp. 34, 35.

5 Ibid., p. 44.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI


3 Infra., p. 2.


5 Avot II, 2. רוחו של עליז ממהיר המוסים יגוע ושין ורבא. ממיように ידוע שהיהooled עליז המוסים, Rabban Gamliel the son of Rabbi Yehudah the Prince said, An excellent thing is the study of the Torah combined with some worldly occupation, for the labor demanded by them both makes sin to be forgotten.


7 Infra., p. 4.


10 Ibid., p. 454.

12 Talmud Babli, Kiddushin 29.


14 Ibid., p. 457.

15 Ibid., p. 436.

16 Hirsch had undoubtedly read the philosophical and educational literature of his time. These works are seldom referred to by name, however, since his educational writings were not intended for scholars. They were in the main popular essays and lectures to inspire and to stimulate to action.

Characteristically, whenever possible, Hirsch relates his ideas to the basic sources of Judaism.


18 Ibid., p. 438.

19 Ibid., p. 439.

20 Ibid., p. 459.

21 Ibid., p. 440.

22 Ibid., p. 441.


26 Ibid., p. 465.

27 Ibid.,

28 Festschrift 50jaehr., op. cit., note to table in Anhang (appendix).

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1 Hirsch, Ges. Schriften I, op. cit., p. 137.


3 Ibid., p. 87; trans. p. 149.

4 Hirsch, Ges. Schriften IV, op. cit., p. 120.


6 Ibid., p. 87; trans. p. 148.

7 Hirsch speaks reverentially of kabbalistic literature without venturing to express judgment since he admits to knowing little of it. He senses in it, however, "an invaluable repository of the spirit of Bible and Talmud" and deeply regrets that due to unfortunate misunderstandings, "what should have been eternally progressive development was considered a stationary mechanism, and the inner significance and concept thereof as extramundane dreamworlds. Nineteen Letters, op. cit., p. 187.

8 Ibid., p. 65; trans. p. 99.

9 Hirsch, Horev, op. cit., p. xii


11 Ibid., p. 67; trans. p. 102.

12 Hirsch disregarded the customary division of the Mitzvot into and commands and prohibitions, because he did not consider this division as being essential for his plan of arriving at the spirit and purpose of the laws.


14 The Horev is a work that has not its equal in the modern literature of Judaism for boldness of conception, for diligence and persistence of execution, for resourceful and devoted ingenuity in interpretation, a work which can have been dictated only by strong and lofty purpose. An earnest piety, an unwavering faith in the supremacy of Judaism pervades its every page; traditional law is treated with a tender, admiring reverence which almost amounts to absolute conviction of infallibility; side by side with far-fetched and absurd symbolizations and justifications there appear meditations and pithy sermons which are underlain by an affectionate study.
of history and human nature, upborne by the noblest principles of idealism and spiritual passion. (Max Heller, Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis XVIII, pp. 190, 191.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1 Hirsch, Neunzehn Briefe, op. cit., p. 65; trans., p. 100.
3 Ibid., pp. 228-268.
4 Ibid., p. 214.
5 Ibid., p. 216.
6 Ibid., p. 218.
7 Ibid., p. 229.
8 Ibid., pp. 269-447.
9 Ibid., pp. 350-357.
12 Ibid., p. 362.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1 Hirsch, Gesammelte Schriften IV, op. cit., p. 424.
Hirsch sees also in perfecting one's penmanship, in keeping notebooks neatly, in cultivating the sense of harmonious forms through drawing, and of the sense for logical harmony and for congruity through the study of mathematics, activities that have a transfer value for ethical living.

Hirsch was aware of the possible damage done by certain incentives offered in schools. He admits that it seems inevitable for schools to resort to praising and reproving, to encouraging competition and spurring ambitions, although these might easily lead towards conceit, towards a vain race for honors and to rejoicing in the failures of fellow students. He concludes that a sound ethical school climate must prevent such possible developments.

Hirsch finds a hint for this motherly function in the Hebrew name of the mother of all mankind, Havah which is also the root for "expressing."
NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1 Hirsch, Ges. Schriften, op. cit., p. 213.
2 Infra., chap. IV.
3 Emanuel Schwarzschild, Ein Offenes Wort an Sr. Ehrwürden Seeligman Baer Bamberger zu Wuerzburg (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1877).
4 Schwab, op. cit., p. 43.
6 Ibid., p. 476.
7 Ibid., pp. 489-530.
8 Schwab, op. cit., pp. 489-530.
9 Ibid., p. 67, also Hirsch, Ges. Schriften IV, op. cit., p. 243.
11 Schwab, op. cit., p. 71.
14 Ibid., p. 298.
In order to spread his ideas among German-speaking Jews beyond Frankfurt am Main, Hirsch founded in 1854 the orthodox monthly Jeschurun, which he published until 1870. Hirsch contributed regularly and heavily to this monthly. A frequent feature was Hirsch's "Paedagogische Etiudereien" in which he expounded his pedagogical views in a popular form. The Jeschurun was also the platform for Hirsch's disputations with the contemporary school of thought of Graetz and Frankel.

Baruch Stern, 50 Jahre Israelitische Volkschule 1882-1932 (Frankfurt am Main: Hermon, 1932), p. 3.
The official plan of the school provided for only fifteen hours of Hebrew instruction. We assume that additional hours were given on a voluntary basis in the afternoon, which were not reported in the official plan.


Rosenheim, Zikhronot, op. cit., pp. 18, 19.


Rosenheim, Zikhronot, op. cit., pp. 16, 17.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII

Infra., p. 77.

Infra., p. 45.

Infra., p. 80.

Infra., p. 118.

Infra., p. 78.

Infra., p. 40.

Infra., pp. 97, 98.

Infra., p. 42.

Rosenheim reports about his joining a Wissenschaftliche Lesegrrke while a senior in the Realschule. For eight years he attended weekly study groups in which the great works of modern German literature were read and discussed. Rosenheim testifies that in his mind no conflict arose. The values of general culture fused harmoniously with those of Jewish tradition. Yet he doubted whether there was any other participant in whose mind the Jewish values remained dominant.

Rosenheim, Zikhronot, op. cit., p. 25.
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