

VARIETIES OF AUSTRIAN ANTI-SEMITISM:

FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC

by

Bruce F. Pauley

University of Central Florida

"Austria between the Wars:
the First Republic"

Center for Austrian Studies
University of Minnesota

May 25-26, 1979

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The subject of anti-Semitism aroused enormous interest among both scholars and the general public long before the showing of the television series, "Holocaust." Massive works exist on the extermination of the Jews, but much less on the democratic era preceding World War II. This is especially true of the history of anti-Semitism in Austria between 1914 and 1934.¹ The years during the First World War and the post-war era, which will comprise the heart of this study, witnessed a sharp rise in anti-Semitism. By 1934 anti-Semitism was no longer confined to mere rhetoric, but had become a matter of governmental policy.

The Austrian Jews: Early History, Location, and Professions

As a primarily religious phenomenon Austrian anti-Judaism (the term "anti-Semitism" was not coined until 1879) can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Popular hostility toward Jews resulted in their being expelled from the country in 1421 and again in 1676. As a well-developed modern, racial sentiment, however, anti-Semitism dates back only to the temporary and partial emancipation of the Jews during the Revolution of 1848 and their final and seemingly permanent liberation at the end of 1867.

Although there had been famous Jewish families in Austria since the Middle Ages, the history of the Austrian Jews

as a numerically significant people is also relatively recent, beginning only in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1776 the entire Jewish population of Vienna and the remainder of the province of Lower Austria amounted to only 337. By 1846 there were still fewer than 4,000 Jews residing in Vienna.² Within the space of only half a century these figures increased dramatically. In 1857 there were 15,600 Jews in Greater Vienna.

out of a total population of 476,220, or slightly less than 3 percent of the total population.³ As a result of a mass migration of Jews from the eastern sections of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy there were 201,510 Viennese Jews by 1923 out of a population of 1,865,780 people, or 10.8 percent of the population.⁴ This gave Vienna the third largest Jewish population in Europe after Warsaw, and just behind Budapest, but well ahead of Berlin where 173,000 Jews made up only 5 percent of its total population.⁵

Outside the Austrian capital the Jewish population was far less numerous, amounting to only about 20,000 in the shrunken territory of postwar Austria. No Jews were allowed in some of the Austrian provinces (such as Salzburg and Styria) for many years preceding 1848, and thereafter their numbers climbed only slowly. By 1938 there were about 8,100 Jews in Lower Austria (which had been separated from Vienna after the World War), 2,000 in Graz, the capital of Styria (or 1 percent of the city's population), 1,000 in Upper Austria, 350 in Tyrol, 300 in Carinthia, 200 in Salzburg, 18 in Vorarlberg, and 3,300 in Burgenland, which had been annexed from Hungary after the World War.⁶ Not only were these numbers small, but the provincial Jews also did not play a very significant economic or cultural role, even in Graz.⁷ These facts proved to be no obstacle to the growth of a virulent brand of anti-Semitism, however.

Emancipation and the mass migration of Jews to Vienna were accompanied by a remarkable increase in their involvement

in higher education. By 1914, 27.5 percent of the students at the University of Vienna were of Jewish extraction, more than three times their proportion of the city's population. By the 1920-21 academic year the figure reached 42 percent. Over 20 percent of the students at the Technical College (Technische Hochschule) were Jewish. Almost 35 percent of the students at the city's elite secondary schools, the Gymnasia, were also Jewish in 1913 and nearly 37 percent were Jewish in 1924. On the other hand, the fact that Jewish enrollment was only 2.95 percent at Vienna's School of Agriculture (Hochschule für Bodenkultur) in 1910 and 1.61 percent in 1924 was seen by anti-Semites as proof that Jews were averse to dirt and manual labor.⁸

Radical, racial anti-Semitism grew at the Austrian universities with the increase in Jewish enrollments. By 1890 most of the Austrian Burschenschaften (fraternities) excluded Jews.⁹ Even the teaching staffs joined the anti-Semitic cause by demanding a maximum quota on the number of Jewish students. But an eventual decline in the number of Jewish students at the University of Vienna from 4,556 in 1928 to 1,553 in 1936,¹⁰ did nothing to lessen academic anti-Semitism.

Austrian Jews used their newly acquired advanced education to increase their representation in the so-called free professions in large numbers. Whereas there were only thirty-three Jewish lawyers in Vienna in 1869, there were 394 of them out of a total of 681 by 1893. In the same year, 48 percent of the medical students in Vienna were Jewish. In the other

European city was there such a concentration of Jews in these professions.¹¹ The domination of the city's newspapers before the Great War was even more pronounced with 123 of 174 editors being Jewish.¹² Both the capital's sophisticated newspapers like the Neue Freie Presse and the Tagblatt, as well as the popular press such as the Extrablatt and the Kronenzeitung, were written by Jews and largely for Jews.¹³ The editors of the Socialist newspapers were nearly all Jewish. Hence there was some truth in the Nazis' description of the Viennese press as being "Jewish." Yet the charge overlooked the fact that Jewish journalists were hardly monolithic in their political views. Some even wrote for newspapers which were notoriously anti-Semitic.¹⁴

Jews were also in the forefront in the Industrial Revolution in Austria. This was not entirely surprising because they had long been excluded from the civil and military services; business was therefore one of the few legal occupations they could enter. Trades like furniture retailing and advertising were eventually 85 to 90 percent in Jewish hands.¹⁵ They were also very active in textiles and paper milling as well as in coal mining. Austrian finance was almost entirely controlled by Jews, a fact which had much to do with the outburst of anti-Semitism following the Viennese bank crash of 1873. To a skilled artisan the big industrialist seemed like a threat to his very existence. To all who suffered from the inroads of capitalism it was tempting to believe that capitalism was nothing more than a Jewish

invention. A generation later the large number of "profiteers" who were Jewish in the World War added more fuel to the anti-Semitic fires.¹⁶

Jewish influence was also widely felt in literature and the arts, both before and after the Great War. Austria had previously lacked a large and powerful middle class between the petite bourgeoisie and the nobility. After 1867 this gap was increasingly filled by assimilated Jewish families who were wealthy and educated enough to support and participate in the fine arts. It was general, not specifically Jewish culture which interested them. By 1914 Jews and "non-Aryan" Christians formed perhaps as much as half of the cultivated and well-to-do classes of Vienna. Martin Freud, the son of the great psychiatrist, wrote that he was twelve years old before he realized that "Jews were not a privileged race, but were exposed to persecution and hatred."¹⁷

Viennese Jews between about 1870 and 1938 provided not only the patronage, audiences, and press criticism of the arts, but also to a substantial extent the creators. Writers like Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Franz Werfel, and Karl Kraus were all Jewish as was the composer and director of the Vienna Hofoper, Gustav Mahler. Heinrich Friedjung was the best known of the Austrian historians and Arnold Schönberg helped create a musical revolution as did the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein.

Assimilation, Zionism, and Socialism

Most Austrian Jews, especially before 1914, adopted the German language and became fully assimilated into German-Austrian social customs. But anti-Semitism prevented them from forgetting their identity, and many Viennese Jews (especially recent immigrants from the east) socialized almost exclusively with other Jews.¹⁸ Nevertheless, there was a substantial increase in mixed marriages after 1900 and many Jews became staunch Austrian patriots, so much so in fact that Judaism and the Austrian state idea became identified in the minds of some members of the empire's Slavic nationalities.¹⁹ Although between 1867 and 1900 anti-Semitism became widespread among Austria's lower middle class--tradespeople, artisans, and minor officials--assimilated Jews did not regard it as dangerous. Many saw it as no more than a temporary disease which was well on its way toward being cured. They took comfort in the fact that despite a good deal of anti-Semitic rhetoric, they had lost none of their recently won legal rights and enjoyed the sympathy and protection of Emperor Franz Joseph.

It is true that Vienna was also the home of Theodor Herzl whose book The Jewish State, published in 1896, marked the beginning of the Zionist movement. Yet for many years Zionists remained very much a minority within the Jewish community. The founding of a Jewish national assembly in November 1918 was fought by the assimilationists. Not until

1932 did Zionists capture control of the Kultusgemeinde (K6) organization of Vienna, and then only as the result of a small voter turnout and the fact that many assimilated Jews had dropped out of it.²⁰

The newly emancipated Austrian Jews at first flocked to the Liberal party which had led the fight for civil liberties. The Liberals also favored free trade and capitalism along with the separation of Church and State, two programs which naturally appealed to Jews. But the Liberals drew their support from the middle class and their representation in Parliament declined as the franchise was gradually broadened to include the lower classes.

When the Liberals began declining in the 1890s the Austrian Jews gradually shifted their support to the rising Marxian Social Democrats who, like the Liberals, believed in secularism. After 1920, 75 percent of the Viennese Jews joined the party because it was the only political movement in Austria which did not have a well-developed anti-Semitic program. The party's founder, Viktor Adler, was a baptized Jew as was the party's intellectual leadership; the party's newspaper editors soon became overwhelmingly Jewish, a fact with which even some of the Jewish members of the party were not too happy.²¹ Socialist theoreticians, both before and after 1918, thought that it was only a question of time until all Jews were assimilated. For them, Zionism represented a form of reactionary bourgeois nationalism, a position with which the Communists agreed.²²

Although the Social Democrats were far less infected by anti-Semitism than any other Austrian party, they nevertheless, could not resist the temptation of accusing their rivals, the Christian Social party (CSP), the Greater German People's party (GVP), and later on even the Nazi party of being the protectors of Jewish capitalism.²³ Unfortunately, the Social Democrats also set a poor precedent in their use of radical and sarcastic rhetoric, an example which was followed after the World War by the radical Right in Austria. Nevertheless, the prominence of Jews in the Social Democratic party (80 percent of its intellectual leadership was Jewish)²⁴ make it far more a target than a proponent of anti-Semitism. Judaism and Socialism in fact soon came to be equated in the minds of the anti-Semites.

The Beginning of Political Anti-Semitism in Austria

Although probably better known for his virulent pan-German nationalism and his influence on the young Adolf Hitler, Georg Ritter von Schönerer was one of the first well-known exponents of racial anti-Semitism in Austria. He began his political career as a left-wing liberal member of Parliament, but eventually became the "father," or at least the "grandfather" of National Socialism.

In 1881 Schönerer founded the nationalistic Deutsche Volkspartei and the next year helped draft the famous "Linz Program." The extension of the franchise and protection for

the German-speaking people of Austria were originally the two most important features of this document. But three years later Schönerer added a twelfth and most infamous point to the Linz declaration stating that "the removal of Jewish influence from all sections of the public life [was] indispensable for carrying out the reforms aimed at."²⁵

Schönerer felt that Jewish intellectuals controlled the laboring classes and the professions. Their advocacy of liberalism, Marxism, and internationalism, he maintained, was contrary to German national interests because it destroyed the basically German character of the Austrian state.²⁶ Consequently Schönerer demanded the dismissal of Jewish teachers (even though there were almost none below the university level) and special laws against Jewish migration into the German-speaking parts of Austria. Those Jews who were already in Austria were to be confined once again to ghettos.²⁷ But in the same year as he made this last demand (1887), von Schönerer's effectiveness was sharply curtailed when a Viennese newspaper published documentary proof that his wife had a Jewish ancestor.²⁸

As the most effective prewar exponent of anti-Semitism, Schönerer thought race was all-important. Blood should be the criteria for all civil rights. But he was a poor organizer and never attracted a mass following. However, he did have a lasting influence on Vienna's lower-middle class--that class most affected by industrialization and Jewish competition. He also had a considerable following among lawyers, doctors, teachers, accountants, and above all, university students.

The latter saw their hopes of entering the liberal professions and business being endangered by well-entrenched Jews. These were the very groups which would later join the Nazi party.²⁹

The First World War and the Acceleration of Jewish Migration

Whereas before the First World War Austrian anti-Semitism remained largely in the realm of rhetoric, in the postwar era the words began to be implemented. The war itself was the principal catalyst responsible for this change. Soon after the war began the eastern Austrian province of Galicia, the province containing the Monarchy's largest Jewish population, was overrun by Tsarist troops. The Russian occupation caused the greatest flight of Jewish refugees in European history since the seventeenth century. The Galician Jews were well aware of Tsarist anti-Semitism and feared the worst if they should be trapped under wartime conditions. The later conquest of Russian Poland by the Central Powers brought the Austrians into contact with still more Jews whose knowledge of Yiddish, Polish, and Russian, enabled them to play the role of middlemen. They feared they might be treated as traitors should the Russians reconquer their home towns.

Nearly all of these Jews were poor--peddlers, artisans, cattle dealers, and tenant farmers--people who had little to lose by taking flight. Altogether some 340,000 refugees had left Galicia already by the end of 1915. Of these, 137,000 found asylum in Vienna where many had friends and relatives.

Over 77,000 (60 percent) of these newcomers were Jewish. Almost overnight Vienna's Jewish population swelled by nearly 50 percent.³⁰ Although the refugees were at first received with sympathy and friendliness, their long presence in the wartime capital was a real hardship for a city beginning to suffer severe shortages of food and fuel. These problems were aggravated by the fact that most of the refugees had no independent means of support. The Jewish refugees also made a considerable impact on the politics of the Viennese-Jewish community by strengthening the ranks of the Zionists. Ultimately, it was against these "eastern" Jews, who were usually orthodox in their religion and socialist in their politics, that the fiercest anti-Semitic attacks were to be made.

Although some of the Jewish refugees returned to their homelands as soon as they were evacuated by the Russians, 35,000 still remained in Vienna in 1918 and were reluctant to leave. Now much smaller in numbers, their presence in the war-impooverished capital of the truncated new republic nevertheless was resented more than ever by the city's longtime residents including many Jews. Thirty-four thousand Jews became citizens of Vienna between 1912 and 1933 causing even more indignation among anti-Semites.³¹

Still another fresh source of anti-Semitism was the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, signed in September 1919. The treaty, negotiated in part by the Jewish-Socialist foreign minister, Otto Bauer, (although signed by the moderate non-Jew, Karl Renner), imposed harsh territorial and economic

terms on the already destitute country. Jews, Socialists, and even the young democracy itself, therefore, received much of the blame for the unpopular treaty.

Anti-Semitism in the Democratic Era, 1918-1933

As Austria entered the post-World War I era all the old anti-Semitic issues were still around: the prominent role of Jews in Vienna's professions and economy, and their inclination toward liberalism, Marxism, and internationalism. But added to these problems was the existence of a new Socialist municipal government in Vienna which contained many Jews. It was determined to push through an extensive social welfare program paid for by steeply graduated federal income taxes which fell most heavily on the already hard-pressed middle and upper classes.

Vienna, which had served an empire of 54,000,000 people, now had a hinterland with only 4,500,000 inhabitants. Thousands of civil servants from those areas of the Dual Monarchy annexed by the Secessionist States descended on Vienna in the vain hope of finding work. The city's educational and cultural institutions--universities, libraries, museums, theaters, opera houses, etc., which had been subsidized by imperial revenues--now had to get along on much smaller budgets. The postwar inflation, which reached its peak in Austria in 1921-22, virtually wiped out the long-accumulated savings and pensions of the thrifty. All these conditions were especially devastating to the city's middle

class, that class which was most competitive with Jews and traditionally the most anti-Semitic.

Austria's political parties reflected the postwar economic, social, and political conditions with an intensified form of anti-Semitism. Apart from the Social Democrats, described earlier, the other major party of the First Republic was the Christian Social party. As practicing Catholics most of them could not accept the new "scientific" brand of racial anti-Semitism.³² To be sure, their great prewar leader and long-time mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger, exploited anti-Semitism among the city's lower middle class for his own political purposes. However, this tactic was inspired at least in part by his anxiety to compete with the anti-Semitic, pan-German Right, inspired by von Schönerer. Lueger did not hesitate to mix socially with Jews and reserved the right to define for himself who was a Jew. He appointed baptized Jews to important positions. Viennese Jews made even more progress in business during his administration than during the previous Liberal era, and the number of mixed marriages increased substantially.³³ Fewer Jews were purged from Vienna's bureaucracy while Lueger was mayor than Germans or Social Democrats. Still, Lueger had shown the efficacy of popular anti-Semitism, and Adolf Hitler was one of his most eager pupils and ardent admirers.

The Christian Socials after 1918 continued Lueger's tradition of denouncing Jews in the abstract while leaving individual Jews alone in practice. They equated Jews with

Bolshevism and Socialism. Their priest-leader, Ignaz Seipel, attacked the "Jewish danger" and the Jews' alleged monopolistic control of the country's economy in 1919.³⁴ The CSP program of 1926 affirmed the need to fight Jewish influence in both intellectual and economic affairs. The party also talked about reducing the number of Jews in various professions to their proportion of the country's population. However, until the end of the democratic era in 1933 no legal discrimination was imposed on the Jews, if only because the party needed the money of Jewish bankers.³⁵ However, when faced by the challenge of National Socialism after 1933, the Christian Socials began to implement some of their theories.

Anti-Semitism was also prevalent among the smaller parties of Austria. The Great German People's party (GVP) was a coalition of nationalistic groups which favored free trade, an Anschluss or union with Germany, and anti-Semitism. It accused the Jews of being "parasites," a term which later came to be a standard part of the Nazis' vocabulary. The Jews were blamed for all the shortcomings of capitalism. However, the GVP's anti-Semitism was fairly mild and inconsistent as was that of the Landbund or Peasant League. It was more democratic than the GVP and eventually even dropped its support of anti-Semitism after 1925 at a time when the country's early postwar problems were beginning to ameliorate.³⁶

Far more violent forms of anti-Semitism came from the radical Right, that is, from the country's postwar paramilitary formations. The Frontkämpfervereinigung (FKV) or Front

Veterans' Association, for example, was passionately anti-Semitic from the outset. It claimed a membership^{in 1920} of 50,000 men, mostly in and around Vienna.³⁷ Its leader, Colonel Hermann Hiltl, blamed the Jews for the breakup of the Habsburg Monarchy. He opposed further Jewish immigration and supported efforts to facilitate their emigration. Like the Christian Socials he wanted Jewish representation in the press, medicine, and the law reduced to their proportion of the population. His only concessions to the Jews were that he did not support their being expelled from the country or thrashed.³⁸

The Austrian Heimwehr was considerably larger than the FKV--counting both active members and sympathizers it may have had three to four hundred thousand followers at its height in the late 1920s³⁹--but its attitude on the Jewish question was considerably more ambivalent. The majority of its membership, perhaps 70 percent, consisted of peasants who in areas like Styria and Carinthia were traditionally anti-Semitic. They had long been distrustful of Vienna and were even more so after the war when Jewish influence within both the municipal and federal governments sharply increased.⁴⁰ But the Heimwehr's anti-Semitism was always tempered by the fact that some of its most important financial benefactors were Jewish.⁴¹ Consequently, the Heimwehr's anti-Semitism, though far more radical than that of the Christian Social party, stopped short of that advocated by the Nazis.

Richard Steidle, the movement's coleader from 1928 until 1930, said the Heimwehr was not anti-Semitic, but merely

opposed to Jewish Marxists. Patriotic Jews were welcome co-fighters against Marxism. Dr. Franz Hueber, a Heimwehr minister of justice in the federal government and a brother-in-law of Hermann Göring, said that Austria "ought to be freed from this alien [Jewish] body." As a minister he "could not recommend that the Jews be hanged, that their windowpanes be smashed, or that their shop display windows be looted. . . . But racially impure elements ought to be removed from the public life of Austria."⁴²

The Heimwehr's leader after 1931, Prince Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, was just as blunt as Hueber. In a speech delivered in 1930 he said: "'The object of our movement is to create a people's state in which every Volksgenosse [racial comrade] will have the right to work and to bread. [The Nazi slogan was "Arbeit und Brot."] By a Volksgenosse I mean only one inspired by the race instinct of the Germans in whose veins German blood flows. In "the people" I do not include those foreign, flat-footed parasites from the East who exploit us."⁴³ (This was an apparent attempt to distinguish between "eastern" and "native" Jews.)

The Styrian Heimatschutz, always the most radical segment in the Heimwehr, excluded Jews from membership. In a "Twelve Point" program drawn up in June 1932 the Heimatschutz mentioned the need to fight the attempted control of the world's economy by "international Jewry" and the need for Austria to maintain "racial purity." Jews were to be ineligible for citizenship and political office.⁴⁴

Anti-Semitism in the Austrian Nazi Party

The most anti-Semitic of all the Austrian political parties and paramilitary formations was the Nazi party. Even here, however, distinctions have to be made between various phases in the party's history and between its different leaders. The party had its origins in 1903 in northern Bohemia where there was a fierce economic competition between Czechs and Sudeten Germans. Calling itself the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, (DAP) or German Workers' party the party was at first more socialistic than either nationalistic or anti-Semitic. However, a new party program drawn up in Iglau [Jihlava] in 1913 concluded by saying that the party would "combat all medieval, clerical, and capitalistic privileges as well as all alien [fremdvölkisch] influences, 'especially the ever-increasing Jewish spirit in public life.'"⁴⁵ Thus anti-Semitism made its official appearance in the party's program although it was well down the list of priorities compared to those of the bourgeois German nationalist parties.⁴⁶

In its irrationalism, unscrupulous opportunism, nationalistic arrogance, and racism, the party was clearly the heir of von Schönerer. Its claim to racial and cultural superiority over Czechs and Jews was not moderated by any Christian principles of responsibility or compassion.

The party changed its name to the German National Socialist Workers' party in May 1918. At the same time Dr. Walter Riehl, a lawyer from the northern Bohemian town of

Reichenberg, was elected as the party's chairman. Although Riehl and Adolf Hitler (who became the leader of the German Nazis in 1921) agreed on the desirability of having a strong central government, their positions regarding Jews were not identical. To be sure, like Hitler, Riehl blamed the Jews for almost all his country's problems, both foreign and domestic.⁴⁷ His goal, like Hermann Hiltl's was to reduce the Jews' influence to their proportion of Austria's total population. But like Karl Lueger, this objective did not prevent Riehl from mixing with Jews socially, something which Hitler never would have dreamed of doing in his adult years.

The anti-Semitism of the Austrian Nazis, like that of other political parties, grew more extreme after the World War. A headline in the party's official organ, the Deutsche Arbeiter-Presse in October 1920 put Judenherrschaft (Jewish domination) at the top of a list of those things which the Nazis opposed. Further down the catalogue were laziness, luxury, a Habsburg restoration, the class struggle, and gluttony.⁴⁸

The party was able to vent its anti-Semitic emotions and attract a good deal of public attention through stormy protests and demonstrations when a Zionist congress was held in Vienna in 1925. One of the protest rallies attracted an estimated 10,000 participants of whom the Nazis were the largest single element. The impact of the Nazis' demonstrations, however, was undoubtedly blunted by the inclusion of countless other anti-Semitic groups and even by the bourgeois

parties. Moreover, the Nazis could not prevent the congress from taking place.⁴⁹

In 1925-26 the Austrian Nazi party split into two factions. The younger and more radical members of the party, mostly from the middle class, seceded to form the NSDAP Hitler Bewegung and placed themselves unconditionally under the authority of the Führer. The older members of the party, drawn largely from the artisan class and from railroad and telegraph workers, continued to follow the leadership of Karl Schulz, who had replaced Walter Riehl as chairman of the party in 1923. One of the issues that divided the two groups was the alleged failure of Schulz to adopt a more radical form of propaganda during the Zionist congress in Vienna.⁵⁰

The Hitlerian Nazis were much less bashful than the Schulz faction about exploiting popular anti-Semitism. Typical of their propaganda was a story published in the journalistic organ of the Nazi party of Styria, Der Kampf, which repeatedly attacked a Jewish clothing firm in Graz by the name of Rendi for being delinquent in paying its income taxes for several years and investing the savings in Switzerland. The scandal received top billing in Der Kampf for several weeks.⁵¹

Although the Austrian Nazi party grew only slowly between 1925 and 1931--the party's split, internal leadership quarrels, and the growth of the Heimwehr being largely responsible--the Great Depression and spectacular electoral victories of the German Nazis finally brought a reversal of fortunes in 1932. Walter Riehl, who had recently joined the

Hitler Bewegung, attributed the party's success in the regional elections of April to anti-Semitism, especially in academic, business, and professional circles.⁵²

In Vienna, where Riehl himself was elected to the city council, the Nazis received 201,465 votes compared to 27,540 in 1930. Riehl immediately used his new position to demand the cessation of Jewish immigration into the city and the implementation of a program to encourage their emigration to Palestine or possibly Madagascar.⁵³ Other Nazis demanded the outright expulsion of the city's Jewish population.⁵⁴

The Nazis did not confine their anti-Semitism to mere words. Unlike most other anti-Semites of Austria they had the "courage" of their convictions. Beginning in 1932 and especially after the party was outlawed in June 1933, it carried out a campaign of systematic terror. Jewish business establishments were always a favorite target of bombing attacks.⁵⁵

Curiously enough, anti-Semitism was not just a weapon which the Nazis used against members of other parties; they also used it against each other. In 1931 Alfred Proksch, the Gauleiter of Upper Austria, accused Alfred Frauenfeld, the Gauleiter of Vienna, of having Jewish ancestors and dedicating a book to a Jewish bank president.⁵⁶ A few years later the deputy leader of the Austrian Nazis party, Franz Schattenfroh, had to resign in the face of charges that his wife was a Jewess.⁵⁷

The Austrian Jews and the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg Regime

Until the Nazis actually seized power with the Anschluss in 1938 they had few opportunities to put their anti-Semitism into practice. Nazism and anti-Semitism grew simultaneously after the arrival of the Great Depression. The Depression, which struck Austria with especial fury, not only led to a rapidly escalating rate of unemployment, but also caused the collapse of Vienna's great Rothschild banks, the Bodencredit and the Creditanstalt.

These failures did more than hurt the Jewish community financially: they undermined the belief that Jews were particularly gifted, and indeed vitally needed, for the conduct of financial transactions and enterprises. Added to the substantial losses suffered by hundreds of thousands of gentile bank depositors and holders of securities of insolvent financial and nonfinancial enterprises in the hands of those Jewish bankers, the end of the myth of Jewish competence in money matters gave a renewed impetus not only to antisemitic feelings but even more so to the idea that antisemitic actions could be taken without harm to the economy.⁵⁸

This latter conclusion appeared confirmed by the success of the economy in Germany after the Nazi takeover in 1933.

The growth of unemployment and anti-Semitism in turn gave a great boost to the Austrian Nazi party. Their growing popularity after 1932 forced the Austrian government, headed

by Engelbert Dollfuss from 1932 to 1934 and Kurt von Schuschnigg thereafter until 1938, to compete for the support of the anti-Semites. The issue of anti-Semitism was all the more acute after 1933 because of the new influx of Jewish refugees from Germany following Hitler's Machtergreifung.

The Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime hoped to lessen the Nazis appeal by showing that it too could be anti-Semitic. Dollfuss talked about adopting that which was "positive and worthwhile" in the Nazi ideology. Although Dollfuss and Schuschnigg as Roman Catholics and former members of the now dissolved Christian Social party, rejected racial anti-Semitism they both adopted the Nazis' campaign against the cultural and economic "foreign penetration" of Jews.⁵⁹ But neither Dollfuss nor Schuschnigg could afford to alienate totally the Jewish community because they desperately needed support wherever they could find it and the Jews gave huge sums of money to the Austrian government.⁶⁰

The Schuschnigg government unostentatiously and gradually reduced the number of Jews in banking and the law and medical professions to bring their numbers more in line with their percentage of Austria's total population.⁶¹ Jews in these professions who had taken part in the Socialist uprising in February 1934 were dismissed outright whereas other Jews who retired were replaced by gentiles.⁶² Jews also continued to be almost completely excluded from the federal, provincial, and municipal administrations although their role in the economic life of the country was left undisturbed.⁶³

The latter concession was less significant than it might appear, however, because even Jewish businessmen in Nazi Germany were tolerated until November 1938. A Nazi front newspaper, the Wiener Neueste Nachrichten, which was secretly subsidized by Germany, was tolerated by the Austrian authorities as long as it directed its attacks against Jews and not the government.⁶⁴

Thus Walter Riehl's proposal, made early in the century and repeated by him again in 1932 to reduce Jewish influence in Austria drastically, was at least partially realized even before the Nazis came to power. Again, the transparent purpose of this comparatively mild form of anti-Semitism was to appease the country's more moderate anti-Semites without driving away the government's important Jewish supporters.

Conclusions

Looking back over the entire history of Austrian anti-Semitism from about 1848 to the eve of the dispersal and partial destruction of the Jews after 1938, a few general trends and characteristics stand out. First of all, the three waves of Jewish migration in Austria 1870, 1914, and 1933 were all major stimuli to anti-Semitism. All three migrations focused on Vienna and came during times of economic and social stress.

The first wave, which was greatest between about 1870 and 1900, accompanied the Industrial Revolution in Austria with all its unhealthy working conditions and over-crowded

housing. The second mass movement came with the outbreak of the First World War, a time of political tensions and food and fuel shortages. The last "invasion," consisted of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. Although these refugees rarely remained long in Austria, their arrival coincided with the worst phase of the Great Depression when Austria's unemployment rate was well over 500,000 in a population of only 6,500,000. On the other hand the relatively prosperous years between 1900 and 1914 and from 1924 to 1929 saw a decline in both Jewish migration and anti-Semitism. Between 1880 and 1891 the Jewish population of Vienna grew by nearly 46,000 at a time when the popularity of Georg von Schönerer was at its peak. But between 1900 and 1910 the Jewish population of Vienna grew by only 28,400 or 19.3 percent, somewhat below the city's overall increase of 21.2 percent.⁶⁵ It was this very decade which witnessed a decline in the overtly anti-Semitic organizations of Austria.⁶⁶

After the war, Vienna's Jewish population, which reached an all-time high of over 201,000 in 1923, actually began a steady decline. By 1934 there were only 176,000 Viennese Jews, representing 9.4 percent of the total population, which was a considerable decline from the 10.8 percent in 1923. By the Anschluss in 1938 there were fewer than 170,000 Jews left in Vienna.⁶⁷

These and other statistics reveal that Austria's Jewish population was slowly dying after the World War. The breakup of the Habsburg Monarchy cut off the reservoir of

Jewish immigrants to Vienna who had traditionally come from Bohemia and Galicia, which now belonged to Czechoslovakia and Poland respectively. As early as 1911, and for almost every succeeding year, the number of Jewish deaths in Vienna outnumbered births. Further contributing to the decline was the large number of mixed marriages after 1900. By 1923 one Jewish marriage in four was with a gentile and their offspring were usually raised as Christians. Altogether 20,086 Jews left the faith between 1891 and 1923 while only 3,911 joined the religion, for a net loss of almost 16,200.⁶⁸ The number of Jewish births in Vienna fell from 2,714 in 1914 to 1,502 in 1931, a far steeper decline than among gentiles. In 1935 alone there were 735 Jewish births, 2,815 deaths, 369 conversion to Judaism and 472 Jews left the faith, for a net loss of 2,183, or well over 1 percent of Vienna's total Jewish population.⁶⁹

Had these trends continued long enough Austria's Jewish "problem" might have been solved by natural attrition. However, any possible benefits to non-Jews derived from the declining economic, cultural and social position of Austrian Jews were more than offset by Austria's desperate postwar economic plight which was particularly severe from 1918 to 1923 and again during the Depression years of the 1930s. High inflation and low employment assured not only the continuation of anti-Semitism, but also its intensification during the First Republic.

The widespread and varied character of prewar Austrian anti-Semitism continued in the interwar years, thus forming another basic pattern in our study. Literally every political party was affected by it to a degree (with the possible exception of the prewar Liberals), although the Social Democrats certainly much less so than the Nazis or even the Christian Socials. The early nonracial form of anti-Semitism also proved to be tenacious, lasting right down to the end of the Schuschnigg era in 1938. The newer brand of racial anti-Semitism grew in popularity after World War I, but never entirely replaced the older variety of anti-Judaism until the Anschluss, if then. There are many examples of young Austrian SS men who helped their former Jewish teachers or friends emigrate from the country in 1938 or 1939.⁷⁰ Most Austrians tended, therefore, to be more anti-Semitic in the abstract than in individual cases. They could agree with Lueger, that they wanted to define for themselves who was a Jew.

Finally, seven decades of widespread and nearly unceasing anti-Semitism surely had a conditioning affect on the Austrian people. The expulsion of all but 4,418 of the country's Jewish population⁷¹ and the death of at least one-third of Austria's Jews would have been far more shocking to the country's Gentiles if it had not been for so many years of anti-Semitic propaganda and discrimination.⁷²

NOTES

1. Books specifically devoted to Austrian anti-Semitism are, without exception, on narrowly specialized topics, nonscholarly, or out of date. Peter G. J. Pulzer's book, The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria (New York, 1964), covers only the period from 1867 to 1914 and does not delve into the cultural and economic aspects of anti-Semitism. The Jews of Austria: Essays on their Life, History and Destruction (London, 1967), edited by Josef Fraenkel, contains some interesting essays on famous Austrian Jews and Jewish organizations, but does not attempt to present a comprehensive study of the historical development of the Austrian Jewish community as a whole. A similar book is Das Österreichische Judentum (Vienna, 1974) by Anna Drabek, et al. Only a single essay covers the post-1914 period. Two books by Hugo Gold, Geschichte der Juden in Wien (Tel Aviv, 1966) and Geschichte der Juden in Österreich comprehend the modern history of Austrian Jewry. However, by the author's own admission, they are not intended for historians. Equally broad in scope are Die Juden Wiens: Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Kultur (Leipzig, 1933) by Hans Tietze, and Max Grunwald, History of the Jews in Vienna (Philadelphia, 1936). Though they both contain some useful information they are now largely out of date and they do not carry their narrative beyond 1918. Sylvia Maderegger, Die Juden im Österreichischen Ständestaat 1934-1938

(Vienna, 1973) is both recent and scholarly, but is limited to a brief historical period and is intended for only a very small scholarly audience. The works by Erika Weinzierl, Zu wenig Gerechte: Österreicher und Judenverfolgung 1938-1945 (Graz, 1969) and Jonny Moser, Die Judenverfolgung in Österreich 1938-1945 (Vienna, 1966), are both confined to the post-Anschluss period.

2. Arie Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movements in Austrian in Recent Generations," in Fraenkel, ed., Jews of Austria, p. 286.
3. Karl K. Stadler, Austria (New York, 1971), p. 138.
4. Pulzer, Political Anti-Semitism, p. 347.
5. Hellmut Andics, Der Ewige Jude: Ursachen und Geschichte des Antisemitismus (Vienna, 1968), p. 286.
6. Herbert Rosenkranz, "The Anschluss and the Tragedy of Austrian Jewry, 1938-1945," in Fraenkel, ed., Jews of Austria, p. 487.
7. Anton A. Klein, "Das geistige Profil der Steiermark in den Wandlungen eines Jahrhunderts (1811-1914)," Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins Steiermark, LIV (1968), p. 38.
8. Leo Goldhammer, Die Juden Wiens: Ein Statistische Studie (Vienna, 1927), pp. 39-40; William A. Jenks, Vienna and the Young Hitler (New York, 1960), p. 120.
9. Pulzer, Political Anti-Semitism, p. 252.
10. Goldhammer, Juden Wiens, p. 39; Norman Bentwich, "The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Austria 1938-1942," in Fraenkel, ed., Jews of Austria, p. 467.

11. Gold, Geschichte der Juden in Wien, p. 36.
12. Andics, Ewige Jude, p. 292. See also Henry Wickham Steed, The Hapsburg Monarchy (New York, 1913), p. 184.
13. N. H. Tur-Sinai, "Viennese Jewry," in Fraenkel, ed., Jews of Austria, p. 315.
14. Arthur J. May, The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914 (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), p. 177.
15. Rosenkranz, "Tragedy of Austrian Jewry," p. 480.
16. Peter G. J. Pulzer, "The Development of Antisemitism," in Fraenkel, ed., Jews of Austria, pp. 431, 437.
17. "Who was Freud," in Fraenkel, ed., Jews of Austria, p. 204.
18. Ibid.; William M. Johnston, The Austrian Mind (Berkeley, 1972), p. 24; Karl Schwager, "Linz," in Hugo Gold, ed., Geschichte der Juden in Österreich (Tel Aviv, 1971), p. 57.
19. Oscar Jaszi, The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy (Chicago, 1927 [reprinted, 1961]), p. 173.
20. Karl Stuhlpfarrer, "Antisemitismus, Rassenpolitik und Judenverfolgungen in Österreich nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in Drabek et al., Das Österreichische Judentum, p. 150; letter of J. Herbert Furth to the author, 24 June 1979, p. 3.
21. Robert Schwarz, "Antisemitism and Socialism in Austria 1918-1962," in Fraenkel, ed., Jews of Austria, pp. 445-46; Guido Zernatto, Die Wahrheit über Österreich (New York, 1939), p. 67.
22. Stuhlpfarrer, "Antisemitismus, Rassenpolitik," p. 149.

23. John Bunzl, "Arbeiterbewegung und Antisemitismus in Österreich vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in Zeitgeschichte, IV (1976-77), pp. 167-68.
24. Maderegger, Die Juden im Österreichischen Ständestaat, p. 19.
25. Quoted in Alois Ciller, Deutscher Sozialismus in den Sudetenländer und der Ostmark (Hamburg, 1939), pp. 52-53.
26. Werner Barth, "Germany and the Anschluss," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1954), p. 24.
27. Francis L. Carsten, The Rise of Fascism (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), p. 34; F. L. Carsten, Fascist Movements in Austria from Schönerer to Hitler (London and Beverly Hills, 1977), p. 14. On the tiny number of Jewish teachers in Austria see Maderegger, Juden in Österreichischen Ständestaat, p. 153.
28. Albert Fuchs, Geistige Strömungen in Österreich, 1867 bis 1918 (Vienna, 1949), p. 296, footnote 10.
29. Andrew G. Whiteside, The Socialism of Fools: Georg von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975), p. 105; Carsten, Fascist Movements, p. 19.
30. Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movements," pp. 289-90.
31. Speech by August Meyszner, 4 April 1933, Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des steiermärkischen Landtages, 1919-1934, 43 Sitzung, p. 770.
32. Erika Weinzerl-Fischer, "Österreichs Katholiken und der Nationalsozialismus," in Wort und Wahrheit, XVIV (1963), p. 423.

33. Andics, Ewige Jude, p. 387.
34. Stuhlpfarrer, "Antisemitismus, Rassenpolitik," p. 145.
35. Ibid., pp. 146, 152; Pulzer, "Development of Political Antisemitism," p. 441.
36. On anti-Semitism in the GVP and Landbund see Stuhlpfarrer, "Antisemitismus, Rassenpolitik," p. 147; Isabella Ackerl, "Die Grossdeutsche Volkspartei," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 1967), pp. 39-40; Angela Feldmann, "Landbund für Österreich: Ideologie, Organisation, Politik," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 1967), p. 12; and Der Vormarsch (Klagenfurt), 9 April 1932, p. 6.
37. Reinhart Kondert, "The Rise and Early History of the Austrian 'Heimwehr' Movement," (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, 1971), p. 30.
38. Ibid., pp. 28-29; Ingeborg Messerer, "Die Frontkämpfervereinigung Deutschösterreichs: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wehrverbände in der Republik Österreich," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 1964), pp. 134-35.
39. Interview with Dr. Walter Pfrimer, Judenburg, Styria, 2 July 1964.
40. See, for example, the Tagespost (Graz), 26 November 1918, p. 1; Deutsche Grenzwehr (Radkersburg, Styria), 26 October 1919, pp. 2, 6 and 23 October 1927, p. 1.
41. C. A. Macartney, "The Armed Formations of Austria," International Affairs (London), VII (November, 1929), p. 630; Malcolm Bullock, Austria 1918-1938: A Story of Failure (London, 1939), pp. 185-86.

42. Excerpt from the Arbeiter-Zeitung (Vienna), 26 October 1930, Tagblatt Archive, Arbeiterkammer (Vienna), folder entitled "Heimwehr-Antisemitismus."
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44. Der Panther (Judenburg, Styria), 4 June 1932, p. 4.
45. M. W. Fodor, Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe (London, 1937), p. 163.
46. Karl D. Bracher, The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Effects of National Socialism (New York and Washington, 1970), p. 55.
47. Alexander Schilling, Dr. Walter Riehl und die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus (Leipzig, 1933), p. 96.
48. (Vienna), 16 October 1920, p. 1.
49. Rudolf Brandstötter, "Dr. Walter Riehl und die nationalsozialistische Bewegung in Österreich," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 1970), p. 227.
50. Ibid.
51. 8, 15 August, 26 September 1931.
52. Letter of Riehl to Alfred Proksch, 26 April 1932, Sammlung Schumacher, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, 305 II, p. 1.
53. Brandstötter, "Walter Riehl," p. 289.
54. Der Kampf (Vienna), June 1932, p. 1.
55. Robert Schwarz, "The Austrian Nazi Movement (1918-1973)," (unpublished manuscript, Florida Atlantic University, 1974), p. 30.

56. Letter of Karl Eberhardt to Gauleiter A. E. Frauenfeld, 28 April 1931, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (Vienna), NS Parteistellen, Organisation, Prozesse, Karton 14; letter of Frauenfeld to the Vorsitzenden des Landes USCHLA der Hitlerbewegung in Linz, 5 May 1931, *ibid.*
57. Alfred Persche, "Hauptmann Leopold: Der Abschnitt 1936-1938 der Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Macht-ergreifung in Österreich," (unpublished book-length manuscript), document #1460, Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Vienna), p. 90.
58. Letter from J. Herbert Furth to the author, 24 June 1979, p. 5.
59. Heinrich Busshoff, Das Dollfuss-Regime in Österreich im geistesgeschichtlicher Perspektive unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der "Schöneren Zukunft" und "Reichspost" (Berlin, 1968), p. 280.
60. Tur-Sinai, "Viennese Jewry," p. 318.
61. The Ambassador in Germany (Wilson) to the Secretary of State, 30 March 1938, United States Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1938, p. 471.
62. Maderegger, Juden im Österreichischen Ständestaat, pp. 224, 230; Gold, ed., Geschichte der Juden in Österreich, p. 123.
63. Martin Fuchs, Showdown in Vienna (New York, 1939), pp. 71-72.

64. Letter of Franz von Papen to the German Foreign Ministry, 5 August 1935, National Archives microfilm T-120, reel 5415, frame K287371-72.
65. All figures are from Karl R. Stadler, Austria (New York and Washington, 1971), p. 138.
66. Pulzer, Political Anti-Semitism, p. 189.
67. Stadler, Austria, p. 138.
68. Goldhammer, Juden in Wien, pp. 17-18, 22-23, 65.
69. Maderegger, Juden im Österreichischen Ständestaat, p. 2.
70. Eric C. Kollman, formerly Professor of History at Cornell College in Iowa, told the author that he was rescued in this manner (interview in Laramie, Wyoming, July, 1968). See also Rosenkranz, "Tragedy of Austrian Jewry," p. 488.
71. Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movements," p. 300.
72. Of the 128,500 Austrian Jews who emigrated between 13 March 1938 and mid-November 1941, 4,460 went to Italy, 1,644 to Yugoslavia, 2,260 to Poland and a few hundred to other countries eventually overrun by the Nazis. No doubt many of those Jews were killed. The total number of deaths may therefore have been considerably more than the 65,459 usually cited. (See ~~Erika~~ Weinzierl, Zu Wenig Gerechte, Österreicher-und Judenverfolgung 1938-1945-(Graz,-1969) p. 91.