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978-1-107-00285-2 - Jews and Intermarriage in Nazi Austria

Evan Burr Bukey

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Prologue

Jews and Intermarriage in Austria

THE PROBLEM OF INTERMARRIAGE IN THE THIRD REICH

In recent years, scholars of the Holocaust have devoted increasing attention to the plight of Jewish mixed families in Hitler's Germany. This is no coincidence. Prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall, much was known about the confusing and contradictory guidelines issued by Nazi officials regarding intermarried couples, their offspring, and other Germans of partial Jewish ancestry. There was also widespread awareness of the fate of the famous wartime journalist, Jochen Klepper, who on 11 December 1942, committed suicide with his Jewish wife.¹ But it was the publication of the voluminous secret diaries of Viktor Klemperer, hidden for decades in the German Democratic Republic, that brought worldwide attention to the suffering of a Jewish professor of Romance languages who survived the Third Reich with his Aryan wife in Dresden. Klemperer's evocative account of daily life under Hitler portrays the multifaceted, split-minded attitudes of ordinary Germans. More significantly, it provides a detailed, first-hand account of the overlooked experience of "those in between": that is, intermarried couples and their partial Jewish offspring.²

¹ Jochen Klepper, *Unter dem Schatten Deiner Flügel: Aus den Tagebüchern der Jahren 1932–1942* (Stuttgart, 1956).

² Viktor Klemperer, *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years*, 2 vols. (New York, 1998–99). Initially, scholars recognized that Klemperer survived because he was married to a non-Jewish wife. However, some also thought – incorrectly – that his service as a combat officer in the Great War may have been equally crucial. See, for example, Henry Ashby Turner, "Victor Klemperer's Holocaust," *German Studies Review*, XXII, 3 (October, 1999), 385.

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Contemporary scholarship has revealed that the Nazi regime approached the question of mixed marriages with hesitation and uncertainty. The primary reason was Hitler's fear of arousing social unrest among Aryan relatives, such as that which eventually erupted in the Rosenstrasse incident of February 1943, when hundreds of Berlin housewives took to the streets to protest the deportation of their Jewish husbands to Auschwitz. In some respects, Nazi bureaucrats and decision makers expended more time and energy coping with the problem of mixed marriages than they did seeking a "final solution" to the Jewish question itself. Goebbels, for example, relentlessly agitated to deport each and every Jew from the Reich. Once the mass murder of Soviet Jewry began in 1941, the issue of mixed couples and their offspring dominated Hitler's dinner conversations. It also figured prominently in telegrams and correspondence between Himmler and the team of trained executioners under his command. On 20 January 1942, two-fifths of the Wannsee Conference was devoted to the subject. Thereafter, the knotty problem continued to be discussed at length during follow-up meetings until the very end of the war.³

That intermarried couples and their children suffered greater harassment and persecution in Nazi Germany is now better known than previously assumed. Stigmatized by neighbors, Aryan relatives, and Nazi activists, those families found it hard to cope with capricious intrusions that severely disrupted family life, pitted relatives against each other, and raised unanswerable questions about religious, racial, and national

³ For an introduction to the subject of Nazi treatment of intermarried couples and partial Jews or "Mischlinge," see Jeremy Noakes, "The Development of Nazi Policy towards the German-Jewish 'Mischlinge,' 1933–1945," *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 34 (1989), 291–354, especially 337–54; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago, 1961), 257–77 ff; idem, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933–1945* (New York, 1992), 131–8; Ursula Büttner, *Die Not der Juden teilen: Christlich-jüdische Familien im Dritten Reich: Beispiel und Zeugnis des Schriftstellers Robert Brendel* (Hamburg, 1988); Nathan Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart: Intermarriage and the Rosenstrasse Protest in Nazi Germany* (New York, 1996); Christian Gerlach, "The Wannsee Conference, the Fate of German Jews, and Hitler's Decision in Principle to Exterminate European Jews," *Journal of Modern History*, 70, 1 (1998), 759–812. Also useful are the preliminary studies by Bruno Blau, "Die Mischehe im Nazireich," *Judaica*, 4 (1948), 46–57 and "Die Christen jüdischer und gemischter Abkunft in Deutschland und Österreich im Jahr 1939," *Judaica*, 5 (1949), 272–88. For analysis of Goebbels' views see Ralf Georg Reuth, *Goebbels* (San Diego, 1993), 275, 278, 297–9 and Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart*, 131–3, 204–5, 243–4, 255, 263, 195. On the now famous Rosenstrasse protests see Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart*; Wolf Gruner, *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße: Die Fabrik-Aktion und die Verfolgung der "Mischehen" 1943* (Frankfurt/Main, 2005); Antonia Leugers, *Berlin, Rosenstrasse 2–4: Protest in der NS-Diktatur: Neue Forschungen zum Frauenprotest in der Rosenstrasse 1943* (Annweiler, 2005).

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identity. It is not difficult to imagine the anguish felt by countless Jewish mothers whose sons became enthusiastic members of the Hitler Youth and later the German Wehrmacht, especially those who distinguished themselves in combat. Even more devastating were the dismissals of Jewish spouses and those married to Jews from the civil service – including the railroads and other branches of the public sector. These dismissals were followed by regulations prohibiting them from pursuing medical, legal, or journalistic careers. Government measures also excluded marriage loans to intermarried couples. Worse, the regime harassed children in schools, interfered in custody disputes, and put pressure on Aryan partners to divorce their Jewish wives or husbands.⁴

The purpose of this study is to explore the experience of mixed families in Nazi Vienna, the residence of fully ninety percent of Austria's Jews and, between 1938 and 1945, the second largest city in the Greater German Reich. There are several reasons to focus on the Viennese experience. In the first place, Jewish life in the former Habsburg capital had evolved within a different milieu than in Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, and other cities of the Prussian German Reich. Whereas Jews had lived in Germany for centuries, those in Austria were relative newcomers, flocking to Vienna only after 1867. Like their bourgeois coreligionists in Germany, the upper and middle classes in Austria espoused the values of the Enlightenment, classical liberalism, and German culture. This approach proved relatively successful in promoting integration in Protestant Berlin, but in Roman Catholic Vienna it clashed with the prevailing Baroque culture, fostering a virulent antisemitic backlash and leaving the Jewish community isolated as a “protected minority.”⁵ After the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy, Viennese Jewish society split into contentious factions along religious, political, and cultural lines. Nevertheless, most Jews seemed oblivious to the virulent antisemitism still prevailing in the city; after the failure of a Nazi putsch in 1934 they tended to support the authoritarian regime of Kurt von Schuschnigg. When the Anschluss took place in March 1938, nearly every Jew was taken by surprise.⁶

⁴ Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 1998), 74–93; Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart*, 41–8; Noakes, “Mischlinge,” 290–301 ff; James F. Tent, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust: Nazi Persecution of Jewish-Christian Germans* (Lawrence, 2003), 31–2, 44–5; Brian Mark Rigg, *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jewish Descent in the German Military* (Lawrence, 2002), 19–50, 107–8 ff.

⁵ Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge, 2006), 174–7 ff.

⁶ Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism* (Chapel Hill, 1992), 260–5.

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A second reason to focus on mixed families in Nazi Vienna is that intermarried Jews, their partners, and their children suddenly confronted a bewildering array of Nazi regulations that had evolved gradually in Germany between 1933 and 1938. These included job dismissals, ostracism by Gentile friends and relatives, harassment by indigenous Nazis, and multiple torments imposed by the Nuremberg Laws. Prior to the Anschluss, intermarried couples in the Third Reich had had time to adjust – however painfully – to uneven, confusing discriminatory measures, some of which were relaxed during the Berlin Olympics in 1936. Moreover, by early 1938, Reich German officials had reached a dead end in forcing Jews to emigrate.⁷ By way of contrast, the seizure of Austria provided a golden opportunity for Hitler's government to take extreme actions against the Jewish population, not least because Berlin could count on the support of both the indigenous NSDAP and a majority of the Austrian people. The Nazis were thus able to set a “faster pace” in pursuit of their antisemitic goals.⁸ This meant that intermarried Viennese couples had to make life-and-death decisions overnight. Furthermore, they faced issues of national identity quite unlike those in the “Old Reich,” not to mention recurring waves of grassroots violence that shocked even German Nazi officials.⁹ In these respects, the *initial* experience of Viennese mixed couples and partial Jews was both different and much worse than that of those in Hamburg, Berlin, or Dresden. Nor was it a coincidence that the municipal branch of the Reich Kinship Office processed more decisions on racial ancestry than any of the other twenty-two regional agencies in Hitler's Reich. The Anschluss, as we shall see, spurred countless members of Viennese mixed families to take immediate steps to appeal “racial classifications” perceived as endangering them or their relatives.

JEWES AND INTERMARRIAGE IN VIENNA BEFORE THE ANSCHLUß

Long before the Anschluss of 1938, Vienna had the largest Jewish community in German-speaking Europe. According to the census of 1934, 176,978 registered members of the Hebrew religion constituted

⁷ Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 74–93; Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart*, 76–7; Radomir Luza *Austro-German Relations in the Anschluss Era* (Princeton, 1975), 223–4.

⁸ Luza, *Austro-German Relations*, 224.

⁹ Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era, 1938–1945* (Chapel Hill, 2000), 134–44.

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9.4 percent of its municipal population. While most Viennese Jews tended to live a clannish existence in self-segregated neighborhoods, many of them had abandoned Judaism, converted to Christianity, or married Gentiles. Between 1919 and 1937, nearly 17,000 withdrew from the Jewish Religious Community (*Israelitsche Kultusgemeinde*).¹⁰ By the time of the Nazi takeover of 1938, the official number of enrolled Jews had shrunk to 169,978, although later estimates by Jewish and German authorities put the figure of “racial Jews,” including Christian converts, nonbelievers, and others not belonging to the Jewish Religious Community, at roughly 200,000. The Archdiocese of Vienna considered 50,000 of these to be “non-Aryan Christians.”¹¹ The exact number of Viennese living in mixed marriages as defined by the 1935 Nuremberg Laws can never be known, however. This is because Austrian magistrates prior to 1938 recorded the religion of prospective brides and grooms, not their “race.” According to the German Census of 17 May 1939, there were 4,443 intermarried couples still residing in Vienna and 5,919 in Berlin.¹²

Although the Jewish population of Vienna was the largest in German-speaking Europe, most of its members were second- or third-generation immigrants. Between 1857 and 1910, the number of Jews in the city had risen from 6,217 to 175,318, an expansion precipitated not by natural increase but by massive migration from Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia. In contrast to the great cities of Germany in which Jews had lived for centuries, the Jewish populace of Vienna had acculturated rapidly as a group. The process had two notable consequences: The first was that the Jewish community evolved as a highly visible, cohesive subculture; the second that fewer Jews in the Austrian capital *officially* chose Gentile spouses than their coreligionists in Berlin, Hamburg, and Frankfurt am Main. During the first years of the twentieth century, for example, the registered intermarriage rate in Vienna remained below 10 percent, whereas that in Hamburg soared to 21.2 percent.¹³ Even so, a number of luminaries

¹⁰ Harriet Pass Freidenreich, *Jewish Politics in Vienna, 1918–1938* (Bloomington, 1991), 17.

¹¹ Philomena Leiter, “Assimilation, Antisemitismus und NS Verfolgung: Austritte aus der Jüdischen Gemeinde in Wien 1900–1944,” (diss: University of Vienna, 2003), II, 399.

¹² *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Bd. 552, *Volkszählung: Die Bevölkerung des Deutschen Reichs nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung 1939*, IV, *Die Juden und jüdischen Mischlinge im Deutschen Reich* (Berlin, 1944), 66–8. Although accurate, Nazi statistics need to be approached with caution as the term “*Mischehen*” included unions of partial-Jews as well as those having only one Jewish grandparent. The figures indicating the number of Gentiles married to Jews in Vienna appear on p. 68, in Berlin on p. 66.

¹³ Marsha Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany, 1984), 17, 128–31, 195–6; Steven M. Lowenstein, “Jewish Inter-marriage and Conversion

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lived in mixed marriages, among them Max Reinhardt, Koloman Moser, Wilhelm Neurath, Robert Musil, Franz Lehar, Stefan Zweig, Josef Krips, and most famously Alma Schindler Mahler, who within a decade of her renowned husband's death in 1911 took another Jewish spouse, Franz Werfel. There were also prominent individuals such as Ludwig and Paul Wittgenstein and Hugo von Hofmannsthal who could claim partial Jewish descent.

While religious, familial, and demographic differences indisputably inhibited intermarried wedlock in Austria, a greater impediment was the legal system. Until 1918, it was illegal for Jewish men and women to marry Christians. Legislation passed in May 1868 had made civil marriage possible, but according to Paragraph (§) 64 of the General Civil Code, of 1811, "matrimonial contracts between Christians and persons not professing the Christian faith can not be validly concluded."¹⁴ This meant that neither Jews nor Christians could intermarry without converting to the religion of the other or declaring themselves "nonaffiliated" (*konfessionslos*). Those who renounced Judaism could expect official ostracism once the Jewish press posted and published their names. The public stigma did not apply, however, to Jews who married outside the Hebrew religion in a civil ceremony.¹⁵

With the passage of time, increasing numbers of Jews betrothed to Christians came to regard civil marriage (*Notzivilehe*) as a way out of their spiritual and cultural dilemma. To do so was not without serious consequences, particularly for Gentile brides and grooms who were required under law to withdraw from the Roman Catholic Church. Because religious membership was recorded in "every conceivable document" ranging from residential permits to passports, "nonaffiliated" Catholic apostates

in Germany and Austria," *Modern Judaism*, 25, 1 (2005), 36. In his meticulous study, Lowenstein highlights the enormous regional variations within Germany, emphasizing the relatively high rate of intermarriage in Prussia, particularly during the early years of the Weimar Republic. In rural areas such as Baden, Bavaria, and Hesse-Darmstadt, the numbers were much lower. By way of contrast, a majority of the 15,000 Jews living outside Vienna seemed less inclined to marry coreligionists. In Graz, for example, two-thirds of those taking vows were to non-Jews. Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism* (Chapel Hill, 1992), 59.

¹⁴ Quoted in Anna L. Staudacher, "Die Trauungsbücher der Zivilmatriken in Wien: Das erste Trauungsbuch 1870–1882," *Adler Zeitschrift für Genealogie und Heraldik*, 24/1 (January–March, 2007), 42.

¹⁵ Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, 127–31; Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, 58; Gerald Stourzh, "An Apogee of Conversions: Gustav Mahler, Karl Kraus, and *fin de siècle* Vienna," in idem, *From Chicago and Back: Intellectual History and Political Thought in Europe and America* (Chicago, 2007), 243.

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were destined to suffer social and official opprobrium in a Roman Catholic monarchy. There can be no doubt that Jewish partners also had to put up with abuse from relatives and former coreligionists, but not to the degree borne by those who had converted to Christianity. Civil marriage thus became a means for Jews to marry Gentiles without forfeiting their spiritual or cultural identity – at least in their own minds. Indeed, recent research suggests that somewhere between 80 and 90 percent of those taking civil vows in late nineteenth century Vienna were of Jewish origin. The evidence also indicates that upon becoming parents, intermarried couples usually renounced their nonaffiliated status and reared their children as Christians or, less frequently, as Jews.¹⁶

As is well known, a number of Austrian Jews converted to Christianity between 1868 and 1918. While the actual numbers were relatively low, the American historian Marsha Rozenblit has shown that “Vienna’s conversion rate far outranked that of any other city in the Dual Monarchy or elsewhere in Europe.”¹⁷ The reasons for Jews proceeding to the baptismal font were complex and multifaceted, although career advancement and social integration appear to have been paramount, most famously in the case of Gustav Mahler. Because many converts including Mahler and Hermann Broch later wed Gentiles, their matrimonial bonds were technically Christian, not “mixed.”¹⁸ If one takes into consideration these “Christian–Christian” marital unions and those performed by civil magistrates, the number of “mixed marriages” in late Imperial Vienna must have been much higher than the official figures already mentioned. In the view of one authority, the number of intermarried couples may, in fact, have equaled or even surpassed those in Berlin.¹⁹

Of those Jews who chose to marry Gentiles prior to 1914 there appear to have been several distinctive groups. The first consisted of an unknown number of members of the economic and cultural elite. In 1873, for example, the industrialist Karl Wittgenstein took the half-Jewish Leopoldine Kalmus as his wife.²⁰ Three years later the distinguished Jewish

¹⁶ Stourzh, “Apogee,” 241–5; Staudacher, “Trauungsbücher,” 45.

¹⁷ Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, 132.

¹⁸ For this reason alone, Stourzh writes, “it is impossible to draw up statistics of mixed marriages by looking for ‘Jewish-Christian’ couples.” Stourzh, “Apogee,” 244.

¹⁹ Ivar Oxal, “The Jews of Hitler’s Vienna,” in Ivar Oxal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz, *Jews, Antisemitism, and Culture in Vienna* (New York, 1987), 32.

²⁰ Wittgenstein’s Protestant father, Hermann Wittgenstein, bitterly opposed his son’s marriage to a Roman Catholic woman of Jewish descent. That his own parents had been born into the Hebrew religion was a matter of which he was unaware. Alexander Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein: A Family at War* (New York, 2009), 15–16.

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composer David Popper married the Christian cellist Sofie Wilhelmine Menter, a pupil of Liszt, in a civil ceremony. Among the groomsmen were the wealthy piano manufacturer Ludwig Bösendorfer, and the renowned founder of the St. Petersburg Conservatory Anton Rubinstein. Other distinguished Jews who married Gentiles in the chambers of the Viennese Rathaus included the composer Adalbert Goldschmidt, the Social Democratic theorist Karl Kautsky, and the photographer Max Jaffé.²¹

Of the less famous Jewish brides and grooms, Rozenblit has identified two sets divided primarily along lines of gender. One group tended to be middle-class men who made their living as merchants or commercial employees. Because most of the Jewish grooms wed “nonaffiliated” brides, Gentile wives from bourgeois backgrounds do not appear in the records. There is little evidence, however, that Jewish men “married up” for status or wealth. Another group consisted largely of lower-class Jewish women from the garment district who went to the baptismal font in order to marry men they had met at work. There also appears to have been a number of middle-class brides who sought to enhance their status.²²

Less is known about those Gentiles who chose Jewish partners, although a number of army officers are known to have married Jewish women, as did the renowned architect Adolf Loos, the Arctic explorer Julius von Payer, and the operetta composer Johann Strauss the Younger.²³ On the basis of court records examined for this study, it appears that many non-Jewish wives frequently hailed from working-class or peasant backgrounds.²⁴ There were also a number of servant girls who married older professional men. Beyond that, it is difficult to generalize.

During the interwar period, the annual number of mixed marriages declined in both Vienna and throughout Central Europe. In contrast to the Imperial era, moreover, it became more common – or at least more open – for brides and grooms to prefer a civil ceremony and to eschew religious ties. There also developed a noticeable “gender gap,” although one narrower than that in Germany, where between 1919 and 1933, 6,517 more Jewish men took their wedding vows than Jewish women. According to the German census of 1939, 57.5 percent of intermarried husbands in Vienna were “non-Aryan,” as compared to 64 percent in Hamburg and 65 percent in Berlin.²⁵

²¹ Staudacher, “Trauungsbücher,” 43–7.

²² Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, 128–40.

²³ Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, 58; Staudacher, “Trauungsbücher,” 47.

²⁴ See, for example, the fascinating memoirs of Vilma Neuwirth, *Glockengasse 29: Eine jüdische Arbeiterfamilie in Wien* (Vienna, 2008), especially 26–41.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; Lowenstein, “Jewish Intermarriage and Conversion,” 37; Meyer, “*Mischlinge*,” 25.

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On the other hand, the number of mixed marriages in Vienna was substantial. Between 1919 and 1937, according to one highly exaggerated estimate, some 17,000 intermarried couples took their vows.²⁶ On 17 May 1939, Nazi statisticians determined, as we have already seen, that even after the expulsion of 100,000 persons in the year following the Anschluss, there still remained 4,443 intermarried couples in the Danubian city as well as 3,524 additional families in which one of the partners had at least one Jewish grandparent. By way of comparison, the numbers in Berlin were 5,919 and 4,332, respectively. The census figures also revealed that 2,195 of those Viennese Jews living in mixed unions were wed to half-Jews, and 512 to quarter-Jews. The overall Jewish population of both cities was thus comparable in size, but Vienna had fewer “half and quarter Jews” (20,813) as compared with Berlin (27,116). There were also more Christian converts, even though over half of all intermarried couples remained childless.²⁷ Put another way, Jewish assimilation in Austria had produced a mixed kinship network that was fairly thick but not as extensive or as deeply rooted as in Germany.

Impact of the Anschluss

Shortly before twilight on Friday, 11 March 1938, the Nazis seized power in Austria. The following day, motorized German troops crossed the border. They were accompanied by marching infantry and later in the afternoon by Hitler himself. As the gray-green columns sped toward Vienna, they were acclaimed by cheering throngs and pealing bells. At nightfall, the dictator himself rolled into Linz, his boyhood home. He was so moved by the euphoric welcome that he spontaneously abandoned earlier plans for “a personal union” of Austria and Germany. On Sunday afternoon he signed a hastily drafted Anschluss Act. Two days later, he stood on the balcony of the Hofburg to deliver a spellbinding address to a quarter of a million delirious Viennese in Heroes Square. He concluded by proclaiming the return of his homeland to the German Reich.

It is now well known that the Anschluss triggered recurring waves of antisemitic violence in Vienna that did not abate until after the bestial savagery of *Kristallnacht* in mid-November. For months crowds of men

²⁶ Rigg, *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers*, 54

²⁷ *Volkszählung*, IV, 6–8, 66–9; Lowenstein, “Jewish Inter-marriage,” 37; Blau, “Die Christen jüdischer und gemischter Abkunft in Deutschland und Österreich im Jahr 1939,” 283–4. Hilberg estimates that 25,000 Christian Jews were living in Austria in 1938. Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*, 151.

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and women surged through the streets of Vienna, forcing Jews to scrub cobblestone streets on their hands and knees, to perform deep knee-bends, and in one instance to eat grass. Nazi thugs expropriated Jewish homes and businesses, beat up Jews, and, now and then simply murdered them.²⁸ On 23 April, Hitler appointed Josef Bürckel Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich. The new proconsul moved immediately to restore some semblance of order, but he did so by transforming the many acts of “wild aryanization” into what one authority has called “a system of state-sanctioned robbery.”²⁹

Such a system had begun to unfold within hours of the Anschluss. On 15 March, the new regime ordered the discharge or dismissal of all Jewish military personnel, civil servants, judges, attorneys, and notaries. Three days later, the Gestapo occupied the headquarters of the Jewish Religious Community and sacked its employees. On 26 March, Hermann Göring proclaimed the government’s intention to expropriate Jewish enterprises, two days later issuing a directive “to take quiet measures for the appropriate redirecting of the Jewish economy in Austria.”³⁰ This order was followed by a purge of the Jewish faculty and students at the University of Vienna. On 26 April, Göring and Bürckel issued a Decree on the Declaration of Jewish Assets, mandating the registration of all property in excess of 5,000 marks. Shortly thereafter, SS *Untersturmführer* Adolf Eichmann turned up in Vienna to establish the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, an agency designed to expel Jews by means of a conveyor-belt system that robbed them of their cash and belongings. Finally, on 20 May the Nuremberg Laws went into effect.³¹

The subsequent flood of decrees, ordinances, and regulations passed throughout the Greater German Reich – including incorporated Austria – prohibited Jews from working in real-estate firms, tourist agencies, and credit information bureaus. The measures banned Jews from livestock and meat markets, severely restricted their right to practice medicine and law, and excluded them from parks, swimming pools, and even public

²⁸ The best contemporary eyewitness accounts are Karl Zuckmayer, *A Part of Myself* (New York, 1984), 29–94 and G.E.R. Gedye *Betrayal in Central Europe: Austria and Czechoslovakia: The Fallen Bastions*, 270–315. For an up-to-date, comprehensive account of the response of Vienna’s Jews to the Anschluss and their subsequent fate under Nazi rule, see Ilana Fritz Offenberger, “The Nazification of Vienna and the Response of the Viennese Jews” (diss. Clark University, 2010).

²⁹ Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge, 2006), 234.

³⁰ Quoted in Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, I: The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939* (New York, 1997), 242.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 242–45; Bukey, *Hitler’s Austria*, 133–6.