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Oskar Scheuer and Student Fraternities in Vienna

Negotiating Jewish Difference

Abstract

A dermatologist by training, Franz Oskar Scheuer (1876–c.1941) renounced his Jewish ancestry in order to embrace the German nationalism associated with the student fraternities Fidelitas and Allemannia. As the editor of the magazine *Deutsche Hochschule* (German University) between 1910 and 1922, Scheuer found himself at the centre of debates over Jewish difference, Zionism, Germanness, and anti-semitism. After criticising Vienna's Zionists before the First World War, Scheuer argued for the importance of tolerating Jews once Austria's fraternities became increasingly anti-semitic. His polemics and his use of historical research provide valuable insights into the delicate balance that nationalist Germans of Jewish descent had to maintain during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Born to Jewish parents in Moravia, Franz Oskar Scheuer (1876–c.1941) became a leading publicist, historian, and advocate for student organisations in Vienna and Central Europe. He published numerous articles and several books, edited a magazine, and built a famous library dedicated to student fraternities. Scheuer lived in Vienna and identified himself neither as Jewish nor Austrian, but as German. As a graduate member (*ein alter Herr*) of the liberal student fraternities Fidelitas and Allemannia, Scheuer promoted an explicitly German national (*deutschnational*) agenda within Austrian student politics. He argued that the German identity of the fraternity was more important than the ancestry of individual members, positioning himself and his magazine, *Deutsche Hochschule* (German University), in opposition to those who fought for the inclusion of Jewish fraternities and voices within the public sphere. His position became less and less tenable after the First World War, when militant anti-semitism became normal in Austrian student politics. He used his substantial knowledge of the history of the fraternities to construct an alternative approach to student identity politics that was both *deutschnational* and tolerant. At the same time, Scheuer's professional work in dermatology and sexology situated him within a much more cosmopolitan and 'Jewish' milieu. He published intensively on medical topics only when not engaged in student politics; his oscillation between dermatology, sexology, and student history was a reflection of the extent to which Vienna's fluctuating attitudes towards Jews allowed him to excel in different fields at various times. Scheuer thus displayed what Till van Rahden calls "situational ethnicity", as Scheuer emphasised his Germanness and Jewishness at different periods during his life and in different public and professional contexts.¹

¹ Till van Rahden, *Jews and Other Germans. Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau, 1860–1925*. Trans. Marcus Brainard. Madison 2000, 8-9.

As someone who had explicitly renounced Judaism, Scheuer saw himself first and foremost as German, only identifying as Jewish when he had no other choice. His career problematises the scholarly consensus on how people of Jewish descent identified and performed ethnicity in interwar Austria. Articulating the majority view, Robert Wistrich has argued that “the Austrian Jews of 1900 were Austrian above all in the sense of loyalty to a supra-national dynasty rather than identification with a ‘national’ community”.² Nation and empire were two different things in Austria-Hungary, and individuals could comfortably remain loyal to both the Jewish nation and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, adopting German language and customs as part of imperial culture without sacrificing loyalty to the Jewish nation. Not everyone was a nationalist, though. As Tara Zahra writes, Jews in Vienna “identified more strongly with religious, class, local, regional, professional, or familial communities, or even with the Austrian dynasty, than with a single nation”.³ But Scheuer and those like him *did* identify primarily with a single nation. Before the First World War they argued vehemently for their inclusion within the German nation, and after the war they fought to reimagine Germanness within Austria as a community that could and should include people of Jewish descent.

Scheuer’s biography suggests that in some ways the choices available to Viennese Jews were similar to those open to Jews in Germany where, as Tim Grady notes, Jews “spanned the political spectrum; they were certainly never just in the liberal political camp. Their numbers may have been small, but Jews could be left-wing radicals, passionate conservatives or even in some cases right-wing agitators.”⁴ With the increasing number of ‘*Staatsbürger jüdischen Unglaubens*’ (citizens of Jewish irreligion) in Central Europe, assimilated, non-practicing Jews like Walter Rathenau – an engineer, journalist, industrialist, and statesman in Germany – could claim to be “of the Jewish tribe” at the same time that they affirmed that “my people is the German people, my home is the German lands, my confession is the German faith”.⁵ Jews participated in some of the most violent aspects of German colonialism in Africa, engaged in German settlement programmes in Eastern Europe, formed nationalist veterans associations, and even joined right-wing paramilitary groups such as the *Freikorps*.⁶ As Philipp Nielsen points out, none of this was remarkable in Germany before roughly 1924, when the style of right-wing conservatism associated with the old empire waned and was replaced with a more emphatically racist and anti-semitic style of *völkisch* nationalism.⁷ Scheuer’s biography forces us to consider the extent to which some Viennese Jews also clung to German nationalism instead of embracing an Austrian national identity.

The alienation of politically conservative Jews began slightly earlier in Austria, catalysed by the pressing need to define Austrianness in the new republic. Both Jews and non-Jews alike used what Lisa Silverman calls “Jewish difference” as a means of nego-

2 Robert S. Wistrich, Introduction, in: Robert S. Wistrich (ed.), *Austrians and Jews in the Twentieth Century. From Franz Joseph to Waldheim*, Basingstoke 1992, x-xviii, here xi.

3 Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls. National Indifference and the Battle for the Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948*, Ithaca 2008, 4.

4 Tim Grady, *A Deadly Legacy. German Jews and the Great War*, New Haven 2017, 4.

5 Walter Rathenau, *To Germany’s Youth, 1918*, cited in Till van Rahden, *Germans of the Jewish Stamm. Visions of Community between Nationalism and Particularism, 1850–1933*, in: Neil Gregor/Nils Roemer/Mark Roseman (ed.), *German History from the Margins*, Bloomington 2006, 32.

6 Tim Grady, *The German-Jewish Soldiers of the First World War in History and Memory*, Liverpool 2011, 88–121; Christian Davis, *Colonialism, Antisemitism, and Germans of Jewish Descent in Imperial Germany*, Michigan 2014, 133–245; Philipp Nielsen, *Between Heimat and Hatred. Jews and the Right in Germany, 1871–1935*, Oxford 2019.

7 Nielsen, *Between Heimat and Hatred*, 8, 257–258.

tiating the boundaries of a new national identity. “Jewish difference”, Silverman writes, “refers to the dialectical, hierarchical framework that encompasses the relationship between the socially constructed categories of ‘Jew’ and ‘non-Jew’.”⁸ As well as reminding us that there is no inherent, essential thing called ‘Jewishness’, the term focusses our attention on the changing cultural meanings that Jewishness had for contemporaries. Therefore, when I refer to Scheuer as Jewish, it is to highlight the fact that Austrians considered his Jewish ancestry significant. More Jews converted to Christianity in Vienna than anywhere else in the empire, but even if one renounced religion and assimilated into Viennese society, as Steven Beller points out, “the presence in the family past of Jewish ancestors was liable to mean that one started with a view of the world which was substantially different from that of others who were not of Jewish descent”.⁹ Scheuer attacked Vienna’s Zionists during the 1910s and then spent the 1920s articulating what he believed the attitude of the student fraternities towards Jewish difference should have been. As such, he provides valuable evidence regarding how nationalist Austrians of Jewish descent were and were not able to identify.

Scheuer has largely been ignored by historians, except for three invaluable biographical articles by Harald Seewan and Gregor Gatscher-Riedl.¹⁰ Both Seewan and Gatscher-Riedl approach Scheuer as a historian of Austrian fraternities and highlight his somewhat antiquarian contributions to a complex field of study. Gatscher-Riedl in particular uses Scheuer’s life and writings as a window into the history of the fraternities themselves. While acknowledging a substantial debt to Seewan and Gatscher-Riedl, this article analyses Scheuer’s polemics to shed new light on the growing discussion regarding Germans and Austrians of Jewish descent who were committed to German nationalist causes. Reading Scheuer’s writings as attempts to clarify the ambiguities of Jewish difference in a rapidly evolving environment, it reveals the contingencies involved in national identification during this period, while also suggesting that the lived experience of Jewishness was both more complex and less divisive than the sharp binaries preserved in Scheuer’s public writings imply.

Becoming German, 1896–1911

Scheuer grew up in the Moravian town of Znaim (Czech: Znojmo). Znaim was a majority German-speaking town (76.5 per cent of the population were German speakers in 1910), and Marsha Rozenblit writes that, during this period,

“Moravian Jews spoke German and participated in the German community, but they always formed a separate group within it, and not primarily because of antisemitism. Rather, the unique demographic structure of Jewish life in this mixed-language province sustained both Jewish loyalty to the German language and Jewish distinctiveness within the German community”.¹¹

8 Lisa Silverman, *Becoming Austrians. Jews and Culture between the World Wars*, Oxford 2012, 7.

9 Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938. A Cultural History*, Cambridge 1989, 13; Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution. A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism*, Chapel Hill 1992, 58.

10 Harald Seewan, *Dem Andenken des Studentenhistorikers Dr. Oskar Scheuer*, in: *Einst und Jetzt* 33 (1988), 239–242; Gregor Gatscher-Riedl, *Wien als frühes Zentrum der Hochschulkunde. Der jüdische Arzt, Studentenhistoriker und Bibliothekar Oskar Franz Scheuer*, in: *Einst und Jetzt* 65 (2020), 11–32; Gregor Gatscher-Riedl, *Wiener Beiträge zur Studentengeschichte. Der jüdische Arzt, Bibliothekar und Hochschulkundler Oskar Franz Scheuer*, in: Daniela Angetter-Pfeiffer/Bernhard Hubmann (ed.), *Quadrifolium*, Göttingen 2020, 151–162.

11 Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Jews, German Culture, and the Dilemma of National Identity. The Case of Moravia, 1848–1938*, in: *Jewish Social Studies. History, Culture, Society* 20 (2013) 1, 77–120, here 79, 88.

Nonetheless, they voted for German liberals against Czech nationalists, and even Jewish schools were run in German.¹² Jews had only been granted residency in Znaim in 1848, forming an Israelite Cultural Association with its own cemetery and place of worship in the late 1860s.¹³ The 1890 census estimated the town's small Jewish population at only 674 people, which grew to 771 people, or four per cent of the population, in 1910.¹⁴ According to municipal documents, Scheuer's father was a "shopkeeper and junk dealer". Vienna was *the* cultural centre for Moravian Jews, and they migrated there much more often than to geographically closer Prague. Scheuer studied medicine at the University of Vienna in 1896 and became active in the Fidelitas Burschenschaft (student fraternity) there during his student years. Despite Karl Lueger's re-election as mayor in 1897, organised anti-semitism was more muted during the fin-de-siècle than it had been for the past twenty years, even though anti-semitic sentiments were still widespread in Viennese society.¹⁵ The proportion of Jewish students at the University of Vienna was declining gradually during the second half of the 1890s, but this was a result of increasing student numbers across the board rather than a significant decrease in the actual number of Jews. In the Faculty of Medicine, where Scheuer studied, 48 per cent of students were of Jewish descent in 1890, and anti-semitic commentators were vocal about the 'Jewification' of Habsburg academia.¹⁶

As Gatscher-Riedl demonstrates, Scheuer's involvement in fraternity life brought him into a thriving, lively, and exclusive community based on shared educational and cultural accomplishments. After graduating from high school, Scheuer joined Thaya, a vacation fraternity (*Ferialverbindung*) for students studying in Vienna and Prague. Dieter Hecht describes vacation fraternities as "a way of carrying over structural and ideological aspects of student life into the vacations".¹⁷ Members engaged in many of the same cultural activities that they enjoyed during semester, such as duelling, organising lectures, and wearing their fraternity uniforms. Thaya celebrated deutschnational values, but without excluding Jews or other minorities. They sported red, green and gold colours and their motto was "Germanness and Liberty – our standard, honour and faith – our emblem!" In addition to taking part in Thaya's cultural and charitable activities, a local newspaper reported that Scheuer gave a "side-splitting" lecture to the association dressed in women's clothes, during which he delivered one punch line after another.¹⁸

Scheuer made a number of important connections through Thaya, including a close friendship with the writer Karl Hans Strobl, who also came from Znaim.¹⁹ Strobl's novels about his student days in Prague emphasise the Germanic identity of fraternities. The protagonists in *Die Vaclavbude* (1902), for example, are attacked as *Germans* by nationalist Czechs because they wore their fraternity colours.²⁰ Scheuer

12 Ibid., 77-120, here 86-87.

13 Gatscher-Riedl, *Wien als frühes Zentrum*, 11-32, here 11-12.

14 International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies, Znojmo: Moravia, International Jewish Cemetery Project, <https://iajgscemetery.org/eastern-europe/czech-republic/znojmo> (13 July 2020); Rozenblit, *Jews, German Culture*, 77-120, here 88.

15 Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, 45-48.

16 Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, 34; Jan Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria 1848-1918. A Social History of a Multilingual Space*, West Lafayette 2018, 237.

17 Dieter J. Hecht, *Jewish (Vacation) Fraternities in the Habsburg Monarchy*. Kadimah and Geullah – Forward to Redemption, in: *Austrian Studies* 24 (2016), 32.

18 Gatscher-Riedl, *Wien als frühes Zentrum*, 11-32, here 12-13.

19 On Strobl, see: Raimund Lang, *Der Dramaturg von Prag: Karl Hans Strobl als studentischer Dichter*, in: Detlef Frische/Ulrich Becker (ed.), *Zwischen Weltoffenheit und nationaler Verengung*, Würzburg 2000, 137-167.

20 Karl Hans Strobl, *Die Vaclavbude*, Leipzig 1917.

continued his studies at the German University in Prague in 1900, joining the *Allemania Burschenschaft* there. Language and nationality politics in Prague were quite different to those in Znaim. In Prague during the late nineteenth century, Jews vacillated between embracing German or Czech language and culture, with most deciding in favour of Czech for political reasons.²¹ Scheuer chose a German identity as a Moravian and a member of a *deutschnational* fraternity, thus aligning himself more closely with Prague's German cultural sphere than its Jewish one. As Pieter Judson notes, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire expressing Germanness was about being part of a local cultural and linguistic community and did not necessarily involve a desire for unification with the new German nation-state created in 1871.²² At the same time, the language one spoke had political implications, and during the early years of the twentieth century the state began to recognise 'nations' as political communities rather than just linguistic groupings.²³

After graduating in 1903, Scheuer moved back to Vienna, where he began a specialisation in dermatology and venereal disease – subjects that were intimately connected in the early twentieth century – at the *Rudolfsstiftung Hospital*. He formally renounced Judaism in 1906, and in 1908 he married Emmy Carolina Fränkel, who also left Judaism the year she married Scheuer.²⁴ The couple had two daughters. They settled near the hospital in the city's third district, *Landstraße*, where relatively few Jews lived and which was a decidedly 'non-Jewish' space.²⁵ Here he worked under the mentorship of Franz Mraček, a leading authority on syphilis, but Scheuer left the hospital to set up his own practice in 1909. As Gatscher-Riedl suggests, this may have been because he had been passed over as Mraček's successor when Mraček died in 1908.²⁶

Scheuer began publishing studies in specialist medical journals almost as soon as he set out on his own, with six articles on gonorrhoea and syphilis appearing in 1909 alone. Scheuer's treatments were somewhat experimental, such as his suggestion that the best way to treat chronic gonorrhoea in men was to insert a vibrator deep into the urethra. Vibration would clear away the mucus, he said, allowing the doctor to inject an ointment at the root of the infection.²⁷ Alert to the possibilities of sensationalism and publicity, in 1911 he introduced a bearded lady by the name of Hedwig Koschinski to Vienna's medical community, promoting her as "a true miracle of nature".²⁸ Over twenty years later, he went on to write a book on human hairiness, presumably

21 William O. McCagg Jr., *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918*, Bloomington 1992, 177–179.

22 Pieter Judson, *When Is a Diaspora Not a Diaspora? Rethinking Nation-Centered Narratives about Germans in Habsburg East Central Europe*, in: Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridenthal/Nancy Reagin (ed.), *The Heimat Abroad. The Boundaries of Germanness*, Ann Arbor 2005, 219–247, here 221.

23 Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans. A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948*, Princeton 2005, 114.

24 Anna L. Staudacher, "... meldet den Austritt aus dem mosaischen Glauben". 18 000 Austritte aus dem Judentum in Wien, 1868–1914: Namen – Quellen – Daten, Frankfurt am Main 2009, 518.

25 Lisa Silverman, *Jewish Memory, Jewish Geography. Vienna before 1938*, in: Arijit Sen/Lisa Silverman (ed.), *Making Place. Space and Embodiment in the City*, Bloomington 2014, 187.

26 Gatscher-Riedl, *Wien als frühes Zentrum*, 11–32, here 15.

27 Oskar Scheuer, *Die Behandlung chronischer Gonorrhoe mittelst Vibrationsmassage*, in: *Wiener Klinische Rundschau* 23 (1909) 12, 177–179. See also: Oskar Scheuer, *Die Behandlung der Erfrierungen mit lokaler Arsonalisation*, in: *Wiener Klinische Rundschau* 23 (1909) 19, 289 f; Oskar Scheuer, *Was leistet zurzeit die Wassermannsche Serodiagnostik der Syphilis für die Praxis?* in: *Wiener Klinische Rundschau* 23 (1909) 23, 353–355; Oskar Scheuer, *Über einen Fall gonorrhöischer Infektion der Mundhöhle*, in: *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 59 (1909) 20, 1104–1106; Oskar Scheuer, *Frühdiagnose der Syphilis mittels Nachweises der Spirochaete pallida im Dunkelfeldapparate*, *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 59 (1909) 34, 1947–1950; Oskar Scheuer, *Über die Behandlung der Gonorrhoe mit Thyresol*, *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 59 (1909) 36, 2079–2082.

28 *Das Mädchen mit dem Männerkopfe*, in: *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 29 January 1911, 6.

inspired by Koschinski.²⁹ Scheuer published three books on venereal disease in 1910 and 1911, but after this he stopped writing for a medical audience for almost twenty years, turning his attention towards student history.³⁰ Sexology was a relatively new field of study in the early twentieth century, and the majority of its pioneers were either German or Austrian Jews.³¹ As individuals such as Otto Weininger explored the boundaries of masculinity and femininity in turn-of-the-century Vienna, they simultaneously reflected on the Jewish Question.³² Except when such research was explicitly anti-semitic, anti-semites frequently expressed their distaste – even open opposition – to scientific research on sexuality and venereal disease.³³ Scheuer's turn away from publishing on these topics was thus also a turn away from a scientific field marked as 'Jewish' towards a more explicitly 'German' speciality.

German-Jewish Liberalism, 1910–1919

In October 1910, Scheuer launched *Deutsche Hochschule: Blätter für deutsch-nationale und freisinnige Farbenstudenten in Österreich* (The German University: A Broadsheet for German National and Liberal Fraternity Students in Austria) under his editorship. His most important collaborator on *Deutsche Hochschule* was Paul Kisch, a writer of Jewish descent from Prague who was a member of the Saxonia fraternity. Kisch completed a doctorate on German literature under the supervision of August Sauer and took up a job as editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* after the First World War. Fraternity life was as formative for Kisch as it was for Scheuer, and in a letter by Kisch to his brother Egon, a communist, in November 1910, he wrote that "I am very attached to my fraternity and, despite your scorn and mockery ... I will not allow myself to appear completely unjustified on this point nor to allow myself to be misled. I will even help it in accordance with 'my abilities'."³⁴ Paul Kisch remained a convinced German nationalist up until he was deported to Theresienstadt in 1943, en route to Auschwitz.

A monthly magazine, editions of *Deutsche Hochschule* ran at twelve pages, filled with articles concerning the history of student fraternities, reflections on pressing concerns, long bibliographies on the history of fraternities and universities, short reviews of new books, and announcements of meetings and other gatherings. In 1910, a six-month subscription originally cost four Kronen in Austria-Hungary or four Marks in Germany. The price remained steady throughout the war but increased together with inflation to six Marks (= six Austro-Hungarian Kronen) in 1919 and to twelve Marks (= twenty-four Austro-Hungarian Kronen) in 1921. Initially, it also included advertisements for bookstores and cafes, but these disappeared after the first few issues. Scheuer's opening editorial made it clear that his magazine

29 Oskar Franz Scheuer, *Die Behaarung des Menschen. Eine sexual- und konstitutionswissenschaftliche Abhandlung*, Leipzig 1933.

30 Oskar Scheuer, *Hautkrankheiten sexuellen Ursprunges bei Frauen*, Vienna 1910; Oskar Scheuer, *Die Syphilis der Unschuldigen (Syphilis insontium)*, Vienna 1910; Oskar Scheuer, *Taschenbuch für die Behandlung der Hautkrankheiten für praktische Ärzte*, Vienna 1911.

31 Erwin J. Haerberle, *The Jewish Contribution to the Development of Sexology*, in: *The Journal of Sex Research* 18 (1982) 4, 305-323.

32 Chandak Sengoopta, *The Unknown Weininger. Science, Philosophy, and Cultural Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, in: *Central European History* 29 (1996) 4, 453-493.

33 *Gewaltsamkeiten auf der ganzen Linie*, in: *Neue Freie Presse*, 5 February 1923, 1, 7.

34 Paul Kisch to Egon Kisch, 2 November 1910, cited in Václav Petrbok, *Der andere Kisch. Der Literaturhistoriker und -kritiker Paul Kisch (1883–1944)*, in: *Brücken* 23 (2015) 1-2, 79-100, here 85.

was aimed at the widest possible student audience, but that it also embraced the *deutschnational* rhetoric about being engaged in a national struggle:

“The idea of creating a magazine that would support our students in their struggle to establish the position of the German people in Austria, as a stronghold of academic freedom and for the beauty of old-fashioned student traditions, and to look after their interests in the most decisive manner, fell on fertile ground on all sides. The *Deutsche Hochschule* – the subtitle is only preliminary – is planned as an organ of all German, conservative, [and] liberal corporations (fraternities and associations). In the course of time it should become a forum for our interests, a place for free speech, [and] a link between young and old”.³⁵

In 1910, Scheuer clearly saw no potential conflict between his own “interests” and those of the “German, conservative, [and] liberal corporations”. By “conservative”, Scheuer meant the fraternities that embraced fencing and duelling, not that they were necessarily politically conservative.³⁶ Similarly, Viennese “Liberalism” in this period should not be reduced to a politics that championed notions such as individual liberty, freedom of speech, and equality before the law, as they were expressed by thinkers such as John Locke or John Stuart Mills. From the 1880s onwards, Viennese Liberals embraced German nationalism as the core value of their movement in an effort to broaden their support base, which had previously been restricted to the urban bourgeoisie.³⁷ At the same time, Austrian Liberals had no exclusive rights to German nationalism, which was associated with a large variety of political creeds. The label ‘German’ carried specifically regionalist connotations in Tyrol, for example, whereas in Vienna it was largely synonymous with liberal anti-clericalism.³⁸

Scheuer explained that “*deutschnational* and liberal” meant fighting for the German Volk against the “un-German materialism” of the times, but that “every German is welcome in our ranks regardless of origin, party or belief; including the Jewish student, who is a German by homeland and language, by upbringing and attitudes and wants to practice his Germanness. There is no fundamental Jewish question for us.”³⁹ Indeed, despite occasionally discussing Jewishness, the central binary that *Deutsche Hochschule* was concerned with during its first years was German/Czech, not German/Jew, perhaps as a result of Scheuer’s experiences in Prague.⁴⁰ Scheuer and Kisch took their commitment to freedom of speech seriously, even publishing articles by Kisch’s brother Egon which reflected quite different political sympathies to their own.⁴¹ In doing so, they were reiterating a stance on free speech that the liberal fraternities such as Fidelitas had taken during the ‘Wahrmund Affair’ in 1908. Then, right-wing student groups and their political allies had attempted to remove the belligerent professor of Catholic canon law, Ludwig Wahrmund, from the

35 Oskar Scheuer, Das erste Wort, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 1 (1910) 1, 1.

36 Oskar F. Scheuer, Die Burschenschaft Fidelitas zu Wien 1876–1926, Vienna 1927, 9, n. 1.

37 Pieter Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries. Liberal Politics, Social Experience and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914*, Michigan 1997, 193 ff. On a similar shift towards *völkisch* nationalism within German liberalism, see: Eric Kurlander, *The Price of Exclusion. Ethnicity, National Identity, and the Decline of German Liberalism, 1898–1933*, Oxford 2006.

38 Judson, *When Is a Diaspora Not a Diaspora?*, 219–247, here 226.

39 P., *Deutschnational und freisinnig*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 1 (1910) 1, 2.

40 W. K., *Deutsche, lernet Tschechisch!*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 1 (1911) 4, 41; W. K., *Tschechisches Jusstudium!* in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 1 (1911) 7, 77; P. K., *Blutiger Grabenbummel*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 2 (1912) 10, 109–110.

41 Egon Erwin Kisch, *Alt-Prager Mensurlokale*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 1 (1911) 8, 87–88; Egon Erwin Kisch, *Herr Karl Kraus*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 4 (1913) 1, 6–7.

University of Innsbruck because of his repeatedly anti-Catholic public statements.⁴² The attempt to censor him, Scheuer claimed, was “a clerical bid to violate the universities”.⁴³

Early twentieth century Vienna was home to Jews of a variety of political persuasions, and even those groups which identified primarily according to Jewishness, such as the Jewish Community Organisation of Vienna (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien, IKG), the Union of German-Austrian Jews, and various Zionist organisations, were all bitterly divided by factionalism. When one considers converts and assimilated Jews with no religious confession, the political compass becomes even more complex. As Scott Spector argues, Vienna’s Jews did not locate themselves on a spectrum suspended somewhere between assimilation and difference.⁴⁴ Rather, their relationship to Jewish difference also intersected with other subjectivities such as class, gender, age, and politics. For Scheuer, the challenge was to reconcile his commitments to the student fraternities and to German nationalism with his liberalism and his Jewish ancestry.

Speaking simultaneously to anti-semites and Jews, Scheuer carefully navigated Viennese politics while maintaining a strong, independent editorial stance that was vehemently opposed to what he called “the invariably chauvinistic and intolerant behaviour of Zionism”.⁴⁵ Even though organised anti-semitism must have worried him, before 1926 he only ever printed his disagreements with other Jews and never those with anti-semites. In an article from 1913, he complained that the city’s “black Jews” – Austrians of Jewish descent who embraced German nationalism – had been excluded from the Zionist Congress which took place in Vienna that year. In the same piece, he bitterly reflected that baptised Jews were not welcome within activist Jewish circles.⁴⁶ Zionism was strongest among Jewish students, who encountered violent anti-semitism on a daily basis and who had been educated in the same spirit as Theodor Herzl. However, as Scheuer pointed out, not all students of Jewish descent were Zionists.⁴⁷ He ridiculed attempts by Jewish students to have Judaism recognised by the university as a nation rather than as a religion. “From our perspective it would be welcome if the law finally clarified the difference between German and Jewish members of the Mosaic religion”, he wrote.

“That would come in very handy for our Jewish members [of *deutschnational* fraternities], because they would then be able to officially document their Germanness and would finally no longer be lumped together with the Jewish nationalists. But maybe the Jewish nationals will identify themselves by a ‘yellow patch’ if their other badges are not enough for them.”⁴⁸

In 1913, Scheuer published a series of articles containing nothing but quotations from famous assimilated Jews who were in favour of embracing German culture and identity, which he believed should have been sufficient to refute the Zionists.⁴⁹ In the

42 On the Wahrmond Affair, see: John W. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna. Christian Socialism in Power, 1897–1918*, Chicago 1995, 191–202.

43 Scheuer, *Die Burschenschaft Fidelitas*, 106.

44 Scott Spector, *Forget Assimilation. Introducing Subjectivity to German-Jewish History*, in: *Jewish History* 20 (2006) 3–4, 349–361.

45 Zum Kapitel ‘Deutschtum und Judentum’, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 3 (1913) 8, 90.

46 Oskar Scheuer, *Nacktlänge zum Wiener Zionistenkongreß*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 4 (1913) 1, 5.

47 Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, 221.

48 r-r-, *Die Anerkennung der jüdischen Nationalität von seiten der Hochschulbehörden*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 4 (1914) 5, 53.

49 *Deutschtum und Judentum*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 3 (1913) 5, 51–52; *Deutschtum und Judentum*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 3 (1913) 7, 77–79; *Deutschtum und Judentum*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 4 (1913) 2, 15–17.

words of Gabriel Reisser, a leading advocate for Jewish emancipation in nineteenth century Hamburg, reprinted approvingly by Scheuer,

<i>Einen Vater in den Höhen,</i>	A single father in the heavens,
<i>Eine Mutter haben wir,</i>	A single mother have we dear,
<i>Gott, ihn, aller Wesen Vater,</i>	God, begetter of all beings,
<i>Deutschland unsre Mutter hier.</i>	Germany, our mother here. ⁵⁰

Should he be forced to choose between Jewishness and Germanness, Scheuer affirmed in January 1919 that “our homeland, language, and education all make us German”. Consequently, he said, he felt no compulsion arguing with Jews over issues he felt strongly about. Scheuer wrote:

“For Jewish members among the national-liberal student body who have always been open and honest in word and deed – despite hatred and challenges left and right – most of the gentlemen only had a sneering smile. So we want to be on our guard. And nothing and nobody should prevent us from attacking things worth fighting about just as sharply with Germans of the Jewish faith as with any other German”.⁵¹

Even if Scheuer and Tisch felt that their Jewishness was irrelevant, their enemies disagreed. As early as 1913, people had begun attacking the “Semitic character” of *Deutsche Hochschule* and calling them “Jewish liberals” whose vision of the student fraternities was a “fossil”. Scheuer responded by saying that there was nothing old-fashioned about being a lover of liberty, and by quoting a maxim from Georg von Schönerer that “I must regard it as deeply shameful when – and this is a fact – cheek is the one and only guideline for the conduct of those suitable for public life”.⁵² Scheuer’s response is instructive. He published the accusations but refused to respond to them directly. Instead, he claimed that his values were more important than his ancestry and identified himself with an old German nationalist famous for his anti-semitism. Scheuer wanted his readers to see him as an advocate for the German national cause, not as a Jew. Among other things, he began publishing short studies on famous Germans who had been members of, or who had written positively about, fraternity life, including Richard Wagner, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Otto von Bismarck.⁵³ He later extended these studies and brought them out in pamphlet form, the message consistently being that fraternities were crucial for developing German culture and manners among young people.⁵⁴

An ideal opportunity came to display *Deutsche Hochschule*’s patriotism when the First World War broke out in 1914. Paul Kisch wrote:

“Fellow students, in battle and around the campfire, remember all the journeys of German warriors to the East for more than a thousand years. Again, it is not only necessary to protect the holy homeland, but also to draw deep furrows in new territory with sharp swords, to spread the seeds of Germanness that they might bear fruit”.⁵⁵

50 Deutschtum und Judentum, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 3 (1913) 5, 52.

51 Oskar Scheuer, Deutschtum und Judentum, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 9 (1919) 1-2, 5-6.

52 Oskar Scheuer, Wir und die Deutschen Hochschulstimmen aus der Ostmark, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 4 (1913) 2, 17-18.

53 Oskar Scheuer, Friedrich Nietzsche als Burschenschafter, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 1 (1911) 11-12, 122-125; Oskar Scheuer, Vom jungen Bismarck, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 2 (1912) 5, 41-43; Oskar Scheuer, Richard Wagner über die Burschenschaft, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 5 (1915) 5-6, 31.

54 Oskar Scheuer, Richard Wagner als Student, Vienna 1920; Oskar Scheuer, Heinrich Heine als Student, Bonn 1922; Oskar Scheuer, Friedrich Nietzsche als Student, Bonn 1923; Oskar Scheuer, Theodor Körner als Student, Bonn 1924.

55 Paul Kisch, Deutschösterreich und der Krieg, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 4 (1914) 11-12, 126.

Scheuer printed the names of “the heroes who have died for the Fatherland” on the front page of every issue throughout the war, listing their military ranks as well as the names of their fraternities along with occasional short biographies. He also published the names and fraternities of students who enlisted, as if they were fighting with and for their fraternities rather than for the empire. All mentions of Jewish difference disappeared from *Deutsche Hochschule* during the war as expressions of patriotism filled the magazine’s pages. Scheuer received the Red Cross Decoration, Second Class, and the Gold Merit Cross with Crown for bravery during the Italian campaign.⁵⁶ For his part, Paul Kisch became a war correspondent writing anti-Czech propaganda.⁵⁷ Despite its patriotism, *Deutsche Hochschule* did not escape the censor’s knife and at least one article entitled “Miscellaneous” was cut at the last minute, the magazine being forced to leave the space blank.⁵⁸

In June 1919, an article on “Viennese Bibliophiles” mentioned that “Dr. Oskar Scheuer has student literature”, showing that he had by then opened his famous library to the public.⁵⁹ Totalling 30,000 volumes at its height, Scheuer’s library included fraternity records and membership lists, memoirs, songbooks, poetry, plays, literature, and speeches. It also contained rare unpublished manuscripts dating back to the Wartburg Festival of 1817, when large numbers of fraternity students embraced German nationalism as a core part of their corporate identity.⁶⁰ When finances forced him to sell his library in 1936, he offered it to the University of Vienna for 25,000 to 30,000 schillings before finally selling it to the University of Würzburg a year later.⁶¹

Confronting Anti-Semitism, 1919–1927

In 1919, however, student anti-semitism intensified, marginalising people like Scheuer as student politics reoriented itself around the Deutsche Studentenschaft (German Student Union). This was formed in the wake of the First World War, when students began to feel the need for a single organisation representing students across the German-speaking lands. Student groups from Berlin, Bonn, Frankfurt, Göttingen, and Marburg took place in a “German Student Day” at the University of Frankfurt in 1917, which was followed by another meeting in Berlin the following year.⁶² Anti-semitic students in Austria began forming their own alliances at the beginning of 1918, and that summer the Liberal fraternities created an association of like-minded groups that could unite around Germanness, liberalism, and a common inclusive position on “the Jewish question”.⁶³ Convinced that Austria’s future lay in joining a greater German state, in November the German fraternities of all political

56 Gatscher-Riedl, *Wien als frühes Zentrum*, 11-32, here 29-30, n. 39.

57 Petrbock, *Der andere Kisch*, 79-100, here 87, n. 17.

58 *Verschiedenes*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 6 (1916) 10-12, 7.

59 *Die Wiener Bücherfreunde*, in: *Mittagsblatt Neues Wiener Journal*, 3 June 1919, 4.

60 Gatscher-Riedl, *Wien als frühes Zentrum*, 11-32, here 18-19. On the Wartburg Festival and its implications for Germans of Jewish descent, see: Deborah Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans. The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin*, New Haven 2007, 150-153.

61 *Erwerbung der Privatbibliothek Oskar F. Scheuer*, 5 December 1936, and *Nachforschungen zum Verbleib der Bibliothek Dr. Oskar Scheuer*, Polizeidirektion Wien, 17 January 1947, in: *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)*, *Allg. Verwaltungs- u. Korrespondenzakten*, 129/1947.

62 *Das Erste Jahr Deutsche Studentenschaft, 1919–1920*, Göttingen 1921, 9; Anton Baak, *Grundlagen, Entwicklung und Wesen der Organisation der Deutschen Studentenschaft*, PhD Thesis, Münster 1927, 41.

63 Paul Klaar, *Unsere nächste Aufgabe – Zusammenschluss!*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 8 (1918) 7-9, 3-4; Oskar Scheuer, *Deutschnational-Freisinnig*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 8 (1918) 7-9, 7; Robert Hein, *Studentischer Antisemitismus in Österreich*, Vienna 1984, 71-72.

persuasions gathered at the University of Vienna for a common demonstration, only to see it appropriated by anti-semitic students hoping to limit the numbers of foreign students and teachers at Austrian universities.⁶⁴ Anti-semitic students were making similar demands at the University of Innsbruck in 1918, and that year the University of Graz officially limited the number of ‘non-Aryan’ students allowed to study there.⁶⁵ Now a university within the Austrian nation-state rather than a regional university within a multinational empire, the University of Graz no longer wished to attract students from non-German backgrounds – such as Hungarians, Romanians, Serbs, and Ukrainians – who had regularly studied in Cisleithanian universities before the war. Conveniently, restricting ‘non-Aryans’ on the grounds of managing immigration quotas simultaneously gave the university authorities the ability to limit the number of Jewish students, regardless of where they came from. Anti-semitic violence became increasingly common in Austrian – and especially Viennese – universities over the next few years, culminating in a wave of protests in November 1923 which demanded a numerus clausus rule restricting the number of Jewish students at all Austrian universities.⁶⁶

A decision by the Austrian government in early 1919 to create a new higher education committee further complicated matters. Liberal fraternities such as Fidelitas, which Scheuer belonged to, saw the committee as an attempt to limit the “international” character of the universities, which they believed was also being threatened by the anti-semitic fraternities.⁶⁷ The German Student Union was officially formed in Würzburg in July 1919, claiming to represent students from across Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia on “all patriotic, social, and cultural issues relating to the student body”.⁶⁸ When Jewish and socialist groups protested that they were not being represented by the German Student Union, the governing bodies of Vienna’s universities ignored these groups and granted the Union the exclusive right to speak on behalf of all students.⁶⁹ Liberal fraternities in Austria bitterly defended their right to welcome Jewish members if they so wished, and the argument continued well into 1920, although the anti-semites held by far the majority position in the Union.⁷⁰ At the same time, the Liberals maintained a hostile attitude towards Zionist fraternities, which they saw as troublemakers and as deliberately provoking anti-semitic attacks.⁷¹ Not all previously tolerant fraternities were as principled as Fidelitas. Scheuer had been a member of Allemannia during his time in Prague, and the Graz branch of Allemannia radicalised during 1919, turning solidly anti-semitic after some internal debates.⁷²

64 Wiedersehensbummel, in: Fremden-Blatt, 1 December 1918, 5; Scheuer, Die Burschenschaft Fidelitas, 141.

65 Herbert Rütgen, Antisemitismus in allen Lagern. Publizistische Dokumente zur Ersten Republik Österreich 1918–1938, Graz 1989, 353; Archives of the Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck (LFU), Fond Antisemitismus, Nr. 256, 18/19, Nr. 228, 4/12/1918, Fond Juden-Auss, Nr. 20, 1923/24.

66 Die Horthy-Buben in Wien, in: Jüdische Korrespondenz, 30 April 1920, 1; Die Universität für zwei Tage gesperrt, in: Wiener Morgenzeitung, 28 April 1920, 4; Der Kampf um den Numerus Clausus, in: Wiener Morgenzeitung, 1 November 1923, 3; Der Hochschul-Skandal, in: Wiener Morgenzeitung, 20 November 1923, 3.

67 Das Memorandum der national-freiheitlichen Studentenschaft in der Hochschulfrage, 19 February 1919, in: Deutsche Hochschule, 9 (1919) 3-4, March–April, 1.

68 Das Erste Jahr, 56.

69 Archives of the Universität für Bodenkultur Wien (BOKU), Rektorat der k.k. Hochschule für Bodenkultur in Wien, 1856/19, S. 17; Archives of the Technische Universität Wien (TUW), RZ, 1854/1925-26, S. 24–60.

70 Hein, Studentischer Antisemitismus, 73-74.

71 Scheuer, Die Burschenschaft Fidelitas, 146-149.

72 Günter Cerwinka, ‘Sie (die “Klerikalen”) stehen ja nicht einmal in der Judenfrage auf unserem Standpunkt’. ‘Juden-’ und ‘Klerikalenfrage’ in den Konventsprotokollen der Grazer Burschenschaft Allemannia 1919/20, Graz 2006, http://www.burschenschaftsgeschichte.de/pdf/cerwinka_juden_und_klerikalenfrage.pdf (24 September 2020).

Most propaganda from the German Student Union was anti-semitic. As one pamphlet explained to new members in 1924:

“Life means struggle, and struggle is war. Our liberal bourgeoisie must finally realise that we are in a struggle, that we Germans are fighting and that we are fighting life and death, and that there is therefore no quiet, comfortable, leisurely life! Just as we curse the neglect of the race which drove us into Jewish rule during its night watch, which sold everything to the Jews: citizenship, honour, profession, nobility, daughters, etc., which plunged the German people to the abyss of destruction, just as the coming generation will curse us, that we drive ourselves even deeper into Jewish slavery in shallow disdain and un-German aversion to struggle”.⁷³

Fidelitas clashed with some of the more exclusively racist fraternities over the Jewish question, but also over other issues. In 1919, Fidelitas abandoned the designation of association (*Verbindung*) and reincorporated as a fraternity (*Burschenschaft*).⁷⁴ Another fraternity, Olympia, objected on the grounds that only the “traditional” *Burschenschaften* were allowed to call themselves this.⁷⁵ Scheuer refuted Olympia’s claim in his 1927 book on the history of Fidelitas, pointing out that it was one of the oldest fraternities in Vienna:

“The present-day fraternity of Fidelitas was founded on 1 October 1876. Until then, just fifty colour-bearing corporations had tried to gain a firm foothold on the floor of Viennese universities. Only fifteen of them succeeded in doing so, which still exist and flourish today. Fidelitas is the sixteenth conservative student body in Vienna”.⁷⁶

Scheuer also quoted a satirical distinction from 1879 which suggested that “the *Corps* believe that the Fatherland is that place where it is best to be hooligans, whereas the *Burschenschaften* are of the opinion that it is best to be a hooligan where the Fatherland is”.⁷⁷ There was, that is, not a big difference between *Corps*, *Verbindungen*, and *Burschenschaften*: all were oriented first and foremost towards German nationalism and cherished the freedom to misbehave when it suited them.⁷⁸ Tensions between Fidelitas and the anti-semitic fraternities had been simmering since 1896, when a number of anti-semitic fraternities signed the Waidhof Decision of 1896, stating that Jews could not fight duels because they did not understand the concept of honour, thus striking at a core element of fraternity culture.⁷⁹ Part of the problem in 1919 was that Fidelitas stood alongside those who resisted attempts to exclude Jews from the German Student Union. When the Reading and Speaking Hall of German Students in Vienna attempted to oppose “the increasing politicisation of university life by student parties organised along the lines of ‘race’ or class”, it soon found itself without a place to meet.⁸⁰ Fidelitas came to its rescue by offering its own restaurant to

73 Kreis VIII (Deutschösterreich) der Deutschen Studentenschaft, Programm für das kommende Studienjahr 1924/25, Vienna 1924, 3.

74 Archives of the Universität Wien (UW), Dosar Akademischer Senat der Universität Wien, Zl. 742/1918-19.

75 Ibid., Zl. 1004/1919-20.

76 Scheuer, *Die Burschenschaft Fidelitas*, 9 f.

77 Ibid., 11.

78 On the differences between the different types of student associations, see: Gilbert Gillot, *Les Corporations Étudiantes. Un Archaisme Plein d’avenir (Allemagne-Autriche, 1880-1914)* [The Student Corporations. An Anarchism Full of the Future (Germany-Austria, 1880-1914)], in: *Le Mouvement Social* 120 (1982), 45-75.

79 Scheuer, *Die Burschenschaft Fidelitas*, 49. On the Waidhof Decision, see: Hein, *Studentischer Antisemitismus*, 53-61. On duelling and its implications for Jewish students, see: Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, *Dueling Students. Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities, 1890-1914*, Ann Arbor 2011.

80 TUW, *Fond Vereinen*, Dosar Lese- und Redehalle deutsche Studenten in Wien (national-freiheitlicher), f. 19, 36.

the Hall, but this could only be temporary as the fraternity also needed the space for its own events.⁸¹

The intensification of anti-semitism with the fraternities forced Scheuer to shift his attention from attacking Zionists to combatting student anti-semitism head on. He followed his 1926 study of Fidelitas with a book entitled *Fraternities and the Jewish Question: Racial Antisemitism in the German Student Union* (1927), which expanded on an argument he had first made in 1914, namely that the Austrian student movement had not been anti-semitic before 1883.⁸² Rhetoric about ‘Christendom’ was central to the fraternities of the early nineteenth century, Scheuer claimed, but never extended to excluding Jews. Scheuer wrote history both out of antiquarian interests, such as with his 1914 history of the hat, and in order to undermine claims to historical right being made in the present.⁸³ He insisted that, “[i]f today German fraternities invoke an anti-semitism that supposedly already prevailed in the primordial fraternity, this vocation is a historical lie. At the time, neither theoretically nor practically was there any trace of modern racial anti-semitism.”⁸⁴ Scheuer maintained that anti-semitism had infiltrated Austrian fraternities during the early 1880s, coming from sources based outside of the universities, a conclusion also reached by more recent historians such as Robert Hein.⁸⁵ “Not only was there no antisemitism in the German fraternities at the end of the seventies”, Scheuer wrote,

“[t]here was no Jewish Question in the German universities at all. The *Corps* had numerous Jews who were faithful brothers and staunch fences. A new anti-Jewish movement was encouraged in Germany only a few years after the foundation of the Reich, based on widespread antisemitic propaganda. Its presence in public life soon ebbed, but it had a long-lasting effect on the universities, above all through its spread into Austria.”⁸⁶

Scheuer argued that the racist fraternities had abandoned the values and traditions of the fraternity movement when they embraced anti-semitism. “Antisemitism and its activity under the sign of the swastika is nothing more than the expression of an opposition to freedom and the symbol of a retrogressive party principle”, he stated, suggesting that only Fidelitas and the other Liberal fraternities were maintaining the authentic spirit of the fraternity movement.⁸⁷

Conclusion

Scheuer turned his back on the polemics surrounding Jewish difference at the end of the 1920s, shifting his attention again to studies on sexuality. Anti-semitism had made it impossible for him to cultivate his public persona as a German liberal through the fraternities, leaving him free to embrace the ‘Jewish’ science of sexology once again. Scheuer’s first book on the topic, *The Love Life of the German Student in the Course of Time* (1920), had been a contribution to what he called “sexual psychology” and appeared alongside other pioneering works of psychoanalysis, such as Sieg-

81 Letter to the Rector, 1 November 1924, *ibid.*, f. 42-44.

82 Wesen und Ziele der deutschnational-freisinnigen Studentenschaft Oesterreichs, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 4 (1914) 6, 62-65.

83 Oskar F. Scheuer, *Der Hut und seine Geschichte. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Monographie*, Vienna 1914.

84 Oskar F. Scheuer, *Burschenschaft und Judenfrage. Der Rassenantisemitismus in der deutschen Studentenschaft*, Berlin 1927, 35.

85 Hein, *Studentischer Antisemitismus*, 78.

86 Scheuer, *Burschenschaft und Judenfrage*, 38.

87 *Ibid.*, 68.

fried Placzek's *Friendship and Sexuality* (1917) and Enoch Heinrich Kisch's *The Sexual Infidelity of Women* (1917).⁸⁸ Scheuer investigated the role of schools as institutions in shaping adolescent sexuality, the impact of medieval Christianity and the Reformation, as well as problems of early modern students visiting "disreputable houses" or engaging in "virgin robbery".⁸⁹ Once it reached the twentieth century, the book focussed increasingly on the problem of venereal disease and of how to properly educate young people about sex.⁹⁰ Scheuer wrote extensively about sexuality from 1928 onwards, working together with Felix Leopold Wangen on the sexuality of corpulent women in *The Luscious Woman* (1928), with the essayist Rudolf Lothar on "The Moral History of Cuddling" (1928), and with the novelist Otto Soyka on the sense of touch (1930), alongside one of Scheuer's major works, *Intimate Advice: The Sex Lives of Women*.⁹¹

Lest we create too stark a contrast between the 'German' Scheuer who wrote about the masculine world of student fraternities and the 'Jewish' Scheuer who studied the secrets of female eroticism, an insightful article written in 1910 by his wife, Emmy Scheuer, reminds us that women played important roles in fraternity life as well. Speaking of "the old wife" (*die alte Frau* – a play on the term for a man who remained connected to the fraternities after graduation, *ein alter Herr*), she wrote about playing a maternal role to young men in the fraternities, introducing them to life "in the big city" and teaching them how to dress and behave like gentlemen.⁹² Her comments suggest that both Scheuer and his wife were more than just publicists and writers. By making his library available to students and by publicising their events through his magazine, Scheuer remained actively engaged in the social life of the fraternity, serving as a mentor as well as a mouthpiece for the students. Ultimately, the hegemony of exclusive, violent anti-semitism closed this outlet for Scheuer's German nationalism to him entirely. After being forced to sell his library for financial reasons during the late 1930s, he and his wife were deported to the Łódź Ghetto on 19 October 1941, paying 125 Reichsmarks for the journey.⁹³ The Viennese police later assumed that he died in Auschwitz, but reliable records of his place of death are not available.⁹⁴

Negotiating Jewish difference preoccupied Scheuer between 1913 and 1927, when he published his first attacks on Vienna's Zionists and then on his fraternity's anti-semitic rivals. Yet, despite what his publications suggest, it was not only through Jewish difference that he identified socially and politically. His boyhood friend Karl Hans Strobl, who moved steadily towards Nazism during the 1920s, dedicated a poem to Scheuer on his fiftieth birthday. Entitled "Oskar Scheuer through Fifty Semesters of Life" (1926), the poem showed that some friendships transcended politics

88 Both books were among those advertised at the end of Scheuer's work. Siegfried Placzek, *Freundschaft und Sexualität*, Bonn 1917; Enoch Heinrich Kisch, *Die sexuelle Untreue der Frau*, Bonn 1917.

89 Oskar F. Scheuer, *Das Liebesleben des deutschen Studenten im Wandel der Zeiten*, Bonn 1920, 18.

90 *Ibid.*, 62 ff.

91 Oskar F. Scheuer/Felix Leopold Wangen, *Das üppige Weib. Sexualleben und erotische Wirkung. Künstlerische und karikaturistische Darstellung der dicken Frau vom Urbeginn bis heute*, Vienna 1928; Leo Schidrowitz (ed.), *Sittengeschichte der Liebkosung und Strafe*, Vienna 1928; Oskar F. Scheuer/Otto Soyka, *Das Gefühl. Eine sexualpsychologische und physiologische Darstellung der Rolle und Bedeutung des Tastsinnes für das Triebleben des Menschen*, Vienna 1930; Oskar Franz Scheuer, *Intimer Rat! Das Geschlechtsleben der Frau*, Vienna 1931.

92 Emmy Scheuer, *Die Frau des 'alten Herrn'*, in: *Deutsche Hochschule*, 1 (1910) 3, 30-31.

93 Arolsen Archives, International Center on Nazi Persecution, Deportation List Vienna, 19 October 1941, f. 1; Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, Auszug aus der Transportliste, Wien/Litzmannstadt, 19 October 1941, f. 23.

94 *Nachforschungen zum Verbleib der Bibliothek Dr. Oskar Scheuer*, Polizeidirektion Wien, 17 January 1947, ÖNB, Allg. Verwaltungs- u. Korrespondenzakten, Nr. 129/1947.

and that Jewish difference was not everything.⁹⁵ Scheuer's life and writings help complicate our vision of Austrians of Jewish descent by demonstrating that identities were complex at the best of times and inscrutable at others. For people like Oskar Scheuer and Paul Kisch, wholeheartedly embracing German nationalism was not enough to save them from the gas chambers of Auschwitz, but it did place them at the heart of bitter nationalist debates over what it meant to be Austrian in the early years of the First Republic.

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95 Gatscher-Riedl, *Wien als frühes Zentrum*, 11-32, here 22.

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