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**Austrian History Yearbook 50 (2019): 78-98**

Heinrich Rauchberg (1860-1938):

A Reappraisal of a Central European Demographer's Life and Work

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IN THE SMALL, IDYLIC GERMAN EVANGELICAL CEMETERY in Prague-Strašnice, a simple tombstone stands in the back row of graves, dedicated to the memory of “Dr. Heinrich Rauchberg, Professor at the German University in Prague, 1860-1938” and his wife Freia (1874-1939). When the Viennese-born demographer passed away, he left behind him an impressive professional career in the Habsburg monarchy and later in Czechoslovakia: He published a massive body of professional studies in population statistics and was an important figure at the German University in Prague, where he founded the Institute of Political Science in 1898 and served as dean of the Faculty of Law (1902-03, 1916-17, and 1926-27) and as university rector (1911-12).<sup>1</sup> Outside the academic realm, Rauchberg was also involved in a broad range of activities. In 1890, for instance, he headed the Austrian census, in which the Hollerith electric counting machine was employed for the first time in Europe; Franz Kafka, his student in 1905, would later craft a literary monument to Rauchberg, the machine expert, in the short story “In the Penal Colony.”<sup>2</sup> Especially after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, Rauchberg became a familiar figure among the local German minority, particularly because of his radio broadcasts on legal questions, his frequent articles

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\*I would like to thank José Brunner, Mark Cornwall, Iris Rachamimov, Samuel Salzborn; the participants of the international workshop *Loyalties and Disloyalties—Current Research on the Danube Monarchy* at the Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe, Marburg, January 2016; and the two anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier version of my argument. I am also grateful to William Templer for translating an earlier version of this article from German into English. Finally, I wish to express my thanks to Heinrich Rauchberg's great-grandson Bertrand Wägenbaur for extensive background information on Rauchberg's private life.

<sup>1</sup>For his studies on population statistics, see for instance, Heinrich Rauchberg, *Österreichische Bürgerkunde* (Vienna, 1911); Rauchberg, *Bürgerkunde der Tschechoslowakischen Republik* (Liberec, 1922). For a list of his main publications, see René Petráš, “Heinrich Rauchberg,” in *Antologie československé právní vědy v letech 1918-1939* [Anthology of Czechoslovak Jurisprudence in the Years 1918-1939], ed. Petra Skřejpková (Prague, 2009), 481-90, at 485; Cyril Horáček, “Profesor Rauchberg zemřel” [Professor Rauchberg Dead], *Právnick [Lawyer]* 77 (1938): 541-42. On his time at the German University, see Archive of the Charles University, Prague (AUK), Personal Files – Heinrich Rauchberg (PF-HR), 1896-1938 (box 6), manuscript, Oskar Engländer, “Persönliche Erinnerungen,” 12 Apr 1930; cf. Engländer, “Rauchberg als Wissenschaftler,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 10 Apr 1930, p. 3; Helmut Slapnicka, “Rauchberg, Heinrich,” in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950*, ed. Austrian Academy of Sciences, 12 vols. (Vienna, 1983), 8: 437-38, at 437.

<sup>2</sup>Benno Wagner, “Connecting Cultures: Heinrich Rauchberg, Franz Kafka, and the Hollerith Machine,” *Austriaca. Cahiers universitaires d'information sur l'Autriche* 60 (2005): 53-68.

in the German-speaking press on current issues, his numerous public lectures on social topics, his tireless engagement with housing assistance, tenant protection, and social insurance, as well as his involvement in the German League of Nations Union in the Czechoslovak Republic, which he co-founded in 1922.<sup>3</sup> In short, he was a scholar very much in the public eye.

Rauchberg's academic oeuvre is today an important source for historical research on the Bohemian lands, although it was then, and still is, not without controversy. Nevertheless, there have been few publications that provide an overview of his life and trace the evolution of his scientific and political thought.<sup>4</sup> The present article seeks to close this gap while emphasizing in particular one aspect of his biography that is often overlooked: Rauchberg was a son of Jewish parents who converted to Christianity as an adult. Indeed, after 1945, Rauchberg's Jewish background was scarcely ever mentioned (nor was the fact that he was Viennese).<sup>5</sup> I argue that taking the demographer's Jewish origin into account sheds a fresh light on the reception of his person and work by his contemporaries. After all, Rauchberg's career took shape amid continual tension between social acceptance and rejection. In this respect, he exemplifies many other scientists of Jewish background in Central Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: On the one hand, they often reached the pinnacle of research in their fields, thus making an important contribution to society; on the other, they saw themselves exposed to incessant attacks from antisemites agitating against the purported "Judaizing" (*Verjudung*) of science and scholarship.<sup>6</sup> In light of those historical studies that hint at

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<sup>3</sup>On his radio broadcasts, see Slapnicka, "Rauchberg," 437; cf. Alfons Adam, *Unsichtbare Mauern: Die Deutschen in der Prager Gesellschaft zwischen Abkapselung und Interaktion (1918-1938/39)* (Essen, 2013), 299. On his engagement with housing assistance, tenant protection, and social insurance, see "Prof. Dr. Rauchberg gestorben," *Deutsche Zeitung Bohemia*, 27 Sept 1938, p. 5. On his involvement in the German League of Nations, see "Gründungsversammlung der deutschen Völkerbundliga," *Reichenberger Zeitung*, 27 Mar 1922, p. 1. On Rauchberg's advocacy of minority protection and his pro-German lobbying at the League of Nations, see Petráš, "Heinrich Rauchberg," 483-84. On Rauchberg's membership in various public institutions in the Habsburg monarchy, see "Rektorswahl an der Universität," *Bohemia*, 24 June 1911, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Among the exceptions is Petráš, "Heinrich Rauchberg."

<sup>5</sup>Among the exceptions are *ibid.*, 481; Martin Wein, *History of the Jews in the Bohemian Lands* (Leiden, 2016), 172 (note 3); Siegmund Kaznelson, "Nationalities Struggle," in *Prague and Jerusalem: A Memorial Volume for Leo Herrmann*, ed. Felix Weltsch (Jerusalem, 1954), 57-63, at 61 [in Hebrew]. See also the reference books, Anna L. Staudacher, "... meldet den Austritt aus dem mosaischen Glauben": 18000 Austritte aus dem Judentum in Wien, 1868-1914: *Namen—Quellen—Daten* (Frankfurt, 2009), 476 (note 6); Staudacher, *Jüdisch-protestantische Konvertiten in Wien 1782-1914*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 2004), 2:564 (note 29); Austrian National Library, ed., *Handbuch österreichischer Autorinnen und Autoren jüdischer Herkunft: 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Munich, 2002), 2:1096; Rudolf M. Wlaschek, *Biographia Judaica Bohemiae*, 3 vols. (Dortmund, 1995), 1:173.

<sup>6</sup>Steven M. Lowenstein, "Jewish Participation in German Culture," in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 3, *Integration in Dispute, 1871-1918*, eds. Lowenstein, Paul Mendes-Flohr, Peter Pulzer and Monika Richarz (New York, 1997), 305-35.

Rauchberg's supposed latent antisemitism, the thematization of his Jewish roots becomes all the more significant.<sup>7</sup>

The aim of the present study is to describe and analyze Rauchberg's precarious position as a "baptized Jew" in the Habsburg monarchy in the second half of the nineteenth century and in Czechoslovakia in the interwar period. The focus is on how the multicultural environment perceived him and his oeuvre, and on how he navigated this environment to espouse a German nationalist stance. To this end, the article is divided into five parts. The first part is dedicated to the academic controversy that Rauchberg's magnum opus aroused among both contemporary and present-day readers. Rauchberg's life in Vienna before his relocation to Prague in 1896 is discussed in the second part. The third part deals with his image in Bohemia: How did he position himself in relation to his German, Czech, and Jewish contemporaries? How did they perceive him and his work? The fourth part examines Rauchberg's viewpoint in the heated debate on the location of the German University in Bohemia—a debate that originated in the late Habsburg period and extended throughout the interwar period. The final part of the article examines Rauchberg's activities in his last decade, as Nazism took over German nationalist discourse.

### ***The National Property in Bohemia (1905)***

As his obituary affirmed, Rauchberg possessed the "gift of breathing life into the dry numbers of statistics."<sup>8</sup> Perhaps this was among the reasons that, in 1900, the head of the Society for the Advancement of German Science, Art and Literature in Bohemia, Friedrich Freiherr von Wieser, approached him regarding an urgent matter: The demographer was to determine once and for all the relative demographic and economic strength of the Germans and Czechs in Bohemia. Above all, he was to find out whether the German Bohemian "national property", that is the territory populated by German speakers in Bohemia as well as their material and cultural property, was shrinking in comparison with that of the Czechs.<sup>9</sup> Five years later,

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<sup>7</sup>Dimitry Shumsky, "Introducing Intellectual and Political History to the History of Everyday Life: Multiethnic Cohabitation and Jewish Experience in Fin-de-Siècle Bohemia," *Bohemia: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder* 46 (2005): 39-67, at 61; Emil Brix, "Die Erhebungen der Umgangssprache im zisleithanischen Österreich (1880-1910): Nationale und sozio-ökonomische Ursachen der Sprachenkonflikte," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 87 (1979): 363-439, at 381; Brix, *Die Umgangssprachen in Altösterreich zwischen Agitation und Assimilation: Die Sprachenstatistik in den zisleithanischen Volkszählungen 1880 bis 1910* (Vienna, 1982), 296.

<sup>8</sup>"Prof. Dr. Rauchberg gestorben," *Deutsche Zeitung Bohemia*, 27 Sept 1938, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Heinrich Rauchberg, *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1905), vi-vii. On the term "Nationalbesitzstand" (national property or national ownership), see Pieter M. Judson, "'Not Another Square Foot!' German Liberalism and the Rhetoric of National Ownership in Nineteenth-Century Austria," *Austrian History Yearbook* 26 (1995): 83-97.

Rauchberg published his findings in his three-volume magnum opus titled *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen* (The National Property in Bohemia).<sup>10</sup> In it, he argued that the national agitation of Germans and Czechs along the multicultural “language border” in Bohemia was, by and large, ineffectual, because key demographic changes were taking place in compact German and Czech settlements in the Bohemian hinterland (*geschlossene Sprachgebiete*).<sup>11</sup> The book concluded “that the numerical proportion of Germans and Czechs has not changed for more than a century.” Thus, even if German national propaganda asserted the opposite, the statistics showed that the so-called “national property” of the Germans was not threatened with extinction.<sup>12</sup> In this study, Rauchberg also presented his solution to the national conflict in Bohemia. He advocated the partition of Bohemia into a German and a Czech language area, and the assimilation of the Czech speakers living in the German region to the German majority population. In addition, he supported a “close linkage” (*enger Anschluß*) of the German Austrians to the German Reich.<sup>13</sup> Following his example, several other German-conscious statisticians throughout Austria assumed the existence of a German “national property” and investigated its supposed strength. Of particular note is Hugo Herz, the Moravian statistician and national economist of Jewish origin, who explored the German and Czech “national properties” in Moravia and Austria-Silesia.<sup>14</sup>

Despite his influence on German demography, contemporary experts disagreed about Rauchberg’s study. The American economist and later Nobel Peace Prize laureate Emily Greene Balch reviewed it rather positively: “But though Dr. Rauchberg is here, as elsewhere, frankly pro-German, and though this inevitably determines his point of view, the book is a solid

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<sup>10</sup>Heinrich Rauchberg, *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1905). For an analysis of Rauchberg’s magnum opus, see, for instance, Petr Kadlec, Pavel Kladiwa, Dan Gawrecki, Andrea Pokludová and Petr Popelka, eds., *Národnostní statistika v českých zemích 1880-1930: Mechanismy, problémy a důsledky národnostní klasifikace* [Ethnic Statistics in the Bohemian Lands in 1880-1930: The Mechanisms, Problems and Consequences of Ethnic Classification], 2 vols. (Ostrava, 2016), 1:passim.

<sup>11</sup>Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 670-71. On the nationalistic term “language border” (*Sprachgrenze*), see Pieter M. Judson, “Frontier Germans: The Invention of the *Sprachgrenze*,” in *Identität—Kultur—Raum: Kulturelle Praktiken und die Ausbildung von Imagined Communities in Nordamerika und Zentraleuropa*, eds. Susan Ingram, Markus Reisenleitner, and Cornelia Szabó-Knotik (Vienna, 2001), 85-99; Mark Cornwall, “The Struggle on the Czech-German Language Border, 1880-1940,” *The English Historical Review* 109, no. 433 (1994): 914-51.

<sup>12</sup>“Deutsche und tschechische Minoritäten,” *Bohemia*, 2 Nov 1905, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 257, 298, 663-67; cf. Kadlec/Kladiwa/Gawrecki/Pokludová/Popelka, *Národnostní statistika*, 1:171.

<sup>14</sup>Berthold Sutter, “Die politische und rechtliche Stellung der Deutschen in Österreich 1848 bis 1918,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, vol. 3/1, *Die Völker des Reiches*, eds. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna, 1980), 154-339, at 307-9; Hugo Herz, “Der nationale Besitzstand und die nationalen Siedlungsverhältnisse in Mähren und (österreich.) Schlesien,” *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 65 (1909): 609-50.

piece of scholarly work.”<sup>15</sup> By contrast, the economist Heinrich Herkner, based in Zurich University, harshly criticized Rauchberg’s publication. In his view, the work “should not be judged solely from the scientific standpoint alone.” It was, he argued, “heavily influenced” by national “sentimental values,” making it impossible to “speak about findings that were exact.”<sup>16</sup> Czech critics not only brusquely rejected Rauchberg’s interpretation of the sources, which they deemed slanted and tinged with his own national views, but also expressed grave doubts about the validity of the census statistics he utilized.<sup>17</sup> Since 1880, the Austrian census did not inquire about nationalities, but asked, for administrative purposes, about the everyday languages spoken by the respondents. However, contrary to the official policy of the Austrian government, which distinguished between “nationality” and “language of daily use,” many German and Czech contemporaries saw the censuses as referendum on nationalist commitment and strength.<sup>18</sup> For this reason, Jan Srb, the Czech director of the Municipal Statistical Office in Prague firmly dismissed Rauchberg’s thesis on the bilingual Jews in Prague. In Rauchberg’s opinion, the quantitative decline of the German nationality in Prague was largely attributable to a substantial number of Jews in the city who preferred to declare in the 1900 census that Czech, rather than German, was their language of daily use. According to Rauchberg, the fact that the majority of the Jews in Prague educated their children in the German language and culture was striking proof that, regardless of their daily language, they should be classified as having German nationality. Srb countered that those Prague Jews who had reported Czech as their language of daily use had wished to do so to express their authentic attachment to the Czech nationality.<sup>19</sup>

In Rauchberg’s views on the Prague bilingual Jews, some present-day historians have found evidence of latent antisemitic tendencies. According to Dimitry Shumsky, for instance, Rauchberg’s book had no explicit “antisemitic barbs whatsoever,” but it implicitly propagated the old stereotype of the opportunistic Jews, who change their position to suit their own advantage.<sup>20</sup> It is important to note, however, that Rauchberg’s talk about Jewish opportunism

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<sup>15</sup>Emily Greene Balch, “Der Nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen by Heinrich Rauchberg. Review,” *Political Science Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1906): 155-58, at 155.

<sup>16</sup>Heinrich Herkner, “Neuere Literatur über die deutsch-böhmische Frage,” *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 24 (1907): 451-63, at 462.

<sup>17</sup>See, for instance, Pavel Kladiwa, “(Nejen) Boháč versus Rauchberg: Dobová reflexe výsledků sčítání lidu 1880–1930 v českých zemích” [(Not only) Boháč versus Rauchberg: Reflecting the results of the census of 1880-1930 in the Czech lands], *Časopis Matice moravské* [Journal of the Moravian Foundation] 132, no. 2 (2013): 369-406.

<sup>18</sup>Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, 2006), 31-32.

<sup>19</sup>Shumsky, “Introducing Intellectual,” 59-61.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 61.

did not necessarily spring from any antisemitic motives. In fact, as Peter Pulzer notes, “No doubt there was an element of opportunism in these census declarations [of the Prague Jews in 1900]; but there was not much future in being inopportunist.”<sup>21</sup> Zionist spokespeople before 1918 argued along similar lines: “If in the compact Czech language area, they [the bilingual Jews] identify with the language of daily use of the majority, then that is both right and intelligent, no matter whether it springs from considerations of opportunism or conviction.”<sup>22</sup> In Shumsky’s opinion, Rauchberg avoided taking an explicitly antisemitic position in his study only in order to be able to assign as many Prague Jews as possible to his own German camp.<sup>23</sup> Emil Brix similarly argues that Rauchberg spoke out against antisemitism merely “due to pragmatic national-political considerations” and “for opportunistic reasons.”<sup>24</sup> Thus, both historians agree that Rauchberg was not abusively antisemitic in his book, not as a matter of principle, but rather to avoid antagonizing the bilingual Jews in Prague.

Indeed, if in the first half of the twentieth century it was primarily social scientists who analyzed and critically appraised Rauchberg’s *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen*, since then, historians in particular have dealt with the work and its author. Strikingly, while in the 1990s most historians sketched a moderate and conciliatory image of the demographer, in recent years he has increasingly been portrayed as a radical nationalist. In an article published in 1994 by Mark Cornwall, Rauchberg is described as a scientist who sought in vain to mollify the prevailing national tensions between German and Czech nationalists.<sup>25</sup> Catherine Albrecht sums up her view of Rauchberg along similar lines: “German liberals such as Heinrich Rauchberg took a moderate approach, advocating [Czech] assimilation to German culture.”<sup>26</sup> Writing in 2010, Peter Haslinger sketches a more ambiguous portrait of the demographer. He observes that Rauchberg “tried in his analysis to distance himself from nationalistic interpretations,” but clearly defended “the German standpoint regarding an indisputable existence of compact language areas,” and in that connection constructed anti-Czech “scenarios of threat” using “military diction.”<sup>27</sup> Pieter Judson asserts that Rauchberg belonged to the ranks

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<sup>21</sup>Peter Pulzer, “Legal Equality and Public Life,” in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 3, *Integration in Dispute, 1871-1918*, eds. Pulzer, Steven M. Lowenstein, Paul Mendes-Flohr, and Monika Richarz (New York, 1997), 153-95, at 170.

<sup>22</sup>Moravus, “Eine deutsche Drohung,” *Die Welt* (Vienna), 3 Nov 1905, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup>Shumsky, “Introducing Intellectual,” 61.

<sup>24</sup>Brix, “Erhebungen der Umgangssprache,” 381; Brix, *Umgangssprachen*, 296.

<sup>25</sup>Cornwall, “Struggle on the Czech-German Language Border,” 920-22.

<sup>26</sup>Catherine Albrecht, “Economic Nationalism among German Bohemians,” *Nationalities Papers* 24, no. 1 (1996): 17-30, at 20.

<sup>27</sup>Peter Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs 1880-1938* (Munich, 2010), 152.

of “German nationalists” and contends that his work, even if this was not necessarily his intention, had an “extremely influential” impact on German-national activists, who often quoted passages from his book to defend the notion of a “language border.”<sup>28</sup> In Tara Zahra’s 2008 study *Kidnapped Souls*, Rauchberg has mutated into “a rabid German nationalist,” and recently Jason Hansen includes the demographer among the group of “radical Germans” in the Habsburg monarchy.<sup>29</sup>

All in all, both contemporary and later experts have debated to what extent (and not whether) Rauchberg’s research was guided by ideology. Depending on the answer to that, he has been characterized either as a moderate liberal or as an extreme nationalist, whose intended or actual impact was either to pacify or to incite the Czech-German national conflict. Irrespective of the controversy-ridden views on Rauchberg in the scholarly literature, it must be noted that in neither the past nor the present have his qualifications as a knowledgeable statistician and demographer ever been called into question. In fact, *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen* has become the standard work in historical research on the Bohemian lands. It is generally considered to be a reliable statistical source.<sup>30</sup>

### **Rauchberg in Vienna: Jewish Parents, Protestant Career**

Rauchberg’s family originally came from Galicia. His father, Josef Rauchberg, was born on 22 March 1830 in the shtetl Klasno near Cracow and later moved to Vienna and opened a silk factory. His mother, Ernestine (Ettel, née Schilder) was born in 1832 in L’viv (Lemberg). Josef and Ernestine were married on 19 June 1859 in the Vienna Stadttempel synagogue.<sup>31</sup> Heinrich was born on 12 April 1860. On the eighth day, according to Jewish tradition, he was circumcised and given the additional name of Hirsch.<sup>32</sup> Four more sisters followed. Helene, his youngest sister, was later active as a pacifist, school reformer, and feminist.<sup>33</sup> The marriage and the birth of the children took place at a time of considerable change. In 1859-60, the Habsburg monarchy eliminated anti-Jewish trade regulations, and in 1867 granted Jews full

<sup>28</sup>Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 71. Judson, “Frontier Germans,” 96 (note 4).

<sup>29</sup>Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948* (Ithaca, 2008), 74. Jason D. Hansen, *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Cartography, and the Visualization of the German Nation, 1848-1914* (Oxford, 2015), 75.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Petschar, “Ansichten des Volkes,” 192.

<sup>31</sup>Vienna Jewish Community (IKG), Vienna Jewish Records Office (JRO), *Marriage Register Vienna (city)*, vol. B (1857-1871), row 129.

<sup>32</sup>IKG-JRO, *Birth Register Vienna*, vol. C (1858 May-1864), r. 1238. Rauchberg was probably named after his maternal grandfather, Hirsch Schilder, who lived in L’viv (Lemberg).

<sup>33</sup>On Helene Rauchberg’s moral-pedagogical activism, see Renate Seebauer, *Frauen, die Schule machten* (Vienna, 2007), 134-46.

civil equality.<sup>34</sup> Against this backdrop, Josef Rauchberg's factory, which was located in a textile center on the Bohemian-Moravian border, was legally registered on 24 July 1865.<sup>35</sup> By the time a wave of penniless Galician Jews arrived in Vienna in the 1870s, the Rauchberg family, resident in the middle-class municipal district Neubau, was long established in the Germanized Jewish bourgeoisie.<sup>36</sup> Heinrich Rauchberg's parents died in Vienna and were laid to rest in the Jewish part of the Central Cemetery.<sup>37</sup>

Contrary to the express wishes of his father, who envisioned for his only son a career in business, the young Rauchberg, feeling a strong "urge to devote himself to science,"<sup>38</sup> registered in the fall of 1878 as a student in the Faculty of Law and Government at the University of Vienna, which also taught statistics and economics.<sup>39</sup> No less a figure than Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, was among his fellow students.<sup>40</sup> Like Herzl and Rauchberg, many other Jewish high school graduates in the Habsburg monarchy decided to become university students. Often, they were no longer satisfied to follow in their fathers' footsteps and to become members of the propertied middle class, a social stratum that in their eyes was too materialistic. They thirsted for academic achievement and entry into the educated elite, which until then had been largely closed and inaccessible to Jews. The numbers manifest this drive for education: At the turn of the century, Jews comprised some 25 percent of the student body at the University of Vienna and 27 percent at the German University in Prague.<sup>41</sup> At the Viennese Faculty of Law, 22 percent of registered students were of Jewish origin in the academic year 1889-90.<sup>42</sup> Notwithstanding their numerical strength, Jewish students had to grapple with a series of discriminatory measures. For instance, in the winter semester 1878-79, when Rauchberg started his higher education, the student fraternity *Libertas* introduced into its

<sup>34</sup>Robert S. Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (Oxford, 1989), 43.

<sup>35</sup>"Hinterwasser: Rauchberg Jos., Seidenwaren-Fabrik, F.: 'Jos. Rauchberg,' [handelsgerichtlich protokolliert am] 24. Juli 1865," in *Allgemeines Adress- und Handels-Handbuch der Hauptstadt Prag sammt Vorstädten*, vol. 2, *Böhmen ausser Prag* (Prague, 1871), 47 and 218.

<sup>36</sup>"Rauchberg Josef, Seidenzeug- und Sammtfab., VII. Zieglerg. 18," in *Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger nebst Handels- und Gewerbe-Adreßbuch der k. k. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien und Umgebung* (Vienna, 1865), 261.

<sup>37</sup>Josef Rauchberg was buried on 13 December 1905 (gate I). His wife was laid to rest in the same grave on 25 February 1917. See "Cemetery Database," IKG, <https://www.ikg-wien.at/friedhofsdatenbank> (accessed 5 Nov 2018); cf. "Sterbefälle," *Deutsche Zeitung Bohemia*, 27 Feb 1917, evening edition, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup>"Prof. Dr. Rauchberg gestorben," *Deutsche Zeitung Bohemia*, 27 Sept 1938, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup>Slapnicka, "Rauchberg," 437; "The Faculty for Law and State of the University of Vienna between 1918 and 1938," University of Vienna, [http://www.univie.ac.at/restawi/index.php?article\\_id=7&clang=0](http://www.univie.ac.at/restawi/index.php?article_id=7&clang=0) (accessed 5 Nov 2018).

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Jacques Kornberg, *Theodor Herzl: From Assimilation to Zionism* (Bloomington, 1993), 13.

<sup>41</sup>Monika Richarz, "Occupational Distribution and Social Structure," in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 3, *Integration in Dispute, 1871-1918*, eds. Richarz, Steven M. Lowenstein, Paul Mendes-Flohr and Peter Pulzer (New York, 1997), 35-67, at 37 and 54-56.

<sup>42</sup>Hans Tietze, *Die Juden Wiens: Geschichte—Wirtschaft—Kultur* (Vienna, 1987) [1933], 232.



statues the “Aryan paragraph,” denying Jewish students membership on the grounds that “Jews cannot be regarded as Germans, and not even when they are baptised.”<sup>43</sup> Just as Rauchberg began his student life, open, racial antisemitism thus entered upon the stage in the Viennese academic milieu.

In the course of his studies, Rauchberg discovered a budding interest in statistics.<sup>44</sup> A scholar who exercised an important influence on him was Karl Theodor von Inama-Sternegg, who, in 1881, was appointed honorary professor of statistics at the University of Vienna and nominated president of the Royal Statistical Central Commission three years later. From the winter of 1880 until his relocation to Vienna in 1881, Inama-Sternegg taught political economy in Prague. Although he stayed there for only a short time, the city became for him an important “school of high politics.”<sup>45</sup> In an obituary for his venerated professor, Rauchberg noted that, for Inama-Sternegg, the Czech-German national conflict in the city was not a “dispute of solely local significance.” Inama-Sternegg realized that there was an ongoing struggle in Prague, “not only for the continuing national existence of the German Bohemians, but also for the future of Austria.”<sup>46</sup> It can be assumed that Rauchberg’s interest in population statistics, in the nationalities’ conflict in Bohemia, and in the city of Prague was awakened or at least deepened by Inama-Sternegg.

After earning his juris doctorate on 22 December 1883, Rauchberg completed a traineeship in court practice and then assumed a position as project assistant (*Konzeptspraktikant*) in the Royal Statistical Central Commission, where he would remain active until 1896. At the same time, he taught as a private lecturer (*Privatdozent*) at the University of Vienna.<sup>47</sup> The young jurist can thus be reckoned among the growing group of Viennese Jews who grasped the opportunities offered them by emancipation, not just to satisfy their intellectual curiosity by embarking on university studies, but also to achieve success in academic professions. Indeed, Rauchberg’s life until shortly after his first foray into the world of work was not atypical of an ambitious and gifted young man from the Jewish middle class in fin-de-siècle Vienna. Yet, although Jews had been granted full civil rights in 1867, the door to a post in the higher ranks of civil service remained blocked to Jewish university graduates,

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<sup>43</sup>Cited in Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria* (Cambridge, 1964), 245.

<sup>44</sup>“Prof. Dr. Rauchberg gestorben,” *Deutsche Zeitung Bohemia*, 27 Sept 1938, p. 5.

<sup>45</sup>Rauchberg, “Karl Theodor von Inama-Sternegg,” *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung* 18 (1909): 1-28, at 5.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>47</sup>For the biographical data, see Vienna University Archive, Faculty of Law, Nationalien, Sig. 134-36, 1878/79 L-Z, reel 1219; M 32.2-766; Rauchberg, “Inama-Sternegg,” 15-6; Staudacher, *Jüdisch-protestantische Konvertiten*, 564 (note 29); “Rektorswahl an der Universität,” *Bohemia*, 24 June 1911, p. 5.

particularly those who had majored in law. Their advancement into higher positions at the university likewise progressed at an extremely sluggish pace, if at all. To break through that “glass ceiling,” some chose the path of baptism.<sup>48</sup>

On 2 April 1884, just before his twenty-fourth birthday, Rauchberg formally left Judaism. He converted three days later to the Protestant faith of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>49</sup> In Roman Catholic Austria, Jews from the upper middle class who converted, frequently preferred to be baptized Protestant. In so doing, they often expressed their loyalty to German liberal values, since liberals regarded the Roman Catholic Church as the epitome of hostility to enlightenment. In contrast, Protestantism with a Prussian imprint was admired as a pillar of progress and *Bildung*.<sup>50</sup> Regardless, whether as a Catholic or Protestant, without a baptismal certificate, Rauchberg would have had scarcely any opportunity to work his way up so “extremely rapidly” into the higher echelons of civil service.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, after being appointed in 1887 as project manager (*Hofkonzipist*), he advanced to the post of head of the Austrian census in 1890.<sup>52</sup>

Under Rauchberg’s direction, the electric counting machine was employed for the very first time anywhere in a European census. His fascination with the machine, its “unsurpassable efficiency” and “absolute technical superiority,” revealed his unwavering bourgeois belief in technology and progress.<sup>53</sup> In May 1891, Emperor Francis Joseph I, accompanied by Prime Minister Count Eduard von Taaffe, honored the Royal Statistical Central Commission with a visit, during which Rauchberg demonstrated and explained the miraculous machine. In the course of the imperial visit, Rauchberg was awarded the Golden Distinguished Service Cross with Crown, and three years later he was promoted to court secretary (*Hofsekretär*).<sup>54</sup> A heavy

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<sup>48</sup>Ilse Reiter-Zatloukal, “Antisemitismus und Juristenstand: Wiener Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Fakultät und Rechtspraxis vom ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert bis zum ‘Anschluss’ 1938,” in *Der lange Schatten des Antisemitismus. Kritische Auseinandersetzungen mit der Geschichte der Universität Wien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2013), 183-206, at 185; Tietze, *Juden Wiens*, 212-13.

<sup>49</sup>Staudacher, *Jüdisch-protestantische Konvertiten*, 564 (note 29); cf. Staudacher, *Meldet den Austritt*, 476 (note 6). For Rauchberg’s break with Judaism, his descendants cite discord with his father, caused by his decision to become a university student and not to take over his father’s firm. See emails, Bertrand Wägenbaur to the author, 22 Feb 2013 and 29 Oct 2013.

<sup>50</sup>Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1989), 152-53.

<sup>51</sup>“Rektorswahl an der Universität,” *Bohemia*, 24 June 1911, p. 5.

<sup>52</sup>“Personalien,” *Österreichische Zeitung für Verwaltung*, 24 Feb 1887, p. 34.

<sup>53</sup>Rauchberg, “Inama-Sternegg,” 20; Rauchberg, “Erfahrungen mit der elektrischen Zählmaschine,” *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv* 4 (1896): 131-63, at 161. On Rauchberg’s praise for the counting machine, see Wolfgang Göderle, *Zensus und Ethnizität: Zur Herstellung von Wissen über soziale Wirklichkeiten im Habsburgerreich zwischen 1848 und 1910* (Göttingen, 2016), 154-59.

<sup>54</sup>For the biographical data, see “Nichtamtlicher Theil” and “Amtlicher Theil,” *Wiener Zeitung*, 10 May 1891, p. 4; “Kleine Chronik,” *Die Presse*, 26 Nov 1894, p. 1; AUK, PF-HR, 1896-1938 (b. 6), letter, Law Faculty to Ministry of Culture and Education, 4 Sept 1896. Later sources incorrectly date the grant to Rauchberg of the title *Hofsekretär* as taking place in 1884. Cf. Slapnicka, “Rauchberg,” 437.

blow, however, came to overshadow his career, when his non-Jewish wife, Marie, whom he had married in 1888, died at the age of twenty-five on 16 January 1891. The marriage had been childless.<sup>55</sup> In the year his wife died, Rauchberg, living in an elegant embassy quarter in Vienna, completed his habilitation thesis in the field of statistics at the University of Vienna.<sup>56</sup>

### **Rauchberg in Prague: Under Fire from Antisemites and Zionists**

In the winter semester 1896-97, a new chapter began in Rauchberg's life when he moved to the Faculty of Law and Government at the German University in Prague as professor of statistics, public administration, and Austrian administrative law; later he was assigned teaching duties for Austrian financial law and international law as well.<sup>57</sup> Until his retirement in 1930 and beyond, he was thus affiliated with an academic institution that emerged as a bastion of antisemitism in Central Europe. It was mainly students from the "Sudetenland" who promoted racial antisemitism there since the late nineteenth century.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, the university had a relatively high proportion of Jewish students and professors, especially in comparison with the Czech University in Prague. Indeed, the widely held notion among Central European Jews that only German academic education was worthwhile could hardly be shaken.<sup>59</sup> However, while in the 1920s, the Faculty of Law at the German University in Prague was still considered "half-Jewish," in the face of ever more virulent antisemitism, the number of Jewish students declined notably in the 1930s.<sup>60</sup>

Two years after settling in Prague, Rauchberg married Freia Vitzthum, who came from a non-Jewish family in Frankfurt and belonged, like him, to the German Protestant

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<sup>55</sup>"Kleine Chronik," *Neue Freie Presse*, 13 Aug 1888, evening edition, p. 1; Marie Rauchberg died of diphtheria. "Verstorbene," *Wiener Zeitung*, 25 Jan 1891, p. 10; Emails, Wägenbaur to the author, 22 Feb 2013 and 29 Oct 2013.

<sup>56</sup>Rauchberg was resident in the 3<sup>rd</sup> district of Vienna, Reisnerstrasse 20. See *Lehmann's Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger* (Vienna, 1891), 936; Slapnicka, "Rauchberg," 437.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*; "Deutsche Universität Prag," *Die Presse*, 31 Aug 1896, p. 3. In Prague, Rauchberg became a close friend of his colleague Ludwig Spiegel, the renowned German-Jewish law professor. Along with Spiegel, the jurist and economist Robert Zuckerkandl, the economic historian Paul Sander, and the economist Arthur Spiethoff were part of Rauchberg's immediate scientific network. See Helmut Slapnicka, "Ludwig Spiegel," in *Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, vol. 4, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich, 1981), 243-63, at 262; Slapnicka, "Die juristischen Fakultäten der Prager Universitäten 1900-1939," in *Universitäten in nationaler Konkurrenz. Zur Geschichte der Prager Universitäten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Lemberg (Munich, 2003), 63-84, at 77. No evidence for the existence of scientific interactions between Rauchberg and national Jewish demographers was found.

<sup>58</sup>Jörg Osterloh, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung im Reichsgau Sudetenland 1938-1945* (Munich, 2006), 108-28.

<sup>59</sup>Pulzer, "Legal Equality and Public Life," 170-71.

<sup>60</sup>Jiří Pešek, "Prager jüdische Studenten am Ende der Ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik: Juristen 1937/38," in *Juden zwischen Deutschen und Tschechen: Sprachliche und kulturelle Identitäten in Böhmen 1800-1945*, eds. Marek Nekula and Walter Koschmal (Munich, 2006), 65-72, at 68.

Church. They had three children, Gertrud (1899-1972), Hildegard (1900-1952), and Herbert (1904-1987).<sup>61</sup> The Rauchbergs were well integrated into the Prague German community. The family resided in the middle-class suburb of Královské Vinohrady (Royal Vineyards) with a high percentage of Germans, Freia was active in the local German Organization of Housewives, and the couple attended German balls and donated to the German School Association, which supported German minority schools in ethnically mixed regions in Austria.<sup>62</sup> That Rauchberg dedicated both his private life and his academic work to the German national cause is further illustrated by the 1900 census. In line with his scientific-assimilationist view that Czech speakers living in a German environment have German as their everyday language, he registered the family's two Czech maids with German as their language of daily use, even though they had hardly mastered this language.<sup>63</sup> The incident exemplifies Rauchberg's two main theoretical assumptions regarding everyday language. First, in his view, the language of daily use constitutes merely a "lingual-territorial" factor, while the mother tongue is the only objective and "statistically knowable feature of nationality."<sup>64</sup> Second, the language of daily use is not an individual but a collective property, generated by its national environment.<sup>65</sup> Strikingly, he applied this theoretical understanding only to Czechs. While advocating for their integration into the German community, he promoted the non-assimilation of German speakers within Czech society, arguing that the "affluent and well-educated can more easily preserve their nationhood [*Volkstum*] in a foreign national environment than the have-nots and uneducated."<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Prague City Archives (AHMP), Magistrate of the Capital City Prague I (MHMP I), department IV, record sheets, b. 239, sheet 260, year 1896 (Rauchberg, 1860); National Archives, Prague (NA), Police Headquarters I, conscription, b. 499, p. 943, 11 June 1897 and 10 May 1901 (Rauchberg). On the dates of death of Rauchberg's children, see email, Wägenbaur to the author, 29 Oct 2013; "Gravestones," *genealogy.net*, <http://grabsteine.genealogy.net/tomb.php?cem=782&tomb=2469&b=K&lang=en> (accessed 5 Nov 2018).

<sup>62</sup>"Mitteilungen der R.D.H.Ö. [Reichsorganisation der Hausfrauen Österreichs]," *Bohemia*, 8 Mar 1917, p. 8; "Ball der deutschen Hochschulen," *Bohemia*, 24 Jan 1912, p. 5; "Deutscher Theatervereinsball," *Bohemia*, 17 Jan 1912, p. 8; "Deutscher Schulverein," *Reichenberger Zeitung*, 14 Feb 1904, p. 3. On the German School Association, see Cornwall, "Struggle on the Czech-German Language Border." The family lived at Koperníková ul. 91. See Carl Bellmann, *Bellmann's Jahrbuch für Böhmen. Politisch-statistischer Auskunfts-Kalender* (Prague, 1907), 131. In the 1930s, the Rauchberg couple moved to Letohradská 1307/36 in the district of Holešovice, Prague 7. On Královské Vinohrady, see Adam, *Unsichtbare Mauern*, 109.

<sup>63</sup>*Stenographisches Protokoll, Haus der Abgeordneten*, session XVIII, meeting 125, 20 Jan 1909, interpellation Srb (annex II, 4194/I), 13965-14001, at 13998; cf. Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 14-17.

<sup>64</sup>Brix, "Erhebungen der Umgangssprache," 429. Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 14. On Rauchberg's approach to the mother tongue as the decisive marker of nationality, see Kateřina Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews? National Identity and the Jews of Bohemia* (New York, 2012), 42-43; Hansen, *Mapping the Germans*, 89.

<sup>65</sup>On Rauchberg's approach to assimilation, see Hans Petschar, "Ansichten des Volkes: Über die Transformationen von Kollektivvorstellungen vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert," in *Clio's Rache. Neue Aspekte strukturgeschichtlicher und theoriegeleiteter Geschichtsforschung in Österreich*, eds. Karl Kaser and Karl Stocker (Vienna, 1992), 173-99, at 196-98.

<sup>66</sup>Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 300.

At the German University in Prague, Rauchberg's academic career enjoyed a meteoric rise. As mentioned, he founded the Institute of Political Science there and also served several times as dean of the Faculty of Law. In recognition of his accomplishments, he was honored with the title of court councilor (*Hofrat*) in 1909.<sup>67</sup> In addition, in the academic year 1911-12, he acted as university rector. Initially, his Jewish colleague Robert Zuckermandl was scheduled pro forma to be appointed to this role.<sup>68</sup> But Zuckermandl, in keeping with the antisemitic Habsburg custom that a "non-baptized Jew" must not accept the position, announced that "due to a deadline for scientific papers that could not be postponed," he could not assume this office.<sup>69</sup> Rauchberg was then appointed to the post.<sup>70</sup> His appointment as rector was commented on by the Zionist paper *Die Welt* in an article titled "The Baptized Rector" in a harsh sardonic tone: "But the baptized personage [*Täufling*], Dr. Rauchberg, was permitted to become rector, and since now he is the rector, at every opportunity he shouts a tumultuous 'Heil' and is antisemitic to the bone."<sup>71</sup>

Indeed, during Rauchberg's rectorship, his seemingly tolerant attitude toward antisemites emerged especially glaringly. When, for instance, in June 1912, the student fraternity Germania, which had included the "Aryan paragraph" in its statutes, organized a sports festival "for Aryans only," it explained to its incensed critics that Rector Rauchberg had issued the permit for this event.<sup>72</sup> The Vienna-based Zionist paper *Jüdische Volksstimme* seized on the affair to voice its extraordinarily strong and biting criticism against Rauchberg as a person:

Things have already reached this point in Prague. The rector is conspiring not just in secret with the antisemites but has openly joined their side, and is sponsoring festivals from which the majority of his students are excluded. Yes, events which he himself would be banned from attending were he not by chance the rector. This groveling behavior, this desperate search for a small spot in a certain part of the anatomy of the radicals that otherwise merely belongs in a

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<sup>67</sup>AUK, PF-HR, 1896-1938 (b. 6), letter, *Statthalter* (Governor) to Rector's Office, 28 June 1909; "Auszeichnungen," *Bohemia*, 21 June 1909, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup>"Rektorswahl an der Universität," *Bohemia*, 24 June 1911, p. 5.

<sup>69</sup>Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews*, 65.

<sup>70</sup>"Rektorswahl an der Universität," *Bohemia*, 24 June 1911, p. 5; cf. Rauchberg, *Die politische Erziehung des Staatsvolkes. Rektoratsrede gehalten in der Aula der k.k. Deutschen Karl-Ferdinands-Universität in Prag von Hofrat Professor Dr. Rauchberg am 28. Oktober 1911* (Prague, 1911).

<sup>71</sup>"Der getaufte Rector," *Die Welt* (Berlin), 12 Apr 1912, p. 445.

<sup>72</sup>"Rektor Rauchbergs Protektorat," *Jüdische Volksstimme* (Vienna), 6 June 1912, p. 2.

person's pants, is, by the way, the most outstanding characteristic of the entire incumbency of *Rektor Rauchberg*.<sup>73</sup>

In 1912, on the occasion of an antisemitic publication, the paper wrote cynically: "That really should not surprise us, because a publication for which a *Hofrat Rauchberg* writes the preface is right from the word go immune to any accusation of being friendly toward Jews."<sup>74</sup> And, when Rauchberg gave the green light to put up an antisemitic poster in the university auditorium, the *Montagsblatt aus Böhmen*, a weekly published by Oskar Kuh, a journalist of Jewish origin, complained about the "progress that academic antisemitism has made specifically under the rectorship of *Hofrat Rauchberg*."<sup>75</sup> The *Jüdische Volksstimme* concurred, stating, "Over the entire incumbency, *Rektor Rauchberg* has shown that he prefers the goodwill of the antisemites to the favorable opinion that decent people could have of him...*Rektor Rauchberg's* incumbency will remain a stain of disgrace in the annals of the Prague German University."<sup>76</sup> In short, Rauchberg was a *bête noire* of Jewish nationals. While they, proudly and self-confidently, held high the banner of Judaism, Rauchberg had apparently cast aside his Jewish roots for German-national causes. Instead of at least presenting himself as neutral on Jewish affairs, he behaved, in the eyes of the Zionists, as a great enemy of the Jews, no less so than Christian-born antisemites.

The Zionists' animosity toward Rauchberg was further fueled by the fact that, while they championed recognition of Jews as a national group, he denied the existence of a Jewish nation for decades. That is why it was not so much the notion of "Jewish opportunism" that the Zionists had disliked in Rauchberg's *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen*, but the fact that the demographer "totally excludes the Jewish national movement from his calculations and recognizes only Germans and Czechs in his national scheme."<sup>77</sup> Indeed, when Rauchberg spoke about "the Jews," he meant them as a religious, not a national, community. He negated the existence of a Jewish nation, since his definition of nationality was based "on a living language," and according to him, this did not apply to either Yiddish or Hebrew.<sup>78</sup> Consequently, during his rectorship, Rauchberg justified the exclusion of Zionist students from the German University Housing Committee by emphasizing that "there is no Jewish nation, no

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid.; cf. "Dickhäuter," *Jüdische Volksstimme* (Vienna), 27 June 1912, p. 4 [emphasis in original].

<sup>74</sup>"Prager Brief," *Jüdische Volksstimme* (Vienna), 15 Aug 1912, p. 3.

<sup>75</sup>"Rektor Rauchberg und der arische Verein," *Montagsblatt aus Böhmen*, 22 July 1912, p. 6.

<sup>76</sup>"Rektor Rauchbergs Amtsführung," *Jüdische Volksstimme* (Vienna), 25 July 1912, p. 5.

<sup>77</sup>Moravus, "Eine deutsche Drohung," *Die Welt* (Vienna), 3 Nov 1905, p. 8.

<sup>78</sup>Rauchberg, "Die nächste Volkszählung," *Deutsche Zeitung Bohemia*, 16 Jan 1921, p. 1.

recognized Jewish national student body, and therefore these students could not have any representatives [on the committee].”<sup>79</sup> What the Zionists deemed to be yet another antisemitic statement by Rauchberg was, however, official policy in Austria. The Habsburg monarchy did not recognize Jews as a separate nationality, nor was Yiddish (or Hebrew) admitted in the census as a language of daily use.<sup>80</sup> From an official perspective then, there was no Jewish nationality but solely a Jewish faith (*israelitische Konfession*). When Rauchberg ignored the Jewish national movement in his study and refused to accept representation for Zionist students on a university committee, he was thus in step with the logic of the Austrian administrative apparatus.

Much to Rauchberg’s disappointment, and contrary to the old Austrian usage, the Czechoslovak state that came into existence in 1918 formally recognized Jews as a national group. In response, the demographer became a strident spokesperson against the supposedly pro-Zionist line of Czechoslovakia.<sup>81</sup> Believing that Jews who spoke German as their mother tongue were in fact Germans, he feared that the creation of a separate Jewish category in the Czechoslovak census might “mislead” German-speaking Jews into not declaring in the census that they belonged to the German nationality, and that this would ultimately contribute to a quantitative weakening of the German minority in the state. This is why he considered the acceptance of the Jewish nationality in the 1921 census “a grave error.”<sup>82</sup> In an exaggerated tone, he lamented that now “it is not known how many of those who had declared they belonged to the ‘Jewish nationality’ are German and how many are Czechs. Consequently, it is also not known how many Germans and how many Czechs there actually are overall in the country.”<sup>83</sup>

Again in the runup to the census of 1930, Rauchberg, as a member of the Statistical State Council, strongly opposed the “construct of Jewish nationality.”<sup>84</sup> Once again he

<sup>79</sup>“Der getaufte Rektor,” *Die Welt* (Berlin), 12 Apr 1912, p. 445.

<sup>80</sup>Gerald Stourzh, “Galten die Juden als Nationalität Altösterreichs?,” in *Prag – Czernowitz – Jerusalem. Der österreichische Staat und die Juden vom Zeitalter des Absolutismus bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, eds. Stourzh, Anna M. Drabek, and Mordechai Eliav (Eisenstadt, 1984), 73-117.

<sup>81</sup>For this reason, he often drew harsh criticism from the Czech-language Zionist journal *Židovské zprávy* [Jewish News]. See “Židé a sčítání lidu” [Jews and the Population Census], *Židovské zprávy*, 3 Feb 1921, p. 1; “K sčítání lidu: Návrh, který musí padnouti” [Regarding the Population Census: A Proposition that Must be Defeated], *Židovské zprávy*, 14 Feb 1930, p. 1; “Sčítání lida v duchu ústavy” [Census in the Spirit of the Constitution], *Židovské zprávy*, 4 July 1930, p. 1. On Rauchberg’s activities against the recognition of a Jewish nationality in the Czechoslovak census, see Kadlec/Kladiwa/Gawrecki/Pokludová/Popelka, eds., *Národnostní statistika*, 2: 196; Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews*, 43; Ines Koeltzsch, *Geteilte Kulturen: Eine Geschichte der tschechisch-jüdisch-deutschen Beziehungen in Prag (1918-1938)* (Munich, 2012), 39; Tatjana Lichtenstein, “Racializing Jewishness: Zionist Responses to National Indifference in Interwar Czechoslovakia,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 43 (2012): 75-97, at 83 (note 32).

<sup>82</sup>Rauchberg, “Die nächste Volkszählung,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 19 June 1929, p. 1.

<sup>83</sup>Rauchberg, “Die Volkszählung in Böhmen,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 14 July 1922, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup>Antonín Boháč, “Národnost při druhém sčítání lidu [Nationality in the Second Census],” *Statistický obzor* [Statistical Review] 12 (1931): 14-30, at 17.

mustered the argument of language as a criterion: “The Hebrew language is dead and the so-called jargon [Yiddish] is a dialect of German, not a separate language.”<sup>85</sup> Rauchberg insisted on the Habsburg convention of grouping Yiddish together with German. When it was pointed out to him in the Statistical State Council that Yiddish was spoken by many Jews as a mother tongue, he grudgingly declared that he was prepared to see the speakers of Yiddish as part of a Jewish nationality.<sup>86</sup> With marked reluctance, he then noted in the daily paper *Prager Tagblatt* that, in the upcoming census, “the entry of the Hebrew and the ‘Yiddish’ language is to be allowed where that is in keeping with the facts, such as may frequently be the case in Carpathian Ruthenia and in Slovakia.”<sup>87</sup>

In a nutshell, Rauchberg’s pro-German activism was diametrically opposed to Jewish national interests. Notwithstanding his anti-Zionism, Rauchberg was not always ill-disposed toward Jewish nationals. In 1975, the journalist Robert Weltsch, who had served as chair of the Zionist student association in 1911-12 and had received his juris doctorate at the German University in Prague in 1914, reflected:

The most interesting of my examiners was *Hofrat* Rauchberg, a baptized Jew, who strongly urged me during my doctoral defense that I should consider doing a habilitation degree in international law. I had impressed him with talk about Kant (*On Perpetual Peace*) and other more philosophical literature, something he apparently had never experienced before. I told him that as a Jew I had no prospects whatsoever, which evidently left him somewhat taken aback. But he gave me a grade of “excellent.”<sup>88</sup>

Despite Rauchberg’s behavior here, as though he were unaware of the academic “glass ceiling” for Jews, and despite his apparent acceptance of anti-Jewish activities in the university, the demographer himself did not escape the notice of German and Czech antisemites: In the course of discussions on an academic appointment in 1904, the ailing economist Alfred Weber requested that Carl Grünberg be appointed to the university in preference to Weber himself.<sup>89</sup> Grünberg, who was teaching economics in Vienna, had left Judaism in 1891 and a year later

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews*, 43.

<sup>87</sup>Rauchberg, “Die Nationalitätenerhebung der nächsten Volkszählung,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 5 Feb 1930, p. 1.

<sup>88</sup>Leo Baeck Institute, New York (LBI), Robert Weltsch Collection, series II: correspondence, 1770-1980/general correspondence, 1972-77, b. 2, flr. 9, letter, Robert Weltsch to Guido Kisch, 22 Oct 1975.

<sup>89</sup>Eberhard Demm, *Ein Liberaler in Kaiserreich und Republik: Der politische Weg Alfred Webers bis 1920* (Boppard am Rhein, 1990), 45-46.



converted to Roman Catholicism.<sup>90</sup> The responsible ministry rejected Weber's request; to appoint Grünberg in Prague was "impossible, since Zuckerkandl and Rauchberg *also* were Jews (by birth)." It was argued that, in order to avoid giving Jews at the Faculty of Law too much importance, only a "non-Jew" could be considered for the post.<sup>91</sup> In other words, in the logic of the ministry and the university, Rauchberg indeed "advanced" from a Jew to a "baptized Jew," but could never become a non-Jew. The episode points to the limited social impact of baptism in the academy and bureaucracy in the Habsburg monarchy.

Rauchberg himself apparently had no interest in promoting Grünberg's candidacy. In a letter to his brother Max, Alfred Weber wrote that the statistician had "mainly worked against Grünberg." He did not know whether this was for "personal reasons" or "objective considerations." Weber continued:

It will be necessary after this whole business to look more closely at Rauchberg, when it comes to having personal contacts with him. I would not rule out, though, that he is nevertheless decent and he probably lacks the "courage of race." It's of course also possible that given the rampant antisemitism, Grünberg indeed might actually have been a disservice to the university.<sup>92</sup>

In 1906, the Czech journalist, Catholic priest, and anti-liberal economist Rudolf Vrba published an inflammatory anti-Jewish book in German titled *Die Revolution in Russland: Statistische und sozialpolitische Studien* (The Revolution in Russia: Statistical and Social-Political Studies). In the book, which circulated particularly in antisemitic circles in Vienna, Vrba railed against Rauchberg and his study *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen*, which had appeared a year earlier:

This "statistical" work, in which the Bohemian [i.e., Czech] people is presented as a nation of beggars, and showered with scorn and derision, was amply lauded in the German-national press. In contrast, the book was branded by serious papers as a flawed Jewish concoction. Evil tongues maintain that Rauchberg is

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<sup>90</sup>Staudacher, *Meldet den Austritt*, 215 (note 66).

<sup>91</sup>Federal Archives (BArch) N 1197 (Nachlass Alfred Weber)/47, letter, Alfred Weber to Max Weber, 21 Apr 1904 [emphasis in original]; Demm, *Liberaler in Kaiserreich*, 46.

<sup>92</sup>BArch, N 1197/47, letter, A. Weber to M. Weber, 21 Apr 1904.

circumcised and is strictly observant on Yom Kippur. Whether he is an orthodox or a lax or a baptized Jew, that we do not know.<sup>93</sup>

Rauchberg was thus, against his will, ascribed a Jewish identity by German and Czech antisemites. The general German and Czech public, on the other hand, did not perceive him as a Jew but rather as a Christian lobbyist for the German camp. For instance, Rauchberg's candidacy to become head of the Statistical State Commission of the Kingdom Bohemia in 1906 failed due to his untiring advocacy on behalf of German-national interests.<sup>94</sup> The Czech representatives in the commission found fault with the fact that he had a weak command of the Czech language, that he "dealt with statistical data from a one-sidedly national slant," and that his election as head "would spark the greatest commotion within the Czech people." The German commission members stressed that Rauchberg had "sufficient" proficiency in Czech, had "such moderate views on national questions that at times he generated more contradiction on the German than the Czech side," and that his failure to be elected would "call forth on the German side a far greater storm of indignation."<sup>95</sup> The *Bohemia*, a Prague-based, German-language newspaper, commented that "since the applicant [Rauchberg] *is a German*, one had to reckon with the most decisive opposition" of the Czech representatives.<sup>96</sup>

Rauchberg himself was ever concerned to maintain and nurture his image as a scholar who promoted Germandom. In 1912, for instance, he severely reprimanded a Czech keynote speaker at a university event, telling him "at a German festivity not to speak Czech."<sup>97</sup> When, at a doctoral award ceremony in 1914, a candidate spoke in favor of the "internationality of science" and against the "nationalism of the Prague German University," Rauchberg, together with the other professors, was incensed and stormed out of the hall.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, Rauchberg consistently propagated the idea of a greater German nation in Central Europe. In his book *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen*, he declared, for example, "By virtue of the commonality of shared blood and history, the intellectual interactions and political interests, the Germans in the

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<sup>93</sup>Rudolf Vrba, *Die Revolution in Russland: Statistische und sozialpolitische Studien*, (Prague, 1906), 391.

About the circulation of his book in antisemitic circles, see Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: A Portrait of the Tyrant as a Young Man* (London, 2010), 343-44.

<sup>94</sup>Alexander Pinwinkler, *Wilhelm Winkler (1884-1984)—eine Biografie: Zur Geschichte der Statistik und Demografie in Österreich und Deutschland* (Berlin, 2003), 52-53.

<sup>95</sup>"Eine Aktion gegen Professor Rauchberg," *Reichenberger Zeitung*, 3 May 1906, pp. 11-12.

<sup>96</sup>"Ein antideutscher Beschluß des Landesausschusses," *Bohemia*, 2 May 1906, evening edition, p. 1 [emphasis added].

<sup>97</sup>"Ein peinlicher Zwischenfall," *Reichenberger Zeitung*, 12 May 1912, p. 8.

<sup>98</sup>"Zwischenfall bei einer Promotion," *Bohemia*, 19 June 1914, evening edition, p. 2.

German Reich and in Austria comprise an organic whole.”<sup>99</sup> In 1908, he gave a talk in Germany emphasizing that this organic whole was grounded on a common German community (*Volksgemeinschaft*).<sup>100</sup> Shortly before the end of World War I, he envisioned a partnership between Austria and Germany, stressing that “the struggle of the Germans of Austria over their place in the state [i.e., Austria] and the re-formation of the state after the war is at the same time the struggle for the alliance with the German Reich.”<sup>101</sup> In contrast with radical German nationals, however, he did not espouse dismantling the Habsburg monarchy and incorporating the German-Austrian lands into the German Reich. When, after the end of the war, the Sudetenland was allotted to the newly created Czechoslovakia, and the Germans living there were suddenly transformed into a national minority, Rauchberg called for German territorial autonomy within the state.<sup>102</sup>

In sum, the sources reveal a complex picture of Rauchberg’s academic and non-academic activities in Prague. He positioned himself as a scholar who placed his work in the service of the German national struggle and was perceived as such by his environment. He denied the existence of a Jewish nation, believing that German-speaking Jews were indeed Germans, and, during his incumbency as university rector, apparently abetted antisemitism. For these reasons he was disdained by Zionists, and this despite the fact that he himself was a target of antisemitic attacks. The aim of the next section is to analyze more in detail Rauchberg’s precarious position as a “baptized Jew” in a German society that was increasingly embracing racial antisemitism.

### Prague or Reichenberg?

In 1897, in response to attacks of Czech nationalists on German students in Prague, the *Reichenberger Zeitung*, a daily paper published in the German-speaking Bohemian periphery, proposed that the German University be transferred to a “German city” in Bohemia.<sup>103</sup> Afterwards, the slogan “Away from Prague!” was proclaimed by those who advocated

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<sup>99</sup>Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 662-63.

<sup>100</sup>Rauchberg, “Die Bedeutung der Deutschen in Österreich. Vortrag gehalten in der Gehe-Stiftung zu Dresden am 14. März 1908,” *Jahrbuch der Gehe-Stiftung zu Dresden* 14 (1908): 131-70, at 131.

<sup>101</sup>Rauchberg, “Kleindeutsche oder großdeutsche Politik,” *Pilsner Tagblatt*, 3 Aug 1918, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup>Cf. René Petráš, *Menšiny v meziválečném Československu: Právní postavení národnostních menšin v první Československé republice a jejich mezinárodněprávní ochrana* [The Minorities in Interwar Czechoslovakia: The Legal Status of the National Minorities in the First Czechoslovak Republic and their International Protection] (Prague, 2009), 51-53.

<sup>103</sup>“Die Zweitheilung Böhmens,” *Reichenberger Zeitung*, 5 Dec 1897, p. 1.

relocating the university, preferably to Liberec (Reichenberg).<sup>104</sup> During his tenure as rector, Rauchberg employed a sharply negative rhetoric to protest this plan:

The call we have heard recently, “Away from Prague!,” the idea to relocate the oldest German university from the place of its establishment and flowering, must be rejected with maximum resoluteness qua national high treason. Whoever toys with such ideas is ignorant about the essence and existential conditions of a great university, ignorant about the importance of Prague as a cultural center.<sup>105</sup>

Indeed, Prague had for Rauchberg a symbolic character. In *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen*, he ascribed a double function to the multicultural city: as the epicenter of the political and cultural life of German Bohemians and as a stronghold against the alleged expansion of the Czech sphere of influence. This is the reason he initially criticized the “Away from Prague!” movement.<sup>106</sup> Before the outbreak of World War I, pro-relocation activists were in the minority, but after the war’s end and the establishment of Czechoslovakia, German opinion shifted in favor of moving the university away from the Czechoslovak capital. In this spirit, the new university rector, August Naegle, announced on the university bulletin board in December 1918:

Our university [must] leave Prague, where the Czech people are becoming an ever greater obstacle to the unfolding of *German life*, and should be relocated into the German-Bohemian area. The rector and professors will do everything in their power in order to guide our university toward a new era of efflorescence after its relocation onto German soil.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>Alena Mišková, “‘Pryč z Prahy!’ – plány na budování a přesuny německých vysokých škol v Čechách” [“Away from Prague!” Plans to Build and Relocate German Universities in Bohemia], in *Hledání centra: Vědecké a vzdělávací instituce Němců v Čechách v 19. a první polovině 20. století* [Searching for a Center: Scientific and Educational Institutions of Germans in Bohemia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries], eds. Kristina Kaiserová and Miroslav Kunštát (Ústí nad Labem, 2011), 99-120.

<sup>105</sup>“Rektor Hofrat Rauchberg,” *Bohemia*, 12 Mar 1912, p. 5. On the myth that the German University in Prague, which has actually existed only since the bifurcation of Prague University in 1882-83, is the oldest German university, see Tobias Weger, “Das ‘deutsche Prag’: Von der Beständigkeit eines Mythos,” *Jahrbuch für deutsche und osteuropäische Volkskunde* 44 (2001): 135-56, at 142.

<sup>106</sup>Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 56-57, 305, and 674-75.

<sup>107</sup>“Die Prager Universität nach Deutschböhmen,” *Reichenberger Zeitung*, 20 Dec 1918, p. 3 [emphasis added].

Ultimately, the plan failed because of opposition from the Czechoslovak government, which feared that, along with high financial costs, relocating the university would help to bring about the territorial autonomy that many Germans in Czechoslovakia were calling for. Nonetheless, Naegle's reference to "German life" invigorated the debate. Around the turn of the century, the concept of "life" (*Leben*) had developed into an emphatic keyword in the German public discourse in Central Europe. "Life" here did not refer, as still common in the nineteenth century, to middle-class normality—property, education, family—but rather to "authentic experiences" associated with "dynamism, creativity, immediacy, youth."<sup>108</sup> This understanding of life was, among others, reflected in the German life philosophy (*Lebensphilosophie*) movement, whose advocates often urged university professors to escape the ivory tower and to intensify and celebrate their unity with "life" and "the people" (*Volk*).<sup>109</sup> The Champions of "Away from Prague!" adopted this rhetoric. For instance, on 6 January 1921, the Student Committee Reichenberg organized a pro-relocation event using the motto "Unity of the student with the people!"<sup>110</sup> None other than Heinrich Rauchberg appeared at the event as a keynote speaker. Although back in 1905 he had vilified the "Away from Prague!" movement as the epitome of "political folly," and in 1912 had branded the idea of withdrawing the university from Prague an act of "national high treason" and "political suicide," now he took a very different stance.<sup>111</sup> Using the rhetoric of "life," Rauchberg clarified that the reasons for the transfer of the university

lay in the necessary linking and interaction between the university and the German *Volk*. We have been told that the people have need of its universities, but I can say: also the university needs constant contact with the life of the people (*Volksleben*). We [German professors] too are aware that our work is not only for the good of science, but serves above all else the people to which we belong. It is completely misguided to believe that science and life are separated by an abyss. No, all science is drawn from life, and science derives its moral

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<sup>108</sup>Philip Ajouri, *Literatur um 1900: Naturalismus – Fin de Siècle – Expressionismus* (Berlin, 2009), 76; Herbert Schnädelbach, *Philosophy in Germany 1831-1933* (Cambridge, 1984), 139.

<sup>109</sup>Cf. Christian Jansen, *Professoren und Politik: Politisches Denken und Handeln der Heidelberger Hochschullehrer 1914-1935* (Göttingen, 1992), 80. On the *Lebensphilosophie* movement, see Boaz Neumann, *Die Weltanschauung des Nazismus: Raum – Körper – Sprache* (Göttingen, 2010), 28-29.

<sup>110</sup>"Die deutschen Hochschulen ins deutsche Siedlungsgebiet!," *Reichenberger Zeitung*, 7 Jan 1921, p. 2.

<sup>111</sup>Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 675. "Rektor Hofrat Rauchberg," *Bohemia*, 12 Mar 1912, p. 5.

value from serving life and from helping us to raise the people to a higher level of intellectual and moral development.<sup>112</sup>

Amidst a “prolonged storm of applause” from the audience (as the *Reichenberger Zeitung* described the mood of the event), he concluded his speech with a warning: “If an entire people desires something, then that will be an irresistible force.”<sup>113</sup> In a report to the Foreign Office in Berlin, the envoy of the German Reich in Prague, Samuel Saenger, stressed that “*Herr Rauchberg* is a born small-scale opportunist. Naturally he still has not abandoned his standpoint he so vociferously proclaimed in Prague and particularly in the province, namely that the German university belongs in the German area of language and culture.”<sup>114</sup> Rauchberg’s volatility in the location debate – first against, then in favor of the transfer – does indeed smack of opportunism. Yet, according to Michel Foucault, the father of discourse analysis, “it is always possible one could speak the truth in a void; one would only be in the true” (*dans le vrai*), however, if one follows the rules that constitute the discourse.<sup>115</sup> A person who does not obey these rules will find it difficult to be heard.<sup>116</sup> Thus, in order to stay “in the true,” that is, to find sympathetic ears and social acceptance as an authoritative speaker among the German public, Rauchberg had to continuously adopt to changing discourse rules and patterns of argumentation. At the beginning of the 1920s, Nazism had not yet caught on in the Sudetenland, and so in 1921 in Reichenberg, it was still possible for him, the “baptized Jew,” both to speak of himself as member of the German *Volk* and to remain recognized by the German audience as an esteemed and respected person—to the extent that he adhered strictly to the then popular *völkisch* life discourse. The fact that he was successful in embracing this strategy is reflected in the fact that, in the academic year 1926-27, he was still deemed suitable for appointment as dean of the Faculty of Law.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>“Die deutschen Hochschulen ins deutsche Siedlungsgebiet!,” *Reichenberger Zeitung*, 7 Jan 1921, p. 2.

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>114</sup>Report no. 179, Saenger to Foreign Office, 5 Apr 1921. Reprinted in Manfred Alexander, ed., *Deutsche Gesandtschaftsberichte aus Prag*, vol. 1, *Von der Staatsgründung bis zum ersten Kabinett Beneš 1918-1921* (Munich, 2003), 416.

<sup>115</sup>Michel Foucault, “Appendix: The Discourse on Language,” in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York, 1972), 215-37, at 224.

<sup>116</sup>Achim Landwehr, *Historische Diskursanalyse* (Frankfurt, 2008), 73.

<sup>117</sup>Slapnicka, “Rauchberg,” 437.

### The 1930s: Rauchberg's Last Decade

Rauchberg retired from the university in October 1930, yet, as no suitable successor could be found for the courses he was teaching, he remained just as active as before.<sup>118</sup> The heads of the university explained his continued teaching by noting that he was an “expert of international reputation” in statistics and that they had “no lecturer...with equal authority and experience” available in this field as well as in civics.<sup>119</sup> In the last decade of his life, Rauchberg increasingly moved away from German nationalist discourse and adopted democratic internationalist rhetoric. In 1931, he warned explicitly of the “destruction and atrocities of a new war, which will likely surpass the World War, just as this war had exceeded all earlier wars.” He harbored hopes that the international disarmament conference convened under the umbrella of the League of Nations would avert the risk of a new total war.<sup>120</sup> Especially in the face of “persecutions of Jews in Germany,” Rauchberg pleaded in 1933 for the “international recognition of human rights,” endorsing the principle of “humanitarian interventions.”<sup>121</sup> With respect to this point, Rauchberg may have spoken the truth, yet he long since had departed from the realm of being within the true in Foucault’s sense. Indeed, given the “rapid auto-Nazification of the Sudeten German society” in the second half of the 1930s, liberal-democratic concerns were listened to by ever fewer people.<sup>122</sup> However, if Rauchberg wished not to compromise himself and his family, he, the “baptized Jew,” could not join in on the now-flourishing racial antisemitic and anti-democratic German discourse rules.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup>AUK, PF-HR, 1896-1938 (b. 6), confirmation, Dean’s Office, 18 Feb 1932; cf. letter, Law Faculty to Ministry of Education and Culture, 14 Oct 1937. Along with teaching after retirement, Rauchberg also continued to work in the Statistical State Council. See AUK, PF-HR, 1896-1938 (b. 6), letter, Rector’s Office to Dean’s Office, 1 Feb 1938.

<sup>119</sup>AUK, PF-HR, 1896-1938 (b. 6), minutes, Rectorate Council, 19 Apr 1934; cf. letters, Dean’s Office to Ministry of Education and Culture, 15 May 1934 and 14 Oct 1937. Finding a successor to Rauchberg became a politicized, antisemitic affair when the jurist of Jewish origin, Hans Kelsen, was hired to fill Rauchberg’s vacant chair in international law. Kelsen’s inaugural lecture in 1936 was interrupted by very violent antisemitic protests led by the *völkisch*-minded Sudeten German student body. In the Faculty of Law, they mounted a poster that read: “The lecture on international law by Prof. Kelsen has been canceled due to the abolition of international law.” There are no extant comments by Rauchberg on the “Kelsen affair.” On the “Kelsen affair,” see Thomas Olechowski and Jürgen Busch, “Hans Kelsen als Professor an der Deutschen Universität Prag: Biographische Aspekte der Kelsen-Sander-Kontroverse,” in *Československé právo a právní věda v meziválečném období 1918-1938 a jejich místo ve střední Evropě* [Czechoslovak Law and Jurisprudence in the Interwar Period 1918-1938 and Their Place in Central Europe], eds. Karel Malý and Ladislav Soukup, vol. 2 (Prague, 2010), 1106-34; Adam, *Unsichtbare Mauern*, 203.

<sup>120</sup>Rauchberg, “Wie würde eine neuer Krieg aussehen?,” *Oesterreichs Illustrierte Zeitung* (Vienna), 20 Dec 1931, p. 5; cf. Rauchberg, “Ein Sicherheitspakt?,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 23 Jan 1931, p. 1.

<sup>121</sup>Rauchberg, “Die Völkerbundligen,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 14 June 1933, p. 1; Rauchberg, “Minderheitenschutz,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 6 Oct 1933, p. 1.

<sup>122</sup>Osterloh, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, 95.

<sup>123</sup>Taking a different path from Rauchberg’s was his colleague at the German University in Prague, the jurist and “baptized Jew” Fritz (Friedrich) Sander who espoused authoritarian and fascist thinking and collaborated with the Nazis in Prague. On Sander and his confrontation with Hans Kelsen, see Olechowski and Busch, “Hans Kelsen als Professor.”

In 1935, Rauchberg was reelected to the executive board of the German League of Nations Union in the Czechoslovak Republic, a body now infiltrated by members of the Sudeten German Party.<sup>124</sup> Subsequently, in 1936, he expressed concern about what he perceived as “national radicalization” of the new generation of Sudeten German representatives to the European Nationalities Congress.<sup>125</sup> While these *völkisch*-minded Sudeten German nationalists gravitated toward the Nazi agenda, Rauchberg took a moderate stance and showed a willingness to make concessions on national issues.<sup>126</sup> He strongly advocated the democratic improvement of Czechoslovak minority protection laws as well as the strengthening of the League of Nations in order to preserve world peace.<sup>127</sup> Thus, the more the German public embraced Nazism, the more Rauchberg articulated democratic and liberal-cosmopolitan beliefs. At this point, Rauchberg and the German public drifted ever further apart. When Rauchberg passed away on 26 September 1938, at the age of 78, his death was ignored by the already “*gleichgeschaltet*” (coordinated with Nazi policy) German press in the Bohemian province.

### Conclusion

This article portrayed Heinrich Rauchberg as representative of a generation of Central European scholars of Jewish origin who were caught between social recognition and censure. On the one hand, the demographer was appreciated as a German “expert of international reputation,” and on the other hand, in the eyes of antisemites, he was a Jew and could never become a German. In addition, the article showed that the promotion of Germandom was a common thread running through his personal and professional life. So, then, should Rauchberg be reckoned among the liberal-moderate German scholars in fin-de-siècle and interwar Central Europe, or among the extreme nationalists? Based on discourse analysis, the present study concludes that the answer is both. In order to preserve the goodwill and attention of the German public, he had to adapt his speech and deeds to ever-changing, pro-German discourse rules.

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<sup>124</sup>“Deutsche Völkerbundliga,” *Westböhmisches Tageszeitung*, 12 Dec. 1935, p. 1. On the infiltration of the German League of Nations Union in the Czechoslovak Republic by the Sudeten German Party, see Mark Cornwall, *The Devil’s Wall: The Nationalist Youth Mission of Heinz Rutha* (Cambridge, 2012), 185–86.

<sup>125</sup>Cited in Sabine Bamberger-Stemmann, *Der Europäische Nationalitätenkongreß 1925 bis 1938: Nationale Minderheiten zwischen Lobbyistentum und Großmachtinteressen* (Marburg, 2000), 255.

<sup>126</sup>Cf. Petráš, “Heinrich Rauchberg,” 481; Renata Veselá, “K některým německým profesorům působícím na pražské německé univerzitě” [A Few Remarks on German Professors Working at the German University in Prague], in *Vybrané problémy právních dějin* [Selected Issues of Legal History], vol. 1, ed. Karel Schelle (Ostrava, 2014), 115–21, at 116.

<sup>127</sup>Rauchberg, *Die Reform des Minderheitenschutzes* (Breslau, 1930); “Vorträge Rauchbergs in Haag,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 21 Jan 1931, p. 3; Rauchberg, “Und der Völkerbund?,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 28 Feb 1933, p. 1; Rauchberg, “Reform des Völkerbunds!,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 13 May 1936, p. 1.



Thus, he converted specifically to Protestantism; in his function as rector he seemingly tolerated antisemitism; he refused to recognize the existence of a Jewish nationality; and, using the rhetoric of German *Lebensphilosophie*, he changed his expressed opinion on the location of the German University in Bohemia. His pro-German attitude was also manifest in his support for partitioning Bohemia into a German and Czech area before 1918 and the establishment of German autonomy in Czechoslovakia after 1918. As long as German public discourse was not permeated by Nazism, Rauchberg, qua “baptized Jew,” was able to assert his discursive authority. This led to a situation where he was viewed by both Czechs and Zionists as a rabid pro-German nationalist. In the 1930s, the dynamics of discourse shifted: When the Sudeten German society increasingly welcomed Nazism and German nationalist discourse became overtly *völkisch* and racist, Rauchberg moved away from German nationalism and propagated liberal and cosmopolitan ideas.

In the end, Rauchberg’s political journey from German liberal nationalism through *völkisch* nationalism to democratic cosmopolitanism in the 1930s was not so unusual for a German-minded Central European bourgeois of Jewish origin. Affiliating themselves in the second half of the nineteenth century with German liberalism out of gratitude for its role in granting full civil equality to the Austrian Jews in 1867,<sup>128</sup> some Bohemian Jews expressed after the end of World War I their unabated devotion to the German nation by taking an even more radical-chauvinistic approach against the Czech nation,<sup>129</sup> only to discover subsequently that they were unwelcome as members of German society when Nazism was on the rise. Often, they then adopted a conciliatory approach, supporting democratic cooperation with the Czechoslovak government.<sup>130</sup>

A few days after Rauchberg’s death, Germany annexed the Sudetenland and, on 15 March 1939, the Wehrmacht marched into Prague. Posthumously, Rauchberg was defined by the Nazis as a “full Jew” (*Volljude*) and included in the *Verzeichnis jüdischer Autoren* (Register of Jewish authors).<sup>131</sup> His three children—Gertrud, Herbert, and Hildegard—were classified as

<sup>128</sup>Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews*, 58.

<sup>129</sup>Cf. Koeltzsch, *Geteilte Kulturen*, 117.

<sup>130</sup>Several German-Jewish liberal politicians in Czechoslovakia, such as Franz Bacher (1884-1945), Josef (Joseph) Eckstein (1866-1936), and Leo Epstein (1883-1933), experienced a similar political journey to Rauchberg’s. On their political developments, see *ibid.*, 53, 108-10, 116-18.

<sup>131</sup>“Rauchberg, Dr. Heinrich,” *Verzeichnis jüdischer Autoren. Vorläufige Zusammenstellung des Amtes Schrifttumspflege bei dem Beauftragten des Führers für die gesamte geistige und weltanschauliche Erziehung der NSDAP und der Reichsstelle zur Förderung des deutschen Schrifttums. Streng vertraulich! Nur für den Dienstgebrauch! Sachbearbeiter: Joachim Menzel*, vol. 5, N-R (May 1939), 4.

“mixed-bloods (*Mischlinge*) of the first degree.”<sup>132</sup> It is said that Gertrud, who was married to a member of the Nazi Party, carried a capsule of poison with her in case she was arrested. Herbert spent part of those years in hiding in Germany. Hildegard lived in Prague and relocated after the end of World War II to Germany.<sup>133</sup> She suffered afterward from “serious nerve damage as a consequence of National Socialist injustice.”<sup>134</sup> Rauchberg’s sister Helene was deported from Vienna to Riga on 3 December 1941. She did not survive the Holocaust.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup>Cf. email, Wägenbaur to the author, 29 Oct 2013. In the Nazi state, persons “with at least three Jewish grandparents” were defined as “full Jews.” Those persons “who did not belong to the Jewish religion” but “had two Jewish grandparents” were categorized as “*Mischlinge* of the first degree,” i.e., “half-Jews.” See Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York, 1998), 77.

<sup>133</sup>Email, Wägenbaur to the author, February 22, 2013.

<sup>134</sup>State Archive Baden-Württemberg, Sigmaringen, holdings: Ministry of Culture, Wü 80 T 1-2, no. 1094, personal files – Hildegard Rauchberg, scientific illustrator (12 Dec 1900, Prague).

<sup>135</sup>“Austrian Victims of the Holocaust,” Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance, <http://www.doew.at/personensuche?lastname=Rauchberg&shoah=1&gestapo=1&politisch=1&spiegelgrund=1&lang=de> (accessed 5 Nov 2018).