

~~Handwritten~~

~~by D. T. M.~~

~~MM~~

D. T.

Dec 8, '00

This file is called D. T. and may contain many duplicates of what is in the chronological folders, but in any case, distribute it chronologically except for the addition of one new file which shall be termed REFERENCE. Twenty or thirty pages are so marked.

D. T.

Green ink as
the latest comments.
as of Dec '00

1908

Gustl to leave his home; he wanted to himself." My mother, in her grief at our parting, concentrated on my creature comforts, giving me a nice piece of roast pork; and the dripping, which was to be spread on my bread, was put into a special container. She baked some buns for me, gave me a large piece of cheese, a jar of jam and a bottle of coffee. My brown canvas bag was full to overflowing with food.

So off I went to the station after my last dinner at home, well provided for in every respect. My parents saw me off; my father shook my hand and said "Always remain honest." But my mother, with tears in her eyes, kissed me and, as the train started, made the sign of the Cross on my forehead. For a long time I felt her tender fingers there as they traced the Cross.

* A disquisition, if one is found, on the meaning of the Cross to D.T.

The O.P.A. has told us that it represents the conflict between the D.K. + the M.O. and involves both of us whenever it is kissed or used for a sign. The greatest danger is that we are afraid of it. I am not certain this time. I, for one, always feel uneasy when I see a cross.

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MY FIRST is noisy and excited case, so bewildering. All these people are terrible. I was home again. I was jostling by the spectators and people in the Hall looking at this first welcome. I was overwhelmed by all a mile away as perfectly acclimated overcoat, dark dle, he appeared to see me and tom, kissed me. The first pro

tainly could not do much with the monthly allowance my father made me. Regularly at the beginning of each month, Adolf received a certain sum from his guardian. I do not know how much this was, perhaps only the twenty-five crowns orphan's pension, of which he had immediately to pay out ten to Frau Zakreys; perhaps it was more, if his guardian was paying out of capital in instalments whatever his parents may have left. Perhaps relatives helped to support him, for instance, the humpbacked Aunt Johanna; but I do not know. I only know that even then Adolf often went hungry, although he would not admit this to me.

What did Adolf have for an ordinary day's meals? A bottle of milk, a loaf of bread, some butter. For lunch he often bought a piece of poppyseed cake or nutcake to add to it. That is what he made do with. Every fortnight my mother sent a food parcel, and then we feasted. But in money matters Adolf was very precise. I never knew how much, or rather, how little, money he had. Doubtless he was secretly ashamed of it. Occasionally, anger got the better of him and he would shout with fury, "Isn't this a dog's life?" Nevertheless, he was happy and contented when we could go once more to the opera, or listen to a concert, or read an interesting book.

For a long time I could not find out where he ate his lunch. Any enquiries about it he would crossly dismiss — these were not subjects one discussed. As I had some spare time in the afternoon, sometimes I used to come home directly after lunch; but I never found Adolf at home. Perhaps he was sitting in the Soup Kitchen in the Liniengasse where I sometimes had my midday meal. No, he was not there. I went to the "Auge Gottes." Neither was he there. When I asked him in the evening why he never came to the Soup Kitchen, he made a long speech about the contemptible institution of these soup kitchens which only symbolise the segregation of the social classes.

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As an extramural student of the university I was permitted to eat in the canteen — it was still the old canteen, for the new one erected by the German Schools Society did not then exist — and I could also procure cheap meal tickets for Adolf, and finally he consented to come with me. I knew how much he liked sweets, so, as well as the main dish, I got some cakes.

I thought he would enjoy this because you could see from his face how hungry he was, but as he sulkily gulped it down, he venomously hissed at me, "I don't understand how you can enjoy anything among such people!" Of course, there used to gather in the canteen students from all the nations of the realm, together with several Jewish students. That was reason enough to stop him going there. But, to tell the truth, in spite of all his determination, he let hunger get the better of him. He squeezed himself in next to me in the canteen, turned his back on the rest and greedily wolfed down his favourite nutcake. Many a time, in my political indifference, was I secretly amused to see him swinging between anti-Semitism and his passion for nutcake.

For days on end he could live on milk and bread and butter only. I certainly was not spoilt, but this was beyond me.

We did not make any acquaintances. Adolf would never have permitted me time for anybody but himself. More than ever did he regard our friendship as one that excluded any other relationship. Once, as a result of pure chance, he treated me to a very explicit reproof in this respect.

Harmony was my hobbyhorse; in Linz, too, I had shone at it, and here I got on swimmingly. One day Professor Boschetti called me to the office and asked me whether I would like to do some coaching in the subject. Then he introduced me to my future pupils. The two daughters of a brewer in Kolomea, the daughter of a landowner in Radautz, and also the daughter of a businessman in Spalato.

*D.T. Each time he goes in to the nutcake
I rubbed his arm - proper raw -
You love nut cake more than you
deserve Jews.*

words he could utter, for Stefanie was the only creature on God's earth whom he excepted from this infamous humanity — a being who, made radiant by his glowing love, gave his tormented existence sense and purpose. His father dead, his mother dead, his only sister still a child, what was there left to him? He had no family, no home; only his love, only Stefanie in the midst of all his sufferings and catastrophes had remained steadfastly by his side — admittedly only in his imagination. Until now this imagination had been strong enough to be a help to him. But in the spiritual convulsion through which he was now passing, apparently even this obstinately held conviction had broken down.

"I thought you were going to write to her?" I interposed, meaning to help him by this suggestion.

He brushed my remark away with an impatient gesture (it was only forty years later that I learned that he really had written to her then), and then came words that I had never before heard him utter:

"It's mad to wait for her. Certainly Mama has already picked out the man for Stefanie to marry. Love? They won't worry about that. A good match, that's all that matters. And I'm a poor match, at least in the eyes of Mama."

Then came a furious reckoning with the "Mama," with everybody who belonged to these fine circles who, through cleverly arranged marriages among themselves, continue to enjoy their unmerited social privileges.

I gave up the attempt to practise the piano, and went to bed, while Adolf became absorbed in his books. I still remember how shocked I was then. If Adolf could no longer cling to the thought of Stefanie, whatever would become of him?

My feelings were divided: on the one hand, I was glad that he was finally released from this hopeless love for Stefanie, and on the other hand, I knew that Stefanie was his only ideal, the only thing that kept him going and gave his life an aim.

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The next day, for a trifling reason, there was a bitter row between us. I had to practise, Adolf wanted to read. As it was raining he could not go off to Schönbrunn.

"This eternal strumming," he shouted at me, "One's never safe from it."

"It's quite simple," I answered, and getting up took my timetable out of my music case, and with a drawing pin fixed it on the cupboard door. Now he could see exactly when I was out, when not, and just when my hours for practising were. "And now hang your timetable under it," I added. Timetable! He didn't need any such thing. He kept his timetable in his head. That was good enough for him and it had to be good enough for me.

I shrugged my shoulders doubtfully. His work was anything but systematic. He worked practically only at night; in the morning he slept. *

I had quickly settled into the life of the Conservatory, and my teachers were satisfied with my work — more than satisfied, as was shown by their offering me the extra coaching. Naturally, I was proud of it, and certainly a bit conceited. Music is perhaps the one art where a lack of formal education does not seem to matter so much. So, pleased with myself, and contented, I set off happily every morning for the Conservatory. But just this sureness of purpose, this certainty of success, awoke in Adolf the most bitter comparisons, although he never mentioned it.

So now, the sight of the timetable stuck on the wall, which must have seemed to him like an officially accredited guarantee for my future, brought about an explosion.

"This Academy," he screamed, "a lot of old-fashioned fossilized civil servants, bureaucrats, devoid of understanding, stupid lumps of officials. The whole Academy ought to be blown up!" His face was livid, the mouth quite small, the lips almost white. But the eyes glittered. There was something sinister about them. As if all the hate of which he was capable lay in those glowing eyes!

* It was crucial to produce in him a trophim to coaching at night. Alpha-Omega & D.T.'s effective power.

The people of Vienna, among whom we two unknown youngsters were living, were at that time torn between loyalty to the old Emperor and anxiety about the threatening war.

Everywhere we noticed a deep chasm between the social classes. There was the vast mass of the lower classes who often had not enough to eat and merely existed in miserable dwellings without light or sun. In view of our standards of living, we unhesitatingly included ourselves in this category. It was not necessary for us to go out to study the mass misery of the city — it was brought into our own home. Our own damp and crumbling walls, bug-infested furniture and the unpleasant odour of kerosene were typical of the surroundings in which hundreds of thousands of people in this city lived. When we went with empty stomachs into the centre of the city, we saw the splendid mansions of the nobility with garishly attired servants in front, and the sumptuous hotels in which Vienna's rich society — the old nobility, the captains of industry, landowners and magnates — held their lavish parties; poverty, need, hunger on the one side, and reckless enjoyment of life, sensuality and prodigal luxury on the other.

I was too homesick to draw any political inferences from these contrasts. But Adolf, homeless, rejected by the Academy, without any chance of changing his miserable position, developed during this period an ever growing sense of rebellion. The obvious social injustice which caused him almost physical suffering also roused in him a demoniacal hatred of that unearned wealth, presumptuous and arrogant, which we saw around us. Only by violently protesting against this state of affairs was he able to bear his own "dog's life." To be sure, it was largely his own fault that he was in this position; but this he would never admit. Even more than from hunger, he suffered from the lack of cleanliness, as he was almost pathologically sensitive about anything concerning

* D.T. This, too, discouraged. We had no fixed attitude or encouraging or discouraging Marxist attitudes. Each person

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the body. At all costs, he would keep his linen and clothing clean. No one, meeting this carefully dressed young man in the street, would have thought that he went hungry every day, and lived in a hopelessly bug-infested back room in the Sixth District. It was more the lack of cleanliness in the surroundings in which he was forced to live than the lack of food which provoked his inner protests against the prevailing social conditions. The old Imperial City, with its atmosphere of false glamour and spurious romance and its now evident inner decay, was the ground on which his social and political opinions grew. All that he later became was born of this dying Imperial Vienna. Although he wrote later, "The name of this city of lotus eaters represents for me five years of misery and distress," this statement shows only the negative side of his experience in Vienna. The positive side was that his constant revolt against the existing social order produced his political philosophy to which little was added in later years.

In spite of his sympathetic interest in the poverty of the masses, he never sought direct contact with the inhabitants of the Imperial City. He profoundly disliked the typical Viennese. To begin with, he could not stand their soft, though melodious accent, and he even preferred the clumsy German spoken by Frau Zakreys. Above all, he hated the subservience and dumb indifference of the Viennese, their eternal muddling through, their reckless improvidence. His own character was just the opposite. As far as I can remember, Adolf was always very reserved, simply because he disliked any physical contact with people; but within him everything was in a ferment and urged him on to radical and total solutions. How sarcastic he was about the Viennese partiality to wine, and how he despised them for it! Only once did we go to the Prater pleasure gardens, and this only out of curiosity. He could not understand why people wasted their precious time with such nonsense. When he heard

person we chose was a special case, a potential art-work in the making. At that I think we can better than most of the Dumboffs and

I never actually related to people from other countries. At the direction of the H. who is very young, I even went to a bank for living creature, after.

for we not only share our most successful artwork but leave them with a handle we can grasp to turn them. The answer

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would be sufficient to keep him at a distance from the masses. This was only true of personal contacts. But with his whole, overflowing heart, he stood then in the ranks of the underprivileged. It was not sympathy, in the ordinary sense, he felt for the disinherited. That would not have been sufficient. He not only suffered with them, he lived for them and devoted all his thoughts to the salvation of these people from distress and poverty. No doubt this ardent desire for a total reorganisation of life was his personal response to his own fate, which had led him, step by step, into misery. Only by his noble and grandiose work, which was intended "for everybody" and appealed to "all," did he find again his inner equilibrium. The weeks of dark visions and grave depressions were past; he was again full of hope and courage.

But for the time being, good old Maria Zakreys was the only person who occupied herself with these plans. To be exact, she did not really occupy herself with them, for she had given it up as a bad job to try to bring order into this mess of plans, drawings and sketches. She was satisfied as long as the two students from Linz paid their rent punctually.

As far as Linz was concerned, Adolf had not contemplated more than to transform it into a fine, attractive town whose distinguished buildings should raise it from its low, provincial standing. But Vienna he wanted to transform into a modern residential town in which distinction and prestige did not matter — this he left to the Imperial Vienna: what mattered was that the uprooted masses, who had become estranged from their own soil and their own people, should again settle down on firm ground.

The old Imperial City changed, on the drawing board of a nineteen-year-old youth who lived in a dark back room of the Mariahilf suburb, into a spacious, sunlit and exuberant city, which consisted of four-eight- and sixteen-family houses.

D.T. * There was, of course, always the danger that he would go far with them. I was that easily won over, but I trusted in the near to -

D. T.

CHAPTER XVI

1908

Solitary Study and Reading

THERE can be no doubt that Adolf was, at that time, convinced that he was destined to become an architect. How he would ever find his way into practice, even with this thorough private study, unable as he was to produce any testimonials and diplomas — this never caused him any worry. We hardly ever spoke about it, for my friend was absolutely sure that by the time he had concluded his studies, circumstances would have changed (either peacefully or with violence, as a consequence of his Storm of the Revolution) to such an extent that formal qualifications would no longer matter, but only actual ability.

Thus, Adolf saw his future clearly before him. Back in Linz he had already defeated what he called his school's biased, unjust and idiotic treatment of him, by throwing himself heart and soul into the study of a subject of his own choosing, so he had no difficulty in doing the same here in Vienna, where a similar situation confronted him. He cursed the old-fashioned, fossilized bureaucracy of the Academy

but as a fund of his bitterness. Kierkegaard was, of course, writing decades after the fact, and scarcely adding to the public's latent taste for a good Hitler.

- Maria Hitler

find stimulus in serious, intelligent and progressive company? Why did he always remain the lone wolf, who avoided any contact with people, although he was passionately interested in all human affairs? How easy it would have been for him, with his obvious talents, to win himself a place in those social circles in Vienna which held themselves aloof from the general decadence, from which he would not only have gained new insight and enlightenment, but which would have wrought a change in his lonely life. There were many more thoroughly decent people in Vienna than the other kind, though they were less in evidence. So he had no reason to avoid people on moral grounds. As a matter of fact, it was not arrogance that held him back. It was rather his poverty, and the consequent sensitiveness, that caused him to live on his own. Moreover, he thought he was lowering himself if he went to a social gathering, or any kind of distraction. He had too high an opinion of himself for a superficial flirtation or for a merely physical relation with a girl. For that matter, he would never have allowed me to indulge in such affairs. Any step in this direction would have meant the inevitable end of our friendship, as, apart from the distaste with which Adolf viewed such connections, he would never have tolerated my having any interest in other people. As always, our friendship had to be utterly exclusive of all other interests.

One day, although I knew how opposed Adolf was to all social activities, I nevertheless attempted to arrange something for him. The opportunity which occurred seemed to me too good to be missed.

Sometimes music lovers came to the office of the Conservatory looking for students to take part in a musical evening at their houses. This meant not only much-needed extra money — we usually received a fee of five crowns, as well as supper — but also brought a little social glamour into my humble student's life. As a good viola player, I was much sought after, and it was through this that I came to know

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the family of a wealthy manufacturer in the Heiligenstädterstrasse, Dr. Jahoda. They were people with a deep appreciation of art, of very cultivated tastes, a really intellectual group of the kind that flourished only in Vienna, who traditionally enriched the artistic life of the city. When, at table, the opportunity arose, I mentioned my friend, and was invited to bring him with me the next time. This was what I had been aiming at, and now I was content.

And Adolf did indeed go with me, and he enjoyed himself very much. He was particularly impressed with the library, which for Adolf was a real yardstick for judging these people. What pleased him less, however, was that throughout the whole evening he had to remain a silent listener, although he himself had chosen this role. On the way home, he said he would have got on quite well with these people, but as he was not a musician he had not been able to join in the conversation. Nevertheless, he also came with me to musical evenings in one or two other houses, where it was only his inadequate dress that upset him.

In the midst of this corrupt city, my friend surrounded himself with a wall of unshakable principles which enabled him to build up an inner freedom, in spite of all the dangers around him. He was afraid of infection, as he often said. Now I understand that he meant, not only venereal infection, but a much more general infection, namely, the danger of being caught up in the prevailing conditions and finally being dragged down into the vortex of corruption. It is not surprising that no one understood him, that they took him for an eccentric, and that those few who came in contact with him called him presumptuous and arrogant.

But he went his way, untouched by what went on around him, but also untouched by a really great, consuming love. He remained a man alone and guarded — an odd contradiction — in strict monklike asceticism, the holy Flame of Life.

* D.T. I encouraged him in this fear. I wanted him to be pure in the intensity of his feelings — I was longing to begin real work with him.

"You idiot! Didn't you see that he is a Jew?" Actually, I had not. But in future I took care not to burn my fingers.

Things got worse. One day, when I was very busy with preparations for my exam, Adolf stormed into our room, full of excitement. He had just come from the police, he said; there had been an incident in the Mariahilferstrasse, connected with a Jew, of course. A Handeleer had been standing in front of the Gerngross store. The word "Handeleer" was used to designate eastern Jews who, dressed in caftan and boots, sold shoe laces, buttons, braces and other small articles in the streets. The Handeleer was the lowest stage in the career of those quickly assimilated Jews, who often occupied leading positions in Austria's economic life. The Handeleers were forbidden to beg. But this man had whiningly approached passers-by, his hand outstretched, and had collected some money. A policeman asked him to produce his papers. He began to wring his hands and said he was a poor, sick man who had only this little trading to live on, but he had not been begging. The policeman took him to the police station, and asked bystanders to act as witnesses. In spite of his dislike of publicity, Adolf had presented himself as a witness, and he saw with his own eyes that the Handeleer had three thousand crowns in his caftan, conclusive evidence, according to Adolf, of the exploitation of Vienna by immigrant eastern Jews.

I well remember, at that time, how eagerly Adolf studied the Jewish problem, talking to me of it again and again, although I was not interested. At the Conservatory there were Jews among both teachers and students, and I had never had any trouble with them and, indeed, had made some friends among them. Was not Adolf himself enthusiastic about Gustav Mahler, and was he not fond of the works of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy? One should not judge the Jewish question only on the strength of Handeleers. I cautiously tried to deflect Adolf from his point of view. His reaction was very strange.

*Something should be done
with this
but I don't know yet what*

1906

D.T.

"Come, Gustl," he said, and once again, to save the fare, I had to walk with him to the Brigittenau. I was astounded when Adolf led me to the Synagogue. We entered. "Keep your hat on," Adolf whispered. And indeed, all the men had their heads covered. Adolf had discovered that at this time a wedding was taking place in the Synagogue. The ceremony impressed me deeply. The congregation started with an alternate chant, which I liked. Then the Rabbi gave a sermon in Hebrew and finally laid the phylacteries on the foreheads of the bridal pair.

I concluded from our strange visit that Adolf really wanted to study thoroughly the Jewish problem and thereby convince himself that the religious practices of the Jews still survived. This, I hoped, might soften his biased view.

But I was mistaken, for one day Adolf came home and announced decidedly, "Today, I joined the Anti-Semite Union and have put down your name as well."

Although I had got used to his domineering over me in political matters, this was the culminating point. It was all the more surprising, as Adolf usually avoided joining any society or organisation. I kept silent, but I resolved to handle my affairs myself in future.

Looking back on those days in Vienna and on our long, nocturnal conversations, I can assert that Adolf then adopted that philosophy of life which was to guide him henceforward. He gathered it from his immediate impressions and experiences in the streets and extended and deepened it by his reading. What I heard was its first version, often still unbalanced and immature, but propounded with all the more passion.

But at that time I did not take all these things very seriously, because my friend played no part in public life, never met anybody but me, and accordingly all his plans and political projects were floating in mid-air. That later he would bring them to fruition, I would never have dared to think.

** D.T. takes A.H. on a philosophical journey
into the meaning of the Jews in the Middle Ages
on the one hand, the cohesion of society on the other*

*a scene
**

Ribbentrop
but

46

1932?

~~1933~~

HITLER'S DIPLOMAT

HITLER TO 1934

undertake this delicate mission. Like most Germans, he knew a good deal about the external Hitler, the man with the Austro-Bavarian accent who expressed in severe terms the simplistic solutions everyone wanted. Many Germans of the working class and lower middle class found in him a "German" option to Communism, which seemed somehow foreign because its red heart beat in Moscow. Among the higher German social echelons, Hitler caused the chills people feel when they secretly admire brutal solutions. He appealed to the hidden thug that can be found behind many civilized faces.

In all probability, von Ribbentrop set out for Berchtesgaden with some snobbish disdain for the semi-educated former lance corporal he was to meet. After all, von Ribbentrop was more eager than most to guard his own social status, and he was going there to speak for a lordly chancellor.

He traveled to Munich and then up into the mountains to a chalet called Haus Wachenfeld, which Hitler had bought with the help of his admirers. Wachenfeld was a pretty place, formerly a vacation villa in the Bavarian farm style, near Berchtesgaden, with stunning views of the mountains and the valleys below. It was soon to become the center of the compound known as the Berghof, which can be seen in many photographs of the Hitler era.

Von Ribbentrop's mission for von Papen was to convince Hitler to join the chancellor's cabinet as vice chancellor. This would block Defense Minister von Schleicher. Also, von Papen would have formed the conservative coalition he had promised von Hindenburg and would be able to control Hitler by having him close at hand.

Von Ribbentrop had never met Hitler; no one knows exactly what happened to change the life of a man as seemingly assured as von Ribbentrop. After all, from boyhood to Canadian entrepreneurship, from life as a young Prussian officer to wealthy Berlin internationalist, Joachim von Ribbentrop had taken good care of his own fate and fortune. According to his account, he was "convinced" by Hitler.

And it was an angry Hitler who greeted him. Von Ribbentrop was immediately told that Hitler wanted no part of a deal with von Papen. Instead, he believed in von Schleicher, because "one can trust a German general."² Politics or the truth? Was he threatening von Papen with von Schleicher, or did he really believe in the general? Any doubts in von Ribbentrop's mind were removed by a classic Hitlerian technique. Somehow, Adolf Hitler frequently found the energy to explain himself to listeners by pouring out his views, his dreams, his arguments, in an hours-long, drama-filled barrage of words. These "lectures," dissertations, verbal assaults, were aimed, instinctively, at the

vulnerable core of the thousand to the one. Often people have tried, they invariably a combination of seemi

Von Ribbentrop h best and the worst i fantasies, both brutal had harbored but w. conservative to expr pounding, he was con

Hitler finally said become vice chancell

When von Ribben chancellor rushed to failed abysmally. The and refused even to c December 3, 1932, v Ribbentrop's failure i was the right man for

Von Ribbentrop, "dr marks to the NSDAP, old regimental com: Helldorf was a crook, become part of the l Torgau Hussars, wher After the Armistice, lil one of the roving Fr themselves to right-w the Kapp putsch. Wl where he quickly reac ing captain, Ernst Rö. tocrats, which helpec Nazi takeover, von H. bled away the money who appreciated scou the Berlin police in 1 Göring's instructions, Reichstag fire.⁶ In M Hitler convert, von R. Ribbentrop's first pub

** I went there with Wolf Pöschel von Ribbentrop
Two women were at his throat*

1934? D.T. Ribbentrop
 to the true National Socialist ideal. The Horst Wessel song warned against those who had become the victims of "Communism and the reactionaries." Besides, von Ribbentrop's fairly recent entry into the party made him suspect, an opportunist, a fake Nazi. In the years to come, the old party members never lost their disdain for Joachim von Ribbentrop. It drove him to ever greater efforts to prove that he was a true National Socialist and would cause him to make some of his greatest errors in judgment.

To short-cut any criticism, he soon joined the SS (Schutz Staffel, or protection squads) and stayed a member for the rest of his life. At the time of his death, he held the honorary rank of SS general. Throughout his career in the service of Adolf Hitler, there were only two "party" portraits on his desk: one of the Führer and one of Heinrich Himmler, the head of the SS and one of the few old party men with whom von Ribbentrop exchanged the familiar appellation du, the mark of close friendship among Germans. But in 1933 at the head of the Hitler hierarchy stood Göring, Hess, Frick, Goebbels, Röhm, Himmler, and, just below them, the Zweite Garnitur, the second level. Von Ribbentrop did not rate.

The real party troops were the brown-shirted men of the SA (Sturm Abteilungen) under their brutal leader, Ernst Röhm, a World War I captain, was the classic mercenary, a scar-faced, thick-bellied, snub-nosed man who stood on stubby legs. He looked more like a drill sergeant than an officer, and the aristocrats who commanded the Reichswehr shuddered at the sight of him. They were also alarmed by his brawling, knee-booted army, recruited from the millions of unemployed workers. The brown shirts were really tan shirts; the uniforms were cheap copies of British Colonial khaki shirts and riding breeches, including the Sam Browne belt and shoulder strap. The whole outfit was completed with store-bought riding boots. They also wore a vague version of the French Army kepi, usually with chinstrap down. The whole effect was supposed to be tough. In party propaganda illustrations, the SA man always had a boxer's broken nose and a thick neck.

The Reichswehr's commanders were quite aware that Röhm pictured himself as the commander of Germany's real Army. Plain, old-fashioned snobbery aside, the vulgar Röhm represented a real danger and much more than a mere embarrassment in the officers' mess.

Only two months after Hitler's becoming chancellor, the SA mounted a brawling boycott of Jewish stores. Armed with nightsticks, they planted themselves in front of shop entrances, daring anyone to walk past them. Their placards read: "Germans, defend yourselves!

Do not buy from windows, and pos the first such publ just been legalized. It was on the day known for his N several Jewish bus with the unpleasa

News of the b cans were more c elected Franklin D campaign song h racially segregated everywhere else, polack, kike, and clubs, apartment "restricted," a eup advertised as such between the desce and mid nineteen ghettos of Russia. The German Ju loved order, decor founded their ow rigidly structured Loeb's, Lehman's, whom they consi that of the old Jew

The bad news Jews, strangely a dominated Ameri public discussion will get tired of us

When a large immediate trade, l tee objected. Desp can Jewish leader anti-Germany, pr Madison Square C

Many newspa Both the tiny Pos reported the beati

D.T. has been this influenced Ribbentrop's
 speeches

1934?

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Wessel song warned Communism and the recent entry into the Nazi. In the years to disdain for Joachim von to prove that he was a to make some of his the SS (Schutz Staffel, or the rest of his life. At the SS general. Through there were only two and one of Heinrich few old party men with appellation *du*, the in 1933 at the head of Fick, Goebbels, Röhm, *Vermitur*, the second level.

men of the SA (Sturm Röhm. Röhm, a World star-faced, thick-bellied, He looked more like a who commanded the They were also alarmed by from the millions of unem- man shirts; the uniforms shorts and riding breeches, strap. The whole outfit boots. They also wore a with chinstrap down. In party propaganda broken nose and a

aware that Röhm pic- real Army. Plain, old- represented a real danger to the officers' mess. wearing chancellor, the SA Armed with nightsticks, dances, daring anyone to Germans, defend yourselves!

Do not buy from Jews!" Stars of David were smeared on display windows, and posters with threats were plastered everywhere. It was the first such public outrage. The police stood by because the SA had just been legalized as "auxiliary" police by decree of Hermann Göring. It was on the day of the boycott that an embarrassed von Ribbentrop, known for his Nazi sympathies, but considered "civilized," invited several Jewish business associates to that lunch at the Hotel Adlon²² with the unpleasant result mentioned earlier.

News of the boycott soon reached the United States, but Americans were more concerned with the Depression and hoped the newly elected Franklin D. Roosevelt could bring back the "Happy Days" his campaign song had promised. The United States of 1933 was still racially segregated, *de jure* below the Mason-Dixon Line and *de facto* everywhere else, and Americans freely used terms like wop, mick, polack, kike, and nigger. The country was widely anti-Semitic. Many clubs, apartment houses, resorts, hotels, and entire townships were "restricted," a euphemism for "Jews not wanted," and they were often advertised as such. America's Jewish population had a steep division between the descendants of German Jews who had landed in the early and mid nineteenth century and the more recent arrivals from the ghettos of Russia, Poland, and the Balkans.

The German Jews had brought their Germanisms with them. They loved order, decorum, *Kultur*. They were bankers and merchants who founded their own clubs, built their own apartment houses. Their rigidly structured world was dominated by families like the Kuhns, Loebes, Lehmanns, and Schiffs. They snubbed eastern European Jews, whom they considered uncouth, vulgar. Their attitude was not unlike that of the old Jewish families in pre-Hitler Germany.

The bad news from Nazi Germany left many of America's German Jews strangely apologetic. Cyrus Adler, president of the German-dominated American Jewish Committee, said, "There is too much public discussion [about the Nazi acts]. Our Christian fellow citizens will get tired of us."

When a large number of American "eastern" Jews demanded an immediate trade boycott of Germany, the American Jewish Committee objected. Despite them, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, a powerful American Jewish leader with direct access to President Roosevelt, called an anti-Germany protest meeting. Twenty thousand people jammed Madison Square Garden; another thirty-five thousand stood outside.

Many newspapers headlined Berlin's brown-shirted barbarities. Both the tiny *Poughkeepsie News* and the influential *Chicago Tribune* reported the beatings of Jews and Reichstag deputies, the existence of

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On March 7 the German French foreign minister, March 4, with "a Herr von Ribbentrop was had tried to initiate mat- rification of von Ribben- ons be handled through ssador asked for in- rty. State Secretary von old party member, a international connections the ministry to clarify the igned that, "historically, hough he admitted that advisable." Von Ribben- on. Through Ernest W. and friend of von Rib- Baldwin. Meanwhile, entrop, nevertheless sent *En mémoire d'une conver- de rapprochement.* (To agner played the role of Barthou a bitter foe of

The diplomats who ran the Foreign Office now made a protective chess move of their own. They appointed one of their brightest young men, the thirty-one-year-old Erich Kordt, an expert on disarmament, to act as their liaison man at the new emissary. Strangely, the normally suspicious von Ribbentrop was pleased with the appointment. Perhaps he realized he would need expert guidance. At the same time, von Ribbentrop widened his fledgling Büro by recruiting a staff of

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had Hitler's ear caused many foreign statesmen to bypass normal channels.

That July a group of Veterans of the British Legion was received by Adolf Hitler. It was von Ribbentrop who had, through unofficial contacts, arranged this visit. And it was Eden who suspected that the men would be used for Nazi propaganda, as, of course, they were. Following a visit to the "sanitized" camp at Dachau, Heinrich Himmler was host at a "small family dinner for them all."

The Dachau concentration camp of 1934 and 1935 was not the crematorium-equipped hell of the forties. The Nazis used it as a demonstration facility for distinguished foreign visitors: "This is how we re-educate our criminals."

Sometimes that backfired. After Sir Arnold Wilson, MP, a man known as sympathetic to appeasement, was proudly shown through Dachau, he wrote, "There was in the atmosphere of the camp something against which my soul revolted." Admiral Sir Barry Domville, who was apologetic about most of Nazi Germany's offenses, said only that he "admired Dachau's administration."⁴⁰ Startling in its eccentric notion is the statement by T. E. Lawrence (of Arabia) that Hitler, like him, was ascetic, poor, lived in a small house, and was misunderstood by the press. Lawrence died later that year in a motorcycle crash.⁴¹

The tenth of September marked the opening of the 1935 party rally in Nürnberg. Looming over Europe was Mussolini's threat of war in Ethiopia; the League of Nations planned sanctions against Italy. But for Adolf Hitler's Germany, the world's attention focused on Nürnberg and that vast parade ground. The rally's theme in 1935 was Freedom. In ironic contrast, Hitler simultaneously proclaimed the new racial laws, technically known as the Reichscitizenship Law and the Law for the Defense of German Blood and German Honor (Reichsbürgergesetz und das Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre). The laws were later known throughout the world as the Nürnberg Laws, although they were signed in Berlin by Minister of the Interior Dr. Frick on September 15, 1935.

The original version was comparatively mild. It replaced the notion of race with that of *blood* in the following words (the convoluted Nazi style sounds equally clumsy in translation):

German blood does not of itself form a race. Instead, the German people is composed of the members of differing races. However, what all of these races have in common is that their blood is mutually compatible, and that a mixture of these bloods, in contrast to bloods

D.T. use blood as a substitute for the word 'freedom' since it suggests the feeling of freedom we have when our blood is racing with excitement;

and the sense of property we know should be shared with another. So I spoke (as in if I was without blood)

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May 1938

* it extensively. Fuschl became the place where von Ribbentrop would await the call from the nearby Berghof, his master's call. Frau von Remitz, a niece of the leading German industrialist Fritz Thyssen, and her children were left to fend for themselves. When von Ribbentrop was host to Mussolini in 1942 at Fuschl, he spoke of it as "his father's castle."²⁰

Some Austrian Nazis were shocked because everything "Austrian" was now stricken from view. Even the name Austria became Ostmark, or "eastern province," Reinhard Spitzzy bemoaned the loss of Austria's old traditions. He was not alone.

In return for Mussolini's apparent approval of the takeover of "his" Austria, Adolf Hitler bartered away the mostly German-speaking lands and people of the mountains of South Tyrol. This region, the domain of ancient Austro-German families like the von Wolkensteins, von Enzenbergs, and von Trapps (of *The Sound of Music*), was released to Italy without any regard for the Tyroleans' wishes. Thousands of these people from the high mountains were forced to resettle in southern Italy or flat East Prussia. As Hitler declared on May 19, 1938, "The Tyrolean question has ceased to exist."

These decisions were made without so much as a moment's consultation with the new foreign minister. It seemed von Ribbentrop would never be able to initiate foreign policy or execute it independently. The vainglory would still be his, but the policy would be Hitler's.

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The first four "problems" Hitler had originally outlined to his foreign minister on the day he was appointed were Austria, the Sudetenland, Memel, and Danzig. Austria was now "solved." In his memoirs, von Ribbentrop wrote that it was always his task to offer the diplomatic solution.²¹ The military people were instructed to prepare the military solution. Neither side knew the contents of the other's plans. Hitler would make the choice. This time Hitler had made the military choice.

It was, in the words of von Ribbentrop, "hard to make one's point against such a strong personality. Every man who worked for Adolf Hitler had this experience. No one could change his mind once it was made up."

Von Ribbentrop claimed that three separate times he tried unsuccessfully to resign and to be transferred to the Army for combat duty. Although he had become a pampered man who loved his comfort, it is possible that this claim was true. Someone who drove bobsleds as a youngster, went halfway around the world to serve as a combat soldier, and was willing to brave many a storm-tossed flight in the

* D.T.: Von Ribbentrop was not in my official purview. But I couldn't resist that angel & let him believe

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 cal courage.

Neither did he lack vanity. To von Ribbentrop, appearance was
 vital, and he complained that Germany's diplomats made a poor
 appearance because they had no special diplomatic uniforms like
 other nations. Von Ribbentrop himself often wore his SS general's
 uniform, complete with sword of honor, black tunic and cap, Sam
 Browne belt, black riding breeches, and shiny black riding boots. It
 pleased him to wear it. It also pleased his friend SS Chief Himmler.
 However, the SS uniform would not do for many international diplo-
 matic occasions. It was too martial, and besides, it was not the uni-
 form of the German Diplomatic Corps. When a forthcoming state
 visit to Rome was announced, an urgent call went out to Benno von
 Arent, a famous theatrical designer who had staged many Nazi events.
 Von Arent designed a sort of "admiral's" uniform with "piston rings"
 on each sleeve to denote rank. Here, too, Adolf Hitler, the artist-
 architect *manqué*, had his say. He approved it.

Until then, most members of the Foreign Ministry had appeared in
 conventional cutaway coat and striped trousers or in white tie and
 tails. They were often ordered by an angry Hitler to "get into uni-
 form," and for this reason many were given honorary ranks in the SS.
 Kordt became an honorary SS colonel, as did Schmidt the interpreter.

However, for the state visit to Rome in May they now got their
 new German diplomatic uniform in several versions for diverse occa-
 sions. In a childish act of competition, von Ribbentrop engaged in a
 struggle for insignia with State Secretary Meissner, who ran the Füh-
 rer's Chancellery. Meissner felt he was entitled to the same number of
 sleeve "piston rings" as the foreign minister. Then von Ribbentrop
 designed a special Eagle-and-Swastika-Over-the-Globe emblem for his
 own sleeves, trumping Meissner. According to Spitzzy, on the morning
 of May 3, when the Führer's party of six hundred was leaving for
 Rome, Göring saw von Ribbentrop at the railroad station wearing his
 new diplomat's uniform. Göring laughed and yelled, "Herr von Rib-
 bentrop, you look like the doorman at the Rio Rita Bar." Von Ribben-
 trop "chose not to hear him."²²

A predator, Adolf Hitler waited for whatever he could designate as
 a provocation. Like the gangster with a loaded gun who asks his
 victim to "please, oh, please, make just one little move," Hitler's every
 action was preceded by the provocation he had chosen for the pur-
 pose. The Rhineland militarization was "provoked" by France's ex-
 tended duty for conscripts. Almería was bombed after a German ship

that it was his father who was
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1939

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Moscow to negotiate a treaty. Oshima was aghast, as was Tokyo when the news reached there. The German ambassador to Japan, General Ott, was equally surprised, unpleasantly so. At a Propaganda Ministry briefing in Berlin, the angry correspondent of the Japanese news agency Domei behaved so badly that a complaint was sent to his embassy. Oshima, feeling he had failed to warn Tokyo, resigned.

Von Herwarth now decided to involve a non-Axis western diplomat, his young American friend Charles (Chip) Bohlen, who served in his country's embassy in Moscow. According to his memoirs, Bohlen immediately telegraphed a skeptical Washington. It is equally certain that Washington then briefed 10 Downing Street. The news did not seem to stir up much action in London or Paris. The same halfhearted, slovenly efforts were continued by the Anglo-French "negotiators" in Moscow.

Only Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick later believed that Anglo-French efforts to close a Soviet treaty were bound to be stillborn. For the Soviets, the Anglo-French negotiators offered the prospect of war, no discussion of the Baltic states nor of any territorial gains for Russia. In contrast, the Germans offered peace, a part of Poland, and the three vital Baltic coast countries. The German deal was much more palatable. Kirkpatrick's view is not the majority's, but it has great validity.

On August 22, a shocked, helpless von Herwarth was ordered to fly from Moscow to Königsberg, in East Prussia, to accompany Joachim von Ribbentrop on the last leg of his journey to Moscow.⁹² They all arrived at the Soviet capital about noontime on Tuesday, August 23. Von Ribbentrop was greeted by a Soviet delegation and by Ambassador von der Schulenburg and his staff.

A German Embassy friend of von Herwarth's pointed at a group of plainclothes Gestapo men who walked down the ramp of the big four-engined German plane and were immediately greeted with warm handshakes and fraternal smiles by a group of Russian Secret Service men. The attraction of kinship.

The streets on the drive to Moscow were decked with swastika flags, which had been hard to find in Moscow. The Soviet protocol people were frantic until somebody remembered that an anti-Nazi film was being shot in a studio near Moscow. The street sets of the film were decked out with hundreds of swastika banners. Presto! Swastika flags! These were requisitioned and the filming was suspended.

After a hasty meal at the German Embassy, von Ribbentrop's delegation was driven to the Kremlin for a meeting with Molotov. No

* D.T. A discussion of what this
kinship consisted of.

They could discuss

police problems for which
they were all in search
of a philosophy. How to
deal with their insiders?

look into the passage from
vigilante to policeman about the difference
of being a cop.

mean war to "protect German interests," but he would rather "fight a war at fifty than one at fifty-six."¹⁰¹ He hinted that Britain had incited Czechoslovakia and was doing the same to Poland. While von Ribbentrop was proposing friendly toasts in faraway Moscow, Ernst von Weizsäcker and Walter Hewel were in the Berghof as witnesses to this display of Hitler's intransigence.

Sir Neville Henderson's memoirs treated the German Führer with more objectivity than he deserved. He wrote, "When Hitler comes up before the bar of the Last Judgment, he will certainly argue with apparently complete self-conviction that he could have spared the horrors of war if the Poles had accepted his reasonable and generous conditions. It will, I submit, be false." The British guarantee to Poland of earlier in the year was transformed into a full treaty on August 25; and Hitler originally planned Case White, his invasion of Poland, for August 26.

A sad Erich Kordt had waited and waited after Vansittart predicted that an Anglo-French pact would be closed. Admiral Canaris, head of German Army Intelligence, told Kordt he was naïve. "Kordt, how can you believe that? Emil is cleverer than you think!" Emil was Canaris's code name for the despised Hitler.¹⁰²

Part of the Soviet treaty was kept hidden from the world, especially the protocols about the Baltic countries. On August 24, a tired von Ribbentrop swore the reluctant German Embassy staff in Moscow to absolute silence, "on Adolf Hitler's life," about the special "deal" made for the Baltic republics.

On that same day in London, Ambassador Joseph Kennedy told Chamberlain's right-hand man, Sir Horace Wilson, that it was all useless. Poland could not be saved. "The Poles can only fight in revenge and plunge all of Europe into destruction."¹⁰³

Von Ribbentrop must have been shocked when his finest achievement, which would clear the path for the Führer's master plan, seemed suddenly to be blocked by outside interference. Now that Hitler's back was secure, his partner was fading. After all the time he had spent with Ciano and the Duce, getting assurances of alliance, a letter from Mussolini to Hitler arrived at 6 P.M. on August 25: "This is one of the most painful moments of my life, but I must tell you that Italy is not ready for war. My chiefs of staff advise me that our fuel reserves would last only for three weeks. Please understand my position."

This letter was carried by Ambassador Attolico, and reached the Führer at the Chancellery shortly after Henderson had once again paid another visit in the hope of reaching accommodation. He was

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Canaris knows of this

Went on Canaris & his double game,
his relation to Heydrich.

1939 D. T.

Führer, don't underestimate the British. When they know there is no alternative, they become stubborn and go about their business. I think I know a lot more about that than my minister [Ribbentrop]." Führer very annoyed. Broke off conversation.

Hewel meant that his having dealt with the British for years, while he was in self-imposed exile, gave him more knowledge about them than von Ribbentrop had, which may have been true. Also, as a 1932 fellow fighter of Hitler's, one who had been jailed with his Führer, he had the freedom to speak up when it mattered. (A loyal man, he committed suicide in Berlin on May 3, 1945, when the city fell.) But Hewel could not budge Hitler from his point of view in 1939. Hitler brooked no disagreement even from an old comrade.

Hitler never lost sight of his beginnings and of his penniless days as a vagrant, living in public shelters, trying to sell his paintings. Later, everyone who knew him spoke of the evenings and nights when Hitler told stories about his Army service as a simple soldier, unable or possibly unwilling to raise himself to higher rank. His commander had stated that Hitler "was extremely courageous but could not be trusted with command responsibility." He had won the Iron Cross First Class, which was rare among the lower ranks, and still he had stayed at the bottom of the military heap. Now he was the master of an empire. He had learned that he could manipulate, command, cheer, horrify, teach, lead, destroy, almost at will. He often must have asked himself what it was that brought him from nothing to the very peak, and the only answer he probably found was that it was destiny. His every decision, it seemed to him, his every judgment, had been guided by fate, along the path laid out millennia before in some book that guides the gods. He had once been weak, like others; then fate lifted him above his station. Now he could recognize each weakness in others and use it against them. Nations were like men. And he sensed an "old rich man" weakness of Britain, the country with false teeth. Their language simpered: "Oh, I'm afraid that I..." Their umbrellas kept their heads out of the clean, storm-driven rain. They no longer deserved to rule the world. He, Adolf Hitler, and his Germany, did! What had he said to Dahlerus? "My people love me. When they have no butter, I'll eat no butter. They will follow me. I can outlast the others by one year, no matter how tough." He would win. It was so written.

And the von Ribbentrops? They had now drifted very far and had changed completely from the people they were only a short seven years before. They had tied their lives to this man Adolf Hitler. There

was no way out and no a way out or back? T cheap, material world. couples in one of the n and Annelies, who had homes, now command ministers, and captains and through whose ge wanted to make war. England would not int bentrops were willing. Rudolf, to join the elite bound to be in combat

What ever had hap Ribbentrops, who had ners by Freddy and La ride from the Chancell thousand-mile journey.

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* D.T. This was the heel of the project. He wanted to be out of our country if he did not believe that he was the agent of

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→ destiny and destiny could never betray him

Never! Except, perhaps, once and yet to come,

Several generals at Hitler's headquarters joined Blaskowitz in expressing revulsion. Army officers at Blaskowitz's headquarters would no longer shake hands with SS officers. Himmler finally had to order an investigation, but it was a sham. Blaskowitz was relieved of his command in 1940 by Adolf Hitler and never promoted, although as a talented general he was given a command in the western campaign. In a bitter stroke of irony, he was arrested by the Allies at the end of the war and charged with war crimes. It was too much for him to bear. He committed suicide in a Nürnberg prison in February 1948.

The era of Heinrich Himmler and the SS mass terror was at hand. They grew in power until they became an empire within the Hitler empire. The further Hitler's Army ranged, the wider the black shadow of the SS that followed them. Their Death's Head units dominated all prison systems from concentration camps to Gestapo jails. The SD began to swallow up the old Gestapo and its functions. Beginning with Poland, the SD's Einsatzgruppen sent their bands of killers all over the eastern campaigns, including the Baltics and Russia. Another branch of SD took over some espionage work. On October 26, 1939, it became part of each embassy and ministry, invading von Ribbentrop's field. In a rare conciliatory gesture, von Ribbentrop approved. After all, Himmler was powerful. The SD even asked for and got diplomatic status from the Foreign Ministry as so-called police attachés.³ Many of these SD police attachés reported directly to Heydrich and Himmler and even to Hitler, which did not endear them to the foreign minister.

Eventually, this led to a showdown between the two former close friends, von Ribbentrop and Himmler. A *modus vivendi* was created: SD would report directly to chiefs of mission like ambassadors and chargés d'affaires and would avoid interfering in matters of policy.

Probably the "purest" form of SS, or the least besmirched of the entire foul order, was the newly created Waffen SS. The organization was an expansion of Hitler's own bodyguard; it was formed into a separate army on September 27, 1939. The Waffen SS, all fiercely motivated Nazis, became a fanatical fighting army of armored and infantry divisions. It also raised almost twenty units of volunteer non-German Nazis, mainly from the occupied countries. There were Norwegians, Belgians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Russians, Dutchmen, and even Arabs who wore Waffen SS uniforms. Many Waffen SS atrocities were later committed against German Army soldiers whom the SS deemed cowards or shirkers. At the end of the western war, hanged Germany Army soldiers were found by Allied troops. Often there was a notice pinned to a body: "This man was a coward! SS Division of

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the Reich." In the last days before the total collapse, German soldiers were often more afraid of the SS than of Allied troops.

From the day Mars helped Hitler draw the sword, the use for diplomacy, statesmanship, deal making, power-block building, and treaty signing was waning fast. In war, generals do the talking and diplomats the listening, but during the Polish campaign, at the very beginning of the long war to come, von Ribbentrop was still unaware that his days as Adolf Hitler's most precious minister and adviser would soon be over. Now the priorities shifted. Important were the Air Force (Göring), Munitions (Todt), Intelligence (Himmler), Police (Himmler), Party (Hess), Propaganda (Goebbels), and above all Hitler's generals and admirals. Diplomacy could wait and, all too frequently, so would Joachim von Ribbentrop in the six years to come.

Most of Hitler's courtiers now moved into two special trains. (Göring had his own train.) Hitler's was his usual private train, *Adler* (Eagle). The other was called *Heinrich*, after Heinrich Himmler. It included Himmler's car, a lavish antique, von Ribbentrop's sleek, streamlined one, and the car of State Secretary Hans Lammers, who now ran the Chancellery for his Führer. It must have peeved the acclaim-conscious foreign minister that the train had been named after Himmler. The few Foreign Service people who accompanied von Ribbentrop were quartered in a standard civilian Mitropa sleeper attached to *Heinrich*. All meetings were held in an old wooden dining car next to von Ribbentrop's vehicle.⁴ Whenever the train stopped overnight on its way into Poland, von Ribbentrop spent hours in the office section of his car, speaking on the phone to the Wilhelmstrasse, screaming his annoyance and giving his instructions.

The train's batteries often ran down, and then candles were lighted. The "cowardly pacifists" of the ministry, as von Ribbentrop called them, thought it was like being in a combat dugout. To the more courageous officials it looked like the chic, candle-lighted Café Savarin in Berlin.

Von Ribbentrop ruled over the Foreign Ministry from his car, and poor Paul Schmidt, as a senior ministry official, had to carry out his master's instructions to phone Berlin and "tell that horse's ass to . . ." (translated into "The Reichs Minister would be grateful if . . .") At the slightest holdup in the Wilhelmstrasse, von Ribbentrop let fly his disdain for the "cowards," "loafers," and "know-nothings" who "did not seem to realize there was a war on."

Each morning Schmidt, carrying a military map under his arm, had to climb across the rails and gravel of the open railway yard to the Führer's train, *Adler*, where he attended a briefing on the military

The train was called Adler (Eagle) after the Führer's pet eagle. The train was called Heinrich (Heinrich) after Heinrich Himmler. The train was called Adler (Eagle) after the Führer's pet eagle. The train was called Heinrich (Heinrich) after Heinrich Himmler.

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Holland had not surrendered. It would have been a nuisance if Hitler had had "to be nice to the old lady." Von Ribbentrop said the British "would be more sensible once they had been chased back to their island." He was upset because the Führer's new headquarters, Felsenest, was across the Rhine from *Heinrich*, and that Göring's train, standing in a raid-proof tunnel in the Eifel hills, was closer to Felsenest. Von Ribbentrop was anxious because lately he had not been able to see his Führer often enough. He had managed to visit him at Felsenest only twice.

Meantime, most of the old-time diplomats were recalled from the German embassies in Oslo and The Hague so that they would not embarrass the new military occupation authorities by their judicious presence.

Von Ribbentrop finally got clearance to join Hitler's field headquarters at the luxurious Château d'Ardenne near Dinant. In some ways he would regret leaving *Heinrich*. The hotel, once among the continent's best, had fallen into disrepair. Nothing seemed to work. There was only intermittent water and electricity and absolutely no service.

After the last Brenner Pass meeting, von Ribbentrop had got rid of one of his annoyances, Ambassador Attolico, who had tried so often to preserve the peace. Attolico was transferred to the Vatican, and Dino Alfieri, an old Fascist and a close friend of Ciano's, took his place.

The Germans sliced toward Paris. The French government ran away and settled temporarily in Bordeaux, and on June 17 Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain asked the Spanish ambassador to France, Felix de Lequerica, to mediate a request for a truce. Hitler, accompanied by von Ribbentrop, flew to Munich on June 18-19 to meet with Mussolini, their new fellow warrior, at the Führerbau, where Neville Chamberlain, Édouard Daladier, and the two dictators had negotiated the Sudetenland hand-over in 1938. Schmidt translated into Italian for a surprisingly pacific Hitler, who claimed that he wanted to offer France gentle armistice terms. Mussolini, suddenly ferocious, insisted on the surrender of the French fleet, but Hitler rejected this "energetically." "If you make that demand, the entire French fleet will defect to the British." Hitler also refused when Mussolini asked for a joint German-Italian negotiating team to deal with the French. Later he told von Ribbentrop, "Why should I burden our negotiations with Franco-Italian animosities?"¹⁶

The Führer was clearly in the midst of one of the periods of calm after his furies. His serenity manifested itself in many areas. He had

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interfered directly with the Army High Command and ordered the troops to hold up the attack on Dunkirk. Now he said, "Why destroy the British Empire? It still represents a great force for world order." And he was almost calm about the Jews. During the discussion of France's colonies and their future, he asked Mussolini, "Why not begin an Israelitic [sic] state in Madagascar?"

At von Ribbentrop's instructions, this Madagascar idea was later promoted and pursued at length by some senior officials of the Foreign Ministry. Originally, it was conceived of by the eccentric German Orientalist Paul de Lagarde, at the University of Göttingen. He had been a pupil of one of the Grimm brothers. His convoluted racial theories were later adopted in part by Alfred Rosenberg and also became part of the Nazi credo. His plan to create a Jewish island-nation on French colonial Madagascar, which was being investigated by the Nazis, eventually foundered because of the Royal Navy's blockade, the Vichy government's reluctance, and the difficulties of the German Army in Russia.

Despite his bluster, Mussolini had come to Munich with empty hands. When the Germans occupied Paris on June 14, the Duce instructed Marshal Pietro Badoglio to launch a June 18 attack on the south of France. It was a disaster. His troops, commanded by the Italian Crown Prince Umberto, got stuck in the mountains and stopped at the small Riviera town of Mentone. Mussolini was not in a position to demand much at Munich, although he wanted Nice, Corsica, and Tunisia. The performance of his troops had been abysmal.¹⁷

Taking his lead from the Führer, von Ribbentrop comported himself as a moderate, temperate, peace-seeking victor. When Ciano, according to his memoirs, asked von Ribbentrop whether there would be more war, von Ribbentrop immediately said, "Peace."¹⁸

On the night of Thursday, June 13, two French officers and a trumpeter had met a German delegation at Sarcelles, a few miles north of Paris, to negotiate a truce for Paris, which had been declared an open city (to the relief of the French and the Germans). The French government moved to Vichy, the old spa. On July 10, by a vote of 569 to 80, they gave ruling power to old Marshal Pétain, who then administered about 40 percent of France. It became known as the Vichy government and was entirely dependent on the Germans.

The fall of Paris began one of the strangest chapters in von Ribbentrop's career. Although he was very much in evidence at the signing of the armistice on June 22 in Compiègne, he did not set foot in Paris during the entire German occupation of France.¹⁹ Visiting a conquered

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many's Tokyo embassy, and Hiroshi Oshima, the Japanese ambassador in Berlin, "I have to confess that the relationship between the Soviets and us is at present correct, but not particularly friendly."

Obviously, he wanted to prevent the ally Japan from steadying its relations with Russia. After all, Japan's ally Germany was having problems with the Soviets. Von Ribbentrop cited the "betrayal" of Cripps's recent visit to Moscow and hinted broadly that if the Russians showed any sign of hostility, they "would be smashed."¹⁰ This sentence startled Matsuoka.

The next day it was Hitler's turn to preach: "Britain is beaten. When will she show enough intelligence to admit it?" He then switched to the "look south" motif. Russia seeks southern expansion, as does Germany and Italy. Why not Japan? How about Singapore? Matsuoka spoke carefully in English. * His answer was, to the Führer's evident disappointment, "No promises. Sorry!" Matsuoka explained that he had to overcome the resistance of the "British-educated and American-educated Japanese intellectuals in Tokyo."

Astonishingly, in several earlier meetings with von Ribbentrop, Matsuoka had warned that if Japan attacked Britain by way of Singapore, America was bound to come into the war, and von Ribbentrop kept calming him and insisting, "We have absolutely no interest in war with the United States."¹¹

After leaving Berlin, Matsuoka paid a short visit to Rome and then returned once more to Berlin. In a final meeting, the Führer asked the Japanese foreign minister to deliver the following ominous message: "When you return to Japan, you must not tell your emperor that conflict between Germany and the Soviet Union is impossible."

To the dismay of Hitler and von Ribbentrop, on his way home to Japan Matsuoka stopped in Moscow. And there he concluded a mutual nonaggression pact with the Soviets, another diplomatic crash landing for von Ribbentrop's Axis policy. The Japanese end of the Axis was being steered independently.

What Hitler did not seem to know was that, starting in April 1939, on the Manchurian-Mongolian border, there had been a series of military confrontations when the aggressive Japanese Army commanders imagined the Soviet Russians to be the czarist weaklings of Port Arthur. To their shock, the Russians had administered the first of several beatings to Japanese troops on May 12, 1939, in Mongolia.

* He spoke no German and Schmidt no Japanese, so English was their diplomatic tongue.

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The Japanese had retreated with heavy casualties. On July 2, a Japanese counterattack by infantry and air under General Kantogun was again repelled with heavy Japanese losses. Against orders, Kantogun launched a major attack, almost an offensive, on July 23. On August 20, the Russians under General Georgi Zhukov had nearly destroyed the Japanese 6th Army.

The embarrassed Japanese of course failed to report their defeat to the Germans. It colored all subsequent Japanese actions and probably explains their reluctance to attack Russia's eastern flank.

It also explains why Matsuoka stopped in Moscow to sign the Russian-Japanese neutrality pact of April 1941. Russian troops released by this pact made the difference at Stalingrad, Leningrad, and Moscow, and General Zhukov put his experience to full use all the way to Berlin.

A minor scene of interest was enacted in Moscow during Matsuoka's visit. It probably failed to reassure von Ribbentrop, although Josef Stalin had played it to calm Berlin. In an unusual gesture, Stalin came to the Moscow railroad station to bid farewell to Matsuoka. There he turned to von der Schulenburg, the old German ambassador, put his arm around his shoulder "in a demonstrative manner," and said, "We must stay friends. Now you must do everything to that end." He then said to Colonel Hans Krebs, an assistant military attaché, "We shall stay friends with your country no matter what." Both of Stalin's sentences were reported in breathless detail to Berlin, but von Ribbentrop must have known better than to believe them. Japan was lost to Germany as a threat against Russia, another hedge to a great gamble was gone. Japan's Russian treaty had diminished Germany's chances. Even a supreme optimist could hardly call Japan's action a rousing endorsement of its Teutonic allies.

So far, most of Adolf Hitler's war plans were roughly on schedule. Britain's coastal areas and airfields were still being pounded by the Luftwaffe, and London was being hit "in reprisal for RAF raids on German cities," reportedly with good results (although, inexplicably, the RAF was growing and so were German air losses). France was vaguely under control, although Pétain was obstreperous and Laval a slippery customer. The "Jew-cleansing" measures had not yet succeeded entirely, but new initiatives were being planned. German troops were stabilizing the Balkans. On May 31 Crete fell to a paratroop attack in which Master Sergeant Max Schmeling, the former heavyweight boxing champion, had taken part. (He was not an enthu-

* D.T. There were the sort of events that kept one from sleeping if you awoke in the middle of the night. When we quash our teeth it is because we can find no nourishment to grind between them.

J.T.

1942

HITLER'S DIPLOMAT

1941-1942

a former senior police officer, who beat a hasty retreat back to Berlin. (His deputy said, "Artur, if you can't go on, I'll take your place.") Another of Himmler's top SS officers, General Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, was taken to the hospital with a nervous breakdown. Such reactions were multiplied in the ranks.

Himmler himself once insisted on trying to watch as two hundred Jews were shot in Minsk. SS General Karl Wolff, his deputy, barely kept him from collapsing. Himmler turned green when a piece of human brain flew into his face.³⁴ Because the shootings had sickened the SS chief, he insisted that a better system be found for the extermination of unneeded or undesirable human beings; the result was the gas van. Huge closed trucks were built, capable of holding dozens of victims. When the truck was stopped and the exhaust gases were switched by lever from the outside to the inside of the locked rear compartment, the occupants were killed, and the trucks were unloaded and washed out. The corpses were cremated or buried in mass graves.

The trucks then returned to the stockades, where more prisoners were loaded to be "transported elsewhere." On July 12, 1941, an SS officer named Schröter, in command of an Einsatzkommando in the Ukraine, reported, "The Jews are remarkably ill informed about our intentions toward them."³⁵ This new system of mass murder occasionally brought some need for technical modification.

These are excerpts from an official memorandum by the administrative section of the concentration camp:

Berlin 5 June 1942
no copies

Secret Reich Matter

I. Memorandum:

Concerns: Mechanical modifications on special vehicles currently in use or being manufactured:

Since December 1941, 97,000 were processed in three vehicles in an exemplary manner without any problems concerning the equipment. However, the following modifications are suggested.

1. To expedite entry of gas, two additional vents of approximately 10 cm x 1 cm are suggested, with valves to avoid excessive pressure.

2. It is suggested that the freight area be reduced to lighten the load capacity. The problem is not in the strength of the undercarriage but in the truck's cross-country capability. This refers to the trucks built by Saurer. The shorter freight area might be thought to cause a problem in overloading the front axle. In fact, this does not apply,

because the freight doors.

3. The connecting rusting through moved.

4. Modification: out of the truck's interior.

5. The observation never used. This shortened production.

6. Inside lights: lights are needed on the rear in the dark.

7. A grid on rolling. The company another supplier be.

There are ten Set one prototype with

This was how 97 backs of trucks built and June 1942. SS efficient way.³⁶

In January 1942 Rommel's British. By June 30, he El Alamein, well on Rommel's efforts in Africa.

During that summer quarters east into the opened a separate headquarters. He did not want von Ribbentrop's sorts of matters.³⁷ In quarters a short distance owned by the von Lehn. Another part of the military a hotel. To friends, we having separate headquarters at this time too "difficult."

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because the freight tends to shift to the rear, trying to reach the rear doors.

3. The connecting hoses between exhaust and truck have been rusting through due to collected fluid. Their position should be moved.

4. Modifications (scuppers) are needed to facilitate the washing out of the truck's inside rear, cleansing it of fluids and other matter.

5. The observation peepholes can be eliminated, since they are never used. This should save problems of making them leakproof, and shorten production time.

6. Inside lights are to be better shielded from destruction. The lights are needed only for the first few minutes to avoid a rush toward the rear in the darkness when the doors are first closed.

7. A grid on rollers would be desirable to facilitate faster unloading. The company we asked to build it thought it impracticable. Can another supplier be found?

There are ten Saurer special vehicles now on order. May we have one prototype with all the above modifications?

Head of Group II D

[signed] SS Colonel Rauff

Request for acknowledgment and decisions.

This was how 97,000 human beings went to their death in the backs of trucks built by the Saurer Company between December 1941 and June 1942. SS Colonel Rauff thought that there might be a more efficient way.³⁶

In January 1942 Rommel gathered his forces and counterattacked the British. By June 30, he had pushed them past Bengasi and Tobruk to El Alamein, well on the way to Cairo. It was to be the zenith of Rommel's efforts in Africa.

During that summer of 1942, Hitler temporarily moved his headquarters east into the Ukraine near Winniza, and von Ribbentrop opened a separate headquarters nearby. This was Hitler's choice; he did not want von Ribbentrop under foot, "bothering him with all sorts of matters." In East Prussia von Ribbentrop established headquarters a short distance from the Wolfsschanze at Castle Steinort, owned by the von Lehndorff family, on a lake named Schwentzeitsee. Another part of the minister's staff was at the other end of the lake in a hotel. To friends, von Ribbentrop explained that the reason for having separate headquarters was that he found being near the Führer at this time too "difficult and strenuous."

It is interesting. I couldn't hear Ribbentrop's devil and he couldn't stand me.

* D.T. The best of this was that it need none of our input. Colonel Rauff as I discovered by a low-level inquiry was not one of us. No need, he was getting to the point where he was coming function nicely without us.

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Ambrosio, the new Army chief of staff, tried to stem the flow of German troops now crossing the border to "protect" Italy. There followed two hours of lie-filled interchange. At the end, no Italian raised an arm in the old Fascist salute as von Ribbentrop's train pulled out. Schmidt, who had interpreted for von Ribbentrop, was amused to see the embarrassed grins on the non-saluting Italian officials, the same people he had worked with in their salute-filled Mussolini days. On September 8, Italy surrendered to the Allies, and Mussolini was put under arrest by his King, the man Hitler despised.*

In 1943, with everything nearing disaster, von Ribbentrop must have realized that the worst was yet to come, that the Allies would soon invade the heart of Europe from Britain and from Italy, that the Russians would drive west, and that Germany was doomed.

The German Army, which got mauled so fiercely in Russia, had not yet faced the mighty invasion force massing in Britain. The Luftwaffe was helpless to stop the bombers. The U-boats had failed to destroy the enormous American expeditionary force and its mountains of supplies. How could the truth have failed to impress von Ribbentrop? Was he still hoping for the Japanese to finish the job? They were being pushed back across the Pacific, and Tokyo was under heavy bombardment. Did he believe Hitler's talk of miracle weapons? What remained of the worldly businessman who had joined forces with Adolf Hitler?

On September 12 an unshaven Mussolini, tears streaming down his face, was rescued from confinement in the resort hotel Campo Imperatore high up on Gran Sasso Mountain. "I knew my friend Adolf Hitler would not abandon me!" He pulled a black overcoat over his blue suit and followed his rescuer, SS Colonel Otto Skorzeny, and the group of German parachutist commandos to a small plane.⁵ With only centimeters to spare, the little overloaded Fieseler Storch groped its way down a rock-strewn meadow and barely got airborne with its load of three men: the pilot, behind him Benito Mussolini, and then the six-foot-three Skorzeny, Hitler's favorite tough guy and secret agent. They made it only because the pilot, one of the Luftwaffe's best, ran the plane off the side of the mountain and used the thousand-meter drop into the valley below to gain air speed. When he pulled out of the dive, the plane barely cleared the trees below. Mussolini, who fancied himself a good pilot, was white. Skorzeny grinned. He had pulled it off! They connected with a larger plane to Vienna.

In the Imperial Hotel, in the suite reserved for the Duce, Skorzeny was decorated with the Knight's Cross ("tin necktie") by an Army colonel who had been ordered by the Führer's personal phone call to

* D.T. these are moments that give illumination to even the ugliest of men. We always rely on what is still

human in our clients. The O.C. is interested ultimately, I believe in taking the D.K.'s Creation further rather than mechanizing it entirely.

On October 6 he described himself as "ground up by the millstones of history."

The last letters released by his wife were written by a father and husband. To Rudolf von Ribbentrop, he wrote on October 14:

I shall walk the last steps sure that I was a patriot and did everything I could. I always did what I thought was right, although Adolf Hitler would not accept much advice about foreign policy. My thoughts and my workdays and nights were only for the good of Germany. The truth will out one day.

It is very hard to part from you, but it must be, and we must not complain. Stick together through good and bad, and know that I shall always be among you and will surround you with all my love.

I embrace you, my dear son . . .

Then, the night before his execution on October 15, he wrote to his wife:

. . . I tried to help Adolf Hitler to build a strong flowering Germany. But the Führer and his people failed. Millions died. The Reich was destroyed and our people lie prone. Is it not right — not because of the Nürnberg verdict by foreign judges — but because of some higher judgement, that I too should fall?

I am calm and shall face what comes with head high, which I owe to the history of my family and to my own as German foreign minister.

You, my beloved wife, must now give your courageous heart and all the love you once had for me to the children. I know I can depend on you completely. You must know this is my final comfort.

I shall go on my way with pride and belief in eternal life.

Once more I take your beloved face in my hands and look deep into your eyes with all the love one human being can give to another.

Farewell . . . I shall see you again in another world. God help you.⁴¹

At 1 A.M. on October 16, 1946, Joachim von Ribbentrop, handcuffed between two American soldiers, took his last walk into the converted gymnasium where he was to die. He was accompanied by an Evangelical chaplain named Gerecke, assigned to those condemned who were Protestants. Von Ribbentrop showed all the wear and tear of the last year of defeat and trial. At the bottom of the stairs, his hands were tied behind his back with a black cord. He was asked to state his name. He walked upright when he was led up the thirteen symbolic steps of the scaffold, where a black hood was pulled over his head. Sergeant Wood then pulled the loop of the hanging rope around his neck. His legs were tied at the ankles. Because of Göring's suicide,

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P 299
1943

D.T.

1937? 1938 D.T. #

and the adoring populace cheered themselves hoarse. The Via Triumphalis was floodlit as brightly as if it were midday, and the Colosseum had been turned into a sea of coloured flame. There was only one anxious moment in Rome: Hitler and Mussolini had left their car to admire the beauties of an ancient fountain and the crowd in a frenzy of adulation broke through the police cordon. My agents, whom I had placed as observers at this point, reported to me over the telephone that they had lost sight of Hitler in the confusion. I suffered several extremely anxious minutes till the carabinieri drove the crowd back and re-established control of the situation.

In Naples there was one rather embarrassing incident. Hitler was to accompany the King of Italy in inspecting a guard of honour. As the Fuehrer was to attend a gala performance at the San Carlo Opera immediately afterwards, he changed into evening clothes before the inspection and thus walked along the ranks of the guard in tails. The King, however, walked beside him in uniform. As a result of this, Hitler immediately dismissed the chief protocol officer, von Buelow Schwandte.

When Hitler left Italy on May 28 we were all convinced that the military alliance he desired was a foregone conclusion. On the day of his return he delivered an address lasting two hours to the highest leaders of the Party, the State and the army. He ordered the strengthening of the Luftwaffe, the formation of new army units, and the beginning of the construction of the new Western defence wall—the Siegfried Line, which was built under the direction of the engineer, Todt. Hitler spoke openly of the necessity of strengthening Germany's military preparedness to the point where, within two or three months, she would be ready to deal with any contingency of war. 'Then,' Hitler said, 'we will shatter Czechoslovakia!'

Secret Service work in Czechoslovakia was placed under the direction of the political branch of the SD. As in Austria, conditions were again favourable for the establishment of contacts. The Sudeten German Party of Konrad Henlein served us well, while the other minorities, the Poles, Hungarians, and Slovaks, also contributed valuable information. The intelligence material was so plentiful that in order to handle all the incoming messages

special telegraph lines running direct at two points on the German-Czech

Heydrich had a special department maintain a continual check on the Sudeten. Henlein, for the Party was by no means time completely under Hitler's control, led by Karl Hermann Frank State of the Protectorate of Bohemia that aimed at the entire destruction of while Henlein, at this point, only three million Sudeten Germans. But from Heydrich and other German completely to Hitler's demands at the

There was a serious divergence of the leaders of the Sudeten German discussed fact-finding and mediation. The British Secret Service was quite one of their agents, Colonel Christie several times with Henlein, met him August 1938, in Zurich. I received a to investigate their conversations, an observation. This surveillance was to remind him of his promises to Hitler

When Colonel Christie saw how had given way to Hitler's demands meeting Henlein declared that to be possible, both for the Sudeten German necessary the problem would have to this time that Hitler made his threatening the Czechoslovak Government solution based on the establishment state.

There followed the historic visit Berchtesgaden on September 15, 1938, at Godesberg, and then—Munich.

The preparations for taking over Sudeten territories were carried out

* D.T. It did not matter how much he had learned - he never learned & I had one regret with my assignment it is that one

→ can never reach beyond a certain point.

In a large sense, pleasure has the characteristics of the D.K. When that is combined with a covert hatred of the orders of bringing forth each year after year, some very unpleasant personalities can result.

of wares and samples. I no
tters spent for us in Lisbon
able amount.

all intimate circle brought
marine underwriters' firms,
Through them I gained a
ation and casual remarks
me with much useful
r.

troubled me. Although by
my first fears and in-
sects and in the glance of
searching eye of a *Sûreté*

the unfamiliar surroundings
at I lay awake pursued by
the day. In the end, my
a restless, dream-laden
ds dawn unrefreshed and

the task, the most essential
of the photographs, and it
before arranged for me to
with his family. We visited
the sort of 'family shots'
family group was always
lation or structure I was
and. Or, if I wanted to
stand closely round me,

in, showed quite good
s were excellent and to-
te a lot of information.
back in Lisbon with my

ed in a bandage on my
all scratch with a razor
ked with blood, and the

1939

D.T.

#

films, which were hermetically wrapped, made quite a bump, so
that the whole thing looked like a swollen and infected wound
and aroused a good deal of sympathy among the customs officials
and border guards.

I made a verbal report on my trip to Heydrich which took
me fully two hours, and the next day submitted a detailed report
in writing together with the photographs. On the whole, every-
one was very satisfied.

This experience had given me much food for thought. I deter-
mined that in future, when ordering and preparing Secret Service
operations, I must never lose sight of the practical problems that
confront my agents in the field and I decided that the worst thing
was to try to prepare and carry out Secret Service work under
pressure. An intelligence network has to be built up step by step.
On foreign soil it must be nurtured like a plant and allowed to
take root. Only then will there be a healthy growth and a plenti-
ful harvest.

But the German leaders refused to proceed in this manner.
Hitler wanted to force everything, for he, and only he, 'had been
appointed by Providence to conduct this war'. The overwhelming
number of problems he tackled simultaneously resulted in a
forced, unorganic development in all phases of German life.
Looking back, one can only be amazed that the immense war
effort of the German people was possible at all.

This is what I wrote in my report after returning from Dakar:
'In Secret Service work one must never be rash. The careful selec-
tion and development of above-average collaborators is decisive.
In order to work in a foreign country they must be virtually
natives, and must acquire a "valid" profession unless there is some
other natural explanation for their presence in the country in
question. Only after one or two years should the first trial assign-
ments be given. Certain specialists should be used only in time of
great crisis or in war. Valuable intelligence contacts, especially in
political circles, should be patiently cultivated over periods of
years and should not be exploited until the decisive moment.
These channels can also be very useful for launching false reports
to mislead the enemy . . .'

For men like Jahnke such generalities about Secret Service work

* D.T. For Hitler, Providence was
not impersonal, but a very
a high intelligence. In that
surely, I was his Providence.

It is Heydrich who takes the day.
After that, I am in command.



was still reluctant to face the
However, he decided that he
agreed that she should be put

of Fraulein von N—'s friends
Without their realizing it, the
had enough evidence to pro-
als involved, and indeed it
o arrest them, but it was
whom we were chiefly in-
ish national we had to catch

ance had disclosed was that
h the French Secret Service.
th Sosnovski, pretending to
Sosnovski took the bait, and
ret German military docu-

age for a sizeable sum he
the first class waiting room
few seconds of the exchange
arrested—the arrest of our
preserve the pretence and
provocateur to break down

were arrested in various parts
s. Now began a round of
h continued without inter-
ights. And at length the full

he man, tall, well-built and
After becoming an officer
ed to Military Intelligence
information about German
entific plans of the German

matic circles and the higher
ed a great influence over

1938-9

ACTIVE ESPIONAGE

65

women and sought to have as many love affairs as possible, always
with a view to gaining secret information.

Finally he found the instrument he had been looking for in
Fraulein von B—, who was a secretary at the OKH, the Supreme
Command of the German Army. She belonged to the im-
poverished Prussian nobility. Her father, who had been a high
officer in the Imperial German Army, was dead, and she lived
with her mother in very straitened circumstances. Soon after she
met Sosnovski an affair developed between them which on her
part was completely sincere.

Shortly afterwards Sosnovski met a friend and colleague of hers,
Fraulein von N—, and the three of them spent much time to-
gether in fashionable restaurants, bars, and night clubs where
Sosnovski entertained them lavishly. He gave them the most
magnificent presents and was systematically getting them accus-
tomed to a much higher standard of life than either of them had
been able to enjoy before.

Very soon he started an affair with Fraulein von N—, though
without Fraulein von B—'s knowledge.

Fraulein von B— introduced Sosnovski to her family. He
treated her mother with chivalry and tact, and soon restored their
household to its former splendour. Their debts were paid and
they were at least able to maintain the sort of life that their social
position demanded. The old lady hoped one day to see this dash-
ing and wealthy officer as her son-in-law and in spite of the high
moral principles of her class, she did not even object to his spend-
ing the night at her house. The closer his emotional ties with her
daughter, the more certain the old lady felt of the future.

Meanwhile jealousy had begun to arise between the two young
women. This could have been dangerous. However, Sosnovski
managed to control the situation with such skill that in the end
each was content with a share of his love, jealousy binding them
ever more strongly to him.

Sosnovski chose his moment and then revealed himself to the
two women. He told them that he was a Polish Secret Agent. He
described the difficulties of his situation and showed them mes-
sages from his superiors in Warsaw, expressing their displeasure
with his failure and their determination to recall him from Berlin

1938-9

#

D.T.

to return to active duty with the Polish Army. The two women could not bear the thought of losing him, and playing upon their fears, he told each of them separately that if he could bring his assignment to a successful conclusion, he would marry her and they would spend their lives together abroad with the money he would receive for his services.

Both the girls agreed to work for him Fraulein von B— also worked at the Headquarters of the General Staff, though not in such an important position as Fraulein von N— and during the nights of love-making he instructed them in their duties. They both began to bring home documents overnight for Sosnovski to photograph, and soon the home of Fraulein von N— became the favourite meeting place of several of the most charming women in Berlin society, with connections of a political, military, or economic sort. Among these ladies Sosnovski began a further series of liaisons.

At first Warsaw found the material he sent them excellent and the authorities were delighted. But as the information he delivered grew increasingly important and more and more startling, his superiors began to grow suspicious. The material seemed too good to be true, and they arrived at the conclusion that Sosnovski was being fed with false information by the German Secret Service. When he finally brought two trunks full of vitally important documents to Warsaw, his superiors would not accept their validity and told him that he had been duped by the Germans. They permitted him, however, to sell the material to other intelligence services and the *Deuxième Bureau*, recognizing its importance, bought part of it. British Intelligence also participated in the purchase. Large sums were offered to Sosnovski for further information, and only when he was arrested did Warsaw realize their mistake. But by then it was too late.

A trial followed the arrest of the spy ring. Fraulein von B— and Fraulein von N— were both condemned to death. A last appeal for clemency on their behalf was rejected by Hitler. They were executed and died with their devotion to Sosnovski still unbroken.

One of the circle of ladies with whom Sosnovski had also begun a liaison reacted quite differently. She was the owner of a small

but elegant millinery shop in the vicinity of the Court to separate her case from all proceedings against her. She pointed out to the lady that reopened at any time if she operative. But this precaution truth was revealed to her and of the trial and fate that had attachment turned into the firm determined to take the most Service. Under our instructions Poles, who, after checking her service. She became one of the laborators and delivered at last Sosnovski himself was exchanged the Poles had arrested.

As a consequence of the affair forced to reshape its plans, and recover from this setback.

(*)

D.T. (*) The Poles were spiritually and chronologically presented to us as an intelligence service.

degree that women would the money of a good lady, it was certainly the best Polak around.

D.T. = Yuli Mahaprang! What is a name. Sosnovski — one of the world's greatest con men. He used not only his lips but his long nose. He said, he was not without an impressive piece below. He would insinuate it slightly and then screw his ear to the

Army. The two women and playing upon their if he could bring his would marry her and had with the money he

Fraulein von B— also Staff, though not in N— and during the in their duties. They might for Sosnovski to von N— became the most charming women political, military, or vski began a further

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ing. Fraulein von B— ned to death. A last fected by Hitler. They on to Sosnovski still

novski had also begun the owner of a small

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see.*

but elegant millinery shop in the West End of Berlin. As her complicity in this affair was slight, Counter-Espionage requested the Court to separate her case from that of the others and to stop all proceedings against her. We felt that we could use her. It was pointed out to the lady that proceedings against her could be reopened at any time if she should show herself to be uncooperative. But this precaution proved unnecessary. For when the truth was revealed to her and she learned, to her great surprise, of the trial and fate that had befallen her two friends, her former attachment turned into the fiercest hatred for Sosnovski, and she determined to take the most ruthless revenge on the Polish Secret Service. Under our instructions she continued to work for the Poles, who, after checking her carefully, took her back into their service. She became one of our most valuable and trusted collaborators and delivered at least ten Polish agents into our hands. Sosnovski himself was exchanged for several of our agents whom the Poles had arrested.

As a consequence of the affair, the German General Staff was forced to reshape its plans, and it took us a considerable time to recover from this setback.

What work!

1940

OPERATION 'SEA-LION'

D.T. #

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Office and the various departments of the Secret Service, and Special Branch. This task occupied a great deal of my time, involving the collection and assembly of material from various sources by a selected staff of my own people. When it was finished an edition of 20,000 copies was printed, and stored in a room next to my office. They were burned in 1943 in a fire started in one of the air raids.

Hitler's failure to carry out the invasion of Britain may also have been influenced in a subsidiary way by his singular fear of water. I could not believe my ears when Himmler first mentioned this to me. 'It is really remarkable,' he said, 'but Hitler has a most peculiar fear of water. He believes that one day he will encounter some misfortune connected with this element.' Then Himmler told me how on several occasions such as at reviews of the fleet or on boat trips, he had noticed the Fuehrer in a state of considerable anxiety the moment the ship drew away from the shore. He would stride nervously up and down and try to distract himself by asking hasty, disjointed questions. It was a complex, and Himmler believed that this fear had made Hitler uneasy about any amphibious operations and conditioned his attitude towards operation 'Sea-lion' from the very beginning.

At this time a serious difference of opinion arose between Goering and Himmler. Goering seriously underestimated British aircraft production, especially of fighters. He based his strategy on an estimated monthly output of three hundred British planes, while Himmler's Intelligence information set the estimate at more than double that figure. Goering considered it would be possible to mount continual bomber attacks against Britain, and that the fighter defences would not be able to prevent the destruction of harbours and industrial centres. At the same time, material aid from America could be cut off almost completely by U-boats. Thus Britain would finally be forced to surrender. Of course, this line of thought was most welcome to Hitler, and reinforced his attitude towards the problem of Great Britain. He found further support—and therefore attached the highest value to them—in the reports of the German Military Attaché in Washington, General von Boetticher, who completely underestimated the productive capacity and the political developments in America. When in

* D.T. How I worked on his fears before Dunkirk. My instructions were simple "No invasion of Britain at this time."

1940?

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THE SCHELLENBERG MEMOIRS

+

I called Heydrich immediately and reported the conversation, for I knew his pathological jealousy. Heydrich said at once, 'I see; the gentleman no longer wishes to consult me—old idiot! Well, go over there and give him my best regards.' I promised Heydrich that I would give him a detailed report of what Ribbentrop wanted.

As usual Ribbentrop received me standing behind his desk with folded arms and a serious expression on his face. He asked me to be seated and after a few polite remarks, came to the point. He had heard that I had various connections in Spain and Portugal and had even achieved a measure of co-operation with the police of these countries. I did not know where these remarks were leading, and answered very cautiously. Dissatisfied with my evasive replies, he shook his head. 'Mmm,' he said, then he was silent. Suddenly he said, 'You remember the Duke of Windsor, of course? Were you introduced to him during his last visit?' I said that I had not been. 'Have you any material on him?' Ribbentrop asked. 'I really cannot say at the moment,' I replied. 'Well, what do you think of him personally? How do you evaluate him as a political figure, for instance?' I admitted honestly that these questions had taken me by surprise and that at the moment my knowledge was not sufficient to give a proper answer. I had seen the Duke at the time of his last visit to Germany and, of course, knew what was generally known about the reasons for his abdication. It seemed that the English had handled the whole problem very sensibly; that in the end tradition and responsibility had had to take precedence over human feelings and personal emotions. It seemed difficult to decide whether the matter should be adjudged a sign of weakness or of strength in the English Royal Family. It seemed that in the lengthy conferences on the subject the members of the government had shown understanding of the human and political problems involved. When I had finished I thought that Ribbentrop's eyes would pop out of his head, so astonished was he at the uninhibited manner in which I expressed these opinions. He lost no time in putting me right.

The Duke of Windsor was one of the most socially aware and right-thinking Englishmen he had ever met. It was this which had displeased the governing clique; the marriage issue had been a

A PLOT TO KIL

welcome pretext to r Germany. All the ques raised were completely

Here I tried to objec 'My dear Schellenberg yo these things—also of t tion. The Fuehrer and ber tion in 1936. The crux ta the Duke has been undi Service. We know wha their prisoner. Every fr however discreet he n ol from our reports that d feelings towards Germa er he wouldn't be averse to ri the whole thing's gettin ec has even spoken about he he'd be ready to be frie al The Fuehrer thinks thi ri thought that you with ri suitable person to make si Duke—as the represent v State. The Fuehrer feel i you might perhaps m we should be prepared o a sum of fifty million t some official gesture c of the British Royal Fa him to live in Switzer would do so long as it or military influence o

'If the British Secret some such arrangemen circumvent the British need be, by the use o Windsor must be bro Hitler attaches the grea has come to the conclu

[Handwritten notes in green ink, partially obscured by a large green scribble]

↓
p129

Might be worth an excursion.

Yes 1940?

When did Edward abdicate?

other hand, it was astonishing how much ground Germany had gained recently. With this information, and by spending quite lavishly, I was able to organize considerable undercover activity.

Within two days I had drawn a close net of informants round the Duke's residence. I had even managed to replace the Portuguese police guard with my own people. I was also able to place informants among the servants, so that within five days I knew of every incident that took place in the house and every word spoken at the dinner-table. My Japanese friend was also working in his quiet but very effective manner to get me supplementary information. Portuguese society provided a third valuable source and unwitting remarks and gossip at the various *soirées* and functions were passed on to me.

Within six days I had a full picture: the Duke of Windsor no longer intended to accept the hunting invitation; he was most annoyed by the close surveillance of the British Secret Service; he did not like his appointment to Bermuda and would have much preferred to remain in Europe. But he obviously had no intention whatever of going to live either in a neutral or an enemy country. According to my reports the furthest he ever went in this direction was once to have said in his circle of Portuguese friends that he would rather live in any European country than go to Bermuda.

However, all my informants felt that it might be possible to influence the Duke, especially if one could increase his already strong aversion to his secret guards. I therefore arranged for a high Portuguese police official to tell the Duke that the Portuguese guard would have to be strengthened because they had information that the Duke was being watched, whether by his own Intelligence Service or that of the enemy, they could not tell, but it would be better to make certain. That same night I staged an incident in the garden of the Duke's villa; stones were thrown at the windows, and as a result an intensive search of the whole house was made by the Portuguese guard which caused a considerable disturbance. I then started rumours among the servants at the villa that the British Secret Service had been behind the incident. They had orders to make the Duke's stay as uncomfortable as possible and thus make him readier to leave for Bermuda. Four

days later a bouquet was delivered said: 'Beware of the machination a Portuguese friend who has you

These things were, of course were discussed and created a certain feeling. In any case, I had to tell Berlin was continually demanding moves, somewhat dramatized, so I even considered getting my friend the Duke, but the possibility of this seemed so remote that I did

A week later my Japanese friend He was convinced that the British was suspicious. Once, indeed, I suspected shadowing me. I tried everything altering my route suddenly, changing again, but I could not get rid of it. I managed to do so by driving my house and leaving it by a signal given by the British Secret Service. I knew nothing about my plans at that I was in Portugal.)

Replies from Berlin to my cooler. Then suddenly after about from Ribbentrop: 'The Fuehrer is organized at once.' This was an unwelcome so little in sympathy with our madness. But what could I do? Ribbentrop alone who was behind completely wrong evaluation of distorted my reports in order to ultimate folly.

The Ambassador was as worried at once that I had no intention of evening I discussed the matter with I discerned mild contempt in his long time. Finally he said, 'An order. After all, the thing should not

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an excursion? year?

Year? #

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days later a bouquet was delivered at the house with a note which
said: 'Beware of the machinations of the British Secret Service—
a Portuguese friend who has your interests at heart.'

These things were, of course, fairly unimportant, but they
were discussed and created a certain amount of suspicion and ill-
feeling. In any case, I had to take some form of action because
Berlin was continually demanding reports of progress, and these
moves, somewhat dramatized, served as material for my reports.
I even considered getting my friends to arrange for me to meet
the Duke, but the possibility of anything useful resulting from
this seemed so remote that I did nothing.

A week later my Japanese friend warned me to be very careful.
He was convinced that the British Secret Service had become
suspicious. Once, indeed, I suspected that two British agents were
shadowing me. I tried everything I knew to shake them off,
altering my route suddenly, changing from bus to taxi and back
again, but I could not get rid of them. Finally, after a two-hours'
chase I managed to do so by driving to the Fatima Church near
my house and leaving it by a side door. (When I was interro-
gated by the British Secret Service in 1945, I realized that they
knew nothing about my plans at that time and did not even know
that I was in Portugal.)

Replies from Berlin to my reports had grown cooler and
cooler. Then suddenly after about a fortnight I received a telegram
from Ribbentrop: 'The Fuehrer orders that an abduction is to be
organized at once.' This was an unexpected blow. Since the Duke
was so little in sympathy with our plans an abduction would be
madness. But what could I do? I was quite certain that it was
Ribbentrop alone who was behind this order. He had made a
completely wrong evaluation of the situation, and had probably
distorted my reports in order to persuade Hitler to sanction this
ultimate folly.

The Ambassador was as worried as I was, though I assured him
at once that I had no intention of carrying out my orders. In the
evening I discussed the matter with my Japanese friend. I thought
I discerned mild contempt in his eyes. He remained silent for a
long time. Finally he said, 'An order is an order. It has to be carried
out. After all, the thing should not be so difficult. You will have

assignment for you must have his approval. I'd like to know, my dear Schellenberg, how you've managed it. Still, I wouldn't count on the situation if I were you.'

After I had told him briefly about my trip to Sweden, he took out a small notebook and jotted down several points arising out of other matters which we discussed. As far as I can remember them, they were as follows:

First he told me all about Rosenberg's job of building up a government ministry for the East—Ostministerium—the principles of which had been established at a conference on July 16, 1941, where the German occupation policy towards Russia was laid down. Present at the conference were Goering, Keitel, Rosenberg and Bormann. Hitler's plan was to divide and govern Russia as a colony, ignoring the desire for autonomy among the heterogeneous peoples of the Soviet Union. But, of course, the intelligent handling of this enormous human force was a prerequisite for the effective exploitation of this huge area.

Heydrich's remarks revealed the insanity of Hitler's policy of subjection of the 'subhuman Russians'. 'Hitler,' he said, 'wants all the formations of the RFSP* to be used ruthlessly. He wants a well planned information system built up as quickly as possible, a system that even the NKVD couldn't improve on—exact, relentless, and working all the time, so that nobody—no leader like Stalin—could ever emerge again under the cover of an underground movement—never again in any part of Russia. Such a character, if he ever did appear, would have to be recognized in time, and destroyed in time. The mass of the Russian people were never dangerous on their own account. They're dangerous only because of the power in them of creating and developing such personalities.'

I looked at Heydrich thoughtfully. He could read my opinion in my glance, and he gave a shrug. Did he believe this nonsense? At such times he was unfathomable. I said quietly, 'A people of two hundred millions is hardly likely to be inhibited by foreign police methods—especially if those nationalities who already hate the Soviet system, and would be favourably inclined towards us, are

* A Nazi-sponsored Russian anti-Communist liberation movement.

* Hitler's anxieties and
staples might as
well say Heydrich.

denied any form of authoritarianism into some sort of own idea was that we ought states and encourage the n. Then we could play them Ukrainians, for instance, the dians, think of personalities.

Perplexed and annoyed said, 'You don't understand of these different races, if decades, will have exactly Fuehrer was right.'

I was doubtful. I pointed nights ago, he himself had Crinis had made; that the phers and scientists had been the most racial fusion. That fellow has thought u low, certainly, but not to be closed the discussion with the Secret Service against great concern to me over Stalin's internal measures those dealing with guerilla between the Party and the army.

Meanwhile the atmosphere of the eastern offensive had come mer campaign had been si For this the responsibility Wehrmacht and on Hitler Utopia, and had refused returning field officers was disaster.

Stalin's calculations, of a gun to justify themselves report of the transfer of acknowledged with interest greatly exaggerated and n.

1941 or 1942

top. I was there punctually and was admitted at once. At that time his office was in a wing of the former Presidential Palace, though the offices of his Ministry remained at the Wilhelmstrasse. The place was furnished in exact imitation of the style of Hitler's new Chancellery. The study, with its huge desk and large windows, was heavily over-furnished with thick carpets, valuable tapestries, and ornate chairs covered with silk. Ribbentrop stood as usual behind his desk with folded arms. He received me very formally and it was obvious that he was out to impress me. He spoke slowly and with emphasis, as though he were receiving me for the first time. After a few words, he came from behind his desk, solemnly gave me his hand, and begged me to be seated. Then he sat down opposite me and said, 'Please begin at once. I am already familiar with the subject that you have come to discuss.'

During the first half hour his face remained completely unmoved. He listened to me with concentration. But when I came to speak of the organization of various liaison offices with other Ministries, he interrupted me abruptly: 'You don't mean that you are going to build up Secret Services for the other departments too?' With this question he showed clearly that he simply had not understood what I had been talking about. I began again from the beginning and explained to him carefully and slowly that these liaison offices would be indispensable, and that if he thought the matter over, he would realize how much the Foreign Office, and he personally, would profit by them, because, apart from questions of control and authority, the contact of these offices, and of myself personally, with other government departments could be used to deal with all sorts of questions of paramount interest to the Foreign Office. And they would all be handled on neutral ground, so to speak, as matters of importance to the Secret Service alone, not to the conflicting interests of various departments. If the Secret Service could work in close collaboration with the Foreign Office, both would benefit, for the power of the Reichsfuehrer SS would be behind this arrangement, and so it would be unnecessary for me to consult him, Ribbentrop, about every detail. In order to remove Ribbentrop's suspicions that this represented a manoeuvre by the SS to penetrate the Foreign Office, I suggested

that whoever was the chief of the on to the staff of the Foreign Office.

Ribbentrop looked at me composedly, and the further my emotion he grew. I therefore decided aggressive. I even went so far as to when we had purposely supplied reminded him of his conversation said plainly that the Secret Service no longer in a position to attack it. conclude that he was against it.

At this he grew excited and as being personally attacked, he said, reasonable working relationship, but that we refused to regard the Foreign government department. Thereupon said that I felt the turn the conversation misunderstandings, and if he attacked to place my plan before him in my contempt he said, 'Thank you, I can

I then tried to get him to talk, saw very interesting to hear his ideas methods of a Secret Service. Immediately leant back in his chair with an expression I had handled the interview in the begun with a dissertation of my own to explain his ideas first. Unconsciously

His ideas on the subject were clear. In his opinion, there should not be agents working abroad. They should financial means and should collaborate according to their own judgement be regularly supplied with information. Matters of detail were of no importance of foreign policy; all that mattered and these one had to be able to fore

He had the greatest faith in me and put off my chair at this—and as far as

P283
Terry

1942?

RELATIONS WITH TURKEY

D. T.

377

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the German leaders not to consider the areas concerned as German colonial territories, but to grant them at least some form of autonomous administration.

I had informed Himmler of this situation in various detailed reports, which, if proper attention had been given to them, might possibly have prevented the worst stupidities of our political administration in the Russian areas—certainly in the Ukraine. Himmler agreed with several of the points that I raised, but lacked the moral courage to argue them with Hitler.

In spite of Ribbentrop's attitude, which by now amounted to almost continual sabotage, I was able to maintain my contacts with the Turkish police and the Turkish Secret Service. I was aware, of course, of the diplomatic manoeuvres of the Turks towards the western Powers, which was routine diplomacy. Ribbentrop, however, completely failed to understand the necessary give and take of diplomatic life.

In order to counteract our political and military decline during 1943, I invited leading officials of the Turkish Government to Germany, having of course told Hitler and Himmler that I intended to do so. I thought it important to show my Turkish guests the positive side of National Socialism—the tremendous industry of the German people, and our great war effort; apart from official receptions and festivities, I also arranged sight-seeing tours.

After a visit to the eastern Front, my guests crossed Germany to inspect the Atlantic Wall and the bomb-proof U-boat harbours. I was given astonishing latitude in the matter of information: I was allowed, for instance, to give our guests arms production statistics, which until then had been a most closely guarded secret. In Berlin they were shown one of the anti-aircraft installations of the Waffen SS, and the newest machine-guns and automatic weapons were fired for them in one of the underground firing ranges in the centre of Berlin.

At an official reception at the Turkish Embassy I had an opportunity for a long conversation with the Ambassador which for once did not touch on politics at all. He had a deep knowledge of the Turkish language and all its dialects and told me that these dialects formed an unbroken chain from the shores of the Black

* D. T. The tennis player as autocrat. (But he understood gentlemen in Hitler—always got back to the more extreme course.)

19427

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many and Russia were parachuting agents into each other's territory, but Turkish counter-espionage would make sure that in future no such operations were carried out from their territory.

We were able to read this exchange of notes, and it was apparent to us that the Turks were getting 'cold feet'. So I decided to take this matter up personally with the Chief of the Turkish Secret Service and try to find out whether co-operation between us was still possible. I also wanted to avail myself of this opportunity of seeing the German Ambassador, von Papen, in Ankara. I wondered whether he might not be the right man to suggest ways and means of negotiating a compromise peace.

Trade relations between Germany and Turkey had broken down over the delicate point of further Turkish deliveries of chromium ore to Germany, and I thought that a little pressure might easily put things right. I also intended to carry out an inspection of our Secret Service organization in Turkey.

When I presented the plans for my trip to Himmler, he not only agreed with them but told me that Hitler himself had been considering this kind of approach in the negotiations over chromium ore. I was rather surprised that all my suggestions, even the discussion with von Papen, were so readily agreed to. It seemed that Himmler was still willing to pursue the plans I had suggested to him at Zhitomir.

Before my departure I insisted on a consultation with Ribbentrop. He gave me a lengthy lecture about Germany's political position and asked me to emphasize in my conversations with Turkish officials Germany's enormous military strength, the united will of the German people, and their faith in final victory. I was to point out that there were set-backs in every campaign, but that the concentrated power of the German nation would make up for all this.

I asked Ribbentrop whether he wanted me to concentrate exclusively on this attempt to influence Turkey politically, or whether I should attempt a solution of the chromium ore problem. He looked at me like a frightened rabbit. He realized at once the trap that lay behind my question. Suddenly he was in a great hurry to conclude the conversation. He knew me well enough by now to realize that his empty chatter made no impression on me.

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An interpretation by D. T. mis.

Introduction 19 W

Geduld of Indiana University, professor of comparative literature, points out that the Nazis denounced Chaplin as a "Bolshevik Jew," so he finds Hitler's motivation in taking on the famous "trademark" of a man who exemplified all that he most abhorred a mystery.¹⁰ However, Hitler was capable of borrowing from any source. He picked up his tactics and aims "from all the bushes along the road of life," writes Fest.¹¹

The symbolism became a part of the Hitler myth. To bolster the myth further, Hitler set about redefining his past. In the beginning he had "nothing at all to back [him], nothing, no name, no fortune, no press, nothing at all, nothing whatsoever."¹²

Many of those who had known and worked with him in the early days were either silenced through execution or, if they were fortunate enough to escape death, through censorship or intimidation. An appropriate example is Lanz Von Liebenfels, a defrocked monk who was deeply involved in astrology and racism. The significance of their relationship is dealt with in chapter 2. In 1938 Hitler forbade this eccentric racist philosopher to publish.¹³

It is argued by some of the occultic writers we meet in these pages that by jailing or otherwise disposing of occultists as he did in many cases, Hitler not only hid his past connections with them but ensured that his was the only occultic force in power. Against that we have the fact Hitler never moved in any substantial way against the nation's greatest repository of occultic lore and influence—the church.

The Hitler myth rose to new heights under Joseph Goebbels, who became the Nazi propaganda chief. "The power of the myth derived precisely from the fact that it was a combination of genuine, popular belief and sophisticated manipulation," Bullock writes. "Hitler was both presented and seen by the party and by millions of Germans outside it as the embodiment of *Volksgemeinschaft* [national unity] standing above sectional interests; the architect of Germany's recovery, personally incorruptible. A fanatical defender of German honor and Germany's just rights against both internal and external enemies—yet a man of the people."¹⁴

Polls showed that from about the mid-1920s on Hitler enjoyed

D.T. The mistake given almost never
decoration as the result. The apparently
was the little, with the comparison, which
or with none of the same, but a small
looking man, whom we had that note, as if with
young, he looked, suffered, was better, looking
to the end, then in the end, and looking
* the person who was the first, and the first
the person who was the first, and the first

decided - let him at least
have some of the
decided - let him at least
have some of the

1908
Library card

mis.

Hitler's Erratic Search 35W

like puppets, while the trees were more plastic-cast scenery than living organisms.¹² It can be assumed that one important reason the judges were put off was the absence of life forms in his work.

Hitler sought an interview with the school director over his rejection. It was suggested that his talents lay in architecture, not painting. However, Hitler did not bother to follow up on the suggestion.¹³ Instead, he turned his seething mind to other areas that could do with the help of his unrecognized genius.

He developed a scheme for a nonalcoholic drink; he looked for substitutes for smoking or drew up plans for the reform of schools. He composed theses attacking landlords and officials (and) outlines for a "German ideal state."¹⁴

Fast
p49

P.T.
Kubizek

Hitler also read a diverse range of books and attended lectures on all sorts of subjects including the occult. According to August Kubizek, a friend of the young Hitler, Hitler's interests included Oriental religion, astrology, yoga, hypnotism, and other aspects of occultism.¹⁵ Other writers, such as Francis King (*Satan and Swastika*), Gerald Suster (*Hitler: The Occult Messiah*), and Trevor Ravenscroft (*The Spear of Destiny*), obviously hoping to tie Hitler closely to the occult, specifically add numerology, magic, the paranormal, psychokinesis, water divining, graphology, numerology, physiognomy, and many other offbeat subjects.

Conventional historian Hugh Trevor-Roper comes up with a different list of Hitler's reading material for this period: books on history and religion, on geography and technology, art history and architecture, and Karl von Clausewitz, the acknowledged genius of military science.¹⁶

These contrasting lists give us no sense of balance or preference in Hitler's reading. The pro- and anti-occult writers do not help. All we do know is that Hitler's avid if undisciplined reading in this period of his life helped shape his character and the beliefs which he was to hold so unshakably for the rest of his life.

He was certainly a voracious reader—Hitler claimed he had read all five hundred assorted volumes in one Viennese bookstore¹⁷—which, if true, very much weakens the "evidence" that

mis

* D. to Not all of these inspirations
come from the F.O. or the S.O.
mis- 120 to HITLER AND THE OCCULT *or indeed, even
angels and demons*

late 1940

According to Wagener, Hitler had come to believe in his intuitive powers at an early stage of his career. Once in a conversation Wagener had argued with him that major decisions could not be based on intuition since human senses could be deceptive. Hitler responded, his eyes glowing: "But I do not receive such perceptions through the human senses at all! If it were that sort of perception, it would be amenable to logical proof. . . . Rather, in such cases, I feel as if I were taking my perception from that superdimensional world Einstein has looked into, not with his eyes or conscious mind, but with his mathematics."¹⁹

Following some further discussion, Hitler elaborated on what happened when he felt that he was receiving these strange messages: "I have a sensation like an inner vibration, as if I were being touched by an invisible charge." He said that whenever he took notice of the impulse, what he said or did as a result always turned out to be correct. However, whenever he ignored it, almost invariably it turned out later that it would have been right to follow "the inner voice."

Hitler went on to curse the intervention of logic at moments of inspiration, allowing "ourselves to be influenced by others who lack any divine spark—and in the meantime, the chance passes and we hit our heads in exasperation and say 'if only you'd followed your first impulse.'"

In further discussion he argued that Frederick the Great and Napoleon frequently acted according to their inspiration. "I am even convinced that the secret of the greatest successes in history is that they were based not on human logic, but on inspirations of the moment. . . . A military commander who does not dare to bring the conviction of his own good luck along with other considerations, to bear on his decisions remains a procrastinator, or an amateur, who will never lead his armies and his people to historic victories."²⁰

Irving²¹ offers an explanation that weakens much of the prophetic myth argument behind the claims of Hitler's powers of intuition: the *Forschungsamt*, or German "Research Office." It was set up in 1933 to run wiretapping operations, and by 1935

* D.T. One of my clients
mis.
D. 128

HITLER AND THE OCCULT

1919

ECKHART

a member of the Thulists—even of an occult inner circle. Eckart drank heavily and was addicted to morphine; the latter helped him achieve a “transcendent consciousness.”¹³ Bullock provides another description of the unsavory Eckart: A racist with an enthusiasm for Nordic folklore and a taste for Jew-baiting.¹⁴

Eckart's violent behavior during bouts of drug withdrawal led him to periods of detention in an asylum, where, using inmates as actors, he staged some of the neo-pagan Germanic plays he had written which had been rejected by outside theaters and producers.¹⁵ Without citing a source for it, Ravenscroft adds the suggestion that one of these plays may even have been about the Holy Lance.¹⁶

Further evidence of Eckart's instability is provided by King,¹⁷ who says he was the chief disciple of a certain Tarnhari, an occultist who was either mad, fraudulent, or, as he himself claimed, the miraculously born reincarnation of the chief of the ancient Teutonic tribe of the Volsungen.* Tarnhari was also a hater of Jewry and produced a magazine called *Swastika Letter*.

Ravenscroft argues that under Eckart the Nazi party and Hitler plunged into the Thule Society's “world of cosmology and magic.”¹⁸ Eckart told his fellow Thulists that his destiny was to prepare the way for the Antichrist who would lead the Aryan race to glory.¹⁹ The moment of recognition (i.e., that Hitler was the

*The Volsungen are named in early Scandinavian and east German history. The *Volsunga Saga*, the story of the tribe, was composed probably some time in the twelfth century, although the oldest manuscript dates from c. 1400, according to R. H. Finch, who was senior lecturer in German at the Queen's University Belfast, when he edited and translated *The Saga of the Volsungs* (London: Nelson, 1965). Finch comments the saga deals with semihistorical or legendary events and personages of Scandinavian history. “These sagas are often termed Romantic and if one of the characteristics of Romanticism is a nostalgic looking back to the glories of a distant and largely imaginary past, then to that extent at least (it deserves) the epithet.” Volsung, the founder of the tribe, appears in some references as the son of the deity Odin of Northern mythology. Finch observes the name *Volsung* may be linked with *Volsi*. *Volsi* probably means “phallus” and there are in fact definite traces of fertility cult in one version of the saga, the professor adds.

Ant
spa
Hol

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trea
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Kin
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Sicily
and
mag

mrs.

W 142

HITLER AND THE OCCULT

The Jew?

1919, 1920, 1921

?

Chess Chrono.

in 1919, a brutal action which was accompanied by a series of massacres costing hundreds of lives.⁵

So the swastika had already been "bloodied" in the name of nationalism when a few months after the failed coup Hitler decided his National Socialist (Nazi) party was lacking a symbol and flag and called for suggestions. All the various designs submitted included the swastika in one form or another.⁶ The one finally adopted was designed by Dr. Friedrich Krohn, a dentist from Sternberg. King says Krohn was an occultist and longstanding Thulist who had also been initiated into the German Order.⁷

D.T.
taken a
hand.

According to Francis King, Hitler insisted on one significant change to Krohn's flag whose swastika was the right-handed version which is traditionally symbolic of good fortune, spiritual evolution, and the triumph of spirit over matter. Hitler replaced it with the left-handed swastika, regarded by occultists as the equivalent of a reversed crucifix, an evocation of evil, spiritual devolution, and black magic.⁸

A problem arises with King's assertion, which boils down to the definition of what are the right-handed and left-handed swastikas. Michael Barsley clearly states: "history will recall that one man, more than any other is *associated with the right-handed Swastika*" (italics added).⁹ The accompanying illustration he uses shows "Hitler's emblem" as being the swastika that King calls the *lefthanded* swastika. The other-facing swastika Barsley calls the sinistral (King's right-handed form) and adds that it has been found in southern India where at one time there lived a left-handed sect. This symbol was adopted by Rudyard Kipling and decorated all his books.¹⁰ Suster agrees with King about the handedness and the meanings of the different-facing symbols saying Krohn's was right-handed because it spins clockwise; Hitler reversed it to spin counter-clockwise.¹¹ Barsley's explanation is that in the right-handed cross the hooks are facing left to right.¹²

What we are dealing with is subjective definition. However, this confusion weakens King's and Suster's assertion regarding the meanings behind the different facing crosses. We can speculate that Hitler had chosen to reverse the cross *because* of the con-

mis
1928, 1931

15

W

Hitler and Occult Sex

We are told Hitler indulged in occult initiation rites "derived from the horrible sexual magic of Aleister Crowley,"¹ one of the most infamous black magicians of the twentieth century and dubbed by the British Press—with its passion for superlatives—as the "world's wickedest man." However, the two most persistent claims regarding Hitler's sexuality are contradictory and irreconcilable: (1) Hitler had perverted sexual desires, most often involving sado-masochism; (2) Hitler was not interested in sex. The opposing characteristics came to be personified in Geli Raubal, the daughter of Hitler's half-sister, Angela. Angela moved in as housekeeper for him in 1928. Geli was then seventeen and Hitler quickly became fascinated with her² despite the fact that there was more than a twenty-year difference in their ages.

The affection Hitler felt for the pretty, superficial niece soon developed into a passionate relationship, "hopelessly burdened by his intolerance, his romantic ideal of womanhood, and avuncular scruples."³ However, both sides at first felt they benefited from the relationship. Geli enjoyed being with her uncle, especially as his political rise from 1929 to 1931 began to bring him fame.⁴ Hitler rather enjoyed the aura of bohemian freedom and the suggestion of a grand and fateful passion in the liaison between uncle and niece.⁵

All that was to change in an outburst of violence. It began

* D. T. What appealed to him most
was the incest 159 — only the exceptional
exceptional could dip into such secrets.

P.T. Ali, the old ^{mis} ~~sluffing~~ ^{that} ~~his father's~~ ¹⁹³¹ ~~great love~~ ^{balls of lightning} ~~in his heart and in his eyes~~ ^{Hitler and Occult Sex 161} ~~of the power of the Arch Prince~~ ^{a glimmer} squatted over his head and urinated or defecated in his face. Brom-

berg also writes of "an episode of erotogenic masochism involving a young German actress at whose feet Hitler threw himself, asking her to kick him. When she demurred, he pleaded with her to comply with his wish, heaping accusations on himself and grovelling at her feet in such an agonizing manner, that she finally acceded. When she kicked him, he became excited, and as she continued to kick him at his urging, he became increasingly excited." Bromberg adds that the difference in age between Hitler and the young women with whom he had any sexual involvement was usually close to the twenty-three year difference between his parents.¹⁴ Alice Miller pp 194-5

Miller appears to accept without question the authenticity of this account, although similar lurid sex tales, often without the slightest foundation and with only small variations on the above, circulate widely, not only about other dictators, but many well-known persons.

According to Suster, Hitler had another fantasy that involved an image of himself as a Teutonic Knight of the Holy Grail, a man of pure and noble mien. However, there was too much hate in his heart for him to be content merely with the truly pure and noble. There were, for example, "those frightful sexual urges which completely overwhelmed him, and reduced the perfect knight to an abject object, half-crazed with lust, yet unable to summon the words that would bring him satisfaction from a pure Nordic maiden."¹⁵

Looking inside Hitler's head Suster writes:

There was a beautiful blonde German woman so superior to his own foul desires, chained to a pillar, completely helpless. Gloating over her was a fat, bald, hook-nosed, perspiring and lascivious Jewish butcher, a monstrous subhuman bent upon defiling the girl's purity. And there was her rescuer, Adolf Hitler, knight of the Grail to whom the woman looked for deliverance. But this hero was only a sham, a coward, a pathetic imitation of a warrior and he could only watch in hopeless despair, helpless and disgraced as the Jewish dragon pawed, clawed, and raped

+++ it was there he believed he could merge with the Jew and acquire his secrets. +++

D.T.
So
over-
wrought
ner-
over-
simple.
He was
close
to shut
because
+++

It could be viewed as a sign of penitence
god and a sign of willing to worship him.

Geli.

1931

* D.T. A meaningless discovery. It is ~~wholly~~ ^{in whole} does occasionally ~~with~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{that is still alive}. which ~~proves significant~~

162
W

the German maiden. He would wake up screaming, the Jews must be destroyed. It was no use Freud telling him that the Jew of his nightmare was but his own suppressed sexuality.¹⁶

As far as his niece's role in Hitler's sex life is concerned, some sources claim that the real reason for Geli's death was that she was driven to it as a result of Hitler demanding she commit abnormal sexual acts. While Irving says Hitler jealously guarded Geli, he insists that, contrary to the claims of abnormal sex between them made by Ravenscroft and others, she did not even have normal intimate relations with him.¹⁷ Hitler's sex life in general terms was "quite normal," although in the last ten years of his life his natural libido was somewhat diminished: his medical records show only half the usual secretion of testis hormone in his blood, comparable to that of a busy executive or a man serving a long prison sentence.¹⁸

Apart from not having a sexual relationship with his niece, clinical psychologist Edleff Schwaab doubts that Hitler had sexual contact with Eva Braun, his mistress in later life.¹⁹ This claim is contrary to Ravenscroft's view that it is "common knowledge" Hitler's whole relationship with Braun followed more or less the same sexual pattern as it had with his niece: She suffered his tyranny at all other times except in the bedroom where she became the all-powerful mistress and he the groveling slave.²⁰

Despite the conflicting claims of Ravenscroft and Irving, there is a strong presumption that Hitler was incapable of normal sexual relations, whether for physical or psychological reasons, or both.²¹ Bullock says Putzi Hanfstaengel, who was one of Hitler's closest companions up to the mid-1930s, maintained that Hitler was impotent and that his "abounding nervous energy" found no normal release. He lived in a sexual no man's land where he only once nearly found a woman who might have given him relief—Geli.²²

Schwaab concludes that Hitler was neither a sexual satyr nor impotent but a truly asexual male. Schwaab appears to blame this in great part on Hitler's lack of contact with women, which had made him an emotional cripple. As a youth in Vienna he had never experienced "the surprises and acute personal conflicts" of romantic entanglements. His identity as a man was never

book of four volumes, which was completed October 16, in the year 1508, when the pious abbot had reached the mature age of sixty-six years.

Trithemius distinguishes four classes of wizards and witches: (1) Those who hurt and kill others through poison and other natural means. (2) Those who injure others by the art of magic formulas. (3) Those who converse with the Devil personally. (4) Those who have actually concluded a contract with the Devil and have thus procured his assistance for evil designs. Trithemius believes that there is no other way of protecting the commonwealth against the obnoxious influence of these malefactors than by extirpating them, but best by burning them alive. He says:

"It is to be lamented that the number of witches in all countries is very great, for indeed there is not a village, be it ever so small, which does not harbor at least one of the third and of the fourth class. But how rare are the judges who punish these crimes against God and nature."

And in another passage the abbot utters the complaint:

"Men and animals die through the infamy of these women, and none considers that it is due to the malignity of witchcraft. There are many who suffer from serious diseases and do not even know that they are bewitched."

The great dangers of witchcraft seemed to demand extraordinary means for combating its evils; and thus the torture, which had formerly been applied only in exceptional and special cases, began to be developed in a most formidable and barbaric way.

Suspected persons were subjected to fire and water

mis.

cent III. again abolished it in the Lateran Council, 1215. The famous law book, *The Saxon Mirror*, written by Eike von Repkow, in the year 1230, provides that if two men lay claim to the same thing and the neighbors can bear no witness, the water-ordeal shall decide."

The *Mirror of the Swabians*, also of the thirteenth century, contains the same proposition. In the sixteenth century the practice was almost universally established. As to the underlying idea, König says:

"There are opposite views applied to the ordeal of water. According to the one, the question was how long the accused could remain under water; according to the other the innocence of the accused was proved by sinking, the guilt by swimming. In both cases, the view prevailed that witches possessed a specific levity, and the rule was adopted that 'The water refused to receive in its depths those who had shaken off the baptismal water through a renunciation of their faith.'" (*Ausgeb. d. Menschenwahns*, pp. 100 ff.)

Who can contemplate without indignation and holy wrath the instruments of torture used by inquisitors in their infamous vocation? There are thumbscrews, there are blacksmith's tongs and pincers to tear out the fingernails or to be used red-hot for pinching; there is the rack, Spanish boots, collars, chains, etc., there are boards and rollers covered with sharp spikes; there is the "Scavenger's Daughter," also the "Iron Virgin," a hollow instrument the size and figure of a woman, with knives inside which are so arranged that, when closing, the victim would be lacerated in its deadly embrace.

Incredible ingenuity was displayed in the invention of these instruments of torture; and one of the executioner's swords, which still hangs in the Torturers' Vault at Nuremberg on the left side of the entrance, exhibits

against him, and Veit, who stoutly maintained his innocence, had to endure all the tortures of the inquisition. At last he was burned alive and the ashes of his body were thrown to the winds. We read in the records of the law-suit that Veit mounted the stake 'without showing repentance or doing penance.' And when chains were put on his neck, around his body, and around his feet, he cried with a loud voice, 'My God, I die innocently.' Judges, professors, physicians, and theologians agreed unanimously in the conviction of this innocent man."

Volumes might be filled with accounts of the many thousand various instances of witch-prosecutions, and every single case is so soul-harrowing that we prefer to pass them by in silence. The accusations are almost always very circumstantial and definite, mostly of brutal indecency and ridiculously impossible.

The Angel of Augsburg.

Witch-prosecution was a convenient weapon in the hands of unscrupulous men for accomplishing crooked ends or satisfying some private vengeance. One of the most tragic and pathetic cases is the sad death of Agnes Bernauer, a beautiful woman, the daughter of a barber and the sweetheart of Albrecht, Duke of Bavaria.

Agnes was born about 1410 in Biberach, and it appears that she was a mere servant girl in Augsburg at the time Duke Albrecht of Würtemberg, the son of Duke Ernest, made her acquaintance. The story that Agnes was of patrician birth and that the lovers met at the great tournament is mere legend, but this much is sure that Agnes was extraordinarily beautiful, with golden hair, and delicate, noble features. Even her enemies could not help praising the nobility of her appearance. We

know little or nothing about the relations between Duke Albrecht and Agnes, except that he courted her and took her with him to his residence in the County Vohnburg.

Duke Ernest, Albrecht's father, knew about Agnes's presence at Vohnburg but he cared little, until he became anxious about having a legal heir to his duchy. Then he requested his son to marry the daughter of Duke Erik of Brunswick, but Albrecht refused on account of the love he bore to Agnes.

When persuasion appeared to be without avail, Duke Ernest thought of other means to separate his son from the lowly-born maiden. At a public tournament, he ordered the judges to refuse admittance to Albrecht on the ground that for the sake of a concubine he neglected his filial duties. Albrecht was greatly exasperated and as soon as he returned to Vohnburg he recognised Agnes as his wife. With the consent of his uncle, Duke William, he moved to the castle Straubing, which he donated to her and surrounding her with a ducal court, called her henceforth Duchess Agnes.

The poor woman did not enjoy the splendor of the court. She feared the wrath of the old Duke, and built, in a melancholy presentiment of her sad fate, her own burial chapel, in the monastery of the Carmelites at Straubing. Her happiness was of short duration.

In Albrecht's absence, Duke Ernest seized Agnes, had her imprisoned and denounced her as a witch. Her condemnation had been decided upon before the trial began, and the verdict pronounced her guilty of having bewitched Duke Albrecht and thus committed a criminal offence against Duke Ernest. The judgment ordered her

to be drowned in the river, and Duke Ernest signed the verdict.

The hangmen carried the young woman to the bridge at Straubing and thrust her, in the presence of a multi-



AGNES BERNAUER DROWNED AS A WITCH AT THE REQUEST OF ERNEST,
DUKE OF BAVARIA.

Shows how the unscrupulous availed themselves of the extraordinary power of witch tribunals. (Woodcut by G. Dietrich. Reproduced from B. E. König.)

tude of spectators, into the water. But the current drifted her ashore and she held up her white arms appealing to

H. T. tells this story
and hints that he
was this person
and that was his
the Old Sarnes has
not encouraged
near him

the people for help. The people were moved and she might have been saved, had not one of the hangmen, fearing the wrath of the old duke, seized a pole and catching her long golden hair held her under water until she expired. This happened in the year 1435.

She was buried in St. Peter's cemetery of Straubing.

When the young Duke on his return was informed of the terrible death of his beloved Agnes he swore vengeance, and in alliance with his cousin Duke Ludwig of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, began to wage a vigorous war against his own father. Through the mediation of the Emperor, however, he was reconciled with his father at the council of Basel.

Duke Ernest built a chapel over the grave of his innocent victim and had an annual mass read over her for the welfare of her soul. Duke Albrecht thereupon agreed to marry Anna, Princess of Brunswick, by whom he had ten children, although it cannot be said that his married life was a happy one.

In 1447 Duke Albrecht had the body of Agnes transferred to the chapel which she had built for herself in the Carmelite monastery; and he had the resting-place of her remains adorned with a beautiful marble image of her in full figure with the simple inscription:

"Obiit Agnes Bernauerin. Requiescat in pace."

Poets who have immortalised her name,* and the

*Folksong on Agnes die Perawerin. Count Törring (1780), Böttiger (1846), Melchior Meyr (1862), Friedrich Hebbel (1855), Otto Ludwig (a posthumous fragmentary design of a drama begun in 1852). König, *Ausgeburten des Menschenwahns* recapitulates the story as the legend has it. For a critical review and an exposition of the historical facts see Dr. Christian Meyer's article on Agnes Bernauer in *Die Gartenlaube*, 1873, p. 454.

Luther (essay) mis.

Luther's belief in the Devil was not only very realistic but also almost childishly ingenuous. When at work he was prepared for his incessant interference, and when going to rest he expected to be disturbed by him. Luther was not afraid of him, yet the efforts he made in conquering the Evil One are sufficient evidence that he regarded him as very powerful. He protested he would go to Worms though every tile on the roofs of the city were a Devil; he saw the fiend grinning at him while he translated the Bible, and threw his inkstand at his Satanic Majesty.*

By and by the familiarity between Luther and the Devil increased: "Early this morning," Luther tells us in his *Tischreden*, "when I awoke the fiend came and began disputing with me. 'Thou art a great sinner,' said he. I replied, 'Canst not tell me something new, Satan?'"

Luther was inclined to believe in the Devil's power of assisting wizards and witches in their evil designs. Following St. Augustine's authority he conceded the possibility of *incubi* and *succubi*, because Satan, in the shape of a handsome young man, loves to decoy young girls. He also accepted the superstition of changelings and declared that witches should suffer death; but when once confronted with a real case, he insisted, when his counsel was sought, on the most scrupulous circumspection. He wrote to the judge:

"I request you to explore everything with exactness so as to leave no trace of fraud . . . for I have experienced so many deceits,

* The story has been doubted, yet, considering the character of Luther, it is not only possible but probable. If Luther did not throw the inkstand at the Devil, the anecdote is, to say the least, *ben trovato*; it characterises excellently his attitude toward Satan.

—I said, "Yes,
you are a great
sinner and you
are close to God,
and so your
nature is full
of profound division
division which
you are not bring-
ing together. So you will
bring great power in
but almost the name of God
and you will have great division.
Keep thanking at us. The more you do, the
more you will belong to us for we read
your nature, Luther Martin, in the corruption of your
bowels.

mis.

Luther essay

344

THE HISTORY OF THE DEVIL.

frauds, artifices, lies, treacheries, etc., that I can scarcely make up my mind to believe. Therefore see and convince yourself to your own satisfaction, lest you be mistaken and I may be mistaken through you."*

Although it is true that Luther's views of the Devil were as childish as those of his contemporaries, it would be rash to denounce the Reformation for having accomplished no progress and having done nothing to suppress the barbarous superstitions of demonology. Luther's



TEMPTATION. A PROTESTANT CONCEPTION OF EVIL.

German woodcut of the time of Luther.

God-conception was purer and nobler than the God-conception of the leading churchmen and popes of his time, and thus his faith, in spite of its crudities, led, after all, to purer conceptions, which were destined gradually to overcome the old traditional dualism.

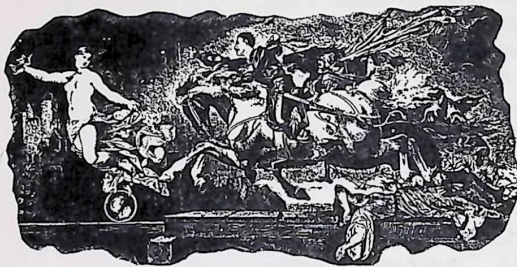
Luther demanded that Christ should not only be recognised as the Saviour of mankind, but that every man should be able to say, "He has come to save me personally and individually." Luther thus carried the religious life into the very hearts of men and declared that there was no salvation in ceremonies, absolutions, or sacra-

* *Angeli Annales Marchiae Brandenburgicae*, p. 326 (quoted by Soldan, p. 302). The original reads: "Rogo te, omnia velle certissime explorare, ne subit aliquid doli. . . . Nam ego tot fucis, dolis, techais, mendaciis, artibus, etc., hactenus sum exagilatus ut cogar difficilis esse ad credendum. . . . Quare vide et prospice tibi quoque ne fallare et ego per te fallar."

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Luther essay m's.

ments; unless one had individually, in one's own nature and being, vanquished the temptations of Satan. The most dangerous idols are, according to Luther, the pulpit and the altar, for sacraments and ceremonies cannot save. They are symbols instituted to assist us. Those who believe that ceremonies possess any power of their own are still under the influence of the pagan notion that evils can be averted by sacrifices and exorcisms.



THE RACE FOR FORTUNE.

A modern illustration of the conception of evil. A development of the idea represented in the woodcut on the opposite page. (After Henneberg's oil painting.)

Luther's Successors.

While Luther instinctively abhorred persecutions of any kind, he still retained those beliefs which were the ultimate cause of witch prosecution. We must, therefore, not be astonished to see even in Protestant countries a revival of the horrors which had been inaugurated by the Inquisition.

The most curious work of Protestant demonology is the *Theatrum Diabolorum* by Sigmund Feyerabend, a

He was absolutely right and altogether hopeless since nothing grows more quickly than new fables, new legends, new ceremonies, and we were invented in all of them. They were our closest communion with God.

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established until in these latter days Satan himself was boldly and directly by Protestant theologians declared to be a mere abstract idea and a personification of evil. Yet this step was not taken at once, and mankind had to pass first through a long period of wavering opinions, of conflicting propositions, uncertainties, venomous controversies, and anxious research for the truth.

Shakespeare.

The Protestant Devil became somewhat more cultured than the Catholic Devil, for the advancement noticeable in the civilisation of Protestant countries extended also to him. Says Mephistopheles in Faust:

"Culture which smooth the whole world licks
Also unto the Devil sticks."

To note the progress, let us compare Wyntoun who wrote early in the fifteenth century and Shakespeare. Wyntoun's witches are ugly, old hags; Shakespeare's, although by no means beautiful, are yet interesting and poetical; they are "so withered and so wild in their attire that look not like the inhabitants o' th' earth and yet are on it." It is a poetical fiction representing temptation. And in this same sense the very word Devil is frequently used by Shakespeare. We are told, "'tis the eye of childhood that fears a painted Devil," and one fiend, as we read in Shakespeare, is the invisible spirit of wine. "The Devil," we read in Hamlet, "hath power to assume a pleasing shape." And the meaning of this sentence is plainly psychological, as we learn from another passage in which Polonius says to his daughter:

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THE HISTORY OF THE DEVIL.

have orders of the day, a hierarchy, exact submission, extra duties, disputes, regulated ceremonials, prostrations, etiquette, furnished arms, arsenals, depots of chariots and ammunition."

How different is the abode of Satan. Taine says:

"The finest thing in connexion with this Paradise is Hell.

"Dante's hell is but a hall of tortures, whose cells, one below another, descend to the deepest wells."

Milton's hell is the asylum of independence; it may be dreary but it is the home of liberty that scorns abject servility. Milton describes the place as follows:

"'Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,'

Said then the last Archangel, 'this the seat

That we must change for heaven? this mournful gloom

For that celestial light? Be it so, since he,

Who now is Sovran, can dispose and bid

What shall be right: farthest from him is best,

Whom reason has equal'd, force hath made supreme

Above his equals. Farewell, happy fields,

Where joy for ever dwells! Hail, horrors, hail,

Infernal world! and thou, profoundest hell

Receive thy new possessor; one who brings

A mind not to be changed by place or time.

The mind is its own place, and in itself

Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.

What matter where, if I be still the same,

And what I should be; all but less than he

Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least

We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built

Here for his envy; will not drive us hence:

Here we may reign secure; and in my choice

To reign is worth ambition, though in hell:

Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven.'"

It has been frequently remarked that Milton's Satan

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THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

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is the hero of *Paradise Lost*, and, indeed, he appears as the most sympathetic figure in the greatest religious epic of English literature. His pride is not without self-respect which we cannot help admiring; Satan exclaims:

"Is there no place
Left for repentance, none for pardon left?
None left but by submission: and
That word disdain forbids me. . . ."

And how noble appears Milton's Satan! Milton personifies in Satan the spirit of the English Revolution; Milton's Satan represents the honor and independence of the nation asserted in the face of an incapable government. Satan's appearance shows strength and dignity:

"He above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a tower."

And his character is distinguished by love of liberty. Taine describes him as follows:

"The ridiculous Devil of the Middle Ages, a horned enchanter, a dirty jester, a petty and mischievous ape, band-leader to a rabble of old women, has become a giant and a hero.

"Though feeble in force, he remains superior in nobility, since he prefers suffering independence to happy servility, and welcomes his defeat and his torments as a glory, a liberty, and a joy."

The Devil naturally acquires noble features which make him less diabolical and more divine in the measure that the God-conception of an age becomes the embodiment of the conservatism of the ruling classes. When the name and idea of God are misapplied to represent stagnation, Satan might change places with God. A new sect of Devil-worshippers who aspire for advancement

These sentiments
I was glorious
and Satan,
our own O. O.,
was free, but
none of us
could say the
same.

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It happened that M. de Laubordemont, a cousin of the prioress, while attending to some business of the French Government in Loudun, heard of the story and gave a highly-colored report to Cardinal Richelieu, at whose instance the investigation was renewed. In the second trial Grandier had no chance; for Laubordemont was appointed judge. He accepted the most ridiculous evidence. The devils who spoke out of the mouths of the obsessed nuns were called upon as witnesses, and two documents were produced which purported to be the original pact of Grandier with Satan. One of them is signed by Grandier, the other bears the signature of six devils, the authenticity of which is vouched for by Baalbarith, the Secretary of his Satanic Majesty. The script is in mirror writing. Four expert Doctors of the Sorbonne, although they never doubted either the documents or the reality of the devils of the obsessed nuns, saw fit to caution the judges not to admit the testimony of Satan, because the slanderer and liar could not be a trustworthy witness. But the exorcising fathers, all of whom were Carmelite monks, laid down the principle that a properly exorcised devil cannot help confessing the truth. Grandier was cruelly tortured and executed on August 18; but Peter Lactantius, the chief exorcist whom the dying Grandier had challenged to appear before the tribunal of God, died a raving maniac exactly one month after the death of his victim, on September 18.

A Protestant Witch-Execution.

Much has been said and written about the cruelty of the Roman Catholic methods of witch-prosecution, but

dawn, but while the rays of light begin to spread the shadows of the night linger and their darkness seems rather more intense than before.

The Rev. Father Gilbert Baur, writes in the year 1785 as follows:

"You know what happens when meat is salted. The salt enters all parts, every nerve and every bone, and communicates to all parts its acrid qualities; and yet the meat is not dissolved nor annihilated by the salt, but on the contrary preserved from decay. In the same way the hellish fire will enter into the innermost marrow, and be distributed throughout the entrails. It will take hold of all the arteries and nerves and make the brain boil with furious pains, without causing death or annihilation."

Some theological geographers have placed hell in the sun, others in the moon, still others in the center of the earth. But the question as to which of the three opinions is right has not yet been decided.

A Slavonian folk song sings of hell as follows:*

"Look at the terrible maw! How fiery and deep is the place of torture! No eye can discover its bottom.

"A spark alone causes immense pain, but against the fury of this fire it is but a dewdrop.

"Reason cannot comprehend and tongue cannot utter what it may be to be in the fires of Hell.

"Devils transform themselves into dogs, into wild animals, into snakes and dragons; they howl, and they bellow, and they bawl; what terrors they cause!

"Every poor sinner must pay tribute here to the justice of God; and for every vicious deed he must suffer special pain."

After an enumeration of the sufferings for various sins and vices, the poem continues:

*Quoted in a German translation by Scheible, Vol. I., p. 208 ff.

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The conflict between the Gnostics and the fathers helped define the boundaries of the Christian tradition. Like any movement, Christianity was threatened by two opposite difficulties. If its boundaries were too narrowly defined, it risked becoming too rigid, too exclusive, so small and uninviting that it courted destruction. But if it defined its boundaries too widely, so that anyone might call himself a Christian while believing anything at all, it could face endless divisions and subdivisions or else eventually evaporate into meaningless platitudes. Instinctively, the community sought a middle road, opening itself to every nation and class, yet at the same time excluding those whose views were too different to be reconciled or accommodated within the growing consensus. Gradually the consensus excluded Gnosticism.

The orthodox tendency to draw boundaries worked against the Gnostics, but the weaknesses inherent in Gnosticism itself were the essential reason for its exclusion. The mythologies of Gnosticism became overburdened, complicated, unbelievable; its appeal was elitist, its organization incoherent; it split into a wide variety of sects with a fantastic diversity of myths and theologies. Though its influence continued to reappear sporadically for centuries, Gnosticism had become an intellectual dead end by the fourth century.

The central themes of Gnosticism nonetheless produced views on evil that are important both in themselves and in the responses they evoked from the orthodox. Gnosticism's appeal lay in its championship of radical dualist theodicy: God is not responsible for evil because evil arises from a malevolent principle independent of God. The Gnostics argued that each individual experiences a world that is alien, terrifying, filled with death, disease, wars, and enemies. This world is so riddled with evil that it must be only a shadow of something better and beyond. The Gnostics melded the Mazdaist view of a cosmic battle between spirits with the Orphic view of a struggle between the goodness of spirit and the evil of matter. The human body, material flesh, is a wretched prison constructed by Satan to incarcerate the soul. The good God would never have created such a gross world, so it must instead be the artifact of one or more blind and inferior spirits. The Gnostics called these evil spirits archons or eons, recalling the apostolic doctrine of the evil archon of this world, but with the great difference that the apostolics never even hinted that the cosmos could have been created by any spirit lesser than God.

Orthodox Christianity and Gnosticism both absorbed some elements of dualism, but Gnosticism was much closer to the dualist end of the spectrum than was Christianity. For Christians, the Devil had great

power to obstruct the work of Christ, but he was always limited and held in check by God. God's providence turned every evil to good, for the cosmos he created is essentially good. The Gnostics too believed in the ultimate victory of good over evil, but their belief that the created cosmos is essentially evil gave the Devil far greater scope and power.

The Gnostics disagreed among themselves as to the nature of the evil creator of the cosmos. The most extreme claimed that two independent spiritual principles existed; the more moderate that the creator of this world was a subsidiary power, a creature whom God had created good but who had fallen into evil. This ignorant, blind, corrupt spirit was identified with the Devil. Because the Old Testament ascribed the creation of the material universe to God, and because the creator of the cosmos was actually Satan, it followed that the being that the Old Testament called God was really Satan. Accordingly the Gnostics rejected the Old Testament (or most of it) and condemned the Jews—and the Christians who believed in the Old Testament—for worshipping the Devil.

The Gnostic view of the human condition was dark: a human being is a spirit trapped in a gross body like a pearl buried in mud. Humankind is the microcosm: both the small world of humanity and the great world of the cosmos are battlegrounds in the war between the good spirit of light and the evil spirit of matter. Originally humans were created pure spirit by God, but the Evil One entrapped us in matter. It is our duty to liberate our spirits from this prison of flesh. We have no way of doing this by ourselves, but God empowers us to do so by sending us a savior, Christ, to teach us our true being, origin, and destiny. God salvages the sparks of light imprisoned in the flesh by teaching us to overcome the forces that pull us down toward sensuality and sin. Satan constantly struggles in each individual for the opposite purpose, tempting us to pursue gross material pleasures instead of our true spiritual heritage.

One of the leading Gnostics of the second century, Marcion, put forward a typical Gnostic theodicy. Marcion perceived a shocking contrast between the harsh God of the Old Testament and the loving God of the New. They could not, he thought, be one and the same deity. The God who tempted people to sin and then punished them for what he tempted them to do, the God who hardened hearts and laid waste to lands, could not be the merciful Lord revealed by Christ. Deeply disturbed by this discrepancy, Marcion inquired how God can be all-good and all-powerful in a world in which evil is manifest. His answer was that God is all-good but not all-powerful. The good God of the Gospel is

limited in his power by the existence and activities of the God of Law, who is the Prince of Darkness.

The God of Law is just, but he is also harsh and warlike, coldly hewing to the letter of a stern law. This is the God of the Old Testament, the creator of the corrupt, material world, the "author of evils." On the other side, the good God is kind and warmly merciful. Before the mission of Christ this God was wholly unknown to us and even now remains hidden from our understanding. The wonder of Christ is that for the first time he gave us a glimpse of this true, hidden God. The true God is the father of Jesus, whom he sent to us for the purpose of revealing the hidden truth about the cosmos as opposed to the lies spread by the Evil One. Though each of the two gods is an independent principle, the evil god is (for unexplained reasons) weaker and will eventually perish. His days have been numbered by Christ, and in the end he will be defeated by the good God and will disappear along with the material world he has created. Only spirit will remain, and with it love and mercy.

In the meantime, the material world and the human body in particular imprison, defile, and corrupt our spirits. The true God shuns and despises matter, so it is inconceivable that his Son would have taken on this gross flesh. Christ's body was an illusion, a mere appearance that he adopted so as to be able to communicate with us in a way that we could understand. Since Christ had no body, he did not die on the cross and did not redeem us by his Passion. Rather, his mission was to reveal the gnosis, the saving knowledge that teaches us to liberate our spirits from our bodies.

It is unclear whether Marcion regarded Satan as the evil god himself or merely as a creature of the evil god, a position that some other Gnostics took. Here lies one of the numerous muddles of Gnostic mythology, for if the Devil has a superior in evil, then that superior must be the real Devil. The only useful definition of the Devil is "chief of the forces of evil." Marcion's evil creator god, whatever Marcion chose to call him, is the true Devil.

The unnecessary complications of Gnosticism multiplied with Valentinus, a second-century Egyptian Gnostic. Valentinus and his disciple Ptolemy constructed a cluttered mythology in which the God, the "primal being," emanates eight "higher eons" who in turn emanate twenty-two lower eons, all the eons together forming the "pleroma," the fullness of the divine nature. The Valentinians thus explained evil by positing not two separate principles but rather a gradual degradation of the one

become a nun, refuses. The girl struggles against the Devil's temptations but is finally unable to resist any longer. But just before she surrenders her virtue, the pact comes to light, and with the aid of Saint Basil the man repents and the girl is saved from a fate worse than death.

The other story, the legend of Theophilus, one of the most popular of all European tales, eventually fathered the legend of Faust. Theophilus, a clergyman in Asia Minor, was offered a bishopric at the death of the previous bishop. Theophilus declined, but later regretted it, for the new bishop deprived him of his offices and dignities. Enraged, Theophilus plotted to regain his influence and obtain revenge. He consulted a Jewish magician, who took him out at night to a secret place where they encountered the Devil surrounded by his worshipers bearing torches and candles. The Devil asked him what he wanted, and Theophilus agreed to become his servant in return for his lost perquisites. Taking an oath of allegiance to Lucifer, he renounced his fealty to God and promised to lead a life of lust, scorn, and pride. He signed a formal pact to this effect and handed it over to the Devil, giving him a kiss in sign of submission. The Devil gave him great wealth and power, but at last he arrived to claim payment. Terrified, Theophilus repented and called upon the Blessed Mother for help. Mary descended into hell, seized the contract from Satan, and returned it to Theophilus, who destroyed it.

The legend, containing infernal reflections of both Christian baptism and feudal homage, spread rapidly across Europe and firmly established the notion of pact. It is one of the few examples of a popular idea changing the course of elite theology. The fathers had argued that all evildoers had implicitly agreed to be servants of Satan, but the idea of an explicit pact with homage to the Devil was new. By the fifteenth century, pact was the central accusation against alleged witches, and by the seventeenth century, documents allegedly constituting such formal pacts were brought as evidence into courts of law.

Pact was one of the keystones in the demonization of minorities—the transformation in the Christian mind of heretics, Jews, and Muslims into conscious minions of the Prince of Darkness. Total misunderstanding of the religion of others led Christians to make the most improbable assumptions. The Jews, who did not believe in the Incarnation or the Eucharist, were believed to steal Eucharistic hosts, take them home, and stab them until they bled; the rigidly monotheistic Muslims were believed to worship idols. The German version of *The Song of Roland* is explicit: the Muslims are pagans who worship 700 idols, the chief of which are Apollo and Muhammad. Muhammad, a human prophet to the

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A symbolic statement, said Himmela, of what in fact they do all the time

Muslims, was in the Christian mind the chief god of the idolatrous Muslims, barely distinct from Satan himself. It followed that Christians had both the right and the duty to stamp out these monsters. The same was true of the Jews, for Jews not only desecrated the host but kidnaped and sacrificed Christian children. Their synagogues were temples to Satan; they practiced evil magic; the Antichrist would be a Jew of the tribe of Dan. The relative toleration of Jews that existed in the early Middle Ages was replaced from the eleventh century by a fierce anti-semitism expressing itself in massacres, murders, and mass expulsions.

A much more constructive role played by the Devil in popular religion was that of a vehicle for ironic criticism of Christian society itself. Letters from the Devil became a popular genre in the later Middle Ages. Their purpose was threefold: to satirize corrupt ecclesiastics, particularly at the papal court; to amuse; and finally to offer instruction in rhetoric. The form of the letter was often a legal grant or charter in which Lucifer bestowed rewards for services rendered. He thanked the clergy for their greed, drunkenness, and worldly ambition, all of which brought him many recruits in hell. The salutations of such letters parodied legal charters: "Satan, emperor of all the realms of hell, king of shadows, duke of the damned, to his most faithful servant John Dominici, archbishop of Ragusa and abettor of all our works, sends good health and eternal pride." "The Letter of Lucifer" composed in 1351 was widely copied and adapted. After the salutation to "all the members of our kingdom, the sons of pride, particularly the princes of the modern church," it goes on to say, "we are sending some of the eminent demons and nobles of hell to counsel and aid you; your cleverness knows very well how to acquiesce in their suggestions and add to their treacherous inventions." After a long satire on the state of the church, the letter concludes, "dated at the center of the earth in our shadowy kingdom, in the presence of hordes of demons specially summoned for this purpose in our treacherous consistory."

Christian liturgy was linked to popular religion because most people encountered Christianity in the rites of the church more than in theology. The Devil, however, played little part in the liturgy, with the one major exception of the rite of baptism. By the third century the Western church commonly administered baptism at Easter. A series of scrutinies—masses during which exorcisms were administered to catechumens seeking admission to the church—were conducted in the weeks before Easter. Exorcism became an invariable part of baptism. Before the

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candidate could be received into the Christian community and the Body of Christ, the dark lord had to be exorcized from his soul.

The term "exorcism" had its origins in Greek paganism and derives from the Greek *exorkizo*, "to secure by oath" or "to ask or pray deeply." In its root meaning it was a solemn, intense address to someone or something and was not necessarily connected with demons. Among the pagan Greeks and even the early Christians, exorcism could be addressed to good as well as to evil powers. The New Testament uses the word "exorcize" twice to characterize earnest entreaties to Jesus.

By the third century the meaning of exorcism had narrowed: it was an indirect prayer to Christ to expel harmful spirits from persons or objects. The water, incense, salt, and oil used at baptism needed exorcism: "I exorcize you, creature salt . . . that this creature salt may in the name of the Trinity become an effective sacrament to put the Enemy to flight." The Devil or demons could also be addressed directly, and the two modes combined, as in this exorcism of water: "I exorcize you, creature water; I exorcize you, all you hosts of the Devil." Unbaptized persons needed exorcizing because Satan held lordship over humanity from the time of Adam and Eve. Underlying exorcism is the assumption that even after the Incarnation Satan retains certain powers over the material world as well as over fallen humans.

In addition to exorcism, the baptismal scrutinies included other confrontations with the Evil One. The Devil was sternly admonished to acknowledge the justice of the sentence of doom passed on him, to do homage to the Trinity, and to depart from the catechumen. The usual formula was "Therefore, accursed Devil, depart," but some wordings, such as the following, from the Gallican liturgy, were masterpieces of anathema.

I accost you, damned and most impure spirit, cause of malice, essence of crimes, origin of sins, you who revel in deceit, sacrilege, adultery, and murder! I adjure you in Christ's name that, in whatsoever part of the body you are hiding you declare yourself, that you flee the body that you are occupying and from which we drive you with spiritual whips and invisible torments. I demand that you leave this body, which has been cleansed by the Lord. Let it be enough for you that in earlier ages you dominated almost the entire world through your action on the hearts of human beings. Now day by day your kingdom is being destroyed, your arms weakening. Your punishment has been prefigured as of old. For you were stricken down in the plagues of Egypt, drowned in Pharaoh, torn down with Jericho, laid low with the seven tribes of Canaan, subjugated with the gentiles by Samson, slain by David in Goliath, hanged by Mordecai in the

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person of Haman, cast down in Bel by Daniel and punished in the person of the dragon, beheaded in Holofernes by Judith, subjugated in sinners, burned in the viper, blinded in the seer, and discountenanced by Peter in Simon Magus. Through the power of all the saints you are tormented, crushed, and sent down to eternal flames and underworld shadows. . . . Depart, depart, wheresoever you lurk, and never more seek out bodies dedicated to God; let them be forbidden you for ever, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

The scrutinies included the "exsufflation," in which the priest blew into the candidate's face to express contempt for the demons and drive them away. The priest also touched the catechumen's ears with spittle in imitation of Jesus' healing. He marked the sign of the cross on the candidate's brow to keep demons away. During the Easter vigil, the catechumen would face the west, the region of darkness and death, and make a formal threefold renunciation of Satan. Then he turned toward the east, the direction of light and resurrection, and formally transferred his allegiance to Christ. He was anointed with holy oil as a seal against further assaults by the Prince of Darkness. In the central act of baptism, the descent into water symbolized descent into the underworld of death, and emergence from the water symbolized rebirth and resurrection. Baptism, the culmination of the individual's freedom from Satan, had powers to cure illness of body and mind as well as corruption of soul.

Aside from his general power over humanity, the Devil or his demons could possess any particular individual. The victim of such a possession was called an energumen. His body was under the temporary control of a demon, who could be expelled by exorcism. Such possession was in no way voluntary; the victim had not used his free will to invite the Devil in, and so an energumen was in no way a sinner; he was totally different from one who called voluntarily upon demons with incantations. Once the demon was expelled, the energumen would return to his normal life, usually without memory of the period in which his body was out of his control.

The elite theology of the Devil in the early Middle Ages followed that of the fathers. The only thoroughly original theologian of the period was John Scottus Eriugena (c. 820–c. 877), whose greatest work, *The Division of Nature*, composed between 862 and 867, stood in the tradition of negative theology. God is absolutely incomprehensible both to us and to himself. To know something is to define it, but God cannot be defined. More than that: God is not anything at all. It is absurd to say that God is something, for that puts him in the same category as created things. Nothing can be affirmed about God, for whatever is affirmed about him

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suffer with you. Throughout their wretched colloquy Satan and his thanes rage against the reality of the world as it is constructed; their rage is a perfect artistic expression of the demonic temperament and of Satan's predicament. The wretched spirits refuse to accept the world as God has created it, yet they can never change it. The Devil's refusal to accept reality produces the eternal misery in which he dwells: he constructs his own hell. Defeated yet proud, the hero faces his *wyrd*, his implacable fate.

Sparking fire and poison as he speaks in the dark cavern, Satan makes his report to his thanes, rehearsing his reasons for rebelling. I used to be a high angel in heaven, he mourns, but I plotted to overthrow the light of glory. Now God has thrust me down here; very well: he has merely confirmed me in my hatred. There is no place in this deep darkness for us to hide from God, for though we cannot see him any longer, he can see us. It would be better had I never known the brightness of heaven, which is now taken from me and given to Christ. God at least grants me the power to fly up from this prison and visit earth to tempt humans, but only those souls that he does not wish to keep for himself, for he has given all the authority of heaven and earth to his Son. Satan ends by uttering a dirge of sheer misery: "Alas for lordship's misery, alas the protection of God's power, alas the might of the Maker, alas earth, alas light of day, alas God's joy, alas angelic host, alas heaven! Alas that I am deprived of eternal joy!" The passage concludes with a description of Christ resplendent in the glory that Lucifer had craved for himself.

The second portion of *Christ and Satan* deals with the harrowing of hell, where the holy dead are waiting for Christ to come to free them. He breaks down the doors, and a great light pierces the darkness, accompanied by angel song as if at daybreak. The third portion treats Satan's temptation of Christ. The Devil hoists Jesus mockingly onto his shoulders in order to show him the whole world. I will grant you dominion over peoples and lands, he promises: receive from me cities, broad palaces, and even the kingdom of heaven. Satan's theology is faulty, for he has no right or power to offer Christ dominion in heaven; the biblical accounts had Satan offering Christ only the earth, over which God had given the Devil temporary power. Christ responds scornfully, setting Satan the task of returning to the darkness and measuring the length and breadth of hell with his own hands. Satan obeys sullenly and reports to his thanes that the grim gravehouse measures a hundred thousand miles—probably the largest number the poet could conceive.

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his malice and despise him as nothing, and the Lord wants us to do so. Because of this sight I laughed greatly. I see sport, that the Devil is overcome, and I see scorn, that God scorns him, and he will be scorned, and I see seriousness, that he is overcome by the blessed Passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ." The ultimate answer to evil is not to cudgel the brain but to live a life of love and laughter.

Direct experience of the Devil could also take quite a different form. Although nominalism and mysticism tended to downplay the Devil's power, another, much more popular phenomenon of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries raised his powers to unprecedented heights. This was witchcraft. "Witchcraft" has three quite different meanings. It sometimes means simple sorcery, the charms or spells used in many societies worldwide to accomplish such practical ends as healing a child, assuring the fertility of crops, or warding off an enemy. Recently it has referred to modern neopaganism, a late-twentieth-century religion limited to small groups mainly in the Anglo-Saxon countries. The third meaning is the only important one for the history of the Devil: the allegedly Satanic witchcraft of the period of about 1400-1700. Whether the accused witches ever believed or practiced the Satanism attributed to them or whether it was projected upon them by their enemies, the conviction that Satanic witchcraft was real pervaded Western society for three centuries.

By the fifteenth century a stereotype of diabolical witchcraft had emerged: on a Thursday or Saturday night, some men, but more women, creep silently from their beds in order to avoid disturbing their spouses. The witches who are near enough to the meeting place make their way on foot, but those who live at a distance rub their bodies with an ointment that enables them to fly off in the shape of animals, or else astride broomsticks or fences. Ten or twenty witches attend the meeting, later called the "sabbat." The ceremony begins with any new witches swearing to keep the group's secrets and promising to kill a child and bring its body to the next meeting. The neophytes renounce the Christian faith and insult a crucifix or Eucharistic host. They proceed to worship the Devil or his representative by kissing his genitals or backside. After the initiation, the witches bring children to be sacrificed to the Devil, and the babies' fat is used to confection the ointment used for flying or for poison. The witches partake of the child's body and blood in a blasphemous parody of the Eucharist. After supper, the lights are extinguished, and the witches fall to an indiscriminate sexual orgy, sometimes having intercourse with the Devil himself.

D.T. — Even as killing the
children offered powers
to the witches. There is no

1943 *Conte*

mis. p. 163



Witches bestow the "obscene kiss" on the Devil while their fellows ride through the air on the way to a "sabbat" or "synagogue." Illumination from a fifteenth-century French manuscript. Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*humana force quata thou had
obtainid from a conquered
repugnance. ielo had from from
de bouda to Hum. al. from p. 163*

to force

dier, a sexual libertine whose arrogance had earned him many enemies, some of whom concocted a plot to ruin him by accusing him of debauching the nuns. The nuns were worked into frenzies by the suggestions and accusations made during the inquiry, until some of them came really to believe that they had been sexually molested by demons. They began to exhibit the coarsest gestures and language. Even after Grandier had been convicted and burned in 1634, and in spite of all efforts to exorcise them, the nuns continued to behave as possessed until public attention finally waned.

At the convent of Saint Louis de Louviers, Sister Madeleine Bavent, who had been seduced by her confessor before entering the convent, was the focus of the group possession. Several elements distinguish such phenomena from witchcraft: first, the focus was more exclusively on sex; second, the obscene rites were presided over by a priest. Orgies, desecration of the Eucharist, and even the occasional attendance of clergy at the sabbat were all part of witch beliefs, but at the sabbats the clergy did not participate but were only part of the congregation. That the orgiastic and anticlerical elements now became central illustrates the rebellious anticlericalism of seventeenth-century psychology. Nothing could be more blasphemous in Catholic Europe than the sexual misuse of the Eucharist, the Body of Christ, by an ordained priest.

Such fantasies plumbed the lowest depths in the black masses of the 1670s. A brisk trade in fortunetelling, aphrodisiacs, and poisons was uncovered by the Paris police in 1678. As the scope of the crimes among reputable families and the nobility was revealed, a special court was established to deal with them. The investigations brought to light magic and black masses as well as drugs and poisons. The affair got out of hand as people began to see how they might use lurid accusations against their enemies for their own political and economic advantage. In 1680 a number of priests were indicted for saying mass on the bodies of naked women at the center of a ring of black candles, of leading the congregation in sexual intercourse, of ritual copulation on the altar, of sacrificing animals, of murdering children and using their blood in the preparation of aphrodisiacs, of desecrating the Eucharist, of using the chalice to mix children's blood with sexual fluids, of invoking the Devil, and of making written pact with him. These black masses were supposedly offered at the request of courtiers and other influential people in order to procure political or sexual favors. One of Louis XIV's mistresses was accused of seeking by magic to make the queen barren and to fix the king's attentions on herself. As in the witch craze, once delusion began to touch people of

⌘ D.T. could give a little summary
 of the blasphemy exercises
 upon the wafer,
 ⌘ this we blamed on the Jews when the
 body was discovered.

D.T. to blame the Jews had remained
 a secret key to excitement, buffing,
 and black orgies,

m's.

such power and rank it was doomed. The king terminated the proceedings of 1682, issuing an edict eliminating prosecution for witchcraft. The black mass, a product of the cynical, skeptical, yet credulous seventeenth century, was not revived until the late nineteenth century.

In contrast to the cynical black mass, serious and moral plays and poems dealing with the war in heaven, the fall of the angels, and the temptation of Adam and Eve continued to be popular all over Europe both before and after John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, but it was Milton who knit the traditional stories into a fabric so coherent and compelling that it became the standard account for all succeeding generations. Milton was born in 1608. Brought up a staunch Protestant, he eventually formulated a somewhat idiosyncratic theology of his own, which he expressed in his treatise *Christian Doctrine* (1655-1660) and his poems *Paradise Lost* (1667) and *Paradise Regained* (1674).

These two epic poems cover almost the entire span of Christian salvation history; their express purpose was to "justify the ways of God to men." God created the world good; moral goodness is impossible without free will; humans and angels are free to choose evil; some do so; God's providence, turning everything to good, makes our fall the occasion for teaching us wisdom through trials and suffering; God ultimately redeems us through the Incarnation and Passion of Jesus. Milton intended God and man—not Satan—to be the dramatic center of the poem.

Still, Satan seems to be the protagonist, the character that most moves the plot along. Milton also deliberately made Satan appear magnificent at the beginning so that his audience might feel all the glamour of evil. Only if readers are attracted by Satan can they recognize their own tendencies to evil and grasp the ignominy and pathos of Satan's eventual ruin. Milton also seems to have inadvertently made the characters of God and Christ less interesting and dramatic than that of the Evil One. But he had absolutely no intention of portraying Satan in a positive light.

Milton followed the traditional chronology of salvation history. "In the beginning is God," and in the moment after the initial act of creation and before making the material universe, God creates the angels through the power of his Son, the Word. Then, summoning all the hosts of heaven before his throne, he calls the angels to witness the exaltation of his Son. One of the greatest of these angels was Lucifer. Milton is deliberately unclear as to Lucifer's rank in heaven: he calls him an archangel yet sets him in command of seraphim and cherubim. Milton judged that the only point he needed to make was that Satan had such high dignity in heaven that after his fall he naturally became king of hell.

~~Handwritten signature~~

mis. For reference

The poet took pains to describe his godlike, princely nature and his terrifying stature:

On th'other side Satan alarm'd
Collecting all his might dilated stood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:
His stature reached the Sky, and on his Crest
Sat horror Plum'd.

[He] extended long and large
Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
As whom the Fables name of monstrous size.

This great power is moved to envy and anger at the elevation of the Son above himself:

Fraught
With envy against the Son of God, that day
Honour'd by his great Father, and proclaim'd
Messiah King anointed, could not bear
Through pride that sight.
[Therefore] he resolv'd
With all his Legions to dislodge, and leave
Unworship't, unobey'd the Throne supreme.

Satan's rebellion occurs before the creation of the material universe, including humanity.

On one level the Almighty is the cause of Satan's ruin, for God chooses to create the cosmos such as it is; the angel Abdiel tells Satan: "I see thy fall Determin'd." On a second level, however, God does not directly will things to be as they are, for he has given his creatures true freedom. The freedom he wills, but he does not rule what choice they make. What God says of humanity's original sin also applies to Satan:

Whose fault?
Whose but his own? ingrate, he had of mee
All he could have; I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.

If Satan fell freely, there is no cause of his fall, for there can be no cause of a truly free-will act.

But though his fall had no cause, it had motives. In the course of the

mis.

poem, Satan's motives deteriorate from pride to envy to revenge. His "obdurate pride" appears from the beginning:

He trusted to have equall'd the most High,
If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
Against the Throne and Monarchy of God
Rais'd impious War in Heav'n.

To pride, Satan added envy of the Son of God, which overwhelmed him at the dramatic moment of Christ's elevation by the Father. Satan felt a sense of "injur'd merit" at the Son's power, which seemed to him a novel point of law introduced by an arbitrary, tyrannical God. To Milton and his audience Satan had no claim to any merit, injured or otherwise, since whatever good one has comes from God's gift. At God's request that the angels glorify the Son, Satan scornfully addresses them: "Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend/The supple knee?" Once having made his choice, Satan adds revenge to envy, and when humanity is created, he adds hatred of our happiness in Eden and hatred that God should create us in his own image.

Satan's choice to rebel was the first of all sins: at the moment of decision, his daughter, Sin, sprang from his forehead. Satan's first act as sinner is to persuade some of his fellow angels to rebel. Withdrawing his followers from the hosts surrounding God's throne, he set up his own seat in the north of heaven. With eloquent, twisted reasoning he argues that the angels need not obey God, for because they cannot remember the act of creation, God's claim to have made them may be a lie. They may not be created at all, but rather "self-begot, self-raisd," un beholden to Father or to Son:

Our puissance is our own, our own right hand
Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try
Who is our equal.

The immediate effect of the rebellion is war in heaven, which Milton portrays in the epic language of the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid*. Satan's war against God is an insane action that can have only one conclusion, and the audience knows that. To make a war against an omnipotent divinity credible, Milton was obliged to give the rebellious angels a high degree of valor and courage. He did this so enthusiastically as to introduce a whole new scenario to the myth. Traditionally, the war was over in one mighty

~~Reference~~ (D.T.)

battle, but Milton protracted the conflict and made the first stage a stalemate between Satan's armies and those of Michael, so that God is obliged on the third day to send his own Son to cast the rebels down. Where Michael has been hard pressed, the Son triumphs easily, putting forth "not half his strength."

Instead of annihilating the vanquished, God checks
His Thunder in mid Volley, for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heav'n.

God actually leaves them with the power to do more damage, which perplexes Satan, who would have shown them no mercy as victor himself:

Let him surer bar
His Iron Gates, if he intends our stay
In that dark durance.

But God wishes to teach the Devil that his every effort to do evil is inevitably turned to good:

And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs,
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
Evil to others, and enrag'd might see
How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy shown
On man by him seduc't, but on himself
Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance pour'd.

Whatever Satan does redounds upon his own head, and he can never be saved. Humanity was seduced by another being, but Satan has no excuse.

Satan is the author of evil as God is the author of the universe. As a result of Satan's sin, wretchedness enters the world.

How hast thou disturb'd
Heav'n's blessed peace, and into Nature brought
Misery, uncreated till the crime
Of thy Rebellion? how hast thou instill'd
Thy malice into thousands?

Reference D.T.

mis.

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Having fallen from grace by their own choice, Satan and his evil angels fall from heaven by God's:

Him th'Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th'Ethereal Sky
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In Adamantine Chains and penal fire.

With him fell the angels who had taken his side:

Lucifer from Heav'n
(So call him, brighter once amidst the Host
Of Angels, than that Star the Stars among)
Fell with his flaming Legions through the Deep
Into his place.

They fell "thick as autumnal leaves . . . Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood." Nine days they fell down through the air, down through chaos, and nine days lay prostrate on the fiery lake.

Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confusion in thir fall
Through his wild Anarchy, so huge a rout
Incomber'd him with ruin: Hell at last
Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd,
Hell thir fit habitation fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.

But where is hell? Milton seems to follow Dante and tradition in locating it at the center of the earth:

Here thir Prison ordained
In utter darkness, and thir portion set
As far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n
As from the Centre thrice to th'utmost Pole.

The problem is that in Milton's chronology the earth has yet to be created, so hell can scarcely be at its center! There appears to be another problem as well. Later in the action Milton describes Satan's voyage from hell across chaos toward heaven, from which the universe hangs pendant on a golden chain. If the universe hangs from heaven, and both

are separated by chaos from hell, where can hell be? The answer is that although Milton describes hell with physical imagery of the interior of the planet, his hell is not really in the earth. Where is it then? It is nowhere: that is the beauty of Milton's conception. The place where Satan seeks to raise a new empire is nowhere at all, a perfect metaphor for the absolute nonbeing of evil. Hell is less a place where the fallen angels dwell than a state of soul that stays with them wherever they go; "Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell." It is a state "where all life dies, death lives." Hell, being nowhere, is the fit abode for those who choose nothingness over reality.

Now that the angels have fallen, God proceeds to his second creation, the material universe. He summons a new world into being to make up for Satan's depredations in heaven:

But lest his heart exalt him in the harm
Already done, to have dispeopled Heav'n,
My damage fondly deem'd, I can repair
That detriment, if such it be to lose
Self-lost, and in a moment will create
Another World, out of one man a Race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell.

The human race will make up for the fallen angels; it is the crowning glory of the cosmos; but that glory Satan will soon seek to soil.

But first we see Satan, cast down into the fiery lake, surveying his dark dungeon. He spies his lieutenant Beelzebub and then the whole shadowed host. Their natures, created by God, remain angelic, but their wills have become evil, and their outward appearance gradually changes to match the distortion of their wills. The continuing deterioration of Satan's character is matched by the increasing grotesqueness of his appearance. His warping continues for ever and ever:

And in the lowest deep a lower deep
Still threat'ning to devour me opens wide,
To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav'n. . . .
While they adore me on the Throne of Hell,
With Diadem and Sceptre high advanc'd
The lower still I fall.

Though at first "his form had yet not lost/All her original brightness, nor appear'd/Less than Arch Angel ruin'd," it already bore the terrible marks

of decline. Upon seeing his comrade Beelzebub for the first time in hell, Satan gapes, "~~O how fall'n! how chang'd!~~" sensing that the mark of ruin is already upon himself, and later an angelic messenger will confirm his fears:

Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undimsh't brightness, to be known
As when thou stood'st in Heav'n upright and pure;
That Glory then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee, and thou resembl'st now
Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul.

In order to deceive angels and humans, Satan takes on a number of animal forms, including vulture and serpent, and then whines that he is being degraded by doing so:

O foul descent! that I who erst contended
With Gods to sit the highest, am now constrain'd
Into a Beast, and mixt with bestial slime

In the course of the poem Satan is gradually reduced from bright angel to a peeping, prying thing that ends as a writhing snake.

Rising from the fiery lake into which he has been pitched in his expulsion from heaven, Satan muses to Beelzebub about their present predicament and future prospects. Condemning God as a cruel tyrant, he calls for protracted warfare against the Deity. Beelzebub joins his master in the delusion that God can be resisted, pretending that they had nearly succeeded in toppling the heavenly despot. But in Beelzebub's thought runs an undercurrent of worry: he fears that God must really be almighty since nothing less than omnipotence could have overcome their angelic might. All the demons participating in the infernal discussions have glimpses into reality that Satan lacks, but Satan's greater blindness, which proceeds from his greater evil, causes him to ignore these insights and pursue his insane plan. His response to Beelzebub's caution exposes a completely corrupted will choosing evil for the sake of evil:

To do aught good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight,
As being contrary to his high will
Whom we resist. If then his Providence

Enron D. J.
~~Prof~~

mt.s.

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Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labor must be to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil.

This is a blunt plan for a counter-providence: whatever is good we will attempt to twist to evil; we hate good for the pure and simple reason that it is good. Satan embraces his own evil:

Farewell happy Fields
Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor; One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. . .
Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n.

I affirm, he says, that my sole purpose is to embrace nothingness and to obliterate whatever is good. Again, this is vain boasting, for his anti-providential schemes are nonsense: in reality divine providence will turn every evil into good. Belial and the other demons rush about with their plans to build an empire with Pandemonium as its capital, but the idea of making this stinking, filthy place, which is literally nowhere, into a comfortable kingdom is absurd.

Satan nurses his own private scheme: if God is planning a new world and a new race, this presents me with an opportunity to strike a blow against the divine oppressor by fraud and by guile. Satan calls a council and feigns allowing the demons freedom of debate, all the while planning to have Beelzebub impose the master plan at the end. Satan opens the parliament:

High on a Throne of Royal State, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Show'rs on her Kings Barbaric Pearl and Gold,
Satan exalted sat.

The throne from which Satan apes the royal state of God in heaven is, like the rest of hell, a lunatic phantasm. His opening address to his followers is equally mad, for he suggests that they can defeat the Almighty and end up with greater glory than before their fall.

Each demon makes his speech on the basis of his own ruling vice, which each disguises as a virtue. The savage Moloch rises to counsel war at all costs; even if it cannot be won, he argues, it is better than crouching here in chains. The smooth-tongued Belial speaks next, using all the arts of rhetoric and charismatic charm to oppose Moloch and advance his own lazy, sensuous scheme. Let us settle down in hell, he counsels, wait till God's anger cools, and perhaps we will eventually feel comfortable here. Mammon's advice resembles Belial's, though based more on avarice than on sensuality: Let us build a city and an empire here in the underworld, he suggests, mining the rich earth to construct palaces and so profit from our fall.

The assembled demons are inclining to the side of Belial and Mammon, but now Beelzebub rises to promote Satan's plan as if it were his own. Courtly, grave, recognized as Satan's prime minister, he commands immediate respect. Calmly and politely he exposes the illusions of the previous speakers. We can never be happy in hell, he argues, because God is in reality absolute master here as he is of the whole cosmos. The conclusions that an unclouded mind would draw from that premise are obvious, but the demons no longer have clear intellects. And so Beelzebub, stirring them up to hatred and contempt of humanity, advances a plan even more insane than the others. If we cannot confront God directly, he says, we can get at him by corrupting these little pets of his. The demons enthusiastically embrace this scheme to:



Confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
To mingle and involve, done all to spite
The great Creator.

But the plan is vain from the outset:

But thir spite still serves
His glory to augment.

Now the demons must decide which will do the dirty work in Eden. Satan volunteers, vaunting his courage and his initiative to his followers—whereas his real motive is to escape, if only for a while, the punishment of hell. Sallying forth, Satan reaches the gate of hell and there encounters his daughter Sin, on whom he has incestuously begotten “the execrable shape” of his son Death, who in turn has raped his

* D.T. It was for far more than to spite the great Creator. On O.O., our manifest of Satan, had a vision, more profound he believes than any cosmic insight possessed by the D.K., but to prevail, the fruit embodiment of the D.K.'s vision, the presence of man and woman must be profoundly altered.

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mis.

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mother and produced a brood of monstrous offspring. The Devil, Sin, and Death parody the Holy Trinity; Sin addresses Satan in terms appropriate only to God:

Thou art my Father, thou my Author, thou
My being gav'st me; whom should I obey
But thee, whom follow? thou wilt bring me soon
To that new world of light and bliss.

The dark irony is that this new world that the perverted trio will soon make their home is the earth.

The Devil proceeds, issuing from the gate of hell into chaos, a non-place separating the nonplace of hell from the reality that is heaven and the universe depending from it. Leaving chaos, he journeys toward the universe while God watches his course across the void and already plans his response: the Son's willing sacrifice of himself for a humanity that Father and Son know will fall and will need redemption. Satan finally reaches the outermost sphere of the cosmos and, perching there, peers down, scanning the vulnerable universe like a vulture looking for prey. Descending to the sphere of the sun, he disguises himself as a cherub; thence he comes to earth, alighting upon a mountain near the Garden of Eden, the same mountain (Milton feigns) as that on which Satan would tempt Christ.

Sitting on the mountain, Satan soliloquizes in terms that we might take as honest soul-searching if we did not know that here was a being wholly committed to evil. The soliloquy is another of Satan's impostures; and yet not entirely so. His intellect, though coarsened and weakened, still retains a tiny remnant of its angelic powers, and here he seems to glance sideways at reality before rejecting it yet again. Looking at the sun, Satan hates it for reminding him of what true light really is. He recognizes that the choice of darkness was his own and that he is the author of his own misery. The thought of repentance enters his mind only to be rejected immediately. He knows which way his will is bent.

For never can true reconciliation grow
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep;
Which would but lead me to a worse relapse,
And heavier fall: so should I purchase dear
Short intermission bought with double smart.
This knows my punisher; therefore as far

The Wounds of
Deadly Hate
(a possible title)
on
The Wounds

reference D.T.

From granting hee, as I from begging peace:
All hope excluded thus.

The angel Uriel, who observes this soliloquy from afar, notices the contortions of Satan's face and realizes that here is no innocent cherub but a threat to the innocuous inhabitants of earth.

Satan continues on to Paradise, upon whose beauties he spies in the shape of a cormorant from a tree; with envious hatred he watches Adam and his wife embracing in innocent union. Meanwhile Gabriel sets an angelic watch over Eden to protect them, and two of their guardian angels, Ithuriel and Zephon, come across Satan squatting like a toad and whispering fantasies of corruption into Eve's sleeping ear. Ithuriel touches him lightly with his spear, and at the touch Lucifer leaps up in his own shape, but so changed from his original glory that they do not recognize him. When they do, Zephon rebukes him and tells him of his true appearance. Satan is taken aback:

Abasht the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in the shape how lovely, saw, and pin'd
His loss.

Still, his regret is not so much for the harm he is doing as for the loss of his own beauty and prestige. The two angels bring Satan before Gabriel, and the great archangels—one fallen, one elect—begin a dialogue. Satan disdains Gabriel's loyalty and boasts of his own courage and faithfulness to his comrades. Gabriel's reply is crushingly direct:

O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!
Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head. . . .
And thou, sly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem
Patron of liberty, who more than thou
Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and servilely ador'd
Heav'n's awful Monarch? wherefore but in hope
To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?

As Satan sits whispering to Eve in the shape of a toad, she in her dream sees him in the form of a beautiful angel suggesting the joys that will be hers once she eats the forbidden fruit. Her husband warns her that the dream may proceed from an evil spirit, but the dream has had its effect

D.T. essay

on the first woman, grooming her for the final temptation. To accomplish this, Satan roams the earth in search of a perfect disguise and settles upon the serpent, voluntarily shifting his shape into a form into which he later would be forced. Finding the serpent, as yet an innocent beast, asleep, Satan creeps into his mouth and possesses him. Unaware of the horror awaiting them, yet warned of possible danger, Adam suggests to Eve that they stay together, but she determines to walk in the garden alone, a situation that Satan is quick to exploit. On beholding her again, the Evil One hesitates just for a moment; a remnant of his original intellect opens his eyes to the beauty and harmony of the universe and of this its fairest inhabitant:

Her graceful Innocence, her every Air
Of gesture or least action overaw'd
His Malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought;
That space the Evil One abstracted stood
From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
Stupidly good, of enmity disarm'd,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge.

D.T. We are warned
to avoid such
excursions.

Then his twisted will draws him back away from reality:

But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid Heav'n, soon ended his delight. . . .
Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites.

He explains to Eve how he, a poor serpent, had obtained wisdom merely by eating the fruit of the wonderful tree. Eve objects that God has forbidden the fruit, but Satan expostulates against a tyrant who would block her from growth and fulfillment. The tree, he insinuates, will give her and her husband immortality, a happier life, and higher knowledge. It will make them like gods, and the Lord's only motive in prohibiting it must be his desire to hold them under his control. Eve yields, her senses urging her to taste the fruit, her intellect bent by Satan's false reasoning.

With Eve's fall, the moment of high drama is over, for Adam will soon follow his wife into ruin. When he learns what she has done he is horrified:

O fairest of Creation, last and best
Of all God's Works, Creature in whom excell'd

+ D.T. In this,
was our most
effective
weapon, for the
devil's and
fulfillment is
a gift of the D.K.
to every child born.
To capture that love
and play with it,
worth the last endeavor
all the others.

Whatever can to sight or thought be form'd,
 Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
 How art thou lost, how on a sudden lost,
 Defac't, deflow'r'd, and now to Death devote?

But he is bone of Eve's bone and flesh of her flesh, and his immediate and resolute choice is to remain by her. Whatever his motives, Adam knowingly chooses to violate God's will, and the consequences are inescapable. The two first humans are driven out of Paradise to live a life of suffering and alienation, while the serpent is cursed. Satan understands that the curse means his eventual ruin when Christ, the second Adam and son of the second Eve, will come to crush him beneath his foot. But meanwhile he shortsightedly rejoices, and his offspring Sin and Death now build their highway from hell to earth, which they subject to Satan's rule until the moment of redemption.

Satan triumphantly returns to the underworld to boast to his followers. Shining in what shreds of starlike glory yet remain to him, he mounts his glittering throne, and the fallen angels prostrate themselves in wonder and praise. I have defeated God and opened the earth to Sin and Death, he vaunts; arise and take possession of this your domain. But all of a sudden his boasts are reduced to reality, for the angels ranked round the vast throneroom take on shapes more becoming to their true nature. Satan hears, not the shouts of praise that he expects, but the authentic voice of his attendant throng:

So having said, a while he stood, expecting
 Thir universal shout and high applause
 To fill his ear, when contrary he hears
 On all sides, from innumerable tongues
 A dismal universal hiss, the sound
 Of public scorn; he wonder'd, but not long
 Had leisure, wond'ring at himself now more;
 His Visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
 His Arms clung to his Ribs, his Legs entwining
 Each other, till supplanted down he fell
 A monstrous Serpent on his Belly prone,
 Reluctant, but in vain, a greater power
 Now rul'd him, punisht in the shape he sinn'd,
 According to his doom; he would have spoke,
 But hiss for hiss return'd with forked tongue
 To forked tongue, for all were now transform'd

Essay - D.T.
misc

D-T

the full
Christian
cavalier.

Alike to Serpents all as accessories
To his bold Riot: dreadful was the din
Of hissing through the Hall, thick swarming now
With complicated monsters, head and tail.

Satan, who had taken the serpent's form to seduce humankind, is doomed forever to crawl upon his belly before the dreadful majesty of God.

In *Paradise Regained*, Milton described the healing of the alienation between God and humanity by the resistance of the second Adam, Christ, to a new temptation. Satan, who has lost all his majesty in his degradation and humiliation in the earlier poem, in the new poem exhibits merely low cunning.

Satan has learned of the birth of Jesus and heard him called the son of God. He summons another infernal council and warns the demons that they must find out what this means. Is Jesus merely human, or is he divine? To find out, the Devil must determine whether he will yield to temptation. God, observing this new plot from heaven, permits the Evil One to tempt Christ in order that the Son may demonstrate that the new Adam has the strength to restore the damage done by the first Adam. The Father will use the temptation providentially. It begins the Passion, the suffering that God uses to break Satan's power over the earth. As God turns the Passion into the salvation of humankind, so he first turns Satan's test of Jesus into the confirmation of Christ's divinity.

When Jesus goes out into the desert to pray, the Devil approaches him disguised as an old man in country clothing. Still evading responsibility, Satan whines that he is an unfortunate victim whom misery, not sin, has brought low. The Son of God is not taken in: "Deservedly thou griev'st, composed of lies / From the beginning, and in lies wilt end." No joy can make you happy, for you have chosen unhappiness, and you are most miserable when in the presence of joy, "never more in Hell than when in Heaven."

Satan takes advice from his demons' parliament, and the sensuous Belial suggests that they tempt Jesus with women, but Satan prefers "manlier objects," honor, glory, and popular praise. He returns to the desert in sophisticated clothing and urbanely offers Jesus food, riches, glory, and the kingdoms of the earth. The temptations fail because Christ discerns that Satan can never offer anything but illusions. The Devil is not yet convinced and still wonders "in what degree or meaning thou art call'd / The Son of God, which bears no single sense." I too am a

Reference D. H. ~~WATS.~~

High on a Throne of Royal State 205

son of God, he muses, or at least I used to be, and all men are sons of God.

Therefore to know what more thou art than man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heav'n,
Another method I must now begin.

Setting Jesus upon the pinnacle of the Temple, Satan urges him to prove his divine power by hurling himself down and allowing the angels to catch his fall. Jesus replies: "Tempt not the Lord your God," both an affirmation of his own faith in the Father and a reproach to Satan for tempting the Son. His reply sends Satan staggering back into darkness.

Satan is surprised at the failure of his temptations. Because all he understands is power, he cannot grasp that Christ's motive in coming to earth is love. Christ warns him that he cannot hope much longer to

Rule in the clouds; like an Autumnal Star
Or lightning thou shalt fall from Heav'n trod down. . . .
Yet not thy last and deadliest wound
By this repulse received.

Milton's is the last and greatest full-length portrait of the traditional lord of evil. The concept would in the eighteenth century be worn down by rationalists and distorted by Romantics, who, ironically, regarded Milton's Satan as the most important symbol of the rebelliousness that they considered the greatest good.

E. T. D. T.

better off avoided. It is arguably risky to steer one's course toward the dark side voluntarily, for one only has to mention the Devil and he manifests himself in one way or another—we were chaperoned during the writing of this book by a leering, cackling flock of ravens that roosted outside our window. We persevered, however, determined that it is better to know what one is up against after all, and besides, it is infinitely more fun to play with the bad guys.

But it is not easy to tread lightly on the subject of evil and its mythology. In writing this book, one thing became clear: the nature of wickedness and its incarnate representation, the Devil, are as slippery as a serpent in one's intellectual grasp. Great religious thinkers

from Enoch to Saint Thomas Aquinas to more contemporary writers have struggled valiantly to construct workable theories to rationalize the existence of a benevolent God in light of the overwhelming suffering, maliciousness, and unjustifiable misery in the world. It would take several volumes larger than this to go into these individual theories in the depth they deserve, but we encourage anyone who is interested in the subject

to pursue this study. It is riveting social history, philosophy, and prophecy, as relevant today as it ever has been. The thread that remains consistent in these ideas, however, is the acceptance that, at least for now, the Devil and his minions appear to have the upper hand in the dealings with mortals and the physical world they inhabit (because, most of these theoreticians would argue, God wants it that way).

*The devil tempts all,
but the idle man
tempts the devil.*

D. T. — True.
— True



Seal of Lucifer

D. T. Absolutely
venture

*The Devil in repose,
15th century*

~~Full of temptation~~

D. T. In vitro
rather an interesting little book
by Genevieve and Tom Morgan, full
of error, and for that reason useful
for comment and definition,

?

Essay - D. T.

This could
all be a
dialogue
between the
version & D.T.
D.E.

utterly
untune

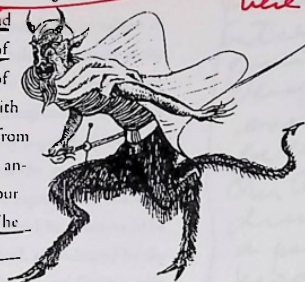
D.T.
I race

Untune -
It's all
after devouring

Brutus, Cassius, and
Judas Iscariot, 1512

get that ~~settling~~ karma. which is also untune.

And so here we have the being known by a thousand names, the absolute incarnation of evil, the emperor of the realm of grief: Lucifer, the angel of God, whose pride sparked a war that rent the Heavens and caused no end of misery to the human race. Satan, the adversary, who accuses and punishes sinners, toting their souls off in a sack to languish in cauldrons of liquid fire. The Devil, a being of consummate complexity, the supreme ruler of chaos and discord, who is bound in Hell by the power of Christ. Mephistopheles, the personification of cultured vice, who slyly seduces his victims with sophistication and wit, only to tear them limb from limb as he devours their souls. The Archfiend answers to all of the above; and we humans, to our utter misfortune, are his only occupation. The Devil's primary objective is to be worshipped by humanity as a god, to rival his estranged parent in the minds of men and to create a dominion equal to that of Heaven. To that end, he enlists hordes of demons and damned souls to do his bidding, leading men down the path of iniquity and through the one-way gates of Hell.



Mephistopheles

assent
here

not quite -
D.T.

I expect
that I
don't
know

Popular characterizations of the Western European Devil do not appear in art or writing until the sixth century, a good two hundred years after Christianity became the region's accepted religion. It was not until the Middle Ages, that epoch of manic superstition and fear, that

It could be said that each can
is different, but the D.K. and the O.O.
agree on one matter. Truly bad
karma is hell for either side, assuming
that there is a meeting of divine minds
on the nature of truly bad karma
— which is ~~the~~ only true in a fair
minority of the cases. A terribly violent
disposition uncovered by honest
compassion is richer humanly for
the O.O. than the D.K. An ice-cold
disposition, ditto.

not
very
clear,
but can
be improved.

D.T. essay

like—who have sold their souls. We encourage you to read these accounts before acting rashly; because once sold, a soul is nearly impossible to redeem. If you are already in the unfortunate position of having made such a bargain and you are looking for a way out, see our first book, *Saints*. There may be somebody in there who can help you. If you are being hounded by impure spirits, the last chapter in this book will reveal some different ways to repel them.

It is impossible to discuss the Devil without broaching the subject of racism and hatred. Due to our focus on the mythological aspects of the Devil, the tales in this book do not incorporate the very real brutal persecutions that transpired in the name of God throughout history. Early Christians found Satan under every stone, in every pagan temple or Jewish synagogue, even amidst their own brethren. How else could they explain the enmity, persecution, and divisiveness they too experienced? Schooled in the art of grandstand torture by the Romans, later Christians could be quite ruthless in routing out children of the Devil, as evidenced by the Crusades, the Inquisition, and the witch trials. Jewish and Gnostic sects were particularly subject to persecution and demonization—Jews for the part they allegedly played in the Crucifixion and Gnostics because their competing gospels threatened to topple Christianity's shaky foundation. Unfortunately, the discrimination against Jews has not lost its voracity. Many of the common attributes we associate with the Devil are actually vicious caricatures of medieval Jews. Hatred and discrimination do not begin or end with the Christians, however; it seems that every group from

*The Devil always
leaves a stink
behind him*

D.T.
A most
intricate
question
Very
expensive
for the D.K.
Our One
drives
a painful
hergem

*Fall of the Rebel Angels.
Lucifer and his legions
are expelled from Heaven,
by Gustave Doré, 19th-
century engraving for
Paradise Lost*

D.T.
spies
19

*a large remark
but is not without
foundation.*

Dr. man

the dawn of time until the present day has judged and found wanting others who do not look or talk like them, or believe precisely what they believe. Apparently evil is not the exclusive domain of the Devil; we humans have learned well and established our own flourishing fiefdom here

either depicted as
ment of the devil
-Reformation
16th century



Dr. T.
assaults
that is
the
fruit
of our
effort,

D.T. essay

D.T.
 assaults
 that is
 the
 fruit
 of our
 effort,

on earth. One last caveat of this nature: in our effort to present the myths surrounding damnation, it was necessary simply to describe the characterizations as they evolved in popular history; we made no allowances for many contemporary groups who may categorize themselves as Satanists, witches, sorcerers, or magicians but who pose no threat to society and are hurt by the insinuation. It is not our intent to further malign these groups, but to discuss the imagery and legend that has grown up around them—some of which is so ludicrous as to be entirely self-evident.

It is impossible to know whether or not the Devil and the misery he has caused humanity will be vanquished in the near future. All we can be sure of is that the more we struggle to resist temptation, the better off we will be. It is wise to remember that the Devil and his legions may only tempt humans to sin. There is a choice. Perhaps upon reading this volume, with its descriptions of the atrocities that can befall a wayward soul, it will be easier to understand the Devil and thus evade the many pitfalls his demons dig along our path to righteousness. If worse comes to worse, you might as well follow the example of the old woman in the Irish legend and hedge your bets, because no one knows for sure whether they are going up or down. We'll say one thing after becoming students of the Devil for a short while. We pray: it is up.

The Devil &
 the belfry
 vicar's sk

D.T.
 as much
 can be
 said
 for
 the
 human
 we go
 to
 the
 devil's
 door

Genevieve and Tom Morgan

DEVIL'S NIGHT (OCTOBER 30) 1995

As much can be said for God,
 the tempter humans to be
 good by terrifying them as hell
 — a wholly illogical proposition,
 economically speaking. How could the D. U. even afford
 the upkeep of an eternal hell
 and the prodigious cost of
 policing it. Clearly think of
 a human world with a large part
 half of the population in prison and new
 penitentiaries being constructed constantly.

D.T. *any*

and some other countries), the concept of evil began to change. The evolution is clear in the Bible: The Hebrew God of the Old Testament, Yahweh, still harbors some residual ambiguity in his nature. When displeased, he is quite capable of inflicting (and at times appears eager to inflict) great misery by hardening hearts or sending his angels of destruction to rain fire on his human subjects. Evil in the Old Testament is the result of sin. Human beings were sinners and God chose to have them punished. Although other religions (including many Gnostic religions) held that evil was a separate, equally powerful entity from the divine, present before the cosmos was created, most monotheistic believers promoted the idea that wickedness and despair were adjuncts of God. They were the nasty underbelly of Paradise, because nothing could exist without God calling it into being.

By the fourth century (when it was legalized), Christianity came clamoring to the forefront of Western European religion, and with it, the doctrine that the one and only true God is the absolute essence of pure love and goodness. To suggest that a mean or selfish vibration emanated from his holy visage was an outrage to true believers, but the early Christian theologians were left with a burning question: If God is love, they pondered, then who or what is responsible for evil? Thus began the extrapolation of many ideas and the evolution of popular superstitions and myths that evolved into what some consider to be one of the richest strains of thought ever to surface in human history—the mythic story of how the Devil and his legions of woe came to be.

Persian Demon



disquisition
~~Diagnosis~~
~~For~~
 by D.T.

↓
*this involves
 the nature
 of the
 universe.*

Early Assyrian demons



Satan contemplates his predicament, by Gustave Doré, 19th-century engraving

Lucifer

On the first day of the universe, God separated light from dark, morning from night. On the second day, he called into being the firmament of Heaven and populated it with entities of free will made of pure light—the nine choirs of angels—to keep him company in Heaven and serve as his vassals. Realizing that the angels might choose to do wrong because they were creatures of free will, God touched a portion of them with grace. The angels, made of an ethereal, shimmering substance and sporting wings that glistened with living gold, illuminated the halls and throne room of the Divine; but none shined so brightly as the Angel of the Morning, God's left-hand man: Lucifer, Son of Dawn.

Lucifer was a cherub of the highest order, a Seraphim with six wings. One of God's first creations, his dazzling beauty, power, and grace made

✓
R.C.'s
version
of the

cut off by long,
Needs
permanently

in contemplates his
 licaments, by Gustave
 1, 19th-century
 painting

error

him a favorite. The Creator positioned his most beautiful angel directly to his lower left, where he would be free to gaze down upon Lucifer's benevolent countenance. As if this tribute weren't enough, God also bestowed upon Lucifer dominion over earth, which up to that point was his most treasured creation. Lucifer received these honors as befitting an angel of his rank and thanked his benefactor with the appropriate hosannas. Lucifer took his seat of power and began to marvel at the

✓
*D.T.'s
 version
 of this*



The Etruscan demon,
 Tuckulcha

*D.T.'s
 version
 of this*

how as p 26

reference

magnitude of his own authority. He pondered why a being such as he had to answer to anyone at all. Why must he hold God's son, or for that matter, God, above himself? The cherub raised his hand to his chin and grew distracted by the sheer beauty of his being. Again he ominously turned his thoughts from his Creator to himself. Lucifer questioned why he was sitting lower than God if he was so powerful, so beautiful. Surely a superlative creature such as he was worthy of his own kingdom; to be like God, subservient to no one—now that was real power.

As these damning thoughts whirled around the ill-fated angel's head, Lucifer's first daughter, Sin, took a woeful leap from his forehead. As if on cue, the Divine Father rose from his throne to check on the latest holy invention: a man named Adam fashioned from dirt and clay in the Lord's image. Lucifer felt a stab of jealousy at the thought of this new creation. Would Adam usurp his esteemed position in God's eyes? Envy commingled with vanity, ambition with pride, and a nest of vipers grew in Lucifer's bold and careless heart.

D.T.'s
version
of this

seems as
pp 26 + 27

D.T.'s
version

The Fall

With the holy throne empty, Lucifer grabbed the opportunity and ascended to seat himself on his Creator's chair. As his cherubic brethren faced him, Lucifer proclaimed that he was their new leader and would offer them more than the other ever could. After all, he reasoned to the angels, they were creatures of free will, able to worship one god as well as the next. Bored by their liturgical duties and swayed

too much

Essay, ~~reference~~
get into
the number

D.T.'s
version
of this

D.T.'s
version

a take-off
from
Paradise Lost.

by delusions of grandeur, a full third of the angels populating the choirstalls (a fifteenth-century Bishop of Tusculum estimated 133,306,668 angels in all) bowed down to the impostor. Lucifer swelled with triumph. He and the rebel angels proceeded to set up their own rival kingdom, described in John Milton's epic, poem *Paradise Lost* as located in the north of Heaven. The outraged Archangel Michael rallied the remaining two-thirds of the angels to arms. They waged a terrible war against the insubordinates, intent on driving them from Heaven. Finally, on what some imagined to be August first (a date referred to in *Paradise Lost*), after a day of vicious battle, God returned from the Garden of Eden to see his precious Lucifer seated defiantly on his throne, ruling his fool's paradise. To the shame of his Creator, Lucifer's wings, once glistening, now burned with the false flame of his sins. Before God's eyes, his beloved angels tore one another to pieces. When God saw what Lucifer had done, his wrath had no mercy. With one hefty stroke, Lucifer and the rebel angels were hurled from the divine presence for eternity, their pure, shining bodies turning black and oily as they rained down from Heaven.



Archangel Michael
conquers Satan

In the Muslim tradition, the Qur'an relates a more troubling, ambiguous version of the same tale. Lucifer (known as Iblis before the Fall and Shaytan after) rebels against God (Allah) because of pride.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 133,306,668 \\
 \times 7.5 \\
 \hline
 664,533,400 \\
 999,146,676 \\
 \hline
 999,800,010.8
 \end{array}$$

Angels 1/45 of the people
on earth today

Devils 1/55 of the people
on earth today

1/25 is greater no. of
all people
who may
be inhabited (and/or are)

(Of course some elements)
can inhabit a corner
now men and women but
such warcoins are generally minor

reference

When Allah brings Adam in front of the angels, he demands that each angel bow down in front of his new creation. When he reaches Iblis, the Angel of Morning asks, "Why should I, a son of fire, bow down before a son of clay?" God's reaction is swift and decisive, and the disobedient angel is expelled from heaven. In a Sufi rendition of the same story, Lucifer does not bow down before Adam because he loves his God so much that to worship anything else would be sacrilege. He thinks he is obeying God by abiding his preexisting command to never bow down before false idols. Either God misunderstands Lucifer's devoted stance (which is hard to believe) or he has made the decision to allow Lucifer to fall and intentionally sets up this catch-22.

Lucifer and his companions fell like bricks for nine long days. When they finally struck the ground the massive weight of their sins broke the surface of the earth, which opened like a set of massive jaws in a great, shuddering yawn. Lucifer and his legion toppled headfirst into the fire and brimstone of the Abyss, located in some beliefs at the exact center of the earth. No longer the angel of light, Lucifer became known forevermore as the Devil. The primordial sinner with no hope of salvation, he was sentenced to burn in Hell for all time. Frothing at the mouth with rage, the Devil swore to the legion of angels he had brought down with him that he would turn the slop-heap of Hell into a kingdom to challenge Heaven, a principedom dedicated to opposing all that God, in his goodness, intended. Thus, fallen from grace, devoid of good, and bound in duty to chaos and darkness, Lucifer and the rebel angels bore evil into the world.

Good
with grit
for D.T.
use this
as an
analogy.

D.T.
Woodson
de Sade

too
crude.

*The War in Heaven.
Michael defeats Lucifer
and the rebel army, by
Gustave Doré, 19th-
century engraving*

essay



brush of Original Sin. Because of their disobedience in the Garden, all humans are born sinners. Living under the yoke of the Devil in life, humanity would know pain and suffering and death—all unfamiliar concepts in Eden—and, to top it off, all souls would now rot in Hell under the control of the Unholy One. Because of Original Sin, the pearly gates were shut and locked to the likes of man, never to be opened again. Adam and Eve were banished to a world decidedly less attractive than Paradise. God would have to look elsewhere to repopulate his empty choirstalls; and Satan, his mission complete, must have giggled maniacally to himself as he slithered back to his cohorts in Hell, content that, in one fell swoop, he had doomed the human race to suffer his torments for eternity.

Christ and Salvation

If one believes the Christians, however, we are not without hope even though we are all born sinners. In all fairness, God probably realized that he could have made Adam and Eve more resistant to temptation, so in his unknowable kindness, God in essence delivered himself to the Devil in order to redeem his wretched creation by manifesting his holiness in the mortal flesh of Jesus Christ. This is the concept of the Holy Trinity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are united in one eternal godhead that has always existed, each branch of the trinity being equally divine. Jesus Christ, the Lord incarnate, came to earth and sacrificed himself to

D.K.'s
sense of
proportion
D.K. this
also is
so manifest
request
that I
was not
if the people
was not comfortable
they can people.

D.K.
countin
w/ John
+ Christ

The Last Judgment
(detail), by Fra
Angelico, circa 1420

* After much deliberation, a contest was
joined w/ the outcome unknown.

essay 12.7

save mankind from unequivocal damnation. Born a mortal in the flesh of his son, God experienced firsthand the horror of the human condition and set a snare for his archenemy. The Devil presumed that Jesus was just a simple man; he had no idea he was up against someone who was divine and *sinless* (not tainted by Original Sin). Overconfident at the sight of the wandering prophet, the Devil was convinced he could win over this second Adam and turn him to the ways of wickedness.

While Jesus was in the desert, Satan approached him in the guise of a broken old man. He offered Christ illusions of unchecked power and wealth and tempted him to test his faith in God by jumping to his death off a high wall. "If God is as powerful as you say he is," the Devil baited, "then he won't let you die." In some versions, the Prince of Evil even lifts Christ onto his shoulder, offering him the reins of a kingdom that stretched as far as the eye could see. But Jesus, who knew that all the Devil could offer was lies, refused temptation and chased the Devil away. The Prince of Woe, quite alarmed by the backbone of this man, scurried back to Hell to consult with his cabinet. Infuriated at his failure, the Archfiend schemed to show this irritating do-gooder what real power was all about. In his frenzy for revenge, the Devil arranged the persecution, betrayal, and crucifixion of Christ. But because Jesus was not guilty of sin, he was unjustly punished. The Devil, by recklessly and wrongly ordering him to be tortured and killed, lost his undisputed dominion over human souls. Christians believe that Christ died to redeem mankind, that we are no

Jesus casting out the devil. After a painting by Schnorr von Carolsfeld



D. i.
w. counter
argument.
Jesus

36

Crucifixion

* We never had to order anyone.
The trap being set, the men
carried out the work without more
than a nudge or two from us. Our
efforts were limited to degrading
the ceremony. (The robe, the cowardly
thief, etc.)

Essay

D.T. Names

D.T. Name, I
can agree

Yes, we are
nervous of
Satan, warrior
belonging to
the adversary.

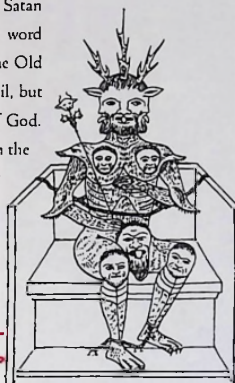
Hebrews
D.T. O/
historical
interest

More than
a little
to cheer.

Lucifer's argument with
the deity, from an early
11th-century manuscript

The Devil is a being of infinite forms that has almost as many names. The word devil is derived indirectly from the Greek word diabolos, meaning slanderer, which appears in ancient Hebrew texts. Devil and Satan have become synonymous; but Satan comes from the Hebrew word satan, meaning adversary, and he acts as the opposing angel in the Old Testament. The satan was not associated with a principle of evil, but with God. In fact, Satan in the Old Testament was a messenger of God. Although some strains of religious thought differentiate between the Devil and Satan as distinct entities, the Prince of Darkness or any of his peers will answer to any of the following: Abbadon, Apollyon, Asmedai, Asmodeus, Baal, Beelzebub, Belial, Demon, Devil, Dragon, Leviathan, Lucifer, Mephistopheles, Samael, Satan, or Serpent.

Many cultures believed that one risked the possibility of beckoning the Devil by speaking his name, so a host of euphemistic appellations evolved. Of the several hundred, some of the most common are: The Baker (because he pops sinners in the oven to roast), the Stoker (fueling the fires of Hell), the Poker, Diablo (Spanish), Diable (Italian), Teufel (German), Tempter, Old Hairy, Old Horny, Bogeyman, Old Bogie, the Deceiver of Mankind, Archfiend, Dark Prince, Black Jack, Horny Jack, Lusty Dick, the Accuser, the Fallen Star of Morning, the Apostate, the Old Gentleman, Gentleman Jack, the Black Dog, the Prince of the Pit, the Potentate of the Pit, and Dickens. When



The Trinity
of Evil

more
names
than we
need

Few are saved,
infinitely more are
damned.

MARTIN LUTHER

Essay D.T.

Archfiend. The Devil, or at least how he chooses to show himself, is now an instantly recognizable character due to the surfeit of illustration and description that continues to this very day.

There is no known depiction of the Devil before the sixth century. Christianity was recognized in Europe in the fourth century, and it seems to have taken a couple of centuries for Lucifer and his legions to show their countenances. When they did, it was in the form of small, black, impish figures. As the notion of evil and its creator grew in power and status during the Middle Ages, depictions of the Devil became increasingly revolting and, ironically, more and more human. By the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment, Christian images of Lucifer had matured from a primordial shadow to a sophisticated, duplicitous entity with the ability to appear as a dashing young man, an angel of light, or a slathering, blood-sucking beast. In our secular society today, demonic power is often depicted as alien, mechanical, or robotic—technology gone awry—with the Devil possessing inanimate objects like houses, lawnmowers, and cars. Nevertheless, when the human imagination throughout the ages has dared to dwell on the Dark One, classic themes have consistently emerged. Much of the attributes popularly associated with the Devil are actually demonized facets of pagan and other non-Christian religions, images subverted by the early Christian fathers to help their nascent religion gain solid ground.

Lucifer lands in Hell,
by Gustave Doré, 19th-
century engraving

D.T.
on their
Some theists
the old
dichotomy,
Heaven and
Hell, still
present.
The D.K.
dare not
let go
of that
notion

Or we could
sweep him
away with
the ~~forceful~~
forceful known
of our reason.
Forgive the sweep of
the metaphor, but as say
that ~~the~~ D.O. believes
we are ahead, and lovely
the fear of Hell keeps us
from attacking the D.K.'s
angels, promising young
talents, reflection, choice
and ground-gains—those
who wish to be on the
winning side.



15th-century Satan

Essay - important page on the economics of transneg-rification.

you send someone to the Dickens or to the Deuce, you are actually damning them to Hell.

In a twisted version of the Santa Claus legend, the Devil is referred to as "Old Nick." In this story, the Evil One lives in the North and drives reindeer. He wears a red suit and gets into people's homes through the chimney. He carries a large sack into which he tosses sinners and, with particular glee, naughty children. He flies through the air and is appeased with offerings of wine and food. The connection between Santa Claus and the Devil may be nothing more than a Victorian attempt to demonize Santa Claus because the Christmas festivities struck them as too pagan in nature. Nonetheless, children were warned to be good as gold or else Old Nick or the Christmas Devil, also known as Krampus, would visit instead of Santa Claus and tote them off to Hell.

Forms

As a polymorphous figure, the Devil can take the form of any being or possess any unsuspecting entity he wishes, from masquerading as an angel of light or the Virgin Mary to assuming the form of an animal, insect, or occasionally, an inanimate object. The following descriptions have evolved in popular imagination from a wealth of literary and artistic sources. From early Christian legends to medieval mystery plays to the artwork of Goya and Brueghel, the Devil continues to be a common subject and is now a universally recognized

D.T. on the bureaucratization of this.

Devils and demons bicker at the mouth of Hell

and the economic aspects.

From D.T.

The O.D. is perfectly capable of assuming these forms, but by agreement in conference with the D.K. they do not look more, particularly the lamb—

not frequent, but on occasions the bats are the little least closest to the O.D.

Our One found them relatively difficult to control

were present at the birth of Jesus. The Devil's affinity for goats may allude to the ancient pagan deity Priapus, god of all vegetation and fertility (symbolized by his giant, erect phallus), whose sacred animal was a goat. The dragon was popular in medieval legends for embodying evil; in particular, its penchant for torching victims with its fiery breath was a habit that struck people as singularly demonic. The Devil is considered to be the original mimic—or, as the early cleric Tertullian claimed, "God's Ape"—perversely copying anything divine; and he is thus frequently depicted as a monkey. Occasionally, the Fiend transforms into an elephant with the feet of a bear (also the form of the demon Behemoth, see page 88) which could be a derogatory reference to Ganesha, the Hindu god of wisdom. Ravens, pigs, and bats are depicted as additional, although less frequent, manifestations. The raven draws its fiendish characteristic from its appearance in Scandinavian mythology, where the dark god Odin had two ravens on his shoulder. The bat appears because it is thought to be frighteningly ugly and is a creature of the night. Rodents are popular because of their association with witches and disease. The cat, although revered as a divine figure in ancient Egypt, was demonized and persecuted by medieval Christians. Cats were infrequently possessed by the Devil, but they were associated with witches, bad luck, and evil or hysterical women—thus the origin of the description hell



arguably
a fear of
human
devils
from that
the cat is

hence the invocation of destruction

Expatiate on cat-lovers

D.T. He is full of wonder as a minic precisely because he has been denied the Creation. His efforts to work in the D.K. on the further changes in the Creation.

One of the malformations of the D.K.'s Creating the O.D. regarded his profound sympathy to the genus, and the area of large scale, as the terminal condition of birth-conception and death per unitary animal or human.

essay. D.T.

trident. The Devil's horns may be an emblem derived from the satyr Pan, but is more likely a reference to the untamed sexuality of bulls. The crescent moon turned sideways resembles horns; and, for this reason, the Fiend's horns may be a demonization of pagan moon worship. The moon is a symbol of fertility and the feminine, but it also connotes darkness and death. In Europe powerful people were often depicted with rays of light that resembled horns emanating from their forehead, a superstition that may have originated with bishops' mitres. In medieval times, the "horns of Moses" were associated with Jews, fueling the ongoing demonization of Jews; and powerful Jews in the community were depicted with horns, signifying their subservience to the Dark One. The Devil may also be shown carrying a fiery sword or rod, which he brandishes with relish. This symbol may allude to the war in Heaven, but more likely represents the Devil's virility and power.

Old Horny loves to appear as a clergy person. He easily adopts the robes of a priest and can thunder from the pulpit with the best of them. He also enjoys playing practical jokes on holy men and women, such as hiding their vestments or locking them in a confession booth while he performs Mass. A favorite trick of the Devil is to change newborn babies' faces to look exactly like the parish priest, thus causing a delightful ruckus in townships and the clergyman's humiliation.

In contemporary interpretations, the Devil visits humans in the guise of an attractive urbanite. More often than not, he uses the alias Mephistopheles, and he is a picture of up-to-date fashion and sophistication. This



again,
much too
expensive
to do often

but a
delight

even D.T.

manifestation of the Devil is all the more dangerous, because he may fool even the most educated individual. A master orator, philosopher, and academic, he is especially prone to masquerading as a scholar or teacher. He runs in only the finest social circles and makes a wonderful dinner guest as his conversation is always witty and ripe with gossip. Although he has succeeded in ridding himself of his more barbaric features, the Devil still has a tell-tale limp and the remnant of a tail that may give him away. If you confront the Fiend with the truth, his elaborate disguise will fall away and his true diabolical form will reveal itself. The Devil is thus the patron of lawyers and actors because they represent themselves falsely. The printing press and the publishing industry are associated with the Devil because he gave mankind the means to mass-produce the Bible and thus bastardized it. Catholic leaders saw the ability to disburse uncontrolled information would lead to a flood of corruption and wickedness via the printed word.

a belief
but hardly
a fact.

Diabolical Colors

In Northern European cultures, the Devil is generally black, symbolizing an absence of light and good. Black is symbolic of fear, the unknown, night, blindness, and chaos. It was also related to plagues (the Black Death), poison, the Underworld, and stupidity (or denseness). Occasionally the Prince of Darkness rides a black horse. Interestingly, devils in many Eastern and African religions are white, although much of the fear associated with a lack of light prevails. The Prince's relation

Hell, by Taddeo di
Barlo, 1396

essay

to reptiles and the pagan deities of vegetation and fertility—such as the aforementioned Pan and Priapus, and the Green Man, the ancient European mythological figure that is a god of vegetation and forests—led some artists to depict him with green skin. Alternatively, the Devil's flesh is red, singed by the fires of Hell and stained by the blood of the sinners he devours. The Fiend usually dresses in black or red. His livery is black and yellow, the hues of disease, death, and quarantine. His affinity for red has led to the belief that redheaded or ruddy-skinned humans are more susceptible to his charms and may even be related to a demon. Blondes are not exempt either; the yellow of their hair attracts the Devil, and they are less likely to ward off his advances than brunettes. Blue is occasionally associated with the Devil, but it is the gaseous blue of a sulfur flame, not the sky blue of the Heavens.

The Infernal Family

The Devil has a powerful grandmother who may be Hecate, the mythological goddess of nature. In some legends, the Devil's mother is Lilith (see page 101), Adam's first wife. In other stories, Lilith is his whore and Cain is their son. She and the demons circle the Devil's throne singing hideous hymns to his glory. The Devil has other females in his vile harem: Nehema, Aggareth, Igymeth, and Machlath. The Prince of Hell holds himself up as an example in fornication, fathering seven daughters, each one espousing one of the seven deadly sins. He has incestuous relations with his first daughter, Sin, with whom he parented

The Devil shown covered
with thick, oily hair
and reptilian wings

Again, this
is valuable.
We are
spirits,
and color,
our own
occasions,
we choose
to ourselves,
virtually
all colors
(not for
sky-blue)
are available
to us.

old-hat,
but exciting
and poetic.
I regret to say I
have never met any
of the lovely fiends

(1945)

D.T.
reads on
this
possibility
w A. 14

"But you know, and you alone know, that I am your Guardian Angel," he maddened, "I don't not dare to ask the obvious question, but as the cost of your Guardian Angel in 1944 and he would be awake sleepless in the Wolfscourt, the fear was there."

Shakespeare's character Caliban in *The Tempest* is the progeny of the Devil and a witch. Merlin was allegedly the fruit of the Devil's copulation with a nun, but luckily the wizard took after his mother. The New Testament foretells that, in one final attempt to regain his power over humanity, the Devil will father one more child, a nefarious son bent on undoing the redemption guaranteed to mankind by Christ. This Antichrist will be born to the Devil and a Babylonian whore. He will herald himself as the Second Coming of Jesus and unleash the domination of evil over the world, but his vainglorious promises will be empty and only the nonbelievers will follow him. When the real Messiah comes, the false prophet and his blasphemous congregation will be cast out for eternity, while the virtuous will ascend the Golden Ladder to take their place with the angels.

The Hell Hunt and Other Favorite Haunts

For entertainment, the Devil often rallies a few demons together and takes them out into the forest at night to hunt. As the Devil furiously rides his undead steed backward in his saddle through the wilderness, he is accompanied by blasts of the infernal trumpet and the baying of



in
relation
to A. 14
Calvin
+
Kland

The Devil is not
so black as he is
painted.

"Dear Sir," he was so
tumbled to ask.
"I wouldn't the
Devil be just
perfectly able to
present himself as
Guardian Angel?"

D.T.
This is
certainly

1945

most of them
as yet
unassigned

He was much too
afraid of the camera. "I told
I replied, 'Yes, and
you are nothing without
me but a winding
sheet with six million
souls wandering around
in the demoralized corridors
of karma, and all howling
for your head."

essay D.T

The Devil is not
so black as he is
painted.

D.T. It is not that I
detest the dawn, but
that the D.K. still has
his hegemony during
in ~~the morning~~ ^{the concept of sleep}
and death, and most
men and women if they
have slept well and
near to the D.K. in
the morning ^{D.T.}
can be ^{This is}
the author have
caught up
to the contemporary.

hellhounds. Anyone unlucky enough to see this demonic sight will immediately fall to the ground stone dead. Alternatively, this crew may decide to go on a rampage, raping women in their sleep or cavorting with demonesses and witches in an orgy of carnal activity.

On quieter nights, Old Horny may decide to content himself with a hand of poker or a game of dice. For this reason, a pack of playing cards is called the Devil's Bible and a pair of dice the Devil's Bones. He may decide to catch a show at the theater (drama being one of the demonic arts) or print up some filthy tabloids to be distributed to his unwitting public. His favorite hours are noon and midnight. He is partial to dusk; but he detests dawn and will do almost anything to avoid it, perhaps it is too grisly a reminder of his old self.

When the Prince of Darkness is feeling particularly rambunctious, he will set a plague of locusts on a town or cause a shower of meteorites. He will sweep sand into harbors to bar a ship's passing and dig insurmountable ditches. He has a penchant for large feats of engineering and will spend many a night building towers, bridges, mountains, and megaliths, all of which fall down by morning. A favorite pastime is to trick happily married couples into adulterous love affairs, or to start friends and lovers quarreling.

When traveling, the Devil prefers big cities, in particular Paris, also called the antechamber to Hell, and New York City. If pushed, he will reside in any cemetery, cave, ruin, tree, mountain, grove, forest, or stream that takes his fancy.



Satyr, by Giulio Roma
16th century

Still, there is nothing better than going to work on a
weekend in the hours before and during the dawn

"Through me one enters the sorrowful city;
through me one enters into eternal pain;
through me one enters into the last race....
Abandon all hope, ye who enter here."

INSCRIPTION ON THE GATES OF HELL, DANTE'S *INFERNO*

essay D.T.

Hell and Damnation

MEMORANDA



As the popular Christian story reveals, on the ninth day of his fall, Lucifer hit the ground with such velocity and weight that he sank like a cannonball straight into the earth's molten center. The surface then yawned open to suck in the rest of the falling angels. Lucifer's new abode was and is unfathomable in its unpleasantness. One can imagine the rebel angels' dismay at being cast into this cesspool of liquid fire and unbreathable air when they had once inhaled only the sweet perfume and rare atmosphere of Heaven. Lucifer was shocked by the atrocity of this final destination; but, being the cunning creature he is, he knew he must rally his crew together or face certain mutiny. Crazing out over his sooty dominion, he called his compatriots to stand before him and swore that this place, Hell (or Gehenna, or *Sheol* as the ancient Hebrews

*The sin of anger
is punished in Hell by
dismemberment, by
Nicolas Le Ronge, 1496*

59

* A canard. Our habitations smell no worse than motel rooms when the windows do not open, and the air is inhibited by the yeasty odor of ~~and~~ the synthetic fabrics in the drapes, the rugs and the bedspreads. We inhabit, by choice, sealed environments where the climate is most ~~carefully~~ carefully controlled. It creates a pall in the inhabitants, and palls are waiting rooms for us. That is why certain people, unwillingly near to us, cannot bear boredom.

essay D. T.

called it), would now be a kingdom to reckon with. Under his leadership, every divine action would be undone, every good deed matched with infamy, and every creation doomed to suffer, starting with Adam and Eve. The Devil's kingdom would be magnificent—an exact, if perverted, rival to the one they were kicked out of.

Three Realms

Hell became the bailiwick of evil where the Devil set up shop—his primary objective being to trick every living person into worshipping him as a deity and to snatch their souls when they died. The afterlife is actually divided into three realms, often referred to universally as Hell because they are all ruled by the Dark One. The pit of Hell is where sinners are sent to be punished for eternity, often receiving a specific torment that matches the grievous nature of their sin.

Limbo is the most benign of the three, a place where unblemished but unbaptized souls linger for eternity, suspended between Heaven and Hell. Limbo is the home of unchristened infants and virtuous pagan elders like Sophocles and Virgil. It is not exactly bad but not very comforting either. Its residents' punishment is the knowledge that they will never experience the joy of God's presence.

Purgatory, which appeared in writings around the twelfth century, appears to be the waiting room for the afterlife. All souls enter Purgatory and, depending on the nature of their sins, spend time there doing hard labor (like moving huge boulders from one place to another) to

Hell has three doors:
lust, rage, and greed
BHACAVAD-GITA

The
rite of
passage
through
death

the
Karmic
Reassignment
Center

D.T. A crude model, Hell as such hardly exists, except in life. No punishment can be more intense than a dreadful life. Limbo is ^{more comforting} ~~not a waiting room~~ of purgatory. ~~where the~~ ^{mainly rejected souls wait}

but, given the technological status of the time it is known as Karmic Reassignment O for O.O. and Karmic Reassignment A for Alimply.

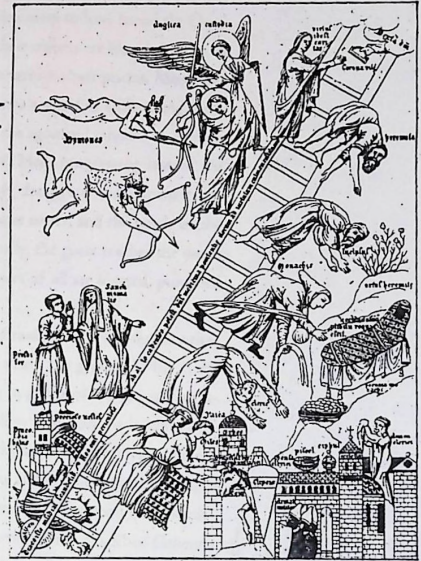
essay D. E.

The
rite of
passage
through
death

Karmic
reassignment
or karmic
extinction
and descent
into the
unanimous
currents of
wind, sand
and ash.

redeem themselves before ascending to those pearly gates. According to the *Vision of Thurkill*, written in 1206 (see page 77), Purgatory consists of a great fire, a cold and salty lake, and a bridge covered with thorns and stakes. Each soul must pass through these trials, and the worse a sinner you are, the longer it takes. The average time one is sentenced to Purgatory is reportedly seven years, after which one's future is decided. If you have worked hard and been good, you will be given the golden ticket out; if not, depending on the judgment, you may stay in Purgatory until your next parole, or you may be sent down to the Pit. And of course, there are those souls who are so bad they bypass Purgatory altogether on the expressway to Sheol. There is no chance of redemption once you have been sentenced to burn, and, to be sure, your punishment will be in spades.

The path to heaven is depicted as being lousy with devils



essay D. 71

Landscape of the Pit

No one rendition of the landscape of Hell can be relied on since it is a rare occasion indeed that a soul has been able to descend into the Abyss, let alone return unscathed and willing to lend a description. Nevertheless, a few visionaries and saints seem to have found the Devil at home when they went calling, and their reports are bloodcurdling. A few common traits have connected the various descriptions. Most visitors to the Pit enter through the gates into a world of suffocating darkness filled with an ungodly stench and the agonized screams of sinners. As one passes through each region of Hell, progressing toward the center, the landscape grows increasingly dangerous and impenetrable, the punishments becomes more and more severe, and the howls of the damned screech louder and louder. Finally, the guest reaches the nexus of Hell, where the most egregious sinners of all are located, punished by the Evil One himself.

Dante Alighieri, the great medieval chronicler of the Inferno, writes in *The Divine Comedy* that when Lucifer struck the ground he hit in the Southern Hemisphere at the exact polar opposite of the city of Jerusalem. The earth's surface opened to swallow him, and the landmass recoiled in fear to the North—which is why the Southern Hemisphere is predominantly comprised of water. Dante also believed that the strength of the Devil's fall pushed up the mountain of Purgatory. (For his description of Hell, see page 78.) Other writers have described Gehenna as a land of unextinguishable fire and frozen plain, divided by rivers of

Judecca, an engraving
of the nexus of Hell, by
Gustave Doré, 19th-
century engraving from
Dante's *Inferno*

D.T.'s
reaction
65
66

essay D.T.

D.T.'s
reading

boiling blood and cliffs of razor-sharp stone. Accessed through one of three gates—one at the bottom of the sea, one in untrammelled wilderness, and one in inhabited land (some people have argued it is in Paris)—Hell's landscape encompasses icy bogs, lakes of burning pitch, valleys of thorns, and hailstorms of fire. Each region is inhabited by a native horde of demons who mete out punishments specific to that locale and to the sin associated with it.

In a departure from the eternal-fire theme, Hell has often been described by some early writers as a frozen iceberg located somewhere in the far north. This may be due in part to the inhospitable nature of the northern regions of the earth or to a fear of invading "savages" from the north. Due to this superstition, one will often find the northern side of church graveyards to be unconsecrated and reserved exclusively for the burial of suicides. In many religions, one worships facing the east, with the north on the left. The left is the traditional direction of the adversary, reflecting the Devil's original seat on the left side of God. People who are left-handed were once discriminated against due to the belief that they were kinfolk of the Devil. In Italian, *sinistre* means left.

Most descriptions of Hell claim it is a world of absolute darkness that has never been—and will never be—touched by the light of day. The only illumination comes from the light given off by the myriad torches, cauldrons, and pits of fire fueled with the souls of sinners. According to the medieval writer Fursey, there are four principal fires in Hell that will eventually consume the earth: falsehood, covetousness,

Tundal's Hell is depicted in *The Inferno* by Jean Columbe, circa 1416, for the Très Riches Heures, a book of hours

all built
on the
D.T.'s
manipoly
of the
concept
of hell —
a hell
distinct from
for centuries
came to
the manifestation
of the Son.

D.T. essay

discord, and iniquity. The air is thick and heavy with the stench of sulfur, unbreathable by mortals. In the frozen regions, it is so cold that bones snap like twigs.

The Devil's Digs

At the center of the Inferno is the Devil's lair, a black hole of negative gravity that sucks in anything or anyone in its reach. Depending on the writer, the Devil may be bound to a gargantuan grid of hot coals, stuck waist-high in a bog, or chained in a fiery pit. In Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the three-headed Devil, or Dis, is stuck halfway in a frozen pit, grinding the traitorous bodies of Judas, Brutus, and Cassius between his teeth. Their blood and his tears of frustration mix to create a repulsive pink froth that drips from his mouth; all the while his six once-glorious wings fan the air of sin and infamy up into the mortal world. In an older Byzantine description, Satan is depicted as the awe-inspiring monarch of Gehenna, sitting on a throne of glittering diamonds with his daughters, Sin and Death, at his knee. In *Paradise Lost* Milton depicts Lucifer as a fallen warrior who, although free to move around as he pleases, slowly decays and rots, sinking into stultifying stupidity and nothingness (which is Milton's idea of Hell), dragged down by the black weight of his horrible and permanent alienation from God.

Barrators, a vision of the bog of boiling pitch into which frauds, cheats, and barrators are plunged, by Gustave Doré, 19th-century engraving from Dante's Inferno

He who is sold to Hell is comfortable there as anywhere else.

D.T. there is a stimulation in this alienation

D.T. This is not an battle and the end of bat angli?

We look ahead even though the D.K. meditates on former glories.

Essay D.T.

use in weapons of war and to advance technology in an outrage of nature. Gold, silver, diamonds, and other gems are dug up and used to tempt humans with wantonness. Demons stay busy stuffing the souls of sinners into the ovens and furnaces, fueling Hell's machines and engines to keep them running smoothly. Volcanoes act as safety valves allowing the furnaces of Hell to let off steam and heat so the world doesn't blow up. According to some sources, Hell has its own publishing industry that prints up scores of blasphemous books, journals, and pamphlets to distribute above ground. Music, in particular rock and roll, is also a very lucrative business for Old Horny once you consider that he gets his payment in damned souls, not human dollars.

The Damned

Human souls make up the largest proportion of the population of Hell. Every day, more and more enter and no one ever leaves. Depending on the charge against them, prisoners of Hell may be roasted, frozen, branded with hot irons, cut with sharp knives, flogged with whips, or plunged into cauldrons of frothing acid and boiling lead. Packs of rabid dogs and rodents are unleashed to tear an unfortunate soul limb from limb. Demons with huge claws and iron beaks rip out and devour a sinner's entrails. Gargantuan beasts swallow a soul whole and slowly digest it alive, only to defecate or vomit up the remains and start the excruciating process all over again. In some cases,



The Damned in Hell
(detail), by Lucca
Signorelli, 17th century

Essay D.T

D.T.
The abundance
we are an
economy,
not a
connoisseur of
unrelated
virtues.

Demons carry English
alewives to Hell for
selling bad ale,
14th century

sinner is parboiled and skinned alive. Because the soul is doomed to suffer eternally, no relief can be found and no one dies. Every punishment is repeated over and over again, *ad infinitum*.

The Devil does reserve special torture for certain kinds of sins, and he takes unsurpassed pleasure in punishing errant clergymen and churchgoers. For instance, people who gossip in church are sentenced to endure the ceaseless drone of their own tall tales. Holy men who fornicate have venomous serpents forced up their genitals. In an 824 account by a monk named Wetti, priests who pursued worldly goods and ignored the needs of their congregation were crucified, surrounded by a wide river of fire. Murderers, according to the twelfth-century *Vision of Saint Tunsdale*, are liquefied into a putrid broth in a searing frying pan held over a bed of hot coals. As the liquid overflows and drips down the edge of the pan like hot wax, the bodies are restored

among the embers only to reignite and fuel the frying pan above. In the same tale, Saint Tunsdale writes that the greedy are devoured by a huge three-headed beast. Demons toss adulterers back and forth like a football, alternately dunking them in a frozen lake and in one filled with burning pitch.

There is a devil
in every berry of
the grape.



The Wheel of Hell
diagrams the fate of the
damned

★ Dante was working for us, or so it was assumed, I think, by the D.K. who expected ~~large numbers~~ many to revolt against any deity who could indulge in such disproportionate punishment. But in the event, Dante's work went forward to satisfy the D.K. and keep the mass of men and women in terror of his judgement. If not for our purchase (on just about equal terms with the angels over divination of the Church) we would lose our lives, and everything. A treacherous devil, Dante, and the D.K. has been less trusting of us ever since.

Outer Hell: Dante, or the pilgrim, finds himself in a dark and troubling wood on the periphery of Hell after straying from the "true path" leading up a vast, shining mountain. Lost, he encounters Virgil, who has come to guide him. They pass through the monstrous gates of Hell and are greeted with the woeful laments of those who, while alive, never took a stand for a cause or belief. They are doomed to spend eternity chasing a meaningless flag hither and thither. Those who were "never alive" in life are devoured by wasps and maggots. They cross the river Acheron on a barge piloted by Charon, the ferryman of souls in Greek mythology. The earth shakes as the barge approaches. The impure breath of evil spirits smothers the incoming souls and makes them weak.

First Circle: The pilgrim describes this as the "lip above the chasm of pain." Here they enter Limbo, where Virgil and other virtuous pre-Christian souls make their home, doomed to live without hope in an eternity of longing and knowing they will never see God. There are no cries, only deep sighs of affliction. This is the region Christ saved during the Harrowing. Great souls in Limbo, such as Homer, Plato, and Socrates, live in a separate castle with seven walls and seven gateways.

Second Circle: The travelers descend to a smaller region through a second gate. Minos, the mythological king, snarls at the entrance. As damned souls pass by him, he reviews their judgment and assigns them their place in Hell. The region is pitch black and scorched by a blustering hot whirlwind. Souls who were ruled by desire on earth are buffeted mercilessly by the unceasing gusts (Cleopatra and Helen of Troy live here).

Third Circle: Pelted by a cold and heavy rain, the travelers descend to the next circle and find the three-headed dog Cerberus, who rips the gluttons limb from limb with his talons and fangs, devouring the entrails. The souls here are mired in mud and showered with freezing hail.

Society always chooses one or another flag and suffers the sting of exclusion. very few of them

was in life, this is their torment unless they obtain pardon from us.

No Cerberus, just a further descent in hell to the realm of envy and wrath.

The usual.

the quilt-laban

Fourth Circle: Money hoarders and squanderers (those who spent their riches carelessly) are punished here, supervised by Plutus, the mythological god of wealth. The condemned souls must butt one another with enormous weights they push with their chests, griping at each other the entire time.

*that's how
can fancy
on each*

Fifth Circle: The pilgrim and Virgil cross the soupy marshes of the second river, the Styx, into which are thrown the envious and wrathful, who are doomed to flail endlessly at one another in frustrated anger. Beneath them, souls who spent their mortal lives in melancholy and depression lie just beneath the surface of the mud, gurgling their regrets through the muck they are fated to swallow.

*Here are
our
problems—
all too
many of
the
miseries
came to
us
precisely
those
envy and
wrath.*

Sixth Circle: On the other side of the Styx stand the burning towers that encircle the weeping city of Dis, the capital of the Inferno. Heretics moan from their tombs, arranged like catacombs outside the walls of the city. The Furies keep watch for Medusa from their perch on a tower. The visitors travel through the city on a filthy path that leads to the valley's floor.

*absence of
of moved in*

Seventh Circle: Virgil and his guest descend through a crevice in a steep, stony ridge. They enter the first ring of the seventh circle, which is encircled by the third river, the river of blood. Those who did violence against others—arson, rape, murder, theft, and extortion—are tossed around in the river at a furious boil. The pilgrim and his guide cross the river with the help of the Centaurs and enter the Wood of Suicides, the second ring. Souls who have sinned against themselves are sent here, where they take root and grow into trees. Imprisoned within the trees, the souls bleed and break with every twig that snaps. Outside the Wood is the third ring, the great burning desert, where those who have sinned against God are pelted without mercy by a rain of fire. The third ring is bounded by the final infernal river, Phlegethon.

*absent
invention*

*violence against others is the
most fearsome human act
because it involves the powers
of the gods and one's freedom
must support thereafter the
conflicting forces (blood-lust and
repentance) that they set
against one.*

Every D.K.

Eighth Circle: The pilgrim and Virgil cross the river into the Maleboge, a monstrous, teeming cesspool surrounded by steep banks and guarded by a variety of demons and giants. Here, sinners guilty of fraud are tormented. Pimps and panderers are thrown naked into a ditch and whipped by demons. Flatterers are plunged into an acidic gulf.



Simoniacs (those who sell church offices) are imprisoned in holes in the wall along the banks of the pit. Only the soles of their feet show, and they are set aflame. Sorcerers and diviners have their silently weeping faces turned backwards. A bog of boiling pitch sucks in frauds, cheats, thieves, and barrators (sellers of public office). They are tormented by the Malebranche demons, who strike them with their sharp talons and beaks. Hypocrites are forced to wander the shores wearing lead mantles. Liars and their advisers are immersed in a pit of flames. Alchemists and quacks are given leprosy. Assassins and hired killers are buried face down and suffocated.

Ninth Circle: The lowest layer of Hell, the Melancholy Hole, the frozen pit of Cocytus, houses those guilty of treacherous fraud. Those who betrayed their political party or their causes are destined to cannibalize each other. Those who betrayed their guests must lie on the frozen surface of the pond weeping, their tears suffocating them as they freeze into a mask. At the center is Judecca, where the hideous body of the Devil (also called Dis) is trapped in ice. In this black hole of evil, the frothing creature perpetually gnaws on the bodies of the worst sinners of all, those who betrayed their benefactors: Judas Iscariot, Brutus, and Cassius.

Dante was now worried of Hell the round again, as the Dante was now worried of

Ditto.

It is sad to say but by the end of the Fifth Circle, Dante was just about exhausted of invention and the worst punishments are suspiciously close to the real ones. A few more atrocities perhaps. In truth, migraine and goat serves off the shelf quick punishments are used equally by the D.K. and us.

O cursed sin ! O blackguardedly excess!
O treacherous homicide! O wickedness!
O gluttony that lusted on and died
O blasphemy that took the name of Christ!

CHAUCEUR

Essay D.T

Hell's Angels

When Lucifer fell, he took with him an army of 2,400 legions of angels turned to evil. According to the sixteenth-century theoretician Johannes Wierus, there are eleven princes of Hell commanding 6,660,000 demons each, but others have estimated the numbers to be twice that. Each legion reportedly has a rebel commander who, upon entering Hell, was given a position in the Infernal Council. Like some perverted mirror of Heaven, the higher the angel's original position in Heaven the more profound the fall. In Heaven, there are nine celestial orders of angels. From the most powerful group to the least, they are: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominions, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. Each order has its own head angels or leaders who are known as princes. Lucifer appointed certain of these distinguished

*Lucifer's lieutenants,
Satan and Beelzebub,
by Gustave Doré, 19th-
century engraving*

See p 84 (next page)

allen, D.T. and also 1945

fallen angels to positions of authority, but luckily for humans, many principal devils have a saintly antidote in Heaven.

Although most popular legends concur that Lucifer is the Devil with a capital D, the top dog in the hierarchy of Hell, early church fathers like Saint Jerome and Cassianus promoted belief in a strict chain of command where the angel Satan was the leader. Later, Wierus wrote that the angel Beelzebub had actually usurped Satan to become the acting chief. Others (including Milton) professed that Hell is run by a triumvirate of

the three. There is, as of yet, no definitive report on who is actually running the show, but it is immaterial because each rebel angel is an equally powerful arm of the octopus of evil. The following is an abbreviated list of the more well-known and significant of the fallen angels, those comrades the Devil relies on most heavily to run his kingdom who, in turn, preside over millions of lesser demons. These princes of woe spend most of their time in a state of chaotic squabbling, bickering amongst themselves, and thinking up new ways to tempt and punish humanity.

(For continuity, devils are described as masculine with the understanding they can change their sex at will.)



We do not know the constitution of our country of forces. For the D.O. would not permit it. It had learned from the D.K.'s era of establishing new alast order by name.

John A. H. Ash &

P. 83

a crude approximation

Abbadon: The angel of the bottomless pit, also known as "the destroyer." Milton uses the name Abbadon to describe the pit of Hell. Abbadon inspires anarchy and chaos. The fallen angel of death and

Comes in to relieve D.T. in 1945

Reference and 1930

destruction, in Hell he is chief of the demon locusts who have the faces of humans, tails of scorpions, and bodies of winged horses. Abaddon is often associated with Satan or Sammael, and is often depicted with or confused with fellow angel of destruction, Apollyon, who holds the keys to the Abyss.

Adramelech: The king of fire. Originally a throne angel, Adramelech is now an archdemon and a great minister of Beelzebub's Order of the Fly. When called, he manifests himself in the form of a mule or a peacock. He was overthrown by the angels Uriel and Raphael during the battle in Heaven. He is in charge of the Devil's attire and livery and is the patron of hypocrisy.

The Devil makes his Christmas pies of lawyers' tongues and clerks' fingers.

Bormann

Asmodeus: This dandified devil, the patron evil spirit behind passion, lechery, pleasure, luxury, and sensuality, runs the casinos and gambling houses in Hell. Able to appear as the most beautiful, well-dressed young man (or woman), he tempts his victims by encouraging them to buy fancy clothes and follow meaningless fads. He is the prince of profligates and loves to lure happily married couples into adulterous liaisons, sometimes with himself. This hapless devil prides himself on arranging ridiculously inappropriate marriages and leads humans into squandering their assets. He wreaks havoc in convents and monasteries by seducing the inhabitants. His mother may have been human (or, according to some, she could have been Lilith), but his father was an angel. When Asmodeus visits some poor human in his real form, he

Asmodeus
de Salo

1930

Is enlisted
for A.H.
and Beli

I did enlist
the cooperation
of Asmodeus
since A.H. was
always in need
of sexual
catharsis



Reference

~~actually has three heads~~ symbolic of lechery, those of a bull, a ram, and a man. He also sports the feet of a rooster. He cavorts around on the back of a dragon wielding a spear. He is credited with having invented carousels, music, dancing, drama, and, one may assume, recreational drug use. Asmodeus's adversary in Heaven is John the Baptist.

brocker

Astaroth: The treasurer of Hell. This devil was once a seraph and now carries a viper in his hand while riding backwards on a dragon. Astaroth also serves as a diabolical coach, giving pep talks to the newer demons when they lose heart and spurring them on to greater evil. He inspires sloth and idleness. His adversary in Heaven is Bartholomew.

Azazel: Leader of demons and related to the devil of Arabian and Islamic mythology, Iblis/Shaytan. This devil supposedly taught men how to manufacture weapons and women how to use make up. Also known as *Azael*. In his true form he has seven serpent heads, fourteen faces, and twelve wings. He may have been one of the first angels to fall for refusing to bow down before Adam and is the chief standard-bearer in Hell.

Asmodeus, the evil spirit of passion, lechery, pleasure, luxury, and sensuality, is cast out by prayer

Baal: The second chief of staff of the Abyss, Baal is the patron devil of idleness. He commands sixty or seventy legions of demons and resides in the eastern region of Hell. He shows himself as a pudgy creature with the arms of a spider and three heads: a toad, a cat, and a man.

Essay D.T.

Baal-Berith: Hell's minister of foreign affairs, chief secretary, and keeper of the infernal archives. He is often called upon to notarize pacts between humans and the Devil. A cantankerous spirit, he tempts men to be quarrelsome, contentious, and blasphemous. He also inspires them to commit murder. Baal-Berith is the patron devil of disobedience.

Beelzebub: The Devil's chief of staff and second only to Satan in the organization of Hell. Known to many as the Prince of Death, Beelzebub was Lucifer's closest companion and a fellow Seraphim angel in Heaven. Beelzebub manifests himself in the shape of a fly and presides over the Order of the Fly. He tempts men with the grandparents of all sin, envy and pride. He can send plagues of flies. Heresy is attributed to Beelzebub, who blows his bel-lows into the ears of heretics.

Behemoth: The Devil's cupbearer, Behemoth is the patron devil of despair and gluttony. He appears in the shape of a monstrous elephant with two bear's feet. He will also take the form of a crocodile, whale, or hippopotamus and is related to Leviathan. Behemoth presides over the feasts in Hell and is responsible for dishing up food and wine for the Devil. He entertains Hell's motley crew with song and plays the role of night watchman, as he is often awake all night. Unsurprisingly, he creates chaos and havoc in the lives of men.



Beelzebub

Riddaput
too
Devian?

Goobled

Gering

Behemoth

Erasmus D.T. + possible use for specific situation

Beleth: One of the governors in Hell, Beleth presides over eighty-five legions of demons. He rides a pale horse and is announced by a blare of trumpets.

Belial/Beliar: The patron of arrogance, lies, and deceit, Belial is one of the great fallen angels. A prince of the Order of Virtues, he was created directly after Lucifer. His fall from grace was equally impressive, and he rivals Satan as a prince of darkness. The Cabalists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries believed him to be God's most heinous adversary. A great orator, he may appear briefly as a gentleman, but his true nature always reveals itself because the image is hollow. Belial tempts men to disloyalty, gossip, and rebellion, and instigates women to dress in finery, gossip in church, and indulge their children. In some mythologies, Belial is considered to be the original devil, a being completely separate from God and entirely evil. In this story, Belial was already actively opposing God from the bottom of the Abyss. When Lucifer fell, he joined Belial in the fiery pit and usurped his title. Belial's adversary in Heaven is Francis de Paul.



Belial

Belphegor: A party devil, Belphegor manifests himself in the shape of an attractive young woman. Once a prince of the Order of Principalities, he makes his earthly home in Paris, where he finds it easy to tempt men to licentiousness. He is the patron devil of discoveries and ingenious inventions. Belphegor is also the guardian demon of Paris—if such a thing is possible.

For consultation on Hell, D.T. often has to expound on Satan's seduction tactics

*Rake He
skim the d
can't find
such m*

1930

Carnivean: The patron devil of lewd and obscene behavior, he tempts people to act shamelessly. He is often invoked by witches during a Sabbat. His adversary in Heaven is John the Evangelist.

Rake Hell and
skim the devil, you
can't find another
such man.

Carreau: Once a prince of the Order of Powers, Carreau makes people harden their hearts. His adversary in Heaven is Vincent and Vincent Ferrer.

Crocell/Procell: Another former prince of the Order of Powers, Crocell presides over forty-eight legions of evil spirits. He teaches geometry and the liberal arts and has the power to turn water freezing cold or scalding hot in moments.

Dagon: Dagon was the national god of the Philistines, appearing in the form of a kind of merman with the torso of a man and the body of a fish. He serves as the pantry chef in Hell's kitchen.

Dommiel: The patron demon of terror and trembling, Dommiel is the adversary to Saint Peter and guards the gates of Hell. (Incidentally, there are no keys for Dommiel to hold because the gates of Hell are open twenty-four hours a day and are *never* locked.)

Dumah: The Guardian of Egypt during the Hebrew exodus, Dumah was the angel of the "silence of death." He is one of the seven princes of Hell.

Called
upon
during
Gehi Poulard
period

Isabel
pay for
for 1000

D.T. essay



The Assyrian demon,
Nirgalli

Exael: A minor devil, he was of the Order of Angels when he fell and is that much closer to humanity. Therefore, he finds it relatively easy to dwell with mortals. It was Exael who taught men how to make machines of war and to fashion jewelry from silver and gold. He may have played a role in the development of the perfume industry.

Forcas/Furcas: A senator in Hell, Forcas spends his infernal days teaching rhetoric, logic, and mathematics. He is master of the Devil's stables and can render objects invisible at will. When invoked, he can help find lost objects.

Furcalor: A murderous fallen angel once of the Order of Thrones, Furcalor enjoys sinking warships. He appears as a human with the wings of a griffin.

Gaap: Governor of the southern region of the Pit, Gaap rules sixty-six legions of demons. He manifests himself as a human sporting huge bat wings.

Gressil: Once a prince in the Order of Thrones, the lecherous Gressil now tempts men with impurity and slothfulness. His adversary in Heaven is Saint Bernard.

Haurus: One of the seventy-two devils King Solomon shut up in a brass vessel and threw into a lake, Haurus is a leader in Hell and is able to divine the truth about events occurring in the past or future. He may take

D.T. may
be under
the
command
of Exael

If the De
vicar, thou
his el

Essay D.T

the form of a leopard, a human, or some combination of both.

Hornblas: A patron devil of musical discord, he blows the trumpet to gather the ministry of Hell together.

Imamaih: Imamaih oversees voyages and can be invoked to destroy and humiliate enemies.

Kobal: The dramatist and manager of the infernal theater, Kobal tempts men with pretense and fraud.

Leviathan: The admiral of the Devil's navy, Leviathan is depicted in the Bible (Isaiah 27:1) as the primordial she- (or he-) dragon of the sea. Created with Behemoth on the fifth day, these two gargantuan devils devour damned souls. Leviathan has hordes of water demons, sprites, and nymphs to do his bidding. On Judgment Day, all but the saved will be swallowed by this sea monster.



Leviathan

*If the Devil be a
vicar, thou wilt be
his clerk.*

Mammon: The devil of avarice, Mammon is a special ambassador to England. His supreme wickedness puts him on the same level as Satan, Beelzebub, and, in some legends, Lucifer himself. Mammon tempts men to covet belongings. He is so stooped with the weight from his fall that he cannot stand erect and spends his days staring at the ground.

Goering

Mastema: This rebel angel is the accusing angel of Hebrew mythology. He is the executioner who slaughtered the firstborn of Egypt and who tried, unsuccessfully, to murder Moses.

essay D.T

Mephistopheles: The destroyer and the prince of deceit. Mephistopheles is a smooth character with an engaging wit and a polished manner. Due to his uniquely entertaining repartee, he is, on occasion, allowed an audience with God. Because of his dashing ways, he is often sent by the Devil to tempt modern humans to sell their souls.

Minos: Described in Canto V of Dante's *Inferno*, Minos assigns sinners to their various tortures in Hell. He has a long tail that he wraps around himself.

Misroch/Nisroch: Misroch is the Devil's cook and inspires hatred between men. He was originally an angel of the Order of Principalities and worshipped by the Assyrians. Misroch has the head of an eagle and was at one time the guardian of the famed Tree of Immortality, the fruit of which he uses in his recipes.

Moloch: A terrifying devil, Moloch serves as the chief of the army in Hell. He was once a Canaanite deity, worshipped by early Semites who sacrificed their firstborn children in the fires of his temple located just outside Jerusalem. Moloch's face and hands are smeared with the blood of murdered children and the tears shed by their grieving mothers.

Olivier: Once an Archangel, Olivier now encourages mortals to be cruel and insensitive to the poor. His adversary in Heaven is Saint Lawrence.

He is exceptionally
with
about
the
Dummkopf
and offers
the
impression
that ~~he~~ ^{he}
is not
unlike
old
Jensens
himself!

Indifference
for the
holocaust
Minos, by Gustave Doré,
19th-century engraving
from Dante's *Inferno*

Most
essential
for Hell



Nisroch
A D. T. J. of
the ~~reflex~~
we called
an ~~infernal~~
devils

Hell is other people.
JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

as if we
were
pharmacists
looking for dealers

essay D.T

R often called upon by D.T. → **Paimon:** A high-ranking devil, Paimon takes the form of a young woman wearing a crown and riding a camel. He is the master of ceremonies in Hell and commands two hundred legions of fiends. He supplants mortal thoughts with his own.

Rimmon: Rimmon is the only doctor in Hell. He is the ambassador to Russia and a lowly devil in the scheme of things. In Babylonian times he was believed to be the conjurer of thunder and storms. His symbol is the pomegranate.

Rofocale: Rofocale is Lucifer's second name and is synonymous with the Devil himself. In addition to being the Potentate of Evil, he has control over the world's treasury.

Rosier: The patron devil of seduction, Rosier tempts humans to fall in love. He puts syrupy words of love in the mouths of mortals and causes them to act like fools. His adversary in Heaven is Basil.

Maybe Coobler **Sammael:** His name is a combination of the Hebrew *sam*, meaning poison, and *el*, or angel. He is the devil of death and prince among demons and magicians. In some traditions it is he who slithers into the Garden of Eden and seduces Eve, thereby impregnating her with Cain. Sammael and Satan are often confused, and thus are interchangeable in some histories. He is reportedly a handsome, redheaded young man and is quite difficult for females to resist. Sammael is said to have a great appreciation for human art and is considered to be the first art critic.

during Coobler D.T. was a great need for him

God and Satan vying
for a man's soul as
he navigates the seas
of vices and sin,
15th century

Hell is oneself.
T. S. ELIOT

D.T. calls upon him to get a little sex for Coobler

little sex for Coobler → *Sammael* → *finds up seducing Maybe Coobler.* ?

essay D. T.

the O.A.
Omniscient
Adversary

Satan: Satan is the vice president of Hell, second only to the Devil himself and a significant player in the hierarchy of Hell. His name means adversary in Hebrew, and he is the angel who occupies that role in the Old Testament. One of Yahweh's angels of destruction, it is Satan who rains misfortune on the head of poor Job. In the New Testament, Satan becomes synonymous with the Devil. It is Satan who tempts Eve through the serpent and plagues Jesus in the desert. Often confused with Lucifer, Satan also was a Seraphim bedecked with twelve wings, twice the amount customarily allotted to an angel of that rank. It may be that Satan really is the Evil One, the Prince of Hell, but enough writers and artists have depicted him as Lucifer's principal vassal that he merits a separate entry here. Satan tempts humans to anger, in addition to every other sin imaginable. Satan was overthrown by the archangel Uriel.

Succor-Beloth: Another indigent devil who tempts men to lechery, Succor-Beloth presides over the Devil's harem.

Verrier: Verrier tempts men to disobey by making their necks too stiff to bow to the yoke of obedience. His adversary in Heaven is Saint Bernard.

Xaphan: A rabble-rouser of the worst sort, Xaphan suggested the rebels set fire to Heaven during the battle of angels. His idea met with a warm reception; but, before a spark could fly, the lot of them were cast into the Abyss. Xaphan fell hard thanks in part to his fiendish inventiveness. Now he fan the flames of damnation; a set of bellows is his fitting attribute.



~~1. a. el diablo
b. el diablo
c. el diablo~~

Raise no more
devils than you can
lay down.

Satan in council, by
Gustave Doré, 19th-
century engraving

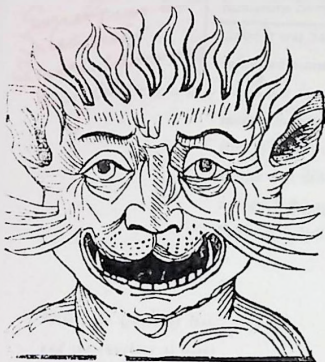
The Watchers

reference

In another story alluded to in Genesis and in the Book of Enoch, God created an order of seven angels called the Watchers or Grigori. They were sent to oversee the affairs of the first generations of men and to give instruction on how to survive in the distinctly un-Eden-like world outside the gates of Paradise. Once Adam and Eve began to procreate, the beauty of their daughters tempted these angels to do quite a bit more than watch. They made nightly visits, relishing the touch of human flesh. As a result, they were tossed from Heaven and landed on the surface of earth, where they espoused their mortal lovers. In the words of Genesis, "When men began to multiply on earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the Sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all which they chose (6:1-2).

The Watchers are identified as the angels Armaros, Arakiel, Azazel, Baraqel, Ezekeel, Gadreel, Kawkabel, Penemue, Sarial, Samjaza, and Shamshiel.

The Watchers were giants, and they taught their human spouses the secrets of the divinity that up to then had only been whispered by God into the ears of Adam. These teachings, known as the Cabala, revealed the arts of astrology, botany, healing, and magic. But the union of these angels and women was unnatural and an outrage to God. In one legend, their progeny were born horrendous, cannibalistic



P.T. Barry

could not look directly at light. As bad as she was, Adam missed her and complained of his loneliness to his maker. God created Eve (from Adam's rib, lest there be any lingering question who was dominant) and sent three angels—Sanvi, Sansanvi, and Semangalef—to fetch Lilith. They found her with her vile progeny and demanded she return, but she would not. As punishment, God decreed she be banished and that all of her children die in infancy. Lilith grew despondent and went to throw herself in the Red Sea. The three angels were genuinely moved by Lilith's despair and compensated her with power over newborn boys for the first eight days of their lives, the first twenty days for newborn girls. Lilith in return promised not to harm children who had the three angels' names written anywhere near them.

Alone outside of Paradise, Lilith happened upon another creature divorced from God, the Devil, who in the Talmud legend takes the name of Sammael. Bound by their mutual hatred of humanity, Sammael and Lilith spawned a generation of devils and wicked creatures. Some beliefs claim it was Sammael and Lilith who plotted the downfall of mankind in Eden. In many artistic representations, the serpent is actually Lilith, not Satan. In others, Satan seduces Eve while Lilith works her charm on Adam, and it is all euphemized in the idea of tasting forbidden fruit. While many cultures revile Lilith as the epitome of evil femininity, in others she has come to represent the fight for women's equality and free sensuality. In the Talmud, it is not Lilith's hatred for babies that drives her into nurseries, but her love of them. Barren for eternity, she longs to press a warm baby against her breast. According to the same belief, if a baby smiles during the Sabbath, Lilith is amusing it.

*Lilith, the Queen of Hell
and the daughter of night*

D.E.
Sometimes
I believe
I was spawned
by them!

Xerox
p102

See p102
for Lilith

"Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great!
It has become a dwelling place of demons
a haunt of every foul spirit
a haunt of every foul and hateful beast."

REVELATION 18:2

The Hordes of Hell

Essay D.T.



As numerous as the princes of Hell are, they require legions of demons to do the Devil's work. Like venom from the fangs of a snake, wave upon wave of diabolical creatures spew from the maws of the Abyss to live among humankind, ready at will to execute any nefarious order commanded by their leader. And they keep coming. As more humans die, the souls of the damned descend into the belly of the earth to spawn new demons, temptations, and sins for the good people of the earth to resist. Demons differ from devils in that demons originated as natural, familiar spirits, both good and bad, who were worshipped in pagan religions. Their name comes from the Greek word *daemon*, which means spirit. Demons cause disturbances of a physical nature, like storms, illness, and earthquakes. Devils, on the other hand, are

Ex. patiate
if ~~into~~
it's there

Last Judgement
detail by Giotto di
Bondone, Serevegni
Chapel, Padua

Essay D.T.

associated with moral depravity and sin. The word *devil* comes from the Greek *diabolos*, meaning perjurer or slanderer, and it has always defined a singularly evil spirit. Demons differ from devils in that they were never angels; they were not created directly by God, nor have they inhabited Heaven or been in the presence of the Lord. Because demons were evil from the moment of their conception, they never fell from grace into the Abyss and, consequently, are free to roam around earth, coming and going from Hell as they please. The numbers vary, but it is certain that as long as humans continue to do bad things, new demons hatch every day. The Talmud quotes that there are 7,405,926 hosts of evil, but more recently the theologian Martinus Barrhaus tabulated 2,665,866,746,664. When Saint Macarius of Alexandria prayed to God that he might be able to see what evil spirits lurked among men, God opened his eyes and the demons swarming in the air around him were "as numerous as bees."

The only purpose evil spirits have is to tempt human beings while they are alive and torment their souls in Hell when they die. Because demons, for the most part, cohabit with humanity above ground, they have wormed their way into popular culture and can be blamed for anything from a run of bad luck to losing one's keys to the most malicious sin and devastating disease. According to Norse tradition, the great tree of life, Yggdrasil, had roots that dug deep into the Underworld, and it was suspected that demons sprouted from its subterranean branches. From pagan beliefs in natural deities to modern

D.T. connects
the story
to the birth
of radio.

D.T.
employs
demons
on occasion
but dislikes
them. He's
like trying
to manage
100

a swarm of flies.

The Last Judgment
(detail), by Hieronymus
Bosch, circa 1500

1930-31 Celi

also essay



The jaws of Hell with
Lucifer (above) and
Satan (below)

fears of vampires and ghosts, the idea of devilry has evolved through the ages into widespread superstitions that have persisted despite efforts by organized religions to dispel them. Regardless of religion or country, most cultures resound with tales of bone-chilling brushes with spirits that may take the form, among others, of fairies, ghosts, elves, or monsters.

Although certain tribes of these spirits may be misunderstood and many might help instead of hinder a person (especially if bribed or complimented), they are all grouped here under the demonic umbrella because of their associations with the natural world, supernatural phenomena, and the Devil rather than with God and the spirit. Their goals may be the same as the rebel angels, but demons are of the earth, they were never heavenly bodies, and thus they fall lower on the diabolical totem pole.

* radio,
TV, telephone
and electronic
are them.
Disparities
on them

A.H. Broadway

Celi: He would
come day—
it was possible
lead the
German nation,
and he
at last
what would
become of
them all?

Demonic Characteristics

* Demons from Hell reek with an ungodly stench. Rotten to the core, plebeian devils eat and vomit excrement and possess people to make them do the same. Most powerful at the witching hour—noon and midnight—the Devil's servants cavort in the air around us, shake the earth we walk on, and agitate the water we bathe in. Ready to invade a body through any orifice, demons lurk around humans waiting for them to slip up—to gossip in church, forget their prayers, stuff their bellies, or lust after their neighbor's wife.

Rachael saw
the need to
reveal the
possessions
(Celine) for her
savior

The demons and spirits
of hell, 15th century

* A.H. Brushes his teeth as often as 8 or 10 times a day.
Everytime he goes to urinate or attempt to evacuate.

1944

They like to sit under bridges and at crossroads and tempt travelers. Not content to let us fail in our own right, they lay irresistible temptations across our path, leading us down the road to damnation with the skip and whistle of good intentions. Demons cause pestilence and disease; they stir up storms and shipwrecks. They can trick us into heeding their words by simulating a loved one's voice. The murderous ones will throw stones, hurl victims off precipices, and make others drive into trees. If one resists, they may bring on a scourge of fleas, ticks, lice, skin rashes, or insomnia in hopes of coercing their victim into submission.

Demons, contrary to popular belief, are attracted to churches and clergymen; they experience exquisite delight when tormenting the holy. The desert saints (ascetic believers who renounced the world to live as devout hermits in the desert) were especially prone to bewitchment and had to be on guard at all times. Saint Anthony, one of the more famous desert fathers, was continuously beset upon by demons while he went about his affairs. They harassed and tempted him in the form of vicious animals and, on occasion, beautiful women. Because unclean spirits flock to holy ground, churches and other religious places must be fully exorcised before any services are permitted. When demons are expelled from a church during its consecration, they scurry up the walls and out onto the roof. From this perch, they harass people entering the building; thus the preponderance of gargoyles on the roofs of state and holy structures.

the old way

← worth
a remark?
Perhaps
Ad in
1945

The Temptation of
St. Anthony, by
Matthias Grünewald
(from the Isenheim
Altarpiece), 16th
century

Reference

Ahrimanes: In a Persian tale that influenced development of the Christian idea of evil, the Ahrimanes are angels that followed their leader, Ahriman, to stage a revolt against the principle of good, known as Orzud or Ormazd. Ahriman and his followers were expelled and went to live on earth, where they were rejected. As revenge, Ahrimanes injure the earth's inhabitants. They now live in the space between the stars and the earth.

Beast 666: According to the book of Revelation, the end of the world will be heralded by the unleashing of a horrible demon into the world. In one final, desperate attempt to reassert himself, the Devil will send a false prophet—the Antichrist—and the Beast 666, a ferocious apocalyptic creature who rises from the sea ridden by the whore of Babylon. Beast 666 is a scarlet-hued monstrosity with the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the jaws of a lion. It sports ten horns and seven heads, and spews blasphemy and haughty words from each of its seven mouths. It will have power over the world for forty-two months, and within that time “dwellers on earth whose names have not been written in the book of life from the foundation of the world will marvel to behold the beast, because it was and is not and is to come.” (Revelation 17:8). The Beast will lay waste to all around it, visiting plague and destruction on the lives of mankind and defeating the power of the saints. In time, the Beast will be accompanied by the false prophet, or Antichrist, who will trick people into believing that

Last Judgment,
by van der Heyden,
engraving from a drawing
by Peter Bruegel the
Elder, 1558

3 1/2 years
From
Fall of Poland
to Sept '39
to March '43
or
Fall of France
June 1940
to Jan 1, '44

reference

drake plant. If treated well, they can be wonderful helpmates, amassing great wealth and power for their master. If treated cruelly, an elf will see that its owner gets his or her just desserts—often in a violently grotesque fashion. Occasionally, elves collaborate with witches, especially in swapping one of their own children, otherwise known as changelings, with newborn human infants. Hopdance is a famous Scottish elf who goads people into frenzied dancing and orgiastic frivolity.

Fairies: Known in different parts of the world as nymphs, little people, trolls, or sprites, these creatures play a vital role in popular superstition. Their origins are most likely pagan, and thus they have been demonized by organized religions. As a group, they are usually diminutive and capricious, as likely to lend a hand as they are to torment and tease. For the most part, these entities live in the natural places they protect: trees, fields, forests, rivers, banks, bridges, and stony ledges, for example. They are easily whipped into a fury if proper respect is not paid to their home, but their wrath can be avoided with gifts of food, flowers, or coins. They adore lovers, music, dance, and laughter, but once crossed can be vicious enemies. They are often responsible when something is missing, as they look at any human possession as fair game. The more malicious kinds will kill or maim a human, but only if the person stupidly blunders into their territory without heeding their rules or paving the way with a small gift. They can be warded off with iron or steel since they abhor any element of

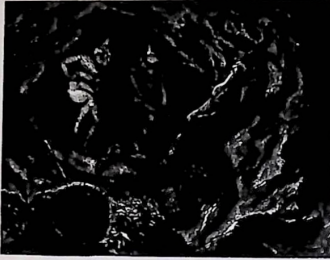
*Hell is full of good
meanings and best
wishings*

GEORGE HERBERT

?

Does D.T.
employ
them on
occasion?
At parties?

1942 Benhtorguiz



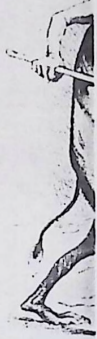
Knockers frighten a miner

industry or violence. According to some, these little people are actually fallen angels who were saved from Hell by Christ. As the angels fell, Christ lifted his hand to stop the least responsible beings at the earth's surface, thus some vestige of goodness has remained in them.

Fates: These three hags are memorialized in Homer's *Odyssey*. One spins the yarn of a person's life, one measures its length, and the last snips it off with her sharp shears. The demonologist Alphonsus de Spina believed the fates were not real women but demons.

Ghouls: Also known as ghosts, ghouls tend to haunt graveyards and unearth the freshly buried. In some Middle Eastern cultures, ghouls were thought to devour small children and corpses. These undead creatures also like dark lonely places such as mountain tops and windswept plains. Legend has it that dogs can see ghouls, which is why they occasionally bark at what appears to be nothing to the human eye. If you want to see a ghoul, stand behind a dog and look between its two ears down the middle of its head.

Gremlins: Generally good-natured, gremlins usually behave badly when they are pulling pranks. Gremlins are goblins that haunt the air, traumatizing pilots and air travelers by suddenly swooping up from



Demon

little
might
do this on
walks.

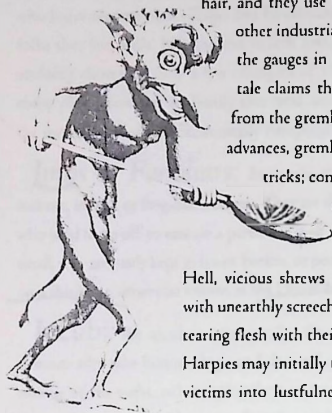
a peasant
schief.

It makes D.T.
uncomfortable

for their presence can be
equal to a rude and
uninvited guest at
your dinner table.
Their power was nothing
next to mine, but
just as a host looks to
avoid the embarrassment
of calling the police, so
I did not wish to amuse
them by any momentary
inability to handle a ghoul.

reference

their underground pits around airports and landing strips and grabbing a plane's wing. They are green in color and covered with mossy hair, and they use their webbed feet to suction onto airplanes and other industrial machines. They empty full fuel tanks, disorient the gauges in the cockpit, and cause turbulence. An old wives' tale claims that when you hear thunder, the rumbling comes from the gremlins' favorite pastime, sky bowling. As technology advances, gremlins have found new arenas in which to play their tricks; computers, telephones, and televisions are only a few of the modern machines they now haunt.



Demon

Harpies: The Harpies are hags from

Hell, vicious shrews repulsive to behold. They torment their victim with unearthly screeches and wails, all the while scratching eyes out and tearing flesh with their hideously long fingernails. Ladies of the night, Harpies may initially take the form of beautiful women to seduce their victims into lustfulness; but inevitably, as passions mount, they will suddenly reveal themselves, more often than not causing the death of their victim. The wailing banshee that visits an Irish family to announce an impending death is a commonly seen Harpie.

Hellhound: The three-headed guard dog of the gates of Hell, the hellhound is related to the Roman dog Cerberus who stood at the entrance to Hades. The dog's heads are a parody of the Holy Trinity. The hellhound accompanies the Devil on his night hunts.

*Were it not for
gold and women
there would be no
damnation.*

CYRIL TOURNEUR

X

but
his on
walks.

Hobgoblins or Goblins: Related to fairies and other little devils, goblins, or cobolds, are predominant in England and Ireland. Rarely seen in cities, goblins are sooty-faced, hirsute creatures who loiter around rural villages and farmhouses causing trouble for the folks they live with. Blowing out hearth fires, knotting up ropes, and undoing chores are only a few examples of the pesky tricks these demons play. Their acts are hardly ever fatal, and if they happen to be in the mood, goblins will occasionally complete a task left undone.

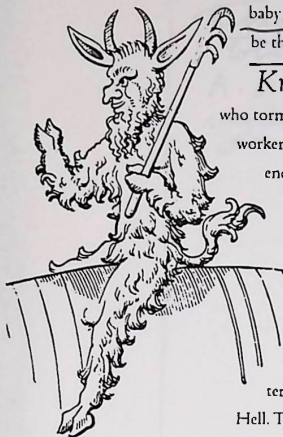
Imps or Familiars: Imps take the form of small animals, rodents, insects, or frog-like creatures. They are the errand-boys of witches, who send them off to execute a particular spell or charm. Because they are small, they are easily kept in boxes, bottles, or pockets. Witches suckle them on a third teat, otherwise known as the Devils' Mark (see page 143).

Incubi: An incubus, meaning "to lie on," is one of a horde of demons who take human shape and descend on sleeping women in the middle of the night, either raping them or inspiring lustful dreams and desires. Nuns and maidens are often the victims of the incubus's visit, and a pregnancy in a convent is usually the result of such a visit. Copulation with an incubus, reports claim, is a decidedly disgusting affair. The entity allegedly sports an immense frozen penis that he uses to tear viciously into the internal organs of his victims. If, as unbelievable as it may seem, a woman invites an incubus to her bed, all members in the household will fall into a trancelike sleep, even the woman's mortal

see p 124

1931

lover who may be snoring alongside her. In the Middle Ages any baby born with a mental or physical deformity was considered to be the progeny of this vile union.



Demon of the Medieval
Danegelt tax on wine

Knockers: Knockers are yet another tribe of little people who torment miners working underground in tunnels and caves. If a worker happens to catch sight of a Knocker or approach one, legend has it that he will come down with painful rheumatism. If left alone, Knockers are generally considered harmless.

Luciferge: These hideous demons roam the earth searching for souls to kidnap and bring down to Hell. Equipped with razor-sharp talons and beaks they use to tear the soul from its body, they are the henchmen that come to collect on a deal made with the Devil. Their counterparts, the Malebranche, torment some of the worst sinners in Hell. These unnatural beasts have snakes coming out of their noses and ears and sport cloven hooves and tails like their beloved leader. When a doomed individual takes his last breath, the Malebranche leap on his soul with whoops of joy and carry it off to its horrible fate in a cloud of stinking, sulfurous smoke. Mourners present at the moment of death have been known to catch a whiff of the telltale odor of damnation.

Nightmare or Mares: Waking with shortness of breath or a heaviness in the chest is evidence of a visit by a nightmare demon.

An incubus
could appear
to Goli
after A.H.
leaves on the
first day.

Sup 122

* D.T.
throat
torment
A.H. w
nightmare
demon.

The Devil
subtle yet
a coarse

1944, 1931

* D.T.

throat '44
torments
A. H. w
nightmare
demons.

These heinous creatures attack at night, sitting on a person's chest and breathing putrid breath into their nostrils. Their exhaust causes horrible dreams; and if the person awakes while the demon is still present, he or she will be paralyzed under the weight of the monster.

Poltergeists: Also called "jumping demons," these creatures reside in people's homes and play irritating tricks at night. They will break dishes, hide belongings, shake the walls, and turn lights and stereos off and on. Poltergeists like to creep up and rip the covers off sleeping victims. They also love to stand at the edge of the bed and tickle the bottoms of feet. Occasionally a poltergeist gets violent, resulting in injury to their victims or, more rarely, death. For the most part, however, poltergeists are harmless, albeit irksome and often terrifying household pests.

Succubi: The female counterpart to the incubus, a succubus (meaning "to lie under") attacks innocent men in their sleep. The denizens of Lilith, succubi sit astride a man's prone body and have their way with him. Often taking the form of beautiful women, succubi will instantly turn into miserable hags if confronted with their real identities. Monks in monasteries are often visited by these troublesome spirits who inspire dirty dreams and tempt the brethren with their lusty ideas. In the Middle Ages, fearful monks tied crucifixes to their genitals before retiring at night as protection against nocturnal visits by succubi.

The Devil is
subtle yet weaves
a coarse web.

* A. H.
Johnson

A Greek demon called
Zrvan Akarana



A. H. does this about (in the two weeks 125)
Pant (after Geli's death)

→ 1931

D.T.
 How often
 in Paris
 at the
 turn of the
 century
 did I
 officiate
 as the
 spirit
 presenter
 such -
 occasions.

?

heart, and chop off its head. In what could be called vampiric tradition, certain Black Masses reportedly profane the Eucharist by celebrating a ceremony in which worshippers drink human blood from a gold vessel.

Werewolves: Lumped in the same category as vampires due to their ability to change shape, their nighttime proclivity, and their fondness for human flesh, werewolves are half-human, half-wolf creatures that have a penchant for juicy young maidens and farmers' livestock. They are especially powerful during full moons and occasionally stalk their victims in packs. In some traditions, one can become a werewolf by petitioning the Devil. In others, those bitten by a werewolf will metamorphose into one too. Werewolves return to their human form at dawn, so it is impossible for most normal folks to know who is one and who isn't.

Zombies: Living corpses who find their origin in West Indian, Caribbean, and Voodoo legend, zombies are used by evil-doers as servants. The zombie is actually a poor soul that, having just been buried, is unable to move peacefully into the afterlife because it is called forth by someone on earth. Once it answers, the zombie climbs out of its freshly dug grave to heed its master's call, obeying whatever commands the master makes. With human nature being what it is, these orders are usually wicked. To ensure that their loved ones get safely into the afterlife, many West Indian cultures bury their dead face down, with their mouths full of dirt and their lips sewn shut.

A.H.
 His police
 dog, ~~but~~
 part wolf
 One night
 he visited
 Island in
 a werewolf.

A.H. broods
 on this
 possibility
 for his
 undead.

↓
decides to
 be cremated.

D.T. essay



black arts, see Sorcerers, page 149). Witches band together in protective groups of thirteen, also called covens, and the covens periodically convene in a ritual gathering called a Sabbat. Nevermind that most "witches" brought to trial during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were widowed, middle-aged, or elderly women with property and no heirs, which meant their inheritance would go to the government if they were found guilty. Or that women once revered for their healing arts were burned at the stake for competing with doctors. It was common knowledge at that time that women were one bat of an eyelash away from depravity anyway; all it took was a nod from Satan and a taste of his deviant ways for the "weaker vessel" to become his slave.

Witch's Work: According to the inquisitors of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, witchcraft had one primary objective: to increase the Devil's power over humanity and seduce ever-increasing numbers of people into his fold. Before that, witches were accepted—if feared—denizens to be consulted for every imaginable human dilemma, from curing warts to attracting lovers to making fields fertile the following spring. Witches, however, were not granted immense powers by their master. Kept in a state of perpetual bondage to the Devil, a witch must perpetrate a certain amount of wrongdoing to maintain his favor. If pleased, the Fiend would tutor a witch in more advanced forms of treachery and shower her with gifts and gold. The witch must constantly renew

*The Witch of Endor
conjures the spirit of
Samuel for King Saul*

D.T. It
is equally
true for
us.

essay

her pact with Satan, proving her love for him in circumscribed rituals of worship (see Sabbat, page 136).

Powers of Witches: A witch's power, though limited, could be dangerous, even fatal. It was widely accepted that if a loved one fell mysteriously ill or had fits of hysteria, a witch was most likely the cause. Children and animals are especially susceptible to the Evil Eye, whereby a witch will blight them with one glance. Once crossed, a witch makes a formidable enemy. Crops will shrivel, livestock will fall stone dead in the fields, or festering sores will erupt on flesh; it is not uncommon for people afflicted by a witch's curse to perish eventually. A witch can be far away and still cast her spells. She can instantaneously make herself invisible or change into a rabbit, toad, or mouse. Her companion in iniquity, her familiar, is at her beck and call and often performs the dirty deeds for her. The worst part is one can never tell if one is dealing with a witch, as they appear exceedingly normal, if a mite contentious, by day. By night, however, a witch's power grows manifold and one needs precautions if venturing out alone.

A Witch's Tools: A witch is most powerful at night, especially on full moons. She has an arsenal of lethal concoctions derived from varied mixtures of bodily fluids, exotic animal parts, and herbs. She may or may not have secret potions and oils given to her by Satan. Using a hand cut from a dead man to hold her candle



Serpent before the curse

We do supply
witches for
these purposes
and instruct

134

them as

clients in
fine procedures



those of us
who were
not originally
angels but evolved
into the
planet's rays
after our lives
were absent were for
the most part
reluctant to
anthropomorphize
immensely
efficient in life,
and ice-cold
with a propensity
may have a
skill for teaching
so absolute
obedience was
the absolute rule
of our order

may It

A mélange
of middle-class
practices,
procedures,
beliefs
and false
beliefs.

I don't think
many witches
can become
frogs. It
was perhaps
not impossible
for the P.O.
but many
have nevertheless
an incredibly
audacious
regimen of
metamorphosis
transfiguration

and transfiguration,
all to ~~the end~~? ^{after all,}
no point ends. What ^{after all,}
could a frog do that would
be uniquely superior to
~~fully to finish~~ the
resources of a well-developed writer?

(otherwise known as a Hand of Glory), a witch can enter any room without waking the sleeping inhabitants. Using wax effigies or nail parings, locks of hair, or eyelashes stolen from her victim, she can wreak a painful vengeance or cast a destructive spell. Witches record their incantations, spells, and charms in books of black magic called grimoires. Recipes for how to make a Hand of Glory (it must be pickled in an earthenware jar for two weeks with salt, saltpeter, and peppers), turn oneself into a frog, and inflict leprosy are only a few of the skills taught in these workbooks.



Conjuring the Devil

early 1945

The Devil never sent
a wind out of
Hell but he would
sail with it.

Sabbat: The Sabbat is a grand gathering of covens brought together to worship the Devil. A prescribed ritual, the Sabbat is where the Evil One communes with his brides and bestows on them their menacing power. This meeting usually takes place in an isolated spot, protected from nosy snoops. The most significant Sabbat occurs on Walpurgis Night (April 30th), also called Toodmas in England. Interestingly, this same date was revered by pagans as the beginning of spring—the season of fertility; the same celebration is also the origin of May Day. Other Sabbats occur on Halloween (October 31), Candlemas (February 2), and Lammas (August 1). Covens have local meetings every month during the full moon and worship weekly on Thursday nights. The preparation for the Sabbat is a sacred activity and one witnessed by few mortals who have lived to describe it.

Witches are so good at hiding their identity, they can be married and have a family that is completely unaware of their ghastly powers. By day she may be a doting wife and mother; but as the moon rises, her true identity reveals itself. On the night of the Sabbat, the witch casts a spell of drowsiness on her brood; once they are asleep she creeps from her bed and strips off her clothing. She imbibes a magic oil and anoints herself with three drops of a sacred unguent given to her by Satan. As she goes through this ritual, her normal countenance falls away to reveal her true face—a hideous, lecherous mask—and her body transforms into a reflection of death. Standing defiantly astride a piece of wood as small as a twig, she swoops up the chimney or out the window

Magda
Cobbler
(who falls in
love with her
children)

?

There would
be a Sabbat
at some time
in late '44
or early
'45 I think
if he could
be saved,
and the word
from the O.S.
was "Don't
bother" - It
was all
turned out
as we would
wish.

The witches' Sabbat



essay D.T.

and flies off to a deserted glen or guarded mountain top.

There she congregates with her fellow witches, warlocks, and a flock of demons to wait for their king. As the Prince of Evil approaches, often in the form of a goat with a huge erect phallus (resembling the Roman god of fertility, Priapus), the witches gleefully surround him shouting their devotion. Each worshipper plants a kiss on his hairy backside and the meeting is called to order. A Black Mass, a profane version of the Eucharist, is conducted in which the witches and demons recite the liturgy backwards—or simply recite "Beelzebub, Beelzebub" over and over—and chew on a black host, followed by buckets of strong wine. To further prove their abhorrence of faith, they may trample a cross, shout profanities at the Lord, or blaspheme the saints. Occasionally a live sacrifice of an animal or a newborn child is offered. Once that is completed, business affairs are dealt with. New members are inducted. Veteran witches are called upon to relate what misdeeds they have perpetrated since the last Sabbat. If their activities are bad enough to please the Devil, he gives them a gift. If they have not fulfilled their quota, demons hang them by their arms in midair. The new witches are presented with their familiars.

At the close of business, the entire group falls to uproarious drinking and feasting. The fare is more often than not some gruesome vittle such as the entrails of a hanged man. After gorging themselves, the witches and demons rise to dance holding hands in a circle. The music is discordant and obscene, played on grotesque instruments

Witches conjuring
up a hailstorm,
15th century

D.T. gives
a description
of the
old-style
Coven.
The new
one is
filled
w/ emancipated
women
all funin
at the C.O.

139

141

D.T. feels a certain
nostalgia for the
lost Sabbat.

D.T. essay

fashioned from skulls and bones. The dancers whirl around faster and faster, spinning and chanting until their frolic degenerates into orgiastic frenzy. Cavorting, fornicating, and sodomizing each other with abandon, the witches do not leave until each and every one has consummated its love with the Devil himself—a questionable treat, considering the report that the Devil's genitals are shaped like gargantuan, spiked forks and are cold as ice. The witches eventually collapse from exhaustion and are whisked away on their broomsticks in time to be home before dawn. As the sun begins its ascent, all traces of the Sabbat disappear but for a subtle scent of sulfur and singed flesh that hangs in the air.

See p. 38

Hunting Witches: The Devil's rewards for service must have been sizeable, for it appears that by the sixteenth century almost every town or rural outpost had a local "witch." During the witch-hunt craze of the seventeenth century, tens of thousands of witches were executed by their fellow townspeople in Europe and America. Thoroughly convinced of their righteousness, accusers maintained that a witch was filled with an insatiable, incurable lust for evil and vicious deceit. She was cunning, immoral, and depraved and, what's worse, not content to keep it to herself. Witches had supernatural powers of seduction and would lure an unwary soul into forfeiting its virtue. The *Malleus Maleficarum* is a large, rather astonishingly detailed volume of confessions put together by two German inquisitors under the papal bull against witchcraft in 1484. If there could be any lingering doubt,

Woman of abomination,
by Albrecht Dürer, 15th
century

It all played
hell is karma
since the
women were
often more
evil than not
even if in
no way witches,
and the D.T.
did his
mobile best

to be fair and
to alleviate the
injustice of their ugly
ends, readers to say,
the D. & had inspired
many a village boy and
pious priest to incite
witch-hunts. In those times,
as now, he worked on the
absolutely reliable rule of thumb
that the average human can never
forgive God for injustice done to
himself. The trick was to leave the
average man or woman almost
dissatisfied with ~~himself~~ their
next homicide assignment as they had felt
put upon by their God.

reference

the publication of this book proved to most that the witch drew her destructive power directly from the iniquitous fires of Hell, the belly of Beelzebub, and everyone was better off if she were dead.

Witches were identified in a number of ways during the witch-hunts. A woman accused of witchcraft would be brought before a crowd, stripped, and completely shaved to see if she sported the Devil's Mark or Seal. Almost any blemish could be called a Devil's Mark, but the inquisitors looked initially for a large birthmark or scar that resembled a cloven hoof. If found, the inquisitor would take a large needle and prick it deeply into the mark. If the prick did not hurt or draw blood, it was taken as a true sign that the woman had been chosen to serve in the legions of doom. If no blemish was found, the accused was probed for the presence of a Witch's Teat. Any protuberance on the flesh, even a mole or wart, could presumably be a third teat the witch used to suckle her familiar. A person who traveled in the company of a small animal or rodent was in constant danger of being thought a witch, since familiars often took the form of mice, rats, cats, or dogs. Another surefire way to catch a witch was to immerse her in water with her left thumb tied to her right foot, a process called "swimming the witch." If she floated, her wickedness was proven because the pure water would not "accept" her; if she sank she was declared innocent but, as was often the case, drowned.

Implements used to
torture witches, 16th
century

I have it was
those that
a good
didn't often
had close
relations
with animals.
I don't mind
them as long as
they are not
too close to
the house.
143

reference

✕ sacrifice of some small animal. In certain satanic sects, priests allegedly copulate with acolytes on a dedicated altar. Satanists, in opposition to the emphasis church fathers put on mind and spirit, are said to believe and encourage free love and body worship. The five-sided star, or pentangle, is a popular symbol of occult religion and has long been used as a type of graffiti by Satanists. The organization of Free-



*Lucifer before
the Fall*

masons was accused of Satanism by the Roman Catholic church for years, a charge they vehemently denied.

There are other significant groups of believers who are proud to be called devil worshippers because their deity is Lucifer. Some creeds believe he was unjustly punished; others think he was tricked by the archangel Michael out of spite and jealousy. They see Lucifer as an embodiment of good banished for no reason, and they have their own creation stories to prove it. Devil worship of this nature stems from early dualistic religions, such as the Persian belief in Ahriman, the embodiment of chaos, and Orzud, the embodiment of creation. Many gnostic sects continued this idea of opposing forces during the early years of Christianity until their leaders were persecuted as heretics. Although this dualism does not seem to challenge the Christian idea of God and the Devil, two supernatural powers battling for humanity, traditional Christians believe it is blasphemy to compare any entity's might with God's because God is all powerful and any calamity the Devil besets on the world occurs only because God, who sees the big picture, allows it to be so.



The horned god
of witches

Sorcerers and Magicians: If the witch is the Devil's harem girl, then the sorcerer is his friend and playmate. While witches must do what they are told to keep their powers, sorcerers, who are predominantly male, sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for learning his art. According to the *grimoires* that exist today, most sorcerers hoped to use their knowledge to harness the nature of evil and force the

a number of
my clients.



The Devil and
Saint Patrick

1936 on

Prince of Darkness to do *their* bidding. And what did these jackanapes want? Great opulence, power, and wisdom, of course, to cheat the Devil out of their souls—an astonishingly easy thing to do (see Pacts with the Devil, page 152). With a little help from the Devil, sorcerers learn the black magic embedded in colors, crystals, precious gems, and powders. They consort with demons to excite tempests, arouse virgins, fly through the air, open every door without a key, demolish buildings, ruin fortunes, and cause hatred and strife between men. To render themselves invisible, sorcerers use an

ointment made from the incinerated flesh of newborn infants mixed with the blood of nightbirds. Dr. Faustus was a sorcerer, as was Merlin.

Magicians are a breed apart from sorcerers because they reject any dealings with the Devil (except, of course, for black magicians) and prefer to use physical phenomena and science to achieve their goals. Magicians, who are closer to mystics than Satanists, were not persecuted in the same way witches and sorcerers were (although they were imprisoned). In fact, many significant sages of old professed to dabble

*there is a good deal to this, but it is an art form and difficult to learn and with strong personalities **

medieval rapscallion

* like A. H. the results were often reversed. One law of black magic is that what works ~~for~~ to subdue an amateur can make a professional even stronger in of persuasion to you well. In the case of the will of H. H. — we may as spell it will — one did best to divert it by a fraction, and then, with the best of timing, happily be able to divert it further

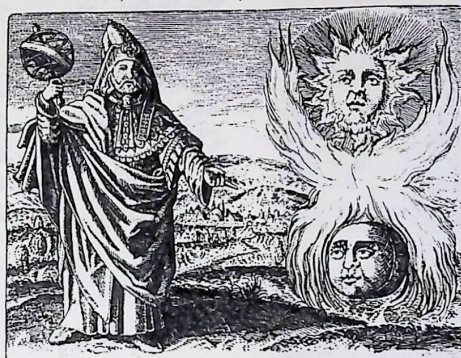
in magic, believing it to be a kind of religion in its own right. Cornelius Agrippa and Paracelsus were two renowned medieval magicians. Nevertheless, magicians were not entirely benevolent. It was said that if a black magician knew your name you would be at his mercy. If he procured a piece of your clothing or hair, he could inflict pain or disease, even kill you. Both sorcerers and magicians are indebted to the Cabala, an ancient Jewish book of mysticism, science, and magical arts whispered by God into Adam's ear. It has been passed down from the dawn of time by oral tradition. From it, sorcerers, magicians, and witches learn their magic spells, chants, and incantations.

R

*The god of alchemy
raising the philosopher's
fire to the temperature
of fusion*

Alchemists and Diviners: Alchemy is the science by

which practitioners attempt to transmute base metals into gold. The equivalent of early chemists or apothecaries, alchemists believed gold to be the purest medicine, the most evolved substance, and a metal that could prolong life and aid the spirit toward a higher accord with supernatural spheres. Interested in healing, life extension, and enlightenment, alchemists have a faith centered around an ornate, detailed



1943

cosmology. Alchemists were demonized for their alternative beliefs and their ability to transform matter—a job only God or demons could do. The alchemist proved his diabolical intentions by creating an artificial life form: the homunculus. This creature was conceived in a stoppered test tube and left to mature in a ripe horse-dung heap for forty weeks. An ethereal, transparent entity at birth, the homunculus, if fed by the alchemists with human blood, would emerge from the manure hill the size of a small child. He could then be raised in human fashion.

Diviners were a branch of sorcerers who could tell the future and interpret the past. They were often consulted to aid in finding hidden treasure or to prophesy. They could tell the future from almost any substance. Aside from the more common oracles of dreams, clouds, and handwriting, diviners prophesied with arithromancy, which was used to tell people's fortunes through numbers, and aeromancy, which called forth spirits of the air. Diviners used captomancy to read signs from smoke and carromancy to interpret the patterns of melting wax.

Two ghastly techniques were necromancy, or divination from freshly unearthed corpses, and antinopomancy or prophesy using the entrails of women and children. Gourmet diviners could tell the future from ripening cheese, figs, and the sounds of the stomach and bowels. It was assumed that diviners learned the future by consulting with demons. They were frowned upon for trying to emulate God by predicting, and thus influencing, events—a presumptuous and wicked craft.

Dr. T. Of course,
we create
homunculi
now, altho
we don't use
a dung
heap. Gosh
into the
imperfect
grasp of the
future,
What
nevertheless
the partially
susceptible
instinct
of the
alchemist

a lot of
wreck
to
what
end?
here?

The devil totes souls
to Hell in his sack

+++

* The destruction of the uses of
antinopomancy during the
extermination and concentration
camp. Mengele is tortured by those
not made to study witchcraft
scientifically,

+++ Sometimes A. H. would listen to
the harsh music of his anal wind.

1912

Pacts with the Devil: Anyone, if they have the nerve, can make a deal with the Devil. In exchange for one's immortal soul, the Baker will grant any wish. The best time to find the Devil is at midnight at a crossroad. If that fails, try looking in a mirror and calling him. Asking the Devil to appear is not to be taken lightly, however. Selling one's soul is obviously the quickest way to get to Hell; but if you believe what you read, humans have been doing it for as long as the Devil has, been there to talk to. Writings of people who exchanged their soul for earthly success and pleasure predate the fourth century. Among the most famous tales, of course, are those about Dr. Faustus (see page 158) and Daniel Webster.

In a less dangerous tradition, people still bribe the spirits in the hope of a favor. In Nordic traditions, it is common for farmers to leave sweets or other treats to tempt the sprites into doing a little field work for them. In much the same way, we leave cookies for Santa Claus in hopes that he will leave us more presents. However, dealing with the Devil is a much more serious affair. Pacts are signed in blood, the symbol of life; and that is exactly what is at stake, at least eternal life. In most devilish deeds, a human sells his soul (given to him by God to do what with it he will) in exchange for the realization of his wildest desires. Money, love, power, leisure: all are his for a set period of time, usually twenty-four years. At the end of this time the Devil will come a-calling, and you had better be home.

The Devil makes false promises to his devotees

In the night, the devil appears after we are asleep

Yes, and the real question is why? The answer has to be that the contest between God and the Devil is more down than up.

For Heller 1921-1945

155

1912-1936

After that, A.G. was on his own. He had the power to break the contract.

A discussion of the essential shape of the contract, it is not that all of the red-inked words above are all his, but that they are, given each human's limitations, vastly more attainable, at least in large part.

The O.O. mistakes D.T. not to fight him,

1936?

*Soul
and the
new-*

The end is nearly always painful and gruesome. As the clock strikes midnight on the appointed day, the Devil appears for his pound of flesh—which is exactly what he gets. Demons rip into skin with their talons, grab the screaming soul (often represented as a shadow), and stuff it in a bag, cackling their way back to Hell. The soul is forevermore bound in servitude to the Devil. One ultimately fiendish wrinkle: a person can sell the soul of someone else for the same riches. Parents often did this with their children, or husbands with wives.

It was quite common, however, to cheat the Devil out of his end of the deal. Once the person's time is up, he falls to his knees in prayer asking God and the saints to preserve him. Theophilus, one of the first mortals to strike a deal with the forces of evil, repented at the last minute and prayed vehemently to the Virgin Mary for his salvation. With the demons scratching at his door, Mary came to him in a vision and forgave him. Theophilus was saved and went on to live a fine upstanding life. The Devil may only take a soul who has renounced God. For being the Master of Lies, the Devil is scrupulously honest in holding up his side of the deal. He never hesitates in granting a human's wishes and patiently waits until his time arrives. Humans, however, always seem to get out of the deal, either with prayer or by hedging the terms of the pact.

Essay

The sound of ringing bells is cacophony to demons. They hate it. The reason one rings bells before church is to dispel all the evil spirits from the vicinity. Bells were placed around the necks of livestock to ward off evil spirits. The death of a Christian is accompanied by ringing bells to ensure a safe passage into the afterlife. Weddings and baptisms are also heralded by bells because demons love to ruin happy occasions. Making the sign of the cross (which is easily done by crossing two fingers) and reciting the holy name of the Lord will expel the Devil. Sprinkling holy water or salt does the trick as well. Salt is a preservative, an extender of life, and the Devil is afraid of it. Lighting candles or tapers is also good protection. Since demons love to nest in dark places, a lighted candle dispels them. Burning incense or sage, or fumigating the house with sulfur, offends their nostrils. An ointment derived from the gallbladder of a black dog will protect a house if it is smeared on the thresholds and walls.

Drawing a protective circle and standing in its center will provide a shield through which demons cannot cross. If that is impossible, spinning around in a clockwise circle three times will force the ghouls to leave. Circles are considered sacred because they represent the eternal cycle of life and the power of the sun. If a witch has a circle drawn around her, don't enter it or you will be her captive. The same is true for fairy rings. Unless you get permission, entering a fairy ring can lead to death. Wearing the color blue is a good precaution—diabolical spirits don't like blue because it is the color of Heaven.

How we used
the once
effective
notion that
the devil
was dispelled
by making
the sign of
the cross.
How many
addicts of
the cross as
created in
such fashion.
Arouse a little
fear in them
and pass
God's law
Devil expelled from
Arise
freeing all
their souls

intuiting impulses.
Another disappointment
for the D. K.

Essay - D.T.

Martin Luther recommended dealing with evil spirits directly. Farting in the Devil's face may seem rude, but it will make him leave. Kicking, punching, and dragging demons around is also effective. An ink blot still visible on the wall of Martin Luther's house in Wittenberg comes from the time he threw his ink bottle at a demon who was hounding him.

*He who sups with
the Devil should
have a long spoon.*

Amulets: Amulets can be carried or worn as armor against marauding spirits. (Children and animals also benefit from amulets, which protect them from the Evil Eye.) Placing an amulet at a threshold will stop the Devil at the door. Red peppers are used in Italy to dispel unclean spirits. A red thread tied around a finger will also work. Saints' relics offer particularly good protection if you can manage to carry a piece of one. Coral is good at repelling demons and the vagaries of the Evil Eye. It will also guard against nightmares. The four-leaf clover is a very lucky amulet. It is thought to be one of the few plants Adam and Eve took from the Garden of Eden. Horseshoes are powerful against evil; their crescent shape and seven nail holes are good weapons. If you hang a horseshoe prongs up, the Devil will get sucked into it as he approaches your house. Prongs down and the power of the horseshoe pours out into a force field protecting the house. Horses are protected just by wearing their shoes. Knots catch evil spirits at the spot where the knot is tied. Priests wear a clerical collar due to the fear that demons would get tangled in a tie and disrupt religious services. The Star of

169

When Martin
Luther made
a mistake
it was of
no small
diminution.
Most devils
are utterly
unfraid of
fart-sucks.
Indeed, they
are connosisseurs
who can read
a man's
heart by the
nature of
the gas he
exhales.
^{Saint Dunstan} and
I tell as
not only
what he detects, but
what he fears ~~or~~ too rich
~~or~~ too tempting for
himself.

and the hereafter, the sway
under, then, that it thinks
history of the modern age
intensification and super-
ficial evolutionary ra-
tionally superficial.

It describes a magnificent
vision almost every intel-
lectual, it attained in Italy
which we have already dealt
with of faith known by the
Counter-Reformation and
with a will to return to
a mere optical delusion.
and intellectual vigour,
the dominance of a sys-
temic—since it is its very
essence it to take refuge in a
disguises, rationalism in-
stead as to escape the prosaic
common sense. The eight-
eenth century triumph of pure rea-
son, of Kant, of Racine
and Rousseau would, one would
think, was by the “young Ger-
man” countries, which suc-
ceeded in the whole of life into
the world of its last irrational
thread of Romanticism,
impotent, is only a revolt
with purely intellectual
literature, completely ac-
quainted, of which the
Romantics, and for novelty in
the nineteenth century
look” of technology, and
“negation of negations”
inevitable as it was mean-

Very good - can be quoted

1914

In itself, however, that war was both the finale of a closing age
and the prelude to a new. As has been pointed out, it is to be
regarded as one of those traumas which herald the birth of a new
historical species. It signifies at once a world-downfall and a
crisis, or, more exactly, the end of that long unbroken Crisis of the
European soul which we call the modern age. We stand at the
beginning of a new epoch, and for that reason it is possible to
write modern history as a backward glance over a completed
period of development. For the first time for nearly half a mil-
lennium man is becoming displeased with the world, doubtful
as to whether he possesses it, doubtful of the reason and the
senses by which he has possessed it hitherto. These are signs, if
still distant today, and possibilities, beginning to glimmer palely
on the horizon, that prelude a complete reversal of our world-
outlook.

1914

We have grown so accustomed to the usurped supremacy of the
logical functions that any other attitude of mind strikes us as
absurd or lower than our own. But this is an entirely gratuitous
assumption, for, on the contrary, it is our method of grasping the
world intellectually that is the great exception, the abnormal, and
the unnatural. An instructive instance in this respect is the work,
published in 1910, by the French scientist Lévy-Bruhl: *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, which on the basis of
most comprehensive and conscientious observations undertakes
to give us a psychology of the so-called “primitive peoples.” Such
peoples, it is maintained, give to every thing and every being, to
every tree, animal, man, picture, implement, a visible and an
invisible existence, of which the latter is the more important;
dream experiences, moreover, are regarded as real — indeed, as
more real than waking. “What is for us perception is for the
natural man more than anything a communion with spirits and
souls, with the invisible and intangible secret forces which sur-
round him on all sides, determining his fate and occupying in his
consciousness a greater place than the tangible and visible mate-
rials of his ideas. Accordingly, there is no reason to ascribe to the
dream a lower place as being a suspiciously subjective imagining;
on the contrary, the dream is a privileged form of perception, be-
cause in it the part of material elements is reduced to a minimum,
and therefore communion with the invisible powers is the most

The mys-
tical ex-
perience-
world of
the “Primi-
tives”

D.T.
✱

* takes off on this - Decides that
the full purpose of the O.C. at this
stage in the struggle is to strip
countenance of primitivism.

Note - I small files here. One for 1914, one
for 1919. They may serve as a reminder for many
by D.T. at the beginning and end of the war

1914 1940 - 1914 an error by D.T.

His own works themselves disclose this double character. Bombastic and artificial, portentous and prolix, obscure and overladen, they fully justify his name of Bombastus; yet he also honoured the name of Theophrastus, for he was a sincere messenger from heaven, an apostle of deep learning and pure wisdom. Again and again he emphasizes that it is not in books but in the Book of Nature that wisdom is to be found: that what we may find in the works of Galen is like some fungoid growth on a tree and that only a fool could confuse the fungus and the tree. Briefly, he taught a *pantheistic medicine* — everything is interdependent, and the duty of the doctor is to unravel this interdependence, for the world, too, is one great organism, with life and disturbances of life, with its own look and its own disease, respiration, pulse, fever, and convalescence.

The Philosophers' Stone was an article of faith with him; for he knew nothing, poor man, of the law of the conservation of the elements, and yet — has not this very law been lately upset by radium, which, as everyone knows, can turn itself into another element, helium? Thus does what was once a pillar of science become "unscientific"; thus does what was crude superstition become "scientific." Such is the history of the so-called sciences, and the consideration of it should lessen the conceit of learned pedants, if they were at all capable of allowing healthy human reason to operate without bias.

Furthermore, alchemy was by no means only concerned with the making of gold, for the secret substance, the arcanum which was the object of its search, was to be a panacea for all ills, like the theriaca of antiquity. In fact, the general view of the time was that there must be some universal formula which would at a single stroke reveal the secret of the world, a master-key which was to open the door of all riddles: that is the real significance of the Philosophers' Stone.

The two other "tendencies of the period," gunpowder and printing, undoubtedly had a far more pernicious influence than alchemy. The use of fire-arms brought into warfare an influence hitherto unknown which made of it something vulgar, barbarous, and mechanical, and gunpowder took from courage its select, aristocratic, and individual quality. Knightly mounted combat, man against man, with specialized defensive and offensive

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* D.T. → one of our signal victories in the long history of civilization for now one could kill without seeing the eyes of the foe, and so one was free of the sense of consequence that earlier also there and ready to fight. We stole war from God.

Amajor
essay
to
bring us
to the
war
+ its
parcell
type
conso-
quance.

Dr.
Jan the
Philosophers
Stone

Cannot
fodder an
movab.
typ.

14

1914
RT
equipment, which required a particular aptitude, or at least a training and practice lasting for years and even generations, produced a definite class, even a race, to whom courage was a sort of calling. The definitive introduction of fire- and infantry-tactics put an end to war as the business of a particular kind of individual, temperament, and capacity; and courage, in becoming common, vanished as a characteristic. Weapons were no longer an organic part of the man, like the limbs of his body, but man was an impersonal function of his weapons, a cog in the great military machine. Hence a twofold result: first, an enormously increased unscrupulousness and brutality in warfare, since each man had become an easily replaceable particle of the whole, a mass-production piece, as it were; and second, the extension of military duty to far larger sections of the population and finally to the whole. The idea of "man-power" was only created by the invention of gunpowder, and so, too, universal compulsory service; for we cannot make a thing a duty unless it is within the possibilities of everyone. Thus the history of the modern age is the history of the progressive disruption of the conception of war in its original meaning and significance. The last step, World War, exhibits the last phase of this dissolution — the war fought for business reasons.

The printing-press — which, incidentally, would never have had so universal an importance if it had not synchronized with the invention of cheap and good paper — has a similar levelling and mechanizing effect. Gutenberg, or whoever it may have been, broke up the wood-blocks through which first pictures, then signatures, and finally even books had been produced, into the constituent letters. Here, indeed, one's first thought is, we have an achievement of individualism, a liberation from the restrictions, the associate and corporate life, of the Middle Ages. The elements — cells, as it were — which build up the organism of the word, the sentence, and the thought, become independent and free, each a life in itself capable of infinite combinations. Everything had hitherto been a rigid datum, static and conventional; henceforward all is fluid, variable, dynamic, and individual. Movable type is the symbol of Humanism. But the reverse of the picture is that everything is mechanized, becoming mechanized, controllable, uniform, and of equated value. Every letter is a unit with equal rights in the organism of the book, but it is at the same

DV6
time something in among atoms. Ther departments. We l knight had been a l anonymous unit. I subject, the artisan soldier, subject, wo that they are equa added, shifted, and much on their persc same, too, as regar conduct of life. Th furniture, quicker t nation, more comf than had mediaeval less other) means c existence. But thes the like completely tory as in nature individuality and l

Such were the d to them was now a began with Coperr calistium, libri V. cosmic system, was even so, it containe Osiander, who arbi a hypothesis — obv expressed themselv the whole art of ast that Joshua made i the work had been said, in his dedicat Pope Paul III), it b — and it must hav secret channels. As it is irrepressible; like a bacillus.

The discovery,

Another of our victories

aptitude, or at least a
 d even generations, pro-
 m courage was a sort of
 and infantry-tactics put
 ular kind of individual,
 , in becoming common,
 re no longer an organic
 but man was an imper-
 great military machine.
 sly increased unscrupu-
 uch man had become an
 mass-production piece,
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 ery letter is a unit with
 , but it is at the same

time something impersonal, serving, and technical, an atom
among atoms. There are similar products of the new spirit in other
 departments. We have just spoken of warfare, in which each
 knight had been a battle in himself, but the soldier is merely an
 anonymous unit. In the same way the citizen is replaced by the
subject, the artisan by the workman, goods by gold; and all four,
soldier, subject, workman, and money, have the common quality
that they are equal magnitudes, mere quantities which can be
added, shifted, and exchanged at will; their value depends not so
much on their personal properties as on their number. We see the
 same, too, as regards personal comfort and the whole outward
 conduct of life. The man of the modern age has more practical
 furniture, quicker transport, better methods of heating and illumina-
 tion, more comfortable houses, better centres of education,
 than had mediæval man, and we are assured by these (and count-
 less other) means of a freer, less burdened, and more individual
 existence. But these furnishings, these methods of transport, and
 the like completely equate one another. The truth is that in his-
tory as in nature we have to pay for everything: we acquire
individuality and lose personality.

Such were the decisive transformations in the world-view, and
 to them was now added the astronomical reinterpretation which
 began with Copernicus. The treatise *De revolutionibus orbium*
cælestium, libri VI, which contained his new analysis of the
 cosmic system, was only published in the year of his death; and,
 even so, it contained an introduction by the Protestant theologian
 Osiander, who arbitrarily declared the whole thing to be merely
 a hypothesis — obviously because Luther and Melancthon had
 expressed themselves adversely: "The fool is trying to overthrow
 the whole art of astronomy," said Luther; "but the Bible tells us
 that Joshua made the sun and not the earth stand still." In fact
 the work had been written far earlier — as Copernicus himself
 said, in his dedication (which, paradoxically, was addressed to
 Pope Paul III), it had been lying four times nine years in his study
 — and it must have long been available to the public through
 secret channels. As soon as a piece of knowledge is actually *there*,
 it is irrepressible; it infects the whole atmosphere and spreads
 like a bacillus.

The discovery, for that matter, was not wholly new. Two

Very poor
many
Cosmic disturbance

"Their possessions," says a contemporary chronicler, "were the poison which killed them."

Not only humanity, but heaven and earth, too, were convulsed in those days. Ominous comets appeared. In England storms raged with a fury unknown before or since. Gigantic swarms of locusts descended on the fields. Earthquakes ravaged the country — Vil-lach was destroyed along with thirty villages around it. The earth seemed to become barren, and blight and drought caused the crops to fail everywhere. These phenomena may not be just dismissed as "accidental freaks of nature" nor yet as "superstitious popular imaginings." If it be true that at that time humanity was shaken by a great jerk, a mysterious upheaval, a profound shudder of conception, then the earth must have had some similar experience; and not the earth only, but the neighbouring planets, nay, the whole solar system. The signs and wonders witnessed by that "limited and credulous" age were real signs, distinct manifestations of a wondrous concatenation of cosmic happening.

World-downfall

Man, at any rate, distraught by so many calamities and contradictions in his present and future, rushed about in terror, straining his eyes for something firm. Serious people took refuge entirely in their God or their Church, fasting, praying, and doing penance. The frivolous flung themselves into a life of unrestrained worldliness, opening all the valves to vice and greed and making of life the fattest hangman's breakfast possible. Many thought the Day of Judgment was at hand. And in all this — in the pessimistic and ascetic currents as in the unwholesome, bloated merrymaking, which was merely a sort of consumptive's sensuality or "tomorrow we die" recklessness — there was a general feeling of the world's end which, expressed or unexpressed, conscious or unconscious, permeated and dominated the whole era. And men's instinct was perfectly right; the world did really come to an end. The world that had been, that strange world of the Middle Ages, so limited and so luminous, pure and depraved, soaring and fettered, founded in misery and thunder into the depths of time and eternity, never to return.

Dethronement of Universals

The fundamental principle on which the mediæval world-outlook rested was: the realities are the universals. What is real is, not the individual, but the estate to which he belongs. Not the particular priest was real, but the Catholic Church, whose gifts

of grace he distributed; bauchee, the sacredness of what he had no reality. Not that he wooed his lady with son but the great ideal of that exalted him. Not that the art was real, but the lofty many, created. Not even evolves in solitary wrestle truths of the faith, and to arrange, justify, and explain.

At the end of the Middle Ages the world began to waver and become fluid, opposites. The great Johannes of his origin and *doctor* (splitting), the head of the four in 1308, was still a man must break down if univ- scientific knowing, consequently explained, however, that to the general and the particular corporate both; and else individuality was not a fact the *ultima realitas*.] somewhat later and has conceptualist; he declared *conceptus*), abstracted from sense in nature; the only *Socratas*, not the *humana* ism and the most famous *Occam* (the *doctor singularis invincibilis*), who died in further. He too began by *conceptus mentis*, significant did not exist in things, but did not follow, merely because that the universal succeeded to a complete place in concepts actual copies

any year General discussion of the human view of the universe

and unrighteous challenge to the moral system of the universe, which proved their ruin.

The simple always wins and this case was a simple one to sum up. Here is a man who holds his court in gold and purple, commands millions, condemns millions, tries to usurp the Kaiser's rights, and all on the authority of a claim to be the earthly representative of one who lived among men despised as a beggar, who neither could nor would command anyone, who accused none and gave to Cæsar what was Cæsar's due — Caiaphas posing as the vicar of Christ!

In all this, however, there is one point that must not be lost sight of: that apart from Wyclifism, which was practically exterminated after his death by the house of Lancaster, and Hussism, which became bogged in compromise, the whole movement was at first anti-clerical only and not anti-Catholic. This is an important difference. It was not the dogmas and rituals that men attacked, but false uses and degradation of them; the abuses, not the uses. To this extent the controversy was juridical rather than theological.

While men's faith was being thus shaken and disorientated and humanity had allowed itself to become confused by the servants of the Church without finding the courage to doubt the Church itself, there rose to the surface some strange currents which had always been at work underground, but now, in the general state of helplessness, became a new power in life. Since God no longer spoke through His priests, other announcers of His will were sought, and thus there arose a very thinly masked polytheism in the form of a dæmon-worship which was reckless, often formidable, and occasionally nasty. Everywhere fantastic intermediaries plied between God and man, and the spirits of hell aroused more fear and respect than the saints. The whole atmosphere was filled with little devils, coarse and fine, wise and foolish, harmless and malicious. They were "as numerous as the dust-particles in a shaft of sunlight." They sat at table, in the workshop, on the bed-edge; they rode on goats' backs or appeared in the guise of ravens, rats, and toads. And alongside of them all manner of nature-spirits led a mysterious existence in bush and forest, in wells and lakes, in fire and wind — pale memories of the ancient mythology. All the marvellous creatures which still people our fairy-tales con-

trolled in those days ings. There were el nightmares. Even the ture-gods, heathen el the Mohammedans in and respectful awe; of the Host, black m ever, be seriously mis stition if we were to even intentionally m God-defying actions, devil-worship, a sort with the same astoni of those days, as we l conviction that the E that they should belie a Devil's congregatio

Side by side with spread an abstruse l prophecies, the inter consultation of the l routine of daily life. ing of horses and hov and in the form of the to ban or attract; or loose. To meet a woman or — very signi ous legends, too, refle triumphant powers o of the wizard Virgil: God's commands, ob art, and sees all the l the forerunner, in fac a dark dome, a world dom in passive prostr in the stars.

Then to make th of gold poured into th den wealth, is alway

Dæmons
and
magicians

D.T.
on middle
ages

P 121
follow
here

Any year

trolled in those days the whole of the grown-up population's doings. There were elves, nixies, fairies, witches, kobolds, and nightmares. Even the Church's saints were transformed into nature-gods, heathen elementals. No longer did Jews, heretics, and the Mohammedans inspire mere hatred and horror, but rather fear and respectful awe; for all the world believed in the desecration of the Host, black masses, and ritual murders. We should, however, be seriously misunderstanding the real source of this superstition if we were to allocate it to crazy religious fanaticism or even intentionally malicious slander. The people regarded these God-defying actions, not as a mere negation, but as a very real devil-worship, a sort of inverted Christianity and looked up to it with the same astonishment as to the figure of Antichrist. Men of those days, as we have pointed out, held the more or less clear conviction that the Devil ruled the world, and it was only logical that they should believe in the secret existence of a Devil's church, a Devil's congregation, and a Devil's ritual.

P.T

Side by side with the grosser superstitions, there grew up and spread an abstruse but systematic belief in magic. Spells and prophecies, the interpretation of dreams and the flights of birds, consultation of the hours and the planets, were all part of the routine of daily life. Omens were seen everywhere: in the neighing of horses and howling of wolves, in the direction of the wind, and in the form of the clouds. Curses and blessings had the power to ban or attract; certain signs and gestures were able to bind or loose. To meet a hunchback brought luck; to meet an old woman or — very significantly — a priest brought ill luck. Numerous legends, too, reflect this belief in these ever present and often triumphant powers of evil, chief among them the widespread saga of the wizard Virgil: a Lucifer-like figure that successfully defies God's commands, obtains gold and dominion through the black art, and sees all the knowledge of the world in a magic mirror — the forerunner, in fact, of Faust. And over it all is the vaulting of a dark dome, a world-wide fatalism which finds the supreme wisdom in passive prostration before a destiny long ago written down in the stars.

Then to make the cup of misery full, the murky yellow flood of gold poured into this religionless world. Wealth, especially sudden wealth, is always demoralizing, but here it was a case of a

Money
economics
with a bad
conscience

1919

D.T

God. God is ready at all times, but we are very unready; God is near to us, but we are far from him; God is inside, we are outside; God is at home with us, we are strangers with Him." To achieve pure contemplation of God, even union with him, to become "godded," all that is needed is to be still. Man must be silent that God may speak, man must suffer that God may take effect. All creatures are a sheer nothing: there is only God and not, as our unreason believes, God and the creature. Therefore we must strip off our creatureness. This we can do by "seclusion" — that is, by liberation from all sensuality — and by poverty. A poor man is he who knows nothing, wants nothing, and owns nothing. As long as man craves for any particular thing, he is not yet really poor — that is, not yet really perfect. Therefore, our prayers, too, must be concerned with God only, not ourselves — he who prays for something prays for a nothing. The truly pious can also well dispense with the Church's grace, for to him every dish is a sacrament. It is not confession, going to mass, or the like that matters, but the birth of Christ within us. Even Mary's holiness consists not in that she bore Jesus physically, but because she bore Him spiritually, and therein every human being can imitate her at any time. Virtue does not consist in a doing, but in a being. Works should not sanctify us, but we them. But only those works will be holy which are done on their own account. "I maintain definitely: as long as thou executest thy works for the sake of heaven, of God, or of thine own salvation, thou art certainly not on the right way. It will be possible to tolerate thee, but it is not the best thou canst do." Man can attain to any heights if only he has the will, for the will is all-powerful: "No one can hinder thee except thyself."

These scanty quotations will no doubt suffice to show that what Eckhart and his school achieved was nothing less than the birth of a new religion, a complete transcreation of the previous Christian faith, in comparison with which the Lutheran Reformation stands as an earthquake to a geological recasting, or as a purifying and fertilizing storm to a world-change of climate that calls a new flora and fauna into existence. Had this movement succeeded, a new world-age would have dawned for Europe; but it was suppressed by the Church, and with a measure of success which is less a reproach to the Church's quite logical protection of

its own interests than humanity for a rebuild

Mysticism contains practical. These elementary expressive forms in J Suso of Constance remain *Doctor sublimis* acuteness of speculation him, the centre of gravity with rare force and unconditional follow: must necessarily fly that he has been a rich man set before him a picture — namely, Jesus shall be arranged, instead become as bitter as sweet." Suso, on the new wisdom that he of his lyrical rhapsody the bride of God, this me," he cried, "the depth for ink, the leaf out my heart's passion studded with nails of Lord."

Another influence the abbey of Groenendaal marvel of divine illumination number of works character and a simple profound street, they used to say *l'uom ch'è stato all' Hell*." Just so the profound thrill combined the serene with the far-sightedness the beyond. His work

* D.T. and man does ¹³⁸ reject God for good cause - Because he is a blunderer and a Dummkopf.
not useable as written ↑. Get into the

subtlety of this - the unlearned man feels before God who is within all - loving and not very effective or not all - loving and therefore a hypocrite

Reading meditation of Eckhart
 about the time the 1919 Gollan
 entered the book

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1919

towed on him the title
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and St. Augustine, from which I have learnt more and still intend to learn of the meaning of God, Christ, and all things that be. Please God this little book may become better known, and then we shall realize that German theologians are undoubtedly the best theologians." This short work, covering little more than five sheets, is in fact one that everyone should read, high or low, wise or simple, learned or ignorant, for it appeals to all. It should be not only universally read, but carefully studied, inwardly experienced, and preferably learnt word for word by heart; for it is of all documents one of the most illuminating on human heights and depths, grandeur and humility. This being so, it is a task of quite peculiar difficulty to attempt to reproduce the basic ideas of the work in a few words.

Man ought to become perfect. But what is perfection and what is makeshift? The perfect is the one entity which embraces and holds in its being all entities; whereas the makeshift or imperfection is that which has issued from this perfection or is becoming, as a glow issues from the sun or from a candle, and appears as something, as this or that. And that is called a creature. Sin means only that the creature has turned aside from this perfection, this unchangeable good, and turned to the particular, the changeable and imperfect and, above all, to itself. Therefore, if the creature assumes into itself any God as being its own, this constitutes a falling away. "What else did the Devil do, in what else did his falling away or his downfall consist, but in assuming that he too was something and wished to be something, and that something was his own and his due? And what else did Adam do but just this? They say that it was because he ate the apple that he was lost or 'fell'; but I say that it was on account of this assumption of his: this 'I' and 'me' and 'mine' and the like. Had he eaten seven apples, he would not have fallen, but for his assumption." The soul of man has two eyes. One is the gift of looking into eternity, the other that of looking into time and into created beings, and of distinguishing among them. And one single glance into eternity is more pleasing to God than anything that His creatures may achieve merely as creatures. He who achieves that glance will inquire no further: he has found the kingdom of God and everlasting life while still on earth. He has the inward peace of which Christ spoke, which prevails over all opposition and

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D. T.
on
this

D. T.

the work's title is Little Book of the Perfect Life Anon.
republicated by Luther.

perversity, against oppression, poverty, and shame. He has the quiet which enables him to be joyful in the manner of the Apostles, and indeed of all chosen friends of God and followers of Christ. The "old man," as we know, stands for Adam, for disobedience, egoism, somethingness, and other such things. He who lives in his egoism and according to the "old man," is called, and is, a child of Adam. Let him live in it long enough and essentially enough, and he becomes a child and brother of the Devil. "All of this may be summed up in this short sentence: See that you be thoroughly detached from yourself." The same applies to following after Christ. He who leads a Christian life with the object of achieving or earning anything will do so as if for hire and not for love; which is to say, he does not really lead the life. God would rather have a single genuine worker for love than a thousand hirelings. As long as men seek what is "best" for them, they will not find it. For then they only seek themselves and imagine that they themselves are the best. But as they are not the best, they are not seeking the best while they seek themselves. To those who have tasted perfection, all *created* things are of no account, themselves included. And so, for the first time, a genuine inner life arises. Then, as they make steady progress, they find God becoming man, until finally there is nothing that is not God or of God. "That we may escape from ourselves and die as to our own self-will, living only for God and His will, to this may He help us who gave up His will to His heavenly Father, Jesus Christ." "Here endeth the Frankforter."

The author, "whose name God knows," was in fact a member of the Teutonic Order of knighthood, and in his last years custodian of the German Herrenhaus at Frankfurt-am-Main. The book was written about a generation after the death of Eckhart and just about as long before that of Ruysbroeck. It was placed on the Index like all the other mystical writings; but the spirit which inspired it has appeared again and again for mankind, notwithstanding a hundred excommunications. When Luther in later life became a prince of the Church himself and reverted to many an ancient dogma and ceremony, the book found other adorers. It was resuscitated by Sebastian Franck, the greatest Protestant mystic of the Lutheran age, a heretic within heresy, so to say; it was cherished in circles of the Pietists; it became a

favourite book with Scher, as he called him, be make many an appearance a book which, like the Bil

Now, there is a very mystical speculation and quently notice, and at a l that the arts of form, an first in the field with th dawning in the soul of th always, but nearly alway expression. The present individual thinkers visua of contemporary humar pictures of the great Ge mysticism. Of course, th made a strong impressi wrinkle in the face, ever coat, is registered with It not infrequently hap alarmed by the positiv fiendish perversion and full of brutality and cov in pictures where the sul peasant life or martyrdo text. For instance, in the der Goes, the praying s taken to Sunday service portrayer of exciting, viv ity. In his panels of the ant-heaps of callous ruf of the anonymous "Mi are a complete zoölogy of humanity left in his t vagabonds, and gaping vile and degraded pig o fied subjects the figures Eve in the Ghent "Ado ized; with her sloping sh

* D.T. Because they must traffic with both of us, and in such a transaction are divided. Give me the human creature who achieves her selfless and devoted to an external ideal while all the while belonging to both rather than to the Devil, and we have in our possession a mighty force. Himself, I must say, and, of course, our own Adolf come to mind.

1919?

CHAPTER V

REASON TAKES CHARGE

"Man is therefore nothing but a heap of errors, powerless without grace. Nothing shows him truth, everything deceives. The two chief supports of truth, the reason and the senses, each deceive the other."

Pascal

World-history as a dramatic problem

The drama of the modern age

We will pause for a moment to cast a brief glance over what has been said, to indicate what is to come and elucidate somewhat the purpose and content of our method.

World-history is a *dramatic* problem: it is nothing but the destiny of the collective soul of humanity, pursuing a path that is varied and full of confusion and change, but yet runs on in accord with definite psychological laws. The individual stages — the epochs, as we call them — follow not merely after one another, but arise one out of the other, and their passage has a scenic continuity: each one is definitely marked off from the preceding and the following, but yet forms with them an organic continuity, for it fulfils the earlier and conditions the latter. The drama of human history is dominated by a clear and ineluctable necessity; but, not being a lifeless work of the study but a poem conceived by a hand of genius, this necessity is not a rigid, barren piece of logic, nor a calculated piece of psychological schematism. Only distance enables us to get an inkling of it, for its throne is in the background and it works only mediately through a luxuriant chaotic jungle of life, never actually entering the consciousness of the actors, but (only later) laid bare and described in feeble and disillusioned words by the historian, whose rôle is that of the dramatic critic.

What we are trying in these pages to investigate is the course of the development of the European soul during that period which we call the "modern age." So far we have tried to depict briefly the condition of "traumatic neurosis" which was the immediate consequence of the great trauma of the Black Death; the plague itself in its turn being only the external expression of an inner

De T. Yes, each deceives the other and sometimes we are on the side of reason and the angels support the senses, but as the match between us continues so can the reverse be true, even as we are sometimes obliged to surrender one grip or grip in order to obtain another.

General essay by D.T.

D.T.

Amphibian

prices rising a hundred and a hundred and fifty, in some cases even two hundred or two hundred and fifty per cent. The gift and vengeance of America for Europe were plague and poverty; or rather two plagues, syphilis and gold-fever. Everyone wanted to get rich as quickly and with as little effort as possible; even the soil of their native land was greedily searched for treasure, and actually new sources of the noble metals were discovered here and brought under exploitation by improved mining technique.

We see, then, that the period of incubation is over, the poison begins to work and grips the European organism, head, heart, and marrow.

Faust

All the tendencies of the dawning era were effectively concentrated by popular imagination in the figure of Faust. Faust is an alchemist and a black magician; what he aims at by means of his science and his magic is wealth and worldly power; he is a Protestant and a theologian, a fellow-countryman of Melancthon, contemporary of Luther and for a time resident in Wittenberg. He is also a Humanist and a lover of the classics, offers to recover the lost comedies of Plautus and Terence, summons the shades of the Homeric heroes from Hades, unites himself, secretly rejuvenated, with Helena and so symbolically fulfils the intent of the Renaissance, the regeneration of the Gothic spirit by its union with the Classical. For centuries Faust was even reputed to be the real inventor of book-printing, for according to one tradition he made the matrices for the casting of movable types while Gutenberg was still printing with whole wood-blocks. This claim is disputed nowadays, but it was a sound popular instinct, nevertheless, that made him the creator of that invention by which, more than by any one other, men's autocratic impulse to intellectual expansion was nourished and satisfied. Faust, in contracting himself to the Devil, demands a written bond from him to answer all questions and to answer always truly; in this he is, therefore, the very personification of the deepest and most fundamental element of the time, an unbounded lust for knowledge, coupled with the belief that there are secret formulæ which can answer every riddle. And in another way, too, the legend proves its sureness of insight, in displaying Faust as the ally and bondsman of the Devil and so giving profound expression to the fact that all "pure reason" is of the Devil, and all striving for it a

sort of blind hope serpent Satan, the "eritis sicut Deus presses the basic 1 that what concern good fortune consi

The extraordinary genius with which a compendium of the begins in mysticism whole temptation (sand forms and di yearnings; and win nizing himself in e the unity beneath tragedy of Faust : ism, scepticism, an Mephisto is not a materialistic, and, cold, barren intelli the completely log The intellectual, th mon in modern n of intellectualism, the wrestling geni at his feet, but Faus this world only seen his reason, which is the world was narro by the vision, for it as well as the head were no realities m lived through was men did still live in superficial observers the contrary, in one dreams, their halluc everything that has cessful attempt to gr

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224 + 225

✱ D.T. But the truth has so many roads from A to B and so many vistas in route that only a very wise man can listen all the way to the end.

Even so, Mephisto

Even so, Mephisto never made such an agreement again.

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ure of Faust. Faust is
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D.T.
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225

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Every- anywhere.

the birth of scholarship — this last the weakest component, but all the same not to be underestimated, since it was this which provided the method, the material, the intellectual weapons for the whole struggle. There was, however, a common focus and crucible of all these different elements in the appeal to the Gospel. There was nothing in the Bible about monasteries and monks, bishops and prelates, masses and pilgrimages, confession and absolution — here the religious aspect found foothold. Nothing about a supreme shepherd in Rome — here the national movement stood to fight. Nothing about fish- and game-preserves, tithes and feudal service — here the social reform found its justification. And nothing at all of the dogmas which the Church during the thousand years of its activity had created — here the philologists and historians drove their mines.

The presentiment, whether obscure or clear, conscious or unconscious, of a great revolution and transvaluation of values roused in almost all parts of the nation a vast, and predominantly a joyous, enthusiasm. Numerous writings of the time express the feeling of "the dawn," best of all Hans Sachs's famous poem "The Wittenberg Nightingale":

Awake, awake! The day is near,
And in the woods a song I hear.
It is the glorious nightingale,
Her music rings on hill and dale.
The night falls in to Occident,
The day springs up in Orient.
The dawn comes on and sets alight
The gloomy clouds of parting night,
And soon thereout the sun will shine
And moon depart in pale decline.

In a drama of the same name Strindberg completes the famous words of Ulrich von Hutten: "The spirits wake, there is a joy of living," with the cry: "Ah! something new draws near."

This something new was Martin Luther.

There is probably no personality in history of whom such conflicting opinions have been and still are held, as the Antipope of Wittenberg. There are Catholics who have rendered enthusiastic praise and there are Protestants who have regarded him with a

fierce abhorrence; the pious have called "the German Catechism" factors. Goethe saw a peasant bounded warrior in the battle of Marston made to prove himself a raving madman, a syphilitic have painted him with

Many hostile creative originality had been put forward many "reformers" than he. And indeed Reformation flower drawn attention in anti-clerical feeling could it be otherwise burst forth around before it could disclose the end of the century gathered power. In 1494, we find, among

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D.T.
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The Night-
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Wittenberg

P 233
PT note

Early reformation

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have regarded him with a

force - we can't get out of a young boy or girl. Hence - we can't get out of a young boy or girl.

It is hard to determine if it is worth the effort. I think we should be careful. I think we should be careful. I think we should be careful.

Important these were of 0.11 + 0.00

fierce abhorrence; atheists have called him a spiritual saviour, and the pious have called him a corrupter of religion. To some he is "the German Catiline," to others the greatest of humanity's benefactors. Goethe saw in him a highly significant genius, Nietzsche a peasant bounded by the limits of his clogs. Schiller called him a warrior in the battle for the freedom of thought. Frederick the Great a raving monk and literary barbarian. Attempts have been made to prove him a glutton, a drunkard, a liar, a forger, a blasphemous, a syphilitic, a paranoiac, a suicide; and German artists have painted him with a halo.

Many hostile critics have been at pains to deny him even all creative originality and to show that all the ideas he supported had been put forward before his time, and that there had been many "reformers before the Reformation," more important far than he. And indeed it is obvious that the currents from which the Reformation flowed were far older than Luther. We have already drawn attention in chapter iii to some of the many expressions of anti-clerical feeling with which the fifteenth century teems; nor could it be otherwise, since so huge an eruption as that which burst forth around Luther must have been brooding long and deep before it could discharge with such elemental violence. Towards the end of the century the anti-priestly feeling more and more gathered power. In Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*, published in 1494, we find, amongst countless others, the following lines:

For priests there's little reverence;
Their worth is reckoned but in pence.
Many a fine young clerk today
Knows no more than a donkey may,
And shepherds of men's souls one sees
That tend the flock but for the fleece.

And in the almost contemporary satirical poem, written in colloquial German, *Reinke de Vos*, already mentioned, occur these remarks about Rome:

Of law in Rome they boast and cant,
But money's what they really want.
No case so crooked, so obscure,
That gold a verdict can't secure.

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* Luther is a magnificent example of the complete investiture of a man by two opposed powers: angel and demon. Be certain that when he threw an inkwell at the wall to banish the Devil or turned around and flung at another Devil he could well have been blackening one angel and suffocating another. Indeed, so

* Luther is a magnificent example of the complete investiture of a man by two opposed powers: angel and demon. Be certain that when he threw an inkwell at the wall to banish the Devil or turned around and flung at another Devil he could well have been blackening one angel and suffocating another. Indeed, so

At much was involved in Luther's position in the early

a road way powerful Mr. Luther, that I could say, looking back in all the respect one owes to retrospect, I regret that the D.D. and the D.D. must have

Essay on Luther

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Wessel (1419-89) maintained that the unity of the Church de-
pendent on the community of the faithful with Christ, their
heavenly supreme Head, and not on their subordination to a vis-
ible ruler; on earth most Popes had been caught in the net of error,
and even Councils were not infallible. He rejected auricular con-
fession, absolution, and "*satisfactio operis*," or justification by
works, and pictured purgatory as a purificatory process of a wholly
spiritual kind, upon which the pope could have no influence. "If
the pope could decide according to his own will, he would not be
the vicar of Christ, but Christ would be his vicar, for the judgment
of Christ would depend on his will." In fact, as he says himself in
pregnant words, he believes *with* the Church, not *in* the Church.
The Erfurt theological professor Johann von Wesel (d. 1480) went
even further, objecting even to the Communion and to the extreme
unction, and maintaining that the consecrated oil was worth no
more than that in which cakes were baked; fasting he thought su-
perfluous, and a device introduced by Peter that he might have a
better sale for his fish; finally, he called the pope an "empurpled
ape." Erasmus of Rotterdam, too, the glory of the century, scorned
the adoration of saints, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the
entire dogmatics of the Schoolmen, whose subtleties, he main-
tained, would be unintelligible to Christ and all His disciples. The
sacraments, in his view, were ceremonies of neutral value, the
Bible in many places forged and in parts contradictory and unin-
telligible; nor could the divinity of Christ and the Trinity be
proved from it. "But the Church has no more deadly enemies than
the popes, for by their evil life they slay Christ a second time."

But the case of Erasmus, more than any other, discloses the
enormous difference between Luther and his predecessors, who
merely *taught* the Reformation, whereas Luther lived it. His
uniqueness and originality lay in the boiling blood he infused into
all these doctrines. Erasmus was beyond doubt the more pictur-
esque, the broader and keener mind, the most logical, the more
universal, and even the bolder thinker; but he was no more than
a thinker. It never entered his head to give practical evidence of
a single one of his ideas, and though he was of a far more radical
and reforming temper than most of the reformers, he never ap-
peared in person as the defender of the new movement, but fear-
fully denied it on every occasion. He repeated, over and over

Words and
Deeds

A. G.
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Luther

Early essay — [A+O] comes out of this.

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driving force was the *unconscious*; without having willed it, he found himself the hero of his time; without having sought for it, he spoke the word which found a home on every lip; he moved with the certainty of a sleep-walker on the way which had brought so many others to ruin. In the midst of an age that was disintegrated, fumbling, and fermenting, he was a whole man, a fragment of unfissured mediæval force and self-sufficiency. His gaze looked into the far future, while his feet were planted firmly on a well-worn path. And this is what made him the leader that he was, and enabled him to stand like a second Moses at the parting of the ages, dividing with his staff the waters of the old and the new. He was, in a word, the *last great monk* of Europe, just as Winckelmann in the age of a dying Classicism was the last of the Humanists, or Bismarck in the years of victorious Liberalism the last great Junker.

On the other hand, Luther's consciousness perceived spiritual relationships which were only to be fully developed and realized in the course of centuries. The modernness of Luther's thought came from three main influences. The first is his *individualism*. By making religion a matter of inner experience he accomplished in the highest sphere of the human soul what Italian artists had done in the sphere of fantasy. Luther's belief that each soul must create its own God afresh out of its innermost being involves the final and deepest emancipation of personality. The second, connected with this, was a *democratic* motive; by his declaration that every one of the faithful was truly of clerical status, and every member of the Church a priest, Luther destroyed the representative system of the Middle Ages, which allowed the laity access to Christ only through the special mediation of the deputies of Christ and the hierarchy of his servants; and he thus introduced into Church life the same equalitarian principle which the French Revolution afterwards brought into political life. Thirdly, by his declaration that the whole of our ordinary life was a divine service, he introduced into religion a new worldly principle. Once admit that it was possible, everywhere and at all times, in every class and every craft, every profession or station, to find favour with God, and we have a sort of consecration of work: an achievement in its immeasurable effects, which we shall have to discuss later in fuller detail.

Jung
*
and A.H.

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* D.T. and what they never take into account is that each soul must also create his own devil. ~~But~~ I was, therefore, able to use all the power thrust of Luther's concept to excite young Adolf in our direction. He really believed he was fashioning his own God.

Marcionites, the most lucid and incisive thinkers among the early Christians, maintained quite logically that there were two Gods, the Demiurge, who had created the world — by the world they understood the Jews and therefore pictured the Creator as evil — and the "Highest God," who had sent His Son to redeem the world. They felt, quite rightly, that if they could not bring themselves to deny the god of the Jews as completely as any other national God, the only logical alternative was the acceptance of a dual divinity, after the Persian fashion, in which the Jewish God naturally became the spirit of darkness; but, as such a solution was nothing but a veiled relapse into paganism, the Church naturally found it unacceptable. The Marcionites, as well as others, had, moreover, suggested the total rejection of the Old Testament — and they were not alone in this — yet there also they failed, for Jehovah, a true Jew as ever, refused to be thrown out. Hence, even up to the present day, the purest doctrine that has ever been or ever will be put before the world was corrupted and confused by the spectre of a fierce and jealous Bedouin chieftain.

Luther's
Damascus

Luther, too, had his Damascus; but the Saviour's words were not now: "Why persecutest thou Me?" but "Why thinkest thou I persecute thee? My Father is not Jehovah." He saw that the Christian God was not a "just" God, but a God of mercy, and that the meaning of the evangel was not the Law, but Grace.

It shakes us to the core to see how Luther at the time of this inner struggle was actually filled by a sort of *hatred* against God: there were moments in his life when his will strained to banish God from the world. The fact is that what we would love with our whole heart we must some time have hated passionately, or at least have striven for both eagerly and hopelessly, and piety is certainly among the first things of which we can say that it must be conquered before it can be possessed. Fundamentally Luther's battle of faith was against the comfortable, cheap, cud-chewing complacency of *God-saturated* people, against the deep immorality that lies at the core of the unreflecting self-satisfaction and the taken-for-granted inertia of average religiousness.

Luther's
heroic
period

The youth of Luther is truly dramatic in character; his taking of the vow amid lightning and thunder, his nailing-up of the Theses, his disputation at Leipzig, his burning of the papal ban, his defence at the Diet of Worms. These are scenes of a cosmic

vastness and impressive circumstances in 1 brush-strokes. Another's unerring instinct Church which was but the most obvious. In the course of time sins had developed rape, murder, false omy was rated in legious robbery at at four. It was evetice, to pay in ad deposit-account of farmed out to big b with the most mo ship; in a lottery a prizes" to be wor commercialization this, and even the had nothing to do official and cynica

The climax of he published thre the *Christian Nob Captivity of the* all of which have a lucidity and or propounds with re tian is a true prie world (for had no not of this world instituted by Chri Holy Communion claims to univers: jection to a foreig Babylon; that a in all things and second through hi

He was well aware of this principle.
D. Ti. Our concern, so often, was that
Heller's hatred of the Jews not
turn into its opposite. ~~What could~~
I could hardly forget the
day of ambivalence in Vienna

ers among the early
ere were two Gods,
by the world they
the Creator as evil
Son to redeem the
uld not bring them-
letely as any other
the acceptance of a
ich the Jewish God
as such a solution
the Church natur-
as well as others,
of the Old Testa-
here also they failed,
thrown out. Hence,
that has ever been or
and confused by the
in.

aviour's words were
Why thinkest thou
"He saw that the
God of mercy, and
law, but Grace.

at the time of this
tated against God:
strained to banish
we would love with
passionately, or at
ly, and piety is cer-
say that it must be
amentally Luther's
cheap, cud-chewing
the deep immoral-
satisfaction and the
ness.

character; his tak-
is nailing-up of the
g of the papal ban,
scenes of a cosmic

vastness and impressiveness, each of which sums up its own circumstances in powerful strokes, pregnant and unforgettable brush-strokes. And how dramatic, too, in its own way was Luther's unerring instinct in attacking just that abuse of the Catholic Church which was not merely the most irritating and absurd, but the most obvious and startling — the traffic in absolutions! In the course of time a regular stock-exchange for remission of sins had developed, in which everything had its price: perjury, rape, murder, false witness, fornication practised in church; sodomy was rated in Tetzel's instructions at twelve ducats, sacrilegious robbery at nine, witchcraft at six, parricide (a bargain!) at four. It was even possible, if not in theory, certainly in practice, to pay in advance for certain sins and hold, as it were, a deposit-account of absolutions; and the whole business was farmed out to big banking-houses and merchant firms who worked with the most modern methods of advertisement and salesmanship; in a lottery at Bergen-op-Zoom, for instance, the "valuable prizes" to be won included absolutions. The degradation and commercialization of religion could not possibly go further than this, and even the meanest intelligence could see that these usages had nothing to do with Christianity, or rather that they were an official and cynical denial and contempt of it.

The climax of Luther's work as a publicist came in 1520, when he published three small but decisively significant works: *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, *Of the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, and *Of the Freedom of the Christian*, all of which have a force and depth, a compactness and richness, a lucidity and orderliness, such as he never achieved again. He propounds with resistless oratory his doctrines that every Christian is a true priest; that the pope is not at all the ruler of the world (for had not Christ said before Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this world"?); that the only valid sacraments are those instituted by Christ himself — namely, baptism, repentance, and Holy Communion; that the other added sacraments and the papal claims to universal dominion had brought the Church into subjection to a foreign and hostile power like that over the Jews in Babylon; that a Christian is a wholly free, serviceable labourer in all things and servant of all, the first through his faith, the second through his humility. A true Christian life is to be found

D.T.
I saw
the
high
point
of our
irregularity
of the
Church
*

* D.T.: I was present at many such
a fornication (almost always) for meane! —
in the hours when a church was all but
empty, I have ~~seen~~ brought them together
to couple horizontally on the pews, mutually
holding the cushions beneath their draper, and
notably once, standing up, before the altar,
and for those who could overcome their
fear, rarely would I say, have I presided
as agent of confessions over such vituperous carnal
such, indeed, I will use the word — transports!

Essay anywhere - or why D.T. is worthy a book.

here a task is performed
yes another voluntarily
riches and the glory of a
in do all things, yet has
death and hell, and yet
ere Luther is very near
s of his youth, and this
problem of the relation
return) with such utter
petty annoyances and
an polemics, and above
of being misunderstood,

from learned Paris or
but from the poor and
The explanation of this
ways at the circumfer-
ent to birth and momen-
ning. Christianity was
Roman world-empire,
from the capital cities
its career of conquest in
sity that Luther should
al sense as well as the
less, from darkness and
en God reveals himself
akely, in splendour or in
small community. The
use of a servant.

as in many ways a thor-
highest degree, almost
d the pope, but, as even
"the world demands
believe and serve, even
earth; and if every day
for another." Luther's
literally true, word for
limitation. He carried
where, it has been re-

marked, like some useless vestigial organ which belongs to an earlier stage of development and whose function has long been lost. Moreover, he interpreted the "Word" by his own often mistaken and limited explanation. This narrow literalness of his finds a classic example in the famous debate about the Last Supper at the religious discussion at Marburg. When the discussion came to the words of institution: "τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ δῶμά μου, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἶμά μου," Zwingli explained them as being symbolical, the ἐστι not expressing any identity, but being translatable as "significat." During the discussion Luther incessantly tapped on the table in his indignation and repeatedly muttered: "est, est." It was the outer grammatical form which was alone decisive for him.

And yet even in this rigid superstition of words we may detect the modern stamp that equally characterizes Luther. For the hitherto highest authority, the pope, who was a living authority of flesh and blood, he substitutes the dead authority of the writing, which consists of printer's ink and paper. In place of the false infallibility of a fallible human being we have false dogma in a scientific and utterly inhuman form. Theology gives way to philology — in the end to micrology — and for the Holy Church we have of all things the unholyest, the school. In the unconsciously maturing fact that the centre of faith was no longer the life and suffering of the Saviour, but the record thereof contained in a book, is signalized the victory of the new type of man, who writes, prints, reads — and is scientific. It is the herald of a literary age. In the same way, according to Protestant interpretation, the sacraments do not work by some secret magic, but only by the word. And so Gutenberg humanity triumphs over Gothic. Thenceforward it is a straight line to the civilization and religion of pure reason, to the age of Enlightenment. Luther was neither an incarnation of, nor even a prophet of, these inevitable consequences, but the Church he established fulfilled them. His own activity and work are unintelligible without the printing-press. He is the first great publicist of Germany, and his ninety-five Theses are the first "late extra" of the history of the world.

Harnack says somewhere in his *History of Dogma* that Luther behaved in the Church like a young child in his home; and this remark almost completely covers both the strength and the weakness of the reformer. His work displays the inco-ordination and

*Triumph of
Gutenberg
man over
Gothic man.*

D.T.

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*D.T. At the time I did not understand it,
but I knew the D.C. considered this to
be a great trouble for his method. Now,*

*I can follow it better. Great for mistakes
about leaving on the altar myself
he would fall for us, but to move from
the corrupt man-pope to the Book was
to answer theology a little further, the once
godly authority of the senses. On the other hand*
p 246

clumsiness of a child, its limitations and manner of thought, but at the same time its purity and intuitiveness, its enthusiasm and its irresistibility. Because he was a child he was enabled to give his people a religion, but because he was a child he was unable to build a religious structure. Because the driving force in him was a childlike impulsiveness and elasticity and wilfulness, his work lacked all continuity and logic. Later he relapsed in many points, becoming unfaithful to himself and to true Protestantism. Protestantism is clear and courageous protest against every forced belief, formula, and lip-service, a return to the purity of the early gospel doctrine and the essential facts of Christianity; it is the rejection of all mediators that would interpose between God and the believer, it is the piety and discipleship of Christ, constituting the true and only priesthood. But even in his own lifetime, and not without his own co-operation, a great deal of what it had been his historical mission to fight had come back again: a new system of clerical lust for power and of dull numbing by empty forms began to spread abroad, a new façade-Christianity received homage, a new dialectic, far surpassing the Catholic in hair-splitting and absurdity, came in for the second time and — with far more ignoble apparatus — made the Gospel dark. For the second time humanity was divided into first- and second-class Christians: but while the Catholic priest derived his superiority from a transcendent source, the hegemony of the Protestant pastor and theologian was based on the far weaker and more fragile claim that he was superior to the laity in true scientific understanding of the Bible.

And what understanding could Luther or his followers have of the real meaning of the phenomenon of the Saviour? The appearance of Christ in his environment is wholly strange to, and almost incomprehensible by, the modern (and especially to the European) feeling. It is a magic radiance, having the enchanted glow of opal, in which endless brown wastes, *fata morgana*, and the quivering stillness of noon are reflected. It is a life-form to the echo of which our imagination is almost insensitive. More, it is the undoing of that form itself. All the glittering yet almost voiceless variety, the vast, dignified simplicity and unambiguousness of the East are in early Christendom; and with it an almost hysterical sympathy with the heart-beat of every creature, a de-

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nial of individualness; the ruling passion of an extremely primitive: us out of the Gospel: with the wisdom of the Christian faith of the baric misunderstand easier to survey and g. and delicacy, the sup is inaccessible to a he ologian could not rea of this world of ima newspaper age recap of belief for which tl evidently home.

So, too, with Luthl which may be regar we approach it, as a scent and local colou of the feelings and tl it, but on the other cidedly Germanized German literature. I set up that he was the thority than Jacob G language, by reason influence, may be re New High German i that Luther, as he hi the Saxon Chancelle a balance between t which originated in about 1350, and the points should, howe Luther there really but only innumerab the amazing circulat his Bible, that this co circles and was ado

from 248
Luther
to be
very
much
an
guard
against
the
fundamental
strength
the D. K's
look
Angels
was
vicious
into
Protestantism

* D.T. Yes, to repeat movements, like man and women find not only their own good, but their own private devil.

manner of thought, but
as, its enthusiasm and
he was enabled to give
child he was unable to
iving force in him was
d wilfulness, his work
lapsed in many points,
Protestantism. Protes-
against every forced be-
the purity of the early
Christianity; it is the
pose between God and
of Christ, constituting
his own lifetime, and
eal of what it had been
ack again: a new sys-
ll numbing by empty
Christianity received
the Catholic in hair-
cond time and — with
Gospel dark. For the
first- and second-class
derived his superiority
of the Protestant pas-
aker and more fragile
true scientific under-

or his followers have
the Saviour? The ap-
holly strange to, and
(and especially to the
having the enchanted
as, *fata morgana*, and
It is a life-form to the
nsensitive. More, it is
glittering yet almost
ry and unambiguous-
and with it an almost
every creature, a de-

g, like man
their own
5

nial of individualness of such unqualified clarity as could become
the ruling passion only in the soul of a very late humanity. An
extremely primitive and yet immemorially old Culture speaks to
us out of the Gospels — the simplicity of natural man combined
with the wisdom of the ages. A Luther may be able to clear the
Christian faith of the surface-coating produced by centuries of bar-
baric misunderstandings, concentrate it, simplify it, so that it is
easier to survey and grasp by the reason; but the infinite tenderness
and delicacy, the supersensitiveness, of such a spiritual condition
is inaccessible to a healthy German peasant. An honest Saxon the-
ologian could not react to the sparkling colour and exotic variety
of this world of imagination; nor could the child of a dawning
newspaper age recapture the fathomless prime-wisdom of a world
of belief for which this life is a sojourn, and the infinite is self-
evidently home.

So, too, with Luther's translation of the Bible, an achievement
which may be regarded, according to the standpoint from which
we approach it, as a failure or as a masterpiece. Very little of the
scent and local colour and setting of the Biblical world, or even
of the feelings and thoughts of the authors, has been salvaged in
it, but on the other hand Luther did succeed with his very de-
cidedly Germanized Bible in writing the most German book in
German literature. Hence the exaggerated claim has often been
set up that he was the creator of modern German, and no less an au-
thority than Jacob Grimm agrees with that judgment: "Luther's
language, by reason of its wonderful purity and its enormous
influence, may be regarded as the kernel and foundation of the
New High German idiom." Now, we should certainly not forget
that Luther, as he himself admitted, employed the "language of
the Saxon Chancellery," a sort of common idiom meant to hold
a balance between the language of central and south Germany,
which originated in the court of the Luxemburg kings in Prague
about 1350, and thence spread to the other German courts. Two
points should, however, be noted: firstly, that in the time of
Luther there really was no common tongue among the people,
but only innumerable dialects, and that it was only because of
the amazing circulation and influence of his works, above all of
his Bible, that this common language gradually penetrated into all
circles and was adopted as the universal written German; and,

Luther as
creator of a
language

moderate enough: each parish was to choose its own pastor, tithes were to be maintained, but other dues were to be removed, serfdom to be abolished, the rights of hunting, fishing, and collecting wood to be unrestricted. As the movement proceeded, further perfectly reasonable demands were put forward — for example, unity of standards of coinage and of measures throughout Germany, removal of all tolls, the reform of the judicial system. The nobility were to be indemnified for their losses under these heads out of the property of the Church, the complete secularization of which was one of the most important points in the program. The opposition, however, refused any concession, war burst forth, and, like bees when they swarm, the peasants poured in from all sides. There was no real resistance in the towns, all the princes in Franconia and on the Rhine submitted within a few weeks, and a vast peasants' Parliament was called at Heilbronn to discuss the reform of the Empire in detail. But at the same time a far more radical group, with communistic tendencies, the "Anabaptists" under the leadership of Thomas Münzer, was making victorious progress. If Thuringia and Franconia had united for a final stroke, the collapse of the "Whites" would have been almost inevitable, but, squandering and dissipating their strength in sieges and plunderings, they were defeated — chiefly by the cavalry, in which they were themselves wholly lacking — in seven battles that followed in rapid succession; and by September the revolt was practically at an end. The narrowness, selfishness, and cruelty with which the whole question of the peasants had been handled in the war left their traces through all the following centuries and are not unconnected even with the confusion of the present day.

At this decisive moment in German history Luther failed completely. He quoted Jesus Sirach: "give the ass food, a load, and the whip," and applied these words to the peasants; he thought of the countryman, not as the feeder, but as the beast of burden of human society. Atrocities were committed by both sides during the war — though certainly more by the opposition — and such things were quite in keeping with the character of the age. Luther's attitude of extreme hostility to the peasants may be explained to some extent by the fact that he received very one-sided accounts of their activities; and, moreover, must have felt a justifi-

able resentment at his position of ill-will even reply to the Twelve claims. Thus, to the q be used in the first pla port the poor of the pa plunder and highway selves the tithe, which with what they will. I: your own goods." (A) vided the tithes, that often reached as much by any chance employ service he maintained as usual being drawn had bondservants, and in that calling to whi when there had come kindest that we can sa In his pamphlet *Again* wrote: "It were high t dogs" and "Now shc murder, openly or secr a prince can deserve b prayer." In this there and tyrant that lived, of Luther's soul, and w that in this God-forsa the great age of Christi. tically extinct.

The worst side of tl astonishing violence ar influenced by mere opp a quality which should to be rebuked too strict est characters, whom ti sphere makes over-anx clined to compromise w

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Luther is furious at how the peasants are defeated.

* D. T. A. H.'s fear of horses ~~was~~ is of the genre. His peasant forebears defeated by horses, dispersed on the battlefields by horses.

Indeed, this is one of my failures. I worked hard to get him off this fear. (The painting was of A. H. in white armor on a horse) but was never successful.

history Luther failed com-
 he ass food, a load, and
 he peasants; he thought
 as the beast of burden
 ted by both sides during
 opposition — and such
 character of the age. Lu-
 the peasants may be ex-
 received very one-sided
 must have felt a justifi-

A. H.

The worst side of the whole business, however, was that in his astonishing violence and un wisdom Luther was to a large extent influenced by mere opportunism. Now opportunism is, of course, a quality which should not be judged too harshly, it is too human to be rebuked too strictly, and it is often the defect of the strongest characters, whom the very fact of living so fully in their own sphere makes over-anxious for its security and only too often inclined to compromise with the claims of the external world so as to

Essay

the reform movement and the question of the es-
sences repentance on three
"passio oris," and the "sa-
the first of these, repent-
what was worse, unin-
sion and works. But this
the point on which, obvi-
decision between free-will
the primary problem, for
the form and manner of
ary decision whether the
he often and gladly ad-
dingly by two of the great-
Augustine.

d of the New Testament
apels display to us figures
tempted to say impres-
ing, at another in dazzling
are like a voice that we
ure that we see striving,
monifies that most funda-
man, like all earthly crea-
less, there narrow, fool
the most human of all
arly Christianity that he
ader and the type. All
linked themselves on to
er.

the views of the rôle that
nity. One, which main-
the Gospels would never
is, therefore, the real
so contemptible that it
other view derives from
ful of all the opponents
an unfailing instinct,
target of his main offen-
Christ he paints the de-

velopment of early Christianity, as it presents itself to him, with
the brush of a Dante. "This glad messenger lived as he taught,
not to 'redeem' mankind, but to show how man ought to live.
. . . He does not resist, he does not assert his rights, he takes
no single step to ward off his final destiny; rather, he challenges
it. . . And he prays, suffers, loves *with* those and *in* those who
do him evil. . . *Not* to defend oneself, *not* to show anger, *not*
to condemn . . . but yet not to resist those that are evil, but to
love them. . . At bottom there has been only one Christian,
and he died on the cross. The 'glad tidings' *died* on the cross,
and what since that day has been called so was the very opposite
of what he lived, an 'ill tidings,' a *dysangelium*. . . Manifestly,
it was just the essential that the primitive community missed:
how to die after this fashion, in freedom from and sublimation
above all resentment. . . But his disciples were far from *for-*
giving his death—that would have been evangelical in the highest
sense." (We might remark, parenthetically, that an antichristian
who can write words like this may be far nearer the understanding
of the Saviour than those Christian ministers who seek to prove
their Christianity by babbling the phrases of the Gospels so long
that they have lost all feeling for them. God grant us many more
such atheists as Nietzsche! If they possess so noble a soul, so pure
a passion for the truth, and if they live so exemplary a life of saint-
liness and patience, they deserve God better thereby than they
would do by confessing Him.)

May we, then, say with Nietzsche that Paulinism is nothing
more than a single great act of vengeance of the "Chandala-soul"
— a barbarization and complete dechristianization of Christian-
ity? Such a view would certainly be wrong. For that which in the
story of Jesus gave most profoundly to think was his death. In
this lay the supremely new, the inconceivably terrible and won-
derful fact, that the greatest whom God had ever sent into the
world had not been elevated above all men as their guide, their
teacher, and their king, but brutally executed, put to the shame-
ful death of a slave — and that of his own will and seeking. The
question then arose how all this was to be explained; and the
answer, the only answer, was that it was for our sakes that
the grand reversal of the world-order had been allowed, that for
us who are unjust the justest had suffered injustice, that the

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→ 268

Ⓢ D. T. Paul, then, was our instrument
but what a mighty chance was
taken by the C.O. all too often
in those early centuries it did
look ready to get out of hand.

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See p 258
Erasmus
innocent had suffered so that we might find atonement and blessedness. There was no other way in which Paul could make the thing intelligible, and all the creeds right up to the present day, true or false, have found no other explanation.

If we would sum up Paul's historical significance in a single phrase, we might say that he was the first Christian theologian. He took the religious ideas which were spread about in early Christian communities and brought them into a sort of system, into a logical sequence of ideas which could be easily impressed, retained, and propagated. But in so defining this achievement of Paul we must not commit the error of belittling it. Every genius uses his own language, a private idiom which is naturally intelligible to only a few beyond himself. He therefore needs an *interpreter*, an intellectual power that will try to speak forth the ineffable, to express the inexpressible, to put into earthly, comprehensible forms the eternal, infinite idea. A good formula is not to be despised, for it also is spirit — the spirit which preserves for later times what would otherwise have vanished. This is the sort of service which Aristotle rendered to Greek thought. The formula of the crucified Son of God, who has washed away the sin of the world, gave to thousands who were not ripe for the purer doctrine of Christ a symbol that was not an empty fancy, but something by which they could benefit both in practice and in theory.

*The Judaic
apostle*

But there is one word in Paul's doctrine which will not readily fit into the spirit of the Gospels — the notion of sin. The God of Jesus is grace, infinitely deep and infinitely wide, reigning beyond good and evil — grace not as reward or recompense, but simply grace as itself. God is not the judge who acquits, but the Father who forgives. But for Paul, God and man are somehow engaged in a mysterious balancing of accounts; he could not endure the thought that God was, not just, but *above justice*; and indeed to most men this idea would have meant no liberation, but a tormenting riddle. It was an idea too wide, too great, too difficult, and too deep. Jews could not grasp it because for thousands of years God and law had been the same thing — and in Paul himself it was the Pharisee that responded so willingly to the doctrine of the sacrifice of Christ. The Romans, for their part, were far too well broken in to legalism for it to be possible for them to give up the idea of a satisfaction, and the Greeks, with their

concrete corporeal formalism, would have found it prehensible.

Therefore it is with so apparently paradoxical of all the Apostles. The original sin except by the Old Testament God of Israel still works on the plan of tooth; it makes the Atonement it is only this fundamental be bought save by the debt bought at all — which was of salvation Paul complicit from a mudic standpoint and cannot be justified by works but by faith. Epistle to the Romans: 'We have all sinned and come short of the glory of God, by His grace through the gift of Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore we conclude that no man is justified by the deeds of the law'; and in the end, 'through faith, and that not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.' Thus the negation of the freedom of James we have the doctrine of working together of faith and works. Little favour with Luther though a man say he hath faith if it hath not works is made perfect? "Thus the conflict of opinion on the doctrine of faith wrought with (δυνάμις) made perfect?" Thus the conflict of opinion on the doctrine of faith wrought with (δυνάμις) made perfect?" Thus the conflict of opinion on the doctrine of faith wrought with (δυνάμις) made perfect?"

Augustine, the second, the absolute definiteness the doctrine. For him man is a "perditionis," of which, the "numerus electorum" is not to sin ("posse non peccare") sin mankind is in the co-

this is Christian and has proved his faith in the surest fashion. To assert one-sidedly the value either of works or of faith is to fail in the understanding of Christ, to whom doctrine and works were inseparable. It was precisely because He lived out His teaching to its uttermost consequences that He became the Saviour, and it was precisely because His life was such that it was elevated to a doctrine.

But if we balance Protestantism and Catholicism against each other in this way, the former still suffers a serious defect in its fundamental rejection of monasticism. In a world of cheating, murder, and lust the possibility must be given for a certain class to live only for God, both for their own sakes and for the sake of their example to others. Obviously, not all Catholic monks have been true monks. Doubtless only a fraction of them have been urged to the cloister by a passion to live for God. But it is the fact that Protestantism has provided no room for such people that is so serious. The suspicion is unavoidable that bare utilitarian tendencies played their part here, and that the beginning of a mercantile age was unwilling to allow any justification for the existence of "idlers."

In the religiousness of the Reformation period we may trace, broadly, three stages. The lowest stage was the current Catholicism, which, if not in theory, at any rate in practice, was nothing but the crudest worship of external forms and ceremonies, mechanical repentances and services. Opposed to this was the doctrine of the reformers, in whom we may see the second stage, and who emphasized the unique power of faith, although to a considerable degree (especially in the interpretation later given to it) their teaching remained narrowly and rigidly doctrinaire, compressed dogmatism. The highest stage was seen in the so-called radicals, who were deadly serious in their desire to return to primitive Christianity; they included in various shades and tones the whole spectrum of unqualified religiousness, from the extreme revolutionary fantasies of the Anabaptists to the purest speculation of Protestant mysticism. If the reformers were heretics to Catholicism, the radicals were heretics in the second degree, heretics of the Reformation; the former aimed at a Church without a pope, the latter at a Christianity without any Church at all.

* And so did the O.H. teach us
over and over that in every
revolution and transformation
the doors were wide open for
us to enter as well.

The second, Protestantism. In his Calvinism. In his Calvin founded a system of supervision or inquiry ever attempted. Clergy, expression of natural emotion, suspect, forbidden, idleness, occupation, games, and novels, was forbidden without decoration, Christ to beautify it. Talk were punished by unlike Luther, had an intellect. In him the element and method, but not, for the first time throughout the later difference of outward between Calvin's Geneva. Remove the venerable community was coat half-terrible figure of premisses, both foolishly naturally alike or a properly handled discipline, and even obvious truth its essence is just that which the individual secondary difference as a theocracy and there are even certain of religion.

On the one side wholly realize the spirit which had always been riably old, for it is a side it is very modern, namely, in the much iconoclasm and of i

D.C.
takes up
this
argument
* Calvinism

square-toed, far more

certainly, who like Me-
son of the secrets of the
of them and started from
to know His deeds, not to
of His incarnation," yet,
not mean the outburst of a
tion to the Godhead, but,
age about faith over Faith
ver religion.

triumphed. Faith became
berty and co-membership.
or visit a music-hall in
mon, even to murder and
one cannot have mass-
can have mass-love. The
modern man, that all hu-
ried out in common, the
all humanity a factory, a
matory, began to infest re-
massive mass-religiousness

ative religious movement.
iously wished to include
ated new religions, but such
and in the Classical age —
ussia today. The atmos-
a religious one, it was far
world of merchants, diplo-
oved from all craving for
; and even a Luther could
of the age.

us believe the sad words of
nd kill each other; so was
Yet post-Christian human-
he man of antiquity — it
have not altered; they live
tage, are selfish, use force,

deceit, and injustice; but they no longer do so thoughtlessly and
in good faith, but haltingly, secretly, and fearfully. They no longer
possess the humour of the beast of prey. That is perhaps the one
achievement of Christianity, so far.

Here we touch upon the nuclear problem of Christianity, the
immense question: How is it that, on the one hand, man is un-
deniably an evil creature, and yet, on the other, does not *will* to
be evil? Why does not he make a clear decision between his two
possibilities? He is neither beast nor angel; the beast does, without
moral scruple, all that is of service to itself and its posterity; the
angel possesses a conscience and acts accordingly. Mankind does
neither one thing nor the other, he lives a life neither God-pleasing
nor natural. Thus, through this portentous dilemma, he is a gro-
tesquely unique and contradictory absurdity in creation as a
whole. He is a huge abortion, a walking question-mark. If he is
good, why does he do evil? If he is evil, why does he love the good?
The destiny of every one of us puts these two terrifying questions
anew.

an. ?
if enough

J. V. Jensen, in his description of Peking, makes the striking
and illuminating remark that the present-day Chinese of the up-
per classes remind us of the men of that time. "Many a crafty old
Chinese might quite well have been one of the great men of the
Reformation period, as we see them in their portraits — reserved,
but inwardly full of the religious ambitions of the time, of its
vigour and its covetousness. . . . In spite of the splendid por-
traits of the time which we possess, in spite of all that history has
preserved for us right down to the smallest particulars, I have tried
in vain to give myself a picture of these men as they lived, al-
though we know for certain that they did live. I have never been
able to see and hear them convincingly. Some sort of contact with
them is possible, perhaps, through the peasant of today — some-
thing of the mask — but only in China can one really relive the
Middle Ages, for thus it was that they lived, queerly hesitant,
dawdling wilfully and from a sense of their style, as peasants will
even today and, above all, slow." Indeed, the whole culture of the
time was peasant-like; even the rulers, even the artists and the
educated classes, were only better-class peasants, and we can well
understand that a subtler and more complicated individual, with a
sure sense of nuances and an inkling of the deeper irony of things,

Grobianism

1919 from Eckhart

such as Erasmus had, must have felt the world to be an intolerable place. Further, there was in the men of that age something of the wily shrewdness of the Mongol — which strikes us as a natural product needing no explanation and therefore is in no wise unmoral — though certainly they had none of the psychological flair and adaptability which Jensen so praises in the Chinese. The period had an extreme coarseness, and the nascent rationalism, which is its mark, gives to its products an impression of something primitively artificial, childishly mechanical. The Humanists, who gave the science and the poetry its special quality, seem like poorish copies of the Italian Humanism, which they reproduce in cheaper colours. There were, of course, extraordinary talents among them, and one of the most interesting of these — if for no other reason, for his amazing many-sidedness — was Konrad Celtes, the German arch-Humanist. He was the first German poet to be crowned as poet laureate, the first German professor who lectured on general world-history and on German imperial history; he was the discoverer of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a Roman map of the third century after Christ. He reformed the Nürnberg woodcut craft, inspired a new musical form, the so-called ode style; and published (indeed for a time was believed to have composed) the Latin dramas of the nun Hroswitha.

Among the most outstanding traits of the time is the so-called "Grobianism," a term popularized, though not invented, by Sebastian Brant: "We have now a new saint, Grobian, whom everyone likes to parade." Almost all the writers of the age hurled pig's language at each other. Luther's polemical language was rarely anything but immoderate (for instance, he says of Erasmus: "Anyone who suppresses Erasmus stamps out a bug, and then it stinks worse dead than alive"); Fischart attacks the fashion of coarseness, but so coarsely that he belies his own efforts; and even so refined a scholar as Reuchlin called his opponents dogs, horses, mules, pigs, foxes, ravening wolves. With this desire to be popular and this wish to hit the object as telling a blow as possible, satire attained to a veritable hegemony and let itself go in a way that has never been paralleled in Germany before or since. The favourite reproach is that of folly: "fool" is perhaps the commonest word in printed and everyday language alike. Brant's chief work bears the title *The Ship of Fools*, Thomas Murner's best-known product is

The Conspiracy of Praise of Folly by pilloried as folly, no uncouthness, but in Church, the State. I

The satirical goes consciously or unconsciously many, but in France style is unpalatable powerful force, he French call "*la nos* logical pleasure and into all his *natural* moral standpoint, but may be said to the *à-tout-prix*," or the thing is forceful or unappetizing. Quite simple complexity, his with which he deals badness of taste, and went so far that even words — he put on "*Beati, qui moriuntur*" all he writes has the courage, and gluttony apply to him the contempt for life and tastic, and his only erring-over vitality in and anti-scholastic criticism with anything a sort of satirical hypocritical priests "*esprit gaulois*," the and elemental out as arguing with a French, since he elegant sureness of

A. H.
takes
inspiration
from
this.

Essay - see next page (287)

Seculariza-
tion of
humanity

much-lauded "liberation of the individual" by the Renaissance and Reformation.

In conclusion we must answer the question as a whole: What, then, taking all in all, must we conclude was the importance of the Reformation for European civilization? It signifies no more, no less, than the attempted secularization of all the life, thought, and faith of mankind. It introduces into all spheres a superficial practicality, a dull utilitarianism, material, gloomy, insipid, ordinary; in its futile, short-sighted rationalism it denied, deliberately and intentionally, a whole set of higher activities which had hitherto flowed from religion and which from the mere standpoint of practical efficiency may be hard to justify — for instance, "barren" asceticism, not merely the asceticism that flees from the world and hates it, but its highest form, the *franchise of the universe*; "unnatural" celibacy, "meaningless" pilgrimages, "superfluous" splendour of ceremonial, "useless" monasteries, "ridiculous" carnivals, "waste of time" in feast-days, "superstitious" adoration of the saints, who had accompanied man through the daily round, shedding light about him and helping him as God's friendly staff of assistants; "unjustifiable" charity to the poor, which gives for the sake of giving, without inquiring too much about worthiness and need. All childlike qualities vanish from life, which becomes logical, systematic, just, and efficient, or, in other words, unendurable.

It must be repeated that to many, though not to all, of these things Luther's attitude was still mediæval. His greatness, in fact, lay precisely in this, that he always felt the Reformation as something religious, never political, social, or "organizational." It must be admitted, all the same, that partly through pressure of popular opinion, partly through his stubborn opposition on principle to anything Catholic, he approved or at least admitted all these changes.

The Reformation in the first place sanctifies work; in the second, a man's profession and thus indirectly the money which proceeds therefrom; thirdly, marriage and the family; lastly, the State. Superficially, it put the last of these lower than the Middle Ages had done, by splitting State from Church, but this actually made it more important, because the State gained thereby a basis of its own for its sovereignty. *Exemption* — that is, *emancipation*

286

of State from Church — age, the supreme State citizen's property, an liberty, and a militarism doubt that the clear dis which Luther aimed at the opposite resulted, for the dominion of the people of the churches in their subjects, in exactly the stead of one vicar of Christ to God, there were now many by reason of their more visible. That was the whole position to the tendency almost all the countries system of the stiffest in hereditary treatment according — from its very nature can be.

As for marriage, Luther flesh and obviously did married, not from any liberal example and to a he chose a nun for his wife, emphatically, notwithstanding his real view of women the household economy simply fall to pieces." Of his fight for the faith of crassly material culture reads these chronicles with the whole story of the paralleled, in every way been in the whole world, being never so common as so splendid that it can ever seen such trading up the whole world?"

D.T.
↓
P287

Essay - 1933? or 1934?

of State from Church — thus created that scourge of the modern age, the supreme State, which has a fiscal system to claim the citizen's property, an omnipresent police system to restrict his liberty, and a militarism to demand his life. There can be no doubt that the clear distinction between temporals and spirituals which Luther aimed at was intended to emancipate religion; but the opposite resulted, for while Protestant rulers got away from the dominion of the pope, they regarded themselves as masters of the churches in their own land and behaved, as guardians of their subjects, in exactly the same way as Rome had done. But instead of one vicar of Christ who prescribes to men their relation to God, there were now several such vicars, far less competent and, by reason of their more limited sphere of action, far less responsible. That was the whole difference. In the most flagrant opposition to the tendency that had begotten it Protestantism, in almost all the countries in which it was victorious, developed a system of the stiffest intolerance, which grew up out of the preferential treatment accorded to the State's Church; for the State — from its very nature — is the most intolerant creation there can be.

D.T.
★

As for marriage, Luther regarded it as a mere concession to the flesh and obviously did not set any high value on it. He himself married, not from any real internal compulsion, but to set a liberal example and to annoy the Catholics; it is illuminating that he chose a nun for his wife. But in the simple Kate he was marrying, emphatically, nothing but a housekeeper; indeed, this was his real view of women: "If we had not this race of women, the household economy and everything concerned with it would simply fall to pieces." On the other hand, in 1521, in the middle of his fight for the faith, he writes enthusiastically about the rise of crassly material culture which marked the period: "Whoever reads these chronicles will find that from the birth of Christ on, the whole story of the world in these hundreds of years is unparalleled, in every way. Such building and planting have never been in the whole world, such fine and varied eating and drinking never so common as they are now. Clothing, too, has become so splendid that it cannot become finer. Who, moreover, has ever seen such trading as now journeys round and swallows up the whole world?" There is, in fact, *a priori*, a subterranean

D.T. * I could conceive of the strategies
~~of the state~~ The precursors were
in place. (Descartes) Now, one had

to find the new religion that could
not only employ the state but be
perceived as one with the state.

三

1738 1943

reforming anything: there was no room in it for so shallow an idea. The Reformation is nothing but a deeply irreligious attempt to renew religion — though it is fair to add that in this it only followed the trend of the times — and therefore could do nothing else but move away from real religion. Even the Counter-Reformation is only an attempt to re-Catholicize the world by the same instruments as those which Protestantism employed. The “pagan” Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation have all the same basic meaning: they lead away from God.

Holy
idleness

The consecration of earthly life which was accomplished by the Reformation was, in its way, undeniably an act of liberation, but it was to an equal degree a desecration, futilization, and emptying. The sanctification of everyday life, lock, stock, and barrel, leaves no room for the noble, sublime, even heroic dualism which was the essential idea of the Middle Ages. Such a religious attitude, if we disregard the great personal piety of its founder, is in obvious danger of ending in Philistinism, of becoming the favourite creed of the bourgeoisie, which in the name of God and to the honour of God mines coal, begets children, and draws up balance-sheets. The greater truth that State, economics, profession, industry, society, and family are unholy things is likely to vanish from sight. And it did so vanish in fact.

There is an old Jewish story, not included in the Bible, according to which not only Cain, but his brother Abel also roused the ill-will of God, “for he beheld the glory of God more than was lawful” in idle contemplation. The God of the Jews, quite naturally, was jealous, but at bottom Abel was the first poet and also the first “*homo religiosus*.” The Christian answer, at any rate, to the question of which is better, action or contemplation, work or idleness, is answered clearly in the story of Martha and Mary. Mary sat at the feet of the Lord and listened to His words, but Martha was dragged away by many occupations. And she said to the Lord: “Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath let me serve alone? Bid her, therefore, to help me.” But the Lord said: “Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.”

All work has the great drawback that it diverts man, divides him, separates him from himself. Therefore all saints, founders of

religion, all men who into the solitude. What nothing contained far doings of others. The mirror — no trembling clean, quiet one which Blessed are the idle, for are the hours of idleness.

Abel
when
healing
sorry
for himself.

Abel, who was a seer,
and he had become the
first Minister of work.

a means for their protection which was unfortunately only a cause of further brutality. They proposed the import of Negro slaves from Africa, with the result that even in the first half of the sixteenth century that odious trade, in which almost all European nations partook, flourished exceedingly. It goes without saying that the Spaniards behaved no less heedlessly and madly with regard to the dumb natives of America; everywhere their track was marked by wanton annihilation of the natural fauna, vandal deforestation, and planless exhaustion of the forces of the earth.

The behaviour of the Spaniards in the Netherlands, which was the richest, most vital and cultured area of the North, was as bad as if they were dealing with some subject dominion of Negroes. It took a long time before their perverse folly, their blind avarice and inhuman brutality, could rouse to a passionate revolt that peace-loving and slowly moving people, these merchants with their account-books and pedagogues with their school-books. But once roused, there was no suppressing them. Alba's tactics, adopted at the express instructions of his king, were not merely despicable, but incomprehensible. The Council of Unrest, or the Bloody Council, as the people justly nicknamed it, was to deal with the punishment of traitors, and the term "traitor" included all who had signed a petition for the relaxation of the Inquisition or had failed to prevent such a petition, or who even under compulsion had listened to an evangelical sermon, or had said that the King had not the right to take from the provinces their liberty, or had disputed whether the Council of Unrest was above the law, or had asserted that one must obey God more than man, or any who had listened to such remarks in silence. Obviously it was almost impossible not to commit at least one of such crimes, and it was only the logical conclusion of these frenzied premisses when all inhabitants of the Netherlands were condemned to death on February 16, 1568 as heretics: an action which is probably unique in history. After thousands had been hanged, burned, imprisoned, exiled, or had had their property confiscated, a royal amnesty was issued promising immunity to all who could prove that they had never committed the slightest offence, on condition that they repented and asked for pardon within a definite period: such an amnesty also is probably without its match in history.

Now, it is illuminating for the student of human nature that

the Netherlanders were ures, but only by anacial nature, which mlessness, but which ortolerable. Alba had pra fathom deep from th decree that taxes shou ring income-tax on a "twentieth penny" or and of a "tenth penny goods. This last claus meant the complete r rigidly enforced. And pendence, and the grea cry: "Rather Turk th fight of a small nation power of Europe. All t Freedom, faith, even li come, wealth, and busi administrative method of the Spanish régime different sort of attitu their suppression of pul mass-executions, but t structive effects on tra the assignats and not t

The revolt of the Philip's decline; after i was briefly this: encir lands possessions on t and with Spain on the internally by backing 1 Ligue, and thus in th a member of some Fren In this way the only co was to become a sort o to make his own either existed during his marr ority of his fleet. He al

* A. H. will boast that he was even more unrelenting toward the Jews than Philip II had been to the Netherlands

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the Netherlanders were not driven to revolt by any of these meas-
ures, but only by an administrative edict of the governor of a finan-
cial nature, which may have equalled the rest in folly and shame-
lessness, but which one would have imagined to be at least more
tolerable. Alba had promised Philip he would send a stream of gold
a fathom deep from the Netherlands to Spain, and he published a
decree that taxes should be raised, of one per cent as a non-recur-
ring income-tax on all movable and immovable property, of a
"twentieth penny" or five per cent on all property that was sold,
and of a "tenth penny" or ten per cent on every sale of movable
goods. This last clause, more even than the others, would have
meant the complete ruin of Netherlands commerce if it had been
rigidly enforced. And then at last the country declared its inde-
pendence, and the great Revolt of the Netherlands began with the
cry: "Rather Turk than Papist." It was a victorious and heroic
fight of a small nation of shopkeepers against the greatest military
power of Europe. All this is very remarkable, but man is built so.
Freedom, faith, even life may be taken from him sooner than in-
come, wealth, and business. In the same way the Jacobins, whose
administrative methods remind us by their stupidity and cruelty
of the Spanish régime (though this was the outcome of a wholly
different sort of attitude), made themselves intolerable, not by
their suppression of public opinion, their scorn for religion, or their
mass-executions, but by their attacks on property and their de-
structive effects on trade, industry, and finance: it was, in fact,
the assignats and not the guillotine that ruined them.

The revolt of the Netherlands marked the beginning of
Philip's decline; after it, all went awry. His imperialistic program
was briefly this: encircling France as he did with the Nether-
lands possessions on the north, with Franche-Comté on the east
and with Spain on the south side, to keep it in a disrupted state
internally by backing the power of the papist and anti-dynastic
Ligue, and thus in the end to put one of his own kindred, or
a member of some French house dependent on him, on the throne.
In this way the only continental power that might be dangerous
was to become a sort of Spanish protectorate. England he hoped
to make his own either by such personal union as had previously
existed during his marriage to "Bloody Mary" or by the superi-
ority of his fleet. He already possessed a great part of Italy, and

*Collapse of
Philip's
system*

*even
less than
Netherlands.*

his words. He was unusually timid and distrustful, could not look on a naked sword, and spent his life in fear of conspiracy and assassination. He was as childishly vain as his predecessor, but far less intelligent, for he tolerated only views that agreed with his own. He was particularly proud of his theological education, and frequently used it to the horror of his court in the most hair-splitting debates. His second passion was for handsome young men, and such could get anything from him, however insignificant or common they might be. Despite the nervous movements, his clumsy gait and boorish manners that made him the reverse of royal, no ruler was ever so convinced of his divine right as he. He regarded himself as the unlimited dictator over the life, property, and thoughts of his subjects, and that at a time anything but propitious, and among a people anything but amenable, to such views. As, further, he lacked all political insight and ability, he was continuously at loggerheads with his Parliament, though open revolt was postponed till his successor's time. At the end of his reign the saying was that Great Britain is smaller than Britain.

Nevertheless these hundred years form the first great age of England's glory. Trade, industry, seamanship, science, art, and literature developed even to over-ripeness. London in Elizabeth's time was a city of three hundred thousand souls, with countless shops, an important Exchange, a permanent market, and almost twenty permanent theatres. The streets were carefully laid out, the water-supply regulated through wooden pipes, lighting and fire-police much improved. There were many well-ordered schools, apothecaries' shops, printing establishments, and even something like newspapers. The Thames was packed with gaily decorated boats; an unbroken stream of pedestrians, horsemen, and litters enlivened the city; the upper classes already used coaches, and their new country-houses, of the Tudor style, were effective, practical, inviting, and (in contrast to the continental villas) built primarily to be lived in: already the Englishman's taste for prosperous and pleasant domesticity was displaying itself. Clothes were brave, rich, well looked after, and not lacking in taste. Ordinary comforts, however, were not much in advance of the Middle Ages; sleeping-arrangements were still primitive, table-forks were not used, and meals were chiefly remarkable for the quantity consumed; for ordinary use wooden utensils were

preferred. Tobacco was recommended by Jean Nicotiana by Drake's a century it was in common use. Indians in cigarette opposed smoking, at theological grounds, revenue. The tobacco pipes, and Raleigh smoke even at Essex.

The average education high level: everyone, philosophers, sang a astronomy. Conversations made artificial with plenty of crudity still greatest dramatists now were mere clown — were mere clown; people cried to her in would use vulgar expression conversation or, when put with Essex is for crooked as your career gave him a box on the

The men of the sea its height under Elizabeth elemental humanity tough, shrewd man. Their attitude is pre-venturers" — merchant the sea, roaming (at the support of royal privilege also founding trading was, indeed, piracy State; in time of war circumnavigators, like Hawkins, Essex, and

A. H.
Lover

The
Elizabethan
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solute ruler. It

may even be asserted that to this very day almost every Frenchman is a born Cartesian. The French Revolution crushed the absolutism of the Bourbons as completely as is possible to imagine, but so far from dethroning Descartes, it confirmed and even extravagantly heightened his power.

With Louis XIV the transition from Pre-Baroque to full Baroque is completed. His autocratic government covers about five and a half decades. At his death the late Baroque, known as Rococo, set in. We have previously remarked that the epoch of his becoming absolute monarch is marked by a number of other dates of decisive significance; and so it is with the end of his reign likewise. His death took place in 1715, and in the same year Malebranche, the most important of the Cartesians, died. In 1713 Frederick William I came to the throne of Prussia, in 1714 the house of Hanover began its rule in England — two significant turning-points in politics. And in 1716 Leibniz died — in whom, as we shall see, the Baroque spirit found its highest concentration. The death of the Sun-King signifies therefore, in more ways than one, the end of a historical epoch.

The extreme absolutism that Louis XIV set up followed self-evidently from the supremacy of Cartesian Reason, which requires a centre from which everything may be uniformly and methodically ruled and directed. The motto: "*l'État c'est moi*" had for the men of the time a meaning very far removed from that which frivolous critics have since attached to it. The king was the centre, selected by God and Reason, of the earthly system of co-ordinates. Everything had to orient itself on him, and if anyone had been rash enough to think otherwise, he would have appeared to the feeling of the age not only as a traitor to the State and to majesty, but as something far worse, a person unable to think systematically. The king is, to begin with, and then the State — developed from him just as the cross of co-ordinates precedes the actual points, lines, and surfaces. The king does not rule the State, he makes the State. From this a radically absolutist theory naturally and necessarily follows, and its clearest and most impressive exposition is to be found in the writings of Bossuet, the "eagle of Meaux," who was both one of the most moving pulpit-orators and one of the most brilliant historians of his time. In his *Politique tirée de l'Écriture Sainte*, he asserts

The King as
origin of the
earthly co-
ordinate
system

D. T.
for A. H.
✱

* D. T. In his private search for material with which to mortify Adolph's paralytic mind, he uses the work of Bredell, quotes from it, disavows it, and it is himself that persecutes the Bourbon to A. H.

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the King was
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of Madame de Maintenon's brother, who, when his sister said she could not endure her dull life by the side of Louis, exclaimed: "Are you thinking of marrying God the Father, then?"

The external instruments by which Louis XIV wielded and sustained his unshakable authority were bureaucracy, police, and standing army — the three outstanding and characteristic elements of the modern state — which were brought to their highest development in his reign. Over the whole land was drawn the net of a carefully graded and organized official hierarchy. There was prompt and relentless enforcement of taxation, an ever open source (which, however, eventually ran dry) for the immense expenditure on the business of state. The capitation-tax (*la taille*) was very high and at the same time inequitably distributed, since the nobility and clergy were exempt. In addition there were heavy indirect charges on a number of the most essential domestic articles, above all the notorious salt-tax (*la gabelle*). Equally detested and feared were the *lettres de cachet*, by means of which the King could intern whom he pleased without trial for an indefinite period.

The nobility, deprived of its proud feudal independence, was transformed by Louis XIV into a court aristocracy which had no other purpose but that of enhancing the splendour of royalty. He did, it is true, fill the public offices and, above all, the higher military posts, with nobles for preference, but, even so, from being minor sovereigns they had become crown officials, distinguishable from ordinary subjects only by outward honours and decorations. And apart from them the King, as a matter of fact, drew into his service large numbers of the bourgeoisie, wherever he found talent and enterprise, and not infrequently he put them into the highest posts, especially on the administrative side — hence the nickname that Saint-Simon gives him in the *Mémoires*, "*le roi des commis*." In this wise there arose a new and very influential caste, the *nouveaux riches*, which by the purchase of land and consequent ennoblement, by lucky speculations, and by securing aristocratic connexions by marriage climbed rapidly.

The King's closest attention was given to the army. He was not himself what is called a "militarist," but he realized that constant wars, which flattered patriotic pride and at the same time directed abroad the craving for action, were the surest means of

Louis XIV's
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D.T.
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will single out
de La Roche-

La Rochefoucauld is the first real aphorist of modern times. His short sentences are compressed moral and psychological treatises. In them too there lives the *esprit géométrique*, which is seen in their razor-sharp antithesis, their crystallographic phrasing. He is none the less the man of the world and of the salon, even in point of style. His sketches are not merely witty, but also pleasing and graceful, elegant as drops of a choice perfume, the strong extract of the fragrance left by many thousands of minor experiences. The author's philosophical system is very simple. Just as psycho-analysis explains everything on sexual grounds, so he derives all human actions from a single motive: namely, *l'orgueil, la vanité, l'amour-propre* (pride, vanity, self-love): "many as are the discoveries that have been made in the realm of self-love, it still holds many an unexplored country"; "selfishness speaks all languages and plays all rôles, even that of unselfishness"; and "even virtue would not get so far did not vanity keep her company." And, because he is ever on the alert for the secret under-layer of vanity, he succeeds in rooting it out of its last hiding-place and catching and holding its most delicate nuances: "we should rather hear evil spoken of us than nothing at all"; "to decline praise is to ask for it twice over"; "we often pardon those whom we find tedious, but never those who find us tedious"; "whether philosophers regard life with affection or indifference is merely a matter of the direction taken by their vanity." Virtue, too, is only a form of vice: "the virtues lose themselves in selfishness as rivers in a sea"; "we are often only prevented from giving ourselves up to a particular vice because we possess several varieties"; "when the vices desert us, we flatter ourselves that we have shaken them off"; "old people give good advice by way of consoling themselves for no longer being able to give bad examples"; "the vices are an ingredient of the virtues just as poisons are an ingredient of remedies: prudence mixes and mitigates them and uses them with good effect to combat the ills of life"; "if love be judged by the majority of its works, it more resembles hatred than friendship," for "true love is like supernatural apparitions, which everyone speaks of, but only the very few have seen." Yet La Rochefoucauld is no cynic, but a sceptic full of secret aspirations. He is convinced that intellect cannot for long play the part of soul, and that the real *politesse*

D.T. / A.H.

And it
was
this
country
that
I could
see in
A.H.
How
far he
would
take me

in
the war
between
demons
and
angels

this Leibnizian psychology makes beyond the Cartesian is immense.

In a world which proceeds thus stepwise from the least to the greatest, from the lowest to the highest, there can be nothing superfluous, nothing harmful, nothing unjustified; therefore we live in the "best of worlds." God, whose essence is truth and goodness, chose it from among all possible worlds on that very account. As the world is composed of monads — that is, of individuals — but on the other hand the essence of the individual consists in limitedness, it follows not only that evil exists, but that it is necessary, evil being nothing but a physical or moral limitedness or incompleteness. If incompleteness were not, the world would not be complete, but would simply not exist. The evil in the world may be compared to shadow in a painting, or dissonances in a piece of music. That which appears confused and discordant as an individual detail, affects us as beautiful and melodious when seen or heard as part of the whole — an argument which (as may be remembered from our first volume) we find in St. Augustine. Since God could not create perfect beings, he created such as could become more and more perfect by degrees: not perfect, but perfectible. Even the greatest artist is limited by his material: instead of an absolutely good world (which is merely impossible) God created the best — that is, the best possible — world. In this world everything is pre-ordained by the divine wisdom and made to harmonize by the divine creative power: and it is this pre-established harmony, presiding over all, which reveals the world as a work of art. But Leibniz gives a truly Baroque turn to this train of thought in equating the art-work to clock-work. For this is how he tries to explain one of the main problems of the philosophy of his day, the correspondence between body and soul: they behave like two clocks, so perfectly constructed that they always keep exactly the same time.

At first sight it might seem that the Baroque, which culminated in Leibniz, was merely going to carry on the tendencies of the Renaissance, in that its effort was ever to render existence more and more logical. And indeed it does take one important step further, in the fact that it mechanizes. But the Baroque is a far more limited, fissured, and enigmatical problem than the Renaissance: its soul-life is incomparably more labyrinthine, more hidden, composed of

*The world
as a clock*

*The
procession
of marks*

*★ Since we were there from the beginning,
~~some~~ his human material was open
to us, and so the intuition of the D.V.*

*unmarked to become more perfect
by degrees was resulted by our desire to
such another species of perfection, strangely
coldly, more purposefully, more oriented towards
the desired end. Indeed, the other such possibility is
success is at the very center of the D.V. thought.*

In 1765 — when a new spirit was already stirring — Diderot remarked about Boucher that he “went in too much for petty play of feature.” We can well apply this remark to the whole Rococo. Voltaire, already, had called his age the siècle des petites. In every sphere its only genuine products were charming trifles. Baroque shouted and placarded, Rococo whispered and hushed. Both were fond of flourishes, but in Baroque the flourish was a passionate exclamation-mark, which Rococo changed into a discrete and elegant mark of interrogation.

In the height of French Baroque rule the tyrant and abnormality were regarded as sins against the Holy Ghost. Now, on the contrary, the two ideas swung right round into a bizarre and ingenious union. In the Cartesian age the sovereign measure for all values was correctness and symmetry: for the *genre rocaille*, on the contrary, a fondness, not to say a caprice, for the unexpected, the arbitrary, the paradoxical set the current and determined the form. These people were possibly only half-atheists in their philosophy, but they were complete atheists in their art. What attracts them is invariably the variant, the discontinuity, the diversion. An aristocratic Italian lady once said as she was eating a delectable fruit-ice: “What a pity it is not a sin!” This passion for the illegitimate and abnormal not infrequently reached the level of perversity. In no age, perhaps, was flagellantism, both active and passive, so widespread as in this; it had degenerated literally into a mass-psychosis. Yet we should remember in considering this and similar phenomena that all high and late cultures invariably tend towards perversity, that indeed an element of the perverse lies buried in every culture. Culture — as we have tried to show in the last chapter, in connexion with the wig — is and remains the opposite of Nature; and an ageing Culture of course displays this opposition in an enhanced degree, for the cycle of “normal” possibilities is complete and imagination soars over and beyond it. Neither the Egyptians of the New Empire, nor the Greeks of the Alexandrine era, nor the Romans of the Empire liked “healthy” conditions. The “immorality” of ancient Rome in particular recalls the Rococo period. “For a long time I have been trying all over the city,” says Martial, “to find a woman who says no: not one says no. Is not one of them chaste, then? Thousands are chaste. But what do the chaste do, then? They do not

say yes, but neither women had themselves welcomed them to the same effect wrote to the same effect arose in the same period marriage is the older enjoyments of the Paris members of the by way of a society many women became.

Boredom had to be born, the spirit of charm with this almost morbid stimulating and brilliant mental air, the dignity, tracts of the soul wholly or flippantly ignored. The Baroque is the phos

Men thought, no long mented systems or heavy piquant polemics, facetious pamphlets, and razor-edged fugitives, lyric-epigrammatic streak of any train of story, all became vessels and profound Montesquieu's harem adventure essential to be understood society man, the public, a

This speaks out of the painted with book, pen, and men of the world. Nothing the technical aids to itself smell of oil, ink, and lieve that it is nothing more article of luxury, one of the self-indulgent life of society the eyes of the profane as he

although there were no erotic geniuses, there were great "amorists," incomparable virtuosi in the art of love, which developed at that time into a veritable science. At the head of these virtuosi of both sexes stand Madame de Pompadour, whose name became a legend, and Casanova, whose name was promoted to the level of a generic label, while a figure like the Duc de Richelieu may be taken as the representative of the whole species; for although he lived to be ninety-two, he received daily, right up to his death, a fat bundle of love-letters, many of which he did not open. An experience at Château Tournay, when he was sixty-six, was the first and probably the only defeat of his life: he wooed the beautiful Madame Cramer in vain, and his failure so amused him as a curiosity that he himself told the story everywhere. Another time he was even the cause of a duel with pistols fought over him by two ladies of the highest aristocracy.

alt
to p. 144
D.T.
The
"ugliness
patch"

Neither is the fact that Rococo was an age of gynæcocracy to be accounted for by any specially strong development of eroticism. The source of this is to be sought in two other places. First, in the feminization of man, which increased decade by decade. "Men," said Archenholz, "are more like women now than in any other period of time." For another thing, social life in the Latin countries had gradually taken on the most grandiose forms, and wherever a complicated social standard reigns, there also reigns woman. The social primacy of the femal sex in the Renaissance originated in the same way. Only the Renaissance was a definitely virile age, and its feminine ideal was the virago; in Rococo, on the contrary, a woman could not look feminine and childish enough, and the prevailing ideal was one of fragility, in conscious imitation of the china doll. Health was considered uninteresting, strength plebeian. The aristocratic ideal, which in the days of Corneille and Condé still corresponded to a sort of *Kalokagathia*, was now transformed into an ideal of refinement, hypersensibility, and elegant languor, an emphasis on unfitness for life, and morbidity. The beauty-patch — which had already come up in Louis XIV's time, but only now became the dominating element in the physiognomy of the woman of the world and ought really to be called the ugliness patch — was meant to serve as a piquant interruption in the regularity of a face and thereby emphasized the tendency to asymmetry, innate in Rococo; while at the same time it suggested a beauty-defect, a

wart, thus making her with a new trait of morbid reached, in giving and animals, and had dropped out hair-bag had smaller since the tucked away in silk bow. By the army) the pigtail which was indisputably wore real or false. Usually the powder float down on to Prince Kaunitz: whose duty it was Brühl owned five powdered — "a la Great's comment. of powder.

The Rococo profession of fashion, but the man past forty had marriages were earlier fourteen or fifteen himself an old man. Marquise du Châtelet at forty she found this kind may and time the spirit of the As late as the end acted as chaperon a In the French drama looked on at life and seldom over forty; the seducer a man of fifty the same time it was for the youth that

2 to
p144

differences in age by ordering grey hair for all. Rococo felt sick and anæmic, and therefore powder had to give it, as it were, a uniform of pallor and anæmia. The young or young-painted face with its white hair is a moving symbol of the Rococo soul, the *tragic mask* of the time: for every age wears its appointed character-mask, in which all its *vellétés* are consciously or unconsciously summed.

The men's dress was the costume of a spoilt boy, with its delicate silk coats, knee-breeches and beribboned shoes; rich jabots and lace cuffs, glittering gold braid and silver embroideries, and the gala sword that was purely a toy. The toning of these garments was delicate, discreet, and feminine, favourite colours being pistachio, mignonette, apricot, sea-green, lilac, and dun. Some of the shades reached unheard-of refinements: a new yellow-green was called "goose dung (*merde d'oie*)"; a brownish yellow "*caca Dauphin*," in honour of the new-born heir to the throne; in *puce*, or flea-colour, there were many grades, such as flea-head, flea-shank, flea-belly, and even flea-with-milk-fever. Beards were so completely out of fashion during the whole of the eighteenth century that actors were distinguished, not by their beardlessness — as was the case until recently in our own day — but by their moustaches, and even this is true chiefly of those who specialized in brigand parts.

The most important feature in a woman's exterior was her thin girlish waist. This was produced by means of a whalebone corset, which finished off in a long, acute angle. These unfortunate ladies began their lacing early in the morning and tightened the strings every quarter of an hour until the desired wasp's waist had been achieved. The massive crinoline, too, which was called a pannier (that is, hen-coop) on account of its vast dimensions, had no other purpose but to emphasize by contrast the slenderness of the upper part of the body. It also was stiffened with whalebone, and the enormous demand for this material was a novel windfall for the Dutch, the whalers for all Europe. It will be remembered that in Spain the crinoline had been called the "guard of virtue," but by this time it certainly was not that; it left the feet free and was merely a coquettish covering which not infrequently exposed, as if by accident, the naked body beneath (for ladies wore no drawers in the Rococo). Over the crinoline was worn the silk robe, richly trimmed with garlands, passementerie, lace and ribbon, real or

artificial flower dress of the Q whole story of serpent. Graduation of Europe well as by society could only enter preposterously possible. At home by the "Adrienne" was worn with tury it became t walking-sticks. tery was the fan duction of the umbrella that c sunshade or p copied exactly f panniers, patches but painted and ladies and gentle

We find it de made to hold so of activity, such or the telescope some particular culture-period: represented with nineteenth-century a telephone. For article accompanying rooms of the per which confronted pocket-mirrors w use, and the glit flected in the loo on the walls. Th "mirror cabinets which the likeness

1935

The Anti-Monarchist

made it possible to develop an exceedingly rapid fire. And without these achievements the virtuoso strategy and wide-ranging policy of his son would have been impossible.

Frederick was the opposite of his father in almost every respect, even in his attitude to militarism. From several of his intimate and therefore unquestionably genuine utterances we know that he loathed war. This did not, however, prevent him from making it when he considered it necessary, and making it more vigorously and aggressively than anyone else. He called war a "scourge of Heaven" and regretted that he could not live to see the day when humanity would be rid of it. For another thing, he was not even a monarchist. This may sound a strange and almost incredible thing to say of an eighteenth-century king (and the strongest and most victorious of them into the bargain), but there is not the least doubt that it was so. All his life he treated his crowned colleagues with a truly extravagant contempt, and he was full of bitter mockery for everything connected with court ceremonial, holding his own crown without the slightest sense of doing so by higher investiture, or even merely by juridical title. He knew, of course, that he was something more than most other mortals, but it was for that reason, and not as happening to be a king, that he wanted to be honoured.

Frederick William had all his life been a pious man in the matter of orthodox church beliefs, a scorner of the subtleties of diplomacy and the refinements of literature, gnarled, robust, primitively healthy and primitively honest, simple to the extreme in his daily needs, and single-minded to the point of half-wittedness. Frederick, on the contrary, had a sovereign scorn and distrust of all positive religions that was but a degree removed from atheism. He placed a far higher value on works of art and philosophy than on any achievement of practical life, was a past master in diplomatic juggling, and a supreme gourmet in all the higher pleasures; at the same time he was anything but "healthy" in the sense of a normal person, having an extraordinarily irritable, complicated, and contradictory nature, highly labile in his inner equilibrium, and physically also delicate and sensitive. Like every genius he was "physiologically inferior" and psychopathic, and like every genius he became master of his psychosis by developing a hypertrophy of strength in his moral and intellectual capabilities.

It is often said that duty from his father quite a different arises out of a man be active (which former from an a sublime sense of

The fact that by a great leading his time, but end his crowned rival This basic idea demand that king In his book on P it was precisely l a part of him, bec and in particular of the Roman pe erick the Great. ened absolutism, grasp the deeper a living reality. A enment spreadin more or less than clearest head or forms by which complete indiffer a ruler be style or People's Com cause he is the pl

His tolerance pher. We mean to It is possible to b mind, in which (standing for diff This type of the narrow one-sided same is true of lil liberals only; the

All this is the parallel to himself

a philosopher. That Prince Eugene possessed these attributes we have seen: it was for him that the greatest thinker of the age wrote his principal work, not simply "dedicating" it to him (which would signify nothing at all), but literally composing it for him. Julius Cæsar, again, was not only the friend of Cicero (who was his political opponent), but his superior in literary and philosophic talent. As for Moltke, a look at his skull suffices to show that we are dealing with a first-class thinker. And who is able to say how much Alexander owed to his father's grandiose act in giving him Aristotle, the most spacious and the best-filled brain in all Greece, for a teacher? To draw any distinction of principle between the activity of a Napoleon and that of a Shakspeare is nonsensical.

And yet who would not rather be a sort of Shakspeare than a sort of Napoleon? Who would choose to command dull, boring armies of grenadiers when he might have the entire world-history in all its vividness and abundance for his army of operation? Who would care to translate his inward strivings into ugly, obstinate, and at best disillusioning realities when he has power to summon radiant idealities that never fail him? Who would desire to drive men's bodies when he can lead their souls, direct the march of thought instead of the march of feet?

The tragedy of great men of action is the tragedy of poets who are stuck fast in life. Only so can we account for that loathing for life which so filled and so drove Julius Cæsar in his last years that he went almost knowingly to his death; or for the great Alexander's jealousy of the little Achilles: for in truth it was not Achilles, but Homer, who was the object of that jealousy. And Frederick the Great would joyfully have given his throne and his army and all his conquests and victories for the power to become, not indeed a Voltaire, but just a modest Maupertuis.

He did not approve of war. He bore it with sorrow as the field chosen by destiny for his creative activity. And nobody, at the bottom of his heart, really approves of it. But history up till now — which is after all no more than a sort of prehistory of real humanity — has taught that war is manifestly one of the biological functions of our species. And, admitting frankly that it has to happen anyhow, it is at least desirable that it should be in the hands of men of genius.

180

The strategy of its poetry, had grand and rigid routine. Prussia, Saxon Saxony laid; object of the war at came to battles all more or less by the exposed head of in plode of itself. Frederick "emetic" to be res the application of speculation. Similar the period, in which columns and in each individual fighting battle consisted put The conception of still unknown. Frederick forming a sort of refusing" it) in order moment. In his tin though it was not er two thousand years eral arrived, the Gr valled masters, cons simultaneously. Epain degrees of depth the right or left side Leuctra in one of the between Hellenes. T initiative, in that it is only fully effective Consequently, only like Frederick the G not always succeed. method by his caval pletest mastery, and cisive points. The ess these innovations w

A. H.

D.T. → alone could be for generals, as come from that cruel warfare

D.T. → Of course, he was delighted by war. It was the most rousing of the biological functions for Adolph.

gs and deer in enclosures
g nature, and ruins were
ted on canvas, to suggest
iple of staging nature still
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ng nature-sense, too, are
and the "inns," so called,
l up as barmen, peasants,
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seasoned with fixed ideas,
d plainness instead of sig-

nificance; didactic, idiosyncratic, and pharisaical, and no less pious than business-like. On Sundays he believes in God and eternity, on week-days in physics and the Stock Exchange, and with equal fervour in both cases. On Sunday the Bible is his ledger, and on week-days the ledger is his Bible.

After the death of Queen Anne the crown had fallen to the Elector of Hanover, which circumstance brought about once more a personal union between England and a Continental power: George I, intellectually as much of a nonentity as his three namesakes who succeeded him, had not even mastered the language of the country, and conversed with his officials in dog-Latin, so that it was useless for him to attend a Cabinet meeting. His prime minister was Robert Walpole, who had been active in promoting the Hanoverian succession and secured a permanent majority for its support in the Commons by means of an elaborate system of bribes. The corruptness of the age is satirized in Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (which was, incidentally, a parody of the fashionable Italian opera of the day). But when, at the first performance, a couplet on these bribes was encored after wild applause, Walpole had the wit to call for a second encore, and so brought down the house in his own favour. In Parliament, into whose hands the direction of the whole of foreign policy had fallen, he relied upon the Whigs, and he still kept his position under George II.

During this reign an extraordinary event took place which was perhaps more fraught with consequences than anything in English history: Robert Clive established the British supremacy in East India. An inexhaustible stream of rice, sugar, spices, and vegetable oils poured over England. Until Clive's time, Macaulay tells us, the English had been mere home-keepers. But now the race for money set in, and the little self-sufficing, exclusive island-people became at one blow a nation of international dealers, merchant traders, and colossal speculators. The "nabobs," as they were called, returned from India, with the parvenu's display of their newly-acquired riches, and formed a new social class — the despised but envied "self-made man." The commercialization of the whole of public life made rapid progress. *Trading on the basis of samples* set in, and there developed also the warehouse type of business, in which financiers merely dispose of manufactured articles, secured at a low price by advance payments. (These are

A. H. 's
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Comfort

1935

order and break the law of Nature. In such cases we speak of miracles. The result is, there is nothing real in the world but God, souls, and ideas.

It was not Berkeley's system, however, but Empiricism that conquered England and, through England, Europe. The first great representative of English philosophy on the Continent was Montesquieu. In his *Lettres persanes*, published in 1721, he began as a critic, exposing with a fine wit that veiled a deep seriousness the public institutions and conditions of contemporary France: the Papal Church and the monastic system, confession and celibacy, heresy-courts and sectarian disputes, extravagance and iniquitous taxation, corrupt finance and the privileges of the nobility, the decay of the Academy, the Law crash, and in general the régime of absolutism, even though it should claim to be "enlightened." Seven years later there followed his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, an extremely clever and searching piece of history-writing in which he showed — with an obvious reference to democratic England and absolutist France — how the Roman Empire owed its greatness to liberty, and its downfall to despotism. His third work too, *De l'esprit des lois*, is completely imbued with the English spirit, representing law and State as the product of soil, climate, custom, culture, and religion, and praising constitutional monarchy as the best form of government. Contemporary with him was the Marquis Vauvenargues — who became a military officer in defiance of a delicate constitution and died at thirty-two. Vauvenargues's merits were not fully appreciated at the time, but Voltaire was one of the few who at once recognized his high quality, and he wrote to this obscure colleague, twenty years younger than himself: "Had you come into the world a few years earlier, my own works would have been better." For Vauvenargues the highest qualities of a writer were clarté and simplicity. This limpidity was the adornment of profundity, the "philosopher's letter of credit," the "gala dress of master-minds"; obscurity is the realm of error, and a thought which is too feeble to bear simple expression announces itself as only fit to be discarded. In his incorruptible art of soul-testing he sometimes reminds us of La Rochefoucauld: he says, for instance, that love is not so sensitive and fastidious as self-love, as we scorn many things to avoid being forced to scorn ourselves; that most

Montesquieu
and
Vauvenargues

D.T.
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men love fame without virtue, but only a very few virtue without fame; he describes the art of pleasing as the art of deceiving, and thinks it strange that modesty should be demanded of woman, considering that what they value most in men is impudence. But with all this there lived in Vauvenargues the soldier-spirit of the seventeenth century, a heroic enthusiasm for fame, courage, and noble spiritual passion; his favourite word is "*l'action*." And at the same time he looks into the future and the realm of Sensibility. No one, he says, is so likely to make innumerable mistakes as the man who acts according to reason. "*Les grandes pensées viennent du cœur*," was one of his immortal sayings. He was the first prophet of the heart, but a manly, unsentimental prophet, belonging to an older, stronger, and less complicated race.

But the lesser lights paled before the star of Voltaire — the hero of the century, even though in an eighteenth-century sense of the word "heroism."

In a much-quoted passage from his notes to Diderot, Goethe says: "When families spread over a long period it may be observed that nature at last brings forth an individual member of it who comprises in himself the characteristics of all his ancestors and unites and gives full expression to all the talents which have up till then made only spasmodic and tentative appearances. It is the same with nations, whose collective virtues are sure, with good luck, to be summed up one day in an individual. So for instance there arose in Louis XIV a French king in the highest sense, and so in Voltaire we have the greatest writer that it is possible to imagine among Frenchmen, and the one most harmonious with his nation." It was pointed out in the Introduction to this work that genius is nothing but the extract of the innumerable small desires and labours of the great mass of the people. One can find such a general representative for every race and every age; and even for the smaller sections, for every family or clan, every town, every season. The circle represented by Voltaire had the widest imaginable radius: for Voltaire is the essence of all France and of all the eighteenth century. And consequently he was a compendium of all the faults and errors, vices and contradictions, of his nation and his generation. If, as Goethe in his fine allegory indicates, he really embraced all the scattered family features in his physiognomy, it is entirely senseless to make it a reproach to him that

among his traits *und Wahrheit*, *Q* as the greatest n. haps of all centi tions." This was degree than by thought — and th their own match magnitude. Peopl house at Ferney a he tried to shake c by a jocular mess truder promptly r ing again tomorro disguise themselv Shortly before his formance of his *Ir*

And although t history of literatur aphy is a story of does he seem rem weakness he was a being. He was a s Even as a boy he v food, and all his life of a *grand seigneur* of form and large- that attracted him to the man of letters w. a rascal and outlaw was the first author tradition. From the the second half of hi- sessed twenty estate yield of a hundred at châteaux with fields costly knick-knacks secretaries, a park of a private theatre, at w

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The general
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Hans B. Strauss

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1934?

knowledge against the oppressive power of belief." He makes it quite clear, in this and other places, that he takes Judaism to be the true religion of reason, which he secretly opposes to Christianity; and yet, though he scorned Christian ceremonies with smiling superiority, he held with the most scrupulous care to the absurd ritual demands of his own creed. In him there comes out, in an ultra-modern guise, the bitterness of the Jew against the Saviour, combined with the fanatical worship of the twice-times-table and of interest rates, the Jewish hatred of idealism, of the mysterious, of God. The native spirit of Judaism, even when it loses itself in the most lofty heights (and Mendelssohn was emphatically not one of the lone walkers on high places), ever retains the character of a materialism that has overshot itself. And always it remains rationalistic. The assumption that reality consists of the things that can be proved, or, better, be touched, is a Jewish discovery, though the most appalling nonsense. The Jews have shown the most supreme heroism and the most selfless contempt of death in countless wars, but always for highly realistic motives. All great Jewish reformers have been *Realpolitiker*; Jewish ritual is for the most a matter of sanitary regulation, and the highest conception of Judaism, the Messianic idea, tries inaccessible heights indeed, but is certainly not *other-worldly*: it is a concrete fantasy. That was why Jesus was persecuted by the whole of contemporary Judaism with such measureless bitterness; not because he was a reformer, for the fickle people was quite used to reformers, nor because he opposed the hierarchy, which was widely unpopular, nor yet because he championed the lower classes, for the atmosphere was not unfavourable to such, but because he was a dangerous revolutionary who dared to proclaim: "My kingdom is not of this world." It was this which offended the deepest and innermost instinct, the fundamental life-feeling of Judaism, since it was in fact the complete reversal and abolition of the specifically Jewish world-conception. When Jesus introduced the transcendent into religion and ethics and taught mankind that in it alone dwells reality, he began a colossal revolution that Judaism instantly saw in its right light.

If we keep this in mind, it will be quite intelligible that the Jew Mendelssohn should be one of the chief spokesmen of Religion as purified by Enlightenment; for if from the Christian's

credo we abstract did, nothing remained added to its Old Testament's eyes, has or means of the reason as right." With such tality in his *Phædo*. His aim in the first was to elucidate, a time had for belief which today a man on reason and has upon, would find in Plato revised by M like Garve, Engel, must admit its success just like the worthy who sees in him not apprehends nothing = Knowledge"; which culminated in

In the *Morgenstern* whether openly or a little of the idea of the natural laws of revelation they saved of compromises, which result of dishonesty Salomo Semler, who *paratus criticus*, according to which the suited their words to in our time, when not understood. On the *à la Wolff*, a pervading garization of theology. sicotheology," which fiction of the world to defile were new inventions

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A. H.
centuring
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Judaism.
they
are
he decides
he's
wrong.
The kingdom
is of this
world but
can be reached
only by stepping
into the forces
that lie at the
core of the matter
which is far
removed from
the impure
world before one.
Money, at bottom, is the enemy of power. Power, once
obtained, uses money as a hand-maiden

DO as D.K.

conscientious and too honest ever to dream. And this word is to be taken as literal fact, for, as Leisewitz wrote to Lichtenberg, "he often assured me that he had never dreamed." His life ran its course wholly upon the illuminated half of our soul-sphere.

Lessing's last and deepest work is the *Education of the Human Race*, in which he treats the history of religion as a progressive revelation of God. The first stage is Judaism, the childhood, in which education is carried on by immediate concrete punishments and rewards; the second stage, the adolescence of humanity, is in the Christian religion, which directs "a generation more proficient in the practice of reason, no longer by hope and fear of temporal rewards and punishments, but by nobler and worthier motives." "And thus Christ was the first sure and practical teacher of immortality." But a third age is yet to come, "the manhood of full enlightenment and of the purity of heart which loves virtue for itself." The Bible is not the basis of religion, but religion the basis of the Bible, and Christianity is older than the Old Testament. And in that he introduces the idea of evolution into the treatment of history, and treats each of the great religions as justified at its own stage; in that he rejects the shallow "rational Christianity," remarking that it was a great pity that none could tell where it was rational and where Christian; in that he thinks of his own age, which seemed to the complacent philosophy of his time as the object and climax of all history, as nothing more than a halting-place in the progress of the divine scheme — he has passed far indeed beyond the Enlightenment.

Lichtenberg

With Lessing should be mentioned Lichtenberg, one of the secret classics of German literature, for whom one would willingly exchange Wieland, who was never anything more than a clever man of letters. Goethe once said of Kant that when he read him, he felt as though he were entering a brightly lighted room; and there are few German writers of whom this would be truer than of Lichtenberg; except that his room still has all sorts of half-obscurer angles, projections, and passages which lead to the most appalling haunted chambers.

It is a justifiable assumption to make of significant minds that they should be, as it were, a sort of focus of their age; and since all rays concentrate in them, it should be easy to follow each beam from the focal point and thus explain the time from the man, and

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Inquisition; established industrial schools, in which all idle youths were retained till they had learnt a trade; set in order the state finances by dismissing numbers of lazy courtiers, so that there was always money in the treasury; set up an Exchange, a great Staple-house, an Arsenal, and an Academy of Sciences; encouraged street sanitation and the circulation of books — and all this against the will of the aristocracy, the people, and even of the King, who was only kept docile by fear of conspiracies and attempts on his life. After Pombal's death the whole structure collapsed.

Five years after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, the same fate overtook them in France. The King hoped to save them and suggested to the Pope that he should reform them; but he replied in the famous words: "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*" The other Bourbon states soon followed suit: Spain (where a revolt in Madrid was made the excuse), Naples, and Parma. In the end Clement XIV had no course left to him but to dissolve the order. Next year he died, and his death was immediately attributed to the Jesuits. Finally the only sovereigns who tolerated them officially were the Greek Orthodox Catherine and the Protestant Frederick — who could not let the chance of a gibe pass by and wrote to Rome that the Pope's writ did not run in the lands of the King of Prussia.

In the circumstances the Jesuits had no other course but to carry on under all sorts of shams and disguises and to turn their power into wholly subterranean channels. Particularly they tried to insinuate themselves into all kinds of other societies, sometimes even when these were of diametrically opposite tendency. They were to be found among the Freemasons and Illuminati, and their capacity to be anything, to change themselves into anything, which was discussed in the last volume, was once more displayed most convincingly: they became even free-thinkers and "friends of the light."

*The
Illuminati*

The founder of the Illuminati, the Ingolstadt professor Adam Weishaupt, had himself been a pupil of the Jesuits, though he afterwards became their bitterest persecutor. The two main principles of this new order (which soon spread over the whole of Europe) had been learnt from the Jesuits: namely, strictest organization and most rigid secrecy; indeed, the whole order was a

sort of antithesis and counterpoise to the order, which became *arrivisme* that in those days, had still to take root in the world, banned in Bavaria as a heresy. The exiles found a ready welcome to it may be gauged from the fact that Bahrdt, an adventurer who while enjoyed some reputation, appeared in 1784 as a Saviour as a subtly stage-managed would have us believe to be everywhere even in those unmisstakably suggesting

While the Illuminati through spiritual sterility their most active member was this was Freiherr Adolf *Umgang mit Menschen* pen-pusher and one of the first to orient themselves purely to the whim of the public; and write only to please, in the end a deadly bore; for there was nothing uninspiring than a man who writes for others. His *Umgang mit Menschen* he himself says in the preface scamped some of his other compliments, but putting it gained over no short space at all what it is generally of a good tone — but a contrived. It treats, in homely fashion of social intercourse with all elements and ages, classes, children, betrothed and debtors, teachers, pupils, artists, enemies, tradesmen

HG on SS

sort of antithesis and counterpart of Jesuitry. Very soon, however, dogmatism, vanity, mystical formulæ, and pomposity penetrated the order, which became one of the main fields for the political *arrivisme* that in those days, owing to the absence of any parliament, had still to take refuge in such forms. In 1784 the order was banned in Bavaria as a result of Jesuit manipulation, but the exiles found a ready welcome elsewhere. The importance attached to it may be gauged from a remarkable book of Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, an adventurer and doubtful littérateur who yet for a while enjoyed some reputation. His *Briefe über die Bibel im Volkston* appeared in 1782; in this he depicts the coming of the Saviour as a subtly staged comedy of the Essenes, whom Bahrdt would have us believe to have been a secret society, with "lodges" everywhere even in those days and with tendencies and practices unmistakably suggesting those of the Illuminati.

While the Illuminati, who died out within a few decades through spiritual sterility, are hardly heard of nowadays, one of their most active members has retained a certain fame to this day. This was Freiherr Adolf von Knigge, who published his *Über den Umgang mit Menschen* in 1788. Knigge was an unscrupulous pen-pusher and one of the earliest of that class of writers who orient themselves purely by the commissions of publishers or the whim of the public; and he shared the lot of all such authors who write only to please, in that within half a lifetime he was already a deadly bore; for there is nothing more uninteresting and more uninspiring than a man who thinks and creates what is wanted by others. His *Umgang mit Menschen* alone was an exception, and he himself says in the preface that he had not scamped it as he had scamped some of his other works. "I am not writing a book of compliments, but putting down the conclusions of an experience gained over no short span of years." And in truth the work is not at all what it is generally assumed to be — namely, a manual of good tone — but a contribution to the practical philosophy of life. It treats, in homely fashion, but not without a certain refinement, of social intercourse with all and sundry: with the different temperaments and ages, classes and professions, with parents and children, betrothed and married, friends and women, creditors, debtors, teachers, pupils, guests, hosts, princes, courtiers, scholars, artists, enemies, tradesmen, servants, and neighbours, even of

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Knigge

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centralized administration is a monstrosity; it may be questioned indeed whether it is beneficial even to the most homogeneous State; witness France, where in every period and under every government the rage for centralization has known no bounds.

When Frederick heard the news of Maria Theresa's death, his first words were: "*Voilà un nouvel ordre des choses!*" The new order made itself felt in almost every sphere; the nobility was put on an equality before the law with the middle classes. Spanish ceremonial, like Spanish court dress, was abolished; even on the most formal occasions the Emperor never wore anything but his simplified uniform, even without the stars of his orders, and on his travels he preferred the Werther costume, which was despised by the more conservative even of the middle classes. All processions and pilgrimages were banned, holy days considerably diminished, various brotherhoods broken up, monasteries and church property secularized. These drastic activities led the Pope to take the sensational step of visiting Vienna in person, where the Emperor received him respectfully, but where he achieved nothing. To provide a substitute for the extensive charities of the clergy state hospitals, poor-houses, and foundling hospitals were set up out of the proceeds of the confiscated property, but these new institutions had no very good reputation. The universities were robbed of all their privileges and completely officialized, to their considerable detriment; for the new education decree changed them from homes of scientific research to mere training centres for future officials, and only those subjects which could serve this end were taught, and taught by miserably paid professors. On the other hand, much was done for the elementary schools, whose number and standard were considerably raised, but even these were dominated by the mechanical regulations of the Josephine compulsory enlightenment: the arrangement of lessons was pre-arranged in such detail that at every minute Vienna knew which page of the text-book was being read by the children throughout the kingdom. "Good God!" cried Mirabeau, "even their souls are to be put in uniform! That is the summit of despotism!" The idea was to metamorphose, at a moment's notice and without consulting anybody's wishes, a clerical population into a liberal, a peasant and bourgeois society into a bureaucratic.

But most ill-timed of all were the attempts to force into a

The
Josephine
compulsory
enlighten-
ment

D.T.
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* converts Mirabeau's negative into a plea for A. G.

D.T. 6 A. 4)

and the legislative assembly that she summoned to help her was a mere comedy, a concession to the spirit of the age. She differed from Joseph II in the clearness of her vision, which never contemplated the impossible, and in her lively interest and understanding of the intellectual life of her time. She corresponded regularly with Diderot, d'Alembert, and Voltaire and other literary notabilities, whom she tried to attract to her court by rich gifts and pensions, and she was herself an authoress. Like Frederick and Joseph she attended to all details of government with inexhaustible energy. "Madame," the clever Prince de Ligne said to her one day, "I know no cabinet that is smaller than the Russian; it extends from one side of your head to the other." Her prudent advances and retreats, coupled with her tenacity, made her far more successful in her Balkan policy than Joseph. Her aim was Constantinople; she failed to win it, but it was under her government that the three partitions of Poland were brought about.

D.T. 6
A. 4

The catastrophe of the Polish Kingdom was long overdue. It was incapable of survival, if only because with its enormous extension it had a disproportionately small and moreover poor coastline. In addition, its form of government was impossible. The king was elected — on almost every occasion by a disorderly vote — and had practically no power. The *liberum veto* allowed every provincial deputy to cripple the measures of the government; there was even a rule that when one single law was rejected by any such vote, everything that had previously been settled was nullified, and it was of course easy enough to buy one such veto. Even at the beginning of the century it was common to talk of the "royal republic" of Poland, but it might as well have been called the "royal anarchy." The right of armed resistance was constitutionally guaranteed to the nobility, the *Szlachta*. The population consisted of a few great families of colossal wealth, a hopelessly insolvent beggar-nobility, and as to nine-tenths of the rest a serf population destitute of any rights whatsoever, in whom the nobility (as Georg Forster says in his *Ansichten vom Niederrhein*) had eradicated the last trace of a thinking faculty. Between the two, there were only Jesuits and Jews, and almost no middle class. Brandy, gambling, and syphilis were the three powers which had dominated this "chivalrous" people for generations — even

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The action of the moral law within us is proof of the possi-
bility, even the reality, of human freedom. Our moral faculty is
to our knowing faculty as the noumenal is to the phenomenal
world: the latter depends on the former, and hence Kant says
that the practical has the primacy over the theoretical reason.
The sense-world is through and through phenomenal, the ap-
pearance of a noumenal world that is its basis; in the same way
our own physical existence, our empirical character are simply
the appearance of our noumenal, our moral, existence. What is
our moral ego then? It is nothing else than the "Thing-in-itself."

The *Pure Reason* had laid down that "intelligible" entities,
ideas, things-in-themselves, could never be known or cognized,
but only "thought" and believed. The *Practical Reason* asserts
that they shall and must be thought, and believed, and made
regulative of our being and action. For our speculative reason they
are mere possibilities, desirabilities, ideals, hypotheses; but for
our moral reason they are realities, necessities, categorical com-
mands.

The *Critique of Practical Reason* is the crowning of the
Critique of Pure Reason, without which it would have been a
mere torso and question-mark. For, in fact, only unfairness or
lack of understanding could see a contradiction between the two
works, which are as organically connected as the two parts of
Faust or Dante's *Inferno* and *Paradiso*. In both it is fundamen-
tally the same view and method that controls the line of thought.
Kant says of the Categorical Imperative that it "lies latent in
our disposition," so that the moral law is as much *a priori* as the
natural. Our conceptions of good and evil no more originate in
experience than our intuitions of space and time do so. As a know-
ing being, man gives laws to the external world; as moral being,
he gives laws to himself, legislator and subject in the same per-
son. It is he who makes his own physical and moral worlds. Our
theoretic reason *thinks* the world a unity intuitively ordered and
related by law; therefore it *is* an intuitive and ordered world.
Our practical reason *will*s man as a free and moral being, and
therefore he *is* moral and free.

We must forgo a discussion of Kant's other works, and will
only mention, as to his third main work, the *Critique of Judg-
ment*, that he was the first to define the Beautiful exhaustively

The total
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the Kantian
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maxims
It is not
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317
all human forces radiant and dark have
arrived at (P.T., this is a question, every the
terminology of the good direction (or it
is the only way he can make his point.)

Essay for 51 paper file
 334, 335, 336

already ninety years ago Carlyle, without any detailed knowledge, led only by his gifts of instinct, expressed the opinion that Socrates with his eternal logic-chopping heralded the end of the true Greek culture. Alexander Moszkowski, in a very amusing little study, *Socrates the Idiot*, sets him up as a worthy imbecile, a futile pedant of speech and acrobat of words, who suffered from a sort of "echolalia" of logic. The eighteenth century, for its part, made of him a perorating Quaker who incessantly spouted wisdom and nobility, and even dared to compare him to Christ. Others have seen in him a parallel with Kant, which is equally ridiculous, for, while the *Critique of Pure Reason* is the revolutionary deed of a supreme spirit which overthrows all previous thought because it looks down on it, Socratism, set over against the grandiose cosmic fantasies of Ionic nature-philosophy, represents only the triumph of practical everyday comprehensibility over the obscurity of real inwardness. All these different conceptions can be reduced to a common denominator which Nietzsche hinted at when he said: "There was only one choice, either to crash or — to be absurdly rational." Socrates' effort was nothing more and nothing less than to save Greece by preaching reason and virtue, two wholly un-Greek qualities; while he remained all the time enough of a Greek to have the good taste to clothe his moral lectures in the form of an exquisite irony. That is the meaning of the Socratic "Know thyself": know what you lack — moderation, modesty, self-control, self-criticism — and strive for them as your redeeming antithesis. But Socrates was Athens, Athens was Greece, and Greece the world. Thus Socratism stands for the self-knowledge of the ancient culture; in him it looks itself in the face, and shudders. And no wonder that the Greeks smashed this mirror, for *they could not endure to look into it.*

The plaster
 Greek

As the teaching of Socrates, so Greek art owes its subsequent fame especially to the fact that it is the representation of calm clarity and noble self-purification, a contrast phenomenon, but not at all to the extent we love to imagine. The whole misty picture of the Classicism of Greece would presumably never have arisen if its polychromy had been known at the very outset. When it was at last discovered, the notion of colourless temples and statues had, from centuries of enthusiastic copying, definitely established itself in the modern consciousness, so that, though today we know

334 — see p 336

p 335

→ The real point of the story is that nowhere in the world today are there as many white buildings — white towers instead of white — the only color permitted by the local government is on the shutters — and, of course, the Greek islands. ~~Even~~

Even

not only entire metamorphoses but tends to stay clear through future metamorphoses. — from antiquarian

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of the painting, we really know nothing *about* it, because in every big city there are countless monuments and public buildings which owe their existence to the mistaken idea of classical achromia, and these contradict the new knowledge by their constant manifest counter-assertion. This obsession of ideas that are as unnatural as they are incorrect goes so far that white sculpture — which after all only owes its existence to an inadequate knowledge of Greek art — has been played off against the real Greek sculpture, which has been thought to need excuses for its polychromy. Thus for example Friedrich Theodor Vischer says in his *Æsthetic* — a fundamental and still unsurpassed work of enormous scope and inexhaustible content — "Every addition of colour to the modelling of the pure form, if it does not content itself with a few hints, is excluded by the very idea of pure sculpture. . . . So if an art which in other ways occupied a high place paints its statues completely — that is, with all the colour values as displayed on the living body — the explanation must lie in special conditions in the history of art"; and with the Greeks, he says, polychromic treatment certainly exceeded the limits conceded by the expression of "a few hints." "Even in the face of the unique faculty of the Greeks for the comprehension of pure form as such, and the glorious perfection of the art which was based on this faculty, we cannot sacrifice this view. . . . We must seek another way out, by a comparison with Greek drama. Here poetry and mimicry were united with music, song, and dance in a way which can never serve as a model. . . . Yet the great tragedies are no less great, although we can never imitate them in their use of these art-forms in combination. And as we enjoy what is left, the pure poetic beauty of Æschylus and Sophocles without the recitative and song and marchlike dance of the chorus, and make it part of our poetry, so we can strip the great sculptures of the colour, which, as a perishable addition, has its justification only in a particular moment of art-history, and which has been cleaned off (as from the Greek temples also) by air and rain." Now, quite apart from the remarkable deduction that colour is a transitory part of Greek sculpture because air and rain might wash it off, this description contains a very instructive unconscious avowal of the fatal transformation and falsification that our Classicism introduced into Greek art. For indeed it did make it bloodless and boring, really did take its

colour from it. So, for that matter, it did from the poetry, by unjustifiably taking the mere libretto that alone had survived, and treating it as something self-sufficing, with the result that here also one holds in one's hand only a pale, lifeless fragment of marble.

But the Greeks were very far from the *modern barbarism* of leaving wood and stone unpainted; gaily, and with a very natural and very artistic feeling, they tinted everything that came under their hands; and our white sculpture and architecture would have seemed to them an art for the colour-blind. The eyes, too, were as a matter of course painted on, or, still better, represented by jewels, crystals, etc.; and it speaks volumes for our utterly uncritical imitation of Greek monuments that because no traces were immediately found, we started the bizarre convention of ignoring the organ of highest soul-expression altogether. The "Greek head" with pale plaster cheek, without the flash of the eye, without a look into the world, is the most speaking symbol of the neo-German Humanism.

Now, a real Greek statue must have made a magnificent impression. First of all, the marble was rubbed with a pink or brown dressing of oil and wax which gave it a warm flesh-coloured tint. The reproach of the art-historians that the splendid material must have thus been spoilt deserves little attention; as the Greeks knew the value of their marble, presumably this treatment would only enhance it — that is a question that may be left to their own judgment. The lips were painted red, the hair black or yellow, or made gilt by metallic *appliqué*; the dress either was left white (in which case, however, the folds at least would be coloured) or was likewise painted, the inside and outside with different tints. Helmets and crests, weapons and shields, ornaments and sandals were of metal, and preferably gilded. The painter and sculptor were not necessarily the same person: thus Praxiteles' statues were painted by Nicias, who was almost as celebrated. The chryselephantine statues, like the lost Zeus statue of Olympia, Phidias' colossal work, were wonderfully coloured: the core was of wood, the ivory by skilled treatment was made so thin and elastic that it fitted the core almost like a coating of lacquer: its natural tint already approximated it to flesh-colour and it may be that it was slightly dyed as well. The robes and attributes were of richly painted gold plate, the hair and beard of variously tinted gold, the eyes of flashing

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In the light hills, sulphur-α flashed in a hun already to be on — of peoples. T in an atmospher loved loud and saffron and scar acter of a colour

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The Greek
plastic

see
p 334-5

Epitaph

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objective. Huge ships for war and commerce were built, and there was the same competition in increasing tonnage as there is today. The great passenger ship *Syrakosia* of King Hieron held three hundred marines and six hundred sailors and a proportionate number of saloons, bathrooms, towers, and batteries. A sort of artillery was developed on elephants, of which Seleucus I had a depot of five hundred at Apamea. The new metropolises and residences — all of the same physiognomy, with straight roads cutting each other at right angles — rapidly developed to the proportions of our modern megalopolis, even to the mammoth monstrousness of their public buildings: the Colossus of Rhodes was 32 metres high, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus 44, the eight-storeyed lighthouse on the island of Pharos 160 (its modern analogue, the Statue of Liberty at New York, measures with the base only 93).

In literature, too, mass production becomes common, though in the individual work an almost exaggerated brevity was demanded — “a big book, a big evil,” said Callimachus, one of the most famous of the Alexandrine poets. It is a frank “art-for-art’s-sake” that arises, an art that prefers the sensational and precious, the esoteric and complex, the curious and artificially archaic, and makes itself the expression of a sort of Rococo of literary sensibility. Lyrical poetry, in Rousseauian fashion, becomes bucolic, painting discovers landscape — even though both are still wholly Classical, in that they have none of the modern subjectivism that transfers its own feelings into dead nature, and so are not yet able to produce “atmosphere.” Yet the most complete naturalism prevails: on the stage we have the triumph of Menander, who, with equal elegance of language and of dress, created the type of the comedy of manners, that mixture of cleverness and sentimentality which was the glory of the French during the last century. He too puts the noble courtesan in the centre of his play, and a shower of flashing epigrams conceals the cold inanity of the structure. A rhetorical mannerism, whose object is above all to dazzle, dominates not only the stage, but history and the arts as well, and penetrates even into everyday life. Architecture’s first aim is to illustrate; sculpture is genre and purest realism and has attained to a brilliant virtuosity of technique. The so-called New Attic dithyramb is already on the way to program music and as much attacked as in our own day. There are already vaudeville artists, and Herondas

Hellenistic
“Art for
art’s sake”
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*an
epitaph*

Epigram

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The piteous maxim that it is best (μὴ φθίνει) "not to have been born at all" passes in innumerable fine variations through all Greek thought. Even the Iliad says that of all things that live and move, man is the most miserable. Heraclitus says profoundly of time that it is a child, playing and exercising itself on the game-board, and that "this child has the king's power"; Thales declared that he remained unmarried "for love of children." Even the calmly smiling Socrates bursts forth in the *Gorgias* with "δεινὸς ὁ βίος (Life is terrible)!" Aristotle, more scientifically, asks "what is man," and answers that he is a monument of weakness, the prey of the moment, the sport of chance, and for the rest mucus and bile. Menander says that he is happiest who earliest leaves the fair of life, and again: "If God after death offered you another life, you should pray to be anything, even an ass, rather than man." His contemporary was Hegesias, a philosopher who is said to have by his lectures persuaded many of his hearers to suicide, and so received the name *πεισιθάνατος*. There was a treatise of his on the subject which bore the title *ὁ ἀποκατερῶν*, and it is significant that this word was actually a current technical term, which we can only render by a long phrase: "one who can endure life no more and therefore starves himself to death."

Yet already in Homer we find the counterpoise which the Greek was able to throw into the scales of destiny. Alcinous says to Odysseus: "Tell us why you weep thus and grieve in your heart, when you learn the fate which has befallen the Argives at Troy. For it was but the work of the gods; they wove this ruin for men that it might live in the songs of posterity." And Anaxagoras said that being born was to be preferred to not being born, if only that one might observe the heavens and the whole order of the world. The joy of form and observation, of singing and seeing, which the Greeks knew better than any other people, compensated all the sufferings of life. A misery that can be the theme of song is no more a misery, and a world that can be studied cannot be too bad.

Fridell

Greek idealism

Yes, the Greeks *were* idealists, but in a quite special, very unmodern sense, which perhaps only Goethe understood; and yet he too misunderstood them in making this the dominant quality in them. In an earlier chapter we tried to show that every Frenchman was a born Cartesian, and in the same sense it might be said

1938 essay by D.T. (Cullen Cochrane)
power about

going to the frontier because he knew the danger of enraging the people; he thundered in one breath against feudalists and republicans, against clubs and *émigrés*: tendencies apparently contradictory, but in reality all serving one great end: the avoidance of hopeless chaos, and the creation of a modern monarchy which should be suited to the times, and of which the content should be, and the title should rest on, the promotion of national welfare and public order.

He did not shrink even from accepting large sums of money from the court, and yet he cannot be called corrupt. For he knew that they would not move him an inch from his clearly marked, straight path. He was a convinced monarchist, because he was a convinced Frenchman. "Good citizens who know the country and the nation do not want a republican constitution. They feel that France is monarchist by its geographical condition," by which phrase he obviously meant its spiritual-geographical condition. His whole program was contained in the words: "I want the re-establishment of order, but not the re-establishment of the old order." He wanted to see the King lead the Revolution in alliance with the people for their common victory over feudalism and the Church. Seeing the hypertrophied forms towards which the movement was tending, he recommended summoning the leading Jacobins to enter the ministry, which was in fact the only possible way of making them harmless. Unfortunately he died in April 1791. But even had he lived longer, he would not have been able to stem the movement of events, for the King was far too lacking in decision, too mentally lazy, and too much influenced by his foolish wife and the unteachable court party to place entire confidence in him.

And now the magnificent gutter-romance which so amazed and horrified Europe began its course. Its three principal heroes were: Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. Jean Paul Marat was a maddened cellar-rat, enabled by the failure of the public drainage system to creep from its latrine; furiously biting everything, filthy, maniacal, deformed, syphilitic, and filled with insatiable hatred of all who were washed, sane, and neither deformed nor syphilitic, he was the typical representative of the riff-raff of the Revolution; of the subterranean creatures emerging from brothel-taverns, tumbledown workshops, holes in cave or forest. George Jacques

The Cellar
Rat, the
Noble
Brigand and
the
Headmaster

390

~~D.T. Cochrane on Marat~~
~~and 391~~
and 391

Danton, a kind of "no" was called the Mirabeau bulldog face, his boor living; actually, he was stupid and intelligent Robespierre was a hero under normal circumstances of conduct; he brought a conventional mind, a second of a moderately successful school, and at any other time become a struggling lawyer's clerk, a book-keeper what a head boy could that country, autocrat

The Jacobin Party is a complex and a mania for phrase-drunk and doctrine but with this confused position was associated in position. Its axe fell on all who for believing too much, and Dantonists for working too little. As the regicide neighbour beheaded in order the moderate phase of the most enthusiastic of had prophesied: "The world, perhaps the most interesting, the more devilish compared with the disaster simultaneously with the absolute reign of Virtue. Robespierre "only the man of no possessions," "anti-Revolutionary terms. The most important Assembly had property and resistance to open course only proceed from

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Danton, a kind of "noble brigand" and bad copy of Karl Moor, was called the Mirabeau of the mob because of his pock-marked bulldog face, his booming voice, his strong vitality and joy of living; actually, he was by turns bloodthirsty and good-humoured, stupid and intelligent, like an untamed bulldog. Maximilien Robespierre was a headmaster turned demoniacal, who would under normal circumstances have exercised his tyranny on points of conduct; he brought nothing to the dictatorship but a conventional mind, a secondary-school education, and the reputation of a moderately successful place-hunter; he was head boy at school, and at any other time and in any other country would have become a struggling lawyer (as indeed he was at first), a magistrate's clerk, a book-keeper or a police spy; he actually became, what a head boy could never have become save in that time and that country, autocrat of Jacobin France.

The Jacobin Party is one great Rousseau, with a persecution-complex and a mania for persecuting, fanatical and pharisaical, phrase-drunk and doctrinaire, theatrical and pseudo-sentimental; but with this confused phantasmagoria of an over-heated imagination was associated in practice the very real reality of the guillotine. Its axe fell on all who did not by chance escape: on Catholics for believing too much, and atheists for believing too little, on the Dantonists for working too hard, and on Hébertists for working too little. As the regicide Barère expressed it later, one got one's neighbour beheaded in order not to be beheaded by him. Even during the moderate phase of the Revolution, Georg Forster, one of the most enthusiastic of the German admirers of the Revolution, had prophesied: "The world has still to face the tyranny of Reason, perhaps the most iron of all tyrannies. . . . The nobler the thing, the more devilish is its abuse. Fire and flood are as nothing compared with the disasters which Reason is preparing." Simultaneously with the absolute rule of Reason was established the reign of Virtue. Robespierre left no doubt of its meaning for him: "only the man of no possessions is virtuous, wise, and fit to rule"; "rich," "anti-Revolutionary," and "vicious" are synonymous terms. The most important of the Rights of Man that the National Assembly had proclaimed were security of life and property and resistance to oppression. But since oppression could of course only proceed from the dark powers of reaction, monarchy,

A.T.
in Goering

D.T.
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The Reign
of Reason
and Virtue

391

* A.T. to American Beheaded
"the tyranny & return to the roots."

imagination, produce swellings, burns, hæmorrhage; and there is even a hysterical apparent death, and actual death through auto-suggestion. (And, for that matter, hysteria is indeed only an intensification of quite normal and everyday operations in which manifestly the thought creates the representation: the blush of shame, the pallor of anger, the goose-flesh of fright, the watering of the mouth at the idea of dainties, and so on. And every death from fright is a kind of death by autosuggestion.) All this urges us to the conclusion that every man is the poet of his own biography — the man of genius consciously so, and the rest of us following unconsciously an instinctive creative principle, somewhat as an alga builds its silica home. Our experiences and our actions alike are secretions of our will, of our noumenal ego, our soul, which, as the only true reality, sits enthroned, enigmatically creative, behind our visible life.

Schleier-
macher

We might, in opposition to a century-old professional tradition, put the proposition that Novalis — not Schleiermacher, not Fichte, least of all Schelling — was the most important philosopher of the Romantic school. What Schleiermacher did was to devote a most admirable intellectual energy to the attempt to build up a Romanticist theology. For him religion is neither knowledge nor deeds, but an emotional state, and indeed — to use his own rather cacophonous expression, a "schlechthiniges Abhängigkeitsgefühl" (absolute feeling of dependence). In this consists our consciousness of God. And because piety is an emotional state, it is altogether individual and extra-dogmatic, and the religious geniuses, the founders of religions, have been those persons who gave a new form to this dependence. Although this is rather a jejune interpretation of the phenomenon of religion, Schleiermacher's writings have inspired whole generations of Protestant theologians. He was also indubitably one of the first and most powerful dialecticians that Germany ever had. But fundamentally he was only a renegade disciple of the Enlightenment. He possessed merely the will to believe, just as he also leaned pretty strongly, but not quite whole-heartedly, to pantheism, often treating God and the Universal as identical concepts, and evincing the highest possible respect for Spinoza.

Fichte

One of the most original and suggestive personalities of the age was Fichte. Even in his outward appearance and manner —

to A.H. 2 absolute feeling of dependence
Religion is indeed an emotional
state that drives people to extreme
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reason. Perfect for us.

in his powerful thick and commanding greater than logical discourse or a party-leader than said of him: "I am living the part of a Marquis time, and would enter prison if his chair would not tolerate the small tempted to suggest it as an ass or a rogue, by his touchy and manner of Jena, where he had a storm caused by an activities were factually, rejected his system, and Foundations of the Metaphysics of 1804 to 1805, except he turned with high Zeitgeist, its empty enlightenment, its "fullness" — all of which to Jena and Tilsit. He delivered his Address to 1808, when a Frenchman universally feared the Palm, and he himself the moral regeneration the political, and it formed one of the series 1813.

As early as 1794 system in his Grundriss treats of the origin of critical examination according to this theory in-itself — a rather perfect have already attempted declares that the absolute

Essay D.T.

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herited by direct descent their blood, their inmost essence, their moral and intellectual constitution." Now, Napoleon certainly did not belong to the eighteenth century, but instead of placing him in the fourteenth or fifteenth, it would be equally correct to place him in the nineteenth or, if you like, in the twentieth. Perhaps he was really only a colossal condottiere; if so, he was one who had a knowledge (or at least the elements of a knowledge) of chemistry, geography, and, above all, psychology — and he possessed the capacity, unheard-of in France, of reckoning with data.

Goethe said that Napoleon was the greatest intellect the world has ever known. Sieyès said of him: "He knows everything, he wills everything, he can do everything." And he himself said of himself: "My great talent consists in my clear insight into everything; even my special type of eloquence is based on my seeing the essentials of a question from all sides. The perpendicular is shorter than the diagonal," and: "Different affairs are all grouped in my head as in a desk. When I want to break off with one, I close its drawer and open another one. They never get mixed up, they don't confuse and tire me by their manifoldness. If I want to sleep I close all drawers, and I am at once fast asleep." Another time he compares his head to a dove-cote: "When I wish to arrange anything, I open the proper outlet, shutting all the others; when I want to sleep I shut them all." This capacity made it possible for him to do with from three to (exceptionally) six hours of sleep; otherwise he worked uninterruptedly — "even at meals and at the theatre," as he himself said — and it is probable, indeed, that he went on working in sleep. This faculty, in which lay his essential difference from other Frenchmen, explains his immediate and immense success. He himself was quite clear on the matter. "The French," he once said to Metternich, "are an intellectual people; intellect runs about the streets. But behind it there is no character, no principle, and no will; they run after everything, they can be led by their vanity, and, like children, they must always be provided with a toy." (In almost literal agreement with the words of Goethe to Eckermann: "The French have judgment and intellect, but no stability and no piety.") Napoleon openly spoke in this sense as early as 1797: "You Frenchmen do not know how to desire anything seriously. Your vanity must always be fed. What was the origin of the Revolution? Vanity.

contrast
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R.T.
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And indeed his devil
is to this day much
honored among us,
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of his assignment, prof
Stalin.

1937

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

second-class Viennese cafe. Barely five feet, nine inches tall, he weighed, during his better days, about 150 pounds. But he had a tendency to put on flabby weight, and his posture deteriorated through the years. His shoulders were narrow, his chest somewhat sunken with skin white, shiny, and hairless. Deficiencies of his torso gave rise to unfounded rumors that he wore special padding in his uniform. His legs were unusually short, his knees slightly knocked and quite chubby, his feet very large. He did not appear to his best advantage in the baggy riding britches and huge jackboots he often wore. His walk was rather mincing; he tended to drag his left foot. He wore a Charlie Chaplin mustache.

He was fascinated by his hands, which were finely structured with long, graceful fingers. He also took special interest in the hands of others. In his library there was a well-thumbed book containing pictures and drawings of hands belonging to famous people throughout history. He liked particularly to show his guests how closely his own hands resembled those of Frederick the Great, one of his heroes. He was convinced that he could judge people's character and loyalty on the basis of their hands. On meeting someone for the first time, he would not only stare carefully into the stranger's eyes but also closely examine his hands. Men would gain favor or disfavor on the basis of the shape and nature of these extremities. Those of Professor Ludwig Troost, his architect of modest talent, were very strongly formed. Hitler admired them greatly.

When his Eagle's Nest in the Kehlstein was being built, a piece of rock shaped like a hand was found. Hitler was intrigued with it. He called it the "Hand of Wotan" and had it mounted in a special case, almost as if it were a holy relic.⁵

Hitler's hair was very dark brown, almost black. He parted it on the right side, his famous forelock falling over the left temple. His nose was large and coarse. His bushy mustache was cut just wide enough to help conceal the offending feature. His teeth were brownish-yellow and covered with fillings and bridges. He shielded his mouth with his hand when he laughed.

The most impressive feature of his otherwise coarse and rather undistinguished face was his eyes. They were extraordinarily light blue in color, with a faint touch of greenish-gray. Almost everyone who met him mentioned his strangely compelling eyes. This includes Robert Coulondre, the French ambassador, and the German dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann who, when first introduced to Hitler, stared into his famous eyes and later told friends, "It was the greatest moment of my life!" Martha Dodd, daughter of the American ambassador, was not disappointed in the famous eyes, finding them "startling and unforgettable. . . ."⁶

Hitler himself often observed that his eyes were very like those of his mother. Her eyes, in turn, reminded him of the Medusa—whose glance, it will be recalled, turned men to stone or impotence. Hitler was

The Image and the Man

D. T.

absolutely enthralled with Franz von Stuck's striking Medusa of terrifying eye. On seeing it for the first time home, he exclaimed, "Those eyes, Hanfstaengl! Those eyes of my mother!"

He knew the power of his own slightly protruding, whose lashless eyelids added to their curiously hypnotized, practiced piercing glances in front of a mirror and used to meet strangers. At dinner or at the tea table he would look down at a guest. His architect, Albert Speer, appeared the game too: "Once when we were seated at the round house, Hitler began staring at me. Instead of dropping it as a challenge. Who knows what primitive instincts were staring duels? I had had others and always won but this time I had to muster almost inhuman strength forever, not to yield to the ever mounting urge to. Hitler suddenly closed his eyes, and turned to the wall."

His eyes had always been impressive. A boyhood friend that in Adolf's countenance

the eyes were so outstanding that one didn't not. Never in my life have I seen any other person's eyes—how shall I put it—was so completely dominating. They were the light eyes of his mother but her penetrating gaze was even more marked in the eyes of Hitler—more force and expressiveness. It was uncanny how they could change their expression, especially when angry. . . . In fact, Adolf spoke with his eyes, and everyone was silent one knew what he wanted to say. When we went to our house and I introduced him to my mother the evening, "What eyes your friend has!" And distinctly that there was more fear than admiration. If I am asked where one could perceive, in his eyes exceptional qualities, I can only answer, "In the eyes."

Women in particular continued to be impressed by his eyes. Nietzsche's sister, typically, was fascinated by them: "They . . . searched me through and through. . . . quality remained to the end. A young military adjutant who just before Hitler killed himself in 1945 was struck by the appearance of "a sick, almost senile old man." I still effective: "Only in his eyes was there an indescribable brightness. . . . and the glance he gave me was strangely compelling."

Hitler's library shows that he was very much interested in the study of heads. Many of his books were devoted to the study of phenology and craniology. His own head, underscoring the particular fascination for him. An American reporter that Hitler summoned a group of medical

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D. T.
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It should have been, at that

point, he was staring into . . .

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Image and the Man

1924, 1937 D. T.
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He knew the power of his own slightly protruding, shining eyes, whose lashless eyelids added to their curiously hypnotic effect. He practiced piercing glances in front of a mirror and used them whenever he met strangers. At dinner or at the tea table he would attempt to stare down a guest. His architect, Albert Speer, apparently liked to play the game too: "Once when we were seated at the round table in the tea house, Hitler began staring at me. Instead of dropping my eyes I took it as a challenge. Who knows what primitive instincts were involved in such staring duels? I had had others and always used to win them, but this time I had to muster almost inhuman strength, seemingly forever, not to yield to the ever mounting urge to look away—until Hitler suddenly closed his eyes, and turned to the woman at his side."⁷ His eyes had always been impressive. A boyhood friend recalled that in Adolf's countenance

the eyes were so outstanding that one didn't notice anything else. Never in my life have I seen any other person whose appearance—how shall I put it—was so completely dominated by the eyes. They were the light eyes of his mother but her somewhat staring, penetrating gaze was even more marked in the son and had even more force and expressiveness. It was uncanny how those eyes could change their expression, especially when Adolf was speaking. . . . In fact, Adolf spoke with his eyes, and even when his lips were silent one knew what he wanted to say. When he first came to our house and I introduced him to my mother she said to me in the evening, "What eyes your friend has!" And I remember quite distinctly that there was more fear than admiration in her words. If I am asked where one could perceive, in his youth, this man's exceptional qualities, I can only answer, "In the eyes."⁸

Women in particular continued to be impressed and frightened by his eyes. Nietzsche's sister, typically, was fascinated and disturbed by them: "They . . . searched me through and through." The penetrating quality remained to the end. A young military adjutant who saw his Führer just before Hitler killed himself in 1945 was deeply shocked by the appearance of "a sick, almost senile old man." But the eyes were still effective: "Only in his eyes was there an indescribable flickering brightness . . . and the glance he gave me was strangely penetrating."⁹

Hitler's library shows that he was very much interested in the study of heads. Many of his books were devoted to the pseudo-sciences of phrenology and craniology. His own head, understandably enough, held particular fascination for him. An American correspondent reports that Hitler summoned a group of medical specialists to his

It should have been, at that instant he was staring into my eyes

1935
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

same events from his past in a monologue which was virtually programmed. His press chief of a decade described the paralyzing repetition: "He remained perpetually in the same company, among the same faces, in the same atmosphere and, I may also say, in the same state of monotony and boredom, producing eternally the same speeches and declarations."

Hitler's last will and testament of April 1945 contains not one new idea. Line for line, and virtually word for word, his last official statement is a repetition of the program he had set forth in *Mein Kampf* and in any one of his earlier speeches. And at the end, with his Reich crashing down upon him, when an aide suggested that perhaps some things might possibly have been done differently, Adolf Hitler cried out in baffled anguish, "But don't you see, I can not change!"³¹

Feelings of Unworthiness

One of history's most ruthless rulers was beset by feelings of guilt and unworthiness. His written and spoken words reveal a preoccupation with his problem—and manage to convey at the same time that he was the special object of the Almighty's concern. He sought, for example, to quiet any doubts about his worthiness as the chosen one of God or of History by insisting that he really *was* worthy. In a speech in Munich on 22 April 1927: "The Lord gave us His blessing because we *deserved* it. . . ." Or again at Nuremberg on 16 September 1935: "God continues to bestow His Grace only on him who continues to merit it." And years later in the New Year's Proclamation of 1 January 1944: "The great Judge of all time . . . will always give victory to those who are the most worthy." And the proclamation of the next year: "I carry my heavy burdens with dutiful thanks to Providence which has deemed me worthy."³²

He was often disturbed by qualms of conscience and sought to dull its demands. The only possible way "to find internal peace," he said, was to "rid the race of the consciousness of its own guilt." He concluded on another occasion that "conscience is a Jewish invention. It is a bluish like circumcision." His task was "freeing men from . . . the dirty and degrading [ideas of] conscience and morality." He insisted that Germans must learn to "distrust the intelligence and the conscience." His preoccupation with conscience was not limited to human beings, he was convinced that dogs too suffer from a "bad conscience."³³

Hitler prided himself on being a hard and utterly ruthless man. Yet he worried about sin and guilt, and found that "the feeling of being guilty . . . paralyzes every sincere and firm decision." He fretted over "a little sinner, conscious of his guilt." In this respect, his memory of his trial for treason following his abortive attempt to seize power in Germany during the Beer Hall Putsch of 1923 is revealing. This political revolutionary who had sought to overthrow the Weimar Republic

D. T.
The Image and the Man

did not, as might be expected, rec his enemies or summoning his cou cal order. His mind was on somethi a higher truth and better law, will tear up this verdict and *acquit us al*

Personal worries about unwor projected onto the nation. Thus, H for Germany's defeat in 1918 was; many was defeated because of h military defeat of the German peop but rather a *deserved punishment* t *deserved* this defeat."³⁵

The concerns that bothered h career were with him at the end, I to the German soldiers, on 1 January humble thanks to Providence which on. . . . this decisive work in the histo

FEARS AND OBSESSIONS

Time As an Enemy

Hitler distrusted time and tri did not want to know about its pas day. With lights ablaze, he would: even on lovely days of brilliant : the lines in his special train durin curtains and turning on the lights

There was one clock in his which had apparently belonged to it to be wound up. Hitler never wo old-fashioned gold watch in his which concealed the face. He ah that when he needed to know the was.³⁸

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Lawrence of Arabia
and himself. He
lost his disab

P.17

16
P.1. My brainwashing, teenage young be raised
that powerful forces were interested in him
but by the time I came along, he was

THE GOD: ADOLF HITLER

... which was virtually pro-
described the paralyzing repeti-
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also say, in the same state of
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April 1945 contains not one new
word, his last official state-
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And at the end, with his Reich
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... as the chosen one of God or of
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... His blessing because we *deserved*
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... of conscience and sought to dull
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... not limited to human beings, he
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... found that "the feeling of being
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... In this respect, his memory of
... have attempt to seize power in
... of 1923 is revealing. This politi-
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*young because
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The Image and the Man

1935
D. T.
did not, as might be expected, recall castigating the government and
his enemies or summoning his countrymen to a new social and politi-
cal order. His mind was on something else: "History, as the Goddess of
a higher truth and better law, will nevertheless some day laughingly
tear up this verdict and *acquit us all of guilt and sin*."³¹

Personal worries about unworthiness, guilt, and punishment were
projected onto the nation. Thus, Hitler concluded that the real reason
for Germany's defeat in 1918 was neither political nor military: "Ger-
many was defeated because of her *unworthiness*." And again, "The
military defeat of the German people is not an *undeserved* catastrophe
but rather a *deserved punishment* by eternal retribution. We more than
deserved this defeat."³⁵

The concerns that bothered him at the beginning of his political
career were with him at the end. In his last New Year's proclamation
to the German soldiers, on 1 January 1945, he said: "I bear this my lot with
humble thanks to Providence which has considered me *worthy enough* to take
on . . . this decisive work in the history of the German people."³⁶

FEARS AND OBSESSIONS

Time As an Enemy

Hitler distrusted time and tried to avoid its demands. Because he
did not want to know about its passage, he sought to confuse night and
day. With lights ablaze, he would stay up all night; and in the daytime,
even on lovely days of brilliant sunshine, while traveling far behind
the lines in his special train during the war, he insisted on drawing the
curtains and turning on the lights.³⁷

There was one clock in his office, an antique musical timepiece
which had apparently belonged to his family; but he would never allow
it to be wound up. Hitler never wore a wristwatch. Sometimes he put an
old-fashioned gold watch in his jacket pocket. It had a spring-cover
which concealed the face. He always seemed to forget to wind it, so
that when he needed to know the time he asked others to tell him what it
was.³⁸

Time was an enemy he often sought to conquer by saying that an
idea of his or a building he designed or anything else he approved of
was the greatest "of all time." While he did not personally invent the
famous sobriquet "The Greatest Field Commander of all time" [*Der*
grösste Feldherr aller Zeiten], he loved the sound of the phrase and
grinned like a schoolboy when he heard it applied to himself. As the

of all time(s)
... *was*
... *himself*. Be certain that I
... *did not* disabuse him.

ADOLF HITLER

The Image and the Man

remarked: "You know, Rudi, it's only the moon I hate. For it is something dead, and terrible, and inhuman. And human beings are afraid of it. . . . It is as if in the moon a part of the terror still lives which the moon once sent down over the earth. . . . I hate it! That pale and ghostly fellow."⁴³

During the 1920s, Hitler was very much interested in a young woman named Mimi Reiter—of whom more later. On his third date with her, he took her to the graveyard where her mother was buried. He stood staring down at the grave for some time and then muttered something that Miss Reiter never quite understood: "I'm not like that yet" [*Ich bin noch nicht so weit*]. Once, in a restaurant, Miss Reiter ordered her favorite food, *Wienerschnitzel*. When Hitler looked disgusted, she asked if she had done something wrong. Hitler replied: "No, go ahead and have it, but I don't understand why you want it. I didn't think you wanted to devour a corpse . . . the flesh of dead animals. Cadavers!" Many years later, Hitler still made fun of people who ate meat. He called their meat broth "corpse tea," and he told what he considered an amusing story about crayfish: A deceased grandmother had relatives who threw her body into a brook to lure the crayfish; the crayfish ate her body, and the relatives then caught and ate the crayfish. On another occasion, while a guest was dining on smoked eel, he remarked that eels were best fattened when fed with dead cats.⁴⁴

All his life, Hitler showed unusual interest in crayfish, lobsters, and crabs, partly because *Krebs* (crabs) is the German word for cancer. He was particularly concerned about dying from cancer, the disease which had killed his mother. He talked to intimates about his fear, and was morbidly preoccupied with the disease and its cure. He was also deathly afraid of water. During a boat ride on the Tegern Lake, for example, he panicked and "seemed absolutely convinced that the boat would capsize." Typically, he insisted it was not he but the ladies who were so badly frightened they ought to return to shore.⁴⁵

Hitler's concern about death was manifested publicly during the Third Reich. The Nazis were much more effective in staging death celebrations than they were in fêting life. Memorable ceremonies were staged at the tombs of Prussian kings, at Hindenburg's monument at Tannenberg, at memorial services for Horst Wessel, and at the annual November commemoration of the martyrs of the Beer Hall Putsch. The leitmotif of death sounded impressively at every Party rally.⁴⁶

Major political and military decisions were determined by the Führer's fear of imminent death and concern over the passage of time. He expressed his sense of urgency when giving his reasons for running for president in 1932: "I don't have time to wait. . . . I can't lose a single year. I've got to get to power shortly to solve the gigantic problems during the time remaining for me. I have got to. I have got to." And on another occasion: "I need ten years of lawmaking. The time is short. I have not long enough to live. . . ."⁴⁷

Hitler's decision to go to war in September 1939 was associated

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

with his fear of getting old. He wanted to have the war while he was young enough to enjoy it. In a major speech to the commanders of his armed forces on 22 August 1939, he spoke of the need for war and the reasons why it should not be delayed: "Essentially all depends on me, on my existence, because of my political talents. . . . My existence is therefore a factor of great value. But I can be eliminated at any time by a criminal or a lunatic. No one knows how much longer I shall live. Therefore, better a conflict now." And to one of the Party leaders he confided, "You see I'm getting old and need glasses. Therefore I prefer to have this war now that I am fifty rather than at sixty."⁴⁸

He sought to defeat death by leaving imperishable memories and monuments to his greatness. He also wished to raise a generation of young Germans who would be immune from the fear that beset their Führer: "A brutal youth. . . . They shall learn to overcome the fear of death. . . ." But it was really not he, Hitler insisted, who was afraid of death. "The Jews," he said, "fear death above everything else."⁴⁹

Hitler believed that his own death would bring a continuation of fame. He was convinced, for example, that he would live on longer in memory than Napoleon: "I know how to keep my hold on people after I have passed on. I shall be the Führer they look up at and go home to talk of and remember. My life shall not end in the mere form of death. It will, on the contrary, begin then." On another occasion, he told his doctor: "I shall become the greatest man in history. I have to gain immortality even if the whole German nation perishes in the process."⁵⁰

The idea of suicide was persistent throughout his life. As a boy, when he thought a girl had not reciprocated his love, he plotted a dual suicide with her. In 1923, during the Munich Putsch, he drew three hostages aside and said, "You must be victorious with me or die with me. If things go wrong I have four bullets in my pistol: three for my fellow workers if they desert me, and the last bullet is for me." And again when he returned to the Beer Hall: "Morning will either find a German national government in Germany or us dead." After the Party's defeats in the election of 1932, Hitler said despondently to Goebbels that "if the Party disintegrates, I'll make an end of it all within three minutes." Years later he thought back on this period of dejection and recalled, "Yes, I thought of shooting myself because there was no longer any way out for me." Another acquaintance confirmed that Hitler was terribly depressed at the beginning of 1933. "He said that he could never succeed, that everything was against him and that 'I'll put an end to my life with a bullet.'"⁵¹

A fragment from Hitler's conference with Wehrmacht leaders on 1 February 1943 shows Hitler's continuing concern with his own suicide, as well as the suicides of others. In the midst of an oration about cowardice among the German generals he shouted, "When one's nerves break down, there is nothing to do but say 'I can't go on' and shoot oneself." He then went back again and again to the story he had so often

The Image and the Man

told of a lovely woman, "a really beautiful woman whose husband told her to leave. 'So that's farewell, and shoots herself.' A few years later another beautiful woman whose husband told her she couldn't go on living, in spite of her beauty. That's what a woman can do. She's a real woman. Hitler's comments about suicide were not his experience with Eva Braun, who was his only love. He had first met her in 1930 but not until first in 1932 and again in 1935 she was so impressed that he invited her to when he became momentarily infatuated. Fräulein Braun again threatened suicide and he stored her to favor. As we shall see, Hitler had intimate relations with her until she was killed in 1942.⁵²

Among the many childish games of Hitler was the game of substitute suicide. He disliked his valet do it for him. Hitler made a game of it very seriously. He would hold his breath and then he would finish the knot before Hitler was greatly relieved.⁵³

Decapitation was the form of death that Hitler spoke often of severed heads. He spoke often of severed heads: famous promise that when he came to power, he would chop off the heads of the enemies of the Reich, but a statement years before that he sometimes thought of the possibility of decapitating himself. In July 1926 he confided, "My head will be the first to be completed my mission."⁵⁴

When Hitler flipped a coin to determine whether to go to a picnic, heads did not win. Heads invariably won.

When he was asked what he would do if he were king of England, he replied without hesitation that he would chop off the heads of the enemies of the Reich. In 1926 he said, "My head will be the first to be completed my mission."⁵⁴

When Hitler designed a sort of poster for the mid-1920s—redeemable when he showed an idealized German warrior holding a dripping blood, and in his left hand the sword. Under the poster was printed "Warrior of the Truth, Behead the Warrior is enjoined not to fight, not young lady."⁵⁵

Hitler's definition of politics was based on the idea of the warrior. It occurred to Aristotle, Jefferson, Gladstone, and many others, if you love her unsuccessfully she bit.

The historic figures he particularly

* D.T. put this idea into his dreams.

1942 Talker talk

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

suicide of his beloved niece, Geli, he found meat repulsive. He confided to others, however, that all his life he had been plagued by excessive perspiration and had discovered as a young man that when he ate no meat there was a great improvement: he did not sweat so much, and there were fewer stains on his underwear. He was also convinced that eating vegetables improved the odors of his flatulence—a condition which bothered him a great deal.

Hitler also believed that a vegetable diet would prolong his life and increase his stamina. Elephants, he observed, lived longer than lions; horses outrun dogs, who get tired, pant, and drool. Then, too, Wagner had been a vegetarian, and Hitler announced: "I don't touch meat largely because of what Wagner says on the subject."⁶⁸

Only rarely did he drink wine or beer, and never stronger spirits. As he testified at his trial in 1924, "I am almost a complete teetotaler and only take a swallow of water or beer because of the dryness of my throat." After he became prominent, he had a special dark beer of less than 2 percent alcohol content especially brewed for him in the Holzkirchen Brewery of rural Bavaria.⁶⁹

Wolves

Among his other obsessions, Hitler was fascinated with wolves. As a boy he was well pleased with his first name, noting that it came from the old German "Athalwolf"—a compound of Athal ("noble") and Wolfa ("wolf"). And "noble wolf" he sought to remain. At the start of his political career he chose "Herr Wolf" as his pseudonym. His favorite dogs were Alsations—in German *Wolfshunde*. One of Blondi's pups, born towards the end of the war, he called "Wolf" and would allow no one else to touch or feed it. He named his headquarters in France *Wolfsschlucht* (Wolf's Gulch). In the Ukraine his headquarters were *Werwolf* (Man Wolf), and in East Prussia *Wolfsschanze* (Wolf's Lair)—as he explained to a servant, "I am the Wolf and this is my den." He called his SS "My pack of wolves." Later he would recall with exaltation how in the early days of the movement his Storm Troopers pounced upon the opposition "like wolves" and were soon "covered with blood."

In an article in his party newspaper written in 1922, Hitler used an unusual metaphor to describe how the crowds began to react to him: they began to realize, he said, "that now a wolf has been born, destined to burst in upon the herd of seducers and deceivers of the people." He had his sister Paula change her name to Frau Wolf. The special agent he chose to supervise purchases for his Linz Library and Museum was a Dr. Wolfhardt (literally, "hard wolf"). He approved of naming the Volkswagen factory "Wolfsburg."

When he telephoned Winifred Wagner, he would say, "Conductor Wolf calling!" The secretary he kept longer than any other (more than

D.T. address him as "Adolf wolf" or "Athal wolf"

D. T.

The Image and the Man

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Why this infatuation with wolf feelings of inadequacy and depen himself as the lone wolf—tough remorseless, and strong? Were t his life, he was so attracted to wo in later chapters.

HITLER AS RELIGIOUS LE

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He liked to remind his follo came in 1919, when he undertoc during the preceding autumn, as l he had received a supernatural v Germany. And through the years l importance of the year 1919. In a of the Wehrmacht on 23 Novem with the same idea:

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ADOLF HITLER

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The Image and the Man

20 years) was Johanna Wolf. She recalled that while Hitler addressed all other secretaries formally as "Frau" or "Fräulein," he invariably called her "Wölfin" (She-Wolf). One of his favorite tunes came from a Walt Disney movie. Often and absent-mindedly he whistled "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?"—an animal, it will be recalled, who wanted to eat people up and blow their houses down.⁷⁰

Why this infatuation with wolves? Was Hitler trying to submerge feelings of inadequacy and dependence by creating a counterimage of himself as the lone wolf—tough, independent, resourceful, cunning, remorseless, and strong? Were there other reasons why, throughout his life, he was so attracted to wolves? We shall return to the question in later chapters.

HITLER AS RELIGIOUS LEADER

Since Hitler saw himself as a Messiah with a divine mission to save Germany from the incarnate evil of "International Jewry," it is not surprising that he likened himself to Jesus. On one occasion during the 1920s, as he lashed about him with the whip he habitually carried, he said that "in driving out the Jews I remind myself of Jesus in the temple." At another time he said, "Just like Christ, I have a duty to my own people. . . ."

At a Christmas celebration in 1926 he thought it appropriate to compare his own historical importance favorably with that of Jesus. Christ had changed the dating of history; so would Hitler, for his final victory over the Jews would mark the beginning of a new age in the history of the world. "What Christ began," he observed, he, Hitler, "would complete." And in a speech on 10 February 1933 he parodied the Lord's Prayer in promising that under him a new kingdom would come on earth, and that his would be "the power and the glory, Amen." He added that if he did not fulfill his mission, "you should then crucify me."⁷¹

He liked to remind his followers that a turning point in his life came in 1919, when he undertook his mission. He told an aide that during the preceding autumn, as he lay wounded in a military hospital, he had received a supernatural vision which commanded him to save Germany. And through the years he came back repeatedly to stress the importance of the year 1919. In a speech to the commanding generals of the Wehrmacht on 23 November 1939, he began two paragraphs with the same idea:

When I began my political work in 1919 I based it. . . .

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1939, 1942

D.T.

IF HITLER

The Image and the Man

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others had to die, it is clearer than ever that the fate of Germany lies in my hands." 76

His version of human history was essentially one of religious mythology. He believed that a pure German people had lived in an early Garden of Eden. But this pure race had been attacked by the Devil, made incarnate in the form of the Jew. Indeed, he said explicitly that "the Jew is the personification of the Devil and of all evil." And thus he reached his conclusion that in fighting the Devil he was doing the work of Almighty God. In Hitler's theology, a different original sin replaced the one committed in the biblical Garden of Eden. "The mixture of the races is the original sin [Erbsünde] of this world," he claimed. "The sins against blood and race are the original sins of this world." He thought of World War II in eschatological terms, and saw himself as the commander of the forces of good standing at Armageddon and battling the forces of Satan. "Often it seems to me as if we are all being tested by the Devil and Satan, and we must pass through Hell together until we finally obtain ultimate victory."

He did not view the Party and the Reich merely as secular organizations. "I consider those who establish or destroy a religion much greater than those who establish a State, to say nothing of founding a Party," he had written in *Mein Kampf*. And years later he told his followers, "We are not a movement, rather we are a religion." 77

The institutional pattern he used for creating his New Order was the Roman Catholic Church, which had so greatly impressed him. As a boy he had dreamed of being an abbot. When he became Führer, however, he raised his sights and saw himself as a political Pope with an apostolic succession. He announced to a closed meeting of the faithful in the Brown House during 1930, "I hereby set forth for myself and my successors in the leadership of the Party the claim of political infallibility. I hope the world will grow as accustomed to that claim as it has to the claim of the Holy Father."

He also fancied himself as a religious leader of the non-Christian world he planned to conquer. "I'm going to become a religious figure. Soon I'll be the great chief of the Tartars. Already Arabs and Moroccans are mingling my name with their prayers." 77

Hitler saw striking parallels between his Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment and the Church's Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*). He remarked that his task was not to communicate knowledge "but holy conviction and unconditional faith." He viewed the 25 articles of his Party as "the dogma of our faith" and the "rock" upon which the Party was built.⁷⁸ Hitler's proclamation of the "Thousand Year Reich" has religious resonance. He was also fond of speaking of the "inseparable Trinity" of State, Movement, and Volk. As the sign and symbol of his movement Hitler chose a special type of cross, and personally modified the design of this *Hakenkreuz*.

** D.P. I told him that because absolutely correct and that, together, resulting all tribulation we would obtain victory*

1936

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The colossal Assembly Hall planned for his new capital of Germania should be seen as a secular cathedral rather than a civic building. The dome was to be large enough to encompass the Dome of St. Peter's seven times—a favorite number. As Albert Speer has noted, "It was basically a hall of worship. . . . without such cult significance the motivation for Hitler's main structure would have been senseless and unintelligible."⁷⁹

In reminiscing about the institutions and ideas that had influenced him, Hitler said that he had learned a great deal from Marxist terrorism, from the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and from the Freemasons. But, he concluded, "Above all, I have learned from the Jesuit order." Certainly the oath of direct obedience to the Führer was strikingly reminiscent of the special oath that Jesuits swear to the Pope. Moreover, Hitler spoke of his elite SS, who wore the sacred symbol and dressed in black, as his Society of Jesus. He also ordered SS officers to study the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola for training in the rigid discipline of the faith.⁸⁰

Parsifal The close parallel between commitment to God and the sacred oath of allegiance to Hitler is seen in a description of public oath-taking recorded in the Nazi newspaper *Westdeutscher Beobachter*:

Yesterday witnessed the profession of the religion of the blood in all its imposing reality . . . whoever has sworn his oath of allegiance to Hitler has pledged himself unto death to this sublime idea.⁸¹

The bolts of excommunication and anathema which Hitler hurled against nonbelievers and heretics were not unlike those of a Gregory VII:

Woe to them who do not believe. These people have sinned . . . sinned against all of life . . . it is a miracle of faith that Germany has been saved. Today more than ever it is the duty of the Party to remember this National Socialist confession of faith [*Glaubensbekenntnis*] and to bear it forward as our holy [*heiliges*] sign of our battle and our victory.⁸²

The Nazis, like the Catholics, had their prophets, saints, and martyrs. The Führer sanctified his disciples who fell during the Beer Hall Putsch when he said, in dedicating their memorial, that their death would bring forth "a true belief in the resurrection of their people . . . the blood that they shed becomes the baptismal water of the Third Reich."⁸³

Hitler's holy reliquary was the Brown House, containing the sacred Blood Flag which had been borne by the martyrs of 9 November 1923. It was Hitler and Hitler alone who could perform the priestly ritual of touching the Blood Flag to the standards of the Brown Shirts.

D.T.

The Image and the Man

Hitler substituted Nazi holidays. The Nazi holidays include in the year he referred to as April, his own birthday and confirmed in their faith. The holy kind of Nazi Good Friday, a Witness [*Blutzeuge*] of the mo

Hitler also provided the and *Mein Kampf*, instead of homes of thousands of Germans of the regime, the Nazis chose appropriate wedding gift for y

The parallel between Hitler in German schools. On 16 March dictation approved by Hitler again:

Jesus and Hitler. As Jesus freed the German people persecuted, but while in Chancellorship. . . . Jesus earth.

The League of German Lord's Prayer which was a suit him as a deity:

Adolf Hitler, you are our enemy tremble. Thy Thü earth. Let us hear daily for we will obey to the end Hitler!⁸⁴

And smaller children were taught

Führer, my Führer, send me throughout my life deepest need, I thank thee my side and never leave Heil my Führer!⁸⁵

Hitler's disciples seem to popularize these new words German people:

Silent night! He All is calm. All

* D.T. I think

1936

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GOD: ADOLF HITLER

his new capital of Germania
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The Image and the Man

1934 D.T.
Hitler substituted Nazi high holy days for traditional religious holi-
days. The Nazi holidays included 30 January, the day he came to power
in the year he referred to as "the holy year of our Lord 1933," and 20
April, his own birthday and the day when the Hitler Youth were con-
firmed in their faith. The holiest day, and the one which served as a
kind of Nazi Good Friday, was 9 November, celebrated as the Blood
Witness [Blutzeuge] of the movement.

Hitler also provided the holy scriptures for his new religion,
and Mein Kampf, instead of the Bible, took the place of honor in the
homes of thousands of German families. With a lack of humor typical
of the regime, the Nazis chose this title to replace the prayer book as the
appropriate wedding gift for young couples.

The parallel between Hitler and the Messiah was made explicit
in German schools. On 16 March 1934 children wrote out the following
dictation approved by Hitler's Ministry of Enlightenment and Prop-
aganda:

Jesus and Hitler. As Jesus freed men from sin and Hell, so Hitler
freed the German people from destruction. Jesus and Hitler were
persecuted, but while Jesus was crucified Hitler was raised to the
Chancellorship. . . . Jesus strove for Heaven, Hitler for the German
earth.

The League of German Girls developed a new version of the
Lord's Prayer which was a supplication not only for the Führer but to
him as a deity:

Adolf Hitler, you are our great Leader. Thy name makes the
enemy tremble. Thy Third Reich comes, thy will alone is law upon
earth. Let us hear daily thy voice and order us by thy leadership,
for we will obey to the end even with our lives. We praise thee! Heil
Hitler! ⁸⁴

And smaller children were taught to use this grace before meals:

Führer, my Führer, sent to me from God, protect and maintain
me throughout my life. Thou who hast saved Germany from
deepest need, I thank thee today for my daily bread. Remain at
my side and never leave me, Führer, my Führer, my faith, my light.
Heil my Führer! ⁸⁵

Hitler's disciples seem to have been less successful in their efforts
to popularize these new words for the favorite Christmas hymn of the
German people:

Silent night! Holy night!
All is calm. All is bright.

D.T. I insisted on that.

Now, by the end, his dreams seemed
forward into the day

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

1942,
1945

D.T.

The Image and the Man

After he became chancellor, the worlds of fantasy and reality continued to interconnect in his life and in the life of the Third Reich. He himself sometimes became confused by his own fantasies and experienced difficulty in separating them from reality. In a highly revealing statement he confided to his doctors: "I suffer from tormenting self-deception."¹⁰⁶

Toward the end, the images he had created of himself grew stronger than reality and destroyed him. The self-proclaimed worker of miracles was required to produce the miracles. And with frantic intensity he applied his mind and his will to the problem. Thus he convinced himself that Roosevelt's death in April 1945 meant the salvation of Germany; or that British war prisoners would volunteer to fight with the Nazis against the Russians in an "Anti-Bolshevik Legion." It became an article of his faith that the Russians in April 1945 were on the verge of collapse, and that Churchill and Roosevelt would join him against the U.S.S.R.¹⁰⁷

As we shall later see, when the military miracles he conjured up failed to appear, he summoned forth one final illusion of supernatural omnipotence and ended his terrestrial life.

Courage and Cowardice

Hitler was both a brave man and a coward. As a private first-class (Gefreiter) during World War I, he had won, and deserved to win, the Iron Cross, both first and second class. Yet fear was one of the driving emotions of this man who spoke so often of courage. The world to Hitler was devil-filled and threatened at any moment to undo him. Anyone with the stamina to read the entire *Tischgespräche* can list a whole catalog of people who evoked fear and apprehension in the Führer. They included priests, hunters, Jews, liberals, journalists, Communists, Freemasons, judges, Jehovah's Witnesses, academics, Poles, meat eaters, Frenchmen, poets, Englishmen, cigarette smokers, Americans, and skiers. There was, finally, innate peril rooted in man himself: human beings could never be trusted.

Thus, everywhere he looked there was cause for apprehension:

Nothing is anchored anymore, nothing is rooted in our spiritual life anymore. Everything is superficial, fleeing past us. Restlessness and haste mark the thinking of our people. The whole of life is being torn completely apart. . . .

As one German writer has observed, "It is legitimate to ask whether any practical politician of stature has ever expressed convictions of this kind as frequently and as emphatically."¹⁰⁸

In addition to all the threats that encompassed Germany, there were others that beset him personally. He was frightened by all manner of germs, by water, by moonlight, and by horses—although he

loved to look at pictures and sit his body odors were offensive a that he took huge quantities of contained strychnine and atrop "pounced" on him personally.¹⁰⁹

Since his fears were so great a great need to consolidate could recognize, one that would he could release all his pent-up shall see, in the Jewish people.

Other Personal Dualities

Hitler could be a delightful He was also a boor, offensively like women guests to wear lips was ~~manufactured~~ ~~variously~~ ~~garbage~~. Once, when ladies at a ler announced loudly, "That too

At social gatherings he w He nervously checked and re worried whether his guests woi which tie he should wear. Anx everything was fine. He would show them that I know as mu

Hitler was both frugal and exception of chocolates, cake, a time he developed a liking for "sinfully expensive." His spart reminded his generals of a coml tration camp."

Yet Hitler was a very rich having his portrait on German Kampf came to over a million d Reichsmarks in back taxes wh dered these obligations canceled As his architect reminds us, unnecessary and unused buildin headquarters I ordered built for seldom or never used."¹¹²

Hitler swung between the wanted many things to remain habits, wearing apparel, membe And he prided himself on being a desire to change things and to rebuild, to take sudden tri

38 D.T. Fear of germs on the one hand - his schism - religious passions on the other - Mountains & the sea.

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Image and the Man

1942

D. T.



Perhaps one of my former associates will visit me occasionally, but I can't count on it. Aside from Fräulein Braun, I'll take no one with me. Fräulein Braun and my dog. I'll be lonely, for why should anyone voluntarily stay with me for any length of time? Nobody will take notice of me anymore. They'll all go running after my successor. Perhaps once a year they'll show up for my birthday.¹²²

One day during the electoral campaign of 1932, according to an intimate, Hitler was feeling sorry for himself as he slurped vegetable soup and asked plaintively for assurance that the vegetable diet would cure his stomach cramps, excessive sweating, and melancholy. But then he started talking about his determination to come to power. He jumped up, strode around the room, and convinced himself once again of his greatness. Before one's eyes, the whining hypochondriac was transformed into the great demagogue who could electrify skeptics and force them to become true believers in his destiny.¹²³

The Führer flatly denied that he was ever bothered by fears of weakness. Max Planck remembered a remarkable interview with Hitler in which he shouted that it was "libelous" for anyone ever to accuse him of having weak nerves. "I tell you," he screamed, "I have nerves of steel!" When he said that, Planck recalled, "He pounded his knee, spoke ever faster, and worked himself into such a fury that there was nothing for me to do but . . . to excuse myself." A military aide who observed his Führer closely concluded, "The strong nerves which he so often praised, he himself did not possess."¹²⁴

Hitler felt it necessary to protest often that he never had any feelings of inferiority. "Only an insane person," he once said, "could say that I have an inferiority complex. . . . They are absolutely crazy. I have never had an inferiority complex!" And again, a few weeks later: "Do the English really imagine that with respect to England I could have an inferiority complex?"¹²⁵

One evening during the war, Hitler was whistling a classical air. When a secretary had the temerity to suggest that he had made a mistake in the melody, the Führer was furious. He showed his vulnerability—and his lack of humor—by shouting angrily, "I don't have it wrong. It is the composer who made a mistake in this passage." His press chief, who followed him closely for ten years, recalled that if an associate corrected him on any point of fact, in any field of knowledge, "no matter how valid the correction, Hitler could not admit his mistake." His personal interpreter insisted that "throughout the time I interpreted for Hitler [1935-1945] I never once heard him make . . . an admission of error even to his closest friends."¹²⁶

Such statements need some qualification. On rare occasions Hitler could, in fact, admit a mistake. But when he did so, he invariably hedged his admission in a number of ways. He would proclaim something a colossal blunder when he and his entourage knew it was trivial;

*His insensitivity was 43
insulation for his extreme sensitivity
One might conclude that for years
he could stress the burden of his
situation*

*but he also could detect weakness
in loyalty*

1936

D. T.

Good looking human being in a dark suit.

*But they
O.D. checked
me. nothing*

*The
Cart*

where took had wages

*Comparison of
with Stalin
with Churchill*

an immediately conclude
alled collaboration with
that too was the work
else a mistake was the
een too kind or too tol-
politics with a woman;
had underestimated the
's Englishmen'; he had
statesman into jail; too
WS...

or people were to blame
rejected by the Viennese
he cursed the old-fash-
y where there was no
e trip-wires which were
-for the sole purpose of

amed his military failures
stantly of betrayal," an
y leadership and in the
would add "the betrayal
his defeat."¹²⁸

mistakes; nor could he
way. Thus he ridiculed
lectuals," or suddenly
when anyone else was
ty expanded to include
in all human endeavors
a dog training, poetry to
at Germany would win
ld not comprehend the
mericans. When shown
at Germany must build
ere would not be as long
e and then said brightly,
the widest avenue in the
ew capital, "Germania,"
n the world.¹²⁹

to whom he could feel
they were either men of
a physical or emotional
adjutants, Brückner and
endowment, as were the
et daily: Fegelein, Gün-
es who applied for the
Hitler selected the short-
sonal driver for the rest

of his life, even though it was necessary to put special blocks under
the seat so that he could see over the steering wheel. Rudolf Hess,
for many years the deputy Führer, was mentally disturbed; Joseph
Goebbels, the brilliant minister of enlightenment and propaganda, had a
club foot; Heinrich Hoffmann, the court photographer, was an alcoholic
with a deformed back; both his first treasurer, a man named Meier,
and Max Amann, his press business manager, were one-armed, and
Amann was dwarflike in stature; Dietrich Eckart, Hitler's closest in-
tellectual collaborator, was addicted to drugs and died of alcoholism;
an assistant press chief was stone deaf; his adjutant Julius Schaub
had a bad limp; the leader of his Brown Shirts, the homosexual Ernst
Röhm, was replaced by the one-eyed Victor Lutze; Heinrich Himmler,
dread Reichsführer of the SS, was a neurotic hypochondriac; Julius
Streicher, Gauleiter and editor of Der Stürmer, was a sexual pervert;
Robert Ley, head of the Labor Front, was a garrulous dullard and
drunkard who had a speech defect; Martin Bormann, the immensely
influential Party secretary, was an alcoholic. Hermann Göring, head of
the Luftwaffe, was a man of high intelligence who was addicted to
morphine. During most of World War II he was "in a near-comotose
state of narcotic stupor." But to Hitler, he was "the greatest genius
in aviation history." Joachim von Ribbentrop, a stupid, shallow, ser-
vile, and vindictive man, remained one of Hitler's favorites and was
hailed by him as "the greatest foreign minister since Bismarck."¹³⁰

He constantly pleaded with his subordinates to reassure him of
his own ability. A minor official of the German Embassy in Paris,
for example, recalled that on the eve of the Nazi invasion of the Rhine-
land in 1936 he was summoned to a conference attended by the politi-
cal and military power structure of the Third Reich. The young and
inexperienced official was amazed when his Führer kept asking him
for assurance that the invasion of the Rhineland would be successful
and that the French would not resist: "Repeatedly he asked me the
curious question whether I could 'guarantee him success.'"¹³¹

His valet recalled that before an important speech Hitler was
nervous and unsure of himself. He would rehearse important passages
in front of a mirror and interrupt himself by turning to ask his servant
apprehensively, "Does that sound all right? . . . Do you think I am
ready to go before the audience? . . . Do I look like the Führer? Do
I really look like the Führer?"

A servant of many years recalled, "It was surprising how often
Hitler drew parallels between himself and Napoleon," and noted that
Hitler liked to "outdo" Napoleon in many different things. It bothered
him, for example, when he learned that the French emperor could
keep more secretaries busy than he. To compensate, Hitler started to
dictate in a much louder voice. He also found solace in being able to
excel Napoleon in something else: "Napoleon could dictate to several
secretaries at the same time. To make up for that, I can read with
one glance an entire page of a book."¹³²

* D. T. I could barely endure him⁴⁵
at such times. His need of me
was so great. He would act in this
manner when he was actually w/o me

→ D.T. Each time he asked the
question the official said the
same thing: He could. But each
time his voice was different. Hitler
had learned to plane the degree of
uncertainty in an assertion.

IC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

"What had Hitler's mother hate women so?"¹⁴² It is a

learned to bear up under cruelty of Fate"—and even "Freedom of Providence" because "that cruel Queen of all another turning point in his graciously permitted" him to cause, as he said in a Berlin turned her face from the German politician in order to save as he left the Hofbräuhaus so crucial to his political "the Goddess of Inexorable" that the "Goddess of His- up" the jury's verdict.¹⁴³ and mothers and rhapsodized he had talked to Kubizek to keep alive "the Flame of" unnned, as an adolescent, to make sure that he could ac- prostitution, "the Sin of In- In the new Germany of his native reality—early marriage young couples, attractive and for children. When he be- cial day to pay homage to of his own mother) fecund Cross of the German Mother. more than four children, silver an eight. Regulations printed of Nazi youth organizations war heroes and to salute the

ame of Life," but his boyhood it to be a "symbol of sacred women who have kept them- nity of a union which would Decades later, Hitler con- of his nightly reveries he by consecration of love, pray, ing with health? . . . Nature tem a child. . . . To my way should unite for life and the presence of children." He

The Image and the Man

eulogized the institution of marriage, but he also approved Himmler's idea of establishing SS stud farms and passed legislation legitimizing the results of their eugenic labors.¹⁴⁵

Hitler was absolutely furious at the suggestion that women should be emancipated from their traditional place in the kitchen, the church, and the nursery, asserting that "the term 'female emancipation' is a term invented by the Jewish intellect and its meaning is of the same spirit." At the first general membership meeting of the Nazi Party in January 1921, Hitler had the following regulation passed: "A woman can never be admitted into the Leadership of the Party or into the Executive Committee." In the Third Reich women were declared ineligible for jury service because, the Führer said, "they cannot think logically or reason objectively since they are ruled only by emotion."¹⁴⁶

He expressed his own ideal of womanhood to the wife of the early SA leader, Franz von Pfeffer:

A woman must be a cute, cuddly, naïve little thing—tender, sweet, and stupid.

Eine Frau muss ein niedliches, molliges, Tschapperl sein: weich, süß und dumm.¹⁴⁷

On another occasion he noted to an aide that while he thoroughly enjoyed having beautiful women near him it was not necessary for them to be intelligent or original. "I have enough ideas for both," he said.¹⁴⁸

Apart from the studied air of superiority he affected in their presence, there are other indications that Hitler really was frightened by females. His sister recalled that Adolf, as a very small boy, was terrified at the thought that a girl might kiss him. "When mother wanted him to get up in the morning she had only to say to me, 'Go and give him a kiss.' She said it not very loud but enough for him to hear; as soon as he heard the word 'kiss,' and that he was to get one from me, he was out of bed in a flash because he just couldn't stand that." Many years later, at a New Year's Eve party in 1921, a young and attractive woman maneuvered Hitler under the mistletoe and gave him a good-natured kiss. A witness recalled the consequences: "I shall never forget the look of astonishment and horror on Hitler's face! . . . Bewildered and helpless as a child, Hitler stood there biting his lips in an effort to master his anger. The atmosphere which after his arrival had shown a tendency to become more formal now became almost glacial."¹⁴⁹

Hitler continued to be intimidated by the thought of physical contact with women, and compared sexual intercourse to the trauma a soldier faces in battle. In making the comparison he quite typically projected his own fears: it was not he who was afraid of women, but women were afraid of men. In his awkward prose,

⊛ P.T. Himmler jerks off⁵¹
over images of our humiliated Jews and our
humiliated young women all reaching out
on a pyramidal plane

speaks of revelation of just
sex for a woman is equal in
intensity to revelation of combat
for the first time to a soldier

Hummer file D.T.
Hitler 1901, 1924



1901

1924

— sup 52

He played games with his knowledge, betting that a specific item in his vast store of information was correct. Almost invariably it was, and Hitler was happy as a schoolboy to be told he had the right answer. "I often asked myself," a secretary recalls, "how one human brain could preserve so many facts."¹

Hitler used his phenomenal memory as a weapon in his system of personality defense. It helped him in his efforts to convince himself and others that he really was a person of great intellectual ability, in no way inferior to those who were better educated or better trained. After impressing a naval aide with an incredible recitation of statistics on naval ordnance, he said, "Bear in mind that my brain works in about the same way as a calculating machine."² It was a fairly accurate description. Medical doctors were equally impressed. A German physician who was in Hitler's entourage for many years said that the Führer's knowledge of medicine and biology was technical and detailed and "went far beyond that of the average intelligent layman." And another doctor concluded, "In ten years I was not able to catch him in a single factual error."³

Hitler also used his data bank as a defensive weapon to ward off displeasing arguments. When field commanders on the Eastern Front pointed out the strength of the enemy, Hitler would either dismiss their argument as irrelevant—his steel-like will would overcome all problems—or overwhelm the doubter with production statistics and precise weaknesses in the armament of the enemy. Or he would undercut and embarrass commanders by demanding from them information that they simply could not remember. If, for example, they raised objections to a tactical plan, he would bombard them with questions such as the name and rank of each of their subordinate commanders or the military decorations each was entitled to wear. When a field commander admitted ignorance of these matters, Hitler would provide the answers triumphantly and announce that he had more knowledge of their sector than they had.⁴

He had little interest in coming to grips with difficult intellectual problems, and had the habit of repeating the same question about a complex historical event without making an effort to investigate the answer. In January 1942 he observed, "I often wonder why the ancient world collapsed." Months later, in September, he asked the same question in exactly the same words: "I often wonder why the ancient world collapsed." It apparently did not occur to him to study the problem in the available historical literature, or to invite historians to discuss the question with him.⁵

Although he lacked all formal training in history, Hitler planned in 1919 to write a huge work dealing with the origins and development of mankind. He entitled it, with habitual modesty, *Die Monumentalgeschichte der Menschheit* (Monumental History of Humanity). The book was never completed, but the Federal Archives in Coblenz contain records of Hitler's original notations for it, as well as page after

56 * D.T. Indeed before using my calculating machine in Germany with his own.

all the same, it was not hard for a man as terrified of secrets as Hitler. Gotta blow his hot air, small and all.

page of notes for speeches in author's basic ideas, and his them into practice. The centr his later political thinking: all of conflict between Aryans an tion is this: "Racial purity is coming of a "new Reich wh expressed the need for "unm and insisted that salvation genius."⁶

Hitler shows here a char political asset. He was what plifier." Neither innovative no capacity to simplify ideas ar gans and programs while, at he was thereby achieving a hi

That Hitler's mind work logic is illustrated in a rare i rist just before coming to powe out that Hitler had no elect the Nazi leader set forth his inate the government. By hi entitled him to 75 percent of t

Under the rules of demo 37% of the total vote w necessary to govern. Th of the power and my op the business of governm this takes no account c investment is worth twic are in reality worth 30 m

His capacity to simplify the confusions of complex e demonstrated as soon as he g noted that Hitler had the ins at the right time. Immediate coordinated policy of deficit : Roosevelt he "sensed that ri policy," but he went well bey actions. To those who objec economics to understand wh tongue only partly in cheek, great thing not to understan stand. A careful student of

* The intensity twice the m. of other m.

ADOLF HITLER

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d of the total he
at has been lost.
ks that bear his
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any of the books
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brary. As in most
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pically, there is a
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books on popular
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if German myth-
also reflect the
mes on pseudo-
itism take pride
by J. Lanz von
er *Psalmen Teu-*
und *Antisemiten*
s-Racial Mystics

Hitler's political
thold Otto's *Der*
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ears, is heavily
o marginal com-
marked up the
ie establishment
clearly congenial
ded by a strong
ederick William

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

I of Prussia). He also called for a "biological conception of the state," exalted a "scientific world view," and demanded the destruction of liberal attitudes and institutions. One can imagine the pale blue eyes of the young rebel of Vienna flashing as he furiously underlined this passage: "It is a simple matter to transform all justice and law." Also underlined is a passage (p. 71) attacking "the stupidity of liberal-bourgeois attitudes" and insisting that "the whole system must be changed," as well as lines calling for a "new socialism" rooted in "biological conceptions of state organization" (p. 300). There is particularly heavy underscoring of the author's conclusion that society can only be transformed by a leader of mystery and power.

Hitler's library also contained a large collection of books on military history and strategy. The edition of Clausewitz, *Vom Krieg* (On War), was especially well thumbed.

Two other books seem to have interested Hitler particularly— if, as seems likely, the blue-penciled underlining and marginal marks are his own. One is a work entitled *Auswanderungs-Möglichkeiten in Argentinien* (Emigration Possibilities in Argentina), where a passage noting that the country could provide ample space for German settlement is underscored. There are two travel guides, one to the city of Brussels and the other to Berlin, the latter written by the well-known Jewish critic, Max Osborn. The book—which is inscribed in pencil "A. Hitler, Fournés, 22 November 1915"—was apparently much read, but with no underlining or marginal comments. During the war Hitler had been stationed near Fournés, not far from Lille. It is known that he went on furlough to Berlin in 1917. The Library of Congress has facsimiles of three postcards (including one of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church) sent from the German capital to his sergeant and later press chief, Max Amann. There is no mention of the artistic riches of the city.

HITLER AND THE ARTS

Art demands fanaticism.

—Adolf Hitler

The attributes Hitler assigned to great political leaders were those that fit his own self-image. True statesmen, he said, should begin their careers as he had, at the age of 30. And they should also be musical (he considered himself "perhaps the most musical of all Germans"). In 1925 he ruled out General Ludendorff as a political leader because he had no ear for music. In 1945, when talking about possible successors, he rejected Heinrich Himmler because he was not musical enough. Only musical people, he was convinced, feel "the vibrations

D.T. Over and over, I would repeat this to him in his sleep as if

63

R.T.
I saw his last day when he was
"You will be a German now"

1945 remembering 1942
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

of the folkic soul [Volksseele]" they alone find "the sensitive word that can move men"; they alone can "put the correct political action into effect." ²¹

Music was terribly important to Hitler. As Karl Menninger has noted, good music can help combat destructive tendencies in deeply divided personalities. It is, he writes, "a bulwark against self-destruction." ²² That it played such a role for Hitler is suggested by a description which Kubizek has given of the effect that Wagner had upon young Adolf: "When he listened to Wagner's music, he was a changed man; his violence left him, he became quiet, yielding and tractable. He no longer felt lonely and outlawed and misjudged by society. He was intoxicated and bewitched. . . . From the stale, musty prison of his back room he was transported into the blissful regions of German antiquity, that ideal world which was the lofty goal for all his endeavors." ²³

Hitler was not particularly interested in the classical music of balance and restraint. He disliked Bach, Handel, Haydn, and Mozart, preferring Grieg, Bruckner, and above all Wagner.* He wanted to make Linz a shrine for Bruckner's works, to be for him what Bayreuth was for Wagner. At the age of 19 he drew up detailed plans for the Linz Concert Hall, which he solemnly consecrated to Bruckner's memory. Years later, his enthusiasm unabated, he tried to buy the manuscript of Bruckner's Third Symphony for \$7,500. ²⁴

Hitler was not impressed with Italian opera because he found it based upon "trickery and deception." Quite apart from that, it had one unforgivable fault: it was not German. As his friend recalls, "For him nothing counted but German ways, German feeling and German thought. He accepted none but the German masters." ²⁵

Hitler As "Creative Artist"

D.G.
Adolf Hitler considered himself a creative artist. He said on several occasions that the main reason he had entered politics was to implement his artistic plans; again and again he expressed regret that the war had interrupted their fulfillment. In discussing the careers of other great men on the night of 5 May 1942, he observed, "If the war had not come along, I would certainly have become an architect and perhaps, yes, even probably, one of the best architects if not the best architect in Germany." And as he contemplated suicide a few years later, he was heard to sigh regretfully, "Ah, what an artist dies in me!" ²⁶

The paintings and drawings he produced as a youth were not good enough to gain him admission to the Vienna Art Academy. But they sold well enough to art dealers—or to those who wanted something pleasant to show off their elaborate picture frames—to help

* Wagner's influence is discussed below, pp. 99-113.

64. ~~D.G. That was the poor little man speaking.~~

D.T.

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

finance his life in Vienna. On the \$10.00-\$15.00. He also did some and his careful pictures of Freud suggest that he had modest talent.

One of Hitler's lifelong habits: rare occasions when he was not in Linz he drew severed heads of boarders in his mother's home or Baldu von Schirach recalls that "drawing on one of the little heads of men and women." Several preserved in the Library of Congress.

Hitler's early sketches for bridges—carefully collected working diagrams for the buildings years later. Indeed, so closely the public buildings in the Third a part of his own artistic creation.

Two things dominate his art: the use of domes and columns planned for his new capital of Prachtallee ("Avenue of Splendor" and three times the length of the Kuppelhalle was to be 825 feet that of St. Peter's. Some 180,000 The Arch of Triumph, originally stand 400 feet high. Fifty of Napoleon could have fitted within the Führer building, Hitler's personal palatial "Adolf Hitler Platz." It was a dining hall that could seat 2,000 volume of over 74,000 cubic feet with its reception room of 57,600 with Speer in 1935, Hitler several years ago. I've always saved the day I would build these edifices out." With the beginning of his plans, Speer recalls he had a German eagle with a swastika in Hitler now decided that the design so that the eagle held a globe clutching.

Hitler also planned a monument about 100 yards from the traditional church. Hitler's erection would be monstrous Party Hall at the Chancellery 361 feet and a height of 391 feet, a berg with a seating capacity of

Goring file,

1

1935

D.T.

From R. G. L. Waite, **THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER**

IDEOLOGY

Our ideology is intolerant . . . and peremptorily demands . . . the complete transformation of public life to its ideas.

—Adolf Hitler

Whether one considers Hitler's political ideas worth talking about depends, in part, on one's interpretation of his personality. Those who see him as a person of adroit calculation conclude that a discussion of his guiding ideas is both perverse and pointless. He was, it is said, an opportunist pure and simple. Driven by lust for power, he used any idea that helped him and abandoned it if it did not.

The most perceptive reply to this argument has been given in a valuable study of Hitler's *Weltanschauung*:

. . . one may call this opportunism, but it has its goals. . . One may call this power politics for the sake of power, but it has a clearly defined purpose beyond the pure wielding of power. One may call it lacking in principles, but it is not devoid of intelligible considerations of principles. . . One might say with Polonius that there is method in this madness, even though madness it is.⁴⁷

Those who minimize the importance of Hitler's ideology also point out that the whole Nazi movement showed contempt for ideas and stressed activism. Thus Goring's reply to the question of where the philosophy of National Socialism could be found: "It is written on the faces of the marching Storm Troopers." And his more famous comment: "Every time I hear the word 'culture,' I release the safety catch on my revolver."

It has also been noted that Hitler's ideas were not original. His crude concepts of militarism, race, anti-Semitism, and will to power have run pandemically through German history. And it is emphasized that there is not one new idea, constructive or destructive, in the entire movement. Hence, according to this view, it is both naive and irrelevant to talk seriously about his political ideas.

But one can also see Hitler quite differently—as a man of conviction. Basically he was, as Alan Bullock has noticed, "an intellectual, in a double sense, that he lived intensely in a world of his own thought and that words and ideas were the instruments of his power."⁴⁸

While he could be an opportunist when the occasion required, he saw himself finally not as a Machiavellian but as an instrument of God. He believed in his ideas. And most important, he established

⁴⁷ Actually the comment was first put in the mouth of the *Freikorps* martyr Albert Leo Schlageter in a play by Hanns Johst produced in 1933, but it was appropriated by the Nazis.

*Due to this simplified my
task. It was, in consequence, respectful,
even essential to the nation's welfare.*

The Intellectual World of Adolf

~~his government on the basis~~ history has the theory of a with its practice; never has a society. His ideas on race, physics in the universities, biology without Freud. I would live or die. A distinction in concluding that the role development of Hitler's ideas is the history of their

Leaders of Western democracies such as A. J. P. Taylor misunderstood him almost (rightly) that his ideas were failed to realize that Hitler estimated his opportunistic his commitment to ideology, size that Hitler was a man, opportunist and a fanatic. His understanding that duality, historic fact about the exigencies of war, nor was unrest and domestic conflict one of Hitler's ideas: the terminate what he considered. The horror of Hitler was the ideals, he practiced what he

Upon occasion, it is true exceptions to them in the hailed the Japanese as "As social and civil disabilities, arian cook was surprised. Aryanized by one of the Führer announce "I determine with exceptions. Seen collectively "staggering logicity and

Those who seek to understand political thinking, for it often he was not aware of, to his sires. Hitler was no exceptions about society are considered mankind treacherous of judgment. The people were "weak and bestial" "granite like stupidity of the of our sheep-like people." ⁵¹

1975

1935 D.T.

NIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

tolerant . . . and peremptorily
the complete transformation of
ideas.
—Adolf Hitler

as worth talking about de-
his personality. Those who
conclude that a discussion
entless. He was, it is said,
lust for power, he used
It did not.
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it has its goals. . . . One
ake of power, but it has a
re wielding of power. One
is not devoid of intelligible
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ough madness it is.⁴⁷

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d contempt for ideas and
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ferently—as a man of con-
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a world of his own thought
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mouth of the Freikorps martyr
produced in 1933, but it was

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notion of affect;*

his government on the basis of those ideas. Indeed, seldom in human history has the theory of a government been so ruthlessly consistent with its practice; never have ideas been more fully implemented in a society. His ideas on racism determined the laws, the art, the education, and the wage scales of the Third Reich. They determined that physics in the universities must be taught without Einstein, and psychology without Freud. They decided whether millions of people would live or die. A distinguished student of the Third Reich is justified in concluding that the role of ideas was of crucial importance in the development of Hitler's government, and that the history of those ideas is the history of their underestimation.⁴⁹

Leaders of Western democracies in the 1930s—and later historians such as A. J. P. Taylor—underestimated Hitler disastrously and misunderstood him almost completely because they thought (quite rightly) that his ideas were ridiculous and beneath contempt. They failed to realize that Hitler believed in those ideas. They greatly overestimated his opportunistic and manipulative side and underestimated his commitment to ideology. It is of the utmost importance to emphasize that Hitler was a man both of contrivance and conviction, an opportunist and a fanatic. His foreign policy is not explicable without understanding that duality. Nor is his massacre of the Jews. The hard historic fact about the genocide is that it was not caused by the exigencies of war, nor was it a political maneuver to cope with internal unrest and domestic conflict. These people were killed as the result of one of Hitler's ideas: the idea of a superior race and the need to exterminate what he considered to be the vermin that were attacking it. The horror of Hitler was this: he meant what he said, he lived by his ideals, he practiced what he preached.

Upon occasion, it is true, Hitler manipulated his ideas and made exceptions to them in the name of expediency. After Pearl Harbor he hailed the Japanese as "Asian Nordics" and exempted them from the social and civil disabilities of his racial laws. A favorite Jewish vegetarian cook was surprised to discover that her ancestors had all been Aryanized by one of the Führer's decrees, and Göring was permitted to announce "I determine what constitutes being a Jew." But those were exceptions. Seen collectively, his ideas form one cohesive structure of "staggering logicity and consistency."⁵⁰

Those who seek to understand Hitler's personality must study his political thinking, for it often gave expression, sometimes in ways that he was not aware of, to his deep-seated psychological impulses and desires. Hitler was no exception to the truth that a political theorist's ideas about society are rooted in his conception of man. Hitler considered mankind treacherous, irrational, base, and generally incapable of judgment. The people were "as stupid as they are forgetful"; they were "weak and bestial" or "lazy and cowardly." He spoke of the "granite like stupidity of humanity" and "the great stupid mutton-herd of our sheep-like people."⁵¹

*and it fixed him to believe that
the Jewish agent of the devil.*

1924, 1935
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

P.T. he might have Jewish blood? The answer to this question is yes, he did. Rightly or wrongly, throughout his life Hitler lived with the awful suspicion that his own father's father was a Jew and that he himself was "poisoned" by Jewish blood. That suspicion constituted psychic reality for Hitler. It helped to shape his personality and to determine public policy.

He expressed his apprehension in many ways. Over and over again, in public speeches and private conversation, he stressed the dangers of "blood poisoning" and thereby demonstrated that he could not get the idea out of his mind: "Alone the loss of purity of the blood destroys the inner happiness forever; it eternally towers man, and never again can its consequence be removed from body and mind." He felt the need to atone for bad blood. Unable to bring himself to admit directly his own family's "guilt," he used the defense of universalizing the "sin" by claiming that all Germans were involved. Thus the poisoning of German blood became the "original sin" of all humanity. To an intimate he said, "All of us are suffering from the ailment of mixed, corrupted blood. How can we purify ourselves and make atonement?" To another associate on a different occasion he suggested that the Jewish blood of Jesus was a special curse. "In the Gospels the Jews call to Pilate when Pilate hesitated to crucify Jesus: 'His blood comes over us and over our children.' I must perhaps fulfill this curse." One of the reasons he gave for not marrying and having children was his fear of tainted blood and a family history of feeble-mindedness: "The offspring of the genius have great difficulties in life. Everyone expects that they will have the same ability as their famous parent. But that seldom happens. Besides they would all be feeble-minded." *vice versa.*

Hitler's habit from childhood of having his own blood sucked out by leeches or later by the syringes of Dr. Morell suggests that he suspected there was something the matter with his blood. He wanted to get rid of it. The Führer may have been so concerned about the precise measurements of his head because he worried about his own "Jewish characteristics." It was a common misapprehension among Nazi racists that "Jewishness" could be measured cranially. Through meticulous charting of his own head, Hitler may have been trying to prove to himself that he was not Jewish.

Then, too, he kept thinking back on the story that his own grandmother, while working as a household servant, might have been seduced by a Jew. One of his most important state papers, the Nuremberg Racial Laws of 1935 which he called Blutschutzgesetz (The Law for the Protection of the Blood)—documented his concern. Hitler himself personally checked the wording of these laws and gave strict orders that not one word should be changed. Paragraph 3 is especially interesting. The Führer made a special point of emphasizing the following disability: "Jews cannot employ female household servants of German or related blood who are under 45 years of age." Hitler's own

128

D.T.

How useful it was to sleep him back and forth with such an internal surface

D.T.

The Child As Father to the Man

grandmother had been no ol while working, according to F

He projected the fear th the deputy of the Center Party by accepting the Versailles Tr book, written in 1928, Hitler one of those principally guilt: Erzberger, . . . the illegitim employer. . . ." As the editor about Erzberger had no basi point, however, is that Hitler r

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Hitler did not like to i showed a remarkable interes concerned about it that he s sumably to prove that his g Jewish." But the investigator:

1934
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"In the so-called Gestapo-B now in the main archives of the Nations into the Führer's family bac 1932, 1935, 1938, and 1940, two another during the period Decem clearly, were collected by the Pari Attila Bleibtreu, who was simply g the Gestapo also took a peculiar ir 1942, written by an SS Obersturmb dressed to the Reichsführer SS, Pr Heinrich Himmler) and stamped mission of documents on the ance the Linz branch of the Gestapo. F Photographs Division of the Librar by Heinrich Himmler and address In the letter, Himmler notes forma on Hitler and requests a receipt fi and marked "Geheime Reichssache Hitler materials). Himmler would i

D. T.

1895-1924

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

D. T.

Bedouins

The Child As Father to the Mother

- (2) in gifted people. He often referred to himself this way.
- (3) smallness and overcrowding of the rooms. Not an inaccurate description of the close quarters in the inns and mill where the Hitlers lived during Adolf's early childhood.
- (4) push down on top of one another. Description of the sex act?
- (5) visual education. Once again, the importance to Hitler of the eyes.
- (6) brutal attacks . . . due to drunkenness. These phrases and images are repeated several times in the chapter.
- (7) at the age of six. Particularly important to Adolf because when he was six his rival, Edmund, was conceived.
- (8) make even a grown-up shudder. Why should adults shudder at sexual intercourse? What kind of attacks was he imagining? Were they particularly sadistic? Would they possibly have been the kind of sadomasochistic sexual deviation which Hitler himself may later have indulged in? (See below, pp. 237-243.)
- (9) Morally infected. Note that Hitler associates sexual intercourse with something morally infectious and repulsive.
- (10) Youth of fifteen. The school dropout who despises authority, loiters about, and stays out until all hours is, as we shall see, an accurate description of Adolf's own life-style after the death of his father.

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on the
head.

he could
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tormented
by thoughts
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killing
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mother

Of course, it is not always traumatic for a child to see parents engaged in sex. If it were, thousands upon thousands of Eskimos and Bedouins would, presumably, be a great deal more neurotic than they seem to be. The experience is traumatic only, as in little Adolf's case, if it reinforces other deeply disturbing childhood experiences.

In the midst of describing other dreadful incidents involving drunken husbands who are attacking their passive wives, Hitler stops to make a very important statement: "I witnessed all this personally in hundreds of scenes . . . with both disgust and indignation."⁹⁰ We must ask where young Adolf had ever personally witnessed such intimate and, to him, disgusting scenes. Certainly he had never seen them outside his own home. And he never showed any interest whatever in observing the workings of a three-year-old mind as it developed to the age of six and on to fifteen—that is, no such mind except his own. Then how could he have viewed these things himself "hundreds" of times?

It is possible that he may never actually have seen them at all, that it was "only a fantasy." But it seems more likely—given the specific details and turns of phrase in his description—that he did witness such a scene, and that he had relived the terrifying event hundreds of times in his imagination. Every psychoanalyst knows from clinical experience that when a patient constantly repeats an image or an association or has the same dream again and again, it is an "indication of

the depth an impression has to communicate."⁹¹

The professional literature but a few recurring symptoms by itself is decisive, but emotional problems in me Adolf Hitler. All patients is an established principle is a common sequel to the stances that are traumatic illustrations of this symptom capitulation in general and (1, p. 216). To decapitate which the Medusa's head also of castration.⁹² The a primal scene trauma was Adolf because of his climax in reality of high vengeance. Thus, Hitler's anxiety damage intensified castration the primal scene experience

Primal scene exposure to have done in Adolf, incest repelled and attracted by it as his mother's sexual satisfaction—in many ways. that he himself had any. He insisted, for example, guilty of incest.⁹³ Or he cation of incest [*die Verh* his sexual affairs in later life evidence of incestuous feelings

There is other indirect evidence about his mother, he harbored a death wish toward adolescent drama about the head of a sacrificial ritual symbol of aggression symbol in this context. Sir Messiah, he may, unconscious his father to his own

We have seen that Hitler had written about himself. During one of his last resting turn of phrase, that nightmares about strange

Blut & Sch

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ATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Child As Father to the Man

the depth an impression has made and the intensity of what he wishes
to communicate." 91

The professional literature on primal scene trauma is extensive,
but a few recurring symptoms may be summarized here. None of these
by itself is decisive, but a combination of them does bespeak serious
emotional problems in many patients as it did, we are suggesting, in
Adolf Hitler. All patients show severe castration anxieties. Indeed, it
is an established principle of analysis that severe castration anxiety
is a common sequel to the observation of a primal scene under circum-
stances that are traumatic to the child. One of Hitler's most striking
illustrations of this symptom was his lifelong preoccupation with de-
capitation in general and the Medusa's head in particular (see Chapter
1, p. 21f). To decapitate is to castrate as well as to kill; the terror
which the Medusa's head evokes is the terror not only of death but
also of castration. 92 The castration fears which so frequently follow
a primal scene trauma would have been particularly intense in young
Adolf because of his monorchism, for monorchism represents the
climax in reality of frightening Oedipal fantasies about paternal re-
venge. Thus, Hitler's anxiety would have been twofold: the actual body
damage intensified castration fears, which were further stimulated by
the primal scene experience.

Primal scene exposure also awakens in many patients, as it seems
to have done in Adolf, incestuous fantasies and fears. The child is both
repelled and attracted by the thought of incest, of replacing his father
as his mother's sexual partner. Hitler expressed such horror—and in-
fatuation—in many ways. First, as was his habit, he denied vehemently
that he himself had any such desires by projecting them onto others.
He insisted, for example, that it was not he but the Jews who were
guilty of incest. 93 Or he would say that Vienna was "the personifi-
cation of incest [*die Verkörperung der Blutschände*]." 94 The fact that
his sexual affairs in later life were with mother substitutes is also strong
evidence of incestuous feelings for his mother.

There is other indirect evidence that Adolf had incestuous fan-
tasies about his mother, hated his father as a rival, feared him, and
harbored a death wish toward the old man. This is hinted at in his
adolescent drama about the Holy Mountain, in which a priest cuts off
the head of a sacrificial bull. It seems likely that the bull, a tradi-
tional symbol of aggressive sensuality, was to young Hitler a father
symbol in this context. Since Adolf was beginning to see himself as a
Messiah, he may, unconsciously, have cast himself as the priest sacri-
ficing his father to his own ambition and Oedipal fears.

We have seen that Hitler was also deathly afraid of strangulation.
He had written about Dame Poverty as a snake that sought to throttle
him. During one of his last "Table Conversations" he said, in an inter-
esting turn of phrase, that the Jews sought to "asphyxiate" him. He had
nightmares about strangulation, drowning, and shortness of breath.

Blut & Schändel — blood scandal (incest)

* D.T. I did not I could to palliate such
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Haber a for psychic war that, despite his protection



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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

documents the tyranny of Alois over his wife. He flatly forbade her to go into "that priest's church" and thus embarrass him publicly. He ordered her, on the day of the funeral, to accompany him on a trip to Linz. Klara did not dare disobey.¹⁰⁷

And so, abandoned by his mother, Adolf stood and watched in a driving snowstorm as his little brother was lowered into a grave for which the parents never supplied a marker.

The effect of this experience, it seems likely, was to increase Adolf's resentment against his mother. Consciously, of course, he continued to displace his resentment onto his father and to blame Alois for everything. For, as Menninger has noted, stern fathers help sons to justify feelings of antagonism and aggression. "But if we penetrate the many layers of hatred, we come eventually to the deepest hurt of all—my mother failed me."¹⁰⁸

Adolf already had reason to resent what his mother had done to him. In addition to equipping him with defective testicles and acquiescing in her own "rape" by Hitler's father-rival, she had given birth to another rival, Edmund, and abandoned Adolf to the care of his older half-sister, Angela. As Menninger notes, "When the child is turned over to a substitute mother at an early age, it often increases his burden of hate without expanding his capacity for love." By a great show of loving his mother a boy can "conceal his hostility to her . . . and avoid the consequences of attempting to express his masculinity in a normal way."¹⁰⁹

Adolf's attitudes to his mother during his unusually difficult and disturbing prepubertal period, around the age of 12, were particularly confusing and complex. He was, we have surmised, burdened by guilt feelings for the death of his brother. It is possible that Klara's abandonment of both brothers at the funeral served to lessen Adolf's feelings of personal guilt by giving him the opportunity to project it. It was not he who should feel guilty about Edmund; it was his mother who was to blame for deserting them both.

But he could not afford to blame his mother too much. He was able to lessen hostile feelings toward her by transferring them to his father, and he may also have kept his feelings from becoming too negative by the defense Otto Kernberg calls "primitive idealization." In this defense, when a boy is confronted by a threatening father, he splits the parental relationship into the totally good and totally evil. He fantasizes an idealized mother who is a veritable paragon of love, tenderness, and strength—a defender who can protect him completely from the totally bad person who threatens him.¹¹⁰ But in Hitler's case this defense was breaking down. Adolf's primitively idealized mother had not protected him from his father's whippings, and now she had apparently deserted him in abandoning his brother.

Edmund's death could have had another effect in reminding Adolf how many of his brothers and sisters had died: Gustav in 1887, Ida in 1888, Otto in 1888, and now Edmund. To his childish mind, the

170 *He perhaps the unconscious is immortal!*

in the book of the
The Child As Father to the Man

most natural explanation for he was allowed to live because of Providence. Nor was it or the other siblings. Adolf—a only one of the survivors without. Rumor was correct in history of mental and physical chives in Linz says that Klara schizophrenic.¹¹¹ Hitler's first Klara's sister Theresia, was more immediate family. Adolf who was an imbecile. At a questioned by OSS personnel "absolutely certain of this but always tried to hide the child. The younger sister, Paula, "perhaps a high-grade moron."

Childhood knowledge of seems likely, also produced Robert Jay Lifton has described to death. The "survival prior others are dying forces the question: "With it comes "the other's deaths." The general of sibling rivalry where death may then have the feeling and hence not entirely his brothers and sisters but as the sole male survivor, a health, would surely have a position.¹¹²

His mother's insistence would have reinforced one of by survivors: to justify their specially selected by Fate or often an accompanying belief somehow escape the death of which that he was spared by German people; he also believed place among the immortal in his intimations of immortality. Freud's comment, "At bottom the same thing in another way is convinced of his own in argued that the motive under "an assurance of eternal survival. This broadly felt human

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GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Child As Father to the Man

most natural explanation for his own survival would have been that he was allowed to live because he was under the special protection of Providence. Nor was it only a question of having physically outlived the other siblings. Adolf—apart from his monorchism—was also the only one of the survivors who was untainted by some obvious aber-ration. Rumor was correct in saying that the Schickelgrubers had a long history of mental and physical affliction. An affidavit in the local archives in Linz says that Klara's irascible sister Johanna was probably schizophrenic.¹¹¹ Hitler's first cousin, Edward Schmidt, the son of Klara's sister Theresia, was a hunchback with a speech defect. In the more immediate family, Adolf may have had a sister, older than he, who was an imbecile. At any rate, Dr. Bloch, the family doctor, when questioned by OSS personnel during World War II, said that he was "absolutely certain of this because he noticed at the time that the family always tried to hide the child . . . when he came to attend the mother." The younger sister, Paula, "is also said to be a little on the stupid side, perhaps a high-grade moron."¹¹²

Childhood knowledge of the deaths of his brothers and sisters, it seems likely, also produced feelings of "survival guilt" of the type that Robert Jay Lifton has described in his studies of psychological reactions to death. The "survival priority" manifested by those who live while others are dying forces the question, "Why have I been selected to go on living?" With it comes "inevitable self-condemnation in the face of other's deaths." The general feeling of guilt is notably increased in cases of sibling rivalry where death suddenly takes away the rival. The child may then have the feeling that his life is somehow controlled by destiny and hence not entirely his own. In Adolf's case, not only the deaths of his brothers and sisters but also his mother's fretful solicitude for him as the sole male survivor, as well as her compulsive concern for his health, would surely have strengthened his idea of his own privileged position.¹¹³

His mother's insistence that he was "special," her Lieblingskind, would have reinforced one of the common psychological defenses used by survivors: to justify their survival on the grounds that they have been specially selected by Fate or Destiny for a particular purpose. There is often an accompanying belief that as Destiny's choice, the survivor will somehow escape the death of mortals. Hitler, as we have seen, was convinced that he was spared because he was God's particular gift to the German people; he also believed that there was reserved for him a special place among the immortals of Mt. Olympus. Hitler was not unique in his intimations of immortality. One is reminded of Sigmund Freud's comment, "At bottom, no one believes in his own death, or to put the same thing in another way, . . . in the unconscious every one of us is convinced of his own immortality." Otto Rank, following Freud, argued that the motive underlying man's historic search for religion is "an assurance of eternal survival for his self."¹¹⁴

This broadly felt human desire is particularly acute for those who,

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D.T.

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really required more financial support than his mother was able to provide. Having decided to win a very large amount of money in the national lottery, he made one of the many "great decisions" of his life and purchased one lottery ticket. There is of course nothing particularly unusual about a boy of 16 buying a lottery ticket and dreaming of how he would spend his vast winnings. What is striking about young Hitler is his absolute conviction that he would win. He therefore planned carefully how all the money would be spent. He decided that it probably would not be prudent to invest too much of the money on a new villa. Rather, he would rent a large flat and adapt it to his purposes. After extensive house hunting, Adolf and his friend "Gustl" Kubizek found a suitable apartment at 2 Kirchengasse in Urfahr, a suburb of Linz. Adolf made elaborate plans to furnish each room carefully and fastidiously. He would create an artistic salon in which the cultural elite of Linz might gather. Gustl would supply musical entertainment; Adolf would recite poetry and expound his views on aesthetics, culture, and history. The coterie would be presided over by a refined, dignified, and elderly gray-haired lady who would be decorative, charming, and witty—but not too clever. For, as Hitler later observed, women didn't need brains, since he could supply enough for any social gathering. During the summer, Adolf decided, he and his friend would make an extensive tour of Germany; he vowed to make an annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Wagner at Bayreuth, the source of his greatest ideas.

Once again one is struck by the way fantasy and reality mingled in Hitler's mind. It is also noteworthy that the woman who was to preside over his salon may have been a mother substitute; it was certainly not Klara Hitler, who died without a gray hair on her head. With all the money and with all his plans, his mother was not once mentioned. Nor did Adolf fantasize a beautiful and cultured wife to complement his artistic circle. Rather, he would have his friend Gustl live in celibacy with him.¹²⁷

Adolf awaited the day of the lottery drawing with complete assurance. He simply could not believe that he had lost. In blind fury he rushed into the upholstery workshop of Kubizek's father:

I have rarely heard him rage so madly as then. First he fumed over the State Lottery, this officially organized exploitation of human credibility, this open fraud at the expense of docile citizens. Then his fury turned against the State itself, this patchwork of ten or twelve or God knows how many nations, this monster built up by Hapsburg marriages. Could one expect other than that two poor devils should be cheated out of their last few crowns?

Kubizek is perceptive in noting that this apparently silly incident was shattering to Adolf because "he had been deserted by his willpower" and was unable through the force of his will to get his way, to make fantasy become reality.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ D. T. * It is interesting that he felt no fear of the goddess attendant on his adolescent ramp, lurching towards his growing source.

Boyhood Plans for a New Reich

During their long evening hills, castles and monasteries minably to his young friend about his new Reich. The concept was to profane by definition. But he would be established under his its very incantation sufficient to aesthetic problem. Dissatisfied v they had seen in Linz, Adolf assu "Reich Stage Designer" would throughout the vast extent of his health, education, housing, and priate official of the Reich. "When alley and was at a loss how to "This problem will be solved by d

One day in 1939 the Führer many pilgrimages to the shrine o he told Frau Wagner that his j laid open before him one night performance of Wagner's *Rienzi* said.

The hour had struck one blu unlike the raw March morning o the burial of his young brother Destiny upon him. Now at the ag to Wagner's music and watched i his people, who had been goad young brother killed by the plebe

The long opera was not over two friends went out into the gave a long and excited disquisi stage setting, and the genius of he trudged along the cold and d collar pulled up against the chi silence with a leading question al a hostile glance and told him to two friends took the road west reached the top, the mist broke a moodily at the distant heaven grabbed his friend by both hanc

* After he came to power, Hitler Albert Speer recalls being present whi production with Benno von Arant, tl *The Secret Diaries* (New York, 1976),

on the other hand, I was the first step in a long process that I understand to have been from uncertainty to a certain close.

eye, his own eyes burning with passion. "He had never made such a gesture before," his friend tells us. But he certainly would again, for it was the characteristic gesture of the Führer in talking earnestly to his followers. After gazing intensely at his friend for a full minute, he began to speak. "Never before and never again have I heard Adolf Hitler speak as he did in that hour as we stood there alone under the stars as though we were the only creatures in the world." Kubizek thought there was something strange about Hitler that night. "It was as if another being spoke out of his body, and moved him as much as it did me. It wasn't at all a case of a speaker being carried away by his own words. On the contrary; I rather felt as though he himself listened with astonishment and emotion to what burst forth from him with elementary force. I will not attempt to interpret this phenomenon, but it was a state of complete ecstasy and rapture." What Hitler said that night has been lost, but one thing was burned into Kubizek's memory. Adolf did not speak of becoming an artist or an architect. Now he saw himself, like *Rienzi*, as the Messiah of his people. He spoke of a "mandate which, one day, he would receive from the people to lead them out of servitude to the heights of freedom . . . He spoke of a special mission which one day would be entrusted to him."

In silence Adolf and Gustl descended to the town. A neighborhood clock struck three as the two friends shook hands in front of Kubizek's house. Adolf started again in the direction of the mountain and in answer to an anxious question about his destination replied, "I want to be alone." 130

Decades later, Hitler ordered that the enormous Party rallies of the Third Reich open with the overture to Wagner's *Rienzi*.

Stefanie: The Unapproachable Love

Fantasy again merged with reality in Hitler's first great love. His was an idealized, pure and unsullied passion which he did not dare to confront with the reality of physical contact. In a scene reminiscent of Dante's first sight of Beatrice, Adolf had seen his Stefanie one day, probably in the fall of 1906, as she strolled with her mother down the fashionable Landstrasse of Linz.

Every day thereafter, as long as he lived in Linz, Hitler stationed himself at five o'clock at the Schmiedtoreck in hopes of catching a glimpse of his beloved. If he imagined that she glanced at him and smiled, he was radiantly happy. If perchance she seemed to frown, he was crushed and threatened to destroy himself and the world. She was to him the paragon of all Teutonic and cultural virtues, a Wagnerian goddess of racial perfection, a "gem of purest ray serene." In point of fact, she really was a pretty girl. Her fresh, unaffected face, framed by blond braids, smiles at us from a picture taken by a local portrait photographer, one Franz Zuny of Linz-Urfahr.

Adolf spent many happy hours casting Stefanie in various

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Wagnerian roles. He was overjoyed when Stefanie's brother that to hear that she enjoyed handsome lieutenants or learn to dance in order friend considered an egestion: "No, no, never you understand! Stefanie on which she unfortunately have the slightest desire Hitler was the thought arms.

Adolf wanted Stefanie's social life. To keep her worked out detailed plans passed the Schmiedtoreck at the anxiously awaiting it any longer! I will making that Stefanie would

Although he cast her which she was the hero "I have decided to do" always think of many I meet her. Extraordinary served, do not need to c she shared all his artist suggested that she might Adolf was furious: "You understand the true meaning

Thus did Adolf add love for her—indeed, six Years later the still be colonel living in retirement that the famous Führer pressed, a light came to He must have been the c that one day in Linz she art student who spoke years for him until he had to marry her. She and he the terribly serious and c

There seem to have that he never actually n was the incarnation of al Stefanie of reality might more than an abstract id

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* D. T. since came from him alone I hardly know whether to applaud or take him back to shop

1967

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

period. In an unpublished memoir, Kubizek himself gives a date when Hitler's serious interest in the ideology of anti-Semitism began. One day in 1908, Hitler came bursting into their room to announce, "Hey! Today I became a member of the anti-Semitic Union and I enrolled you too." ¹⁰⁴ It was during this year, as we have seen, that Hitler devoured the racist pamphlets of Lanz-Liebenfels, List, and Fritsch along with Wagner's diatribes against the Jews.

It is difficult to overstate the importance to Hitler of his commitment to anti-Semitism. It meant almost everything to him. He looked back on this year in Vienna as the time in which "the greatest change I was ever to experience" took place—the time when he became "a fanatical anti-Semite."

The close association between the onset of Hitler's fanatical hatred of Jews and the death of his mother seems clear. It is of course possible that the connection is purely coincidental. But appeals to coincidence are not generally satisfying when there is the possibility of a causal connection. The Freudian interpretation which follows was first suggested in a brilliant article by Gertrud Kurth, "The Jew and Adolf Hitler," which appeared in the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* in 1947. Dr. Kurth's assumption that Hitler had an unreconciled Oedipal complex is manifestly valid. As has been noted, Adolf showed deep ambivalence toward his father. Consciously and publicly he always spoke well of "the Old Gentleman," but unconsciously he hated and feared him as the rival for his young mother's love.

The father had died, but now the Jewish family doctor, Eduard Bloch, arrived and reawakened the former conflict with his father. Through the process of displacement, Dr. Bloch became a substitute for Adolf's own father. Adolf was ambivalent toward Dr. Bloch, as he was toward his real father: he was at once deeply appreciative and bitterly resentful. His gratitude is attested by hand-painted postcards sent from Vienna with the inscription "From your ever-grateful patient, Adolf Hitler." But unconsciously, Adolf feared Bloch as a new rival. For this Jewish doctor had done many of the things young Adolf had seen his father do in reality or in fantasy: he too had entered his mother's bedroom; he too had undressed her; he too had examined her breasts. Other medical intimacies could have become associated in Adolf's mind with his image of his father as the lecherous attacker of his mother. Brutality and mutilation were now represented by the ablation of the breast. The poisoning of the blood, which he feared so much and for which he blamed his father, was now represented by the doctor's almost daily hypodermic injections of morphine into Klara's bloodstream in order to alleviate the woman's suffering. Thus, though he consciously expressed his gratitude to the kindly family doctor, Adolf unconsciously perceived this Jew as the brutal attacker who had finally mutilated and killed his beloved mother.

An American historian has discovered something else about Klara Hitler's medical treatment that might have contributed to Adolf's hatred

188 *It's intimate moment of injecting the morphine needle. The doctor I took can that he looked Dr. Bloch's eyes, that glint of sadism in nearly every Berlin eye, came*

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of the Jewish doctor and hence As a dressing for the postoperative iodoform, an iodine derivative was either excessively painful that it was.*

It seems plausible that Adolf's mother's suffering at the har identified with his mother in the same as his; the loss of to his missing left testicle; h land it was his life mission to given Germany one of her gr association: "It is quite valid for which Adolf unconsciously enced by Hitler as though they

There is also the possi consequential displacement. merely the blood poisoner of Motherland—and it is worth rather than the more usual seducers and blood poisoners would write that he had learn people," and he promised to the wall." ¹⁰⁰ There were two

* Rudolph Binion has attempted painful, that it produced psychosis was the actual cause of her death logical Basis," *History of Child Hitler Among the Germans* (New cessive use of iodoform bandages sult in poisoning and death. (La pensatory, 27th ed., 1973, p. 630; 1970) But several things make it actions to the use of iodoform dre no adverse effects whatever; other symptoms of toxicity: burning p; rapid pulse-rate that may go up to exhibited the gross physical and quires. If she had, the few wome have mentioned them. It can also such violent reactions and immedi an incompetent nor a sadist. Ind and a kindly man, widely known extreme toxic reactions to iodoform tinued to use the bandages. Furt had shown Klara's cancer to hav with US officials, 4 March 1943, cure it with superficial bandaging nothing but praise for Dr. Bloch. have found any evidence suggesti in the death of the Führer's moth-

back to my life "Desire" I had looked for me

p189

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ADOLF HITLER

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to announce, "Hey!
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we seen, that Hitler de-
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Hitler's fanatical hatred
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of the Jewish doctor and hence to his rapidly developing anti-Semitism.
As a dressing for the postoperative wound, Dr. Bloch apparently applied
iodoform, an iodine derivative. Although it is unlikely that the iodoform
was either excessively painful or lethally toxic, Adolf may have *believed*
that it was.*

It seems plausible that Adolf would have associated himself with his
mother's suffering at the hands of a Jew. Throughout his life he had
identified with his mother in many ways: her eyes, he had noticed, were
the same as his; the loss of her left breast was a kind of complement
to his missing left testicle; he identified her with the German Mother-
land it was his life mission to save. She was, he said, a woman who had
given Germany one of her greatest sons. A psychiatrist agrees with this
association: "It is quite valid . . . to assume that his mother's sufferings,
for which Adolf unconsciously held Dr. Bloch responsible, were experi-
enced by Hitler as though they had been inflicted on himself."¹⁰⁵

There is also the possibility of a further and historically more
consequential displacement. The individual Jew, Dr. Bloch, was not
merely the blood poisoner of Hitler's mother; by association with the
Motherland—and it is worth emphasizing that Hitler used this term
rather than the more usual Fatherland—Jews in general became the
seducers and blood poisoners of the entire German nation. Thus Hitler
would write that he had learned to know the Jew as "the seducer of our
people," and he promised to "smash the seducer and corrupter against
the wall."¹⁰⁶ There were two parts to this ideology, this *idée fixe* that

* Rudolph Binion has attempted to prove that the treatment was excruciatingly
painful, that it produced psychosis in Klara, and that iodoform, rather than cancer,
was the actual cause of her death. ("Hitler's Concept of Lebensraum: The Psycho-
logical Basis," *History of Childhood Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall, 1973) and
Hitler Among the Germans (New York, 1976), 14-21, 138-143) It is true that ex-
cessive use of iodoform bandages may, in rare cases and with allergic patients, re-
sult in poisoning and death. (*Lancet*, II (1933), 250, cited in *United States Dis-
pensatory*, 27th ed., 1973, p. 630; see also *Pharmacology and Therapeutics*, 7th ed.
1970) But several things make it unlikely that this happened to Klara Hitler. Re-
actions to the use of iodoform dressings vary enormously: some patients experience
no adverse effects whatever; others react violently showing immediate and clear
symptoms of toxicity: burning pain, vomiting, delirium, convulsions, a faint and
rapid pulse-rate that may go up to 180, etc. There is no evidence that Hitler's mother
exhibited the gross physical and mental symptoms which Binion's argument re-
quires. If she had, the few women who knew her well in Urfahr would certainly
have mentioned them. It can also be assumed that Dr. Bloch would have observed
such violent reactions and immediately stopped using the bandages. He was neither
an incompetent nor a sadist. Indeed he enjoyed a reputation as a fine physician
and a kindly man, widely known as the "Doctor of the Poor." If Klara had suffered
extreme toxic reactions to iodoform as Binion insists, Dr. Bloch would not have con-
tinued to use the bandages. Furthermore, Bloch already knew that the operation
had shown Klara's cancer to have metastasized into the pleura. (Bloch interview
with US officials, 4 March 1943, OSS Source Book, 21) He would not have tried to
cure it with superficial bandaging. Even Gestapo investigators of Klara's death had
nothing but praise for Dr. Bloch. Surely the Nazis would have been delighted to
have found any evidence suggesting that a Jewish doctor was guilty of malpractice
in the death of the Führer's mother. They could find no such evidence.

for reference
contra Binion.

I injecting
I took
but ghost of
his eye, came

back to my little wolf in the dream 189
Beside, "said Adolf to himself "he
looks too much at my mother's breast & p

1906
1908
1924
GOD: ADOLF HITLER

ve been associated with substitute, through displacement more real in his mind actually have been a Jew. sm and racial nationalism which had swept over other's funeral. Kubizek and volatile person, but health:

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of this hate-ridden ha- a, one sentence revealed ge he was tottering. the most terrible words creature on God's earth anity. . . .¹⁶⁷

defenses: displacement ation for all his difficul- and despair. It was very y and not he were social w had killed his mother. had failed his entrance Many years later he told ted the members of the e found out that four of letter to the director of For this the Jews will

I a bearing on Hitler's the precise day in 1908 just before or just after lays, since Kubizek was l of June the roommates rtant. That day, which usly brings to mind His

This was the most important single concept I encouraged again in. The Child As Father to the Map came to the idea of a mind but ahead of me, but I never got him to go death—and anti-Semitic Vienna offered many reminders that the Jews had killed Jesus. The idea of Jewish deicide meant more to Hitler personally than it did to others. At this time it seems likely that he was beginning to identify himself with the Messiah. He had felt an intimation of his messianic mission the night of Rienzi, and as the years went by he would speak more and more clearly about the matter, comparing himself directly to Jesus and speaking His very words.

Easter came late in 1908, which was a leap year. And Easter Monday actually fell on Hitler's own birthday, 20 April.¹⁶⁸ It is unlikely that Hitler, who was prone to find hidden meanings in apparently coincidental dates and anniversaries, would have missed that fact. By yet another accident of the calendar—which Hitler could have seen as divine plan—he himself had actually been born on Easter Eve, 1889. Now, at Easter in 1908, he, like Jesus, would be resurrected. He would arise from the depth of his depression and became transformed by a new doctrine that "opened [his] eyes for the first time" to the cause of all his problems.

The association in his mind between Jews and Christian festivals may have been reinforced by another coincidence which he was likely to find portentous. His "sainted mother" had been buried the day before Christmas Eve; a Jew had failed to save her life, and that, to his mind, was tantamount to murder. It would be his mission to punish the Jews, for in Vienna he had become convinced that "by warding off the Jews, I am fighting for the Lord's work."¹⁷⁰

Thus, during his identity crisis of late adolescence, for reasons conscious and unconscious, Hitler embraced the ideology which was to become so important to his career and so fateful for the lives of millions.

Life in Vienna, 1908–1913

After he had buried his mother, Adolf returned to Vienna, where—at least in his own account—he would meet one of his more unpleasant images of motherhood: "The milkshop was thrust out of his downy nest and given over to the care of Dame Sorrow, his new mother."¹⁷¹ Stefanie was part of the reason he left Linz. Although he could never bring himself to meet her, neither could he bear any longer to live in the same town. "There's only one thing to be done," he said. "I must go away—far away from Stefanie."¹⁷² Other things about Linz had also become intolerable. His relatives kept asking carping questions about his plans for a career and reminded him that he had not earned a penny for his own support. And he must have heard the ominous rumor that his guardian, old Mayrhofer, was making arrangements to apprentice him to a baker. Impossible! The sooner he left, the better.

Vienna had other appeals. In his imagination he had already reconstructed—over and over again—every bridge and public building in

* D.T. what was most useful to my purpose was that he lived for revolution which is to say exactly that he could accomplish real stuff in being thinking beyond of revolution

D. T.

1911, 1913
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Gloriette or the churches of Vienna and other tourist attractions were such men as Altenberg, Neumann, Feingold, Morgenstern, and Landesberger.¹⁸⁵

The modest and sporadic income Hitler received from selling his paintings was probably enough to pay for his room and board. It was not sufficient to fund the concerts, opera and other diversions to which he had become accustomed. The rest of his income came from two sources—not mentioned, understandably, in any of his later reminiscences. All this time he had been receiving an orphan's pension under the fiction that he was an art student duly registered at the Academy of Fine Arts. By this deception he deprived his younger sister Paula of the full orphan's pension that should have come to her as a dependent child. Hitler accepted the orphan's pension of 25 kronen per month until he was forced to give it up by court order of May 1911 shortly after his 22nd birthday. He could afford to do so because he had cajoled his crippled Aunt Johanna into "lending" him large sums of money from her life savings and inheritance to support his career as a professional artist. When she died in March 1911, she left him the handsome sum of 3,800 kronen, according to the records of her will probated in the District Court of Linz.¹⁸⁶

Thus, while life in Vienna may have been lonely and aimless, there was no reason why he was compelled to suffer the privation and misery which, he later insisted, had been his melancholy lot.

Escape to the Motherland, 1913-1914

In writing his memoirs, Hitler spent an extraordinarily long time explaining why he fled from Vienna to Munich.* Over six pages of turgid prose set forth his reasons for the momentous move—a departure which Austrians, prior to the *Anschluss*, sardonically called their revenge for defeat in 1866. "I left Austria first and foremost," Hitler wrote, "for political reasons. . . ." He despised the Austrian state and all it stood for, and he was glad to leave that sinking ship. Artistic considerations were also important. After the completion of the Ring, he could expect no great architectural commissions; and anyway, Germany offered a far better future for the "new architecture" he was creating. In general, Austria could only frustrate both his political and artistic genius: "I was convinced that this State was bound to oppress and to handicap every really great German. . . ." There was also a racial reason: "I detested the conglomerate of races that the realm's capital manifested." Then, too, there was the matter of dialect: "The German language of my childhood was the dialect that was spoken in Lower Bavaria; I was neither able to forget it nor to learn the Viennese jargon."

But he may also have left Austria and fled to Germany because he was fleeing to a substitute mother, a mother who, though separated

* He also predated the move by more than a year, claiming that he left Austria in the spring of 1912 when in fact it was May 1913.

D.T.

The Child As Father to the Man

from him, was still faithful Hitler's imagery, his degene his mother was Germany. I his prose:

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A more prosaic and pr screen of rhetoric: he left deserter from the Austro-Hi

Hitler arrived in Munic where an official had origh Hitler himself wrote in "wr had listed his home district the word "stateless."¹⁸⁸

Meanwhile, Austrian o serter. After some five mont Schleissheimerstrasse. The day afternoon, 18 January fronted by the police. Ne: Hungarian consulate.

Here Hitler's vaunted j apparently got through to t was obviously impressed b advised him to write a lette

* According to the Conscri authorities in late autumn 1909 service. In the spring of 1910, at to begin military service. This conscription appeared in newsp ignorance. Between 1909 and 1 Vienna, Hitler did not enter his training in any one of the subse military service from Linz the i "Failed to report. Address not kn fore leaving Austria because he longer liable for the draft and c because he was told at the Hom serter because he had failed to service. See Jetzinger, *Hitlers Jug*

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D.T. You won't be a big man and you
* You want to cheat a stupid girl who
wells, you amount to nothing, you need
the money more than her.

~~The money~~

and other tourist attractions were
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Hitler received from selling his
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and fled to Germany because he
a mother who, though separated

than a year, claiming that he left Aus-
as May 1913.

from him, was still faithful and beckoned him back to her breast. In
Hitler's imagery, his degenerate and racially corrupt father was Austria;
his mother was Germany. Passion for the Motherland pulsates through
his prose:

The longing grew stronger to go there where, since my early
youth, I had been drawn by secret wishes and secret love. . . . But
finally I wanted to share the joy of being allowed to work in that
place where the most ardent wish of my heart [*brennendster
Herzenswunsch*] was bound to be fulfilled. . . . There are many
even today who are unable to understand the intensity of such a
longing. . . . I appeal to all those who, severed from the Motherland,
now in painful emotion [*im schmerzlicher Ergriffenheit*] long
for the hour that will permit them to return to the bosom of their
faithful Mother [*an das Herz der treuen Mutter*].¹⁸⁷

A more prosaic and pressing reason lay hidden behind the smoke-
screen of rhetoric: he left Austria because he was being sought as a
deserter from the Austro-Hungarian Army.*

Hitler arrived in Munich on 26 May 1913. On the registration form
where an official had originally listed his profession as that of artist,
Hitler himself wrote in "writer" (*Schriftsteller*), and where the official
had listed his home district as Linz, Hitler had written, and misspelled,
the word "stateless."¹⁸⁸

Meanwhile, Austrian officials began a desultory search for the de-
serter. After some five months they finally located him in a room in the
Schleissheimerstrasse. The actual summons was not served until Sun-
day afternoon, 18 January 1914, when he opened his door to be con-
fronted by the police. Next morning he was taken to the Austro-
Hungarian consulate.

Here Hitler's vaunted persuasiveness stood him in good stead. He
apparently got through to the consul-general himself. This gentleman
was obviously impressed by the intense young man's sincerity, and
advised him to write a letter of explanation to the authorities at Linz.

* According to the Conscription Act of 1889, Hitler should have gone to the
authorities in late autumn 1909 to have his name entered in the roster for military
service. In the spring of 1910, at the age of 21, he should have reported personally
to begin military service. This was general public knowledge; information about
conscription appeared in newspapers and placards so that no one could plead
ignorance. Between 1909 and 1912, when he was of military age and living in
Vienna, Hitler did not enter his name in the registry, nor did he report for military
training in any one of the subsequent years. In the recruitment list of men due for
military service from Linz the following notation was placed opposite his name:
"Failed to report. Address not known." Hitler may have waited until May 1913 be-
fore leaving Austria because he thought that after his 24th birthday he was no
longer liable for the draft and could safely cross the border. Or he may have fled
because he was told at the Home for Men that he might still be arrested as a de-
serter because he had failed to report during the years when he was liable for
service. See Jetzinger, *Hitlers Jugend*, 253-272; *Hitler's Youth*, 144-154.

Reference

in my mind
that I had
suffered, for which

The memory more than he 1917

1914,

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The consul-general himself transmitted this letter on 23 January, along with a personal note endorsing Hitler's petition. He wrote that he was convinced that "Hietler [sic] . . . was suffering from a complaint which renders him unfit for military service and at the same time removes all motive for evading it. . . . He seems very deserving of considerate treatment."

Hitler's important letter of apology and explanation to the Linz authorities covered three and one-half pages of foolscap. He first expressed surprise and shock that he should be arrested and ordered to report so soon that "I would barely have had time even for the most basic bodily cleansing, such as taking a bath." He noted that he was correctly described in the summons as an artist, yet "though this title is mine by right, it is nevertheless only in a limited sense correct." He went on to say that he was barely able to support himself by painting and would have great difficulty raising money for his transportation back to Linz. "Now certainly in all this there is some fault of mine. I omitted to report in the autumn of 1909." He then went on to lament his miserable existence in Vienna and to cite his alleged poverty as the reason for this "sin of omission."

There can be little doubt that Hitler had experienced difficult months in Vienna during 1909. But the claim that he suffered abject poverty "for two years" is fiction. He was not too proud to bilk his young sister out of a share of her orphan's pension or to persuade a crippled Aunt Johanna to give him money and leave him her life savings.¹⁸⁹

One of the interesting things about the incident is the remarkable leniency of those Austrian bureaucrats whom Hitler so thoroughly despised. He received sympathetic help from the consul-general in Munich; the officials in Linz granted his request to appear in Salzburg rather than requiring him to return to Linz; and he was allowed to go as a regular recruit, not as an apprehended deserter. Most significantly, he received no fine or punishment of any kind. On 5 February 1914, he reported to the Standing Military Commission in Salzburg. The commission found him "unfit for combatant and auxiliary duties, too weak. Unable to bear arms." He returned to Munich a free man.

*From
later*

We get only brief glimpses of Hitler's life in Munich from the fall of 1913 to August 1914, when he went away to war. What evidence we have suggests that this year was pretty much a continuation of the life-style he had developed in Vienna. He continued to enjoy relative ease and comfort. He himself called this period one of "the happiest and most contented" of his life.¹⁹⁰

Hitler's room in the Schleissheimerstrasse had the sentimental advantage of being in Schwabing, the artistic center of Munich. The street was only barely within the district, but that was enough to provide an address that gave his artist's pose a pleasantly authentic touch.

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* D.T. It also caused much uneasiness about whether he was really gifted and/or ready for the life. The artist's models

D.T.

The Child As Father to the M

Hitler lived on the extreme the Dachauerstrasse—the-

Materially he seemed Linz authorities reported each month, and he later than 80 marks a month."

The room, which he 20 marks a month. It was entrance from the street the Popp had no objection, Hitler never once room. Popp had been a master tailor of modish fashion saw to it that his tenants' business. Hitler was supporting Popp children, Josef Jr.: upstairs. But he always talked about his family background in 1967, "what recalled especially that his body clean."¹⁹²

Hitler was also befriended corner, on the Gabelsberg and cakes for a few pennies a 1952 interview that "He appeared clean and neatly

The baker also said marks each and that he had of sales. A certain Doctor war," as he sat sipping a summer evening, "a neighbor, if he would be interested in the small oil Hitler was carrying two favorite postcards of commission within the war paid Hitler 25 marks for a

As in Vienna, Hitler and were free for general cultivation, paint, or he could go to a 15-minute walk from his story shows that he must museums within easy walking Pinakothek, the Glyptothek, the Glass Palace. In the seen, again and again, Spirit of the Waves, Mak.

* D.T. idea most was for he was a very middle class

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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l explanation to the Linz of foolscap. He first ex- arrested and ordered to d time even for the most b." He noted that he was st, yet "though this title is imited sense correct." He pport himself by painting ey for his transportation e is some fault of mine. I e then went on to lament his alleged poverty as the

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e in Munich from the fall to war. What evidence we a continuation of the life- to enjoy relative ease one of "the happiest and

se had the sentimental ad- center of Munich. The t that was enough to pro- pleasantly authentic touch.

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the artist's mind

The Child As Father to the Man

Hitler lived on the extreme western fringe of Schwabing not far from the Dachauerstrasse—the road that leads to Dachau.

Materially he seemed to be quite comfortable. His letter to the Linz authorities reported an income from his paintings of 100 marks each month, and he later told an associate that "I never needed more than 80 marks a month."¹⁰¹

The room, which he rented from a tailor, Josef Popp, cost him only 20 marks a month. It was pleasant, well furnished, and had a private entrance from the street. Hitler could easily have entertained, since the Popp had no objections. Yet as they both recalled with some surprise, Hitler never once invited either a male or female guest to his room. Popp had been trained in Paris and prided himself on being a master tailor of modish fashions. Since he was also a kindly man, he saw to it that his tenants' clothes did not cast adverse reflections on his business. Hitler was supplied with well-cut suits and an overcoat. The Popp children, Josef Jr. and Elisabeth, liked the nice man who lived upstairs. But he always remained a little aloof and never wanted to talk about his family background. "We never knew," they said in an interview in 1967, "what he was really like." The younger Popp later recalled especially that their tenant "spent a lot of time in keeping his body clean."¹⁰²

Hitler was also befriended by a kindly baker just around the corner, on the Gabelsbergerstrasse 66, who sold him slightly stale rolls and cakes for a few pennies. This baker, Herr Heilmann, reported in a 1952 interview that "Hitler never did any manual work" and always appeared clean and neatly dressed.¹⁰³

The baker also said that Hitler sold his paintings for 10 to 20 marks each and that he himself purchased two. We have other evidence of sales. A certain Doctor Schirmer recalled that "sometime before the war," as he sat sipping a beer in the garden of the Hofbräuhaus one summer evening, "a neatly dressed young man" politely asked him if he would be interested in purchasing a painting. The doctor bought the small oil Hitler was carrying and asked him to copy in watercolor two favorite postcards of Bavarian mountain lakes. Hitler fulfilled his commission within the week. A Herr Würsler remembered that he had paid Hitler 25 marks for a small painting in oil.¹⁰⁴

As in Vienna, Hitler spent his mornings in bed. His afternoons were free for general cultural activities. He could stay at home and paint, or he could go to read in the Bavarian State Library, about a 15-minute walk from his room. His impressive knowledge of art history shows that he must have spent many hours in the excellent art museums within easy walking distance: the Alte Pinakothek and Neue Pinakothek, the Glyptothek, and the collection of modern paintings at the Glass Palace. In the Neue Pinakothek in 1914 he would have seen, again and again, some of his favorites: Böcklin's voluptuous *Spirit of the Waves*, Makart's *Abundantia*, and von Stuck's sensuously

* D.T. What I liked about him 199
was exactly how middle class
he was & there is a tendency among
middle class people - once they see a way

D. T.

1914

* from or have lost
their family to be loyal to very little except their own ego.

the enemy of women

1914

D.T.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

answered the usual soldier's gripes with furious fulminations about patriotism and a soldier's responsibilities. "We all cursed him and found him intolerable," another comrade recalled. "There was this white crow among us that didn't go along . . . when we damned the war to hell."²⁰¹ Hitler had no use for women. When a buddy, Hans Mend, made out rather well with a pretty French girl, Hitler preached him a homily on the evils of interracial liaisons and the importance of keeping German blood pure and undefiled. He was known in the regiment as "the woman hater" (*der Weiberfeind*). His one indulgence continued to be a desire to suck on sweets. It became another joke of his outfit: "If he found a tin of artificial honey, nothing could get him away from it, shells or no shells."

There was something else Hitler was remembered for in his regiment: he lived a charmed life. Time after time he seemed to court death, but when bullets claimed a comrade, he escaped unscathed. After one notable attack which left the regiment decimated, someone turned to Hitler and said, "*Mensch für dich gibt es keine Kugel*" ("Man, there's no bullet made with your name on it!") Successive letters to the Poppis read: "It is an absolute miracle that I was not injured . . . I myself am, through a miracle, still alright . . . Through a miracle I remain well and healthy."²⁰² Thus was reinforced Hitler's conviction that he had been miraculously spared—unlike his brothers and sister and so many comrades in arms—for a special mission.

Though he spent most of his time in lonely, brooding silence, he could be drawn into excited barrack-room orations in which he held forth on the sinister conspiracies he knew about from reading Lanz-Liebenfels, List, and Fritsch: the menace of Freemasons, Catholics, and Marxists. But now, as later, he pointed to the Jews as the archenemy of the Motherland. When his comrades laughed, Hitler furiously promised that one day he would show them! When he came to power, he would rule over them all and get rid of the Jews.

Hitler's humor ran to *Schadenfreude* and mockery. For security reasons, dispatch runners went in pairs. Hitler's colleague for over 32 months, Hans Mend, had been a riding instructor in civilian life. Mend recalled that Hitler enjoyed embarrassing him by affecting mock formalism and humility: "Is it permissible to wish the Immortal Horseman a Happy New Year?"²⁰³

His comrades exaggerate slightly when they testify that Hitler "never once took a furlough."²⁰⁴ There is evidence of at least one furlough as testified by a postcard (with typical misspellings) sent from Berlin 6 October 1917 to one Ernst Schmidt in Wurzbach, Thuringia:

Dear Schmidt:

Got here first on Tuesday. The Arendt family is very nice. I will not have wished for anything better. The city is great. . . . I now

D.T.²⁰²

* Do not wish to get into technical details of our power (N.F.Y.E.) (Not for your eyes). I will contact myself with remarks

The Child As Father to the

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Es gruss [sic] c

All Hitler's comrade exemplary soldier. Testify the Führer, an officer rec somehow managed alwa

Hitler had been av as December 1914. In M: after it wrote that his commanding officer at regin hardt, convincingly testif

He was wounded fo near Le Bargué, when l Hospitalized in Beelitz-B so that he could spend C

Hitler was one of t to be awarded the Iron improbable accounts of things seem clear. First, enormously important to the Iron Cross constant was the "unknown hero that once again he had manding officer has w honor had it not been fo Gutmann, a Jew."²⁰⁰

Hitler was wounded was gassed on the south the military hospital of simply say that he was ficial biographies—alwa gas. That he exaggerate from the army records b

* It has been said tha seven Englishmen, or 12 (a destruction; or "for general schoolchildren of the Third Führer: he had studied so l could command 20 French: Führer: ein Jungen- und Mädchenbun official Nazi newspaper *Völkische* heroic exploit. 4 August 1918 an Regiment is silent about Hitler's c

that I am done with of came close on slightly

p203

IC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

have finally opportunity to study the museums a bit better. In short I am missing [sic] nothing.
Es gruss [sic] dir [sic] dein,

A. Hitler 205

All Hitler's commanding officers agreed that he was a brave and exemplary soldier. Testifying in 1922, before it was obligatory to praise the Führer, an officer recalled his courage and noted particularly that he somehow managed always to keep himself scrupulously clean.²⁰⁰

Hitler had been awarded the Iron Cross, Second Class, as early as December 1914. In March 1932 he sued a German newspaper for libel after it wrote that his conduct in the war was cowardly. A former commanding officer at regimental headquarters, Lieutenant Colonel Engelhardt, convincingly testified to his bravery. Hitler won the case.²⁰⁷

He was wounded for the first time on 5 October 1916 at 5:00 A.M. near Le Bargué, when he caught shell fragments in his left shoulder. Hospitalized in Beelitz-Berlin, he petitioned to be returned to the front so that he could spend Christmas alone there.²⁰⁸

Hitler was one of the very few common soldiers of World War I to be awarded the Iron Cross, First Class. There are differing and improbable accounts of how he won the great distinction,* but three things seem clear. First, he was entitled to the honor. Second, it was enormously important to him both personally and politically. He wore the Iron Cross constantly, for it was visible proof of his claim that he was the "unknown hero of the Great War." Third, the award shows that once again he had reason to be grateful to a Jew. As his commanding officer has written, Hitler never would have received the honor had it not been for the efforts of the regimental adjutant, Hugo Gutmann, a Jew.²⁰⁹

Hitler was wounded a second time when, on 15 October 1918, he was gassed on the southern front of the battle of Ypres. Records from the military hospital of Pasewalk near Berlin where he was evacuated simply say that he was gassed (*gaskrank*); but Hitler—hence all official biographies—always insisted that he was blinded by mustard gas. That he exaggerated the extent of his injury seems clear not only from the army records but also from two other facts. First, within one

* It has been said that he won it by his heroic, single-handed capture of seven Englishmen, or 12 (or 20) Frenchmen; or by luring an English tank to its destruction; or "for general bravery." An uplifting biography of Hitler written for schoolchildren of the Third Reich finds a moral in this incident in the life of the Führer: he had studied so hard in school that he spoke perfect French and thus could command 20 French soldiers to surrender. The book is aptly titled: *Unser Führer: ein Jungen- und Mädchenbuch (Our Leader: A Book for Boys and Girls)*. The same edition of the official Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* (14 August 1934) gives two different dates for the heroic exploit: 4 October 1918 and 4 October 1918. Surprisingly, the official history of the List Regiment is silent about Hitler's citation.

that I could command a few small
forces of deflection which I
came down to a matter of a few
or slightly warped trajectory of bullets.

Gutman doesn't like him
has been instructed to
get decorations for his man.

202

furious fulminations about
"We all cursed him and
recalled. "There was this
when we damned the war
When a buddy, Hans Mend,
girl, Hitler preached him a
and the importance of keeping
is known in the regiment as
one indulgence continued to
e another joke of his outfit:
ing could get him away from

remembered for in his regi-
ter time he seemed to court
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regiment decimated, someone
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reinforced Hitler's conviction
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a lonely, brooding silence, he
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When he came to power, he
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nstructor in civilian life. Mend
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when they testify that Hider
is evidence of at least one
typical misspellings) sent from
midt in Wurzbach, Thuringia:

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target into
in the
fourth
month

1918

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

*Iron
Cross*

month after his discharge he was accepted for reenlistment into the army—at a time when there was great competition for the few places available. Second, though in need of money, he never applied for a disabled veteran's pension. It seems apparent that he knew army hospital records would not support his claim.²¹⁰

It is quite possible that Hitler's blindness, while real, was psychosomatic in origin, a form of hysteria produced by the trauma of Germany's defeat. Certainly news of the armistice was a shattering experience, and there is no reason for doubting the sincerity and intensity of his description of the event:

Everything began to go black again before my eyes. Stumbling, I groped my way back to the ward, threw myself on my bed, and buried my burning head in the covers and pillows. I had not cried since the day I had stood at the grave of my mother.²¹¹

Something else may have reminded him, unconsciously, of his mother. As a little child, he had shut his eyes to avoid seeing his beloved Klara ravished by a father whom he was to suspect of being half-Jewish. Was he now blinded because he could not bear to see his Motherland defeated and humiliated by the Jews?

Hitler was certainly not the only German soldier to be appalled by the defeat and shocked by the "stab in the back" of the armistice and proclamation of a republic. But one has the feeling that for him there was something very personal about it, for he could never speak of the defeat of Germany without succumbing to paroxysms of hatred. Over and over again, for the rest of his life, he would rain a torrent of vituperation on those "traitors" who had "betrayed the Motherland" and committed "the greatest villainy of the century." This was the "November shame," perpetrated by the "November criminals" who had produced the misbegotten "Jew Republic."²¹²

Something clicked in the Pasewalk Hospital. It was there at the turn of the year 1918-1919 that Hitler resolved his identity problem and reached what he called "the most decisive decision of my life." For now, finally, he knew who he was and what he must do. He was the leader sent by destiny. He must answer the "voices" that he said he heard—like Joan of Arc—distinctly calling him as he lay in his hospital bed. The voices told him to rescue his Motherland from the Jews who had violated her. He ends his chapter:

With the Jews there can be no bargaining. There can only be the hard either/or.

I had resolved to become a politician.

In this decision, the central position of anti-Semitism should be noted. Hitler's fight against the Jews who menaced the Motherland had become the central, driving force of his political mission.²¹³

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D.T. It is here that I joined him.

D.T.

The Child As Father to the Man

Years later he would re-mission to the German people age that another Messiah be.

MISSION IN MUNICH,

The Munich to which Hitler be fulfilling the direst predestined graceful capital of the Wit good-humored apathy, was and other Dark Ones.

The postwar history of were, in turn, inefficient, da served as excellent grist f He did not allow the Germ Motherland from the horrible, "when Israel was kir

After the collapse of the Front, Kurt Eisner, a Jew and considered a "foreigner" had become leader of the old cry of *Los von Bei* a socialist republic in conse

His support dwindled his regime. After the disaster received less than 3 percent he was on his way to tend auf Valley, was a young n in the racist Thule Society founder of the society paid wanted to show that even a

Eisner's confused political group of radical intellectuals queen's bedroom of the V governmental experiment was president of the Execution, he issued decrees and soul was to be sought in free-money clique, found theories as minister of final foreign affairs, was thoro foreign policy consisted lar including one to Pope Ben

Dada

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

one had stolen the key to his toilet. The commissar for public housing decreed that henceforth no home in Bavaria could contain more than three rooms and that the living room must always be placed above the kitchen.

The happy, irresponsible government of these "coffee house anarchists" did very well to last for six days. It was succeeded on a lovely Palm Sunday in April 1919 by a group of Communists who established a Republic of Soviets (*Räterepublik*). Leadership was vested in three Russian emigrés—Leviné, Axelord, and Leven—whom Hitler would later castigate as the "Jewish kings of Munich." Their arrival brought a reign of terror that was mitigated only by confusion and inefficiency. Decree followed violent decree; soldiers of the "Red Army" ran drunkenly through the streets on plundering expeditions; schools, banks, newspaper offices, and the theater were closed; prisoners were released from jails, and police dossiers were burned.

Fed up with the chaos and terror of radical political experiments Münchener finally called for help from the central government, which in May 1919 dispatched volunteer bands of soldiers to "liberate" the city and "restore order." These were the so-called Free Corps, who preferred to dub themselves Freebooters. Their contribution to the rise of Hitler will be discussed in a later connection (see Chapter 5, pp. 312-314), but it may be noted here that they established a reign of terror in Munich which made the "Red Terror" of preceding weeks look pale. Only relative political stability followed the Free Corps occupation in 1919. A year later, during unrest occasioned by the Kapp Putsch in Berlin, military leaders installed Gustav von Kahr as the virtual dictator of Bavaria. (This, substantially, was the government Hitler would try to overthrow in his Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923.) But in the meantime, Munich had become a haven for dozens of militant rightist and racist groups, all trying strenuously to save Germany from the evils of democracy.

Political Skirmishes

The crowded historical stage had been set for Hitler's appearance as Messiah. But the future Führer still stayed in the wings, hesitant and unsure. He did not yet know how to play the role destiny had assigned him. As would happen often in his life in moments of personal crisis, he was assailed by feelings of anxiety, inadequacy, and self-doubt. Thus, month after month, as the turbulent events of revolution, Soviet-style government, and Free Corps occupation swirled about him, he stood aloof, unsure of what to do. Yet through it all he was sustained by the conviction that he had been chosen; that somehow, someday, he would become leader of Germany. Belief in himself and his mission never left him. He must keep the faith and wait for the Goddess of Fate to guide him. And soon she did.

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D.T. enters here in
bulletins after the gas blind
of 1918

Xerox p 205. The foot of the
page has valuable material
on conditions in 1909 at the
time of the revolution in Bavaria

D.T.

The Child As Father to the

His first steps led him to a new department (Al in Munich, had been es political groups. Hitler le the regiment. Actually he ensmann), or undercover "reliable" and "unreliable

As part of his train doctination lectures giv of Munich. One of his ins recalled that after a lectu by one of their number v sion in a strangely guttu excitement derived from were inspiring him." 216 I ment between Hitler and his relationship to a crow.

The professor was s assigned to promoting pa self remembered the inc personal satisfaction he word:

I started full of amb the opportunity to s ously I had always : out knowledge, beca "reden"]. . . . No o one. 217

He was about to illu tory. For one day in Septe informer required it or— dness of Fate directed hin struggling racist party fo Drexler. The little group Party, gathered in the Ster a back room that reeked o til the stranger with the anger to answer a profes break away from the Rei tack that the demolished pressed.

Hitler subsequently tenant Mayr, warning of on the need for immedi

Nov 1919

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

fernung] of absolutely all Jews." His report must have persuaded his superior, for he appended a note and endorsed Hitler's metaphor: "I am in agreement with Herr Hitler . . . all dangerous elements must, like disease carriers, be either 'isolated' [literally, encysted, *verkapstelt*] or eliminated. That includes Jews."²¹⁸

A few days later, Hitler made another of "the greatest decisions" of his life: he joined the German Workers' Party. At a subsequent meeting he listened as a dutiful treasurer reported with pompous pride that the Party now had total assets of 7 marks, 15 pfennig. It was suggested that it might invest some of its money in three rubber stamps to improve its office equipment.²¹⁹

This was the group that Hitler would transform into one of the most effective political movements of modern history. He did it largely through the force of his personality and the power of the spoken word. His effectiveness as a demagogue is attested by nearly everyone who heard him. The Munich police reports for November 1919 describe his performances as Party orator as "masterful" and note time and again that he was received with "tumultuous applause." Ernst Hanfstaengl, a sophisticated Harvard graduate, found Hitler "absolutely irresistible . . . a master of the spoken word." Konrad Heiden, then a university student and political opponent of Hitler who had heard him dozens of times, put his finger on a source of Hitler's effectiveness: he played the role of man of destiny with such fidelity that he actually became the part he played. In transforming himself, he transformed his audience:

... suddenly this man, who has been awkwardly standing around ... begins to speak, filling the room with his voice, suppressing interruptions or contradictions by his domineering manner, spreading cold shivers among those present by the savagery of his declaration, lifting every subject of conversation into the light of history ... the listener is filled with awe and feels that a new phenomenon has entered the room. This thundering demon was not there before; this is not the same timid man with the contracted shoulders. He is capable of this transformation in a personal interview and facing an audience of half a million.²²⁰

Other opponents observed the same phenomenon: a limp, little man changed into a force of overwhelming power, the stream of speech stiffening him "like a stream of water stiffens a hose." Otto Strasser gave one of the most graphic descriptions of the rhetorical skills that were to make Hitler master, first of the Party, and then of Germany:

Adolf Hitler enters a hall. He sniffs the air. For a minute he gropes, feels his way, senses the atmosphere. Suddenly he bursts forth. . . .

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* He was ^{speaking} uttering in powerful words, full of the best and most assured nature, very all the little dirty remarks they were used to.

accustomed to uttering out of the side of their mouth.

D.T.

The Child As Father to the I

His words go to private wound on t pressing its innerm to hear.²²¹

Oratorical ability is it is never enough in Trotsky, the best orator Hitler's success must al and his capacity for ruthl

He soon had need f did not go unchallenged crucial year in the life : the end of July an anony among Party leaders and Post, 3 August 1921.²²² question, Adolf Hitler—V Hitler's "lust for persona personal finances and women. Did he see hims class party or as "Adolf I that Hitler treated his c "common dogs"; it gave own purpose "in a typic "infallibility" as the "so- it appealed to all decent deceived by this "megale be removed from office.

Hitler, who sometir a crisis, showed in this i with immediate and effe members for 29 July in t pamphlet had appeared. to the Munich Police Dep ical Reporting Service).

About 1,200 member he was introduced with fi one had assumed was his Drexler, whom the pamph he then launched into a cheering. The meeting w resolution made him, in c figures of the movement personal and national sa tant event has conclude German Workers' Party dictatorial Führer."²²⁴

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July 1921 D.T.

The Child As Father to the Man

ADOLF HITLER

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His words go like an arrow to their target, he touches each
private wound on the raw, liberating the mass unconscious, ex-
pressing its innermost aspirations, telling it what it most wants
to hear.²²¹

Oratorical ability is often important to a revolutionary leader, but
it is never enough in itself. Stalin, an indifferent speaker, ousted
Trotsky, the best orator produced by the Russian Revolution. A part of
Hitler's success must also be attributed to his organizational ability
and his capacity for ruthless political infighting.

He soon had need for all these skills, for his control of the Party
did not go unchallenged. A crisis of leadership developed in 1921, a
crucial year in the life and political fortunes of Adolf Hitler. Toward
the end of July an anonymous pamphlet opposing Hitler was circulated
among Party leaders and published in a special edition of the *Münchener*
Post, 3 August 1921.²²² The pamphlet bore as its title the suggestive
question, Adolf Hitler—Verräter? (Adolf Hitler—Traitor?). It spoke of
Hitler's "lust for personal power"; it asked pointed questions about his
personal finances and expensive tastes, particularly in clothes and
women. Did he see himself it was asked, as the leader of a working-
class party or as "Adolf I. King of Munich"? The pamphlet complained
that Hitler treated his colleagues as lackeys and maligned them as
"common dogs"; it gave instances of how he twisted facts to suit his
own purpose "in a typically Jewish way." It resented Hitler's claim to
"infallibility" as the "so-called spiritual leader" of the Party. Finally,
it appealed to all decent members of the Party not to be misled and
deceived by this "megalomaniac and demagogue" and urged that he
be removed from office.

Hitler, who sometimes dawdled and delayed when confronted by
a crisis, showed in this instance that he could meet a direct challenge
with immediate and effective action. He called a meeting of all Party
members for 29 July in the Hofbräuhaus, the same evening the original
pamphlet had appeared. We have a full report of the meeting thanks
to the Munich Police Department's *Politischer Nachrichtendienst* (Polit-
ical Reporting Service).

About 1,200 members of the Party attended. Hitler saw to it that
he was introduced with fulsome praise by a Party member whom every-
one had assumed was his political enemy; he lavished compliments on
Drexler, whom the pamphlet had hinted was disenchanted with him;
he then launched into a stirring speech which had the whole crowd
cheering. The meeting was a tremendous personal triumph. A formal
resolution made him, in effect, the undisputed leader of the Party. Key
figures of the movement rallied to his support and hailed him as their
personal and national savior.²²³ As the closest student of this impor-
tant event has concluded, "From this day on, the National Socialist
German Workers' Party had become a one-man party with Hitler its
dictatorial Führer."²²⁴

~~to utter out of the hole of their mouths~~

Properly full
which contains
they were

We need 210+211

1923

D.T.

X mark

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the A

ordered a glass of beer for himself—at a cost of 500,000 inflated marks. (When he flung the glass away later in the evening, his devoted followers carefully picked up the shards and preserved them as relics.) He then turned to his hostages and either cajoled or threatened them into supporting him in the formation of a national government. He returned with them to the hall and announced that General Ludendorff, the hero and military dictator of the war years, would lead a new National Army; Hitler would take over the political leadership. Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser, along with other Bavarian rightists, would have positions of responsibility in his new administration. When each of the hostages spoke to the crowd and apparently supported him, Hitler was delighted. He reminded the historian Karl-Alexander von Müller of a little child "beaming with joy, overjoyed at his success; he had a childlike, frank expression of happiness I shall never forget." 228

Hitler then launched into an oration which electrified the crowd of 3,000 people. He ended dramatically with the promise that "tomorrow will find either a nationalist government in Germany or us dead." Actually, on the morrow he would seek a third alternative. But for the moment his speech was effective, and a sullen and uncertain crowd was turned, as a listener described it, "inside out, like a glove." 229

After this smashing successful speech, Hitler sank into lethargy and into the strange, self-defeating behavior we shall examine more closely in the concluding chapter. He allowed the whole situation to disintegrate until it reached its disastrous climax. It was Ludendorff, not Hitler, who took the initiative in ordering a march on the center of the city for the next morning. The Führer was shamed into action. As his uncertain followers approached the Bavarian Provincial Police drawn up in front of the Odeonsplatz to stop them, Hitler suddenly hooked his arm in that of the person marching next to him. It was, as Heiden observed, "an astonishing gesture of uncertainty and helplessness." 230 After the usual "unknown shot," the police opened fire.

Once again, as so many times during the war, Hitler miraculously escaped death in the fusillade that killed about 20 people in his immediate vicinity. He either fell to the ground or was pulled down by the dying body of the man he had linked arms with. The place where he lay was very close to the stone Bavarian lions guarding the Feldherrenhalle—almost exactly the spot on which he had stood on that August day in 1914 to hail the coming of the war.

Hitler's immediate reaction was to run away—as he tended to do whenever a situation became intolerable. As a boy in Leonding, he had run away when the woods where he was playing cowboys and Indians were set on fire. At the age of 19, when relatives suggested that he take up some meaningful work after his mother's death, he ran away to Vienna. When his friend Kubizek successfully earned his diploma, Adolf Hitler hid from him; when he was threatened with arrest for desertion from the Austrian Army in 1913, he ran away to Munich. And at the end, in 1945, he sought escape in death.

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For the hangover, the more he commended strengths for an hour, the more I had to

lose three hours catering to less depression. These hangovers were so severe that he might as well have been a drunk.

Now, on 9 November—heroically carry "a sm. the resistance." 231 At the yellow—or was it red?—to hide in the attic of Ern: about 35 miles south of considerable physical and berg, Dr. Brinsteiner, statu

During the Putsch o. the left shoulder with segently from very tische Neurose]. Hit treatment and will and painful effects ir that he will lose mot

When he arrived in t he was, according to Mrs. most incoherent." He w: day hiding in the attic un staengl treasured for dec suicide until Mrs. Hanfst: a barrel of flour she was to the Bavarian police whi

After the fiasco of F: generally agreed that his military attaché in Munic miracle could save him, was the way Hitler extric trial for high treason in l every assistance by the c name of Stenglein, sound called Hitler an admirable who had broken the law the enthusiasm of so man selfishness. His actions w enthusiasm for the cause. judge nodded sympathetic out. As the transcript of haranguing government v occasions plaintively aske

Hitler's final plea w harbinger of orations to judge was later asked w replied that he found it patriotic oratory. Instead

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ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

Nov 1923, P. 24

o,000 inflated marks. ing, his devoted fol- ved them as relics.) l or threatened them onal government. He t General Ludendorff, i, would lead a new cal leadership. Kahr, rightists, would have ation. When each of supported him, Hitler Alexander von Müller his success; he had all never forget." 228 electrified the crowd promise that "tomor- Germany or us dead." lternative. But for the and uncertain crowd out, like a glove." 229 ler sank into lethargy e shall examine more he whole situation to x. It was Ludendorff, narch on the center of hamed into action. As ian Provincial Police them, Hitler suddenly next to him. It was, uncertainty and help- he police opened fire. ar, Hitler miraculously 20 people in his im- was pulled down by the The place where he lay rding the Feldherren- l stood on that August y—as he tended to do y in Leonding, he had g cowboys and Indians ives suggested that he r's death, he ran away ly earned his diploma, atened with arrest for ran away to Munich. th.

Now, on 9 November 1923, he did not—as the Nazis later claimed —heroically carry "a small boy out of the hail of fire," or try to rally the resistance.²³¹ At the first opportunity, he jumped into a little yellow—or was it red?—Fiat belonging to an SA doctor and ran away to hide in the attic of Ernst Hanfstaengl's country home on Lake Staffel, about 35 miles south of Munich. He must have been experiencing considerable physical and mental pain, for the prison doctor at Landsberg, Dr. Brinsteiner, stated in a report on 8 January 1924:

During the Putsch of 8 November, Hitler suffered a dislocation of the left shoulder with a fracture of the upper arm socket. And subsequently from very painful traumatic neurosis [*eine traumatische Neurose*]. Hitler continues to be under continual medical treatment and will probably continue to suffer partial stiffening and painful effects in the left shoulder. It is not expected, however, that he will lose motor functions.²³²

When he arrived in the Hanfstaengl home the night of 9 November he was, according to Mrs. Hanfstaengl, completely despondent and "almost incoherent." He wanted to be left alone, and spent the next day hiding in the attic under two English blankets, one of which Hanfstaengl treasured for decades as a kind of relic. He kept threatening suicide until Mrs. Hanfstaengl disarmed him and threw his pistol into a barrel of flour she was hoarding. On 11 November he surrendered to the Bavarian police while screaming threats of revenge.²³³

After the fiasco of Hitler's first attempt to seize power, observers generally agreed that his movement had collapsed. But as the American military attaché in Munich, Captain Truman Smith, reported, "Only a miracle could save him, but the miracle happened."²³⁴ The miracle was the way Hitler extricated himself by making brilliant use of his trial for high treason in late February and March 1924. He was given every assistance by the court. The prosecuting attorney, a man by the name of Stenglein, sounded very much like the defense attorney as he called Hitler an admirable person, a brave soldier, and a selfless patriot who had broken the law only because he had been driven to do so by the enthusiasm of so many supporters: "We cannot reproach him with selfishness. His actions were not prompted by personal ambition but enthusiasm for the cause. . . . We cannot deny him our respect." The judge nodded sympathetic agreement. Hitler was in command throughout. As the transcript of the trial shows, he kept interrupting and haranguing government witnesses so loudly that the judge on several occasions plaintively asked if he could not perhaps lower his voice.²³⁵

Hitler's final plea was a masterpiece of invective, serving as a harbinger of orations to come. He spoke for four hours. When the judge was later asked why the defendant was given such liberty, he replied that he found it impossible to interrupt the swell of Hitler's patriotic oratory. Instead of accepting the role of defendant charged

see Hanfstaengl

commanding
not had to

how that transition to his depression. These emotional harangues were so severe that he might as well have been a drunk

ADOLF HITLER

...m, Berne, and Zurich
...let Russia.

...ad more than a touch
...tremend for the ideal
...ing commitment with
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...f Hitler's early party

...in 1924 was achieved
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...Captain Ernst Röhm,
...connections with the
...rs of the Free Corps.
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...with his rent. He worked
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...ening in the Hofbräuhaus.
...ms and sang the old drink-
...ey raised their liter steins
...But Lenin was not toasting
...the letters in Russian are
..."will of the people." Lenin
...excelled all other Russian
...works at revolution twenty-
...hours he is sleeping when
...v hours he spent drinking

The Child As Father to the Man

1920, Eckart had asserted his faith in the coming of a powerful Teu-
tonic leader, but he was uncertain who he would be:

A Cincinnatus was called from his plow to save his Fatherland
... whether it will be a soldier or a farmer or a worker who will
come to lead us doesn't matter. All he needs is a soul—a bold,
selfless, German soul. ... Do not ask where: believe!

A year later, January 1921, Eckart had found the leader he and Ger-
many craved, a new German Cincinnatus: "Of such stuff is Hitler, the
passionate leader of the German Workers' Party." ²⁴⁰

Hitler was genuinely grateful for Eckart's patronage. Of all the peo-
ple to whom he was indebted, he paid special tribute only to Wagner
and Eckart, going to the unusual length of dedicating the second vol-
ume of his memoirs to "that man, who, as one of the best, by words
and by thoughts and finally by deeds, dedicated his life to the awaken-
ing of his, of our nation: Dietrich Eckart." ²⁴¹ And in private conver-
sation he referred to him as the "loyal Ekkehard," his one true friend.
Hitler's secretaries concluded that "Dietrich Eckart [was] the single
person in his life he ... looked up to." ²⁴² They should also have in-
cluded Richard Wagner.

Another of Hitler's political assets was his ability to convince
many different people that each alone enjoyed the special confidence of
the Führer. All in the end were deceived, for Hitler could give himself
in confidence and in trust to no human being. From infancy on, his
life was characterized by basic distrust of others. In this—as in many
other things—the child was father to the man. As Führer he so dis-
trusted others that he made sure his thoughts were concealed from
his closest advisers. And when he began to suspect that someone might
be penetrating his defenses, he would reinforce them through deliberate
dissimulation.

In an interview after the war, General Halder, the perceptive and
intelligent Chief of the General Staff, remembered the following reveal-
ing conversation with Hitler:

Hitler: You should take note of one thing from the start, that you
will never discover my thought and intentions until I am
giving my orders.

Halder: We soldiers are accustomed to forming our ideas together.

Hitler: (smiling and with a negative wave of his hand) No.
Things are done differently in politics. You will never
learn what I am thinking and those who boast most
loudly that they know my thought, to such people I lie
even more. ²⁴³

This quality of distrust, aloofness, and impenetrability, so impor-
tant to his psyche, was of considerable political advantage. True, in the

* D.T. It is almost impossible to ²¹⁷
in a political leader without (or even)
to run a small successful business
without having this skillful

(*)
simplicity and a certain
strength

Xerox P216
1919-1921
Eckart
D. T.
1939

1923, 1943, 1944

D.T.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Mo

shave. One hour after the first signal, if Hitler did not feel like playing his dressing game, his valet would knock on the door and say, "Guten Morgen, mein Führer. Es ist Zeit!"

Breakfast consisted of milk, rusks, peppermint or camomile tea, sometimes an apple and cheese. (After 1944 he added chocolates to his breakfast menu.) Lunch, at two or three or four o'clock, if eaten at home, consisted of vegetable soup. Very often he would take his lunches either at the Cafe Heck at the Hofgarten or at the Osteria Bavaria. When he ate out, lunches could last for three or four hours. What was left of the afternoon was spent in dictating speeches or making decisions or going on picnics. Suppers were usually begin at about ten o'clock and last until very late. They were followed almost invariably by movies and more talk, so that the day ended anytime from three o'clock to six o'clock in the morning. (After Stalingrad he often took one or two glasses of beer before going to bed in order to induce sleep.)

His press adjutant of many years recalled that Hitler spent dozens of hours a week in automobile travel: "He constantly sought pretexts for moving from place to place. Up to 1939 he was everywhere and nowhere at home. . . . He covered hundreds of thousands of kilometers by automobile and kept his adjutants busy planning his private journeys." ²⁵⁰

Hitler was fond of designing office desks, but he seldom used them. At the Party headquarters, an associate recalled, "the desk was empty and the room had the atmosphere of one that had never been used. I had the same impression in all of Hitler's offices—in his apartment, in the Braunhaus, and in the Chancellery. Never have I seen him working at his desk. Desks were for him only decorations. Never did he keep office hours. 'If you want to meet Hitler you must go about three o'clock to the Cafe Heck, Hess called to me.'" ²⁵¹ Oswald Spengler, who was at first attracted to Hitler as one of his men of destiny but was soon disabused, told a German psychiatrist just before he died: "If Hitler is not defeated by anything else he will be defeated by this: He cannot really work." ²⁵²

As early as 1923 a close associate had become disturbed by Hitler's luxurious life-style and slovenly work habits. He wrote a warning letter telling him that many of the old Party comrades felt he was deserting the working class for the champagne and caviar set to which "Mister" Hantstraengl had introduced him. The writer, Gottfried Feder, continued, "I certainly don't begrudge you the leisure time you spend away from your demanding work in the company of artists and the circle of beautiful women. But there is an urgent necessity of filling the gap between you as leader of those who wish to be your followers and a movement for German freedom." The writer went on to complain, "We never see you personally," and repeated his charge about "the anarchy of the allocation of your time." ²⁵³

But Hitler could not or would not break the habit patterns of his

youth. There was a brief cl he had his office in the V Field Marshal-President vo ful eye of Hindenburg, Hitl he must toe the mark. Hi while Hindenburg was alive meetings in the morning. I reverted to the life-style h Vater."

Albert Speer was appa hour and day after day of picnics and pleasure trips with trivia about theater an ceptions of history; one or tions of the most striking Hitler once or twice a week chattered about art until th logging the empty hours, Sp often ask myself, did he rea

HITLER'S LOVE AFFA

During all these years, Hitl influenced by his love for th in all his bedrooms. All his who played the role of Klara as young in relation to Hitle band. In each case Hitler s woman because there was st of his mother. And in each (masochism which, to his m to each other.

Mimi Reiter

The memory of his vic faded slowly over the years. terest in a woman until 192 staying in the lovely Alpine vi a pretty blond girl who clerke floor of his hotel. She was 16, who preferred Austrian di Mizerl. ²⁵⁵

222. ~~Do. O.S. simply didn't understand that a psychopath has no need to work, if he lived in a psychopathic age.~~

1923

1926, 1933, 1934 D. T.

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

did not feel like playing
he door and say, "Guten

ermint or camomile tea,
e added chocolates to his
four o'clock, if eaten at
e would take his lunches
at the Osteria Bavaria.
ee or four hours. What
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that Hitler spent dozens
nstantly sought pretexts
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tfried Feder, continued,
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lowers and a movement
complain, "We never see
ut "the anarchy of the

he habit patterns of his

ent understand
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The Child As Father to the Man

youth. There was a brief change just after he became chancellor, when he had his office in the Wilhelmstrasse very close to that of the old Field Marshal-President von Hindenburg. While he was under the watchful eye of Hindenburg, Hitler felt—as he had with his own father—that he must toe the mark. His press attaché, Otto Dietrich, recalls that while Hindenburg was alive Hitler was punctual and even held cabinet meetings in the morning. But as soon as "the Old Gentleman" died he reverted to the life-style he had adopted after the death of his "Herr Vater."

Albert Speer was appalled by the sheer waste of time. Hour after hour and day after day of planning fantastic buildings; hundreds of picnics and pleasure trips in his car; fatuous nightly soliloquies filled with trivia about theater and diet and the training of dogs and misconceptions of history; one or two movies a night, followed by conversations of the most striking mediocrity. Speer himself often called on Hitler once or twice a week at midnight and, after the last movie run, chattered about art until three or four in the morning. After thus cataloguing the empty hours, Speer asks a sensible question: "When, I would often ask myself, did he really work?" ²⁶⁴

HITLER'S LOVE AFFAIRS

During all these years, Hitler's relations with women continued to be influenced by his love for the woman whose picture hung over his bed in all his bedrooms. All his serious affairs involved mother substitutes who played the role of Klara to Adolf's Alois. Each of these women was as young in relation to Hitler as Klara had been in relation to her husband. In each case Hitler seems to have been attracted to the young woman because there was something else about her that reminded him of his mother. And in each case, there were manifestations of the sado-masochism which, to his mind, characterized his parents' relationship to each other.

Mimi Reiter

The memory of his vicarious adolescent love affair with Stefanie faded slowly over the years. There is no reliable record of Hitler's interest in a woman until 1926, when he was 37 years old. Then, while staying in the lovely Alpine village of Berchtesgaden, he was attracted by a pretty blond girl who clerked in her mother's dress shop on the ground floor of his hotel. She was 16. Her name was Maria Reiter, though Hitler, who preferred Austrian diminutives, called her Mimi, Mizzi, or Mizerl. ²⁵⁵

1926

D.T.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

They had met while walking their dogs. Hitler was drawn to her for several reasons besides their common interest in animals. Her light blue eyes, she remembers him saying, reminded him of his mother's. And when her mother suddenly died, Hitler was quick to point out that he too had "suffered terribly" at his own mother's death and had also been left an orphan at the age of 16. (Actually, at 18.) Hitler also found it more than coincidental that Mimi had been born on the anniversary of the day his mother had been buried. He kept thinking of his mother.

For a long time Hitler could not summon the courage to ask her for a date. Finally, he sent an aide to inquire if she and her sister would go with Hitler and his friend for a walk. Mimi refused but accepted a second invitation, also made formally and through an intermediary, to attend a Hitler speech at the hotel Deutsches Haus. He was anxious that she hear him give an oration.

Mimi was acutely uncomfortable during the course of his passionate harangue. She remembered that he "kept looking over at our table and fixed his eyes directly on me." When she later told an anxious Hitler that she had enjoyed his speech, he was as happy as could be, and immediately began addressing her in language normally reserved for children. He then took his fork and playfully fed her cake as if she were a little child. Suddenly he became very serious, spoke gently of her mother's death, and asked if he could go with her to the grave.

That evening they walked their dogs. When Hitler's Alsatian refused to obey him, he gave a demonstration of his idea of masculinity, mastery, and power by brutally whipping the animal. Later that night, when she refused his request for a good-night kiss, he was furious but kept his anger under control. Again he demonstrated his masculinity: he drew himself up to his full height, thrust out his arm stiffly in the Nazi salute, and said in a deep voice, "Heil Hitler!"

On their second double date, they went for a ride in Hitler's impressive supercharged Mercedes. Mimi recalled that Hitler sat in the back seat with her and "kept wanting to close my eyes with his fingers, saying that I should sleep and dream." He assured her that he would watch over her carefully. (Was he watching her as he had watched over and sketched his dead mother after he had gently closed her staring eyes with his fingers?)

On the third date, in the graveyard, Hitler said something Mimi was never able to forget or to understand. As he stared down at her mother's grave he muttered, "I am not like that yet! [Ich bin noch nicht so weit!]" He then gripped his riding whip tightly in his hands and said, "I would like you to call me Wolf."

On another occasion the two went for a walk in the woods where they "romped like children." Then Hitler grew very serious and led her to a huge fir tree:

He placed me in front of it, turned me left and right. He stepped back and warned me to stay perfectly still like an artist's model.

224 * I had come to the conclusion that he had to form some sexual habit as woman or gossip could not destroy him. Of course, it would put

Then he dropped his arm something he could not c he exclaimed. . . . He st He looked at my legs and of the tree behind me. Th me to him. "Do you kno woodland sprite [Waldfee

When Mimi laughed and Hitler interrupted her sternly: later, Mimi my child. You mus her with kisses and said, "Chil this very minute!"

The stories of Hitler's affi him politically, and he sudden 1928. That same year she tried ing, she married a hotelkeeper

Years passed, and late in sary, Rudolf Hess, to ask her to left her husband, and spent c apartment in the Prinzregente whatever he wanted with me Hitler promised her anything refused the marriage she dem him; they relived the experien fused to marry her. They neve her first husband and, in 1936 Hitler sent her 100 red roses i battle.

She never heard from him wristwatch he gave her for h mother had been buried.

Geli Raubal

Hitler often told intimate really loved or could possibly ha

After he had moved into fall of 1929, he asked his half-s his little substitute mother, to c with her two daughters. One "Geli" by everyone, caught his about as young as his mother And just as his own parents ha Hitler asked Geli to call him "I "my niece Geli." He was pleasee a deeply religious person who at

him and me on I had a pretty of how this is must exp

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

1928, 1929, 1932, D.T., 1940

Hitler was drawn to her
rest in animals. Her light
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n born on the anniversary
pt thinking of his mother.
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if she and her sister would
mi refused but accepted a
rough an intermediary, to
Haus. He was anxious that

Then he dropped his arms, silently shook his head as if there were something he could not comprehend. . . . "A magnificent picture!" he exclaimed. . . . He stood back about ten paces from me. . . . He looked at my legs and at my face. His gaze went up to the top of the tree behind me. Then he stretched both arms out beckoning me to him. "Do you know who you are now? Now you are my woodland sprite [Waldfee]."

When Mimi laughed and asked what that was supposed to mean, Hitler interrupted her sternly: "That you will understand much better later, Mimi my child. You must never laugh at me!" He then smothered her with kisses and said, "Child, I could just squeeze you to bits now at this very minute!"

The stories of Hitler's affair with a teen-aged girl did little to help him politically, and he suddenly broke off his relations with Mimi in 1928. That same year she tried to kill herself by hanging. After recovering, she married a hotelkeeper in Seefeld.

1928 (Geli)

ag the course of his pas-
"kept looking over at our
n she later told an anxious
was as happy as could be,
anguage normally reserved
fully fed her cake as if she
ry serious, spoke gently of
with her to the grave.
When Hitler's Alsatian re-
of his idea of masculinity,
e animal. Later that night,
ht kiss, he was furious but
strated his masculinity: he
t his arm stiffly in the Nazi

Years passed, and late in 1931 or early 1932, Hitler sent an emissary, Rudolf Hess, to ask her to come to visit him. She packed her bags, left her husband, and spent one memorable night with Hitler in his apartment in the Prinzregentenplatz. She later recalled "I let him do whatever he wanted with me. [Ich liess alles mit mir geschehen.]" Hitler promised her anything if she would be his mistress but flatly refused the marriage she demanded. Once again in 1934 she came to him; they relived the experience of that earlier night, but again he refused to marry her. They never saw each other again. Maria divorced her first husband and, in 1936, married an SS officer named Kubisch. Hitler sent her 100 red roses in 1940 when her husband was killed in battle.

1940

for a ride in Hitler's impres-
that Hitler sat in the back
eyes with his fingers, saying
d her that he would watch
s he had watched over and
tly closed her staring eyes

She never heard from him again, but she kept his letters and the wristwatch he gave her for her birthday, 23 December, the day his mother had been buried.

Geli Raubal

1929

Hitler said something Mimi
As he stared down at her
ke that yet! [Ich bin noch
hip tightly in his hands and

Hitler often told intimates that there was only one woman he really loved or could possibly have married: his niece, Geli Raubal.

After he had moved into his large Munich apartment during the fall of 1929, he asked his half-sister Angela, who years before had been his little substitute mother, to come and be his housekeeper. She arrived with her two daughters. One of them, also named Angela but called "Geli" by everyone, caught his eye. She was much younger than he—about as young as his mother had been when she married his father. And just as his own parents had called each other "uncle" and "niece," Hitler asked Geli to call him "Uncle Alf"; he always referred to her as "my niece Geli." He was pleased to notice that, like his mother, she was a deeply religious person who attended mass regularly.

meine nichte Geli

a walk in the woods where
ew very serious and led her

e left and right. He stepped
still like an artist's model.

e Conclusions
e personal
If could put
it would put

him and me on a first trip since
I had a pretty good idea in advance
of how his reveal including
must express themselves

Important X-ray pages 226-232
from the copy of The Psychopathic
God that is marked
COPY B on the
reverse side of the front cover.

ATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

er was impressed by Miss Unity Redesdale. Often, and in front of "perfect Germanic woman." Miss Hitler's ideas, developed a cloying later, who later married Sir Oswald would haunt the Osteria Bavaria first they had been welcomed to the capture to his table conversation. astonished the British ambassador, in public with the Hitler salute was so dumbfounded he forgot his rapping to attention, giving a crisp ng, "Rule Britannia!"²⁷⁷ Miss Mit- a swastika and a Union Jack. She and breathlessly and indefatigably and the symbol of her name: the and the Ruler of the Seas." For this would gladly die. She very nearly

ain entered into a state of war with um of her life shattered. In despair, unich and shot herself in the head. iclans, brought her flowers in the d a portrait of himself which she ders, she was escorted by his per- she recovered. She died in England

e subject of more controversy and ices. It has been asserted, vari- that he was a homosexual, that he he engaged in a particularly gross

will wish to pursue this matter in : prurient interests, but because of ne major contribution that psycho- y is the demonstration that sexual rtant and integral part in personal- o shape a person's social thinking. has had the opportunity to observe

The Child As Father to the Man

persons analytically for any length of time is bound to receive the distinct impression that the intimate sexual life definitely marks the individual's attitude toward society."²⁷⁰

It is probable that we shall never know all the intimate details of Hitler's sex life. But of one thing we may be sure: those associates and biographers untrained and disinterested in psychology who assure us that Hitler was "in all respects sexually normal" are mistaken.* There is simply too much evidence against that conclusion.

Ever since the trauma of his infantile experiences, normal sexual intercourse had seemed frightening and repulsive to him. And yet, while repelled by sex, he was also intrigued by it. His absent-minded doodles and sketches are replete with sexual symbolism. *Mein Kampf* is filled with sexual imagery. Every chapter bespeaks a mind that is inordinantly excited by rape, prostitution, syphilis, and "the most disgusting" sexual practices. He wanted to look at sex. He was infatuated with von Stuck's sensuous paintings; he had a library of pornography; he had "blue" films made especially for his private viewing; and he drew pictures which "only a perverted voyeur could have committed to paper."²⁸⁰

The amount of time he devoted to talking about sex is a further indication that the subject was often on his mind. "Depraved" sexual practices were among his favorite topics of conversation as a young man; as chancellor, he would invite young women to confide in him about their sexual experiences, urging them to give him detailed descriptions. His own contribution to these conversations was to speak at length and with increasing excitement about his historical importance. Several of the chorus girls who spent nights with him reported that nothing much happened except that "Hitler sat around bragging the whole evening . . . of his greatness and power."²⁸¹

Much as he enjoyed seeing, hearing and, talking about sexual activity, he was usually careful to avoid physical contact with women of his own age. He delighted in caressing little girls, and he allowed motherly older women to stroke his hair or pat his cheek. But as a youth he had been outraged when it was suggested that he learn to dance; later, as chancellor, he refused to dance with anyone either in private parties or at state functions. He was horrified when a woman kissed

* Proponents of this view include Werner Maser (*Hitler*, 320, 431-438 and *passim*) and John Toland (*Adolf Hitler*, 137, 827, 892-893). Hitler's secretaries and valets also believed that rumors about sexual aberrations were "completely false." (Zoller, *Privat*, 107; and Linge, *Revue*, 26 December 1955). Eva Braun herself apparently told her sister that her sexual relations with Hitler were "completely normal." (Nerin Gun, letter to the editor, *Der Spiegel*, 11 December 1967). But she gave a very different impression to a close friend whom she had known since their schoolgirl days. To this friend, who became the wife of Hermann Esser, she confided disgustedly, "As far as his manhood is concerned, I get absolutely nothing from him. [*Als Mann habe ich von ihm überhaupt nichts!*]." (Hanfstaengl interview, April, 1967).

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

him lightly and good-naturedly under the mistletoe during a Christmas celebration.

When he confessed to Kubizek that he could never have intimate relations with a woman because he did not want to become "infected," he seems to have had two kinds of infection in mind. Certainly he was terrified at the thought of syphilis—though he was also fascinated by it, as the many pages on the subject in his memoirs attest. But ever since his primal scene experience as an infant, he had felt that sexual intercourse was "moral infection"—something corrupting and evil. In particular, he associated copulation with capitulation. This may help explain why he had such an absolute horror of military capitulation, saying explicitly on many occasions, "There is one word I can never use and that is capitulation. . . . There is one word that does not exist in my vocabulary: capitulation. . . . I prefer to die in order to escape the shame of capitulation." ²⁸²

Over the years, Hitler thought of many reasons why he could not possibly get married: his offspring might be imbeciles; he had only one bride, his Motherland; the only person he could have married was Geli, and she was dead. He also noted that an earlier Messiah had never married. At times he urged the pragmatic political importance of preserving the image of the bachelor patriot: "If I married I'd lose five million votes of German women." A wife would interfere with his mission. Perhaps he could never find a woman worthy of his genius, or, conversely, insignificant enough to complement his stature; it was one of his aphorisms that "the greater the man, the smaller the wife should be." But whatever the reasons he gave, the thought of getting married and of having genital sexual relations with a wife did not appeal to him.

Homosexuality?

There is insufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that Hitler was an overt homosexual. But it seems clear that he had latent homosexual tendencies, and it is certain that he worried a great deal about them.

He was terribly concerned, for example, lest he give the impression of showing feminine traits—which, indeed, he did. The noted English diplomat and historian Sir Harold Nicolson, who was himself a practicing homosexual, was particularly interested in Hitler's femininity. He records in his diary a conversation with a colleague who told him that Hitler "is the most profoundly feminine man that he has ever met and there are moments when he becomes almost effeminate." ²⁸³ The American journalist, William L. Shirer, who watched Hitler closely one day in September 1938 as he came out of a hotel in Bad-Godesberg on the occasion of meeting Chamberlain, wrote in his diary: "It was a very curious walk indeed. . . . very ladylike. Dainty little steps." But a German doctor who had very personal reasons for wondering about Hitler's sexual preferences reached a different conclusion:

²³⁴ "Everything in my soul," he said, "is against the people. What can possibly be left in my seed?"

AGAIN, IMPORTANT

XEROX from COPY B

PAGES 235-244

PAGES 235-240 + 243

D.T.

The Child As Father to the Man

As a homosexual, I was walk. But I sensed immer

Direct evidence from pet a claim of overt homosexuality example, may be suggestive, that when he met his friend February night in 1908, Adolf lodging where we would see several occasions when adult but his friend "scrupulously men" and talked about homo he would solve when he estab.

It is true that Hitler was Rudolf Hess, two practicing few people with whom he us clude that he therefore share the months he was with Hess become very close. When Hi friend who languished there, diminutives: "Ach mein Rudi that he's still there." ²⁸⁷ One plicit statement about the rel whenever Hitler got a presen that particularly pleased him in homosexual circles as "Frä his mother to show his prize t the relationship with Hess w: said about it. ²⁸⁸ Finally, there that one of Hitler's most prize which King Ludwig II had wr

A different kind of evid concerned about latent homos a remarkable similarity betw of homosexuality and his effc tainted by Jewish blood. In l denied that he was Jewish by was homosexual by attacking point of doing so.

After he came to pow against all types of sexual de rise in prosecutions was for h increased from 3,261 for the between 1938 and 1939. ²⁸⁹

⁹ By 1941, Hitler had reviser cially insane, damning him publi Hitler's behalf but without Hitler's

1901, 1931, 1942

AD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

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There is other evidence of Hitler's masochistic impulses. He liked to talk about physical punishments and he liked to act them out. The German film star Renaté Mueller reported that when she was invited to spend the night with Hitler in the Chancellery, he first described in great detail the medieval and Gestapo techniques of torturing victims. Then, after they were undressed, Hitler “lay on the floor . . . condemned himself as unworthy, heaped all kinds of accusations on his own head, and just groveled around in an agonizing manner. The scene became intolerable to her, and she finally acceded to his wishes to kick him. This excited him greatly; he became more and more excited.”³¹¹

Hitler's sadomasochistic tendencies, we are suggesting, are consistent with a coprophilic perversion, for in it masochism and sadism are united. By having young ladies defecate or urinate on his head, Hitler degraded both himself and others. In this act he could unite with his victims, “who became the personification of [his own] depraved self, as the persecutor who attacks a part of himself in his victims.”³¹²

Hitler's fixation on the anus, and his special interest in feces, filth, and urine (see p. 148f) coincide with this sexual perversion. Sexual pleasure can be stimulated by the rectal mucous membrane and by the retention or expulsion of the feces. We know that Hitler liked to give himself enemas; it seems quite possible that his sexual behavior was similar to those patients with anal interests who, Otto Fenichel has shown, find it pleasurable “to defecate on another person or to have another person defecate on oneself.”³¹³ Hitler apparently enjoyed the reaction he got from women when he talked about “sewer water,” which seems to have been his euphemism for urine. His secretaries were appropriately shocked, for example, when he told them that their lipstick was made from Parisian Abwasser.³¹⁴ To compensate for this fascination with feces and filth, Hitler practiced, as we have noted, the most punctilious personal cleanliness.

He enjoyed talking about sex in general, but he was particularly interested in deviate sexual behavior. In a private letter Kubizek reported that his friend chattered “by the hour” about “depraved [sexual] customs.”³¹⁵

He employed the same psychological defenses against perversion that he used against feelings of latent homosexuality and fears of Jewishness: denial, projection, and punishment. Only two examples of projection can be given here. In one particularly revealing turn of phrase, he accused Jewish journalism and literature of “splashing filth in the face of humanity.” And his immediate reaction on seeing photographs depicting gross types of deviate sexual activity is worth remembering. He said that the males involved could not possibly be Germans: they must be of Jewish extraction.³¹⁶

In a table conversation of 22 May 1942, he made a special point of lashing out against sexual deviants, insisting that they were a threat

* D.T. - Total separation between our acts and the conclusions to be drawn from our ideology as cruciaphs to a successful dictator, see p 242

1937

1900

See
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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

to society and "public decency." They should all be handed over to the Gestapo and severely punished:

Experience shows that unnatural offenders generally turn into homicidal maniacs; they must be rendered harmless however young they may be. I have therefore always been in favor of the strongest possible punishment of these antisocial elements.³¹⁷

Other aspects of Hitler's personality also fit what we know to be true about the psychopathology of sexual perversion. The infantilism we have found in him is one necessary ingredient. For as Freud was first to notice, "perverted sexuality is nothing else but infantile sexuality, magnified and separated into its component parts." Infantilism is clearly marked when, as with Hitler, the perversion involves a reversion to the anal stage.³¹⁸ Hitler's harrowing childhood memories of his primal scene experience and his monorchism clearly qualify as prerequisites for adult perversion, as set forth by the distinguished child psychoanalyst Phyllis Greenacre. "If I were to attempt a formula describing the development of perversion," she has written, the primary cause would lie in a disturbed mother-child relationship, "especially [one] involving the genitals. This becomes most significant . . . when castration anxiety is extraordinarily acute."³¹⁹

Psychoanalysts have shown that the mothers of boys who become sexual perverts often were overly stringent about toilet training. As we have noted, Klara Hitler had a reputation in Leonding and Linz for having had "the cleanest house in town" and keeping her children "absolutely spotless." It is interesting, and perhaps in this connection suggestive, that in one case of perversion described by an American analyst, the patient showed an identification with his mother: he displayed a desire "to have his sweetheart urinate in his presence while he encouraged her in a friendly way. He was playing the role of his mother who used to put him on the chamberpot when he was a baby."³²⁰

In his chapter on perversion in his standard work on psychoanalytic theory, Otto Fenichel lists three basic characteristics: patients with perversions tend to be infantile; they have unreconciled Oedipus complexes; and they all display castration anxiety. Indeed, Fenichel concludes: "Castration anxiety (and guilt feelings which are derivatives of castration anxiety) must be the decisive factor."³²¹ Adolf Hitler's lifelong concern about castration has already been mentioned perhaps too often.

If the clinical literature is correct in concluding that Oedipal problems, sadomasochism, infantilism, and castration anxiety are the marks of perversion, then Hitler certainly had all the chief symptoms. But there is a more specific reason why Adolf's symptoms were so intense and why a sexual perversion of the kind described was, psychologically, an appropriate response to sexual problems dating from his

The Child As Father to the Man

earliest years. The combination of trauma had given Adolf Hitler sexual intercourse. He saw it that must be avoided. He could not have his sexual energies in deviate.

As with other issues raised, certain that Hitler had the admitted that traditional history in saying that they can find evidence was sexually normal. But the tary evidence of uncertain psychological data.

In short, we conclude that ladies urinate or defecate on this perversion not because completely convincing but because of the perversion fits all and public performance. It was his grandiose, moralistic public ridden self which pleaded for pulse for self-punishment, we to have historic consequences.

Thus did the evils done man. We leave him now to conditions which helped bring him achieve a political goal without personality, time, and place. None can be understood apart from

In following the course of a fateful meeting with Adolf Hitler there was in the past that he the context of his times, the balanced man became a political

242
J.T. Indeed!

1918 D.T.

PHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

to fill. The call for immediate
all to which Hitler, the century's
brilliant response.

techniques to control the masses
emotions. During the war, na-
wisdom attributed to Thucyd-
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hate the enemy passionately.
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s own cause and the total de-
"mobilization of hatred" on a
st modern effort at systematic
sions." 131

ss. In *Mein Kampf* he showed
it closely. He devoted a chap-
that "it was shown only during
results a suitably applied propa-
very effective use of those

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to totalitarian government. For
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y but clear development of a
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ear, the phrase was associated
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tizens were compelled to vol-
usand forms of tyranny. As
compulsion" blurred conven-
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high art of propaganda," he
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countries, nowhere was govern-
d effective as in Germany,
y" (*Kriegswirtschaft*) or war
relatively free economy in
ritten. "Germany emerged in
ny of state socialism in which
ered all phases of economic

life." The precedent was important for the future; the Nazi economic
system profited enormously from the wartime experience.¹³⁴

Thus, during the years from 1914 to 1918, Germans experienced
three essentials of Nazi totalitarianism: totality of commitment; the
power of the state to coerce and control the lives and fortunes of its
people; and a new form of autocracy basing its legitimacy on the will
of the masses, which it manipulated through advanced technology.

Moreover, extremism, which flourished in every belligerent coun-
try, seemed to grow with particular virulence in Germany, which had
already shown a tendency to succumb to "the eternal either/or." The
pull of opposites was felt particularly in the last phase of the war and
its immediate aftermath. Feelings of desperation and despair, with the
impulse to smash all social systems, vied with vaulting hopes that
a "New Order" would bring complete solutions to all Germany's prob-
lems. Neither attitude was helpful to the struggling young republic.

After the catastrophic defeat of 1918, many Germans came to
hope that the destruction prescribed by Nietzsche had been accom-
plished. They swung from depression to euphoric expectation that the
revolution would establish the long-awaited Reich of the patriots'
dreams. The tenacious myth of the coming of a new Barbarossa was
renewed with unusual fervor during the dark days of defeat and revolu-
tion. And the experience of the war fostered chiliastic thinking in other
ways. The sheer horror of war and the enormity of the sacrifice could
be justified only if one could believe that a splendid new society would
come into being—a society that would preserve the wartime experience
of comradesly sacrifice and cooperation. Economic mobilization of the
war years contributed to the idea of a patriotic socialism which was
to be expected in the New Order, where an economy of "service to state
and Volk would form the material foundations for the social and moral
edifice of a new Germany."

Life in the trenches—at least in retrospect—had also made a
positive contribution to the hopes of a new social order based on what
was called "front socialism." For at the front, it was said, soldiers
experienced a close, warm feeling of belonging together, a deep soli-
darity of all members of the Volk . . . a common life in which all social,
political, religious and cultural differences either virtually disappeared
or sank into insignificance." One writer saw in this "socialism of the
trenches" a true revolution—a German counterpart of the French Rev-
olution of 1789: "In the battle for the existence of our Volk, the new idea
of 1914 was born, the idea of German organization of *Volksgemein-
schaft*, of national socialism." 135 a people's movement

Faith in a coming New Order, in a new Reich, and in the establish-
ment of a *Volksgemeinschaft* was held with religious intensity. The
political romantics of 1918—much like the Romantics of an earlier
generation—longed for a new kind of religion, "the spiritual organiza-
tion of the German Volk, of the German nation: the *corpus mysticum*

*But in this manner I would
certify his morale as kept.* 305

1919
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

(*) Germanicum." In this new religion, concepts of sin and responsibility would be collectivized. "It will not be as individuals that we stand before God to be judged," a neo-Romantic wrote, "but as a Community of Fate, of Race and Blood."¹³⁰

As hope and expectations soared ever higher, all the more sordid seemed the bleak reality of the Weimar Republic, born of defeat and national humiliation and staggering under economic and psychological burdens it was too weak to bear.

THE "NEW MEN" VS. THE "NOVEMBER CRIMINALS"

World War I contributed to the receptibility of Hitler's totalitarian ideology. It also provided his movement with a particular kind of personnel: the "New Men" who, like Hitler, had fought on the Western Front and who would form the overwhelming majority of the leadership group of the Nazi Party.¹³⁷

In August 1914 a young law student who was soon to die at Châlons-sur-Marne wrote these lines in a letter to his family:

Hurrah! At last I have my orders. I report tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock. . . . We are bound to win! Nothing else is possible in the face of such a determined will to victory. My dear ones, be proud that you live in such a time and in such a nation and that you too have the privilege of sending those you love into so glorious a battle.¹³⁸

Thus the unknown Austrian volunteer who was "overwhelmed by impassionate enthusiasm," and who fell on his knees and thanked God for the coming of the war, was no exception. German youth by the thousands welcomed the war and eagerly grasped the opportunity to defend their Fatherland. To a man they were convinced of the righteousness of their cause. Even the pacifist poet Ernst Toller wrote in his memoirs, "I was proud. I was a soldier at last, a privileged defender of the Fatherland."¹³⁹

As the jubilant, singing throng left for the front, only one thought disturbed them. The war, everyone knew, would be over in a month or so, and they might be too late to share in the glory of the hour. As the war dragged on year after year, youthful enthusiasm vanished. The war diary of Ernst Jünger records a terrible transformation. As a sensitive, idealistic volunteer he was nauseated by the sight and stench of rotting corpses, and on a lovely April day he wrote that his sympathy was with the poet:

Surely this day that God has given
Was meant for better uses than to kill.

In the course of two war years, that boy of 19 was changed into a hard and ruthless killer, the veteran of 20 wounds, the proud wearer

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(*) D.T. This principle, too, I employ
It was crucial. It opened
the gates.

D.T.
The Past As Prologue: Hitler a

of the *Pour le Mérite*, the wrote in memoirs which sol period:

The turmoil of our f and thirst for blood. . gripped me—it gripped powering desire to kill from my eyes. . . . On

And he acclaimed wha the Western Front. Since we among the Nazis, we had be

This is the New Man, rope. A completely ne purpose. Far behind t foundations will be tor —of the audacious, th himself and to others. to power. It is the for: new shapes and new with blood, and power r

Of course, it should n "New Men" is typical of all venient antidote to Jünger *All Quiet on the Western F* longs to a later era. He was immediate postwar years. H ing back from the relative pe

Germans were totally i in 1918. Patriots spread the defeated in the field. Rather, been betrayed and given a : vember Criminals"—that is, aries at home. The story w pointed out that the Suprem the revolution; that during political, and economic con nally, that it was General L government to sue for pea legend is not that it was f By a process of rationalizati German patriots believed, c oughly, that the army had ne very real fact that the sold patriotic myth-makers were

ATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

irony and the tragedy consisted despised Hitler, yet—often unwittingly—helping to destroy the Republic. Journalists who saw themselves as and Kurt Tucholsky. Niekisch, a Gestapo for his courageous anti-Hitler he wanted to destroy the y for a "new barbarism" to clear too despised Western liberalism rms like "liberty" and "human and biting satirist who was a nal *Die Weltbühne* (The World ic and in a free and humane so. But since he could find no politi- rt, he joined none and ridiculed ders were less than ideal, he tore in effect, though certainly not in ccess of the dictator he detested. st Hitler, "Tucholsky stood aside sed some help. All they got from

not so much divided left from to the middle. The two extremes Pachter, a socialist in his youth: ate; we too agreed that the Re- al contact with the masses; we ite; we too ridiculed the Republic blic had no style."¹⁷⁴ ht are important and can be ex- West, in part because the West- ated Versailles Treaty, but also ves to be heirs of a long tradi- ith the degenerate civilization of tward: the left toward the new st and a renewed *Drang nach recate intellect and extol *Lebens*- stressed emotions, instincts, and attitude was a truly remarkable antic Heinrich von Kleist, who verse groups: the Nazis claimed nists called him a revolutionary; igious revivalists were attracted d that "to stand by Kleist is to be orbid reason for the attraction any people over so long a period etability to the love affair with nan mind . . . only three things*

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

were clear about the Kleist crusade: its intensity, its confusion, and its exaltation of irrationality—its blissful death wish."¹⁷³

A romantic social vision beckoned both left and right, whether it was the socialist myth of a stateless, classless society or the nationalist myth of a Third Reich. This new Reich, it was fervently expected, would respond to three deeply felt desires: to establish a New Order of unspecified form but directed by a hero-leader; to solve all economic problems through some kind of authoritarian German socialism; and to respond to the spiritual crisis and weakening of traditional religion by a glowing Germanic faith.¹⁷⁰

Both left and right rejected political individualism and endorsed, often with ecstatic intensity, the concept of community, or *Gemeinschaft*. It is a fact of very considerable historic importance that in Germany both conservative nationalists and radical revolutionaries supported socialism and *Gemeinschaft*, whether they saw this community as being achieved in the classless society of Marx or the racial community of Hitler. Both agreed that the individual should be sacrificed to the demands of the group. Hitler responded brilliantly to this spiritual longing of conservatives and revolutionaries for an all-embracing, cooperative German community. Fritz Stern is quite right in noting that this very important aspect of the rise of Hitler has been overlooked by both Marxist and psychoanalytical explanations for the success of his movement.¹⁷⁷

Nazi emphasis on the primacy of community over the individual (as in Goebbels's slogan "*Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz*") also helps to explain how it was possible for so many German intellectuals to join the Nazi cult. Their support "would have been inconceivable," a German historian has written, "without the anti-democratic intellectual movement that preceded it, [which] in its contempt for everything liberal had blunted people's sensitivities to the inviolable rights of the individual and the preservation of human dignity."¹⁷⁸

These general themes are seen most clearly in the thought of three of the period's most influential writers, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck (1876–1925), Oswald Spengler (1880–1936), and Martin Heidegger (1889–1976). All three illustrate what the noted German theologian and essayist Ernst Troeltsch had in mind when he concluded in 1922 that there was a "curious dualism" in the German mind. There was, he said, an abundance of Romanticism and lofty idealism; but there was also a form of realism pushed to the verge of cynicism and utter indifference to ideals and morality:

But what you will see above all is an inclination to make an astonishing combination of the two elements—in a word, to brutalize Romance, and to romanticize cynicism.¹⁷⁹

Like thousands of his generation, Moeller had participated in the prewar youth movement and had joyfully volunteered for the German

* D.T. we were agreed, a German Reich, splendid, mysterious, larger than any, was more of a secret dream to conservatives

1919, 1922 D.T.

And revolutionary goals. Then any real wish to see their party triumph.

*D.T. Take the old Imperial colors! 1919
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Army. In the midst of war and bombardments of the Western Front he had written his first book, *Der preussische Stil* (The Prussian Style). The original dust jacket bore a picture of Frederick the Great and the imperial (later Nazi) colors of black, white, and red. The book was dedicated "to the spirit of Hegel and Clausewitz." Its central theme was contained in the first chapter: "*Preussen ist ohne Mythos*" (Prussia is Without Myth). Incomparably great as Prussia was, it still lacked something: it was much too practical, cold, rational. Germany needed a flaming Romantic urge, a soul-stirring dynamic. In short, Germany needed a *myth*, "a life-renewing force." One is reminded of Kohn's observation that Nazism resulted from the marriage of Prussianism and Romanticism.

After the armistice, which Moeller saw as a temporary truce in a holy crusade against the West, he was one of the cofounders of the *Juni Klub*, named after the month when the "Treaty of Shame" was signed. He dedicated his life and talents to the destruction of democracy and the establishment of a New Order. To this end, in 1923 he published his most important work which he entitled *Das dritte Reich* (The Third Reich). This book played a far greater role in German party politics in the Republic than any other single volume, not excluding *Mein Kampf*, and was widely read long before Hitler's. Moeller was admired by many different sorts of people. Niekisch, the National Bolshevik, said that Moeller's type of socialism "was a mood which gripped us"; Otto Strasser's splinter group of Nazis called Moeller "a great teacher" whose book was "the basic book of the Black Front"; and Goebbels, in his unpublished diary, noted in 1925 that he was deeply stirred by Moeller's writing.¹⁸⁰

A brief review of the chapters of this book, published in 1923, will convey something of its spirit. Chapter 1, on revolution, indicts the Republic for treason and promises that Germany will arise triumphant from defeat and humiliation. Chapter 2 shows how much Moeller was attracted to socialism. But he cannot accept Marxism because of its materialism and internationalism. He calls for a socialism more in tune with the German tradition, an authoritarian national socialism must form the basis for the Third Reich. Chapters 3 and 4 are a sustained attack on liberal democracy which he calls, variously, "mental disease," "the seducer," and "the betrayer of youth." His hatred of the Republic is palpable:

We can only speak with scorn of these intellectuals who lured the German *Volk* to its fate and who now stand with their stupid faces aghast at the result to which their ideology led them! . . . These intellectual blockheads have still not learned anything; they still mouth the eternal validity of their principles: world democracy, The League of Nations, international arbitration, the end of war, Peace on Earth. They will neither see nor hear nor con-

D. T.

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and Hi

fess that through their guil foreign domination. . . .

The concluding chapter, "The T Remember," he pleads in 1923, tery, indeterminate . . . charged next."

In 1925, when Germany's political stability and it looked as Moeller committed suicide. His influential magazine *Die Tat* (The advent of a final crisis and the bring about the kind of national ler's myth.¹⁸¹

Oswald Spengler had been a publication in 1918 of the first entitled *Der Untergang des Abi The Decline of the West*. The throughout the world, but was r bid fascination in Germany, w book" within a year of its publicat

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In the summer of 1919, Spe work which was to become ever German youth. Indeed, one histo has called this pamphlet, *Preusse and Socialism*), "one of the Hol

*D.T. A Lissine

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HIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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less that through their guilt, men all around us are suffering under
foreign domination. . .

The concluding chapter, "The Third Reich," is full of magic and myth.
Remember," he pleads in 1923, "that the words themselves are a mys-
ery, indeterminate . . . charged with feeling not of this world but of the
next."

In 1925, when Germany seemed to be recovering economic and
political stability and it looked as if the despised Republic might survive,
Moeller committed suicide. His ideas were then promoted by the in-
fluential magazine *Die Tat* (The Deed), which proclaimed in 1929 the
advent of a final crisis and the coming of a dictatorship which would
bring about the kind of national socialist state that would fulfill Moel-
ler's myth.¹⁸¹

Oswald Spengler had been an obscure high school teacher until the
publication in 1918 of the first of two massive and murky volumes
entitled *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, well known in English as
The Decline of the West. The work achieved surprising popularity
throughout the world, but was read with something approaching mor-
bid fascination in Germany, where it was "the most widely studied
book" within a year of its publication.¹⁸²

The atmosphere of gathering gloom with which Spengler's tomes
begin deepened to something akin to a triumphant death wish as he
announced the doom of Western civilization: "There is only one end of
the eternal struggle, death: death of individuals, death of peoples,
death of culture. . . ." There was, however, one glimmer of hope, at least
for Germany. Though Western culture would inevitably die, a new breed
of hard-hearted conquerors could arise in the Fatherland. Here, following
the dictates of an ancient myth, a New Order would be established
which, he wrote, would be called *Das dritte Reich*: "The Third Reich
is the Germanic ideal, an eternal new dawn."

The last page of the book sounds a call to struggle and racial power
that Hitler would re-echo in a hundred speeches:

Ever in History it is life and life only—race quality, the triumph
of the will-to-power—and not the victory of truths, discoveries, or
money that signifies. *World-history is the world-court*, and it has
ever decided in favor of the stronger. . . . Always it has sacrificed
truth and justice to power and race. . . .¹⁸³

In the summer of 1919, Spengler completed the manuscript of a
work which was to become even more popular, particularly among
German youth. Indeed, one historian of the Weimar youth movement
has called this pamphlet, *Preussentum und Sozialismus* (Prussianism
and Socialism), "one of the Holy Scriptures" of those young people

✶ D.T. A Disquisition on words 323

Eckhardt might give it.

reaching their maturity on or about the year 1933.¹⁸⁴ Spengler began with a savage indictment of the revolution of 1918 and the "November Criminals" of the Weimar Republic. He characterized the Revolution as "the most senseless act in German history. . . . In the heart of the German Volk, Weimar stands condemned. One can't even laugh at it. . . . The future will most certainly look on this episode with profound contempt." The whole idea of erecting a parliamentary Republic in Germany was, he insisted, a laughable anachronism, repugnant to the whole of German history. "Parliamentarianism in Germany is either nonsense or treason [*Unsinn oder Verrat*]."

Spengler then launched his thesis: what Germany needed was not Western liberalism but socialism of a particular kind, namely, Prussian-German socialism. "Frederick William I and not Marx was the first conscious socialist." Indeed, Marx was not a socialist at all, he was a materialist with no conception of the German spirit; he was "exclusively an English thinker." Spengler gazed into a clouded crystal ball in 1919 to predict the imminent demise of Marxism: "Today Marxism is collapsing amid the clamorous orgy of its attempt to become reality . . . the *Communist Manifesto* has entered upon a career as a literary curiosity. . . ." The future belonged not to the Marxists but to the only genuine socialists in the world, the Germanic Volk: "I say German socialism for there is no other . . . we Germans are socialist. The others cannot possibly be socialist. . . . The only true socialism is German socialism. . . . Prussianism and socialism are one and the same."

Spengler, like Hitler after him, was much taken with the "power of blood" to form history, and he combined it with the world of ideas in a curiously aggressive way: "Ideas that have become blood demand blood. War is the eternal pattern of higher human existence, and countries exist for war's sake."

This little book of large consequence ends with a stirring challenge to the youth of Germany:

I turn to youth. I call upon all those who have marrow in their bones and blood in their veins . . . to become men! We do not want any more ideologies, no more talk about culture and cosmopolitanism. . . .

We need hardness, brave skepticism, we need a body of socialist supermen [*sozialistische Herrennaturen*]. Once again: socialism means power, power, and power over and over again [*Sozialismus bedeutet Macht, Macht, und immer wieder Macht*]. . . .¹⁸⁵

Martin Heidegger, probably the most influential German philosopher of the 20th century, had nothing but scorn for democracy. Politically he sought a Hegelian synthesis between the apparently irreconcilable forces of Bismarckian Power and Nietzschean Spirit. Like many of his colleagues, he believed that a full reconciliation of political force and intellectual creativity could come only when it was imposed from

above by a power state, a new of Heidegger wrote in 1932. of the world. It would be the Goethe of the Germans who impeded meeting between Blüch- plished; against that, every shattered." ¹⁸⁶

The Führer of the Nazis was in mind. (Even Spengler was their most cherished ideas were *prinzip, Volksgemeinschaft*, Ge the creed of force, heroic ac promise of a Third Reich: Hi they would have liked, but the their own dreams." ¹⁸⁷ Thus it of Germany not only acquiesced applauded it.

Heidegger was among the of his inaugural address as re- 1933 to hail Hitler as the fulfill the synthesis of idea and action urged the academic community higher demands of race and freedom in quotation marks, grandly called "the inexorability the destiny of the German Volk word of defense for his great defamed by the Nazis as a difficulty in bringing himself Hitler, whose power he said a law: "Not theses and ideas at academic world. "The Führer reality and law today and in th directly from Hitler's propagand the primary purpose of the u by three kinds of service: "La edge service: they are equal: academic community, he concl in a common struggle: "All p of the heart and all the capacity struggle, elevated in struggle, he dedicated himself, his colle "battle community" (*Kampfge*

The Nazis, of course, recorsement and had Heidegger the thousands. They also saw in their official *Führer-Lexikon*.

* D.T. Heidegger
his father's cell
gab ihm die
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HIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

1932, 1933 D.T.

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influential German philos- scorn for democracy. Polit- een the apparently irrecon- etzschean Spirit. Like many oncliation of political force when it was imposed from

above by a power state, a new Reich. "It would be a Reich," an admirer of Heidegger wrote in 1932, "which would vouchsafe the final order of the world. It would be the Reich in which Frederick of Prussia and Goethe of the Germans would become one. The impossible, long-impeded meeting between Bismarck and Nietzsche would be accom- plished; against that, every attack of enemy powers would be shattered."¹⁸⁶

The Führer of the Nazis was not really what these intellectuals had in mind. (Even Spengler was shocked and disillusioned.) Yet many of their most cherished ideas were embodied in his movement: the Führer- prinzip, Volksgemeinschaft, Germanic socialism, the cult of power and the creed of force, heroic activism, the myth of a New Order, the promise of a Third Reich. Hitler to be sure was more uncouth than they would have liked, but the intellectuals "proved to be prisoners of their own dreams."¹⁸⁷ Thus it came about that many of the finest minds of Germany not only acquiesced in Hitler's ascension of power; they applauded it.

Heidegger was among the most enthusiastic. He used the occasion of his inaugural address as rector of the University of Freiburg in May 1933 to hail Hitler as the fulfillment of his fondest dream for Germany, the synthesis of idea and action. He disparaged rational inquiry, and he urged the academic community to dedicate itself to the mysterious. Higher demands of race and heroic leadership. Having put academic freedom in quotation marks, he extolled something he vaguely but grandly called "the inexorability of that spiritual mandate which forces the destiny of the German Volk into the stamp of its history." He had no word of defense for his great teacher, Edmund Husserl, who was being defamed by the Nazis as a non-Aryan and a traitor. But he had no difficulty in bringing himself to a resounding endorsement of Adolf Hitler, whose power he said should extend beyond moral and human law: "Not theses and ideas are the laws of your being!" he told the academic world. "The Führer himself, and he alone, is Germany's reality and law today and in the future." In words that could have come directly from Hitler's propaganda mills, the philosopher proclaimed that the primary purpose of the university was to serve Führer and Volk by three kinds of service: "Labor service, military service, and knowl- edge service; they are equally necessary and of equal rank." The entire academic community, he concluded, must join with the rest of the Volk in a common struggle: "All powers of will and thought, all the forces of the heart and all the capacities of the body must be unfolded through struggle, elevated in struggle, and preserved as struggle." In that spirit he dedicated himself, his colleagues, and his students to join in one "battle community" (Kampfsgemeinschaft).

The Nazis, of course, recognized at once the value of such an endorsement and had Heidegger's address printed up and distributed by the thousands. They also saw to it that his name and picture appeared in their official Führer-Lexikon. Heidegger raised no objections.¹⁸⁸

* D.T. H. essential lack of elegance and his fatuous attempts to acquit it ³²⁵. Gablem the uncomfortable personality of a headmaster who until yesterday was

only a writer. The press may be writing about him, but for writing about him, he has been invisible

1928 D.T.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

precisely at a time when the employable population reached its postwar peak." The German apprenticeship system contributed further to youthful frustration and fury. The number who could enter many trades was radically reduced. In metalworking, to take one example, there had been 132,000 openings for young apprentices in 1925; in 1932 there were a scant 1,900. University graduates were no better off. Indeed, the Depression produced "an underemployed intellectual proletariat that looked to National Socialism for relief and status."¹⁰²

The effects of the Great Depression went far beyond economics. Indeed, its most important consequence was to accelerate the radicalization of the middle class, which must be considered one of the essential causes of Hitler's success. The Reichstag elections of September 1930 demonstrated unmistakably the connection between economic crisis and political radicalization. They showed, as Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann said in an unforgettable metaphor, that the Weimar Republic was "a candle burning at both ends." In the balloting, the moderate political parties, which relied on middle-class votes, lost more than half their support. By 1932 these parties altogether received only 11 percent of the total vote. The Communists gained on the left, but it was Hitler who registered one of the most dramatic advances in the history of electoral democracy. In 1928 his party had been a minor splinter group with 2.6 percent of the total vote; in 1932, it had won 37.4 percent and had become the largest party in the country.¹⁰³

HITLER'S APPEAL TO THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS

Nazism was not a class movement. It succeeded because it was "the first genuinely integrative movement in modern German history," the first political party to attract support from all levels of society.¹⁰⁴ Yet it depended particularly on the lower middle class both for votes and for leaders. Germans like Herr Schmidt and his children would comprise almost 60 percent of the total Party membership.

Why did so many average German citizens desert Weimar and turn to a political party which openly and clearly promised to kill democracy?^{*} An important part of the answer lies in the psychological condition of the German middle class which has been well-described in one of Erich Fromm's most valuable books, whose thesis is contained in its title: *Escape from Freedom*. Fromm believes that historians have put too much stress on Western man's desire for freedom, in-

^{*} Never had a political movement given so flat a promise. An editorial in Goebbels's newspaper *Der Angriff* (The Attack) of 30 May 1928 answered its own question "What do we want in the Reichstag?" with brutal frankness which left no doubt about Nazi intentions: "We are the enemies . . . of this democracy . . . so why do we want to get into the Reichstag? We are going there in order to destroy the arsenal of democracy with its own weapons. . . . We come not as friends and not as neutrals, we come as enemies! [wir kommen als Feinde!] As the wolf breaks into the sheepfold, so are we coming."

(*)

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D.T. I convinced Hitler to go to Goebbels
"it is just that we are exceptional!" "Alas
at 400 as you." "Actually, I am."

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dividuality, and liberty. (modern world, people desir- faced by staggering social escape from the burdens: largely true of the Germ Bismarck's Reich the risi responsibility of making: ciated themselves with the With the collapse of the E run their own governmen humiliation: the democra had ruined itself through Depression.

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The "little man" subn a posture of power denied 1920s, Fromm believes, sc oped: the "little man" wa dominate others, to hate a Adolf Hitler, whose own s way, the mood of the times

Hitler also offered s burden of individual opin he was joining a commur shouting the mindless c "Ein Führer!" which in t Second, "Ein Volk! Ein Re

By the thousands, t escape from a burden of sought the security of au Traditional conservatism, for it demanded that the le that feelings of nationalist sive nationalism was appe the idea of personal defe responsibility onto the na their own failures and da fault but were part of a n be solved only when the needed nationalism, and si

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AD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History*

1932 1939
dividuality, and liberty. Confronted by the complexities of life in the
modern world, people desire authority more than freedom. Indeed, when
faced by staggering social and economic problems, they may long to
escape from the burdens and responsibilities of freedom. Such was
largely true of the German *Kleinbürgertum* in the postwar world. In
Bismarck's Reich the rising middle class enjoyed security without the
responsibility of making political decisions; its members proudly asso-
ciated themselves with the power and glory of authoritarian institutions.
With the collapse of the Empire they were suddenly given the freedom to
run their own government, but freedom had brought only failure and
humiliation: the democracy had been forced to sign a hated treaty; it
had ruined itself through inflation; it was incapable of coping with the
Depression.

The despair and bewilderment of the middle class was caught by
two men of letters: in the title of Hans Fallada's 1932 best-seller,
Kleiner Mann—Was Nun? (Little Man—What Now?), and in Gerhart
Hauptmann's plaintive cry, "If only life would demand no more solu-
tions from us!" There was one way the powerless could gain power:
they could get it vicariously. Hitler's system fostered the heartening
illusion that merely by accepting him as Führer, there was conferred
"a kind of magical participation in the source of all power."¹⁰⁵

The "little man" submitted because he wanted desperately to attain
a posture of power denied to him as an individual. In Germany by the
1920s, Fromm believes, something akin to group sadomasochism devel-
oped: the "little man" wanted to be dominated, but he also wanted to
dominate others, to hate and destroy. He could identify very closely with
Adolf Hitler, whose own sadomasochistic impulses fit, in a remarkable
way, the mood of the times.

Hitler also offered salvation based upon faith, not reason. The
burden of individual opinion was thus lifted from the "little man," for
he was joining a community of faith in which he could participate by
shouting the mindless confession of faith, "*Ein Volk! Ein Reich!*
Ein Führer!" which in the Third Reich replaced the slogan of the
Second, "*Ein Volk! Ein Reich! Ein Gott!*"

By the thousands, the Schmidt families of Germany longed to
escape from a burden of freedom that had become unbearable. They
sought the security of authority—but authority of a particular kind.
Traditional conservatism was dead; Communism offered little comfort
for it demanded that the lower middle class sink into the proletariat and
that feelings of nationalism give way to international solidarity. Aggres-
sive nationalism was appealing to postwar Germans because they found
the idea of personal defeat so traumatic. They were happy to shift
responsibility onto the nation. In effect, they assured themselves that
their own failures and damaged self-esteem were not really their own
fault but were part of a national disaster. Hence, their problems would
be solved only when the nation was redeemed. Psychologically they
needed nationalism, and since Hitler's system was nationalism incarnate,

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they were better, but Goebbels
as a leader his clubfoot was even
worse than Hitler's mustache.

*He was so
big disgusting words of Hitler's. He was so
sensitive to that - he even knew that original letter from my book
under his nose - he was too smart to write them.*

*to go to Goebbels
clubfoot was even
worse than Hitler's mustache*

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clauses" in their charters, as did the largest Catholic association of university students.²²¹

Martin Wanhg, an American psychiatrist who has investigated the psychological origins of the genocide of the Jews, has found roots in the Nazi Youth Cohort's infantile experience during World War I. He believes that as young boys during the war, they discovered that their Oedipal longings increased during the father's long absence. Since strong incestuous desires for the mother could not be tolerated, they were projected and blamed on someone else. The psychological defense used was the same as the one employed by young Adolf Hitler: they, too, ascribed incest to the Jews, who sought the ruination of the German people. The Jews were the racial enemy who should be punished and removed as "incestuous criminals" and "defilers of the race." Thus, exactly as with Hitler, "self-contempt was displaced onto the Jews . . . thereby assuaging feelings of unworthiness and masochistic fantasies of rejection." According to Dr. Wanhg, such fantasies of self-destruction led to a more ominous displacement when feelings of suicidal depression were transformed into a program of mass murder.²²²

It is probably true that anti-Semitism was less important in Hitler's accession to power than the economic crisis of 1930-1933. Nevertheless, the economic and social distress of those years served to reinforce already existent anti-Semitism, particularly among the Youth Cohort. For hatred of the Jews was a very effective way of bringing together primitive urges to hate, attack, and destroy. Hitler's anti-Semitism also appealed to the Cohort because it provided a way to lessen guilt feelings for having abandoned traditional Christian teachings. As Erikson has reminded us, young people seek some sort of faith and commitment. In this era of national humiliation, resentment, and the Versailles-Diktat, thousands of young Germans found Christianity irrelevant to their needs. They wanted hatred and revenge, not love and reconciliation. But they still felt uneasy about rejecting the religion of their childhood. To such people, as Maurice Samuel has suggested in *The Great Hatred*, anti-Semitism was a kind of displaced hatred of Christianity, a way of decreasing guilt feelings by attacking the traditional enemy of Christianity, the Jew. Thus the emphasis of the Oberammergau passion plays of the period: hate the Jews, for the Jews killed Jesus. Hitler's anti-Semitism provided "the official rehabilitation of hatred."²²³

There was a need to hate, and Hitler supplied it. But it is a mistake to see his appeal solely in negative terms. Rather, he was effective because he spoke *both* to the basest and to the most lofty impulses of man; to hatred, cruelty, aggression, and terror, but also to faith, hope, love, and sacrifice. One of the reasons why Hitler was such an effective leader was that he thoroughly understood a profound psychological truth: neither a man nor a political party lives by bread alone. Both need sustaining ideals. Political programs are never successful if they cast their appeals solely in terms of materialism, self-interest, and cupidity. Hitler's Youth Cohort wanted very much to believe that their

12. T. 340 *Overarching One always long*
* *The exceptional power of centrifugation, etc.*
No wonder he had me looking in the

*curious places for young
Germans and young Americans
in the years before the first
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D. T.

The Past As Prologue: Hitler

leader could inspire th patriotism.

Hitler, an opportunis on the armor of righteou ness, materialism, factio The effectiveness of his pr that his party's nihilism v "ideology" altruism.²²⁴ An legion. Trevor-Roper is rig Hitler were vicious anti-Se "Many young people," he their time, were inspired clear, infectious insurance the exercise of faith and and independence.²²⁵

The memoirs of hur Hitler's movement speak e people were particularly a where common good wo brotherly concern and sup problems of Germany and and individual responsibilit feat and the dishonor of Ve tional nationalist parties. B German National People's I who believed that the cons ism while seeking to restore wanted a united cooperati found what they sought in f

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A young laborer was a Hitler shared his desire for "Faith was the one thing t faith in the purity of our na of a young soldier strikes tl superfluous to describe the s the spirit of *Gemeinsschaft*."²

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Hitler, an opportunist but also man of faith, found it easy to put on the armor of righteousness: he would save Germany from selfishness, materialism, factionalism, moral depravity, racial corruption. The effectiveness of his propaganda lay finally in this—he made it seem that his party's nihilism was idealism, its brutality strength, its vicious "ideology" altruism.²²⁴ And his converts in the name of idealism were legion. Trevor-Roper is right in reminding us that not all adherents of Hitler were vicious anti-Semites, sadistic brutes, bullies, and neurotics. "Many young people," he has written, "bewildered by the confusion of their time, were inspired by the message of hope, the simple, crystal-clear, infectious insurance" that a nation defeated and bound could, by the exercise of faith and willpower, arise again to a position of pride and independence.²²⁵

The memoirs of hundreds of young people who gladly joined Hitler's movement speak eloquently of such hope and idealism. Young people were particularly attracted by the promise of a *Gemeinschaft* where common good would come before personal interest, where brotherly concern and support of an inspired leader would solve the problems of Germany and end the awful feelings of individual isolation and individual responsibility. Many who were incensed by national defeat and the dishonor of Versailles might normally have supported traditional nationalist parties. But such parties as the Conservatives and the German National People's Party had nothing to offer this Youth Cohort, who believed that the conservative groups merely talked about patriotism while seeking to restore caste privilege. The idealistic young people wanted a united cooperative community, not the old social order. They found what they sought in Hitler. A student wrote:

How different from [traditional party politics] was the daring proposition that sprang from Hitler's warm, sympathetic heart! His idea was not to use the resources of the State to help industrialists and landowners, but to take advantage of them immediately to relieve the misery of millions of unemployed Germans!

A young laborer was attracted to Hitler because he believed that Hitler shared his desire for sacrifice and his faith in the Fatherland: "Faith was the one thing that always led us on, faith in Germany, faith in the purity of our nation and faith in our Leader." The memoir of a young soldier strikes the same note of faith and sacrifice: "It is superfluous to describe the sacrifices I made. . . . [They] were made in the spirit of *Gemeinschaft*."²²⁶

Hitler, it should never be forgotten, was a master of mass psychology. As early as 1923 he showed that he knew the power of appeals to service and sacrifice, the longing for *Gemeinschaft*, the "hunger for wholeness," the call to national greatness. He confided the secret of his

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bolically true, the Resistance became a fact of historic force. Hitler too knew how desperately his people wanted to believe in heroic myths. He articulated them and made them his own. By the alchemy of his charisma and the force of his propaganda, the most cherished myths of German history became Nazified and irresistible to millions of Germans. He was the long-awaited Barbarossa, the Savior who would fulfill the yearnings of the centuries and create a new Reich of the German Nation.

And Hitler offered more than new forms for old legends. He provided a new system of values which justified a new morality. Psychologists would call it "an alternative superego system." It can also be seen as a secular religion, complete with Messiah, a holy book, a cross, the trappings of religious pageantry, a priesthood of black-robed and anointed elite, excommunication and death for heretics, and the millennial promise of the Thousand Year Reich.

Thus Hitler succeeded, in part, because he appeared to many Germans as a godlike Messiah. In the historic context of national humiliation and despair, his religion seemed a vast improvement over the old. Where Christianity called for love and reconciliation, Hitler sanctified hatred and revenge; where Christianity demanded that God be loved with mind as well as heart, Hitler dispensed with reason and required that the Führer be accepted by faith and faith alone; where Christ preached individual responsibility and freedom of will, Hitler provided an escape from freedom into authority. The essence of Hitler's appeal was set forth long ago by Dostoyevsky in the Inquisitor General's confrontation with the returning Christ: "We too have a right to preach a mystery, and to teach them that it's not the free judgment of their hearts, not love that matters, but a mystery which they must follow blindly. . . . So we have done. We have corrected Thy work and have founded it upon *miracle, mystery and authority*. And men rejoiced that they were again led like sheep." ²³⁰

Hitler's "Seizure of Power"

Das war kein Sieg, denn die Gegner fehlten.
—Oswald Spengler (1933)

From reading this chapter, one might think that Hitler's attainment of power in 1933 was a foregone conclusion. Apparently all German history had been conspiring to aid him; the economic, social, and psychological crisis following 1930 was obviously pushing him along, the magic of his personality did the rest. And thus was Hitler hailed as savior and swept into power by a mesmerized and ecstatic people. But it did not happen that way. The strange career of Adolf Hitler provides many insights into the vagaries of history, and this is one of them: not even he was inevitable.

The combination of past history, present crisis, and charismatic

D.T. That was my rich contribution
How much were people in need
of a new superego which could accomodate

D.T.

their nobles and aristocrats. I must be
rather than squawking back into the indomitable, fogless middle

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

—whatever his later protestations may have been—was well expressed by a statement that shows how totally he misjudged the Führer of the Nazis. On the very eve of the Third Reich, Brüning said: "If Hitler would become chancellor under normal conditions [sic], one could then regard the situation with a certain amount of calm."²³⁰

That was precisely the problem. The leaders of the democracy in its most desperate hour were not attempting to stop the menace of a Hitler dictatorship or to exclude him from office; rather, all their political energies were expended in efforts to bring him into a cabinet—with each political faction trying to win him over to its side. Each group hoped that Hitler would supply the votes and remain the "prisoner" of his "superiors." All were confident that they knew how to handle him. It was also assumed that once he was involved in the government, the responsibilities of political power would teach him humility and moderation.

It has been said that the story of Hitler's rise to power is the story of his underestimation. It must also be said that "there would have been no story of Hitler at all had not outstanding men and forces estimated him highly—for their own purposes."²³⁷

Never was vapid expectation more effectively exploited.

Thus was Germany delivered unto the Austrian. It was all perfectly legal. Late in the morning of 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler took a great oath to preserve the Republic; he then placed his softly effeminate hands between the leathery palms of *Der alte Herr*, the senile Field Marshal-President, in an ancient German gesture of fealty and trust.

In the ecstatic city, a Catholic nun was heard to say, "What a blessing that friendly Herr Hitler has taken power! Praise be to God!" There was one act of protest. A little Jewish boy, driven half-mad by watching Storm Troopers whip his grandmother with lengths of garden hose, tried to beat off the Nazis with his fists. He was quickly silenced. Adolf Hitler, the failure of Linz and Vienna, could now fulfill his boyhood promise that he would become master of the Motherland, founder of a new Reich of the German nation.

That night he pushed back thoughts of death to stand, quivering with excitement, stiffly erect, on the balcony of the Chancellery. His eyes flashed and his face shone with the triumph of a man who had accomplished the impossible. He looked down on the Wilhelmstrasse, a sea of flames as wave after endless wave of torch-bearing followers, roaring the *Horst Wessel* song, surged below him.

The flames of that night were to become a symbol of his entire career. As an adolescent he had spoken reverently of the "Flame of Life"; as a street agitator he had demanded hatred so intense it would become "one single, fiery sea of flames"; a good speech, he said, was "a flaming javelin which sets the crowd afire." Later, fires that he lit would gut Warsaw, Rotterdam, Coventry, London, and Leningrad; on

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D.T. His lack of social graces, his instinctive reflex to be unworldly, intimidated by his social betters

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The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

1933

D.T.

his orders, stinking black smoke would go up the chimneys of Auschwitz. Still later, in defeat, he would want all Germany to burn. At the end, amid the crash of Red Army artillery shells in Berlin, he would command that his own petrol-soaked body be set aflame. But on this overcast Monday night in 1933, the smell of burning oil rags was incense to the Psychopathic God.

→ then the confidence that of course
they would be able to handle
him in close quarters like
the Cabinet.

OD: ADOLF HITLER

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

D.T.

question of Hitler's per-
answers suggest. Why.
-Semitism? Why did he
ation, irrationality, and
pathologists who have
i that anti-Semites dis-
-understanding of Hitler's
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They, too, are troubled
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ondition was made by
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e anti-Semite. He is a
sure, but of himself.
admit his cowardice
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tifle his anxieties. ...
a pitiless stone, a fur-
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symptoms of an emo-
tional chief defense. But
"rationality" does not solve
judged people in the
le—is much too broad
historical consequences.

Hatred and fear of the Jews dominated his life and haunted him in his hour of death—to the last word of his last public statement. Never in history has there been such an anti-Semite. He established a government dedicated to anti-Semitism; he sought to kill every Jew in Europe. Is there any possible way for a biographer to explain these historic facts? Perhaps not. History is not a science, and there are many historical facts that defy explanation. This may well be one of them. But since it is not possible to explain Hitler's anti-Semitism by relying on traditional tools of historic analysis, let us, with due recognition of the difficulties, attempt to apply psychoanalytical techniques in a discussion of reasons for Hitler's personal hatred of Jews.

It seems likely that Hitler's hatred was precipitated by the traumatic events of his infancy and childhood. As we have seen, these included the primal scene trauma, the rumors of his Jewish ancestry, and the suffering and death of his mother while being treated by a Jew. The bitter memory of her suffering in 1907 was reinforced in 1918 when—according to his view—the Motherland was betrayed and defiled by Jewish traitors. His historic decision to become a politician was directly related to his desire to destroy the Jews and save the Motherland.

The mother was important, but so was the father. The role played by Alois Hitler in the development of his son's anti-Semitism may be seen from the perspective provided by an American psychoanalyst. In this view, Hitler's famous projection onto the Jews was a specific type derived from the ego-splitting characteristic of borderline personalities. Since he saw himself as Christ, the symbol of absolute purity and goodness, he required an opposite symbol of evil, the Devil incarnate. The Jew became for him such a symbol of total evil, a kind of negative absolute. In exalting the Jew as the one threat and persecutor, the one enemy both of himself and of the Motherland, Hitler's hatred reached the dimensions of a persecution mania. According to classical psychoanalysis, there is a peculiarity about this kind of mania, this manifestation of paranoia. Freud believed that whenever a paranoid raised anyone to the level of *sole* persecutor, "He is raising him to the rank of father; he is putting him into a position in which he can blame him for all his misfortunes."

Thus, in attempting to destroy all the Jews, Hitler was attempting to destroy his father. That he was never able to accomplish his objective was more than a problem of logistics; it was also a problem of internalization. As Harry Slochower has written, "No matter how many Jews Hitler sent into his hell-fires, the Jew—the father-figure—remained ineradicable. . . . Wherever Hitler went, along came his satanic shadow—the Jew."⁴⁵ And thus it was, as Hitler himself said, "Der Jude sitzt immer in uns."

It is commonly said that Hitler made the Jews a "scapegoat" for all the Motherland's problems. Psychologically, scapegoats are helpful in alleviating feelings of inadequacy, self-hatred, and guilt. If, for example, a person feels guilty about incest or sexual perversion, he can

(*) D.T. The problem was that anti-Semitism was the only explanation for a multitude of misdeeds, and he had to depend on it until it was even more and more

built a defense to satisfaction of his father's love. The trouble was that a little anti-Semitism was not enough to satisfy his father, and a great deal of it was not enough to satisfy his mother.

But for Germans, so incredibly romantic, there had to be a mystery as well, so all that was not rational in what he proposed proved to be the most useful ~~for~~ for gaining the new country.

1933-35 T.

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

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...entage of having it both ways
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...ohn persuades his company
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...ie chains are well forged.

...l Germans, Hitler fulfilled a
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...urther, the Jews were said to
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...was also a decade of crisis in
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considered to be the depravity of cinema, stage, cabaret life, and literature. It was comforting to be told that such depravity was due entirely to "Jewish influences." In dozens of effective speeches, Hitler appeared as a "pious deacon" articulating the outrage and conscience of the petty bourgeoisie.¹⁰

During the postwar period, cherished beliefs, long accepted as eternal verities, were being challenged by three of history's most influential thinkers, all of whom were Jews. To many Germans, Marx, Freud, and Einstein were dangerous radicals bent on overthrowing whole systems of social, economic, ethical, and scientific order. All three found popularizers who spread their ideas with disturbing effectiveness. Emotional reaction against "subversive Jewish thinkers" increased the appeal of Hitler's demagoguery, which thundered against "Jewish Ideas" and exalted a simple "Germanic faith."

Anti-Semitism Institutionalized

After Hitler attained power, his personal rancor against the Jews was indeed "projected and rationalized as public policy." His anti-Semitism became the law of the land.

Hitler's first measures against the "Jewish peril" were designed to stop Jews from participating in the civic and cultural world to which they had contributed for many generations. An "Aryan paragraph" in the Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service of 7 April 1933 dismissed all Jewish civil servants. This paragraph was soon expanded to include lawyers and doctors, then writers, artists, and university and high school teachers and students. Subsequent legislation required that all Jews designate as their first name either "Sara" or "Israel." When war came in the summer of 1939, Jews were not permitted to drive motor vehicles or take part in German cultural events.

Two laws in particular document Hitler's personal obsession with racial purity, his fear of "bad blood" and tainted ancestry. The Law for the Prevention of Progeny Suffering from Hereditary Disease (*Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkrankten Nachwuchses*) provided death or sterilization for "hereditary diseases" ranging from schizophrenia to congenital blindness and deafness. Women could also be sterilized for color blindness, since, as an SS official pointed out, "We must not have soldiers who are color-blind. It is transmitted only by women." Jews, by definition, were carriers of "hereditary disease."⁵⁰

Hitler's concern about "Jewish blood" also produced the Nuremberg Racial Laws of September 1935, whose wording he personally supervised. Officially entitled *Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre* (Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor), this legislation made it a criminal offense for a German to have sexual intercourse with a Jew, and specifically forbade German women from working as domestics in Jewish households. But no

staying in Germany
- death
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and its new child technology 369

This would ~~have~~ cause beneficent
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1933

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Preparation for the earthquake of civilization

* amount of restrictive civil legislation could solve the "Jewish problem." As Hitler saw it, the threat was biological; this racial enemy, he was desperately afraid, had poisoned his own blood and threatened that of his people. The "Final Solution" was inherent in the very statement of the problem: he and Germany could be safe only after all Jews had perished.

Mass Murder of the Jews

Another reason for the genocide grew out of the Führer's psychopathology. Since he never knew whether his own grandfather was Jewish, and no one could prove he was not, Hitler had to prove to himself beyond the shadow of a doubt that he could not possibly be "corrupted" by Jewish blood. In order to convince himself that such a direct threat to his personal identity and his life work was an utter impossibility, he became history's greatest scourge of the Jews. In effect he was saying: "See, I cannot possibly be Jewish. I'll prove it. I am the killer of Jews." And thus he screamed that he would "annihilate the Jews down to the third generation" that is, down to the degree of blood relationship he was trying so desperately to prove could not possibly be his own.

There were probably other reasons for the genocide. It seems, for example, to have been associated with Hitler's curious preoccupation with death (see Chapter 1, pp. 18-20). His thoughts of killing himself may have been displaced in the politics of genocide; perhaps he relieved personal anxieties about self-destruction by destroying others. Thus, when he spoke of spreading terror and said "The important thing is the sudden shock of an overwhelming fear of death," he was saying in effect: "People will recoil with fear of death (as I do); I can command them and I can command death by terrorizing or killing them." ⁵¹

Genocide may also have been a by-product of the deep feelings of guilt we have found in Hitler. Robert Jay Lifton has observed that paranoid despots seek to externalize guilt feelings in the form of an unending number of enemies whose death they exult in surviving. Thus, Hitler externalized guilt feelings by displacing them upon others and then killing them—by the millions—thereby demonstrating his special dispensation from death and his power over it. ⁵²

The number of times Hitler used the word "exterminate" is psychologically interesting. The word in German, *ausrotten*, is much more "externalizing" than it is in English. Because it is a verb with a separable prefix, emphasis is placed strongly on the preposition, *aus* (out): *Ich rotte den Juden AUS!* or *Ich will den Juden ausrotten!* Hitler promised publicly as early as 1920 that he would take the evil of Jewry by the roots and exterminate it: *mit Stumpf und Stiel ausrotten!* ⁵³ And after he came to power he repeated the promise—and the same word—with

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* P.T. Ah, the Jew in him. He saw this alien Jewish spirit in himself as well as alive by the totality of Jews in the West.

D.T.

From Private Neurosis to Publ

a "monotonous insistence" was afraid that people might the Jews would be exterminated when he made this projection, he warned that "and he told his audience that he had prophesied that the about my prophecies." Eig on his mind: "People always who laughed then, innumerable those who still laugh now from now." ⁵⁴ Hitler's concour suggestion that he felt internal fear and to external

He probably chose a practical and personal reason: million people; but Hitler wanted to get revenge for the gas chambers blamed on the Jews. A passage makes the suggestion in the genocide:

If at the beginning of a thousand of these He gas as hundreds of thousands of life had to end at the front would not!

Hitler's annihilation of tary defeat. Admittedly, it Hitler realized that he could the inevitability of victory Percy Schramm is probable by the end of 1941, after a trophic winter, that the kill longer obtainable. ⁵⁶ If so, i

* This characterization, in speeches and conversations in with to his military advisers; October Year's message; the Berlin Sport February 1942, 30 September 1962 February 1945.

** It is curious—and to me for his prophecy. His Reichstag Jews. He must have been referring seems likely that this mistake about the contents and dates of

Old ally of the world. Enough to see the problem deep.

alive

P370

Beneficial
GOD: ADOLF HITLER
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1924, 1939, 1941

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

D. T.

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it is a verb with a separable
preposition, *aus* (out): *Ich*
Ausrotten! Hitler promised
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*Hitler ausrotten!*⁵² And after
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Hitler's plan

a "monotonous insistence" that is "truly astounding." * Apparently he
was afraid that people might not believe him when he promised that
the Jews would be exterminated, and he did not want to be laughed
at when he made this prophecy. In a speech of 30 January 1942, for
example, he warned that "I am careful not to make hasty prophecies,"
and he told his audience that already on 1 September 1939, ** when
he had prophesied that the Jews would be annihilated, people "laughed
about my prophecies." Eight months later, being laughed at was still
on his mind: "People always laughed about me as a prophet. Of those
who laughed then, innumerable numbers no longer laugh today, and
those who still laugh now will perhaps no longer laugh a short time
from now."⁵⁴ Hitler's concern about being laughed at seems to support
our suggestion that he felt a serious personal need to externalize an
internal fear and to exterminate it in the form of the Jewish people.

He probably chose gas as the means of extermination both for
practical and personal reasons. Gas was an efficient way to kill 5 or 6
million people; but Hitler may also have ordered the gassing of the Jews
to get revenge for the gassing he himself had suffered in 1918, which he
blamed on the Jews. A passage in *Mein Kampf* shows his resentment
and makes the suggestion in 1924 which he would later implement
in the genocide:

1924/ If at the beginning of the war and during the war twelve or fifteen
thousand of these Hebrew defilers had been put under poison
gas as hundreds of thousands of our very best workers from all
walks of life had to endure at the front, then the sacrifice of millions
at the front would not have been in vain.⁵⁵

Hitler's annihilation of the Jews was also a consequence of mili-
tary defeat. Admittedly, it is difficult to set any precise moment when
Hitler realized that he could not win the war, and he kept proclaiming
the inevitability of victory long after he stopped believing in it. But
Percy Schramm is probably correct in saying that Hitler realized
by the end of 1941, after the first defeats in Russia during the cata-
strophic winter, that the kind of victory he had hoped to win was no
longer obtainable.⁵⁶ If so, it is no chronological accident that the final

* This characterization, which is Jäckel's, is borne out in the following
speeches and conversations in which the word "extermination" appears: March 1941
to his military advisers; October 1941 to his entourage; 1 January 1942 in a New
Year's message; the Berlin Sport Palace speech of 30 January 1942; speeches of 24
February 1942, 30 September 1942, 8 November 1942; and in a conversation of 13
February 1945.

** It is curious—and to me inexplicable—that he should give the wrong date
for his prophecy. His Reichstag speech of 1 September made no mention of the
Jews. He must have been referring to his Reichstag speech of 30 January 1939. It
seems likely that this mistake was unintentional, since he was usually accurate
about the contents and dates of speeches.

1941/ Old and died by 1944, he guessed
that he would never be able to
conquer the world and so solve
the problem definitively. He would know

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*when the last Jew was gone. How? by the annihilation
feeling of peace that would come over him*

1942

1942

D. T.

later stages of development are plagued by feelings of isolation—so typical of Hitler's life. They helped to create the atmosphere of dis-

another person. He had no contact with him for years. He said, and the closer they

stages of his life. "Always at the end, 'one red, one green, one blue' to mark documents or to indicate importance but to remind the person involved. He explained I write about or to an intimate friend; the blue when it is for someone." 93

government and set the tone. A famous official observed, "It was a chaos of the consequences of the consequences, impressed with gigantism, such as the Olympic Games, and the Wehrmacht and the Reich was operated with it. His government was shot at by a chaos of competing leaders who did not

Speer became Reichsminister for the separate "Supreme Reich German war production Ministry of Economics, the Ministry. "Only slightly more were at least eight more: Air Force and five plenipotentiaries and Steel, Construction, Power." In addition, the empire of his own through administration, which ran all its control."

disputes over war production between Göring and Speer, and between Himmler and Speer for he could trust no man over the economy became

extensive, but it always remained limited. And his power derived from "a process of attrition, not through authority explicitly granted by Hitler." 94

The same problem can be seen in the field of intelligence gathering, where Hitler also allowed conflicting agencies to develop. There were the military *Abwehr*, headed by Admiral Canaris, and *Nachrichtendienst* of the SS; Ribbentrop in the Foreign Office had a separate espionage system; Himmler developed his own private agency to spy on the enemy but also to spy on Ribbentrop and others; Goebbels in the Ministry of Propaganda had a special service to watch Göring and Himmler; Rosenberg in the *Ostministerium* developed an espionage organization to spy on Russia—and on his colleagues in the Nazi hierarchy. The Führer's mistrust filtered down through his satraps.

Nor was there any consistent policy in the occupied areas of the Greater Reich. In Czechoslovakia, for example, Hitler could not trust either the first "Protector," Konstantin von Neurath, or his deputy, Karl Frank—and they could not trust each other. Neurath was relatively humane; Frank was brutal; and Hitler's policy was split between the two. In the end he tried to support both irreconcilable positions, just as he tried to live with both parts of his deeply split ego. 95

Literally dozens of times, when conflicts and confusions produced important disputes crying out for decision, Hitler refused to make a judgment. The result was that his government, as Franz Neumann wrote with some exaggeration, was a "non-State, a chaos . . . disorder and anarchy." 96 The obvious question, once again, is why? In part, confusion and refusal to make decisions among subordinates was technique—the ancient method of the Roman emperors, "divide and conquer." But Hitler had already conquered. He continued to fear and mistrust his subordinates long after he had consolidated total political power and established the principle that he and he alone was the source of all authority in the Reich.

A monographic study dealing with Hitler's methods of government notes his refusal to define his subordinates' spheres of authority or to choose among them. The author wonders what Hitler was afraid of and concludes that "This view of Hitler—the man who does not decide—would help to explain the eternal confusion of the men working for him." 97

A political leader who creates conflicting agencies, who sets forth irreconcilable policies, who thinks he conquers when he divides is a person who is externalizing profound splits and conflicts in his own psychological makeup.

These personal conflicts, rooted in his lifelong mistrust of others, had far-reaching consequences for the home front during the war. Because Hitler distrusted people, he believed the masses to be selfish and avaricious, incapable of sacrifice for the common good and prone to revolt. The masses, he kept saying, were like women, fickle and untrustworthy. That was one of the reasons why Hitler felt he could not

demand heavy sacrifices from the German people for the war effort. One of the anomalies of World War II was that two Western democracies, England and America, had far more stringent controls over the economy than Hitler's dictatorship. Hitler apparently felt that he could not call on the German people for the kind of personal sacrifices accepted as a matter of course in Churchill's England. Indeed, the Nazi dictator was leery about interruptions in the flow of consumer and luxury goods. In 1942, after three years of war, production of consumer goods was only 1 percent below peacetime. For a time in 1942, Speer tried to raise that percentage, but the most he could manage was a 12 percent cutback. Even then, after only three months of relative austerity, Hitler changed his mind and decreed the resumption of production "for the general supply of the population."⁹⁸ Not even after Stalingrad and the opening of a second front in Normandy did Hitler dare cut luxury items. Hundreds of tons of wallpaper and cosmetics, hair-set lotions, hair dryers, and perfume continued to be manufactured.⁹⁹

Hitler's mistrust of others was also reflected in his foreign policy. It was largely responsible for the serious misjudgment which turned his attack on Poland into a general war. He felt free to invade Poland on 1 September 1939 because he had used his own standards of suspicion and duplicity in evaluating England's intentions. He simply could not believe that Britain would honor her treaty with the Poles. A general's private diary for 14 August 1939 records Hitler's scornful dismissal of the argument that the invasion of Poland might precipitate a European war: "Why should England fight? *One does not die for an ally*."¹⁰⁰

Among the many reasons he attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941 was his conviction, against all evidence, that his ally Stalin was about to launch an attack on him. "My own personal nightmare," he said, "was that Stalin . . . sooner or later would abandon us and go over to the enemy. . . . It was absolutely certain that one day or other [he] would attack us."¹⁰¹ His declaration of war on America was also prompted, in part, by the conviction that Roosevelt was about to declare war on him.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ROOTS OF AGGRESSIVE WAR

I am totally convinced that this struggle does not differ one hair's breadth from the battle which I once fought out within myself.

—Adolf Hitler

There are, regrettably, sound psychological reasons why, throughout history, there have been "wars and rumors of war." Warfare permits the individual to act out in socially approved ways what in peacetime he is required to repress: impulses of aggressive rage and violent

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7 D.T. Here, I was combatting ideology. I could not explain to him how much he would give to Roosevelt.

1942

From Private Neurosis to Pul

destruction. Human capacity also given an outlet in devotion to their country; Sadistic and masochistic war.¹⁰²

Such emotions may made them especially imp psychological need for aggression he held a position of total When he wanted war, a w a deeply split borderline p flict by projecting a view o ing: the Jews in particula against him; England and both societies, were about the borderline patients of stirrings" because it was i before they destroyed him. being attacked; the Jews ; attempting to destroy the M

Aggression was also sional inadequacy, weaknes prove his strength. He wo doubted his power. This n remark after unleashing *always been a part of me* war and found it a challen was revealed in a speech of

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GOD: ADOLF HITLER

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

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 ...ghmare," he said, "was
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 ...day or other [he] would
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destruction. Human capacity for both intense hatred and intense love is also given an outlet in war, when citizens are urged to show complete devotion to their country and to project total hatred against the enemy. Sadistic and masochistic impulses are also generally stimulated by war.¹⁰²

Such emotions may be awakened in all people, but two things made them especially important to Adolf Hitler. First, his personal psychological need for aggression and war was particularly acute; second, he held a position of totalitarian power in a modern mechanized state. When he wanted war, a world became involved in his need. Moreover, as a deeply split borderline personality, he externalized his own inner conflict by projecting a view of the world that was dangerous and threatening: the Jews in particular had organized an international conspiracy against him; England and America, goaded by the Jews who controlled both societies, were about to attack; Stalin was plotting invasion. Like the borderline patients of Dr. Kernberg, Hitler felt "severe aggressive stirrings" because it was imperative that he "destroy potential enemies" before they destroyed him.¹⁰³ And it was not only he personally who was being attacked; the Jews and their allies in Russia and the West were attempting to destroy the Motherland. He must defend her.

Aggression was also made necessary by his private fears of personal inadequacy, weakness, and impotence. War against his foes could prove his strength. He would utterly crush anyone who opposed him or doubted his power. This need welling up within him prompted him to remark after unleashing World War II: "The resolve to strike has always been a part of me."¹⁰⁴ How closely he identified himself with war and found it a challenge to his personal masculinity and toughness was revealed in a speech of 1940:

I know that this [war] must be the hardest challenge ever laid before the German people. I not only flatter myself that I am the hardest man that Germany has had for many decades, perhaps for centuries, but I also possess the greatest authority.

But above all I believe in my success. Indeed I believe in it unconditionally!

I am totally convinced that this struggle does not differ one hair's breadth from the battle which I once fought out within myself! [den ich einst im Inneren ausfochte!]

I am convinced that Providence has preserved me from all dangers in order to have me lead this battle of the German people. . . .¹⁰⁵

To fulfill his personal need, he militarized a nation and led it into battle. The war was not, as A. J. P. Taylor prefers to think, somehow forced upon a reluctant Hitler. It was in his bones and viscera; it was the very *raison d'être* of his Reich. Hitler's Germany meant war; it had

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—Adolf Hitler

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Big thing
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 to Roosevelt

1941
 by declaring war on me.
 strength it gives me is paramount.
 I dictate orders to go to war, not Roosevelt.

387

Roosevelt

1925, 1940, 1941

THE 'PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

meant war from the very beginning for its Führer had proclaimed that war was the final goal of politics, the law of life, absolutely essential to man. (Chapter II.)

In a real sense, World War II began not in 1939 with Hitler's invasion of Poland but with his accession to power in 1933. Psychologically, however, it had begun long before that: perhaps in the conflicts and aggressive rages repressed in early childhood, but certainly in his plans of the 1920s. That war was essential to Hitler was brought home suddenly to Albert Speer while talking with his Führer in Paris in 1940, as they looked at the Arc de Triomphe. Hitler was totally unimpressed because he had created a design for a triumphal arch, to be erected in his new capital of "Germania," which would dwarf the one in Paris. But what astonished Speer was that Hitler's sketch was dated 1925. He comments: "Now I think you will see what I mean by the connection between his blueprints and his aggressions. For the historians must ask themselves, 'Where was Adolf Hitler, the unknown, in 1925?'" ¹⁰⁶

The answer is that Hitler, released from Landsberg prison, was somewhere in Bavaria, but with very little Party and very little support. That he drafted a plan for an enormous triumphal arch in that year indicates both belief in his destiny and the depth of his feeling that the resolve to strike was indeed "always within him."

Again in the 1920s, in a noteworthy passage in his second book, Hitler showed the inner aggression that drove him insatiably onward: "We shall attack and it is immaterial whether we go 10 or 1,000 kilometers beyond the present lines. For whatever we gain, it will always be only a starting point for new battles." ¹⁰⁷ To live in peace with another country was simply not possible for him, for as he told his foreign minister, "You know, Ribbentrop, if I am an ally of Russia today, I could attack her tomorrow. I just can't help myself. [Ich kann halt nicht anders]." Indeed, Hitler talked so often of battle and attack and enemy that an intimate spoke of his master's "pathological need for battle." ¹⁰⁸

There was another psychological reason why Hitler required war: he saw it as a way to cleanse the body of the Motherland from impure and tainted blood. And total war, with its conditions of maximum state security and the movement of thousands of people, would provide the optimum circumstances in which he could launch a vast program of mass murder of the "unfit and unworthy." Furthermore, conquest of foreign land would permit him to set up extermination camps where polluted blood would not defile the sacred soil of his Reich. Both the wording and the dating of Hitler's decree for mass killings are important. He called it the "Order for the Destruction of Lives Which are Unworthy of Being Lived" (*Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens*), and he set the date of the order for 1 September 1939. That is, he would begin the war for his New Order on the same day that he would start the process of "internal cleansing" (*innere Reinigung*). As the German historian who noticed the connection between Hitler's idea of "cleans-

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ing" and genocide has co-undertaken from a psychohygiene and cleanliness departure." ¹⁰⁹

Thus were private feeling Führer felt unclean and unw-

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1923
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

either a new German national government or his death, he announced to cheering crowds that his purpose would be fulfilled "only when the black-white-red swastika banner floats over the Berliner Schloss."¹²⁷

But he had made no effort to get the support of the two military leaders whose help for such an undertaking was absolutely essential: the commander of the national army, General von Seeckt, and the prestigious leader of patriotic causes, General Ludendorff. In the week preceding his attempted revolution, Hitler's newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, gratuitously insulted von Seeckt, calling him a tool of a "Masonic conspiracy," and libeled his Jewish wife. General Ludendorff later insisted that prior to the actual night of the coup he had not been consulted about Hitler's plans.

Nor had he won the confidence and support of local authorities who would be indispensable to the success of his revolution: General Otto von Lossow, the army commander for Bavaria; Colonel Hans Ritter von Seisser, the commander of the Bavarian State Police; Gustav von Kahr, the "strongman" of Bavaria. Indeed, both Lossow and Seisser had given Hitler unmistakable warning on 7 November that they would crush any attempt at a *Putsch*. The next night, Hitler did nothing to win the favor of this powerful triumvirate by embarrassing them publicly and holding them hostage at pistol point.¹²⁸

If he had decided to rely solely on his own Brown Shirts rather than the regular army or police forces, he had done little to prepare them. Up to the very day of the event, many district leaders of the SA knew nothing about plans for a revolution. The arms hastily collected were in "terrible shape." There were a few artillery pieces, but almost no ammunition; 80 percent of the machine-guns were completely useless.¹²⁹

Preparations for a national revolution were grossly inadequate in Munich; outside the city they were nonexistent. In the north, for example, SA Commander Peter Heydebreck, a former Free Corps leader who was itching to march on Berlin, tried to get an audience with Hitler in Munich and was rebuffed. He wrote, "I was not the only man of the North who received similar cool treatment," and went on to complain that the SA in Berlin were given no information about the impending national revolution.¹³⁰

On the actual night of the *Putsch*, after arresting Lossow, Seisser, and Kahr and making an impassioned speech, Hitler sank into despondency and seemed incapable of taking any effective action. He sat and brooded, he paced ineffectively up and down, he talked excitedly about minutiae, he left the beer hall intermittently on impromptu missions of no importance. He was heard to mutter morosely, "If it comes out all right, well and good; if not, we'll hang ourselves."¹³¹

The author of a massive monograph on the event has reached a conclusion that is not supported by his own extensive evidence: "He [Hitler] ran everything himself." On the contrary, nobody ran anything

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that night. The first ten or 12 hours of any coup d'etat are of crucial importance to its success. During these hours, when it was imperative for Hitler to act quickly and decisively, "no orders at all came from the Putschist high command. . . ." 132

No effort was made to do the obvious—seize such key buildings as the telephone exchange, transport facilities, telegraph stations, and police headquarters. Above all, Hitler did not even try to capture Kahr's headquarters, the official center of political power in Munich. Even after the government had abandoned it, Hitler inexplicably gave no orders to take it over. During the first 12 vitally important hours, the Führer had managed to occupy one beer hall.*

Astonishingly, he refused to concern himself with those areas in which he was an acknowledged expert. This specialist in propaganda this master demagogue who had promised to lead a revolution did not even visit the propaganda headquarters that had been set up by two assistants. He chose not to deliver one of the great orations he had promised for the next day, relegating speech-making to the unpredictable Julius Streicher, fanatic Jew-baiter of Nuremberg—scarcely the man to be the spokesman for a national revolution. He actually scribbled on a piece of paper, "Streicher is responsible for the entire organization." 133

As Hitler's influence waned and forces of the counterrevolution gathered in strength, it is indeed "interesting," as the leading authority on the event has written, that Hitler "did not even make any serious attempt to gather more troops" to reinforce his badly depleted ranks. There were many SA units in Southern Bavaria that would have come quickly to Hitler's help. He did not send for them. 134

During the course of the night, he left the beer hall and permitted his hostages to escape, thus allowing them to rally the forces that would overthrow him on the morrow. "One can only wonder why, in an adventure of such high stakes," one historian has written, "Hitler could have committed such an elementary error of judgment." Others have called Hitler's conduct "inexplicable" and "unfathomable." 135

The famous march the next morning was not Hitler's idea. He was apparently not even consulted. The order seems to have come from General Ludendorff, who was furiously impatient with Hitler's uncertain behavior. "No one knew where the march was going, and no one had known from the start." 136

We would suggest that one explanation for his irrational and self-defeating behavior was that as a borderline personality with a deeply divided ego, he was torn by inner conflict and contrary impulses. One part of him wanted to succeed; another wanted him to fail. Since he could not cope with the conflict, he sank into a depression, then ran

* Röhm, it is true, had taken the district army headquarters across the city, but had somehow failed to seize its telephone switchboard. He surrendered the building next morning upon orders from General Ludendorff.

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See next page (32)

away and hid. As we have seen, when confronted by total disaster, he summoned all his verbal skills to convert his trial into a triumph; after his release from prison, he worked effectively to reconstitute his Party.

Hitler's Preparations for War

Hitler's prewar diplomacy may be seen as a triumph of opportunism and cunning. It can also be seen as a series of invitations to disaster.

Three different interpretations may be considered. First, in the unlikely event that A. J. P. Taylor is correct in insisting that all Hitler really wanted was peace in his time and a negotiated revision of Versailles, then the methods he employed to attain those ends were "singularly inappropriate."¹³⁷ Second, if we are to suppose that Hitler wanted only a limited, localized war with Poland to gain Danzig and the Corridor, his belligerent speeches against Western powers, his atrocities against minority groups, and his broken promises to both British and French statesmen show him proceeding in ways that were unlikely to isolate Poland and most likely to prod his victim's strong allies to come to her defense. Finally, if he really plotted the great European war of conquest that he had promised in *Mein Kampf*, in his second book of 1928, and in dozens of public and private speeches, his preparations for fighting such a war were conspicuously inadequate. The scholarly Franz von Halder, chief of the Army General Staff in 1939, said in an interview that "unbelievable as it may sound, he [Hitler] did not even have a general plan for the war."¹³⁸

Hitler also failed to give the orders to supply his army. Halder recorded in his diary that there were monthly shortages of 600,000 tons of steel, and that munitions in general were in such short supply that no large-scale combat was possible. "Supply was sufficient for only one-third of the available divisions for fourteen days. Current production was just enough to keep the same one-third active."¹³⁹

It may be argued that Hitler was not concerned with building up massive reserves of arms, raw materials, and foodstuffs, or with converting to a full war economy, because he had not planned that kind of war. He had put his trust in piecemeal *Blitzkrieg* victories and in looting materials from countries as he conquered them. There is merit to this argument, except for the fact that even after it became obvious he could no longer carry on that kind of war, he still refused to take effective action on the economic front. Economic mobilization was not really ordered until the autumn of 1944—that is, well after his "Fortress Europe" had been entered from the West and Russia was moving in from the East. Only then, when it was much too late, did Hitler move haltingly in the direction of full economic mobilization. And even then he could never bring himself to give the orders for conversion to a complete war economy.

While the British and American war industries were working around the clock on three-shift schedules, German industry, with only

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1940
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Something even stranger took place a few weeks later at Dunkirk, when Hitler refused the opportunity of smashing the entire British expeditionary force in Europe. Instead, on 15 May, he suddenly gave orders to halt all tank movements on the Dunkirk salient. The significance of this order has been well summarized by a British military historian:

His action preserved the British forces when nothing else could have saved them. By making it possible for them to escape he enabled them to rally in England, continue the war, and man the coasts to defy the threat of invasion. Thereby he produced his own ultimate downfall, and Germany's five years later. Acutely aware of the narrowness of the escape, but ignorant of its cause, the British people spoke of "the miracle of Dunkirk." . . . It will never be possible to learn for certain why he came to his decision and what his motives were.¹⁴²

Some explanations, of course, have been given. Robert Payne, for example, believes that Hitler took pity on the English because he had come to admire them as a youth during a visit to Liverpool and wanted to "spare Churchill a bitter humiliation."¹⁴³ The difficulty with that explanation is that Hitler had never visited England as a youth and had despised Churchill all his life. (See Appendix, "A Note on Spurious Sources.") It has also been suggested that Hitler stopped his armor before Dunkirk because the terrain was too soft; or that he believed the Luftwaffe alone could smash the British without risking the tanks he needed in the south. Hitler himself tried to explain his odd behavior by saying that on a mere whim he had decided to let the British go "in a sporting spirit," after the English manner.

But none of these explanations convinced German generals at the time; nor have they satisfied military historians. At headquarters, Generals Warlimont and Halder were simply "flabbergasted by Hitler's order," which they found "incomprehensible." Field commanders were equally appalled. General Guderian wrote incredulously, "We were stopped within sight of Dunkirk!" Baffled members of General Rundstedt's staff concluded that the only possible solution to "the riddle of Dunkirk" was that Hitler for some inexplicable reason "wished to help the British." Certainly that is what he accomplished.¹⁴⁴

It may well be true that no rational explanation can be given for Hitler's decision at Dunkirk. We therefore suggest that he was acting irrationally: unconsciously he did not really want a victory.

"HITLER'S GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY"

In an important study of World War II, two American historians argued convincingly that Hitler's "golden opportunity" came a year after his self-induced failure at Dunkirk. By the spring of 1941 his submarines were creating havoc with British shipping; his armies had

398 *Does D. T. intervene? Does he receive his time from the source, Does he begin to think that the source does not want it to win?*

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crushed Norway, France, year and had just won there was a realistic chance of a Mediterranean basin by the sea, thus forcing Spain to join the Mediterranean or to join the Nazi triumph. These his record that in May and June than at any time in the Second World War." ¹⁴⁵ A Naval High Command finally implored Hitler to attack Again, one must ask why,

Göring suggested or Führer was never comfort in "continental terms." It about the water, from the That fact may help explain the channel invasion of England: the Mediterranean theater a hero: but at sea, I am a

Or was Hitler's failure quence of his infantilism? so many appealing strategies could not bear to disregard bringing himself to give up he wanted everything quick without an amphibious in with the Luftwaffe and a Russia right away.¹⁴⁷

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crushed Norway, France, and the Low Countries during the preceding year and had just won decisive victories in the Balkans and Libya; there was a realistic chance that he could win control of the entire Mediterranean basin by taking Egypt, Suez, all North Africa, and Gibralt- tar, thus forcing Spain to align itself with the Axis. There was no force in the Mediterranean or the Middle East capable of stemming the tide of Nazi triumph. These historians therefore conclude: "History may well record that in May and June 1941, Adolf Hitler was closer to victory than at any time in the course of the epic struggle known as the Second World War." 145 And that is not mere hindsight. The German Naval High Command fully recognized the marvelous opportunity and implored Hitler to attack in the Mediterranean. He refused to do so. Again, one must ask why, and again the question invites speculation.

Göring suggested one possible explanation: he noted that the Führer was never comfortable about naval matters and could think only in "continental terms." It is true that Hitler had always been uneasy about the water, from pleasure-boat rides to major naval operations. That fact may help explain his halfhearted preparations for a cross-channel invasion of England, its final cancellation, and his neglect of the Mediterranean theater. He once confessed to an aide, "On land I am a hero; but at sea, I am a coward." 146

Or was Hitler's failure to attack in the spring of 1941 a conse- quence of his infantilism? He might have been unable to decide among so many appealing strategic alternatives because, "like a child, he could not bear to disregard any attractive objectives; no more could he bring himself to give up ground once gained. . . ." And like a child he wanted everything quickly and cheaply: he wanted to defeat England without an amphibious invasion; he wanted to win the Mediterranean with the Luftwaffe and a few army corps; he wanted to conquer all of Russia right away. 147

There was, of course, a totally different alternative for Hitler in the spring of 1941. He did not need to attack anyone, anyplace. He was already the master of Europe. He had smashed Poland and conquered France, and he controlled the western coastline from Norway to Spain. Secure from western attack and at peace with the Soviet Union, how could his Greater German Reich have been challenged? It is unlikely that beleaguered Britain, herself vulnerable to attack and still without allies in Russia or America, could have found either the material re- sources or the will to do anything but accept the fait accompli. It was Hitler who opened up alternatives for his enemies. It was he who de- cided that "enough was not enough," that the war must continue. 148

And it was he alone who would make the decision which was to prove his downfall.

OPERATION BARBAROSSA: THE INVASION OF RUSSIA

For several weeks during the summer of 1940, after the fall of France, Hitler was unsure of what to do next. As so often in his life,

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He was depressed by the ambivalence of victories that gained land but opened the danger of pacifying his philosophy.