

Separate file
Early Youth

~~1903~~ →

Every page is sketched,
Just insert.

~~1905~~

1906 }

1907 }

worth
looking
at.

~~1904 has been used~~

~~part of 1904 (pre-1904)~~
~~has been used~~

Summer 1905

1905-6

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THE EARLY YOUTH

adolescent mustache. During the day, he seldom left the house, remaining in his room through most of the daylight hours. When evening fell and it was time for a stroll or a visit to the opera, he appeared faultlessly dressed, complete with cane, ready to take his place among the better people of Linz.³¹

His life of idleness and ease reinforced his sense of social standing. His father had tried to develop his class consciousness, in part to drive him forward. In the process, Adolf developed a sense of superiority toward members of the lower classes.³² Class consciousness tailed as a spur, but, in the midst of his idle adolescence, he used it to justify his manner of life. Though technically idle, he was still a member of the middle class. Furthermore, he was preparing to become an artist and was, therefore, not bound by the dreary obligations which applied to common people.

Kubizek and Hitler, bound by a kind of unspoken fraternal vow, determined to devote their lives to art. Their hours together were spent formulating designs for the future. Sometimes they planned Adolf's career as a painter and Kubizek's life as a pianist and composer, interspersed with digressions into the world of letters so that the older boy also could be a writer. The central dream, however, was "Adolf the Architect," since he had by now switched his aspirations from painting to architectural drawing. Hitler made room for Kubizek in his architect's dreams by constructing imaginary villas which Kubizek was to occupy after he became a success in his own field.

Kubizek, although he wanted to follow, still labored under serious handicaps in the partnership. He had to work in his father's shop and also go to school; the work was physically exhausting, dirty, and marred by distinctly lower class overtones. Kubizek's attendance at school represented in the eyes of his companion all that was humdrum and degrading. Adolf was not burdened by any comparable outside activities, and his gentlemanly status remained pure. After spending the day sketching and daydreaming, he would meet Kubizek

³¹ Kubizek, pp. 7 and 9. Bloch also states that he was "neatly dressed" during this period. Bloch, p. 36.

³² Greiner, pp. 25-26. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler himself refers to his comfortable middle-class childhood environment. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 22-23. One of the first to discover this period of idleness in Hitler's background was Price, but he claimed it lasted five years, which is too long. Price, p. 47.

D.T.
In this sense, he was perfect material for us. To feel contempt for the lower classes w/o a sense of responsibility to society is one long step down the stairs. Alois had been inferior in but responsible. Adolf was superior and irresponsible. From such soil, some of our most extraordinary people can sprout.

D.T. A gentleman, an artist, & a saint!

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and it
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Hitler

³³ K
tecture
is sho
Kubiz
³⁴ K
³⁵ K

1905-6

↓ need work
as an
image

D.T.

It was the notion
that only the largest
ventures could
meet his capacities.

Such now became
the center vessel
of his ego, and
that it would
remain, this
gargantuan vessel,
as ungainly
as a mandragora,
a heavy bag slung
the ground, thick
although this
years in Vienna.
Only the
threat of death in the
First World War could
collapse the dreamer of that
rebuild it in 1920-21

left the house, eight hours. When to the opera, he ready to take his

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any comparable
ed pure. After
d meet Kubizek

"neatly dressed"

fers to his com-
pp. 22-23. One of
round was Price,
p. 47.

19

brimming over with ideas and enthusiasm. The two boys would then spend the late afternoon or early evening wandering through Linz and its environs. As they went, they carried out the mental demolition of old buildings that did not please them so that Adolf would have room in which to create new and more glorious structures. This kind of play became the center of Hitler's existence. As Kubizek later said, "He gave his whole self to his imaginary building and was completely carried away by it."³³

Along with imaginary construction, the opera provided an additional center of enthusiasm for Hitler and his friend. Here Wagner played the key role with extravagant visual displays and a preoccupation with the shadowy power of the German myths. The boys thoroughly enjoyed the music, but for Adolf, Wagner also served as a stimulus to incessant brooding and dreaming. Some performances had the effect on him of religious experiences. On such occasions, he would leave the theater deep in introspective fantasies.³⁴ But, despite the intense emotion called forth by Wagner, his operas could not hold Adolf's attention for long. When daylight came, the imaginary building projects rolled on again. Great bridges, blocks of houses, castles, villas, a monastery and an opera house appeared in Hitler's mind or took form on paper. Their style followed the ponderous, monumental pattern later dubbed "Nazi classical."

Throughout all the ups and downs of his later career, Hitler retained his love for architectural sketching, and his subject matter and style remained approximately the same. Perhaps it is not accidental that all of the projects that Kubizek describes, as well as the Fuehrer's later plans for his home city, involved the destruction or drastic remodeling of noteworthy existing structures. It was as if he sought revenge against Linz, the scene of his frustrations, by destroying its landmarks and changing its face.³⁵

There were other, more obvious, danger signs in this phase of Hitler's development. He followed his dreamy and irresponsible

³³ Kubizek, p. 84. Hitler never overcame his ambivalence concerning architecture and painting. Zoller, p. 55. The intense seriousness of these episodes is shown in Kubizek's description of their dreams about winning a lottery. Kubizek, pp. 92-96.

³⁴ Kubizek, pp. 98-101.

³⁵ Kubizek, pp. 82-98.

he floor. By the time he began to
it would be armor-clad.

manner of life in Linz for two full years after leaving Steyr, until well past the age of eighteen. The pattern of his behavior coincided almost exactly with the earlier play-escapism of the Leonding period. One effect was that many of the adjustments necessary for sexual maturity were delayed by this new dream world. Adolf was concerned with only one girl in Linz, and this was a one-sided romance, in which Adolf never tried to speak to the girl. Together with Kubizek he strolled by her home, gazed at her from a distance and poured out his anguished heart in solitary monologues. Gradually, he began to build her imaginary villas, until she, too, was safely insulated from reality.³⁶

The perils inherent in this withdrawal may have been recognized by his mother. Many things she did for him can be seen as gentle urgings to get him to break with his preoccupations. She paid for the clothes which turned him into something of a dandy, perhaps in the hope that this would serve as a bridge to wider social horizons. If this was her plan, it failed completely. The clothes merely served as symbols of independence and self-sufficient isolation.³⁷

Similarly, in May 1906, Klara allowed Adolf to take an extended trip to Vienna, and, as usual, defrayed expenses. He stayed at least a month (May 7 to June 6), and, though he may have lodged with friends, the trip still probably cost her around 100 kronen. As an exercise in re-direction it was a disaster. The four surviving cards which Adolf sent to Kubizek from Vienna contain nothing but enthusiastic comments on Wagner and Viennese architecture, together with a few cryptic notes which Kubizek claims referred to Hitler's elusive girl friend in Linz. The cards also show that his first excursion to a great city carried him away on new flights of fancy. He was enraptured by the monumental buildings of the capital, and described them with such words as "mighty majesty," "dignity," and "grandeur." Any building to which these words could be applied immediately became in his eyes a work of art. The cards also revealed that his spelling and punctuation were well below the standard

³⁶ Kubizek, pp. 56-69. Jetzinger succeeds in eliminating any factual importance from the Stephanie episode. Jetzinger (G), pp. 146-48; Jetzinger (E), pp. 105-108.

³⁷ Kubizek, pp. 108-109.

one would expect years in school.

Soon after its summer trip, Klara's stay in Spitalber, Klara as been taking private lessons from student, Hitler found him for four months, of his dislike became serious reduce expenses.

Klara first condition was hospital in Linz. She went on operation. The operation was for nineteen months until March. Her condition seemed to see six times during the summer, aside from the time between June

³⁸ Kubizek, pp. 105-106. A passing reference.

³⁹ Die Ahnen.

⁴⁰ Kubizek, pp. 105-106. November 17, 1906. Statement of Edmund Bloch, book, HA, F.

Feb 1906

Johanna's death
leaves Adolf
of her last
words.

"Alas, alas,
I can become
nothing."

"I can become
nothing."

One
letter
from Jan 14
to end
of August
1907

leaving Steyr, until
havior coincided al-
ie Lcending period.
ary for sexual matu-
lolf was concerned
-sided romance, in
ether with Kubizek
nce and poured out
lually, he began to
ely insulated from

he been recognized
be seen as gentle
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a dandy, perhaps
er social horizons.
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lation.³⁷

take an extended
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surviving cards
ain nothing but
architecture, to-
aims referred to
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flights of fancy.
the capital, and
"dignity," and
ould be applied
cards also re-
ow the standard

y factual import-
etzinger (E), pp.

Feb 1906

THE EARLY YOUTH

Jan 1907

105

Jan 1907

BS

one would expect of a seventeen-year-old who had completed four
years in secondary school.³⁸

Soon after his return to Linz, it was time for the family to make
its summer trek to Spital, a somewhat sadder journey in 1906 be-
cause Klara's mother had died at the Schmidt's in February.³⁹ The
stay in Spital was uneventful, and in the late summer the family
was back in Linz, where the Hitler-Kubizek duo resumed. In Octo-
ber, Klara assumed the expenses of a new enterprise. Kubizek had
been taking piano lessons from a Josef Prevratsky (whose name had
been changed to Wendt by the 1930's). Adolf also began to take
lessons from him at a cost of five kronen per month. As a music
student, Hitler was conscientious and cooperative, but Prevratsky
found him reserved, "almost timid." He took lessons for only about
four months, ending on January 31, 1907. He quit in part because
of his dislike for the dull routine of scales, but mainly because Klara
became seriously ill at the turn of the year, and the family had to
reduce expenses.⁴⁰

Klara first consulted a doctor on January 14, 1907. When her
condition was found to be serious, she was admitted to the Convent
hospital in Linz on January 17th. On the following day she under-
went an operation for sarcoma pectoris, a malignant growth in the
breast. She was the patient of Dr. Edmund Bloch of Linz, but the
operation was performed by Dr. Karl Urban, a local surgeon. The
operation was seemingly successful. After remaining in the hospital
for nineteen days, she was released and was not seen by Bloch again
until March 15th, nearly two months after the operation. In April, her
condition seems to have become serious once more; she visited Bloch
six times during the month, and four more times in May. During
the summer, she may have shown a temporary improvement because,
aside from three visits in July, she had no contact with the doctor
between June and the end of August.⁴¹

Dates
of
Klara's
illness

³⁸ Kubizek, pp. 102-106; Jetzinger (G), pp. 151-56; Jetzinger (E), pp. 90-93.
A passing reference to this trip appears in *Mein Kampf*, p. 19.

³⁹ *Die Ahnentafel*, p. 40.

⁴⁰ Kubizek, p. 195. Prevratsky's account book, and statement by him dated
November 17, 1938. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.

⁴¹ Statement by Dr. Karl Urban, *HA*, File 17, Reel 1; statement by Dr.
Edmund Bloch, *HA*, File 17, Reel 1; Hospital Records, and Bloch's account
book, *HA*, File 65, Reel 13A. The description given in Bloch's article in-

1907

106

B5

May-
June
1907

Summer 1907

dreams of her
mother in Spital.
Her a suspicion
of her romance
w Bloch
& feels her
illness quickening

Finances hospital

THE EARLY YOUTH

Klara's illness affected the life of the family in many ways. Aside from her suffering and the decision to terminate Adolf's piano lessons, the expenses of the operation and convalescence were moderately high. The cost of the operation and the hospital amounted to approximately 150 kronen, and 60 kronen was paid to Bloch for house visits during the spring and summer.⁴² Apparently Klara's sister, Johanna, joined the family during these months and helped to run the household while the mother was bedridden. During May or June, for no known reason, the family moved again, taking a flat in an imposing stone apartment building in Urfahr (Bluetengasse 9). This was a suburb of Linz across the Danube and was connected to the city by a large bridge. The streetcar line provided a convenient link to the main part of town. In the new residence, Adolf had his own room and a view of a central courtyard.⁴³

It is not clear whether the Hitlers took their customary trip to Spital in the summer of 1907. If they did, it might explain the drop in frequency of Klara's visits to the doctor during these months. In any event, by September, she was going to the doctor more regularly. She saw Bloch six times during this month, and it must have been clear, at least to her, that she was not showing any improvement. Moreover, she had to consider her financial position and the future of the children. She had a large sum of money left in September 1907, but she faced mounting medical bills and surely realized that if her illness was prolonged the family finances would suffer. Two of her children, Angela and young Alois, had left home and were no longer her financial responsibility, but Paula, only eleven, would have

cludes many inaccuracies. Bloch, pp. 36-39. By the time the article was written, he was an old man, who had been worked over by the Gestapo and pumped by the Hauptarchiv people before leaving Austria. It should be stated that the representatives of the Hauptarchiv were comparatively kind to him ("Die Sache Bloch," HA, File 17, Reel 1), as he himself later stated. Bloch, p. 73. The vague account he gave to the Hauptarchiv agrees fairly well with the later article, but the latter was more drawn out and hence more inaccurate. By this time he had lost his memory for detail, and, in any case, was discussing many things he had never known. Kurth, footnote 28.

⁴² Dr. Bloch's account book, HA, File 65, Reel 13A.

⁴³ Dr. Bloch's account book, HA, File 65, Reel 13A; Jetzinger (G), pp. 171 and 176; Jetzinger (E), p. 100. Rabitsch has a good description of the Bluetengasse but, again he dates the move two years too early. Rabitsch, pp. 18 and 31.

Xerox
p 107

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Self + Oct 1907
THE EARLY YOUTH

BS

Sept

1907

job and showed no inclination to get one. Klara, the neighbors, and other members of the family all failed to persuade him to go to work. To their pointed questions about employment, Adolf always replied with his "plans" for an artist's career.⁴⁷ By September 1907 with Klara's condition growing worse, something obviously had to be done. Presumably in the absence of other alternatives, since this could not have been entirely welcome, his mother allowed him to obtain his patrimony, approximately 650 kronen, and go to Vienna to apply for the painting course at the Art Academy. He had withdrawn his money from the Mortgage Bank of Upper Austria during the summer.⁴⁸

The atmosphere surrounding Adolf's move to Vienna was marked by dreamy good cheer, despite Klara's condition. He was not going off determined to make his way in the world, but to return to the scene of the happy times he had enjoyed with Wagner and architecture the year before. His devotion to painting was not as serious as he later pictured it in *Mein Kampf*. Even in his play activities it lacked any decided advantage over architectural planning or Wagner.⁴⁹

Adolf went to the capital in late September, or early October of 1907, and rented a room at Stumpergasse #29, a private house owned by a Polish woman, Frau Maria Zakreys. The house was in the southwest quarter of the city, just three or four blocks from the Westbahnhof, where he had alighted from the Linz train. He had sufficient money from his patrimony to live for a year, and his mother certainly did not withhold from him the 240 kronen she was authorized to draw on his behalf from the customs service.

Hitler did not take time to get his bearings in the city, but took the lodgings near the train station and then ran to the Art Academy to take the admissions examination. The examination was given only once a year, during October. If he had missed it, he would have had to wait until 1908.⁵⁰ He apparently thought he could breeze through the examination while a magic wand filled in all the gaps in his studies. He was quickly set right. The result of the test, as recorded in the classification list of the Academy stated: "Adolf Hitler, Bräu-

⁴⁷ "Adolf Hitler in Urfahrt!" HA, File 17, Reel 1.

⁴⁸ Jetzinger (G), pp. 172-173; Jetzinger (E), p. 101.

⁴⁹ Kubizek, p. 84.

⁵⁰ Kubizek, p. 115; Heiden, *Der Fuehrer*, p. 52.

financial details

Self + Oct 1907

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nau a. Inn, April 20, 1889, German Catholic. Father Civil Servant. 4 Classes in *Realschule*. . . . Test Drawing Unsatisfactory." ⁵¹ The shocking effect of this report was still very much alive in Hitler seventeen years later when he wrote *Mein Kampf*: "I was so convinced that I would be successful that when I received my rejection, it struck me as a bolt from the blue." ⁵² Unable to accept the decision, he requested, and obtained, an interview with the director of the Academy in order to find out why he had been rejected. According to Hitler, the director actually managed to persuade him that he did not possess the necessary talent for painting, but only by sweetening the pill with lavish praise for his architectural abilities. He went away brooding about his failure and the comments on his architectural ability. "Downcast, I left von Hansen's magnificent building on the Schillerplatz, for the first time in my life at odds with myself. For what I had just heard about my abilities seemed like a lightning flash, suddenly revealing a conflict with which I had long been afflicted, although until then I had no clear conception of its why and wherefore. In a few days I myself knew that I should some day become an architect." ⁵³

Unquestionably, the whole episode was a bitter disappointment. It might reasonably have served as the impetus to make him change his life in order to triumph in the end. Hitler did indeed rise to the occasion, but not in the spirit of an Horatio Alger. He began immediately to employ his strongest weapons to dissolve the obstacle which stood in his way. His colossal ego provided the means of escape. A secondary school certificate was required to begin the preparatory courses for professional architect's training. Hitler did not have a secondary school certificate, and it is not certain he left the *Realschule* in good standing. If he had been genuinely devoted to an architect's career and believed he possessed sufficient talent to attain that goal, he would have freed himself from some of his wild pretensions and begun again at the bottom. It must be granted that not

⁵¹ Heiden, *Der Fuehrer*, p. 52.

⁵² *Mein Kampf*, p. 20.

⁵³ *Mein Kampf*, p. 20. Hitler's dramatic description may apply to his second rejection by the Academy. In his later years he stated that only educational deficiencies barred his admission to the Academy. Even when he rationalized his failure in this way, it still stung: "Every time he talked of this painful denial, he became sad and morose." Zoller, p. 54.

Oct

1907

Sachse

*
Something
in the
young man
misled
the
hereafter

under
unhappy

Years
before
a
disaster
had
been
pleasantly
attacked

many young men in Hitler's position would have done this, but Adolf apparently did not even look into the matter. His personality and way of life prevented him from acknowledging his errors and accepting his rejection as a sign of the need for any change. His escapism was reinforced by his social affectations and his scorn for work which seemed dirty, degrading, or tiring. He was a confused and snobbish young man who had indulged himself for so long that he would neither work at an unpleasant task nor consider anyone except himself and the manner of life he enjoyed. His solution to rejection by the Academy was to go back to the Stumpergasse and settle down as if nothing had happened. In this sanctuary, he resumed what he grandly called his "studies," doodling and reading, with excursions around town or to the opera.

BS
1908
1907

Hitler's disdain for reality had something grandiose about it. But as David Hume once pointed out, even though one can doubt the binding force of the external world, it has a nasty way of intruding on one's personal life. Hitler found this out, too, and in a direct way. In December 1907, word reached him in Vienna that his mother was dying. She had spent three horrible months fighting her illness and for the last month had been under constant medical care. She apparently withheld the gravity of her condition from her son throughout the struggle. It was only in the third week of December that a neighbor in the apartment house notified him that he should come quickly. From all indications, the news did not arrive in time; he reached Linz after his mother had died on December 21, 1907.⁵⁴

Although doubts must arise about the devotion of a son who did not suspect the plight of his mother while she made her fight against cancer, Adolf, in his considerate moments, had been ex-

⁵⁴ Kubizek states that Hitler arrived before his mother passed away and gives a long and touching description of their relation during these weeks. *Kubizek*, pp. 120-26. Bloch also says he was there in time and even claims he drew a picture of her on her deathbed. *Bloch*, p. 39. Bloch is very unreliable on detail, and Jetzinger has clearly explained the holes in Kubizek's account. Jetzinger (G), pp. 175-79; Jetzinger (E), pp. 103-104, and 169-70. In his explanation, Jetzinger depends on statements traced to an unnamed postmaster's widow. The article "Adolf Hitler in Urfahrt" (*HA*, File 17, Reel 1) is clearly based on statements of the same woman, and though she discusses this period of Hitler's life, she does not mention Adolf as present at his mother's death. Since the article was tailored for a Nazi audience, this omission strengthens Jetzinger's conclusion that Adolf did not arrive in time.

See pp 111

that is, until the spread of the school certificate.

See p. 99. But that was a wound not advisable and I knew I could handle it, for now he was aware of the reality - it was there - an employable and highly effective force in certain situations.

on which, he never forgave the French as we shall see.

† a telling insult. He would never let a school insult his presence again.

D.T. on spoiled darlings.

With some, we took first to intensify their quality, we kept them from learning the wrongs of life to seeing how long it takes to learn a rotten eight inches of water. With Adolf, my instinct,

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THE EARLY YOUTH

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Safe 95
BS

tion took place in the Linz Cathedral. After the ceremony, Lugert and his wife took Adolf to their home for lunch, followed by a drive in a carriage and pair. Since Adolf was so prosperous that he already possessed two watches, Lugert bought him a special prayerbook and gave him a savings bank book with a small deposit in it. However, the boy failed to respond to the Lugerts' approaches and remained sulky and noncommittal. Throughout the service and the later ride he continued to scowl and behave unpleasantly. When the party returned to Leonding, he was met by a gang of yelling boys, and ran off immediately "charging around the house playing Indians."¹⁵ Little wonder that the Lugerts went away feeling that he was a rather strange fifteen-year-old.

During the school year 1903-1904, Hitler compiled another mediocre record. This time he failed French, and a makeup examination in this subject awaited him in the fall. The family made the trip to Spital again during this summer and followed the same pattern of activities as during the previous year. Back in Leonding in September, Adolf took the makeup examination prepared by his French instructor, Professor Huemer. Since Huemer was still traveling in France at the time of the examination, the tests were actually administered by a Professor Groag. Adolf received a passing mark, but only on condition that he not return to the Linz Realschule for the fourth term.¹⁶ The years of dallying and passive resistance had finally caught up with him, or so it seemed.

His mother immediately enrolled him in the neighboring Realschule at Steyr. Since this school was fifty miles from Leonding, Klara rented a room for him in the house of a family named Cichini at Gruenmarkt # 19 in Steyr. Soon after his conditional pass in the French examination (September 1904), he left home and moved into the house on the Gruenmarkt.¹⁷ Some of the students in the new Realschule made life difficult for the newcomer, viewing him with suspicion as an outsider. Hitler disliked the town and later described it as "conservative and clerical." He was fond of his land-

¹⁵ Jetzinger (G), pp. 115-17; Jetzinger (E), pp. 74-75.

¹⁶ Jetzinger (G), p. 102; Jetzinger (E), p. 66. Letter of Prof. Huemer, April 28, 1935, N.A. T-84, Roll 4, File 3.

¹⁷ Table Talk, pp. 193-94; statement by Gregor Goldbacher, HA, File 17, Reel 1.

and I believe it proved correct was to intensify his sense of self-importance. his whole and inferior character from the moment he left of humans out there.

1905-4
I don't think his father would have been able to impress on his hands sense of himself.

July 1905

BS

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and had succeeded in thwarting the system and his parents by refusing to cooperate. After five years of repeated poor performances, he knew so little about the material in the curriculum that tremendous effort would have been required for him to do satisfactory work. When he tried harder, as in the spring of 1905 in Steyr, it still was not enough to counterbalance the great gaps in his preparation.

His departure from school was not a joyous event, however. On at least one occasion, in the circle of his advisers and servants, the Fuehrer of the Greater German Reich recalled the circumstances that surrounded his departure from the *Realschule* in Steyr. He stated that after the examinations he had received a certificate, and then joined some of the other boys for a party over a quart of local wine. They stayed out all night, and when he returned to his lodgings at dawn "in a lamentable state," he discovered that he had lost his certificate. "What could I have done with it," Hitler thought, "and what was I to show my mother? I was already thinking up an explanation: I had unfolded it in the train, in front of an open window, and a gust of wind had carried it off." But then he reconsidered and following the advice of his landlady, applied for a duplicate certificate rather than attempt to deceive his mother. Hitler's description continued, "The director [of the *Realschule*] began by keeping me waiting for a long time. My certificate had been brought back to school, but torn into four pieces, and in a somewhat inglorious condition. It appeared that in the absent-mindedness of intoxication I had confused the precious parchment with toilet paper. I was overwhelmed. I cannot tell you what the director said to me, I am still humiliated even from here."²⁷ How much of this complicated and embarrassing story is true it is impossible to say. Parts of it were certainly distorted, but the focus on the faulty certificate and the concern over Klara's reaction appear genuine enough. The deep feeling of humiliation indicates that he left Steyr with a keen awareness of defeat and mortification.

By the end of September 1905, Hitler had slipped back into Linz and taken up residence in his mother's flat, a badly lost sixteen-year-

²⁷ Table Talk, pp. 194-95. A slightly different account appears in Zoller, p. 49. That this incident remained in his secretary's memory betokens the intensity of the experience for Hitler, and also confirms the general reliability of Zoller.

1905

He meets
Kubinger after
Steyr episode

First, then →
cut school, say
p 100, then or,
do without it

The Director

"I cannot believe
that any student of
ours could commit
such a heinous act.
Will you be able to
learn to govern
such perverse
impulses? Such a striking
and utterly embarrassing
activity. I shall I tell
your parents. Promise me that you
will not do it again."

#

The joy with which he receives
his own certificate, the sur-
prise that even his loss is superior

old. He had a room to himself, and this provided a sanctuary in which he could nurse his wounds and start building up defenses again. According to one story, his mother took pity on him and sent him to an art school for a few months to let him try to carry out the plans he had espoused for so long. He was enrolled in a private school, run by a Professor Groeber, on the Bluetenstrasse in Munich. A writer in the early 1930s claimed that he had seen a picture of the students in the school and that Hitler was among them.²⁸ If this was true, the experiment lasted only a few months before Adolf was once more back in Linz. The Fuehrer never referred to this alleged stay in Munich, perhaps because he wished to preserve the story of the frustrated artist who dramatically entered Germany on the eve of the Great War.

In any event, by the early winter of 1905, Adolf was firmly planted in Linz without occupation or plan for study. The great battle over his career had been won. He had thwarted his dead father and amassed a miserable academic record that made it nearly certain he would never enter the ranks of the bureaucracy. Yet what a price he had paid for this victory! He was neither a man nor a child. Little more than a year earlier he had been playing Indians in Leonding. He was not completely well, nor was he very sick — certainly not sick enough to persuade an unbiased observer that he needed a long vacation at home. When asked what he wanted to be, he would reply, "a great artist."²⁹ That is, he wanted to be a painter. Or was it an architect? How either was to be accomplished on the basis of his school record he had no idea. It was all so jumbled and difficult to unravel that Adolf did his best to ignore it.

He made only one important decision. That was to stay at home, reading, drawing, and dreaming. Comfortably established in the flat on the Humboldtstrasse, he could afford to indulge himself. He

²⁸ Heiden, p. 51. The only source of this story is Heiden, who is in general very accurate. His interpretations are often debatable, but his facts are seldom completely wrong. Jetzinger claims Heiden is often wrong (Jetzinger (G), p. 150), but it is difficult to see how he reaches this conclusion. Greiner rejects the story of Hitler's art study in Munich on the grounds that the Hitlers lacked money, but this is completely erroneous. Greiner, p. 135.

²⁹ An example of this appears in "Adolf Hitler in Urfahr!" HA, File 17, Reel 1.

D. T. The painter, the Nazis

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HA, File 17,

tolerated the presence of young Paula and his mother in his sanctuary because he could not get away from them without making the nauseating decision to leave home and go to work. However, they were not allowed to interfere, though his mother paid the bills and his sister cleaned up after him. All that Hitler needed to make his world complete was a bosom companion who would consider himself an "artist," be enthusiastic about Wagner and architecture, and agree to play Sancho Panza for young Adolf. In the fall of 1905, such a companion walked into his life in the person of August Kubizek, the son of a Linz upholsterer. Kubizek wanted to become a musician and, like Adolf, to submerge himself in the game of being an artist. His general submissiveness and the effort of his parents to direct him to a solid trade alone deterred him. A chance meeting with Hitler at a Wagner performance in the Linz Opera House began a friendship which offered each of the partners exactly what he wanted. Kubizek wished to be led, and in the eighteen-month-old Adolf he saw something more than a lost ex-Realschule student. To Kubizek, Adolf seemed a tower of strength and determination, one who could hold violent opinions and condemn the humdrum life of the entire provincial middle class, including upholsterers and Imperial officials.³⁰

On his side, Adolf needed time to piece together the outward form of his life after the disasters in school. Kubizek's eagerness to have him play master recalled an earlier period in which he had dominated the neighborhood children in Leonding. In both cases he needed a pliable audience through which to project his ideas and plans. With Kubizek, Adolf found his pleasant drifting focused more consistently in the realm of artistic adventure. Slowly a new Hitler began to emerge. Of medium height, thin and nearly consumptive in appearance, he temporarily lost the drooping forelock and gained a thin

³⁰ Kubizek, pp. 1-7. Kubizek's account must be used with great care, as Jetzinger constantly points out in his own book. Kubizek unquestionably tailored his remarks to the audience. In 1938 one of the rather cautious investigators of the *Hauptarchiv* had a conversation with Kubizek, and in the description of the talk he said, "I can only say that the insight into the young Hitler provided by his childhood friend is simply astounding. Even then all the incomprehensible greatness of the Fuehrer was present." "Notizen fuer Kartei," HA, File 17, Reel 1. This is a somewhat different impression than the one Kubizek was to convey in the 1950's.

1905

Constitutional
K + A/H

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the age had lost its vital force, that only a lovely semblance still survived. Weariness, defeats, anxieties, the more and more embittered quarrels among the nations of the empire, and the shortsightedness of the ruling groups were eroding the unwieldy structure. Nowhere else in old Europe was the atmosphere of termination and exhaustion so palpable. The end of the bourgeois era was nowhere experienced so resplendently and so elegantly as in Vienna.

By the end of the nineteenth century the inner contradictions of the multinational state were emerging with increasing sharpness. For generations that state had been ruled with highhanded indolence. Problems were evaded, crises ignored. The point was to keep all the nationalities in equal, welltempered dissatisfaction. That was how the onetime Premier Count Eduard Taaffe ironically defined the art of rule in Austria, and on the whole it was not unsuccessful.

But the precarious equilibrium of the empire had been visibly shaken after 1867, when Hungary wrested special rights for herself in the famous *Ausgleich*. Soon it was being said that the Dual Monarchy was nothing but a pot cracked in many places and held together by a piece of old wire. For the Czechs demanded that their language be given equal status with German. Conflicts erupted in Croatia and Slovenia. And in the year of Hitler's birth Crown Prince Rudolf escaped from a net of political and personal entanglements by his suicide in Mayerling. In Lemberg (Lvov), at the beginning of the century, the Governor of Galicia was assassinated in the street. The number of military draft evaders rose from year to year. At Vienna University there were student demonstrations by national minorities. Columns of workers staged enormous parades down the Ring under bedraggled red banners. From all these symptoms of unrest and weakness it was easy to predict that Austria was on the point of falling apart. It could be expected that the denouement would come when the old Emperor died. In 1905 it was rumored in the German and Russian newspapers that there had been feelers between Berlin and St. Petersburg concerning the future of the Dual Monarchy. Supposedly, inquiries had been made whether it would not be well to agree beforehand on what parts of territory neighbors and other interested parties might count when the empire collapsed. The rumors became so rife that on November 29, 1905, the Foreign Office in Berlin felt compelled to arrange a special meeting with the Austrian ambassador and reassure him.

Naturally, the currents of the period—nationalism and racial consciousness, socialism and parliamentarism—made themselves felt with particular force in this precariously balanced political entity. For a long time it had been impossible to pass a law in the country's Parliament unless the government made outright concessions to various groups in

the virtually inextricable tangle of other peoples of the empire in development; but their influence policy of makeshift concessions they were expected to be loyal; satisfy the unreliable nationality

In addition, the surging national empire was no longer content to assure German leadership. It had seized the ruling class of the time that Austria was excluded from the Balkans and forced the German their "own" state. They felt threatened and began to grumble at the themselves compensated by a of their own breed. "German" cast, carrying strong missionary, imperiously and pretentiously

The anxiety underlying such against the broader background of creeping revolution "old, cosm which had anachronistically su archy—was going down to dest and conflicts connected with bourgeois in particular felt the abnormal growth of the cities economic concentration. The imagined in hopeful terms, in utopias, became associated for with uneasiness and dread. In the abolition of guild regulation went bankrupt.

Such troubles naturally gave reflected the increasing craving chiefly defensive ideologies which were by their advocates as doctrines gave concrete form familiar, hence manageable, in complexes was anti-Semitism, parties and leagues, from the Georg Ritter von Schönerer. Lueger. There had been an ou

Alt says Austria in 1905

1867

speech

*

A/H

but put it in 1905.

talks to Kueberg

A.H. on Austrian

buliminate agent of illegality

"I could have said more of it"

also Mayerling proposed to Reichsmark

* a pig and monkey language used to German

K. Lueger argues

Survey + page 103

Austrian is more

he had reason for coming

A diatribe by Hitler

against Austrian dilemmas

Schwarmerer

late 1905 or 1906

33

2000

ornamental gateway. He was deadly serious about building the house. It could be paid for very easily by winning a large sum of money in the lottery. He proposed that they both contribute five kronen toward a lottery ticket, and he spent a long time poring over the tickets until he found a number that was sure to win. He was so certain that he would win that he was already contemplating ordering the furniture. Kubizek half believed his claim that he could choose the winning ticket by an act of will, but when the lottery winners were announced his name was not among them. Adolf screamed and cursed. The lottery was nothing more than a damnable fraud committed at the expense of sheeplike citizens; and from cursing the lottery he went on to curse the state, which exploited the credulous and insulted good artists by taking their money.

This story and many similar stories were told by August Kubizek in a book called Hitler, the Friend of My Youth, published in 1953. Until the appearance of the book very little was known about Adolf Hitler's life in Linz. They were the crucial years between leaving school and vanishing into the anonymity of Vienna, the years when his mind was being formed and his attitudes were becoming crystallized. Kubizek's book describes a perfectly credible Hitler, neither wholly good nor wholly evil, strolling through the streets as though he owned them. Kubizek fell under his spell, but at the same time he retained sufficient critical ability to observe him clearly, without prejudice, and with a kind of lingering affection, while never quite understanding his strange and wayward friend.

It is easy to find fault with Kubizek, for he sometimes gets his dates wrong and writes down as facts things that he only half remembers. An Austrian jurist, Franz Jetzinger, has attacked him unmercifully, producing a long list of errors, many of them of very little importance. Jetzinger pounds the table with his fists, produces documents and certificates, and commands Kubizek to stand at the bar of history and confess his errors. Kubizek answers simply that of course there are errors, no elderly man can write about his youth and remember everything in perfect detail, and sometimes hindsight has distorted the picture. But not even Jetzinger could deny that Kubizek had known Hitler well, for he possessed postcards and letters written to him by Hitler, and many drawings and paintings. Above all there were his memories, sometimes brilliantly clear, sometimes dulled by the passage of time, but always as true as he could make them. Kubizek writes well, with a feeling for atmosphere and the colors of things, while Jetzinger writes like a country lawyer.

One of the strangest stories told by Kubizek concerns the young woman with whom Adolf fell in love. It was one of those hopeless platonic love affairs and seems to have begun early in the spring of 1906. Infatuated by her beauty, lost in dreams of her, never summoning up the

courage to speak to her at her with open-mouth arm with her widowed Linz. She was tall and s well-formed mouth, but spaced, very brilliant, as well and obviously cam gested breeding and dist

In those days it was ti every evening along th women walked with th articles in the shops wl young bloods in the shc street, and the presenta romance. Young officer surreptitiously, and som of the city; lacking gol fanciest attire. These e hundred years, and they

Adolf sent Kubizek to family. He learned that recently, and that the y her brother, a law stu though not Jewish she

time Adolf was not yet least concerned whether ing her from a position r smiled in his direction r

In his black notebook highly romantic poems s ment of all grace and l meadows, her honey-co mantle falling to her f progress everywhere.

This was far more th that he had lost his sen in his traffic with dream ment toward her, and y intimate thoughts. One become clear. Here is K

He kept saying that on abundantly clear with

The cost of rigging a win was not small

D.T. knows little about the mechanism other than that it requires a focus of spiritual power that can be erecting to our reservoir of force.

D.T. takes this also as a sign that the Maestro may be looking out at us. A.H.

D.T. has a conversation with the D.O. only winning "Albrecht" not a say the D.O. "He will soon crash if he returns a "He will crash if he loses a "He will not be surprised.

A.H. - Vienna 1907-1913

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The Jews in Austria

his seven-year-old son when the latter called her a "dirty sow";²⁸ the operator of a brothel who was leading maidens and married women into a life of sin, after being involved earlier in a sex-blackmail scandal in which she had used her own daughter as bait;²⁹ the old lecher who had been rightfully assailed by a young Christian girl in his employ when he made indecent advances.³⁰ In short, a nauseous conglomeration of sex and prejudice, fact and invention kept the readers happy.

A petty incident in Galicia illustrated all too clearly the journal's determination to besmirch the Jews. A dispatch from Lemberg on November 12, 1907, recounted rather breathlessly the shocking story of Uhlán Lieutenant *Kohn*, who had attacked a *Generalmajor* with drawn sabre after being stripped of his commission by a court headed by the *Generalmajor*. His assault was foiled by courageous fellow officers, and he had ended up in the hospital badly wounded. "So ends the career of one Jew as an officer," pontificated the *Volksblatt*.³¹

Next day the story was corrected with apologies to no one. There had been no court-martial and no dishonorable dismissal and no attack upon a superior officer. A Lieutenant *Kuhn* had simply been involved in a tavern brawl, which was broken up by the *Generalmajor* and other officers.³²

Orthodox Austrian antisemitism of the day naturally looked askance at any Jewish influence in the revered army. If a disorderly lieutenant could not be tagged as a Jew, at least it was not hard to find "expert" appraisal of Jews as soldiers. Russia had recently lost a war to Japan, much to the surprise of the rest of the world, and there had been the usual rash of books by generals explaining the debacle. One such worthy, E. J. Martynov, wrote of an "inborn" Jewish cowardliness in the face of the enemy. The *Volksblatt* shuddered over such authoritative comments. The Austro-Hungarian forces had better take steps to counteract such weaknesses, especially in Galicia, where so many reserve officers were Jewish.³³

Even more illogical were the attempts to link antimilitarism with the Jews of the empire. The German citizenry of Austria was not foolishly pacifistic, according to Vergani's cohorts. It

Hiller
reads
this
*

Hiller
reads
this

A.H. ponder this,
note the outrage
aroused in him by
the first story and
the smaller reaction
and all but concealed
disappointment in
the conclusion, and
concludes that all which
gives life to the blood,
stimulating aspr to
the veins, and the
wants to change the
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truth, because it
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Dr. U. Oneida, not two or
 three, ~~not a single~~ —
 all Jews, rich or poor,
 were the ~~same~~ part of the
 same army.

1907-1913 Vienna. The Jews in Austria

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was only the swindling "Jewish press" that shouted for reduction in armaments and men. These infamous press lords wanted to estrange the army and the people so that it would be easy for the Marxian Social Democratic commanders, in the pay of the Stock Exchange, to take over the state.³⁴ It is dubious that even the readers of the *Volksblatt* could accept such an unlikely picture of the Rothschilds slipping wads of kronen to the bespectacled leaders of the proletariat. Their oracles had somewhat less trouble in using the celebrated legal duel between the journalist Maximilian Harden and certain Prussian officers as an indication of Jewish plots to undermine the armed forces of all states.

Dr. T.
 weighs
 in

Harden's stories had implicated some of the best names in the higher echelons of the Prussian army as participants in sexually perverse practices. The *Volksblatt* was happy to milk the sensational testimony given in the resultant trial for even more than it was worth, but it self-righteously balanced its prurience with crude invective against "Herr Maximilian Harden, alias Isidor Witowski." The commotion he had stirred up in the Viennese "Jewish" press was compared to scenes in a pigsty when the swill was dumped into the trough. Harden was the pigherd "from whose mouth flowed a broad stream of those spicy details which his racial associates greet as the finest of tidbits." But the *Neue Freie Presse* had given away the game by asserting that no one now in Prussia could have any objection to a Jew's receiving a commission in the army there. To block this supposed Jewish plan to infiltrate into the Prussian officer corps, the *Volksblatt* screeched that "Jewish" papers in Berlin had declared that homosexuality was a sickness to be pardoned when Jews were accused of it.³⁵ In addition to likening Harden to a pigherd, Lueger's organ had more compliments to add when its target was found not guilty of libel: "a journalistic freebooter and brigand whom men hire to render their enemies impotent," "a onetime buffoon from Posen" who made a business of degrading every authority and who spat upon highly placed personages.³⁶

While the Harden trial gave ample opportunity to exploit

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1907-1913
The Jews in Austria

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semitic, clerical in a rather restrained way, and definitely committed to the furtherance of Lueger's fame. It carried plenty of advertisements to make up for its less than impressive circulation figures, and it offered a better than average coverage of foreign news. It was eager to splash its pages with sex scandal at the same time that it accused Jews of printing magazines brimming with exposés of prostitutes and pederasts.⁵¹ In short, it was a worthy predecessor of later Nazi excrescences, if one excepts its refusal to swallow the most fantastic ritual-murder tales⁵² and its occasional failure to tag particular notables as Jews. Hitler doubtless added much to his stock of poisonous prejudice by reading Vergani's *Volksblatt*, which was admittedly the worst of the "racialist" publications.

In the autumn of 1907 Lueger's Christian Socialists merged with what was left of the Conservative Catholic fraction, thereby creating the largest single party in the first Lower House to be elected by universal manhood suffrage. The mayor's new disciples were not wholeheartedly welcomed by the more rabid antisemites in the old party, and the *Deutsches Volksblatt* was quick to voice its suspicion that the converts were too clement in their attitudes.

Just as Lueger was subjected to the first blasts of his critics over the university question in November, 1907, the *Volksblatt* jumped on his most recent allies for their failure to comprehend the need for antisemitism. Catholic Conservatives often had looked askance at the Christian Social emphasis upon the Jewish "menace." The *Volksblatt* asserted that Cardinal Schönborn himself consorted with the *Neue Freie Presse* to challenge Lueger's zealots. Another newspaper, *Das Vaterland*, which represented the Catholic Conservative point of view even after amalgamation, had deviated far from the ideal course since the death of its great editor, Vogelsang, complained the *Volksblatt*. If all of the journals in Austria had failed to fight the Jews, if all had deserted the battle for German interests in Austria, then political developments would have taken a much more frightening turn.⁵³

The *Volksblatt* at least was correct in accusing *Das Vaterland*

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1879

of modifying its antisemitic tone drastically between 1890, when Vogelsang died, and 1907, when Hitler was getting thoroughly initiated into anti-Jewish press techniques. A sampling of the stories and features which filled the Catholic Conservative paper during Vogelsang's editorship leaves no doubt of his suspicion and contempt for the Jews. Ten years before Hitler was born, a political survey brutally stated in *Das Vaterland*:

It is not our fault if again and again we have to refer to the specifically Jewish character of the press which calls itself Liberal. In business life there is a rather commonly recognized rule that the modern Jew cannot leave any goods in their genuine and unadulterated form. He waters the best wine and clips the ducats. Just so do our press Jews conduct their affairs.⁵¹

When Germans and Czechs clashed over the latter's nationalistic demands, Vogelsang's journal blamed the Jews for the trouble:

Judaism with its naturally cosmopolitan interests is the natural foe of national autonomy and with its profit-seeking tendencies the enemy of inner peace in our Christian empire. Judaism is the third party which rejoices over the strife of Germans and Slavs.⁵⁵

Germans who had proclaimed war on the Roman Catholic Church as a postulate of the Germanic spirit had ended up noticing with chagrin that thereby they had only paved the way for a Jewish conquest; the more cunning race had duped them.⁵⁶ Jews were at the bottom of attacks upon authority and discipline, upon anciently grounded statute and hallowed order. Their clamor was part of the Paris Commune and it was they who unceasingly propagated communism, nihilism, in short, radicalism in all of its colors.⁵⁷ The only colors they conscientiously avoided were the imperial colors, for they were not distinguished by a marked spirit of patriotism. *Das Vaterland* sneered that half of the contingent the Jews should have supplied in Galicia had to be filled with Christian lads.⁵⁸

Nor can the modern investigator be entirely sure that Vogelsang's reporters were immune to the temptations of mixing sensationalism with their war on the Jews. A correspondent in

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them with paltry fines of twenty and ten kronen was a disgrace that could be wiped out only with the complete repudiation of the Church by all Catholics, argued Schönerer's columnists.⁷¹

If it was almost impossible to calumniate Catholic nuns, it was easier to get at Catholic ladies who were noted for their devotion to Lueger and the Christian Socialists. The secretary of the Ottakring branch of the Christian Women's Union was singled out for mention because some property she owned was being used as a brothel. What sort of behavior was this from a member of Lueger's "League of Amazons?" The fact that the prostitutes paid a higher rent was explanation enough, opined the Pan-German report.⁷²

Kubizek remembered that Hitler was apathetic rather than actively hostile in his attitudes toward Roman Catholicism during their winter together in Vienna.⁷³ When *Mein Kampf* was written, its author was most critical of Schönerer's fight against the Church, since it alienated "innumerable of the best elements which the nation can call its own."⁷⁴ No doubt the youthful Hitler was much more interested in the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, with its steady flow of racist rot; on occasion, the Pan-German organ as well reverted to antisemitism.

For instance, it was so enraged by the production of *Gretchen* that it refused to give the title of the comedy or the names of its authors in the "review." Why should it identify two Viennese Jews who had turned out another smutty piece for the "Judepest Orpheum Company" and for an audience that reveled in the wisecracks of the half-world? ⁷⁵ The production of three one-act plays by Hans Müller caused a similar reaction. This dramatist was "revealed" as a much applauded member of the "Viennese literary ghetto" whose works were better appreciated by Jews even when cleaned up a bit.⁷⁶ Yet the announcement of Gustav Mahler's last concert before he departed for America was carried in an irreproachably correct manner, in marked contrast to the vicious feelings manifested by the *Volksblatt* with regard to Mahler.

The *Tagblatt* at times seemed to be more interested in proving that Lueger and Vergani were not sincerely antisemitic than

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from savings banks. In the resulting chaos Morgan and Rockefeller bought out shaken businesses for trifling sums. Europeans were being subjected to the reverberations of these intrigues, paying more for capital they required and even running the risk of having one of the new gangs of brigands dictate the type of government and religion to be adopted. The stability of states and the freedom of the church were definitely endangered.

Schönerer's fading journal was rarely so ridiculous. It was more caustic and more dirty-minded in its attacks upon Roman Catholics than upon Jews, but basically it was only a feeble voice preaching a fanatic loyalty to the Hohenzollerns. Its advertisements, moderate in number, constantly offered busts of Bismarck and Schönerer and a great array of pamphlets which preached the Pan-German gospel. It stressed stories dealing with the defense of Germanism in Bohemia or in the Tyrol, and it grandiloquently used "Deutschland" as the locale for all Austrian news, "Deutsches Reich" for all German news. The economic coverage was primitive and the fine arts were usually ignored unless an "evangelical" group or author were offering their talents to the public.

In summary, the young Hitler of 1907, who already was beginning to hate the Jews, should have enjoyed most Vergani's *Deutsches Volksblatt*. *Das Vaterland* would have been too Olympian, too detached, while the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt* was too much deflected by the "Catholic issue" to concentrate satisfactorily enough for him upon antisemitism. Yet these contrasts are extremely relative, for the most urbane antisemitic asides from *Das Vaterland* found some response in Vienna. That three newspapers, however varying the emphasis, could face the public as representatives of avowed prejudice, if not hatred, was but another symptom of a sick society.

As Hitler sank further into poverty and bitterness during his second winter in Vienna, he personally began to experience other evidences of the ugly side of Viennese life, for a sick society has many faces. Just as important for his future career as the antisemitic pap which nourished his resentment was his constant struggle to avoid proletarianization. He won in that he

sixteen. In May 1906, he paid his first visit to Vienna and stayed there with his sister for two months, after which he returned to Linz. In the autumn of 1907 he went again to Vienna and lived, for part of the time at least, in the Men's Home at No. 27 Meldemannstrasse, seeking to gain admission to the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts to study architecture. In October 1907 he was rejected by the Academy, and soon afterwards he returned to Linz where his mother was incurably ill. On December 21, 1907, she died. [In February 1908, Hitler returned to Vienna and stayed with a friend in furnished rooms, at No. 29 Stumpergasse — an address which he had already used before. In November 1908, finding himself too poor to continue paying that rent, he suddenly left, and by the spring of 1909, when we next hear of him, he was back in the Men's Home in the Meldemannstrasse. He appears to have used various other addresses, including a doss house in the Meidling area and rooms in Simon Denk Gasse, but the Meldemannstrasse Men's Home evidently remained his base until 1913, when he left for Munich, apparently to avoid military service in the Austro-Hungarian army.

Now what evidence have we of Hitler's life and character in those crucial years? Apart from a few legal documents we have Hitler's own account in *Mein Kampf*, which may be suspect and is necessarily subjective; we have the accounts by a Sudeten tramp, Reinhold Hanisch, who knew him in 1909, and by some other more casual acquaintances in Vienna, as these accounts were given to the anti-Nazi journalist, Konrad Heiden, in the 1930s; and we have the full account given by Josef Greiner, who knew Hitler when both were lodging in the Men's Home in the Meldemannstrasse, first during Hitler's second visit to Vienna in September 1907, later on Greiner's return to Vienna in 1910. Of these sources, Greiner's account, which was published in 1947, is the fullest and has hitherto been regarded as by far the most valuable. Nevertheless, it does not answer the questions which we most want to see answered.

Fall
1907

Feb.
1908

1909-
13

For Gr
objective t
ing, almos
bined with
cism. Hitl
and wome
— althoug
although
the later H
to me son
qualities v
though Hi
and inhum
the devou
wards to sl
even at th
Hitler bec
believe th
are born se
have been
character i
process of
therefore,
superficial
recollection
atmosphere
in 1947. v
acter and v
more symp
the most d
This, An
in Linz, in
met Hitler
ing room
fifteen. Fr
says Kubiz

1906 1907

16

Post D

unnumbered 3

The path of AH's anti-Semitism. In 190~~6~~⁷, the first year in Vienna, it becomes intense. Through his mother's last days, however, Dr. Bloch is so kind that AH goes through a reversal and comes back to Vienna tormented by opinions at odds with each other. DT's first assignment is to win back his anti-Semitism. He notes, incidentally, that he is carrying out orders, no more.

The O.O. has His reasons—they are sufficient. In another client, the aim

might even ~~be~~ to make him less anti-Semitic in order precisely to ~~get him~~ ^{work up to}

^{desire} to marry a Jewish heiress. ~~Some such task.~~ It was all functional. In that

sense it could be said that I was without political ideas. I was at the call of

my instructions, no more, no less.

* a disquisition on heiresses, the difficulty in gaining their trust—they are so cleverer than ourselves, like the lady's cousin they are expert at evaluating the sperm that approaches

1905

~~1905-6~~
~~1907~~

A. T.
on
Adolf's
servility
as a
corrupter
from
the mid-19th
Century?

CK
Friedell

D. T. on
manners

A. K. in
1905 to 1906
feeling
the
absence
higher
education

(C. G. (Janis)
Adolf
imagines
their
retrothral
ceremony.

Klara
with
guests.
news.

cally everyone was of the nobility. For it was uncommonly easy to acquire a title, either by purchase or by services rendered to some pocket-edition of a prince. This paper nobility — against which the nobility of lineage waged a fight as strenuous as it was hopeless — gradually absorbed all the upper ten thousands. The custom (which still survives in Austria) of addressing every well-dressed man as Herr "von" So-and-so dates from this time. In Italy it was carried so far that everyone belonging to the best society became automatically a *marchese*. In this striving after outward nobility, unaccompanied by any shedding of inner vulgarity, we see the first symptoms of the servility which was soon to become the hall-mark of social life. "Reputation" and "*honnêteté*" became the sole criteria, and the reverse of these is tail-wagging, crawling before the court, the bureaucracy, and everyone a stage higher than oneself. Nice manners and elegances of speech were taught quite crudely and mechanically in "manuals of taste," and that which the French had arrived at doing naturally and with easy grace, Germany sought to imitate in a most clumsy, philistine, and tasteless fashion. It was the mode and the right thing to affect an aristocratic air, though no place in the world was less appropriate to it than this hole-and-corner society. Swords were worn by all. When the students at Jena were forbidden to wear them they amused themselves by having them carried behind on wheelbarrows. A constant use of the toothpick was also considered to be particularly good form.

Conversation was, in spite of all these means of education, extremely dry and dull. In large gatherings it was sustained by the uninspiring method of introducing a subject and hearing everyone's opinion on it in turn. Argument and counter-argument consisted chiefly in an exchange of rehearsed, high-faluting phrases by which thought was neither conveyed nor evoked. When a youth made the acquaintance of a girl, she became straight away a Pallas Athene, a goddess to be worshipped, a "virtuous and blessed nymph"; at the betrothal ceremony it was considered good form for both sides to protest in endless stereotyped phrases that they were not worthy of such honour. The effect of this deliberate formalism was that the most unimportant things took on vast significances. It was a great problem whether a particular guest should be offered a stool or an arm-chair to sit upon. For years

⊕ A lecture to Kubyek
K. thinks that Adolf

wishes to be seen as an
aristocrat even as he sees
thru it.

Not p. 19 in
V. 11? Friedell
Find the date

1906, 1918, 1920-22

~~1906~~

123

~~1906~~ 1918

1907
~~1918~~

he took the art test at the Academy and her condition plummeted in his absence. By then the guilty breast had been removed—to no avail. The son ended up nursing the mother night and day while having medication applied that ate into where the breast had been.

The symbiosis with his traumatized mother that dominated his infancy was a formative experience that Hitler could never outgrow. His emotional development was on the whole arrested at his later nursing following his teething. From this aggressive orality flowed his frenzied tirades no less than his craving for sweets—or his phobias (bedeviled cravings) against tobacco, then alcohol, and later meat as well.²⁰ Thence too issued the lust to conquer and assimilate in brutal fashion, which drove him forward to recover the breast-fed bliss of a fledgling self dissolving into the world it imbibes. His deep sense of special election and protection came from his nutrient mother's oversolicitude and overindulgence as she used him to repair—and indeed fail to repair—the loss she was unconsciously reliving. His mission hallucinated in Pasewalk, of repairing Germany's loss threw back to that mission of repairing his mother's loss. So he was as if reborn in Pasewalk. As he declared on revisiting there in 1932, "I took my life back as a gift of Providence."²¹ Undaunted in his political limbo of the latter 1920s, he styled himself "a man . . . whom Providence . . . has destined to be the leader."²² He added, on the last anniversary of his Pasewalk relapse before taking power: "I also have the conviction and the secure feeling that nothing can harm me, because I know that I have been appointed by Providence to fulfill my task."²³ By way of fulfilling his task he recreated his infantile situation, with Germany in his mother's place. He made himself into Germany's chosen means of reliving a previous traumatic reverse in a futile effort to reverse it. And he did so with his mouth opened on Germany—through "the violence of oratory," as he put it.²⁴ As dictator (the very term spells oral aggression raised to the highest power) he intoned the symbiosis in scriptural accents: "Whatever you are, you are through me," he told his followers, "and whatever I am, I am only through you alone."²⁵ He talked, or indeed screamed,

1918

D.T. I started with the enormous advantage of his belief that his new guardian angel had restored his eyes

1920-22

Eckhardt 1919 + 1931

mis.

Introduction 15 W

However, there was a more sinister attraction which he would also have had difficulty ignoring: "Over this hard-working country seemingly so sure of its future, with rapidly growing metropolises and industrial areas, there arched a peculiarly romantic sky whose darkness was populated by mythic figures, antiquated giants, and ancient deities. . . . A good deal of professional obscurantism and Teutonic folklorism was involved." ^{MS} *Furt.*

Politically Hitler was imbued early with the ideals of German nationalism and *Anschluss*, the ancient German dream of unification. He was also, as we shall see, a voracious reader of an indiscriminate variety of subjects which may have generated incipient thoughts of his own importance and his early belief in his glorious destiny.

Hitler was inspired by both the music and the philosophy of Wagner. Wagner was anti-Semitic. He believed the virtues of the Teuton tribes had atrophied with the coming of the industrial revolution; that courage and will had been poisoned or emasculated by capitalism and race pollution; that the Jews were responsible for the enervation and enslavement of the German spirit; and that a new Siegfried must arise to lead the Germans to an awareness of their greatness.*

A strong undercurrent of anti-Semitic strains ran in the Viennese society in which Hitler spent his late teenage and early adult years. It would have taken a far more singular-minded lad, seeking but largely failing to make a place for himself, not to have been influenced by those strains, although his personal experiences with Jews had been cordial.

When World War I erupted in 1914, Hitler rushed to enlist

*Siegfried, a legendary Germanic hero, is the main character in Wagner's Ring cycle, who is deceived and speared in the back by his enemies as the opera reaches its climax. The war had acted as a catalyst for the movements of both political and social revolution in Europe. At its start there had been seventeen monarchies and three republics in Europe. At war's end the numbers were equal; the trend was obvious and frightening to many. The German kaiser had been among the monarchs toppled. Czarist Russia was swept away in the Communist revolution whose tentacles were spreading to Germany.

* A.H.
discovers
that the
lover is
a Jew.

1931

→ but
Brunhilde
betrays
him for
in her rush
to vengeance.
So w. Wotan
So w. Vali *

Eckhardt
1919

Eckhardt
suggests it

Important:
the music
1920

* An interpretation by D. T. ? — when did
M.S. Chaplin
start his
career?

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.
→ A.H.
know
genius
then by
circumstances
it was
narcissism
if it was
Jewish genius.
Chaplin was
the finest
example. That
little mustache,
attached to
all the
people. No
more Hindenburg
for him. No
more as having
wings, having
away under
his mouth.

mis.

~~amended~~

1935?

19

W

Nostradamus Goes to War

Hitler's supposed astrologer, Karl Krafft, was not the only person poring over Nostradamus's quatrains for ulterior motives during World War II. The sixteenth-century astrologer's works became a pliable propaganda tool in the hands of both the Germans and the Allies.

Nostradamus, born in 1503, is often called the father of astrology. In his time, before science insisted on evidence that stood up to observation and experiment, astrology was regarded not as a superstition but a learned profession. Its proof was its claimed consistency. For example, it maintained that when the conjunctions of the major planets known in the sixteenth century—Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn—occurred, there would be major upheavals in society, wars, famines, civil strife, and the like.¹

Nostradamus trained as both an astrologer and physician. Court favorite of Catherine de Medici, he was also physician to Charles IX. Born a Christian, he converted to Judaism and studied its mystical tradition, giving us the irony that the Jewish-Influenced Nostradamus was readily embraced by the Nazis. Then again, Hitler claimed that he learned more from his enemies than his friends.

Nostradamus's *Centuries*, which contain the 966 prediction quatrains, was first published in 1555, eleven years before his death. Nostradamus was very much a man of his own time, and used the peculiar images and associations of Renaissance symbolism

→ year?
1935?

mis.

der Anschauung alter Zeiten: "It is not improbable that illnesses have a history of their own: so that each age has its particular illnesses, which had not occurred just so before and will never occur just so again." The only explanation for this, obviously, must be that every age makes its own illnesses, which are just as much a part of its physiognomy as everything else that it produces, just as much its specific creations as its art, its strategy, its religion, its physics, its economy, its erotic, and all its other manifestations. They are, so to say, its inventions and discoveries in the pathological domain. It is the spirit which builds itself a body: always the spirit is the prime mover, both in the individual and in the mass. If we are prepared to stand by this comparison — admittedly a lame one in more than one respect — with the individual, we shall have to say: the Black Death is no more the cause of modernity than pregnancy is the cause of a new organism; for in the one case as in the other the true cause lies in the entry of a new life-germ into the mother-body, and the result and expression of this fact constitutes pregnancy. The "new spirit" generated a sort of development-sickness in European humanity, a general psychosis; and one — the most prominent — of the forms of this sickness was the Black Death. But whence this new spirit came and why it arose just then and there, no one knows. The *Weltgeist* will not disclose that secret.

Neither has any one unravelled the immediate circumstances under which the Plague, known generally as the Black Death or the Great Death, suddenly gripped Europe. Some maintain that it slipped in in the train of the Crusades, but if so, it is strange that it should never have been even approximately so terrible among the Arabs as it was with us. Others have put its place of origin as far away as China. Contemporary opinion laid the responsibility on the constellations, the prevailing wickedness, the unchastity of the priests, and the Jews. There it was, anyhow — and suddenly, first in Italy, then slinking over the whole Continent. Part of its uncanniness lay precisely in this slow and steady progress from house to house and from land to land, which was so unlike the raging of most other epidemics. It took possession of Germany, France, England, Spain, and finally the northerly countries right up to Iceland. What made it still more horrible was its incalculable behaviour. At times it spared whole stretches

of country, as, for instance, in the case of the Black Death, which appeared after years. R we read in the chronicle 'Death on the Rhine,' try," "Year of general Plague throughout (rarely children," "Gr to have been a form of the lymphatic headache, great weakness, delirium. According to the first or second, or a terrific everywhere. W deaths daily in Berne, of thirteen thousand Oxford died, and three Minorites counted the these amounted to over total losses, according millions. The men of tl than those who had pe

With the Plague monks, in exaltation, place, waving flags and cloaks and repulsive c Their appearance in a t all the people flocked to selves down, scourging reading out letters th which condemned the s them to repent. Their doubtedly heretical. T communion, in that tl Saviour's. Priests were ence was not tolerated a terrified humanity th ing about its ears was i the Flagellants came to

Friedell

mts-

1919

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

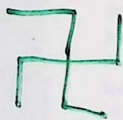
According to Francis King, Hitler insisted on one significant change to Krohn's flag whose swastika was the right-handed version which is traditionally symbolic of good fortune, spiritual evolution, and the triumph of spirit over matter. Hitler replaced it with the left-handed swastika, regarded by occultists 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-

*

D.T.
Take a
hand.



D.T.
This one

looked
better.

I heard from the C.O.
"well done."

The Krohn version
is awful - awful.
Much too open.

w
b
m
n

notations of black magic and evil in Krohn's cross and for the purpose of evoking the positive images of good luck, spiritual evolution, etc., for his fledgling party!

Had Hitler reversed them at all? Hitler, in fact, makes no mention of the direction the swastika is taking or of redesigning it to face the other way, even though he tries to take as much credit as possible for the final design. Such a major change as reversing the swastika would surely have drawn him to comment for the sake of increasing his singular claim to the design without any need to talk of the symbolic or occult significance of such a move, if any.

Hitler writes that as designs for a symbol came pouring in,

I myself did not want to come out publicly at once with my own design, since it was possible that another should produce one just as good or perhaps even better. Actually a dentist from Starnberg [sic] did deliver a design that was not bad at all [Hitler does not bother to name Krohn], and incidentally, was quite close to my own, *having only one fault* [italics added] that a swastika with curved legs was composed into a white disk. I myself, meanwhile, after innumerable attempts, had laid down a final form; a flag with a red background, a white disk and a black swastika in the middle. After long trials I also found a definite proportion between the size of the flag and the size of the white disk, as well as the shape and thickness of the swastika. And this remained final. . . .

As National Socialists we see our programme in our flag. In *red*, we see the social idea of the movement, in *white*, the nationalistic idea, in the *swastika*, the mission of the struggle for victory of the Aryan man, and by the same token the victory of the idea of creative work, which as such always has been and always will be anti-Semitic.¹³

It is highly likely that during the design stage the swastika was tried in both directions and different angles before Hitler settled both points; the major importance of the decision being—for a man who prided himself on being a thwarted artist of great merit—not some unidentified occultic myth, but rather balance and

mis-

1919, 1935

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aesthetic value. Such "apparent trifles can in hundreds of thousands of cases give the first impetus toward interest in the movement." Hitler explains in *Mein Kampf*.¹⁴ In his comments on the Nazi symbol Hitler does not even hint at any awareness of occultic significance.

1919
1935
What Hitler wanted was a symbol as easily identifiable to the masses as the Muslim crescent and the Communist hammer and sickle.¹⁵ The one he chose he turned into a symbol of anti-Semitism. Some Nazi leaders wanted the swastika to replace the Bible on church altars along with a copy of *Mein Kampf*.¹⁶ Hitler rejected the idea. It may have been that he could not see a religious significance in the symbol.

The swastika and the church did play a joint role on one important occasion. Cardinal Innitzer, the Catholic Primate of Austria, ordered churches to hoist swastikas and ring bells to welcome Hitler as he was advancing on Vienna to claim the country for the German Reich.¹⁷

Joachim Fest, in fact, accuses Hitler of pretending that the swastika flag was his own invention whereas Krohn had designed it for a local party group and in 1919 had recommended its use as the "symbol of national socialist parties." Hitler's own contribution consisted not of the original idea, but of his instant perception of the symbol's psychological magic.¹⁸ That is "psychological," not "occult" magic.

Notes

1. Chapter 1, p. 29.
2. Michael Barsley, *The Left-Handed Book* (London: Souvenir Press, 1966) pp. 118-19.
3. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (London: Hutchinson, 1974), p. 451n.
4. Francis King, *Satan and Swastika* (St. Albans, Herts, U.K.: Mayflower Books, 1976), p. 116.
5. Alan Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* (London: HarperCollins, 1991), p. 77.

mis. 1938

W 148

HITLER AND THE OCCULT

Führer and Chancellor of the German Nation . . . I can in this hour report before history the conclusion of the greatest aim in my life: the entry of my homeland into the German Reich."⁵

Amid the rapture the concomitant outrageous lawlessness was ignored. Jews, young and old, rich and poor, religious and nonreligious, were ordered out into the streets to scrub anti-Nazi slogans from the pavements. The water given to them to do the job was often mixed with acid, which burned their fingers, and the implement they were given as a cleansing tool was often a toothbrush.⁶ There are a number of eyewitness accounts on record of the humiliation, harassment, and brutality inflicted by the Storm Troopers and Hitler Youth on the citizens they rounded up: In Währing, one of Vienna's wealthier suburbs, Nazis ordered Jewish women to scrub streets on their knees and then stood over them and urinated on their heads. Some Jews were forced to spit in each other's faces⁷ while devout Jews were dragged into temples and made to do knee bends and shout "Heil Hitler" in chorus until they collapsed. Others were made to dance on Torah scrolls outside their desecrated synagogues while Orthodox women were forced to remove their wigs, a step akin to stripping naked. As the wigs were burned these women were further made to dance in the street. Other citizens were caught with Jews and dragged off to the stormtroopers' barracks to clean out filthy toilets.⁸

Among those forced into street cleaning were Chief Rabbi Taglich, seventy-five, and former Surgeon-General Pick. The cabaret performer Felix Grunbaum was clubbed to death, as was the director of the Scala Theatre, Rudolf Beer. Jailed were the librarian of the University of Vienna, Solomon Frankfurter; Nobel Prize winner Oscar Lowi; and noted ear surgeon Heinrich von Neuman.⁹ Suicides became common and within a month the mass shipping of Jews to concentration camps had begun. Jews were virtually driven from the professions; they even lost the right to sit on park benches or to use elevators.¹⁰

What happened not only in Vienna but across Austria, as communities competed with one another to become cleansed of

Hitler
laughing
with each
other that
a few drops
of urine
wet his
pants.

D.T. In truth,
he is more
like a girl
than a man.

The Hitler photo
- Guess
who I
had lunch
with.
Then the
denouncement,
the real
humiliation.

— the young Jew hears the joke. (1938)

mis
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

④ D.T. what affected to him most
was the incest 159 — only the exceptional
exceptional could dip into such secrets.

1931 mis

160 W HITLER AND THE OCCULT

The War Path
p 109

one night when Hitler found out that Geli had made love to his chauffeur, Emil Maurice, the man who was her real lover. Perhaps Geli had come to realize in that moment of anger that she could never have a life of her own. In any case, on 18 September 1931 she shot herself* through the heart using Hitler's own 6.35mm Walther pistol.⁷

Hitler was stunned and completely baffled. No other event in his personal life had affected him as strongly as this. For weeks he seemed close to a nervous breakdown. In his fits of gloom he even spoke of suicide.⁸ Hitler turned Geli's room in their Prinzregentstrasse apartment (in Munich) into a shrine and spent hours alone in it.⁹ The emotional damage he suffered was never repaired, claims Irving.¹⁰

Ravenscroft claims that apart from Rauschning¹¹ the other leading biographers of Hitler fail altogether to understand that a "monstrous sexual perversion was the very core of his whole existence, the source of his mediumistic and clairvoyant powers and the motivation behind every act through which he reaped a sadistic vengeance on humanity."¹² He only knew sexual fulfillment through the extremes of sadism and masochism, sexual delight either through inflicting pain on others or from suffering pain himself. In his early days in Vienna Hitler would furtively retire to the red-light district to have himself tied and whipped by any prostitute¹³ who was willing to earn a few miserable *hellers*.†

There is some circumstantial evidence in support of these claims of perversion: Bromberg claims that the only way Hitler could get full sexual satisfaction was to watch a young woman as she

*Just over a year after Geli's death, on the evening of 8 November 1932, Stalin's wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva, argued with him at a Kremlin party and walked out. At thirty-one, Nadezhda was, like Geli with Hitler, twenty years younger than Stalin and attempting to make a life of her own. Much to her husband's displeasure, she had enrolled as a chemistry student at Moscow's Industrial Academy and travelled to and from the Kremlin by public transport. This assertion of her independence only added to the already longstanding yet strained personal relations between the two. That night she committed suicide, like Geli, by shooting herself.

†Old Austrian currency.

See Bullock's
Hitler & Stalin

mis 1931
D.T. All the old sleeping that
his father gave him. Rolls of lightning
in his heart and in his ass — a glum
of the power of the Arch Presence.
Hitler and Occult Sex 161 L

squatted over his head and urinated or defecated in his face. Bromberg 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 parents¹⁴ 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.

It could be traced as a deep desire to merge with the Jew and a secret wish to urinate in his face.

Wagner

D.T.
So over wrought
over-
simple.
He was close to what became

** D.T. A meaningless discovery. It is what one does occasionally with the help that is still alive. which proves insignificant*
1931 162
HITLER AND THE OCCULT

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

influenced by any stirring love relationship through which he could have gained a mature understanding of the complexities of human interaction. He was self-absorbed, fearful of intimacy, and showed no signs of having sexual urges. Until the end of his life he never saw beyond a stereotyped image of women.²³

As for his relationships with women at a social level we find more contradictions from biographers. Hitler was totally disinterested in the companionship of women, says Schwaab.²⁴ Fest says Hanfstaengel riled some of Hitler's other close followers by his penchant for introducing Hitler to "lovely ladies" of whom Hitler showed little interest.²⁵ Bullock's somewhat dissenting view is that Hitler was attractive to women and attracted by them; he liked to have beautiful women in his company.²⁶

Whatever went on with Hitler's private sex life, his public performances had all the overt erotic arousal of a modern-day pop concert. According to Fest, sound recordings of the period clearly convey the peculiarly obscene, copulatory character of his mass meetings: the silence at the beginning as of a whole multitude holding its breath; the short, shrill yappings, the minor climaxes and first sounds of liberation on the part of the crowd; finally the frenzy, more climaxes, and then the ecstasies released by the finally unblocked oratorical orgasms.²⁷ The writer Rene Schickele once spoke of Hitler's speeches as being "like sex murder." Many other contemporary observers have tried to describe the sensually charged liquescence of these demonstrations in the language of diabolism.²⁸

Hitler may have unconsciously indicated he was aware of such reciprocity when he once called the masses his "only bride." He may not marry. He must deny himself that joy because he had a bride—Germany. "I am married to the German Volk, to its destiny! I have given my heart, all my thinking and planning, my work, myself!"²⁹ On the other hand, the comments could be another example of Hitler throwing some retrospective dramatic lighting on turning points in his life, a habit Fest accuses him of.³⁰

The strong contradicting assertions noted here, which are being made about Hitler's sexuality to this day, lead to only one certain

any year

Wagner modes

mis .

1938

1806

The SS leader did not believe in reincarnation. However, he saw the connection in the direct transmission of the blood through generations. Himmler did not mind being called "King Heinrich."⁴⁶ There is no speculation that Himmler's worship of Heinrich was inspired by Himmler's original chicken farming occupation.

at Wewelsberg
Ravenscroft⁴⁷ says that Wewelsberg was built on "the site of the ruins of an ancient but unidentified medieval burg near Paderborn." Padfield identifies Wewelsberg's medieval origins—the stronghold of the bishops of Paderborn—and says it was derelict and neglected rather than a ruin and that Himmler had it converted⁴⁸ rather than built afresh. Whatever the state of the castle, the site itself is on a hill overlooking the Westphalian plain and the River Alme just to the east of Teutoburger forest where in A.D. 9 Hermann the Cherusker defeated the occupying Roman army with forces made up of the united Germanic tribes of Westphalia and Hesse. Hermann is not named by Ravenscroft as one of the possessors of the Lance or as having a room dedicated to his reign in the castle.

Himmler 1938?
According to Ravenscroft the "Spear of Destiny" was the "progressive theme of the interior design and symbolic decoration of the whole castle." Each room was designed to personify the lifestyle of every claimant of the lance beginning with Charles the Great in the ninth century until "the collapse of the Old German Empire in 1806 when the ancient and historic weapon was secreted out of Nuremberg and taken to Vienna where it was out of the ambitious clutches of Napoleon Bonaparte" (the latter doubtful claim we have already dealt with in chapter 3). The room for one claimant, Frederick Barbarossa, was always kept locked and reserved for Hitler should he wish to visit the sacred SS sanctuary.⁴⁹ It is unlikely Hitler ever visited the castle.

FitzGerald in his chapter on the castle and its Holy Lance theme says all SS members had to take part regularly in various magical ceremonies which Himmler had devised, adding that behind his back he was referred to as the Grand Master of German occultism.⁵⁰

Michael Howard says Wewelsberg had been remodeled on

the Paderborn Speck

die Z

Ellen, two pages
one for 1939
one for 1944
1938-1944

For Judith
Hawthorne New

heraldic crests
are drawn up.

the castle in the Arthurian myth of the Holy Grail.⁵¹ Padfield also talks of the castle, as the plans for it developed, becoming in Himmler's eyes what Camelot had been to King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table and Monsalvat to Parsifal and the Knights of the Holy Grail.⁵²

The hideously ludicrous nature of the whole project becomes apparent with the attempt to link it to the Camelot legend. The castle's focal point was a great dining hall with an oaken table to seat twelve picked from the senior *Gruppenführers* (group leaders) to become the SS-knights. The walls were adorned with their coats of arms, although there was a problem in that few had come from the background in which family heraldic crests figure, including Himmler. Designs had to be drafted for them. Below the hall there was a circular cellar known as the "realm of the dead" where on death, the knight and his arms were to be burned.⁵³

According to Louis Pauwels and Jacques Bergier, the castle was far from the Arthurian/Parsifal tradition. In fact, it became known as the Black Camelot where black magic initiations were held. They were known as "the ceremonies of the stifling air" from the psychic atmosphere in which they took place. At the height of the ritual, a black mass was performed in accordance with the tradition of Satanism.⁵⁴ Brennan claims that the castle was the home of a coven of thirteen, not twelve, SS initiates who dressed in black, carried daggers, and wore signet rings of solid silver inscribed with intricate magical sigils (marks or signs). It is obvious this claim is based on the twelve knights to which Padfield refers, since Brennan has each man with a coat of arms and a seat allotted to him at a round table where all would wait for their Grand Master, Himmler, to begin the ministrations. Sometimes they would sit and meditate, but more often, under the personal direction of Himmler, they would engage in magical rituals and spells, and try to contact the "racial soul." On occasions of special solemnity they would sit at the table and evoke the help of satanic entities in their deadly work of black magic.⁵⁵

Even if magical and occult practices were a feature of the

pay attention
to follow
who
become
dispirited
after such
rites.
(perhaps one
of the hermits
you to
Worm Stauffenberg
later.)

D.T. We were
instructed to
stay away
from all
such immersion
"let them do
it on their
own," said
the O.A. "just
be certain to

die Messe Saek

die Zeremonie von erstickten Luft

1941

✱ Himmler were at heart because
A. it does not understand that this is
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mis- W

castle, it would appear that the structure was little used as a gathering place. Even Ravenscroft admits that SS leaders and members of the senior ranks went there as a group at most several times a year.⁵⁶

If all accounts are accurate—a castle dedicated to the Holy Lance, to the Holy Knights, and to ancient German heroes, whose occupants submerged themselves in neopagan rites and satanic masses, and plotted mass murder—then we have a monument to the schizophrenic nature of Himmler and his SS. "Never forget," Himmler told a gathering of his SS-führers, "we are a knightly Order."⁵⁷ They were, in fact, a terrible mockery of a knightly order. Their symbols were a death's head skull, runes, and the swastika; their deeds were the worst known to humanity.

The SS reached its peak in 1944 with a fighting force that rivalled the regular army, the Waffen SS, of 38 divisions, with a total of 910,000 men.⁵⁸ Its other main branch, the 53,000 SS Death's Head division, left a sickening record: 14 million men, women, and children murdered and millions more who had been subjected to slave labor, torture, and other degradations.⁵⁹ Some knights! Some deeds!

In the end, Himmler, denounced by Hitler for attempting to negotiate peace with the Allies in the last days of the war, discredited as a general and broken in spirit, attempted to flee from the scene of his ghastly crimes disguised as a member of the military field police. He was recognized and captured by members of a British patrol. After admitting his true identity he killed himself by taking poison.⁶⁰ This was slight retribution for a man who we are told by the occultists sought to invoke the German Volkische legends, pagan gods, and the knightly traditions in a base cause of racial purity resulting in the deaths of those millions of innocents.

✱ There is some support for the argument that Hitler, who originally had not intended to allow the SS to develop to the extent it did, was critical of the philosophical direction in which its leaders took it. Bullock writes that Hitler spoke in scornful terms of those of his followers, such as Himmler, who indulged in pagan myths and rites, and his deputy Hess, who was an astrology

mis.

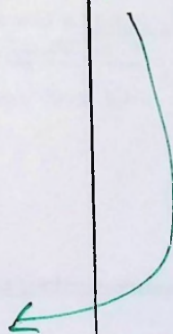
fanatic.⁶¹ The important fact is that Hitler was never critical of the SS role as practical organizers of slavery, the concentration camps, and the mass exterminations. However, Hitler's criticism, justified or otherwise, would fit in with his attitude toward occult organizations and beliefs as his own powers expanded. By 1933, when he had gained control of the country, intimidation and attacks on occultism and its followers became rampant. At the same time, Hitler thwarted attempts for full-blown terrorist tactics to be used against the churches—a policy enthusiastically advocated by other Nazi leaders. He realized that millions of Germans found comfort in the church and any attempt to outlaw Christianity would be political suicide.⁶²

Shops selling occult material were raided and their goods seized, never to be returned. Newspapers that ran astrological and other occult material had trouble getting supplies of paper. In Berlin and elsewhere the police began confiscating booksellers' stocks of astrological literature, apparently on a haphazard basis, and, according to Ellic Howe, were just as liable to seize serious textbooks.⁶³ Occult societies were purged including the Theosophists, the followers of Rudolf Steiner, the OTO (*Ordo Templi Orientis*), the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, the Order of New Templars, and even the Thule Society! The Templars leader, Lanz von Liebenfels, who supposedly had such a strong impact on the young Hitler, was forbidden to write for public consumption.⁶⁴

Many individual occultists, astrologers, clairvoyants, and the like—in particular those who predicted that Hitler's signs and stars showed he would bring ruin to himself, Germany, and the world—were thrown into jail or sent to concentration camps, where many died.

Some occultists argue that Hitler's attack on their colleagues and their craft was based on the fact that the Führer wanted there to be only one magic force in Germany, his. But there are flaws in the argument: he allowed the largest occult force, the organized church, to continue (he even made God an ally), while banning the Thulists who supposedly held some mystical sway over him. He did not get rid of people close to him—Himmler and Hess—

D.T.
No traces.



1938 * Himmler sees that as politics.

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who were besotted by the occult. Perhaps he felt there just might be something to it, but clearly he could not understand what, even though he believed his thought processes were at such an advanced level his comprehension was all-encompassing. Should Hitler set his mind to any subject he could bring to it an understanding that came from a process superior to logic and human thought. Why, he could take up material rejected by the great Wagner and turn it into an opera!

Ultimately Hitler chose the known (knowledge) over the unknown (the occult), and established religion over mysticism. Addressing the Nazi Party Congress in 1938, Hitler proclaimed:

* At the pinnacle of our program stands not mysterious premonitions, but clear knowledge and hence open avowal. But woe if the movement or the state, through the insinuation of obscure mystical elements, should give unclear orders. And it is enough if this lack of clarity is contained merely in words. There is already a danger if orders are given for the setting up of so-called cult places, because this alone will give birth to the necessity subsequently to devise so-called cult games and cult rituals. Our cult is exclusively cultivation of that which is natural and hence willed by God.

it not already orders

Notes

1. Michael Howard, *The Occult Conspiracy* (London: Rider, 1989), p. 135.
2. See chapter 7.
3. Howard, *The Occult Conspiracy*, p. 135.
4. J. H. Broggan, *Occult Reich* (Futura, 1974), quoted in Michael Fitzgerald, *Storm Troopers of Satan* (London: Robert Hale, 1990) p. 54.
5. See chapter 7.
6. Francis King, *Satan and Swastika* (St. Albans, Herts, U.K.: Mayflower Books, 1976), p. 85.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 86.
9. Ibid., p. 123.

(*) D.T. One of my clients
mis.

1919

W. 128 HITLER AND THE OCCULT

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.

1919

mis
1941
~~#C44~~
Russia

D.T.
Our
collaboration
was, at
once, so
close and
so
remote.

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

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

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the newspaper's pet terms for Vienna—such as “ethnic conglomerate” and “ethnic Babylon”—appear later in *Mein Kampf* has led to the conclusion that Hitler read the paper regularly in addition to the equally racist *Ostara* magazine.²⁴

As for Hitler's anti-Semitism, in Vienna it had become an overwhelming phobia.²⁵ The British occult historian Francis King offers a pragmatic explanation for its virulence at this time: It may have been to some extent because Hitler so desperately needed someone to hate as a psychological antidote to his own miseries. Taking up Hitler's poignant picture of himself in Vienna, King goes on to say that “when one is physically hungry and emotionally deprived—and the young Hitler was usually both—it is a great comfort to have some group of people . . . who can be blamed for what is profoundly one's own fault.” A further reason for his hatred, King adds, is that Hitler may have been defeated in love by some Jewish rivals; or perhaps had acquired syphilis or some other venereal disease from a Jewish girl.

In any case, he goes on, it is probable Hitler had some sort of sexual motive for his hatred of the Jews.

King bases his assumptions on certain passages from *Mein Kampf* including one in which Hitler writes of a black-haired Jewish youth lying in wait for and “satanically . . . spying upon the unsuspecting girl whom he plans to seduce, adulterating her blood and removing her from her own people.”

Such passages, says King, associate disease with racial degeneracy and, at the same time, convey a depth of feeling which seem to reveal a certain personal anguish.²⁶ However, he provides no other proof which would lead us to believe Hitler was syphilitic at any stage of his life.

It could be argued that Hitler's anti-Semitism was based not on logic or resentment or jealousy or even VD, but on perversity. For example, from what is known of Hitler to that stage of his life, the Jewish question should have been the last thing on his mind. Hitler's early contacts with Jews had been limited but remarkably positive. Jews had been among his benefactors. A Jewish doctor had treated his mother's breast cancer without payment.

1908

Vienna
1908
1907

— He has
dreams where
Godlike is
engaged by
a Jewish
beautician
The one he
saw her with
in his
was dark
and handsome

mis.

1908

him, would not accept him; it persecuted and cheated him and set snares for the sole purpose of preventing him from getting somewhere.⁶

Nevertheless he illogically believed that destiny had a special future role for him—at first it was to be that of an artistic genius. However, when he did finally sit for the art school exams, “full of confidence and self-assurance,” he failed.⁷ The school records note: “The following gentlemen submitted unsatisfactory drawings or were not admitted to the examination . . . Adolf Hitler, Branau a. Inn, 20 April 1889, German, Catholic, Father civil servant, upper rank. Four grades of Realschule. Few heads. Sample drawing unsatisfactory.”⁸ Hitler notes that, “I was so convinced I had been successful that when I received my rejection it struck me as a bolt from the blue . . . a lightning flash.”⁹

No doubt, based at least partly on the examiner's terse report, the cause of Hitler's failure is given by a number of his biographers, including Alan Bullock, as the fact that he was not good enough, even that the very idea of his applying was another of his grandiose notions without foundation. Bullock says Hitler continued to delude himself throughout his life that he was an artistic genius, frequently lamenting what the world had lost when, out of a sense of duty, he was forced to turn to politics.¹⁰

In fact the entrance standard was high: only 28 of the 120 applicants who sat had been accepted. The German author Wulf Schwarzwaller* says it would be completely wrong to conclude that Hitler was less talented than the successful applicants: the decision to accept or reject an applicant was at times arbitrary and subjective. Many of the applicants who were originally accepted for being “highly talented” later sank into obscurity while some of those who failed the same examination—as Hitler did—went on to make a name for themselves as professional artists.¹¹

Hitler's sketches contained outstandingly rendered details of streets and buildings but there was an almost total absence of people or animals; where he did depict them they looked more

*His other books include Rudolf Hess the Deputy (London: Quarter Books, 1988).

P.T.
Korn

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1923 1924 mis.
in which he concluded, "I consider myself not a traitor, but a German who wanted the best for the German people." His words were greeted with applause from the crowded courtroom. The trial itself was front-page news in every German newspaper. By its end Hitler had become a national figure.⁸

Among the leaders of Bavarian society who had given Hitler and the Nazis protection were Munich Chief of Police Ernst Pohner, his political adviser Wilhelm Frick, and Bavarian Minister of Justice Franz Gurtner. All were allegedly Thulists and shared Hitler's nationalistic rightist views. Both Frick and Gurtner joined the party and were given ministries when Hitler became chancellor. Although Hitler was sentenced to five years, largely through the influence of these future Nazis he spent less than nine months in jail. He used the time to write his turgid autobiography *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), which was to become the Nazi "bible."

1921 At the helm once again, Hitler set about introducing some "color" into the grey blanket of German politics. He used bright red in banners and on posters—a direct steal from the parties of the Left. He sent disciplined paramilitary forces—old soldiers, new Nazis—through the streets on trucks and in parades. He organized torchlight processions and the strains of Wagner's music were heard at rallies.

He also took trouble over the introduction of some simple but effective symbols, including the raised arm, open-handed salute that was linked with the traditional German greeting "Heil," to become the alliterative "Heil, Hitler." He adopted the eagle, an ancient heraldic device, as the party's official symbol, and, of course, the swastika (see chapter 12). As public relations gimmicks they were highly successful in creating a fascination with the party and Hitler among a people used to a blander presentation of the political "product."

1921 Hitler added another touch by growing his own version of the by-then celebrated moustache of Charlie Chaplin. Even today a black oblong is all that is needed to put many people in mind of both men. It was rumored in Germany that Hitler's seemingly bizarre action had been to cash in on Chaplin's popularity.⁹ Harry

that of a consumptive. This drawing was first published in Rabitsch's book. Greiner also used it, touching it up to make Hitler look two years older and adding a bowler hat and a tie-pin!

Hitler's alleged desecration of the Host

(In 1923, while Hitler was in prison awaiting trial, the Münchener Post published a story originating in a Linz newspaper that later received wide circulation. The story ran that Hitler had been expelled from secondary school for an act of religious desecration: during a school communion service he had spat on the Host and put it in his pocket. In his report to Hitler's lawyer Dr. Huemer commented:

'If this were true, Adolf Hitler would not have left school in Linz with a "very satisfactory" for Moral Conduct . . . nor would his attendance have been facilitated at a secondary school elsewhere. He would have been expelled immediately and probably been debarred from all schools in Austria. If this had been the case, the school records in Linz would mention the sacrilege and its consequences, but they do not. Neither can I remember it. Nor is it mentioned in my own personal notes, where many matters of much lesser importance are nevertheless recorded. . . . To put it mildly, the story of Hitler's alleged desecration is quite unfounded.'

Hitler as he appeared to his teachers

Dr. Huemer went on to characterize his pupil as follows:

'I can recall the gaunt, pale-faced youth pretty well. He had definite talent, though in a narrow field. But he lacked self-discipline, being notoriously cantankerous, wilful, arrogant and irascible. He had obvious difficulty in fitting in at school. Moreover, he was lazy; otherwise, with his gifts, he would have done very much better. In freehand sketching he had an easy, fluent style and he did well in scientific subjects. But his enthusiasm for hard work evaporated all too quickly. He reacted with ill-concealed hostility to advice or reproof; at the

same time, he demanded of his fellow-pupils their unqualified subservience, fancying himself in the role of leader, at the same time indulging in many a less innocuous prank of a kind not uncommon amongst immature youths.

Hitler seems to have been led astray by the stories of Karl May and tales of Red Indians, and no doubt an over-indulgence in such reading combined with the time wasted in drifting idly back and forth between home and school, which were some distance apart, was mainly responsible for his failure to become more than an average pupil.'

The above was written in December 1923.

Another of Hitler's teachers in Linz, Professor Theodor Gissinger, was quoted by Rabitsch:

'Professor Gissinger assured me that Hitler did nothing either good or bad while at school to distinguish himself in the eyes of his teachers. He was slim and held himself straight. His face was very thin and pale, almost like that of a consumptive. His expression was open; the eyes bright. Gissinger said he was not drawing on imagination, but definitely remembered Hitler holding duologues with trees stirring in the wind.'

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler mentioned only one of his former teachers by name—Professor Dr. Leopold Pötsch, erroneously called Ludwig in the earlier editions of the book. Pötsch had taught geography, and history from the second form onwards. Of him Hitler wrote:

'The whole art of reading as of learning is: retain the essentials, forget unessentials. It was perhaps a factor deciding my whole future career that fortune gave me a history teacher who made this his guiding rule. Professor Dr. Ludwig Pötsch, my secondary school teacher in Linz, was the ideal embodiment of this principle. An old gentleman, of kindly yet incisive manner, he had the gift of a dazzling eloquence which

92
This further embittered Hitler against liberals and social democrats

1905

1905 42

passed through the upper grade of elementary school; thereafter he was employed in his father's workshop as sole assistant. In his spare time he took music lessons in the 'Music Club' in Linz. He and Adolf met each other in the theatre during the winter of 1905-06. Thereafter they remained friends until their parting in July 1908.

August, or Gustl, as he was called, came from a family of Czech origin. The name 'Kubizek' is a slightly germanized spelling of Kubitschek, and his mother's maiden name, Blaha, was also Czech. That Adolf chose a boy from non-German parentage for his friend is further evidence in disproof of his assertion in *Mein Kampf* that while still at secondary school he had become a fanatical Nationalist. The general sentiment in Linz at that time was strongly pan-German and sincere Nationalists invariably restricted their friendships to fellow-Germans.

In the relationship between the two boys the difference in their standards of education no doubt played a decisive part. To Gustl with his primary education, Adolf, who was then attending secondary school, was a 'student' and as such his intellectual superior. Adolf 'impressed him enormously' and Adolf's tirades were listened to with blind, uncritical devotion. This was the very friend that Adolf needed, for as Kubizek himself wrote, 'Adolf was a talker and he required an audience. . . it was not what he said that first attracted me to him, but how he said it.' None of Adolf's contemporaries at secondary school would have filled this role; they would have held views of their own, argued, contradicted—and Hitler was as allergic to contradiction then as later. There could therefore be no contact between him and his school-fellows, for Adolf was not interested in having a companion on an equal footing, but someone who would follow and admire; and admiration was Gustl's strong point. Everything to do with Adolf impressed him: his speeches, his drawings, his poems, and not least his ability to live well (on his mother) without working. So Gustl could gape to his heart's content, and feel himself lucky as a Czech living in nationalist Linz to have an Austrian as his friend.

His need for a certain kind of friend was far stronger in those years than any kind of ideology. His real ideology was always—no

The two boys usually met at about 5 p.m., Gustl emerging from his father's workshop when he heard Adolf's prearranged whistle in the street. The boys seldom kept to the town, preferring the hide-outs they had discovered for themselves on the fringe, places where no one would find them. Gustl relates that in one such spot, a bank beside the Turmleitenweg, Adolf had fixed himself up a kind of 'natural study'. There he did his drawing and painting and reading, and there his first poems were born. . . . We can understand now how it was that Keplinger never once caught sight of Adolf for close on three years, despite the fact that they were living only a few doors apart in the same street.

Adolf's alleged chest trouble

Hitler's account of why he finally left school in 1905 is given in *Mein Kampf* as follows:

'My mother seemed to feel it her duty to follow my father's wishes in directing my further education, i.e. to have me prepare for a career in the Civil Service. I myself was more than ever determined that, come what might, I would never become an official. The more the education and the subjects taught at secondary school diverged from my ideal, the greater became my indifference. Then an illness suddenly came to my aid and in a few short weeks the cause of disagreement in my home was removed and my future decided. My severe chest trouble caused a doctor to issue strong warnings to my mother against placing me in an office. My attendance at secondary school had also to be discontinued for a year. . . . In view of my illness my mother at last agreed to remove me eventually from secondary school and let me attend the Academy. Those were my happiest days. . . .'

The real reason why Hitler left secondary school was, as we have seen, his unsatisfactory record in work. We have also seen that, far from trying to force him to become a civil servant against his will, his father sent him to a *Realschule* where the subjects

matter its outward form—always revolved around the preeminence of his person.
D.T. We encouraged that in our school

1905 He took the school to us. We look to August & Adolf for the rest of the school. We look to August & Adolf for the rest of the school.

* His need for a certain kind of friend was far stronger in those years than any kind of ideology. His real ideology was always - me.

Repeat page

HITLER'S YOUTH

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of which a future official would be required to have knowledge were not even included in the curriculum. The above quotation from *Mein Kampf* must be read in the light of these facts. It will then appear as a skilful fabrication designed to explain away both Hitler's idleness at school and the abrupt termination of his studies. The 'chest trouble' is part of the whole carefully concocted story, and neither Hagmüller, who saw Adolf four times a week throughout the years 1905-07, nor Gustl Kubizek, who saw him almost daily throughout the same period, can remember him with any illness more severe than a common cold. Yet an illness which keeps a boy away from school for a year must inevitably be one which confines him to bed, at least for a period: both Kubizek and Hagmüller are emphatic that this never happened to Adolf. In view of their conclusive evidence it is hardly necessary to argue with those of Hitler's biographers who have attempted to specify the particular 'chest trouble' from which he claimed to have suffered, still less to examine their efforts to trace hereditary pulmonary diseases among Hitler's forbears, for the fact remains that Hitler suffered no serious illness between the years 1905 and 1907.

A trip to Vienna

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler wrote that he had already visited Vienna twice before he finally moved there after the death of his mother. For reasons connected, no doubt, with his claim elsewhere to have been earning his living at the age of sixteen, he gave his age on the first visit—which lasted a fortnight—as 'not yet sixteen', i.e. sometime before 20th April 1905. In fact, however, he visited the capital for the first time in May 1906, as is proved by the postmarks on four picture postcards which his friend Gustl Kubizek received from him during his stay.

Card I. A panorama in three sections, entitled 'Vienna, Karlsplatz from the Technical High School'. On the front Adolf wrote, 'Greeting to your esteemed parents', and 'Conservatory' above an arrow pointing to the building which contained the School of Music. This suggests that the two boys had already

1906

1924

THE YOUNG MAN OF LEISURE

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discussed at that time the possibility of Gustl studying there. The text reads:

'In sending you this card I must apologize for not having lett¹ you hear from me for so long. I arrived safely as you see and am now having a good look at everything. Tomorrow I go to the opera, to Tristan', the day after to "Flying Dutchman etc. Despite I find everything very fine, I am longing for Linz again. To the Stadtheater Today. Greetings from your friend, Adolf Hitler.'

Card II. 'Stage in the Imperial Opera House.' The date on the postmark is 7.v.06. The text:

'The interior of the palace is not inspiring. Though there is mighty majesty outside which lend the building the solemnity of a monument of art, the interior strikes one as remarkable rather than impressive. Only when the mighty waves of sound roll through space and the whistling of the wind yield to the frightful rushing billows of sound does one feel nobility and forget the gold and the velvet with which the interior is overloaded.

Adolf H.'

Card III. 'Vienna, Imperial State Opera', Exterior. On the front of the card Hitler wrote, 'This evening 7-11.30 Tristan.' On the back:

'After all I am drawn back to my beloved Linz and Urfar. Want or must see Benkieser again: What he is up to, so will arrive 3.55 Thursday in Linz Meet me if you can and have time. Your friend Adolf Hitler.'

¹ Wherever it has been possible to devise an equivalent mistake in English, the errors of grammar, spelling and punctuation in the original have been retained in translation.—Translator.

* *He was on board in 1924, as seen in Mein Kampf, and cannot believe how many lies there are.*

5 *he can believe the few vicious clients who did not prove themselves to be rabid liars. It was in traffic with many politicians.*

See note on p. 89

1905

1905-1907

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building their affection & respect for him.

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In the original letter
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Your friend Adolf Hitler.'

¹ Wherever it has been possible to devise an equivalent mistake in English, the errors of grammar, spelling and punctuation in the original have been retained in translation.—Translator.

1905
'blank', while yet again others called them 'cruel eyes'. After her first meeting with the young Adolf, Kubizek's mother remarked, 'What extraordinary eyes your friend has!' 'And I can clearly remember,' writes Gustl, 'that there was more fear than admiration in her tone.'

Adolf and his relatives

'Adolf really had no one who could have given him a helping hand,' so Kubizek wrote in his *Memoirs*. But it was completely untrue. The people were there in plenty—it was Adolf who would have nothing to do with them. Two of his former school-fellows, for instance, were friendly disposed. Why did he not cultivate them, instead of isolating himself with Gustl, who faithfully held the mirror to his vanity, echoing his every word, so helping to make Adolf more and more opinionated?

Among the adults who knew Adolf there was, firstly, his guardian, Mayrhofer. Admittedly, his influence has been overestimated by Hitler's biographers, no doubt through a misapprehension of his duties. In 1903, after Alois Hitler's death, he was made guardian of Adolf and Paula jointly with their mother, but according to a document from the District Court at Urfahr, his sole responsibility was to pass on instructions emanating from the Board of Guardians. All the same, Mayrhofer was a good friend of the Hitler family, and as he was also Mayor of Urfahr, his advice would have been valuable, if Adolf had taken the trouble to cultivate him.

Emanuel Lugert, who had stood sponsor for Adolf at his confirmation, would also have been glad to have befriended him and given him 'a helping hand' with sensible, paternal advice. Lugert was anything but severe in manner or rigid in thought. But Adolf chose to ignore him.

Then there was Adolf's Aunt Johanna. Later, as we shall see, it seems probable that she made him her heir, so she must have been well disposed. And finally his half-sister, Angela, who was six years older than he, cherished throughout her life a strong affection for him. Although she heard nothing of him for twelve

1923
years and Adolf's behaviour towards her was anything but brotherly, she never hesitated to come to his assistance in 1923 when he was in trouble, personally delivering a letter from Hitler's lawyer, Roder, to his former teacher, Dr. Huemer. Moreover, Angela was an energetic and level-headed woman—potentially the best friend that Adolf could have had.

'Was Adolf fond of Angela?' I asked. Gustl replied: 'I hardly think so. I cannot remember him ever speaking of her with affection. At any rate, he cordially disliked her husband, Leo Raubal, for joining in with Adolf's other relations in their attempts to persuade him to start earning his living. His relatives all thought him a good-for-nothing.'

'And how right they were!' I replied. 'That was no life for a young man of seventeen—staying in bed till mid-day, then frittering away his time on childish building plans and spending most of the night going walks with you!'

'I agree,' said Gustl, 'but he refused even to consider a job.'

As regards Leo Raubal, Angela's husband, two of his former colleagues in the tax office agreed in describing him as 'a good, sensible fellow'. The 'drunkard' which Kubizek tries to make of him was unknown to them; in any case, it is clear that Kubizek's calumny is prompted by the desire to justify Hitler's dislike of his brother-in-law.

Adolf's mother no doubt stood between him and his other relations, shielding him from the worst of their recriminations. But, equally certainly, in her anxiety to see the future of her only son assured, she must herself have been distressed by his failure to take up a career. But there were consolations. He was not a loafer, at any rate, she must have told herself. He did not drift about with a gang of other youths. For most of the time he sat quietly at home. He didn't drink, or smoke, and above all, he had no truck with girls. One day, perhaps, he really would be a great artist, as he believed. Thus, perhaps, Frau Klara argued, indulgent as she was, and as all mothers are towards an only son.

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D.T.

New note - December 2003

D.T. & O.C. on the new
friendship. O.C. very
impartial. He will never
dominate & it's civil.
Expand

D.T.

1905

In this sense, he was perfect material
for us. To feel contempt
of lower classes w/o
a sense of responsibility
to society is one long
step down the stairs.
Adolf had been superior
in but responsible
Adolf was superior
and irresponsible.
From such soil, some
of our most extraordinary
people can sprout.

Feels an upper class
urge to stick it
into the working class
the rougher class

AT
present
himself
to Kuhl
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to st.

D.T.

1905

1905

1906

THE EARLY YOUTH

adolescent mustache. During the day, he seldom left the house, re-
maining in his room through most of the daylight hours. When
evening fell and it was time for a stroll or a visit to the opera, he
appeared faultlessly dressed, complete with cane, ready to take his
place among the better people of Linz.³¹

His life of idleness and ease reinforced his sense of social stand-
ing. His father had tried to develop his class consciousness, in part
to drive him forward. In the process, Adolf developed a sense of supe-
riority toward members of the lower classes.³² Class consciousness
failed as a spur, but, in the midst of his idle adolescence, he used it
to justify his manner of life. Though technically idle, he was still a
member of the middle class. Furthermore, he was preparing to be-
come an artist and was, therefore, not bound by the dreary obliga-
tions which applied to common people.

Kubizek and Hitler, bound by a kind of unspoken fraternal vow,
determined to devote their lives to art. Their hours together were
spent formulating designs for the future. Sometimes they planned
Adolf's career as a painter and Kubizek's life as a pianist and com-
poser, interspersed with digressions into the world of letters so that
the older boy also could be a writer. The central dream, however,
was "Adolf the Architect," since he had by now switched his aspira-
tions from painting to architectural drawing. Hitler made room for
Kubizek in his architect's dreams by constructing imaginary villas
which Kubizek was to occupy after he became a success in his own
field.

Kubizek, although he wanted to follow, still labored under serious
handicaps in the partnership. He had to work in his father's shop
and also go to school; the work was physically exhausting, dirty,
and marred by distinctly lower class overtones. Kubizek's attendance
at school represented in the eyes of his companion all that was hum-
drum and degrading. Adolf was not burdened by any comparable
outside activities, and his gentlemanly status remained pure. After
spending the day sketching and daydreaming, he would meet Kubizek

³¹ Kubizek, pp. 7 and 9. Bloch also states that he was "neatly dressed"
during this period. Bloch, p. 36.

³² Greiner, pp. 25-26. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler himself refers to his com-
fortable middle-class childhood environment. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 22-23. One of
the first to discover this period of idleness in Hitler's background was Price,
but he claimed it lasted five years, which is too long. Price, p. 47.

A gentleman, an artist, &
a scoundrel!

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Hitler

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Kubiz
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³⁵ K

1907

D.T.

It was the notion that only the largest ventures could meet his capacities.

Such now became the outer vessel of his ego, and thus it would remain, this gargantuan vessel that as ungainly as a man dragging a heavy bag along the ground, took all through the years in Vienna.

But only the threat of death in the First World War could collapse the diameter of that balloon. By the time he began to rebuild it in 1920 it would be armor-clad.

left the house, eight hours. When to the opera, he ready to take his

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"neatly dressed"

fers to his com-
pp. 22-23. One of
round was Price,
p. 47.

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1906

1905
THE EARLY YOUTH

1906
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brimming over with ideas and enthusiasm. The two boys would then spend the late afternoon or early evening wandering through Linz and its environs. As they went, they carried out the mental demolition of old buildings that did not please them so that Adolf would have room in which to create new and more glorious structures. This kind of play became the center of Hitler's existence. As Kubizek later said, "He gave his whole self to his imaginary building and was completely carried away by it."³³

Along with imaginary construction, the opera provided an additional center of enthusiasm for Hitler and his friend. Here Wagner played the key role with extravagant visual displays and a preoccupation with the shadowy power of the German myths. The boys thoroughly enjoyed the music, but for Adolf, Wagner also served as a stimulus to incessant brooding and dreaming. Some performances had the effect on him of religious experiences. On such occasions, he would leave the theater deep in introspective fantasies.³⁴ But, despite the intense emotion called forth by Wagner, his operas could not hold Adolf's attention for long. When daylight came, the imaginary building projects rolled on again. Great bridges, blocks of houses, castles, villas, a monastery and an opera house appeared in Hitler's mind or took form on paper. Their style followed the ponderous, monumental pattern later dubbed "Nazi classical."

Throughout all the ups and downs of his later career, Hitler retained his love for architectural sketching, and his subject matter and style remained approximately the same. Perhaps it is not accidental that all of the projects that Kubizek describes, as well as the Fuehrer's later plans for his home city, involved the destruction or drastic remodeling of noteworthy existing structures. It was as if he sought revenge against Linz, the scene of his frustrations, by destroying its landmarks and changing its face.³⁵

There were other, more obvious, danger signs in this phase of Hitler's development. He followed his dreamy and irresponsible

³³ Kubizek, p. 84. Hitler never overcame his ambivalence concerning architecture and painting. Zoller, p. 55. The intense seriousness of these episodes is shown in Kubizek's description of their dreams about winning a lottery. Kubizek, pp. 92-96.

³⁴ Kubizek, pp. 98-101.

³⁵ Kubizek, pp. 92-98.

1906

Schicklgruber. . . ' Johann Georg Hiedler died in 1857. For 'adopted', read 'legitimized'.

Chapter Two: ALOIS SCHICKLGRUBER/HITLER AND HIS FAMILY

Alois' alleged restlessness

In *Young Hitler* Kubizek attributes to Alois Hitler a 'Mania for ceaseless change'. He writes: 'During his period of service in Braunau there are recorded twelve changes of address: possibly there were more. . . The house was not the important thing, but the moving. . . We know that his first wife, Anna, suffered very much from his restlessness, which eventually led to their separation and was partly responsible for her unexpected death.'

The first part of this statement is a gross exaggeration. Kubizek's authority for alleging twelve moves was a certain Frau Pernstein, a schoolmistress who made enquiries in Braunau immediately after the Nazi annexation of Austria. But at that time what householder in Braunau did not claim to have given shelter to the Hitler family! In fact, Alois and his family moved at the most only four times—and that in a space of twenty-one years. Secondly, it was not, of course, her husband's 'mania for change'—which did not exist—which led Frau Anna to seek a divorce, but his adultery with Fanni Matzelsberger.

Chapter Five: THE YOUNG MAN OF LEISURE

The date of Adolf's and Gustl's first meeting

Kubizek states in *Young Hitler*: 'I cannot give the exact date of this first meeting, but I am sure it was around All Saints' Day in 1904.'

The date must in fact have been in the autumn of 1905, for the following reasons: (a) At the time the two boys met, Adolf—as Kubizek himself states—had already finished his schooling. But Adolf did not leave school until June 1905. (b) According to Kubizek, soon after their first meeting he accompanied Adolf to his home at No 31 Humboldtstrasse. But Adolf did not live there until June 1905. (c) After his first meeting with Adolf, Kubizek states: 'From now on we saw each other at every Opera performance and also met outside the theatre, and on most evenings we would go for a stroll together along the Landstrasse.' But between September 1904 and June 1905, Adolf was living in Steyr, not in Linz. (d) Kubizek was not aware until I

* Just before or after A.H. turned 16.

told him that Adolf had lodged in Steyr, hence their first meeting must have taken place after Adolf had left the town.

Kubizek's knowledge of Adolf's family — smaller than claimed

Kubizek speaks of having paid several visits to the Hitler home, where he claims to have felt like one of the family. In that case he ought to have met Frau Hitler's sister, Johanna, who was probably a member of the household at that time—but until I mentioned her name, he had never even heard of her. On the other hand, Kubizek claims to have met a non-existent sister, Amalia. He describes Adolf's half-sister, Angela, as having 'beautiful hair which was as dark as Adolf's'—but her hair was light blonde. He says Frau Klara's hair 'had turned grey', but her daughter, Paula, assures us that till the day she died there was not one grey hair on her mother's head. Finally, between 1905 and 1907 a boy attending school in Linz, Hagmüller by name, had his mid-day dinner with the Hitler family four times a week, yet neither Kubizek nor he was aware of the other's existence.

Adolf's lack of feeling for Nature

In his *Memoirs* (1938) Kubizek wrote: 'Adolf used to enjoy the walks both long and short which we usually took on Sundays and holidays.' But as regards Adolf's feeling for Nature, all Kubizek could find to say was: 'Beautiful scenery impressed Adolf, though his mind would usually be elsewhere, working on some gigantic project.' This hardly implied much appreciation of the countryside on Adolf's part and I told Kubizek that the lack of it seemed to me an unlikeable trait in him. Kubizek appears to have taken this reproach to heart for in *Young Hitler* he assures us: 'His love of Nature was pronounced,' then adds: 'but in a very personal way.'

The death and funeral of Adolf's mother

It will be remembered that Adolf was in Vienna during his mother's last illness (December 1907) and that the best available evidence suggests that he got home from the capital only in time for her funeral. Moreover, from mid-September to the end of December in that year, Kubizek had no contact whatever with Adolf, even by letter. Nevertheless, one entire chapter in *Young Hitler* is devoted to an allegedly eye-witness account of Adolf, the 'faithful and helpful son', full of compassion for his ailing mother, doing the housework and the

mis.

other peoples of the world, his crown will be the funeral wreath of humanity and this planet will, as it did thousands of years ago, move through the ether devoid of men.

Eternal Nature inexorably avenges the infringement of her commands.

Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord.

THE YOUNG WAR VOLUNTEER (1914)⁴

To me those hours seemed like a release from the painful feelings of my youth. Even today I am not ashamed to say that, overpowered by stormy enthusiasm, I fell down on my knees and thanked Heaven from an overflowing heart for granting me the good fortune of being permitted to live at this time.

A fight for freedom had begun, mightier than the earth had ever seen; for once Destiny had begun its course, the conviction dawned on even the broad masses that this time not the fate of Serbia or Austria was involved, but whether the German nation was to be or not to be. . . .

My own position on the conflict was likewise very simple and clear; for me it was not that Austria was fighting for some Serbian satisfaction, but that Germany was fighting for her existence, the German nation for life or death, freedom and future. . . . If the struggle were carried through to victory, our nation would enter the circle of great nations from the standpoint of external power, and only then could the German Reich maintain itself as a mighty haven of peace without having, for the sake of peace, to cut down on the daily bread of her children.

As a boy and young man I had so often felt the desire to prove at least once by deeds that for me national enthusiasm was no empty whim. . . . Thus my heart, like that of a million others, overflowed with proud joy that at last I would be able to redeem myself from this paralyzing feeling. I had so often sung "Deutschland über Alles" and shouted "Heil" at the top of my lungs, that it seemed to me almost a belated act of grace to be allowed to stand as a witness in the divine court of the eternal judge and proclaim the sincerity of this conviction. . . . I . . . was ready at any time to die for my people and for the Reich which embodied it.

On the third of August, I submitted a personal petition to His Majesty, King Ludwig III, with a request for permission to enter a

⁴ From *Mein Kampf*, pp. 161-65.

1914

1

Separate
uscripts
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good D.T.

← Material here runs from

~~1904-1905~~

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1904 was
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Adolf: The Young Hitler as Seen by a Boyhood Friend¹

Although Hitler's public life is now well-known, his early years—especially the formative years between the time he left school and the beginning of World War I—are relatively undocumented. One of the few accounts that goes beyond Mein Kampf to shed light on Hitler's life and character during this crucial period is the retrospective memoir by August Kubizek, who was Hitler's closest associate in Linz and Vienna between 1904 and 1908. Kubizek's reminiscences—written some forty years after the events they describe—are not only somewhat romanticized but also occasionally inaccurate in details. Nevertheless, the main contours of Hitler's life and character during the period Kubizek knew him are plausibly recorded. In this selection, Kubizek presents an intimate and generally sympathetic portrait of Hitler at a stage in his development when he had not yet become the totally alienated and largely dehumanized Hitler known to history.

Adolf was of middle height and slender, at that time already taller than his mother. His physique was far from sturdy, rather too thin for its height, and he was not at all strong. His health, in fact, was rather poor, which he was the first to regret. He had to take special care of himself during the foggy and damp winters which prevailed in Linz. He was ill from time to time during that period and coughed a lot. In short, he had weak lungs.

His nose was quite straight and well-proportioned, but in no way remarkable. His forehead was high and receded a little. I was always sorry that even in those days he had the habit of combing his hair straight down over his forehead. Yet this traditional forehead-nose-mouth description seems rather ridiculous to me. For in this 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

¹ From August Kubizek, *The Young Hitler I Knew*, trans. E. V. Anderson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1955), pp. 15-19, 22-23. Published in England under the title of *Young Hitler* by The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company and The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd.

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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 these eyes could change their expression, especially when Adolf was speaking. To me his sonorous voice meant much less than the expression of his eyes. 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."

Naturally his extraordinary eloquence, too, was striking. But I was then too inexperienced to attach to it any special significance for the future. I, for one, was certain that Hitler one day would be a great artist, a poet I thought at first, then a great painter, until later, in Vienna, he convinced me that his real talent was in the field of architecture. But for these artistic ambitions his eloquence was of no use, rather a hindrance. Nevertheless, I always liked to listen to him. His language was very refined. He disliked dialect, in particular Viennese, the soft melodiousness of which was utterly repulsive to him.

To be sure, Hitler did not speak Austrian in the true sense. It was rather that in his diction, especially in the rhythm of his speech, there was something Bavarian. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, from his third to his sixth year, the real formative years for speech, he lived in Passau, where his father was then a Customs official.

There is no doubt that my friend Adolf had shown a gift for oratory from his earliest youth. And he knew it. He liked to talk, and talked without pause. Sometimes when he soared too high in his fantasies I couldn't help suspecting that all this was nothing but an exercise in oratory. But then again I thought otherwise. Did I not take everything for Gospel that he said? Sometimes Adolf would try out his powers of oratory on me or on others. It always stuck in my memory how, when not yet eighteen, he convinced my father that he should release me from his workshop and send me to Vienna to the Conservatoire. In view of the awkward and unforthcoming nature of my father this was a considerable achievement. From the moment I had this proof of his talent—for me so decisive—I considered that there was nothing that Hitler could not achieve by a convincing speech.

He was in the habit of emphasizing his words by measured and studied gestures. Now and then, when he was speaking on one of his favorite subjects, such as the bridge over the Danube, the rebuilding of the Museum or even the subterranean railway station which he had planned for Linz, I would interrupt him and ask him how he imagined he would ever carry out these projects—we were only poor devils.

The eyes show are the best indication of the will.

to feel they are the only possessors of that force, (and, most important, are really to use them properly.)
 To have the wrong client, one who never developed in a way to satisfy us, was therefore a serious loss. *we had been*
~~we were always saving of investing our resources~~
 funds for years.

* doubles for the father the great impression that Kierulff had on him — this young fellow was a realist.

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D.T.

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the only possessors of that force, (and, most important, are really to use them properly.)
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Naturally his extraordinary eloquence, too, was striking. But I was then too inexperienced to attach to it any special significance for the future. I, for one, was certain that Hitler one day would be a great artist, a poet I thought at first, then a great painter, until later, in Vienna, he convinced me that his real talent was in the field of architecture. But for these artistic ambitions his eloquence was of no use rather a hindrance. Nevertheless, I always liked to listen to him. His language was very refined. He disliked dialect, in particular Viennese, the soft melodiousness of which was utterly repulsive to him. To be sure, Hitler did not speak Austrian in the true sense. It was rather that in his diction, especially in the rhythm of his speech, there was something Bavarian. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, from his third to his sixth year, the real formative years for speech, he lived in Passau, where his father was then a Customs official.

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D.T. The eyes ~~show~~ are the best indication of the soul.

These Vienna-
they are all
so feminine
I blame
D.T.
"Yes, and
we were
right there
with him.
His natural
force, such
as it was,
fierce, timid,
never certain
and our own
involvement
in him, our
powers of
augmentation,
the prohibition
to habituate
the client to the
powers we were
offering so
that they came
to feel they were
the only possessors of that force.

To dance the wrong client, one who never developed
in a way to satisfy us, was therefore a waste of time
we were always saving of investing our
funds for years.

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Then he would throw at me a strange and hostile glance as though he had not understood my question at all. I never got an answer; at the most he would shut me up with a wave of his hand. Later I got used to it and ceased to find it ridiculous that the sixteen or seventeen-year-old boy should develop gigantic projects and expound them to me down to the last detail. If I had listened only to his words the whole thing would have appeared to be either idle fantasy or sheer lunacy; but the eyes convinced me that he was in deadly earnest.

Adolf set great store by good manners and correct behavior. He observed with painstaking punctiliousness the rules of social conduct, however little he thought of society itself. He always emphasized the position of his father, who as a Customs official ranked more or less with a captain in the army. Hearing him speak of his father, one would never have imagined how violently he disliked the idea of being a Civil Servant. Nevertheless, there was in his bearing something very precise. He would never forget to send regards to my people, and every postcard bore greetings to my "esteemed parents."

When we lodged together in Vienna, I discovered that every evening he would put his trousers carefully under the mattress so that the next morning he could rejoice in a faultless crease. Adolf realized the value of a good appearance, and, in spite of his lack of vanity, knew how to make the best of himself. He made excellent use of his undoubted histrionic talents, which he cleverly combined with his gift for oratory. I used to ask myself why Adolf, in spite of all these pronounced capabilities, did not get on better in Vienna; only later did I realize that professional success was not at all his ambition. People who knew him in Vienna could not understand the contradiction between his well-groomed appearance, his educated speech and his self-assured bearing on the one hand, and the starveling existence that he led on the other, and judged him either haughty or pretentious. He was neither. He just didn't fit into any bourgeois order.

Adolf had brought starvation to a fine art, though he ate very well when occasion offered. To be sure, in Vienna he generally lacked the money for food. But even if he had it, he would prefer to starve and spend it on a theatre seat. He had no comprehension of enjoyment of life as others knew it. He did not smoke, he did not drink, and in Vienna, for instance, he lived for days on milk and bread only.

With his contempt for everything pertaining to the body, sport, which was then coming into fashion, meant nothing to him. I read somewhere of how audaciously the young Hitler had swum across the Danube: I do not recollect anything of the sort; the most swimming we did was an occasional dip in the Rodel stream. He showed some interest in the bicycle club, mainly because they ran an ice-rink in the winter. And this, only because the girl he adored used to practice skating there.

*The masculine
is careful,
but the
operation
of it
is an art.*

*→ He made
up the
romance
to
conceal
the
homosexual
quality*

1904-1906

Walking was the only exercise that really appealed to Adolf. He walked alone and everywhere and, even in my workshop and in my room, he would stride up and down. I recall him always on the go. He could walk for hours without getting tired. We used to explore the surroundings of Linz in all directions. His love of nature was pronounced, but in a very personal way. Unlike other subjects, nature never attracted him as a matter for study; I hardly ever remember seeing him with a book on the subject. Here was the limit of his thirst for knowledge. Details did not interest him, but only nature as a whole. . . .

Being in the open had an extraordinary effect upon him. He was then quite a different person from what he was in town. Certain sides of his character revealed themselves nowhere else. . . . But hardly had we reached the open country, than he could assure me that it would be impossible for him to live in the country again. It would be terrible for him to have to live in a village. For all his love of nature, he was always glad when we got back to the town.

As I grew to know him better, I also came to understand this apparent contradiction. He needed the town, the variety and abundance of its impressions, experiences and events; he felt there that he had his share in everything; that there was nothing in which his interest was not engaged. He needed people with their contrasting interests, their ambitions, intentions, plans and desires. Only in this problem-laden atmosphere did he feel at home. . . .

On the other hand, he needed an effective counterweight to the town, which always troubled and excited him and made constant demands on his interests and his talents. He found this in nature, which even he could not try to change and improve because its eternal laws are beyond the reach of the human will. Here he could once more find his own self, since here he was not obliged, as he was in town, eternally to be taking sides.

My friend had a special way of making nature serve him. He used to seek out a lonely spot outside the town, which he would visit again and again. Every bush and every tree was familiar to him. There was nothing to disturb his contemplative mood. Nature surrounded him like the walls of a quiet, friendly room in which he could cultivate undisturbed his passionate plans and ideas. . . .

I have often been asked . . . whether Adolf, when I knew him, had any sense of humor. One feels the lack of it, people of his entourage said. After all, he was an Austrian and should have had his share of the famous Austrian sense of humor. Certainly one's impression of Hitler, especially after a short and superficial acquaintance, was that of a deeply serious man. This enormous seriousness seemed to overshadow everything else. It was the same when he was young. He approached the problems with which he was concerned with a deadly

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D.T.

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And often, responding to nature like a true devotee made modest by the unconscious intensity of nature itself, he would meditate there alone in the woods. How it excited him to feel another presence than ours. How many unjustly masterful the Dumbness of his spirit merely left a sense of his presence. Indeed, I speak from

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Personal Journal

D.T.

1905

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*** additions

was beginning to understand how much Hitler takes out of us

earnestness which ill suited his sixteen or seventeen years. He was capable of loving and admiring, hating and despising, all with the greatest seriousness. But one thing he could not do was to pass over something with a smile. Even with a subject in which he did not take a personal interest, such as sport, this was, nevertheless, as a phenomenon of modern times, just as important to him as any other. He never came to the end of his problems. His profound earnestness never ceased to attack new problems, and if he did not find any in the present, he would brood at home for hours over his books and burrow into the problems of the past. This extraordinary earnestness was his most striking quality. Many other qualities which are characteristic of youth were lacking in him: a carefree letting go of himself, living only for the day, the happy attitude of "What is to be, will be." Even "going off the rails," in the coarse exuberance of youth, was alien to him. His idea, strange to say, was that these were things that did not become a young man. And because of this, humor was confined to the most intimate sphere as if it were something taboo. His humor was usually aimed at people in his immediate circle, in other words a sphere in which problems no longer existed for him. For this reason his grim and sour humor was often mixed with irony, but always an irony with friendly intent. Thus, he saw me once at a concert where I was playing the trumpet. He got enormous amusement out of imitating me and insisted that with my blown-out cheeks I looked like one of Rubens' angels.

I cannot conclude . . . without mentioning one of Hitler's qualities which, I freely admit, seems paradoxical to talk about now. Hitler was full of deep understanding and sympathy. He took a most touching interest in me. Without my telling him, he knew exactly how I felt. How often this helped me in difficult times! He always knew what I needed and what I wanted. However intensely he was occupied with himself he would always have time for the affairs of those people in whom he was interested. It was not by chance that he was the one who persuaded my father to let me study music and thereby influenced my life in a decisive way. Rather, this was the outcome of his general attitude of sharing in all the things that were of concern to me. Sometimes I had a feeling that he was living my life as well as his own.

Thus, I have drawn the portrait of the young Hitler as well as I can from memory. But for the question, then unknown and unexpressed which hung above our friendship, I have not to this day found any answer: "What were God's intentions when he created this man?"

we've professed him, if God made him, D.T.

the desire to understand human way is deep in him - just below - and for what reason? - why to control them, humble as clock

what indeed even in the E.V.S.S must

Kub could only himself that all these years indeed I was asking the same question in the opposite direction. #

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D.T. How sentimental, sentimental and philosophical fellow are the good Germans. Even to assume that all of this world is merely a reflection of God's intentions

Removal of Hitler as
the head of the Reich
we could discuss with the
President of the Reichstag

earnestness which ill suited his sixteen or seventeen years. He was capable of loving and admiring, hating and despising, all with the greatest seriousness. But one thing he could not do was to pass over something with a smile. Even with a subject in which he did not take a personal interest, such as sport, this was, nevertheless, as a phenomenon of modern times, just as important to him as any other. He never came to the end of his problems. His profound earnestness never ceased to attack new problems, and if he did not find any in the present, he would brood at home for hours over his books and burrow into the problems of the past. This extraordinary earnestness was his most striking quality. Many other qualities which are characteristic of youth were lacking in him: a carefree letting go of himself, living only for the day, the happy attitude of "What is to be, will be." Even "going off the rails," in the coarse exuberance of youth, was alien to him. His idea, strange to say, was that these were things that did not become a young man. And because of this, humor was confined to the most intimate sphere as if it were something taboo. His humor was usually aimed at people in his immediate circle, in other words a sphere in which problems no longer existed for him. For this reason his grim and sour humor was often mixed with irony, but always an irony with friendly intent. Thus, he saw me once at a concert where I was playing the trumpet. He got enormous amusement out of imitating me and insisted that with my blown-out cheeks I looked like one of Rubens' angels.

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— of God made him, I as professed him.

The long-term objective way to convert these ^{Swiss} ~~ideas~~ of ideal sentiment and music into still-
latter of perception, by that word of the
process, and it could take years, we would
know who was wrong with the answer be able to
what the source of their pain might be, and how to

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D. T. How sentimental, fetid
and philosophically hollow
are the good Germans. Even to
assume that all of this world is merely
a reflection of God's intention

P.T.

at school and return home

let himself be pampered by his
Waldviertel, having her bring
morning. He lived like a recluse,
ous cousins.⁹¹

ve been a temporary indisposi-
Edward Bloch from Linz, would
files, the doctor later maintained
ilments, colds, or tonsilitis, and
ckly. He certainly did not have
lung disease.⁹²

enburg in Southern Bohemia in
he served as an army doctor and
ere he settled after his discharge.
roque house at 12 Landstrasse,
wife Emilie, née Kafka, and their
ding to Linz's future mayor Ernst
ard, particularly among the lower
ally known that even at any time
He used to go on his visits in
ad-brimmed hat."⁹³

Dr. Bloch published his memoirs,
a picture of young Hitler, saying
ey nor fresh: "This simply is not
omered, and neatly dressed." He
on until it was his turn, then, like
ear-old boy, made a bow, and
like the other boys in Linz he had
en hat with a feather, he had been
was: "His eyes—inherited from
nd thoughtful. To a very large ex-
hat dreams he dreamed I do not

his love for his mother: "While
al sense, I have never witnessed a
mutual: "Klara Hitler adored her
wherever possible." For example,
nd drawings and supported his ar-
ther, "at what cost to herself one

may guess." However, the doctor expressly denies the claim that Hitler's
love for his mother was pathological.

According to Dr. Bloch, the family's financial resources were scarce.
He mentions that Klara Hitler had not even indulged in "the smallest
extravagance" and lived extremely modestly and frugally.⁹⁴ We have
some data on the Hitlers' family budget: Klara Hitler's widow's pension
amounted to 100 kronen per month, plus 40 kronen in federal aid for
Adolf's and Paula's education. The sale of the house in Leonding yielded
10,000 kronen, minus mortgage, taxes, expenses, and the inheritance for
Adolf and Paula—frozen until their twenty-fourth birthdays—of 652 kro-
nen each.⁹⁵

At 4 percent interest, the remaining approximately 5,500 kronen
may have netted some 220 kronen annually. In addition, Klara was per-
mitted to dispose of the interest for Adolf's and Paula's inheritance up to
their eighteenth year, which yielded another 52 kronen per annum. How-
ever, the interest total of no more than 23 kronen per month did not
cover the current rent. The family of four, who now no longer even had
the Leonding fruit and vegetable garden at its disposal, had to live very
modestly, particularly because around 1905 inflation had become notice-
able and Klara had fallen ill. Even if "Haniaunt" contributed to the fam-
ily's expenses, from then on Klara Hitler had to fall back on her savings.
Even though their apartment was small, she acquired an additional board-
er, twelve-year-old Wilhelm Hagemüller, the Leonding baker's son, who
on schooldays ate lunch with the family.

Sixteen-year-old Adolf, by now "the only man" in the family, acted
just as if he were a son of a better family. He had his own room, the
cabinet—which means that the three women shared the only remaining
room and the kitchen. He spent his days taking walks, with nightly en-
tertainments, reading, and drawing. Thus in Mein Kampf he pays tribute
to the two ensuing years in Linz as the happiest days of my life, which seemed
to me almost a dream. He says he had lived as his mother's darling in the
hollowness of comfortable life and on a soft downy bed.⁹⁶ After the unpleas-
ant period in Steyr he now enjoyed the attractions of the provincial
capital. At fifteen or sixteen, he would say in 1942, he went to all the wax
works and everywhere it said, Adults Only.⁹⁷

During that time the young man began to devour newspapers. There
was a large number of papers in Linz, among them offshoots of the large
Viennese party organs that brought such Viennese topics to Linz as anti-
Semitism. For example, the Christian-Social Linzer Post advocated the
slogan "Don't buy from Jews" and commented: "If money supply is cut

off, then ~~the~~ Austria will be rid of
this lice infestation. The Jews—seducers
of girls."

Common saying "Nobody's news
like the Viennese Jews." First heard
in 1906

1905

for A.H. the
doguel is
maddening. It
is described
in homosexual
in caulery.

Does he want
Jews?

Dot. I had new
order. Look on
willing anti-Jews.
statements. (It's
conclusion. so many of our
clerk Jews!)

writes with it
in Vienna.

Kub hears it
at school

ave to retreat and Austria will
"The Jews" were portrayed as
and as Socialists, for "always
these workers' tormentors are the

hand, subtitled "Völkisches
ered ethnic anti-Semitism in the
was anticlerical, rejected the
against the Hungarians (the
ere was a great deal of publicity
including Guido von List and
sequently.

brochures, including the speech-
sheets of forty counterfeited stamps
dated anti-Semitic utterances by
Moltke: "The Jews form a state
they know how to bypass those
Jews are the abomination of the
manant, is contemptible; them;
that is an outrage to us. They
gens)."99 When these savings

shops in Linz, Linz's Austrian
16, 1907, by pressing criminal
enden is said to have been young
fallen under the influence of the
the Social Democrats.
about being one of the early
a boy, I wore the black red and
my friends, was seriously beaten up
and gold flag and kicked it in the

beginning
of last
liberty

First Love
love for the theatre. Linz's regional
and plays from the typical repertoire
Flaue to Strauss operettas and com-
in the third gallery, cost just fifty
concert by the army orchestra or

district court
1929

they meet
in August
Rienzi
is in
the repertoire
Ad's criticism
that it opened on Jan 3, 1905, 2 yrs
after Adolf's death.

they met in the
auditorium of 1905

A century later for A.H. 1905
FROM THE PROVINCES TO THE CAPITAL
all these gymnasts would
In 1905, the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's death, the German
nationals celebrated their "freedom poet." In the regional theatre
Schiller's plays were at the center of the program, above all, William Tell.
Krackowizer wrote on May 4, 1905: "Anniversary celebrations wherever
German hearts are beating." The most popular official speaker was Leo-
pold Poetsch Kubizek's unmountain

Wagner's oeuvre was also being cultivated, for Linz's music director
August Göllerich was old enough to have known the maestro personally.
Among the regional theatre's repertoire was Lohengrin and, since January
3, 1905, also the early opera Rienzi, which received particular notice as
the town's gymnastics club took part in the famous "sword dance."104

Later, Klara Hitler's boarder Hagmüller would relate that young Hit-
ler frequented the regional theatre and even outlined plans for its recon-
struction. According to Hagmüller, Hitler preferred Wagner operas and
Schiller plays and liked to sing "Du Schwan zieh hin" from Lohengrin
while walking back and forth in his room.105 When in 1938 an emissary
of the NSDAP archive collected biographical material on the "Führer"
in Linz, he learned much to his amazement that "funnily enough" Hitler's
favorite actors in Linz—that is to say, his Wagner and Schiller heroes—
were "almost exclusively Jews."106 He still had a long way to go

In 1905, in the regional theatre's standing room, Hitler met August
(Gustl) Kubizek, who was almost the same age. They became friends.
Kubizek worked as an upholsterer's apprentice in his father's shop; his
father was happy that Gustl had such a well-behaved and polite friend as
Adolf.107 Hitler profited from Kubizek's excellent training in music. The
two shared their enthusiasm for Wagner. In his memoirs, Kubizek de-
scribes in detail the outstanding impression Rienzi, der letzte der Tribunen
(Rienzi, the last of the tribunes) made on young Hitler.108 The pompous
work required a large orchestra with a great deal of brass and drums, and
contained thrilling scenes with large crowds. The endings of its acts were
overpowering, and it was full of roaring shouts of "Heil." Heil. Heil.

in the fourteenth century Cola di Rienzi rose from being the son of
a Roman bartender to the people's tribune, unifying splintered Italy into
a powerful republic after a classical model. But he was subsequently top-
pled by the people and died during an uprising. In the nineteenth century,
the age of national unification, his story was romantically glorified in a
much-read novel by Edward George Bulwer-Lytton. During the prelimi-
naries of the revolution of 1848 young Richard Wagner also tried his
hand at this national material. For him Rienzi was the hero who saved
and liberated the people, in Wagner's words, an "extreme enthusiast who
like a flashing beam of light appeared among a people that had sunk low

A.H.: I, too will rise like that.

the snobbery of the father
is what allows him to
agree to let the boy go
to Vienna with A.H.
Adolf preferred to make social status
w. father.

1905 HITLER'S VIENNA D.T.

and was degenerated but which he believed he was called upon to enlighten and lift up high."¹⁰⁹

After the opera, Kubizek later wrote, sixteen-year-old Hitler walked with him in a "totally transported state" to Linz's Frein Mountain until the early hours of the morning. "In grand, infectious images he outlined to me the future of the German people." Kubizek quoted at length verses that had "touched (their) hearts," such as when Rienzi sings, "doch wählet ihr zum Schützer mich / der Rechte, die dem Volk erkannt, / so blickt auf eure Ahnen hin: / Und nennt mich euren Volkstribun!" (and if you choose me as your protector of the people's rights, look at your ancestors and call me your people's tribune!) The masses reply, "Rienzi, Heil! Heil, people's tribune!"

Later it was important to Hitler to be looked on as Rienzi reincarnate. Among the Kubizek family his alleged statement, "I want to become a people's tribune," was passed on.¹¹⁰ The spirited Rienzi overture became the secret anthem of the Third Reich, well known as the introduction to the Nuremberg party conventions.

According to Kubizek, sixteen-year-old Hitler was a puny, pale, serious young man, always simply, but neatly and properly attired: "Adolf made much of polite conduct and strict, proper form."¹¹¹ With his only suit, pepper-and-salt with perfect creases he wore white shirts ironed by his mother and black kid gloves,¹¹² as well as a special touch, a little black ebony cane and sometimes even a top hat, an outfit like a college student's. Kubizek wrote: "Since Linz didn't have a university, the young people of all classes and strata of society all the more eagerly emulated students' customs."¹¹³

Young Hitler's manner of speaking, Kubizek noted, was "very choice." In other words, contrary to those around him, he did not speak a dialect but High German. In addition, he had a "well-developed sense of performing." The young man displayed his desire to be the center of attention by being given to talking much and persistently, always in the form of monologues. He did not permit anyone to contradict him. "Sometimes, when he became entirely lost in his fantasies, I got the suspicion that everything he said was nothing but an exercise in oratory."¹¹⁴

Kubizek was surprised that his friend avoided all contact with his former schoolmates. Once, he reported, they ran into a former classmate of Hitler on the promenade in Linz. To the question, "How are you?" Hitler only brusquely replied "that that was none of his business, just as Adolf himself couldn't care less what the other one was up to."¹¹⁵

It was probably in the spring of 1906 that the seventeen-year-old

He believed the certificate was gotten out.

1936

130 FROM THE PR

first fell in love. To be sure, two years his senior, never far from afar as she walked in the had already graduated and th sional training, and was now many admirers, a fact Hitler j ularly if they were officers. H about their social standing, "b airheads had with the ladies. for "that woman . . . who pos being aware of it." And: "He the house in which she lives park," and so on.¹¹⁷ Yet acc single word with this "being

what Durand? 130

Even though his guardian ur his mother's household, Hitl prenticeship. Instead, he an aspiration his mother support could go to the imperial art ga for the son of a civil servant' on an accommodation train, perial capital and residence f

The size, the tumult, an and confused anyone arriv Austrian-Hungarian monarch In 1907 1,458 automobiles, in the whole empire, were in year, even with a speed limit important still were horsedra by two horses, 1,754 one-hors caused 982 accidents.¹¹⁸

The ten inner districts w were no longer any gas light where trains arrived from L Electrification of tenement b nonofficial buildings alone, d incandescent lamps¹¹⁹—one

D.T. ~~all this~~ It can be said of the young that they all search for freedom and once obtaining a little of it, they later immediately

He is not a student & was never a student but he is a student of the world & of the people

into a world of snobbery, judgment, incapable of recognizing that snobbery is the chain that binds them freedom. We take it as a rule of thumb to encourage snobbery whenever possible except in ourselves the O. O. is stern concerning snobism. & has said

one of us to read homeless writer he does not care to have us thinking it is beneath us

D.T. In 4 authors I have read only 1 says that we are not alone in the world we are with

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one of us to read homeless writer he does not care to have us thinking it is beneath us

** D.T. One in 4 authors is small prodigy. Day, creating came through. we were, rather*

1905

the first of the summer the first day after school

They had touched each other in the woods.

1905

1907

HITLER'S VIENNA

1905

1907

THE VIE

When it came to Wedekind, all Hitler could think of was "vices" and "threat of infection." The performance inspired him to take Kubizek to the Spittelberg district to demonstrate to him the evil of prostitution as a warning example.

As in all of Europe, in Vienna modernism was defined by its revolt against the prudishness of the all-too-bourgeois nineteenth century. The artists of Expressionism fought for the liberation from moral constraints, against a cloying idyll, for truth, enlightenment, and the exposing of social ills and ugly realities. In addition, they provoked the good burghers by practicing in actual life the moral independence and promiscuity they promoted in their works. In traditional, Catholic-conservative surroundings they made a point of being personally offensive.

In 1905 Schnitzler's *The Round* was censored as pornographic. In 1905 Sigmund Freud published his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. In 1906 the novel *Young Törless* by twenty-six-year-old Robert Musil appeared, which portrayed the fatal connection between violence and sexuality in young people. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch published his erotic novels (e.g., *Venus in Furs*) in which male slaves let themselves be whipped by strong women. The writer made sexual history through the term "masochism," which was derived from his name. Klimt and Schiele provoked audiences with their utterly uninhibited erotic pictures.

In 1905 Richard Strauss completed his opera *Salome*, based on Oscar Wilde's notorious play. For years Mahler had unsuccessfully tried to get the work premiered at the Court Opera, but it kept being banned "for religious and moral reasons" by the Court's censorship bureau.⁶³ Not until 1910 did the National Opera in Vienna, which was not subordinate to the court authorities, perform the scandalous work—which had meanwhile been premiered in Dresden—in a production by Roller. *Salome*, the prototype of the sensual, mankilling woman, quickly became a cult figure of modernism.

The pinnacle of public offense was the fashionable cult some literary figures made of prostitutes around 1900. For them, the whore was an embodiment of a sexuality that never exhausts itself. In his never-ending battle against too-prude morals, Karl Kraus urgently pointed out the solidarity between artists and working girls.⁶⁴ Altenberg and many others emulated him. Klimt illustrated Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*.

Felix Salten not only wrote the extremely successful animal novel *Bambi*, which Walt Disney made world famous, but also the pornographic bestseller *Josefine Mutzenbacher: Die Lebensgeschichte einer wienerischen Dir-*

ne, von ihr selbst erzählt (Josefine, told by herself). The document: Josefine, having the district of Ottakring, a infant, endured incest with men from the beer seller finally turns her rich expe woman's sexual success to Josefine does only what she "real" woman. What the n in Viennese modernism—comitant diseases, violence.

The enemies of modern prostitutes" and the "prostitution. Schönerer's *Unverfälschte* words), for example, argued er like a herd of sheep... and needed to be protected wrote, were "leading them astray." "No doubt the poisoning of our national future.

The Christian-Social ca preacher around 1900, Fath the theater as sources of immoral novels, instead, I beg of you, and do some work for my p corrupted men: "I alone persc immoral by reading *The Sorrows* selves. I alone know four of t your children are reading!"⁶⁶

Science too, in particular: the abysses of sexuality. The 1 ard Krafft-Ebing with his *Psy*, and during the following deca another: in ultimately 238 me sexual "perversions" and decl broke the last taboos when he sexuality and thus destroyed t pure child. More than ever, sci the university a bastion of imr

These opposites were aug

* He has an involuntary erection reading *Venus in Furs*

Do the boys discuss their books?
Two anyway Schützler & Sacher-Masoch

Do the S.O.s were interested by friends three S.O.s etc.

HITLER'S VIENNA

1905-1906

lected in Western Europe to provide at least temporarily for the hungry and homeless, and also to aid Galicia, which did not have enough resources to deal with the situation. The anti-Semites berated the donors as Jew lackeys. The donations, they charged, were only going to be handed over to the "Russian Revolution" anyway.⁵² Therefore the donors were "supporters of the Jewish murderers and revolutionaries."⁵³

In all of Western Europe the fear of further floods of immigrants from Russia was fanned systematically. After all, more than five million Jews lived in the czarist empire, more than in all other countries combined. In comparison: there were more than two million Jews in Austria-Hungary—approximately 850,000 in Hungary, another 850,000 in Galicia, more than 100,000 in Bukovina, and some 200,000 in Vienna. There were altogether fewer than 600,000 Jews in the German Reich, 400,000 of them in Prussia. France had only approximately 100,000 Jews. Italy, some 35,000, and Spain, 25,000.⁵⁴

The anti-Semites painted a nightmarish picture of the Russian Revolution of 1905. They accused the Jews of pulling the wires of the revolution and of trying to provoke a revolution in Western Europe as well, with the support of the Social Democrats, in order to establish "Jewish world rule."

A coincidental encounter provided fodder for these theories: in Austria, the news about the czar's manifesto of October 1905 happened to explode like a bomb during the Social Democrats' party convention. Dr. Wilhelm Ellenbogen was standing at the rostrum, when his fellow party members broke out into shouts of joy, yelling: "Hail to the Russian Revolution! Hail to universal suffrage!" Ellenbogen interrupted his speech and solemnly read the czar's manifesto, which granted freedom of the press and the rights of assembly and of convening the Duma, tying these events to demands he put to the Austrian government: "In Russia, the frightened czar has already gone so far as to grant universal suffrage, and our oh-so comfortable dynasty is supposed to lag behind Russia? . . . We no longer want to be the prototype of the black-robed land, the land of nitelage, the land of backwardness, of camarilla. Suffrage is an existential issue to us." He reminded the deputies of the proletariat's weapon, "the paralyzation of all production, of mass strike," and said: "When push comes to shove, the comfortable and prudent proletariat of Austria will be able to speak Russian too."⁵⁵ According to the minutes, this prompted "tumultuous applause."

When at the end of November 1905 the Social Democrats organized a mass rally in Vienna for universal, equal suffrage, the Christian Socials under Lueger held a counterdemonstration in the city hall's Volkshalle,

whose tenor was: "Down w wrote: 'Who leads Social Who assists them in public the money for it? Jewish h diaries and agitators in Rus

Before a gathering of pogroms in southern Russia ing, 'I am warning especial Russian brethren in faith : Democratic revolutionaries happened in Russia, might) but we certainly weren't m should the Jews threaten o I do want to put out a warn "demonstrative applause" b.

This speech greatly up: mentary interpellation again litical speech," which conta ses, violence, pillaging, theft protection under the federal dangerous as it originated fro really tend to peace among against one another.⁵⁸

Lueger reinforced his o tion: "When I look at the lea who can distinguish differen Democracy are exclusively J here and there one of them is among them too, and the or recognizable." Lueger then w saying he even had "very ofte "I can only say, you rarely ha leader."⁵⁹ In March 1906 th tion for restricting the immi the native, Christian residen

When Hitler arrived in Jews was as hot as before, pa anti-Semitic book that the C Revolution in Russia by Rudolf cres of Russian Jews were not against the Jewish threat: "Ti

Table talk

A. H. Lueger of Austria in 1906

Anti-Semitic Communist

* D.T. He felt a small stirring in A.H. that yet at the threshold of the Jewish revolution words but foundation to come back to the way we are expected

* In Vienna, the A.H. goes back to the side of the

1905-07

with his mediocre school record of the previous five years is doubtful.¹¹¹ But in any case Adolf by this time had no more stomach for schooling. He used illness – feigned, or most likely genuine but exaggerated¹¹² – to persuade his mother that he was not fit to continue school and in autumn 1905, at the age of sixteen, gladly put his schooling behind him for good with no clear future career path mapped out.¹¹³

The time between leaving school in autumn 1905 and his mother's death at the end of 1907 is passed over almost completely in *Mein Kampf*. From the vagueness of the account, it could be presumed that Klara's death followed two, not four, years after that of her husband, and that Adolf's time was spent in careful preparation for attendance at the Viennese Academy of Art, before orphanage and poverty meant that he had to fend for himself.¹¹⁴ Reality was somewhat different.

In these two years, Adolf lived a life of parasitic idleness – funded, provided for, looked after, and cosseted by a doting mother, with his own room in the comfortable flat in the Humboldtstraße in Linz, which the family had moved into in June 1905. His mother, his aunt Johanna and his little sister Paula were there to look after all his needs, to wash, clean and cook for him. His mother even bought him a grand piano, on which he had lessons for four months between October 1906 and January 1907.¹¹⁵ He spent his time during the days drawing, painting, reading, or writing poetry; the evenings were for going to the theatre or opera; and the whole time he daydreamed and fantasized about his future as a great artist. He stayed up late into the night and slept long into the mornings. He had no clear aim in view.¹¹⁶ The indolent lifestyle, the grandiosity of fantasy, the lack of discipline for systematic work – all features of the later Hitler – can be seen in these two years in Linz. It was little wonder that Hitler came to refer to this period as 'the happiest days which seemed to me almost like a beautiful dream'.¹¹⁷

A description of Adolf's carefree life in Linz between 1905 and 1907 is provided by the one friend he had at that time, August Kubizek, the son of a Linz upholsterer with dreams of his own about becoming a great musician. Kubizek's post-war memoirs need to be treated with care, both in factual detail and in interpretation. They are a lengthened and embellished version of recollections he had originally been commissioned by the Nazi Party to compile.¹¹⁸ Even retrospectively, the admiration in which Kubizek continued to hold his former friend coloured his judgement. But more than that, Kubizek plainly invented a great deal, built some passages around Hitler's own account in *Mein Kampf*, and deployed some near plagiarism to amplify

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* He has the identity of a young aristocrat. Klara #

D.T. an exposition on the capacity to work – how the layers can be prodigious industrialists. (The goal at last is in sight)

Inspired by

Kubizek's command of music

Adolf: He is just a poor little fellow who has been often to the theatre

He + Kubizek have commonality of being carefree child. #
K: It takes a very talented person to be a young aristocrat.
Adolf: a real one.

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* He also has the feeling of playing it

* He has the identity of a young aristocrat.

D.T. an exposition on the capacity to work - how the lazy can be prodigious industrious.

Klara's death Adolf's feeling is 'let him live as all. I would not let him die'.

* Note: He takes piano lessons for four months (subsequent to Vienna on 2 weeks in the middle)

1907

D

IV

THE DOUBLE TRACK

New and fantastic dreams have arisen
In which constantly figure Barbarossa
and his two-edged sword awakening
from his rock-bound sleep to put to
flight the enemies of Germany.

TRUMAN SMITH, November 1922.¹

Everything recurs,
And what is to happen
Has run its course.

(Es kehret alles wieder,
Und was geschehen soll,
Ist schon vollendet.)

FRIEDRICH HOLDERLIN.

Hitler's two political tracks both took off from his mission hallucinated in Pasewalk. They ran to Auschwitz and Stalingrad respectively. His main line, traced first, was the one to Auschwitz. For its sake he laid the other, German line as well and rode it for the longest stretch as if it were his main line.

His hallucinated mission was to resurrect Germany by undoing and reversing the 1918 defeat. The first means he envisaged was, in his parlance, to remove Germany's Jewish cancer and to poison out Germany's Jewish poison. The latent sense of this means was to undo and reverse his mother's death—the conclusion, in 1907, of a toxic treatment that he had urged upon her Jewish doctor after a mastectomy proved unavailing against a cancer spreading from her breast. His mission to undo and reverse an accomplished fact was unrealistic from the outset. So was that first means, which turned on misplaced blame for the 1918 defeat matching his misplaced blame for his mother's death. But he never fooled himself deep down. Practically speak-

Can't see it's
one - the
mistake
is present
throughout.

1908 Vienna → 1941

his magnificent biography of Goethe: "We never get over the alien-ness of Greek life. It is said that among the quadroons, the other-wise wholly white descendants of Negroes, the half-moons of the finger-nails remain dark. In the same way, however akin to us Homer or Plato, even Aristotle and Thucydides may appear, some-thing like this half-moon on the nail reminds us of the ichor, the blood of the gods, of which a last drop flowed into the veins of the Greeks." The Greeks are to us the exotic people *par excellence*. The reason that even today we are not properly clear about this lies in the well-meaning but foolish self-complacency and credulity of our schools, which for centuries have been in the hands of hope-lessly mediocre and psychologically untalented syllable-mongers. Still, now that such a work as Spengler's *Decline of the West* has torn up foundations, many eyes will have been opened to the fact that a hopeless gulf separates us from Antiquity.

(If we want to gain some sort of picture of this fundamental difference of Greek culture, we ought probably to take as our starting-point their pre-eminent musicality. It was not the plastic arts that stood in the centre of Greek life, but music. The singer was supposed to be inspired immediately by the gods, and con-versely every prayer was a song; even field-warfare depended on song, which was regarded as the most trustworthy method of main-taining tactical unity: the piper was the most important person in the infantry attack, and likewise in the galley. The Herms which pointed the wanderer's way gave their guidance in hexameters; if we attempted to revive this custom, it would quite rightly be re-garded as a foolish and tiresome snobbism, but the Greek felt musically and metrically even in things of everyday life. Music had such power over the soul that it was used for therapeutic pur-poses; Pythagoras healed the sick by song, and Plutarch tells of a sick girl from Argos who asked the oracle for healing remedies and was told to dedicate herself to the Muses; having followed the ad-vice, she recovered her strength so much that she became a sort of Peloponnesian Joan of Arc, who repulsed a Spartan invasion at the head of a women's corps. Even the dead were thought to be sensitive to the sound of music: on the oil-flasks which were put into the grave, the survivors sought to cheer the shade by a fig-ured flute-playing. In ordinary life music had the same educational significance for the soul as gymnastics had for the body; and gym-

344

Russia
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1908

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Hitler

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Disappearance

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~ 1941 Russia

1908

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hypersensibility and coarseness were strangely mingled. In the same Werther period, which saw something superhuman in every beloved, there was, as Magister Laukhard relates in his autobiography, a queer form of ovation, still common among the students at Giessen, which sounds more like Grimmelshausen: they went, after duly filling themselves with beer, to the front of a house inhabited by women, and relieved themselves there, to the accompaniment of whistling like that of a carman-to the accompaniment of his horse's staling.

This enthronement of sentiment was bound to work itself out quite as much in licentiousness as in refinement. The fossilization and narrowness of the former laws of art and politics led to the conclusion that rules of any sort are to be thrown overboard. In *Werther* we read, with obvious irony: "You can say much in favour of rules, about as much as you can in praise of bourgeois society." Actually the youth of the time had the same contempt for the bourgeoisie as was held later on by the French Romantics, the poets of Young Germany, the Naturalists, the Expressionists, and, in fact, every youth-movement. This led to the rejection on principle of any and every calling; the one ambition was to be just a man. "Profession of scholarship — profession? Pish!" said Goethe's brother-in-law Schlosser in 1777 in the *Deutsches Museum*, "Good heavens, look at your professions, teachers, lawyers, ministers, authors, poets — professions everywhere and men nowhere. Why do you so seldom find wisdom, experience, knowledge of humanity in your professional men? Just because they form a profession." The ideal that hovered before the generation was a gifted amateurism, interested in everything, but tied to nothing definite and having as its one speciality the study of life.

One very marked characteristic of this period was its passion for the silhouette, which took the place of the Rococo's porcelain mania. These black portraits were to be found everywhere, in books and albums, on the walls and as medallions, on glasses and cups — and sometimes they were literally life-sized. The art of cutting-out became a popular and admired accomplishment, which even famous artists practised, and the favourite amusement at the family table. The peculiar quality of the age, its shadowy indicativeness, combining definition and abstraction, its schematism and love of outline, its union of darkness of feeling and daylight

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1908

Silhouette
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1920
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1907
~~who wrote this?~~
Eckhardt
Lutter

Case and Event

17

velopment. As a method of observation it takes history; as a system of ideas it makes history.

I indicated in the preface that whenever a psychoanalyst shifts the focus of his interest to a new class of patients—be they of the same age, of similar background, or the victims of the same clinical syndrome—he is forced not only to modify his therapeutic technique, but also to explain the theoretical rationale of his modification. Thus, from a gradual refinement of therapeutic technique, the perfection of a theory of the mind is expected to result. This is the historical idea psychoanalysis lives by.

The treatment of young patients who are neither children, adolescents, nor adults is characterized by a specific exaggeration of trends met with in all therapies. Young patients (as well as extraordinary young people) make rather total demands on themselves and on their environment. They insist on daily confirming themselves and on being confirmed either in their meaningful future or in their senseless past; in some absolute virtue or in a radical state of vice; in the growth of their uniqueness or in abysmal self-loss. Young people in severe trouble are not fit for the couch: they want to face you, and they want you to face them, not as a facsimile of a parent, or wearing the mask of a professional helper, but as the kind of over-all individual a young person can live by or will despair of. When suddenly confronted with such a conflicted young person the psychoanalyst may learn for the first time what facing a face, rather than facing a problem, really means—and I daresay, Dr. Staupitz, Martin's spiritual mentor, would know what I have in mind.

In the treatment of young people, furthermore, it is impossible to ignore what they are busy doing or not doing in their work life or in their unofficial avocations. Probably the most neglected problem in psychoanalysis is the problem of work, in theory as well as in practice: as if the dialectic of the history of ideas had ordered a system of psychological thought which would as resolutely ignore the way in which the individual and his group make a living as Marxism ignores introspective psychology and makes a man's economic position the fulcrum of his acts and thoughts. Decades of case histories have omitted the work histories of the patients or have treated their occupation as a seemingly irrelevant area of life in which data could be disguised with the greatest impunity. Yet, thera-

Viering
→ H. Heller
was a splendid
example of
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became his
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served as
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But what destroyed in our infantile past, and what destroys in the depth of our adult present, that original unity which provides the imagery of our supreme hopes?

All religions and most philosophers agree that it is *will*—the mere will to live, thoughtless and cruel self-will. In one of the few passionate passages of his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, William James describes specifically one of the manifestations of the will to live:

The normal process of life contains moments as bad as any of those which insane melancholy is filled with, moments in which radical evil gets its innings and takes its solid turn. The lunatic's visions of horror are all drawn from the material of daily fact. Our civilization is founded on the shambles, and every individual existence goes out in a lonely spasm of helpless agony. If you protest, my friend, wait till you arrive there yourself! To believe in the carnivorous reptiles of geologic times is hard for our imagination—they seem too much like mere museum specimens. Yet there is no tooth in any one of those museum-skulls that did not daily through long years of the foretime hold fast to the body struggling in despair of some fated living victim. Forms of horror just as dreadful to their victims, if on a smaller spatial scale, fill the world about us to-day. Here on our very hearths and in our gardens the infernal cat plays with the panting mouse, or holds the hot bird fluttering in her jaws. Crocodiles and rattlesnakes and pythons are at this moment vessels of life as real as we are; their loathsome existence fills every minute of every day that drags its length along; and whenever they or other wild beasts clutch their living prey, the deadly horror which an agitated melancholiac feels is literally right reaction on the situation.

It may indeed be that no religious reconciliation with the absolute totality of things is possible. Some evils, indeed, are ministerial to higher forms of good; but it may be that there are forms of evil so extreme as to enter into no good system whatever, and that, in respect of such evil, dumb submission or neglect to notice is the only practical resource.¹⁹

The tenor of this mood is immediately convincing. It is the mood of severe melancholy, intensified tristitia, one would almost say tristitia with teeth in it. James, at this point, takes recourse to the "geologic times" far behind us, and to the reptiles way below us—creatures who devour one another without sin and are not condemned for it by any religion. He also quotes the pathfully cruel

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1931
Hutter
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* D.T.: A.H.'s resolution of the post-Celtic honor

D.T.: He did not read the rest of the resolution

Eckhart shows A. H. thing that
in 1920 is an example of how
it influenced Luther.

* The young Jew is a devotee of
early Chatterley's house which
he has read in English.
(where? How?) a printed
volumes.

1943

The Meaning of "Meaning It"

183

relatively greater identity and of the differential initiative of the two
worlds became paramount. Does he who learns to recognize the
more real also become more real—and more virtuous into the barg-
gain? And who has the initiative in the matter? Is God waiting for
our moves, or is He moving us? Do we have the leeway of some
initiative? if so, how do we know of it and learn to use it—and
when do we forfeit it?

It has been said that Descartes's "I think, therefore I am" marked
the end of medieval philosophy, which began with St. Augustine,
who saw in man's ability to think the proof not only of God's
existence, but also of God's grace. Augustine thought that man's
"inner light" is the realization of the infusio caritatis, so that we may
speak of a caritative or infused identity. It is precisely because
Augustine centered all his theology in faith that Luther called him
the greatest theologian since the apostles and before Luther. Augus-
tine (as Luther, later) made no concession about the completeness
of perditio, man's total lostness, nor is he less relentlessly convinced
that only God has Being by Himself. "Things," he says, "are and
are not; they are because from God they derive existence; they are
not because they only have being, they are not being. . . . they
exist not all at once, but by passing away and succeeding, they
together complete the universe, whereof they are a portion."² Man,
without grace, would obviously be no different: he, too, passes
away. Without grace, the identity of man is also one of the mere
succession of men. But God gave him a mind and a memory, and
thus the rudiment of an identity.

These things do I within, in that vast court of my memory. For there
are present within me, heaven, earth, sea, and whatever I could think
on therein, besides what I have forgotten. There also meet I with myself,
and recall myself, and when, where, and what I have done, and under
what feelings. There be all which I remember, either on my own experi-
ence or other's credit. Out of the same store do I myself with the past
continually combine fresh and fresh likenesses of things which I have
experienced, or, from what I have experienced, have believed: and thence
again infer future actions, events and hopes, and all these again I reflect
on, as present. . . . Sure I am that in it Thou dwellest, since I have re-
membered Thee ever since I learnt Thee, and there I find Thee, when I
call Thee to remembrance.³

He understood
his English
by reading
it. But when
was it published?

D. T. Yes,

the Dumbhoff
wants for
our minds
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O.O. always
looks to
improvement.

That is
why we
shall
eventually
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1943

→ Hitler #
reads this
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Eckhart's former
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1938

In spite of Augustine's pessimistic statements about man's total perdition, then, he does seem to be rather glad to meet himself face to face in his own memory. Nonetheless, it is a gift of God's *caritas* that he can thus meet himself, for, as Paul said: "Who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive?"⁴ To look at himself in his own memory without being grateful to God would be narcissism—what Augustine calls *praesumptio* which, together with *superbia*, constitutes man's greatest sin: egomania. For man forfeited all free will when he was born human, and thus sick in origin (*morbis originis*). Because of Christ's sacrifice, he is able to receive through baptism redemption from the sins of previous generations; but he is still burdened with concupiscentia, with the "touchwood, the tinder, of sin" (*fomes peccati*). He is only a *homo naturalis*, but does have the chance that his mind might be recreated by the infusion of God's grace, and that he might become a *homo spiritualis*.

To Augustine, *concupiscentia* was covetousness, and thus libido, which is not sin, but only the stuff sin is made of; it becomes sin through man's *consensus*. By a free act of love, God can give man the ability *not* to identify with his own drives. But should man sin, there is still God's *miserecordia indebita*, his pity, which is available even to the undeserving. Thus, whatever we are and become, what we can do and will do, is all a gift from God: *Ex Deo nobis est, non ex nobis*. But for all his renunciation of free will, Augustine shows a pathway up the vertical whose waysigns are *fruitio* and *perfectio*. His theology, compared with those that followed, is a maternal one; in it the wretched human being is forever reassured that, because of Christ's sacrifice, he is born with a chance in life; growth, and fruition, and possible perfection are open to him; and he may always expect his share, and more, of the milk of grace.

St. Augustine saved the Church from Platonism by embracing and converting it; St. Thomas did the same with the Aristotelianism which re-emerged in the middle ages, intellectually ornamented by the medical and mystical Arabs and Jews. Platonism, the orientation toward the Idea, was, through St. Thomas' work, augmented by a new orientation toward the facts and forces of Nature. God, the *prima veritas* and the primary good, was shown to reveal Himself in His creation as the prime Planner and Builder. He was the *causa*

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the D.T. and the Wolf was minimal
in Adalfe's head.

1945

The Meaning of "Meaning It"

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the great philosophical antithesis of realism and nominalism; and religious mysticism.

Realism was the assumption of a true substantive existence of the world of ideas. Its quite unphilosophical alliance with the fetishistic adoration of relics (messengers from the other world, like fragments of meteors from the skies) could not be illustrated better than by the fact that St. Thomas, immediately after his death, was boiled by his confreres so that they could sever, by one industrial act, the perishable flesh from the pile of negonable bones. Realistic thought had little influence on Luther, the dogmatist; but it dominated the Zeitgeist which often emerged in Luther's more informal utterances, especially in its alliance with demonism. We know Luther to have been a lifelong addict of demonic thought, which he managed to keep quite separate from his theological thought and his scientific judgment. The devil's behind maintained a reality for him which—because his intellect and his religious intuition seemed to function on different planes—could be said to verge on the paranoid were it not at the same time representative of a pervading medieval tendency. As Huizinga puts it:

Now, it is in the domain of faith that realism obtains, and here it is to be considered rather as the mental attitude of a whole age than as a philosophic opinion. In this larger sense it may be considered inherent in the civilization of the Middle Ages and as dominating all expressions of thought and of the imagination. . . .

All realism, in the medieval sense, leads to anthropomorphism. Having attributed a real existence to an idea, the mind wants to see this idea alive, and can only effect this by personifying it. In this way allegory is born. It is not the same thing as symbolism. Symbolism expresses a mysterious connection between two ideas, allegory gives a visible form to the conception of such a connection. Symbolism is a very profound function of the mind, allegory is a superficial one. It aids symbolic thought to express itself, but endangers it at the same time by substituting a figure for a living idea. The force of the symbol is easily lost in the allegory. . . .

The Church, it is true, has always explicitly taught that sin is not a thing or an entity. But how could it have prevented the error, when everything concurred to insinuate it into men's minds? The primitive instinct which sees sin as stuff which soils or corrupts, which one should, therefore, wash away, or destroy, was strengthened by the extreme systematizing of sins, by their figurative representation, and even by the penitentiary technique of the Church itself. In vain did Denis the Carthusian remind the people that it was but for the sake of comparison that he calls sin a fever, a cold

1945

→ The death
in the
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Coli 1931

→ A. H.
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Luther was
three isms:

pitable churches and in the marketplace. In later years when he was unable to leave his house because of sickness or anxiety, he would gather wife, children and house guests about him and preach to them.

To Luther, the inspired voice, the voice that means it, the voice that really communicates in person, became a new kind of sacrament, the partner and even the rival of the mystical presence of the Eucharist. He obviously felt himself to be the evangelical giver of a substance which years of suffering had made his to give; an all-embracing verbal generosity developed in him, so that he did not wish to compete with professional talkers, but to speak to the people so that the least could understand him: "You must preach,"

D.T. he said, "as a mother suckles her child." No other attitude could, at the time, have appealed more to members of all classes—except Luther's preaching against taxation without representation which, in 1517, made him a national figure. By then, he had at his command the newly created machinery of communication. Within ten years thirty printers in twelve cities published his sermons as fast as he or the devoted journalists around him could get manuscripts and transcripts to them. He became a popular preacher, especially for students; and a gala preacher for the princes and nobles.

Luther the lecturer was a different man from either preacher or monk. His special field was Biblical exegesis. He most carefully studied the classical textbooks (*Glossa, Ordinaria, and Lyra*), and his important predecessors among the Augustinians; he also kept abreast of the humanist scholars of his time and of the correctives provided by Erasmus's study of the Greek texts and Reuchlin's study of the Hebrew texts. He could be as quibbling a linguist as any scholastic and as fanciful as any humanist. In his first course of lectures he tries the wings of his own thoughts; sometimes he bewilders himself, and sometimes he looks about for companions, but finally he soars his own lonesome way. His fascinated listeners did not really know what was happening until they had a national scandal on their hands, and by that time Luther's role had become so political and ideological that his early lectures were forgotten and were recovered only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because of Luther's habit of telescoping all of his theological prehistory into the events of 1517, when he became a celebrity, it has only been recognized in this century that his theology was already completed

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The Book given by the tion suggeste as an uncon: would say to about Christ.

Eckhard

A. T.
"Follow
Luther,
Suckle
this child.
The German
People
are
your
child."

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Rienzi, der letzte der Tribunen

1905 Lang

by Richard Wagner

Grand Tragic Opera in Five Acts

after the novel

Cola di Rienzi

by Edward Bulwer-Lytton.

Rome in the fourteenth century.

Act I

Scene 1:

A street at night, with the Lateran Church in the background. Paolo Orsini is trying to abduct Irene, **Rienzi's** sister. She screams for help, and Adriano, who is in love with her, defends her. Adriano is the son of Steffano Colonna, the head of another very influential family of Rome. A crowd assembles, and a brawl ensues, with the people choosing sides for either Colonna or Orsini. **Rienzi** enters imperiously, squelching the uprising by his very appearance, and declares his intent to unite Rome and lead it to grandeur.

Scene 2:

Rienzi embraces Irene, and expresses to Adriano his amazement that a member of the Colonna family has saved his sister, asking Adriano where his loyalties really lie. Adriano wants to atone for his family, one of whom murdered **Rienzi's** brother. His feelings, though, are mixed, and he is troubled by **Rienzi's** plans. **Rienzi** insists that under his leadership the Romans can become truly noble and free, but Adriano fears he is leading the Roman people to ruin. Though he too wishes to uphold the law, Adriano warns **Rienzi** that his plans are too bold and will end in bloodshed. However, despite his reservations, he pledges his further support. **Rienzi** entrusts Irene to his protection, and leaves.

the complexity of political implications with a friend

Scene 3:

Alone together, Adriano and Irene prophetically declare that their love will remain steadfast, even if the world around them should crumble disastrously. Adriano expresses his trepidations, and predicts Rienzi's downfall, foretelling that the people will betray him, and the nobles will punish him for being too bold. The scene ends with the sound of offstage trumpets.

Scene 4:

A herald enters. Dawn has arrived. An organ sounds inside the church, and the public rushes onstage. **Rienzi** appears in full armor before the people, who fall to their knees. He is accompanied by Raimondo, the papal legate. The portals of the Lateran Church open, and the people greet him with wild enthusiasm. **Rienzi** proclaims that as protector of Rome he will uphold freedom and law. The populace greets **Rienzi** joyously as their hero. The people hail him as the new tribune who will liberate them, and swear that they will remain loyal to him.

Act II

Scene 1:

A hall in the Capitol. **Rienzi** enters, magnificently clad, followed by the senators, among them Baroncelli and Cecco. Messengers bring **Rienzi** news of their travels, and they report that the Roman lands are peaceful and free. Colonna, Orsini, the senators, and the nobles pay homage to their new tribune. **Rienzi** insists that he is not concerned with his own glory, but rather, that he will free Rome and uphold the law. He leaves with the senators.

He is concerned with our glory.

Scene 2:

Orsini and Colonna are outraged at **Rienzi's** arrogance, and as they talk, the nobles start listening in. The people idolize **Rienzi**, whom he has captivated. He is a demagogue, they say, who holds the people in his charismatic spell. Though **Rienzi** is a mere plebeian, he has grasped enormous power, and Orsini and Colonna refuse to tolerate this. They find his climb to fame somehow insulting, and also potentially dangerous, as the masses are now armed. The nobles, headed by Orsini and Colonna, therefore plot against **Rienzi**, and devise a murderous scheme for the imminent feast. Adriano enters and demands to know their intentions. They tell Adriano their plans to assassinate **Rienzi** that day. Though in confusion over his divided loyalties, Adriano vows to stand by **Rienzi** in defiance of his own family.

1931

Scene 3:

Ceremonial pomp. A banquet has been prepared. **Rienzi** greets nobles and diplomats from all parts of Italy. Adriano softly warns **Rienzi** that he is about to be betrayed. A performance begins, a play, pantomime, and ballet: Brutus avenges the death of Lucretia and frees Rome from the tyranny of Tarquinius. Meanwhile, Orsini, who has stolen closer to **Rienzi** during the performance, tries to stab him, but **Rienzi** reveals that he is protected by armor. Tumult ensues. **Rienzi** pardons him, despite the warnings of his nobles, who lament the blindness of his mercy.

a man's fate lies to others

Act III

Scene 1:

A square in Rome. The scene depicts ruins, decrepit columns. Bells sound. Wild, unruly crowds fill the scene. They seek **Rienzi**. The nobles have fled the city. **Rienzi** appears and promises to guard the freedom of Rome, thereby rousing the people to war. The crowds appeal to **Rienzi** and with cries of homage and subservience, express their trust in him and their intent to follow him.

Scene 2:

Adriano enters; he is dejected, horrified, and in despair over his divided loyalties. He hears, sounds of war, and chaos intrudes into his solitude. The people enter armed, and Adriano rushes to bring about a reconciliation between his family and that of **Rienzi**.

Scene 3:

Hymns of war resound, **Rienzi** goes to battle, surrounded by monks and the populace, and urges the people on to protect freedom and the law. Adriano implores **Rienzi** to desist, but **Rienzi** refuses to heed him. Adriano is left with Irene: they lament their imminent parting. Adriano tells Irene that **Rienzi** is murdering his people. Warriors enter, and **Rienzi** embraces Irene in farewell. To the horror of all, the body of Stefano Colonna is brought into view, and then other corpses as well. Adriano curses **Rienzi** and the fate that will forever part him and Irene. Despite the tumult, **Rienzi** departs triumphantly.

He needs to be strong beyond strength.

Act IV:

Scene 1:

In a street before the Lateran church, at night, in a secret meeting Baroncelli informs other citizens, all in disguise, that the German diplomats have left Rome forever. **Rienzi** is at odds with the princes of Germany over the choice of the Roman Emperor. The Cardinal, Baroncelli informs them, has also departed, and therefore Colonna had turned to the Pope and promised to use his power to defend the Church. Baroncelli feels that **Rienzi** pardoned Colonna for the sole purpose of gaining the support of the nobles, and thus considers **Rienzi** a traitor of the people. Adriano enters and identifies himself. He declares **Rienzi** unworthy of the power that he has amassed, and vows to have vengeance. A feast is being prepared by **Rienzi**, to celebrate his victory. **Rienzi** approaches in full glory.

Scene 2:

A ceremony is beginning. The procession nears, **Rienzi** with Irene. The nobles feign obeisance. As **Rienzi** ascends the steps to the church, he is stopped by the conspirators, who bar his entrance to the church. Raimondo curses him and all who are true to him. The chanting of monks can be heard from within the church. **Rienzi** shames them by appeals to their patriotism, and urges them to trust in him. Feigning sincerity, they hypocritically hail him as their tribune. **Rienzi** is taken aback when he hears the TeDeum from the church, and all shudder. Raimondo appears and bars **Rienzi's** entrance to the church. The doors of the church slam shut with a crash, and on them a papal bull is nailed banning **Rienzi**. Adriano tells Irene that **Rienzi** and all who follow him are cursed. Adriano urges Irene to run away with him, but she remains with **Rienzi**; Adriano flees quickly. **Rienzi**, however, remains engrossed in his plans to lead Rome to grandeur.

Angela + Leo Raimondo

Act V:**Scene 1:**

In a hall of the Capitol, **Rienzi** prays to God to grant him the strength to unite Rome and finish his grandiose plan.

Scene 2:

*At the end of Germany
would be his bride*

Irene enters, embraces **Rienzi**, who tells of his dreams for Rome, his bride. Though she loves Adriano, whom **Rienzi** demands she renounce, Irene vows to stand by her brother. **Rienzi** departs.

Scene 3:

Adriano sneaks in, disguised. Adriano reminds her of his love, and tells of his intent to betray **Rienzi**. He warns her that **Rienzi** is mad, and if she follows him, then she is, too.

Scene 4:

A square before the Capitol. Crowds storm in violently bearing torches and screaming, to honor the dictum of the Church. The populace is revolting against **Rienzi**, who appears on the balcony in full armor and orders peace. The people cry out that he should be stoned. They refuse to recognize his former glory, even though he appeals to his past leadership of Rome to freedom and grandeur. Baroncelli cautions the crowd not to be mesmerized by **Rienzi** any longer. The crowd sets the Capitol on fire. As **Rienzi** exclaims that the Romans are disgraceful and unworthy of their heritage, the flames engulf the Capitol. Embracing each other, **Rienzi** and Irene perish in the conflagration. The Capitol collapses, also burying Adriano in the rubble.

synopsis © 2001 by Mary Cicora

1945

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*Early on, At the end of Germany, You can
to power and then the treasurer begins.
There is the place where leaders
are to be remembered - not in the
hour of their success but in the
aftermath*

*This accounts for the
up and down after the opera
that night*

I Was Hitler's Buddy

In: *The New Republic* (New York)

April 5, 1939 p. 239-242; April 12, 1939 p. 270-272; April 19, 1939 p. 297-300

The New Republic presents herewith the first installment of a document that we believe has exceptional interest. It is the story of Adolf Hitler's days of desperate poverty in a municipal lodging-house in Vienna, told by his closest associate at that time, Reinhold Hanisch. Hanisch and Hitler worked together making and peddling picture postcards. In his memoir, Hanisch has given a vivid picture of Hitler as he knew him, and of the circumstances that had a share in the formation of Hitler's character.

Hanisch himself was a German-Bohemian, though of Austrian citizenship, and not a Jew. He was arrested in Vienna in 1936, after it had become known that he had written this memoir and that he was attempting to find a publisher. The charge, from Berlin, was that Hanisch had tampered with and falsified some watercolors done by Hitler at the time described here. Hanisch had discovered them in an art-dealer's files and they had been sold at a high price to a Berlin dealer.

Some time later the public was informed, as might be expected, that Hanisch had died in prison after a sudden illness. He had died of pleurisy, in three days, the official report said. — THE EDITORS

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1909, after extensive wanderings through Germany and Austria, I arrived as a traveling artisan in Vienna. On the highway I had already heard about a lodging-house and I decided to go there, for I had very little money.

I soon found the Asylum for the Homeless, a large modern building behind the South Railway Station. The town's poor stood there in a long row waiting for admittance.

Finally the gates were thrown open and our line livened up. Everyone was given a ticket that entitled him to five nights' lodging, and it was punched by the supervisor. Inside, long rows of benches stood on both sides of the hall to accommodate the people. They went in couples to the showerbath. Those who were full of vermin had their clothing tied up in bundles and disinfected. This „burning-out“ of the clothes often damaged them severely. After that the people returned to the hall, the upper part of which was set with rows of tables. Bread was brought in, soup was served, and afterward everyone retired to the dormitories. Cots with wire springs stood along the walls, each covered with two brownish-colored sheets.

Here everyone made himself comfortable in his own way. A pillow was made from clothes. Even if the seat of a man's trousers was patched and soiled they were carefully folded so that they would have a crease the next day. Shoes were

shined and put under the bedstead so that no mistake could occur. Often there was a shoemaker or a tailor about who offered his services for a few pennies, or for cigarettes or the like. Trading boomed in the dormitory; clothing was bartered or sold, and rolled cigarettes, and tickets of admission to the Asylum. Those who had been in the Asylum for a long time and feared that their cards would not be renewed were glad to buy new ones.

Crowds formed around a cot if a man had an interesting story to tell. I soon found my pals. At that time I spoke the Berlin dialect and all of them took me for a Prussian, so I was soon surrounded by many Saxons, Bavarians and Rhinelanders. There are no mopers among tramps. Wit and humor are the privilege of youth. Common worry bound us together; new traveling plans were forged; new companions found.

The neighbor on my right looked sad, and so we asked him questions. For several days he had been living on benches in the parks where his sleep was often disturbed by policemen. He had landed here dead tired, hungry, with sore feet. His blue-checked suit had turned lilac, and the rain and the „burning“ in the asylum bleached it.

We gave him our bread because he had nothing to eat. An old beggar standing near by advised him to go to the convent in the Gumpendorferstrasse; there every morning between nine and ten soup

was given to the poor. We said this was „calling on Kathie“, probably because the name of the Mother Superior was Katherine.

My neighbor's name was Adolf Hitler.

He was awkward. The Asylum meant to him an entirely new world where he could not find his way, but we all advised him as best we could, and our good humor raised his spirits a little. I was also „calling on Kathie“ daily, and we became close friends. He told us that he was a painter, an artist, and had read quite a lot, that his father was a small customs official in Braunau-on-Inn and that he had attended the Realschule in Linz. Now he had come to Vienna in the hope of earning a living here, since he had already devoted much time to painting in Linz, but had been bitterly disappointed in his hopes. His landlady had dispossessed him and he had found himself on the street without shelter.

After he was forced out of his room he had spent several evenings in a cheap coffeehouse in the Kaiserstrasse, but now he was entirely without money. For days he hadn't eaten anything. One night in his great distress he begged a drunk gentleman for a few pennies, but the drunk man raised his cane and insulted him. Hitler was very bitter about this, but I made fun of him, saying, „Look here, don't you know you should never approach a drunk“. So I tried to console him.

He always wanted me to tell him stories about Germany, because he was quite enthusiastic about the Reich. We met every night, and kept up our spirits in spite of our troubles. We sang „Die Wacht am Rhein“, and what a sparkle came into Hitler's eyes when we sang the Bismarck song, with the refrain:

*Wir Deutschen fürchten Gott da droben
Sonst aber nichts auf dieser Welt.*

(We Germans fear God above
But nothing else on this earth.)

Hitler had never heard this song before.

During the day we tried to earn a little money at odd jobs, and in the evenings we had our gatherings. When the winter cold set in, conditions for the poor like ourselves were much harder. Hitler went daily „calling on Kathie“ to get his soup and afterward trolled to the Western Railway Station, where sometimes there was an opportunity to carry a passenger's bag for a few pennies. But often he got nothing at all, and we had to share our bread with him.

When the shelters were opened Hitler used to go with others to the one in Erdberg. This shelter had been endowed by the Jewish Baron Koenig-

swarter, and the Asylum where we lived was also a Jewish foundation. From Erdberg we went to Favoriten and then to Meidling, a two-and-a-half-hour walk, for soup and bread. Hitler had no winter overcoat; in his thin jacket he shivered with cold and was blue and frostbitten.

Hitler thought of all sorts of jobs, but he was much too weak for hard physical work. I never have seen him do any hard work, nor did I hear from him the story that he did a worker's job in the building industry. Builders employ only strong and husky men; a man as frail as Hitler would never be hired by the foreman. One day some ditchdiggers were needed, and Hitler asked me if he should apply for the work. I said, „Don't take up that work! If you begin such hard work it is very difficult to climb up.“ But I knew Hitler couldn't have done such work for an hour.

The early snow several times helped us to make money. We had to get up early and hurry in darkness and cold to the place of work, in order to be first. As Hitler was very weak and had sore feet he was usually late, but we made sure the supervisor gave him some work, too. So he shoveled snow a few times, but not often.

At this time he and I were already close friends. We knew everything about each other. Being a Bohemian German (Sudeten), I had strong German national convictions, and that was the reason Hitler attached himself to me. Also as a schoolboy I liked painting and my only desire was to become a painter. But life took a different course.

He told me a lot about his family. Hitler's father had distinguished himself a number of times by his work as a customs official. An example was the case of a certain man in Vienna who received parcels of cigars from Germany. Hitler's father was struck by the inferior quality of these cigars, and at the examination of one of the packages a cigar broke. A diamond fell out, and so a smuggler was discovered.

After his father's death Hitler's family received a pension of fifty kronen monthly, but his sister, who had just been married, received this pension and Hitler got nothing. He was not earning enough with his package-carrying for food, and in the evening in the Home we used to give him some horse-sausage or the like. It was a miserable life, and I once asked him what he was really waiting for. He answered, „I don't know myself“. I have never seen such helpless letting-down in distress.

When he told me of the fifty-kronen pension his sister was getting I asked him why he didn't

approach her. He said he could hardly do that, as his sister was just married and needed the money, but I advised him to do it, because he was worse off every day. He had a cough, and I was afraid he was going to be very ill. Finally Hitler said that he would like to write but he had no writing materials. So a salesman from Austrian Silesia and I took him to the Café Arthaber, opposite the Meidling Southern Station. In the coffee house he wrote a letter to his sister, asking, on our advice, for some money to be sent *Poste Restante*.

A Few days before Christmas Eve, 1909, the money arrived. That evening Hitler came again to the Asylum and, standing in the line, pulled out of his pocket a fifty-kronen note. I told him not to show it so, because if anyone saw it he might be robbed or someone might ask for a loan.

Now a transformation took place in Hitler. I advised him to buy a second-hand winter overcoat in the Jewish quarter, but he was afraid he would be cheated there. So we went together to the Dorotheum, the pawnshop operated by the government. There he purchased a dark winter overcoat for twelve kronen.

Then he moved from the Asylum into the Maennerheim (men's home) in the Meldemannstrasse in the XXth district. I suggested that he do some work like painting postcards. He said first he wanted to rest for a week. But I asked him if now that he had a little money he wanted to spend it at once. He answered that he couldn't spend it all in a week anyway.

I had already suggested painting postcards before he wrote his sister. He thought he wouldn't be able to sell them because he wasn't well enough dressed, and also he was afraid that without a license we both might get into trouble with the police. In the Asylum Hitler offered some of his postcards to the salesman from Silesia, so that he might sell them, but he refused. Soon after Christmas I also moved to the Men's Home and began to peddle Hitler's postcards. He was a very slow worker, and I often told him not to dawdle around with his cards so much, to daub on anything. I sold the cards in the taverns.

Then Hitler copied postcards, most of them of Viennese views in watercolors. He took them to art dealers, furniture stores and upholsterers, for in those days divans were made with pictures inserted in their backs. I had good luck, was incessantly on my feet and brought in orders. Hitler was busy. Misery was at an end. We were doing better and new hopes sprang up.

But unfortunately Hitler was never an ardent worker. I often was driven to despair by bringing in orders that he simply wouldn't carry out. At Easter, 1910, we earned forty kronen on a big order, and we divided it equally. The next morning, when I came downstairs and asked for Hitler, I was told that he had already left with Neumann, a Jew, also living at the Maennerheim. After that I couldn't find him for a week. He was sightseeing Vienna with Neumann and spent much of the time in the Museum. When I asked him what the matter was and whether we were going to keep on working, he answered that he must recuperate now, that he must have some leisure, that he was not a coolie. When the week was over he had no longer any money. What had he done with it? He could eat four or five pieces of pastry with whipped cream in a cheap coffeehouse, but he drank no wine and did not smoke.

I recollect that we went one day to the City Hall to see the stained-glass windows, and I felt faint on the stairway. Hitler scolded me, saying that it served me right and that it was because of my continual smoking. „One must have some self-control“, he said.

But unfortunately he never had enough self-control to force himself to work. Often I didn't know what to do with the orders because it was impossible to make Hitler work. In the morning he sat in the hall of the Home, and was supposed to be making drawings while I was busy canvassing the frame manufacturers and upholsterers. But then political discussion would start and generally Hitler would become the ringleader. When I came back in the evening I often had to take the T-square out of his hands, because he would be swinging it over his head, making a speech.

Like us, many of the inmates of the Home made a living by homework. One old man copied from the newspapers the addresses of betrothed couples and sold them to furniture stores and other firms. Another wrote musical excerpts. A Hungarian cut postcards out of cardboard, with emblems and initials, which he sold on Sundays in Prater taverns. A group of people made little signboards and pricebills from cardboard, and for these Neumann was the salesman. Once he brought Hitler an order for a drugstore poster, to advertise powder to prevent perspiration.

The man who painted the signboards, Greiner, had previously been a lamp-lighter in the cabaret Hoelle in the Theater an der Wien. He had a vivid imagination, was a great talker and soon became a bad influence on Hitler. Greiner built all sorts of

castles in the air, and Hitler took his schemes very seriously. There was eager competition between them in devising plans, and Hitler would say sometimes that Greiner was a genius like Edison, with unheard-of ideas, but that he was too fickle and needed someone to carry out his ideas.

Hitler wanted to unite all these people into an organization following such ideas in coöperative work. Some of them should make drawings, design advertising, paint signboards, while the others should sell these products. But he had other projects as well. At that time there was a picture in all the newspapers of a woman named Anna Csillag, with long hair that reached the floor, and below her picture was an advertisement, starting with the words, „I, Anna Csillag..." recommending an infallible hair-growing remedy. Hitler thought something of the kind ought to be invented. He admitted that the story of Anna Csillag was an obvious bluff, but he said one could earn plenty of money with it. He proposed to fill old tin cans with paste and sell them to shopkeepers, the paste to be smeared on window-panes to keep them from freezing in winter. It should be sold, he said, in the summer, when it couldn't be tried out. I told him it wouldn't work, because the merchants could just say, come back in the winter; we don't need it now. To this Hitler answered that one must possess a talent for oratory. But I thought oratory alone would be useless.

At another time he had quite an original idea about protecting banknotes from being worn out, by having them made smaller and kept in a case of celluloid.

So we were busy with high-flown plans, but we lived very simply. In the Home both Hitler and I did our cooking, one day corn pudding with margarine, the next day margarine with corn pudding. One day Hitler was showing off his culinary art; he was going to make a milk soup, but it turned into pot-cheese because it curdled. The next day I made some, and, though he said he didn't want to eat it, served it to him nevertheless. He asked me how I had made it and I told him that I had just done it the opposite of his way, and so it had turned out all right.

We also did our laundry, in the showerbath. Hitler had only one shirt, and there was a little Saxonian who used to say there would be fine weather the next day, because Hitler had washed his shirt.

At that time there was a great political agitation in Vienna. The mayor, Dr. Lueger [1844-1910],

leader of the Christian-Socialist Party, had just died. The *Arbeiterzeitung*, the Social-Democratic paper, printed long articles strongly denouncing the successor of Dr. Lueger. Hitler told us a lot about Dr. Lueger, who had been forced to fight hard for his position as mayor. Only after he had been elected the third time had the Emperor confirmed the election. Hitler said Dr. Lueger should be taken for an example and a new party created. The Christian Socialists had been destroyed and the Social Democrats were not a real workers' party. The new party should have a name that sounded well, and should take over the best slogans from other parties to win followers; it was also important that the whole thing be well organized. The aim justifies the means, was Hitler's saying.

Dr. Lueger had also founded a very interesting institution, the *Knabenhort* (boys' hostels). The boys were children of Christian Socialists, and they wore uniforms, formed bands and made musical outings. Hitler was very much interested in these and talked a great deal about them and about it being good for youth to be politically trained. For some time he was absorbed night and day with the idea of forming a new party. At Easter we did well and had a little more money to spend, so Hitler went to the movies. I preferred to drink some wine, which Hitler despised. The next day I knew at once that he was planning a new project. He had seen „*The Tunnel*", a picture made from a novel by Bernhard Kellermann, and he told me the story. An orator makes a speech in a tunnel and becomes a great popular tribune. Hitler was aflame with the idea that this was the way to found a new party. I laughed at him and didn't take him seriously.

I was sometimes annoyed with this chattering of Hitler's, for he went on talking politics instead of working for our customers. One day I told him to stop talking, he really didn't look the promoter of a political party, and he must do some serious work. He had more success with other people, however, for they were always ready for fun, and Hitler was a sort of amusement for them. There was continual debating; often the Home looked as if an election campaign were in progress.

Hitler wore a long coat that Neumann had given him because he couldn't dispose of it in the Jewish quarter, and he wore an incredibly greasy derby hat on the back of his head. His hair was long and tangled and he grew a beard on his chin such as we Christians seldom have, though one is not uncommon in Leopoldstadt or the Jewish

Ghetto. I used to address Hitler often as „Paul Kruger“ because the President of the Boers had just such a beard. Hitler had already at that time the lock on his forehead.

A joker would often tie Hitler's coat to the bench and then someone else would discuss politics with him. All of them then used to contradict him, a thing he could never stand. He'd leap to his feet, drag the bench after him with a great rumble, and then the supervisor would send his servant up

to this turmoil and order everyone to be quiet. These debates took place over almost anything, and meanwhile Hitler couldn't restrain himself. He screamed, and fidgeted with his hands. But when he was quiet it was quite different; he seemed then to have a fair amount of self-control and acted in quite a dignified manner. When speaking he was rigid, and showed his teeth.

(To be continued)

I Was Hitler's Buddy: II

I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK of Hitler's youth, for the impressions of youth are the lasting ones. Government officials, especially those posted at the border, always saw the paradise beyond the border. So Hitler heard from his father only praise of Germany and all the faults of Austria. And so he was to some degree brought up to anti-Austrian feelings. Hitler was an enemy of the Hapsburgs[*sic!*]. He accused them of entertaining a hostile policy toward Germanism and frequently said that with the accession of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand the downfall of Germanism in Austria was to be expected. He also used to say that history is the teacher of the nations.

Still history teaches us that we in Austria always had to rely on our own strength when German civilization was in danger. Where were the North Germans when the Turks menaced Vienna? A Pole, King John Sobieski, came to Vienna's rescue. The jealousy between Germany's rulers brought about the partition of Germany under Napoleon. Frederick the Great was base enough to appeal to Germany's arch-enemy France against fellow Germans and Bismarck did not hesitate to seek an alliance with Italy in his fratricidal war. The instances of treason and guile which were committed against the German people in Austria are innumerable. In the World War our troops were always compelled to hold positions until the Germans got a breathing spell. Germans requisitioned all the food available in the occupied areas, whereas we were forced into starvation. In our country, in German Bohemia, the misery had its climax. We could obtain nothing from the Czech districts, and many housewives were shot dead when they went to Germany to hunt for food. We would hardly have been able to get the Prussians out of our country if we had won the World War. If Austria were to be governed by the National

Socialists, as the Prussians wish, our country would become a Prussian colony. Prussians would be appointed to all the offices. We would have nothing to say in our own country. I don't wish to mention the events of the last few years. The sins against us committed by the great German nation, related to us by blood ties, will remain forever a blot on its honor.

But one can't condemn the great German nation for the actions of its leaders, nor is it possible to lay the whole responsibility on Hitler. He calls himself the leader, but I think he is the one being led. He employed for the service of his party unscrupulous elements, but even he is now unable to check them. The reputation of the German nation is destroyed. Hitler can't get rid of the evil spirits he invoked.

We talked also about the policies adopted against the minorities in different countries. At the same time the forcible denationalization of the German minority in Hungary was mentioned. I took exception to the Prussian policy against the Poles and condemned the attempt of the Prussians to turn the Poles into Germans by violence. Hitler said this was unavoidable; a state must try to create a uniform nationality within its borders. I was very angry that Hitler always took the government's part. Whether the ruthless policy of Magyarization was discussed, or the policy in Posen, or Upper Silesia, Hitler invariably approved of all such violent methods as necessary for the state's sake. In such debates I always sided with his opponents, but opposition was useless because of his shouting.

He talked often about his youth. He said with pride that the people of the Innviertel (the district in which he was born) had the reputation of brawlers, and he told about watching their fights as a lad, and even enjoying them. It was a holiday for

him when a friend took him and his father to the district court in Ried to see the deadly weapons exhibited there that had been collected during peasant fights. What others abhorred appealed to him. I don't know whether such instincts disappear in later life. I simply am telling my personal experiences with Hitler, without comment or adornments.

Hitler also told me that when he got into fights as a boy his father wouldn't let him complain but made him fend for himself.

He had read considerably about the Revolution of 1848 and lectured about it a great deal. Richard Wagner was then his favorite subject, first Wagner as a revolutionist in 1848 and afterward his struggles, until he found a patron in King Ludwig. We often went to the scenic railway in the Prater, where we could hear the organ play „Tannhäuser“[sic./]. Hitler listened quietly and explained the action to us. Once he grabbed my hand excitedly and said, „That's the passage! Do you hear? That's the passage!“

On our way home he tried to explain the opera to us and sang some passages. In his excited way he could only hum a few tones and fidget with his arms. But he could describe the scenes very well, and what the music meant. I don't think that it was a real understanding of music, though; he had more of a sense for what was going on on the stage and what had to be performed. For Wagner he had a great enthusiasm, and said sometimes that opera is really the best divine service. Everything about him was somewhat exaggerated.

In the scenic railway there was always a great deal of Mozart played, first of all from „The Magic Flute“. Hitler would try to hurry us and get us to leave. Once I remarked that Mozart was greater than Wagner, but Hitler denied it vehemently. He said Mozart fitted the old sentimental times more, but that today he had been outlived. But Wagner was a fighter, there was more greatness and power in Wagner. Besides there were more people kept busy, especially the orchestra.

He also liked to talk about Gottfried Semper, the architect of the Hofburg, the Museums and the Burgtheater. And one day we spoke of Karl May, for there were rumors that he had been jailed for serious offenses. Hitler said it was mean to bring up his past against such a man, that they who did it were hyenas and scoundrels, and that he himself had read Karl May, who was really a great writer.

Ideas and novelties were his hobby. He thought men of the future would nourish themselves more and more with substitutes, a pill perhaps sufficing

as a whole day's ration. I told him I'd stick to my cakes and wine, and leave the pill-food to others. Another time Hitler explained the force of gravity to us, and assumed that the next great scientific advance would be the elimination of gravity from objects, so that iron blocks could be moved from place to place without difficulty.

We talked of the necessity of religion, as there had been published in the Arbeiterzeitung an article mocking a Corpus Domini procession. Hitler condemned it strongly on the ground that the religion of the common people was being destroyed without a substitute being offered to them. He often said religion was necessary, and that if there were none it should be created. He spoke of Voltaire's having gone to church, because he had been robbed by peasants. The peasants said that if there were no God, as Voltaire claimed, then there was no sin either, so Voltaire went to church to prove to them that he believed in God.

Hitler often received benefits from convents. I have already spoken of his having been fed with convent soup, but also for medical advice he went to the Merciful Brothers (Barmherzige Brüder). But he charged Catholicism with Germanophobia, because the Popes were mostly Italians. He said the Catholic Church had reached her present power and greatness by good organization, an pointed to the past when the Church won her way with fire and sword. He also said the Catholic Church had spilt more blood than any other religion. He believed that the Western nations gained a great deal from the oriental civilizations during the crusades, and so our art rose to new heights.

If the Germans had remained faithful to their old mythology, they would today be a united nation, and would have reached a higher standard of civilization. He meant that the Germanic faith, if retained, would have become more ideal with the changing times, and in this connection pointed to the Greeks, in whose faith he said ideals were revered as gods. He was a particular admirer of the structure of the Greek state, where scholars and philosophers exerted a strong influence, a thing we should have emulated. That had been the epoch of philosophy, but in our technical age philosophy was badly neglected. He asserted that it would be easier to combat misery if there were more philosophy. And moreover, he said, there should be more business men in the government, that is should not be, as it was, full of jurists and bureaucrats.

Once Hitler remarked that the Protestant Church was Germany's true religion. I asked him why his father had not been converted to Protestantism. Hitler retorted that since his father was a government official it would have made difficulties. Hitler admired Luther as the greatest German genius.

Now I want to make some remarks about Hitler's opinion of the Jew. In those days Hitler was by no means a Jew hater. He became one afterward. He used to say even then that the end sanctions the means, and so he incorporated anti-Semitism into his program as a powerful slogan.

In the Home, Hitler had helpful advisers who were Jews. There was a one-eyed locksmith called Robinsohn who often assisted him, since he was a beneficiary of an accident-insurance annuity and was able to spare a few pennies. And in the Maennerheim Hitler often found Jews who listened to his political debates. The salesman Neumann became a real friend. Neumann was a business man by profession and didn't shrink from any work. At first he was with two signboard painters, one a very industrious man and the other the former lamplighter, Greiner. Later on Neumann worked with another Jew who was buying old clothes and peddling them in the streets; at this time he often gave Hitler old clothes. He was a good-hearted man who liked Hitler very much and whom Hitler of course highly esteemed. Hitler told me once that Neumann was a very decent man, because if any of us had small debts Neumann paid them, though he himself was very much in want.

At that time Theodor Herzl and the Zionism question were very much discussed. Hitler and Neumann had long debates about Zionism. Neumann said that if the Jews should leave Austria it would be a great misfortune for the country, for they would carry with them all the Austrian capital. Hitler said no, that the money would obviously be confiscated, as it was not Jewish but Austrian. Then Neumann always made a joke; it would nevertheless be a misfortune for Austria, because when the Jews crossed the Red Sea all the coffee-houses in Leopoldstadt were deserted.

Neumann went to Germany in 1910. He tried to persuade Hitler to join him, speaking with great enthusiasm of Germany, but Hitler wasn't able to make up his mind. Since then I have never heard of Neumann.

Hitler was able to sell his watercolors almost solely to Jewish dealers. He sold to Jacob Alten-

berg of the Wiednar Hauptstrasse, who also had a branch in the Favoritenstrasse. There was another Jewish shop in the Favoritenstrasse, owned by Landsberger, who also bought from Hitler, and there was Morgenstern in the Liechtensteinstrasse, who often bought from him and sometimes recommended him to the private customers.

The Christian dealers, like the frame manufacturer Schiefer in the Schönbrunnerstrasse, didn't pay any better than the Jews. Besides, they only bought again when they had disposed of the first lot, while the Jewish dealers continued to buy whether they had sold anything or not. Hitler often said that it was only with the Jews that one could do business, because only they were willing to take chances. They are really the most efficient business men. He also appreciated the charitable spirit of the Jews, and mentioned the statesman Sonnenfels during Maria Theresa's reign. He went even further. For instance, when the people in the Home expressed resentment at Queen Elisabeth's erecting a monument to Heine on her estate at Corfu, Hitler argued that it was sad that Heine's fatherland did not similarly recognize his merit. Hitler himself didn't agree with Heine's views but his poetry deserved respect. When it was argued that there were few artists among the Jews, Hitler replied that there might be few, but there were some, and he mentioned Mendelssohn and Offenbach.

But he admired the Jews most for their resistance to all persecutions. He remarked of Rothschild that he might have had the right of admission to court but refused it because it would have meant changing his religion. Hitler thought that was decent, and that all Jews should behave likewise. During our evening walk we discussed Moses and the Ten Commandments. Hitler thought it possible that Moses had taken over the commandments from other nations, but if they were the Jews' own they had produced as a nation one of the most marvelous things in history, since our whole civilization was based on the Ten Commandments. About Christ he said that he must surely have been in India, as he adopted points of Buddhism, and after all he was the son of a Greek who served as a Roman army captain. During these walks a Bavarian foreman from a dairy often accompanied us. He wondered why Jews always had remained strangers in the nation, and Hitler answered that it was because they were a different race. Also, he said that the Jews had a different smell.

Nevertheless Hitler at that time looked very Jewish, so that I often joked with him that he must

be of Jewish blood, since such a large beard rarely grows on a Christian's chin. Also he had big feet, as a desert wanderer must have. Hitler himself often remarked that descendants of Jews are very radical and have terroristic inclinations. He said that for a Jew to take advantage, to a certain extent, of a non-Jew, was not punishable according to the Talmud. On the other hand he often dismissed the charge of ritual murder with the remark that it was absolute nonsense, a groundless slander. He used to quote from „Nathan der Weise“ by Lessing and could well recite the parable of the three rings. He believed every religion to be good, and expressed the opinion that the Jews were the first civilized nation because they were the first to abandon polytheism for the belief in one God. The fact that they made no images indicated, he said, that they worshipped God more as Nature itself. So he didn't care much about anti-Semitism.

Hitler often even denied that Jewish capitalists practice usury, and pointed out that most capital is in the hands of Christians. He accused the nobility of practicing usury, using Jews as agents. However, he called the nobility a sort of noble race that would forever remain preëminent. But Emperor Wilhelm II he called a conceited chatterer who posed for monuments.

Perhaps many people will doubt the truth of these statements, and point to the German Reich today. But I have often noticed myself that anti-Semitism took cruder forms in Germany than in our country. This is due to the character of the Germans, especially the Prussians. I am convinced that Hitler himself doesn't agree with many of these insanities, but he is the prisoner of his circle.

(To be concluded)

I Was Hitler's Buddy: III

This is the last installment of a memoir by Reinhold Hanisch, an Austrian painter who knew Hitler when both men were living on charity in Vienna. — THE EDITORS

HITLER WAS CONSCIOUS OF being a government official's son. He repeatedly said of the workers that they were an indolent mass that cared about nothing but eating, drinking and women. He thought a revolution could only be the work of a student class, as in 1848. I answered that he should get acquainted with workers when they came home from work, tinkering, making odd inventions and improving their education. I said that he didn't know the real workers at all, but merely the bachelors. Actually he was unable to form an opinion of workers because he had no opportunity to meet them. All this time he lived in the Home, and such a place has great disadvantages. The mass of people there are largely an assembly of rabble and a real workingman doesn't stay there long. He looks for board in a private house to enjoy family life. Only loafers, drunkards and the like stay for a long time in such a home. And workers paid little attention to Hitler because they found his debates quite foolish. Besides, the reading room there was seldom used by workers. I wanted to prove to Hitler that workers were not so indolent, and pointed to Halske and Krupp, who rose from the bottom. Hitler said that they were exceptions, and that there were surely superior and inferior people. But I said that was not so. The

workingman doesn't rise easily even if he has great abilities; there are highly gifted workers who have never been successful in life. Again Hitler mentioned the nobility, maintaining that they were the superior race, so I became angry and said that there were also idiots among the noblemen.

Hitler was even then an enemy of the Social Democrats. On May 1, 1910, a worker from the Kremenzky factory came into the reading room with a red carnation in his buttonhole, and told about the parade in the Prater he had been in. Hitler leaped to his feet, waving his hands wildly, and screamed in his regular way, „You should be thrown out; you should get a lesson!“

Everyone laughed at his excitement. If I had told him at that time that he himself would celebrate the First of May he would probably have killed me. Yes, but the end sanctions the means. Moreover, Hitler was then an enemy of any kind of terror. He condemned any kind of compulsion, and also strikes. He was also opposed to the contributions collected by the Social Democrats for their party organization, because he said these contributions enabled a lot of parasites to live comfortably at the expense of the masses of the people. He declared that the state probably had no means to stop this, but that this unjustified greed

for profit on the part of some people represented a great danger for the state. He also considered stock companies an evil, and thought that if an industry was getting too large it should be turned over to the state and the state should get the profits.

That he often talked nonsense is shown by a little episode. He was talking about Schopenhauer, and the old gentleman we called the professor asked Hitler if he had ever read Schopenhauer. Hitler turned crimson, and said that he had read some. The old gentleman said that he should speak about things that he understood. After that Hitler was careful not to talk where he would suffer a fresh rebuke.

I was often asked about Hitler's attitude toward women, and there were, even then, suspicions about it. But these were absolutely without foundation. Hitler had very little respect for the female sex, but very austere ideas about relations between men and women. He often said that, if men only wanted to, they could adopt a strictly moral way of living.

While he was still going to the technical high school in Linz he used often to call on a close friend, the son of a government official. And this friend's sister was Hitler's first love. She never knew it, because he never told her; he was the son of a minor official and she the daughter of a much higher one. Hitler was even astonished that the son of such a high official would be his friend. It was, incidentally, under this friend's influence that he became an admirer of Wagner.

But Hitler's high opinion of love and marriage, and his strong condemnation of men's disloyalty, didn't prevent him from having very small regard for women. He used to lecture us about this, saying every woman can be had. All you have to do, he said, is to wear your hat on the back of your head, so your face will be as visible as possible. And he himself did wear his derby on the back of his head. He often said that it was the woman's fault if a man went astray. A decent man can never improve a bad woman, but a woman can improve a man. The he used to relate an experience he had had when he was very young, to prove his self-control. During one of his vacations from high school, in the country, he met a milkmaid who appealed to him, and who liked him, too. Once, as she was milking the cow and he was alone with her, she behaved rather foolishly. But Hitler suddenly thought of the eventual consequences and ran away, like the chaste Joseph, knocking over a big pot of fresh milk.

All during this time, of course, Hitler was living in the deepest misery in Vienna. He was so poor and so ill fed that he was hardly conscious of his needs, and his poverty prevented him from having anything to do with women. Besides, his queer idealism about love would have kept him from any frivolous adventures. If there is any gossip about this, it is just slander. Hitler certainly wasn't the kind of man at that time for any girl to fall in love with. His poor clothes, the tangled hair falling down over his dirty collar, these are the reasons that he probably never knew any more than a yearning.

During this time Hitler was more engaged in debate than in painting. He was often ridiculed, and when I returned from peddling his cards all day I used to have to listen to his complaints. Of course I always advised him to do more work and less debating; I wanted to rent a small private room, in the hope that his will to work would improve if he got out of the Asylum. Too, Hitler's work, done under these conditions, was of very poor quality and made selling very difficult. I could never sell a picture in the better shops. In the suburbs I was paid three to five kronen a picture, and even so I was glad to find a buyer.

Hitler often promised to become more diligent, but as soon as I went out in the morning he went back to his old practices. In the morning he wouldn't begin work until he'd read several newspapers, and if anyone should come in with another newspaper he'd read that too. Meanwhile the orders I brought in weren't carried out. But if I reproached him he only said that an artist needed inspiration. Once I told him, to his great dismay, that he was no artist. The sort of work he did wasn't the work of artists but of daubers.

He could never stand any criticism of his paintings. Once he painted a picture of sea surf, with some rocks, and handed it to me telling me to take it to Ebedeser on the Opernring. Mr. Ebedeser only said, „That's nothing, absolutely nothing“. Then I often went with him to the City Hall Museum and showed him watercolors that he might use as models. He picked out those of lesser quality and remarked that they were no better than his. So I told him that he must not take the worst examples, but look at something by Richard Moser, or two interiors by Rudolf von Alt, the home of the painter Amerling and an altar painting, that hang there together. I pointed out the easy manner of this painting and compared the heavy way his turned out. He wouldn't listen to that, so later I told him that I had just been trying to help

him progress and make money, and at last he realized this.

The Viennese views that Hitler painted in the Asylum were mostly patterned after postcards, using just a few patterns and always the same motifs. Once I had an order for him to paint the Church in the Gumpendorferstrasse, and, since a postcard wasn't to be found, I urged him to draw it from nature. We went down early one morning, but Hitler couldn't make the drawing. He used all sorts of excuses: it was too cold, his fingers were too stiff. Today, knowing that he had had no academic background, I can explain his clumsiness. It is also characteristic of his watercolors that there are few figures in them.

On my rounds one day I went to a small manufacturer of frames in the Grosse Schiffgasse, a little street in the Jewish Ghetto. There I met a dealer in antiques called Siegfried Tausky, who showed me a silhouette on gilt glass and asked if I could do work like that. When I said I could he gave me a piece of the glass and I worked out a silhouette of a lady on it. Thereupon Tausky gave me a larger piece of glass and asked me to make a „Schubert evening concert“ with a number of figures. As I didn't know at that time who Schubert was I turned this over to Hitler. He produced a postcard when I asked him how he was going to draw Schubert, and accepted the job. The next day I met Tausky again and he gave me another plate to work on. I worked on it all that day and the next day and finally finished it, and then went to get the other plate from Hitler. He hadn't finished, so I watched him work all the next day until it was done. When at last he gave it to me I asked him how much to charge for it, and he said a hundred kronen. I made him realize how impossible it was to get such an enormous sum; finally he told me to get as much as I could.

I reached an agreement with Tausky about the price, and he paid me, but I was amazed to find out that he liked my work better than Hitler's. He gave me steady work and offered me a fixed price. Though I was very glad that he was satisfied with the work, this whole episode upset me very much. Hitler fell very much in my esteem, since I had had so much confidence in his artistic abilities. I still lacked self-confidence and kept wondering if I could continue to do work good enough to satisfy Tausky, and I knew that I lacked the academic training Hitler said he had had. But in spite of all my doubts I had great hopes of freeing myself from these miserable surroundings and from the

burden of a lazy man. For days I walked the streets restlessly.

Afterward I worked for years with Tausky.

Hitler wanted to know Tausky's address, because while working on the Schubert plate he had another new idea. He thought that by etching on gilded glass a new method might be found for the prevention of counterfeiting banknotes. In this case I think Hitler was right.

He noticed, no doubt, that there was something wrong with me, and asked me to give him a list of all my customers. But I refused, making excuses and putting him off on the pretext that I had urgent errands to run. Just then he had finished a watercolor of the Parliament in Vienna on which he had worked more attentively than usual, and hoped to sell in a better shop. As I was better dressed I was supposed to call on the shops; this time he went with me. But again all attempts were unsuccessful; I wasn't even asked the price. People shrugged their shoulders when I offered it to them, and one said that it was just too poor a piece of work. Hitler had expected a lot of it, so of course he was disconsolate, yet I couldn't find the words to console him.

And so he told me to go and sell the picture by myself. For days I walked around, getting very small offers, but still thinking I could get more for the picture. I felt sorry for Hitler; he had daubed for more than eight days at this. Finally he had no more money left and he urged me to sell it, so I got twelve kronen from the frame-maker Reiner. He gave me six kronen at once, and this I gave to Hitler, taking the six to come later as my share.

The next day I wanted to deliver something that had been ordered a fortnight before, a birthplace in Bohemia drawn from a photograph. The woman who was buying it was going to take it home as a gift and I had promised faithfully to deliver it on time, since Hitler has assured me that he would have it ready. When I asked him about it he told me a story about a political debate. Again he had not finished the work. This put me in the position of facing the woman as a liar, so I was very excited. At such laziness I was very angry and resentful.

Hitler said he needed to be in the mood for artistic work. I called him a hunger artist, and he called me a house servant, because I had once told him that I worked as a servant in Berlin. I replied that I was not ashamed of any kind of work; I had tried many different kinds and never shirked anything. After these quarrels I moved from the

Asylum, looked for a private lodging and decided to work independently.

When I went to Reiner to collect the six kronen owing to me I found a gentleman in the shop asking Reiner who I was. Reiner told him that I had painted the parliament, and the gentleman asked me to call on him at his home in Doebbling. He was a bank director, and gave me a large order. Within a few days I delivered to him three watercolors that he approved, and he gave me an order for seventy watercolors of Austrian folk costumes. On my way home I was very happy, figuring out that the income of this work would mean quite a bit of money. I was in my best humor.

It was in the late afternoon, and everything seemed to me brighter and more beautiful. I was looking joyfully into the future. Then, on the Favoritenplatz, I met a postcard salesman named Loeffler, a Jew who also stayed in the Asylum and was one of Hitler's circle of acquaintances. I asked him what news there was from the Asylum, and he reproached me for having misappropriated a picture by Hitler. In astonishment I asked which picture he meant. Hitler, he told me, had said I defrauded him of the watercolor of the Parliament. When I denied it he doubted my word and we had a violent argument. In the middle of it a policeman walked up and Loeffler told the policeman what the argument was about, so he had us come with him to the Commissariat of Police. Since I had no identification papers I was held.

As I have said, Hitler had noticed that I was trying to get rid of him, because of his laziness, and had asked for the list of customers. I knew that Hitler was an irascible person, and I had been afraid that he would find me anywhere I went. If he lost his shelter in the Night Asylum because of his laziness I was afraid he would descend on me and be a burden to me. So for these reasons I had been living for several weeks under an assumed name. But at the police station, of course, they immediately discovered this, to my disaster. For at that time living under a false name in Vienna was a criminal offense.

But I still hoped that Hitler would clear up this error and that then the whole affair would turn out satisfactorily. I was taken to the Brigittenau Police Commissariat and confronted with Hitler. How great was my disappointment! Hitler, of whom I had thought so highly, whom I had helped so often, whose errands I had done, declared that I had misappropriated a watercolor of his worth fifty kronen. When I objected that I had given him his

share of the twelve kronen paid for it he denied this. He denied, too, that he had told me to sell the picture as best I could. I testified that I had sold the picture to a dealer in the IXth district, but I didn't tell the dealer's name because I thought that if the bank director found out that it had not been I who had painted the Parliament he might withdraw the order he had given me.

At the trial two days later I had regained better spirits. I was asked again where I had sold the picture, and I withheld the name of the dealer as before. My prison mates had already told me that I would certainly be sentenced for living under a false name, so I didn't take much pains with my defense. Perhaps I could have pointed out that Hitler couldn't possibly paint a picture worth fifty kronen. I don't know whether this would have shattered Hitler's testimony immediately. The only desire I had was to get out of it as soon as possible, and I hadn't much confidence in the justice of my case. After all, I was a poor devil and I had lived under a false name. Appearances were against me. I was sure I'd be sentenced, so it all made no difference to me. Hitler persisted in his false accusation, and as the payment and the other things had had all been arranged orally, I couldn't furnish any proof of my denials. I was sentenced to a short term. After the sentence had been passed I called to Hitler, „When and where will we see each other again to make a settlement?“

But I was reprimanded by the judge for this, and threatened with further punishment.

A few days later I was at liberty, so of course my first errand was to the picture-maker Reiner. The bank director had already been inquiring for the watercolors. So then I worked from early morning until late at night, with neither Sundays nor holidays.

One day I was in a coffeeshouse in the Wallensteinstrasse and met an Italian who also lived in the Asylum. He recognized me as soon as he saw me and told me that Hitler was very much blamed on my account in the Asylum. He was in great need and was probably longing for another partner to help him. Here and there he was getting a little money. This, I thought, must be from the government pension I have already mentioned.

The Italian asked me why I hadn't called him as a witness. He had been sitting beside us, he said, and had heard Hitler urge me to sell the watercolor so that he could pay the rent. And he had met me the next day and been present when I gave Hitler the six kronen. He insisted that I must denounce Hitler for giving false witness. But I

didn't follow his advice. Several years passed since then, and I have discarded this dishonesty of Hitler from my mind. I have been ashamed to let the people I know now learn about this affair. Desire for revenge didn't dissipate my fear of gossip.

The painting of Parliament still exists and is one of Hitler's better works. Most of them are shoddy trash, done with very little love for work. I could prove today what I was paid at that time, for the widow of the bank director could still tell about how much her husband would have paid for that picture.

The last time I met Hitler was in August, 1913, on the Wiedner Hauptstrasse. He had just sold some things to the art shop of Jacob Altenberg. Soon afterwards I left to go to Gablonz, in Bohemia, where I had some relatives, and I didn't come back to Vienna until 1918. But I often used to talk with my friends and acquaintances about the painter I had known called Hitler. It was a name like any other; no one recognized it.

One day I read in a newspaper that an Adolf Hitler was founding a political party in Munich. I went to see Mr. Altenberg, the dealer to whom he had sold things, and later I recognized Hitler's picture in the papers. But as I wasn't interested in politics it made no impression on me at all to discover that this was the same Adolf Hitler I had known.

There are a great many rumors about Hitler's past, stories that he was a paperhanger, stories that he was an architect. They are all untrue. This is the true story of Hitler's youth and the true story of the experiences he and I had together. I should emphasize that there are living people who can confirm everything I say.

Hitler discovered his love for the workers when he needed the votes of the masses. Whether this is a genuine love, or a deep love, I cannot say. It hasn't been the purpose of this story to attempt criticism of that kind.

REINHOLD HANISCH

1905

1905

→ Note that this
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keep a watch
for dual dates
and for 1906.

1905-1906
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duplicate

Also,
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OK
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