

WMM

Notes Found w/ parts
of Novel. Early years
Copied & in appropriate
Folders by year.

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Novel

1899

1899

D.T.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the I

based. Phyllis Greenacre has studied closely the role of trauma in the infancy of people who later manifested traits strikingly similar to Hitler's. She stresses the particular importance of the very early years. "The existence of any conditions which seriously impair the mother-infant relationship at this time . . . increases and prolongs primary narcissism and tends to damage the early ego. . . . such fundamental disturbances may arise either through pathological conditions in the infant . . . or they may arise through a maternal disturbance of any sort that alienates the mother from emotional and bodily contact with her baby in the first months of life." 44

We may assume that some sort of basic psychological difficulty developed in the infant Adolf, since there is evidence both of unhealthy conditions in the child and of emotional disturbances experienced by the mother. Working together, the two conditions would have impaired the vitally important mother-infant relationship. We know that at birth, and for some time thereafter, Adolf was a "sickly baby." No further details have been given, but his ailments seem to have been sufficient to cause his mother to fear that he would die in infancy, as his brother and sister had done. Worries about Adolf's health helped produce the excessive maternal solicitude which Klara showered upon her son until she died. Hitler himself confirms this overprotectiveness and indulgence when he refers to himself in his memoirs as a "mother's darling," who lived a comfortable life in his "soft, downy bed" until his mother's death. As we have noted, Hitler's family doctor reported that several of the neighbors found the mother's love for her son verged on the pathological.

The special nature of the mother-child relationship, as well as the troubled history of the relationship between Adolf's parents, suggests strongly that Klara transferred her libidinal interest from her unresponsive uncle-husband to her little son. Anxiety about Adolf's health and survival certainly would have played a part in reinforcing the displacement. There is evidence that Klara's response to her baby's sickness was to nurse him for an excessive length of time—perhaps as long as two years. A psychoanalyst has suggested that she may have done so as a way of quieting her guilt feelings and restoring her self-esteem as a mother: "In this kind of situation, the nipple is nearly forced into the baby's mouth whenever he screams, regardless of what is troubling him." 45

Klara may have continued to force-feed Adolf because, as a peasant daughter, she believed that good food was the best medicine for any childhood complaint. As a rigorously disciplined person herself, she might well have compelled her little boy (as she often forced herself) to do what was "good for him"—in this instance, to eat food whether he wanted it or not.

A boyhood memory of a farmer, Johann Schmidt, who was an older cousin of Adolf's, supports the hypothesis that Klara tried to im-

prove Adolf's health by throughout his childhood Aunt Klara, after her hi summers on the farm it obliged to work in the when he did not feel w cow's milk into his roor drink it.⁴⁶

Hitler's oral habits a that there were serious which the well-meaning adult Hitler's inordinate crisis; the sucking of hi rages; his poor appetite; his constant comment al basic mistrust of others

Adolf was a compul his boyhood friend recall he could dominate verbal

Soon I came to un for the reason that TALK and needed startled when he w vivid gestures, for by the fact that I usually delivered so cano erupting. . . .

A close associate of his aggression. The Führer, literally to destroy opposi

The fury raged itsel contradiction only it would crush all obje scenes occurred over

During one of his be to embarrass him by askir he had ever joined the ci part of the Einwohnerweh [Mit dem Mann hin man in a classic account o lems during the oral stag

146

When heartbeats prayers are pecked up by D.T. who was not that recipient on prayer—patron. My heartbeats were just a bit—then were so pure. "I take my left hand, if it will help to take his."

Most prayers look to grab and gorge on what is missing in one's own life.

→ must be rewritten for Dieter.

His later love for cream puffs, & soft pastries etc

the virtuoso of putting things into him.

IA

Pambelton - A + K

1892

19a { ~~Passer parvulus~~ ~~Passer parvulus~~ ~~Passer parvulus~~ - 1 ✓
Believin on job - 25a (follow sea) smoking 4a * (6a)
Believin in town
Believin at home - 29a ✓
~~Klara's section~~
~~ambition for child~~ - 16a ✓

Lead-in
by
question
on the
farm's
dairy

Put
into
second
form

1889
 First form - predates Passer parvulus 19a, (24a) *
Johnna running at 19a, 35a, 28a.
Money - 17a ✓

Adolf 1892

~~tailor~~ ~~tailor~~ ~~tailor~~ 17a, 22a
Reeling in town 20a (believe equality - testimonies) 20a
father smoking 35a only one to live 35a unclear 30a
1892 Birth of Edmund 30a
Protest to Passer - 22a
San John
Braunant to Passer 4a, 11a
~~Adolf~~

1889 - Farm in Johnna

19a ~~24a~~ 35a 28a 17a

Passer 1891-3 16 25a (follow 22a) 24a, 28a, 6a.
 22a, 4a, 21a, 16a

de
goller
yellow
- in most

Adolf 20a, 35a, 26a, 30a, 6a, 23a
 smoking
 end section

Record 11
 1892
 1894

1929

42

(1891) Record

HITLER'S YOUTH

F. Jett Zinger

By his second wife, Franziska née Matzelsberger:

1. Alois Hitler (born 13.1.1882)

Left the family in 1896. At the time of Frau Klara's death (1907) is described in a document as 'a waiter in Paris'. The 'black sheep' of the family. Disinherited, i.e. received only the legal minimum of his inheritance. Married an Irish girl by whom a son, William Patrick Hitler, who wrote to Adolf in 1930 concerning his allegedly Jewish ancestry (see Chapter One). Alois had no relations with Adolf, the political leader.

2. Angela Hitler (born 28.7.1883)

Until her marriage in 1903 lived with the family treated by her step-mother, Klara, as her own child. Th much attached to one another. At the age of twenty m Raubal (1879-1910), a tax official in Linz (from the town in Upper Austria, not a Czech as has been suggested children:

son
Leo Raubal (born 1906). Became a school. Captured by Russians in 1939-45 war, released 1955.

Angela Maria ('Geli') Raubal (born 1908, committed 1931). As a school-girl greatly admired her 'Uncle' her own request went to live in his flat in Munich. Shot herself with Adolf's revolver, 1931.

Elfriede Raubal (born 1910).

After her husband's death in 1910 Angela was left in very meagre circumstances. Nevertheless, all three of her children received their proper schooling and she managed to provide for her half-sister, Paula, as well, who had become Angela's responsibility after the death of Frau Klara Hitler in 1907. Angela was, in fact, an efficient and practical-minded woman, all in the domestic sphere that her father had been in his professional career. In 1936 she married Herr Martin Hammitzsch, who was then the Director of the State School of Building Construction in Dresden.

D. T. And Angela? A

note in passing - 1936
she was married to Herr Martin
Hammitzsch (etc.) in Dresden
and with them the ceremony

D.T.

Record/ 1892

1894

ALOIS SCHICKELGRUBER/HITLER AND HIS FAMILY 43

By his third wife, Klara née Pölzl:

1. Gustav Hitler (born 17.5.1885, five months after his parents' wedding. Died in his second year).
2. Ida Hitler (born 23.9.1886. Died in her second year).
3. Otto Hitler¹ (born in Vienna. Died when a few days old).
4. ADOLF HITLER (born 20.4.1889. Shot himself, 30.4.1945).
5. Edmund Hitler (born 24.3.1894 in Passau. Died of measles, 29.2.1900, in Leonding).

Paula Hitler (born 21.1.1896 in Hafeld (Fischlam)).

Twenty months in Passau

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I met Alois

OF HAIBACH NEAR PASSAU. At the time, I was
Hitler—Higher Collector as he then was. I was twenty and he was fifty-five. He had his beehives in Haibach and he used to do the half-hour's walk from Passau ending up at the inn. We used to sit there every evening, at the table by the stove—a few farmers, the Mayor, and once a week the Parish priest from Freinberg.

¹ The sole source of information concerning this child is a statement by his sister Paula (still living).

has to sleep
the power
marriage room
of the death of Geli.

or, rather, takes
Alois tells the
joke about
redhead
Gusti
(Friedrich)

These Color Marked
Pages have been put
into The Appropriate
Folders.
These pages were
Found along with
parts of The Novel.

At 11.3.

1929

42

1891 Record

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Twenty months in Passau

On his promotion to Higher Collector in August 1892, Alois Hitler was posted to Passau in Bavaria, the Austrian Customs post being then, as now, maintained on German soil. He remained there with his family for twenty months, until April 1894, when he was posted to Linz, his family staying on in Passau until April 1895, when they moved into their own home in Hafeld.

I have been able to obtain a first-hand account of this period in Alois Hitler's life from a former colleague of his who later stood sponsor for Adolf at his confirmation, Regierungsrat Emanuel Lugert. During a four-hour conversation, supplemented by later correspondence, Lugert gave me much information of unquestionable authenticity. Our conversation proceeded as follows:

Page-?

J: 'I believe you knew Alois Hitler personally?'

Lugert: 'Yes. My first post as a Customs official was in the village of Haibach near Passau. It was there, in 1892, that I met Alois Hitler—Higher Collector as he then was. I was twenty and he was fifty-five. He had his beehives in Haibach and he used to do the half-hour's walk from Passau ending up at the inn. We used to sit there every evening, at the table by the stove—a few farmers, the Mayor, and once a week the Parish priest from Freinberg.'

The sole source of information concerning this child is a statement by his sister Paula (still living).

has to be high the family marriage record

or, rather, takes Alois tells the joke about addressed question (Friedrich)

At 13.

1929

II-2

Retirement

Klara did not know in detail, but he knew exactly what he knew

R. T. Money was the flower that grew from the coffin of dead wives, dowries and the grass of relations of some kind not seen in many years

know the story of every known thing that came into the household and went out.

life and absorption: peasant drive, shortly before chased a small not far from station, and seems to have then turn it ohanna Poelzl the property

1. After three of inevitable Jewish sister-farm.³² This ns, however; th.

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report of vestigator. with Jetzinger (G),

1891-92 money

THE HITLER FAMILY

47

made for the money Alois borrowed to purchase the property, he must have put down approximately 4-5,000 florins in cash when he bought the land, assuming that the property's value did not change radically between 1889 and 1892.

A number of factors undoubtedly played a part in Alois' accumulation of the 4-5,000 florins, a sum three times his highest annual salary. He had a solid income; his wife was careful about household expenditures, while he himself had a reputation for "great frugality and a sense of economy and thrift."³⁵ It is unlikely, however, that much of the money came from petty savings. He enjoyed a comfortable standard of living, and the family was not cramped by stringent economy. Some money came from a series of small legacies; in addition, he may have saved a portion of the dowries of his three wives. After the name change in 1876, Alois was able to inherit from two rather populous families; even though the sums were small, he was bound to inherit rather frequently. In 1862, he had inherited a few hundred florins from the estate of one of his mother's brothers, and in 1876 he obtained 230 florins from his uncle, Franz Schickelgruber.³⁶ Altogether, the accumulation may have reached as much as 1,000 florins by the late 1880's.

Alois' first wife, Anna, appears to have been well-to-do, and her dowry should have been large. Her advanced age at the time of their wedding awakens the suspicion that Alois' money sense played a part in the marriage. However, he may not have gained much from the union; at the time of the separation in 1880, Anna had a good opportunity to recover some of the money. Similarly, Alois' gains from Franziska's dowry may also have been minimal. The 1,000 florins in the children's trust fund probably represented a large portion of the original dowry. As for Klara, the dispensation request of 1884 emphasized that she was not well provided for, and the accuracy of this description is supported by the indirect evidence of her family's financial troubles.³⁷ Her sister Johanna may have received a sum as high as 1,600 florins as the equivalent of a marriage portion, but it would be hazardous to assume from this that

1500 florins = \$600 a year - 100% ratio to today Today! one billion in 1914 = \$40,000

3,000 florins = \$200,000

→ \$40,000

worth looking over

³⁵ Jetzinger (G), p. 73; Jetzinger (E), p. 53; Zoller, p. 46.

³⁶ H.A., File 17A, Reel 1 material concerns these two inheritances as does the L of C material.

³⁷ Die Ahnentafel, pp. 39-40.

Dr. T. who can measure money in America?

17A

move to

1938

Pre 1889

1900

twelve to fourteen being admitted as visitors. Married women, too, were not unusually frequenters of these places. The "pretty ones (*Hübschlerinnen*)," it may be said, enjoyed a certain social standing. There was none of the modern "Tartufferie" that rewards these martyrs of society with contempt. At the official receptions of royalty they appeared corporatively, for (as we have seen) they were just as definitely organized as any other trade. They kept a strict control, too, over the unauthorized traffic of "*Böhhäsinnen*" — maidservants, barmaids, and middle-class girls — but their chief complaint was against the unfair competition of the convents — nun and whore being almost synonymous in the language of the day. On one occasion, when scandal concerning a Franconian convent waxed so high that the Pope ordered an investigation, the commissioner who was sent reported that he had found almost all the nuns in a state of pregnancy. The monasteries were also frequently the scene of orgies, and homosexuality was widespread among the members of the orders of both sexes.

One strange custom was that of the "trial-night," when the girl permitted her lover to take every sort of liberty without giving herself to him. By this means both parties were able to convince themselves of their partner's qualities, and the result was by no means always marriage, which was declined quite as often by the girl as by the man. There is a certain resemblance to this practice in the "*Fensterln*" or "*Gasseln*" that is to be found here and there on the country-side even today — but the point is that then it was an established custom, not amongst boors merely, but in every circle, even the highest. It was no rarity, indeed, for a husband to let a guest lie with his wife "on honour and faith." Frequently, married men not only had their official concubines, but brought up their bastards with their legitimate children.

In matters of sex, then, there was an utter absence of restraint. Indecent and licentious songs were common at public dances (as they still are amongst peasants), and kisses and embraces were the official form of gallantry. When a spa visitor wished to show his respect for a woman (whose acquaintance perhaps he had only just made), he simply thrust his hand into her bosom. Men and women undressed in front of one another in the calmest manner, not only at the baths, but on every occasion. When Louis XI en-

tered Paris, the prettiest all kinds of pastoral mention that there were. We have, of course over these things — which continued to be done. Every fact that such things were symptomatic of the times.

The whole spirit of the thing was reflected in the style of the clothing of the time. It was the clothing of eroticism, of form and colour without restraint. Women had their breasts naked — so as to appear fuller, skin-tight nether garment much as possible, and tunic, cod-pieces. In the face came the grotesque, the face altogether, the variety lay in the more like pages, while men of egg, and even pig breasts. Where beard either forked or quilt threads and twisted fumed, and were pale colour, which at other had become the favorite given a rakish upward knees perhaps and had wore enormous trains to the ground; men slashed doublets, from or long, scalloped striped gold, pearls, precious clouds, triangles, snail were bright and arrest

Franziska — a girl who lived in the convent

their children of the convent

1900 years (when there is no sex in the class)

after belated death.

Pre 1889

the monkery of the gay borders.

Tavern

P29a

A. He could have the equivalent of a trial night or two. A bit on the road had a good odor. A little for him? A bit on the road had a good odor.

V.I.T. That was on a little road.

1889-90
J: ADOLF HITLER

1923, 1907, 1918, ~~1918~~ → Klara
1885-89
The Child As Father to the Man

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the Germans in the
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her husband, Klara

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not a smudge on the
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doubts and feelings of guilt—indeed, because of them. As a German
psychiatrist has noted, by loving Adolf so thoroughly, Klara could
combat resentments she may have unconsciously felt toward a child
who "enslaved her, sucked her dry and crippled her with never-ending
demands." Through Adolf, she could numb her feelings of shame and
guilt for having yielded to her "Uncle's" sexual demands at the very
time his wife was living and dying in the same house. Constant ex-
pressions of love for her little boy could also assuage the fear of God's
wrath she must have felt had been visited upon her by the early
deaths of her first three children. "No wonder that Klara not only
over-fed Adolf, but anxiously hovered over him, desperately needing
him as living proof of her being a good, giving, non-destructive mother
whom God still loved." 35a ~~not a more complex character~~
~~she hopes but near certain that she is a person~~

Throughout his life, Hitler proclaimed his love for his mother.
Indeed, the family doctor reported that many of the neighbors believed
his love for her "verged on the pathological." While the doctor per-
sonally did not believe that the relationship was "abnormal, he did say
that, in a long practice, "I have never witnessed a closer attachment
between mother and son." 31 All his life Hitler carried his mother's
picture in his pocket. In all his bedrooms—in Munich, the Berlin Chah-
cellery, the Obersalzberg—her portrait hung over the head of his bed. 32

Hitler always prided himself on being as "hard as steel" and "cold
as ice," a person who showed no emotion in adversity. He confessed,
however, to having wept twice in his life: once when he stood at the
grave of his mother in December 1907, the other time at the death of
his Motherland during the defeat of 1918. 37 On the evening that his
mother died, during Christmas week of 1907, a neighbor reported that
Adolf sat in the twilight, staring at her dead body. He lingered in the
death room a long time, carefully drawing a picture of his beloved
mother as she appeared in death, ravaged by cancer. 37

A curious poem he wrote in 1923 testifies to one aspect of his love
—and to the limits of his literary talent. After he came to power in
1933 he was able to have it published in an edition of a Nazi paper
largely devoted to extolling motherhood.

You measured me away, etc.
BE REMINDED!

- 1923
- 1 When your mother has grown old
And you have older grown,
When things she once did e'er so lightly,
Are now a burden, heavy borne,
When her eyes so dear and trusting
No more, as once, look forward brightly,
When her weary, falt'ring feet
No longer carry her step lightly—
Then give to her a helping hand,
10 Accompany her with glad smile

and oh God, as
it goes. He was
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there's a note.

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141 of
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ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

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She hopes but is not certain that she is forgiven.

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Veroy p 142 Copy B of Klara

** At the birth of Adolf, Klara believed
that God was being good to her, and that
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nothing to do with Calvin -*

1901

1930

1942

1890

9a 33

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

to society and "public decency." They should all be handed over to the Gestapo and severely punished:

Experience shows that unnatural offenders generally turn into homicidal maniacs; they must be rendered harmless however young they may be. I have therefore always been in favor of the strongest possible punishment of these antisocial elements.³¹⁷

Other aspects of Hitler's personality also fit what we know to be true about the psychopathology of sexual perversion. The infantilism we have found in him is one necessary ingredient. For as Freud was first to notice, "perverted sexuality is nothing else but infantile sexuality, magnified and separated into its component parts." Infantilism is clearly marked when, as with Hitler, the perversion involves a reversion to the anal stage.³¹⁸ Hitler's harrowing childhood memories of his primal scene experience and his monorchism clearly qualify as prerequisites for adult perversion, as set forth by the distinguished child psychoanalyst Phyllis Greenacre. "If I were to attempt a formula describing the development of perversion," she has written, the primary cause would lie in a disturbed mother-child relationship, "especially [one] involving the genitals. This becomes most significant . . . when castration anxiety is extraordinarily acute."³¹⁹

Psychoanalysts have shown that the mothers of boys who become sexual perverts often were overly stringent about toilet training. As we have noted, Klara Hitler had a reputation in Leonding and Linz for having had "the cleanest house in town" and keeping her children "absolutely spotless." It is interesting, and perhaps in this connection suggestive, that in one case of perversion described by an American analyst, the patient showed an identification with his mother: he displayed a desire "to have his sweetheart urinate in his presence while he encouraged her in a friendly way. He was playing the role of his mother who used to put him on the chamberpot when he was a baby."³²⁰

In his chapter on perversion in his standard work on psychoanalytic theory, Otto Fenichel lists three basic characteristics: patients with perversions tend to be infantile; they have unreconciled Oedipus complexes; and they all display castration anxiety. Indeed, Fenichel concludes: "Castration anxiety (and guilt feelings which are derivatives of castration anxiety) must be the decisive factor."³²¹ Adolf Hitler's lifelong concern about castration has already been mentioned perhaps too often.

If the clinical literature is correct in concluding that Oedipal problems, sadomasochism, infantilism, and castration anxiety are the marks of perversion, then Hitler certainly had all the chief symptoms. But there is a more specific reason why Adolf's symptoms were so intense and why a sexual perversion of the kind described was, psychologically, an appropriate response to sexual problems dating from his

earliest years. The combination of trauma had given Adolf Hitler sexual intercourse. He saw it that must be avoided. He cov his sexual energies in deviate

As with other issues raised certain that Hitler had the admitted that traditional history in saying that they can find evidence was sexually normal. But the tary evidence of uncertain rel chological data.

In short, we conclude that ladies urinate or defecate on this perversion not because it is completely convincing but because of the perversion fits all and public performance. It was his grandiose, moralistic public hidden self which pleaded for pulse for self-punishment, we have historic consequences.

Thus did the evils done man. We leave him now to conditions which helped bring him achieve a political goal without personality, time, and place. None can be understood apart from

In following the course of a fateful meeting with Adolf Hitler there was in the past that he the context of his times, the balanced man became a politician

Klara goes from clean to super clean after Adolf's birth.

IA

check notes on p241

Important

D.T. We can imagine Alois' habits in bed as a young girl that he married. No wonder she was so spotlessly clean - she always had to scrub him scrubbing him out of her mouth with laundry soap. The baby's mother had a separate breath.

IA

1942

1942

Green Brown p241

1890

Too much to much on a clean air.

1930?

242

Indeed, how well he knew. Might take a look at (241) where he's announced that daughter in photographs have to be Jews?

AD: ADOLF HITLER

than later historians
Führer was never re-

er suspected his own
curiously aggressive
with his parents' lives.
reacted so violently
a, Speer mentioned to
m of Spital a sign on
in His Youth." Speer

for Bormann, who hur-
him, how many times
be mentioned. But that
up a plaque there. It

because he was usually
of his boyhood in Linz
be that while Hitler had
Spital, it was associated
when he had lived there
his father's home and
otional outburst.

lage associated with Hit-
h 1938, almost directly
made of the lovely little
ere his father had been
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Hitler's survey of 1938
s village as an artillery
d, the commanding gen-
ers directly from Hitler
ble." 12 The inhabitants
oved. Round after round
olishing its buildings and
nizable. Why was Dollers-
pty acres in this part of
nt artillery ranges. It is

ainst Hitler, as is sometimes
embers of the Gestapo would
bject as Hitler's own ancestry
conclude that Hitler himself
ve to himself what he desper-
k—or at least as Aryan as his

1939

The Child As Father to the Man

Successful
no married
1939

1939

1939

unlikely that Hitler chose this particular village at random. He seems to have had a compulsion to wipe out—quite literally—the suspicion of his own Jewish blood by obliterating the birthplace of his father and the grave of his grandmother.

Hitler's uneasiness about his ancestors is suggested in a remark he made in 1930 when reporters were trying to get information about his family. "These people," he said, "must never find out who I am. They mustn't know where I come from or my family background." 13 As we have noted, he felt it necessary to lie about his ancestors, saying, for example, that they had come from Lower Saxony.

There is other evidence that Hitler worried about his own "Jewishness." The two physical characteristics he associated with Jews—body odors and large noses—were two things that bothered him about himself. Hitler's obsessive concern with personal cleanliness and his abhorrence of perfume and aftershave lotion was so great, one suspects, because he was afraid that either the smell of body odor or the use of perfume to cover it up might make people think he was a Jew. When one of his colleagues asked why Jews "always remain strangers in the nation," Hitler had a ready answer: "The Jews [have] a different smell." He expressed his repugnance for both odor and perfume publicly in a Munich speech of 29 November 1939:

Racial instinct protected the people; the odor of that race deterred Gentiles from marrying Jews. At present in these days of perfume, where any dandy can assume the same odor as anyone else, the feeling for these finer distinctions between peoples is being lost. The Jew counts on that. 14

Those who have commented on Hitler's physical characteristics have all said that his least attractive feature was his grossly shaped nose and unusually large nostrils—hence the bushy little mustache grown just wide enough to help conceal them. With this in mind, it is worth noting Hitler's pointed observation about the Jewish people: they have, he said, a characteristic which is "permanently common to all Jews from the ghetto of Warsaw to the bazaars of Morocco: the offensive nose, the cruel, vicious nostrils. . . ." 15

THE FATHER: ALOIS (SCHICKELGRUBER) HITLER

Alois Hitler's career in the Austrian bureaucracy had been eminently respectable. After nine years of service he had achieved the title of senior assistant customs official and by 1892 he had been promoted to higher collector, the highest rank open to a man of only an elementary school education.

131

An outside
anxiety
about the
return of
the father.

1929 Scene w Haenftel
The anxiety of his childhood
was such that he could hardly
breathe in many a situation.
So the order came from the
inner designer of the body—enlarge the
aperture.

1938

HITLER'S YOUTH

Hitler's lost of a thesis

Alois Hitler (nee Schicklgruber) and Clara Pöschl (nee Schicklgruber) 1847

there could have been only one possible reaction: hatred of his blood relations, particularly of his father, and an intensification of his already pathological hatred and persecution of the Jews, with the personal element reinforcing the political. Hermann Rauschning, whose *Hitler Speaks* was published some years later, gave it as his opinion that Hitler's hatred of the Jews had a personal foundation.

Finally, there is a curious fact which may be interpreted as bearing out Frank's story. Not two months after Hitler invaded Austria, in May 1938, an order was issued to the Land Registries concerned to carry out a survey of Döllersheim (Alois Hitler's birthplace) and neighbourhood with a view to their suitability as a battle training area for the Wehrmacht. In the following year the inhabitants of Döllersheim were forcibly evacuated and the village together with the surrounding countryside was blasted and withered by German artillery and infantry weapons. The birthplace of Hitler's father and the site of his grandmother's grave were alike rendered unrecognizable, and today this whole tract of what was once fertile and flourishing country is an arid desert sown with unexploded shells. But an area so closely associated with Hitler's family could not have been used for battle training without his knowledge and permission. Then why did he give it? Or did Hitler himself initiate the order for the destruction of Döllersheim out of insane hatred of his father and the desire to erase the 'shame' of his Jewish blood?

Alois Schicklgruber's stepfather (Johann Georg Hiedler)

We have seen that Alois Hitler was the natural son of Marianne Schicklgruber and that his father was possibly a Jew. He was born in 1837. After a while Marianne's father relented, and his daughter and infant grandson went to live with him in his home.

Five years later, in 1842, Marianne married. The entry in the marriage register at Döllersheim reads:

1842. Married by Johann Oppolzer, incumbent; the bridegroom, Georg Hiedler, Journeyman-miller lodging in Dürnthal, parish of Fels, born Spital in parish

of Spital, at present residing at Strones No. 22 in this parish, legitimate son of Martin Hiedler, farmer in Spital, Catholic, aged 50, bachelor. The bride, Anna Schicklgruber, residing in her parents' home, legitimate daughter of Johann Schicklgruber still living, retired, of Strones No. 22 in the manor of Walldreich in this parish, and of Theresia Pleisinger of Dietreichs, Catholic, aged 47, spinster. Witnesses: Franz Prinz, school master in Döllersheim, and Josef Zauner, householder, in Döllersheim.

Johann Georg Hiedler, to give him his full name, thus became Alois Schicklgruber's stepfather. He was not a good match for many reasons. Firstly, he had falsely claimed to be a bachelor. In fact he was a widower, having been previously married for three years to a woman named Anna Maria Bauer. Though he had learnt the trade of miller, he was neither working nor had he a permanent place of abode at the time of his marriage. That he was 'at present residing' with the bride's father shows that he had lost no time in drawing solid benefits from his alliance with the Schicklgrubers.

From his marriage until his death, fifteen years later, there is no evidence in any official record that Alois' stepfather worked for his living, and throughout the five years of her married life Marianne became steadily more impoverished until finally it is said that she and her husband no longer even possessed a bed and had to sleep in a feeding trough for cattle.

Alois Schicklgruber's foster-father

But meanwhile, Johann Georg's farmer brother, Johann Nepomuk Hiedler, who was fifteen years younger than he, had come from his home in Spital to visit the newly married couple in Döllersheim. His chief concern seems to have been for the five-year-old Alois, for rather than leave him with his feckless brother, Johann Nepomuk took the child with him when he returned to Spital and from then on acted as his foster-father. For Alois this was an unmitigated blessing. He grew up at the farmhouse with Johann Nepomuk's daughters, who were about the same age as himself, and no doubt came to think of Nepomuk as his real father. Five years later the death of his mother perhaps hardly touched him.

1847

Death of Alois Anna Schicklgruber

This convinces Ht Ht sees this as an attempt to discredit A.H.'s anti-semitism.

The hatred toward Jews could turn to a small boy against A.H.

at different times

a deal

Nepomuk's father had no son.

1847

1894. Lugert served under him for a while, and told me in later years that Alois had not allowed his staff to smoke while on duty: hence some of the younger men had escaped from the office occasionally to smoke a quick cigarette outside—but even that had met with Alois' disapproval.¹

Finally, what was Alois Hitler's salary during the period under review? With his promotion to Higher Collector in 1892—when his son, Adolf, was three years old—his salary was increased to 1100 gulden. The local allowance for Passau was 300 gulden. While in Passau, therefore, his gross annual pay amounted to 1300 gulden, something over £100, and in Linz the allowance was rather larger—250 gulden. From 1907 onwards, when the salary-scale of State-appointed schoolteachers was raised, the headmaster of a *Bürgerschule*, or Elementary Continuation School, received precisely the same annual remuneration as Alois Hitler; before 1907, considerably less. Those biographers who persist in maintaining that Adolf was brought up 'in a pauper environment' stand convicted of crass ignorance.

Alois Hitler's life in retirement

It has been suggested that Alois Hitler retired from the Customs Service before he had served the statutory period of forty years. This erroneous belief is no doubt due to his son's confused statements in *Mein Kampf*. In the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter it will be remembered that Adolf wrote of his father resolving to become a civil servant and 'achieving the goal . . . after twenty-three years'. Adolf went on to say that the vow which his father had made as a boy now seemed capable of realization, namely 'not to return to the beloved village of his birth until he had made good'.

'Now the goal was achieved,' continued Adolf. 'But there was nobody left in the village who could recall that small boy

¹ It should be mentioned that through his posing to Linz, Alois Hitler automatically acquired the right of domicile there for himself and his family. This fact was later to have importance for Adolf.

of long ago and even to him the village seemed strange. Now that he had finally retired at the age of fifty-six, he could not endure to spend a single day of his leisure in idleness. And so he bought and managed a small property near the small market-town of Lambach in Upper Austria, so completing the circle of a long and industrious life by returning to the labours of his forefathers.'

It is easy to see how this account might be construed as meaning that Alois Hitler retired after serving in the Customs for twenty-three years. But Adolf knew nothing precise about his father's career, and in any case was not concerned with accuracy, but solely with presenting his father, and hence himself, in the light most favourable to his own political career.

The true facts are that Alois Hitler retired on 25th June 1895, at the age of fifty-eight, after completing the prescribed forty years' service. This is proved irrefutably by a Pensions Table, still in existence, which was sent to Alois Hitler's widow in reply to her application for pension in 1903. At the time of Alois' retirement Paula was not yet born. Alois Junior was away from the family, attending the *Realschule*, i.e. Modern Secondary School, in Linz. Finally, Klara Hitler's younger sister, Johanna Pelzl, was living with the family as a domestic help.

A house and nine acres

On 4th February 1895 Alois Hitler concluded the purchase of the small property which Adolf mentioned in *Mein Kampf*. It consisted of a house built mainly of timber with a thatched roof and something over nine acres of land adjoining the hamlet of Hafeld in the Parish of Fischlam, about eight miles east of Lambach. Hafeld itself consisted at that time of twenty-four scattered houses and 120 inhabitants. The property, officially known as the *Schrottan-Gut*, but more popularly as the *Rauschen-Gut*, was splendidly situated on elevated ground with a plentiful supply of fruit and walnut trees and a wonderful view of the nearby mountains of the Salzkammergut. It must have seemed like a

Windy
Profound
(Drummen property)

of guilt engendered by his wish to destroy his father. He may have tried to justify to others and to himself his bitter hatred by insisting that Alois was a cruel and vicious man who deserved a son's animosity. It may be objected that even if young Hitler was beaten by his father, many other children in Austria were certainly whipped without, apparently, receiving the psychic scars that Hitler suffered. "Well," one might say, "but boys in Austria were beaten on their backsides, so what's the difference?" The difference, as Erik Erikson has noted in his study of Luther, is this: with Hitler, as with Luther, a sensitive man remembered those punishments and talked bitterly about them later, showing that the whippings had indeed have an effect on his development. Erickson wrote: "The assertion that the cause was too common to have an uncommon effect on one individual is neither clinically nor biographically valid. We must try to ascertain the relationship of caner and caned and see if a unique element may have given the common event a specific meaning." In Hitler's case, as in Luther's, the fact that the whippings were remembered and resented, and that he hated his father for giving them, indicates that they had an uncommon effect upon him.

The workings of hatred and love, of pleasure and pain, are complex. Hatred may be a distortion of love: pleasure may be sought through pain. Consciously, Adolf certainly resented the beatings and hated his father for hurting him; unconsciously, he may have desired the punishment as a way of winning his father's attention and love. We are suggesting the possibility that the sadomasochism we shall observe in the adult Hitler had its beginnings here. Clinical studies have shown that often, as children, people with masochistic tendencies baited their fathers into whipping them. "The desire to be punished or humiliated," a specialist in the pathology of masochism has written, is another way of "wanting to be loved . . . being beaten and being loved are fused into one single masochistic expression."³⁰

As with all little boys, Adolf's image of his father was heavily influenced by the picture he had of his father's sexual relations with his mother. For Hitler this memory was traumatic because, as we shall soon see, Adolf at the age of three had seen—or imagined that he had seen—his drunken father rape his beloved young mother.

(The stick in the pain + excitement of thinking of Alois on Klara.)

THE MOTHER: KLARA PÖLZL HITLER

IV-8

Unhappiness was the lot of Klara Pölzl, the woman who was to become Adolf Hitler's mother. All her life she was pushed about to accommodate the wishes of others.

At the age of 16 she left the family farm to become a member of

Alois's household. Then she was demand of her employer's son was stricken with tuberculosis: small children who belonged over. "Strangely enough," one does not seem to have aroused Fanni in Ranshofen and joined to nurse her back to health."³¹

Rather than proving that saintly kindness and endurance strated her capacity to suppress refusal to help her rival and to have been the more direct as she had received. It is of course peasant culture dominated by natural behavior what a more tolerated. But there is no indication normal or dull. She was not a sensitivity; she was a woman control and subdue complex if not only resentment and rage but

Klara had been living with him had become pregnant by him in before their marriage. She was carefully instructed in the catechisms of the little community of opportunity to forget her sins Klara, the devoted Catholic, felt her transgressions against both younger second wife Fanni. As women had been stuck down on living with their husband and the need for penance and atone docile acceptance of her lot: fit children and absolute obedience to ness to bear gossip and scandal tured into the streets of the town

Klara began her married life Fanni's children, Alois Jr., age 13, was added the care of her mother his birth, a second child, Otto, who died within a few days surviving children contracted dity

³⁰ The interpretation of Klara Hitler by Bromberg, M.D., "Hitler's Childhood, (1974). I have also profited from Hitler's childhood and family life.

In a certain real sense—that is, of psychological reality, AH dealt as official authority as being some

he sees his father as the agent of official authority. He will tremble inside on being presented at last to his father and the old goat, all but sense, nonetheless, senses his fear. Adolf is in a sick rage and

when he came to power, transfer in human hands 1931? 1932? 1933? 1934? 1935? 1936? 1937? 1938? 1939? 1940? 1941? 1942? 1943? 1944? 1945? 1946? 1947? 1948? 1949? 1950? 1951? 1952? 1953? 1954? 1955? 1956? 1957? 1958? 1959? 1960? 1961? 1962? 1963? 1964? 1965? 1966? 1967? 1968? 1969? 1970? 1971? 1972? 1973? 1974? 1975? 1976? 1977? 1978? 1979? 1980? 1981? 1982? 1983? 1984? 1985? 1986? 1987? 1988? 1989? 1990? 1991? 1992? 1993? 1994? 1995? 1996? 1997? 1998? 1999? 2000? 2001? 2002? 2003? 2004? 2005? 2006? 2007? 2008? 2009? 2010? 2011? 2012? 2013? 2014? 2015? 2016? 2017? 2018? 2019? 2020? 2021? 2022? 2023? 2024? 2025? 2026? 2027? 2028? 2029? 2030? 2031? 2032? 2033? 2034? 2035? 2036? 2037? 2038? 2039? 2040? 2041? 2042? 2043? 2044? 2045? 2046? 2047? 2048? 2049? 2050? 2051? 2052? 2053? 2054? 2055? 2056? 2057? 2058? 2059? 2060? 2061? 2062? 2063? 2064? 2065? 2066? 2067? 2068? 2069? 2070? 2071? 2072? 2073? 2074? 2075? 2076? 2077? 2078? 2079? 2080? 2081? 2082? 2083? 2084? 2085? 2086? 2087? 2088? 2089? 2090? 2091? 2092? 2093? 2094? 2095? 2096? 2097? 2098? 2099? 2100?

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the whip-like and goat-like and the old goat

These pages
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& Filed.

1925, April 13 (1926)

at same way at two successive Nazi rallies
"I offered myself to him and to his cause
such was the sequel as Lüdecke told it.¹⁰⁰
ster Jew-baiter of Nuremberg, was Hitler's
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get up. I arose and forced myself through
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our hearts—the defeat of the fatherland, and that one could not
let it rest with that. . . . I told him that I myself to the fullest
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"captivated" as, in one hour of November 1922, the "up-and-
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1922, 1925, April 13 (1926)

turer Kurt Lüdecke that same way at two successive Nazi rallies on 11 August 1922. "I offered myself to him and to his cause without reservation": such was the sequel as Lüdecke told it.¹⁰⁰ Julius Streicher, master Jew-baiter of Nuremberg, was Hitler's rival until, in the early fall of 1922, he first heard Hitler speak. "When he finished his speech," Streicher proudly recounted, "an inner voice bade me get up. I arose and forced myself through the crowd to the speakers' desk. I went toward him and introduced myself. I spoke to him: 'Heil Hitler! I heard your speech. I only can be the helper but you are the born leader. Here is my movement in Nuremberg.' On that evening I gave the movement which I created in Nuremberg to Adolf Hitler."¹⁰¹ (This gift doubled Hitler's following.¹⁰²) Swaggering war hero Hermann Göring heard Hitler that same autumn denounce mere verbal protests against Versailles as senseless. "This conviction was spoken word for word as if from my own soul," Göring recollected, adding that he thereupon sought out Hitler in the Party offices: "We spoke at once about the things which were close to our hearts—the defeat of the fatherland, and that one could not let it rest with that. . . . I told him that I myself to the fullest extent, and all I was, and all I possessed, were completely at his disposal."¹⁰³ Cultivated, clownish Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl was "captivated" as, in one hour of November 1922, the "up-and-coming virtuoso on the keyboard of the mass soul" turned a seething political assemblage into "a community gripped to the depths" by talk of reviving the German battle spirit.¹⁰⁴ Wellborn Baldur von Schirach's student circle of eighteen joined the Party, and SA upon hearing Hitler speak in Weimar in 1925. "He appeared to me to be the man who would pave the way into the future for our generation," Schirach explained at the end of that way.¹⁰⁵ Newspaperman Otto Dietrich yielded in April 1929 only after his second Hitler speech at a year's interval.¹⁰⁶ "Goebbels felt Hitler's tremendous will and magnetic power and succumbed to him from the first moment."¹⁰⁷ Before that first moment the Mephistophelean manipulator had promoted a pro-Soviet policy within the Party, requiring Hitler to call him down from the Ruhr to Munich for a talking-to on living space. The

1922

1922

1922

1925

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

but he knew that when he reached maturity he could treat his children just as his authoritarian father had treated him. Thus was the system perpetuated. Attitudes initially developed in the family reflected one of the striking qualities of German life and letters, a kind of tension between extremes. A word often used in essays on German character is *Zerrissenheit*, the sense of being torn apart by conflicting values. Many leaders of German thought have been intrigued by this conflict of opposites. Goethe spoke of "two souls, alas, within my breast": Hegel's system moved by the clash of thesis against antithesis; Nietzsche thought in terms of Apollonian harmony versus Dionysian frenzy, and he hailed "the magic power of extremes." German political theory tended to deride moderation and call either for complete obedience to the state or for revolution to overthrow it. In the popular stereotypes, Germans have been noted for both sentimental romanticism and cold efficiency. It seems likely that early family experience contributed to these attitudes by emphasizing the great difference in the treatment the child received from the father and the mother; their behaviors diverged so sharply that it was difficult for the youngster to identify with both parents. Yet to choose one and not the other was to invite further conflict. One unsatisfactory solution was to alternate between them, so that "at one time [the child] will behave like his aggressive, dominating father; at others like his submissive, loving . . . mother."¹¹⁸

Hitler appealed to the Germans in part because he appealed to values that were deep-rooted in the traditional authoritarian family. Specifically, he promised an orderly government that would be a model of the same principles that the Germans were accustomed to find in proper family life. He promised security, work, food, and clothing if they granted him authority. He offered himself as a German father figure who inspired *Ehrfurcht* and obedience; he promised to provide a clean and racially pure family, a *Volksgemeinschaft*; he would reunite all Germans and bring them back into the family fold. Hence the particular appeal of his slogan: *Heim ins Reich*. In contrast to the freedom which was uncomfortable to many Germans and associated with the failures of the Weimar Republic, Hitler offered the security of authority: "To a large percentage of Germans this was neither absurd nor dangerous, but a natural arrangement between a leader and his subjects; a situation to which they had become accustomed from infancy on in their home life, schools, work experience, and military service."¹¹⁹

Emphasis on the appeal of the father image has not been confined to sociological studies. The political historian Wolfgang Sauer has noticed how much his fellow Germans have been attracted by the idea of a paterfamilias for their country: "From Bismarck to Adenauer, the Germans have always sought a father, indeed it appears as if the German conception of the State is generally patterned after the model of the family."¹²⁰

The German educational system reinforced the basic system of values first learned in the family. Training tended to be specialized, with

The Past As Prologue: Hitler

little effort at dealing with "only the most primitive public elementary school of the two kingdoms: the compassion, and cooperative and civic responsibilities in the home, the child was making decisions.

The highly selective ness from public life and emphasized a general curriculum the ideal of the "univers: Indeed, the graduate of the of the cultural elite; he politics, on the lofty peaks

While encouraging system also fostered obedi- bellicose than that found Western world. It is true the glories of French history loss of Alsace-Lorraine. B man education in the decade lacked the aggressive na the Rhine. His conclusion French history textbooks, historians. Lavis's *L'Histoire* forget the loss of Alsace-L prepared for any further in belligerent. Aulard and De lar textbook *Notions d'his French history since the re- gers of militarism and cal Boulangerism. War in the people must foster the fra- gendered by the great pri- balanced by a considerable*

By contrast, German tionalism and the exaltati- cluded: "I have found no textbooks. . . . Rather the- gerated race-consciousness istic of the German syste- such racial nationalists as rated into all the commo- terials. The idea of Germ of Europe, as is shown in in Schenk-Koch's widely

1934*

298
* Poehlin had to be eliminated.

1925, 1926

E

platform which denounced the evils of capitalism and expounded the virtues of a fuzzy theory of social cooperation which might best be described as that of the corporate state. Gregor Strasser, his brother Otto, the young Paul Joseph Goebbels, and a group of northern *Gauleiter* worked together within the NSDAP to give organizational structure to these ideas. Opinion among historians today is deeply divided on the question of what Strasser and his friends were after in 1925-26. It seems most likely, however, that their object was to move Hitler away from his heavy reliance on the Munich anti-Semites with their upper-class orientation; they wanted the party to proclaim a message of social revolution with only a spice of anti-Semitism.⁹ In any event, the organizational and ideological squabbles between the Strasser group and the rest of the party dragged on throughout late 1925 and early 1926 until finally in February 1926 Hitler asserted his leadership and rejected all changes in the party program.

Heinrich played no leading role in these developments; he merely served his immediate superior and took care of assigned tasks. But the incessant meetings and maneuvering gave him an opportunity to become familiar with Goebbels and Strasser's other leading allies. Goebbels was impressed by Himmler's abilities and described him as "a good guy and very intelligent."¹⁰ Himmler was allowed to attend some of the organizational meetings with Strasser but was not invited to the showdown meeting with Hitler in Bamberg in February 1926.¹¹

The major effect of the whole affair on Heinrich was the influence it exerted on the style and content of his public statements. From Strasser and his friends he learned to focus the attention of his listeners on the social and economic grievances of the peasantry. On occasion he employed the same kind of radical economic arguments as Strasser. In the course of his speech on October 13, 1926, Himmler described the rise of economic power in the following terms: "Capitalism made itself master of the machine and with it enslaved the people. As a result, there was a longing for freedom by the people, and this will to freedom expressed itself in the class struggle of the workers."¹² This kind of homespun Marxist phraseology came directly from Strasser, who used it to underscore his social-economic radicalism. After Hitler decided against him, the Marxian phrases

1926

gradually disappeared from Strasser's speeches, and Heinrich's Marxian gloss soon vanished too. But his emphasis on the social and economic problems of the peasantry remained. E

The mystical features of the blood and soil doctrine which in the hands of the *Artamanen Bund* pointed toward utopian communities, seldom intruded into Heinrich's public statements, a fact that greatly enhanced his value as a party worker. ~~Hitler continuously fought against the mystical and occult tendencies among his followers, for his primary goal was the seizure of power, and for this he needed, not quacks and mystics, but an efficient political machine.~~ Certain spiritualist tendencies had to be tolerated—Hitler's own ideas often had mystical overtones—but party members with such leanings had to keep their ideas subordinated to political considerations if they were to enjoy any future in the party. Heinrich's development in 1925-26 of a public political position based on bread-and-butter issues thus helped him to fit more easily into Hitler's political machine.

If Heinrich's future as a party worker depended on his overcoming his mystical bent, his dreams of military glory were an even graver threat to his career. Throughout 1925-26 Hitler fought a running battle with those who sought to establish autonomous paramilitary formations or hoped to use the party's units for a *Putsch* or a military adventure. A rising man in Hitler's system had to withstand the temptation to play soldier except when political considerations made this necessary. In 1924, while the *NSDAP* was outlawed, Heinrich had joined the *Alt-Reichsflagge* and been active in the *völkisch* veterans' group, the *Deutschvölkisches Offiziersbund (DVOB)*. In this group he remained active during 1925 and early 1926, even though Hitler was gradually sharpening the lines of demarcation between the *NSDAP* and all other *völkisch* organizations. Part of Heinrich's desire to remain in the *DVOB* probably arose from the fact that it had close relations with the *Reichswehr* and its members periodically received indoctrination and training by regular army officers, as they did in January 1926. As late as February 1926 Himmler continued to serve in the *DVOB* and even recruited members among his friends. By June 1926, however, Hitler forbade *NSDAP* members to participate in such groups, and Heinrich quickly submitted to his *Führer* and resigned. The last reference to the *DVOB* in his private papers is an angry

1926

E letter, dated June 18, 1926, from a *DVOB* official accusing him of intriguing against the local *DVOB* chapter as part of a Nazi plot to destroy the organization.¹³

Although Hitler drew a sharp dividing line between the party and outside paramilitary groups, he was less successful in eliminating the confusion which surrounded the party's own units. When the *NSDAP* was reestablished in 1925, the *SA* was still banned in most German states. In order to keep his political machine completely autonomous, Hitler was forced to establish a new Nazi paramilitary group. Building on the *Stosstrupp* (protective guards unit) which had been a small party formation prior to the *Putsch*, Hitler authorized the formation of the *Schutzstaffel* (*SS*), whose major function was to serve as a reliable paramilitary unit of the party in states where the *SA* was still outlawed. In Bavaria, where the *SA* was legalized in the course of 1925, the *SS* had to find functions which would minimize friction with the larger and better established Brown Shirts. This led on the one hand to an emphasis on the elitist role of the *SS* as a special honor guard in the tradition of the *Stosstrupp* and on the other to the assumption by the *SS* of a series of petty duties which other organizations refused to perform. Thus the *SS* was given the special assignment of selling subscriptions to the *Völkischer Beobachter*, received the exclusive right to sell shirts to the *SA*, and finally, in October 1926, took over the job of selling *SA* caps as well.¹⁴

1926 The significance of Heinrich's role in the *SS* at this time should be evaluated in the light of this situation. He joined the *SA* and the *SS* in 1925 and soon became the chief of the *SS* in *Gau Niederbayern*.¹⁵ However, his position was the direct result of the party's effort to keep the paramilitary organizations in the hands of regular party officials and brought little glory with it. Most of the activities he supervised in the *SS* paralleled the routine administrative duties he performed as deputy leader of the *Gau*. Only rarely did the activities of the *SS* at this time give any hint of its future fame and power; for most of the time its members served as newspaper salesmen and purveyors of uniforms. The party leadership was never able completely to subdue the tendency of these units to play soldiers but on the whole the *SA* and *SS* were given political rather than military assignments.¹⁶ Like an old fire horse, Heinrich was always lured by a whiff of military smoke (in 1926 he was engaged

1926

in a clandestine effort to locate weapons left over from World War I), but he managed to adapt himself to the limited paramilitary role demanded by the party and learned to curb his enthusiasm.

By the middle of 1926 the young Himmler had overcome the most important personal obstacles to a successful party career. He had steered clear of factionalism, had learned to control his mystical inclinations, and had become part of the machinery by which the paramilitary groups were subordinated to party discipline. In his unobtrusive and humdrum way he had also revealed abilities that marked him out as an unusually competent provincial administrator. Through Strasser and through his own social and paramilitary activities he had made many personal contacts throughout Germany which enabled him to get things done. He possessed an ingrained bureaucratic bias which made it easy for him to establish precise procedures and maintain an efficient set of records. Since many of his fellow provincial officials were military or ideological enthusiasts with little taste or ability for administration, Heinrich's talents shone brightly. As Hitler and the party struggled to establish administrative order and centralized control, the relative efficiency of *Gau Niedербayern* could not but enhance Heinrich's reputation in Munich. Even more important was his early training as a courtier. From infancy he had been taught that it was vital to accommodate important people and work his way up through their favor. One of the most serious problems he had faced between 1919 and 1923 was his inability to make this approach work in the more fluid situation under the Weimar Republic. Once committed to the *NSDAP*, however, he found in the hierarchical structure of the party a perfect milieu for the operation of his administrative ability and courtier mentality.

The only serious challenge to his career lay in the dismal prospects of the party itself. In 1925-26, the *NSDAP* was the smallest political party in Germany, and Hitler's policies were severing connections with numerous groups which had previously cooperated with it. The Weimar Republic appeared stronger and more stable during this period than at any time since its inception, and the chances of recovering German power and prestige through a policy of reconciliation seemed promising. To the vast majority of Germans, Hitler and the *NSDAP* looked like a band of cranks. Despite his

April 126

farm subjects which he wrote on April 22, 1926, "I am myself a farmer [*Bauer*] even though I don't have a farm."²²

His faith in the movement and his own commitment had to be sustained by the emotional satisfaction he derived from toiling at a lonely post. To overcome his doubts he scoured the polemical *völkisch* literature for supportive arguments and attempted to discover *völkisch* morals in everything he read. The basic pattern of his reading remained the same: numerous works on *völkisch* and patriotic themes were interspersed with books on religion, spiritualism, and sex. An occasional adventure story appeared in the list as well as a few works of classical German literature. The only new themes were in three books on espionage and police work and four titles on communism and the USSR.

What awakened his interest in crime and spying is not clear. He was horrified by a large volume on human torture, noting that it is a "frightening book about the beast in man which manifests itself in every century and in every state."²³ Yet he was curious about espionage and police control and was eager to learn about them. On Walter Nicolai's *Geheime Mächte* (The secret powers) he comments, "Very interesting. One can really learn something."²⁴ His curiosity did not take him very far, however, and he was unable to divorce his inquiry from his desire to discover *völkisch* lessons. In summarizing his opinion of Popoff's *Tscheka*, he writes that "the word Jew is not once mentioned in connection with the Cheka, which is almost completely Jewish, nor is it mentioned in relation to the earlier Tsarist Ochrana. A bad book."²⁵ His pretentious fanaticism led to the odd equation of secret-police work with Jews; at this time he did not relish the image of the secret-police power that he was subsequently to wield through the SS and the Gestapo.

Heinrich's comments on communism and the USSR also reveal his tendency to find anti-Semitic and *völkisch* lessons whenever possible. In early 1926, at the time when Strasser's effort to emphasize social-economic radicalism in the NSDAP was reaching its climax, Heinrich read three books on the USSR. Significantly, two of the three were borrowed from Strasser. Heinrich tried hard to be open-minded; on one book, he notes that the author's "attitude to Bolshevism is not instinctively hostile";²⁶ after reading another he grants grudgingly that "one must concede, even though there is a demonic element, a performance and an achievement."²⁷ He

Sept 1926

people. Therefore I feel that he belonged to these Germanic people, even though I may be completely alone in that belief today."³³ Similarly, when commenting on Jansen's *Das Buch Liebe* he stresses his adherence to his beliefs no matter what appearance there may be to the contrary: "The glorious song to the Nordic woman. It is the ideal picture about which we Germans dreamed in our youth and are ready to die for as men. One believes it all the time even though one is continuously being disillusioned."³⁴

At every point he was resolved to hold to his party faith and persevere in the political struggle. By 1926 his employment prospects, strained family relations, and psychological makeup required that he fight on as one of the party faithful, hoping that his talents would be recognized and that his loyalty to the *NSDAP* would ultimately be rewarded. In this sense he was cornered. But within that corner the needs and demands of the party matched his own talents and devotion. It was merely a question of time until an opportunity would present itself that would allow him to move from his provincial post to a place in the central organization of the *NSDAP*.

Finally in September 1926, as part of a general reshuffling of party offices, the call came. Probably as compensation for his defeat on the party program, Gregor Strasser was given the post of Reich propaganda leader for the party. Himmler was made his deputy. Since propaganda operations had to be conducted in the party's central headquarters in Munich and Strasser traveled too much to exercise effective supervision, Heinrich was ordered to move to Munich on September 12 and take over the administration of the propaganda office. Nominally he was Strasser's deputy, but actually the day-to-day operations of the office were in his hands. Neither Strasser nor Himmler gave up their positions in *Gau Niederrhein*, they simply moved the *Gau* office to Munich so that Heinrich could handle the administrative side of both positions simultaneously.³⁵

For a short period Himmler continued in his anomalous position as a provincial official and an officer of party headquarters. He even assumed the position of deputy leader for *Gau Oberbayern* as well.³⁶ But the logic of the move to Munich gradually asserted itself. He had turned his back on Landshut and the provinces. He was no longer Strasser's man, but a member of party headquarters with an opportunity to

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szeitung, edited by Otto Strasser, and a fortnightly periodical, *Nationalsozialistische Briefe*, intended for Party officials. As editor of the *Briefe* and Gregor's private secretary, the Strassers secured a young Rhineland, then still under thirty, a man of some education who had attended a number of universities, and written novels and film scripts which no one would accept. His name was Paul Josef Goebbels.

Hitler had little sympathy with the Strassers' anti-capitalism and their demand for the breaking up of big estates, which embarrassed him in his search for wealthy backers. But while Hitler spent his time in Berchtesgaden, Gregor and Otto Strasser were actively at work extending their influence in the movement.

On 22 November 1925, the Strassers called together a meeting of the North German district leaders in Hanover. Hitler was represented by Gottfried Feder, but it was only by a bare majority that Feder was admitted to the meeting at all, after Goebbels had demanded his ejection.

The split between the Strassers and Hitler crystallized round a question which excited much feeling in Germany in 1925-6, whether the former German royal houses should be expropriated and whether their possessions should be regarded as their own private property or as the public property of the different states. Gregor and Otto Strasser sided with working-class opinion against the princes, while Hitler supported the propertied classes. At this time he was receiving three-quarters of his income from the divorced Duchess of Sachsen-Anhalt, and he denounced the agitation as a Jewish swindle. The Hanover meeting voted to follow the Strasser line. When Feder protested in Hitler's name, Goebbels jumped to his feet: 'In these circumstances I demand that the petty bourgeois Adolf Hitler be expelled from the National Socialist Party.' More important still, the Hanover meeting accepted the Strassers' pro-

gramme and resolved to substitute it for the Twenty-five Points of the official programme adopted in February 1920. This was open revolt.

Hitler took time to meet the challenge, but when he did move he showed his skill in the way he outmanoeuvred Strasser without splitting the Party. On 14 February 1926 he summoned a conference in his turn, this time in the South German town of Bamberg. Hitler deliberately avoided a Sunday, when the North German leaders would have been free to attend in strength. As a result the Strasser wing of the Party was represented only by Gregor Strasser and Goebbels. In the south Hitler had made the position of District Leader (Gauleiter) a salaried office, a step which left the Gauleiters free to attend solely to Party business and made them much more dependent upon himself. He could thus be sure of a comfortable majority in the meeting at Bamberg.

Strasser was outnumbered from the beginning, and half-way through the meeting Goebbels stood up and declared that, after listening to Hitler, he was convinced that Strasser and he had been wrong, and that the only course was to admit their mistake and come over to Hitler. Having won his point, Hitler did all he could to keep Strasser in the Party. His conciliatory tactics proved successful. The Strasser programme was abandoned, a truce patched up and the unity of the Party preserved. This was not the end of the Strasser episode, but Hitler had handled his most dangerous rival with skill and papered over the breach between himself and the radical wing of the Party.

Hitler had still to face other difficulties in the Party. There was persistent criticism and grumbling at the amount of money the Leader and his friends took out of Party funds for their own expenses, and at the time he spent away from headquarters in Berchtesgaden, or driving around in a large motor-car at the Party's expense. Quarrelling, slander, and

intrigue over the most seemed to be endemic in the Party.

To keep these quarrels up a Party court in 1926, the Investigation and Settlement Committee was set up as a Party court in 1926, the effective instrument for his Party.

In July 1926, Hitler felt mass rally of the Party at Weimar. One of the few States in which he could speak. Five thousand men took part, with Hitler standing in his salute, for the first time, with his own photographs made it a success. A hundred thousand copies of *Beobachter* were distributed. It was the first of the Reichstag sessions, year after year, at Nuremberg.

Goebbels was now wholehearted. In November Hitler appointed him to Berlin, an assignment which gave his remarkable powers as a propagandist not only strengthened the movement but provided another check against the Strassers, who had kept their publishing house in Berlin. Goebbels to Hitler was regarded as a Strasser group, employed even to reduce their influence and founded *Der Angriff* as a rival paper, and used the S.A. to beat the reporters. Appeals to Hitler by Strasser produced no effect: he decided over what Goebbels did.

The old trouble with the S.A. In November 1926, Hitler reformed the S.A. as a new commander in Captain Röhm but the ex-officers still thought

April 1926

has devoted his life to the struggle against the Jews, was Hitler's right-hand man. Hallucinations—saw Abraham and Paul, "the most dangerous Jew who ever existed": Abraham offered him a promissory note and guaranteed him three camels if he would give up the fight against the Jews; onset of visual hallucinations, screamed out loud; Abraham was driving a red-hot nail into his back, a Jewish doctor wanted to cut out his heart; suicide attempt (by hanging and strangulation); threatening, smuggled an iron weight in as a weapon; visions, voices, self-contempt.

The doctors' confidential reports spoke of his weak character—"One never knew how he would react," wrote one. "But since he had been a German officer he found it easy to obey." Another qualified him as a "sentimental person, lacking in fundamental moral courage."

Then, on October 7, 1925, his ordeal was over. He was discharged from Långbro with a certificate that he had obviously begged the professor in charge to sign:

I hereby affirm that Captain H. von [sic] Göring was admitted into Långbro hospital at his own request; that neither upon admission nor later did he show signs of mental illness; and that upon discharge now he also does not show any symptoms of an illness of this kind.

Långbro Hospital
October 7, 1925
OLOF KINBERG,
PROFESSOR

Won almost at a greater cost than his famous war decoration, though not a prize that he was so anxious to display, this vital certificate of sanity would be among his most precious possessions for the next twenty years.

His return to Carin's little apartment triggered fresh troubles. Since his crazed outbursts were now a thing of the past, Thomas often came over from school at Östermalm. Nils warned Carin that the lad was playing truant, and his schoolwork was suffering. Overreacting, she sued Nils for legal custody. His defense lawyers hired a private detective, and he dug up evidence of Göring's drug addiction. On April 16, 1926, Dr. Karl Lundberg, a court-appointed doctor, certified that neither Hermann nor Carin—who was, he said, an epileptic—was fit to provide a home for Thomas, and on the twenty-second the court dismissed her petition.

Planning to appeal, she persuaded Hermann to return to Långbro and complete the withdrawal cure. He gloomily reentered the asylum on May 22. The hospital's dossier on him states only, "Subdued, fluctuating moods,

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"Subdued, fluctuating moods,

egocentric, easily affected, back pain." Afterward, Dr. C. Franke, the as-
sistant medical superintendent, issued this new certificate:

Captain Hermann Göhring [sic] of No. 23 Ödengatan, Stock-
holm, was admitted to Långbro Hospital in May 1926 at his own
request and treated there by the undersigned. During his stay there
he underwent a detoxification cure from the use of Eukodal, and
when he left the hospital at the beginning of June, he was com-
pletely cured from the use of the above and free from the use of
all types of opium derivatives, which fact is herewith certified on
my honor and conscience.

On August 23, he wrote a pathetic letter to the court stressing his former
status and acts of wartime heroism, and declaring his willingness to submit
to medical and psychiatric examination. The court still refused to grant Carin
custody of Thomas.

Göring's movements after this are something of a mystery. Unlike Hitler,
he seldom reminisced about the more barren years of his existence. He clearly
intended to regain high office in the Nazi party, but three years had passed
since his inglorious exile, and the party now had no time for him. His name
was scratched from the membership register, and he had difficulty later in
reclaiming an early number (his party file shows that his "second member-
ship" was grudgingly backdated only to April 1, 1928).

Eventually the BMW motor works gave him a job in Sweden, selling its
airplane engines in Scandinavia. But he knew that his political fortune lay
in Germany. In January 1927 he returned therefore to the land of his birth,
holding a concession from the Swedish automatic parachute company
Tornblad.

Carin was to stay behind in Sweden. As his train pulled out of Stockholm's
central station, she collapsed into her sister Fanny's arms. Her heart gradually
fading, she was taken to the Vita Kors Nursing Home at No. 11 Brunke-
bergstorg.

Each of them was half convinced they would never see the other again.

19 26, 1927

inventor of performing-right royalties, and his hero Figaro is only a cynical money-maker. On the other hand, he was akin to Rousseau and Chamfort in that his attacks were nothing but an intellectual pre-revolution, a play of ideas, born of the love of sensation and paradox, a marionette-show with no intentioned consequences. Reality passed him by as it did Chamfort, and as it would have done Rousseau if he had lived long enough. Mirabeau, already, could fling at Beaumarchais the words: "Expect nothing from the future except the privilege of being forgotten." During the Revolution he barely escaped with his life.

The polemics of Chamfort, though still only half-earnest, were already more aggressive. In his *Pensées* he says quite openly: "The nobility, we are told, is a stage between the king and his people. Yes, in the sense in which the dog is a stage between the huntsman and the hare." And again: "I regard the King of France only as the king of about a hundred thousand people, among whom he distributes the sweat, the blood, and the skin of more than twenty-four millions." One morning he remarked to the Duc de Lauraguais: "I have completed a work." "What, a book?" "No, no book; I am not such a fool. But I have got the title of a book, and the title is everything. I have already made a present of it to that puritan Sieyès, who can carry it into execution as he likes. He can write what he will: it is only the title that will be remembered." "Well, and what is this title?" "What is the Third Estate? Everything. And what does it possess? Nothing." In actual fact Sieyès did give this title to the famous pamphlet which had such a colossal effect — only he added a third clause: "What does it demand? To be something," which in reality weakened its epigrammatic vigour — so that the author proved quite right, all that was remembered of the pamphlet was its title. A second catchword of the Revolution, equally lapidary and inspiring: "War to the palace, peace to the hovel," had its origin with Chamfort. But in general, far from being an admirer of the masses or of public opinion, he said that "an individual can never be so contemptible as a corporation," and again: "The public! How many fools must be got together to constitute a public?" Of the National Assembly of 1789 he said: "If you look at the greater part of the deputies, you get the impression that they have destroyed prejudices only in order to acquire prejudices, like people

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* It was the day when he felt himself
to be an ordinary man, a man, simple
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a matter of combat and security that were

The most difficult day for me

~~most difficult~~

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At Bamberg on the appointed day, Sunday February 14, he met Gregor Strasser early and they agreed their plan of action before walking over to the meeting. Hitler drove grandly past, before halting his chauffeur and offering Goebbels his hand. The young man took it, but the laugh was on him. Hitler had packed the audience with loyal local officials: he spoke for four hours about high politics and diplomacy, and Goebbels thought it prudent, on balance, to keep his mouth shut. He heard Hitler oppose all thought of dispossessing the princes and landed aristocracy (they were of course prominent among his backers). 'For us,' ruled Hitler, 'there are no "princes," only Germans.' He forbade all further discussion of the party program: It had been sanctified by the blood of the party's first martyrs.

I am quite stunned [wrote Goebbels the next day]. What kind of Hitler is this? A reactionary? Astonishingly clumsy and unsure of himself. The Russian question—he misses the point entirely. Italy and England 'are our natural allies.' Awful! 'Our mission is to smash bolshevism. Bolshevism is a Jewish sham! We are to disinherit the Russians!' All 180 millions of them!!!

*Essex
J.B.
decided
to watch
allegiance*

He recorded that Feder, Ley, Streicher, and Esser all nodded approval. Strasser lost his nerve and spoke only haltingly: "Good old honest Strasser, ach Gott, we are no match at all for these swine down here!" Goebbels returned to Elberfeld full of doubts, both about himself and about Adolf Hitler. Strasser in fact panicked: he circularized all the gauleiters asking them to return to him for destruction every single copy of the Goebbels guidelines. Goebbels now had the reputation of a slippery intriguer, an opportunist. People called him the 'chap with the tiny, cold, monkey's paws.'³⁵ Behind his back at Bamberg Streicher called him 'dangerous.'³⁶ Learning of this from Fobke, Goebbels fired off a furious handwritten letter to Streicher: 'I am informed that you said . . . that nobody knew where I come from or what I am really up to in the movement.' What right, he challenged, had Streicher 'of all people' to cast aspersions on him?³⁷ He even wrote to Hitler complaining about Streicher's calumny.

But Bamberg had brought a parting of the ways for Goebbels. He was shifting his loyalty from Strasser to Hitler, though unconsciously and imperceptibly at first. In the next issue of *Letters* he emulated Hitler's condemnation of the demand by other nationalist organizations for a boycott of Italy for her oppression of the German community in the South Tyrol.³⁸

Returning from a trip to East Prussia to Essen, grimy capital of the Ruhr, he found it decked out in swastika flags for the party rally on March 6. Four thousand members filled the concert hall.³⁹ The delegates agreed to the proposal that there should be one large Ruhr gau, amalgamating the smaller Rhineland and Westphalian gaus, with Pfeffer, Kaufmann, and Goebbels jointly in command.⁴⁰ Goebbels bulks larger in his own diary version of this meeting than in the official minutes,

which mention him only once—when he read out a bland telegram from Hitler. 'The bad,' said Hitler, 'must not be allowed to enslave the good.'⁴¹ This was a precept that both men were to overlook in the years ahead.

A few days later Hitler flattered Kaufmann, Goebbels, and Lutze with invitations to speak in Munich. He pressed lavish treatment on the three: The motor car, that shibboleth of Nazi Germany, played an important part in this softening-up process, for they found Hitler's magnificent Mercedes waiting to drive them to their hotel. According to Otto Strasser the wealth and power that this vehicle represented clinched it for Goebbels. Hitler loaned it to them with a chauffeur to drive them down to Lake Starnberg for an afternoon. His men had put up posters advertising Goebbels' speech (on 'National Socialism or Communism') at the famous Bürgerbräu beerhall. Hitler embraced him before the audience, amid cheers and tumult, and Goebbels noticed tears in his eyes.⁴²

Over dinner he took in the unfamiliar faces around him—Hitler's 'decent, calm, friendly, clever, reserved' private secretary Rudolf Hess; his meticulous treasurer Franz Xaver Schwarz; his diminutive general manager Philipp Bouhler. Hitler showed them over the new party HQ at No. 50 Schelling Strasse, and again talked of Italy and Britain as future allies and warned of the danger from Russia. On April 9 Hitler signed an *Ausweis* (certificate) for the three to run the Ruhr gau until further notice.⁴³

Goebbels took flowers round to Hitler the next morning and they talked again about foreign policy. 'His case is compelling. But I think he has still not quite sized up the problem of Russia.' Nonetheless, the two men were finding each other. 'I strongly urge you,' Goebbels wrote to Gregor Strasser on April 19, 'to arrange to talk things over with Hitler as soon as possible.' That day he and Hitler drove up to Stuttgart to speak at two meetings and again Hitler flung his arms around him. 'Adolf Hitler,' the young man wrote mushily in his diary back at Elberfeld, 'I love you: because you are great and simple at the same time—what we call a genius.'⁴⁴

He returned to Munich for the party's annual general meeting at the Bürgerbräu on May 21. The minutes show that 657 party members were present. Goebbels recorded that he was greeted with a 'storm of joy and enthusiasm.' The minutes were less lyrical. They show that Hitler mentioned him only once in his two-hour statement:

'I am glad to say that this year has seen several first-class speakers come to the fore, with our friend Goebbels from Elberfeld out in front [applause].'⁴⁵

Goebbels put it more vividly. 'He publicly lauded me to the skies,' he recorded.

THE regional headquarters had moved into a suite of five rooms at No. 8 Auerschule Strasse in Elberfeld.⁴⁶ Goebbels was not happy with his own position in the gau however. On June 6 the local party officials (*Bezirk*

** S. G. noted the young women smiled at him.*

1926

leaders) held a meeting to resolve which of the three should be actual gauleiter. The choice fell on Kaufmann. Lutze hinted to Goebbels that Kaufmann had rigged the vote with the help of Koch and Joseph Terboven.⁴⁷ Disappointed, Goebbels decided to leave the Ruhr. He traveled to Berlin two days later, ostensibly to speak at Spandau and Neukölln, in fact to talk things over with Gauleiter Schlange. Several of Schlange's men asked Goebbels to take over. He declined, unable to decide between Munich and Berlin.

FOR the time being he is still preoccupied with the opposite sex. They are a welcome distraction from work, a habit rather like the cigarette smoking which he now finds impossible to give up. On June 10, 1926 he receives a letter from Else Janke, the first of several Dear-John letters from her. He asks his diary callously, 'Has the right moment now come?'⁴⁸ Dumping this half-Jewess will make way for other less compromising females and for his own possible transfer to Munich away from the political intrigues in Elberfeld.

His roving eye appraises every handsome woman regardless of social or marital standing and indeed why not? He is young and eligible. 'Opposite me,' he writes one July day in a Berchtesgaden hotel, 'sits a beautiful, beautiful woman.' He spends three days stalking this gorgeous brunette—'she stays demure, and I am a silly ass. I am chasing her like a schoolboy.'⁴⁹

That same day, as he is visiting the Obersalzberg for the first time, his carriage blocks the narrow mountain lane, immobilized by a broken axle. A blonde country wench is unable to get past until he stands in front of the horses. 'Oh what a beauty you are,' he remarks in his diary. 'She laughs out loud and waves to me long after. We write her a little note—the coachman's lad takes it back to her—asking her to make a signal on the morrow.'⁵⁰ That is the last he hears of her.

He accepts defeat, aware of his cruel handicap. 'My foot bothers me a lot,' he writes. 'I can't stop thinking about it.' 'Every woman,' he writes helplessly, 'goes straight to my blood. I chase around like a starving wolf. But I am bashful as a child.'⁵¹

HE had all but found his way to Hitler.

Hitler had come north for the first time, spending the third week of June 1926 in the Ruhr and Rhineland, where he addressed private audiences at Elberfeld, Bochum, and Ruhr industrialists at Essen. At Essen he also spoke to two thousand, and met Director Arnold, their local financial backer. Goebbels studied the Nazi leader closely, seeing him alternately as a likable human being, as a towering intellect, and as a wayward, willful character. He studied his talents for gesture, mimicry, and oratory. 'A born agitator,' he concluded. 'One could conquer the world with that man.'⁵² Before leaving the Ruhr on the nineteenth Hitler finally ruled that Kaufmann should be the sole gauleiter. Goebbels could ill conceal his chagrin.⁵³

1926

GOD DISPOSES OTHERWISE 39

It encouraged him therefore that at the party's first annual rally for three years, held at Weimar on July 3-4, 1926, the contingent from Berlin liked him (the capital had sent four companies of S.A. stormtroopers); it provided an added impetus that one of the Berliners, Josephine von Behr, an affectionate girl who had plied him with chocolates in Berlin in February, was there too.⁵⁴ His own prepared talk on propaganda had Hitler in stitches.⁵⁵ Hitler himself talked on politics, ideologies, and organization. The photographs show Goebbels limping at his side through Weimar's cobbled streets, wearing a jacket buttoned just beneath his tieknot. He claimed that fifteen thousand men were in the march-past; the party's history would speak of ten thousand. The pictures suggest a smaller turn out.

He willingly accepted Hitler's invitation to the Obersalzberg a few days after Weimar. Emil Maurice, Hitler's chauffeur, drove them out to the idyllic Lake Königssee; Hess and his girlfriend Ilse came too. Up at his still modest mountain villa Hitler dilated on Germany's social and racial questions; Goebbels fell in love with him all over again and decided that here was the creator of the Third Reich: 'Catlike—crafty, clever, skillful, compassionate; but like a lion too, roaring and larger than life.'⁵⁶ Infected by this prolonged exposure to his idol, Goebbels saw in the sky a white cloud shaped like a swastika; it could only be a portent of his destiny. 'Now,' wrote Goebbels, hypnotized, leaving him on July 25, 'the last doubts in me have vanished. Germany will live! Heil Hitler!'⁵⁷

HIS brain awlirl with these impressions, he is still nursing Hitler's farewell bouquet of red roses as he boards the overnight train back to the Rhine-land. A beautiful woman shares his compartment. She talks engagingly with him, and they arrange to meet in Düsseldorf on the morrow. He limps around the city for two hours searching for her, but without luck.

'God has disposed otherwise,' he writes afterwards, finding the Divinity a useful alibi for his own shortcomings.⁵⁸

* Put all the descriptions together. See, for example, pp 38, 34, 33

1926

6: The Opium Den

SHOULD he accept the job as the new gauleiter of Berlin? It was no sinecure. With around ten thousand supporters the communist party was aggressively in the ascendant. The N.S.D.A.P.'s Berlin gau had been founded in February 1925 and had attracted only 137 votes in the municipal elections that October. The present gauleiter had lost his stomach for the fight. He was however one of the joint backers of the Strasser brothers' Kampf Verlag publishing house, which had begun issuing a proletarian newspaper, the *Berliner Arbeiterzeitung*, in March 1926; this sold some three thousand copies each week.¹

Unable to contain the snarling militancy of the Berlin S.A. under Kurt Daluege, Dr Schlange retired on June 20. Deputizing for him, Erich Schmiedicke called a meeting of the district officers in Gregor Strasser's presence and secured a unanimous vote that they should invite Dr Goebbels to come from the Ruhr to take over. The Berlin political police, who had agents planted in the Nazi party, recorded prematurely on July 29 that he had been offered the gau but had turned it down.² Goebbels wrote to Otto Strasser on August 3 that he was still undecided: 'Should I, or should I not? Probably not.'

The rumors of his probable defection from Strasser's to Hitler's camp led to rumbles of discontent. Gregor Strasser, who had set the wheels in motion to lure him to Berlin, later remarked ruefully in his Franconian dialect, '*A saublöder Obernarr bin i' g'wesen!* (What a bloody fool I've been). 'Friend Gregor Strasser is pretty jealous of me,' observed Goebbels. Lying to his own diary, he denied a few days later that he was selling out to Hitler. He blamed Karl Kaufmann's men for starting the 'legend,' and the Strasser brothers for giving it wider currency. 'I'll teach the lot of them!' he added darkly.³

He had already acquired a taste for the rough and tumble of radical politics. He led a raiding party on a theatre staging an award-winning but anti-German play by Carl Zuckmayer. Goebbels' Nazis hurled stink bombs into the audience and he was disappointed that only five women swooned.⁴

In Berlin, the battles would be uglier. Here the ramshackle and impoverished local party was in crisis. On August 26 there was a rowdy gathering of its officials, around 120 people according to the police. Schmiedicke, standing in as gauleiter, was hooted down by the S.A. The chief of the Berlin S.S.—the Schutzstaffel, an elite emerging within the

1926

44 II: THE GAULEITER OF BERLIN

stormtroopers—shouted that he had just spoken by phone with Hitler in person and been given full powers, which he promptly used to 'dismiss' Schmiedicke.⁵ The next day Munich formally asked Goebbels to take over in Berlin, but only as a stop-gap.

He was still in two minds. Playing for time, he sent what he called a 'semi-refusal' to Hitler.⁶

HE spends a weekend at Bayreuth in September 1926. Here he falls briefly in love with Winifred Wagner's young and vivacious daughters, romps around in the hay with the youngest of them ('the sweetest little brat') for an hour and then purples with embarrassment before the others.⁷ 'I often wish I had such a darling German female around,' he laments—then remembers young Josephine von Behr in Berlin. The prospect of seeing her excites him, and he returns there in mid-September.⁸

In Berlin he spends an evening alone with Dr Schlange and Schmiedicke. Both men plead with him to take over.⁹ In two minds still, he visits the party's primitive HQ at No. 189 Potsdamer Strasse. It is housed in a gloomy downstairs room at the rear—a windowless vault lit only by a naked bulb, he will later report, in which Schmiedicke sits hunched over his cash ledger struggling to make ends meet.¹⁰ A cloud of stale air and tobacco smoke hits him as he goes in. Newspapers are stacked around the walls. Out of work party members are loitering around—there are 270,000 unemployed in Berlin alone—chain-smoking and tittle-tattling. They called it the 'opium den.'

He is glad to get out to Potsdam with Josephine that evening. They reverently tread the same sod as Frederick the Great and stroll around Sanssouci park. Goebbels wants to hold her hand, but lacks the courage to try.¹¹

The affair with Else is over. They meet one Sunday in Cologne and trade insults, and she writes him another farewell letter. Goebbels sends his sister Maria over to fetch her on Monday morning for one final scene. With tear-streaked face, Else accompanies him in the drizzle to the train. For some reason Goebbels dramatizes their final parting in his diary:

'The train draws away. Else turns around and weeps. I close the window. Rain is falling on the coach roof. I have gone out of her life. My heart is broken.'¹²

AMPLIFYING Goebbels' own unpublished diaries, the Nazi party's archives acquired a file of vivid monthly résumés on the Berlin gau written by a young activist called Reinhold Muchow, who had joined aged twenty in December 1925.¹³ These reports show the methods to which the party resorted, including a barrage of defamatory propaganda, ceaseless rowdy demonstrations, mindless provocations, and violence for its own sake. The party already had three 'martyrs' in Berlin—Willi Dreyer killed in 1924, Werner Doelle in 1925, and now on September 26, 1926 the forty-

1926

four year old Harry Anderssen, murdered by a communist gang in Kreuzberg.¹⁴ It was a tragedy for the Berlin gau, recorded Muchow in October 1926, that it had never had a real leader. Dr Schlange had made no headway against the internal bickering. Schmiedicke proved even less capable. The opposition—Kurt Daluge and the S.A.—had put forward their own candidate as gauleiter, Oskar Hauenstein. Every top-level meeting ended with a row.¹⁵

Goebbels began feeling his way into Berlin. October 9 found him speaking at the party's Mark Brandenburg Freedom Rally, a torchlight parade just outside the city in Potsdam. The police file shows that he called for the destruction of the present state. The Berliners roared approval. 'You yourself will have noticed,' wrote Schmiedicke encouragingly, 'how very keenly every member of the party in Berlin wants you as their leader.'¹⁶ His mind already made up, Goebbels told him that the stumbling block was financial: if the terms were right he would accept the job.¹⁷ Schmiedicke bowed to his demands.¹⁸

While Goebbels even now delayed announcing his decision, the infighting in Berlin increased. Schmiedicke had to reassure officials that Goebbels' salary would be paid by Munich, not Berlin. There were ugly scenes, with Hauenstein thumping Otto Strasser, and Strasser challenging somebody else to a duel. Finally Goebbels took the milestone decision to accept Berlin's offer. Back in Elberfeld on October 17 he broke the news to Lutze and Kaufmann, and noted in his diary, 'Off to Berlin at last on November 1. Berlin is the focal point,' he reasoned, 'for us too.'¹⁹ The formal appointment was dated October 26, and was announced in the *Völkischer Beobachter* two days later. On November 1 the *N.S. Letters* published his farewell to the Ruhr. 'And now,' he wrote, 'it's full steam ahead into the great asphalt jungle Berlin.'

HE who held Berlin held Germany. Hitler gave him authority to rule the gau with an iron fist. 'November 5,' recorded Goebbels. 'Hitler. Munich. Signs my terms.'²⁰

The Reich capital was like no other city in Europe—over-populated, throbbing with life twenty-four hours a day. It was an international hodgepodge of races, the collision point of western and eastern cultures. This sprawling heap of bricks and stone was divided into twenty boroughs of varying size and wealth, from Zehlendorf, with 470,000 inhabitants, to the proletarian slum Kreuzberg with 370,000. Politically the city was a red stronghold and Goebbels would find only a few hundred paid-up Nazis there; in the whole Reich there were still only forty-nine thousand. In the March 1925 presidential election 308,591 Berliners had voted for the communist (K.P.D.) candidate Ernst 'Teddy' Thälmann. In the municipal election that October, 52.2 percent had voted for the marxist parties, the K.P.D. increasing its vote to 347,382. Its front organizations like the Red League of Combat Veterans (Frontkämpferbund) and the Central Office of Red Aid (Zentralstelle der Roten Hilfe) were funded by the Soviet embassy and trade mission.

1926

him hurrying straight from the Anhalt station to a packed public meeting. The truth was more prosaic. The Berlin gau was penniless and in disarray. He made his first public speech at a memorial ceremony organized on the ninth, the anniversary of Hitler's failed Munich putsch, by the party's Women's Order (Frauenorden) in the Veterans' Building (Kriegervereinshaus) in Chaussee-Strasse. When Otto Strasser expressed irritation that Goebbels had arrived late, and had squandered money on a taxi, the new gauleiter replied: 'On the contrary. I would have arrived in two taxis if I could have. The people must see that our firm is up and running.' In his speech he expressed admiration for the men who had gunned down the Jewish politician Dr Walther Rathenau four years earlier. (For this remark he was later summoned to police HQ; but the resulting prosecution was subsequently abandoned.)³⁷

On the same day he issued the famous Circular No. 1 to all gau officials, which began, 'As of today I am taking over the Berlin-Brandenburg gau as gauleiter.' Addressing the unappetizing conditions at the 'opium den' in Potsdamer Strasse, he decreed that gau HQ was neither a flop-house nor a waiting room; in future party members would need an appointment to speak with him. His circular displayed both realism and clever psychology. While appointing the troublesome and ambitious S.A. commander Kurt Daluge—who was twenty-nine—as his deputy, he simultaneously downgraded the former Greater Berlin gau to the rank of *Ortsgruppe*, or local, and downgraded the present locals to sections.³⁸ This made for a tighter ship and fewer illusions. Defining the role of the militant S.A. he wrote: 'S.A. and S.S. are the instruments whereby we shall attain power,' and he ruled that neither was to appear in public without his prior consent. He ended the circular with the promise: 'Adolf Hitler will visit the gau as soon as we have become a united force and one to be reckoned with.'³⁹

The Strasser brothers were aghast at Goebbels' arrival in 'their' capital. But over the coming months he forced a level of activity that Berlin had not seen before; he founded a Nazi speakers' school, he developed a constant, intrusive, drum-beating propaganda campaign, and he provoked clashes with the communists that hit Berlin's newspaper headlines time and again. On Sunday November 14 he led a deliberately provocative propaganda march through the working-class suburb of Neukölln which aroused both fury and consternation among the local communists; the newspapers reported that in the ensuing disorders use was made of 'missiles, knuckle-dusters, clubs, and even pistols.'⁴⁰ Cutting out the dead wood, he threw out half of the gau's members. To secure its finances he founded an elitist Freedom League of three or four hundred Berliners pledged to contribute ten percent of their income in return for promises of later rewards.⁴¹ His first imperative was to finance new premises for the gau in the city center; his second to fund a marching band of forty or fifty musicians with a full-time instructor; his third to purchase motor transport. At the end of December Goebbels moved into new offices at

(925)

— Usually, the reward is in Heaven
But Goebbels saw it. Nazism was
a religion which did not need

1926

THE OPIUM DEN 49

No. 44 Lützow Strasse, four office rooms with all mod cons and two telephone lines.

His tactical object was to capture the communists' pawns, the unemployed hordes of Berlin. Typical of his S.A. footsoldiers was the young law student Horst Wessel, whose handwritten diary we now have. Aged just nineteen, he had joined the party that autumn. 'How I came to the National Socialists?' he asked. 'Out of disillusion really. My nationalist radicalism, or rather my radical nationalism had not found a home. But the Nazis, as they were already called, were radical—radical in every respect.' Wessel had been a member of the Bismarck and then Viking League since 1922, organizations which had just played soldiers. Goebbels' gau was, he soon found, different. The new gauleiter put the accent on *socialism*. 'The right-wing parties spurned us for our socialist slant,' wrote Wessel, 'and they weren't all that wrong, because National Socialists had more in common with the [communist] R.F.B. [Rote Frontkämpferbund] than with the [right-wing] Stahlhelm.'⁴²

During December Goebbels reorganized Berlin's S.A. into three regiments (*Standarten*). He tightened discipline, banning smoking and drinking on duty. On November 20 he met district leaders (*Kreisleiter*) and laid down guidelines for the future. Later that month he spoke in the Veterans' Building on 'Germany, Colony or State?' Scores of new members joined that same evening. Two weeks later eighteen hundred people crowded in to hear him speak on 'The Road to Power.' A breathless unanimity replaced the brawling and bickering of previous gau meetings.⁴³

Horst Wessel was one of those dedicated to the party. 'No sacrifice in time or money,' he would write, 'no danger of arrest or violence could scare me off. . . . The Sturmabteilungen, the S.A., were the stewards, the movement's fist against the police and the marxists. The structure itself was copied from the communists—sections instead of locals, the cell-system; our press advertising and propaganda clearly betrayed their [communist] inspiration. The vitality of this new movement was vast, best demonstrated by the defections to us from the marxist camp.' Goebbels created an atmosphere of constant activity. 'To Dr Göbbels [*sic*] alone,' wrote Wessel, 'goes the credit for having impinged the movement so rapidly on the Berlin public's consciousness. The man had extraordinary talents for oratory and organization. There was nothing he couldn't turn his hand to. The members were devoted to him. The S.A. would have let itself be torn to pieces for him. Göbbels was like Hitler himself. . . . He took care of the injured—he really was a first-class leader, a leader with class.'⁴⁴

At first the 'Judenpresse' ignored Goebbels. Denied the oxygen of publicity, he forced violent confrontations with the communists. After an initial blooding in Spandau on January 25, when two hundred of them infiltrated a meeting intending to disrupt his speech, Goebbels' 'troops' fought three battles, at Cottbus, in Berlin's sleazy Pharos Rooms, and at suburban Lichterfelde.

→ the appearance of a God
or such real estate as Heaven
and Hell. Power now! was the
heart of the hour

1926

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policy and future alliances. His position was wholly opposed to that of the Working Community. Alliances were never ideal, he said, but always 'purely a matter of political business'. Britain and Italy, both distancing themselves from Germany's arch-enemy France, offered the best potential. Any thought of an alliance with Russia could be ruled out. It would mean 'the immediate political bolshevization of Germany', and with it 'national suicide'. Germany's future could be secured solely by acquiring land, by eastern colonization as in the Middle Ages, by a colonial policy not overseas but in Europe. On the question of the expropriation of the princes, Hitler again ruled out the position of the Working Community. 'For us there are today no princes, only Germans,' he declared. 'We stand on the basis of the law, and will not give a Jewish system of exploitation a legal pretext for the complete plundering of our people.' Such a rhetorical slant could not conceal the outright rejection of the views of the northern leaders. Finally, Hitler repeated his insistence that religious problems had no part to play in the National Socialist Movement.¹⁰⁰

Goebbels was appalled.

I feel devastated. What sort of Hitler? A reactionary? Amazingly clumsy and uncertain. Russian question: completely by the way. Italy and England natural allies. Terrible! Our task is the smashing of Bolshevism. Bolshevism is a Jewish creation! We must be Russia's heir! 180 Millions! Expropriation of the princes! Law is law. Also for the princes. Don't shake the question of private property! (sic!)¹⁰¹ Dreadful! Programme is sufficient! Content with it. Feder nods. Ley nods.¹⁰² Streicher nods. Esser nods. I'm sick at heart when I see you in such company!!! Short discussion. Strasser speaks. Hesitant, trembling, clumsy, the good, honest Strasser. God, how poor a match we are for those swine down there! . . . Probably one of the greatest disappointments of my life. I no longer believe fully in Hitler. That's the terrible thing: my inner support has been taken away.¹⁰³

The potential threat from the Working Community had evaporated. Hitler had reasserted his authority. Despite some initial signs of defiance, the fate of the Community had been sealed at Bamberg. Gregor Strasser promised Hitler to collect all copies of the draft programme he had distributed, and wrote to members of the Community on 5 March asking for them to be returned.¹⁰⁴ The Community now petered out into non-existence. On 1 July 1926, Hitler signed a directive stating that 'since the NSDAP represents a large working community, there is no justification for smaller working communities as a combination of individual *Gaue*'.¹⁰⁵ By that time, Strasser's Working Community of northern and western Gauleiter was

1925

finished. With it went the last obstacle to the complete establishment of Hitler's supreme mastery over the party.

Hitler was shrewd enough to be generous after his Bamberg triumph. He voiced no objection to the creation in March of a greatly enlarged Gau in the Ruhr under the combined leadership of the Working Community members Goebbels, Karl Kaufmann (an energetic activist in his mid-twenties, later Gauleiter of Hamburg, who had cut his teeth through organizing sabotage in the French-occupied Ruhr), and Franz Pfeffer von Salomon (Gauleiter of Westphalia, a former army officer who had subsequently joined the Freikorps, participated in the Kapp Putsch, and been active in opposition to the French in the Ruhr).¹⁰⁶ He paid Gregor Strasser, recovering from a car accident, a surprise visit at his Landshut home. Following discussions with Strasser, he excluded Esser from the Reich Leadership of the NSDAP in April.¹⁰⁷ And by September, Strasser had himself been called to the Reich Leadership as Propaganda Leader of the party, while Franz Pfeffer von Salomon was appointed head of the SA.¹⁰⁸ Most important of all, the impressionable Goebbels was openly courted by Hitler and completely won over.

To bring about what has often been called Goebbels's 'Damascus' in fact took little doing.¹⁰⁹ Goebbels had idolized Hitler from the beginning. 'Who is this man? Half plebian, half God! Actually Christ, or only John [the Baptist]?' he had written in his diary in October 1925, on finishing reading the first volume of *Mein Kampf*.¹¹⁰ 'This man has everything to be a king. The born tribune of the people. The coming dictator,' he added a few weeks later. 'How I love him.'¹¹¹ Like others in the Working Community, he had wanted only to liberate Hitler from the clutches of the Esser clique.¹¹² Bamberg was a bitter blow. But his belief in Hitler was dented, not destroyed. It needed only a sign from Hitler to restore it. And the sign was not long in coming.

In mid-March Goebbels made his peace with Streicher after a long talk in Nuremberg.¹¹³ At the end of the month he received a letter from Hitler inviting him to speak in Munich on 8 April.¹¹⁴ Hitler's car was there to meet him at the station in Munich to take him to his hotel. 'What a noble reception,' noted Goebbels in his diary.¹¹⁵ Hitler's car was again provided the next day to take Goebbels to visit Lake Starnberg, a few miles outside Munich. In the evening after Goebbels's speech in the Bürgerbräukeller, in which he evidently retreated from his more radical version of socialism, Hitler embraced him, tears in his eyes. His north German colleagues, Kaufmann and Pfeffer, were less impressed. Disappointed at his sudden reversal of the opposition to Munich he had up to then so vehemently

advocated, they told Goebbels Hitler was taken to party he summoned to Hitler's room. They for their parts in the Working Community promptly offered to wipe the slate clean. 'Hitler is great. He gives Hitler spent three hours going to Bamberg. Then, Goebbels had it was 'brilliant'. 'I love him Goebbels continued. 'He's a man can be my leader. I bow to the great conversion was complete. A friend in Stuttgart. 'I believe he has wrote. 'Adolf Hitler, I love you at the same time. What one call Hitler appointed Goebbels as party were to advance in the would remain so, adoring and 'like a father', down to the last

The Bamberg meeting had NSDAP. The Working Community rebellion against Hitler's leadership draft programme, a clash was to a programme, or to its lack. National Socialism was to be the *völkisch* movement had Twenty-Five-Point Programme 'It stays as it is,' Hitler was replete full of contradictions, but that Its symbolic significance, not Any more precise policy stating inner dissension. It would subordinated him to abstract and alteration. As it was, his part inviolable.

At Bamberg, too, an importance of foreign policy - had been northern group had been rejected to be inseparable. But the 'idea

1926

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d Goebbels's 'Damascus' in fact itler from the beginning. 'Who ally Christ, or only John [the tober 1925 on finishing reading an has everything to be a king- dictator,' he added a few weeks e Working Community, he had clutches of the Esser clique.¹¹² itler was dented, not destroyed. it. And the sign was not long in

with Streicher after a long talk he received a letter from Hitler ¹⁴ Hitler's car was there to meet n to his hotel. 'What a noble itler's car was again provided Starnberg, a few miles outside ech in the Bürgerbräukeller, in e radical version of socialism, His north German colleagues, d. Disappointed at his sudden had up to then so vehemently

advocated, they told Goebbels his speech was 'rubbish'.¹¹⁶ The next morning Goebbels was taken to party headquarters. He, Kaufmann, and Pfeffer were summoned to Hitler's room. There they were subjected to a dressing-down for their parts in the Working Community and Gau Ruhr. But Hitler promptly offered to wipe the slate clean. 'At the end unity follows,' wrote Goebbels. 'Hitler is great. He gives us all a warm handshake.' In the afternoon Hitler spent three hours going over the same ground he had covered at Bamberg. Then, Goebbels had been sorely disappointed. Now, he thought it was 'brilliant'. 'I love him ... He has thought through everything,' Goebbels continued. 'He's a man, taking it all round. Such a sparkling mind can be my leader. I bow to the greater one, the political genius.'¹¹⁷ Goebbels's conversion was complete. A few days later, he met Hitler again, this time in Stuttgart. 'I believe he has taken me to his heart like no one else,' he wrote. 'Adolf Hitler, I love you because you are both great and simple at the same time. What one calls a genius.'¹¹⁸ Towards the end of the year, Hitler appointed Goebbels as Gauleiter of Berlin – a key position if the party were to advance in the capital.¹¹⁹ Goebbels was Hitler's man. He would remain so, adoring and subservient alike to the man he said he loved 'like a father', down to the last days in the bunker.¹²⁰

The Bamberg meeting had been a milestone in the development of the NSDAP. The Working Community had neither wanted nor attempted a rebellion against Hitler's leadership. But once Strasser had composed his draft programme, a clash was inevitable. Was the party to be subordinated to a programme, or to its leader? The Bamberg meeting decided what National Socialism was to mean. It was not to mean a party torn, as the *völkisch* movement had been in 1924, over points of dogma. The Twenty-Five-Point Programme of 1920 was therefore regarded as sufficient. 'It stays as it is,' Hitler was reported as saying. 'The New Testament is also full of contradictions but that hasn't prevented the spread of Christianity.'¹²¹ Its symbolic significance, not any practical feasibility, was what mattered. Any more precise policy statement would not merely have produced continuing inner dissension. It would have bound Hitler himself to the programme, subordinated him to abstract tenets of doctrine that were open to dispute and alteration. As it was, his position as leader over the movement was now inviolable.

At Bamberg, too, an important ideological issue – the anti-Russian thrust of foreign policy – had been reaffirmed. The alternative approach of the northern group had been rejected. The 'idea' and the Leader were coming to be inseparable. But the 'idea' amounted to a set of distant goals, a mission

says this to convince at the height of the argument.

for the future. The only way to it was through the attainment of power. For that, maximum flexibility was needed. No ideological or organizational disputes should in future be allowed to divert from the path. Fanatical willpower, converted into organized mass force, was what was required. That demanded freedom of action for the leader; and total obedience from the following. What emerged in the aftermath of Bamberg was, therefore, the growth of a new type of political organization: one subjected to the will of the Leader, who stood over and above the party, the embodiment in his own person of the 'idea' of National Socialism.¹²²

By the time of the General Members' Meeting on 22 May, attended by 657 party members,¹²³ Hitler's leadership had emerged inordinately strengthened. He frankly admitted that he attributed no value to the meeting, which had been called simply to meet the legal requirements of a public association. The forthcoming Party Rally in Weimar – the opportunity for a visual display of the new-found unity – was what counted in his eyes.¹²⁴ Following his 'report' on the party's activities since its refoundation, Hitler was unanimously 're-elected' as party chairman.¹²⁵ The party administration remained in the hands of those close to Hitler.¹²⁶ A few amendments were made to the party statutes. Altered five times since 1920, these were now couched in their finalized form. They assured Hitler of the control of the party machine. The appointment of his most important subordinates, the Gauleiter, was in his hands. In effect, the statutes reflected the leader party which the NSDAP had become.¹²⁷ In the light of the conflict with the Working Community over a new programme, not least significant was the reaffirmation of the Twenty-Five Points of 24 February 1920. 'This Programme is immutable,' the statutes unambiguously declared.¹²⁸

A few weeks later, the Party Rally held at Weimar – where Hitler was permitted to speak in public – on 3-4 July 1926 provided the intended show of unity behind the leader. The rally was intended as 'a great display of the youthful strength of our movement'. What was expected was 'an image of disciplined force . . . visible proof of the regained inner health of the movement'. The events of 1924 were held up as a warning. All potential for discord was to be avoided. Matters of substance were referred to special commissions. Discussion was to be kept to a minimum. The chairman of each commission was to be held personally responsible for any resolutions, which were then subject to Hitler's own veto.¹²⁹ Otherwise, the rally consisted of speeches, ritual, and marching. An estimated 7-8,000, including 3,600 stormtroopers and 116 SS men, attended.¹³⁰ It was the first time that the Schutzstaffel (SS, Protection Squad), founded in April 1925 and arising

initially out of Hitler's personal guard (Adolf Hitler Assault Squad) for the first time, and handed over to his new élite organization, the procession to the Feldherrnhaus, the personal oath of loyalty to Hitler, the reception from delegates after a gospel . . . I thank fate, that

The Nazi Party was still far from a putsch.¹³⁵ In the overall framework, the crisis period was over. The party was well as geographically more widespread. Its image of unity and strength was being used by other organizations to throw in their lot. The party was turning into a new type of political organization, had established the basis of his political career, while still in the political arena, complete.

Few people saw Hitler on a regular basis – the trusted and devoted family – the trusted and devoted family – the trusted and devoted family – formed his coterie of bodyguards and constant touch with him. Some, like Rudolf Heß (his secretary), had their part in the putsch. This 'hot' shielded him from the increasing number of people who saw Hitler was difficult.¹³⁷ Those who had to wait for days before they could see him were not leading figures in the movement, too busy at a time.¹³⁸ Even on public occasions a speech, he would remain closed. He reported as full would he set out. After the speech would immediately return to his hotel for a few minutes, if an interview with anyone else was allowed an audience.

1926

the attainment of power. Ideological or organizational from the path. Fanatical, was what was required. Total obedience from Bamberg was, therefore, one subjected to the will of the party, the embodiment in his

on 22 May, attended by 657 inordinately strengthened. To the meeting, which had the appearance of a public association. The opportunity for a visual display was in his eyes.¹²⁴ Following the proclamation, Hitler was unanimously. Administration remained unchanged. Amendments were made to these were now couched in the control of the party machine. Hermann Goebbels, the Gauleiter, was in charge of the party which the NSDAP the Working Community as the reaffirmation of the Programme is immutable;

Mein Kampf - where Hitler was provided the intended show as 'a great display of the expected was 'an image gained inner health of the warning. All potential for were referred to special minimum. The chairman of responsible for any resolutions, otherwise, the rally consisted of 17-8,000, including 3,600 was the first time that the in April 1925 and arising

initially out of Hitler's personal bodyguard, the Stosstrupp Adolf Hitler (Adolf Hitler Assault Squad), had been on public display.¹³¹ Also on display for the first time, and handed to the SS as a sign of Hitler's approbation of his new elite organization, was the 'Blood Flag' of 1923, which had led the procession to the Feldherrnhalle. Every stormtrooper present swore a personal oath of loyalty to Hitler.¹³² The party leader received a rapturous reception from delegates after his speech.¹³³ 'Deep and mystical. Almost like a gospel . . . I thank fate, that it gave us this man,' wrote Goebbels.¹³⁴

The Nazi Party was still far smaller than it had been at the time of the putsch.¹³⁵ In the overall framework of national politics, it was wholly insignificant. To outside observers, its prospects seemed bleak. But internally, the crisis period was over. Though small, the party was better organized as well as geographically more widespread than the pre-putsch party had been. Its image of unity and strength was beginning to persuade other *völkisch* organizations to throw in their lot with the NSDAP.¹³⁶ Above all, it was turning into a new type of political organization - a Leader Party. Hitler had established the basis of his mastery over the movement. In the next years, while still in the political wilderness, that mastery would become complete.

III

Few people saw Hitler on a regular basis in these years. Only his substitute family - the trusted and devotedly loyal group of Munich cronies who formed his coterie of bodyguards, chauffeurs, and secretaries - were in constant touch with him. Some, like Julius Schaub (his general factotum) and Rudolf Heß (his secretary), had served in Landsberg with Hitler for their part in the putsch. This 'houseguard' escorted him, protected him, shielded him from the increasing numbers wanting an audience. Getting to see Hitler was difficult.¹³⁷ Those running party business in Munich often had to wait for days before they could sort out some matter with him. For leading figures in the movement, too, he could prove inaccessible for weeks at a time.¹³⁸ Even on public occasions he was largely unapproachable. Before a speech, he would remain closed in his room. Only once the hall was reported as full would he set out. Afterwards, when away from Munich, he would immediately return to his hotel. Journalists might be permitted to see him for a few minutes, if an interview had been prearranged. But scarcely anyone else was allowed an audience.¹³⁹

very
big

280 HITLER 1889-1936

* It was difficult to bring him to see the wisdom of such maneuvering but as was always the case when I accepted

Hitler's 'coffee-house tirac possible rivals in the party les paranoid outbursts of hatred' sexual deficiency.¹⁴⁹ This was r with women were indeed odd surmised. Yet here, too, he w he took advantage of Putzi H fall on his knees in front of H slave and bemoaning the fate t told him of the incident, Putzi of the languishing troubadour In physical appearance, Hi the putsch. Away from the spea ive.¹⁵¹ His face had hardened. case, he soon lost the weight

→ a point in the
good average
that some
(most people)

* D. T. There were times when he was happy for the isolation, for the opportunity to do nothing, and times when it chafed for there were no common fruits to his power, no red meat and wine, no women wise in lascivious delights -

heroic self-image of 'greatness',
ingly attached to him by his
m the intrigues and in-fighting
of isolation.¹⁴⁰ Beyond this, the
himself and even high-ranking
to emphasize the sense of awe
ence, or encountering him at a
the same time, it enhanced the
n found it hard to dissect and
ppy to encourage the sense of

This certainly applied to the
to the packed hall, the careful
colourful phrases, the gestures
orical talent was harnessed to
beginning to allow the tension
undulations and variations of
and highly expressive; almost
ill-timed *rallentando* to expose
of the hands as the speech rose
nts: all were devices carefully
ulous attention to detail in the
n 1926 and Nuremberg in 1927
it and impression. His clothing
he light-brown uniform with
strap crossing over the right
among the faithful at big party
and tie, when appropriate to
pppearance to a wider audience.
cations. Those who came into
ical distance from him, were
me. He could play the parts as
kissing the hands of ladies, a
mple man of the people shaking
s.¹⁴³ He could be the model of
ately castigating and deriding.
n that he was solely a cynical
central tenets of his 'world-
e strength of his domineering

up him to see
maneuvering but
once he cracked

personality, carried conviction among those drawn to his message. But for one perceptive and critical observer, the one-time Gauleiter of Hamburg, Albert Krebs, Hitler's ability to sway the masses rested essentially on a 'very conscious art' of manipulation – cool calculation, 'without inner sympathy and truthfulness'.¹⁴⁴ Krebs summed up: 'The art of the mask and dissimulation should not be forgotten. It made it so difficult to grasp the core of Hitler's being'.¹⁴⁵

The irresistible fascination that many – not a few of them cultured, educated, and intelligent – found in his extraordinary personality-traits doubtless owed much to his ability to play parts.¹⁴⁶ As many attested, he could be charming – particularly to women – and was often witty and amusing. Much of the time it was show, put on for effect. The same could be true of his rages and outbursts of apparently uncontrollable anger, which were in reality often contrived. The firm handshake and 'manly' eye-to-eye contact which Hitler cultivated on occasions when he had to meet ordinary party members was, for the awestruck lowly activist, a moment never to be forgotten. For Hitler, it was merely acting; it meant no more than the reinforcement of the personality cult, the cement of the movement, the bonding force between Leader and followers. In reality, Hitler showed remarkably little human interest in his followers.¹⁴⁷ Even one of his leading supporters accused him of 'contempt for mankind' (*Menschenverachtung*) in 1928.¹⁴⁸ His egocentrism was of monumental proportions. The propaganda image of 'fatherliness' concealed inner emptiness. Other individuals were of interest to him only in so far as they were useful.

Hitler's 'coffee-house tirades, his restlessness, his resentments against possible rivals in the party leadership, his distaste for systematic work, his paranoid outbursts of hatred' were seen by Putzi Hanfstaengl as a sign of sexual deficiency.¹⁴⁹ This was no more than guesswork. But Hitler's relations with women were indeed odd in some ways. Why this was so can only be surmised. Yet here, too, he was often acting out a role. On one occasion, he took advantage of Putzi Hanfstaengl's brief absence from the room to fall on his knees in front of Helene Hanfstaengl, describing himself as her slave and bemoaning the fate that had led him to her too late. When Helene told him of the incident, Putzi put it down to Hitler's need to play the role of the languishing troubadour from time to time.¹⁵⁰

In physical appearance, Hitler was little changed from the time before the putsch. Away from the speaker's podium he looked anything but impressive.¹⁵¹ His face had hardened.¹⁵² But, as he told Hanfstaengl would be the case, he soon lost the weight he had put on in Landsberg once he started

→ a point in my notebook, he became very good, overcame his inhibitions at getting that same point across.

LESSON XXXIII.

MOON.

Question. WHAT is the moon?

Answer. The moon is a secondary planet, revolving around the earth.

Q. Is the moon larger or smaller than the earth?

A. It is 49 times less than the earth.

Q. What is the diameter of the moon?

A. 2,180 miles.

Q. What is the specific gravity of the moon?

A. It is $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the weight of water, (3.37.)

Q. What is its mean distance from the earth?

A. Two hundred and forty thousand miles.

Q. In what time does the moon revolve around the earth?

A. In about $27\frac{1}{2}$ days, (27d. 7h. 43m. 11s.)

Q. In what time does the moon revolve upon its axis?

A. In about $27\frac{1}{2}$ days, or in the same time that it revolves around the earth.

Q. What is the result of the moon's revolving upon its axis and around the earth in the same time?

A. The same side of the moon is always presented to the earth.

Q. Have we ever seen the opposite side of the moon?

A. We have not.

Q. What causes the moon always to present the same side to the earth?

A. It is supposed that one side of the moon is more dense than the other, consequently the centre of gravity is not in the centre of the moon.

Q. What is a lunation, or lunar month?

A. It is the time from one new moon to another.

Q. What is the length of a lunation?

A. About $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, (29d. 12h. 44m.)

Q. Why is a lunation longer than the time it takes the moon to revolve around the earth?

A. Because the earth is revolving around the sun at the same time. (Fig. 3. See Note 1.)

LESSON XXXIV.

Q. What is the length of the days or nights at the moon?

A. About 15 of our days. (Note 4.)

Q. Which way does the moon revolve around the earth?

A. From west to east.

Q. If the moon revolves from west to east, what causes it to rise in the east?

A. It is caused by the earth's revolving on its axis the same way. (Note 2.)

Q. Does the moon rise the same hour every evening?

A. It rises about 50 minutes later every day.

Q. What is the cause of its rising 50 minutes later every day?

A. It is caused by the moon's revolving around the earth from west to east.

Q. What causes the phases of the moon, from new moon to new moon again?

A. They are caused by the moon's revolving around the earth. (See Diagram, Note 3.)

Q. When is it new moon?

A. When the moon is between the earth and sun, and the dark side is presented to us. (Fig. 1.)

MOON.—Continued.

Q. When is it full moon?

A. When the moon is upon the opposite side of the earth from the sun, and the illuminated side is presented to us. (Fig. 1.)

Q. How much greater is the light of the sun than the full moon?

A. 300,000 times greater.

Q. When are the sun and moon in quadrature?

A. When they are ninety degrees distant from each other. (Fig. 1.)

Q. How much of the illuminated side of the moon is visible to us when it is in quadrature?

A. One-half. (Fig. 1.)

Q. How much larger is the sun than the moon?

A. 70 millions of times greater.

Q. Why does the moon appear as large as the sun?

A. Because it is four hundred times nearer to us than the sun. (See Fig. 4.)

Note 1. Fig. 3.—The moon revolves around the earth in about $27\frac{1}{2}$ days, but from one new moon to another it is about $29\frac{1}{2}$ days; this difference is caused by the earth's revolving around the sun at the same time that the moon is revolving around the earth. This will appear plain by examining Fig. 3, on the opposite page. If we suppose the moon to be in conjunction or new moon, while the moon is revolving around the earth, the earth moves through nearly one-twelfth part of its orbit, and when the moon arrives at A, it will have made a complete revolution around the earth; but the moon will not be in conjunction, or between the earth and sun, until it has moved the distance from A to B—hence it will be seen that from one new moon to another the moon has to make more than one complete revolution around the earth.

Note 2.—That the moon revolves around the earth from west to east, from one new moon to another in about $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, there is not the least doubt; and it will appear perfectly plain if we consider that the earth is revolving on its axis the same way, or from west to east; the earth revolves on its axis in 24 hours, whereas the moon is $29\frac{1}{2}$ days in revolving around the earth; consequently the moon only moves from west to east in 24 hours, as much as the earth turns on its axis in 50 minutes, which makes the moon rise as much later every evening. If the earth did not revolve upon its axis, then the moon would rise in the west, and after being above the horizon for nearly 15 days, would set in the east, and would be below the horizon for the same length of time, when it would rise again in the west.

PHASES OF THE MOON.

Note 3. Fig. 1.—By phases of the moon is meant the various appearances which the moon presents from new to full moon, and from full moon to new moon again. As the moon is a dark body of itself, there is only one-half of its surface illuminated by the sun. At new moon, when the moon is between the earth and sun; that side of the moon upon which the sun shines, is towards the sun, and the dark side is presented to the earth; consequently we do not see any portion of the illuminated side of the moon at new moon, see Fig. 1; but as the moon passes around from west to east, it brings the illuminated side of the moon more and more to our view; at the first quarter we can see one-half of the illuminated surface, and when the moon arrives at full moon, we can see the whole of the illuminated surface, as the earth is then between the sun and moon. From full moon to new moon again, the illuminated surface disappears in the same manner as it appeared.

LENGTH OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS AT THE MOON.

Note 4. As the moon revolves on its axis only once in its revolution around the earth, it continually presents the same side to the earth, and there would be, consequently, only one day and night in each revolution of the moon around the earth, or the day and night would each be nearly fifteen days long.

1. 1894—Edmund born. Died 1900. ✓
2. 1895—April. Moved to Hafeld.
3. 1893. Alois almost beats Adolf to death, or so he fears. ??
4. 1894. AH. loves his situation Angela and Alois Jr. to school all day.
(the rest unreadable) Loves Paula and children
5. 1894. ~~??????~~ How important his father seems "Alois",
are you the most beautiful woman in the world?
6. 1903. Alois's death. His income was 1000 florins. 6 times the income of a lower Austrian day laborer (which he compares himself to.)
7. Any year (unreadable) → meine Onkel Alois.
8. 1896. We have been married for eleven years. No need to call me uncle.
(Conceives Paula that night)
9. 1495 Hafeld purchase. The farm is called Weis. Pd. 5 to 6,000 guilder. ~~12,000?~~
10. 1897 Sold Hafeld in spring to Dr. Conrad Retta von Zelkauer Changed name eleven times in 20 years. In 1938 ownerless was vested in Martin Bormann as trustee of National Socialist Party.
11. 1895. Two three-tier hives made by Alois from poplar.
12. 1901. Dec. Letter to former neighbor Wührer, a wood pulp supplier
13. 1897. Moved to Lambach in July at the Schmied mühle (inn or mill?) then to a flat in center of Lambach. Lived there 18 mos.)
14. 1897-1899. flat flat in Lambach.
15. 1895. Alois retires age 58. 40 years of service.
16. 1897. Alois Jr. leaves Hafeld after fight with Alois. (over bee-keeping)
17. 1897. Selling house in Hafeld.—Giving up of bee-keeping almost as great a loss as retiring.
18. 1896. After the fight, Alois Jr. is disinherited. Adolf is near paralyzed by the extent of his father's injury.

18. 1894⁶ After the fight, Alois, Jr. is disinherited. Adolf is near-paralyzed by the extent of his father's fury. Alois half-enjoys bee-stings—Klara taking them out—feels like the nearest he's ever been to ^{having} a mother. Sees it as a cure for arthritis. Note: the fight with Alois, Jr.: part of it is his tormenting Adolf because Klara always takes his side.

19. 1895 May. Adolf enters one-room village school of Fischlhaus. Soon knows that he is the brightest. Hears and learns what pupils of the second, third and fourth grades are learning.

(Lambach)
20. 1897 Move to Lambach⁶ grade school in Lambach. AH joins Benedictine boys' choir school. ~~what~~ what songs could Alois sing? CK in EC. (solemn splendor of church festivals and Mass. (~~which ones, IM?~~) AH "wonderfully exercising man's natural need for the supernatural. Blessed music, solemn rites, incense. [Believes here in God?]
Thinks of becoming a priest. Whispers it to his mother who warns him. ^{Don't tell your father.} Klara goes to Sunday Mass. Alois only on ^{Emperor's birthday Aug 14} ~~cannot get~~ since Aug 95.

21. 1898 (end of) Family moves to Leonding south of Linz. Alois buys a small house for 7700 kronen next to the cemetery.

22. 1904 the confirmation ceremony. More to follow.

23. 1896 Paula born. Five children in house. Tensions with Alois, Jr. and fight. Tough for Adolf afterward: Alois, Sr: "I have wasted time and sacrifice on the older son. That had better not be you."

24. 1896 Alois Jr.'s future—told by DT?

25. 1896 Adolf's room—see Goebbels' account

26. 1896 p. 74 Early Years—Alois jeers at his father

27. 1887 Beatings of Adolf begin. The emotional sweets of this for Adi

28. p. 64A

29. 1898 Paula gives signs of being a little simple. Paula [Klara, you mean?] feels the family curse again.

30. 1896 p. 52A typings Adi beaten badly. DT comment.

31. 1895 With Alois working in Linz and Klara in Passau, the family lives apart from the father for 12 months

32. 1896 Hafeld Alois's experience at farming is 44 years in the past. [CK] Alois, Jr comments on this.

33. 1898 Move to Leonding (south of Linz) House bought for 7700 kronen.

34. 1897 "the abbot ruled his ^{place} ~~land~~ with all the authority of an earthly king." "It seemed to me perfectly natural to regard the abbot as the highest and most desirable ideal, just as his father regarded the village priest as his ideal." Mein Kampf—^{doesn't} ~~don't~~ miss a ^{political} power trip.

Another abbot, Theodoric van Hage and his Hakenkreuz (swastika, see p. 55A)

35. 1896 The discovery that his land is not good comes in the months after buying the farm and contributes to Alois Jr and Sr's fights. It eats at Alois that he as a peasant got taken. (One of his strengths with younger officers was that he came from peasant stock and he knew when people were cheating him.) *They from middle-class backgrounds knew less.*

36. 1896 Bee stings p. 33A A note on incest and guilt in Alois.

37. 1897 Move to Lambach July 1897 No good education for children. Tie with small schoolhouse for Adolf. Note: Lambach temporary quarters at Gasthof Leitgartner *Alois upsets a horse the night the fall from the tree.*

38. 1898 Move to rooms on second floor of a mill. Miller named Zoebel and blacksmith named Preisinger. Noisy for Klara. Lambach 170 people. . Alois back to the tavern. P. 60 AH's Early Childhood.

39. 1896 After Alois Jr leaves, Alois Sr would whistle for Adolf like a dog. Herr Vater.
(circled #, cannot get)

40. 1898 shooting at rats in cemetery playing at war variety of pastimes among the dead.

58a 41. 1899 Boer war. Boer hats. Herrings and sausages. Adolf reads papers. Boers against English

58a 42. 1897 Bee stings A disquisition by DT on why strong men have a masochistic streak. Introduction of Alpha and Omega.

43 59a. 1899 Alois singing. Adi caught by priest smoking. Close moment with father.

44 63a. 1900 Edmund dies. Change in Adi. Alois whistling to call him. Adolf sitting on cemetery wall, gazing at stones.

45 63a September enter Linz ^{Real Duke} ~~Rulschole~~

46 66a. Feb 23 1899 Purchased one story country house on half-acre (cemetery wall adjacent.) Adolf goes to third elementary school. DT reference to cries of the damned. Echoes of Edmund.

47 1945. 60a Cross reference fo March 1945. Adolf in front of wooden model of Linz.

48 61a. 1900 Adi's fear that his secret curses killed Edmund.

49 35a. 1900 look at this page. Many DT theories in re death of Edmund.

50 typed page 62a. 1900 DT's annoyance at milk runs. Celebration of new century.

51 36a. 1900 Cudgels attack Adi for Edmund. Possible striking of Klara. Or is it better in 1906? Put in both years via Xerox.

52 37a. 1900 reward for Klara not to go to funeral. Alois is the last one.

53 p. 70. 1901 Realschule description

54 p. 71. 1901 arguments over becoming an official.

55 112. 1901 Holds dialogue with trees, awareness of one testicle, teacher masturbating, his mother's concerns doubled after Edmund's death. Hitler's eyes. Staring in mirror.

Hitler
Research
→ Chronology of Hitler's life

56. 179. 1900 Gets interested in Grimm after Edmund's death. The stories are with him in the cemetery.

57. 168 1900 important DT comment on the death of Edmund.

58 . 166 1900 still plays with younger kids. Older ones near-too-tough. Cemetery.
Bodies of the dead rats mingle in his mind with the dead.

59. 167 1900 starts a fire. Cops and robbers.

60. 159 1900 cleanliness

1943 Hoess file

61. 105 1944 Xerox file

62. 105 1900 after Edmund, "the only boy I have left."

63. 64 1900 death of Edmund, February 2, 1900. Alois sees he is the one to carry on the family name.

64. 76 1900 makes funny faces at girls in church

65. 77 900 Bad in Realschule. Too close to young kids. Is rejected by fellow students.

Description of Realschule. Linz, pop, 60,000. Description of Linz.

66. 78 1900 Back in Leonding, younger kids all surround him—the master. Fails math and science. First year. His drawings are not hung.

1901-02 repeats the first two semesters

67. 79 1902-02 Account of his promotions and failures. Teachers seem grimy and ugly.

68. 84 1901 *Ehre-fucht* *Neuer weiblich*
~~Her-fucht~~ (honor-fear) ~~Never~~ *haveiblich* (feminine)

1943 Hoess quote Xerox file

69. 83 1901 The cornflower.

70. 84 1901 Beginning of first sense of blood, not borders. DT to instruct him, notes 84 and 85

71. 85 1901 Alois' counter-reaction. Adolf dares to leave him a letter on Rudolf. Alois hears Latin a lot now.

72. 1901 weekly gatherings of "table societies."

73. 48,49,40 1901 burgher's club. Talk of higher society. Alois' dreams—the heartburn that follows.

74. 17 1900-01 Move to Realschule and disinterest of teachers. DT comments on Ego.

75. 62 1900-01 ^{Mayerhofer} Mayerhuck and Alois on punishing Adolf.

76. 69 1900 Alois not going to funeral but Klara sees him weep. ^{Scene} ~~Seen~~ with Adolf afterward.

77 65 1900 Adi big among village children. Good in volkschule.

78. 1900 picture volume on war of 1870.

Reading Karl May see Waite p. 137; ^{Mosse} ~~Moore~~, p. 174

Karl May, one of DT's clients

79. 68, 69 1900 School alternative. Volkschule and after

80. 77 1900 Why he has to join tough kids yet remains on the edge as the leader.

81. 79 1900 enters unterrealschule in Linz in Sept 1900. Term is 10 months starting mid-September.

82. 80 1900 repeat of 80, easier to read. Xerox for 1938

83. 82 1900 snobbery of upper class kids. AH from the peasants.

84. 85 1900 ^{Reads} Reads Karl May and has fantasies about Alois.

86. 88 1901 Grimmelhausen

87. 98 1901 More on war games

88. 95 1901 Slavization and Alois?

89. 96 1902 the thrashings and Karl May at Hotel Roter ^{Krebs} ~~Krebs~~ in Linz

89. 96 1902 "table societies." School entrance in Linz

90. 97 1902 salute and arm-raising

91. 4 1902 changes from Adi to Adel (noble)

92. 65 1902 school grades

93. 90 1905 16 Sept 1905 Adolf's report card

94. 91 1902, 03, 04

95. 111 1902—1908 Treitschke

96 53 1902 Alois lectures Adolf on changing scene

97. 5 1902 a lot of dialogue typed out, Klara and Alois

98. xxx 1902 see the note. Surpassing the father. Attach it to the mountains he must climb.

99. 45 1902 In tension with father after discussion of school attitudes.

100. 44 1902 Czecks in school and tension

101. 48 1902-02 more of the same

102 . 67 1902-03 Sees Loehengrin in Linz. His first Wagner. Get synopsis from internet. → *Dwayne*

103. 68 1902-03 More on tension over Hapsburgs and Germany

104. 69 1902-03 more again

105. 72 1902 visit to Customs office in Linz