~~1837-1889~~

Redundant or discarded

Red ink is used here for new remarks.

To be gone over w green ink comments.

Blue or pink marker for emphasis

Yellow for later emphasis

1837-1889

1837-1889

1837-1889 Hitler's father, The young Hitler ...

1837-1889

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The register of deaths in

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Whether or not the writers who were called upon to supply the Führer with a respectable genealogy knew that his paternal grandfather was unknown, their labours served the double purpose of disposing of this rumour and, at the same time, explaining how it came about that Alois Schicklgruber became Alois Hitler. It was easy, they said! Alois had been the natural son of Marianne Schicklgruber and Johann Georg Hiedler and, as such, had for a while borne his mother's surname. But then, of course, his parents had married and so he had been 'legitimized', receiving his father's surname.[1]

This explanation was false, both in regard to the identity of Alois' father and to the manner in which he changed his name. For it was not until he was forty years old that Alois Schicklgruber became Alois Hitler, thirty years after his mother's death and twenty years after his stepfather's.

Alois was ten when his mother died. For another three years he remained with his foster-father, Johann Nepomuk Hiedler, at the latter's home in Spital, and then, like many youths in that neighbourhood, he went to Vienna where he started to learn the trade of bootmaker. In his nineteenth year, that is in 1855, he succeeded in obtaining employment under the Imperial Board of Revenue. Nine years later he transferred to the Customs and Excise Branch, where he worked in an administrative capacity. In 1871 he was posted to Braunau-on-Inn. In 1875 he was promoted to Senior Assistant Customs Officer and named in the Bulletin of the Finance Ministry as 'Alois Schicklgruber'. Two years later the customs officers in Braunau must have been surprised indeed to learn that their forty-year-old colleague, Alois Schicklgruber, was henceforth to be known as Alois Hitler.

The wrong explanation

In explanation of the change, Hitler's biographers have adopted the following story. In 1877, they say, when Alois' foster-father, Johann Nepomuk Hiedler, was seventy, he informed

[1] The reader will in due course encounter three variants of this name: 'Hiedler', 'Hitler' and 'Hüttler', but they all refer to the same family.

inspector of the customs service possessed status, and he was paid at least as well as the principal of the local school. He was given a resplendent uniform with many gilt buttons and a cocked hat richly embroidered with gold lace. In this uniform he cut a fine figure, with his sweeping mustaches, beetling brows, and jutting jaw. He permitted no one to forget that he represented the power and glory of the bureaucracy. One of his colleagues called him "rigid and pedantic," but others remembered him as a warm-hearted, earthy man with a wry sense of humor and a gift for enduring friendships. Some of his letters have survived, and they show him to be kindly, sensible, and no more pedantic than one would expect of a customs official. To a cousin who asked about the prospects of a career for his son in the customs service, he answered: "Don't let him think the *Finanzwach* is a kind of a game, because he will be quickly disillusioned. First, he has to show absolute obedience to his superiors at all levels. Second, there is a good deal to learn in this occupation, all the more so if he has had little previous education. Topers, debtors, card players, and others who lead immoral lives cannot last. Finally, one has to go out on duty in all weathers, day or night."

Alois Hitler was drawing a self-portrait without knowing that he was doing so, but in one respect it was inaccurate. It was perfectly possible to remain in the customs service while leading an immoral life. Gross public immorality was not condoned, but private immorality was tolerated and even expected of an unmarried man, and Alois Hitler had his full share of romances.

In October, 1873, at the age of thirty-six, he married for the first time. His bride, Anna Glassl-Hörer, fourteen years older than himself, was the daughter of an inspector in the imperial tobacco monopoly. She was a widow, and it is possible that he married her for her money. She soon became an invalid, and he seems to have lost interest in her quite early in the marriage. Since he lodged in an inn, where chambermaids and waitresses were available, he continued to enjoy an ample sexual life. His wife endured his infidelities until 1880, when she finally sued for a legal separation. After the separation there was very little change in Alois Hitler's way of life, for he continued to live with his mistress, Franziska Matzelsberger, a farmer's daughter, who worked as a waitress in the Gasthaus Streif, where he was lodging. In addition to Franziska, known as Fanni, another young woman was living in Alois Hitler's apartment, ostensibly as a maidservant. This was Klara Pölzl, the twenty-year-old granddaughter of Johann Nepomuk Hüttler.

Franziska Matzelsberger had no illusions about Alois Hitler, and she insisted that the maidservant leave the apartment. Klara Pölzl went

'By the time the thirteen-year-old had turned sixteen, he had already completed his apprenticeship. But still he was not satisfied. On the contrary, the long years of want, misery and suffering merely strengthened the resolve he now made to abandon his trade in order to reach a "higher sphere". . . . With the grim perseverance of a lad aged by want and hardship before he was even half-way through his childhood, he proceeded to put his resolve into effect—and became a civil servant, achieving the goal, if I remember rightly, after twenty-three years. . . .'

In fact, Alois achieved his goal in two years. Why he should have suffered want and misery as a bootmaker's apprentice is difficult to see, while the assertion that hardship had already aged him can be dismissed entirely; there is ample proof that, in many respects, Alois remained surprisingly youthful until the day he died.

Returning, then, to solid facts, we know that Alois began his career in the Civil Service in 1855, at the age of eighteen. Nine years later he was appointed a probationary Assistant in the Customs Service. In 1875 he was promoted to be Senior Assistant Customs Officer at Braunau.

The following details of his promotions have been taken from the Bulletins of the Austrian Finance Ministry:

1864. Alois Schicklgruber, Revenue Clerk, to be probationary Assistant in the Customs Service.

This meant that Alois had passed through the clerical grade and become a Customs *officer* after nine years' service—according to a former Customs officer whom I consulted, a very creditable achievement, particularly as he had not attended secondary school.

1870. Assistant Customs Officer Alois Schicklgruber to be Assistant Collector at the Auxiliary Customs Post at Mariahilf.

(This was the Mariahilf near Schärding.)

1871. Assistant Collector Alois Schicklgruber to be Assistant Inspector of Customs, Braunau-on-Inn.

1875. Assistant Inspector of Customs Alois Schicklgruber to be Senior Assistant Customs Officer, Braunau.

1892. Senior Assistant Customs Officer Alois Hitler to be probationary Higher Collector.

As we saw in the previous chapter, it was in 1876 that Alois' surname was changed from Schicklgruber to Hiedler, which he chose to spell 'Hitler'. The promotion to Higher Collector came automatically. Alois had now reached the highest rank that a man with only elementary education could attain. As the establishment at Braunau did not include a Higher Collector, however, the promotion involved leaving that town where Alois had served for twenty-one years and going to Passau, where two Higher Collectors were employed.

The final move came two years later, on 1st April 1894, when Alois was posted to Linz. There he served on the provincial staff of the Inland Revenue until June 1895, when he retired on the completion of forty years' service.

Brief though it is, this outline of his career shows that, far from 'sitting out' his time in the Customs Service as his son's biographers have alleged, Alois Schicklgruber/Hitler obtained unusually rapid promotion. He must have been well above average in industry, efficiency and, not least, in his determination to succeed.

His private life

In 1867 or 1868, a certain Fräulein Thekla P—— had a child by Alois Schicklgruber. The infant, a girl, was christened Theresia. In due course, Theresia married and had a son. This son, as I myself can testify, bears an uncanny resemblance to Adolf Hitler.

In 1873, at the age of thirty-six, when he was Assistant Inspector of Customs at Braunau, Alois married Anna Glassl, a woman fourteen years older than himself and daughter of an inspector in the Imperial tobacco monopoly. It has been suggested

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This Johanna Hüttler, Adolf's maternal grandmother, was, according to the documents, a daughter of Johann Nepomuk Hiedler. Thus Klara Pölzl was directly related to the Hüttler-Hiedler family, for Johann Nepomuk Hiedler was the brother of that Johann Georg Hiedler who appears in the baptismal register of Döllersheim as Adolf's father's father. Klara Pölzl was, therefore, a second cousin of her husband. Alois Hitler always referred to her before their marriage simply as his niece.

Klara Pölzl had a miserable childhood in the poor and wretched home where there were so many children. In 1875 when she was fifteen years old, her relative, the customs official Alois Schicklgruber at Braunau, invited her to come and help his wife in the house. Alois Schicklgruber, who only in the following year assumed the name Hiedler, which he changed into Hitler, was then married to Anna Glasl-Hörer. This first marriage of Alois Hitler with a woman fourteen years older than himself remained without issue and they finally separated. When his wife died in 1883, Alois Hitler married Franziska Matzelsberger, who was twenty-four years his junior. The children of this marriage were Adolf's half brother Alois and half sister Angela. Klara, who had continued living in the house during the time he was separated from his first wife, left on the second marriage and went to Vienna. As Franziska, the second wife, fell gravely ill after the birth of her second child, Alois Hitler called his niece back to Braunau. Franziska died on August 10, 1884, barely two years after her marriage. (Alois, the first child of this union, had been born out of wedlock and adopted by his father.) On January 7, 1885, six months after the death of his second wife, Alois Hitler married his "niece" Klara, who was already expecting a child by him, the first son, Gustav, who was born on May 17, 1885, that is to say five months after the marriage, and who died on December 9, 1887.

Although Klara Pölzl was only a second cousin, the couple

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Application of Alois Hitler an
permission to marry.

Most Reverend Episcopate!

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so that it may be justifiably as
would be successful and the m
over, the bride is without means
that she will ever have another
riage.

For these reasons the under
petition for the gracious procur
the impediment of affinity.

Braunau, 27th October, 1884

A
K

baptismal register. +++ Josef Romeder, Witness +++ Johann Breiteneder, Witness +++ Engelbert Paukh, Witness.

These insertions in the register, with the witnesses signing by making a mark, prove only that Alois Schicklgruber wanted to be legitimized and found a compliant priest to fill the blank spaces. Nearly thirty years had passed since Maria Anna Hiedler, formerly Schicklgruber, had died of consumption and dropsy, and nearly twenty years had passed since the death of Johann Georg Hiedler. Now, in a single stroke, with the help of three illiterate witnesses and a priest, Alois Schicklgruber legitimized himself and adopted the name of Alois Hitler.

Only one of the witnesses is known to have had any close association with the family. This was Josef Romeder, who was married to Johann Nepomuk's daughter Walburga. Johann Nepomuk was still alive, and his testimony would have carried more weight. The priest was apparently led to believe that Johann Georg was still alive, for he is described as "living in Spital," when in fact he was lying in his grave. Everything about the altered document suggests deliberate deception.

If there was deliberate deception, then there was some reason for it, and August Kubizek, a friend of the young Adolf Hitler, thought the reason was a very simple one. Johann Nepomuk had fathered three daughters and the family name would die out unless Alois adopted it. He therefore wrote a will, leaving a modest sum of money to Alois on condition that he changed his name. The will, however, has never been found.

On January 6, 1877, the change of name became official, for it is recorded in the government office at Mistelbach. Henceforward Alois Schicklgruber was always known as Alois Hitler.

The mystery of Alois's father remains unsolved, for the doctored records possess no legal force and shed no light on what really happened. It was the Austrian custom not to inquire too closely into questions of legitimacy unless they involved the nobility or people possessing considerable wealth. If a man wanted to change his name, he was under no obligation to submit documents to the courts and go through lengthy legal proceedings. He simply changed his name, and that was the end of the matter. The fact that Alois gave himself the name of Hitler rather than Hiedler has no special significance: it was simply one more variation on a name that was spelled within the family in many different ways.

To the question: Who was Alois's father?—no answer can be made. Both Johann Nepomuk and Johann Georg must be included among the candidates, but there are no compelling arguments in favor of either of them. Nor are there any compelling arguments to favor a Jewish father. A number of photographs of Alois have survived, and in all of them

demanded.[20] In later years he was able to relax a bit, but in the first thirty years of his career, strict devotion to duty dominated his life. The self-sacrifice involved in this achievement became a point of honor in the family; Alois took pains to show that his career had not been easy. In 1876, while advising his cousin on prospects for his son, Josef Veit, in the financial guards, Alois drew on some of his own experiences: "Don't let him believe that the *Finanzwach* is some kind of play, for he will be quickly disillusioned. First he is required to render absolute obedience to his supervisors at every level. Then there is much to learn, especially for one who hasn't any prior schooling. Drinkers, debtors, card players and other types that lead immoral lives cannot last. Then, of course, one must go out on duty in every kind of weather, day or night."[21] Certainly not an easy job, but Alois had not only done all the things required, he had risen above them.

This demand for recognition, this pedantry, this touch of pomposity were the least pleasant features of his personality, but there were also other, more attractive aspects. Despite his efforts to assert himself, he had genuine respect for other people's rights and real concern for their welfare. In 1876, for example, while settling the estate of a maternal uncle, he had to explain to an heir why there was so little left in the estate at the time of the death. The case was simple: Uncle Franz drank too much. "He was a great friend of common laborers," Alois wrote, "and always liked best to spend his time in the tavern. That he had not changed is shown by the fact that the 100 florins which he had set aside for the casket in his will had gone to drink. As a man lives, so does he die. But of course, that was his business."[22] The uncle's behavior was wrong but, in Alois' view, he was master of his fate, and his right to misuse his life had to be respected. Similarly, the cook in his household in the middle 1880's remembered that Alois was careful about seeing to it that others' interests and needs were not ignored. On holidays the family took pains to include her in the festivities. She remembered

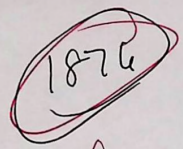
[20] Statement of Zollobersekretaer Hebenstreit. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.
[21] Letter Alois Hitler to Alois Veit, October 9, 1876. *L of C* and *HA*, File 17A, Reel 1.
[22] Letter Alois Hitler to Alois Veit, October 9, 1876. *L of C* and *HA*, File 17A, Reel 1.

There is a possibility that the name change reflected previous statements by the deceased Johann Georg Hiedler. Romeder, if not the other two witnesses, had certainly known Johann Georg, because Romeder had married Johann Nepomuk's daughter and was occupying the ancestral home of the Hiedlers in Spital when Johann Georg died in the village in the mid-1850's. An additional point is that, privately, Alois claimed as early as the fall of 1876 that Johann Georg had acknowledged his paternity. In explaining his change of name to a maternal (Schickelgruber) cousin in September, Alois stated that he had assumed the name Hitler because although he had been illegitimate at birth, his parents had later married and, together with the "acknowledgement of my father," this made him legitimate. The first time he explained the situation, the crucial phrase, "and the acknowledgement of my father," was tucked in above the line as if it was an afterthought, but, in another letter a week later, the phrase occupied its proper place in the sentence.[35] Neither this statement by Alois nor the connections between Romeder and Johann Georg make the latter Alois' father any more than the proceedings before the Döllersheim priest did, but they do indicate that the alteration was not a totally arbitrary act.

The motives behind the change of name in the summer of 1876 can be analyzed with more precision. Shame over his illegitimacy seems to have played little or no part with Alois. Far from trying to hide his illegitimacy, he openly admitted it, both before and after the events of 1876.[36] The important reasons seem to have been a desire to preserve the Hitler-Hiedler name and the requirements of a legacy. The active figure in this action was Johann Nepomuk Hiedler who had raised Alois and was understandably proud of him. Alois had just been promoted again, and was finally married, and, as far as the world knew, had settled down. He had clearly made the greatest success in life of any of the Hiedler family circle. Johann Nepomuk, on the other hand, faced uncertainties and doubts. His

[35] Letters of Alois Hitler to Frau Veit, September 6 and 13, 1876. *L of C* material; not in *HA*, File 17A, Reel 1.

[36] Letters of Alois Hitler to Frau Veit, September 6 and 13, 1876. *L of C*; not in *HA*, File 17A, Reel 1. This point is also made in an article in the *Wiener Sonn und Montagszeitung*, c. 1932, attributed to a Frau Antonie Fischer who allegedly knew Alois. Most of the information in the article is wildly inaccurate. An undated copy is in *HA*, File 17, Reel 1A.



1876

* once in a person's life long enough to influence them in a dream. Often we never saw them again. The O.O. had better use fries, or assigned another colleague to the task.

Schicklgruber — ~~a bully~~ — a bully-hole

repetition

D.T. The first I knew of the existence of anyone in this came ~~from~~ out of a suggestion from the Source to make a call on our Alois Schicklgruber. In his dreams I was to tell him to change his name (a course he had been contemplating for some years) to Alois Hitler. A routine assignment. Often we appeared *

I

The first of many strokes of good fortune for Adolf Hitler took place thirteen years before he was born. In 1876, the man who was to become his father changed his name from Alois Schicklgruber to Alois Hitler. Adolf can be believed when he said that nothing his father had done had pleased him so much as to drop the coarsely rustic name of Schicklgruber.[1] Certainly, 'Heil Schicklgruber' would have sounded an unlikely salutation to a national hero.

The Schicklgrubers had for generations been a peasant family, smallholders in the Waldviertel, a picturesque but poor, hilly and (as the name suggests) woody area in the most north-westerly part of Lower Austria, bordering on Bohemia, whose inhabitants had something of a reputation for being dour, hard-nosed, and unwelcoming.[2] Hitler's father, Alois, had been born there on 7 June 1837, in the village of Strones, as the illegitimate child of Maria Anna Schicklgruber, then forty-two years old and daughter of a poor smallholder, Johann Schicklgruber, and baptized (as Aloys Schicklgruber) in nearby Döllersheim the same day. The baptismal register left a blank in the space allocated to the baby's father.[3] The name of Hitler's paternal grandfather was not disclosed and, despite much speculation, has remained unknown ever since.

Five years later, Maria Anna married Johann Georg Hiedler, a fifty-year-old miller's journeyman from Spital, some fifteen miles away. Hiedler's aimless and meandering lifestyle had brought him to Strones, where he had for some time dwelt in the same house as Maria Anna and her father.[4] The marriage lasted five years. Maria Anna died in 1847, and Hiedler's hand-to-mouth existence was ended by a stroke a decade later.

No later than the time of his mother's death, and perhaps earlier, the

1893

Books in this file

The German Empire 1870-1918 Sturmer

used up.

1893

1893

oking over the Danube,
d.[13] And: *I won't take*
dog.[14]

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ıentality," adding that
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erlin. Vienna, he said,
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nd educational center,
ıe Danube, had almost
ıd thus—after Vienna,
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estern part of the Dual

r lived in Linz only a
until February 1908.
ıs officer Alois Hitler
on the Inn, where he
ıen he was three years

old, did not gain any significance until later, when Hitler could interpret it as *fate: For this little town lies on the boundary between two German states which we of the younger generation at least have made it our life work to reunite by every means at our disposal*.[19]

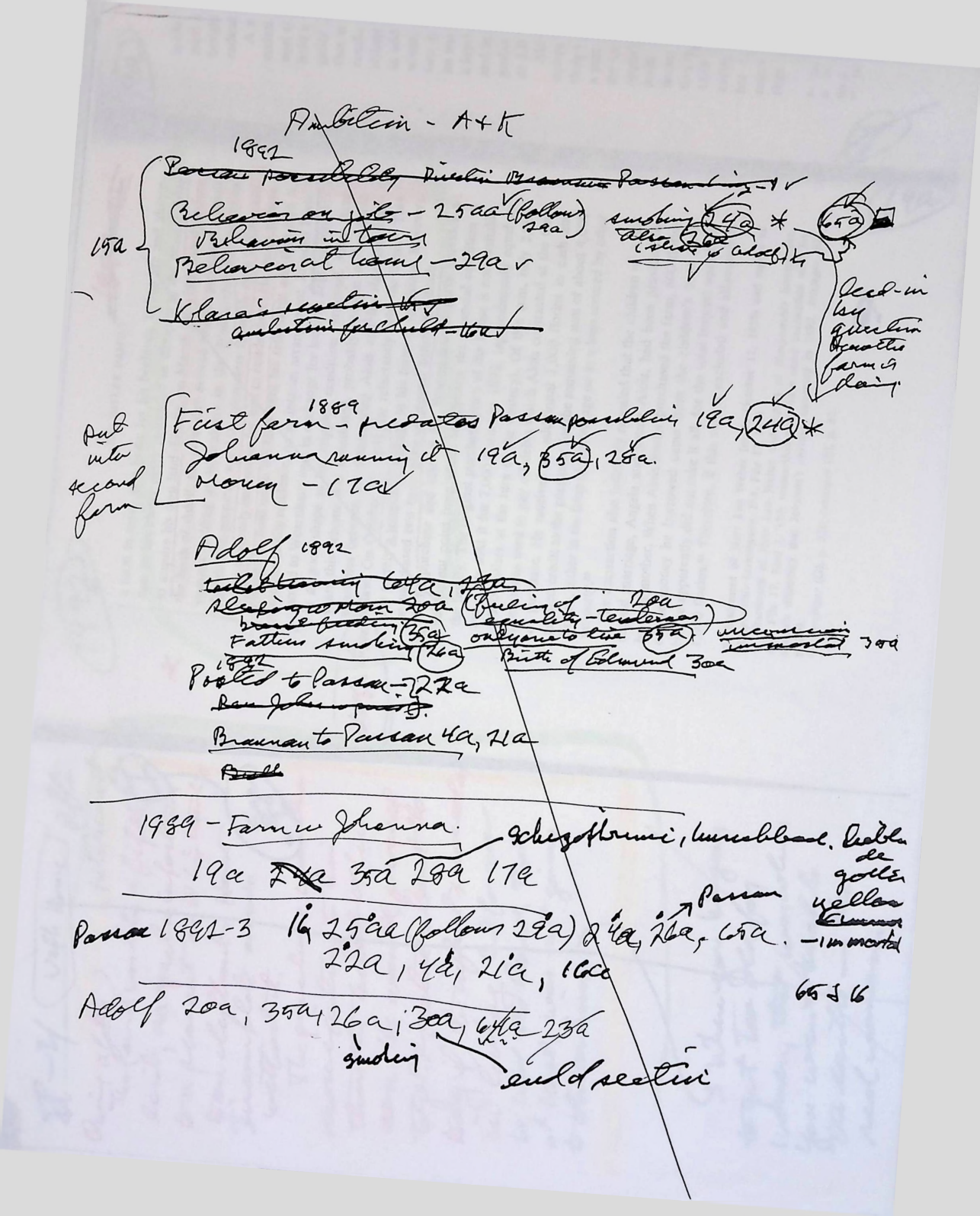
Family relations were complicated. Adolf was the product of his father's third marriage, to Klara née Pölzl, who was twenty-three years her husband's junior. Adolf, his mother's fourth child, was the first one to survive. In the household were also two half-siblings from the father's second marriage, Alois Jr., born in 1882, and Angela, born in 1883. In addition, there was "Haniaunt," Johanna Pölzl, Mother's hunchbacked and apparently feebleminded sister, who helped with the household chores.[20]

The Marriages of Alois Hitler, né Schicklgruber 1837–1903

1. 1873 Anna Glassl 1823–1883 1880 divorced	2. 1883 Franziska Matzelsberger 1861–1884	3. 1885 Klara Pölzl 1860–1907
a) Alois 1882–1956 1) ∞ Bridget	b) Angela 1883–1949 ∞ Raubal	a) Gustav 1885–1887
		b) Ida 1886–1888
		c) Otto, d. after birth
		d) Adolf 1889–1945
		e) Edmund 1894–1900
		f) Paula 1896–1960 single
William Patrick Hitler	Angelika Raubal, among others 1908 Linz–1931 Munich (suicide)	no children

Family life was not peaceful: the father had fits of rage and battered his oldest son, Alois, who in turn was jealous of Adolf, pampered by his young mother. The half-brother remarked about Adolf, "He was spoiled from early in the morning until late at night, and the stepchildren had to listen to endless stories about how wonderful Adolf was." But Adolf, too, was beaten by his father. According to Alois Jr., once Alois was even afraid he had killed Adolf.[21]

Between 1892 and 1895 Alois went to work in Passau, on the



Ambition - A+K

1892

15a

~~Passau possibility Direction Brannan Passau [illegible]~~ - 1 ✓

Behavior on job - 25aa (follows 29a) smoking 24a * 65a

Behavior in town also 26a (shows of adolf) K

Behavior at home - 29a ✓

~~Klara's reaction [illegible]~~

~~ambition for child - 16a~~ ✓

lead-in by question [illegible] farm is doing

Put into second farm

1889

First farm - predates Passau possibility 19a, 24a *

Johanna running it 19a, 35a, 28a.

Money - 17a ✓

Adolf 1892

~~[illegible] 64a, 23a~~

~~[illegible] 20a~~ (feeling of equality - tenderness) 20a

~~[illegible] feeding~~

Fathers smoking 35a 26a only one to live 35a unconscious immortal 30a

Birth of Edmund 30a

1892

Posted to Passau - 22a

~~[illegible]~~

Brannan to Passau 4a, 21a

~~[illegible]~~

1989 - Farm w Johanna. schizophrenic, hunchback. [illegible] de golfe [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ - immortal

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

Passau 1892-3 16, 25aa (follows 29a) 24a, 26a, 65a. Passau

22a, 4a, 21a, 16a

65 & 16

Adolf 20a, 35a, 26a, 30a, 64a 23a

smoking

end of section

a farm to serve as a home for his beehives. Urban life and absorption in his career never succeeded in dampening the peasant drive to acquire his own land. Finally, on March 16, 1889, shortly before the birth of Adolf, the great day arrived and he purchased a small peasant holding at Woernharts in the *Waldviertal*, not far from Spital. The property was 150 kilometers from his duty station, and it was obviously impossible for him to reside there. He seems to have planned to hold on to the land until his retirement and then turn it into the family residence. As an interim arrangement, Johanna Poelzl moved to Woernharts and, in exchange for lodging, kept the property in as good shape as her crippled condition permitted. After three years this scheme was abandoned, probably because of inevitable squabbles between the domineering Alois and his shrewish sister-in-law. On October 27, 1892, he reluctantly sold the farm.[32] This was merely a temporary setback to his farming ambitions, however; he purchased two more plots of ground before his death.

The purchase and sale of the Woernharts property provides a convenient point from which to appraise the financial condition of the family. The original purchase price of the house is not available, but Alois sold it for 7,000 florins in 1892, (approximately equal to 3,000 dollars at the turn of the century). Of this sum, only 2,000 florins was used to pay off debts which Alois contracted at the time of purchase. He received an additional 1,000 florins in cash and granted credit to the purchaser for the remaining sum of about 4,000 florins, either in the form of a mortgage or as a loan secured by other property.[33]

The transaction also indirectly revealed that the children of Alois' second marriage, Angela and young Alois, had been provided for by their mother. When Alois Senior purchased the farm, 800 florins of the money he borrowed came from the children's trust fund, but he apparently did not take it all, for the total bequest was about 1,000 florins.[34] Therefore, if this sum is excluded and allowance is

[32] Statement of Herr Leo Weber (made October 12, 1938) and report of *Hauptarchiv* investigator. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.
[33] Statement of Herr Leo Weber and report of *Hauptarchiv* investigator. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1. This transaction may have some connection with Jetzinger's discovery that Johanna's savings increased in 1892. *Jetzinger* (G), p. 231.
[34] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 126; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 81.

ladder, as well as the means to gain permanent emancipation from the confines of the village.

Yet Klara was not simply taking part in a marriage of convenience. That her feelings for Alois involved something more than duty is indicated by her period as his mistress and her pregnancy prior to marriage. She seems to have had lofty and hopeful dreams about her married life which were abandoned only slowly and painfully. The relationship in which Alois was both a status symbol and a husband left the girl in a confusing and helpless position. How much this ambivalence affected her outlook can be seen in the fact that she found it exceedingly difficult to accustom herself to playing the role of Alois' wife. Try as she might, the poor girl was unable to break herself of the habit of addressing Alois as "uncle" until long after the marriage ceremony.[21]

The complexities and frustrations of her existence inevitably left scars. She once said that she had been married early in the morning and that an hour after the ceremony her husband was on duty again.[22] Although it was a slight exaggeration, this statement reflected the circumstances of her marriage. As the years went by, and her girlhood dreams lost all hope of realization, she bore the look of a disappointed woman whose best efforts had not received the reward they deserved. The unhappiness gradually increased until it was obvious to outsiders. The optimistic and happy girl of 1884–1885 was slowly transformed into a disappointed woman who did her duty and transferred all her hopes and dreams to the children.[23]

In contrast to Klara, Alois' role in the family appears to have been much more sharply delineated. Much of the insecurity and over-developed drive that had characterized the illegitimate peasant boy had disappeared by the time he married Klara, and in his work and social contacts he assumed the stance of a successful official. Still careful to perform his duties satisfactorily, he now worked like a man who had achieved something rather than an ambitious parvenue. He remained close to a small circle of cronies, most of whom were also in the customs service. Not all of his fellow bureaucrats found him a sympathetic character, but within his circle he was pleasant

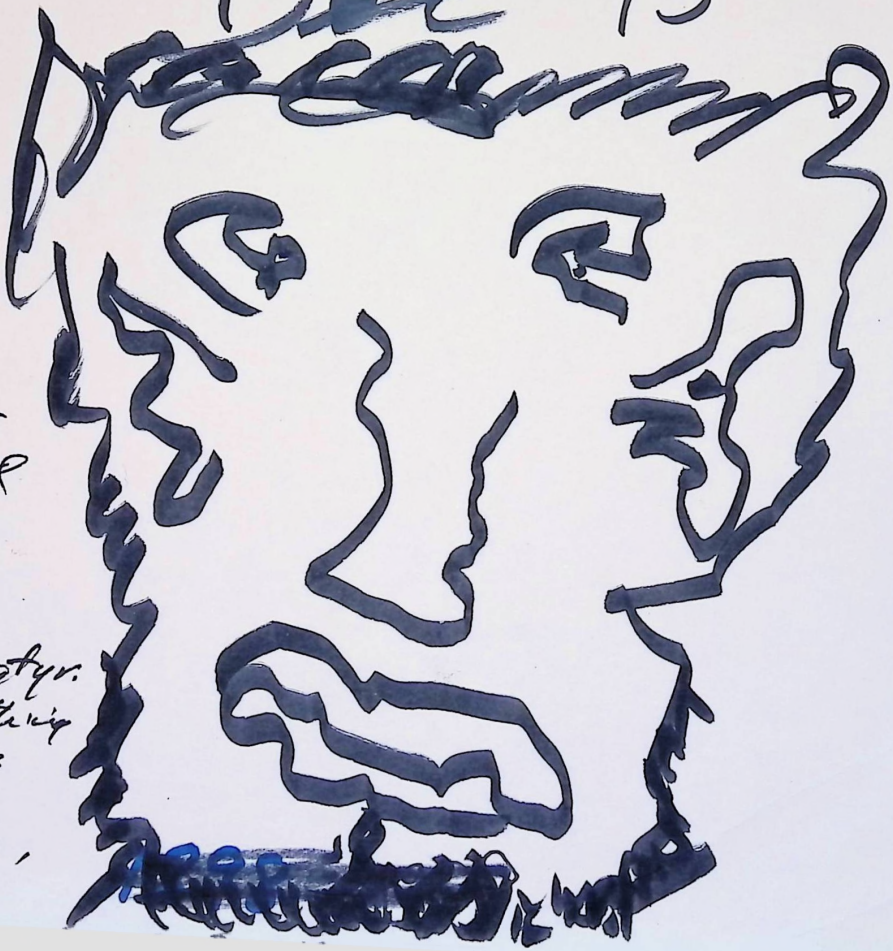
[21] Statement by Frau Rosalia Hoerl. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.
[22] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 55; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 41.
[23] *Kubizek*, pp. 31, 114-15.

[redacted]

Nov 95

[redacted]

Dec 95



I thought it would be ~~more~~ fun living as a satyr. But it's like ~~Like~~ everything else, it's all worries,

August JJ4, J21 7, 13, 21, 22

Sept J21, J18 23, 25, 26, 31, 41, 42

Oct 4, 5, 43

Nov 4, 5, 6

Dec 53, 54, 55, 58 7, 16, 17

Nov + Dec

LEA Sugar feeding

B-10 Daily & weekly routines setting in
Regrets over taking winter bees. Not
enough to do + so time is spent in managing
Building new hives he does not need
Reading about bees. Discussion ~~[illegible]~~ marketing
w Klara. She likes the local shoe keeper
He tells her not to make a deal yet. Cause
future embarrassment. Possibility of Dr A-14.
Klara very pregnant.

A-15A → Bar talk – the bees working in [illegible]
Don't open the hives [A]'s advice
with he pretends its [illegible].
He is seen the local expert. One
farmer comes to him for advice.
Adi in December, Chris Eve, sitting
by the [illegible] the [illegible]. See YZXX in Feb.

P53 + 54 + 58 Fears of disease – fantasies, + [illegible]
Bee-[illegible]
Birds & scare crows. In the [illegible]
he hears of a mouse who ~~[illegible]~~ caused a
colony to perish. [Possible gassing]
of his own colony wrecked by 1 mouse.
(Before or after the Christmas eat by Ale.

B-10

11+12/95

What Needs to Be Done in November and December

The bees have by now contracted into a tight cluster. In order not to starve or freeze to death they must keep eating the sugar syrup they have stored in the combs in the fall. The carbohydrates contained in the sugar are converted to heat.

adi's surprise

For Alo, Sr, Hard not to open them

43

- Check the hives once or twice a month, but be sure not to open them up (see page 43).
- Build new hives and other equipment; do whatever repair work is necessary.
- Combine and analyze the data on the record cards (see page 43).
- Expand your theoretical knowledge about bees and beekeeping. (See the list of useful books and other publications on page 65).
- Work on marketing your honey. — deal
- Make use of the beeswax (for candles).

buys equipment

w Der Alte for following year

Klara

In December, Alo, Sr has nightmares about swarming.
Reacts by building 2 hives
Langstrothes
Sets up the combs,

Klara in Dec is very pregnant

walls, and exclude the light; for the bees love to work in almost total obscurity, guiding themselves with their many-faceted eyes, or with their antennæ perhaps, the seat, it would seem, of an unknown sense that fathoms and measures the darkness.

They are not without prescience, therefore, of what is to befall them on this the most dangerous day of all their existence. Absorbed by the cares, the prodigious perils of this mighty adventure, they will have no time now to visit the gardens and meadows; and to-morrow, and after to-morrow, it may happen that rain may fall, or there may be wind; that their wings may be frozen or the flowers refuse to open. Famine and death would await them were it not for this foresight of theirs. None would come to their help, nor would they seek help of any. For

1896

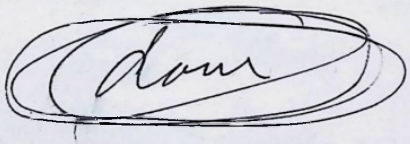
August

Sept

October

November

December



~~1902~~



Fight pre, fight post.

August '94

H-14 End of August, estimate of costs,

H-19 Ended August — begin ~~to work~~ for Adi.

H-2 — agreement items before after the fight

H-34 — Regressions

WL 124 — after the fight* Alois, jr. is so subdued, Alois father place. Adi observes).

F-141 Alois, jr. (pre-fight) irritates Alois, sr by quoting Johann Ballyhoo AU3 AU4

G-138 Effort to cater a warm lunch on nature. After Alois drinks beer.

H-148 After the hunt is ~~over~~ ended Alois is citing Johann Ballyhoo AU3 AU4

J-31A March 1945 after war. on beer.

J-21 after the fight, Alois' warning.

H-4 — the Alois Junior's inclement speech Judge, when unforgiving the sins of

Alois Sr realizes, obeys the command of Jesus — Heed Ballyhoo. Adi knows afternoon it was done to him. A second stabbing.

AU-2 AU-1 Klara or stays after him is destroyed

58F aftermath of Alois' visit

H-87 Old beer in the honey moon,

K-30 Trying one last time to placate Adolf

AU 6, 6, 7, 8, 9

Fight pre, fight post.

August '96

H-14 End of August, estimate of costs.

H-19 End of August — begins to whistle for Adi.

* H-2 — a number of items before & after the fight

H-34 — Requeening

WL 124 — after the fight (Alo, Jr. is so subdued, Alois feels at peace. Adi observes).

F-147 Alo, Jr. (pre-fight) irritates Alo, Sr. ~~Alo Sr.~~ by quoting Johann Pollyl on the stupidity of bees. AU3 AU4

G-138 Effort to catch a swarm high on a tree. After Alo Jr. has decamped.

H-148 After the hive is breached on ~~[illegible]~~ (Alo Jr.'s citing of Johann Pollyl on bees. AU3 AU4

Move to 1945 after use.

J-31A After the fight, Alois' warning.

J-21 Alois Junior's incitement speech, the 5 F's, Judge when unforgiving

H-4 — the coma of Alois. Alois Sr. realizes why he was afraid of Junior — Fear of killing him. Adi believes afterwards it was done to him. A second etching.

AU-2 AU-1 Klara on strings after hive is destroyed

58F Aftermath of Alo Jr.'s leaving

H-87 Old bees in the honey morass.

K-30 — Trying one last time to get a colony

Fall

AU 6, 6, 7, 8, 9

Conditions for Keeping Bees

If you are stung, it is important to remove the sting with its poison sac quickly so that as little of the venom as possible enters the body. Don't try to grasp the sting with your fingers and pull it out. This only causes the poison sac to empty out the rest of the venom into the wound. Instead, either brush the sting off with your fingernail without compressing it, or get hold of it between the poison sac and your skin with pincers and pull it out.

The swelling caused by bee stings can be alleviated by applying a compress of rubbing alcohol, saltwater, or onion juice, or with a commercial medicine, of which there are many.

If an individual is stung inside the mouth or in the throat or responds to being stung with dizziness or vomiting, or if an individual collapses after a massive attack of bees, call a doctor immediately.

First aid for swelling inside the mouth or throat—this could lead to suffocation: Sprinkle table salt all over the oral cavity by the spoonful (make sure none of the salt is swallowed!); spit out, and repeat several times. Get the victim to a doctor as quickly as possible.

If you know you are allergic but are not sure whether the allergy is triggered by exposure to bees or only in response to being stung, there are tests allergists can give you to find out the answer. There are effective countermeasures for allergies to bee venom, so the fact that you are allergic doesn't necessarily mean that you have to give up the idea of beekeeping. (For more information, write to the Office of Apiculture, Department of Entomology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14850.)

Costs and Time Commitment

It is difficult to give a specific answer to the question of costs. Beekeeping is affected by weather and the health of the colonies, and the annual outlay for food and the prevention or treatment of disease is hard to predict accurately—and so is the likely income you may expect from the sale of honey and other beekeeping products.

You must figure on initial costs for three hi (hive bodies, supers, accessories, clothes, and ot equipment) amounting to approximately $500. price of bees for two colonies is about $200. Ad this annually about $10 for disease control, $60 food for the bees, $40 for dues, and about $50 literature. This means that if you start with r equipment you will invest between $800 and $' the first year.

You don't need to buy expensive harvest equipment, such as an extractor (see page 36) start with. Chances are that an apiarist in your a will let you borrow this equipment or you may able to buy one cooperatively with another b keeper.

If you take over bees and equipment from a b keeper who wants to give up bees, your costs of course be much less. You will probably be a to get 10 colonies with all the necessary equipm for about $2000. Beekeepers' magazines o have ads for bees and equipment for sale by reti apiarists. Before you commit yourself to buy however, ask the advice of an experienced b keeper.

Beginners and people wanting to keep bees hobby will not count the hours they spend with bees as work. Apiarists with several years of e rience figure they put in six to eight hours a yea colony. This includes only the time spent actu working with the bees, not the job of keeping equipment in good shape and repairing it.

Apiary Organizations

I urge you strongly to join a beekeepers' org zation. Membership not only provides you advice on legal and insurance questions but entitles you to take advantage at lower rate many services offered by local and state grou

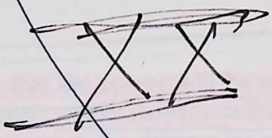
There are state beekeeping organization every state, many local beekeepers' associati

4-18/96

1896 post-baptism

39. After Alois Jr. leaves, Alois Sr. would whistle for Adolf like a dog. Herr Vater.

Note: Bee material located at back of '96 file.



~~1897~~

H-2 8/96

8/96

FIGHT

What Needs to Be Done in August

August is the beginning of the bees' new year. During this month the next winter's bees hatch (see page 7). The more bees there are to winter over, the

better the chance that the colony will be able to maintain the necessary temperature inside the hive. The warmer the bees keep, the stronger the colony will be in the spring and the more bees will be able to collect nectar and honeydew to turn into honey.

The fight occurs after the first honey is extracted

Alois intoxicated by the

34
43
34

Important Foc

- Last harvest of honey in areas with late flow.
- If you haven't done so yet, requeen old colonies (see page 34).
- If you haven't yet checked and reorganized the brood nest (see page 43), do so now.

fight occurs after changing of queens. Alois wonders

sense of ongoing seasons + more and more colonies.

d Plants for Bees

- Combine weak colonies (see page 34).
- At elevations above 1500 feet (500 m), feeding should start now, whether the honey flow is early or late. At lower elevations wait until early September (see page 36).
- As long as the bees collect nectar, weigh the scale hive daily; after the last honey harvest, weekly.
- Make appropriate entries in the record cards.

diary,

if it has any relation at all, Klara sees all this as a sign from God

Klara thinks Alo. Jr is dead & prays to God, & strike me down when the time comes but said Alois Jr.

At the end of August, after Alo Jr has decamped, Alo. Jr. takes his FALL End of the hives

and she doesn't even like him altogether

Introducing a Queen into a Brood Nucleus

Introducing a queen into a brood nucleus is also a good way to forestall swarming. What you need for this are a queen in a hatching cage, an empty hive body (for movable-frame hives) or a nucleus box (for leaf hives), a food comb (that is, a comb that is largely filled with honey but has no brood) from another colony, an empty comb, and a frame with foundation.

Before noon on a good foraging day, remove two or three brood combs without the queen from a strong colony and combine these combs with the food comb, the frame with foundation, and the empty comb that you have sprayed with a little water. Place all these combs in the empty hive body or nucleus box. In the evening, hang the queen cage with the queen in it between two brood combs. Wait 24 hours, and then replace the plug of the queen cage with one of bee candy. The bees will eat the candy and thus release the queen. If you are working with a nucleus box, the nucleus must be moved to a hive after three or four weeks.

Replacing Queens in Old Colonies

If you want to replace the old queen in a colony, you must be certain that the bees are not in a swarming mood. A queen introduced at such a moment would instantly be killed by the bees. Reasons for replacing an old queen are:

- A queen should never be kept more than three years because a colony with an older queen is likely to lose strength. The time to replace an old queen is August or September.
- If the brood nest shows gaps or remains small, it is usually because the queen is missing a fore or hind leg and can no longer hold on properly to the edges of the cells when laying eggs. In this case, requeening is the only solution.
- If the bees sting more than usual even with proper handling, the genetic makeup of the queen is probably to blame. Here, too, requeening can help. There are several methods of replacing queens.

Requeening a Colony That is Left Queenless for Nine Days

Remove the old queen along with two or three brood combs from a hive to form a nucleus (see page 30). The queenless bees left in the hive will build queen cells, which you break out after nine days. The bees will get restless three or four hours later because in the course of the nine days all the cells were sealed and there is now no longer any possibility of rearing new queens. Place your new queen in the nucleus box after plugging the opening of her cage with bee candy (see left).

In the fall you can dispose of the old queen by squashing her against the frame with your thumb. The brood combs of the nucleus can be added to weak colonies.

When you requeen a colony that has been queenless for 9 days, the queen is usually accepted without problems, but there is a period of 10–12 days during which no new brood is produced.

Quick Requeening

The two methods described below can be used only before and after swarming season.

Lock the old queen in a queen cage, which you then hang between two brood combs. The next day you remove the old queen and substitute a new one but leave the cage in place. After another day you replace the plug of the queen cage with bee candy.

If you want to requeen in one day, you must follow another procedure for which you need a small wooden frame with plastic or wire screening (available from bee supply houses).

Remove the old queen from the colony. Brush the bees from a light-colored comb with hatching larvae, and set the new queen on it. Press the screen frame over the queen and into the wax deep enough

ference? Can we be sure they have no voice simply because we cannot hear? Can we assume they do not have yearnings of their own because we cannot penetrate their consciousness? Does the loathsome squash bug want to be a splendid butterfly? The lowly worm become the bird that pursues it? Does the oxen not tire of the yoke and long for a saddle? Would the hare not wish to be a hound, the hound a horse, and the horse to have the wings of Pegasus? Does the sparrow crave to be a hawk or eagle, the crow to sing like a mockingbird? Does the queen bee covet the majestic power of her name rather than being a parody of her royal title?

My heart goes out to the little queen, living out her days in darkness, laying all those eggs, the only one of her kind in the hive with no peer to confide in and, in the end, fertility exhausted, to be ruthlessly dispatched. The queen business isn't all it's cracked up to be. It is true that she has attendants who look after her needs, but it sounds like a public relations scam to extract the last egg out of her. I wonder if, along the way in her cheerless life, anyone ever takes her aside, pats her on the back and says, "You're doing a great job!"

FORTY-FIVE

The queen's misadventures are not confined to natural processes. Disaster can also come from other sources. The scene is the beeyard in late afternoon after school is out. There is bedlam. Rocks bounce off the hive. The frantic bees search for the enemy who attacks them from ambush. A long pole emerges. The hive is knocked over. The vandals flee. Bedlam turns into panic. What cataclysm has ruptured the colony's secure existence? What madness? Why this sudden

upheaval? Who is to blame for this catastrophe?

The overturned hive is in ruins, lying on its side, the frames of honeycomb scrambled like so many jackstraws. The brood is exposed. Honey drips from uncapped and smashed cells. What maniac would commit such an act? Most of the bees are flying, raging in wild gyrations. Those left on the exposed combs race blindly about, bumping into one another, disorganized and distraught. Other bees may appear to steal the unguarded honey, or the crazed bees, for want of a visible enemy to punish, may begin fighting among themselves. They roll and tumble about in combat, friend mistaken for foe. The entire colony has gone insane.

The queen dashes frantically over the combs. Incongruously she straddles an empty cell and begins laying an egg, as if this routine act will restore normalcy to her chaotic world. She is disoriented by the tumult within and blinded by the sunlight that has banished the safe darkness of the hive. A berserk worker suddenly attacks the queen, spinning her off her feet. Another joins the charge. Then another, and others. A scapegoat has been found. Guilt or innocence matter not. Revenge alone counts.

The queen squeals her high-pitched cry of terror. But the bees have forgotten that she is their mother, their salvation. They form a ball around her. This time it is not for her protection but a death sentence. Now, at last, they have united in a single purpose. They tear at the queen's wings and legs, suffocating her, focusing their own terror and frustration on the central figure in their lives. This could be a primitive tribe trying to appease angry gods with a living sacrifice. The queen's shrill cries of terror are unheeded. The ball of bees squeezes tighter and tighter. The cries become more faint. For the queen there is no mercy, no reprieve.

The dead queen is dropped over the landing board, her spent body resting between two blades of grass. The bees, as if purged of the violence against them by violence of their own, try to

in tall trees, and it takes a bit of daring, or perhaps insanity, to pursue them. But there is something about such a prize that makes the average sensible beekeeper come unhinged. He will climb tippy ladders to lethal heights, clinging to a tree with one leg wrapped around the trunk while trying to saw loose a branch with a few clinging bees. I have seen frustrated beekeepers saw down huge trees to collect a few bees. I am convinced that bees have a sense of humor, enjoying nothing so much as taking off the instant they are about to be captured.

It is a disservice to the average beekeeper to infer that he is motivated by frugality or greed alone. A free swarm is only part of the attraction. The beekeeper clings perilously to a branch, balancing on his fragile perch in a display of cunning and reckless courage, eye to eye with a pulsing, humming swarm of bees about to take wing; in that instant he captures not just a few transient insects intent on changing abodes, but a part of himself that he lost long, long ago.

FIFTY-TWO



It is probably not our successes that remain with us so much as our failures, those dark blotches of inadequacy that mar the canvases of our lives. One of mine occurred shortly after I began keeping bees. I had one hive and was hoping a swarm would come along so I could expand. I asked the local police to notify me if anyone reported a swarm. I similarly alerted friends and people I knew.

There were several calls, one from the police; a woman reported a swarm in a tree in her yard. I went immediately, carrying a ladder, homemade swarm box, saws, poles, and various paraphernalia. The woman said the bees had arrived the

previous afternoon, remained overnight, and took off about fifteen minutes before I arrived. "They just left!" she cried, "What a shame!"

Another swarm had taken up quarters high in the eaves of an old house. The owner was determined to get rid of them at once. He was not dissuaded by my argument about what good neighbors bees are, but came around when I pointed out that bees were preferable to the cost and inconvenience of having the house dismantled to get to them, and someone possibly getting hurt and suing him; I have learned that economics carry weight where principles fail. I had two or three calls from strangers, and the "bees" turned out to be yellow jackets.

Finally I had a call from an acquaintance named Charlie. He formerly kept bees commercially but had sold them and was now in construction. "Are you still looking for a swarm?" he asked. I said I was. "I have one for you," he said, and told me where to meet him.

The swarm was near the center of town, conveniently on a low bush in a front yard. It was disappointingly small, apparently an after-swarm. Charlie must have noticed my disappointment. "There aren't enough to start a new hive," he said, "but you can unite them with the one you have."

I told him I didn't know that two strange colonies could be put together. "Oh sure," he replied. "You use the newspaper method."

"What's that?"

"Simple, I'll show you."

He professionally snipped off the branch the swarm clung to and popped them into the swarm box I had brought. As we drove to my hive, he explained that often when a colony is too weak to make it through the winter it is united with a second to make one strong colony.

The day was overcast, not at all suitable for working with bees, but Charlie assured me that the newspaper method was foolproof and there would be no problem with the weather.

2-8

~~1897 and 1895 (from p. 9 in Hitler's Vienna by Hamann~~

~~unnumbered~~

XVII

"~~According to Alois, Jr.~~ once Alois (in the course of beating ~~Adolf~~) was

even afraid he had killed the boy."

DT: ~~Adolf~~ Alois lay in a species of coma for ten minutes and Klara began to wail

for the dead. Indeed, he almost did die, out of fear, nothing less. ~~He~~ had a

vision of the ~~life~~ that lay before him, and the demands.

~~See also p. 8, Hitler's Vienna~~

"The stings of the bees, after the old man removed the honey, his mother

often took out forty or fifty stings. His father's only protection, smoking,

(the pleasure between wife and husband as the beestings were being taken

on these hapless, unflinching heroines. I, in common with all amateur bee-keepers, have more than once had impregnated queens sent me from Italy; for the Italian species is more prolific, stronger, more active, and gentler than our own. It is the custom to forward them in small perforated boxes. In these some food is placed, and the queen enclosed, together with a certain number of workers, selected as far as possible from among the oldest bees in the hive. (The age of the bee can be readily told by its body, which gradually becomes more polished, thinner, and almost bald; and more particularly by the wings, which hard work uses and tears.) It is their mission to feed the queen during the journey, to tend her and guard her. I would frequently find, when the box arrived, that nearly every one of the workers was dead. On one occasion, indeed, they had all perished of hunger;

(see below), setting up a nucleus with a queen (see next column), starting an artificial swarm (see page 33), or starting a brood nucleus (see page 34).

Relocating the Colony

If you have stacked leaf hives, this method is more difficult to implement than with hives either of the movable-frame or the leaf type that are placed next to each other. The reason is that all the brood combs of the colony that are ready to swarm must be moved to another hive. The following description is based on a system in which hives are located next to rather than on top of each other.

Move the hive with the restless bees to a spot that is at least 3 feet (1 m) away from its original location. Then take a hive without bees and put it in the vacated spot. This hive is filled with frames with foundation and empty combs (in a leaf hive only the brood chamber is filled) but with enough room left empty in the center for one comb. Now take the brood comb on which the queen sits from the colony you have moved and hang it into the center of the new hive, with all the bees and the queen attached to it. Then you empty about half the remaining bees from the old brood chamber into the new hive.

During the rest of the day, the returning field bees will join the new colony. This new colony—which is really the swarm of the old colony—will deliver just as much honey as a normal colony. The queen cells in the old colony can be used—except for two—for rearing queens (see page 31). If you don't wish to rear queens, the cells should be broken out of the comb and destroyed. When the two remaining queens hatch, the stronger one will kill the weaker one and then proceed to mate (see page 6). The old colony will recover quickly from the loss of some of its workers and its old queen because new bees keep hatching from the remaining brood combs and the queen soon starts to lay new eggs.

A Nucleus with a Queen

Another way to forestall swarming when larvae are already developing in queen cells is to form a nucleus that includes a queen.

Ready an empty nucleus box and a queen or hatching cage (see pages 31 and 32). Find the queen, and lock her into the cage, which you attach to a brood comb with some wire or a rubber band. Hang the comb, along with the queen cage, into the nucleus box. Then take two or three brood combs from the colony that is in a swarming mood, break the queen cells out of them, and put them into the nucleus box. Shake the bees off two or three other brood combs into the nucleus box as well. Then release the queen from her cage.

If you have movable-frame hives, place a cover on the nucleus box. With a leaf hive, place the heating pad into the empty honey chamber of the new hive and block about three-fourths of the entrance by stuffing crumpled paper into it. Now take the nucleus to its new location. You must gradually add more empty combs to give the growing colony room to expand. If the colony is fed regularly (about a pint of sugar syrup daily, made up of equal parts sugar and water or 2 pounds of bee candy once a week), the nucleus will develop into a viable colony by fall.

You also have to remove the queen cells from all the brood combs in the original colony. To make sure you are not overlooking any, you must brush the bees off the comb into the hive body before you examine each comb.

After you break out the queen cells, the hive bees immediately start building new ones that must also be removed after nine days, leaving one or two. Be careful not to jolt the comb this time when you remove the queen cells because the future queen may fall off the royal jelly (see photo on page 38) and die. You should check after three weeks to see if there is a new queen in the colony and if she has started laying eggs.

If you find no sign of eggs or a queen, you have to test whether the colony is queenright. Hang a small piece of comb with eggs up to three days old (cut from the comb of another colony) or an entire comb with eggs and young larvae up to three days old into the hive. Mark the comb with a thumbtack.

September '96

K-1 Worries about ~~valued~~ ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] S-1

S-5 S-3 Ehre-fucht. S-9, S-8 S-2

S-7 Wax from comb for [illegible]. See K26

& cold + eating royal jelly

S-6

J-296 Ehre-fucht (Klara + Adi) S-8, S-9

86F Alois back in the [illegible] S-4

The bee expert

~~K-51~~ ~~[illegible]~~ - tavern - his recipe for a cold

also potter S-6

K-51 Royal jelly.

tavern → Do you feel queen's wings? edgy.

Alois comes back w propolis a disinfectant ? ??

K26 Klara on way - See K-1

K-14 ~~[illegible]~~ First aid for bees

OCT-1, OCT 2

October '96

L-1 - elegiac reading

L-1a Temper ~~[illegible]~~ OCT-3

JJ-5 His father on spirit of authority, etc

(possible flashahead to 1931

w Hindenburg.

Nov + December

M-1 Reworks his will, etc Sale of house prospects

JJ-40 → Ponders future - decides Hofield will be a resort. N-1

+ JJ-41 — Calculates his [illegible] in relation to old [illegible] at Christmas

PY2B

A Map of Austria D-1

K-1 9/96

9/96

What Needs to Be Done in September

The colony will have gotten smaller because the old bees that die are no longer all replaced by young ones. As soon as the nights become cool, the bees in the hive contract into a cluster.

- By mid-September you should have finished feeding the bees, whether the honey flow is early or late in your area. At elevations above 1500 feet (500 m), the colonies should be all set for winter by early September.
- Take the empty combs on the sides of the brood nest out of the hive, and store them for winter.
- Examine the colonies for the last time before winter (see page 42).
- Wintering over two colonies, one on top of the other, is advantageous.
- Keep reading the scale weekly during the feeding period; afterward only monthly.
- Make appropriate entries in the record cards.

In the diary he is doing all this. In life, it's all gone.

Ritual acts. Brewerbi is over.

~~Rewrite~~
~~in will - Alois out~~

- Worries about the value of the house. Is it declining? Starts to whistle for Adi.

(Klara to Adi - ~~ehre-fucht~~ ehre-fucht

D.T. Alois beating in Adi's psyche on orders of O.O.

Clean wax from combs
Terrible cold for Alois - eats royal jelly
Gets it from [A] who wants him to remain
It's a gear!

Although it is obviously risky to generalize about life-styles in the homes of any country, two observations about the German family can be made. Students of comparative family life have shown that German families tended to be more authoritarian than those of other countries and that authoritarian values were maintained over a longer period of time. A careful sociological study based on interviews with many different age groups of Germans who spent their childhood, variously, under the Empire, the Republic, and the Nazis concluded that "the basic premises of German family life show no significant difference during these 76 years [1870–1946]. . . ." [116]

Ehrfurcht, the German word used to express the proper and traditional attitude towards the father of the family, is normally translated "respect." But it connotes far more than that, for it combines, quite literally, "honor-fear." The continuing force of the idea is suggested by the fact that even after the collapse of Hitler's dictatorship, 73 percent of the 2,000 Germans questioned in 1946 agreed with the following statement: "The word of the father has to be an inflexible law in the family."

The passive mother was expected to devote her life to her "three K's." She should show affection and concern for her children, but she was not to interfere with the father's prerogative of determining family policy and dominating the group. After World War II, 70 percent of German women chose the words "a bad wife" as the best way of completing the sentence "A mother who interferes when a father is punishing his son is. . . ."

Additional features of German family life should be noted. There was a tendency to adhere to set patterns and to feel uncomfortable when obliged to deviate from a position once taken. The German father found it very difficult to admit mistakes or to yield a point in discussion. To do so was generally considered *weiblich* (effeminate). The father also asserted his masculine power by insisting that the children live up to his demanding expectations. Since the child was afraid of failure, he tried to avoid mistakes by constant repetition and compulsive thoroughness in performing household tasks.

Obedience was the greatest virtue in the family, but it was also a defense. From his earliest years, the German child learned that compliance was the key to safe relationships with his parents. Hence he tended to feel comfortable in yielding to authority and uneasy when given too much freedom. The importance of obedience in family training was emphasized by Rudolf Hoess, who, under Hitler, became commandant of the death camp at Auschwitz. He also spoke for many of his generation in emphasizing the virtues of cleanliness:

> I was perpetually washing and bathing . . . this passion for water remains with me to this day. I had been brought up by my parents to be respectful and obedient toward all grown-up people . . . it

was constantly impr
obey promptly the w
and priests. . . . Wh
basic principles on
flesh and blood. . . .
a strong awareness
that every task be e
father took particula
and wishes with the

Hoess has provided statist

I personally arrange
between June–July
I was Commandant o

Respect for *Ordnung*
only by threat of punish
keep his hands *on* the tal
lying on his back with ha
order was cleanliness, w
purity. Indeed the Germa
that to be dirty (*schmu*
order and cleanliness, dir
believe that the blond ar
purer than other people–
who were impure-dirty-inf

The family experienc
spect for hierarchical orde
but it started very early in
not just on the basis of ag
he had earned the title of
to school he was seated in
in the back seats and proc
the front. At the age of
made: either he would be
the university and a profe
he would join the "masses
the *Volksschule* certificate.

It seems likely that c
rank was so prevalent wa
what he could demand fro
ther. A wife and son and d
simply because they were w

Strong feelings, both
the family. A son's attitud

* Brigitte
masturbation

to buck raindrops almost as large as she is, fly against strong headwinds, and carry loads of nectar equal to her own weight. Her wings are stubby, but beat so rapidly that she is able to fly an estimated fifteen to twenty-five miles per hour. The double set of wings hook together in flight, providing power; when not flying they lie flat on the back, making it possible for her to crawl into the small cells of the hive to care for eggs and larvae. For her weight and size, a honeybee is said to fly faster and farther than any other winged creature. She is the opposite of her cousin, the cumbersome bumblebee who, according to aeronautical flight criteria, has been proved incapable of flight.

Like the joke on the bumblebee;
His wings are too small to hold him.
He really can't fly, professors agree
But nobody ever told him.

A honeybee's wings, as noted previously, beat 160 to 220 times per minute, according to the authoritative United States Department of Agriculture 1952 Yearbook, *Insects*, producing the note C sharp below middle C. The publication states that insect wings vary from 350 strokes a second (21,000 per minute) to as few as 6 per minute for the yellow swallowtail butterflies, which seem to float as much as they fly.

The bumblebee manages about 130 beats per minute (D above middle C); June bugs, 46 (F sharp, three octaves below middle C); dragonflies, 20 (E, four octaves below middle C); and the cabbage butterfly, another garden predator, 12, producing a sound inaudible to human ears. A housefly's wings beat only 190 times a minute (G flat below middle C), but with such vigor that she can travel up to 50 miles per hour. A fly's speed and agility are her primary means of defense, while a bee's power enables her to fly long distances with heavy loads of honey, which seems fair enough.

The third segment of a bee's body is her abdomen, separated from the thorax by a narrow waist. In a bee's abdomen are her honey sac, stomach, and intestines. Many believe that a bee's honey sac and her real stomach are one and the same; the crude and uninformed have called honey "bee vomit," but this is a libel. The honey sac lies directly on top of the stomach proper, separated by a shutoff valve so there is no mixing of the contents of the two. If a bee needs a quick pickup in flight, she has only to open the valve and let a bit of nectar or honey trickle into her stomach. When nectar is regurgitated from the honey sac, it contains enzymes that give honey its unique properties.

At the base of the abdomen, like a tiny tail, is the stinger, which will be dealt with later. On the abdomen are also the wax glands, previously referred to. Recent research has revealed that in the abdomen are cells containing iron, with nerves leading to these cells; they are believed to act as a navigational aid, enabling bees to sense the earth's magnetic field. If verified, this could help explain how bees return unerringly to their hives from distant fields. It has long been known that bees use the earth's magnetic field to sense direction, but it was not understood how it was done. It could also, possibly, yield insights into how birds, butterflies, turtles, and other migrating creatures and wanderers navigate over long distances.

A bee does not breathe like a person, taking in oxygen through the lungs, the blood transporting it throughout the body; rather, bees have tiny openings, like open portholes, along the length of the thorax and abdomen, and attached air-conducting ducts convey oxygen to nearly every nerve. Since hemoglobin is not needed to carry oxygen, a bee's blood is not red. This arrangement is satisfactory enough for most purposes, but nature obviously didn't count on insecticides. When poisons enter the breathing holes bees die of suffocation or destruction of the central nervous system; millions of bees, even whole apiaries, are wiped out every year by great toxic storms, particularly

K-51 9/96

PP 51-54 9/96

Products of Beekeeping

Honey

Honey is an easily digestible food that contains many substances (vitamins and trace elements) that are valuable for the human organism. The Sumerians, Babylonians, and Egyptians knew that honey can act as a disinfectant and counteracts inflammation, and they made salves of it for the treatment of wounds and diseases of the eyes and the skin. Even today honey is still recommended as preventive medicine against infectious diseases and as an agent to speed the healing process. Chewing on honey and beeswax (comb honey, see below), for instance, helps relieve hay fever and chronic inflammations in the oral cavity.

Depending on the kind of nectar or honeydew the bees collect, different kinds of honey are produced that vary considerably from each other in color and taste. Some honeys consist primarily of nectar from one kind of plant, whereas mixed honey comes from a number of different plant sources (summer flowers, forest flowers, and forest trees). By analyzing the pollen present in the honey, it is possible to reconstruct which plants supplied the nectar. Many mixed honeys contain as many as 50 different kinds of pollen.

Comb honey is ripe honey stored by the bees in combs they have built but never used for brood rearing. The individual cells are capped with wax by the bees. The nectar for comb honey can come from any plant source.

The table on page 52 gives an overview of the different kinds of honey and what they look and taste like.

Wax

A colony that develops normally draws combs on 8–12 foundations during the time the nectar flows in one year. In the winter no wax is produced. At times when the colony is not functioning smoothly, as when the queen is old or sick or if no queen is present at all, less wax is produced. In the fall, when the beekeeper has rearranged the combs (see page 50), the wax—from four or five combs per colony—can be sold.

Pollen, Royal Jelly, and Propolis

Pollen is a highly nutritious food used in various diets. The pollen is collected with the aid of a pollen trap. (Beekeepers' suppliers sell pollen traps as well as the necessary materials and instructions for building them yourself.) The device works as follows: The bees are forced to pass through a small opening at the entrance. The opening is just large enough to let the bees through but strips off the pellets of pollen on the bees' legs. The pollen drops through a wire grate into a receptacle below, which must be emptied every day. The pollen should be dried as quickly as possible.

Some authorities recommend that people should eat 1–2 teaspoons of pollen a day for two to three months every year.

Royal Jelly is the food that nurse bees secrete for feeding queen larvae (see page 6). The usefulness of this substance for human consumption is debated, and therefore there is little market for it.

Propolis is plant resin that the bees collect from plant buds and mix with enzymes (produced by the bees) and with wax and pollen. It is used in the preparation of medicines because of its antibacterial effect. Bees cover all parts of the hive with a thin layer of propolis for disinfecting purposes, sealing any cracks and holes, and they also use it to reduce the size of the entrance for winter. You can scrape off the propolis on the inside walls of the hive and on the frames and sell it.

wax (see page 5), with which they build combs. They usually start in several spots all at once, building heart-shaped sections of comb that are later connected into one seamless comb. While the days lengthen (see drawing on page 44), that is, until the summer solstice, bees build primarily drone cells, since drones must be raised in time for a virgin queen's nuptial flight in June or July (see page 7). When the building activity in the building frame lets up and the worker bees start shaping queen cells, the bees may be getting ready to swarm. The building frame thus serves as a kind of mood indicator of the colony. Every time the frame has filled, you should cut out the comb (run a sharp knife along the inside of the frame) so that the bees can start building combs again and you can again assess their mood.

Place combs you have cut out in the garden for a few days. Birds like to pick the grubs out of them. The wax can be melted in a solar wax heater (see drawing on page 41) and bartered in exchange for foundation, or you can keep the wax yourself and perhaps make beeswax candles out of it in the winter.

Methods to Prevent Swarming

Since bees intent on swarming (usually as early as March in the Southern states, and in July in the far north) lose interest in collecting nectar and raising brood and some of the honey harvest is lost if a colony swarms, you will want to try to suppress the swarming impulse or prevent the bees from taking off. The measures that need to be taken for this purpose are some of the most important activities of a beekeeper interested in obtaining maximum honey production.

Colony Expansion

As soon as a colony has filled all the cells in the brood chamber and if there is still room in the hive body, the bees must be given more space. To accomplish this, hang a frame with foundation (see page 24) or an empty comb next to the brood nest. From June on you can also hang these expansion frames directly into the brood nest. Keep adding frames until the brood chamber is full. When you add foundation, you should each time move the combs with the oldest brood to the outer edge of the brood nest. Then, when the brood has hatched, the combs can be filled with honey and, at the end of the honey season, they can be cut out (see disease prevention, page 57).

Opening up the Honey Chamber or Adding Supers

In May—in warmer regions as early as April—you should examine each colony carefully and check to see how healthy it is, whether the brood nest is well filled, and if there are any signs of disease (see page 57). In a normally developed colony, a good three-fourths of the combs are filled with brood by early May (or earlier in warmer climates), with the bees hanging below the combs in a cluster. This is the time to open up the honey chamber.

If you are working with a movable-frame hive, the following items should be ready: an empty super, a queen excluder (see drawing on page 16), a queen cage (a small cage made of wood or synthetic material; see drawings on pages 31 and 32), a queen-catching glass (see drawing on page 32), one or two frames with foundation (see page 24), and eight or nine frames with empty combs.

Above: An apiary with leaf hives. The small nucleus boxes (on the right, next to the regular hives) are used for rearing queens.
Below: A temporary hive stand that can be disassembled for transport. The entrances to the hives are marked in different colors to help returning bees find their own colony.

Conditions for Keeping Bees

If you are stung, it is important to remove the sting with its poison sac quickly so that as little of the venom as possible enters the body. Don't try to grasp the sting with your fingers and pull it out. This only causes the poison sac to empty out the rest of the venom into the wound. Instead, either brush the sting off with your fingernail without compressing it, or get hold of it between the poison sac and your skin with pincers and pull it out.

The swelling caused by bee stings can be alleviated by applying a compress of rubbing alcohol, saltwater, or onion juice, or with a commercial medicine, of which there are many.

If an individual is stung inside the mouth or in the throat or responds to being stung with dizziness or vomiting, or if an individual collapses after a massive attack of bees, call a doctor immediately.

First aid for swelling inside the mouth or throat—this could lead to suffocation: Sprinkle table salt all over the oral cavity by the spoonful (make sure none of the salt is swallowed!); spit out, and repeat several times. Get the victim to a doctor as quickly as possible.

If you know you are allergic but are not sure whether the allergy is triggered by exposure to bees or only in response to being stung, there are tests allergists can give you to find out the answer. There are effective countermeasures for allergies to bee venom, so the fact that you are allergic doesn't necessarily mean that you have to give up the idea of beekeeping. (For more information, write to the Office of Apiculture, Department of Entomology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14850.)

Costs and Time Commitment

It is difficult to give a specific answer to the question of costs. Beekeeping is affected by weather and the health of the colonies, and the annual outlay for food and the prevention or treatment of disease is hard to predict accurately—and so is the likely income you may expect from the sale of honey and other beekeeping products.

You must figure on initial costs for three hi (hive bodies, supers, accessories, clothes, and o equipment) amounting to approximately $500. price of bees for two colonies is about $200. Ad this annually about $10 for disease control, $60 food for the bees, $40 for dues, and about $50 literature. This means that if you start with equipment you will invest between $800 and $ the first year.

You don't need to buy expensive harves equipment, such as an extractor (see page 36 start with. Chances are that an apiarist in your will let you borrow this equipment or you ma able to buy one cooperatively with another keeper.

If you take over bees and equipment from a keeper who wants to give up bees, your costs of course be much less. You will probably be to get 10 colonies with all the necessary equipr for about $2000. Beekeepers' magazines have ads for bees and equipment for sale by ret apiarists. Before you commit yourself to bu however, ask the advice of an experienced keeper.

Beginners and people wanting to keep bee hobby will not count the hours they spend wit bees as work. Apiarists with several years of rience figure they put in six to eight hours a ye colony. This includes only the time spent act working with the bees, not the job of keepin equipment in good shape and repairing it.

Apiary Organizations

I urge you strongly to join a beekeepers' o zation. Membership not only provides yo advice on legal and insurance questions b entitles you to take advantage at lower r many services offered by local and state gr

There are state beekeeping organizati every state, many local beekeepers' associ

L-1

10/96

What Needs to Be Done in October

Late-blooming plants in gardens (asters) and in fields (field mustard) offer the bees some pollen to help cover the need for protein during winter.

- Remove and clean the feeders.
- On frost–free days and when few of the bees are out flying, hives set up outside can be given a new coat of paint (see page 42).
- Check to make sure the hives are tight, and seal cracks if necessary (see page 42). Supply insulation, and cover the hives with roofing (see page 43).
- Take precautions against mouse invasions: Reduce the size of the entrance, or attach mouse screens (see page 43).
- Put up bird nets if you wish (see page 43).
- Weigh the hive at the end of the month.
- Make entries in the record cards, and collect the cards of all the colonies.

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Products of Beekeeping

Different Kinds of Honey

Kind of honey	Origin	Taste	Color when freshly extracted	Color when crystallized
Dandelion honey	Dandelion	Strong and aromatic	Yellow	Bright yellow
Rape honey	Rape	Mild characteristic flavor	Light yellow	Whitish
Clover honey	Red, white, sweet yellow, vetches	Mild	Yellow to brandy colored	Whitish yellow to gray
Basswood honey	Basswood trees (nectar and honeydew)	Very aromatic, characteristic flavor	Greenish to yellow	Greenish gray
Chestnut honey	Chestnut trees	Distinct, somewhat tangy flavor	Amber	Golden to gray
Black locust honey	Black locust	Mild	Translucent	Whitish to greenish gray
Fruit blossom honey	Fruit trees and berry bushes	Mild	Light to golden yellow	Light to golden yellow
Summer blossom honey	All nectar-bearing flowers of summer	Aromatic	Golden yellow to brandy colored	Whitish to golden yellow, slightly grayish
Forest blossom honey	Willow, raspberry, blackberry, germander, buckthorn, horse chestnut (honeydew)	Mildy spicy	Golden yellow to amber	Yellowish gray
Forest honey	Spruce, oak, maple (honeydew)	Mildy spicy	Amber to reddish brown	Golden to amber
Heath honey	Heath plants	Very aromatic characteristic flavor	Reddish yellow to amber	Retains jellylike consistency for a long time
Fir honey	European white fir (honeydew)	Mildy spicy	Greenish black	Grayish brown

Alois can't distinguish the separate tastes as well as Klara. Timber tastes

M-1

11+12/96

What Needs to Be Done in November and December

The bees have by now contracted into a tight cluster. In order not to starve or freeze to death they must keep eating the sugar syrup they have stored in the combs in the fall. The carbohydrates contained in the sugar are converted to heat.

No tight cluster this year.

- Check the hives once or twice a month, but be sure not to open them up (see page 43).
- Build new hives and other equipment; do whatever repair work is necessary.
- Combine and analyze the data on the record cards (see page 43).
- Expand your theoretical knowledge about bees and beekeeping. (See the list of useful books and other publications on page 65).
- Work on marketing your honey.
- Make use of the beeswax (for candles).

43

Alois looks at old record cards. Sells his bee books to a collector in Vienna

Klara on candles if not done yet. (the end of the dispute of what to do w candles to Alois it is too church like. A light shutup to Jerry every goddess night.

Rewrites his will. Leaves Alo out

but for the legal minimum

Tavern drinking

Gloom on sale prospects.

Talk w Meyerhofer on the new possibilities

A bite on the sale.

Negotiations into Feb

Sale in April

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 200 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 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.'

[1] It should be mentioned that through his posting 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.

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 Pölzl, 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 *Schrottau-Gut*, but more popularly as the *Rauscher-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

JAN 96
+
FEB 96

Jan
Paula is born Jan 21, '96

Feb - cleaning flegel
D11, D12, 12', 12A, 12B, 12C
D13, D13A → D13E
D? 31, 31A, B, C, D
E21, E10
F16? E96?
H 59, 92, 189, 108
p8, 25

LEONDING

+1900 Nov 1898

still pined for a farm where he could end his days working the land and looking after his beehives. In November, 1898, he bought a small property in the little village of Leonding on the outskirts of the provincial city of Linz. With the house went half an acre of land, and it was therefore known as the garden house. Next to the property was the local cemetery, and the village church was across the way.

It was a pleasant, solid, capacious house with a tiled roof and two chimneys, and there were many trees in the small garden. Alois set up his beehives, and Adolf went to the local *Volksschule*, or elementary school, where as usual he did well. Klara busied herself about the house, looking after the young children, Paula and Edmund, and keeping an eye on Angela and Adolf, who were both mischievous. Josef Mayrhofer, who knew the family well, remembered that Klara came to his house to buy vegetables two or three times a week, always neatly dressed and always friendly, saying: "I can't stay, because there is so much work waiting for me."

Alois was a creature of habit, and every day was like every other day. In the morning he worked in his garden, and there would be the inevitable visit to the Gasthaus Stiefler for a drink with his cronies. In the evening there would be another round of drinks at one of the local inns. Josef Mayrhofer remembered that Alois went to church only on the Emperor's birthday, and that although he was strict with his family, his bark was worse than his bite. He never struck his children, but he would sometimes say to Adolf: "You little wretch, I'll give you a beating!" without ever carrying out the threat. Adolf tended whenever possible to stay out of his father's way.

About a year after the family began to live in Leonding, Edmund, who was nearly six years old, died of measles. It was the first time Adolf had encountered death, and the death of his brother left a deep psychological wound, which perhaps never completely healed. We know almost nothing about the circumstances of Edmund's death, and we can only guess at the bonds of affection between the two brothers, but it is certain that there was a dramatic change in Adolf's character during the year following his brother's death. From being a rather cocky, good-humored, outward-going boy who found his lessons ridiculously easy, sailing through life as though all things were possible to him, he becomes a morose, self-absorbed, nervous boy, who never again did well in his lessons and continued to wage a sullen war against his teachers until they gave up in despair. (the rats.)

A school photograph taken when he was attending the fourth class at Leonding in 1899 shows him with an open, eager face, a forelock falling across his forehead, his arms folded across his chest, and as he stands there, in the center of the top row, he wears an expression of

Death of Edmund
He blames that his secret curses killed the brother
also he must look out at the cemetery where Edmund is buried.

The rats - sometimes infuriated all Edmund because would shoot

the new invention of D.T. in A1 is one of the causes, comes in on the rat-shooting

Perhaps D.T. has his difficulties w the guardian angel - something

at the ends the filled-up page from Waste

61a

calm self-assurance and
lowing year, when he w
looking glumly and moo
former self-assurance.

Quite suddenly someth
soul or a sickness of the
in his character must re
probably the main cause
out of the bedroom wind
grave [illegible] behind the
inconsolable, for they ha
remaining two.

Years later, when Ado
times descend on Leondi
about him. They rememb
Red Indians, or pretend
English, for the Boer Wa
bered him standing on a
manded his followers to
would sometimes put tw
shrill whistle. Immediat
and run to his father, wh
and air of authority exa
that in the presence of h
also remembered a curiou
other memories. They sa
on the cemetery wall, ga

The Linz *Realschule*, v
he was eleven years old
equivalent to a high scho
a classical education and
a professional career, th
languages and prepared
engineering. In the *Gym*
until he could write th
native German. The *Rea*
ancient history, or philo
practical.

Adolf sometimes mad
but more often he went
hour and a half, was n
and watchtowers left ov
approach of Napoleon's

1900 Feb?

Jan '96

JI-1 Paula b. Jan 21, '96.
Bartolk – 7 in our hand
Bee deferation a few days of the birth
L20 P46 – listening to bees thru tube
D-12 Bee deferation
Klaus Conversation w Klaus after Lamoy D12
~~[illegible]~~ – see YZXX in spoke
D-12A, B Condition of wings on clearing flights
Book knowledge
D.12c Adi brooding on bee weakness "Worlowtie
wants to talk to Der Alte
D13A Alois on shifting to Adi

No page → Adi getting tough w Edmond now
that Paula is born.

Feb '96

March? or Feb YZXX – Queen begins to lay eggs,
Feeding!
Gassing of the sick colony?
Did Adi pray for the bees who
live with the dead mouse
on Christmas Eve?
P 7 (YZYX) First forager flights in pine
+ P8 Fears of swarming only
watches the tight clusters.
J-31 March or Feb Studies the dead bees brought out.
Finds disease – gassing.
Alois' book-reading feeds
him on honey-gathering.
P43 – checking dead bees.

March '96

P43. Gassing of weak colony
Adi sees it – P.T. gives his lecture
on let us not make too much of this
~~P46 L20~~
?? WL 22 – Der Alte + bee burning, ??? ??
J-31 Der Alte + lonely bee he uses
Talk w Adi to keep alive
WL 92 – tie in to J-31 – Does Alois have worries?
P25 [A] to Adi – February

The Beekeeper's Yearly Work Cycle

In this chapter all the beekeeping chores are organized by the month in which they must be done. This work plan will guide you safely through the yearly work cycle (see also the drawing on pages 44 and 45).

What Needs to Be Done in January

The colony that is wintering over (there may be 10,000–20,000 bees) has contracted into a tight cluster that is distributed over four to eight combs. This cluster moves very slowly along the combs, usually in the direction away from the hive entrance. The bees are using up the winter food stored in the combs to be able to generate the necessary heat, that is, 68° to 77°F (20°–25°C) in the center of the cluster and 46°–50°F (8°–10°C) on the outer edges. A colony uses up about 20 to 25 ounces (600–700 g) of food per day in January.

By holding one end of a thin plastic or rubber tube against the hive entrance and the other against your ear you can hear the soft humming of the bees. Even a slight disturbance, such as a knock against the hive, will cause the sound to change, but the monotonous humming resumes when the knocking stops. When outside temperatures rise to between 50° and 54°F (10°–12°C), the bees take cleansing flights (see page 8).

- Look over your hives periodically, but only from the outside, to see if there is any storm damage.
- Check to make sure the mouse blocks are still securely in place in front of the hive entrance; a mouse invasion can be fatal for a colony wintering over.
- This is the time to repair hives and frames or build new ones.
- Analyze the entries on the record cards you have kept for the individual colonies (see page 43).
- This is also a good time to go to association meetings and workshops or lectures.
- During the winter months you have time to market your honey and find new clients or outlets.
- Note down on each colony's record card what you observe at the hive entrance. In January, for instance, you may find a number of dead old bees.
- If you have a scale hive, check its weight at the end of the month and compare the January weight with the December weight to see how much food was consumed. Make the appropriate entries on the record cards.

What Needs to Be Done in February

Although February counts among the winter months, some early spring flowers, such as snowdrops, may appear, and such shrubs as hazelnuts begin to produce the first pollen. The bees inside their hive also feel the life-giving warmth of the sun, and the queen begins to lay eggs. In the center of the cluster, a brood nest with eggs in the cells begins to form. It starts out about the size of the palm of your hand and gradually increases in size. As the bees eat more—in February they consume about 2 pounds (1000 g) of food a day—the temperature in the cluster rises from about 77°F (25°C) to 95°F (35°C).

Outdoor temperatures must rise to only 46°–50°F (8–10°C) for the first bees to venture out of the hive to gather water, which they need to tend to the brood. On some days it will also become warm enough for preliminary cleansing flights. If warm winds bring unseasonably high temperatures (57°F, 14°C and above), the hive's main cleansing flight can occur toward the end of February.

- Any neighbors living close to your hives should be informed in good time of the phenomenon of the bees' cleansing flights. Explain before the first warm days arrive that you cannot close off the hive entrance, because if you did, the bees would defecate inside the hive and the entire colony would die. Ask your neighbors not to hang out their wash on the first warm day but to dry it indoors. If the wash is hung outside it may well be spattered with little yellow dots. Bee spatters on a car can simply be washed off. If you explain politely just how important bees are for the pollination of plants, your neighbors will surely respond sympathetically.

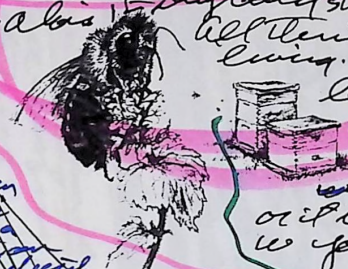
may come down with a severe bowel disease that, left untreated, can cause a colony to weaken or lead to heavy loss of life. Worker bees are so incredibly clean that they will risk death by flying in cold weather rather than befoul their home. Only the boorish males are guilty of soiling the hive, and there are not likely to be any of them in the winter colony.

When there is a long spell of cold and the bees can't get out to relieve themselves, on the first warm day they fairly explode from the hive; it is not unusual to see the snow splashed almost solid brown for several hundred feet in all directions. Generally bees do not go far from the hive on cleansing flights. This is sensible on their part. If they went any distance and the temperature suddenly dropped, they probably wouldn't make it back.

Bees, unlike humans, have a sound sense of their life mission. They work hard in the spring, summer, and fall, and in the winter they loaf, or take it fairly easy, like retirees at leisure. But that is not an altogether accurate statement. The bees that work so diligently from April through September are probably not the same ones that more or less knock off during the cold months. In the summer the field bees work so hard that their average life is only four to six weeks. Their wings beat about two hundred times a minute, which musicians say is in the key of C sharp below middle C. The fragile wings become ragged and torn, and finally wear out altogether so that they no longer will support flight. An experienced beekeeper can usually tell a bee's approximate age by the condition of her wings.

Hive values are such that when a bee no longer can fly and be an asset to the colony, she will remove herself from the hive rather than be a burden. If she lacks the grace to commit suicide, or to depart of her own will, she will be kicked out of the hive or killed outright by those she served so faithfully while she could. Human societies have no monopoly on ingratitude and treachery.

There is little sentiment in a hive. The motto, indelibly and invisibly etched in bee genes, is "work or die." Every female bee, except the queen, is expected to give full measure in hard labor for her keep, and the queen has her own biological obligations. This is a completely socialistic society, the direct opposite of the competitiveness and spirit of individual advantage that governs most human societies. No goods are owned privately. The collective wealth is the pooled honey in the combs and dedication to a common goal. The individual bee owns

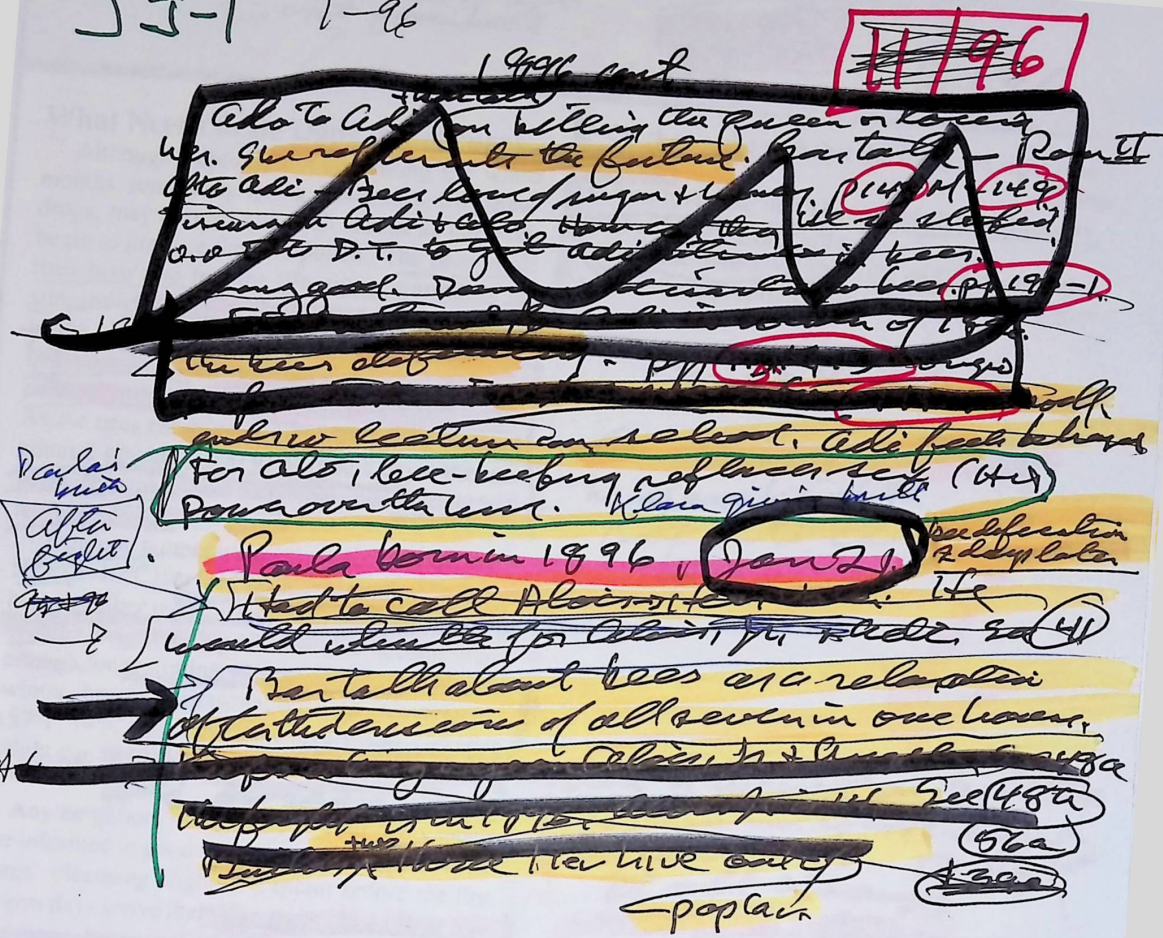


nothing, and owes full allegiance to the colony. In exchange she is provided a place to live and work while she is a productive member of the community.

Many human communes could have used bees as their models, but such experiments seldom come off. Humans rarely are capable of the self-sacrifice and dedication of bees. On the other hand, bees are not wracked and diverted by sexual desire as humans are, and such wholehearted fidelity to ceaseless work may be a questionable virtue: is this drive motivated by pleasure or compulsion? Is it socially useful or only for personal gain?

In a beehive every effort is directed toward the common good. Every individual, except the queen, is expendable, but under

JJ-1 1-96



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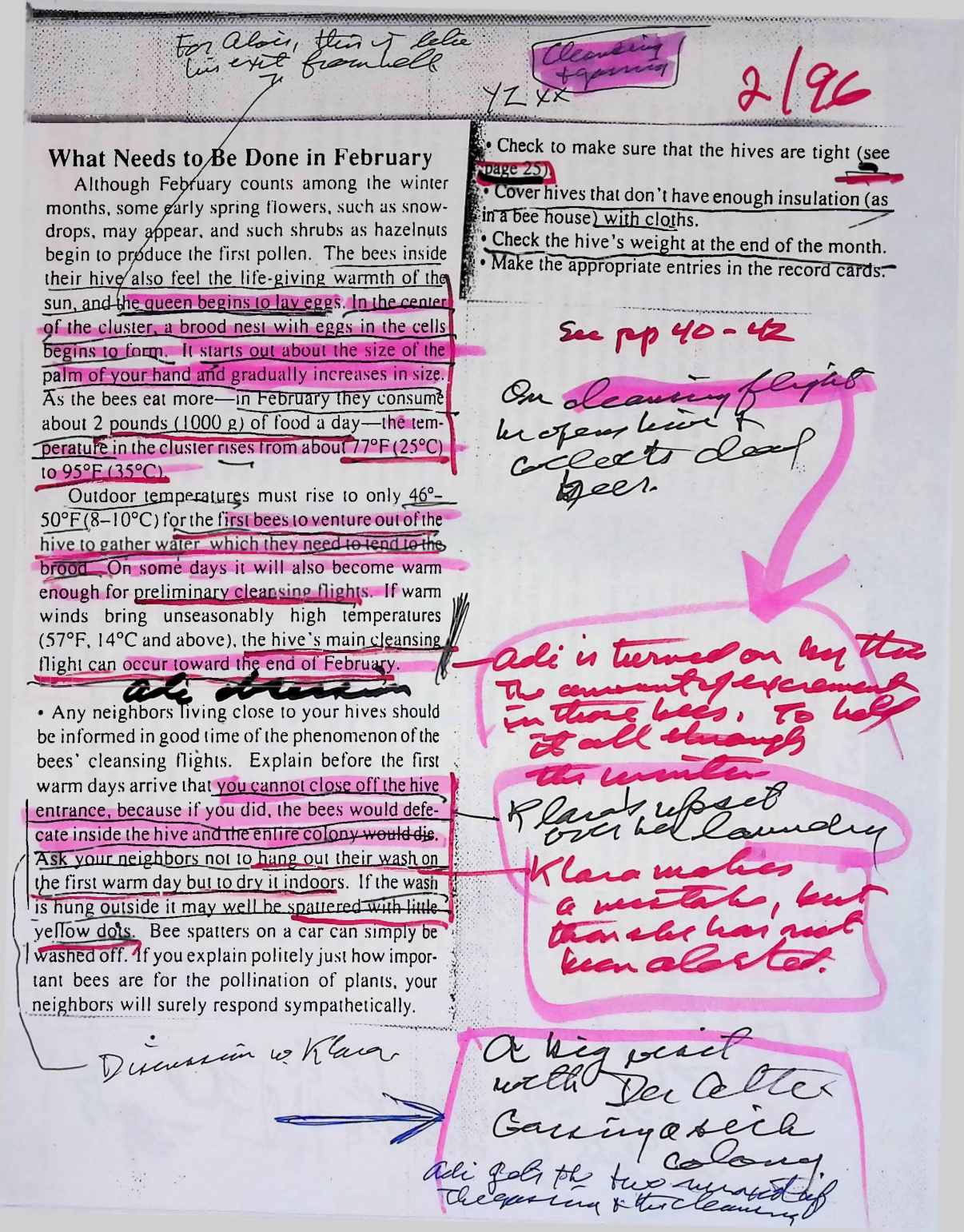
- Check to make sure that the hives are tight (see page 25).
- Cover hives that don't have enough insulation (as in a bee house) with cloths.
- Check the hive's weight at the end of the month.
- Make the appropriate entries in the record cards.



I learned that the couple who had given the beekeeping course I attended were defectors from our association and were deeply resented for running the bee school and forming an opposition group. Beekeepers, like bees, are very big on organizational loyalty and almost as gregarious as bees; meetings are their form of clustering.

Our association, after exhausting debate, voted to start our own bee school to compete with the opposition. The members were not deterred by the statistical irrelevancy that there were not enough potential beekeepers on Cape Cod to keep one bee school running continuously, let alone two. There wasn't even enough pasturage on the Cape to support so many hives. It was wonderfully irrational. We could have been warring nations, so intent on destroying the enemy that we forgot we would also destroy ourselves in the process.

The members enjoyed the monthly meetings tremendously, and this, I believe, sets us apart and above the bees, our capacity for pleasure, and not our intelligence, which may or may not be superior to that of bees. For many of our group the meetings must have been a high point of their lives. Each session invariably ended with the president proclaiming, in the finest chauvinistic tradition, "The ladies have provided refreshments." A flurry of female activity was followed by the aroma of brewing coffee, and then cookies and homemade brownies were produced, a plastic cup at the ready for donations.

I joined the association believing the stereotype about beekeepers being kindly little old men who love their bees. There was a chilling letdown when one speaker told about how his bees had betrayed him. He had a super of honey on a hive and when he tried to remove it the bees stung him so that he had to retreat. Later he went back for the honey, but by then the bees had "stolen" every last drop for their own use. "But I got even with them," he said, grinding his teeth. "On the coldest day of the winter I dumped them out on the frozen ground, poured gasoline on them, and set them on fire. . . ." So much for stereotypes about kindly little old beekeepers!

I was further disillusioned when I discovered that periodically there are serious discussions among beekeepers, and in learned bee journals, about whether it is more efficient to leave an adequate supply of honey to winter a colony over so it is strong in the spring, or to take all of the honey in the fall, destroy the bees, and start over the following spring with new bees. Fortunately, people who think like this are exceptions. Most beekeepers are devoted to their bees.

Another misconception I had concerned some of our female members; several were the wives of members and I assumed that they were loyal spouses indulging their mates by accompanying them to the meetings. I had another view of this when one of our foremost members died. His wife had always served coffee, otherwise remaining in the background. But with his death, instead of dropping out, she became an officer in the association.

Gradually I realized that learning about bees was the least important part of our agenda. Bees were more excuse than reason for the meetings. The focus was on parliamentary procedure and finding new members to keep the association alive. The rationale, if any, was to gain political clout (someone is forever trying to banish beehives, license beekeepers, or wipe out both with poisonous sprays) and, subliminally, to destroy the opposition group headed by the colonel and his lady.

I had naively joined to learn about bees, but found myself learning more about beekeepers than bees. To attend meetings I had to make a round trip of more than fifty miles, and didn't reach home until after midnight. Finally I decided to drop out and learn from books, and from the best teachers of all—the bees themselves, who somehow manage their complex organizational affairs with no help from Robert.

In retrospect now I realize that it was chance alone that brought me to beekeeping. I am always fascinated by the role

job schedule broken down into the specific number of days spent on each succeeding task. But the progression from job to job is not so precise or straightforward as it was once believed to be. Studies at Cornell University have revealed that unforeseen factors may influence or interrupt the job progression that once seemed to proceed so unwaveringly for all; it is now recognized that there is more job specialization than was formerly believed, more individualism and flexibility within the framework of conformity. Once more nature has surprises for us, a greater diversity than we assumed.

THIRTY-ONE



There seem to be castes of bees that do different tasks, but most of the jobs are temporary, though a bee can stay on a job for a fairly long time," says P. K. Visscher, a Cornell professor. Dr. Visscher paid particular attention to "undertaker bees" who remove the dead from the hive, concluding that the small corps of morticians may refuse to do other jobs and others may refuse to do theirs. He found that about 1 percent of a colony's population takes care of the dead. About an hour after a bee dies, an undertaker bee picks up the body and carries it away, flying up to four hundred feet from the hive before dropping it. He finds it remarkable that a bee can carry a body equal to her own weight such a distance. "Bees," he says, "realize that keeping a dead body around threatens the health of the other bees by carrying disease or attracting predators."

Dr. Visscher and other researchers are no longer so sure that bees are born genetically prepackaged to perform their multiple tasks on an inflexible biological timetable. Now they are

asking how bees fall heir to certain jobs. What determines which individuals will perform given tasks? Are they assigned by older bees? Is the division of labor dictated by chemical or other unknown cues? What causes an individual to stay on one particular job for a while before switching to another?

"It's a mystery," says Dr. Visscher. He and other scientists offer several theories to answer the questions they raise. One holds that a bee performs a job, becomes adept at it, and is resistant to take on other tasks with which she is less familiar. "A bee that gets good results by visiting a certain type of plant will become an expert in gathering nectar from its flower and will continue that job," he says. Another theory is that the size and weight of a bee, which can vary according to the size cell she was born in and the amount of food received as a larva, may determine the job performed, just as a human's physical build may predispose him or her to certain jobs and exclude others. A longer, heavier bee, for example, may wind up as a hive guard.

Another theory advanced upsets many existing notions about the uniform characteristics of colonies. It contends that since the queen has several mates on her nuptial flight—it was long believed that she had only one—her offspring will be a genetically mixed bag; some might have a predisposition to a particular type of job by reason of genes inherited from one father, while others might incline toward other tasks because of different characteristics passed along by another sire.

This is a revolutionary way of looking at bees, seeing them not only as an integrated unit but as individuals with personalities and eccentricities or abilities of their own. It also provides new insights into bee intelligence and personality; their job specialization and division of labor suggest that there may be more similarities between bees and human societies than was formerly thought. We may be subject to many of the same laws as bees, and that which we think is free will or choice may, in fact, be dictated by a higher power that we fail to

A spur embedder is a small, movable cogwheel with grooved teeth (see drawing on page 21). Lay a sheet of foundation on the small wooden board, and then place a wired frame on top of the foundation. Heat the embedding tool over a small flame, and then run it along the wire in the frame. The heat of the tool warms the wire, which melts the wax of the foundation and becomes embedded in it.

If you have more than ten colonies, it makes sense to invest in a small electric transformer (about $50). With this device you can use low-voltage electricity to fasten the foundation. For this procedure you place the wired frame on the wooden board and the foundation on top of the frame. Then, touch the two ends of the electric cable to the heads of the tacks so that the electric circuit is closed. The wire and the wax on top of it are warmed by the current, and the foundation's own weight causes it to combine with the wire. When the wire cools, frame and foundation are securely connected. The entire process takes no more than a few seconds.

Insulating Hives and Spring Feeding

During spells of cold weather it is especially hard for the bees to maintain an even brood temperature of 95°F (35°C). Think of it this way: The more heat the bees must generate themselves, the shorter their life span. This is why you should wrap the hives with thick cloth and cover them with a tarpaulin. You should also angle a board 4–8 inches (10–20 cm) wide from the entrance to the ground. This ramp makes it easier for the bees to make their way back into the hive when it rains.

When it is cold and rainy, bees cannot go out foraging. Thus it can happen that there is not enough food for the brood. To prevent this most dire situation, observe the following rule of thumb: In the spring, there should be at least four or five filled combs in the outer frames of every hive, the combs partially occupied by bees, and about two-thirds of the cells capped. This is the equivalent of approximately 20–25 pounds (10–12 kg) of food. If there are fewer-filled combs, you can take out empty combs close to the brood nest and replace them with filled ones that you remove from a colony that has a plentiful store of food.

You can also give the bees a boost by feeding them Candy for Bees, Hard Candy for Winter (or "sugar boards," as thin slabs of this prepared material are usually called), or sugar syrup. Once you have established how much food the bees need, you give them the appropriate amount (for amounts and feeders, see pages 40–42).

Feeding bees in the spring also has another purpose, namely, to stimulate brood rearing. For this purpose, however, bee candy or sugar syrup alone is not enough. The bees also need pollen. This is why you should offer your bees a pollen substitute (brewer's yeast or soy flour) in the spring in a pollen feeder ("birdhouse" feeder). Set up the pollen feeder in a sunny spot near the hives, making sure that the distance between the feeding surface and the roof of the feeder is at least 8–10 inches (20–25 cm). The bees need room to hover while they are packing the food into their pollen baskets (see page 8).

It is important not to start a feeding intended to stimulate brood rearing too early. Wait until after the gooseberry bushes flower. Otherwise the bees build too large a brood nest and will not be able to maintain the necessary temperature during cold weather. If the brood nest becomes too cool, the brood dies, and the overworked bees become susceptible to sickness and may die prematurely.

Cutting Out the Building Frame

A strong colony begins to occupy the building frame in April (see page 47). Some building bees attach themselves to the upper frame bar and form a cluster there. These bees proceed to "sweat" the

[redacted]

1996

MARCH
APRIL
MAY
JUNE
JULY

[redacted]

MARCH 8, 43

APRIL —

MAY 26, 14, 10, 33

JUNE 11, 35 HONEY, 36, 39

~~A 107~~ (talk to Adi) A 107

B 15, 85, 87

F 70

J 18

July GFN? 32, ? 39, 40 interim feeding

Spring 96 — May

after Alo's return, they paint the hive boxes.

pink blue yellow

have a real good talk.

Alo is charmed by Alo Jr. who says "The bees like flower colors."

On Alo's return, as trouble starts, breaks to hive himself out as a hewer of trees. (Strength Alo's uneasy)

Oct thru May — major events

A-7 ~~A-7~~ Oct Bees in the hive - FB

Nov + Dec

? { Christmas Eve sitting by hives in snow

The gassing? Or later?

Jan - Bee cleansing

Feb - Bee gassing?

March - gassing?

In April (VV-1) D.T. hears from a minor devil what has been taking place at the farm!

Dictated and added to on March 1/04

May - return of D.T. + Alo Jr.

Alo first, then D.T.

Alo's return + first honey, first beating

Alo leaves a hive in the sun

Alo's fears of swarming

Recap for D.T. of Oct → May.

Jun

Or, honey tasting in June.

Sounds of bees - description to Adi.

Worries over swarming — over.

July

Alo Jr. girl-chasing

August

Guilt drop to fight

Fight

After

Shift in attitude to Adi

Sept

Elmo - Sucht

March 96

A problem. Is the gassing in Feb or March.

p 43

WL 22

See Feb → J 31 Per Atte ~~A~~ A lovely bee. he tries to keep alive

WL 92 tie in to J-31

p 25 [A to Edi Feb or March

March in March folder

QQ 3/96 must feed enough. Too much feeding and swarming will commence

43 / 3/96 Check on whether the queen is functioning p. 30

QQ-~~1~~ 3/96 ~~[illegible]~~ forest honey

Maybe [A] characterizes flowers by their pollen

See VV-1 / April

QQ-10 Bee dance

QQ-11 Guards sniffing

QQ ~~*~~ The wifling queen is laying up to 2,000 eggs a day

worker bees dying from work. Keep the temperature at 95°F. 40 days

Building wax cells. (right of ear

A-~~10~~ 10 Protection the queen house gas are 10 days old

while shifting frames

Glass tube

Alois' sense of achievement.

[A] to Edi would I have ~~tried to explain to~~ explained to your father

APRIL — 4/96

VV-1 Valuable intense activities, very important

VV-21 Klara enjoying the bees + the spring

VV-6 Mystery of queen cell. Methods

First fear of swarming of feeding

LE xx Movable frame hives

A-11 Summation of equipment

WL 95 Play flights

p 43

VV-1

4/96

What Needs to Be Done in April

By this time all kinds of willows are in bloom and, depending on the climate, poplars with red pollen, maples, beeches, oaks, sloe plum, currants, gooseberries, various kinds of cherry trees, and apple and pear trees. The variety of natural food sources and the fact that more and more pollen (protein) and nectar are needed for rearing brood motivate the bees to keep leaving the hive to forage for more food.

Within the hive a changeover of population is taking place. The old bees that wintered over are dying off, and young bees take their place. The brood nest has swelled to six or eight combs, and maintaining the brood temperature of 95° F (35° C) requires a great physical effort on the part of the house bees. In addition, major fluctuations in temperature pose a threat to the colony in April (see page 25).

- Attach the ramps below the entrances of the hives (see page 25).
- Keep insulating the hives if this is necessary (see page 25).
- If necessary, supply bee candy or sugar syrup (see page 25).
- If there is a long cold or rainy spell during which the bees cannot fly, you must give them pollen substitute (see page 25).
- If the bees occupy all the combs or are building combs in the building frame (in a leaf hive), it is time to expand their space (see page 26).
- Keep cutting out the comb in the building frame (see page 25).
- Check the hive's weight weekly.
- Make appropriate entries in the record cards.

1897

~~4/1/05~~

1898

1899

up to & incl.
1900

+ 1901
(1/2)

Sorted Chronologically
4/19/05

~~Main File~~

Separated out
TO New year Files

1897 Move to Lambach in July 1897 ~~LANGBACK~~ LAMBACH halfway between Linz and Salzburg

Move to the mills

1898 Benediction Monastery
Church rolled smoking.

Nov 1898 purchases house in Leonding

On Feb 23 moves in 1899 Leonding – outskirts of Linz
Alois in Volksschule
Gutshaus Stiefler for dinner.

keeps house & property keeps bees

1900 Edmund dies of measles
Sept enters Unterrealschule (Leonding)
Alois in prison 5 mo. for theft

1901 Dec 1901 – Alois catches a bad cold. First real sign of ear.

1902 Hauling coal into cellar Alois gets a bad hemorrhage
Afterward starts to dream of the rich
Alois 8 mo in prison

1903 Alois dies Jan 03, on Jan 3. Dies in an inn drinking wine

1904 Steyr – Frau Schiele

1905 meets K.

1906 Visits Vienna

1907 Mothers operation
Oct 07 – test fantasy in Vienna

1908 Klara dies
Feb 17 – A.H. moves to Vienna Feb 23 Gutshaus

1909

Jahre 07

1897

1897

at Fischlham, and because the farm was not paying its way. In July, 1897, he sold the property, which was to exchange hands a dozen times in the next twenty years.

As soon as the farm was sold, the whole family went into lodgings at Lambach, the nearest town of any size. Lambach was halfway between Linz and Salzburg, and like Passau it had an ancient and distinguished history. There was a great Benedictine monastery, which had been founded in the eleventh century. Byzantine frescoes and many paintings by medieval masters were still preserved in the monastery. Lambach had many other churches, including the famous Paura Church, built in the form of a triangle with three towers, three gates, three windows, and three altars.

Adolf was admitted to the school attached to the Benedictine monastery and was immediately fascinated by the new world of church ritual, the black-robed monks, the abbot ruling his flock with all the authority of an earthly king. He did well in the school and was overwhelmed by the beauty of the services. Ecclesiastical music fascinated him, and in his spare time he took singing lessons so that he could sing in the choir. "Again and again I enjoyed the best possibility of intoxicating myself with the solemn splendor of the dazzling festivals of the Church," he wrote later. "It seemed to me perfectly natural to regard the abbot as the highest and most desirable ideal, just as my father regarded the village priest as his ideal." There was thus no trace of anticlericalism in the family. For two years Adolf contemplated the possibility of one day joining the community of monks, eventually rising to the position of abbot, with supreme authority over all the monks. But while he enjoyed the church ceremonies and looked upon the abbot with awe and veneration, he remained a quite normal schoolboy with a schoolboy's capacity for mischief. One day, when he was about nine years old, a priest caught him smoking a cigarette. This was a serious matter, and for a while he was in danger of receiving exemplary punishment. The danger passed, for the priest quickly forgave him, and he resumed his schooling as though nothing had happened.

Visitors to the monastery have observed one curious and memorable detail. In six or seven places—over the ornamental gateway, over a stone well, and over some of the stalls in the abbey—a swastika appears. The swastika was included in the coat of arms of Abbot Theodorich von Hagen, who ruled over the monastery in the fifties and sixties of the last century. In German a swastika is a *Hakenkreuz*, and evidently the abbot regarded it as a pun on his own name, the difference between *Haken* and *Hagen* being so small that it might pass unobserved. The abbot's swastika inspires no fear: it was carved delicately and simply, and the only emotion it conveys is one of surprise that an abbot should

concerned while the German position in Austria was seriously threatened. These events and the reactions they created occurred during the years that the Hitler family lived in Hafeld. They provided a discouraging counterpoint to the souring experience with the farm and retirement. Alois also became convinced that he could not obtain a decent education for his children in backward Hafeld.[25] Confused, frustrated and angry, he threw in his hand in July 1897, three months after the Badeni language decrees were issued. He sold the Hafeld farm and took up residence in the town of Lambach.[26]

During the first months in Lambach, the family lived in temporary quarters at #58 (the later *Gasthof Leingartner*). In the early part of 1898 they moved into a set of rooms on the second floor of a mill run by a miller named Zoebl. The mill was still being used, with Zoebl working in the forward part of the ground floor and a blacksmith named Preisinger practicing his trade in the rear. The Hitlers lived in the mill for approximately a year, over half the time they resided in the town.[27] Lambach was a little settlement of 1,700 inhabitants, but it probably appeared comparatively large after the years on the farm. Little change occurred here in the pattern of the family's life, however, largely because Klara took charge of the household with her customary efficiency.

The new surroundings and the relief from the financial losses in Hafeld seem to have encouraged Alois temporarily, and the first months in Lambach may have found him easier to live with. Before long, however, the old problems of restlessness, frustation and irritability returned and increased. The close quarters and the increasing assertiveness of his offspring made Lambach an even less congenial environment than Hafeld. There was no farm or beehives to which Alois could flee. The tavern, therefore, saw too much of him, but even this was not enough to insure peace for the children. The little

[25] *Reich*, p. 16.

[26] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 68-69; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 48. Part of a newspaper series on Hitler's youth "Aus Adolf Hitlers Jugendland" by Firtz Chelius, which is preserved in *HA*, File 17, Reel 1A, begins at this point. It appeared in a Rhenish newspaper in April 1933 [?] and contains some solid facts mixed with omission and error.

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At ten, Adolf, although still a constant victim of his father's discontent, appears to have devised ways of making life bearable. His responsibilities as the oldest son may have served as an outlet for a growing need to participate in the adult world. He seems to have been spared the intense feelings of jealousy and guilt which often assail children at this age.[28] He continued his schooling at the relatively modern elementary school in Lambach, and his record there remained excellent. His father, who enjoyed singing, seems to have provided the incentive for the boy to take voice lessons at the choir school in the local monastery.[29] During this period Adolf temporarily thought of becoming a monk, but the mood passed quickly. Such ambitions could receive no sympathy from his father; they also clashed with his own aggressive and competitive temperament.[30] Even while dreaming of a monastic life, he was caught by a priest in the act of smoking a cigarette, the great boyhood crime.[31] The indiscretion caused problems at school, but it is unlikely that it made serious trouble at home. Alois appreciated smoking more than he did priests. Neither this incident nor the passing attraction of the religious life was important in Adolf's development. In Lambach as in Hafeld, it was on the childish campaign trail or the make-believe scalping expeditions that he came to life. No matter what the game, he took his place as an enthusiastic participant.[32]

The frustrations and conflicts experienced by Alois made commu-

[28] *Erikson*, pp. 225-26.
[29] *Mein Kampf*, p. 6; *Jetzinger* (G), p. 73; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 53.
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[31] *Reich*, p. 17.
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paradise to the Hitler children, but one cannot help feeling surprised that a gregarious town-dweller like Alois Hitler should have chosen such solitude for his retirement. His longing for a house and some land of his own, noticed by Emanuel Lugert, must have been powerful indeed.

After some trouble I succeeded in obtaining a copy of the relevant extract from the Land Register and this reveals the date of purchase (already given), the place, namely Wels, and the fact that the property was registered in the joint names of Alois and Klara Hitler. The actual Deeds of Sale and Purchase were unfortunately unobtainable, having presumably been confiscated by the Nazis, and a rough idea of the purchase price must therefore be obtained from similar transactions concluded at that time. These suggest that Alois Hitler must have paid not less that 5000 gulden for the estate (about £440), of which four-fifths was probably in cash. How did he raise the money? Presumably from his wife's dowries. Carefully invested, these would have supplied almost the whole of the sum required.

Suitable though it was, no doubt, for apiculture, the nine-acre property could hardly thrive, or pay its way, on bee-keeping alone. In fact, to make a profit from the land, as he intended, Alois would have needed long experience of farming and a considerable capital. But he possessed neither, and so from the start lost money. Within two years, however, his business sense triumphed and, though it meant the end of his long-cherished dream of landed proprietorship, he decided to sell, finding a purchaser in the spring of 1897 and concluding the sale of the freehold on 21st June in that year. The Land Register records that the new owner was a Dr. Conrad Ritter von Zdekauer. Thereafter the estate changed hands no less than eleven times in twenty years, until (ultimately in 1938) the ownership was vested in Martin Bormann as trustee of the National Socialist Party.

In a letter dated 29th December 1901, addressed to his former neighbour in Hafeld, a wood-pulp supplier by the name of Wührer, Alois Hitler wrote:

'. . . I have heard that Frau von Zdekauer is proposing to sell the *Rauschergut* again—to yet another party from Vienna. It provides a pleasant change for such people for a year or two and they are the richer by one lesson at any rate, namely that everything has got to be learnt. But she will not find it easy to sell in the winter-time. Should the lady, as I believe, no longer be keeping bees, but still retain the empty hives, among them two three-tier hives which I made in Hafeld from poplar wood, you might buy them back for me, just as a memento of my activities there.

In early July 1897 the Hitler family moved into lodgings in Lambach, at first to the *Schmiedmühle*, so called, and then, as soon as they could find better accommodation, to a flat in the centre of the town. In those pleasant and, at that time, prosperous surroundings, they lived for eighteen months. But Alois Hitler had not lost the desire for a house of his own, nor did he overlook the fact that real property was the safest form of investment.

The sole surviving documents in Alois Hitler's own hand

The following letter was addressed to the Board of Inland Revenue in Linz and dated 19th September 1895. The handwriting is even and accurate. The grammar, spelling and syntax of the German original are beyond reproach. A glance at the original, or a photostat copy, is enough to disprove the tenacious legend that Alois Hitler drank too much; obviously a man of fifty-eight who could write so neatly cannot have been a drunkard. The text reads:

'The most respectfully undersigned was transferred to permanent retirement by order Z 931/F.Pr. of 25th June 1895.

As the undersigned was not an official accountant, he takes the liberty of requesting approval for the release and return of his caution money which is the property of Johann Murauer, householder of No. 7, Theatergasse, Braunau-on-Inn.

the front part of the ground floor and in the rear was a blacksmiths, Preisinger, who's hearth and hammer were of endless interest to Adi. This point is worth developing by D.T. who could discuss how the boy actually made friends with the man—a rare event for both of them.

While Lambach was a place with 1700 inhabitants, it was large to all of them, like a small city after those years on the farm.

Alois is more than ready to take a rest and for a time, particularly once they moved to the mill and didn't have the children under foot all the time, he was ready to enjoy himself. The tavern was far superior to the smelly hovel at Fishelham—which indeed he saw as just that—a smelly hovel.

this in combination with black-robed monks brought a seriousness to his dreams. Again, D.T. might expatiate. He actually loved the school. He did well there. And the beauty of the services spoke to him. He took his singing lessons so that he could join the choir. Every sight of the Abbot stimulated him. He saw him as the highest ideal to which a human being could aspire.

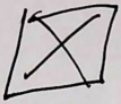
(D.T. expatiates) One day he would be the Abbot who wielded that exceptional atmosphere of authority over all the monks.

On the other hand, possibility of new games and new activities was equally exciting. Some of the boys were smoking cigarettes and he got caught. (A possible scene where he talks himself out of punishment from the Abbot who explains to him that he could be expelled). When his father hears about it he roars with laughter before giving him a severe whipping which bothers Klara, for fear that Alois is turning nasty. Moreover, the episode discourages all further priestly thoughts in Adi. The immediate sense of repudiation and anathema that came off the priest discouraged him profoundly, not

~~page~~

1897

School ~~in~~ Lambach was the Benedictine Monastery and there is some attention to be given here to the fascination it provided ~~the boy~~. He had a visceral understanding of ritual. It spoke to the source of future knowledge and power in him and here D. T. can expound on the readiness of boys to have their intimations of what may yet be possible for them in years to come. Indeed Lambach itself was reminiscent of Passau, ~~and~~ the monastery had been founded in the 11th century. Going to school was a matter of seeing Byzantine frescos and a few paintings by medieval masters (might be worth looking up) were still preserved in the monastery. Lambach even had a church that was famous; the Paura Church had been built in the form of a triangle with three towers, three gates, three windows and three altars. All



D

-page-

go to page 4

~~Attach this to the page where he thinks of becoming a priest.~~

1897

Once he even goes so far as to take the maids apron off the k. to clean hook when he's alone in the apartment and drape it around his shoulders as if it were a vestment. then he climbs up on a kitchen chair and delivers a ~~sermon on the~~ fires of hell. He gets very excited. His first shower. also feels like a woman

This precedes being caught smoking.

See p 20

1898

1898

Alois, Sr., and ran away from home at the age of fourteen, never to return in his father's lifetime. His vengeful elder retaliated by reducing the boy's inheritance to the legal minimum. The departure of his half brother left Adolf the principal butt of their father's frustrations. The elder Hitler piled additional chores on the youngster's back and carped at him constantly for failing to come up to expectations. A few months later the disgruntled country gentleman sold the burdensome farm for the more enjoyable town life of Lambach half a dozen miles away. For six months the family lived on the third floor of the Gasthof Leingartner just opposite the imposing Benedictine monastery. Freed from farm chores, Adolf's existence also became more palatable and he did well at the modern school. His marks were excellent and in the last quarter of the school year 1897–98 he had twelve 1's, the highest grade. He also had a good natural singing voice and on certain afternoons attended the choir school at the monastery, under the tutelage of Padre Bernhard Gröner. On the way he had to pass by a stone arch in which was carved the monastery's coat of arms—its most prominent feature a swastika.

At this time he became "intoxicated" with that "solemn splendor of brilliant church festivals." The abbot became his idol and he hoped to join the Church himself, one aspiration that curiously met his anti-clerical father's approval. Adolf later told Frau Helene Hanfstaengl that "as a small boy it was his most ardent wish to become a priest. He often borrowed the large kitchen apron of the maid, draped it about his shoulders in vestment fashion, climbed on a kitchen chair and delivered long and fervent sermons." His devout mother would certainly have welcomed such a career, but Adolf's interest in things priestly ended as quickly as it began. Before long he was caught smoking.

The family was now living in pleasant quarters on the second floor of a spacious house connected to a mill. It was an ideal headquarters for the venturesome boy, providing him with a variety of arenas for his favorite game of cowboys and Indians. To the couple who owned the mill, Adolf was a "little rogue," rarely at home but always "where something was happening," usually as the leader in raids on pear trees and other pranks. When the "wild boy" did come home his trousers were torn, his hands and legs scratched and bruised from his adventures.

Lambach proved to be as dull as the farm to the restless Alois and in 1899 he bought a snug house across from the cemetery wall in Leonding, a village on the outskirts of Linz. The house was no larger than usual but the location was far more to Alois' taste. Leonding had 3000 inhabitants and took on an air of civilization from its proximity to Linz with the lat-

1899

1899

more emphasis on Edmund

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'What with games in the open air, the distance we had to walk to school and my association with the other toughest of tough youngsters (often a source of acute concern to my mother), I became anything but a stay-at-home.'

Yes, accurate as far as it goes, but not a word is said about the countryside, its joys and its endless variety, which the young Adolf was then experiencing for the first time. He appears to have had little feeling for Nature.

His second school in Lambach

In July 1897, for reasons which have been explained in a previous chapter, the Hitler family moved to the market town of Lambach, where they went into lodgings. The primary school in Lambach, which Adolf attended for sixteen months, was better organized than his first school. Throughout this time his reports were excellent.

As he had a good natural voice, Adolf was given singing lessons at the choristers' training school run by Father Bernhard Grüner at the local monastery. During his training, as Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, 'I had a fine opportunity to drink in the solemn splendour of the church festivals which were gorgeous in the extreme; and what could be more natural than that the office of Abbot should seem to me an ideal infinitely worth striving for?' The youthful Hitler, in that case, would seem to have been more accessible to idealistic emotions than the average boy of his age, whose only reaction to ecclesiastical pomp would probably be to ask how soon it would all be over.

Konrad Heiden has a story that Adolf was expelled from the boys' choir because he was caught smoking in the monastery garden, but the punishment seems improbably heavy for such a crime, particularly when the offender was only nine years old.

The gateway of the monastery at Lambach is adorned with the coat of arms of the Abbot, Theodorich Hagen—namely a wolf-trap with the initials TH. The device bears a certain resemblance to a swastika, which prompted someone during the Nazi period to paint a tasteless pastiche of the well-known picture of Saint

Francis of Assisi receiving the Stigmata in which the boy Adolf was portrayed kneeling before the gateway with rays of light falling from the coat of arms on to his outstretched hands. This blasphemy gave rise to the opinion that the Nazi swastika originated from the monastery at Lambach; which is, of course, quite untrue.

His third school at Leonding

In January 1899, after buying a small house there, Alois Hitler moved his family to Leonding, on the western outskirts of Linz. The primary school which Adolf attended was only five minutes' walk from his home. Hitler himself described this period as follows:

'I was really anything but "good" in the usual sense of the word. The ridiculously easy learning in school left me so much spare time that the sun saw more of me than the ceiling. I became the leader of a small gang.'

Every statement forthcoming from Hitler's former fellow-pupils in Leonding confirms the accuracy of this description. He was out of doors almost continually, playing with a gang of boys. With his town upbringing, Adolf was quicker-witted than they and was the instigator of all their pranks. They often played the popular children's game, 'Cops and Robbers', and the fringe of the nearby Kürnberger forest was ideal ground, offering plenty of hide-outs. In later years one who had played in these games as a boy told me: 'Once, through sheer carelessness, we started a forest fire. We tried to stamp it out and when we found we couldn't, we ran off. Adolf kept dinning into us not to tell anyone, otherwise, he said, we would all be thrashed and put in jail. Finally the fire brigade from Linz had to deal with it.'

Adolf, I was told, was never a fighter. He used his tongue instead of his fists. He was more alert than the other boys and in their games it was he who used his wits to best advantage. War games were always Adolf's favourite and he was always the leader in them. One of the boys, Balduin by name, was destined to become Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery at Wilhering. The Abbot recalled: 'We were always playing at war—war-games, endlessly.

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Adolf, I was told, was never a fighter. He used his tongue instead of his fists. He was more alert than the other boys and in their games it was he who used his wits to best advantage. War games were always Adolf's favourite and he was always the leader in them. One of the boys, Balduin by name, was destined to become Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery at Wilhering. The Abbot recalled: 'We were always playing at war—war-games, endlessly.

of experience. When the children turned to the games which determined their own pecking order, Adolf again showed to advantage, for he was highly skilled in originating and carrying out enthralling play projects. Since these games – Indian wars and the like – had been a major device through which he released adjustment tensions, it was only natural that he gradually came to excel at them. The children of the village so admired his abilities that he quickly became, as he later described it, "a little ring leader." [3]

At this time (1899-1900), the Boer war broke out, and Adolf and his mates became rabid partisans of the Boers.[4] The South African conflict provided the inspiration for numerous games in an atmosphere of exotic adventure. At approximately the same time, Adolf found intriguing books in his father's library that furnished additional ideas to be carried into play. He was absorbed by a large pictorial volume on the war of 1870 which became the model for endless campaigns on the battlefields of Leonding.[5] Adventure stories also gripped his imagination. His first favorites were the tales of James Fenimore Cooper, and later, those of Cooper's German counterpart, Karl May. May's melodramas, which in Germany slowly took on the status of classics, were the creation of an ex-convict whose literary endeavors bordered on fraud.[6] Although he attempted to create the impression, both in and out of his books, that he possessed deep knowledge and experience of Indian life, May had never been in America, and his ideas about the country and the Indians were confused. His works, however, served as effective stimuli to the imagination, because they were themselves so completely imaginary. An endless procession of noble Indians and Yankees – plus the necessary villains – range through his pages amid large amounts of gush and gore. The books possess a certain soaring magic. Adolf was captivated by old Shatterhand and his companions.

Children in the isolated and conservative towns and small cities of central Europe found the free and wide-ranging adventures described by May appealing. Without his guidance it would have been difficult

[3] *Mein Kampf*, p. 6; Munich police report, 1924, *HA*, File 1760, Reel 25A.
[4] *Mein Kampf*, p. 158; "Aus Adolf Hitlers Jugendland." *HA*, File 17, Reel 1; *Rabitsch*, pp. 12-13.
[5] *Mein Kampf*, p. 6.
[6] Klaus Mann, "Cowboy Mentor of the Fuehrer," *Living Age*, November 1940, pp. 217-22.

1900 after Edmund's death

Klara is beginning to suspect that Adolf had an evil relation to Edmund. It is D.T's need to rouse her feelings on this and succeeds so well that Klara warms up Alois by explaining Adolf's bad performance in school as a result of mourning Edmund,

nication between father and son increasingly difficult. Alois took out some of his difficulties on his son, and the youngster, unable to express his anger at his father, probably repressed his problems, turning to childhood games as a means of acting out some of this aggression. Nothing in the record indicates a crisis in family relations at this stage, and a change was in the offing.

Once again, Alois gave up in the face of an unpleasant situation. In November 1898 he purchased a one-story country house on a half-acre adjacent to the cemetery wall in the village of Leonding on the outskirts of the small provincial city of Linz. On February 23, 1899, the family moved into the new house. Four days later Adolf was enrolled in his third elementary school.[33]

The acquisition of the Leonding property, Alois' third effort to discover a stable life in retirement, proved successful at last. He settled down as owner of the property and continued to reside there until his death in 1903, while the rest of the family, less dominated by wanderlust than the head of the household, made the Linz area their home. This was especially true of Adolf, who grew up in Leonding-Linz and never overcame the influence of the town. One of his secretaries, speaking after the war, said: "Even in March of 1945 I have seen Hitler stand for endless periods in front of a wood model representing the rebuilding and extension of the city of Linz. In such moments Hitler forgot the war; he lost the marks of tiredness, and for hours he told us of the detailed changes that he planned to make in his home city."[34]

To a lesser extent, Alois also put down roots in Leonding-Linz. The half-acre of land permitted him to resume his dabbling with bees, but without the heavy costs that had turned Hafeld into a liability. He eased into a routine of puttering in the garden, punctuated by a morning visit to the *Gasthaus Stadler* and an evening get-together there or in one of the other inns in the area.[35] He attained a degree of genuine contentment, but his nature was too explosive for him to be able to settle down to a completely passive existence. He continued to be unhappy about the events of the day

[33] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 69 and 90, *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 50-51. "Aus Adolf Hitlers Jugendland." *HA*, File 17, Reel 1A.
[34] *Zoller*, p. 57.
[35] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 69 and 73; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 51-52.

daughter is torn apart by bears and her mother is roasted alive; a wicked stepmother (Grimm's stepmothers are always wicked) is put into a barrel filled with venomous snakes; a little girl's tongue and eyes are cut out; a pretty young girl is hacked to pieces and thrown into a vat filled with putrefying human remains; a little boy is chopped up, put into a pan, and made into a pudding which is eaten by his father; a stepmother plans to eat the lungs and liver of her children; an old women cuts off the head of her beautiful stepdaughter, whereupon drops of blood from the girl's head carry on a conversation. In the original version of "Cinderella," not used by Walt Disney, her sisters cut off their toes and heels in an unsuccessful effort to wear the slipper, and their eyes are pecked out by a pigeon. The fate that awaited Hansel and Gretel, it will be recalled, was to be roasted and eaten.[31]

Little Germans of many generations also learned from these stories to admire racial purity and to distrust Jews. The attitude toward outsiders—such as stepmothers—is usually one of suspicion and animosity. But hatred for the Jew as an outsider is so general and so intense that the Grimms assumed it to be a "natural sentiment." In their stories, the heroes are usually peasants or knights and noblemen. The middle-class merchants tend to have a bad time, but this is particularly true of the Jew. He is a foreigner, a product of non-Teutonic culture; he dresses badly, his teeth are yellow, his smile sinister. He is a miser who delights in fleecing the good, naïve peasants; he is a coward who whines when punished. Given the content and the lessons of these bedtime stories, it is not surprising that Hitler chose a special edition as prizes for the younger children of the *Hitler Jugend*.

Another of the well-remembered Romantics of the period was the founder of German gymnastic societies and organizer of a *Freikorps* of 1813, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, affectionately called "Turnvater Jahn" (1778–1852). One of the first "*völkisch* Nationalists," he preached the concept of *Volkstum*—the mysterious racial force that shapes all history—and in 1813 he called for a national leader, "a great Führer, cast of Iron and Fire . . . The *Volk* will honor him as savior and forgive all his sins."[32]

Of course, it must not be thought that Romanticism was the only current running in the turbulent stream of German life and letters during the Napoleonic era. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), one of the world's most creative philosophers, was widely read at this time; Goethe (1749–1832) and Schiller (1759–1805) were gracing world letters with magnificent expressions of the human spirit; Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and his fellow Pietists were preaching the sanctity of the individual personality; and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) was calling for civil rights and constitutions. But none of these writers had the impact of these political Romantics. None contributed so much to the historic forces that pushed Germany away from its own humanist tradition toward militant, racist nationalism, and toward an

his day and demanded that Germany create a completely self-sufficient, state-regulated economy and expand to provide "living space" for the *Volk*.[28]

Among the most influential of all Romantics were the collectors of fairy stories, the famous Brothers Grimm, Jakob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859). Both were distinguished scholars and philologists. Their popular fame, however, rests on the results of their typically Romantic impulse to rediscover the distant past by gathering ancient stories and legends of the German people. Their edition of these *Volk*-stories had an enormous impact. By 1815 it had sold more copies than any other book with the single exception of the Lutheran Bible. For a 150 years and more, German children were lulled to sleep as the lessons of these stories sank deep into their little heads. Modern child psychologists have learned that Schiller was quite right: "Deeper meaning lies in the fairy tale of my childhood than in the truth that is taught by life."[29]

The first lesson of the Grimm tales is that little children must respect authority and be very obedient. Such is the message of a frightening story entitled "The Girl Without Hands." In it, the devil orders a father to cut off the hands of his little daughter. The father asks the little girl if she understands his predicament: he certainly doesn't want to cut off her hands, but he has been given orders by authority. The daughter responds dutifully: "Father Dear, do with me what you will, for I am your child." Thereupon she lays down both her hands, and her father hacks them off at the wrists.

Obedience and discipline are also driven home in one of the shortest and most memorable of these bedtime stories, "The Willful Child":

> Once upon a time there was a child who was willful, and would not do what her mother wished. For this reason God had no pleasure in her, and let her become ill, and no doctor could do her any good, and in a short time she lay on her death-bed. When she had been lowered into her grave, and the earth was spread over her, all at once her arm came out again, and stretched upwards, and when they had put it in and spread fresh earth over it, it was all to no purpose, for the arm always came out again. Then the mother herself was obliged to go to the grave, and strike the arm with a rod, and when she had done that, it was drawn in, and then at last the child had rest beneath the ground.[30]

To be sure, there are some sweet and charming little stories, but the number of tales involving bizarre physical and psychic cruelty is appalling. Let us consider the following scenes taken from a dozen or so of the stories, and note particularly the visual imagery they evoke in a child's mind: a queen boils and eats her own children; a young man is required to sleep with a corpse to keep it warm; a king's

ter's theaters, opera house and imposing government buildings. The local companionship was more congenial.

With Alois, Jr., gone from home, it was Adolf who bore the brunt of the father's discipline. It was he, recalled Paula Hitler, "who challenged my father to extreme harshness and who got his sound thrashing every day. He was a scrubby little rogue, and all attempts of his father to thrash him for his rudeness and to cause him to love the profession of an official of the state were in vain. How often on the other hand did my mother caress him and try to obtain with her kindness, where the father could not succeed with harshness!"

In a show of rebellion Adolf decided to run away from home. Somehow Alois learned of these plans and locked the boy upstairs. During the night Adolf tried to squeeze through the barred window. He couldn't quite make it, so took off his clothes. As he was wriggling his way to freedom, he heard his father's footsteps on the stairs and hastily withdrew, draping his nakedness with a tablecloth. This time Alois did not punish with a whipping. Instead he burst into laughter and shouted to Klara to come up and look at the "toga boy." The ridicule hurt Adolf more than any switch and it took him, he confided to Frau Hanfstaengl, "a long time to get over the episode."

Years later he told one of his secretaries that he had read in an adventure novel that it was a proof of courage to show no pain. "I then resolved never again to cry when my father whipped me. A few days later I had the opportunity of putting my will to the test. My mother, frightened, took refuge in front of the door. As for me, I counted silently the blows of the stick which lashed my rear end." From that day on, so Hitler claimed, his father never touched him again.

Even at the age of eleven there was something in the thin-faced youngster's look that set him apart from his fellows. In the class picture that year of the Leonding Volksschule he sits in the center of the top row, several inches taller than his comrades, chin up, arms crossed. With his glint of rebellion, his cocky assuredness, he is patently the top boy. He was breezing through school with little effort and had already discovered another talent. He could draw. A picture of Wallenstein dated March 26 of that year, 1900, indicates a budding talent as an artist. In the classroom he would spend some of his study time surreptitiously sketching. A boy named Weinberger once watched in wonder as Hitler recreated from memory the castle of Schaumberg.

At recess and after school he remained the leader. He had already resided in more places than most of his comrades would visit in their lives

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1900

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In 1900, Alvin would
come home drunk,
In 1930, ~~he~~ Alvin would
tell stories that
we had to go and
get his father,
(See other side)

Most of us got sick of it, but Hitler always managed to find some who would play with him, usually younger boys.'

In this period, as Hitler himself recorded in *Mein Kampf*, he came upon a number of military books in his father's library, among them two bound volumes of an illustrated magazine published during the Franco-Prussian War. I can remember these books myself. Large numbers were sold in Austria about that time and before I was twelve years old I had pored over them and pestered my grandfather with questions. The illustrations, I remember, were swarming with German spiked helmets and littered with dead Frenchmen. These books, wrote Hitler, 'now became my favourite reading. I seemed to experience the titanic battle in my innermost being. More and more my enthusiasms were drawn towards war and soldiering.'

Adolf and his father

In his book, *At the Gallows-Foot*, which Hans Frank, the former Reich Minister of Justice, wrote while under sentence of death in Nürnberg prison, there occurs the following passage:

> 'Many a time the boy Adolf had to fetch his father from the inn at a late hour after the latter's evening indulgence! In 1930, in course of a conversation about his family in general, Hitler himself told me: "When I was ten or twelve I had to go late at night to this stinking, smoke-filled tavern. I made no attempt to spare his feelings. I went straight up to the table where my father sat, staring at me doltishly, and shook him. 'Father,' I would say, 'it's time for you to come home! Up you get!' And often I had to stand for a quarter of an hour or more, pleading and scolding before I could get him to his legs. Then I supported him home. I have never felt so horribly ashamed. Oh Frank! I know what a demon alcohol can be! Because of my father, it was the bane of my youth." '

Even if Hitler said this, it cannot have been true. Firstly, it is in complete contradiction with his own statement in *Mein Kampf* that he respected his father. Secondly, it contradicts the known facts about Alois Hitler's mode of life. Five individuals with

whom I have spoken, who knew him well, have each assured me that he never got drunk. And a habitual drunkard of the kind Frank portrays would hardly have received the eulogistic obituary which was printed in the Linz *Tagespost*, nor would he have left—as Alois Hitler did—both unencumbered real property and a fair sum in ready cash. Moreover, we know that every evening, for as long as he was in Leonding, Alois Hitler went to one of the four inns there to attend a so-called *Bürgerabend*, an informal social gathering of respectable citizens, held, then as now, in each of the inns in turn for the purpose of good talk and good company, but certainly not with the object of getting drunk. If Alois Hitler had been a notorious drunkard, he would sooner or later have been asked to leave.

As a corrective to this story, there is the far more plausible assertion of Adolf's guardian, Mayrhofer, that Alois Hitler was often obliged to go out and look for his son in the evenings, when the latter had stayed out too late with his playfellows.

It is also said that Adolf used to get merciless beatings from his father. This is based on an alleged remark of Angela's to her half-brother, 'Adolf, do you remember how mother and I used to hang on to father's uniform coat tails when he was trying to hit you?' But Alois Hitler ceased to wear uniform when he retired in June 1895, and during the year preceding his retirement he had been living away from his family. The 'beatings' must then have taken place when Adolf was only five, or even younger—in other words, they never took place at all.

It is true that the Führer himself once told his secretaries that his father had given him thirty stripes in the small of the back, but that, like a Red Indian under torture, he had never made the smallest sound. Apart from the fact that Hitler related this in the same breath as other fabulous Red Indian stories, we know that he was addicted to acting the hero before the young ladies of his entourage and there is no reason whatever to believe this improbable story. For one thing, his father was far too responsible a man to have administered so savage a punishment, and moreover in the Leonding period, to which the tale refers, he was in his sixties and past caring much about young Adolf's misdemeanours.

like Hitler, survive when others have perished. Moreover, he was denied several of the usual ways that man has sought to achieve victory over the grave. His religious faith was not the kind that vouchsafed salvation in a Christian heaven; he could not live on in posterity through his children. He sought other solutions to his problem: he would erect imperishable buildings and monuments; he would perform military feats that would win him eternal fame as "the greatest field commander of all time." When that was denied him, in the end he may have hoped to achieve historical immortality through truly monumental destruction.

The feeling of special mission which, we are suggesting, resulted in part from his survival fantasies was also strengthened in childhood by the defense mechanism of omnipotence. This defense is often used by both monorchids and borderline personalities to counteract feelings of insecurity and inferiority. The imperiousness and insistence on having his own way which Adolf began to manifest in early childhood were evidences of the strong unconscious conviction such personalities often harbor: that it is their right as special and privileged individuals to expect gratification and homage from others.

Clinical studies of disturbed children who have survived the death of a sibling rival show another symptom which we have found in Hitler: his resistance to growing old, his difficulty in maturing. Child psychologists have found that sibling survivors may be so terrified by the thought of death that they seek to escape by remaining childlike and refusing to mature. The result may be a kind of "defensive regression" into infantilism. When the mother (like Klara Hitler) is excessively protective toward "the only little boy I have left," the death phobia and the desire to remain childlike are both intensified. Many survivors also try to surmount their fear of dying by insisting (as did Hitler) that they live a charmed life, that others can't kill them, that they alone would survive dangers fatal to other people.[115]

Hitler's lifelong fear of death had larger historical consequence. As his future career would show so clearly, he tried to exorcise personal death fears by killing others. The more power he had in deciding that other people must die—the more he commanded death—the less he felt its horror for himself. Apart from the calculated murder of millions of "inferior" people, we should note the way he received news late in the war that his personal SS division, the elite *Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler*, was being decimated on the Eastern Front. When a staff officer reported that the number of deaths in Hitler's personal division was very great, he was startled by his Führer's exultant reply, "Losses can never be too high!"[116]

We have been suggesting that the period 1900–1901, when young Adolf was in his 12th year, was unusually important to his personal development. The boy who had been the star pupil of village schools began,

to fail; the outwardly cock[sure] hood games became the [hero]cent who talked to trees and [fought] with his parents, calling [them] only guess (1) the reasons for quite sure that they were not that the traumatic experience During Adolf's earliest years and fear had descent down steep during this latter year by [another] and tragic funeral of his brother his own survival, a reinforced mother; the transition from urban *Realschule*. And all these the age when disturbed [children] period of development. If Alois father, things began to look up,

"NEGATIVE IDENTITY":

Hitler remembered the years his mother lived in a comfortable happiest time of his life. The whistle for him like a dog, den questions about schoolwork and His doting mother drew on her the sale of her house in Leonding in a life of leisure as [visitors] capital, he joined the local [am] performance of the Linz Opera shirts flowing cravats with [artistic] a confident angle, and well-[cut] young men of the town. On [Sundays] For the opera he affected [a black] stick, and a top hat.[117]

Thus did Adolf assume [a negative] identity"—that is he took on [what] he knew his father would have showed active contempt for. [Instead] playing, as Erikson has shown, father, but also a kind of [boyish] fantasize one's self by assuming painfully for genuine self-[determination]

XXX

1900

Klara is beginning to suspect that Adolf had an evil relation to Edmund. It is D.T's need to reduce her feelings on this and succeeds so well that Klara warms up Alois by explaining Adolf's bad performance in school as a result of mourning Edmund,

and never attempted to hide his opposition to the course of politics or to what he considered the excessive power of the Church.[36]

Alois' better adjustment did not bring any lessening of his determination to dominate his family. Klara and the children were left with no doubts concerning who was in control. His best friend in Leonding, Josef Mayerhofer, later said of him: "He was strict with his family, no kid gloves as far as they were concerned; his wife had nothing to smile about." Mayerhofer emphasized, though, that the rough exterior was partly bluff and that the children were not physically abused. "He never touched him [Adolf]. I don't believe that [he beat him], but he often scolded and bawled at him. 'That miserable urchin!' he used to say, 'I'll bash him yet!' But his bark was worse than his bite. The boy stood in awe of him, though." [37]

The boy was wary and not a little fearful (with good reason), but he learned to stay at a distance and move carefully. In school, he followed the now established routine, compiling an excellent record, without a blemish in either conduct or class assignments.[38]

Occasionally, when Alois was especially out of sorts or Adolf was imprudently forward, the orderly relationship made possible by youthful caution broke down, and an unpleasant confrontation ensued.[39] But beyond the walls of the pretty garden house, the boy played on with few signs of concern about the future or the world around him. Always it was the old cycle of wars and Indian conflicts, pursued with little alteration except for the different companions of his new environment. Whether the frequent changes in residence and school exerted a harmful influence on his emotional development is difficult to say. His outward behavior did not indicate any serious problem, but the question cannot be disposed of easily. Throughout his early childhood, the numerous moves were paralleled by continuous shifts in the routine of the family and the treatment of the children. Alois' attitude ranged from aloof unconcern to quarreling meddlesomeness. Klara passed back and forth between

[36] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 71; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 51; M. W. Fodor, "Austrian Roots of Hitlerism," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1936, p. 687.
[37] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 70; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 51.
[38] Munich police report of 1924. *HA*, File 1760, Reel 25A.
[39] *Dietrich*, p. 14. The conflict described herein may refer to adolescence rather than childhood.

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

Hitler's alleged desecration of the Host

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

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

Hitler as he appeared to his teachers

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

> 'I can recall the gaunt, pale-faced youth pretty well. He had definite talent, though in a narrow field. But he lacked self-discipline, being notoriously cantankerous, wilful, arrogant and irascible. He had obvious difficulty in fitting in at school. Moreover, he was lazy; otherwise, with his gifts, he would have done very much better. In freehand sketching he had an easy, fluent style and he did well in scientific subjects. But his enthusiasm for hard work evaporated all too quickly. He reacted with ill-concealed hostility to advice or reproof; at the same time, he demanded of his fellow-pupils their unqualified subservience, fancying himself in the role of leader, at the same time indulging in many a less innocuous prank of a kind not uncommon amongst immature youths.
>
> Hitler seems to have been led astray by the stories of Karl May and tales of Red Indians, and no doubt an over-indulgence in such reading combined with the time wasted in drifting idly back and forth between home and school, which were some distance apart, was mainly responsible for his failure to become more than an average pupil.'

The above was written in December 1923.

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

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

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

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

unsociable. It was one of his idiosyncracies to use the formal form of address with his schoolmates and to demand that they too—with the exception of a single friend—address him formally, with "*Sie*" and "Herr Ludwig." He did not love school—his first impression, recorded in his notebook, was "Crap"—and he was frequently absent and had an average record. When he went to Berlin in 1906 to attend university, his spelling was scarcely better than Hitler's.[66]

As Hitler's schoolmates would later affirm,[67] pupils of Jewish descent, like Wittgenstein, had no trouble at the high school in Linz, especially not if, like Wittgenstein, they participated in religious instruction as Catholics. According to statistics, at that time only 17 pupils in the school were Jewish, next to 323 Catholics, 19 Protestants, and a visiting Bosnian student who was Greek Orthodox.[68]

Indeed, anti-Semitism can hardly have played a major role, and Hitler's statement in *Mein Kampf* is probably correct: *At the Realschule, to be sure, I did meet one Jewish boy who was treated by all of us with caution . . . but neither I nor the others had any thoughts on the matter.* Only at the age of fourteen or fifteen had he encountered the word Jew with more frequency, *partly in connection with political discussions*.[69]

Around 1900 only 1,102 Jews lived in all of Upper Austria, 587 of them in Linz—in other words, less than one percent of the city's population—and 184 in Urfahr. The numbers for 1910 were 1,215 in Upper Austria, 608 in Linz, 172 in Urfahr.[70] The Linz Jews for the most part came from Fürth in Bavaria or from Bohemia and were assimilated into the rest of society. Most of the 224 Jewish heads of household living in Linz at the time were merchants, professionals, or manufacturers.[71] Some were esteemed as patrons and held honorary federal posts; April 7, 1907, the Upper Austrian governor gave Rabbi Moriz Friedmann the Franz Josef Medal in appreciation of Friedmann's twenty-five years as a member of the Austrian district school board.[72]

The number of Jews in Linz, then, stayed approximately the same and Eastern Jews did not immigrate into the little provincial city. In the meantime, more and more Czechs came to town. Most of them were seasonal workers who were not included in official statistics. In any case, the "fight against Slavization," and thus against the Czechs, dominated the almost uniformly German-speaking town far more than anti-Semitism against the German-speaking Jews. In the twenty years before 1914 the "Czech question" was the main topic for discussion in the Linz City Council as well as the Linz newspapers—and the schools.

The Linz newspapers fanned the native Linzers' fear of overalienation, of losing their jobs on account of cheap competition, of "sell-

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Yet the Linz *Realschule* d
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The Child As Father to the Man

graphical. If it is, we can speculate that Hitler may have developed profound guilt feelings for having once whipped his own mother. In this passage, he is continuing his description of the "worker's son," now age 15, and how he stays out to all hours of the night, showing total disdain for parental authority—a description, as we shall see, that fits Adolf's own behavior after the death of his father: "He loiters about, and God only knows when he comes home; for a change *he may even beat the poor creature who was once his mother*, curses God and the world. . . ."[100]

Key events of Adolf's later childhood appear to revolve around the birth and death of his brother Edmund. When, at the age of six, young Adolf saw the arrival of Edmund, it may be imagined that he resented his rival deeply and harbored death wishes towards him. If so, the wishes were fulfilled. For when Adolf was 11, his little brother died at the age of six. During the intervening years the two brothers seem to have grown close to each other, and it seems likely that Edmund's sudden death awakened guilt feelings in Adolf. Certainly the strange story of the little boy's funeral reinforced Adolf's belief that his mother could not be completely trusted. Like the fickle Goddess of Fate, she abandoned her sons in their direst need.

Neighbors of the Hitlers still alive in the village of Leonding in the 1950s shook their heads in incredulity when they recalled that when little Edmund Hitler died of complications following measles in March 1900 and was buried in the church graveyard, neither his mother nor father attended the funeral. They spent the day in Linz. Not even old Josef Mayrhofer, the usually outspoken village mayor and friend of Alois Hitler, could explain the curious behavior of the parents.

Neighbors suggested one possible explanation, but admitted that it was not very persuasive. They recalled that the anticlerical Alois Hitler had no liking for the village priest, whom he considered too "political." For example, the priest and a schoolteacher had the idea of organizing a soup kitchen for indigent wanderers and migrant farm laborers. Alois Hitler, the retired imperial official, as the most prestigious person in the village, became the leader of an anticlerical opposition which considered this church-school alliance to be "socialization and interference in local politics." If this were so, it would help explain why the mayor sided with Hitler *père* and was later so embarrassed about his absence from Edmund's funeral that he refused to talk about the matter. At any rate, it does seem possible that Alois could have become so furious with the local priest that he thumped the tavern *Stammtisch* and swore, in one of his fits of temper, that he would never enter the church of his enemy again, that he would be damned if he would ever hear that priest pray over his dead son. And so the stubborn old man refused to go to the funeral. Perhaps. But how explain Klara's absence? She was a devoted mother and a devout Catholic. And even if she were not, it seems passing strange that a mother would not attend her own son's burial. The only explanation that comes to mind, if valid,

documents the tyranny of Alois over his wife. He flatly forbade her to go into "that priest's church" and thus embarrass him publicly. He ordered her, on the day of the funeral, to accompany him on a trip to Linz. Klara did not dare disobey.[107]

And so, abandoned by his mother, Adolf stood and watched in a driving snowstorm as his little brother was lowered into a grave for which the parents never supplied a marker.

The effect of this experience, it seems likely, was to increase Adolf's resentment against his mother. Consciously, of course, he continued to displace his resentment onto his father and to blame Alois for everything. For, as Menninger has noted, stern fathers help sons to justify feelings of antagonism and aggression. "But if we penetrate the many layers of hatred, we come eventually to the deepest hurt of all—'my mother failed me.'"[108]

Adolf already had reason to resent what his mother had done to him. In addition to equipping him with defective testicles and acquiescing in her own "rape" by Hitler's father-rival, she had given birth to another rival, Edmund, and abandoned Adolf to the care of his older half-sister, Angela. As Menninger notes, "When the child is turned over to a substitute mother at an early age, it often increases his burden of hate without expanding his capacity for love." By a great show of loving his mother a boy can "conceal his hostility to her . . . and avoid the consequences of attempting to express his masculinity in a normal way."[109]

Adolf's attitudes to his mother during his unusually difficult and disturbing prepubertal period, around the age of 12, were particularly confusing and complex. He was, we have surmised, burdened by guilt feelings for the death of his brother. It is possible that Klara's abandonment of both brothers at the funeral served to lessen Adolf's feelings of personal guilt by giving him the opportunity to project it. It was not he who should feel guilty about Edmund; it was his mother who was to blame for deserting them both.

But he could not afford to blame his mother too much. He was able to lessen hostile feelings toward her by transferring them to his father, and he may also have kept his feelings from becoming too negative by the defense Otto Kernberg calls "primitive idealization." In this defense, when a boy is confronted by a threatening father, he splits the parental relationship into the totally good and totally evil. He fantasizes an idealized mother who is a veritable paragon of love, tenderness, and strength—a defender who can protect him completely from the totally bad person who threatens him.[110] But in Hitler's case this defense was breaking down. Adolf's primitively idealized mother had not protected him from his father's whippings, and now she had apparently deserted him in abandoning his brother.

Edmund's death could have had another effect in reminding Adolf how many of his brothers and sisters had died: Gustav in 1887, Ida in 1888, Otto in 1888, and now Edmund. To his childish mind, the

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overprotectiveness and a withdrawal occasioned by pregnancy or obedience to Alois' insistence upon iron discipline. Sometimes, as in Passau, the boy was utterly free; on other occasions he was rigidly controlled. During much of the earlier period he was lost among the other children, but in Lambach he was suddenly thrust forward as the family's heir apparent.

This random, transient manner of life imposed heavy burdens on a young child. All schools of child psychology agree that a clear, continuous, dependable, and purposeful system of love and guidance is of the utmost importance in the healthy development of a child.[40] The young Hitler simply did not have this kind of family environment. Nevertheless, that he was able to hold the external features of his life together in a way that allowed him to function effectively both at home and at school suggests a rather unusual degree of youthful self-confidence and tenacity. On the other hand, character traits cannot completely escape environmental influences, and the boy still faced difficult obstacles to adjustment.

Adolf's undoing was the impossibility of making time stand still. He was due to finish elementary school in the spring of 1900, and at that time the basic decisions about his future education and career would have to be made. Already, he was edging into adolescence with its exciting but often painful problems. Given a background of long-standing opposition to his father's outlook, the chances for a successful transition along lines his parents might favor were problematical. Just as the time came when these questions would have to be faced, Adolf's little brother Edmund died of measles on February 2, 1900.[41] The whole family passed through a phase of shock. As it receded, one fact emerged clearly: Adolf was the last of the boys – the only individual capable of carrying on the upward march of the family. In the preceding months, decisions about his future had seemed important, but not critical. After Edmund's death, all this changed. The responsibility for preserving the family name and vindicating all his father's efforts devolved upon him.

[40] This is a central thesis of Erikson's *Childhood and Society*. Erikson, *passim*.

[41] Edmund's death certificate, *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.

calm self-assurance and conscious ease. A photograph taken in the following year, when he was attending the *Realschule* at Linz, shows him looking glumly and moodily at the camera, and there is no trace of his former self-assurance.

Quite suddenly something had snapped within him: a sickness of the soul or a sickness of the flesh. Exactly what caused this abrupt change in his character must remain unknown, but the death of Edmund was probably the main cause, outweighing all others. Whenever he looked out of the bedroom window, he would be reminded of Edmund, for the grave lay just behind the high cemetery wall. Alois and Klara, too, were inconsolable, for they had lost four of their children and feared for the remaining two.

Years later, when Adolf had become famous, journalists would sometimes descend on Leonding and ask the villagers what they remembered about him. They remembered him climbing the apple trees, or playing at Red Indians, or pretending to be a Boer soldier fighting against the English, for the Boer War had broken out in 1899. Many people remembered him standing on a hill near Leonding, his arms waving as he commanded his followers to attack. They remembered how old Alois Hitler would sometimes put two fingers to his mouth and there would come a shrill whistle. Immediately Adolf would stop whatever he was doing and run to his father, whose broad shoulders, fierce drooping mustache, and air of authority exacted instant obedience. And they remembered that in the presence of his father he was quiet and humble. But they also remembered a curious detail that had nothing in common with their other memories. They said Adolf was sometimes seen at night sitting on the cemetery wall, gazing up at the stars.

The Linz *Realschule*, which Adolf entered in September, 1900, when he was eleven years old, provided a four-year course of education, equivalent to a high school. Unlike the *Gymnasium*, which emphasized a classical education and prepared the student for the university and a professional career, the *Realschule* emphasized science and modern languages and prepared the student for a career in technology and engineering. In the *Gymnasium* a student learned Latin and Greek until he could write those ancient languages almost as well as his native German. The *Realschule* had no courses in Latin and Greek, or ancient history, or philosophy, or art, and the teaching was severely practical.

Adolf sometimes made the journey from Leonding to Linz on foot, but more often he went by train. The journey on foot, lasting about an hour and a half, was not unpleasant, for there were rolling meadows and watchtowers left over from the days when the Austrians feared the approach of Napoleon's army, and there were also some ruined castles

(2) next page does follow

the most impressive being the Kurnberg Castle with its beetling towers. According to a local tradition the *Nibelungenlied*, the great German epic, had been composed in one of those towers.

The school was a gloomy building on the Steinstrasse in the center of the city. During his first year Adolf did appallingly badly. His moral conduct was only "adequate," his diligence was "erratic," and he failed in mathematics and natural history. Although he enjoyed drawing and sometimes thought of himself as a potential artist, the teachers did not share his enthusiasm for his work. Other boys had their drawings hung on the classroom wall for all to admire, but no one hung Adolf's drawings. He seemed incapable of any concentrated effort, disliked his teachers, and was not popular with the other boys. He did so badly that he had to go through the work of the first class all over again the following year.

That he was obviously having grave difficulties with his work and that he was completely unable to adapt himself to the *Realschule* showed that he was suffering from some profound psychological malaise, not that he was stupid. His pride had been assailed, the inner citadel of his life no longer stood firm, and he was at the mercy of all those accumulative shocks that attack people in a state of depression, leaving them almost defenseless. Edmund's death, his burial in the depth of winter, the whole family in mourning, all this threw a long shadow over his life, but there were many other things that contributed to his misery. For the first time he was living for a large part of the day away from home among strangers who neither knew nor cared what happened to him. Loneliness, too, played an important part in the sudden change that came over him.

Inevitably the boy found solace in a dream world, sank deeper and deeper into himself, and cherished more and more the one talent he thought he possessed—drawing. At home he was confronted by a father exasperated almost beyond endurance by the failure of the son on whom the hopes of the family depended, and at school he was confronted by teachers who were uninterested in him because he was uninterested in his lessons. If there was any safety, it was outside the school and outside the home, in the no man's land where a boy walks alone, lost in his dreams.

The first year in the *Realschule* was a critical year, perhaps the most critical in his life. The pattern, which was to remain fixed until his death, was emerging. To the end he would remain a man walking alone, lost in dreams, declaring war on a world he despised.

During this first year there must have been many unhappy confrontations with his father. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler relates that the main confrontation took place when he was twelve, that is, after April, 1901,

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account goes on:

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Alois Hitler was not a

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Art had long since captured him. To art he dedi-
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ementary school Hitler was always one of the best
was quick to learn and made progress even with-
g very hard. His first teacher, Karl Mittermaier,
report, "Full marks in every subject." Mitter-
till 1938, when he was naturally asked to tell
nembered of his former pupil. Although he still
l the pale and sickly boy, he had little to say
The little Adolf had been very docile, his school
s in perfect order. For the rest there was nothing
about him, either good or bad. Incidentally,
Hitler was Chancellor in 1939 he visited that
and seated himself at the same desk at which
ed to read and write. As usual, he made good
isit and changed everything possible. He per-
ht the old school building and ordered the con-
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Mittermaier was invited to Obersalzburg, to-
ner pupils.

altered when Adolf Hitler in September 1900
technical school at Linz. He himself writes
ears:

*hing was certainly my obvious failure at school.
t I liked — in particular, all that which I con-*

sidered would be useful to me as a painter later. What I thought was unimportant in this respect or what did not attract me, I neglected completely. My marks in this period show extremes, varying according to the subject and my regard for it: there is "Praiseworthy" and "Excellent" but also "Fair" and "Unsatisfactory". By far my best efforts were in geography and even more in history, my favourite subjects, in which I was far ahead of the rest of the class.

One is apt to get a wrong picture of Adolf's schooldays from his own words. Although Adolf spoke to me of his schooldays with reluctance and always with a curious indignation, nevertheless our friendship was, so to speak, overshadowed by them. In this way I got quite a different impression from the one he conveys in his writings of fifteen years later.

In the first place the eleven-year-old boy found it difficult to adapt himself to the new surroundings. Every day he had to make the long journey from Leonding into the town to school. He often told me that, nevertheless, this daily walk was one of the nicest things he could remember of those years. At least this hour's journey to school assured him a bit of freedom, which he appreciated all the more as until then he had always lived in the country. Everything in town seemed strange and unfriendly to him. His classmates, mostly from rich homes, did not accept as an equal the queer youngster who came daily to town "from the peasants." His teachers' interest in him was confined to their classes. All this had been so different at the elementary school, where the easygoing teacher knew all his pupils intimately and used to take his regular drink with their fathers in the evening. At the elementary school the boy had been accustomed to passing up each year without any special effort. At his new school, to start with, he also tried improvisation at which he was a master. He had to do it all the more as he

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Hitler attending grade school in Leonding

which had become "the entire German people's place of honor," "Quite tiny and primitive. I am led to the room which was his realm. Small and low-ceilinged. This is where he designed plans and dreamed of the future. Then there's the kitchen, where his good mother used to cook. Behind that the garden, where little Adolf picked apples and pears at night. . . . So this is where a genius developed. I'm beginning to feel quite sublime and solemn."[29]

The nine-year-old entered the village school in Leonding, where he was a *happy rogue*[30] and saw himself as *a young scamp: Even as a boy I was no "pacifist," and all attempts to educate me in this direction came to nothing.*[31] One of his schoolmates from Leonding, later Abbot Balduin of Wilhering, recalled, and by no means unkindly: "Playing war, always nothing but playing war, even we kids found that boring after a while, but he always found some children, particularly among the younger ones, who would play with him."[32] Otherwise, young Hitler practiced his "favorite sport": shooting at rats with his handgun in the cemetery next to his parents' house.[33]

Around 1900 the Boer War, when the southern African Boer republics tried to fight off their English conquerors, excited many Austrians. The German nationalists firmly endorsed, even enthusiastically welcomed, "David's fight against Goliath," the "poor farmers' freedom fight" against British imperialism. Signatures and money were collected in support of the Boers. Boer marches and Boer songs were composed. Boer hats, herrings, and sausages—still popular in Vienna—became fashionable.[34]

For young Hitler, the Boer War was bonafide *summer lightning: Every day I waited impatiently for the newspapers and devoured dispatches and news reports, happy at the privilege of witnessing this heroic struggle even at a distance.*[35] The boys now preferred the game "Boers against the English,"

1895–1900 1900 1905

The prepubertal learning difficulties and academic troubles noted by Dr. Blos also plagued young Hitler. Through the years when he attended *Volksschule* (ages 6–11), Adolf's school record was excellent. Herr Lehrer Karl Mittermaier, his teacher in the little elementary school in Fischlam which he attended from the ages of six to eight, remembered him as the star of his school: "Full marks in every subject. . . . Mentally very much alert, obedient but lively." Similar reports have come down from the school at Lambach (ages 8–9). Here he was an excellent student and an asset to the boys' choir of the local monastery. Young Adolf also did very well in the *Volksschule* in Leonding, which he attended for half a year in 1899.

Klaus Laffinger

Edmund's dies

But when he entered the *Realschule* in Linz in September 1900 at the age of 11, striking changes appeared in his behavior. He now seemed unable or unwilling to concentrate on his studies. His first year went so badly and was so far "below standard" that he was obliged to repeat the form. The second year went rather better—since he was repeating all subjects—but during the third year (1902–1903) he failed in mathematics and his diligence was "variable." By 1904 he was doing so badly that he was passed only on the condition that he leave the Linz *Realschule*. His mother was obliged to send him to the school at Styr, about 15 miles from his home, where she rented a room for him. His report card (dated 16 September 1905) is still in existence. On a scale with 1 as excellent, 2 good, 3 satisfactory, 4 adequate, and 5 below standard, young Hitler received the following grades:

1900

1900 1904

Moral conduct—3
Diligence—4
Religious instruction—4
German—5
Geography—4
History—4
Mathematics—5
Chemistry—4
Physics—3
Freehand drawing—2
Gymnastics—1
Shorthand [optional]—5

Edmund dies in 1900 Month? Feb. 2, 1900

Since Adolf failed to reach the minimum standard in two required subjects, mathematics and German, he would have been obliged to repeat the form. Instead, he dropped out of school. His failure in German is not surprising to those who have read *Mein Kampf* or any of his adult letters in the original. His marks in history and geography scarcely support the boast in his memoirs that "by far my best work was in geography and better still in world history, my two favorite subjects in which I shot ahead of the rest of the form." [70]

Thus, by the age of 11, Adolf was no longer the obedient star pupil

1900

The Child As Father to the M

of previous years. Indeed
period, described him as
gumentative, self-opinion
had obvious difficulty in
his fellow pupils their
the role of leader.
Dr. Gissinger reported st
said emphatically that he
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He said his friends all co
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D.T. Adi feels great guilt after Edmund's death — which is encouraged to fester and became inflamed. Guilt is as essential a tool to our purposes as it is to the Cudgels

Discussion of the differences

D.T. Denial & rage Cudgels greed or atonement

school failure. Occasionally boasting about "the ridiculously easy learning in school,"[14] he was quick to fall back on the time-honored practice of parent blaming when bad grades on his report card triggered his father's anger. There can be little disagreement that Alois was a disciplinarian who insisted his son must stop dreaming about becoming an artist and learn to enjoy the security of a career in the Austrian government. Alois tried to persuade his son to choose as he did: His career worked well for him and provided steady employment, middle-class standing, and respect in the community. However, young Adolf did not yield to pressure and meant to outlast his father: "I thought my father saw how little progress I was making . . . [and] would let me devote myself to my dreams."[15]

The brewing disaster in school peaked after Hitler entered the *Realschule* in Linz in 1900. There is much evidence to indicate that Hitler was troubled by a severe learning disability and was not able to write or spell well.[16] These dyslexic difficulties contributed to Hitler's lack of academic success, and for him school learning became a most challenging task and, like his resentment about the structured aspects of student life, undermined his motivation. The resulting dislike for academic discipline shook his confidence so severely that he turned against the academic world with a vengeance, unwilling to forget the repeated humiliations of his student days. He sought compensatory success in oratory, which he came to master. This talent was to become his principle tool when practicing his demagoguery as a political agitator later on in life.

Hitler's teachers wrote alarming comments about his lack of intellectual growth when he was still in his first year in high school. One of his leading biographers believed his school difficulties were detrimental to his later development and that credence should be given to Johann Recktenwald's speculation about a bout with epidemic encephalitis. Bradley Smith explained that this disease "may have produced a dramatic change in character and personality . . . which might account for Hitler's sudden failure in school and accompanying personality troubles."[17]

Hitler found consolation in the freedom of his fantasies about artistic self-realization. He discovered in the town of Linz an opportunity to indulge in grandiose plans for urban renewal. Linz was to become the town of youthful dreams of glory. The images of a rebuilt city accompanied him throughout his life until the last moment before his violent death. It was in Linz, not Braunau, his place of birth, nor Vienna, where he suffered so miserably after his hopes to be an artist were so cruelly dashed, that his fantastic visions of architectural success were kindled.

Linz was the Austrian provincial capital of about 60,000 inhabitants in the heart of the German-speaking region. It was a big city for a young boy who had grown up in small rural settings. It was also the town in which Hitler had the only human relationship of any consequence in the early part of his life. The passive and receptive August Kubizek became the

was a luxury. The same was true of meat: only on Sundays. Fish was the cheap staple in the north; so cheap, indeed, that servants in Cologne, when the Rhine was still a green-and-white river revealing its alpine origins, complained of too much salmon. In the south, such fish as carp, first reared in monastic stew ponds, was popular among the rich and the poor. Cheese was anything but a delicacy. The finer varieties could not be imported from France or Switzerland, and the local, smelly varieties were mostly for the modest tables of the lower classes.

Beer was for the masses; champagne, cognac and wine for the upper classes. The wine was mostly Riesling from the Rheinpfalz or, even more sought after, from the Rheingau—what the British call Hock after Hochheim. Or else there was Silvaner in the strange *Bocksbeutel* bottles from Franconia, once again referring to the magic powers of fertility in a ram's testicles. Or again, Riesling from the Moselle, the lower Saar and the upper Rhine valley in Baden. Wine was even produced in the Elbe valley near Dresden and on the steep and stony slopes of the Saale valley not far from Weimar. German champagne had to be called *Sekt* after the Treaty of Versailles, while the German answer to French cognac consisted of many local spirits: plums or cherries turned into brandy in the south, potatoes and rye turned into schnapps in the north.

Even the times when people took their meals differed. For the workers, the day began at sunrise and ended, more or less, with sunset: lighting was expensive. Working days were long, often ten or more hours a day, over fifty hours a week. By contrast, having time to sleep after sunrise and being able to wine and dine into the night were clear signs of high living. Workmen would take some bread and wurst and soup with them—canteens came much later. In con-

trast, the day of the well-to-do *Sattelfrühstück* and a ride, follow class term for lunch—and later with elegant music, or a visit t late in the evening: to begin b have been seen as distinctly lo or eight courses would not be fact, the host's business standin luxuries displayed on his tabl Berlin or Nymphenburg porc champagne, fish, venison and ou

Piped water was a luxury th only at the turn of the centu reserved for the well-to-do. Wat higher form of living, and certai were smelly affairs, often shared ated outside the house in a yard. remains an enigma) cut out of t were not unknown in the old da luxury. When the old Emperor tub brought into the royal palac Unter den Linden. It was only th of electricity during the last yea tury—electrical bulbs, furnished (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesell as early as 1876—that made dail vants more expendable, condition

Modern technology had an eg universe of the poor and the uni show some overlap. The bicycle a an expensive commodity, to the r the railway. There were still four senger train: fourth class for the

He flatly forbade her to
harrass him publicly. He
ccompany him on a trip

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ither and to blame. Alois
, stern fathers help sons
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ly to the deepest hurt of

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s unusually difficult and
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mised, burdened by guilt
ble that Klara's abandon-
to lesser Adolf's feelings
nity to protect it. It was
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other too much. He was
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tive idealization." In this
ning father, he splits the
totally evil. He fantasizes
n of love, tenderness, and
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l mother had not pro-
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ed: Gustav in 1887, Ida
o his childish mind, the

most natural explanation for his own survival would have been that he was allowed to live because he was under the special protection of Providence. Nor was it only a question of having physically outlived the other siblings. Adolf—apart from his monorchism—was also the only one of the survivors who was untainted by some obvious aberration. Rumor was correct in saying that the Schickelgrubers had a long history of mental and physical affliction. An affidavit in the local archives in Linz says that Klara's irascible sister Johanna was probably schizophrenic.[111] Hitler's first cousin, Edward Schmidt, the son of Klara's sister Theresia, was a hunchback with a speech defect. In the more immediate family, Adolf may have had a sister, older than he, who was an imbecile. At any rate, Dr. Bloch, the family doctor, when questioned by OSS personnel during World War II, said that he was "absolutely certain of this because he noticed at the time that the family always tried to hide the child . . . when he came to attend the mother." The younger sister, Paula, is also said to be a little on the stupid side, perhaps a high-grade moron."[112]

Childhood knowledge of the deaths of his brothers and sisters, it seems likely, also produced feelings of "survival guilt" of the type that Robert Jay Lifton has described in his studies of psychological reactions to death. The "survival priority" manifested by those who live while others are dying forces the question, "Why have I been selected to go on living?" With it comes inevitable self-condemnation in the face of other's deaths. The general feeling of guilt is notably increased in cases of sibling rivalry where death suddenly takes away the rival. The child may then have the feeling that his life is somehow controlled by destiny and hence not entirely his own. In Adolf's case, not only the deaths of his brothers and sisters but also his mother's fretful solicitude for him as the sole male survivor, as well as her compulsive concern for his health, would surely have strengthened his idea of his own privileged position.[113] also "favorite child" Ein Liebling die Götter

His mother's insistence that he was "special," her *Lieblingskind*, would have reinforced one of the common psychological defenses used by survivors: to justify their survival on the grounds that they have been specially selected by Fate or Destiny for a particular purpose. There is often an accompanying belief that as Destiny's choice, the survivor will somehow escape the death of mortals. Hitler, as we have seen, was convinced that he was spared because he was God's particular gift to the German people; he also believed that there was reserved for him a special place among the immortals of Mt. Olympus. Hitler was not unique in his intimations of immortality. One is reminded of Sigmund Freud's comment, "At bottom, no one believes in his own death, or to put the same thing in another way, in the unconscious every one of us is convinced of his own immortality."[114] Otto Rank, following Freud, argued that the motive underlying man's historic search for religion is "an assurance of eternal survival for his self."[115]

This broadly felt human desire is particularly acute for those who

the most impressive being the Kurnberg Castle with its beetling towers. According to a local tradition the *Nibelungenlied*, the great German epic, had been composed in one of those towers.

The school was a gloomy building on the Steinstrasse in the center of the city. During his first year Adolf did appallingly badly. His moral conduct was only "adequate," his diligence was "erratic," and he failed in mathematics and natural history. Although he enjoyed drawing and sometimes thought of himself as a potential artist, the teachers did not share his enthusiasm for his work. Other boys had their drawings hung on the classroom wall for all to admire, but no one hung Adolf's drawings. He seemed incapable of any concentrated effort, disliked his teachers, and was not popular with the other boys. He did so badly that he had to go through the work of the first class all over again the following year.

That he was obviously having grave difficulties with his work and that he was completely unable to adapt himself to the *Realschule* showed that he was suffering from some profound psychological malaise, not that he was stupid. His pride had been assailed, the inner citadel of his life no longer stood firm, and he was at the mercy of all those accumulative shocks that attack people in a state of depression, leaving them almost defenseless. Edmund's death, his burial in the depth of winter, the whole family in mourning, all this threw a long shadow over his life, but there were many other things that contributed to his misery. For the first time he was living for a large part of the day away from home among strangers who neither knew nor cared what happened to him. Loneliness, too, played an important part in the sudden change that came over him.

Inevitably the boy found solace in a dream world, sank deeper and deeper into himself, and cherished more and more the one talent he thought he possessed—drawing. At home he was confronted by a father exasperated almost beyond endurance by the failure of the son on whom the hopes of the family depended, and at school he was confronted by teachers who were uninterested in him because he was uninterested in his lessons. If there was any safety, it was outside the school and outside the home, in the no man's land where a boy walks alone, lost in his dreams.

The first year in the *Realschule* was a critical year, perhaps the most critical in his life. The pattern, which was to remain fixed until his death, was emerging. To the end he would remain a man walking alone, lost in dreams, declaring war on a world he despised.

During this first year there must have been many unhappy confrontations with his father. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler relates that the main confrontation took place when he was twelve, that is, after April, 1901.

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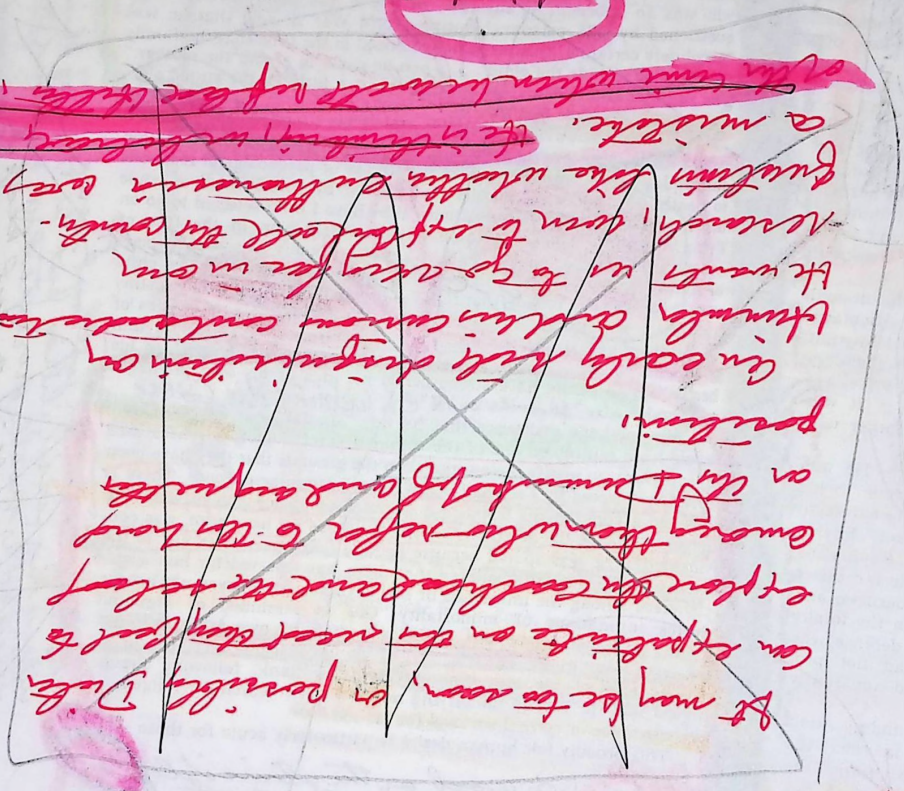

FOUR

SECONDARY SCHOOL
(1900–1905)

amount is known about this period in
e been needlessly obscured by the mis-
ıced on them by Hitler himself in *Mein*
l accounts have abounded in inventions
Thus the myths have been perpetuated
› compel him to become a civil servant
ıoolboy the Führer-to-be was already
ıoint does the account given in *Mein*
–the poorness of Adolf's school reports.
d to conceal, at times boasting of his bad
ɛking to lay the blame on his father for
ents. Everyone in Nazi Germany knew
olar, and schoolboys were quick to im-
and parents: 'The Führer didn't do well
didn't stop him becoming the Führer!'
wrote his biography in 1936 he had
s school reports, but in 1938 all the
ɛr's school record were transferred to
ıich. They may still be in existence.
tsch, who had once been an ardent
alism, published a small book, *From*
ıiscences of a fellow-pupil at Linz Real-
ıs six years younger than Hitler and
ɔn, and though his book is full of un-
ıe and interest as a picture of school
e century.

The school system in Austria

Before we examine Hitler's record at secondary school, the type of school he attended, the non-Classical *Realschule*, must be explained in relation to the system then prevailing in Austria. Under this system, the equivalent of the old-style British elementary school was the *Volksschule*, at which attendance was compulsory for all children up to their fifteenth birthday. In towns and in some of the larger villages a separate continuation school, called the *Bürgerschule*, was provided for children who had passed through the fifth form of the *Volksschule*.[1]

(Here I must digress for a moment to clear up a misconception. Several people still living in Linz today assert categorically that they were fellow-pupils of Hitler in the bottom form of the *Bürgerschule* situated on the outskirts of the town. As evidence they cite a group photograph taken at the time in which one of the boys is said to be Adolf. But Adolf never attended the *Bürgerschule*, having passed straight from the first grade elementary school at Leonding to secondary school in Linz.)

The compulsory elementary schools were, then: the *Volksschule*, and its continuation, the *Bürgerschule*. The secondary schools bore the general name of *Mittelschule*, of which the four lowest forms comprised a separate lower school, called the *Untermittelschule*. The *Mittelschule* might be one of two types, the *Gymnasium* (with a classical bias) or the *Realschule* (with a modern, practical tendency): the four lower forms of these were respectively known as the *Untergymnasium* and the *Unterrealschule*.

In all these Austrian schools the school year lasted for ten months, starting in mid-September. Reports on the pupils' work were issued in mid-February and again at the end of the school year, in mid-July. After passing through the four forms comprising the *Untermittelschule*, of either type, a pupil was ready to choose a career.

Adolf at the Linz 'Realschule'

Adolf entered the *Unterrealschule* in Linz in September 1900.

[1] *Bürgerschule* (in towns) was equivalent to the upper forms of *Volksschule* (in villages).

overprotectiveness and a withdrawal occasioned by pregnancy or obedience to Alois' insistence upon iron discipline. Sometimes, as in Passau, the boy was utterly free; on other occasions he was rigidly controlled. During much of the earlier period he was lost among the other children, but in Lambach he was suddenly thrust forward as the family's heir apparent.

This random, transient manner of life imposed heavy burdens on a young child. All schools of child psychology agree that a clear, continuous, dependable, and purposeful system of love and guidance is of the utmost importance in the healthy development of a child.[40] The young Hitler simply did not have this kind of family environment. Nevertheless, that he was able to hold the external features of his life together in a way that allowed him to function effectively both at home and at school suggests a rather unusual degree of youthful self-confidence and tenacity. On the other hand, character traits cannot completely escape environmental influences, and the boy still faced difficult obstacles to adjustment.

Adolf's undoing was the impossibility of making time stand still. He was due to finish elementary school in the spring of 1900, and at that time the basic decisions about his future education and career would have to be made. Already, he was edging into adolescence with its exciting but often painful problems. Given a background of long-standing opposition to his father's outlook, the chances for a successful transition along lines his parents might favor were problematical. Just as the time came when these questions would have to be faced, Adolf's little brother Edmund died of measles on February 2, 1900.[41] The whole family passed through a phase of shock. As it receded, one fact emerged clearly. Adolf was the last of the boys – the only individual capable of carrying on the upward march of the family. In the preceding months, decisions about his future had seemed important, but not critical. After Edmund's death, all this changed. The responsibility for preserving the family name and vindicating all his father's efforts devolved upon him.

[40] This is a central thesis of Erikson's *Childhood and Society*. Erikson *passim*.

[41] Edmund's death certificate. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.

cropped hair, impressive mustache, and portly figure, was reminiscent of Adolf's own authoritarian father. Although he despised Hindenburg, Hitler spoke of him with respect, referring to him—as he had referred to his own father—as "The Old Gentleman" [*der alte Herr*]. Just as he had felt cowed by his father, so he dreaded a confrontation with Hindenburg. "The Old Gentleman," he said, "was totally hostile to everything we stood for. . . . The Old Gentleman had said to me, 'Herr Hitler I want to hear what kind of ideas you have.' It was horribly difficult [*wahnsinning schwer*] in such an atmosphere to set forth my thinking." And again, using an expression he must have learned as a child, he warned his followers that "we must never do anything that would annoy [*was verärgert*] the Old Gentleman." [26]

While his memoirs and conversations show respect for his father, hatred and fear also keep showing through. For whether or not he was justified in doing so, Adolf saw his father as a drunken and sadistic degenerate. He confided to an intimate that as a tender young lad he was forced to go and rescue his father from the clutches of alcohol, entering a "stinking smoke-filled tavern" in order to plead with his drunken father to come home. "Oh, that was the most shameful humiliating experience I have ever had. How well I know what a devil alcohol is. It was—because of my father—the greatest enemy of my youth!" [27]

Hitler also sought sympathy from his secretaries by describing what a cruel person his father had been and how vicious had been his whippings. A secretary recalled, "He used to say, 'I never loved my father. I therefore feared him all the more. He had a terrible temper and often whipped me.'" He liked to relate how, as a young boy, he was fond of Karl May stories about Indians who proved their courage by refusing to cry out under torture. One day, as his father beat him with his cane and his frightened mother stood outside the door, Adolf counted the blows without a murmur and proudly reported, "My father gave me 230 blows!" After that, he recalled, his father never whipped him again. [28]

How can one calculate the consequences of child beating? What psychological wounds scar the child's mind as he lies hurt in body and soul, sobbing and alone, battered by his own father and deserted by a noninterfering mother? The infant must learn to comfort himself; he can trust no one else; he is overwhelmed by terror, fear, rage, helplessness, hatred. Is it not possible that the hatred which Hitler later said was so important to his life was learned in childhood's rage—the helpless hatred that sobbed: "If I were bigger, I would kill you!" Of such experiences, a prominent psychiatrist has said, are murderers made. Hitler would have agreed completely with the American criminal Caryl Chessman, who recalled the brutal whippings of his childhood and concluded that "there is nothing that sustains you like hate; it is better to be anything than to be afraid." [29]

It is, of course, possible that Adolf Hitler's memories of a drunken and sadistic father were exaggerated in order to hide personal feelings

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Upper Austria & Lower Austria



Upper Austria (Oberösterreich) extends from the province of Lower Austria to the border with Germany. The Danube winds through Upper Austria, and Linz—the province's capital and chief industrial center—sits on the river's banks. The land in the north is an undulating plateau, but the south is mostly alpine. Forests cover one-third of the land, and the province's economy is largely agricultural. Livestock farming is important, and farmers in the area harvest fruits, potatoes, rye, sugar beets, and wheat. Miners also extract salt and lignite (brown coal) from deposits here.

children to help him. His beehives hardly made a dent in the nine acres; the remainder of the property was neither productive nor profitable. His savings were tied up in land which yielded nothing, while the value of the property actually declined due to neglect. He could renew his efforts at least to break even, but this meant a life of drudgery in the midst of yelling, scrambling children. The *Rauscher Gut* had turned into something very different from a rural paradise.

The disappointments and obstacles encountered in Hafeld made Alois more crotchety and irritable. His moods increased family tensions and made life more burdensome for everyone. The oldest child, fourteen-year-old Alois, was the first to succumb. In 1896 he left home. His departure caused a violent controversy with his father; the old man stipulated that at his death young Alois would only inherit the amount required by law.[23] Alois Jr. was a cantankerous individual who was to drift through life a failure. He worked as a waiter for a while, and was jailed for theft in 1900 and 1902. In 1907 he was a waiter in Paris and two years later turned up in Ireland, where he married and started a family. In the 1920's he was living in Germany, and in the course of this sojourn he was jailed again, after which he seems to have returned to England. When his half-brother, Adolf, emerged as an important political figure in the 1930's Alois, never loath to exploit a stroke of fortune, appeared in Berlin, where he opened a cafe which became a meeting place for lower Nazi party leaders. In this era, Adolf ignored him, and even forbade the mention of his name in his presence.[24]

At the time the younger Alois left home, however, the relationship could not be dismissed so lightly. After his departure, Adolf became the chief target of his father's anger. All the old man's toil and sacrifice had been wasted on the older son. Adolf, now the oldest boy in the household, had to assume added responsibility at a time when he already was hard pressed to meet the demands of home and school. Alois' ambition led him to promote the competitive virtues in his children, but at the same time he required absolute

[23] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 40; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 42. The legal implications are explained in *Coldstream*, p. 73.

[24] Heiden, *Der Fuehrer*, p. 43; "Hitler vs. Hitler," *Time*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 15 (April 10, 1939), p. 20; Otto Dietrich, *Hitler*, translated by Richard and Clara Winston (Chicago, 1955), p. 221.

amuse himself with such an obvious pun. Adolf, who was now living in a well-designed building at the corner of the Linzerstrasse and the Kirchengasse, could see the swastika from the window of his father's apartment, and he saw it more clearly when he went to school. Abbot Theodorich von Hagen's swastika was probably the ancestor of the Nazi *Hakenkreuz*.

About this time Alois Hitler's eldest son, Alois Jr., left the family roof. He was the black sheep of the family, and no good news ever came from him. In 1900 he was arrested and sentenced to five months' imprisonment for theft, and two years later he received another sentence, this time of eight months' imprisonment. He wandered to Germany and France, practicing the trade of a waiter. In 1909 we find him in Dublin, and in the following year he became the owner of a small restaurant in Liverpool, where he married an Irish girl, Elizabeth Dowling, and fathered a son, William Patrick Hitler. Shortly before World War I he abandoned his wife and settled in Germany. In 1924 he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the provincial court of Hamburg for bigamy, and when his half-brother came to power he opened a bar and restaurant in Berlin on the Wittenbergplatz. It was much frequented by Nazi officers, who were not unaware that Alois was closely related to the dictator of Germany. The restaurant and bar, called Café Alois, prospered, and Alois himself survived the war. A son, Heinz, by one of his many marriages, fought in the war against Russia and was taken prisoner. He, too, survived, returning to Germany many years later. In 1945 Alois Hitler changed his name to Hans Hiller, and nothing more was ever heard of him.

Although Alois Jr. was the black sheep, he was probably the happiest member of the family. He had an earthy robust character, charmed women, and lived by his wits. He was always inventing schemes for getting rich quickly, and most of them came to grief. Neither prison nor poverty soured him. He was unfailingly good-humored and polite, even when he was about to be sentenced by a judge or when he was abandoning his latest wife. He was one of those who enjoy life to the full.

The unhappiest member of the family was Paula, who was born on January 21, 1896. She was the last of Klara's six children, and the most docile. Quiet and easily led, she faded into the background almost from the day of her birth and spent most of her life in obscurity. She never married, and died in 1960 as quietly as she had lived.

The family at Lambach now consisted of Alois, Klara, and the four children, Angela, Adolf, Edmund, and Paula. At first they lived in a lodging house in the center of the town, but later they moved into an apartment on the second floor of a mill, where there was also a blacksmith's shop. The children appear to have enjoyed the move, but Alois

German side of the border, during which time the three- to six-year-old boy acquired his peculiar Bavarian accent: *The German of my youth was the dialect of Lower Bavaria; I could neither forget it nor learn the Viennese jargon.*[22]

In 1895 the fifty-eight-year-old Alois Hitler retired after forty years of service. He bought a remote estate in the hamlet of Hafeld in the community of Fischlham near Lambach in Upper Austria to try to make a living as a farmer and beekeeper. His son recalled in 1942: *Bee stings were as normal as anything at home. Mother often took forty-five, fifty stings out of my old man when he returned from emptying the honeycombs.* His father, he said, had protected himself against the bees only by smoking.[23]

After a fierce fight with his father, fourteen-year-old Alois Jr. left the home in Hafeld and was disinherited. Thirteen-year-old Angela, Adolf, and Edmund, born in 1894, remained at home. In 1896, Paula, the youngest child of the family, was born.

In May 1895, six-year-old Adolf entered the one-room village school of Fischlham, which had one class. From the small antechamber, Hitler recalled, *I used to listen, while I was in the lowest grade, to what the pupils of the second grade were doing, and later on, the pupils of the third and fourth grades. Thank God I left there. Otherwise I would have had to go to the last grade for two or three years.*[24]

Because the rundown farm could not be managed on a civil servant's pension and Alois's abilities as a farmer were insufficient, he sold the estate in 1897. The family moved into temporary quarters in the town of Lambach. Now the eight-year-old entered grade school in Lambach and for a short time also joined the Benedictine boys' choir school. There, he said, he had *an excellent opportunity to intoxicate myself with the solemn splendor of the brilliant church festivals.*[25] What with all his criticism of the church, even later Hitler would praise it for *wonderfully exercising* man's *natural need . . . for something supernatural.* It had, he said, known how *to work on people with its mystical cult, its large sublime cathedrals, with blessed music, solemn rites, and incense.*[26]

The Hitler family was not pious. Only Klara went to Sunday mass regularly. The anticlerical father kept his distance and at most accompanied his family to services on holidays and on the emperor's birthday, August 18. For that was the only opportunity where he could don and display his civil servant's uniform, which the rest of the year hung in the closet unused.[27]

At the end of 1898 the family moved to the village of Leonding, south of Linz, where for 7,700 kronen Alois Hitler acquired a small house next to the cemetery.[28] In 1938 Goebbels said about his visit to this place:

port card of September, 1905, noted "unsatisfactory" in German, mathematics, and stenography. Even in geography and history, which he himself called his favorite subjects and maintained that he "led the class,"[8] he received only failing grades. On the whole, his record was so poor that he left the school.

This debacle is unquestionably due to a complex of reasons. One significant factor must have been humiliation. If we are to believe Hitler's story that in the peasant village of Leonding he was the uncontested leader of his playmates—not altogether improbable, for the son of a civil servant, given the self-esteem of officialdom in Imperial Austria—his sense of status must have suffered a blow in urban Linz. For here he found himself a rough-hewn rustic, a despised outsider among the sons of academics, businessmen, and persons of quality. It is true that at the turn of the century Linz, in spite of its 60,000 inhabitants, was still pretty much of a provincial town with all the dreariness and somnolence the term connotes. Nevertheless, the city certainly impressed upon Hitler a sense of class distinctions. He made "no friends and pals" at the *Realschule*. Nor was the situation any better at the home of ugly old Frau Sekira, where for a time he boarded with five other schoolmates his age during the school week. He remained stiff, aloof, a stranger. One of the former boarders recalls: "None of the five other boys made friends with him. Whereas we schoolmates naturally called one another *du*, he addressed us as *Sie*, and we also said *Sie* to him and did not even think there was anything odd about it." Significantly, Hitler himself at this time first began making those assertions about coming from a good family which in the future unmistakably stamped his style and his manner. The adolescent fop in Linz, as well as the subsequent proletarian in Vienna, would seem to have acquired a tenacious "class consciousness" and a determination to succeed.

Hitler later represented his failure at secondary school as a way of defying his father, who wanted to steer him into the civil service where the father himself had had so successful a career. In after years Hitler told a vivid story about being taken to the main customs office in Linz; his father hoped the visit would fill him with enthusiasm for the profession, while he himself was filled with "repugnance and hatred" and could see the place only as a "government cage" in which "the old men sat crouching on top of one another, as close as monkeys." But the description of the allegedly prolonged conflict, which Hitler dramatized as a grim struggle between two men of iron will, has since been exposed as pure fantasy.

In fact, we must rather assume that his father paid little attention to his son's vocational future. Certainly he did not insist upon any one course. That is apparent if only because attendance at the *Gymnasium* would have been much more to the point for a civil service career, given

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Memories of his father going to the chamber pot and farting and defecating after sex — the boy going in afterward.

* The whole thing seemed to me so monstrous, the accusations so boundless, that, tormented by the fear of doing injustice, I again became anxious and uncertain.

Yet I could no longer very well doubt that the objects of my study were not Germans of a special religion, but a people in themselves; for since I had begun to concern myself with this question and to take cognizance of the Jews, Vienna appeared to me in a different light than before. Wherever I went, I began to see Jews, and the more I saw, the more sharply they became distinguished in my eyes from the rest of humanity. Particularly the Inner City and the districts north of the Danube Canal swarmed with a people which even outwardly had lost all resemblance to Germans. . . .

The cleanliness of this people, moral and otherwise, I must say, is a point in itself. By their very exterior you could tell that these were no lovers of water, and, to your distress, you often knew it with your eyes closed. Later I often grew sick to my stomach from the smell of these caftan-wearers. Added to this, there was their unclean dress and their generally unheroic appearance.

All this could scarcely be called very attractive; but it became positively repulsive when, in addition to their physical uncleanliness, you discovered the moral stains on this "chosen people."

In a short time I was made more thoughtful than ever by my slowly rising insight into the type of activity carried on by the Jews in certain fields.

Was there any form of filth or profligacy, particularly in cultural life, without at least one Jew involved in it?

If you cut even cautiously into such an abscess, you found, like a maggot in a rotting body, often dazzled by the sudden light—a kike!

What had to be reckoned heavily against the Jews in my eyes was when I became acquainted with their activity in the press, art, literature, and the theater. . . .

I no longer avoided discussion of the Jewish question; no, now I sought it. And when I learned to look for the Jew in all branches of cultural and artistic life and its various manifestations, I suddenly encountered him in a place where I would least have expected to find him.

When I recognized the Jew as the leader of the Social Democracy, the scales dropped from my eyes. A long soul struggle had reached its conclusion. . . .

For me this was the time of the greatest spiritual upheaval I have ever had to go through.

I had ceased to be a weak-kneed cosmopolitan and become an anti-Semite. . .

If, with the help of this Marxist creed, the Jew is victorious over the

* could say this to D.T. who feels that his anti-Semitism is the best of his eyes

~~Everything~~ Every impulse he did not control in himself he could ascribe to the Jews.

that was beside Glasir, the wood that had leaves of gold, and harken to what Hugin and Munin had to tell him.

They told him only of shadows and forebodings. Odin All-Father did not speak to the Dwellers in Asgard of the things they told him. But Frigga, his Queen, saw in his eyes the shadows and forebodings of things to come. And when he spoke to her about these things she said, "Do not strive against what must take place. Let us go to the holy Norns who sit by Urda's Well and see if the shadows and the forebodings will remain when you have looked into their eyes."

And so it came that Odin and the Gods left Asgard and came to Urda's Well, where, under the great root of Ygdrassil, the three Norns sat, with the two fair swans below them. Odin went, and Tyr, the great swordsman, and Baldur, the most beautiful and the best beloved of the Gods, and Thor, with his Hammer.

A Rainbow Bridge went from Asgard, the City of the Gods, to Midgard, the World of Men. But another Rainbow Bridge, more beautiful and more tremulous still, went from Asgard to that root of Ygdrassil under which was Urda's Well. This Rainbow Bridge was seldom seen by men. And where the ends of the two rainbows came together Heimdall stood, Heimdall with the Golden Teeth, the Watcher for the Gods, and the Keeper of the Way to Urda's Well.

"Open the gate, Heimdall," said the All-Father, "open the gate, for to-day the Gods would visit the holy Norns."



The All-Father's Forbodings How he Leaves Asgard

TWO ravens had Odin All-Father; Hugin and Munin were their names; they flew through all the worlds every day, and coming back to Asgard they would light on Odin's shoulders and tell him of all the things they had seen and heard. And once a day passed without the ravens coming back. Then Odin, standing on the Watch-Tower Hlidskjalf, said to himself:

I fear me for Hugin,
Lest he come not back,
But I watch more for Munin.

A day passed and the ravens flew back. They sat, one on each of his shoulders. Then did the All-Father go into the Council Hall

V ~~Sept 1904-1905~~

1901

weekly gatherings in Lung. Alois attends

Dec 1900 1902 Alois

was a luxury. The same was true for meat: only on Sundays. Fish was the cheap staple in the north; so cheap, indeed, that servants in Cologne, when the Rhine was still a green-and-white river revealing its alpine origins, complained of too much salmon. In the south, such fish as carp, first reared in monastic stew ponds, was popular among the rich and the poor. Cheese was anything but a delicacy. The finer varieties could not be imported from France or Switzerland, and the local, smelly varieties were mostly for the modest tables of the lower classes.

Beer was for the masses: champagne, cognac and wine for the upper classes. The wine was mostly Riesling from the Rheinpfalz or, even more sought after, from the Rheingau—what the British call Hock after Hochheim. Or else there was Silvaner in the strange *Bocksbeutel* bottles from Franconia, once again referring to the magic powers of fertility in a ram's testicles. Or again, Riesling from the Moselle, the lower Saar and the upper Rhine valley in Baden. Wine was even produced in the Elbe valley near Dresden and on the steep and stony slopes of the Saale valley not far from Weimar. German champagne had to be called *Sekt* after the Treaty of Versailles, while the German answer to French cognac consisted of many local spirits: plums or cherries turned into brandy in the south, potatoes and rye turned into schnapps in the north.

Even the times when people took their meals differed. For the workers, the day began at sunrise and ended, more or less, with sunset: lighting was expensive. Working days were long, often ten or more hours a day, over fifty hours a week. By contrast, having time to sleep after sunrise and being able to wine and dine into the night were clear signs of high living. Workmen would take some bread and wurst and soup with them—canteens came much later. In con-

Alois keeps lights up 1900 1902
Klara turns them off

Ady Adler

A.H. [illegible]

End of 1902

Note for the next 3 pages after the Lung [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] what he has not enjoyed

approach to the end 1900, 19

trast, the day of the well-to-do
Sattelfrühstück and a ride, followe
class term for lunch—and later
with elegant music, or a visit to
late in the evening: to begin be
have been seen as distinctly low
or eight courses would not be r
fact, the host's business standing
luxuries displayed on his tabl
Berlin or Nymphenburg porce
champagne, fish, venison and ou

Piped water was a luxury tha
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were smelly affairs, often shared
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were not unknown in the old day
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Unter den Linden. It was only th
of electricity during the last yea
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(Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesells
as early as 1876—that made daily
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Modern technology had an eg
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show some overlap. The bicycle a
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Fancy meal at

Alois loves fine drinks as he gets older. over

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trast, the day of the well-to-do would begin with a light *Sattelfrühstück* and a ride, followed by *déjeuner*—the upper-class term for lunch—and later five o'clock tea in a hotel, with elegant music, or a visit to friends. Dinner would be late in the evening: to begin before eight o'clock would have been seen as distinctly lower-class. To negotiate six or eight courses would not be regarded as outrageous: in fact, the host's business standing would be gauged by the luxuries displayed on his table, whether the Meissen, Berlin or Nymphenburg porcelain, or the caviar and champagne, fish, venison and out-of-season fruit.

Piped water was a luxury that began to be introduced only at the turn of the century, while hot water was reserved for the well-to-do. Water closets were a sign of a higher form of living, and certainly costly. Most lavatories were smelly affairs, often shared by many and usually situated outside the house in a yard, with a heart (why a heart remains an enigma) cut out of the wooden door. Bathtubs were not unknown in the old days, but were regarded as a luxury. When the old Emperor wanted a bath, he had the tub brought into the royal palace from a nearby hotel at Unter den Linden. It was only the wholesale introduction of electricity during the last years of the nineteenth century—electrical bulbs, furnished by Emil Rathenau's AEG (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft), lit imperial Berlin as early as 1876—that made daily life a little brighter, servants more expendable, conditions healthier.

Modern technology had an egalitarian dimension. The universe of the poor and the universe of the rich began to show some overlap. The bicycle allowed speed, until then an expensive commodity, to the relatively poor, and so did the railway. There were still four different classes in a passenger train: fourth class for the poor carrying unwieldy

Alois' way out of the
depression caused by
Edmund's death is
to frequent the Burger Inn's
Discovers a need to enlarge
his conversational subjects.
The beer fail to interest the
local gentry enough,
but changing customs
do. He does his best to
get up and be an courant

another, incorporating nearby villages, linking them by public transport and encouraging industries to set up factories where the workforce was to hand. Near the expanding cities, the sons of lowly peasants, selling some meager holdings for building plots for the future suburbia, became millionaires overnight and in their turn sought lucrative investments. Population growth, rising living standards, technology and the unbridled forces of capitalism created what economic historians call self-sustained growth.

As everything and everybody was on the move, class barriers were no longer insurmountable. To the geographic migration must be added movement up and down the social ladder, but mostly up. Down went the many trades to do with horses and road haulage, which were overtaken by the railway. Many shoemakers and tailors fell by the wayside when modern manufacturers took over and the sewing machine replaced the work of many artisans. In today's Germany, Schneider, Schuhmacher, Müller and Schmidt are the commonest of surnames, testifying to the strength of such trades before the industrial revolution. But as some avenues were closed, others were opened by the rapid expansion both of higher education and also of scientific training, through universities and colleges of technology—*Technische Hochschulen*. In addition, there were institutions where middle management could find vocational training in either technology or accounting. In Germany more than in most European countries, there were many educational ladders to higher social status, often provided by the State. The respect for learning shown by the broad population, particularly towards "Herr Doktor"—and to "Frau Doktor," his wife, who might never have set foot in a university—was a powerful spur to seek higher education.

1902

Yes, says Alois, I would have liked to have been called "Herr Doktor" and enjoy an even higher level of respect from the local community than I do now. And your mother would have been called Frau Doktor even though she has never seen the entrance gate to a university

ER CHILDHOOD

ignificant.[20] One of his *Realschule* avior in school was characterized by not uncommon amongst immature descriptions of these adventures – dramatic effect – emphasize the kind uently used by late-maturing young- ars in Adolf's continued fascination /s and Indians – which went on all Sexually he seems to have matured ig elements of puritanic repression ted development. His fears and the did not initially produce overt com- draw and gain release from tension rew older, however, he resorted to ipted to make contact with girls by n they walked with their mothers, n in church. When he succeeded in m laugh, he quickly broke off the her form of childish amusement.[23] y continued throughout his whole

ded Adolf's problems. It was more nd required a new departure in t least normal intelligence and had it applying himself very much, it ore he realized what was happen- near the bottom of the class, an

. p. 69.
98; *Zoller*, p. 47; Paul Mussen, John opment and Personality (New York,

ssed in *Goerlitz and Quint*, p. 37; *in Nuremberg* (New York 1961), p. sis for Kurth's ideas is incorrect, but Gertrude M. Kurth, "The Jew and 1947, pp. 15-29. Likewise, Kubizek's nary, indicates Hitler's outlook, *Ku-* 297-98.

even greater effort was required to make up the lost ground. Here the debilitating effect of his slow maturation and the poor relations with his father made recovery more difficult. It was much easier to acquiesce in failure and to comfort his battered ego with dreams about a glorious future as an artist.[25] All the features of his life pointed in the same direction: the most effective solution to his problems was withdrawal. He became the shadowy youth who just got by – never in sufficient trouble to excite serious concern, but never effective at anything he attempted. He skirted the demands of his family but was unable to penetrate the circle of his school comrades. He stood alone, an unhappy and resentful youngster.

From the time he entered the Linz *Realschule* on September 17, 1900, Adolf's life was occupied with school routine. He made the trip from Leonding to Linz daily, sometimes by foot, in which case the journey required an hour and a half each way. More often, he took the local suburban train. The *Realschule* was in a rather gloomy building in the center of the little city of 60,000. Linz was the provincial capital of upper Austria, dominated by a middle class that strove to give it the measure of beauty and modernity appropriate to a real city. Communities like Linz suffered from the overpowering attraction of Vienna, and local boosters had to work hard to make the town appear progressive. There was an electric streetcar line, then a key status symbol, and a municipal opera house which served as a cultural center. If one arrived in Linz from Vienna or Munich, the urban affectations of this sleepy, provincial town were all too obvious, but if one came from Lambach, Hafeld, or Leonding, it possessed the confusion and excitement of a real city. In the year that Adolf entered the *Realschule*, the first auto tour from Paris to Vienna went through Linz, a sign that the capital of upper Austria was a place of some importance.[26]

The *Realschule* student from Leonding found Linz interesting, but he had little opportunity to explore. As soon as classes ended, he started out for Leonding alone. Upon his arrival he could count on

[25] Children with repeated school failures tend to set low goals or unrealistically high ones. Paul Mussen, et. al., *Child Development and Personality*, p. 491.

[26] *Baedeker*, pp. 119-20; *Goerlitz and Quint*, p. 24; *Rabitsch*, pp. 8-9, 82-83, and 147.

of previous years. Indeed, Dr. Huemer, one of his teachers during this period, described him as having been lazy, lacking in self-control, "argumentative, self-opinionated, willful, arrogant and bad-tempered. He had obvious difficulty in fitting in at the school. . . . He demanded of his fellow pupils their unqualified subservience, fancying himself in the role of leader. . . ." Another instructor at the Linz *Realschule*, Dr. Gissinger, reported strange activity on the part of his pupil. Gissinger said emphatically that he was not drawing on his own imagination but distinctly remembered "Hitler holding dialogue with trees stirring in the wind." One of Hitler's friends in Leonding confirmed this picture. He said his friends all considered Adolf quite strange and remembered that he liked to climb a hill to make speeches at night to nonexistent audiences.[77] Many other examples of Hitler's exaggerations and florid fantasies (including belief in his own magical powers, so typical of monorchids) are recorded by his admirers both in adolescence and during his mature years.

The age of 11–12, a time of resurgent sexual impulses and genital awareness, produces great anxiety in monorchid boys—an anxiety which in Adolf was almost certainly increased by the worries his oversolicitous mother had expressed through the years. Hitler's concern about his sexual development is indicated in a drawing he did at the age of 11 or 12 of a frightened *Realschule* teacher apparently caught in the act of masturbation. It seems likely that Adolf has projected his own anxiety and fears onto the teacher. (The cartoon is now in the Federal Government Archives in Coblenz.) A German biographer who reprints it thinks that the teacher is depicted as "overbearing," "suspicious," and "arrogant," and that he is holding an ice cream cone in his hand. But that cannot be an ice cream cone, since they made their first appearance at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904—four years *after* Adolf drew the picture (p. 158) of his teacher.[78]

In order to help master the anxiety engendered by the anatomical defect, disturbed monorchid boys favor symbolic substitutes for the missing testicle. In addition to breasts, patients may be excessively concerned about eyes. Hitler's eyes were particularly important to him, and others began to notice them in early adolescence. His secondary school teacher, Dr. Gissinger, described Adolf's eyes as "shining"; when Kubizek first met him, he was particularly struck by Hitler's strangely compelling eyes and recalls that his mother was frightened by them. As we have noted, the adult Hitler was aware of their power and practiced "piercing stares" in front of the mirror. He also played games with his eyes. He would slowly cross them in looking at people, or he would stare them down. In effect, he may have been saying to them and to himself, "See, I do have two powerful (potent) testicles, and I can penetrate and dominate others." He was infatuated with the Medusa of the piercing eyes that could render others impotent. One might also consider Hitler's use of the extended, stiff-arm salute as a substitute for flawed genitalia. We have seen earlier how he boasted

Angela catches ~~him~~ Adolf
studying himself in the
mirror, and rides
him hard. Madmen like
mirrors she tells him.
How do you know?
"Oh," she says, "it
stands to reason."
He realizes that if there
were no one to punish
him he could kill her,
Right now. ~~[illegible]~~
Instead he says only
"You are a stupid
goose."
"And you are a
stuck-up fool."
"Goose"
"Fool"

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

Hitler's alleged desecration of the Host

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

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

Hitler as he appeared to his teachers

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

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

> same time, he demanded of his fellow-pupils their unqualified subservience, fancying himself in the role of leader, at the same time indulging in many a less innocuous prank of a kind not uncommon amongst immature youths.
>
> Hitler seems to have been led astray by the stories of Karl May and tales of Red Indians, and no doubt an over-indulgence in such reading combined with the time wasted in drifting idly back and forth between home and school, which were some distance apart, was mainly responsible for his failure to become more than an average pupil.'

The above was written in December 1923.

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

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

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

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

principles of free government and accomplished a peaceful Revolution still remembered as Glorious. It was an age graced by the buildings of Sir Christopher Wren, the genius of Newton, the letters of Milton and John Donne, and the political theory of Halifax and Locke—which, by the end of the century, was pointing the way to contractual government, and inspiring the constitution makers of the New World.

Across the Channel and the Rhine, the political legacy of the 17th century was sharply different.* The Thirty Years War had left the German middle class politically ineffective and the petty princes ensconsed in arbitrary power, unrestricted by constitutions and preoccupied with divisive feuds.

The war served to increase the longing for a mighty Leader who would bring stability and order to a devastated land. Articulation of these hopes was provided by Germany's enormously popular writer, Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen (1625?–1676). His stories and picaresque novels went through dozens of editions and sold thousands upon thousands of copies through subsequent centuries. His novella, *Die Landstörzerin Courasche* (The Vagabond, Courage) inspired both Bertolt Brecht's *Mother Courage* and Jerzy Kosinski's *Painted Bird*, the searing adventures and sufferings of a young boy who wandered through the same lands of Central Europe during a later period of holocaust and terror—the Nazi occupation of World War II.

Grimmelshausen's most famous work, *The Adventurous Life of Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1669), describes graphically and with bawdy humor scenes of pillage, whoring, torture, and death—scenes which the author himself had witnessed as a boy. Through it all, the hero, the abysmally ignorant Simplicius, is sustained by the faith that one day the tortures and travail of Germany will end. The day of deliverance will come only with the arrival of a national leader:

> I will awaken a German Hero who will consummate all this with the strength of his sword; he will slay all wicked men and protect and exalt the good.

In this version of the Barbarossa legend, Grimmelshausen made an important contribution to the Führer mystique. His German Hero was a man of charisma who would bend the world to his will. "Every

* It is true that during these and subsequent years influential Germans wrote eloquently about individual and natural rights. But such writers as Samuel Pufendorf, Christian Thomasius, and Christian Wolff were disinterested in developing constitutional institutions to protect those rights. Indeed, they believed that freedom could be attained only through subservience to the state to which they assigned absolute power. Immanuel Kant disliked tyranny but he disdained democracy. He was unable to reconcile his concern for individual liberty with his commitment to royal absolutism. A very great philosopher, his political thinking ended in virtual "political paralysis." (See especially Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (Boston), 1957, 50–53, 65–66, 87–90, 124).

great city shall tremble be
ruler of the world and r
refuse obedience to this C
[*ausrotten*]. . . ." He wo
people of German blood v
schaft. His Greater Reic
beyond the borders of
queror. All of Central and
control. Western lands w
land, Sweden and Denm
their crown and kingdom
date his vast dominion,
new capital of Germania
than Manoah in America
of Solomon." [11]

A British authority o
a time when the Germa
the fantasies of Grimme
quite diverting. "One can
countries as vassals of
have found the prospects

The Contributions of I

Two centuries befor
and son—were building
Austrian would find of
Both monarchs would
butions to his success, y
of "a well-ordered police
of their government ca
they demanded "tyranni
public and economic life
a "downgrading of the in
alized by the ruler." [13]

Frederick William I
Hitler would build a m
Prussian Army—or rath
mot, "Prussia is not a co
a country. The king's
from the fanatical con
swore a sacred oath to

must have been! The fear they aroused would have been associated with the retraction of his one remaining testicle. This extra intensity of fear may explain why Hitler's memories of beatings were so vivid.

A childhood habit of clutching at defective genitals would explain Hitler's lifelong gesture of moving his hands down to cover his crotch, particularly in moments of tension or excitement. As an American film reviewer noticed in watching the "home movies" Eva Braun made of Hitler, the repetition of the gesture is remarkable: "I was fascinated to watch the ex-corporal's gestures whenever he finds himself confronted by other people: usually he folds his hands protectively over his crotch . . . then they flutter up to his face, covering his eyes for a moment, sweep back the famous forelock and then travel down to be folded, piously, over the Führer's pelvic region." [70] A check of only two illustrated books which the Nazis published about their Führer confirms the impression. Indeed, the number of pictures showing him in this pose is striking: in two books, more than two dozen pictures of the same gesture. And in one of his last official propaganda portraits, painted in 1943 after the catastrophic defeat at Stalingrad, the Führer is shown hiding his lower torso behind the back of a chair. The date and the pose lend irony to the heroic caption: "Adolf Hitler Is Victory!" *

Another distinguishing characteristic of disturbed monorchid boys is physical hyperactivity—a voracious appetite for active outdoor games but, at the same time, a desire to avoid physical contact. There is no reason to doubt Hitler's later contention that he was a very active boy, "the little ringleader" of all neighborhood games. Indeed, all evidence shows a degree of activity that is extraordinary. In letters and interviews, former playmates all stress Adolf's unusual passion for war games. He played them by the hour, and for many years after his contemporaries had outgrown this interest. Three of his former playmates, Baldwin Wiesmayer, Franz Winter, and Johann Weinberger, all agreed that he wanted to play war games all the time: "We Leonding kids were the Boers under Hitler's leadership, the kids from Untergaumberg were the English." Another of his childhood friends, who later became the abbot of a Cistercian monastery, recalled vividly in an interview that "We were always playing at war—war games endlessly. Most of us got sick of it, but Hitler always managed to find someone who could play with him, usually younger boys." [71]

Adolf's activity on his confirmation day, May 1904, seems curious for a boy in his teens. One of his sponsors, who had also been a pallbearer at his father's funeral in 1903, recalled that the confirmation

* Since the right hand is often found clasped over the left, it has been suggested that the only thing the gesture reveals is that Hitler had a weak left hand. But he could have favored it in other ways: holding it tightly against his side or behind his back, or folding both hands over his chest or at his waist. Instead, he habitually clasped both hands over his crotch. For a score of examples, see *Adolf Hitler: Bilder aus dem Leben des Führers* (Hamburg, 1936), and *Mit Hitler im Westen*, ed. Heinrich Hoffmann (Berlin, 1940). The propaganda poster is now in the Imperial War Museum, London.

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a prayer book and a sa
returning to his mother'
to his sponsor, was unir
and sullen. He only bri
he ran off with them in
Indians." [72] Hitler hims
Führer of his Party, rec
sure" the war games the

Contemporary lette
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than his playmates—bu
preferring—as he woul
means of his tongue.

Symptomatic irrita
monorchid patients wer
half-brother, Alois Jr., g
of seven:

> He was imperious
> would not listen to
> He would get the
> didn't have his way
> over any triviality.

The testimony of Alois J
behavior up to the age c
his adolescence and ma
accuracy. It is also su
friend, who reported th
and insignificant things
along the Landstrasse
recognizing him as a fe
ler," took his arm in a f
Instead of responding in

> went red with rage
> he threw at him ex
> took my arm and w
> before he calmed
> trivial ones, that cc
> all when it was su
> Whenever he hear
> connection with hi
> that these outbursts
> with his long-dead

vant. The *Realschule*'s emphasis on modernity and technical excellence better suited his views, and its curriculum included a number of subjects, such as drawing, which he thought should be encouraged. Adolf was showing interest in drawing both in and outside the classroom, and his father felt that the *Realschule* would develop whatever artistic talents he possessed. In part at least, the *Realschule* decision met the boy's interests and enthusiasms, and Alois held more than a distant hope that something practical and profitable might result.

None of these considerations seem to have made any deep impression on Adolf, who was initially neither especially enthusiastic nor noticeably hostile. The decision in favor of a *Realschule* rather than a *Gymnasium* was a matter of indifference to him. The situation became serious only when Alois began to consider the fine points of his class program and the selection of an ultimate career. "It was his basic opinion and intention," Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "that, like himself, his son would and must become a civil servant. It was only natural that the hardships of his youth should enhance his subsequent achievement in his eyes, particularly since it resulted exclusively from his own energy and iron diligence. It was the pride of the self-made man which made him want his son to rise to the same position in life, or, of course, even higher if possible, especially since, by his own industrious life, he thought he would be able to facilitate his child's development so greatly." [10]

The virtues of the civil service were proverbial in the Hitler household. It was necessary that one child should be prepared for the bureaucracy, almost as noble sons once were destined for army and Church. Yet, when the actual decision had to be made, the old man ran into unexpected resistance. A serious conflict erupted between father and son because the boy refused to cooperate in Alois' plans. He claimed that he had no interest in an official's life; nothing his father could propose, through either commands or blandishments, succeeded in changing his stand. The struggle between father and son gradually became more serious. Alois became increasingly bitter and intransigent. And Adolf's whole manner of life was profoundly changed. During the years in *Realschule* (1900-1905), he emerged

[10] *Mein Kampf*, p. 7.

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[11] *Mein Kampf*, pp. 9-10.



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Adolf had had five years of grade school, in fall of 1900 Alois sent him to high school (*Realschule*, a lower-level *Gymnasium*) in Linz, an hour's walk from Leonding. The eleven-year-old, who every day had to switch from the roughness of country life to the strictness of the small-town school, could not adapt and did not do well. In his first year he earned 'unsatisfactory' marks in math and natural history and was kept back. In addition, according to school records, every year he received a reprimand, alternately in general conduct and homework. Still, his tuition was waived, which indicates that his family was indigent.[41]

In 1924, the well-meaning French teacher Dr. Huemer said of his former pupil, "He was decidedly gifted, if one-sided, but had difficulty controlling his temper. He was considered intractable and willful, always had to be right and easily flew off the handle, and he clearly found it difficult to accommodate himself to the limits of a school." He demanded "unconditional subordination from his schoolmates," had enjoyed "the role of the leader," and apparently had been "influenced by Karl May stories and tales about Red Indians."[42]

Later, Hitler would frequently enjoy talking about his favorite author, Karl May: *I read him by candlelight and with a large magnifying glass at moonlight.* He thanked May for *introducing me to geography.*[43] In 1943 he proudly showed his companions the Hotel Roter Krebs in Linz, where the revered writer stayed in 1901 for a length of time.[44]

Young Hitler made no effort at advancing in school. According to a schoolmate, Klara frequently had to go to school "to check on him."[45] In *Mein Kampf* Hitler states that he deliberately did not apply himself in school so that he would not have to become a civil servant. Later he would criticize those parents who prematurely determine their children's careers, *and then, if something goes wrong, start talking about their prodigal or ill-bred son.* His father had *dragged* him at the age of thirteen *into Linz's main customs office, a genuine state cage where those old men had sat on top of one another, like monkeys.* Thus he had *learned to deplore thoroughly the career of a civil servant.*[46]

His relationship with his father was coming to a head. His sister Paula remembered; "every night Adolf got a thrashing because he came home late."[47] Hitler summarized that period as follows: *I was forced into opposition for the first time in my life. Hard and determined as father might be in putting through plans and purposes once conceived, his son was just as persistent and recalcitrant in rejecting an idea which appealed to him not at all, or in any case very little.*[48]

Among friends, Hitler would later paint a negative picture of his father. An entry in Goebbels's diary reads; "Hitler suffered almost the

and never attempted to hide his opposition to the course of politics or to what he considered the excessive power of the Church.[36]

Alois' better adjustment did not bring any lessening of his determination to dominate his family. Klara and the children were left with no doubts concerning who was in control. His best friend in Leonding, Josef Mayerhofer, later said of him: "He was strict with his family, no kid gloves as far as they were concerned; his wife had nothing to smile about." Mayerhofer emphasized, though, that the rough exterior was partly bluff and that the children were not physically abused. "He never touched him [Adolf]. I don't believe that [he beat him], but he often scolded and bawled at him. 'That miserable urchin!' he used to say, 'I'll bash him yet!' But his bark was worse than his bite. The boy stood in awe of him, though." [37]

The boy was wary and not a little fearful (with good reason), but he learned to stay at a distance and move carefully. In school, he followed the now established routine, compiling an excellent record, without a blemish in either conduct or class assignments.[38]

Occasionally, when Alois was especially out of sorts or Adolf was imprudently forward, the orderly relationship made possible by youthful caution broke down, and an unpleasant confrontation ensued.[39] But beyond the walls of the pretty garden house, the boy played on with few signs of concern about the future or the world around him. Always it was the old cycle of wars and Indian conflicts, pursued with little alteration except for the different companions of his new environment. Whether the frequent changes in residence and school exerted a harmful influence on his emotional development is difficult to say. His outward behavior did not indicate any serious problem, but the question cannot be disposed of easily. Throughout his early childhood, the numerous moves were paralleled by continuous shifts in the routine of the family and the treatment of the children. Alois' attitude ranged from aloof unconcern to quarreling meddlesomeness. Klara passed back and forth between

[36] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 71; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 51; M. W. Fodor, "Austrian Roots of Hitlerism," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1936, p. 687.
[37] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 70; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 51.
[38] Munich police report of 1924. *HA*, File 1760, Reel 25A.
[39] *Dietrich*, p. 14. The conflict described herein may refer to adolescence rather than childhood.

Use or don't use

Just before he has his memorandum

Dec 1901

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-page-

At the end of December, 1901, Alois wrote a letter to a neighbor with whom he had been friendly in Hafeld, a man by the name of Wührer.

"I've heard the Frau Von Zdekauer is proposing to sell the Rauschergut again—to yet another party from Vienna. It provides a pleasant change to such people for a year or two and they are the richer by one lesson at any rate, namely that everything has to to be learnt. But she will not find it easy to sell in the winter time."

~~That letter was written four and a half years after the Hitler family moved from Hafeld to Lambach. By the time the letter was written they had moved again to Leonding. A good year and a half after they had first found lodgings in Lambach. There they put up for a while in a most uncomfortable apartment and soon got tired of such close quarters.~~ Early in 1898 they had moved already onto a fine large apartment on the second floor of a mill which was still in operation. The miller, a man named Zoebl still occupied

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This page is not really 1895 but 1900 (36a)

Child As Father to the Man

graphical. If it is, we can speculate that Hitler may have developed profound guilt feelings for having once whipped his own mother. In this passage, he is continuing his description of the "worker's son," now age 15, and how he stays out to all hours of the night, showing total disdain for parental authority—a description, as we shall see, that fits Adolf's own behavior after the death of his father: "He loiters about, and God only knows when he comes home; for a change *he may even beat the poor creature who was once his mother*, curses God and the world. . . ."[100]

(after a cold night waiting for Stephanie)

Key events of Adolf's later childhood appear to revolve around the birth and death of his brother Edmund. When, at the age of six, young Adolf saw the arrival of Edmund, it may be imagined that he resented this rival deeply and harbored death wishes towards him. If so, the wishes were fulfilled. For when Adolf was 11, his little brother died at the age of six. During the intervening years the two brothers seem to have grown close to each other, and it seems likely that Edmund's sudden death awakened guilt feelings in Adolf. Certainly the strange story of the little boy's funeral reinforced Adolf's belief that his mother could not be completely trusted. Like the fickle Goddess of Fate, she abandoned her sons in their direst need.

Neighbors of the Hitlers still alive in the village of Leonding in the 1950s shook their heads in incredulity when they recalled that when little Edmund Hitler died of complications following measles in March 1900 and was buried in the church graveyard, neither his mother nor father attended the funeral. They spent the day in Linz. Not even old Josef Mayrhofer, the usually outspoken village mayor and friend of Alois Hitler, could explain the curious behavior of the parents.

Neighbors suggested one possible explanation, but admitted that it was not very persuasive. They recalled that the anticlerical Alois Hitler had no liking for the village priest, whom he considered too "political." For example, the priest and a schoolteacher had the idea of organizing a soup kitchen for indigent wanderers and migrant farm laborers. Alois Hitler, the retired imperial official, as the most prestigious person in the village, became the leader of an anticlerical opposition which considered this church-school alliance to be "socialization and interference in local politics." If this were so, it would help explain why the mayor sided with Hitler *père* and was later so embarrassed about his absence from Edmund's funeral that he refused to talk about the matter. At any rate, it does seem possible that Alois could have become so furious with the local priest that he thumped the tavern *Stammtisch* and swore, in one of his fits of temper, that he would never enter the church of his enemy again, that he would be damned if he would ever hear that priest pray over his dead son. And so the stubborn old man refused to go to the funeral. Perhaps. But how explain Klara's absence? She was a devoted mother and a devout Catholic. And even if she were not, it seems passing strange that a mother would not attend her own son's burial. The only explanation that comes to mind, if valid,

REPEAT

170

* if he wanted strike his mother once, it would account for his devoted attention to her. (a punch to the breast?) It could come in part from a feeling that he was socially inferior to Stephanie and that was Klara's fault for marrying Alois

~~This is going to take some pondering.~~

Strikes his mother when his father is not present

documents the tyranny of Alois over his wife. He flatly forbade her to go into "that priest's church" and thus embarrass him publicly. He ordered her, on the day of the funeral, to accompany him on a trip to Linz. Klara did not dare disobey.[107]

And so, abandoned by his mother, Adolf stood and watched in a driving snowstorm as his little brother was lowered into a grave for which the parents never supplied a marker.

The effect of this experience, it seems likely, was to increase Adolf's resentment against his mother. Consciously, of course, he continued to displace his resentment onto his father and to blame Alois for everything. For, as Menninger has noted, stern fathers help sons to justify feelings of antagonism and aggression. "But if we penetrate the many layers of hatred, we come eventually to the deepest hurt of all—'my mother failed me.' "[108]

Adolf already had reason to resent what his mother had done to him. In addition to equipping him with defective testicles and acquiescing in her own "rape" by Hitler's father-rival, she had given birth to another rival, Edmund, and abandoned Adolf to the care of his older half-sister, Angela. As Menninger notes, "When the child is turned over to a substitute mother at an early age, it often increases his burden of hate without expanding his capacity for love." By a great show of loving his mother a boy can "conceal his hostility to her . . . and avoid the consequences of attempting to express his masculinity in a normal way."[109]

Adolf's attitudes to his mother during his unusually difficult and disturbing prepubertal period, around the age of 12, were particularly confusing and complex. He was, we have surmised, burdened by guilt feelings for the death of his brother. It is possible that Klara's abandonment of both brothers at the funeral served to lessen Adolf's feelings of personal guilt by giving him the opportunity to project it. It was not he who should feel guilty about Edmund; it was his mother who was to blame for deserting them both.

But he could not afford to blame his mother too much. He was able to lessen hostile feelings toward her by transferring them to his father, and he may also have kept his feelings from becoming too negative by the defense Otto Kernberg calls "primitive idealization." In this defense, when a boy is confronted by a threatening father, he splits the parental relationship into the totally good and totally evil. He fantasizes an idealized mother who is a veritable paragon of love, tenderness, and strength—a defender who can protect him completely from the totally bad person who threatens him.[110] But in Hitler's case this defense was breaking down. Adolf's primitively idealized mother had not protected him from his father's whippings, and now she had apparently deserted him in abandoning his brother.

Edmund's death could have had another effect in reminding Adolf how many of his brothers and sisters had died: Gustav in 1887, Ida in 1888, Otto in 1888, and now Edmund. To his childish mind, the

most natural explanation for his own survival would have been that he was allowed to live because he was under the special protection of Providence. Nor was it only a question of having physically outlived the other siblings. Adolf—apart from his monorchism—was also the only one of the survivors who was untainted by some obvious aberration. Rumor was correct in saying that the Schickelgrubers had a long history of mental and physical affliction. An affidavit in the local archives in Linz says that Klara's irascible sister Johanna was probably schizophrenic.[111] Hitler's first cousin, Edward Schmidt, the son of Klara's sister Theresia, was a hunchback with a speech defect. In the more immediate family, Adolf may have had a sister, older than he, who was an imbecile. At any rate, Dr. Bloch, the family doctor, when questioned by OSS personnel during World War II, said that he was "absolutely certain of this because he noticed at the time that the family always tried to hide the child . . . when he came to attend the mother. The younger sister, Paula, "is also said to be a little on the stupid side, perhaps a high-grade moron."[112]

Childhood knowledge of the deaths of his brothers and sisters, it seems likely, also produced feelings of "survival guilt" of the type that Robert Jay Lifton has described in his studies of psychological reactions to death. The "survival priority" manifested by those who live while others are dying [illegible] the question, "Why have I been selected to go on living?" With it comes inevitable self-condemnation in the face of others' deaths. The general feeling of guilt is notably increased in cases of sibling rivalry where death suddenly [illegible]. The child may then have the feeling that his life is so [illegible] destiny and hence not entirely his own. In Adolf [illegible] only the deaths of his brothers and sisters but also his mother [illegible] for him as the sole male survivor, as well as [illegible] concern for his health would surely have strengthened his idea of his own privileged position.[113]

His mother's insistence that he was "special," her *Lieblingskind*, would have reinforced one of the common psychological defenses used by survivors: to justify their survival on the grounds that they have been specially selected by Fate or Destiny for a particular purpose. There is often an accompanying belief that as Destiny's choice, the survivor will somehow escape the death of mortals. Hitler, as we have seen, was convinced that he was spared because he was God's particular gift to the German people; he also believed that there was reserved for him a special place among the immortals of Mt. Olympus. Hitler was not unique in his intimations of immortality. One is reminded of Sigmund Freud's comment, "At bottom, no one believes in his own death, or to put the same thing in another way, in the unconscious every one of us is convinced of his own immortality." Otto Rank, following Freud, argued that the motive underlying man's historic search for religion is "an assurance of eternal survival for his self."[114]

This broadly felt human desire is particularly acute for those who

documents the tyranny of Alois over his wife. He flatly forbade her to go into "that priest's church" and thus embarrass him publicly. He ordered her, on the day of the funeral, to accompany him on a trip to Linz. Klara did not dare disobey.[107]

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Hitler attending grade school in Leonding

which had become "the entire German people's place of honor," "Quite tiny and primitive. I am led to the room which was his realm. Small and low-ceilinged. This is where he designed plans and dreamed of the future. Then there's the kitchen, where his good mother used to cook. Behind that the garden, where little Adolf picked apples and pears at night . . . So this is where a genius developed. I'm beginning to feel quite sublime and solemn."[29]

The nine-year-old entered the village school in Leonding, where he was a *happy rogue*[30] and saw himself as *a young scamp: Even as a boy I was no "pacifist," and all attempts to educate me in this direction came to nothing.*[31] One of his schoolmates from Leonding, later Abbot Balduin of Wilhering, recalled, and by no means unkindly: "Playing war, always nothing but playing war, even we kids found that boring after a while, but he always found some children, particularly among the younger ones, who would play with him."[32] Otherwise, young Hitler practiced his "favorite sport" shooting at rats with his handgun in the cemetery next to his parents' house.[33]

Around 1900 the Boer War, when the southern African Boer republics tried to fight off their English conquerors, excited many Austrians. The German nationalists firmly endorsed, even enthusiastically welcomed, "David's fight against Goliath," the "poor farmers' freedom fight" against British imperialism. Signatures and money were collected in support of the Boers. Boer marches and Boer songs were composed. Boer hats, herrings, and sausages—still popular in Vienna—became fashionable.[34]

For young Hitler, the Boer War was bonafide *summer lightning: Every day I waited impatiently for the newspapers and devoured dispatches and news reports, happy at the privilege of witnessing this heroic struggle even at a distance.*[35] The boys now preferred the game "Boers against the English,"

Although it is obviously risky to generalize about life-styles in the homes of any country, two observations about the German family can be made. Students of comparative family life have shown that German families tended to be more authoritarian than those of other countries and that authoritarian values were maintained over a longer period of time. A careful sociological study based on interviews with many different age groups of Germans who spent their childhood, variously, under the Empire, the Republic, and the Nazis concluded that "the basic premises of German family life show no significant difference during these 76 years [1870–1946]. . . ." [110]

Ehrfurcht, the German word used to express the proper and traditional attitude towards the father of the family, is normally translated "respect." But it connotes far more than that, for it combines, quite literally, "honor-fear." The continuing force of the idea is suggested by the fact that even after the collapse of Hitler's dictatorship, 73 percent of the 2,000 Germans questioned in 1946 agreed with the following statement: "The word of the father has to be an inflexible law in the family."

The passive mother was expected to devote her life to her "three K's." She should show affection and concern for her children, but she was not to interfere with the father's prerogative of determining family policy and dominating the group. After World War II, 70 percent of German women chose the words "a bad wife" as the best way of completing the sentence "A mother who interferes when a father is punishing his son is. a bad wife"

Additional features of German family life should be noted. There was a tendency to adhere to set patterns and to feel uncomfortable when obliged to deviate from a position once taken. The German father found it very difficult to admit mistakes or to yield a point in discussion. To do so was generally considered *weiblich* (effeminate). The father also asserted his masculine power by insisting that the children live up to his demanding expectations. Since the child was afraid of failure, he tried to avoid mistakes by constant repetition and compulsive thoroughness in performing household tasks.

Obedience was the greatest virtue in the family, but it was also a defense. From his earliest years, the German child learned that compliance was the key to safe relationships with his parents. Hence he tended to feel comfortable in yielding to authority and uneasy when given too much freedom. The importance of obedience in family training was emphasized by Rudolf Hoess, who, under Hitler, became commandant of the death camp at Auschwitz. He also spoke for many of his generation in emphasizing the virtues of cleanliness:

> I was perpetually washing and bathing . . . this passion for water remains with me to this day. I had been brought up by my parents to be respectful and obedient toward all grown-up people . . . it

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overprotectiveness and a withdrawal occasioned by pregnancy or obedience to Alois' insistence upon iron discipline. Sometimes, as in Passau, the boy was utterly free; on other occasions he was rigidly controlled. During much of the earlier period he was lost among the other children, but in Lambach he was suddenly thrust forward as the family's heir apparent.

This random, transient manner of life imposed heavy burdens on a young child. All schools of child psychology agree that a clear, continuous, dependable, and purposeful system of love and guidance is of the utmost importance in the healthy development of a child.[40] The young Hitler simply did not have this kind of family environment. Nevertheless, that he was able to hold the external features of his life together in a way that allowed him to function effectively both at home and at school suggests a rather unusual degree of youthful self-confidence and tenacity. On the other hand, character traits cannot completely escape environmental influences, and the boy still faced difficult obstacles to adjustment.

Adolf's undoing was the impossibility of making time stand still. He was due to finish elementary school in the spring of 1900, and at that time the basic decisions about his future education and career would have to be made. Already, he was edging into adolescence with its exciting but often painful problems. Given a background of long-standing opposition to his father's outlook, the chances for a successful transition along lines his parents might favor were problematical. Just as the time came when these questions would have to be faced, Adolf's little brother Edmund died of measles on February 2, 1900.[41] The whole family passed through a phase of shock. As it receded, one fact emerged clearly: Adolf was the last of the boys – the only individual capable of carrying on the upward march of the family. In the preceding months, decisions about his future had seemed important, but not critical. After Edmund's death, all this changed. The responsibility for preserving the family name and vindicating all his father's efforts devolved upon him.

[40] This is a central thesis of Erikson's *Childhood and Society*. Erikson, *passim*.

[41] Edmund's death certificate. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.

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like Hitler, survive when others have perished. Moreover, he was denied several of the usual ways that man has sought to achieve victory over the grave. His religious faith was not the kind that vouchsafed salvation in a Christian heaven; he could not live on in posterity through his children. He sought other solutions to his problem: he would erect imperishable buildings and monuments; he would perform military feats that would win him eternal fame as "the greatest field commander of all time." When that was denied him, in the end he may have hoped to achieve historical immortality through truly monumental destruction.

The feeling of special mission which, we are suggesting, resulted in part from his survival fantasies was also strengthened in childhood by the defense mechanism of omnipotence. This defense is often used by both monorchids and borderline personalities to counteract feelings of insecurity and inferiority. The imperiousness and insistence on having his own way which Adolf began to manifest in early childhood were evidences of the strong unconscious conviction such personalities often harbor: that it is their right as special and privileged individuals to expect gratification and homage from others.

Clinical studies of disturbed children who have survived the death of a sibling rival show another symptom which we have found in Hitler: his resistance to growing old, his difficulty in maturing. Child psychologists have found that sibling survivors may be so terrified by the thought of death that they seek to escape by remaining childlike and refusing to mature. The result may be a kind of "defensive regression" into infantilism. When the mother (like Klara Hitler) is excessively protective toward "the only little boy I have left," the death phobia and the desire to remain childlike are both intensified. Many survivors also try to surmount their fear of dying by insisting (as did Hitler) that they live a charmed life, that others can't kill them, that they alone would survive dangers fatal to other people.[115]

Hitler's lifelong fear of death had larger historical consequence. As his future career would show so clearly, he tried to exorcise personal death fears by killing others. The more power he had in deciding that other people must die—the more he commanded death—the less he felt its horror for himself. Apart from the calculated murder of millions of "inferior" people, we should note the way he received news late in the war that his personal SS division, the elite *Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler*, was being decimated on the Eastern Front. When a staff officer reported that the number of deaths in Hitler's personal division was very great, he was startled by his Führer's exultant reply, "Losses can never be too high!"[116]

We have been suggesting that the period 1900–1901, when young Adolf was in his 12th year, was unusually important to his personal development. The boy who had been the star pupil of village schools began

to fail; the outwardly cocky [illegible] hood games became the [illegible] cent who talked to trees [illegible] with his parents, caricatured [illegible] only guess at the reasons for [illegible] quite sure that they were not [illegible] that the traumatic experience [illegible] During Adolf's earliest years [illegible] and fear had sent down deep [illegible] during this bitter year by [illegible] and tragic funeral of his broth[illegible] his own survival, a reinforcem[illegible] mother; the transition from [illegible] urban *Realschule*. And all the [illegible] the age when disturbed [illegible] period of development. It was [illegible] father, things began to look up

"NEGATIVE IDENTITY":

Hitler remembered the years [illegible] his mother lived in a comforta[illegible] happiest time of his life. The [illegible] whistle for him like a dog, den[illegible] questions about school work an[illegible] His doting mother drew on her [illegible] the sale of her house in Leondi[illegible] in a life of leisure as critic [illegible] capital, he joined the local [illegible] performance of the Linz [illegible] shirts, flowing cravats with [illegible] a confident angle, and well-cu[illegible] young men of the town. In wi[illegible] For the opera he affected bla[illegible] stick, and a top hat.[117]

Thus did Adolf assume [illegible] identity"—that is, he took on a [illegible] he knew his father would ha[illegible] showed active contempt for [illegible] playing, as Erikson has show[illegible] father but also a kind of per[illegible] fantasize one's self by assumin[illegible] painfully for genuine self-defin[illegible]

school failure. Occasionally boasting about "the ridiculously easy learning in school,"[14] he was quick to fall back on the time-honored practice of parent blaming when bad grades on his report card triggered his father's anger. There can be little disagreement that Alois was a disciplinarian who insisted his son must stop dreaming about becoming an artist and learn to enjoy the security of a career in the Austrian government. Alois tried to persuade his son to choose as he did: His career worked well for him and provided steady employment, middle-class standing, and respect in the community. However, young Adolf did not yield to pressure and meant to outlast his father: "I thought my father saw how little progress I was making . . . [and] would let me devote myself to my dreams."[15]

The brewing disaster in school peaked after Hitler entered the *Realschule* in Linz in 1900. There is much evidence to indicate that Hitler was troubled by a severe learning disability and was not able to write or spell well.[16] These dyslexic difficulties contributed to Hitler's lack of academic success, and for him school learning became a most challenging task and, like his resentment about the structured aspects of student life, undermined his motivation. The resulting dislike for academic discipline shook his confidence so severely that he turned against the academic world with a vengeance, unwilling to forget the repeated humiliations of his student days. He sought compensatory success in oratory, which he came to master. This talent was to become his principle tool when practicing his demagoguery as a political agitator later on in life.

Hitler's teachers wrote alarming comments about his lack of intellectual growth when he was still in his first year in high school. One of his leading biographers believed his school difficulties were detrimental to his later development and that credence should be given to Johann Recktenwald's speculation about a bout with epidemic encephalitis. Bradley Smith explained that this disease "may have produced a dramatic change in character and personality . . . which might account for Hitler's sudden failure in school and accompanying personality troubles."[17]

Hitler found consolation in the freedom of his fantasies about artistic self-realization. He discovered in the town of Linz an opportunity to indulge in grandiose plans for urban renewal. Linz was to become the town of youthful dreams of glory. The images of a rebuilt city accompanied him throughout his life until the last moment before his violent death. It was in Linz, not Braunau, his place of birth, nor Vienna, where he suffered so miserably after his hopes to be an artist were so cruelly dashed, that his fantastic visions of architectural success were kindled.

Linz was the Austrian provincial capital of about 60,000 inhabitants in the heart of the German-speaking region. It was a big city for a young boy who had grown up in small rural settings. It was also the town in which Hitler had the only human relationship of any consequence in the early part of his life. The passive and receptive August Kubizek became the

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Klara Pölzl

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The most outstanding trait in my friend's character was, as I had experienced myself, the unparalleled consistency in everything that he said and did. There was in his nature something firm, inflexible, immovable, obstinately rigid, which manifested itself in his profound seriousness and was at the bottom of all his other characteristics. Adolf simply could not change his mind or his nature. Everything that lay in these rigid precincts of his being remained unaltered for ever. How often did I experience this! I remember what he said to me when we met again in 1938 after an interval of thirty years. "You haven't changed, Kubizek, you have only grown older." If this was true of me, how much more was it of him! He never changed.

I have tried to find an explanation for this fundamental trait in his character. Influence of surroundings and education can hardly account for it, but I could imagine — although a complete layman in the field of genetics — that the biological effect of the intermarriage in the family was to fix certain spheres and that those "arrested complexes" have produced that particular type of character. It was just this inflexibility that was responsible for Adolf Hitler's causing such innumerable sorrows to his mother.

Once more the mother's heart was sorely tried by destiny. Five years after Adolf's birth, on March 24, 1894, she gave birth to a fifth child, a son, Edmund, who also died young, on June 29, 1900, in Leonding. Although Adolf had no recollection of the first three children in Braunau, and never spoke of them, he could clearly remember his brother Edmund, at the time of whose death he was already eleven years old. He told me once that Edmund had died of diphtheria. The youngest child, a girl called Paula, born on January 21, 1896, survived.

Thus, an early death had deprived Klara Hitler of four of her six children. Perhaps her mother's heart was broken by these terrible trials. Only one thing remained, the care

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PORTRAIT OF HIS MOTHER

(1900) 35

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* D.T.: the D.K. is not without his own variety of mortal choice. Death is much more in his habits

Most of us got sick of it, but Hitler always managed to find some who would play with him, usually younger boys.'

In this period, as Hitler himself recorded in *Mein Kampf*, he came upon a number of military books in his father's library, among them two bound volumes of an illustrated magazine published during the Franco-Prussian War. I can remember these books myself. Large numbers were sold in Austria about that time and before I was twelve years old I had pored over them and pestered my grandfather with questions. The illustrations, I remember, were swarming with German spiked helmets and littered with dead Frenchmen. These books, wrote Hitler, 'now became my favourite reading. I seemed to experience the titanic battle in my innermost being. More and more my enthusiasms were drawn towards war and soldiering.'

Adolf and his father

In his book, *At the Gallows-Foot*, which Hans Frank, the former Reich Minister of Justice, wrote while under sentence of death in Nürnberg prison, there occurs the following passage:

'Many a time the boy Adolf had to fetch his father from the inn at a late hour after the latter's evening indulgence! In 1930, in course of a conversation about his family in general, Hitler himself told me: "When I was ten or twelve I had to go late at night to this stinking, smoke-filled tavern. I made no attempt to spare his feelings. I went straight up to the table where my father sat staring at me doltishly, and shook him. 'Father,' I would say, 'it's time for you to come home! Up you get!' And often I had to stand for a quarter of an hour or more, pleading and scolding before I could get him to his legs. Then I supported him home. I have never felt so horribly ashamed. Oh Frank! I know what a demon alcohol can be! Because of my father, it was the bane of my youth." '

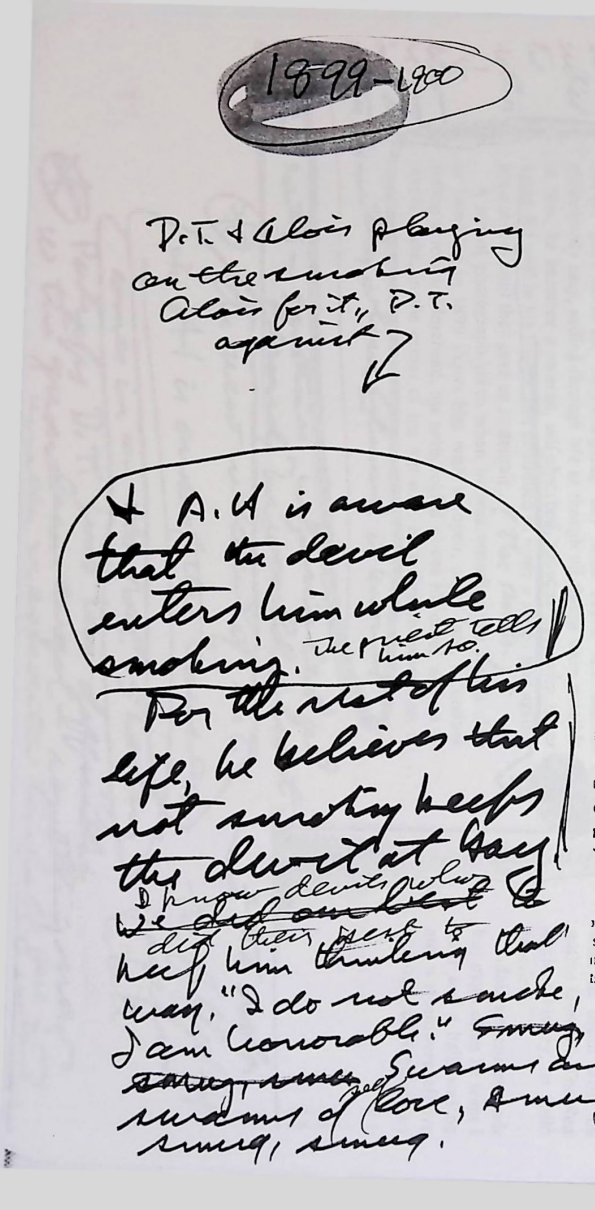
Even if Hitler said this, it cannot have been true. Firstly, it is in complete contradiction with his own statement in *Mein Kampf* that he respected his father. Secondly, it contradicts the known facts about Alois Hitler's mode of life. Five individuals with

whom I have spoken, who knew him well, have each assured me that he never got drunk. And a habitual drunkard of the kind Frank portrays would hardly have received the eulogistic obituary which was printed in the Linz *Tagespost*, nor would he have left—as Alois Hitler did—both unencumbered real property and a fair sum in ready cash. Moreover, we know that every evening, for as long as he was in Leonding, Alois Hitler went to one of the four inns there to attend a so-called *Bürgerabend*, an informal social gathering of respectable citizens, held, then as now, in each of the inns in turn for the purpose of good talk and good company, but certainly not with the object of getting drunk. If Alois Hitler had been a notorious drunkard, he would sooner or later have been asked to leave.

As a corrective to this story, there is the far more plausible assertion of Adolf's guardian, Mayrhofer, that Alois Hitler was often obliged to go out and look for his son in the evenings, when the latter had stayed out too late with his playfellows.

It is also said that Adolf used to get merciless beatings from his father. This is based on an alleged remark of Angela's to her half-brother, 'Adolf, do you remember how mother and I used to hang on to father's uniform coat tails when he was trying to hit you?' But Alois Hitler ceased to wear uniform when he retired in June 1895, and during the year preceding his retirement he had been living away from his family. The 'beatings' must then have taken place when Adolf was only five, or even younger—in other words, they never took place at all.

It is true that the Führer himself once told his secretaries that his father had given him thirty stripes in the small of the back, but that, like a Red Indian under torture, he had never made the smallest sound. Apart from the fact that Hitler related this in the same breath as other fabulous Red Indian stories, we know that he was addicted to acting the hero before the young ladies of his entourage and there is no reason whatever to believe this improbable story. For one thing, his father was far too responsible a man to have administered so savage a punishment, and moreover in the Leonding period, to which the tale refers, he was in his sixties and past caring much about young Adolf's misdemeanours.



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tots, Paula and Edmund, were bothersome, but safe enough under Klara's protective wing. Angela, fourteen at the time of the family's arrival in Lambach, was preparing for the role of mother and household organizer; she was able to slide in alongside Klara and achieve immunity from the sharpest clashes with her surly father. Only Adolf had no secure haven. He was still too young to stand on his own feet, yet too advanced to enjoy the security of Klara's apron strings.

At ten, Adolf, although still a constant victim of his father's discontent, appears to have devised ways of making life bearable. His responsibilities as the oldest son may have served as an outlet for a growing need to participate in the adult world. He seems to have been spared the intense feelings of jealousy and guilt which often assail children at this age.[28] He continued his schooling at the relatively modern elementary school in Lambach, and his record there remained excellent. His father, who enjoyed singing, seems to have provided the incentive for the boy to take voice lessons at the choir school in the local monastery.[29] During this period Adolf temporarily thought of becoming a monk, but the mood passed quickly. Such ambitions could receive no sympathy from his father; they also clashed with his own aggressive and competitive temperament.[30] Even while dreaming of a monastic life, he was caught by a priest in the act of smoking a cigarette, the great boyhood crime.[31] The indiscretion caused problems at school, but it is unlikely that it made serious trouble at home. Alois appreciated smoking more than he did priests. Neither this incident nor the passing attraction of the religious life was important in Adolf's development. In Lambach as in Hafeld, it was on the childish campaign trail or the make-believe scalping expeditions that he came to life. No matter what the game, he took his place as an enthusiastic participant.[32]

The frustrations and conflicts experienced by Alois made commu-

[28] *Erikson*, pp. 225-26.
[29] *Mein Kampf*, p. 6; *Jetzinger* (G), p. 73; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 53.
[30] *Mein Kampf*, p. 6. The existence of a stylized swastika above the door of this monastery once caused a great flurry of interest, but it was a coincidence and played no part in Hitler's development. Heinz A. Heinz, *Germany's Hitler* (London, 1934), p. 18; "La premiere recontre d'Hitler avec la croix gammee . . . ," *Illustration*, November 4, 1933, pp. 322-23.
[31] *Reich*, p. 17.
[32] "Aus Adolf Hitlers Jugendland," *HA*, File 17, Reel 1A.

still pined for a farm where he could end his days working the land and looking after his beehives. In November, 1898, he bought a small property in the little village of Leonding on the outskirts of the provincial city of Linz. With the house went half an acre of land, and it was therefore known as the garden house. Next to the property was the local cemetery, and the village church was across the way.

It was a pleasant, solid, capacious house with a tiled roof and two chimneys, and there were many trees in the small garden. Alois set up his beehives, and Adolf went to the local *Volksschule,* or elementary school, where as usual he did well. Klara busied herself about the house, looking after the young children, Paula and Edmund, and keeping an eye on Angela and Adolf, who were both mischievous. Josef Mayrhofer, who knew the family well, remembered that Klara came to his house to buy vegetables two or three times a week, always neatly dressed and always friendly, saying: "I can't stay, because there is so much work waiting for me."

Alois was a creature of habit, and every day was like every other day. In the morning he worked in his garden, and there would be the inevitable visit to the Gasthaus Stiefler for a drink with his cronies. In the evening there would be another round of drinks at one of the local inns. Josef Mayrhofer remembered that Alois went to church only on the Emperor's birthday, and that although he was strict with his family, his bark was worse than his bite. He never struck his children, but he would sometimes say to Adolf: "You little wretch, I'll give you a beating!" without ever carrying out the threat. Adolf tended whenever possible to stay out of his father's way.

About a year after the family began to live in Leonding, Edmund, who was nearly six years old, died of measles. It was the first time Adolf had encountered death, and the death of his brother left a deep psychological wound, which perhaps never completely healed. We know almost nothing about the circumstances of Edmund's death, and we can only guess at the bonds of affection between the two brothers, but it is certain that there was a dramatic change in Adolf's character during the year following his brother's death. From being a rather cocky, good-humored, outward-going boy who found his lessons ridiculously easy, sailing through life as though all things were possible to him, he becomes a morose, self-absorbed, nervous boy, who never again did well in his lessons and continued to wage a sullen war against his teachers until they gave up in despair.

A school photograph taken when he was attending the fourth class at Leonding in 1899 shows him with an open, eager face, a forelock falling across his forehead, his arms folded across his chest, and as he stands there, in the center of the top row, he wears an expression of

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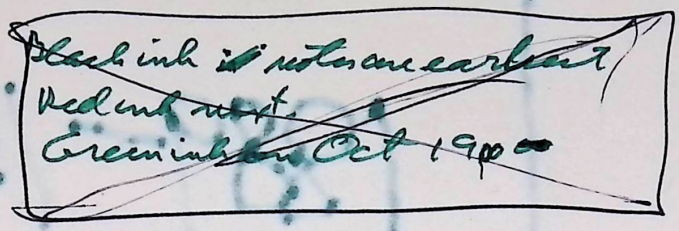
calm self-assurance and conscious ease. A photograph taken in the following year, when he was attending the *Realschule* at Linz, shows him looking glumly and moodily at the camera, and there is no trace of his former self-assurance.

Quite suddenly something had snapped within him: a sickness of the soul or a sickness of the flesh. Exactly what caused this abrupt change in his character must remain unknown, but the death of Edmund was probably the main cause, outweighing all others. Whenever he looked out of the bedroom window, he would be reminded of Edmund, for the grave lay just behind the high cemetery wall. Alois and Klara, too, were inconsolable, for they had lost four of their children and feared for the remaining two.

Years later, when Adolf had become famous, journalists would sometimes descend on Leonding and ask the villagers what they remembered about him. They remembered him climbing the apple trees, or playing at Red Indians, or pretending to be a Boer soldier fighting against the English, for the Boer War had broken out in 1899. Many people remembered him standing on a hill near Leonding, his arms waving as he commanded his followers to attack. They remembered how old Alois Hitler would sometimes put two fingers to his mouth and there would come a shrill whistle. Immediately Adolf would stop whatever he was doing and run to his father, whose broad shoulders, fierce drooping mustache, and air of authority exacted instant obedience. And they remembered that in the presence of his father he was quiet and humble. But they also remembered a curious detail that had nothing in common with their other memories. They said Adolf was sometimes seen at night sitting on the cemetery wall, gazing up at the stars.

The Linz *Realschule*, which Adolf entered in September, 1900, when he was eleven years old, provided a four-year course of education, equivalent to a high school. Unlike the *Gymnasium*, which emphasized a classical education and prepared the student for the university and a professional career, the *Realschule* emphasized science and modern languages and prepared the student for a career in technology and engineering. In the *Gymnasium* a student learned Latin and Greek until he could write those ancient languages almost as well as his native German. The *Realschule* had no courses in Latin and Greek, or ancient history, or philosophy, or art, and the teaching was severely practical.

Adolf sometimes made the journey from Leonding to Linz on foot, but more often he went by train. The journey on foot, lasting about an hour and a half, was not unpleasant, for there were rolling meadows and watchtowers left over from the days when the Austrians feared the approach of Napoleon's army, and there were also some ruined castles.



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General

Alois ~~Jr.~~ Jr. & Beatings

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~~Move from Bannon to Passau~~

~~Adolf alone in Hare~~

~~Retu~~ Retirement

Death of Edmund.

1889 – 1895

1889 – 1895

1889 – 1895

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also Bruckner & Freud

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Bruckner + Lohengrin
Dates & events 1887 – 1903

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paradise to the Hitler children, but one cannot help feeling surprised that a gregarious town-dweller like Alois Hitler should have chosen such solitude for his retirement. His longing for a house and some land of his own, noticed by Emanuel Lugert, must have been powerful indeed.

After some trouble I succeeded in obtaining a copy of the relevant extract from the Land Register and this reveals the date of purchase (already given), the place, namely Wels, and the fact that the property was registered in the joint names of Alois and Klara Hitler. The actual Deeds of Sale and Purchase were unfortunately unobtainable, having presumably been confiscated by the Nazis, and a rough idea of the purchase price must therefore be obtained from similar transactions concluded at that time. These suggest that Alois Hitler must have paid not less that 5000 gulden for the estate (about £440), of which four-fifths was probably in cash. How did he raise the money? Presumably from his wife's dowries. Carefully invested, these would have supplied almost the whole of the sum required.

Suitable though it was, no doubt, for apiculture, the nine-acre property could hardly thrive, or pay its way, on bee-keeping alone. In fact, to make a profit from the land, as he intended, Alois would have needed long experience of farming and a considerable capital. But he possessed neither, and so from the start lost money. Within two years, however, his business sense triumphed and, though it meant the end of his long-cherished dream of landed proprietorship, he decided to sell, finding a purchaser in the spring of 1897 and concluding the sale of the freehold on 21st June in that year. The Land Register records that the new owner was a Dr. Conrad Ritter von Zdekauer. Thereafter the estate changed hands no less than eleven times in twenty years, until ultimately, in 1938 the ownership was vested in Martin Bormann as trusteee of the National Socialist Party.

In a letter dated 29th December 1901, addressed to his former neighbour in Hafeld, a wood-pulp supplier by the name of Wührer, Alois Hitler wrote:

'. . . I have heard that Frau von Zdekauer is proposing to sell the *Rauschergut* again—to yet another party from Vienna. It provides a pleasant change for such people for a year or two and they are the richer by one lesson at any rate, namely that everything has got to be learnt. But she will not find it easy to sell in the winter-time. Should the lady, as I believe, no longer be keeping bees, but still retain the empty hives, among them two three-tier hives which I made in Hafeld from poplar wood, you might buy them back for me, just as a memento of my activities there.'

In early July 1897 the Hitler family moved into lodgings in Lambach, at first to the *Schmiedmühle*, so called, and then, as soon as they could find better accommodation, to a flat in the centre of the town. In those pleasant and, at that time, prosperous surroundings, they lived for eighteen months. But Alois Hitler had not lost the desire for a house of his own, nor did he overlook the fact that real property was the safest form of investment.

The sole surviving documents in Alois Hitler's own hand

The following letter was addressed to the Board of Inland Revenue in Linz and dated 19th September 1895. The handwriting is even and accurate. The grammar, spelling and syntax of the German original are beyond reproach. A glance at the original, or a photostat copy, is enough to disprove the tenacious legend that Alois Hitler drank too much; obviously a man of fifty-eight who could write so neatly cannot have been a drunkard. The text reads:

'The most respectfully undersigned was transferred to permanent retirement by order Z 931/F.Pr. of 25th June 1895.

As the undersigned was not an official accountant, he takes the liberty of requesting approval for the release and return of his caution money which is the property of Johann Murauer, householder of No. 7, Theatergasse, Braunau-on-Inn.

old, did not gain any significance until later, when Hitler could interpret it as *fate: For this little town lies on the boundary between two German states which we of the younger generation at least have made it our life work to reunite by every means at our disposal.*[19]

Family relations were complicated. Adolf was the product of his father's third marriage, to Klara née Pölzl, who was twenty-three years her husband's junior. Adolf, his mother's fourth child, was the first one to survive. In the household were also two half-siblings from the father's second marriage, Alois Jr., born in 1882, and Angela, born in 1883. In addition, there was "Haniaunt," Johanna Pölzl, Mother's hunchbacked and apparently feebleminded sister, who helped with the household chores.[20]

The Marriages of Alois Hitler, né Schicklgruber 1837–1903

1. 1873 Anna Glassl 1823–1883, 1880 divorced
2. 1883 Franziska Matzelsberger 1861–1884
3. 1885 Klara Pölzl 1860–1907

- a) Alois 1882–1956, 1) ∞ Bridget → William Patrick Hitler
- b) Angela 1883–1949, ∞ Raubal → Angelika Raubal, among others
- a) Gustav 1885–1887
- b) Ida 1886–1888
- c) Otto, d. after birth
- d) Adolf 1889–1945
- e) Edmund 1894–1900
- f) Paula 1896–1960, single → no children

Family life was not peaceful: the father had fits of rage and battered his oldest son, Alois, who in turn was jealous of Adolf, pampered by his young mother. The half-brother remarked about Adolf, "He was spoiled from early in the morning until late at night, and the stepchildren had to listen to endless stories about how wonderful Adolf was." But Adolf, too, was beaten by his father. According to Alois Jr., once Alois was even afraid he had killed Adolf.[21]

Between 1892 and 1895 Alois went to work in Passau, on the

J: 'You don't look as if beer drinking had ever been your favourite pastime!'

Lugert: 'No, it hasn't! But there was nothing else to do in a God-forsaken spot like that. Besides, I used to get my meals at the inn and Alois wouldn't hear of me staying away. Once, the night before my medical examination for military training, I was not too keen to go drinking and I locked myself in my room. So Alois fetched a ladder and harangued me through the window until I gave in! He was always cheerful, and good company; interested in anything to do with agriculture—bee-keeping was his speciality. He was supposed to have contributed to some technical journal, but I've never read his articles myself. He got on well with everyone, the priest included; he used to enjoy talking to him. Alois was always saying he wanted a house of his own with a little livestock-raising in a small way—by that, of course, he meant bees.'

J: 'Wasn't he very fond of laying down the law?'

Lugert: 'Well, the farmers looked up to him because of his position, and I was too much his junior to take umbrage at that.'

J: 'Did you talk politics much?'

Lugert: 'No. You know yourself, people didn't in those days, not in the country, anyway. I read somewhere later that Alois Hitler had been a supporter of Schönerer, in other words, an ultra-Nationalist, but he couldn't have been—his greatest friend was a Czech!'

J: 'No. I suppose he was a free-thinking Liberal, like most self-made men.'

Lugert: 'Yes, something of the kind, though we never discussed religion. . . . Alois Hitler was a restless individual, always taking something up and then dropping it again.'

J: 'Did he drink a lot?'

Lugert: 'A couple of pints—seldom more than three; three-and-a-half at the outside. And beer was strong in those days. But he had a good head. I never saw him tight, and he always started back home in good time for supper.'

J: 'What about smoking?'

Lugert: 'Like a chimney! The thicker the atmosphere, the better, as far as he was concerned. But a pipe-smoker only, hardly ever a cigar.'

J: 'Would his local allowance of 200 gulden have covered his personal expenses, would you say—beer, tobacco and the rest?'

Lugert: 'I should think so.'

J: 'So that the whole of his salary would go to maintain his family?'

Lugert: 'Yes. Most men in the Customs Service used to manage it that way—those that set any store by proper domestic economy, that is.'

J: 'And was Alois Hitler one of them?'

Lugert: 'Definitely, though I remember thinking that when I got married, I should want more family life than he had. Alois hardly saw his family at all.'

J: 'Did you ever visit them in their lodgings?'

Lugert: 'Once or twice. Considering there were children, they were kept pretty tidy.'

J: 'What was his wife like?'

Lugert: 'Frau Klara? She was about the same height as her husband, five foot six or seven, dark-brown, almost black hair, blue eyes. . . . She was very quiet and subdued. She seemed a disappointed woman.'

Lugert went on to say that she was simply but neatly dressed, and her children had good, clean clothes. In a letter to me some time after our conversation, Lugert wrote: 'I must agree with you that Alois Hitler was not an exemplary "pater familias" and that it was his wife who had to bear the main burden. I knew that he had been married three times, but he never spoke about his wives. I remember him saying that his name had formerly been Schicklgruber. . . .'

After serving in Haibach, it so happened that Lugert was posted to Linz at the same time as Alois Hitler, in the spring of

II

31 95 Alois ~~Jr. fight~~ (N)
AH in school
Church for K, not for Alois → exploration & bees. his resentment of God ~~God~~ – no direct was there for me And where was he for Klara. (also insert farm)
Alois & beating DTN

32 95 Alois' economics

33 95 date? N on farm purchase.
bee-keeping

34 95 retired – Bee-stings
AH in boys chose

35 { 95 AH as spiral – family of hunchback – he wasn't. Alois tells him this.
95 immortal unconscious DTN

36 94 ~~95~~ Birth of Edmund
1900 same page important note
on striking his mother (1895?) (N)

37 ~~[illegible]~~ 00 – Klara not at Edmund's burial (N) DTN

38 95 * AH being thrashed K outside door DTN

39 95-97 Choral singing, bee-keeping (N), farm sold

40 95 – Move to Hafeld. Enters school

47 95 – Build to fight w Alois Jr. Farming difficulty

48 95-6 – Farming difficulties (N) Fight w Alois. Defaulting
AH now in forefront

49 95 – Alois in Linz, Klara in Passau w Edmund. earlier

50 95 – Troubles w Rauscher Gat. (N)

51 R 95-98 Early school reports

52 — 95-6 ~~Defaulting of Alois Jr.~~ Beating of AH DTN

53
54 — 96 Alois Jr. on AH's tantrums

55 97 Monastery singing. – swastika. religious intensity beauty

56 { 97 Able to see the swastika from window.
~~[illegible]~~ 00 – bio material on Alois Jr's troubles

57 96 – fight w Alois Jr. & Alois. (N)

57 earlier 95 – Retirement – Czech difficulties

51aa 97 – Sale of farm. (letter from 01)

58 99 – Playing at war in Leonding. Shooting of rats Boy war

* Edmund's birth bites off an ugly stroke in him.

DN might surf he knows how bad it will be?

1898

Lambach 1700 inhabitants
In 1899 (early) move to rooms
on the second floor of a mill
run by a man named Zoelly
a miller. See p 60XX

1897

Alois & Klara. She takes care of Bee-string.

(1896) Alois falls out of tree. (bump on his p177 Longw.
desire to sell the farm. Big depression.

p11 Longw. ← Alois Jr. won't work the hives p138 Longw.
~~Alois~~ Swarm after swarm departs — 1897
1896 Alois attacks the hives after being stung badly
Longw p122.

also p97, p95, p91, p90
Alo in bar Longw p107 description of Swan Bee
Bartsch p86.

Leingartner Inn

→ First interest for Adi in
sells house in June, 1897. Family
moves to Lambach. Live first in a lodging house
then second floor of a mill (56a)
Grade school in Lambach 31a
Benedictine boys choir school 55a
Smoking a cigarette. The swastika 55a + 56a
~~The fight w Alois? Yelm 1905 or 97.~~
~~dialogue 56a~~
Adi thinks of the fight while listening
to the music
See note p39a

p52a — Alo beats Adi (reason?)
D. Tr's remarks.

Clarify for yourself Leonding + Lambach

III

59 99 – school in Lambach. smoking

60 99 – house near cemetery is bought in Leonding. (4 years later, dies there in 1903)

61 99 – Description of house.
Death of Edmund 1900.
School photo 99 in Leonding
(N) on death of Edmund in 00

62 00 – Milk runs for DT-DTN

63 00 – At at war we kids. – enters Realschule *

64 00 – Note might go back to 92. ?

65 00 – Alois not allowing subordinates to smoke on duty. (N) – petty tyrants.

66 00 – Tavern talk.

67 06 – ~~[illegible]~~ first visit to Vienna

68 38 – Destruction of Dollersheim

69 39 – Odor + race. (also 29, scene and [illegible])

* alpha + Omega
Two + intense He is eleven + seven
common to many boys.

4

amuse himself with such an obvious pun. Adolf, who was now living in a well-designed building at the corner of the Linzerstrasse and the Kirchengasse, could see the swastika from the window of his father's apartment, and he saw it more clearly when he went to school. Abbot Theodorich von Hagen's swastika was probably the ancestor of the Nazi *Hakenkreuz*.

About this time Alois Hitler's eldest son, Alois Jr., left the family roof. He was the black sheep of the family and no good news ever came from him. In 1900 he was arrested and sentenced to five months' imprisonment for theft, and two years later he received another sentence, this time of eight months' imprisonment. He wandered to Germany and France, practicing the trade of a waiter. In 1909 we find him in Dublin, and in the following year he became the owner of a small restaurant in Liverpool, where he married an Irish girl, Elizabeth Dowling, and fathered a son, William Patrick Hitler. Shortly before World War I he abandoned his wife and settled in Germany. In 1924 he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the provincial court of Hamburg for bigamy, and when his half-brother came to power he opened a bar and restaurant in Berlin on the Wittenbergplatz. It was much frequented by Nazi officers, who were not unaware that Alois was closely related to the dictator of Germany. The restaurant and bar, called Café Alois, prospered, and Alois himself survived the war. A son, Heinz, by one of his many marriages, fought in the war against Russia and was taken prisoner. He, too, survived, returning to Germany many years later. In 1945 Alois Hitler changed his name to Hans Hiller, and nothing more was ever heard of him.

Although Alois Jr. was the black sheep, he was probably the happiest member of the family. He had an earthy robust character, charmed women, and lived by his wits. He was always inventing schemes for getting rich quickly, and most of them came to grief. Neither prison nor poverty soured him. He was unfailingly good-humored and polite, even when he was about to be sentenced by a judge or when he was abandoning his latest wife. He was one of those who enjoy life to the full.

The unhappiest member of the family was Paula, who was born on January 21, 1896. She was the last of Klara's six children, and the most docile. Quiet and easily led, she faded into the background almost from the day of her birth and spent most of her life in obscurity. She never married, and died in 1960 as quietly as she had lived.

The family at Lambach now consisted of Alois, Klara, and the four children, Angela, Adolf, Edmund, and Paula. At first they lived in a lodging house in the center of the town, but later they moved into an apartment on the second floor of a mill, where there was also a blacksmith's shop. The children appear to have enjoyed the move, but Alois

I

~~1903 Angela's marriage to Leo Lowe~~

1. 1894 March 24 Edmund born, died 1900 (measles (29, 2, 1900)
2. 1895 April – moved to Hafeld
3. ? year? 1893 Alois almost beats Adolf to death, or so he fears.
4. 1894 AH loves his situation, Angela + Alois, Jr. w school all day. Loves Parsan architecture
5. 1894 How important his father is. "Mommie, when you are the most beautiful woman in the world"
6. 1903 Alois' death. His pension was ~~[illegible]~~ 1000 florins
6 times the income of a lower Austrian day laborer (which he compares himself to)
7. any year – meine onkel Alois CK. Jr.
8. 1896 – we have been married for eleven years. He need to call me Mich. (concerns family that night)
9. 1895 Hafeld purchase. The ~~[illegible]~~ farm is called Wels. Pd 5 to 6000 gulden ($2,000 ?)
10. 1897 Sold Hafeld in spring to Dr. Conrad Ritter von Idekauer
Changed hands eleven times in 20 years. In 1938 ownership 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 Schmiedmühle the Schmiedmühle (inn or mill?) then to a flat in center of Lambach. Lived there 18 mo.
14. 1897–1899 – aforesaid flat in Lambach.
15. 1895 Alois retires age 58. 40 yrs of service
16. 1895 – Alois Jr. leaves Hafeld after fight w Alois (own bee-keeping) Fetters strings on numbers
17. 1897 – Selling house in Hafeld. – giving up the bee-keeping almost as great a loss as ~~[illegible]~~ retiring

Adolf is near-paralyzed by the extent of his father's fury.

18 1896 — After the fight, Alois, Jr. is disinherited. Alois half-enjoys bee-stings & I have taking them out — feels like the nearest he's ever had to a mother. Sees it as a cure for arthritis. Note — the fight to 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 & learns what pupils of second, third & fourth grades are learning.

20 1897 Move to Lambach — grade school in Lambach. A.H. joins Benedictine boys' choir school. CK — what songs could Alois sing, CKW Elke (solemn splendor of church festivals. (which ones, JMcN?)

A.H. "wonderfully exercising man's natural need for the supernatural — blessed music. Solemn rites, incense. [Believe him in God]" Thinks of becoming a priest. Whispers it to his mother who warns him. Klara goes to Sunday mass — Alois only on Emperor's birthday Aug 18.

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

22 1904 — the confirmation ceremony. More to follow.

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

24 1896 → Alois Jr's future — told by D.T.?

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

26 1896 (p 74 Early Years) → Alois jeers at his father.

27 1897 Beatings of Adolf begin — the
28 (p64A) emotional sweets of this for Adi.

29 1898 — Paula gives signs of being a little simple. Paula feels the family curse again.

III

30 1897 – p52A – typings Adi beaten badly. R.T. comment

31 1895 – with Alois working in Ling + Klara in Passau the family lives apart from the father for 12 mo.

32 1896 Hafeld – Alois experience at farming is 44 years (CK) in past. Alois, Jr. comments on this.

33 1898 move to Leonding (south of Ling) house bought for 7,700 kronor.

34 1897 (the abbot ruled his flock with all the authority of an ~~earth~~ earthly king." "It seemed to me perfectly natural to regard the abbot as the highest and most desirable ideal just as my father regarded the village priest as his ideal." Mein Kampf – don't miss a political trip

Another abbot ~~this~~ Theodorich von Hagen & his Hakenkreuz (swastika) see p55a

35 1896 The discovery that the land is not good comes in the months after buying the farm & contributes to Alois Jr. + Sr.'s fight. It eats at Alois that he was a peasant girl taken. One of his strengths with young officers had been that he came from peasant stock and [illegible] people were cheating him.

Now, peasant stock had also taken him in

36 1894 See strings (p 33a) a note on incest + guilt in Alois

37 1897 Move to Lambach July 1897. No good education for children. Tie into small schoolhouse for Adolf quarter at Gasthof Leitgartner.

Note: Lambach Temporary

38 1898 move to rooms on second floor of a mill. Miller named Zoeble + blacksmith ~~[illegible]~~ named Pressinger. Nonny for Klara. Lambach 1700 Alois back to the tavern p60 Alt's Early Childhood people

39 1896 After Alois Jr leaving Alois Sr. would whistle for Adolf like a dog. Herr Vater (41)

IV

~~p 449~~ 40 1898 shooting at rats in cemetery - variety of postures among dead rats playing at war.

58a 41 ~~1900~~ 1899 Boer war - Boer hats, herrings & sausages; adolf reads papers. Boers against English

42 1897 Bee strings - a disquisition by D.T. on why strong men have a masochistic streak. Introduction of Alpha-Omega.

43 59a 1899 Alois singing. Adi caught by

44 63a priest smoking. Close moment w/ father.

1900 Edmund dies - Change in Adi. ~~Ado~~ Also whistling to call him. Adolf sitting on cemetery wall, gaying at stars. Think of when he tried to make Edmund a warrior

45 63a 1900 September - enters Linz Realschule

46 66a Feb 23 1899 purchased one-story country house on ~~half~~ half-acre (cemetery wall adjacent) Adolf goes to 3rd elementary school.

1900 D.T. reference to cries of the dead. Echoes of Edmund.

47 1945 60a - Xerox reference to March 1945. Adolf in front of wooden model of Linz.

48 61a 1900 ~~Repeat of above plus~~ Adi's fear that his secret curses killed Edmund. The kids laugh at Edmund & thinking at Adi

49 35a 1900 look at the page - using D.T. theme in re: death of Edmund.

50 typed page 62a 1900 D.T.'s annoyance at milk-rims Celebration of new century. E.O's speech.

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 Reason for Klara not to go to funeral. - Alois is the bad one.

53 p70 1901 Realschule description

54 p71 1901 arguments over becoming an official

V

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

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

57 (168) 1900 Important D.T. comment on the death of Edmund.

58 (166) 1900 Still plays w younger kids. Older one near too tough. Cemetery - bodies of the dead rats mingle in his mind w the dead.

59 (167) 1900 Starts a fire. Cops & Robbers.

60 (159) 1900 Cleanliness
1943 ← Hoess - file.
~~1944~~

61 (105) 1944 Xerox & file

62 (105) 1900 After Edmund - "The only boy I have left."

63 64 1900 Death of Edmund Feb 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 1900 Bad in real-schule. Too used to young kids. Is rejected by fellow students. Description of real schule. Linz pop 60,000 Desc of Linz.

66 78 1900 Back in Leonding, younger kids all surround him - the master. Fails math & science (first year). His drawings are not hung.
1901-2 Repeats the first two semesters.

67 79 1902-4 Account of his promotions & failures. Teacher seem grimy and ugly.

68 (84) 1901 Ehr-furcht (honor-fear) Nur bewerklich feminin
1943 Hoess - quote Xerox & file.

69 83 1901 The cornflower. Beginnings of

70 84 1901 trust sense of blood, not borders.
D.T. to instruct him! - note 84 & 85

71 85 1901 Alois' counter reactions - adolf dares to leave him a little on Rudolf. Alois uses latin a lot now -

VI

72 ~~84~~ 1901 ~~[illegible]~~ weekly gatherings at "table societies"

73 (48+49 +50) 1901 burger's clubs. Talk of higher society. Alois' dreams + the heartburn that follows.

74 (17) 1900-1901 — More on real schools + disinterest of leaders. D.T. comment on Ego.

75 (62) 1900-1901 Mayerhofer + Alois on punishing Adolf.

76 (63) 1900 Alois not going to funeral. Scam w Adolf afterwards → but Klara sees him weeps

77 65 1900 Adi big among village children good in volksschule

78 1900 picture volume on war of 1870. Reading Karl May. See Waite p 137 Morse p 174. Karl May — one of D.T.'s clients.

79 68+69 1900 School alternatives Volksschule + after

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

81 (79) 1900 Enters Unterrealschule in Linz in Sept 1900. term is 10 months starting in mid-September

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

83 (82) 1900 Snobbery of upper class kids. A.H. from the plasents

84 (85) 1900 Reads Karl May + has fantasies about Alois.

85 (86) 1901 ~~[illegible]~~ Grimmelhausen.

86 (88) 1901 More on war games

87 (98) 1901 Slavization + Alois?

88 (95) 1902 The thrashings + Karl May at Hotel Roter Krebs in Linz.

89 (96) 1902 "table societies" School atmosphere in Linz.

90 (97) 1902 Salutes + arm raising

91 (4) 1902 Changes from Adi to Adel (noble)

92 (65) 1902 School grades

93 (91) 1905 16 Sept 1905 — Adolf's report card.

94 (96) 1902, 1903, 1904

95 (111) 1902→1908 Treitschke see Vvereck

VII

96 53 1902 Alois lectures Adolf on changing scene

97 (5) 1902 A bit of dialogue typed out Klaus + Alois

98 (xxx) 1902 See the note — surpassing the father. attach it to the mountains he must climb

99 (45) 1902 In tension w father up to discussion of school attitudes.

100 (44) 1902 Czechs in school + tension

101 (48) 1902-3 (More of the same)

102 (67) 1902-3 Sees Lohengrin in Linz. His first wagner

103 (68) 1902-3 Get synopsis from Internet or Encyclopedia Britten

104 (69) 1902-3 More on tension over Habsburgs + Germany

105 (72) 1902 visit to Customs office in Linz

1896 File

1897 Hafeld sold to Dr Conrad Ritter von Zdekauer (II)
a ~~knight~~ knight (a phony knight)
1901 letter dated Dec 29 from Alois Hitler
~~1895 letter~~ can be used to characterize the sale. (57aa)
1897 July moved back to Lambach, first
at the Schmiedmühle, then to an apartment
in town. There for 18 mo (until 1899 end of 1899)
1896. The fight (p 56a) Find em, fuck em, forget em
1896 Bee stings - Klara taking them out
→ a notion order p (48a)
1896 Alois (48a) is 14 when he leaves
1902 till that year he stays w the games (54a)
1896 Fight (31a)
1897 - The fall from the tree p 138 Long good
1896 - After Alo Jr leaves, Alo Sr whistles
whistles for Adolf as if he were a dog.

1894 – Hafeld – description of
1894 – April – Alois posted, p 49a – from Passau to Leing
1894 – ~~24~~ 3/24/94 Edmund born
1896 – Paula born 1/21/96 (22 mo. after ~~Edmund~~ Edmund)
1895 – ~~at customs~~ tavern – table by the stove (I)
town officials + customs men
1897 sells Hafeld property, moves to Lambach
1898 moves to another place in Lambach
→ 1895 June 25, '95 – Alois retired. 58 yrs old. 40 yrs service
Klara pregnant w Paula (2 mo.)
→ 1895 Feb 4, '95 Purchase of home.
It is called the Rauscher Gut. Beautiful
situated on high ground. A number of
walnut trees, and apple trees. A fine view
of the mountains of the Salzkammergut.
Housed timber, thatched roof, 9 acres of land.
Adjoins Hafeld, a town of 24 houses, 120 individuals
east of Lambach. Hidden by an orchard.

1894

1895 Return of family from Passau
1895 Hafeld purchase. Farm is called Weiss
Paid ~~5 to 6~~ 5000 gulden – about 500 pounds ~~(clean, blank)~~
~~2~~ Builds 2 3 tier hives.
April – Adolf moves into Hafeld.
May 5 – Adolf enters one-room schoolhouse in Fischlham bei Lambach
goes for next two years.
3 mo. after purchase
Outdoor games continue
For Alois Jr. – Adi is a Müttersohnchen
Goes to school w Angela who is 12. They
walk across fields. A teacher named Mittelmaier.
Finds them both clean and orderly
Scene Alois Jr. learns ~~from~~ high marks for department
from other kids that
the farm has poor land. He is teased
His father got taken!
1897 Note ~~He~~ Moved to Lambach to Leingartner Inn.
then to an old mill (p 33a)

1895 file

1896 See note p 33a on bee stings, old wasted
→ Apr '95 – Paula conceived – married 11 yrs. No need to call me Uncle

1896 File

Winter of 1895-96 Tensions in the house
'96 summer – the fight – words to Adi "I have
wasted time and sacrifice on young Alois
that had better not be you"
Fight – comments on his fathers farmers Alois Jr.
See p 35 note on Alois pride hurt at being
the first trees are not good
the cow gets sick, then dies,
Alois Jr. disinherited
Alois Jr. tormentin Adolf becomes
Klara always takes his side → (II)

Note – the teasing of the other farmers – You are wise to raise bees – the land (potatoes) etc.

1894

covered

Birth of Edmund March 24.
April 1 — Alois transferred to new post at Linz
For next 12 mo — Alois in Linz, 50 mi away, Klara
in Passau except for occasional visits.
5 year old Hermann for Adolf
Alois Jr. + Angela in last guides of elem. sch.
Adi hovers it, except for death visits toward E.
Klara sees the Cochin his eye
Beatific love of Passau architecture
~~tied~~ into Alois' absence.
Passau — war gives French against German
war of ~~1871~~ 1870.

1895

covered

Early on ~~family~~ decision to retire.
Retires on June 25, 1895 (58 yrs old)
Boys property in Hafeld, farm on
a high ridge — ~~pro~~ orchards & nut trees
2 dozen houses. a hundred inhabitants
See p 32a. Makes twice as ~~much as~~ (see 50a)
factory worker

Waits to all of fall and wrote of 95 + into 96 to start working the hive.

~~The fight w Alois Jr. Alois on how mad he caught (31a)~~

'96 { Klara outside the door while the fight goes on. Adi sees the beatings in the rage of the beating to Alois, Jr.
Hafeld — the dream. The tension of Liny at the end (F) p47a
School for Adi. — one-room village school of Fischlhaus. Lock
See p 33a 'sprocked at page 31 A. by old incest — tied it to bee-slings
see p 52a — Closeness of Klara + Alo after bee-slings

New addition — visit to the neighbor's hive
Colony.

all a i.e. 1a, 2a, etc.

DTN = DT note

I

1 ~~1888 – housework can be can be any time (N)~~
1+1a R
2 1889 – Goddess (N)
3 1889 Adolf b. in April '89. No more children for
4 85-89 Description of Braunau five years. The drought (N)
1894 Edmund in 1894. Paula in 1896.
~~85~~ 85-89 Description of Braunau
87-88 – Drought for half a year (N)
5 90 – Mother love DTN
6 89 Birth of AH N on Klara's belief
7 89 ~~(N)~~ DTN
8 ~~(N)~~ 90 – Klara's prayers – sickly Adolf
9 9 90 Klara's spottessness ~~(N)~~ DTN
10 90 Spoiling – breastfeeding
11 90 ~~(N)~~ Calling him Adi or Adel, not Dolfi DTN
12 90 AH health – move.
13 R 63-'03 all the Alois moves
14 R 92-94 Moves
15 89 or 90 – KKK – Importance of Alois.
16 89 or 90 – Importance of Alois
17 90 – Money DTN. ——— Klara's love for AH (175)
18 91 – Drought tall in bars.
19 92 – Buying property (N)
20 20 92 – Primal scene trauma – the big bed
21 92 – K. impressed by Alois' promotion. Stops breast-feeding Adolf.
22 R 92-94
23 92 Anal period DTN
24 92 Dialogue bet Jetzinger + Lugert (Alois's habits)
25 92-95 Alois into retirement
26 ? – 93 Alois smoking into Adolf's face (N)
27 93 Drought – (N)
28 ? – 93 Johanna (N) No fear of God. Alois' admiration of her
Sister w a hunchback son. "He's not my friend."
29 93 Punishment of dog, Al jr + AH
30 30 94 Adolf's freedom – Alois away.

Done

32

DT Essay

~~If I were to tell you that the entity or presence who has named himself~~

~~temporarily as Deity is no less than a devil, you would not believe me.~~

If you are ready to suggest that the devil or ~~Certainly,~~ ~~you would argue, the devil would not~~ write in such a middle-of-the-

away of his closer associates

I would reply that that road prose, and that is true to a degree. I can muster more than one style, but

misapprehension belongs to the reader, the ~~fundamental~~ error is still yours. Too much reliance is present ~~that the~~ on the

self perception that the Devil, ~~if he exists,~~ is all-powerful (~~which is~~ a philosophical absurduty since

God opposes the Devil with ~~His powers.~~ all of His great powers.)

Besides, ~~No,~~ there is not only a Devil but ~~the~~ army of ~~his~~ devils—of whom I am

one, and while I have ~~many~~ same powers and live in ~~general~~ of my own a relation to

existence that ~~is, in most regards,~~ can be more penetrating and more purposive than yours, still I would not say that I see myself ~~wholly~~ as superior to men and women. Not wholly, in any case, I, too, ~~have my~~ ~~can offer~~ carry the welts and scars of a memory lacks. For example, I cannot experience the emotion of joy, and in that painfully aware of its

~~In that~~ sense, certainly, you ~~would never~~ might not wish to ~~be like me.~~ exist in my sense of being.

~~[Go on to explanation. That success was no more assured for All.~~

~~Then JC and the difficulties in capturing great men what with God and the~~

~~devil in combat for them]~~

techniques and tactics

card 27

The trick, always, is to catch ~~such~~ a future leader early. ~~That takes foresight.~~ Once ~~a~~ a man or woman has succeeded on his or her own, it requires vastly more effort to ~~pass even one naked thought of a new sort into~~ enter the putative client. ~~The~~ His or her defenses have become more sophisticated. Either the ego is now comparable to armor-plate ~~(especially true for those who get there by~~ (since the ego is each human's personal ~~effort~~ construction in resistance to the gods (and devils), or, ~~so~~ the successful person is so ~~themselves) or the subject is surrounded by His Cudgels and Our Prods and~~ surrounded by the Drunkopf's Cudgels that for practical purposes the man or woman is hardly available to us or them.

Let me add that often the ~~subject~~ problem can come from our own Prods who have captured most of the psychic entrances to the proposed client, and even if they are also devils, ~~fight~~ contest our additional entrance. Just as with humans, there are acerbic divisions between the angels themselves and among we devils. Those who look for a clear portrait of existence will not find it, ~~the feet of our~~ no, not devils, angels, nor humans. The feet of our perception slog through mood, our vision seeks to penetrate the ubiquitous fog

I cannot even say whether God or Sultan can offer a full answer

paradise to the Hitler children, but one cannot help feeling surprised that a gregarious town-dweller like Alois Hitler should have chosen such solitude for his retirement. His longing for a house and some land of his own, noticed by Emanuel Lugert, must have been powerful indeed.

After some trouble I succeeded in obtaining a copy of the relevant extract from the Land Register and this reveals the date of purchase (already given), the place, namely Wels, and the fact that the property was registered in the joint names of Alois and Klara Hitler. The actual Deeds of Sale and Purchase were unfortunately unobtainable, having presumably been confiscated by the Nazis, and a rough idea of the purchase price must therefore be obtained from similar transactions concluded at that time. These suggest that Alois Hitler must have paid not less that 5000 gulden for the estate (about £440), of which four-fifths was probably in cash. How did he raise the money? Presumably from his wife's dowries. Carefully invested, these would have supplied almost the whole of the sum required.

Suitable though it was, no doubt, for apiculture, the nine-acre property could hardly thrive, or pay its way, on bee-keeping alone. In fact, to make a profit from the land, as he intended, Alois would have needed long experience of farming and a considerable capital. But he possessed neither, and so from the start lost money. Within two years, however, his business sense triumphed and, though it meant the end of his long-cherished dream of landed proprietorship, he decided to sell, finding a purchaser in the spring of 1897 and concluding the sale of the freehold on 21st June in that year. The Land Register records that the new owner was a Dr. Conrad Ritter von Zdekauer. Thereafter the estate changed hands no less than eleven times in twenty years, until ultimately, in 1938 the ownership was vested in Martin Bormann as trusteee of the National Socialist Party.

In a letter dated 29th December 1901, addressed to his former neighbour in Hafeld, a wood-pulp supplier by the name of Wührer, Alois Hitler wrote:

'. . . I have heard that Frau von Zdekauer is proposing to sell the *Rauschergut* again—to yet another party from Vienna. It provides a pleasant change for such people for a year or two and they are the richer by one lesson at any rate, namely that everything has got to be learnt. But she will not find it easy to sell in the winter-time. Should the lady, as I believe, no longer be keeping bees, but still retain the empty hives, among them two three-tier hives which I made in Hafeld from poplar wood, you might buy them back for me, just as a memento of my activities there.'

In early July 1897 the Hitler family moved into lodgings in Lambach, at first to the *Schmiedmühle*, so called, and then, as soon as they could find better accommodation, to a flat in the centre of the town. In those pleasant and, at that time, prosperous surroundings, they lived for eighteen months. But Alois Hitler had not lost the desire for a house of his own, nor did he overlook the fact that real property was the safest form of investment.

The sole surviving documents in Alois Hitler's own hand

The following letter was addressed to the Board of Inland Revenue in Linz and dated 19th September 1895. The handwriting is even and accurate. The grammar, spelling and syntax of the German original are beyond reproach. A glance at the original, or a photostat copy, is enough to disprove the tenacious legend that Alois Hitler drank too much; obviously a man of fifty-eight who could write so neatly cannot have been a drunkard. The text reads:

'The most respectfully undersigned was transferred to permanent retirement by order Z 931/F.Pr. of 25th June 1895.

As the undersigned was not an official accountant, he takes the liberty of requesting approval for the release and return of his caution money which is the property of Johann Murauer, householder of No. 7, Theatergasse, Braunau-on-Inn.

D

German side of the border, during which time the three- to six-year-old boy acquired his peculiar Bavarian accent: *The German of my youth was the dialect of Lower Bavaria, I could neither forget it nor learn the Viennese jargon.*[22]

In 1895 the fifty-eight-year-old Alois Hitler retired after forty years of service. He bought a remote estate in the hamlet of Hafeld in the community of Fischlham near Lambach in Upper Austria to try to make a living as a farmer and beekeeper. His son recalled in 1942: *Bee stings were as normal as anything at home. Mother often took forty-five, fifty stings out of my old man when he returned from emptying the honeycombs.* His father, he said, had protected himself against the bees only by smoking.[23]

After a fierce fight with his father, fourteen-year-old Alois Jr. left the home in Hafeld and was disinherited. Thirteen-year-old Angela, Adolf, and Edmund, born in 1894, remained at home. In 1896, Paula, the youngest child of the family, was born.

In May 1895, six-year-old Adolf entered the one-room village school of Fischlham, which had one class. From the small antechamber, Hitler recalled, *I used to listen, while I was in the lowest grade, to what the pupils of the second grade were doing, and later on, the pupils of the third and fourth grades. Thank God I left there. Otherwise I would have had to go to the last grade for two or three years.*[24]

Because the rundown farm could not be managed on a civil servant's pension and Alois's abilities as a farmer were insufficient, he sold the estate in 1897. The family moved into temporary quarters in the town of Lambach. Now the eight-year-old entered grade school in Lambach and for a short time also joined the Benedictine boys' choir school. There, he said, he had an *excellent opportunity to intoxicate myself with the solemn splendor of the brilliant church festivals.*[25] What with all his criticism of the church, even later Hitler would praise it for *wonderfully exercising* man's *natural need . . . for something supernatural.* It had, he said, known how *to work on people with its mystical cult, its large sublime cathedrals, with blessed music, solemn rites, and incense.*[26]

The Hitler family was not pious. Only Klara went to Sunday mass regularly. The anticlerical father kept his distance and at most accompanied his family to services on holidays and on the emperor's birthday, August 18. For that was the only opportunity where he could don and display his civil servant's uniform, which the rest of the year hung in the closet unused.[27]

At the end of 1898 the family moved to the village of Leonding, south of Linz, where for 7,700 kronen Alois Hitler acquired a small house next to the cemetery.[28] In 1938 Goebbels said about his visit to this place:

√ against files

after Alois' death, (7A)

1903,
1904,
1905.

CS
= Speculative

check against files

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During his first years in the *Realschule*, Adolf drifted, indirectly affected by the political forces which surrounded him but primarily concerned with his own problems. Despite his inner torment and inability to master his father or school, life in the Hitler household was secure and tranquil. On January 3,1903 the situation suddenly changed.

His father had not been in good health for a few years, following a severe attack of influenza in December 1901, and a lung hemorrhage in August 1902. Little alteration had been made in his manner of life, though. On the morning of January 3rd, he had gone off to the Gasthaus Stiefler as usual. He had just taken his glass of wine, after scornfully rejecting the newspaper handed to him because it was "too black," i.e., clerical, when he collapsed. He was moved into an adjoining room, and a doctor was summoned, but he arrived too late. The 65-year-old Alois died almost immediately.[64]

[64] Goerlitz and Quint, p. 34; Fodor, p. 687; Jetzinger (G), p. 72; Jetzinger (E), p. 52.

his neighbor, Ransmaier. The Leonding death records report: 'Died suddenly of pulmonary hemorrhage.' Later his son sadly accused himself: 'His most ardent desire had been to help his son forge his career, thus preserving him from his own bitter experience. In this, to all appearances, he had not succeeded.' Alois Hitler died in melancholy doubts concerning the future of his son.

When Alois Hitler died, it seemed as though his line—rich in uncommonly strong temperaments and characters, violently bursting forth from narrow circumstances and striving upward—had fallen into sudden decadence. Children upon children—but most of them had died, and most of the others had turned out badly. The sudden shift into city life seemed to be bad for these small peasants.

The 'Waldviertel' in Lower Austria, from which both the Hitler and Pölzl families came, is a gloomy, remote, impoverished section; like many such regions, it has no lack of superstitions and ghost stories. The ancestors were mostly poor peasant people; 'small cottager' often stands in the church registers. Then comes the strange break in the series with the gypsy-like character of Georg Hiedler, the grandfather; a break which continues in the person of Alois Schicklgruber-Hitler and drives his children in turn on the most unusual and varied paths. In a picture, old Alois Hitler strikingly resembles the aged Field-Marshal Hindenburg; not only the same mustache, but also the same lurking eyes, the same cheeks, mouth, and chin; the head represents the same unmistakable square. There must have been something avid and speculative in the man who in his old age sold farm after farm, and in his youth had married a well-to-do woman fourteen years older than himself—a case which occurs no less than three times in Adolf Hitler's ancestry.

A lavish yet destructive vitality dominates the paternal line. Children appear and die *en masse*. The number of Alois Hitler's legitimate children is seven, only four survive, but already, with regard to Georg Hiedler, the meager data permit all possible suppositions in addition to his legal offspring. The striking mortality in the third marriage indicates a predisposition to weakness, originating perhaps in the mother's blood; her picture shows a young woman of delicate type. The same sickness creeps strangely through the whole family: Alois Hitler's first and second wife die of consumption, he too succumbs to a lung ailment.

Is any other hereditary taint discernible? nor Alois Hitler was mentally balanced; b the abnormal. A sister of Adolf Hitler's mc a neighbor as 'lazy and not quite norm: Schicklgruber-Hitler's second marriage tur sheep. Eccentricities enough for one famil to cast a somewhat sharper light on the pic we already know it.

With the death of Alois Hitler the famil Brother Alois already has his prison terms haps his father in dying feared that Adolf And Adolf for the moment did little to dis was now free from the paternal discipline, no resistance. He spent five more years w ness' and 'in the hollowness of comfortable there is a note of smugness in his self-repr school, attended a secondary school in the n laziness remained unchanged. His last schc class of the *Staatsrealschule* in Steyr, issued may give an approximate picture of Adolf I

	First Sem
Moral conduct	satisfacte
Diligence	unequal
Religion	adequate
German language	inadequ:
Geography and history	adequate
Mathematics	inadequ:
Chemistry	adequate
Physics	satisfacte
Geometry and geometrical drawing	adequate
Free-hand drawing	laudable
Gymnastics	excellent
Stenography	inadequ.
Singing	.....
External form of written work	displeasi

• Repetitive examination permitted. •• In co amination.

The financial circumstances of Hitler's family

It is an essential part of the Hitler legend that he grew up in poor circumstances. This fable has been repeated by every biographer from the first to the latest, inclusive. And this is the more strange seeing that Hitler's father is known to have been a Customs officer with the rank of Higher Collector, and Hitler himself stated in *Mein Kampf* that his father owned some real estate: 'he bought a property near Lambach' are the actual words. Nonetheless the legend persists—Adolf Hitler came from a poor family! I propose therefore to quote extracts from hitherto unpublished documents of unquestionable authenticity from which a true picture of his family circumstances will emerge.

Alois Hitler's income

After the death of Alois Hitler, his widow (Adolf Hitler's mother) applied to the Pensions Office for payment of the pension to which she was legally entitled. The application was written for her by the secretary of the parish council in Leonding and was dated 9th January 1903. Enclosed with the reply was a 'Pensions Table' of which the original is still in existence. The accompanying letter stated:

> 'Having been declared medically unfit for further service, Alois Hitler was permanently transferred to the retired list, and, in view of his service counting towards pension of over forty years and in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's Regulations of 9th December 1866, was allocated a pension to the full amount of the salary last paid to him in active employment, namely in the sum of 1100 gulden annually or 2200 kronen. In accordance with the further regulations of 19th August 1902 this pension was raised to the annual sum of 2420 kronen payable as from 6th January 1903.'

So here we have it in black and white: until June 1895, when he retired, Alois Hitler was drawing an annual salary of 1100 gulden. In addition, an allowance was paid according to the place of service: 200 gulden in Passau and 250 gulden in Linz. From the time he went to Passau, therefore, Alois Hitler's total annual income was 1300 gulden, equivalent to 2600 kronen.[1] This salary was considerably higher than that earned, for example, by the headmaster of an elementary school, and when it is remembered that a factory worker in those days was content to earn about £45 a year, or 17*s.* a week, and would have resented the suggestion that he was poor, how much less can the term be applied to the family into which Adolf was born!

Alois Hitler's pension

From the 2600 kronen representing Alois Hitler's annual salary before retirement, the following sums must be deducted to arrive at his net pension:

Supplementary allowance ..	400 k.
Tax on pension	20 k.
Interest on mortgage of house	120 k.
	540 k.

Therefore his net annual income in retirement amounted to 2060 kronen.[2] Moreover this was a guaranteed income paid in instalments on the first of each month, not fluctuating earnings dependent on the result of the harvest or the vagaries of the stock exchange, or other unpredictable factors. Thus until his father died, that is, until his fourteenth year, Adolf lived in material conditions corresponding to those of the middle class, conditions in which the essentials of life were always forthcoming and privation was unknown.

Klara Hitler's income as a widow

Alois Hitler did not live to enjoy the increase of pension to which he was entitled under the regulations of August 1902, namely a gross annual pension of 2420 kronen, but his widow's pension was calculated on the basis of the new rate.

[1] Approximate value in English money *in 1900* £108 6*s.*—*Translator.*
[2] Equivalent in 1900 to £85 16*s.* The pound at that time had about four times its present purchasing power.—*Translator.*

; his family, often
lois finally moved
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ping his morning
thaus Stieglitz, he
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s Hitler. Contem-
ions of him. His
me villagers were
rs a bit envious.
by a country girl
a few years later,
ass, the daughter
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alled Fanni—and
would become the
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ad agreed to send
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Jr.—Adolf's step-
married an Irish
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was born, the house-
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ner Inn, and then in
ed responsible for all
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bride was 25, the groom 48. Klara later recalled, "We were married at six in the morning and by seven my husband was already on duty again." After the marriage, husband and wife continued to call each other "uncle" and "niece."[16]

Everyone agreed that Alois was a conscientious bureaucrat, punctilious to a fault. He was also a frugal person who provided for his family and left them comfortably off. There is no evidence—except in his son's fantasies—that he was the village drunkard. He seems to have been respected in the villages in which he lived, and the local newspaper gave him a generous obituary which concluded: "All in all, Hitler's passing has left a great gap not only in his family . . . but also in a circle of his friends and acquaintances who will preserve pleasant memories of him."[17]

Yet there were some less favorable notices. Even those associates who were interviewed by the Gestapo—and who would not be expected to put the father of the Führer in an unfavorable light—had some hesitations about his character. Frau Hörl, who worked for Alois as a cook after his second wife died, testified that he was a very strict man with a terrible temper.[18]

Alois' colleagues in the Customs Service and his cronies at the village *Stammtisch* found him a dutiful official but also a humorless person with a temper that flared with no apparent provocation. After his promotion, he insisted upon being addressed as "Herr Senior Official Hitler" and was furious when referred to with the more usual "Herr Official." He was not a heavy drinker, but he did "smoke like a chimney," and even a friendly witness found him arbitrary and unfair about his addiction. While indulging it himself, he would not allow a subordinate to smoke while on duty.

Adolf Hitler's lifelong revulsion to smoking, indeed his visceral hatred of the habit, seems to have stemmed from memories of his father's tobacco pipes. In the family household those pipes became the symbol of paternal authority. Hitler's boyhood friend remembered that even after Alois Hitler had been dead for two years the old man's presence continued to be felt in the home. His portrait dominated the entire flat, and "on the kitchen shelves I still remember there were carefully arrayed the long pipes which he used to smoke. They were almost a symbol in the family of his absolute power. Many a time when talking of him, Frau Hitler would emphasize her words by pointing to these pipes as though they should bear witness how faithfully she carried on the father's tradition."

Hitler's efforts to disregard time, or to conquer it, also seem connected with his father. Everyone who knew the old man stressed his pedantic punctuality. Indeed, a co-worker in the customs office in Braunau recalled that among punctual officials, Alois Hitler stood out as a real "demon on time." Even when there was no need to be punctilious he would never allow his assistants to leave five seconds before quitting time on any occasion.[19]

years later: "When I was
gentleman, who was always
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Mayrhofer became his legal
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Linz Tagespost had said
for, they managed well
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ld continue to receive 100
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Klara received 600 kronen
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Fritz Jetzinger, who was the
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n before his father's death.
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ation over again.
family went off to spend

the summer holidays with Aunt Theresia at Spital. Aunt Theresia was Klara's sister, married to Anton Schmidt, a small farmer and landowner. Klara's mother, Johanna Pölzl, now well into her seventies, was living there, and so were the two Schmidt children, Anton and Eduard, who was a hunchback like Aunt Johanna Pölzl. The appearance of two hunchbacks at the family table apparently caused no distress, and Adolf played with his young cousins in the woods and fields. But when Anton Schmidt invited him to do some farming, he refused. He had other things to do. He did a lot of drawing and reading, and he also had to catch up in his mathematics.

It was a pleasant holiday, and Adolf evidently enjoyed the company of the Schmidts, for he was to spend five more summer holidays with them. July and August passed, and then it was time for the Hitlers to put their heavy traveling cases on the train back to Linz. There were more months of detestable schooling ahead, and once more there were the long, lonely journeys out of Leonding every morning, for the experiment of sending him to Frau Sekira's home had failed.

On September 14, 1903, there occurred an event that gave Adolf some pleasure. His half-sister Angela, the less tractable of his two sisters, married Leo Raubal, a young assistant tax inspector from Linz. Angela was twenty, and Leo Raubal was twenty-three, with a promising career ahead of him. Adolf liked his half-sister, but he preferred his real sister Paula, who was quiet and easily led, and seven years younger than himself. Leo Raubal was one of those rather dogmatic young men who liked to argue in favor of a civil service career as a sure way to public honor and a pension. Eventually Adolf, who had a low opinion of the civil service, came to dislike Leo Raubal, but he had nothing but affection for his half-sister, who was gay, laughed easily, and never made demands on him. Three children were born of the marriage, one boy and two girls. Shortly after the birth of his third child Leo Raubal died at the age of thirty-one, leaving his widow a satisfactory pension.

While the marriage of his half-sister pleased Adolf, there were few other things that pleased him during the rest of the year. He was getting on badly at school, baiting his teachers and quarreling with the pupils, and generally behaving with the studied insolence of a schoolboy who knows he is going to fail and must therefore show himself indifferent to failure. There was no parental discipline, and his teachers were not sufficiently interested in him to take him under their wing and give him special counseling. He said later that he thought most of his teachers were slightly mad, and it is likely that they thought the same thing about him.

One of the teachers whom Adolf baited unmercifully was Father

Franz Sales Schwarz, who taught religion, not one of the more popular classes. Father Schwarz was short and fat and rather ugly. He kept an enormous dirty snot-stained blue handkerchief in the folds of his cassock, and one day, during class, the handkerchief dropped to the floor. After the class Adolf scooped it up, held it at arm's length, and approached the teacher, who was talking to some other teachers. "Here is your handkerchief, sir," he said. Father Schwarz grabbed the handkerchief and glared at Adolf and his fellow mischief-makers, who burst out in wild laughter.

Adolf enjoyed taunting any teacher who showed signs of weakness, and Father Schwarz, who had difficulty maintaining order in his classes, was his chief victim. Hitler had learned that insolence can be a formidable weapon against a teacher, and insolent answers to simple questions were likely to draw applause from the schoolboys. At Easter the religious lessons turned to the subject of confession, and the schoolboys were asked to give examples of sins. One boy announced that he had been having evil thoughts about his teacher, another that he was troubled because he had caused the teacher to suffer, and so on. Father Schwarz said they were obviously not being serious and were sinning gravely by not going deeper into themselves. So the students agreed that they would all confess to appalling sins. Adolf wrote out on the blackboard a horrendous confession: "I have committed fleshly sin, outside of marriage." But when the whistle blew to announce the beginning of a new class he lost courage, knocked the blackboard to the floor, and went back to his bench. When the blackboard was righted, the words were at the back, hidden from view, and some months passed before anyone saw the words Adolf had written. Father Schwarz recognized Hitler's characteristic handwriting, and said: "You, Hitler, keep your examples to yourself, otherwise I will have to teach you a lesson."

The long-suffering priest with the long nose and the voluminous cassock never punished his most refractory pupil and in fact gave him good marks. He was the first to conclude that Hitler was probably to be counted among the damned. One day Klara came to the school to make inquiries about her son's low grades. Father Schwarz met her and gave it as his opinion that her son was a lost soul, past hoping for. Turning to Adolf, the priest said: "You poor, unhappy boy—"

"I'm not at all unhappy," Adolf answered.

"Yes, you are, and you'll realize how unhappy you are when you enter the next world."

"I have heard about scientists who doubt whether there is a next world."

"What do you mean?" the priest said, turning on the boy and using the familiar *Du*.

The opportunity to
to be missed.

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Schwarz was a memc
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The opportunity to give the priest a lesson in good manners was not to be missed.

"I must inform you, sir," the boy said in outraged tones, "that you are addressing me with the familiar *Du*."

"Well, you won't go to heaven!"

"Not even if I buy an indulgence?" the boy said, pleased with himself, because he believed he had penetrated the priest's armor.

Hitler vividly remembered this conversation nearly forty years later, and there is little doubt that he remembered it accurately. Father Schwarz was a memorable character in the *Realschule,* and the young Hitler had a very special detestation of religion. He was always preparing seemingly innocent questions baited with his own superior knowledge. Once, when Father Schwarz asked him whether he said his prayers in the early morning, noon, and night, he answered: "No, sir, I never say my prayers. Why should God be interested in the prayers of a schoolboy?" Adolf had arrived at some fixed conclusions about the nature of God, the virgin birth, and the Kingdom of Heaven, and these remained with him to the end of his life. He had read somewhere that Saint Anthony flagellated himself in order to master the desires of the flesh, and this seemed to him the height of Christian absurdity. Indeed, Christianity was full of so many absurdities that he thought it should be left to old women and priests.

The *Realschule* was on the Steinstrasse, just off the Herrenstrasse, the main street running through the city. Not far from the school, also on the Steinstrasse, was a small shop kept by one of Father Schwarz's female relatives. It was not enough to taunt Father Schwarz; his relatives, too, must be taunted. So Adolf organized an expedition to the shop, which was suddenly filled with schoolboys loudly proclaiming that they wanted to be shown ladies' bloomers and corsets, although the shop sold no women's clothing at all. Laughing themselves silly and squeaking at the top of their voices, the boys left the shop, indignantly protesting that no one had shown them what they wanted to see. It was Adolf's idea of a joke.

There were other jokes that belonged to a more ancient time, and were probably played by schoolboys in Babylonia. Adolf remembered that in spring the schoolboys released swarms of cockroaches in class, and shouted: "O-oh, sir! How can we study with all those cockroaches in the room!" When Professor König, who taught physics, ordered the boys near the window to gather at the window and the boys near the stove to gather at the stove, they amused themselves by doing exactly the opposite and creating the utmost confusion. They also had a trick of arranging converging benches in such a way that when Father Schwarz entered the room, he would be compelled to walk between

Natural History were marked 5, 'below standard'. Adolf had, therefore, to remain in the First Form for another year.

It would be wrong to deduce lack of talent on Adolf's part from this report. Many boys, particularly those who had come from a country school, failed to get their remove from the lowest form in their first year at secondary school and yet ultimately became good pupils. The report shows clearly enough that Adolf lacked the will rather than the capacity to learn.

Second year, 1901–02. Form I. Age 12–13

In this year Adolf covered the same ground as in his first, and reached a pass standard in all subjects. In conduct and diligence he even managed to improve, receiving 'good' and 'very satisfactory'.

Third year, 1902–03. Form II. Age 13–14

It was during this school year, just before the end of the Christmas holidays, that Adolf's father died (3rd January 1903). In his report Adolf received 5, 'below standard', in Mathematics, a 3 for Conduct, and his Diligence was once again 'variable'. Before the start of the following school year he had to sit a recapitulation exam in mathematics, which he passed.

Fourth year, 1903–04. Form III. Age 14–15

Report: below standard in French; conduct, very satisfactory; diligence, again fluctuating. Dr. Huemer was in France in the autumn, when Adolf had to sit his exam in French, and so another master, Dr. Groag, corrected the papers. He awarded Adolf a 'Pass', on condition that he left the school. Dr. Huemer has assured me that this was so, but Adolf's bad record over the previous four years in any case makes it probable. Adolf then transferred to the nearest available secondary school, which was at Steyr. The distance from his home was about fifteen miles, and his mother therefore rented a room for him there. Hitler's boast that he 'sailed through' the entrance examination was, incidentally, an empty one, because there was no such test.

Fifth year, 1904–05. Form IV (Steyr). Age 15–16

Adolf's school report for this year is still in existence and was reproduced in the Munich magazine *Revue*, No. 42, 1952. The report, dated 16th September 1905, was as follows:

Moral Conduct	3, very satisfactory.
Diligence	4, irregular.
Religious Instruction ..	4, adequate.
German	5, below standard.
Geography	4, adequate.
History	4, adequate.
Mathematics	5, below standard.
Chemistry	4, adequate.
Physics	3, very satisfactory.
Freehand drawing ..	2, good.
Gymnastics	1, excellent.
Shorthand	5, below standard.

Thus, apart from shorthand, which was a voluntary subject, Hitler failed to reach the required standard in two subjects, namely German and Maths. If he had stayed at school, therefore, he would have remained in the same form throughout the following year. Instead, he left, no doubt on the advice of his teachers.

Judging by this report, the young Adolf must have been preternaturally lazy. The letters he wrote at this time show that his '5' in German was richly deserved. And his 'adequate' in history is interesting when compared with his statement in *Mein Kampf*, 'By far my best work was in geography, and better still in world history, my two favourite subjects in which I shot ahead of the rest of the form.' So much for the accuracy of *Mein Kampf*!

A pen-and-ink drawing has been preserved of Hitler, aged sixteen, as he was during his schooling in Steyr. It was made by his class-mate, Sturmlechner, and according to former fellow-pupils in Linz, is a good likeness, though it makes Adolf look seedier than they remembered him. It shows a flat-chested youth with narrow face, sharp nose, hair unkempt and the beginnings of a moustache, staring into space. The total impression is almost

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the Imperial and Royal police were not capable of protecting German houses from the Czech mob, so that it was necessary to proclaim a state of siege in Prague in peacetime. Budweis was then still a German town with German administration and a German majority in the Town Council. Those of Adolf's classmates who came from Prague, Budweis or Prachatitz used to weep with rage when they were jokingly called "Bohemians"; for they wanted to be solely German, like the others. Soon there was even unrest in Linz. A few hundred Czechs lived there, as quiet and modest workmen and artisans, without anybody taking much notice of them. Now a Capucine Monk, a Czech named Jurasek, founded a Sokol Club, preached in St. Martin's Church in Czech, and collected money for the building of a Czech school. This caused a great sensation in the town and some worthy Nationalists already saw in the action of the fanatic monk the preparation of a Czech invasion. Of course that was exaggerated. Nevertheless, just this Czech activity made the indolent Linzers feel that they were threatened, with the result that, almost unanimously, they joined in the Nationalist struggle.

Those teachers of the Technical School, who were nationalists, led the struggle. Dr. Leopold Pötsch, the history teacher, was an active politician. As a member of the Town Council he was one of the leading lights of the Nationalist Party. He hated the Hapsburg multi-racial state (which today — what a change — seems to us to be the very model of a supra-national community) and all the enthusiastic young Nationalists took up his watchword.

"Who could remain loyal to a dynasty which again and again vilely betrayed, past and present, the interests of the German people for their own advantage?"

Thus Hitler definitely and irrevocably had abandoned his father's ways in favour of a pan-German program. When Adolf, raging on, let himself go on this train of thought, I

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three summers. Adolf went back alone in 1908.[12] But in 1905, the summer's end meant that the boy had to make the unpleasant trek back to school. He successfully completed the makeup examination in mathematics in September, and went on to the third term of *Realschule*. While he was enduring the preliminaries of the school year, his half-sister, Angela, was making preparations to leave the household. On September 14, 1903, she married an assistant tax collector named Leo Raubal, who was stationed in Linz. The marriage was hardly a matter of great joy to Adolf, who was uncertain whom he disliked more, Angela or Raubal.[13] There was some consolation for him in the fact that Angela's marriage actually improved the financial condition of the Hitlers. With her departure, their gross income declined by only 480 kronen a year, leaving a comfortable 1,690 kronen for Klara and the two children.

During the year 1903-1904, life in the Hitler household seems to have flowed along with a minimum of worry and excitement. Adolf continued to slip by in school. His mother's fears about his poor record remained, but he had been on the edge of failure for three years, and there had been no serious consequences. As a third-year student, however, with more know-how and freed from the danger of paternal interference, he was emboldened to make a nuisance of himself. He constantly baited his teachers, particularly the unfortunate man providing religious instruction. An increasing interest in sex led him to the adult part of a wax museum for some three-dimensional enlightenment. He also saw his first motion picture in a small theater near the southern railroad station in Linz.[14]

From Klara's point of view, the most important event of early 1904 was, most likely, Adolf's confirmation, which occurred on May 22, 1904. An old friend of the family, Emmanuel Lugert, who had served as one of Alois' pallbearers, acted as sponsor. The confirma-

[12] There is direct evidence that Hitler was in Spital in 1903, 1905 and 1908. Maria Schmidt says he was there every year after 1903, and the account in the text follows that statement. Statement of Maria Schmidt. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1. Whether he was there or not in 1904, 1906 and 1907 is not a critical issue.

[13] For his dislike of Angela see *Zoller*, p. 46. For his dislike of Leo see *Kubizek*, p. 30. A sketch of the main events of Angela's life appears in *Jetzinger* (E), p. 42.

[14] *Table Talk*, pp. 188, 191 and 195.

the structure of the Austrian school system. But what Hitler does describe accurately is the mood of persistent tension that sprang partly from the difference in temperament between father and son, partly from the father's realizing his long-cherished dream of early retirement—a dream that we may see curiously recurring in the son. When, in the summer of 1895, Alois Hitler retired and was liberated at last from the stringent duties of his vocation, he began living for his leisure and his inclinations. For young Adolf his father's retirement meant an abrupt reduction in his freedom of movement. Suddenly he was continually running into the powerful figure of his father, who insisted on respect and discipline, and who translated his pride in his own achievement into inflexible demands for obedience. The reasons for the conflict are evidently to be sought in this general situation, rather than in any specific differences of opinion over the son's uncertain future.

Moreover, the father saw only the beginning of Adolf's years in the *Realschule*. For, in January, 1903, he took a first sip from a glass of wine in the Wiesinger tavern in Leonding and fell over to one side. He was carried into an adjoining room, where he died immediately, before a doctor and a priest could be sent for. The liberal Linz *Tagespost* gave him a lengthy obituary, referring to his progressive ideas, his sturdy cheerfulness, and his energetic civic sense. It praised him as a "friend of song," an authority on beekeeping, and a temperate family man. By the time his son gave up school out of disgust and capriciousness, Alois Hitler had already been dead for two and a half years. Nor could Adolf's sickly mother have tried to force the boy into a civil servant's career.

Although she seems to have held out for a while against her son's demand that he be allowed to leave school, she soon could find nothing to pit against his self-willed temperament. After losing so many children, her anxiety about the two who remained constantly manifested itself as weakness and indulgence, which her son had quickly learned to exploit. When, in September, 1904, he was promoted only on condition that he leave school, his mother made one last attempt. She sent him to the *Realschule* in Steyr. But there, too, his work continued to be unsatisfactory. His first report card was so bad that Hitler, as he himself relates, got drunk and used the document for toilet paper; he then had to request a duplicate. When his report for the autumn of 1905 likewise showed no improvement, his mother at last gave in and allowed him to leave school. However, the decision was not entirely her own. For, as Hitler involuntarily confessed in *Mein Kampf*, he was "aided by a sudden illness."[7] There is, however, no evidence for such an illness; the principal reason seems to have been that he had again not been promoted.

Hitler left the school "with an elemental hatred," and in spite of all his efforts to explain away his failure by references to his artistic voca-

tion, he never entirely recovered from
mands of schooling, he was now determi
to art." He wanted to be a painter. This
by his talent for sketching and the rathe
from the provinces must have had of th
life. Quite early he showed a bent
boarder in his mother's house later desc
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obsessiveness dash down sketches of bui
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art to escape the coercions and confinem
soar instead into realms of the ideal. It
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light on this passion. Arrogantly, the
would have none of any definite work, a
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It would seem that he sought elevatic
as well. Behind all the whims and decis
the overpowering desire to be or to be
eccentric passion for art was tangibly rel
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mother had sold the house in Leonding
in Linz. Here the sixteen-year-old boy
mother's adequate pension, he was in
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counted very heavily in his mind. He w
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Popular Education. An awakening inter
him, as he related later, to visit the a
And around the same time he saw his f
near the Südbahnhof. According to the
lanky, pallid, shy, and always dressed
sported an ivory-tipped black cane and
student. His father had been driven by s
what the son regarded as a paltry care
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He visibly retreated into this fantasy
time failed to meet a challenge. In his
his early experiences of helplessness
teachers. There he celebrated his soli
antagonists; and from this secret real
anathema against the ill-wishers he b

rel.[90] He was allowed to abandon his career at school and return home to his mother.

According to relatives, the sick boy let himself be pampered by his mother during the following summer in Waldviertel, having her bring him a big mug of warm milk every morning. He lived like a recluse, avoiding almost all contact with his various cousins.[91]

This alleged serious illness must have been a temporary indisposition; otherwise the new family doctor, Dr. Eduard Bloch from Linz, would have known about it. After checking his files, the doctor later maintained that he treated the boy only for minor ailments, colds, or tonsilitis, and that Hitler had been neither robust nor sickly. He certainly did not have any serious illness whatsoever, let alone a lung disease.[92]

Dr. Bloch, a Jew, was born in Frauenburg in Southern Bohemia in 1872. After attending school in Prague he served as an army doctor and from 1899 on was stationed in Linz, where he settled after his discharge. In 1901 he opened his office in the baroque house at 12 Landstrasse, where he also lived with his family: his wife Emilie, née Kafka, and their daughter Trude, born in 1903. According to Linz's future mayor Ernst Koref, Dr. Bloch was held "in high regard, particularly among the lower and indigent social classes. It was generally known that even at any time at night he was willing to call on patients. He used to go on his visits in his hansom, wearing a conspicuously broad-brimmed hat."[93]

As an old man in American exile, Dr. Bloch published his memoirs, in which he painted a remarkably positive picture of young Hitler, saying he had been neither a ruffian nor untidy nor fresh: "This simply is not true. As a youth he was quiet, well-mannered, and neatly dressed." He had patiently waited in the waiting room until it was his turn, then, like every well-behaved fourteen- or fifteen-year-old boy, made a bow, and always thanked the doctor politely. Like the other boys in Linz he had worn short *lederhosen* and a green woolen hat with a feather, he had been tall and pale and looked older than he was: "His eyes—inherited from his mother—were large, melancholy and thoughtful. To a very large extent this boy lived within himself. What dreams he dreamed I do not know."

The boy's most striking feature was his love for his mother: "While he was not a 'mother's boy' in the usual sense, I have never witnessed a closer attachment." This love had been mutual: "Klara Hitler adored her son. . . . She allowed him his own way wherever possible." For example, she admired his watercolor paintings and drawings and supported his artistic ambitions in opposition to his father; "at what cost to herself one

may guess." However, the doct
love for his mother was pathol

According to Dr. Bloch, t
He mentions that Klara Hitle
extravagance" and lived extr
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amounted to 100 kronen per
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Sixteen-year-old Adolf, b
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During that time the your
was a large number of papers i
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Semitism. For example, the C
slogan "Don't buy from Jews"

dark hair!" Another time he is said to have divided his classmates at the entrance of their classroom into two groups left and right, "Aryans and Non-Aryans," according to purely external characteristics.[80] What group the dark-haired Hitler joined we do not know.

Alois's Death

On January 3, 1903, at 10 A.M., sixty-five-year-old Alois Hitler suddenly died of pulmonary bleeding.[81] He was sitting in a tavern at the time.

The obituary in the Linz *Tagespost* described him as "a thoroughly progressive man" and a "true friend of the free school," an allusion to the deceased's anticlerical tendencies, his involvement in the association "Free School," and an argument he had had with the local priest. Socially—in other words, in the tavern—he had "always [been] happy, of a downright youthful joyfulness even," and also "a friend of song." Plus: "Even though a rough word may have escaped his lips once in a while, a good heart was hiding behind a rough exterior."[82] This discreet way of putting things seems to indicate that he was cheerful in the bar but tough at home. Hitler's future guardian Josef Mayrhofer confirms this: "In the bar he always had to be right and had a quick temper. . . . At home he was strict, not a gentle man; his wife didn't have an easy life."[83]

At least the thirteen-year-old boy must have felt relief at his tyrannical father's death. Hitler was to tell his secretary a great deal "about his mother's love," which he returned. " 'I didn't love my father,' he used to say, 'but I was all the more afraid of him. He had tantrums and immediately became physically violent. My poor mother would always be very scared for me.' "[84]

Still, there was no improvement in school. On account of continued bad grades, Hitler was asked to leave the Linz high school in 1904. Yet his mother was not ready to give up and sent him to the next closest *Realschule*, to Steyr, an industrial town with a population of 17,600, where he lived with a couple who boarded him. This was a great financial sacrifice for the civil servant's widow. She sold the house in Leonding and moved to Linz, to the third floor of a house at 31 Humboldtstrasse.

The separation from his mother was very hard on the fifteen-year-old. Goebbels would note: "The Führer talks about his childhood. . . . And how he was longing and pining away when his mother sent him to Steyr. And almost became ill over it. . . . And how he still hates Steyr as a city to this day."[85]

While the Hitlers lived in Steyr, the Russo-Japanese War broke out. Hitler would later say that his class was divided into two camps; the

Fifteen-year-old Hitler, drawn by h
classmate Sturmlechner

"Slavs" had been for Russia,
Russo-Japanese War the news c
class cried, while we others cheer
nationalists in Linz, suspecte
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At Whitsuntide 1904 th
to study, was confirmed at th
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obstinate as this one, you had
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In Leonding a "pack of boys" w
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Fifteen-year-old Hitler, drawn by his Steyr classmate Sturmlechner

"Slavs" had been for Russia, and the others for Japan: *When during the Russo-Japanese War the news of Russia's defeat arrived, the Czech boys in my class cried, while we others cheered.*[86] Even then Hitler, just like the German nationalists in Linz, suspected schoolchildren of harboring pan-Slavic convictions.

At Whitsuntide 1904 the pubescent Hitler, who still did not want to study, was confirmed at the Linz cathedral. His godfather would later say, "Among all my candidates, there was not one who was as gruff and obstinate as this one, you had to climb inside him for every word." The boy had not appreciated his confirmation present, a prayerbook. Neither had the expensive ride from Linz to Leonding in a carriage excited him: "I had the impression that he found the whole confirmation disgusting." In Leonding a "pack of boys" was already waiting for him, and he "quickly took off." The godfather's wife added, "They behaved like Red Indians."[87]

To be sure, such conduct was not unusual for a fifteen-year-old. In 1942 Hitler would say in retrospect, *At thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, I no longer believed in anything, certainly none of my friends still believed in the so-called communion, only a few totally stupid honor students! Except, at the time I thought everything should be blown up.*[88]

With three unsatisfactory grades—in German, math, and stenography—Hitler was again kept back. *This idiot of a professor spoiled the German language for me, this bungling, pathetic gnome: I would never be able to write a proper letter! Imagine! With a D minus from that buffoon, I never could have become a technician.*[89]

In this situation, he would write, *suddenly an illness came to his help, my serious lung ailment,* which ultimately decided *the eternal domestic quar-*

world, 'It is a fact that the Jews have never once taken up arms since the days of the Maccabees.' Apparently Hitler had not heard or read that two hundred years after the Maccabees, the Jewish people maintained a year-long defiance of Imperial Rome, fighting the seasoned legionaries with a sustained and desperate courage seldom equalled in history. But the deputies in the Reichstag were not to know that, for they had never heard the word 'Maccabees' before. Apparently they thought it was some humorous term of abuse and broke into peals of sycophantic laughter.

Hitler's confirmation

Hitler was confirmed on Whit Sunday, 22nd May 1904, one month after his fifteenth birthday. His sponsor was the Emanuel Lugert already mentioned in a previous chapter. Lugert was a handsome and friendly young Customs official with a charming wife.

'I have stood sponsor eleven times in all,' Lugert has since told me. 'Adolf was my third confirmee. When his mother asked me to stand *in loco parentis* she had the boy with her. He seemed to me a subdued, somewhat bashful, youth. I can't remember anything particularly striking about him. His mother asked me not to buy him a watch as a confirmation present as he already had two of his own. The confirmation took place in Linz Cathedral. After it was over, I bought Adolf a fine prayerbook and gave him a savings bank book, with a small deposit to start him off. For lunch we went home instead of going to an inn. Then in the afternoon we took him for a drive, ending up at Leonding.'

'In a carriage and pair!' added Frau Lugert. 'We ran to some expense over that confirmation.'

'Yes,' continued her husband. 'And yet of all the boys I sponsored, none was so sulky and surly as Adolf Hitler. I had almost to drag the words out of him.'

'It was impossible to like the boy,' said his wife. 'He kept on scowling so—and he was so non-committal you couldn't make him say anything definite.'

I was surprised to hear this, and said I thought he had been a lively boy; not unlikeable.

'Yes, I know,' said Lugert. 'And when I first met him with his mother, I saw nothing to dislike in him. Why he behaved like that on his confirmation day, frankly I've never bothered to think. His attitude annoyed me at the time. It was almost as though the whole business, the whole confirmation was repugnant to him, as though he only went through with it with the very greatest reluctance.'

'How did he behave in church?' I asked.

'Perfectly all right, I think. I would remember if he hadn't, because I would have taken him to task. But he didn't thaw out even after the service was over; just the opposite, it was then that I first noticed his reserve. And he showed not the least pleasure at his confirmation presents. Finally, when we got back to Leonding, we found a whole mob of boys waiting for him. Adolf was off in no time; he must have been longing to get back to his playmates.'

'And then,' said Frau Lugert, 'they started charging round the house, playing at Red Indians—a fearful shindy!'

Lugert stood up. 'So you can hardly blame me for not showing much further interest in the youth. Anyway, soon after Adolf's confirmation I left Linz and went back to Passau.'

'Did Adolf ever write to you?' I asked. 'On your Name Day or at the New Year? That's the usual etiquette, isn't it?'

'Not once!'

'So you heard nothing of him until that meeting in Passau, about 1922?'

'No, nothing. Just before the First World War I bumped into his half-sister, Angela Raubal, in Passau. She was a widow then. I enquired after Adolf, but she said she had lost all contact with him since his mother died.'

The first point that emerges from this conversation—and there is no reason whatever to doubt the evidence of Emanuel Lugert—is that Hitler's mother was still living in Leonding in 1904; and we shall find that fact confirmed by documentary evidence, as well. Secondly, his mother appears to have had very

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

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

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

[15] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 115-17; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 74-75.
[16] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 102; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 66. Letter of Prof. Huemer, April 28, 1935, *NA*. T-84, Roll 4, File 3.
[17] *Table Talk*, pp. 193-94; statement by Gregor Goldbacher. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.

See pp 96 & 97

three summers. Adolf went back alone in 1908.[12] But in 1905, the summer's end meant that the boy had to make the unpleasant trek back to school. He successfully completed the makeup examination in mathematics in September, and went on to the third term of *Realschule*. While he was enduring the preliminaries of the school year, his half-sister, Angela, was making preparations to leave the household. On September 14, 1903, she married an assistant tax collector named Leo Raubal, who was stationed in Linz. The marriage was hardly a matter of great joy to Adolf, who was uncertain whom he disliked more, Angela or Raubal.[13] There was some consolation for him in the fact that Angela's marriage actually improved the financial condition of the Hitlers. With her departure, their gross income declined by only 480 kronen a year, leaving a comfortable 1,690 kronen for Klara and the two children.

During the year 1903-1904, life in the Hitler household seems to have flowed along with a minimum of worry and excitement. Adolf continued to slip by in school. His mother's fears about his poor record remained, but he had been on the edge of failure for three years, and there had been no serious consequences. As a third-year student, however, with more know-how and freed from the danger of paternal interference, he was emboldened to make a nuisance of himself. He constantly baited his teachers, particularly the unfortunate man providing religious instruction. An increasing interest in sex led him to the adult part of a wax museum for some three-dimensional enlightenment. He also saw his first motion picture in a small theater near the southern railroad station in Linz.[14]

From Klara's point of view, the most important event of early 1904 was, most likely, Adolf's confirmation, which occurred on May 22, 1904. An old friend of the family, Emmanuel Lugert, who had served as one of Alois' pallbearers, acted as sponsor. The confirma-

[12] There is direct evidence that Hitler was in Spital in 1903, 1905 and 1908. Maria Schmidt says he was there every year after 1903, and the account in the text follows that statement. Statement of Maria Schmidt. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1. Whether he was there or not in 1904, 1906 and 1907 is not a critical issue.

[13] For his dislike of Angela see *Zoller*, p. 46. For his dislike of Leo see *Kubizek*, p. 30. A sketch of the main events of Angela's life appears in *Jetzinger* (E), p. 42.

[14] *Table Talk*, pp. 188, 191 and 195.

Note: stuff on above
is all 1903
or earlier
see strings,
temperaments
etc

1903
+
1904
Confirmation
Steps 1904-5

Note - Check w Jetty.
Kub may not come
in until 1905

~~Indeed, he does not~~

Transfer K to 1905

1904

His time at the farm
summer of 1904
The smell of the peasant
women in their time of
month disturbs him *
D.T. get order from
E.O. to keep him going
in that direction
the E.O. has despaired
of him, and decides
he might well
become an obnoxious gay
dilettante who will
be good for poisoning
others
D.T. I was not so
sure there was
something about him

↓

Big decision

Discussion of
changeability
of the Maestro.
On the other hand,
there was the
moment of conception
How many children had
the Maestro sired after all who
were incestuous?

* A.H. thinks
of Kundry.
~~[illegible]~~ Did she
smell like
that? Was
that why
Parsifal
rejected her?

His mother
can bother
him just
a little.
Della Angela

children of the Schrättlings." In order to popularize the Aryan idea, he suggested racial beauty contests.

Hitler had missed some of the older issues of the magazine, and this gave him a pretext for visiting Lanz several times. He left an impression of youth, pallor, and modesty.[26]

The importance of this rather ludicrous founder of an order does not consist in anything he suggested to or did for Hitler but in the symptomatic place he occupied: he was one of the most eloquent spokesmen of a neurotic mood of the age and contributed a specific coloration to the brooding ideological atmosphere, so rife with fantasies, of Vienna at that time. To say this both describes and delimits his influence upon Hitler. One might say that Hitler did not so much absorb the man's ideology as catch the infection that underlay it.

From this and other influences, such as the newspaper articles and cheap pamphlets that Hitler himself mentioned as early sources of his knowledge, some scholars have concluded that his world view was the product of a perverted subculture opposed to bourgeois culture. And in fact the plebeian hatred for bourgeois mores and bourgeois humanity repeatedly erupts in his ideology. The dilemma, however, consisted in the fact that this culture was in a way permeated by its subculture and had long ago become a blasphemy of everything it was founded on. Or, to put the same thought in a different way, the subculture that Hitler found expressed by Lanz von Liebenfels and others of his ilk in turn-of-the-century Vienna was not the negation of the prevailing system of values but only its rather battered and sordid image. Turn where he might in his craving for ties with the bourgeois world, he came upon the same notions, complexes, and panicky fears that were expressed in the cheap pamphlets, only in a more sublimated and respectable form. He did not have to abandon a single one of the trivial ideas that had helped him to achieve his initial orientation in the world. Everything he had picked up, with reverent astonishment, in the speeches of the most influential politicians of the metropolis, seemed familiar to him. And when he sat in the upper balcony of the Opera House and listened to the works of the most celebrated composer of the era, he encountered only the artistic expression of the familiar vulgarities. Lanz, the *Ostara* pamphlets, and the trashy tracts merely opened for him the rear entrance into the society he wanted to belong to. But, rear or not, it was an entrance.

The need to legitimize and consolidate this affinity also underlay his first groping efforts to give some ideological shape to his resentments. With the morbidly intensified egotism of one who felt threatened by social debasement, he more and more took over the prejudices, slogans, anxieties, and demands of upper-class Viennese society. Among the elements were both anti-Semitism and those master-race

Book Club Edition

theories that reflected the apprehensions of the German populace of the empire. Two other ingredients were a horror of socialism and what were called "social-Darwinist" notions—all founded upon exacerbated nationalism. These were upper-class ideas, and by adopting them he attempted to raise himself to the level of that class.

In later years Hitler always went to considerable lengths to represent his thought as the fruit of personal struggles. He was supposed to have arrived at his ideas by his own penetrating observation and the labors of his intellect. In order to deny all determining influences he even pretended to have been through a period of wild liberalism. For example, he stressed the "repugnance" that "unfavorable remarks" about Jews had aroused in him during his years in Linz. It is more likely, and various persons have attested to this, that his youthful views were marked by the ideological climate of that provincial city.

Linz at the turn of the century swarmed with nationalistic groups and sects. Moreover, a decidedly nationalistic temper prevailed at the secondary school that Hitler attended. The pupils flaunted in their buttonholes the blue cornflower popular among German racist groups. They gave preference to the colors of the German unity movement, black-red-gold; they greeted one another with the Germanic *"Heil!"* and sang the tune of the Hapsburg imperial anthem with the text of "Deutschland über Alles." They felt themselves part of a nationalistic opposition directed chiefly against the Hapsburg dynasty and even put up some youthful resistance to school religious services and Corpus Christi processions—for they identified with the "Protestant" German Reich.

At the Realschule, the spokesman for these trends was Dr. Leopold Pötsch, town councilor and teacher of history. Evidently he had made a deep impression upon young Hitler. His eloquence, and the colored oleos of yesteryear with which he supplemented his lessons, guided the imaginations of his pupils in the desired direction. The pages his pupil devoted to him in *Mein Kampf* contain a measure of hindsighted exaggeration. But the border dweller's sense of being menaced, the hatred for the Danube monarchy's mixture of nations and races, and Hitler's fundamental anti-Semitic attitudes undoubtedly came to him through his old schoolmaster. It is also probable that Hitler read the largely satiric magazine of the Schönerer movement, *Der Scherer, Illustrierte Tiroler Monatsschrift für Politik und Laune in Kunst und Leben* ("Illustrated Tyrolean Monthly for Politics and Entertainment in Art and Life") which was published in Linz during those years. It had a good deal to say about the decline of morals and the evils of alcoholism, but it specialized in attacks on the Jews, the "papists," the suffragettes and members of Parliament. As early as the first issue of May, 1899, it carried a picture of the swastika, which was being taken

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up as the symbol of Germanic, *völkisch* (*i.e.*, racial and nationalistic), attitudes. In the magazine, however, it was still described as the "fire whisk" which, according to Germanic myth, had twirled the primal substance at the creation of the universe. Hitler also seems to have read—both during his schooldays and in the following aimless years—the Pan-German and aggressively anti-Semitic sheet *Linzer Fliegende Blätter*. For it was not only in Vienna that anti-Semitism formed a component of political and social ideology—as the author of *Mein Kampf* would have had his readers believe. It was just as strong in the provinces.

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler speaks of an "inner struggle" lasting two years, in the course of which his emotions resisted the inexorable commands of his reason "a thousand times" before he completed his metamorphosis from "a weak-kneed cosmopolitan" to a "fanatical anti-Semite." In fact, what he calls his "greatest spiritual upheaval" was merely development from a groundless and almost elusive dislike to fixed hostility, from mere mood to ideology. The anti-Semitism of Linz had been of a dreamy sort, tending toward neighborly compromises; now it took on the sharpness of principle. It focused on a well-defined enemy. At the beginning of his stay in Vienna Hitler had sent "respectfully grateful" regards to Dr. Eduard Bloch, his parents' Jewish family doctor. Dr. Josef Feingold, the lawyer, and Morgenstern, the picture framer, had encouraged the would-be artist by buying his small water colors. Toward Neumann, his Jewish companion at the home for men, Hitler had felt an exaggerated sense of obligation. Now, during the process of change that continued for several years, all these marginal figures of his youth started to recede into the background. Their place was taken by a vision that steadily acquired an almost mythological power, the "apparition in a long caftan and black hair locks" which once struck him "as I was strolling through the Inner City." He forcefully described how this chance impression "twisted" in his brain and gradually began to become an obsession that dominated all his thinking:

> Since I had begun to concern myself with this question and to take cognizance of the Jews, Vienna appeared to me in a different light than before. Wherever I went, I began to see Jews, and the more I saw the more sharply they became distinguished in my eyes from the rest of humanity. Particularly the Inner City and the districts north of the Danube Canal swarmed with a people which even outwardly had lost all resemblance to Germans. . . . All this could scarcely be called very attractive, but it became positively repulsive when, in addition to their physical uncleanliness, you discovered the moral stains on this "chosen people." . . . Was there any form of filth or profligacy, particularly in cultural life, without at least one Jew involved in it? If you cut even cautiously into such an abscess, you found, like a maggot in a rotting body, often dazzled by the sudden light—a kike! . . . Gradually I began to hate them.[20]

We can probably no longer plumb the rea
hatred, which lasted literally to the last h
his dubious cronies of those years attribute
on the part of a dropout from the middle cla
an incident involving a model, the essence
half-Jewish rival, and an attempt on Hitler'
she was posing. The story is as grotesque
The theory that Hitler's anti-Semitism was
sexual fixations is supported by the whole
ideas about sexual relations, which from his
bly between strained idealism and obscure
ported likewise by the language and argum
wherever the figure of a Jew enters the st
which can be detected in all the pages of
tempts to deal with his repugnance for Jew
and superficial characteristic. Nor is it m
pamphlets and periodicals to which he owe
tions" of his youth. Rather, in that obscer
the inner nature of his resentment is revea

After the war a member of the dictator'
tensive list of the women in Adolf Hitler'
beautiful Jewish girl from a wealthy famil
more likely that he had no "actual encou
Linz or in Vienna. Or, if so, the affair v
kind of passion that might have liberated
atrical egocentrism.

Contrasting with this lack is a signific
words—"nightmare vision of the seduction
of girls by repulsive, bandy-legged Jew ba
tormented by the recurrent bugbear of blo
of dark, hairy seducers. His race theory w
complexes and deep-seated antifemale emo
had brought sin into the world, and her s
wiles of bestial submen was the chief caus
blood. The same obsession, expressing th
hibited masculinity, emerges in a similar vis
joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish yo
suspecting girl whom he defiles with his
her people." In both cases we have the
sex-starved daydreamer; and it may well
vapors that rise from large tracts of Nati
from the phenomenon of repressed se
world.[28]

Kubizek, Hitler's boyhood friend, and o

me effort to improve and
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was accounted excellent.
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k a bath. Petronella

Cichini gave him one of her famous cups of coffee and then asked him whether he had received his certificate. Immediately he began searching for the certificate in his pockets, but it was nowhere to be found. He turned his pockets inside out. No certificate! How would he face his mother? He was almost distraught with worry. Petronella Cichini suggested there was a simple remedy. All that was necessary was to go to the *Realschule* and ask for a duplicate certificate. Already Adolf had thought of an excuse: he would tell his mother that he had opened his wallet to examine his certificate while on the train from Steyr to Linz, and it had blown out of the window! Petronella Cichini did not think much of the story and insisted that he go back to the *Realschule,* explain that he had lost the certificate, and ask for another.

The director of the *Realschule* deliberately kept the boy waiting for a long time. He had reason to be offended, for the certificate, torn into four pieces, was in his possession, and he had received it that very morning. He knew exactly what had happened; the evidence was unmistakable that it had been used for toilet paper. At last he summoned Adolf into the room, showed him the four stained pieces of paper, and gave him such a dressing-down that the boy was reduced to shivering jelly. It was probably the most painful and humiliating experience in his life. In 1942, when he told the story to some friends, he could still feel the waves of humiliation rising over him and drowning him. Obviously, he reasoned, all this had happened because he was drunk. "So I made a promise to myself that I would never get drunk again," he said, "and I have kept my promise."

But it is equally possible that the act was committed before he got drunk, when he was cold sober. Since he detested the school and was consumed with a passionate fury against his teachers, he may have felt there was need for a symbolic gesture of defiance, and what symbolic gesture could be more appropriate than using a school certificate for toilet paper? Consciously or unconsciously he was so arranging his life that he would never have to face a schoolmaster again. The four scraps of stained paper were his verdict on the world of scholarship and on the teachers who had so often failed him, those "dim presences with thin beards" who exhausted his energies, got in his way, and made life intolerable. The world of humiliation was one he was beginning to know intimately, and his occasional acts of bravado were attempts to break out of the tragic circle.

Now, at sixteen, leaving school, with no father and no teachers to discipline him, he could depend only on his own anarchic impulses. Except for a very brief period when he may have attended an art school at Munich, he would never attend classes again, and everything he learned he would learn by himself. Though he clung to the idea that he

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

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

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

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

In the evenings Adolf often went to the theatre; that and town-planning took up most of his day. His mother, of course, paid. After the theatre he would go for long walks with Gustl, often until two and three in the morning.

The young gentleman of independent means

From June 1905 to the end of 1907 Hitler led a carefree and comfortable life such as few young men in Austria had the luck to enjoy. Well-cooked meals were waiting for him at the appointed times and he was entirely free to spend his days as he liked. He lived and dressed, in fact, like a young gentleman of independent means. In his *Memoirs* and again in his later book, Kubizek mentions his 'invariably spruce appearance, the smartness of his clothes'. Adolf, he tells us, used to wear a broad-brimmed black hat, black kid gloves, a black overcoat, with a heavier version lined with silk for winter use, white shirts, and carried a black walking-stick with an ivory handle.

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler referred to this leisurely existence as 'vacuous', and indeed the young boy of Lambach and Leonding who spent most of his time out of doors playing games with a gang of other children had by this time changed out of all recognition. Then he had been gregarious; now only Gustl was permitted to share his solitude. Then he had loved to be out in the sun; now he spent most of his time indoors. Then he had been anything but 'good'; now he was becoming a prig. With this change in behaviour went a corresponding alteration in appearance. As late as 1903 and 1904, the young Adolf looked strongly built and his health was robust, as his school-fellow Keplinger assures us and the photograph of the bottom form at secondary school confirms. A year later, his teachers were describing him as 'gaunt, pale-faced, almost like a consumptive'. Such changes are, of course, common in adolescence, but they are not always so marked.

It was about this time that people began to notice Hitler's eyes. Professor Gissinger, his secondary school teacher, had called them 'shining'. To some they were 'god-like', to others

D.T.

aier. The Leonding death records report: lmonary hemorrhage.' Later his son sadly ac- nost ardent desire had been to help his son preserving him from his own bitter experi- appearances, he had not succeeded.' Alois holy doubts concerning the future of his son. died, it seemed as though his line—rich in :mperaments and characters, violently bursting cumstances and striving upward—had fallen :. Children upon children—but most of them the others had turned out badly. The sudden ned to be bad for these small peasants.

a Lower Austria, from which both the Hitler ime, is a gloomy, remote, impoverished sec- regions, it has no lack of superstitions and ncestors were mostly poor peasant people; stands in the church registers. Then comes ie series with the gypsy-like character of Georg her; a break which continues in the person er-Hitler and drives his children in turn on l varied paths. In a picture, old Alois Hider he aged Field-Marshal Hindenburg; not only it also the same lurking eyes, the same cheeks, head represents the same unmistakable square. n something avid and speculative in the man l farm after farm, and in his youth had married urteen years older than himself—a case which ree times in Adolf Hitler's ancestry.

uctive vitality dominates the paternal line. l die *en masse*. The number of Alois Hitler's seven, only four survive; but already, with re- er, the meager data permit all possible sup- to his legal offspring. The striking mortality : indicates a predisposition to weakness, orig- e mother's blood; her picture shows a young pe. The same sickness creeps strangely through lois Hitler's first and second wife die of con- cumbs to a lung ailment.

Is any other hereditary taint discernible? Certainly neither Georg nor Alois Hitler was mentally balanced; both clearly bordered on the abnormal. A sister of Adolf Hitler's mother is characterized by a neighbor as 'lazy and not quite normal.' A son from Alois Schicklgruber-Hitler's second marriage turned out to be a black sheep. Eccentricities enough for one family; yet they suffice only to cast a somewhat sharper light on the picture of Adolf Hitler as we already know it.

With the death of Alois Hitler the family begins to disintegrate. Brother Alois already has his prison terms behind him, and perhaps his father in dying feared that Adolf had his ahead of him. And Adolf for the moment did little to dispel such a concern. He was now free from the paternal discipline, and his mother offered no resistance. He spent five more years with her in 'downy softness' and 'in the hollowness of comfortable life'—in his own story there is a note of smugness in his self-reproaches. He changed his school, attended a secondary school in the near-by city of Steyr; his laziness remained unchanged. His last school report for the fourth class of the *Staatsrealschule* in Steyr, issued on September 16, 1905, may give an approximate picture of Adolf Hitler, the scholar:

	First Semester	*Second Semester*
Moral conduct	satisfactory	satisfactory
Diligence	unequal	adequate
Religion	adequate	satisfactory
German language	inadequate	adequate
Geography and history	adequate	satisfactory
Mathematics	inadequate	satisfactory
Chemistry	adequate	adequate
Physics	satisfactory	adequate
Geometry and geometrical drawing	adequate	inadequate* adequate**
Free-hand drawing	laudable	excellent
Gymnastics	excellent	excellent
Stenography	inadequate	.....
Singing	.....	satisfactory
External form of written work	displeasing	displeasing

* Repetitive examination permitted. ** In consequence of repetitive examination.

Tie in to Alois, Jr, and his physical gifts

P.T. On second thought I remember now that I was told to influence him. Our general assessment was that a great athlete by nature but would of the kept all his substance in the cellar. So I did in fact help him to make up his mind, & the girl ~~entered~~ mind that bottom our conclusions were close even congruent.

He could have been a gymnast. On his own, he drifted away from such a physical life. It is hard to explain if one does not recognize that the Dauphin-Hitler conflict came to a conclusion—it would be either his mind or his body. He was devoted to such drastic separations of intent. It was as if he sensed that the strength of his will depended wholly on making such decisions

Later, with some embarrassment we learned that all the students, except for a few even insubordinate, received the maximum excellent

naier. The Leonding death records report: ılmonary hemorrhage.' Later his son sadly ac- most ardent desire had been to help his son s preserving him from his own bitter experi- . appearances, he had not succeeded.' Alois choly doubts concerning the future of his son. : died, it seemed as though his line — rich in emperaments and characters, violently bursting rcumstances and striving upward — had fallen e. Children upon children — but most of them f the others had turned out badly. The sudden- med to be bad for these small peasants.

in Lower Austria, from which both the Hitler ame, is a gloomy, remote, impoverished sec- ı regions, it has no lack of superstitions and ancestors were mostly poor peasant people; ı stands in the church registers. Then comes he series with the gypsy-like character of Georg ıther; a break which continues in the person ɔer-Hitler and drives his children in turn on ıd varied paths. In a picture, old Alois Hitler the aged Field-Marshal Hindenburg; not only ɔut also the same lurking eyes, the same cheeks, : head represents the same unmistakable square. en something avid and speculative in the man d farm after farm, and in his youth had married ourteen years older than himself — a case which hree times in Adolf Hitler's ancestry.

:ructive vitality dominates the paternal line. l die *en masse*. The number of Alois Hitler's s seven, only four survive; but already, with re- ller, the meager data permit all possible sup- ı to his legal offspring. The striking mortality ge indicates a predisposition to weakness, orig- he mother's blood; her picture shows a young 'pe. The same sickness creeps strangely through Alois Hitler's first and second wife die of con- ıccumbs to a lung ailment.

Is any other hereditary taint discernible? Certainly neither Georg nor Alois Hitler was mentally balanced; both clearly bordered on the abnormal. A sister of Adolf Hitler's mother is characterized by a neighbor as 'lazy and not quite normal.' A son from Alois Schicklgruber-Hitler's second marriage turned out to be a black sheep. Eccentricities enough for one family; yet they suffice only to cast a somewhat sharper light on the picture of Adolf Hitler as we already know it.

With the death of Alois Hitler the family begins to disintegrate. Brother Alois already has his prison terms behind him, and perhaps his father in dying feared that Adolf had his ahead of him. And Adolf for the moment did little to dispel such a concern. He was now free from the paternal discipline, and his mother offered no resistance. He spent five more years with her in 'downy softness' and 'in the hollowness of comfortable life' — in his own story there is a note of smugness in his self-reproaches. He changed his school, attended a secondary school in the near-by city of Steyr; his laziness remained unchanged. His last school report for the fourth class of the *Staatsrealschule* in Steyr, issued on September 16, 1905, may give an approximate picture of Adolf Hitler, the scholar:

	First Semester	*Second Semester*
Moral conduct	satisfactory	satisfactory
Diligence	unequal	adequate
Religion	adequate	satisfactory
German language	inadequate	adequate
Geography and history	adequate	satisfactory
Mathematics	inadequate	satisfactory
Chemistry	adequate	adequate
Physics	satisfactory	adequate
Geometry and geometrical drawing	adequate	inadequate* adequate**
Free-hand drawing	laudable	excellent
Gymnastics	excellent	excellent
Stenography	inadequate	.....
Singing	.....	satisfactory
External form of written work	displeasing	displeasing

* Repetitive examination permitted. ** In consequence of repetitive examination.

1905

‡ On second thought I remember now that Lenz told to influence him. Our general assessment was that apparent attitude by world was one of the best but would crumble [illegible] substance in the battle. So it did in fact, help him to make mind, the [illegible] mind, that at bottom our conclusions were close, even congruent. — after

P.T. He could have been a gymnast. On his own, he drifted away from such a physical life. It is hard to explain if one does not recognize that the dumpster with him (a disjunction came to a conclusion — it could be either his mind or his body. He was devoted to such drastic separations of intent. It was as if he sensed that the strength of his will depended wholly on making such decisions ‡ that he went almost completely in the other direction.

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

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

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

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

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

1904

system. But what Hitler does de-
sistent tension that sprang partly
etween father and son, partly from
ied dream of early retirement—a
curring in the son. When, in the
and was liberated at last from the
egan living for his leisure and his
her's retirement meant an abrupt
nt. Suddenly he was continually
is father, who insisted on respect
is pride in his own achievement
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n's uncertain future.
beginning of Adolf's years in the
took a first sip from a glass of
ng and fell over to one side. He
here he died immediately, before
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his progressive ideas, his sturdy
nse. It praised him as a "friend
and a temperate family man. By
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d a half years. Nor could Adolf's
into a civil servant's career.
t for a while against her son's
ool; she soon could find nothing
. After losing so many children,
el constantly manifested itself
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was promoted only on condi-
le one last attempt. She sent
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as so bad that Hitler, as he
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report for the autumn of 1905
her at last gave in and allowed
n was not entirely her own.
Mein Kampf, he was "aided
, no evidence for such an ill-
been that he had again not

l hatred," and in spite of all
ferences to his artistic voca-

tion, he never entirely recovered from the smart. Free from the demands of schooling, he was now determined to dedicate his life "wholly to art." He wanted to be a painter. This choice was prompted equally by his talent for sketching and the rather florid notion an official's son from the provinces must have had of the free and untrammeled artist's life. Quite early he showed a bent for attitudinizing. A onetime boarder in his mother's house later described the way the young Adolf would sometimes abruptly begin to draw at meals and with seeming obsessiveness dash down sketches of buildings, archways, or pillars. To be sure, such behavior can be explained as a legitimate way of using art to escape the coercions and confinements of the bourgeois world, and soar instead into realms of the ideal. It is only the manic fervor with which he threw himself into his painting exercises, or into music and dreams, forgetting and rejecting everything else, that casts a disturbing light on this passion. Arrogantly, the young Adolf declared that he would have none of any definite work, any sordid vocation for the sake of a livelihood.

It would seem that he sought elevation through art in a social sense as well. Behind all the whims and decisions of his formative years lay the overpowering desire to be or to become something "higher." His eccentric passion for art was tangibly related to his notion that art was a pursuit of the "better class of society." After his father's death his mother had sold the house in Leonding and moved into an apartment in Linz. Here the sixteen-year-old boy sat idly around. Thanks to his mother's adequate pension, he was in a position to suspend all plans for the future and to assume that appearance of privileged leisure which counted very heavily in his mind. He would take a daily stroll on the promenade. He regularly attended the local theater, joined the musical club, and became a member of the library run by the Association for Popular Education. An awakening interest in sexual questions impelled him, as he related later, to visit the adult section of a wax museum. And around the same time he saw his first film in a small movie house near the Südbahnhof. According to the descriptions we have, he was lanky, pallid, shy, and always dressed with extreme care. Usually he sported an ivory-tipped black cane and tried to look like a university student. His father had been driven by social ambition but had achieved what the son regarded as a paltry career. His own goals were pitched far higher. In the dream world that he set up for himself, he cultivated the expectations and the egotism of a genius.

He visibly retreated into this fantasy world after he had for the first time failed to meet a challenge. In his own world he compensated for his early experiences of helplessness vis-à-vis his father and his teachers. There he celebrated his solitary triumphs over defenseless antagonists; and from this secret realm he hurled his first bolts of anathema against the ill-wishers he believed surrounded him. Every-

the virtually inextricable tangle of crisscrossing interests. The Germans, approximately a quarter of the population, were ahead of all the other peoples of the empire in education, prosperity, and general development; but their influence was disproportionately smaller. The policy of makeshift concessions worked against them precisely because they were expected to be loyal, whereas efforts had to be made to satisfy the unreliable nationalities.

In addition, the surging nationalism of the various peoples of the empire was no longer countered by the traditional calmness of a self-assured German leadership. Rather, the epidemic spread of nationalism had seized the ruling class of Germans with special intensity from the time that Austria was excluded from German politics in 1866. The Battle of Königgrätz had turned Austria's face away from Germany toward the Balkans and forced the Germans into the role of a minority within their "own" state. They felt themselves being swamped by alien races and began to grumble at the monarchy for ignoring that danger. They themselves compensated by a more and more immoderate glorification of their own breed. "German" became a word with a virtually moralistic cast, carrying strong missionary overtones. It developed into a concept imperiously and pretentiously opposed to everything foreign.

The anxiety underlying such reactions can be fully understood only against the broader background of a general crisis. In the course of a creeping revolution "old, cosmopolitan, feudal and peasant Europe"—which had anachronistically survived in the territory of the Dual Monarchy—was going down to destruction. No class was spared the shocks and conflicts connected with its death. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois in particular felt threatened on all sides by progress, by the abnormal growth of the cities, by technology, mass production, and economic concentration. The future, which for so long had been imagined in hopeful terms, in the form of pleasant private or societal utopias, became associated for greater and greater numbers of people with uneasiness and dread. In Vienna alone, in the thirty years after the abolition of guild regulations in 1859, some 40,000 artisans' shops went bankrupt.

Such troubles naturally gave rise to many contrary movements that reflected the increasing craving for an escape from reality. These were chiefly defensive ideologies with nationalistic and racist overtones, offered by their advocates as panaceas for a threatened world. Such doctrines gave concrete form to vague anxieties, expressing these in familiar, hence manageable, images. One of the most extreme of these complexes was anti-Semitism, which drew together a variety of rival parties and leagues, from the Pan-Germans under the leadership of Georg Ritter von Schönerer to the Christian Socialists under Karl Lueger. There had been an outbreak of anti-Jewish feeling at the time

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31

The Young Dilettante

June 15, 1905 house in Leonding is sold

1905

On June 15, 1905, Klara Hitler sold the garden house at Leonding and took the family to live in Linz. There were many reasons for selling the house, and perhaps the most important was that it reminded her too keenly of her dead husband and her dead son, who lay in the cemetery next to the house. Adolf, too, probably had a say in the decision, for he had developed a fondness for Linz and had no deep roots in the village. Klara was able to sell the garden house at a profit, for the value of the property had increased since her husband had bought it seven years before. The sale price was 10,000 kronen, which meant a net profit of 2,300 kronen over the price Alois had originally paid for it.

She rented an apartment on the third floor of a large tenement at 31 Humboldtstrasse, a long, monotonous street which ran from the railroad station to the center of the city. The tenement had recently been built, and its façade had some pretensions to elegance. It was one of those solid, well-designed buildings that age slowly, and no one would be ashamed to live there. The Hitler apartment was rather small. The kitchen, with the green painted furniture, looked out on the courtyard, and the living room looked out on the street. Inevitably, a large photograph of Alois Hitler gazed down sternly from the wall. The beds of Klara and Paula were in the living room, and Adolf occupied a small room next to it, with a bed, books, papers, and painting materials. He usually slept late. Paula remembered that he slept heavily and that, if for any reason he had to be awakened early, Klara would say: "Go in and kiss him." He detested being kissed and would bound out of bed to avoid any further attentions from his sister.

Adolf's way of life was now settled, and there would be no essential changes as long as he lived. He studied and read during most of the

She had wet soapy kisses, full of saliva, and she would wipe ~~wet hands full~~ her wet thumb ~~which she~~ ~~had~~ on his cheek, the same thumb she sucked all day long.

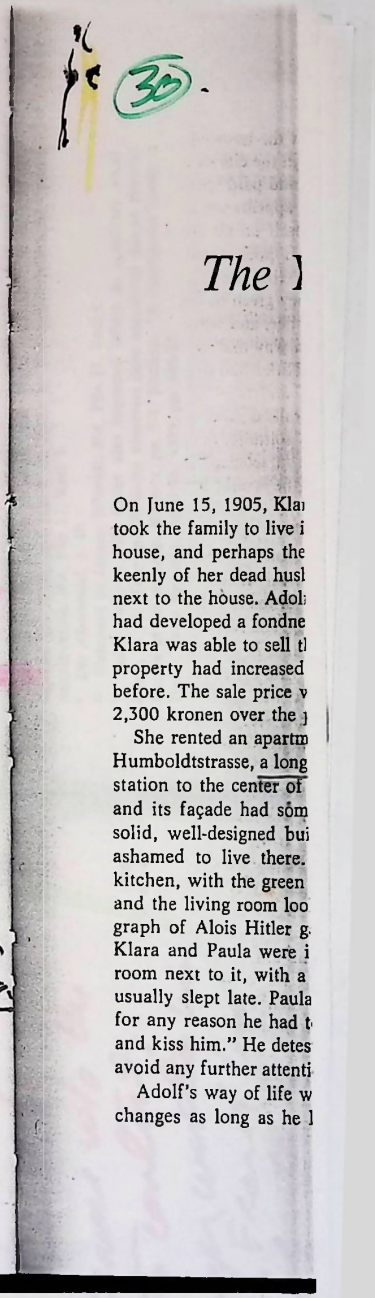
She, in turn, is ashamed ~~but~~ of how she is detested, but likes the power it gives her.

afraid of infection from her inferior blood.

would one day, as though by magic, become a famous painter, he had neither the stamina nor the talent to become a serious artist.

But for the moment no urgent decisions had to be made, for the summer holidays had begun, and he spent them as he usually did with his young cousins in Spital, under the watchful eye of Aunt Theresia. Klara and Paula went with him, and once more the whole family was together. Klara's mother, Johanna Pölzl, was still living but aging rapidly, and she would be dead the following year. Old Anton Schmidt, smoking his long meerschaum pipe, ruled over the family with a light hand and, being a good peasant, was more interested in his fields than in the problems of his difficult nephew.

Adolf, however, was in even greater trouble this year than in the previous year. During previous summer holidays he was always active, playing Indians with his cousins, reading, writing, and sketching. But this year he was curiously listless and uncommunicative, and not only because he had suffered a humiliating experience at school. He was very ill. He was suffering from a respiratory ailment, probably consumption. It was sufficiently serious to demand the services of Dr. Karl Keiss, who rode over to Spital from the neighboring town of Weitra. The doctor foresaw a slow recovery. He was quite sure the illness was not imaginary. "Adolf will never be healthy after this sickness," he told Aunt Theresia. Klara came to her son's room every morning with a large bowl of warm milk. Cow's milk, good food, and a long period of rest in the country air were the traditional cures suggested for consumptives at that time, and all were easily available in the small village of Spital. It was not at all surprising that he should come down with consumption, for the family had a long history of similar illnesses. In later years Hitler remembered this summer as the one period in his life when he was seriously ill. By the end of the summer the fever had passed and he was well enough to travel to Steyr to take the examination for mathematics needed to fulfill the requirements of his school curriculum, but this was a mere formality. He received a "satisfactory" mark, but it was no use to him, for no *Oberrealschule* would take him, and in any case he had no intention of pursuing formal studies. He had come to the end of his school days. In front of him were long years of loneliness and quiet despair.



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The completion of one more mediocre school year, coming as it did on the heels of Alois' death, must have cast a gloomy shadow over the prospect of a summer in Leonding. Klara and her children packed all the vacation necessities in two great trunks and set off by train for the family home in Spital. Sister Theresia and the rest of the Schmidt family were still residing in house #24, and it was there that Klara and the children spent the summer.[8] Schmidt's holding had become the center of the Hiedler-Poelzl clan in Spital. In addition to the Schmidts, Klara's mother resided there, together with the third sister, the hunchback Johanna.[9] Spital #24 was an old-fashioned peasant farm which Schmidt had turned into a mildly profitable undertaking. He had several fields and a little woodland. The Hitler children found it an ideal setting in which to run off tensions created by their father's death. Companionship with her mother and sisters provided Klara with an opportunity to recover from her emotional losses and to prepare for her new life as a widowed mother when she returned home.

The country atmosphere did not bring any great change in Adolf's activities. He spent the bulk of his time reading, drawing, and playing with the young Schmidt children. He liked the woods but did not appreciate field work, which he managed to avoid in favor of his private amusements.[10] Apparently neither his mother nor the Schmidts attempted to interfere with him. By this time, he had shed most of his need for companionship, becoming as he later said, something of a "solitary," [11] who did not require other people to interest or amuse him.

Still, Spital was a pleasant spot in which to pass the summer; the vacation probably ended all too quickly. The arrangement had been successful, and the family returned to Spital for the following

[8] Statements by Johann Schmidt and Maria Schmidt (October 16 and October 23, 1938), and report on Hitler by Niederoesterreichische Landesamtsdirektion. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.
[9] *Die Ahnentafel*, p. 40.
[10] Statement by Johann Schmidt. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.
[11] *Table Talk*, p. 360. Hitler also impressed others as a solitary youth. *Bloch*, p. 36; *Heinz*, p. 28. Some observers have considered this an essential feature of his makeup. *Roberts*, pp. 7-8; Medicus, "A Psychiatrist Looks at Hitler," *New Republic*, April 26, 1939, pp. 326-27.

her three children (beginning just midway between those other two triple losses[16]) as the big "separation experience" behind it—twice removed. Behind it once removed was her reliving of that traumatic loss through her nursing symbiosis with infant Adolf. This reliving was culpable several times over. To begin with, breastfeeding was naughty in the Hitlers' neck of the woods. Just across the border from Braunau an enumerator for an official Bavarian inquiry on breastfeeding noted in 1905: "Many a mother believed that to confess she was suckling her child herself was something to be ashamed of and admitted the performance of this duty only after repeated questioning and then with blushing."[17] Worse, the nursing bond between Klara and Adolf was intensified and perpetuated, in fact and then in reciprocal fancy, beyond all normal limits. Still worse, through this breast-and-mouth incest Klara was using and abusing Adolf for her traumatic reliving. She must have felt how she was holding back his development in her protective, possessive, permissive embrace. "The spoiled mother's darling, the fellow who knows that things will never go wrong for him: he will never confront life like someone who is thrown back upon himself," Hitler later remarked.[18] And worst of all, in this process she deserted her husband emotionally even as she failed him procreatively. A decade later his death restored her old twosome with Adolf, then entering adolescence. A new spell of overmothering ensued for her under the sign of duty. Through her established associative channels it set the guilty breast tingling under her widow's robes. This second round of tender, fretful, guilt-ridden clinging to her baby boy ("But for me he is so young!" she would protest as he was approaching nineteen[19]) issued into a self-punitive breast cancer at the point where the first round had ended in a pregnancy. For the onset of the cancer must be dated after her visit to Bloch—presumably for a checkup—on 3 January 1906, the third anniversary of Alois's death. It would fall in mid-May 1906 if this reliving of a reliving was likewise of the exact same length as the original traumatic experience. That was just when Adolf was off in Vienna by himself for a few weeks' sightseeing, his first time that far from his mother. His next time was when

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

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

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

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

> Mime-Version: 1.0
> Content-Type: text/plain; charset="us-ascii";
> format=flowed
> Content-Length: 349
>
> Dear Judith,
>
> Received Norman's list. Many thanks, Happy New year.
>
> Katrina
>
> PS/ I'll be calling Norman...just think it needs a
> few lines of
> intro...maybe in italics...something along lines of
> what he said to me,
> when we spoke by phone about this...but he may think
> it doesn't need
> anything! In any case, i will call him tomorrow or
> on Monday.
>
> I've always found Modern and Post Modern such amorphous categories that I decided to play with their properties

Judith — write in the bottom lines next to the (*)

(*) unspoken premise behind these ~~categories~~ categories. In fact, originally they were the first two items on the list.

This list is, of course, open to ~~argument and~~ debate and/or amplification.

A hundred, if not a thousand couplings ~~so~~ can be offered, in their place. To ~~offer~~ provide the reader with some narrative expectation, ~~therefore~~ ~~however~~, I will say that ~~only~~ the last two pairings are ~~essential~~ quintessential to the unspoken (*) premise ~~that generates~~ behind these categories, and, in fact were the commencement originally of this list.

Norris

From: <Draymond63@aol.com>
To: <nmncm@comcast.net>
Sent: Friday, January 06, 2006 10:23 AM
Subject: Friday

Hi,

Let's just say you're better off waiting for the DVD on the Brokeback Mountain issue. It's not that it's a bad movie, it's worse than that: It's half good.

I was pretty much disappointed in the whole darn thing.

Anyway, the week will be 22 hrs. (396.00) That includes a couple hours of transcription I'm going to have to do tomorrow in order to get all this done. I did 40 pages yesterday and I estimate another 60 is left on the tapes.

Ok, see you in a bit. I'm just going to type again all day today. How 'bout a meatloaf tonight? With secret sauce, of course!

xx

D.

Norris

From: "Larry Shainberg" <oshain@earthlink.net>
To: "Norris" <nmncm@comcast.net>
Sent: Friday, January 06, 2006 9:25 AM

Hi Norris--I'm thinking of coming up next week, Tuesday through Saturday. How does that work with your schedule? Il'd like to come by and see you and have a dinner with Norman and maybe a dinner the three of us. Let me know, OK? Love/L

Norris

From: "jm wordcraft" <jmwordcraft@yahoo.com>
To: <nmncm@comcast.net>; <draymond63@aol.com>
Sent: Friday, January 06, 2006 12:45 PM
Subject: Fwd: Got it!--please print for Norman

Born War

Pocket watches 1880 – 1920 mass-produced + expensive.

--- "kat@thenation.com" <kat@thenation.com> wrote:

> From kat@thenation.com Thu Jan 5 20:46:52 2006
> X-Apparently-To: jmwordcraft@yahoo.com via
> 206.190.39.51; Thu, 05 Jan 2006 20:44:05 -0800
> X-Originating-IP: [207.69.195.68]
> Return-Path: <kat@thenation.com>
> Authentication-Results: mta167.mail.mud.yahoo.com
> from=thenation.com; domainkeys=neutral (no sig)
> Received: from 207.69.195.68 (EHLO
> pop-cowbird.atl.sa.earthlink.net) (207.69.195.68)
> by mta167.mail.mud.yahoo.com with SMTP; Thu, 05
> Jan 2006 20:44:05 -0800
> Received: from user-2iveae1.dialup.mindspring.com
> ([165.247.41.193] helo=katlap.thenation.com)
> by pop-cowbird.atl.sa.earthlink.net with esmtp
> (Exim 3.36 #10)
> id 1EujSL-00032v-00
> for jmwordcraft@yahoo.com; Thu, 05 Jan 2006
> 23:44:01 -0500
> Message-Id:
>
<6.0.0.22.0.20060105234521.04fdbec0@mail.thenation.com>
> X-Sender: kat@mail.thenation.com (Unverified)
> X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Version 6.0.0.22
> Date: Thu, 05 Jan 2006 23:46:52 -0500
> To: jmwordcraft@yahoo.com
> From: "kat@thenation.com" <kat@thenation.com>
> Subject: Got it!

Norris

From: "Richard Fulgham" <rlfulgham@hotmail.com>
To: <nmncm@comcast.net>
Sent: Monday, January 09, 2006 7:44 PM
Subject: from Richard & Janet Fulgham

Dear Norris and, later, Norman,

I deeply enjoyed my conversation with The Great Man Christmas day. I was so relieved the two of you are ok! And I'm delighted to hear you've both continued your artistic careers and social obligations -- which reminds me, Norman, Congratulations for winning the Nationl Book tribute of "Lifetime Achievment"! No one deserves it more. I still hold hope for the Nobel.

As for my book, "The Hogs of Cold Harbor" -- its finally getting a little attention. My publisher finally saturated the Eastern Seaboard bookstores with promoo materials. And they've made all their books fully refundable and off 40% for booksellers. So the book is moving. I'm enclosing a link to my first national review, printed in a large circulation rag called "The Civil War News", Janaury edition. The reviewer is an historian, so he jumps my rear end for calling the book a "nonfciton novel". But he has otgher things to say. I'm not at all angry! At last the big guys are talking and arguming about it! Here's the linK. We'll be seeing both of you at this years convention!

http://www.civilwarnews.com/reviews/bookreviews.cfm?ID=830

I'm working on even more brutal book now with even more surreal scenes and episodes. I'll show the mss this fall, though I won't ask you to read it. I got my great endorsement and blew it by contracting with a press who couldn't handle high volume sales. My next publisher will, believe it! By the way, Norman, did you see "Cindarella Man" with Russell Crowe? It's a must see for you, believe me. In some mystic unknowable sense, I send you impessions of your old friend Fig. I was delighted when you said I

remain you of him.

Richard

Alternate email address: rlfulgham@earthlink.net

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Book Reviews

These are some reviews from a recent issue of ***The Civil War News:***

The Hogs of Cold Harbor: The Civil War Saga of Private Johnny Hess, CSA

Richard Lee Fulgham

Novel, appendix, bibliography, softcover, 341 pp., 2005. Whitmore Publishing Co., 926 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15222, $29 plus shipping.

For centuries there has been a tension between what is history on the one hand and art, or fiction, on the other. Novelists are artists who alter and create, as Gore Vidal wrote of the novelist's "right not only to rearrange events but, more important, to attribute motive." However, historians are suspect if they alter facts or create a historical record. Differences do exist. Hence, when Richard Lee Fulgham terms his book *The Hogs of Cold Harbor* a "non-fictional novel," he is using an oxymoron.

What is *The Hogs of Cold Harbor?* The author included as an

appendix "The original Unpublished Diary as Written by Private John Henry Hess, CSA, Company G, 29th [Virginia] Regiment, Pickett's Division, Longstreet's Corps, 1862-1864." Hess maintained a diary from Oct. 8, 1862 to Oct. 11, 1864, although he enrolled on March 27, 1862, and served until the Appomattox Campaign.

Hess's early entries tended to be minimal and mere travelogues; however, after April 6, 1864, they became more detailed and wordy. Fulgham uses the diary as the basis for his novel. Perhaps, that is why he calls it a "non-fictional novel" — yet, he takes considerable license creating and expanding on Hess's actual entries, thus rearranging events and developing dialogue.

There are many examples to support the author's artistically creating a historical record. On July 7, 1863, Hess wrote in his diary, "Heard about Gettysburg from Sergeant Major of the 2nd North Carolina Cavalry." Fulgham introduces this Sergeant Major as his ancestor Richard Fulgham, with whom the protagonist Hess has extended philosophical conversations concerning war and life.

Also, feeling ill on Aug. 26, 1863, according to Hess's entry, he, "Fell out of line of battle, Hid with hurt hog till spell passed." In *The Hogs of Cold Harbor*, this incident became a bizarre and surreal scene where Hess was literally nursed by a sow and then an elaborate court-martial sequence resulted.

*The Hogs of Cold Harbo*r is a symbolic novel that is, at times, disturbing and brutal as is a civil war. Norman Mailer, in liner notes, found the novel to be "a discovery" that he "loved reading." Certainly, this book is not of the caliber of *Cold Mountain or The Killer Angels*.

There is also a troublesome modern conservative Christian undertone — "The Yankees didn't believe in Christ…The Northern country…had laws to keep Christianity out of the schools, the courts, and government and all public places where people gather." Then, of course, Northerners become the hogs.

The Hogs of Cold Harbor is an interesting read, but not exactly compelling literature. It is a historical novel loosely based on John Hess's diary entries that does question the role of man, his wars, and his humanity in times of conflict.

Michael Russert

Michael Russert, a member of the North Shore Round Table of Long Island and the Company of Military Historians, has a MALS plus 60 hours in American Studies. He is Coordinator of The New York State Veteran Oral History Program.

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Norris

From: "jm wordcraft" <jmwordcraft@yahoo.com>
To: <nmncm@comcast.net>
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2006 4:44 PM
Subject: Fwd: RE: FW: "Oswald's Ghost" documentary--PLEASE PRINT FOR NORMAN

Last possible interview date: February 9--explanation below.

--- Kathryn Lewis <klewis@wylieagency.com> wrote:

> From Kathryn Lewis Wed Jan 4 13:15:50 2006
> Date: Wed, 4 Jan 2006 16:15:50 -0500
>
> Dear Judith,
>
> Thanks for this and my apologies for being so vague.
> The last date that
> he can do the interview is February 9th. I'm looking
> forward to hearing
> back from you.
>
> Best,
>
> Kathryn
>
> Kathryn Lewis
> The Wylie Agency
> 250 W. 57th St., Suite 2114
> New York, NY 10107
> tel: 212-246-0069
> fax: 212-586-8953
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: jm wordcraft [mailto:jmwordcraft@yahoo.com]
> Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2006 3:30 PM
> To: Kathryn Lewis

> Subject: Re: FW: "Oswald's Ghost" documentary
>
> Kathryn,
>
> I can't forward something this vague to Norman. He
> asked for the "last possible date" Stone can
> interview
> him and still meet his production deadlines--so
> "early
> February" just won't do. Please get a date, and
> then
> I can involve Norman.
>
> Many thanks,
> Judith
>
> --- Kathryn Lewis <klewis@wylieagency.com> wrote:
>
> > Dear Judith,
> >
> > I hope that this finds you well. I have enclosed
> > Robert Stone's email
> > regarding the interview. Early February would be
> the
> > latest Mr. Stone
> > could conduct the interview as he is due to show a
> > rough cut to PBS at
> > the end of March. I'm looking forward to hearing
> > back from you after you
> > have discussed this matter with Mr. Mailer.
> >
> > Best,
> >
> > Kathryn
> >
> > Dear Kathryn,

> >
> > As per our phone conversation, I'm writing to see
> if
> > it will be at
> > all possible to interview Mr. Mailer for our
> > documentary prior to his
> > coming to New York in March. We're starting to
> edit
> > the film and are
> > scheduled to show a rough assembly to PBS at the
> end
> > of March. He's
> > such an important aspect of how our film is
> > structured it will be
> > very difficult to edit the film imagining where he
> > will fit in and
> > what his input will be. As I mentioned in my first
> > letter concerning
> > this project, my films do not employ the use of a
> > formal narrator so
> > the interviews are absolutely central to the
> telling
> > of the story.
> > Mr. Mailer is a major player in this film not
> simply
> > for having
> > written "Oswald's Tale" but also for having been
> on
> > the front lines
> > of so much that transpired in the wake of both the
> > assassinations of
> > JFK and RFK. I think we could accomplish a
> terrific
> > interview with
> > Mr. Mailer with only a few hours of his time but
> we

> > were very much
> > hoping to complete filming in January at the
> latest,
> > early February
> > at a stretch.
> >
> > I do hope there's some way in which we can
> schedule
> > an interview with
> > him at the earliest possible convenience.
> >
> > Best Regards,
> > Robert
> > --
> > Robert Stone Productions
> > tel. 845-876-0550
> > fax. 845-818-4018
> > email. rsproductions@mac.com
> >
> >
> >
> >
>
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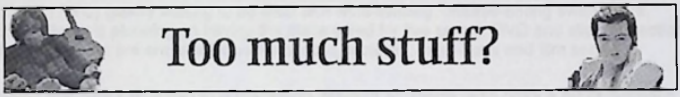

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Putting down roots in Pittsfield

Storefront Artist Project branches out with Saplings initiative

By Susan Slattery, Special to The Eagle

Thursday, December 29



Maggie Mailer, left, and Melissa St. Pierre chat with resident artist Joe Goodwin in the storefront window at SAP's permanent home on Fenn Street. Photo by Susan Slattery/Special to The Eagle

Photo Gallery / Reprints

For a while now Maggie Mailer has been making art that dissolves — in more ways than one. Her art has gone from oil painting to glycerin fountain sculptures that ultimately disappear. And the 30 or so storefront artists she installed in the free and vacant spaces she found along North Street have been moving out (but not too far out.) The mission is accomplished — Pittsfield has become a place to be; to live. What was vacant and dismal is now full, and full of life and smells and food and color. Restaurants, stores, cafes, movie theaters are scooping up the storefronts and the artists are moving up the stairs, renting, buying, putting their kids in school. Mailer's own storefront studio is being turned into a restaurant and bar called, very apropos, Spice. The Storefront Artist Project has seemingly come full circle.

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So some few months ago, Mailer decided to start planting something new. Something new, and — this is not said with any discomfort, "something permanent."

This is not a small thing for Mailer and the Storefront Artist Project. "I really want to emphasize what a big step this is," she says, somewhat carefully. "The nature of SAP has been fairly ephemeral — relying as we do on serendipity — but now we are taking a step." And not just a step toward having this permanent base of operations, a 1300-square-foot cavernous hull of a space at 124 Fenn Street ("A marvelously flexible space," she says) but "also, we are deliberately defining the vision, and going after expanding the number of spaces we have, as well as developing outreach programs between artists and the community.

"Before, we were working with what was there, but not trying to hold on to anything," says Mailer, of SAP's beginnings. "We embraced the temporary nature of the project. This space is trying to continue that idea but with longevity built in."

SAP's new base of operations is a bit chilly — Mailer has had the place gutted, so the high ceilings claim the coziness factor. Where Richmond Networks once had offices, Mailer has made two big rooms — one is the storefront, the window on the street. In that space, painter Joe Goodwin is feverishly at work on a billboard-sized canvas while some weird jazzlike bends pulse on his boom box. One can see all this from the office because Mailer likes windows. She put one in the wall between the office/gallery space and the studio where Joe is now lost in his art. The curtain is on her side.

The owner of the building, Meryl Joseph, has also given SAP the option of using the lobby as well — which looks less like a lobby than it does like a Manhattan (or some ultra hip place in NYC) gallery waiting to be filled with wine-swilling, cheese-eating swanksters. Since Mailer is planning on having the place wired for live sound, DVD and slide projection, the possibilities are endless for performances, lectures, exhibitions and film series.

Mailer and SAP's director of programming, Melissa St. Pierre, also have a list of outreach initiatives, which they call Saplings, planned for the coming year.

Some of these saplings include a high school studio-visit program, which would augment existing art classes and provide inspiration and potential mentorships for students. SAP will work with the art departments of area high schools to plan visits to the studios of professional artists — including painters, sculptors, installation artists, jewelry makers and fiber artists.

Another sapling is a planned August 2006 city exchange between Pittsfield and New Orleans. "Chip Wilson is a musician who relocated here the day before Katrina hit," says Mailer. "He pitched the idea to us. I love it when artists come to us with ideas and we can help." During August, SAP will sponsor an exchange of up to 8 artists, including musicians, painters, writers and chefs, between the cities. "We'll give them work space and then eventually they will perform in local venues."

It's all pretty open-ended, says Mailer. "August will be the one-year anniversary of the hurricane," she says. "We'll use church and retail spaces, and art galleries that are already in existence. I think it's a program we'll do year to year — and we'll start with one month, and eventually expand it, with longer residencies and more artists."

Back in 2004, SAP was given non-profit status by a dormant group called Pittsfield Festivals. "At the time," Mailer says, "I felt a certain ambivalence about turning it into a non-profit. I wanted to keep it loose and with this joyful quality."

One can't help but wonder if this is the catalyst that has driven the whole Saplings program. "I can't get excited about an organization that is only worried about itself." Certainly, SAP has more overhead now, but Mailer is less concerned with that than she is with plans to raise money for other organizations and causes beyond New Orleans.

One of the other programs SAP has already begun is the residency program — bringing artists in to use the main space studio on Fenn. Goodwin is the second artist to have

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benefited. The large canvas he is currently at work on in the SAP studio would have proved awkward in what he calls his "cozy" Appleton Avenue studio. Having the studio space at SAP headquarters offers benefits on both sides of the glass, however.

"They're entering a new phase," says Megan Whilden, city director of cultural development. "With a permanent space, they can invite artists from other areas, bring them in, and provide access to these artists for the community."

St. Pierre adds that she hopes to find artists who are open to doing lectures and workshops. "I want to find artists who like what's going on here and who want to have something to do with our mission." Before Goodwin got the space, there was a two-month collaborative residency project by artist-activist and Red Collaborative founder, Gabrielle Senza. Red Collaborative is an outgrowth of a body of work dealing with abuse, addiction, depression, and desire that Senza started in 1997.

Some of the artists who have applied for one- and two-month SAP residencies in the coming year include an artist who makes large-scale wall lenticular images; and there is a performance artist/earth artist who makes big, room-filling pieces — Mailer calls them "process-oriented installations. The artist is part of the piece. She adjusts each installation continuously, adding to it, subtracting from it." Mailer likes this idea. "It's very much in line with the thinking behind this project," she says. "A percentage of what we're doing is spontaneous, and a percentage is planned."

St. Pierre loves that combination. "When I come in here," she says, looking around the office/ gallery space, "I feel like I can dream up anything — to have something this grand and this connected in the downtown."

She has an unusual blend of skills that she brings to the SAP table. St. Pierre attended Bennington College — where she'd gone "wanting to make crazy rock opera" but where she also discovered a talent for more administrative duties. "I started doing bookings when I was there — big, all-day outdoor festivals, that kind of thing." When she left school, she found she had a good mix of performance and administrative experience, and eventually, she found herself doing promotions and bringing in bands for the NYC Luna Lounge.

"But I came to see it as a factory for musicians," she says. "I began looking for someplace I could just not be so contained." In the Berkshires she sees "all the untapped potential there is — a nascent art explosion."

St. Pierre, like Mailer, grew up in the Berkshires and eventually migrated to New York, but she did not stay as long there as Mailer did. After two years, she came back, with what she calls "this new crazy artistic theory" called psygeoconflux banging around in her consciousness. "I was just getting hit over the head with all these reactions to being in an urban landscape. Psygeoconflux is this theory that says artists can go into the urban landscape and create public and interactive pieces that bring a community together to think about the landscape they inhabit on a daily basis."

Mailer cites a project like this in Geneva, where artists built small sets of stairs here and there throughout the city, and built viewfinders into them. The viewfinders each focused on one specific thing in the urban landscape. "The idea was to make ordinary people start seeing things they may have simply overlooked before," says Mailer.

"And there was a Belgian project where the owners of the all the signage in downtown Brussels covered the street signs with yellow fabric for two weeks," says St. Pierre. "I think the effect was community building — people had to go in and talk to another person and find out how to get somewhere through dialogue instead of being routed through signage.

"I get really excited by things like that," St. Pierre says.

One of SAP's focuses now, says Mailer, is to find projects that work with the city as context. "Instead of thinking in the confines of a room, you generate ideas in and about the city landscape." SAP's canvas, like artist Joe Goodwin's, has gotten a lot larger.

Artists are always going to be asking the difficult questions and pushing boundaries, says Mailer. "Just to create a larger arena in which to exist. To open up the kind of thinking that is part and parcel of the art world — well, I would like to see it have life in a larger context."

Certainly there are expansion plans as well. SAP will be unveiling a new Web site soon, and there are inklings that they would like to see these ideas move beyond the city and even the state. "It really depends on how this year progresses," says Mailer. "Initially we wanted to expand it and make it big, but it probably makes sense to focus (these efforts) on Pittsfield for the next four or five years," she says.

Like Mailer, the artists she has helped over these last few years have also put down some roots. The studio spaces they inhabited have, for the most part, been returned to commercial use — save for a few outposts like 55 North. The artists have moved up — specifically up the stairs, and in some cases, they have even purchased homes and studios in and around Pittsfield. One artist moved out of one storefront and rented a whole second floor at 311 North — Art.on.No.

"Artists are at the vanguard of community revitalization," says Whilden. "When artists move into an area, people start to see the area differently — and they can imagine new possibilities.

"A big part of all this is that the city and the business community have come to recognize the importance of the arts to our community. And they've acted on that by establishing my position and by establishing a downtown arts district zoning overlay." The zoning change makes it easier to get upper story living, easier to develop artist live-work lofts, and easier to establish arts related businesses. "And upper story living is really seen as the "in" thing right now," Whilden says. "Community planners have identified it as a key in community revitalization. It's really the cat's meow."

One thing Whilden thinks has been overlooked, however, during all of this, is the history of art in the Berkshires and in Pittsfield specifically. "The city has had a long history of artists and creativity downtown," she says, noting that the England Brothers Building was home to several artists for many years before Legacy Banks moved in. SAP's presence is "just the latest wave in a creative upswelling."

"I'll tell you what I see," says multimedia artist Karen Cellini, who moved back to the area about a year ago. "I see Digital Blend café, I see On a Roll café. I think North Street is on fire. North Street used to be a way to just get to the mall." But Cellini sees more heads turning now to look at their surroundings. She has been in the window at 55 North Street for three months, storyboarding the walls for her latest play. "There was a guy who came every day with his dog for the first month I was here, reading the work through the window," she says.

Right now Cellini and painter Christine Heller, who also has a space at 55 North, are looking to purchase a place on North Street, "so we can be here 20 years from now.

"I often joke that these are my people — not that we're all not trying to make it, but these people on the street — their steps are a little harder, a little heavier," she says.

She is not the only one who feels this way. "A lot of people are excited about the idea of living downtown, and walking to theaters, and restaurants and movies," says Whilden. "There are apartments going in — the Howard Building owner will be starting construction of artist live-work lofts above SAP in the next few months. And the building where Digital Blend is — there are going to be market rate apartments on the second and third floor above those shops."

All this is music to Mailer's ears. "I really love it here," says Mailer. Despite their plans to take the SAP blueprint elsewhere, Mailer seems intent to stay here for a while longer. "How do I say this? I wouldn't want to work in a setting where I feel completely comfortable. I like being in a place that invites attention and care."

Norris

From: "Arianna Huffington" <arianna@huffingtonpost.com>
To: "Norris Mailer" <Nmncm@comcast.net>
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2005 8:19 PM
Subject: The Huffington Post Weekly Digest -- 12.23.05

THE HUFFINGTON POST'S
WEEKLY DIGEST

December 23, 2005

Arianna Huffington

2005: Things I Want To Forget

READ MORE: Valerie Plame, Tom DeLay, Tom Cruise, Supreme Court, Rep. John Murtha, Red State, New York Times, Iraq, Investigations, Intelligent Design, Hurricane Katrina, Hurricane, Harriet Miers, Halliburton, Global Warming, George W. Bush, FEMA, Evolution, Dick Cheney, Bob Woodward, Bill O'Reilly, Bill Frist, Arctic Wildlife Refuge, Judith Miller

Dec. 21 -- The older I get, the more I'm convinced that the key to happiness is starting every day, if you can, with a clean slate. But it should certainly be done before the start of every new year. This task is particularly easy for me this year since forgetfulness seems to come along with the Bora Bora breeze here.

So here is my list of things from 2005 that I'd love to forget -- that, indeed, we'd all be better off never having cross our minds again:

Bill Frist, video diagnostician. Bill Frist, stock market genius. Bill Frist.

That drivers will soon have to take out a second mortgage before filling up at the gas pump.

Bill O'Reilly's enemies list. That HuffPo wasn't on it (we'll try harder next year).

That the president thought Harriet Miers was the most qualified candidate for the Supreme Court

That Harriet Miers thought George Bush was the most brilliant man she ever met.

The passage of the morally bankrupt bankruptcy bill.

That the *New York Times* held off running the NSA spying story for over a year.

Being Bobby Brown: "Hell to the no!"

The note President Bush passed Condoleezza Rice asking if it was okay to take a bathroom break during a UN Security Council meeting.

The missing $9 billion the U.S.-led occupation government in Iraq can't account for.

Jeff Gannon, White House correspondent -- aka Jeff Guckert, hotmilitarystud.com.

That there is a debate about whether waterboarding is actually torture.

Judy Miller, Bob Woodward, Viveca Novak: The Three Media Stooges of Plamegate

The Fred Durst sex tape.

That 493 U.S. soldiers have died since Dick Cheney declared the insurgency was in its "last throes."

That Dick "5 deferments" Cheney was willing to go toe-to-toe with John "5 years as a POW" McCain over the issue of torture.

Jean Schmidt taking to the House floor and implying that Jack Murtha was a "coward."

That voters could have gone to the polls in 2004 knowing that Bush was spying on Americans, that a key White House aide was charged with felonies, and that the initial reasons for invading Iraq were bogus -- but didn't, thanks to the timidity of the mainstream media.

Tom Cruise vs. Brooke Shields

Tom Cruise vs. Matt Lauer

Tom Cruise vs. Oprah's couch

That, in a 60s flashback, the Pentagon is once again spying on the activities of anti-war activists.

Hillary Clinton's shameless attempts to rebrand herself as a red state friendly Democrat -- including her decision to sign on as a co-sponsor of an anti-flag burning bill.

Hillary's visit to Iraq where when she opined that suicide bombers are "an indication" of the "failure" of the insurgency, and that much of Iraq was "functioning quite well"

Hillary taking on "Grand Theft Auto."

Intelligent Design vs. Evolution.

That Phil Cooney, an oil-industry-lobbyist-turned-White House official, did extensive rewrites on government reports to make is sound as if global warming weren't really that big a problem.

Duke Cunningham's two defense contractor-provided 19th century French commodes.

That Paul Wolfowitz, one of the key architects of the war, has been successfully

repackaged as the warm and fuzzy poverty-fighting president of the World Bank.

That thanks to Bush budget cuts, one in five military families need food stamps, or Women, Infants and Children program aid to get by.

That China has become the second largest holder of U.S. debt.

That Democrats chose the insipid "Together, America Can Do Better" as their new slogan. And that they actually paid a messaging team to come up with it.

Drilling for oil in ANWR (I've been desperately trying to forget this one since 2001, but the White House just won't let me).

Bush strumming his guitar, Condi taking in Spamalot, and Cheney shopping for luxury digs -- all while New Orleans flooded.

That Bush waited five days before visiting the Gulf following Katrina. And that once he got there, he joked about his hard-partying days, congratulated Mike Brown on doing a "heck of a job," and promised to rebuild Trent Lott's house.

Brownie's resume -- especially his stint as commissioner of the International Arabian Horse Association.

That About 40 percent of Mississippi's National Guard and 35 percent of Louisiana's -- a combined total of roughly 6,000 troops -- were unable to help out after the storm because they were in Iraq.

That the first round of Katrina cleanup and reconstruction contracts went to that old gang from Baghdad: Halliburton, Bechtel, Fluor, and the Shaw Group.

The Post-Katrina Quote Hall of Shame:

"I don't think anyone anticipated the breach of levees" -- G. W. Bush

"Now tell me the truth boys, is this kind of fun?" -- Tom DeLay to young evacuees in the Astrodome

"This is working very well for them." -- Former First Lady Barbara Bush on Katrina evacuees

"If you'll look at my lovely FEMA attire you'll really vomit. I am a fashion god." -- Mike Brown in an email sent in the immediate aftermath of Katrina

Click here to read **Part Two.**

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1903

Alo's death

1903

Also earlier pages

(1)

Where Rh
Where cu

nost influent
ortance to A
ed his life an

On the day he dies, by the rules of the occasion when he found, he remembers some regard (customs)

See p 82 Payne

1903

Alois dies on Jan 3, 1903

Summer in Spital to the Schmidts

Angela's wedding

↓

maybe she burns the photographs of Alois Junior before the wedding

Obrigkeit – authority

1903

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Transfer to 1908

GERMANY WITHOUT A REICH, 1806–1871

Napoleon and the "War of Liberation"

Xerox + put copies in 1908.

It was at this time that Germany departed from the mainstream of European political thought.
—Hajo Holborn

Germans had mixed reactions to Napoleon, the man who conquered their lands and dissolved their first Reich. He was hated as the "Enlightenment on horseback" who brought with him Western ideas of liberty and equality, constitutions, codes of law, and other concepts foreign to the German experience. Yet there was grudging admiration for this man of power and Obrigkeit. "Rattle your chains as you will," said Goethe, "he is too strong for you." Hegel hailed him as a "world historic hero." The most influential historian of the day, Johannes von Müller, extolled him as "a hero whose equal is not to be found in the memory of the centuries." After receiving a personal audience with the French conqueror of his native land, Müller wrote ecstatically, "It was one of the most remarkable days of my life. By his genius and his unconstrained kindness, he has conquered me." [21]

The "war of liberation" against Napoleon illustrates the tenacity and power of myth in history: what is formative in the life of a nation—as in personal lives—is not so much what actually happened as what people believe took place. And what generations of Germans believed about their *Befreiungskrieg* was pretty much what Germany's most popular historian told them it was. Heinrich von Treitschke, "Schoolmaster of Germany," * enjoyed an influence over his countrymen unmatched by any other modern historian. For generations, the history taught in German schools was Treitschke's *History of Germany*. Indeed, his book was so widely accepted that it was often cited as the *Deutsche Geschichte*, without the name of the author being given. In every school and university lecture hall the message was proclaimed: Prussia and the "North German stock," through glorious victories over Napoleon, had won the moral right and historic mandate to unite the Fatherland and impose the Prussian system on a new and militantly powerful Germany. Treitschke hailed the glories of Prussian power in memorable—if not always accurate—prose:

Hitler matriculates in 1907 Vienna

"The common people . . . had, amid need and suffering, rediscovered their love for the Fatherland. Their souls were stirred . . . they stormed forward irresistibly and then they broke loose the old *furia tedesca*, the savage wrath of the Northern berserkers. . . . What a wonderful sight it was when the peasants rushed upon the compact square of the French infantry at Hagelberg, advancing silently, pitilessly, a horrible heap of corpses piled

* For Treitschke's influence on other aspects of German thought, see pp. 272–286.

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As a kid, in the near-frenzied atmosphere of the reichsrat, we knew Treitschke's words in his stead. 1907 OR 1908

Reread Treitschke in Vienna in 1907

1908 – about a duplicate of this page to Linz

Linz 1905 After [illegible] move to [illegible]

1806 (1901)

The Past As Prologue: Hi

silently, pitilessly, of the musketry ce up to the level of t of the smashed sku

It was a scene that

German Romanticism

Smashing military Romanticism. Although ment, as it developed tracted political conseq arresting aphorism.

As in all acts of played an important ro this child. For Prussia have wide popular ap tion, yearning, and my manticism. She, accord the more important pa ment.

Among others who man Romanticism whi Nazis was the poet Err the power of song to fo truth of the Scotish b country, and I care no Germany's most popul later in the century. *Vaterland* (1813) gav nationalism. It raised Fatherland by saying t German-speaking peop German nation:

What is t The Prus Where R Where cu

* The most influent up to personal importance to A directly shaped his life an

the level of the of the wall, both the brains oozing out of the smashed skulls of the dead.

During his first years in the *Realschule*, Adolf drifted, indirectly affected by the political forces which surrounded him but primarily concerned with his own problems. Despite his inner torment and inability to master his father or school, life in the Hitler household was secure and tranquil. On January 3,1903 the situation suddenly changed.

His father had not been in good health for a few years, following a severe attack of influenza in December 1901, and a lung hemorrhage in August 1902. Little alteration had been made in his manner of life, though. On the morning of January 3rd, he had gone off to the Gasthaus Stiefler as usual. He had just taken his glass of wine, after scornfully rejecting the newspaper handed to him because it was "too black," i.e. clerical, when he collapsed. He was moved into an adjoining room, and a doctor was summoned, but he arrived too late. The 65-year-old Alois died almost immediately.[64]

[64] *Goerlitz and Quint*, p. 34; *Fodor*, p. 687; *Jetzinger* (G), p. 72; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 52.

sometimes, she was very friendly, but no sooner would we start than she would be off. "I'm sorry," she'd say, "I haven't got the time. My work's waiting." '

A further touch was added to this portrait of Frau Klara by a nun who told me she had been at school in Leonding with Adolf's sister, Paula. Sometimes as she was passing the Hitlers' house on her way to school, Paula would come out, followed always by her mother who would see her to the gate and then give her a kiss in parting. 'I noticed it particularly,' said the nun, 'because things were different in our family and I used to feel a twinge of envy.'

But it was Adolf who wrote his mother's truest and briefest epitaph:

'Devoted to her home and to her children whose welfare was her constant and loving concern.'

The death of Alois Hitler

The text of a picture postcard which Alois Hitler sent his friend Wührer in Hafeld on 28th December 1902 reveals that in the previous August Alois had suffered a mild stroke, induced, as he said, by over-exerting himself when unloading coal into his cellar.

On Saturday 3rd January 1903, when he had taken the first sip from his morning glass of wine in the 'Gasthaus Stiefler', Alois suddenly collapsed. He was carried into an adjoining room, but died before doctor or priest could reach him. The cause of death given in the certificate was pleural haemorrhage. He was buried on Monday 5th January.

The Linz *Tagespost*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Upper Austria, printed the following obituary notice on 8th January 1903:

> '*Leonding, 5th January.* We have buried a good man—this we can rightly say of Alois Hitler, Higher Collector (retired) in the Imperial Customs Service, who was borne here to his final resting place today. His life was brought to a sudden end on the third of this month in the "Gasthaus Stiefler", where he had gone for a glass of wine as he had been feeling unwell. Alois Hitler was in his 66th year and had experienced during his lifetime a full measure of sorrow and joy. Equipped with no more than an elementary education, he had originally learned the trade of bootmaker, but later taught himself the necessary knowledge for a career in the Civil Service, where he served with distinction, also achieving success in husbandry. In the course of duty, he served in Salzburg, Braunau, Simbach, Linz, amongst other places. Alois Hitler was a progressively minded man through and through and as such warmly supported the idea of free education. In his contacts with his fellow men he evinced a cheerfulness amounting to positively youthful good humour. The sharp word that fell occasionally from his lips could not belie the warm heart that beat beneath the rough exterior. At all times an energetic champion of law and order and universally well informed, he was able to pronounce authoritatively on any matter that came to his notice. Being fond of singing, he was never so happy as when performing in the company of like-minded enthusiasts, while he was an expert in the field of apiculture. By no means the least of his characteristics were his great frugality and sense of economy and thrift. All in all: Hitler's passing has left a great gap, not only in his family—he leaves a widow and four, mostly dependent children—but also in the circle of his friends and acquaintances, who will preserve pleasant memories of him.'

been the worst possible insult to his father, for it would have meant just that aimless wandering to which he (the father) was so much opposed.

With his refusal to enter the Civil Service, Adolf Hitler's path diverges sharply from that of his father; it takes a different course, final and irrevocable. It was, indeed, the great decision of his life. The years that followed it I spent at his side. I could observe how earnestly he tried to find the right path for his future, not merely a job that would provide a livelihood but real tasks for which his talents were fitted.

Alois Hitler died suddenly. On January 3, 1903 — he was sixty-five and still strong and active — he went, as usual, punctually at ten o'clock in the morning to have his drink. Without warning he collapsed in his chair. Before a doctor or a priest could be called, he was dead.

When the fourteen-year-old son saw his dead father he burst out into uncontrollable weeping.

What she does not know is that adolf is crying for Der Alte more than for his father

In pg order

In fact, thinking of his father calms his sorrow.

Late 1996 after the fight.

Separate out all the 1996 pages from the others & insert as a group in the 96 folder.

OK

Alo's funeral

Note - this page is to go to 1903 file



Funeral Jan 5, 03

* This gives great comfort to Klara, "He did love his father after all." 1903

1903

pll

Note! The only good conversation AH ever has w Alois is about bees. Perhaps he thinks of it at the funeral & so is able to weep a little. 1903

1903

ONE

The bees are flying today and that is not according to the book. Bees usually don't fly unless the air temperature reaches fifty-five degrees Fahrenheit. This is a winter day, in late December, and the temperature is under fifty. The sun must have been shining directly on the hives and driven the temperature up inside, deceiving the bees. It must be a bit of a shock to them to venture outside, expecting benign warmth, and getting a blast of chilling air. It may be that the bees were not deceived but are merely being perverse. Bees almost never follow the rules laid down for them by their tenders. Beekeepers are forever grumbling about "those damned bees." But we have only ourselves to fault because we wrote the book, not the bees. We created our own false expectations.

Apparently, once outside and on the wing, the bees decide to complete the business that made them leave the hives. The snow is soiled with their droppings. It is startling how many brown spots there are; they dapple the snow and white hives as if someone had flicked a wet paintbrush.

Every couple of weeks the bees need a "cleansing flight" in the winter to rid themselves of accumulated wastes or they

Der Alte is gone. Thinks of the day he walked with his father to Der Alte's

Lowered not a month per expectation [illegible]

Jan 5 Funeral

Adi is surprised to find himself weeping until he realizes he is really thinking of Der Alte who ~~to~~ had been the kindest ~~[illegible]~~ old man he had ever known. And he is also weeping for the little bee with amputated wings who had been Der Alte's Companion.

harbingers of spring and couriers of summer, as they have always been. In our increasingly mechanized and sterile world they remind us of sunshine and flowers, of gentle winds, of the soft rustling of grass and leaves. They move with exquisite grace among the petals of flowers and, while watching them, we briefly experience a sense of harmony and unity with our own forgotten beginnings.

The world itself has changed while the bee has remained constant. Many of earth's natural contours have been moved this way and that, gradually by natural forces, and abruptly, often violently, by man's powerful machines, like a child's sandbox and its ever-changing form. Many species of plants and animals have been wiped out or are endangered. We have degraded the earth and defiled the air, destroyed habitats, and disrupted delicate and irreplaceable ecosystems, imperiling the base on which life rests. We are at war with nature, although we call it by euphemistic names: development, growth, progress, and that overused phrase "the bottom line," which places profits above all else

Wildlife, once abundant, now exists primarily on game preserves, in cages, and in zoos, prisoners of war, as it were; we are doing to wild creatures what we once did to the Indians, confining, squeezing, exterminating. It is said that the first settlers fell upon their knees and then upon the Indians and the trees; in attacking wildlife and nature, we are, in effect, "falling" upon ourselves.

The loss goes deeper than decimating wildlife and degrading the environment; we have forgotten our own origins in the artificial world we have created. We have traveled far from the country people of Europe, peasants mostly, who had a personal relationship with their animals. Bees were considered members of the family; if a beekeeper died, a black ribbon was attached to his hives, an ancient custom known as "telling the bees."

A few years ago British papers published a picture of a young

country bride, dressed in her wedding finery, standing beside a beehive, whispering, "Little brownies, I am getting married." Country people had many superstitions about bees. Not to tell them what was going on in the family was believed to bring bad luck; if a swarm landed on a dead plant, a member of the family would die. Such beliefs seem quaint to us, but represented the bond between people and nature.

I compare these notions and way of life with an incident involving a New York couple I knew, both professionals, middle-aged and successful in their fields. They visited friends in the country, and a summer storm at night—brief, violent, and beautiful in its intense fury—terrified them; the cry of a loon on a nearby lake was further unnerving. The unbroken and unaccustomed darkness was as frightening as the terrors that came out of it, and the couple lay awake all night, the lamp burning beside them; at first light of dawn they headed back to the safety of the city, with its high-rise apartments, crowded streets, tangles of automobiles, lights that obliterate night, and the predictable urban threats and dangers.

Do such people represent a new direction in our lives? A new dimension? Are they a new breed embarking on a new evolutionary path that eventually will be incorporated in our genes, further estranging us from our origins? Will our only link with the natural world be a geranium on the windowsill, a canary or parakeet in a cage, subservient dog or cat (declawed and neutered), both creatures as removed from nature as their masters, an apartment in a condominium warren with artificial climate controlled by thermostat, superinsulated walls with sealed windows and air exchangers, a television screen to sense the world, and a computer to manipulate the unseen forces they live by? Are we so far from that now?

We have become increasingly dependent upon machines. Does the ubiquitous computer represent a response to a newly created need in our technological revolution, a mechanical equivalent of biological progression on our part? Have we

...metery under a headstone

...ns, retired

...65th year

...photograph was set in the ...it from the weather. The ...d householder as he was ...-cropped, his small beady ...erstood, his Franz Josef ...air of benevolence and ...his Emperor well. It is the ...doubted that he was living

25

1903

The Troubled Student

The funeral of Alois Hitler took place on a bitterly cold, wintry day, when the roads were covered with ice and the trees were bare under lowering skies. Nearly everyone from the village attended, and so did the relatives from Spital and Alois's old friends from the customs service. His closest friend and lifelong companion was Karl Wessely, an Austrian customs official of Czech descent, a convivial man who liked his wine and enjoyed accompanying Alois on his rounds of the taverns. He was one of the pallbearers. Emmanuel Lugert, a much younger customs official, was another, and so was Josef Mayrhofer, the mayor of Leonding. About forty other people attended the funeral Mass in the small church at Leonding.

Bowed in deepest grief, we on our own behalf and on behalf of all the relatives announce the passing of our dear and unforgettable husband, father, brother-in-law, uncle

ALOIS HITLER

Higher Official of Royal and Imperial Customs, retired, who on Sunday, January 3, 1903, at 10 o'clock in the morning, in his 65th year, suddenly fell peacefully asleep in the Lord.

The burial will take place on Monday, January 5, 1903, at ten o'clock in the morning.

Leonding, January 3, 1903.

ANGELA HITLER	KLARA HITLER	ALOIS HITLER
PAULA HITLER	wife	ADOLF HITLER
daughters		sons

Where is the nephew [illegible] in those 5 names Only Klara.

been the worst possible insult to his father, for it would have meant just that aimless wandering to which he (the father) was so much opposed.

With his refusal to enter the Civil Service, Adolf Hitler's path diverges sharply from that of his father; it takes a different course, final and irrevocable. It was, indeed, the great decision of his life. The years that followed it I spent at his side. I could observe how earnestly he tried to find the right path for his future, not merely a job that would provide a livelihood, but real tasks for which his talents were fitted.

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WHEN I FIRST knew
concerned, already fi
still attending the te
came home, usually
sake had he — as he
attempts." His repor
school in Linz had in
been advised to let
school. To put it blu
moted only on the c
the school in the cap
satisfactory pupils by
the smaller towns. A
method and from the
fourth form of the tec
this time he knew all
and had come to the
plans for his future, s

was approximately 500 kronen less than the family had received while Alois was alive, and in view of reduced expenditures, probably resulted in no decline in its standard of living.

The arrangements with the customs office were completed in a routine manner, but the settling of the estate involved complications. Under the law, Klara, a mere female, could act as guardian only in concert with a second, male, guardian. To meet this requirement, Alois' old friend, Josef Mayerhofer, was appointed guardian of the children.[3] Mayerhofer and Klara set aside part of the estate as legacies payable to the children at the age of eighteen. Alois Junior, who was eligible for immediate payment, received the minimum required by law, 305 kronen, from his father, and the additional [illegible] kronen that his mother, Franziska Matzelberger, had left for him. Adolf, Paula, and Angela each received 652 kronen from their father, and Angela, the only other child old enough to receive immediate payment, also obtained the 1,000 kronen that Franziska had left her. The bequests for young Alois and Angela seem to have been met by using available funds, but the money due Adolf and Paula was covered by a lien on the family home. Four years earlier, Alois had paid 7,700 kronen for the house, of which 5,200 kronen had been paid in cash and 2,500 carried as a mortgage. None of the mortgage had been retired, so Klara's capital consisted of approximately 3,700 kronen (5,000 kronen, less 1,300 kronen due Adolf and Paula), assuming the value of the house had not diminished.[4] The family emerged from the legal proceedings in a solid position, with sizeable sums set aside for the children, and an adequate income backed by comfortable reserves.

Alois' death was, of course, much more than a financial problem. After the family had struggled through the technical difficulties, the real adjustment still lay before them. They had to feel their way amid bruised emotions and the sudden and startling discovery, made a dozen times a day, that Alois was gone, and things would never be the same. We do not know what scars were left on Klara and the girls by Alois' passing, nor do we have reasonable grounds for speculation, but significant changes occurred in the framework of

[2] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 124-25; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 79-81.
[3] A summary of the legal situation appears in *Coldstream*, p. 72.
[4] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 126-27; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 81-83.

Ah, no! No! No!
His Fatherland must greater grow!

Arndt and his fellow Romantics demanded a new and portentous form of nationalism. English, French, and Russian nationalists emphasized the alleged political, cultural or religious superiority of their countries over others; Arndt called for a nationalism that was *racial*. His specific terminology, "racial purity" and "bastardization" and "mongrelization," would appear again in Germany. A century and a half before Hitler, for example, he insisted that "the Germans are not *bastardized* by alien peoples, they have not become *mongrels*, they have remained more than any other peoples in their original *purity*." And he preached the messianic mission of the race: "The German is a universal man [*Allerweltsmensch*] to whom God has given the whole earth as a home . . ."

Arndt also preceded the Nazis in exalting the Leader as the incarnation of a mysterious power which united the *Volk* with "the invisible majesty of the nation." And he agreed with Hitler about the positive values of battle: "War and struggle, the live moment of live forces—that is my lust, thus my name is called, that is myself, I God the Lord."[23]

Arndt's patriotic verse appeared in a dozen anthologies used in the schoolrooms of Germany during the Empire, Republic, and Third Reich. For example, Scheel's widely read *Lesebuch*—a kind of German *McGuffey's Eclectic Reader*—contained the following poem which children in the *Volksschulen* of 1900–1914 were obliged to memorize:

We'll redden the iron with blood
With hangman's blood
With Frenchmen's blood;
Oh sweet day of Revenge![24]

Heinrich Wilhelm von Kleist (1777–1811), like many of his fellow Romantics, was torn between a sentimental longing for "a higher peace" and a delight in war and carnage. He was one of the authors of those poems which Treitschke would later call "the most beautiful political poetry in which any race could pride itself." One such poem of 1809 was entitled "*Germania an ihre Kinder*." The attitudes Mother Germany encouraged in her children with respect to the treatment of her enemies would be developed further in the *Hitler Jugend*:

Color all the pastures, all the steads
White with their bones
Those which the raven and the fox disdain
Deliver them over to the fish;
Dam up the Rhine with their corpses. . . .

Chorus:
A joy-hunt as when marksmen are on the track of the wolf!

Strike him dead! At the
asked for explanat

Kleist's call for revenge
ing the Napoleonic wars bu
1918. One of the striking f
Weimar Republic was the r
period, "Kleist scholarship b
Kleist and Arndt both said
here. But these things they c

Not all German Roman
One of them, Heinrich Heine
Kleist's and Arndt's "beautifi
penned a prophecy in 1834
a century later: "These doctr
which only await the day to
and astonishment." The Chri
brutal German joy in battle" t

Should the subduing tal
roaring forth the wild m
Berserker rage of which
is brittle, and the day wi
old stone Gods will rise
dust of a thousand year
life with his giant hamme

Few Germans at the time
humanitarian cosmopolite, toc
Jew.

A Romantic who had mo
his own was the nationalist pl
1814). He is best remembere
his stirring *Addresses to the G*
claimed the German people to
and endorsed racial nationalism

To have character and to b
sein] undoubtedly mean t
the German and the non-
the chosen people. Chosen
our destiny by every means

Fichte made contributions
Teutonic messianism but also
influential book *Der geschlossen*
State), published in 1800, he at

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

Adolf and his relatives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

demanded silence in his
also had reverberations
greatest demagogue in
monologues, forcing
long. He too would toler-

for many years mayor of
and, after his death, was
was 80 but still alert and
had been something of a
was strict with his family.
his wife had nothing to

the Hitler household, and
portant. Erik Erikson has
play make to a child's
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Alois Hitler believed in
of Alois Jr., testified that
childhood and described his
He "often beat the dog
children, and on occasion
ople who knew Alois Hitler
eak in their father's pres-
mitted to use the familiar
ater." He was accustomed
pulling two fingers in his
dog.[22]

perception of his father
ies and, indirectly, by the

The Child As Father to the Man

The child must have been confused by conflicting impressions. He was required to obey and revere the old man, and there was much to admire. In the carefully brushed and burnished uniform of the Imperial Customs Service, Alois Hitler was the personification of the dedicated civil servant, a very pillar of the Empire, the most prestigious father in the village. He was a man of substance and position who provided his family with economic security, material comfort, and social status. But this arbitrary and ferocious man also lived up to a little boy's dread Oedipal fantasy of a powerful and avenging enemy who launched sudden thunderbolts of terror, pain, and punishment.

In short, Hitler's attitude toward his father was one of such ambivalence that it could serve as a textbook description of Oedipal conflict. In young Adolf, as in the little boys described by Sigmund Freud, there was conflict between two opposing attitudes: the desire to emulate and to be loved by his father vied with the desire to be different from his father and to destroy him.

The ambivalence remained throughout Hitler's life. His boyhood friend recalled that "Adolf spoke of his father with great respect. I never heard him say anything against him, in spite of their differences of opinion about his career." And in his memoirs Hitler invariably talks respectfully of his father, characterizing him as a "faithful civil servant." He dwells on the parallels between their lives (both went off to Vienna) and draws a sympathetic and sentimental picture of his father leaving home to seek his fortune in the imperial capital:

> Not yet thirteen years old, the little boy he then was buttoned up his things and ran away from his homeland, the *Waldviertel*. . . . A bitter resolve it must have been to take to the road into the unknown and with only three guilders for travelling money. But by the time the thirteen-year-old lad was seventeen he had passed his apprentice's examination . . . the long time of hardship through which he had passed, of endless poverty and misery, strengthened his resolve. . . . With all the tenacity of one who had grown "old" through want and sorrow while still half a child, the seventeen-year-old youth clung to his decision . . . and became a civil servant . . . now there has been realized the promise of the vow that the poor boy once had sworn not to return to his dear native village before he had become something.[23]

The ambivalence he felt toward his father is revealed in a garbled passage of a nocturnal monologue during World War II. In one brief outburst he manages to pay tribute to his father, apparently bestow upon him an unearned title, and roundly damn him. During a violent attack upon bureaucrats and judges he says—or seems to say—". . . at one time, I regarded jurors as men set apart for a higher life! Indeed I looked at all such state officials that way! My old father was an honorable man. A chairman of the Assizes and *Justizrat*! I had no idea

In the days immediately following Alois' death, Klara and the children had to take care of all the numbing chores which mark the end of one era and the beginning of another. The formal announcement of death was printed and sent to relations and acquaintances. A long, laudatory obituary appeared in the Linz paper. The funeral itself was costly and ostentatious enough to usher out an Imperial Customs Official. The body was interred in the Leonding cemetery under a stone which bore a portrait of the deceased and an inscription:

Here rests in God
Alois Hitler
Higher Customs Officer and Householder
Died 3 January, 1903, in his 65th year.[1]

The formal arrangement for the funeral and burial was merely the first of the problems facing Klara. Her husband's estate had to be settled, the pensions arranged, and the legal position of herself and the children clarified. Under the standing regulations of the customs office, she received a lump-sum payment at the time of Alois' death of 605 kronen (302½ florins). She was also entitled to draw an annual pension half as large as her husband's and a yearly payment of 240 kronen for each child under twenty-four who was not self-supporting. Excluding the lump-sum payment, Klara received a first-year pension of 1,930 kronen for herself and the three children. This

[1] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 73; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 52-53; "Aus Adolf Hitlers Jugendland," *HA*, File 17, Reel 1A. A copy of the announcement is in the Veit family material, yet there is no indication of a contact between the two families during the preceding twenty-six years. *HA*, File 17A, Reel 1A.

Alois Hitler was buried in the Leonding cemetery under a headstone with an appropriate inscription:

Here rests in God
ALOIS HITLER
Higher Official of Imp. Customs, retired
and Householder
Died 3 January 1903 in his 65th year

According to the custom of the time a small photograph was set in the headstone and covered with glass to protect it from the weather. The photograph shows the old customs officer and householder as he was about a year before his death, his skull close-cropped, his small beady eyes gazing dimly at a world he never understood, his Franz Josef mustaches curling up and giving him an air of benevolence and propriety becoming in a man who had served his Emperor well. It is the face of a solid, respectable citizen who never doubted that he was living in the best of all possible worlds.

The T

The funeral of Alois Hit
when the roads were co
lowering skies. Nearly e
the relatives from Spita
service. His closest frien
an Austrian customs offici
his wine and enjoyed acc
He was one of the pallbe
toms official, was anothe
Leonding. About forty o
small church at Leonding.

Bowed in deepest grief,
relatives announce the p
father, brother-in-law, uncl

A

Higher Official of Royal a
January 3, 1903, at 10 o'cl
fell peacefully asleep in the
The burial will take pla
in the morning.
Leonding, January 3, 190
ANGELA HITLER
PAULA HITLER
daughters

Of his father's death Adolf wrote many years later: "When I was thirteen my father died suddenly. The old gentleman, who was always so robust and healthy, suffered an apoplectic stroke, and thus painlessly ended his wanderings on earth, plunging us all into the depths of despair."

Adolf was now the male head of the family, a position of considerable responsibility. His mother and Josef Mayrhofer became his legal guardians until he came of age, and Emmanuel Lugert seems to have kept an eye on the family on behalf of friends in the customs service. Both Mayrhofer and Lugert were intelligent men, genuinely fond of Klara and the children.

Although the writer of the obituary in the *Linz Tagespost* had said the orphaned children were not well provided for, they managed well enough according to the normal standard of living in Leonding. The family was far from impoverished. Klara would continue to receive 100 kronen a month, half her husband's pension, for the rest of her life, while the three children each received 23 kronen a month from the government pension fund, and in addition Klara received 600 kronen in death benefits. She owned the substantial house in Leonding, for which her husband had paid 7,700 kronen, most of it in cash, with only 2,500 kronen carried as a mortgage. Fritz Jetzinger, who was the first to investigate the finances of the Hitler family, concluded that they were in good financial shape and could live very much as they had while Alois was alive.

All the children received legacies. Alois, the black sheep of the family, received 300 kronen from his father together with the 1,000 kronen from his mother, Franziska Matzelsberger, which fell due to him. Angela received 650 kronen from her father and 1,000 kronen from her mother. Adolf and Paula received 650 kronen each. The figures show that the children were in no dire need and would be able to continue their education without any difficulty. Adolf could now afford to stay at a boys' home at Steyr during weekdays, thus avoiding the long journey back and forth. The home was kept by a Frau Sekira, who had charge of five or six boys and saw that they were well fed and did their homework. She remembered that Adolf was not a particularly endearing schoolboy. He seemed nervous and ill at ease, always addressed her in a formal manner, and spent nearly all his free time reading and drawing.

Adolf's marks at school were no better than before his father's death. He failed in mathematics, and, while his general conduct was considered satisfactory, his diligence clearly left much to be desired. In the fall he would have to take his mathematics examination over again.

In June, when school broke up, the whole family went off to spend

the summer holidays wi
Klara's sister, married to
Klara's mother, Johanna
there, and so were the t
was a hunchback like
hunchbacks at the fami
Adolf played with his yo
Anton Schmidt invited
other things to do. He d
had to catch up in his mat

It was a pleasant holic
of the Schmidts, for he
them. July and August p
put their heavy traveling
more months of detestabl
the long, lonely journey
experiment of sending hi

On September 14, 19(
some pleasure. His half-
sisters, married Leo Raub
Angela was twenty, and L
career ahead of him. Ad
real sister Paula, who was
than himself. Leo Raubal
who liked to argue in fav
public honor and a pensic
of the civil service, came
affection for his half-siste
made demands on him. T
boy and two girls. Shortly
died at the age of thirty-o

While the marriage of
other things that pleased h
on badly at school, baiting
and generally behaving wi
knows he is going to fail
to failure. There was no p
sufficiently interested in hi
special counseling. He saic
were slightly mad, and it is
him.

One of the teachers w

results were mediocre. His conduct and diligence were "variable," and he failed mathematics again. He was allowed to stand a special examination in this subject in the late summer of 1903, and, after passing it, was permitted to advance to the third form in 1903-1904.[31]

If Adolf's record was poor, so were most of his impressions of the school and its staff. With few exceptions he disliked his teachers, finding them unsympathetic and dull. He was particularly unhappy about their appearance, which he later described as sloppy, "with dirty collars, unkempt beards and the like."[32] This opinion, reflecting some middle-class fastidiousness, combined with his low performance to lessen teacher interest in him. To the teachers, Adolf appeared a "cantankerous" and "lazy" lad who did not cooperate and resented reproof. His pranks were not appreciated, but they were not serious enough to be characterized as delinquency. The school records do not reveal anything unusual, and a police investigation, carried out at the time of his trial in 1924, failed to turn up any mention of serious trouble. The investigators emphasized that the rumors then current in Germany which portrayed Adolf as a wild troublemaker in *Realschule* were definitely false. What Hitler remembered as heroic encounters had grown enormously over the years. Considering the ineffectiveness of most of his childhood plans, the delinquency tales probably represented the things he had wanted to do but lacked the necessary freedom and courage to carry out.[33]

Despite his uncooperative attitude, one of his instructors took a special interest in him. Professor Huemer taught German and French and was the advisor to Hitler's class in 1902-1903. Unfortunately, Adolf did poorly in both of his subjects, and the professor never got beyond a few tentative attempts to reach him.[34] Profes-

[31] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 101-102; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 66.
[32] *Picker*, p. 273.
[33] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 105; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 68-69; Munich police report, 1924, *HA*, File 1760, Reel 25A; *Table Talk*, pp. 189-95, 674, 697-98; *Zoller*, p. 47.
[34] Huemer's case is complex. In 1924 he wrote a very unflattering summary of Hitler which he sent to Hitler's lawyer during the treason trial. *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 104-106; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 68-69. After Hitler triumphed in Germany, he backtracked and said polite but empty things about him. Huemer letter, *NA*, T-84, Roll 4, File 4. Finally he resorted to the most fawning and humiliating glorification of the Fuehrer. *Rabitsch*, pp. 58-65. On the other

The completion of one more mediocre school year, coming as it did on the heels of Alois' death, must have cast a gloomy shadow over the prospect of a summer in Leonding. Klara and her children packed all the vacation necessities in two great trunks and set off by train for the family home in Spital. Sister Theresia and the rest of the Schmidt family were still residing in house #24, and it was there that Klara and the children spent the summer.[8] Schmidt's holding had become the center of the Hiedler-Poelzl clan in Spital. In addition to the Schmidts, Klara's mother resided there, together with the third sister, the hunchback Johanna.[9] Spital #24 was an old-fashioned peasant farm which Schmidt had turned into a mildly profitable undertaking. He had several fields and a little woodland. The Hitler children found it an ideal setting in which to run off tensions created by their father's death. Companionship with her mother and sisters provided Klara with an opportunity to recover from her emotional losses and to prepare for her new life as a widowed mother when she returned home.

The country atmosphere did not bring any great change in Adolf's activities. He spent the bulk of his time reading, drawing, and playing with the young Schmidt children. He liked the woods but did not appreciate field work, which he managed to avoid in favor of his private amusements.[10] Apparently neither his mother nor the Schmidts attempted to interfere with him. By this time, he had shed most of his need for companionship, becoming as he later said, something of a "solitary,"[11] who did not require other people to interest or amuse him.

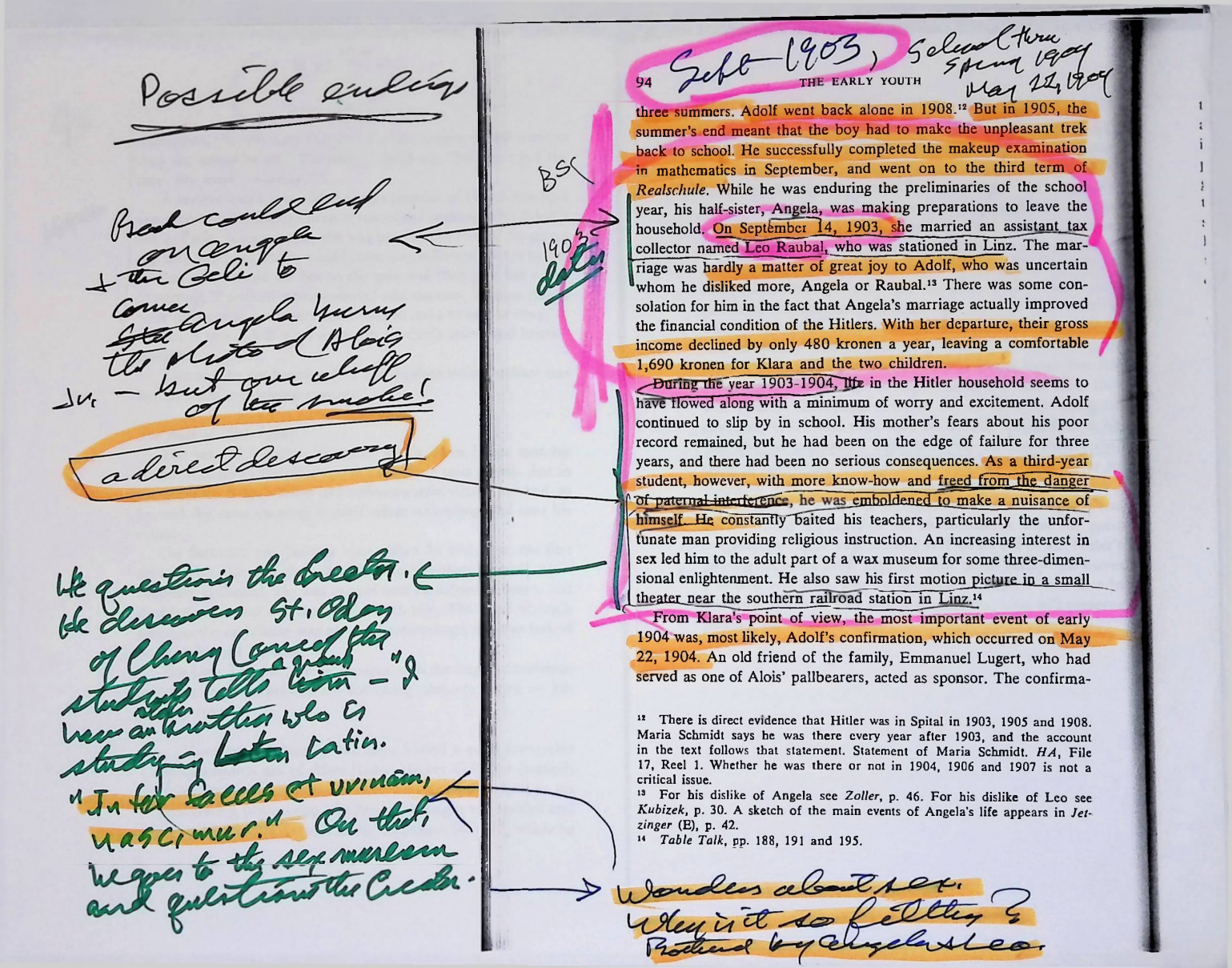
Still, Spital was a pleasant spot in which to pass the summer; the vacation probably ended all too quickly. The arrangement had been successful, and the family returned to Spital for the following

[8] Statements by Johann Schmidt and Maria Schmidt (October 16 and October 23, 1938), and report on Hitler by Niederoesterreichische Landesamtsdirektion. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.

[9] *Die Ahnentafel*, p. 40.

[10] Statement by Johann Schmidt. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.

[11] *Table Talk*, p. 360. Hitler also impressed others as a solitary youth. *Bloch*, p. 36; *Heinz*, p. 28. Some observers have considered this an essential feature of his makeup. *Roberts*, pp. 7-8; Medicus, "A Psychiatrist Looks at Hitler," *New Republic*, April 26, 1939, pp. 326-27.



Possible ending

Book could end on Angela + the Celi to come Angela hurries the news of Alois Jr. — but over shoulder of the reader!

a direct descent

BSC

1903 dates

Sept 1903, School term Spring 1904 May 22, 1904

94 THE EARLY YOUTH

three summers. Adolf went back alone in 1908.[12] But in 1905, the summer's end meant that the boy had to make the unpleasant trek back to school. He successfully completed the makeup examination in mathematics in September, and went on to the third term of *Realschule*. While he was enduring the preliminaries of the school year, his half-sister, Angela, was making preparations to leave the household. On September 14, 1903, she married an assistant tax collector named Leo Raubal, who was stationed in Linz. The marriage was hardly a matter of great joy to Adolf, who was uncertain whom he disliked more, Angela or Raubal.[13] There was some consolation for him in the fact that Angela's marriage actually improved the financial condition of the Hitlers. With her departure, their gross income declined by only 480 kronen a year, leaving a comfortable 1,690 kronen for Klara and the two children.

During the year 1903-1904, life in the Hitler household seems to have flowed along with a minimum of worry and excitement. Adolf continued to slip by in school. His mother's fears about his poor record remained, but he had been on the edge of failure for three years, and there had been no serious consequences. As a third-year student, however, with more know-how and freed from the danger of paternal interference, he was emboldened to make a nuisance of himself. He constantly baited his teachers, particularly the unfortunate man providing religious instruction. An increasing interest in sex led him to the adult part of a wax museum for some three-dimensional enlightenment. He also saw his first motion picture in a small theater near the southern railroad station in Linz.[14]

From Klara's point of view, the most important event of early 1904 was, most likely, Adolf's confirmation, which occurred on May 22, 1904. An old friend of the family, Emmanuel Lugert, who had served as one of Alois' pallbearers, acted as sponsor. The confirma-

[12] There is direct evidence that Hitler was in Spital in 1903, 1905 and 1908. Maria Schmidt says he was there every year after 1903, and the account in the text follows that statement. Statement of Maria Schmidt. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1. Whether he was there or not in 1904, 1906 and 1907 is not a critical issue.

[13] For his dislike of Angela see *Zoller*, p. 46. For his dislike of Leo see *Kubizek*, p. 30. A sketch of the main events of Angela's life appears in *Jetzinger* (E), p. 42.

[14] *Table Talk*, pp. 188, 191 and 195.

The questions the creator. He discovers St. Odon of Cluny Concept after studying tells sister — I have an brother who is studying Latin. "In hoc facies et vivimus, magister." On this we open to the sexuality and questions the Creator.

Wonders about sex. Why is it so hidden & Protected by Angela + Leo

sometimes, she was very friendly, but no sooner would we start than she would be off. "I'm sorry," she'd say, "I haven't got the time. My work's waiting." '

A further touch was added to this portrait of Frau Klara by a nun who told me she had been at school in Leonding with Adolf's sister, Paula. Sometimes as she was passing the Hitlers' house on her way to school, Paula would come out, followed always by her mother who would see her to the gate and then give her a kiss in parting. 'I noticed it particularly,' said the nun, 'because things were different in our family and I used to feel a twinge of envy.'

But it was Adolf who wrote his mother's truest and briefest epitaph:

'Devoted to her home and to her children whose welfare was her constant and loving concern.'

The death of Alois Hitler

The text of a picture postcard which Alois Hitler sent his friend Wührer in Hafeld on 28th December 1902 reveals that in the previous August Alois had suffered a mild stroke, induced, as he said, by over-exerting himself when unloading coal into his cellar.

On Saturday 3rd January 1903, when he had taken the first sip from his morning glass of wine in the 'Gasthaus Stiefler', Alois suddenly collapsed. He was carried into an adjoining room, but died before doctor or priest could reach him. The cause of death given in the certificate was pleural haemorrhage. He was buried on Monday 5th January.

The Linz *Tagespost*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Upper Austria, printed the following obituary notice on 8th January 1903:

> '*Leonding, 5th January.* We have buried a good man—this we can rightly say of Alois Hitler, Higher Collector (retired) in the Imperial Customs Service, who was borne here to his final resting place today. His life was brought to a sudden end on the third of this month in the "Gasthaus Stiefler", where he had gone for a glass of wine as he had been feeling unwell. Alois Hitler was in his 66th year and had experienced during his lifetime a full measure of sorrow and joy. Equipped with no more than an elementary education, he had originally learned the trade of bootmaker, but later taught himself the necessary knowledge for a career in the Civil Service, where he served with distinction, also achieving success in husbandry. In the course of duty, he served in Salzburg, Braunau, Simbach, Linz, amongst other places. Alois Hitler was a progressively minded man through and through and as such warmly supported the idea of free education. In his contacts with his fellow men he evinced a cheerfulness amounting to positively youthful good humour. The sharp word that fell occasionally from his lips could not belie the warm heart that beat beneath the rough exterior. At all times an energetic champion of law and order and universally well informed, he was able to pronounce authoritatively on any matter that came to his notice. Being fond of singing, he was never so happy as when performing in the company of like-minded enthusiasts, while he was an expert in the field of apiculture. By no means the least of his characteristics were his great frugality and sense of economy and thrift. All in all: Hitler's passing has left a great gap, not only in his family—he leaves a widow and four, mostly dependent children—but also in the circle of his friends and acquaintances, who will preserve pleasant memories of him.'

In the Nazi period, the 'unassuming' Braunau became a veritable Mecca, where the devout considered themselves amply rewarded for their pilgrimage if they could come away with a 'genuine' splinter, price twenty marks, from the 'authentic and original' bed in which the Führer had been born. Today people refuse to believe that, but it is true, and what is equally true and should not be forgotten is that this cult developed in some quarters into an attempt to canonize Hitler, or 'to elevate him to our altars', as Ley, the Reich Minister of the Interior, had the temerity to suggest in his radio speech after the attempt on Hitler's life in July 1944.

Passau, Bavaria

In August 1892, when Adolf was three years and four months old, his family moved to Passau in Lower Bavaria, where they remained until April 1895. During those years Adolf learned to talk, assimilating from local children a dialect akin to that spoken in his Austrian birthplace, so that in later life he looked on the speech of Lower Bavaria as his mother tongue, 'reminding me,' as he said in *Mein Kampf*, 'of the days of my childhood'. When he went to Munich in 1913 he thus felt at home at once, whereas during all the five years he had spent previously in Vienna he had never got used to the Viennese dialect or been able to think of it as anything but a jargon.

In Passau, he can have seen little of his father. When his mother hauled him out of bed in the mornings, Alois would already be at work in Haibach, and when he returned home for his midday meal, no doubt it would be the elder children, Alois and Angela, rather than their small brother, who would feel constrained in the presence of the brooding, authoritarian 'pater familias'. And before the latter ended his day's work, Adolf would once more be in bed. As for his mother, her fifth child, Edmund, was born in those years and around the time of his birth, in March 1894, she would have been glad to have Adolf off her hands, playing out of doors with the neighbours' children.

Thus in the most impressionable period of his childhood

Adolf was among German, not Austrian, children, not only copying their speech, but feeling himself one of them.

It is safe to assume that, while in Passau, Adolf must have witnessed the annual festivities commemorating the German victory of Sedan. Perhaps he watched them, as I did when a boy, with admiration not unmixed with envy of German achievements, and took part in the days that followed with other boys in 'waging war on the French', and was so busy scuffling and fighting that he barely had time to eat or notice scratches or torn trousers until after the battle was over. Perhaps, indeed, the Führer's hatred of the French—so untypical of Austrians as a whole—was rooted in those early games of make-believe, when he was too young to know what he was hating or why.

Adolf goes to school

Shortly before Alois Hitler's retirement the family left Passau and returned to Austria, settling in Hafeld near Lambach, south-west of Linz. The property—the so-called *Rauscher-Gut*—which his father had bought there would open new and wonderful vistas to the youthful Adolf. But almost before he had time to explore them he started his formal education, attending school for the first time in his life on 1st May 1895, ten days after his sixth birthday. The *Volksschule*, or primary school, was at Fischlam, a good half hour's walk from his home across beautiful countryside. The school itself was shabby and primitive, consisting of one form only with boys of all ages mustered in a single classroom. The teacher, Herr Mittermaier, was alive in 1938 when Hitler seized Austria and could still remember how, forty-three years before, the boy Adolf had first entered the school hand-in-hand with his twelve-year-old sister, Angela. Perhaps he remembered them so well because they were a cut above the others in the class, who would all be peasant children. The teacher described the new boy as mentally very much alert, obedient, but lively. He and his sister always kept the contents of their satchels in exemplary order. Hitler's self-portrait in *Mein Kampf* accords with his teacher's description and is no doubt accurate:

1902

5

1902

card 360

Alois to Klara about Adolf: "The boy ~~never~~ does ~~not~~ ~~takes~~ not the blame for anything.

You ~~are~~ spoil~~ing~~ him rotten."

"No, he has a strong mind. You cannot dictate to him."

"Be damned to ~~that~~ such nonsense, I ~~just~~ don't like his character." I will dictate to him if I choose, I just

She wept. ~~He was the only one of her sons who had lived.~~ Not a day went by ~~in~~ without ~~this~~ one ~~to~~ thought coming into her mind like a telegram: – ~~he was her only living son.~~ the THE ONLY LIVING SON. Couldn't Alois understand? He was ~~such a~~ truly a CRUEL ~~uncle~~ UNCLE ~~cruel uncle~~

After the uncle conversation.

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Opera Synopsis

1902 Leng

Parsifal

Richard Wagner

ACT I. Medieval Spain. In a forest near the castle of Monsalvat, Gurnemanz, knight of the Holy Grail, rises with two young Esquires from sleep. Two other Knights arrive to prepare a morning bath for their ailing leader, Amfortas, who suffers from an incurable wound. Kundry, an ageless woman of many guises, rushes in wildly with balsam for Amfortas. The king and his entourage enter, accept the gift and proceed to the nearby lake. As Gurnemanz bewails Amfortas' wound, his companions ask him to tell about the sorcerer Klingsor, who once tried to join the knightly brotherhood. Denied because of his worldly lust, he tried to gain acceptance by castrating himself and again was rejected. Now an implacable foe, Klingsor entrapped Amfortas with a beautiful woman: while the king was lying in her arms, Klingsor snatched from him the holy spear (which had pierced Christ's side) and stabbed Amfortas. The wound can be healed only by an innocent youth made wise through compassion. Suddenly a swan falls to the ground, struck by an arrow. The Knights drag in a youth, **Parsifal**, whom Gurnemanz rebukes for shooting the bird. The young man flings away his bow and arrows in shame. Kundry relates that his father, Gamuret, died in battle; his mother, Herzeleide, reared the boy in the forest, but now she too is dead. As the Knights carry Amfortas' litter back, Gurnemanz leads **Parsifal** to the castle, wondering if he may be the prophecy's fulfillment.

In the lofty Hall of the Grail, Amfortas and his Knights prepare to commemorate the Last Supper. The voice of the leader's father, the aged Titurel, bids him uncover the holy vessel, but Amfortas hesitates, his anguish rising in the presence of the blood of Christ. At length Titurel orders the Esquires to uncover the chalice, which casts a glow about the hall. As bread and wine are offered, an invisible choir is heard from above. **Parsifal** understands nothing, though he clutches his heart when Amfortas cries out in pain. Gurnemanz angrily drives the uncomprehending youth away.

ACT II. Klingsor summons his thrall Kundry to seduce **Parsifal**. Having secured Amfortas' spear, he now seeks to inherit the Grail by destroying **Parsifal**, whom he recognizes as the order's salvation. Kundry, hoping for redemption, protests in vain.

In Klingsor's magic garden, Flowermaidens beg for **Parsifal's** embrace but disappear

when Kundry, transformed into a siren, enters to woo him with tender memories of his childhood and mother. As she offers a passionate kiss, the youth recoils, understanding at last the mystery of Amfortas' wound and his own mission. Kundry now tries to lure him through pity for the weary life she has been forced to lead ever since she laughed at Christ on the cross, but again she is repulsed. Cursing **Parsifal** to wander hopelessly in search of Monsalvat, she calls on Klingsor, who hurls the holy spear. The youth catches it and makes the sign of the cross, causing the castle to vanish.

ACT III. Gurnemanz, now an old hermit, finds the penitent Kundry exhausted in a thicket. As he revives her, a knight in armor approaches. Gurnemanz recognizes **Parsifal** and the spear. The knight describes years of trying to find his way back to Amfortas and the Grail. Gurnemanz removes **Parsifal's** armor. Kundry washes his feet, drying them with her hair. In return, he baptizes her, then exclaims at the beauty of the spring fields. Distant bells announce the funeral of Titurel. They walk toward the castle. The Communion table has vanished from the Hall of the Grail. No longer able to uncover the chalice, Amfortas begs the Knights to end his anguish with death, but **Parsifal** touches him with the spear, which heals the wound. Raising the chalice, he accepts the homage of the Knights as their new leader. Kundry, released at last from her curse of wandering, falls dying.

– courtesy of *Opera News*

Does A. H. get caught up in this
Theme of the music at the monastery
in Lambach & his former dream

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 Lower Austria were certainly whipped without, apparently, receiving the psychic scars that Hitler suffered. "Well," one might say, "all 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 did indeed have an effect on his development. As Erikson 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 MOTHER: KLARA PÖLZL HITLER

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

The Child As Father to the Man

Alois's household. Then she demand of her employer's co was stricken with tuberculos small children who belonged lover. "Strangely enough," on does not seem to have aroused Fanni in Ranshofen and join to nurse her back to health."

Rather than proving that saintly kindness and endura strated her capacity to supp refusal to help her rival and to have been the more direct she had received." It is of cou peasant culture dominated b natural behavior what a mo tolerated. But there is no ind normal or dull. She was not [illegible] was a woman control and subdue complex not only resentment and rage b

Klara had been living w had become pregnant by him i before their marriage. She w carefully instructed in the cat sips of the little community opportunity to forget her sin Klara, the devoted Catholic, fe her transgressions against bo younger second wife, Fanni. A women had been struck down on living with their husband the need for penance and aton docile acceptance of her lot: f children and abject obedience ness to bear gossip and scanda tured into the streets of the tow

Klara began her married Fanni's children, Alois Jr., age there was added the care of her after his birth, a second child Otto, who died within a few d surviving children contracted d

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

results were mediocre. His conduct and diligence were "variable," and he failed mathematics again. He was allowed to stand a special examination in this subject in the late summer of 1903, and, after passing it, was permitted to advance to the third form in 1903-1904.[31]

If Adolf's record was poor, so were most of his impressions of the school and its staff. With few exceptions he disliked his teachers, finding them unsympathetic and dull. He was particularly unhappy about their appearance, which he later described as sloppy, "with dirty collars, unkempt beards and the like."[32] This opinion, reflecting some middle-class fastidiousness, combined with his low performance to lessen teacher interest in him. To the teachers, Adolf appeared a "cantankerous" and "lazy" lad who did not cooperate and resented reproof. His pranks were not appreciated, but they were not serious enough to be characterized as delinquency. The school records do not reveal anything unusual, and a police investigation, carried out at the time of his trial in 1924, failed to turn up any mention of serious trouble. The investigators emphasized that the rumors then current in Germany which portrayed Adolf as a wild troublemaker in *Realschule* were definitely false. What Hitler remembered as heroic encounters had grown enormously over the years. Considering the ineffectiveness of most of his childhood plans, the delinquency tales probably represented the things he had wanted to do but lacked the necessary freedom and courage to carry out.[33]

Despite his uncooperative attitude, one of his instructors took a special interest in him. Professor Huemer taught German and French and was the advisor to Hitler's class in 1902-1903. Unfortunately, Adolf did poorly in both of his subjects, and the professor never got beyond a few tentative attempts to reach him.[34] Profes-

[31] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 101-102; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 66.
[32] *Picker*, p. 273.
[33] *Jetzinger* (G), p. 105; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 68-69; Munich police report, 1924, *HA*, File 1760, Reel 25A; *Table Talk*, pp. 189-95, 674, 697-98; *Zoller*, p. 47.
[34] Huemer's case is complex. In 1924 he wrote a very unflattering summary of Hitler which he sent to Hitler's lawyer during the treason trial. *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 104-106; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 68-69. After Hitler triumphed in Germany, he backtracked and said polite but empty things about him. Huemer letter, *NA*, T-84, Roll 4, File 4. Finally he resorted to the most fawning and humiliating glorification of the Fuehrer. *Rabitsch*, pp. 58-65. On the other

to force his followers to break with the Catholic Church and join the Protestants, who were supposedly more loyal to German nationalism. The demand that the Pan-Germans also participate in this *Los von Rom* movement produced another split in the ranks of the German radicals; in 1901 a new Pan-German movement, independent of Schoenerer, was established under one of the master's lieutenants, Karl Wolf.[42]

The proliferation of parties and factions hopelessly split the vote and insured that no German party which stressed nationalism could effectively guide policy in the Austrian parliament. Prior to 1907, the champions of German nationalism were dependent on a rigidly controlled suffrage law that withheld the ballot from the lower classes. Each of the national parties managed to collect enough votes in the various German districts to survive, but by the turn of the century the *Alldeutsche* had suffered mortal defeats in Vienna and lower Austria, where it remained little more than a political curiosity. Only in Bohemia, where mixed ethnic districts and a Czech resurgence threatened German supremacy, did the *Alldeutsche* have any mass appeal after 1900.[43]

In the solid German areas, such as Linz, the extreme nationalist groups had no chance of winning an important share of power at the turn of the century, even with an electorate restricted to the propertied classes. Schoenerer received some polite applause as one of the forerunners of the German cause, but few "reasonable and respectable people" joined his organizations or voted for his futile candidates. Schoenerer, and later Wolf, too, maintained token organizations in communities like Linz. They generally ran or authorized little extremist papers like the *Linzer Fliegende Blaetter*, a weekly, or the *Alldeutsche Blaetter*, which appeared twice a month. How-

[42] Ferber, pp. 27-28; Eduard Pichl, *Georg Schoenerer* (Berlin, 1938), Vol. VI, pp. 383 ff.; Heinrich Schnee, *Georg Ritter von Schoenerer: Ein Kaempfer fuer Alldeutschland* (Reichenberg, 1943), pp. 80-81; Rudolf Kuppe, *Karl Lueger und seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1933), p. 303.

[43] Rudolf Sieghart, *Die Letzten Jahrzehnte einer Grossmacht. Menschen, Voelker, Probleme des Habsburger-Reichs* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 303-304; *Kuppe*, p. 310; Henry Cord Meyer, *Mitteleuropa in German Thought and Action, 1815-1945* (The Hague, 1955), pp. 39-40; *Pichl*, Vol. IV, pp. 111-13, and Vol. V, pp. 82-83; and Kurt Schuschnigg, *My Austria* (New York, 1938), p. 50.

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ever, the Pan-Germans, in whatever faction they happened to appear, were less a political party in Linz than a cult of devotees.[44]

In the eyes of adolescent schoolboys, though, the situation was somewhat different. The devotion of the *Alldeutsche* to symbols and childish games could not help but touch a young man's heart. The cornflower was selected as the symbol of Schoenerer's movement because it was the favorite of the old Emperor of Germany, William I.[45] Wearing the cornflower was a safe way to indicate that one's Germanic heart yearned to cross the border. When the Austrian national anthem was played, the Pan-German supporters customarily sang the Reich German lyrics (*Deutschland ueber Alles*); the music of the two anthems was the same. The Pan-Germans' concern for the purity of race and language led them to advocate the revival of linguistic and social forms which they thought were old Germanic. They tried to substitute Germanic terms for Latin and adopted a Germanic calendar. Within their ranks, the Germanic "Heil" became the standard greeting and toast.[46]

XIX

Most of this was adult nonsense and gave the *Alldeutsche* members the appearance of antiquarian cranks, but their outlook was tailored to the adolescent mind. Many of Schoenerer's enthusiasms paralleled interests which young Adolf developed in these years. The Pan-Germans venerated Wagner as a nationalist hero and were primarily responsible for the creation and extension of the Wagner cult as part of the German nationalist program.[47] Schoenerer also supported the Boers and even attempted to establish an embargo on Austria's meager shipments of war material to Britain during the South African

[44] *Pichl*, Vol. VI, pp. 132 and 548; Schnee, *Schoenerer*, pp. 82-83; Gustav Adolf v. Metnitz, *Die Deutsche National-Bewegung 1871-1933* (Berlin, 1939), pp. 42-43; Georges Weil, *Le Pangermanisme en Autriche* (Paris, 1904), pp. 226-44; Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918*, 2 vols. (New York, 1950), I, p. 100.

[45] *Pichl*, Vol. II, p. 430.

[46] *Pichl*, Vol. IV, pp. 546-47; *Ferber*, p. 25. An interesting example of this activity appears in Pichl. All his months are written in old Germanic. As he explains in the preface, this was intended to reduce foreign contamination, especially that of Latin and the Catholic Church. The page numbers of the preface are, humorously enough, in Roman numerals. *Pichl*, Vol. I, p. xviii.

[47] *Pichl*, Vol. IV, pp. 586-87; Schnee, *Schoenerer*, pp. 17-20.

Yes, I love to.
Imaginary Conversation

Adolf could have his first emergence in politics
think of the beauty of Passau.

Imaginary Conversation

I would like to raise the level of our conversation

Alo – I have heard that Prague is more beautiful than Vienna.
A.H. – Impossible.
Alo – You say impossible to your father?

conflict.[48] The *Alldeutsche*, like others who shared the emerging *voelkisch* ideology, also stressed general concepts with a special appeal for young people. Rejecting the uncertainties and changes that characterized modern life, they glorified the eternal verities represented by home, soil, Germanic culture and the *Volk*. The need for a social and political program which would "root" men in this true Germanic life was a constant theme in their propaganda. This version had genuine appeal, especially for adolescents looking for self-awareness and established goals in a rapidly changing society which provided few clear guideposts. One could immerse oneself in the *Volk* and find the sure footing and fixed relationships upon which to build a clear sense of identity and purpose.[49]

During his *Realschule* years, however, Hitler did not undertake a systematic study of *Alldeutsche* aims, nor did he consciously commit himself to the program of any political party.[50] He merely absorbed many of the symbols, attitudes and enthusiasms that the *Alldeutsche* favored. These features were extreme and totally impractical in the eyes of most adults but they appealed to him. Through them, he could rebel and make his mark while enjoying a measure of safety on the fringes of radical nationalism.

A belief in German national superiority and the emphasis on blood as the carrier of this primacy played an important part in Hitler's thinking. During his secondary school years he acquired an emotional commitment to this idea, although, as yet, he had no theory of racial or national differences. The closely related position, also advocated by the Pan-Germans, that all Germans belonged in one Reich, left important marks upon him, though it is doubtful whether he had any concrete idea of the vast and revolutionary changes implicit in this belief.

Incidentally, Adolf's anti-Habsburg sentiments provided another means of picking at his father. Alois supported nationalist causes, but only to the degree that they established firm defenses around

[48] *Pichl*, Vol. V, pp. 123-24.
[49] An extended discussion of the *voelkisch* ideology and "rootedness" appears in Mosse, pp. 16 ff.
[50] Hitler's description indicates this. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 13-14. Later he stated that he sympathized strongly with Pan-Germanism before he came to Vienna but that he really studied it for the first time in the capital.

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[54] Munich police report

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German privileges, especially in the imperial service. Even then, he was not a fanatical opponent of the claims made by other nationalities. Ethnic and religious prejudice did not color his personal relations; his best friend was a Czech. What Alois could not tolerate, as a devoted subject and servant of the crown, was the suggestion that the Habsburg realm be destroyed and that the Austrian Germans become dependent on the Prussians, whom he thorough[51] When his combative and obnoxious son discovered Alois' vulnerability in this area, the boy must have been secretly pleased. A few well-timed anti-Habsburg remarks, or prominent displays of the cornflower, could penetrate the old man's defenses just as well as a miserable school record or hints about an artist's career.

In contrast to the ultra-nationalist doctrines of the *Alldeutsche*, which profoundly effected Adolf, its counterpart, the *Los von Rom* movement, made little impression upon him. He was skeptical about the Church from an early date and persistently annoyed his religious instructor in the *Realschule*, but this had a minimal influence on his home life.[52] His father had long been suspicious of the Church and cool towards religious influences in the schools; he found it difficult to crush the boy's game of baiting the priest. However, neither Adolf nor his father accepted the positive side of the *Los von Rom* movement, which called for a conversion to Protestantism.[53] The Linz criminal police, when tracking down rumors about Hitler's youth, emphasized that he had not played a part in the *Los von Rom* movement while in Linz.[54]

With Adolf positively affected by racial nationalism but largely

[51] Without substantiating evidence, except the fact that Alois was anticlerical, some writers have assumed that he supported Schoenerer. *Fodor*, p. 687; *Goerlitz and Quint*, p. 28; and *Daim*, p. 191. Anticlericalism was not a monopoly of Schoenerer's group. Other parties, such as the Progressives and the *Deutsche Volkspartei*, held the same position. Schoenerer's Pan-Germanic and anti-Semitic position ran counter to Alois' whole life and career. The direct evidence against Alois' being a supporter of Schoenerer is in *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 60 and 73; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 44 and 53. Wesseley, Alois' Czech friend, remained close to him all of his later life and was one of his pallbearers.

[52] *Rabitsch*, pp. 66-67; *Table Talk*, pp. 188-92; *Greiner*, pp. 46-49.

[53] In Vienna, Hitler sounded pro-Lutheran (see below, p. 139), but later he was much more sympathetic to Catholicism. *Table Talk*, pp. 89, 142 and 412-13.

[54] Munich police report, 1924. *HA*, File 1760, Reel 25A.

During his first years in the *Realschule*, Adolf drifted, indirectly affected by the political forces which surrounded him but primarily concerned with his own problems. Despite his inner torment and inability to master his father or school, life in the Hitler household was secure and tranquil. On January 3,1903 the situation suddenly changed.

His father had not been in good health for a few years, following a severe attack of influenza in December 1901, and a lung hemorrhage in August 1902. Little alteration had been made in his manner of life, though. On the morning of January 3rd, he had gone off to the Gasthaus Stiefler as usual. He had just taken his glass of wine, after scornfully rejecting the newspaper handed to him because it was "too black," i.e., clerical, when he collapsed. He was moved into an adjoining room, and a doctor was summoned, but he arrived too late. The 65-year-old Alois died almost immediately.[64]

[64] *Goerlitz and Quint*, p. 34; *Fodor*, p. 687; *Jetzinger* (G), p. 72; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 52.

an eager reception from the younger village children who were anxious to resume their play with him.[27] Here he was the undisputed master, and the old round of conflicts and games continued as if there was no *Realschule* and no problem of maturity. When left to his own devices, he played and read as he had done before, with only a few new activities. He spent time painting and drawing and may also have had a passing contact with Wagner's music.

There were repeated difficulties between father and son. In addition, Adolf's relations with his sisters cooled, which is not surprising in a twelve-year-old. However, he retained his low opinion of them even during his years of power, when he dismissed them as "stupid geese."[28] The bonds that tied him to Klara were not severed so easily. Edmund's death increased her concern for the remaining children. She tried to hold them as tightly as possible, but she was unable to interfere effectively in the conflict between Adolf and his father. The boy was withdrawing. It became increasingly difficult to keep the lines of maternal communication open.

The academic side of Hitler's first year in *Realschule* was at best spotty. His diligence was "variable," and he failed both mathematics and natural science. Though he was enthusiastic about drawing outside of school, his classroom work in this subject was merely "adequate," rather than "outstanding." The drawings of the leading art students were hung in the drawing classroom to serve as examples for boys in future classes, but none of Hitler's found their way there.[29] He did not excel in any subject, and this, combined with his failure in two courses, did not permit him to advance to the second form.

During the year 1901-1902 Adolf repeated the first two semesters of *Realschule*. His work improved somewhat, and he managed to obtain passing grades in his courses along with favorable marks in diligence and conduct.[30] He was still working far below capacity, however, and his improvement did not occasion any relaxation of tension at home or increase his enthusiasm for school. In 1902-1903, he struggled through the second form of *Realschule*, but again the

[27] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 100-101; *Rabitsch*, p. 30; *Heinz*, p. 27.
[28] *Zoller*, p. 46.
[29] *Rabitsch*, p. 74; *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 101-102; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 65-66.
[30] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 101-102; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 66.

same time it makes his adolescence appear heroic – a difficult task for any politically conscious autobiographer. In fact, the story served the later Fuehrer's purposes so well that one may well ask whether or not he invented the whole episode.

Several items of evidence make it probable that a struggle over Adolf's career did in fact occur. Alois' determination to make his last son an official coincides with what we know of his outlook and manner of doing things. That Adolf decided on an artist's career during his youth is certain. The essential conditions for a conflict were, therefore, present. It should also be noted that the father was a veritable model of resolute and obstinate behavior, who had already had a serious struggle with his oldest son, Alois Jr. Furthermore, it is obvious that at some point Hitler's stubborn determination, so marked in subsequent years, must have come into the open. This issue may well have been the catalyst. An incident from a later period shows that the conflict remained very real for him. During lunch, on May 10, 1942, a conversation arose at headquarters about children's problems in school. Hitler stated that parents made an important error when they demanded that a child be good in all subjects. He added:

> Parents make it worse when they try to prepare a child for a profession prematurely and then, when it doesn't work, they immediately begin to talk of a lost or misguided son. His [Hitler's] parents wished to make him enthusiastic about an official's life at the age of thirteen and dragged him to the customs office in Linz – a real bureaucratic cage – in which the old men squatted beside each other like monkeys. Since they had not considered that such a picture would awaken horror and hate rather than enthusiasm, from this point on he was left with disgust for the life of an official.[12]

[12] Henry Picker (ed.), *Hitlers Tischgespraeche im Fuehrerhauptquartier 1941-42* (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 324. Jetzinger denies that there was any conflict over schooling or career, believing that the whole account in *Mein Kampf* is an invention to account for Adolf's poor school record. He states that Alois could not have chosen the *Realschule* for a prospective bureaucrat. Granting that it was unusual, the choice was not impossible and was justified by the points given in the text, plus the fact, which Jetzinger ignores, that Alois had made a comfortable living without legal training. In any event, the type of school had no intrinsic importance in the conflict between father and son except that the choice of school opened up the career question. *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 98-99.

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[13] *Mein Kampf*, p
[14] Johann Reckter
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vant. The *Realschule*'s emphasis on modernity and technical excellence better suited his views, and its curriculum included a number of subjects, such as drawing, which he thought should be encouraged. Adolf was showing interest in drawing both in and outside the classroom, and his father felt that the *Realschule* would develop whatever artistic talents he possessed. In part at least, the *Realschule* decision met the boy's interests and enthusiasms, and Alois held more than a distant hope that something practical and profitable might result.

None of these considerations seem to have made any deep impression on Adolf, who was initially neither especially enthusiastic nor noticeably hostile. The decision in favor of a *Realschule* rather than a *Gymnasium* was a matter of indifference to him. The situation became serious only when Alois began to consider the fine points of his class program and the selection of an ultimate career. "It was his basic opinion and intention," Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "that, like himself, his son would and must become a civil servant. It was only natural that the hardships of his youth should enhance his subsequent achievement in his eyes, particularly since it resulted exclusively from his own energy and iron diligence. It was the pride of the self-made man which made him want his son to rise to the same position in life, or, of course, even higher if possible, especially since, by his own industrious life, he thought he would be able to facilitate his child's development so greatly." [10]

The virtues of the civil service were proverbial in the Hitler household. It was necessary that one child should be prepared for the bureaucracy, almost as noble sons once were destined for army and Church. Yet, when the actual decision had to be made, the old man ran into unexpected resistance. A serious conflict erupted between father and son because the boy refused to cooperate in Alois' plans. He claimed that he had no interest in an official's life; nothing his father could propose, through either commands or blandishments, succeeded in changing his stand. The struggle between father and son gradually became more serious. Alois became increasingly bitter and intransigent. And Adolf's whole manner of life was profoundly changed. During the years in *Realschule* (1900-1905), he emerged

[10] *Mein Kampf*, p. 7.

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as a solitary, resentful, and uncooperative youth who sullenly went through the motions at home and failed in school. After compiling an excellent record in *Volksschule*, he slipped from one mediocre term to another, either failing completely (1900-1901) or barely skating by. The whole experience deeply affected his later development. It barred his way to higher education and left him with a full measure of unhappy confusion and resentment about himself, his family and his future.

The significance of this five-year period necessitates a careful examination of the facts in the case and the possible causes. The major source of information is the comparatively lengthy description in *Mein Kampf*. According to this account, the struggle began suddenly when Adolf directly rejected his father's career plans. A contest of wills followed in which Alois won the nominal victory by forcing the boy to go to school, but Adolf held on to his determination not to become an official. In the ensuing months (Hitler fails to mention that his grades in *Realschule* were unsatisfactory from the beginning) Alois tried to awaken the boy's interest in administrative work and did his best to paint alluring pictures of bureaucratic life. But Hitler says he merely "yawned and grew sick to my stomach." Eventually he brought forward a counterproposal: he wanted to become "a painter, an artist." However, the first time he mentioned this to his father, Alois rejected it emphatically: an "artist, no, never as long as I live." Finally, Hitler claims, in order to force his father to agree to an artist's career, he threatened "to stop studying altogether." When Alois failed to yield, he silently "transformed my threat into reality." [11]

This description obviously presents the young Hitler in the best possible light, for it portrays the conflict as an important confrontation between two responsible and mature people. It coincides exactly with Hitler's picture of himself as a hard and determined man who had managed to rise a long way by 1924 (when *Mein Kampf* was written) and would go on to final victory. At the same time, it is the basis for the picture of the frustrated artist who went into politics with the resolve to save Germany. Most important, it explains away his poor grades in *Realschule* and his slow maturation while at the

[11] *Mein Kampf*, pp. 9-10.

conflict.[48] The *Alldeutsche*, like others who shared the emerging *voelkisch* ideology, also stressed general concepts with a special appeal for young people. Rejecting the uncertainties and changes that characterized modern life, they glorified the eternal verities represented by home, soil, Germanic culture and the *Volk*. The need for a social and political program which would "root" men in this true Germanic life was a constant theme in their propaganda. This version had genuine appeal, especially for adolescents looking for self-awareness and established goals in a rapidly changing society which provided few clear guideposts. One could immerse oneself in the *Volk* and find the sure footing and fixed relationships upon which to build a clear sense of identity and purpose.[49]

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See p 69 (next page)

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an eager reception from the younger village children who were anxious to resume their play with him.[27] Here he was the undisputed master, and the old round of conflicts and games continued as if there was no *Realschule* and no problem of maturity. When left to his own devices, he played and read as he had done before, with only a few new activities. He spent time painting and drawing and may also have had a passing contact with Wagner's music.

There were repeated difficulties between father and son. In addition, Adolf's relations with his sisters cooled, which is not surprising in a twelve-year-old. However, he retained his low opinion of them even during his years of power, when he dismissed them as "stupid geese."[28] The bonds that tied him to Klara were not severed so easily. Edmund's death increased her concern for the remaining children. She tried to hold them as tightly as possible, but she was unable to interfere effectively in the conflict between Adolf and his father. The boy was withdrawing. It became increasingly difficult to keep the lines of maternal communication open.

The academic side of Hitler's first year in *Realschule* was at best spotty. His diligence was "variable," and he failed both mathematics and natural science. Though he was enthusiastic about drawing outside of school, his classroom work in this subject was merely "adequate," rather than "outstanding." The drawings of the leading art students were hung in the drawing classroom to serve as examples for boys in future classes, but none of Hitler's found their way there.[29] He did not excel in any subject, and this, combined with his failure in two courses, did not permit him to advance to the second form.

During the year 1901-1902 Adolf repeated the first two semesters of *Realschule*. His work improved somewhat, and he managed to obtain passing grades in his courses along with favorable marks in diligence and conduct.[30] He was still working far below capacity, however, and his improvement did not occasion any relaxation of tension at home or increase his enthusiasm for school. In 1902-1903, he struggled through the second form of *Realschule*, but again the

[27] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 100-101; *Rabitsch*, p. 30; *Heinz*, p. 27.
[28] *Zoller*, p. 46.
[29] *Rabitsch*, p. 74; *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 101-102; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 65-66.
[30] *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 101-102; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 66.

~~Note~~ See the note on Adolf's assumption that his art-work will take care of the rest.

recognition of his

In 1901 there could be some movement. Klara works on Alois to be lasier on Adolf who is so upset over Edmund's death. Alois tries, & ~~the~~ Adolf's work improves, but not for long.

he takes Adolf to visit the Custom office in Linz.

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sor Poetsch, a history teacher, succeeded in awakening his interest in history, although he had no special concern for the boy himself. Poetsch used vivid descriptions and imaginative constructions to awaken his young charges' curiosity about the heroes and events of the German past.[35] Adolf was enthralled by the stories, even though they did not stimulate him to produce good grades in history. All he acquired was a taste for historical romance, which he considered the genuine article; this enthusiasm was easily absorbed into his world of dreams and play. A light sprinkling of romantic history enhanced the wars and Indian campaigns that raged in Leonding nearly every afternoon. The great figures of German myth and romance were especially appealing, and their attraction was enhanced by the compositions of Richard Wagner. Adolf saw his first Wagnerian performance at the Linz opera house during his second *Realschule* year and was soon addicted to the music and drama of the master of Bayreuth.[36]

Adolf's feelings about politics during his *Realschule* years are especially important in tracing the course of his career. As an established political figure in the 1920's, Hitler stated, in a deceptively simple manner, that he had taken an important political step when he "became a nationalist" in secondary school.[37] Together with most of the boys in his class, he supported the cause of German rights and privileges, seizing every opportunity to proclaim devotion to the cause of "Germandom." [38] However, the question of German "nationalism" in Austria at the turn of the century was much more complicated than might be imagined from Hitler's description. During the 1880's, the nationality struggles within the Empire had in-

side, however, when the Hitler family doctor, who was a Jew, needed help after the *Anschluss*, only two prominent people came forward to aid him. One of these was Huemer. "Bericht zur Sache Dr. Bloch," *HA*, File 17, Reel 1.

[35] *Mein Kampf*, pp. 14-15. After the *Machtergreifung*, the story circulated that Poetsch had become a recluse. *Rabitsch*, pp. 53-54. Jetzinger accepted this and added that he withdrew in order to cut all connections with Hitler. *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 107-108; *Jetzinger* (E), p. 70. The last point is incorrect; the record of correspondence between Poetsch and Hitler between 1929 and 1939 is in *HA*, File 15, Reel 1.

[36] *Mein Kampf*, pp. 16-17.

[37] *Mein Kampf*, p. 10.

[38] *Heinz*, pp. 28-29; *Mein Kampf*, pp. 12-13.

German privileges, especially in the imperial service. Even then, he was not a fanatical opponent of the claims made by other nationalities. Ethnic and religious prejudice did not color his personal relations; his best friend was a Czech. What Alois could not tolerate, as a devoted subject and servant of the crown, was the suggestion that the Habsburg realm be destroyed and that the Austrian Germans become dependent on the Prussians, whom he thoroughly disliked.[51] When his combative and obnoxious son discovered Alois' vulnerability in this area, the boy must have been secretly pleased. A few well-timed anti-Habsburg remarks, or prominent displays of the cornflower, could penetrate the old man's defenses just as well as a miserable school record or hints about an artist's career.

In contrast to the ultra-nationalist doctrines of the *Alldeutsche*, which profoundly effected Adolf, its counterpart, the *Los von Rom* movement, made little impression upon him. He was skeptical about the Church from an early date and persistently annoyed his religious instructor in the *Realschule*, but this had a minimal influence on his home life.[52] His father had long been suspicious of the Church and cool towards religious influences in the schools; he found it difficult to crush the boy's game of baiting the priest. However, neither Adolf nor his father accepted the positive side of the *Los von Rom* movement, which called for a conversion to Protestantism.[53] The Linz criminal police, when tracking down rumors about Hitler's youth, emphasized that he had not played a part in the *Los von Rom* movement while in Linz.[54]

With Adolf positively affected by racial nationalism but largely

[51] Without substantiating evidence, except the fact that Alois was anti-clerical, some writers have assumed that he supported Schoenerer. *Fodor*, p. 687; *Goerlitz and Quint*, p. 28; and *Daim*, p. 191. Anticlericalism was not a monopoly of Schoenerer's group. Other parties, such as the Progressives and the *Deutsche Volkspartei*, held the same position. Schoenerer's Pan-Germanic and anti-Semitic position ran counter to Alois' whole life and career. The direct evidence against Alois' being a supporter of Schoenerer is in *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 60 and 73; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 44 and 53. Wesseley, Alois' Czech friend, remained close to him all of his later life and was one of his pallbearers.

[52] *Rabitsch*, pp. 66-67; *Table Talk*, pp. 188-92; *Greiner*, pp. 46-49.

[53] In Vienna, Hitler sounded pro-Lutheran (see below, p. 139), but later he was much more sympathetic to Catholicism. *Table Talk*, pp. 89, 142 and 412-13.

[54] Munich police report, 1924. *HA*, File 1760, Reel 25A.

Semitism as a mark of backwardness and lack of education.[60] He further asserted that he had found references to what he called "religious quarrels" unpleasant, if not revolting, due to his own liberal and tolerant outlook.[61] The description of the family attitude coincides well with what we know of Alois' convictions, but Adolf's account of his own views was probably exaggerated. A boy who knew him intimately in Linz claimed that he was distinctly anti-Semitic prior to his departure for Vienna in 1907.[62] Adolf apparently picked up some traces of social anti-Semitism at the *Realschule* or through his reading and play. It seems likely that it was the outgrowth of schoolboy snobbery, plus a few echoes from the radical anti-Semitic propaganda of Schoenerer's friends. The vast majority of the students with whom Hitler went through *Realschule* were German Catholics, but there were a few Jews, Czechs and Protestants. A breakdown of the school records in this period shows one Italian, one Serb, four Czechs, and 323 Germans. There were 299 Catholics, 14 Protestants, one Greek Orthodox, and 15 Jews. In Adolf's class, 1B, during the spring of 1902, there were 28 Catholics, five Protestants, and six Jews; all the students were listed as being German nationals.[63] Under the circumstances, some classroom anti-Semitism was possible, perhaps even natural. Hitler may have cultivated this antipathy until it became a generalized distaste, perhaps unconsciously reinforced by the peripheral currents of anti-Semitic propaganda. However, he was probably not a political nor even an ideological anti-Semite. He was not committed to anti-Semitic theory nor to any anti-Semitic organization, and, as yet, he remained almost completely ignorant of racial anti-Semitism.

[60] *Mein Kampf*, p. 51. Hitler uses the term "cosmopolitan" to denote a liberal lack of prejudice. This was a word commonly applied to the opposition by the anti-Semites. *Pichl*, Vol. III, p. 106. Hitler stated also that he was not anti-Semitic in Linz in his defense speech in 1924 (*Adolf Hitlers Reden* [Munich, 1934], p. 96) and in his autobiographical sketch of 1921. *HA*, File 17, Reel 1. The old assumption that an anti-Semitic child signified an anti-Semitic family is disposed of in Nathan W. Ackermann and Marie Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (New York, 1950), p. 84.

[61] *Mein Kampf*, p. 52.

[62] *Kubizek*, p. 79, qualified by *Daim*, pp. 37-38.

[63] Linz *Realschule* records. *HA*, File 653, Reel. 5. Obviously there is no correlation between "good and bad contacts" with Jews and the growth of anti-Semitism. See *Ackermann*, p. 83.

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[64] *Goerlitz and* (E), p. 52.



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Adolf had had five years of grade school, in fall of 1900 Alois sent him to high school (*Realschule*, a lower-level *Gymnasium*) in Linz, an hour's walk from Leonding. The eleven-year-old, who every day had to switch from the roughness of country life to the strictness of the small-town school, could not adapt and did not do well. In his first year he earned 'unsatisfactory' marks in math and natural history and was kept back. In addition, according to school records, every year he received a reprimand, alternately in general conduct and homework. Still, his tuition was waived, which indicates that his family was indigent.[41]

In 1924, the well-meaning French teacher Dr. Huemer said of his former pupil, "He was decidedly gifted, if one-sided, but had difficulty controlling his temper. He was considered intractable and willful, always had to be right and easily flew off the handle, and he clearly found it difficult to accommodate himself to the limits of a school." He demanded "unconditional subordination from his schoolmates," had enjoyed "the role of the leader," and apparently had been "influenced by Karl May stories and tales about Red Indians."[42]

Later, Hitler would frequently enjoy talking about his favorite author, Karl May: *I read him by candlelight and with a large magnifying glass at moonlight.* He thanked May for *introducing me to geography.*[43] In 1943 he proudly showed his companions the Hotel Roter Krebs in Linz, where the revered writer stayed in 1901 for a length of time.[44]

Young Hitler made no effort at advancing in school. According to a schoolmate, Klara frequently had to go to school "to check on him."[45] In *Mein Kampf* Hitler states that he deliberately did not apply himself in school so that he would not have to become a civil servant. Later he would criticize those parents who prematurely determine their children's careers, *and then, if something goes wrong, start talking about their prodigal or ill-bred son.* His father had *dragged* him at the age of thirteen *into Linz's main customs office, a genuine state cage where those old men had sat on top of one another, like monkeys. Thus he had learned to deplore thoroughly the career of a civil servant.*[46]

His relationship with his father was coming to a head. His sister Paula remembered, "every night Adolf got a thrashing because he came home late."[47] Hitler summarized that period as follows: *I was forced into opposition for the first time in my life. Hard and determined as father might be in putting through plans and purposes once conceived, his son was just as persistent and recalcitrant in rejecting an idea which appealed to him not at all, or in any case very little.*[48]

Among friends, Hitler would later paint a negative picture of his father. An entry in Goebbels's diary reads, "Hitler suffered almost the

Adolf starts to dream of foreign lands, jungles, deserts, natives, and heroes among them. He is also ~~in~~ intrigued by the shape of countries.

same youth as I did. Father, a domestic tyrant, mother, a source of kindness and love."[49] Supposedly Hitler was to tell his lawyer Hans Frank that even as a ten- to twelve-year-old he had to take his drunk father home from the bar: *That was the most horrible shame I have ever felt. Oh, Frank, I know what a devil alcohol is! It really was—via my father—the worst enemy of my youth.*[50]

Having retired, Alois Hitler had nothing to do and distracted himself by going to bars every day. Frequently he met with the farmer Josef Mayrhofer, with whom he worked for the German nationalists.[51] This might have been one of the "table societies," those tiny party factions among the circle of family and friends that some German nationalist parties entertained. Mayrhofer said of Hitler senior; "He was a curmudgeonly, taciturn old man, a smart libertine, and like all libertines in those days, a staunch German National, a Pan-German, but still, strangely enough, loyal to the Emperor."[52]

In Upper Austria at that time, it was the governing Deutsche Volkspartei (DVP, German People's Party) that was libertine, German-national, and loyal to the emperor. Grown out of the circle around the extremist German nationalist Georg Schönerer, it had a moderate German-national platform and accepted Jews as members. There is no reason to believe that Hitler misstated the truth in *Mein Kampf* when he said about his father that he had viewed anti-Semitism as *cultural backwardness* and that he had adopted *more or less cosmopolitan views . . . despite his pronounced national sentiments.*[53]

Politics at School

The atmosphere at the Linz high school was politically turbulent. Together, "clericalists" and Hapsburg loyalists fought against libertines and German nationalists. Pupils eagerly collected and displayed their colors: while the high school students loyal to the emperor collected black-and-yellow ribbons and badges, photographs of the imperial family, and coffee cups depicting Empress Elizabeth and Emperor Franz Josef, the German nationalists collected devotional objects such as Bismarck busts made of plaster, beer mugs with inscriptions of heroic maxims about Germany's past, and, above all, ribbons, pencils, and pins with the "greater German" colors of 1848: black, red, and gold. [In *Mein Kampf* Hitler states that he too took part *in the struggle of nationalities in old Austria. Collections were taken for the* Sudmark [i.e., Austria viewed as part of the Greater German Empire] *and the school association; we emphasized our convictions by wearing cornflowers* [the emblem of Austria's Pan-Germans] *and red, black, and gold*



Klara Hitler, nee Pölzl



Alois Hitler, né Schicklgruber

with no one wanting to be an Englishman and everybody wanting to be a Boer. As late as 1925 Hitler would say, *On the side of the Boers, the just will to liberty, on the side of England, greed for money and diamonds.*[36]

In 1900 six-year-old brother Edmund died in Leonding of the measles, and eleven-year-old Adolf was left the only son of the family. The difficulties with his father began to increase. Hitler's schoolmates described him as "hardly an engaging person, neither in his external appearance nor in his character."[37] "Old Mr. Alois demanded absolute obedience. Frequently he put two fingers in his mouth, let out a piercing whistle, and Adolf, no matter where he may have been, would quickly rush to his father. . . . He often berated him, and Adolf suffered greatly from his father's harshness. Adolf liked to read, but the old man was a spendthrift and didn't hand out any money for books." Alois Hitler's only book is said to have been a volume on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71: "Adolf liked looking at the pictures in that book and was a Bismarck enthusiast."[38] In *Mein Kampf*, however, Hitler himself mentions his *father's library*.[39]

All witnesses portray Klara Hitler as a calm, loving mother and good housewife. A female fellow pupil from Leonding who passed the Hitlers' house daily remembers (after 1945, to be sure) that when little Paula left for school, Klara would always walk her "to the fence door and gave her a kiss; I noticed that because that was not what typically happened to us farm girls, but I liked it a lot, I almost envied Paula a little."[40]

Alois determined that his son should become a civil servant. After

the Imperial and Royal police were not capable of protecting German houses from the Czech mob, so that it was necessary to proclaim a state of siege in Prague in peacetime. Budweis was then still a German town with German administration and a German majority in the Town Council. Those of Adolf's classmates who came from Prague, Budweis or Prachatitz used to weep with rage when they were jokingly called "Bohemians"; for they wanted to be solely German, like the others. Soon there was even unrest in Linz. A few hundred Czechs lived there, as quiet and modest workmen and artisans, without anybody taking much notice of them. Now a Capucine Monk, a Czech named Jurasek, founded a Sokol Club, preached in St. Martin's Church in Czech, and collected money for the building of a Czech school. This caused a great sensation in the town and some worthy Nationalists already saw in the action of the fanatic monk the preparation of a Czech invasion. Of course that was exaggerated. Nevertheless, just this Czech activity made the indolent Linzers feel that they were threatened, with the result that, almost unanimously, they joined in the Nationalist struggle.

Those teachers of the Technical School, who were nationalists, led the struggle. Dr. Leopold Pötsch, the history teacher, was an active politician. As a member of the Town Council he was one of the leading lights of the Nationalist Party. He hated the Hapsburg multi-racial state (which today — what a change — seems to us to be the very model of a supra-national community) and all the enthusiastic young Nationalists took up his watchword.

"Who could remain loyal to a dynasty which again and again vilely betrayed, past and present, the interests of the German people for their own advantage?"

Thus Hitler definitely and irrevocably had abandoned his father's ways in favour of a pan-German program. When Adolf, raging on, let himself go on this train of thought, I

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cropped hair, impressive mustache, and portly figure, was reminiscent of Adolf's own authoritarian father. Although he despised Hindenburg, Hitler spoke of him with respect, referring to him—as he had referred to his own father—as "The Old Gentleman" [*der alte Herr*]. Just as he had felt cowed by his father, so he dreaded a confrontation with Hindenburg. "The Old Gentleman," he said, "was totally hostile to everything we stood for. . . . The Old Gentleman had said to me, 'Herr Hitler I want to hear what kind of ideas you have.' It was horribly difficult [*wahnsinning schwer*] in such an atmosphere to set forth my thinking." And again, using an expression he must have learned as a child, he warned his followers that "we must never do anything that would annoy [*was verärgert*] the Old Gentleman."[26]

While his memoirs and conversations show respect for his father, hatred and fear also keep showing through. For whether or not he was justified in doing so, Adolf saw his father as a drunken and sadistic degenerate. He confided to an intimate that as a tender young lad he was forced to go and rescue his father from the clutches of alcohol, entering a "stinking smoke-filled tavern" in order to plead with his drunken father to come home. "Oh, that was the most shameful humiliating experience I have ever had. How well I know what a devil alcohol is. It was—because of my father—the greatest enemy of my youth!"[27]

Hitler also sought sympathy from his secretaries by describing what a cruel person his father had been and how vicious had been his whippings. A secretary recalled, "He used to say, 'I never loved my father. I therefore feared him all the more. He had a terrible temper and often whipped me.'" He liked to relate how, as a young boy, he was fond of Karl May stories about Indians who proved their courage by refusing to cry out under torture. One day, as his father beat him with his cane and his frightened mother stood outside the door, Adolf counted the blows without a murmur and proudly reported, "My father gave me 230 blows!" After that, he recalled, his father never whipped him again.[28]

How can one calculate the consequences of child beating? What psychological wounds scar the child's mind as he lies hurt in body and soul, sobbing and alone, battered by his own father and deserted by a noninterfering mother? The infant must learn to comfort himself; he can trust no one else; he is overwhelmed by terror, fear, rage, helplessness, hatred. Is it not possible that the hatred which Hitler later said was so important to his life was learned in childhood's rage—the helpless hatred that sobbed: "If I were bigger, I would kill you!" Of such experiences, a prominent psychiatrist has said, are murderers made. Hitler would have agreed completely with the American criminal Caryl Chessman, who recalled the brutal whippings of his childhood and concluded that "there is nothing that sustains you like hate; it is better to be anything than to be afraid."[29]

It is, of course, possible that Adolf Hitler's memories of a drunken and sadistic father were exaggerated in order to hide personal feelings

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of previous years. Indeed, Dr. Huemer, one of his teachers during this period, described him as having been lazy, lacking in self-control, "argumentative, self-opinionated, willful, arrogant and bad-tempered. He had obvious difficulty in fitting in at the school. . . . He demanded of his fellow pupils their unqualified subservience, fancying himself in the role of leader . . ." Another instructor at the Linz *Realschule*, Dr. Gissinger, reported strange activity on the part of his pupil. Gissinger said emphatically that he was not drawing on his own imagination but distinctly remembered "Hitler holding dialogue with trees stirring in the wind." One of Hitler's friends in Leonding confirmed this picture. He said his friends all considered Adolf quite strange and remembered that he liked to climb a hill to make speeches at night to nonexistent audiences.[77] Many other examples of Hitler's exaggerations and florid fantasies (including belief in his own magical powers, so typical of monorchids) are recorded by his admirers both in adolescence and during his mature years.

The age of 11 or 12, a time of resurgent sexual impulses and genital awareness, produces great anxiety in monorchid boys—an anxiety which in Adolf was almost certainly increased by the worries his oversolicitous mother had expressed through the years. Hitler's concern about his sexual development is indicated in a drawing he did at the age of 11 or 12 of a frightened *Realschule* teacher apparently caught in the act of masturbation. It seems likely that Adolf has projected his own anxiety and fears onto the teacher. (The cartoon is now in the Federal Government Archives in Coblenz.) A German biographer who reprints it thinks that the teacher is depicted as "overbearing," "suspicious," and "arrogant," and that he is holding an ice cream cone in his hand. But that cannot be an ice cream cone, since they made their first appearance at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904—four years *after* Adolf drew the picture (p. 158) of his teacher.[78]

In order to help master the anxiety engendered by the anatomical defect, disturbed monorchid boys favor symbolic substitutes for the missing testicle. In addition to breasts, patients may be excessively concerned about eyes. Hitler's eyes were particularly important to him, and others began to notice them in early adolescence. His secondary school teacher, Dr. Gissinger, described Adolf's eyes as "shining"; when Kubizek first met him, he was particularly struck by Hitler's strangely compelling eyes and recalls that his mother was frightened by them. As we have noted, the adult Hitler was aware of their power and practiced "piercing stares" in front of the mirror. He also played games with his eyes. He would slowly cross them in looking at people, or he would stare them down. In effect, he may have been saying to them and to himself, "See, I do have two powerful (potent) testicles, and I can penetrate and dominate others." He was infatuated with the Medusa of the piercing eyes that could render others impotent. One might also consider Hitler's use of the extended, stiff-arm salute as a substitute for flawed genitalia. We have seen earlier how he boasted

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 royalties 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 "*Bönhäsinnen*" — 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 in the baths, but on every occasion. When Louis XI en-

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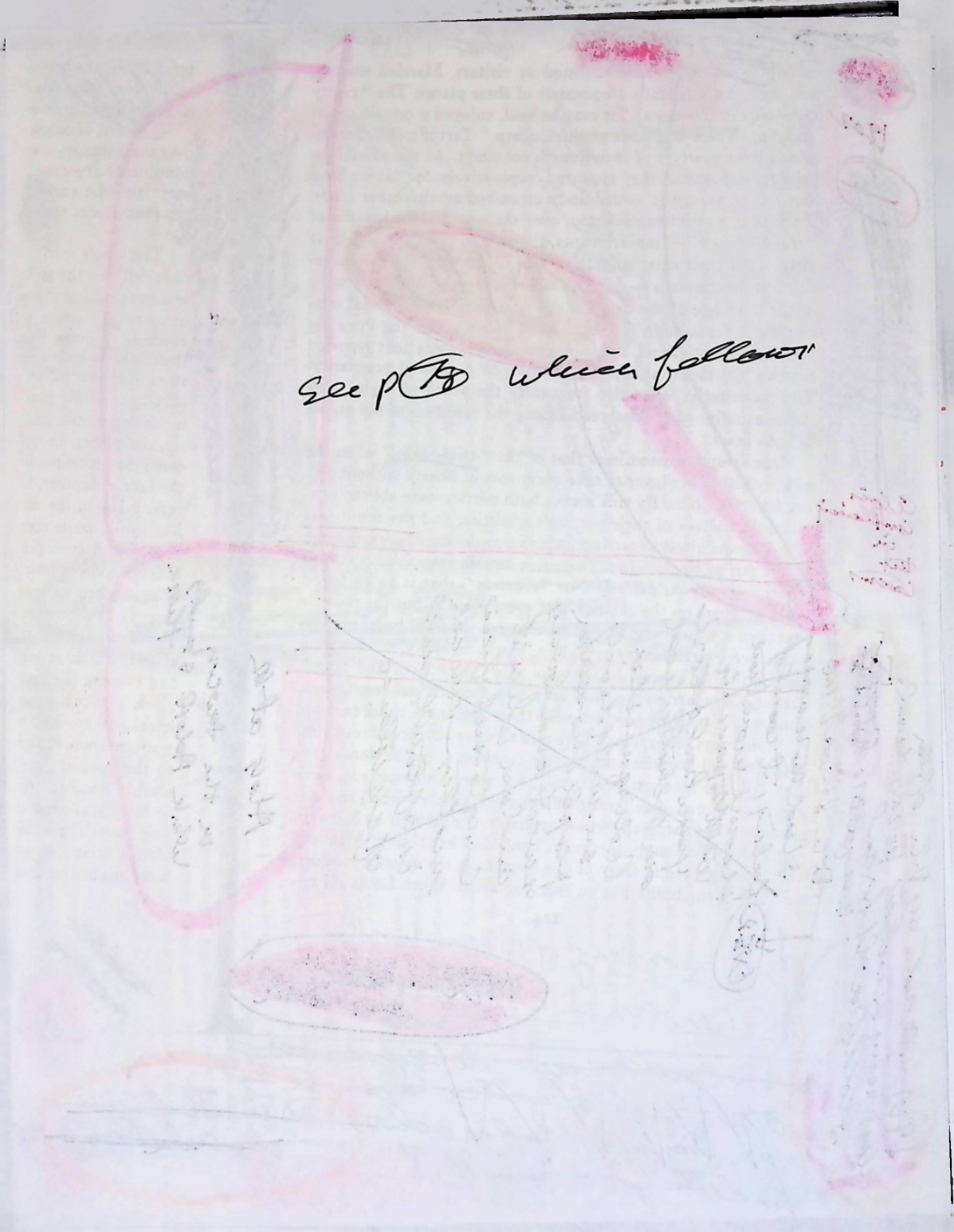
See p 78 which follows

Most of us got sick of it, but Hitler always managed to find some who would play with him, usually younger boys.'

In this period, as Hitler himself recorded in *Mein Kampf*, he came upon a number of military books in his father's library, among them two bound volumes of an illustrated magazine published during the Franco-Prussian War. I can remember these books myself. Large numbers were sold in Austria about that time and before I was twelve years old I had pored over them and pestered my grandfather with questions. The illustrations, I remember, were swarming with German spiked helmets and littered with dead Frenchmen. These books, wrote Hitler, 'now became my favourite reading. I seemed to experience the titanic battle in my innermost being. More and more my enthusiasms were drawn towards war and soldiering.'

Adolf and his father

In his book, *At the Gallows-Foot*, which Hans Frank, the former Reich Minister of Justice, wrote while under sentence of death in Nürnberg prison, there occurs the following passage:

> 'Many a time the boy Adolf had to fetch his father from the inn at a late hour after the latter's evening indulgence! In 1930, in course of a conversation about his family in general, Hitler himself told me: "When I was ten or twelve I had to go late at night to this stinking, smoke-filled tavern. I made no attempt to spare his feelings. I went straight up to the table where my father sat, staring at me doltishly, and shook him. 'Father,' I would say, 'it's time for you to come home! Up you get!' And often I had to stand for a quarter of an hour or more, pleading and scolding before I could get him to his legs. Then I supported him home. I have never felt so horribly ashamed. Oh Frank! I know what a demon alcohol can be! Because of my father, it was the bane of my youth."'

Even if Hitler said this, it cannot have been true. Firstly, it is in complete contradiction with his own statement in *Mein Kampf* that he respected his father. Secondly, it contradicts the known facts about Alois Hitler's mode of life. Five individuals with

whom I have spoken, who knew him well, have each assured me that he never got drunk. And a habitual drunkard of the kind Frank portrays would hardly have received the eulogistic obituary which was printed in the Linz *Tagespost*, nor would he have left—as Alois Hitler did—both unencumbered real property and a fair sum in ready cash. Moreover, we know that every evening, for as long as he was in Leonding, Alois Hitler went to one of the four inns there to attend a so-called *Bürgerabend*, an informal social gathering of respectable citizens, held, then as now, in each of the inns in turn for the purpose of good talk and good company, but certainly not with the object of getting drunk. If Alois Hitler had been a notorious drunkard, he would sooner or later have been asked to leave.

As a corrective to this story, there is the far more plausible assertion of Adolf's guardian, Mayrhofer, that Alois Hitler was often obliged to go out and look for his son in the evenings, when the latter had stayed out too late with his playfellows.

It is also said that Adolf used to get merciless beatings from his father. This is based on an alleged remark of Angela's to her half-brother, 'Adolf, do you remember how mother and I used to hang on to father's uniform coat tails when he was trying to hit you?' But Alois Hitler ceased to wear uniform when he retired in June 1895, and during the year preceding his retirement he had been living away from his family. The 'beatings' must then have taken place when Adolf was only five or even younger—in other words, they never took place at all.

It is true that the Führer himself once told his secretaries that his father had given him thirty stripes in the small of the back, but that, like a Red Indian under torture, he had never made the smallest sound. Apart from the fact that Hitler related this in the same breath as other fabulous Red Indian stories, we know that he was addicted to acting the hero before the young ladies of his entourage and there is no reason whatever to believe this improbable story. For one thing, his father was far too responsible a man to have administered so savage a punishment, and moreover in the Leonding period, to which the tale refers, he was in his sixties and past caring much about young Adolf's misdemeanours.

The one time he is sent by his mother to get his father — after the 1902 hemorrhaging, he has to stand there like a fool while his father makes him wait.

luggage, third for the middle class of modest means, second for ladies, and first for the rich. But the King of Saxony complained about the equalizing effect of railway travel, as the king and the laborer would start, and arrive, on the same train and at the same time. Time was also a great equalizer. The railways and industry required standard time, not something to be found in the old days. This and the spread of pocket watches at reasonable prices meant that the measurement of time was no longer a privilege but a condition of daily life.

Of course, holidays were only for the affluent, greatly facilitated by the speed and safety of the railways. From Berlin, one would take the train northwards to Heiligendamm to spend a weekend on the Baltic coast in elegant neoclassical surroundings. To the south there was the French Riviera, and in between the Swiss Alps, which lost their awesome terror and began to attract the urban middle classes. Johanna Spyri's popular story of *Heidi*, the innocent and healthy little girl from the mountains near the ancient spa of Ragaz, promised health for body and soul alike. Trains and trams enabled suburbs to spread, realizing the idea of the garden city, or even a house in the country at weekends. What Hampstead was for Londoners, Grünewald and Wannsee were for Berliners, and Ebenhausen for the rich nature-lovers in Munich.

Health became a serious preoccupation as never before, and so did sport. Again, the rich and the poor divided: the upper classes proudly displayed a little English, played golf and rode horses. Students, at least the more militant ones, learned fencing, not so much for health reasons as for honor and prestige. The occasional carefully stage-managed duel was seen as a distinction of social status and would, it was hoped, result in some carefully cultivated scars on the face

which were worn like a decoration, through the invisible but powerful old soccer-playing masses also took part boxing, the socialists seeing to it that were well organized within their all-e of care from the cradle to the grave.

There was no one German society the word. Life on an East Prussian esta the average *Rittergut*, or vast like the Dönhoffs, the Dohnas or the Lehndor much in its traditional mold. But even depression would be felt, from the mi petition came from Ukraine's fertile green pastures of Argentina and from the American Midwest. Berlin, by cor strong metropolis constantly on the old buildings and building new on through rapid transit and in turn cre centers. It housed not only the power but also the new banks, modern ma interests and political parties. In the w tries were expanding rapidly. In the mines and no steel mills, a different k tion was under way, traditionally base attention to detail, on the textile indu There were thus many societies, but the move. Emigration, almost exclusiv ica, continued unabated: in fact, after to new highs. For the next twenty 100,000 young men and women left Germany each year to seek a better lif Most of them had relatives there, wh ing terms the land of unlimited o

Though he sold this three years later, he went on to buy two further plots.[51] At home, Alois was an authoritarian, overbearing, domineering husband and a stern, distant, masterful, and often irritable father. For long after their marriage, Klara could not get out of the habit of calling him 'Uncle'.[52] And even after his death, she kept a rack of his pipes in the kitchen and would point to them on occasion when he was referred to, as if to invoke his authority.[53]

What affection the young children missed in their father was more than recompensed by their mother. According to the description given much later by her Jewish doctor, Eduard Bloch, after his own forced emigration from Nazi Germany, Klara Hitler was 'a simple, modest, kindly woman. She was tall, had brownish hair which she kept neatly plaited, and a long, oval face with beautifully expressive grey-blue eyes.'[54] In personality, she was submissive, retiring, quiet, a pious churchgoer, taken up in the running of the household, and above all absorbed in the care of her children and stepchildren. The deaths within weeks of each other of her first three children in infancy in 1887–8, and the subsequent death of her fifth child, Edmund, under the age of six in 1900, must have been hammer blows for her.[55] Her sorrows can only have been compounded by living with an irascible, unfeeling, overbearing husband. It is scarcely surprising that she made an impression of a saddened, careworn woman. Nor is it any wonder that she bestowed a smothering, protective love and devotion on her two surviving children, Adolf and Paula.[56] Klara was in turn held in love and affection by her children and stepchildren, by Adolf quite especially. 'Outwardly, his love for his mother was his most striking feature,' Dr Bloch later wrote. 'While he was not a "mother's boy" in the usual sense,' he added, 'I have never witnessed a closer attachment.'[57] In one of the few signs of human affection recorded in *Mein Kampf*, Adolf wrote 'I had honoured my father, but loved my mother.'[58] He carried her picture with him down to the last days in the bunker. Her portrait stood in his rooms in Munich, Berlin, and at the Obersalzberg (his alpine residence near Berchtesgaden).[59] His mother may well, in fact, have been the only person he genuinely loved in his entire life.

Adolf's early years were spent, then, under the smothering protectiveness of an over-anxious mother in a household dominated by the threatening presence of a disciplinarian father, against whose wrath the submissive Klara was helpless to protect her offspring. Adolf's younger sister, Paula, spoke after the war of her mother as 'a very soft and tender person, the compensatory element between the almost too harsh father and the very

lively children who [illegible] perhaps s[illegible] quarrel[s] or differences of opin[illegible] but was also on account of the chil[illegible] who challenged my father to extr[illegible] thrashing every day ... How often [illegible] him and try to obtain with her kind[illegible] [illegible] obtaining] with harshness!'[60] Hit[illegible] mo[illegible]logues in the 1940s, often reco[illegible] of temper and would then immedia[illegible] he said, but instead feared him all t[illegible] used to remark, to whom he was [illegible] about the beatings he had to take, [illegible] he was thrashed.[61]

Quite possibly, Alois's violence wa[illegible] in *Mein Kampf*, in which Hitler o[illegible] workers' family where the children [illegible] their mother by their father, may [illegible] childhood experiences.[62] What the le[illegible] character developed must remain a n[illegible] was profound, is hard to doubt.

Beneath the surface, the later Hit[illegible] Speculation though it must remain, [illegible] patronizing contempt for the submis[illegible] nance (and imagery of the Leader [illegible] the inability to form deep personal [illegible] brutality towards humankind, and – [illegible] profound that it must have reflect[illegible] self-hatred concealed in the extreme [illegible] must surely have had roots in the sub[illegible] family circumstances. But assumption[illegible] traces of Adolf's early life, so far as t[illegible] of what would emerge. Attempts to fi[illegible] within the murderous dictator' have [illegible] our knowledge of what was to com[illegible] the most part sympathy for the child

D.T. 1890 (2) 1889

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]

1929

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-

(*) her heartfelt prayers are picked up by D.T. who was out that night on prayer-patrol. Her haunted me just a bit — they were so pure. "Take my life, sorry if it will help to save him."

Most prayers look to grab and gorge on what is messing in our own life.

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(His later love for creampuffs + soft partner stet)

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The Child As Father to the I

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lems during the oral stag

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, being treated by her step-mother, Klara, as her own child. The two were much attached to one another. At the age of twenty married Leo Raubal (1879–1910), a tax official in Linz (from the town of Ried in Upper Austria, not a Czech as has been suggested). *Her children:*

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

Angela Maria ('Geli') *Raubal* (born 1908, committed suicide, 1931). As a school-girl greatly admired her 'Uncle Adolf'. At her own request went to live in his flat in Munich, late 1920s. 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.

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 Hitler*[1] (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.[illegible].1894 in Passau. Died of measles, 29.2.1900, in Leonding).
6. *Paula Hitler* (born 21.1.1896 in Hafeld (Fischlam)).

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:

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.'

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

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The Child As Father to the Man

The best historical source for the incident is Hitler himself. For quite unintentionally in his memoirs he has given us an eyewitness account of his own harrowing experience. Dr. Walter Langer and his psychoanalytical colleagues were the first to notice, in an OSS report of 1943, that a peculiar passage in *Mein Kampf* which ostensibly describes what happened to the little son of a "worker" is, in all probability, a thinly disguised autobiographical memoir. (For purposes of later discussion, some key phrases in the passage have been italicized and numbered.)

> Let us imagine the following: In a basement apartment of two stuffy rooms lives a worker's family. . . . Among the (1) *five children there is a boy, let us say, of three.* This is the age at which a child becomes conscious of his first impressions. (2) *In gifted people* [*bei Begabten*], traces of these early memories are found even in old age. The (3) *smallness and overcrowding of the rooms* do not create favorable conditions. Quarreling and nagging often arise because of this. In such circumstances people do not live with one another, but (4) *push down on top of one another* [*drücken aufeinander*]. Every argument . . . leads to a never-ending, disgusting quarrel. . . . But when the parents fight almost daily, their brutality leaves nothing to the imagination; then the results of such (5) *visual education* must slowly but inevitably become apparent in the little ones . . . especially when the mutual differences express themselves (6) *in the form of brutal attacks on the part of the father towards the mother or to assaults due to drunkenness.* The poor little boy (7) *at the age of six,* senses things which would (8) *make even a grown-up shudder.* (9) *Morally infected* . . . the young "citizen" wanders off to elementary school. . . .
>
> The three year old has now become a (10) *youth of fifteen* who [has been dismissed from school and] despises all authority. . . . Now he loiters about and God only knows when he comes home. . . .[89]

The scene at the age of three does not seem at all improbable when one considers how little concerned Alois Hitler was about anybody's knowledge of his sexual life. He was unlikely to be embarrassed by the presence of a little child in the crowded living quarters, particularly if he thought the child was asleep.

The description as given by Hitler contains numerous phrases which reinforce the conclusion that the passage is autobiographical:

(1) *Five children.* For several years as a young boy, Adolf was one of five children, along with Paula and Edmund and his stepbrother and stepsister, Alois Jr. and Angela.

(2) *in gifted people.* He often referred to himself this way.
(3) *smallness and overcrowding of the rooms.* Not an inaccurate description of the close quarters in the inns and mill where the Hitlers lived during Adolf's early childhood.
(4) *push down on top of one another.* Description of the sex act?
(5) *visual education.* Once again, the importance to Hitler of the eyes.
(6) *brutal attacks . . . due to drunkenness.* These phrases and images are repeated several times in the chapter.
(7) *at the age of six.* Particularly important to Adolf because when he was six his rival, Edmund, was conceived.
(8) *make even a grown-up shudder.* Why should adults *shudder* at sexual intercourse? What kind of attacks was he imagining? Were they particularly sadistic? Would they possibly have been the kind of sadomasochistic sexual deviation which Hitler himself may later have indulged in? (See below, pp. 237–243.)
(9) *Morally infected.* Note that Hitler associates sexual intercourse with something morally infectious and repulsive.
(10) *Youth of fifteen.* The school dropout who despises authority, loiters about, and stays out until all hours is, as we shall see, an accurate description of Adolf's own life-style after the death of his father.

Of course, it is not always traumatic for a child to see parents engaged in sex. If it were, thousands upon thousands of Eskimos and Bedouins would, presumably, be a great deal more neurotic than they seem to be. The experience is traumatic only, as in little Adolf's case, if it reinforces other deeply disturbing childhood experiences.

In the midst of describing other dreadful incidents involving drunken husbands who are attacking their passive wives, Hitler stops to make a very important statement: *"I witnessed all this personally in hundreds of scenes . . . with both disgust and indignation."*[90] We must ask *where* young Adolf had ever personally witnessed such intimate and, to him, disgusting scenes. Certainly he had never seen them outside his own home. And he never showed any interest whatever in observing the workings of a three-year-old mind as it developed to the age of six and on to fifteen—that is, no such mind except his own. Then how could he have viewed these things himself "hundreds" of times?

It is possible that he may never actually have seen them at all, that it was "only a fantasy." But it seems more likely—given the specific details and turns of phrase in his description—that he did witness such a scene, and that he had relived the terrifying event hundreds of times in his imagination. Every psychoanalyst knows from clinical experience that when a patient constantly repeats an image or an association or has the same dream again and again, it is an "indication of

move to (1924) 1902

1902

sitting on the head.

he could have been tormented by thoughts of making love to his mother

1902

p163 preceding this is relevant.
Elba- xrays p 163 important.

The Child As Father to the Mi

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's perception of his father
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The Child As Father to the Man

The child must have been confused by conflicting impressions. He was required to obey and revere the old man, and there was much to admire. In the carefully brushed and burnished uniform of the Imperial Customs Service, Alois Hitler was the personification of the dedicated civil servant, a very pillar of the Empire, the most prestigious father in the village. He was a man of substance and position who provided his family with economic security, material comfort, and social status. But this arbitrary and ferocious man also lived up to a little boy's dread Oedipal fantasy of a powerful and avenging enemy who launched sudden thunderbolts of terror, pain, and punishment.

In short, Hitler's attitude toward his father was one of such ambivalence that it could serve as a textbook description of Oedipal conflict. In young Adolf, as in the little boys described by Sigmund Freud, there was conflict between two opposing attitudes: the desire to emulate and to be loved by his father vied with the desire to be different from his father and to destroy him.

The ambivalence remained throughout Hitler's life. His boyhood friend recalled that "Adolf spoke of his father with great respect. I never heard him say anything against him, in spite of their differences of opinion about his career." And in his memoirs Hitler invariably talks respectfully of his father, characterizing him as a "faithful civil servant." He dwells on the parallels between their lives (both went off to Vienna) and draws a sympathetic and sentimental picture of his father leaving home to seek his fortune in the imperial capital:

> Not yet thirteen years old, the little boy he then was buttoned up his things and ran away from his homeland, the *Waldviertel*. . . . A bitter resolve it must have been to take to the road into the unknown and with only three guilders for travelling money. But by the time the thirteen-year-old lad was seventeen he had passed his apprentice's examination . . . the long time of hardship through which he had passed, of endless poverty and misery, strengthened his resolve. . . . With all the tenacity of one who had grown "old" through want and sorrow while still half a child, the seventeen-year-old youth clung to his decision . . . and became a civil servant . . . now there has been realized the promise of the vow that the poor boy once had sworn not to return to his dear native village before he had become something.[23]

The ambivalence he felt toward his father is revealed in a garbled passage of a nocturnal monologue during World War II. In one brief outburst he manages to pay tribute to his father, apparently bestow upon him an unearned title, and roundly damn him. During a violent attack upon bureaucrats and judges he says—or seems to say—"... at one time, I regarded jurors as men set apart for a higher life! Indeed I looked at all such state officials that way! My old father was an honorable man. A chairman of the Assizes and *Justizrat*! I had no idea

Although it is obviously risky to generalize about life-styles in the homes of any country, two observations about the German family can be made. Students of comparative family life have shown that German families tended to be more authoritarian than those of other countries and that authoritarian values were maintained over a longer period of time. A careful sociological study based on interviews with many different age groups of Germans who spent their childhood, variously, under the Empire, the Republic, and the Nazis concluded that "the basic premises of German family life show no significant difference during these 76 years [1870–1946]. . . ." [110]

Ehrfurcht, the German word used to express the proper and traditional attitude towards the father of the family, is normally translated "respect." But it connotes far more than that, for it combines, quite literally, "honor-fear." The continuing force of the idea is suggested by the fact that even after the collapse of Hitler's dictatorship, 73 percent of the 2,000 Germans questioned in 1946 agreed with the following statement: "The word of the father has to be an inflexible law in the family."

The passive mother was expected to devote her life to her "three K's." She should show affection and concern for her children, but she was not to interfere with the father's prerogative of determining family policy and dominating the group. After World War II, 70 percent of German women chose the words "a bad wife" as the best way of completing the sentence "A mother who interferes when a father is punishing his son is. a bad wife"

Additional features of German family life should be noted. There was a tendency to adhere to set patterns and to feel uncomfortable when obliged to deviate from a position once taken. The German father found it very difficult to admit mistakes or to yield a point in discussion. To do so was generally considered *weiblich* (effeminate). The father also asserted his masculine power by insisting that the children live up to his demanding expectations. Since the child was afraid of failure, he tried to avoid mistakes by constant repetition and compulsive thoroughness in performing household tasks.

Obedience was the greatest virtue in the family, but it was also a defense. From his earliest years, the German child learned that compliance was the key to safe relationships with his parents. Hence he tended to feel comfortable in yielding to authority and uneasy when given too much freedom. The importance of obedience in family training was emphasized by Rudolf Hoess, who, under Hitler, became commandant of the death camp at Auschwitz. He also spoke for many of his generation in emphasizing the virtues of cleanliness:

> I was perpetually washing and bathing . . . this passion for water remains with me to this day. I had been brought up by my parents to be respectful and obedient toward all grown-up people . . . it

Hoess

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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 expressions 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." [33a]

1900

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 personally 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.[34] All his life Hitler carried his mother's picture in his pocket. In all his bedrooms—in Munich, the Berlin Chancellery, the Obersalzberg—her portrait hung over the head of his bed.[35]

1907

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.[36] 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.

BE REMINDED!

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,
5 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 gladsome smile—

during MK writes it for political reasons

* D.T. this was of immense use to me—as are all sentimental obsessions. I could move him about almost at will—despite his mega-best will by stimulating thoughts of his mother.

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Gödsche's text was childish and none too convincing. But suppose you take these rabbis conspiring in their cemetery and give them the worldly wisdom, the contempt for humanity, the seductive power of Joly's tyrant. Don't just make them avaricious braggarts; make them subtle and crafty: make them speak the accursed satirical wisdom of Machiavelli, but in deadly earnest; finally, confound the fabulous nocturnal conspiracy with an international Jewish congress which actually did convene to discuss such sober matters as the problem of emigration. Then we have before us, in all its bloody romantic horror, the demon of Jewish world domination gathered in a congress and fixed in a protocol.

That is what happened. The group of Russian conspirators dug up Joly's forgotten book; they were also familiar with the horror story about the Jewish cemetery in Prague; they knew by the newspapers that in 1897 the Jewish Zionist Movement had very publicly been founded at a congress in Basel; finally, they knew only too well the golden awe emanating from the ancient fame of the Rothschilds. The ingredients of a magnificent conspiracy lay at hand, requiring only to be mixed.

The Ochrana, the tsarist secret police, furnished the means and the brains. First General Oryevsky, one of its heads, had a pamphlet prepared, based on the rabbis' conspiracy in Gödsche's story. The novelty was that the pamphlet was written in the form of protocols; this gave it a much more serious look. The pamphlet served as a frame to which Joly's ideas were embroidered in glowing colors. This was the work of General Ratchkovsky, the leader of the French division of the Ochrana. For the Ochrana had divisions for all countries. Everywhere it tracked down the activities of Russian, and not only Russian, revolutionaries. It was a kind of world conspiracy; a net of spies, intriguers, bribe-givers, and political agitators, which Russian tsarism had cast over the world.

With his eye for conspiracy, Ratchkovsky saw the explosive power inherent in Joly's timeworn and seemingly harmless work. It described modern dictatorship, its secret and yet so open methods; laid bare its cogs and springs. A real tyrant would never have spoken so self-revealingly; only a hostile satirist could have put such words of braggadocio into his mouth. The effect was a terrible

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, being treated by her step-mother, Klara, as her own child. The two were much attached to one another. At the age of twenty married Leo Raubal (1879–1910), a tax official in Linz (from the town of Ried in Upper Austria, not a Czech as has been suggested). *Her children:*

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

Angela Maria ('Geli') *Raubal* (born 1908, committed suicide, 1931). As a school-girl greatly admired her 'Uncle Adolf'. At her own request went to live in his flat in Munich, late 1920s. 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.

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 Hitler*[1] (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).
6. *Paula Hitler* (born 21.1.1896 in Hafeld (Fischlam)).

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:

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.'

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

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which were worn like a decoration, securing promotion through the invisible but powerful old boys' network. The soccer-playing masses also took part in bicycle races and boxing, the socialists seeing to it that working-class sports were well organized within their all-encompassing system of care from the cradle to the grave.

There was no one German society in the strict sense of the word. Life on an East Prussian estate, small like that of the average *Rittergut*, or vast like the landholdings of the Dönhoffs, the Dohnas or the Lehndorffs, remained pretty much in its traditional mold. But even here the agricultural depression would be felt, from the mid-1870s on, as competition came from Ukraine's fertile black soil, from the green pastures of Argentina and from the vast prairies of the American Midwest. Berlin, by contrast, was a million-strong metropolis constantly on the move, tearing down old buildings and building new ones, linking villages through rapid transit and in turn creating new industrial centers. It housed not only the power elites of old Prussia, but also the new banks, modern mass media, organized interests and political parties. In the west, the Ruhr industries were expanding rapidly. In the south, with no coal mines and no steel mills, a different kind of industrialization was under way, traditionally based on brain power and attention to detail, on the textile industry and metallurgy. There were thus many societies, but all of them were on the move. Emigration, almost exclusively to North America, continued unabated: in fact, after the 1870 war it rose to new highs. For the next twenty years, an average of 100,000 young men and women left home and family in Germany each year to seek a better life in the New World. Most of them had relatives there, who described in glowing terms the land of unlimited opportunity after the

American Civil War was over and the Wild West had been opened. This stream of emigrants continued until the great crash of 1893 occurred in North America, when the free distribution of land by the railways ended and economic prospects at home looked brighter.

Numbers emigrating were small compared to the quantity of people migrating from east to west, from Upper and Lower Silesia and the Poznan province, West Prussia and East Prussia to Berlin and beyond. Unabated population growth on the land not only created a vast reservoir of consumption, but also supplied the workforce for industry. The number of the Kaiser's subjects grew by more than 1 percent a year, from 41 million in 1871 to no fewer than 68 million in 1913. The increase in population, steadying only during the recession years 1906–7, meant that around the turn of the century the Germans were, on average, the youngest nation in Europe, with the sole exception of Russia. France's population, by contrast, had been stagnating ever since the bloodletting of the Napoleonic Wars.

Much of the youthful energy and the spirit of enterprise in Germany, but also the lack of experience, can probably be explained by this volcanic upheaval. In the cities, families tended to be smaller due to high rents and, since the 1880s, the introduction of collective systems of old-age insurance. On the land, parents still wanted many children. But the land could not accommodate them, and wages remained a pittance compared to what industry paid in the cities. So the east-west drift was complemented by a constant movement from the land to the urban agglomerations of Berlin and of the Ruhr, around Frankfurt and Stuttgart, Munich and Nuremberg, Hamburg and Bremen. Cities would soon tear down their ancient walls and develop one ring of industrial estates and housing after another, incorporating nearby village public transport and encouraging indu tories where the workforce was to hand ing cities, the sons of lowly peasants, s holdings for building plots for the futur millionaires overnight and in their tu investments. Population growth, risin technology and the unbridled forces of what economic historians call self-susta

As everything and everybody was c barriers were no longer insurmounta graphic migration must be added move the social ladder, but mostly up. Dow trades to do with horses and road ha overtaken by the railway. Many shoemak by the wayside when modern manufactu the sewing machine replaced the work o today's Germany, Schneider, Schuhma Schmidt are the commonest of surname strength of such trades before the ind But as some avenues were closed, other the rapid expansion both of higher edu scientific training, through universities technology—*Technische Hochschulen.* In ad institutions where middle management tional training in either technology or ac many more than in most European coun many educational ladders to higher so provided by the State. The respect for le the broad population, particularly towa tor"—and to "Frau Doktor," his wife, w have set foot in a university—was a powe higher education.

son 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 which Hitler suffered. "Well," one might say, "all 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 had an effect on his development. As Erikson 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 MOTHER: KLARA PÖLZL HITLER

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

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

The Child As Father to The Man

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Klara began her married l
Fanni's children, Alois Jr., age t
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Otto, who died within a few da
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[31] The interpretation of Klara Hi
Bromberg, M.D., "Hitler's Childhood
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Hitler's childhood and family life

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Interpreting The Irish Famine, 1846-1850

It began with a blight of the potato crop that left acre upon acre of Irish farmland covered with black rot. As harvests across Europe failed, the price of food soared. Subsistence-level Irish farmers found their food stores rotting in their cellars, the crops they relied on to pay the rent to their British and Protestant landlords destroyed. Peasants who ate the rotten produce sickened and entire villages were consumed with cholera and typhus. Parish priests desperate to provide for their congregations were forced to forsake buying coffins in order to feed starving families, with the dead going unburied or buried only in the clothes they wore when they died.

Poor wretches worries of his master's concerns for the child was so affected that it defecated (in part out of fear of its sense that its owned was near) somewhere within the temple grounds, the result would be misery for the poor man. His child would still be ~~sick~~ sick, and the ~~alleviation hoped for~~ benefits of the sacrifice could not take place. The temple had been defiled. But where? That was the nuance of the issue. Excrement on the steps to the sacrificial altar — a total loss! But if the animal had actually defecated at the approaches to the entrance but not within the temple itself, then depending upon the distance away from the most sacred ground, alleviations could be found, partial sacrifices, partial benefices. The nature of absolute law could develop into subtle gradations of punishment and of easement. Such was the heart of the Talmud — a search for balance in the evaluation of deed and misdeed.

(8A)



Landlords evicted hundreds of thousands of peasants, who then crowded into disease-infested workhouses. Other landlords paid for their tenants to emigrate, sending hundreds of thousands of Irish to America and other English-speaking countries. But even emigration was no panacea — shipowners often crowded hundreds of desperate Irish onto rickety vessels labeled "coffin ships." In many cases, these ships reached port only after losing a third of their passengers to disease, hunger and other causes. While Britian provided much relief for Ireland's starving populace, many Irish criticized Britain's delayed response — and further blamed centuries of British political oppression on the underlying causes of the famine.

The Irish Famine of 1846-50 took as many as one million lives from hunger and disease, and changed the social and cultural structure of Ireland in profound ways. The Famine also spurred new waves of immigration, thus shaping the histories of the United States and Britain as well.



The combined forces of famine, disease and emigration depopulated the island; Ireland's population dropped from 8 million before the Famine to 5 million years after. If Irish nationalism was dormant for the first half of the nineteenth-century, the Famine convinced Irish citizens and Irish-Americans of the urgent need for political change. The Famine also changed centuries-old agricultural practices, hastening the end of the division of family estates into tiny lots capable of sustaining life only with a potato crop.

This hypertext archive does not purport to provide the definitive collection of research material on the Famine. Such an endeavor is far beyond the scope of a semester-long project. What this archive provides is a series of interpretations of the famine in newspapers, diaries and even novels; there are no official government records, census documents or shipping orders. An electronic archive of primary source material on the Irish Famine could be arranged in a number of ways -- according to topics such as hunger and disease, eviction and homelessness, emigration, etc. As the reader will see, interpretations of the Famine vary drastically according to a source's religion, ethnicity and other factors. With this in mind, the resources in this archive are organized by country, with all sources following in chronological order.

RESOURCES

Images of the Famine

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

History

Timeline
Topics
Publications
Administrators
Organization
Collections
Photographs

The Irish Potato Famine

see p. 2

by Catharina Japikse
[EPA Journal - Fall 1994]

More than a million Irish people -- about one of every nine -- died in the Great Potato Famine of the 1840s. To the Irish, famine of this magnitude was unprecedented and unimaginable. Today, it may seem less surprising, though no less tragic, as television delivers up images of starvation more vivid and more frequent than ever before.

Besides the horror, what unites the famines today with one over a century ago are the reasons behind them. Ireland's famine and those of the 20th century have similar, complex causes: economic and political factors, environmental conditions, and questionable agricultural practices.

When the famine hit in 1845, the Irish had grown potatoes for over 200 years--since the South American plant had first arrived in Ireland. During this time, the lower classes had become increasingly dependent on them. Potatoes provided good nutrition, so diseases like scurvy and pellagra were uncommon. They were easy to grow, requiring a minimum of labor, training, and technology - a spade was the only tool needed. Storage was simple; the tubers were kept in pits in the ground and dug up as needed. Also, potatoes produce more calories per acre than any other crop that would grow in northern Europe. This was important to the Irish poor, who owned little, if any, of their own land. Often, a whole family could live for a year on just one acre's worth.

To increase their harvest, farmers came to rely heavily on one variety, the lumper. While the lumper was among the worst-tasting types, it was remarkably fertile, with a higher per-acre yield than other varieties. Economist Cormac O Grada estimates that on the eve of the famine, the lumper and one other variety, the cup, accounted for most of the potato crop. For about 3 million people, potatoes were the only significant source of food, rarely supplemented by anything else.

It was this reliance on one crop--and especially one variety of one crop--that made the Irish vulnerable to famine. As we now know, genetic variation helps protect against the decimation of an entire crop by pests, disease, or climate conditions. Nothing shows this more poignantly than Ireland's agricultural history.

The D.K. had been slow to arrive at this third evolution,

At the beginning of the 19th century, a Dublin Society survey recorded at least a dozen varieties of potato cultivated in the county of Kilkenny alone. Then, adults could still remember when most of the poor raised oats, barley, or rye, along with beans and other green vegetables. But according to O Grada, this diversity had largely disappeared by the 1840s. He notes that while some people warned that Ireland's reliance on potatoes might prove disastrous, no one likely conceived of a famine as complete as what occurred. The poor certainly could not; it is doubtful they could have avoided it anyway, given the social and political conditions of their lives.

In 1845, the fungus *Phytophthora infestans* arrived accidentally from North America. A slight climate variation brought the warm, wet weather in which the blight thrived. Much of the potato crop rotted in the fields. Because potatoes could not be stored longer than

12 months, there was no surplus to fall back on. All those who relied on potatoes had to find something else to eat.

The blight did not destroy all of the crop; one way or another, most people made it through winter. The next spring, farmers planted those tubers that remained. The potatoes seemed sound, but some harbored dormant strains of the fungus. When it rained, the blight began again. Within weeks the entire crop failed.

Although the potatoes were ruined completely, plenty of food grew in Ireland that year. Most of it, however, was intended for export to England. There, it would be sold--at a price higher than most impoverished Irish could pay.

In fact, the Irish starved not for lack of food, but for lack of food they could afford. To buy food, many sold or pawned everything they owned. Often, this included the tools by which they made their living. Other people ate the food intended for rent, and the landlords quickly evicted them. By the next planting season, many farmers had no land to plant on, nor tools to plant with. Those who did often had nothing to plant. There were few potatoes, and no money with which to buy seed.

The Irish planted over two million acres of potatoes in 1845, according to O Grada, but by 1847 potatoes accounted for only 300,000 acres. Many farmers who could turned to other crops. The potato slowly recovered, but the Irish, wary of dependence on one plant, never again planted it as heavily. The Irish had learned a hard lesson - one worth remembering.

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Research
File

had ever quoted his father for any one of his
pinions.
was there any sign of it in the quiet home in
oldtstrasse. Adolf's mother was a simple, devout
removed from politics. When the father was still
ight have heard him grumble occasionally about
l situation, but it had not sunk in and certainly
t passed it on to the children. After his death,
had visitors who might have introduced politics
ot remember ever hearing any political discussion
tler's house. Even when some political event was
e whole town, nothing of it would penetrate into
ousehold, for even Adolf would not mention such
ome. Their life flowed quietly on. The only
er saw in the family was that Frau Klara towards
906 moved from the Humboldtstrasse to Urfahr,
no means an after-effect of the father's restless-
rather the result of purely practical considera-
ose days Urfahr, which is now a part of Linz,
parate parish of mainly rural character, a favour-
for retired people. As no excise duties were
many things, for instance meat, were cheaper
. Frau Klara hoped to be able to manage better
dest pension of 140 crowns (90 for herself and
Adolf and Paula). And she was glad to be living
ows and fields again. The quiet house at No. 9
still stands as it was, and sometimes when I pass
can see Frau Klara standing on the little bal-
lolf it was a special source of satisfaction to live
bank" as Stefanie. Our nightly journey home
ger because of the move to Urfahr. But this
l, for the problems which we tackled had be-
profound and numerous. The way across the
metimes too short for us, so that if we were par-
erned with a problem we had to walk to and

fro across the Danube until our subject was exhausted. To be exact, Adolf needed the time for talking, and I for listening.

In studying the political career of such an extraordinary man as Adolf Hitler, one has to distinguish between external influences and the man's own predispositions, for I believe that the latter are much more important than the external events. After all, many other young people had the same teachers as Adolf, experienced the same political incidents, rejoicing or getting angry over them, and yet these very same people have become worthy businessmen, technicians or manufacturers and never rose to political significance.

The spirit of nationalism dominated the Linz Technical School. The class was secretly opposed to all traditional institutions, such as patriotic plays, dynastic manifestations and festivals, to Divine Service in school and to Corpus Christi processions. Adolf Hitler describes in his book this atmosphere which to him was more important than the lessons.

Money was collected for Sudmark and Schulverein, one's sentiments were manifested by wearing cornflowers and black-red-gold colours, we used "Heil" as a greeting and sang "Deutschland über Alles" instead of the Hapsburg Imperial Hymn. All this in spite of warnings and punishment.

The struggle for existence of the German population in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy agitated the younger generation in those days; understandably, for Austria's German population stood alone in the midst of the Slav, Magyar and Italian nations of Austria-Hungary. Linz, to be sure, was remote from the racial border and was entirely German. But there was always trouble in neighbouring Bohemia. In Prague one street demonstration after another took place. Even in Linz much indignation was caused by the fact that

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 Hitler*[1] (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).
6. *Paula Hitler* (born 21.1.1896 in Hafeld (Fischlam)).

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:

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.'

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

The prepubertal learning difficulties and academic troubles noted by Dr. Blos also plagued young Hitler. Through the years when he attended *Volksschule* (ages 6–11), Adolf's school record was excellent. Herr Lehrer Karl Mittermaier, his teacher in the little elementary school in Fischlam which he attended from the ages of six to eight, remembered him as the star of his school: "Full marks in every subject. . . . Mentally very much alert, obedient but lively." Similar reports have come down from the school at Lambach (ages 8–9). Here he was an excellent student and an asset to the boys' choir of the local monastery. Young Adolf also did very well in the *Volksschule* in Leonding, which he attended for half a year in 1899.

But when he entered the *Realschule* in Linz in September 1900 at the age of 11, striking changes appeared in his behavior. He now seemed unable or unwilling to concentrate on his studies. His first year went so badly and was so far "below standard" that he was obliged to repeat the form. The second year went rather better—since he was repeating all subjects—but during the third year (1902–1903) he failed in mathematics and his diligence was "variable." By 1904 he was doing so badly that he was passed only on the condition that he leave the Linz *Realschule*. His mother was obliged to send him to the school at Styr, about 15 miles from his home, where she rented a room for him. His report card (dated 16 September 1905) is still in existence. On a scale with 1 as excellent, 2 good, 3 satisfactory, 4 adequate, and 5 below standard, young Hitler received the following grades:

Moral conduct—3
Diligence—4
Religious instruction—4
German—5
Geography—4
History—4
Mathematics—5
Chemistry—4
Physics—3
Freehand drawing—2
Gymnastics—1
Shorthand [optional]—5

Since Adolf failed to reach the minimum standard in two required subjects, mathematics and German, he would have been obliged to repeat the form. Instead, he dropped out of school. His failure in German is not surprising to those who have read *Mein Kampf* or any of his adult letters in the original. His marks in history and geography scarcely support the boast in his memoirs that "by far my best work was in geography and better still in world history, my two favorite subjects in which I shot ahead of the rest of the form."[70]

Thus, by the age of 11, Adolf was no longer the obedient star pupil

of previous years. Indeed, period, described him as h gumentative, self-opiniona had obvious difficulty in fi his fellow pupils their un the role of leader. . . ." Dr. Gissinger, reported stra said emphatically that he v distinctly remembered "Hi the wind." One of Hitler's He said his friends all con that he liked to climb a h audiences."[77] Many other e fantasies (including belief monorchids) are recorded during his mature years.

The age of 11–12, a ti awareness, produces grea which in Adolf was almost solicitous mother had exp about his sexual developme of 11 or 12 of a frightened act of masturbation. It see anxiety and fears onto the Government Archives in C it thinks that the teacher and "arrogant," and that h But that cannot be an ic appearance at the St. Lou Adolf drew the picture (p. 1

In order to help maste defect, disturbed monorch missing testicle. In additi concerned about eyes. Hitle and others began to notic school teacher, Dr. Gissinge Kubizek first met him, he compelling eyes and recall As we have noted, the adul ticed "piercing stares" in with his eyes. He would sl would stare them down. It and to himself, "See, I do can penetrate and domina dusa of the piercing eyes might also consider Hitler's substitute for flawed genit

Westbahnhof, but further removed from the sparkling Inner City. When Kubizek returned to look for his friend in November, 1908, their landlady informed him that Herr Hitler had departed without leaving an address. There seems little reason to doubt the tradition that Hitler by this time had settled in the Home for Men on the Meldemannstrasse.[3]

This "hotel" for men who were alone in the world and who did not make more than 1,500 kronen (373.75 1909 dollars) a year had been completed in October, 1905. It was the fourth project sponsored by the Emperor Francis Joseph I Jubilee Foundation for Citizens' Housing and Welfare Institutions, which had been created in 1896 to tackle the miserable living conditions of the less well-paid Viennese. The first three investments in better housing stressed homes for families, with a few buildings added to take care of unattached males and females. The Home for Men of 1905, with living quarters for 544 persons, was something of an expensive experiment, but one which was especially needed in a city which attracted thousands of hopeful young men who would not go home short of starvation.

A description of Hitler's most regular abode in Vienna will vary with the witness being questioned. The official prospectus published by the Foundation would bear out the stories that sober middle-class citizens were shocked by its "luxuriousness." The account left by Josef Greiner, another of Hitler's very few friends of the dismal Vienna era, is a necessary corrective, if only in its depiction of some of the home's guests.[4] Between the two sources, a reasonably clear picture begins to emerge.

The administration of the home was simplified from the beginning by two basic rules. First, there were special sleeping areas set aside for men engaged in night work. Secondly, the sleeping areas furnished the regular day laborers were cordoned off during the day. If the laborer happened to have a holiday or be between jobs, he was free to use the dayrooms and self-help rooms which were available.

The raw provincial who was directed by a policeman to the home would undoubtedly have been impressed by the well-

lighted and well-ventilated lounges, reading room, and writing room on the first floor. The dining room had accommodations for 352 men, and one of the two kitchens was reserved for those guests who wanted or had to prepare their own food.

The sleeping quarters were arranged so that each man had four meters of floor space and "breathing space" of twelve meters. He slept in an iron bed covered with the traditional three-sectioned mattress and rested his head on a bolster filled with horsehair. Two sheets, a bolster cover, and a double blanket enhanced the blessings of the central heating. There was a clothes-rail and the inevitable chamber pot.

Cleanliness was ensured by adequate washrooms, showers, tubs, and footbath troughs. Outside of the shower and tub rooms was a disinfecting chamber, where the bather's clothes were left for treatment while he removed the dirt and possibly the lice from his own body.

In charge of the establishment from its opening until another home was opened in 1910 was Johann Kanya, aided by Dr. Joseph Winterberg, house physician. Certain rooms were reserved for guests who had to be under the doctor's supervision, including a small kitchen where tea and light nourishment were prepared. Winterberg and his successors always had the right to order ailing tenants into this quarantine, on pain of expulsion.

The impecunious Hitler was up against a large number of additional regulations in this rather sought-after refuge. In the first place Director Kanya was empowered to refuse any prospective roomer without citing a single reason therefore. He was bound to turn down any lad under fourteen, and he was supposed to see that none of his charges made more than 1,500 kronen a year in wages. With Hitler the problem never arose.

Games and singing which became too noisy were forbidden, as were all actions that might cause fire or lead to immoral conduct. No spirits were to be consumed on the premises; if a man showed signs of drunkenness, he was to be forbidden beer and wine as well. Chess, checkers, and dominoes were the only approved games, and loud arguments over certain plays could lead to expulsion from the home. The property of the home was

to be treated considerately: no standing on beds and no expectoration save in the spittoons provided.

Rules and regulations reached a climax with regard to bathing facilities. They were available between 6:30 and 9:30 every night and between 6:30 and 11:30 in the morning on Sundays and holidays. The footbaths always were gratis, but limited to fifteen minutes. To shower, the guest had to pay ten heller (two and one-half cents) for a bath towel and bathing "apron," for walking around in the shower rooms totally unclad was forbidden. For twenty-five heller (six cents) one could soak for half an hour in a tub, with soap and towel supplied; only one person in a tub at a time, however, warned the regulations.[5]

The extremely moderate rates charged by the home made up for some of the rigidity of the rules. Lodging for one night cost less than fifteen cents. A weekly card was sold for two kronen fifty heller, that is, sixty cents.

Emil Kläger's sensational description of the needy and criminal elements in Vienna, published in 1908,[6] was almost rapturous over the elegance and reasonableness of the Home for Men on the Meldemannstrasse. The genuine bums whose reserve he finally was able to pierce repeated endlessly the marvels of the establishment as they swallowed their tea and soup at charitable institutions. The home indubitably stood out proudly in its neighborhood of dumpy dwellings and naked factory buildings. Kläger approved of its arc-lighted dining room whose walls were tiled halfway up with a warm shade of green. He was intrigued by the system of paying for food; automatic machines dispensed tokens in return for regular currency, and these had to be proffered by the diners when their dishes appeared at the serving window. The victuals were tempting in price and in taste, he reported. An admirable serving of roast pork with a vegetable cost only nineteen kreuzer, a complete midday meal only twenty-three kreuzer.[7] A good bowl of soup was offered for four kreuzer, while tea or coffee went for five kreuzer. The pretty library was well stocked with newspapers, light romances, and quasi-scientific journals.[8]

When Josef Greiner, the other major witness of these years,

et Hitler at the home in the autumn of 1908, the future ihrer was in sad shape. A half year before, Adolf had met ubizek in a most presentable outfit and even sporting an ivory-ndled walking stick. Now he was practically a tattered bum 10 could not have had much desire to see anyone from Linz. Though the chill of September was painfully apparent when reiner took up residence on the Meldemannstrasse, he soon irned that his new friend Hitler had neither shirt nor under-awers. They simply had worn out. The coat Adolf wore was old-fashioned salon model, a gift from one Neumann, who ddled the future dictator's dreary little water colors. Its eves were raveling and the lining was but a fragment of its iginal self. Grease and dirt were ground into the fabric, rmonizing with the gray trousers and the disintegrating shoes. ıly the young man's cultivated voice, said Greiner, offset the bious impression he made with his sunken and pale cheeks, ; hurried manner, and his dirty rags.[9]

Hitler's wretched appearance finally passed the limits of Di-ctor Kanya's patience. Using his unquestioned authority to cept or reject guests as he so willed, Kanya refused to issue the ıstrated artist another weekly card. According to Greiner, ınya feared that inevitably Hitler's clothes would fall apart, ıving him stark naked. The young man's unsociable habits d his penchant for arousing violent political strife were two ore black marks. The men in the home, overwhelmingly cial Democratic in their sympathies, were fed up with "re-tionary harangues." They had expressly requested Kanya to pel Hitler. Where might he go? To the Refuge for the Roofless" in the Meidling district, which he already knew from en more desperate days, according to Greiner. The latter serted that he intervened with Kanya, pointing out that the fuge in Meidling took in the homeless only for the night. How d where could Hitler paint his little scenes during the daylight ırs? The director was sorry, but his edict was not changed; itler was allowed to stay only when Greiner borrowed fifty onen, interest-free, from the far from heartless administrator, ho held Greiner's watch as collateral. The loan was to be used

to provide Vienna's future tyrant with some decent clothes which Greiner easily and reasonably obtained from the profes sional panhandlers who made up part of the home's clientele Adolf wept when presented with a pair of shoes, striped trou sers, another unfashionable salon coat, and a stiff melon-shape hat. His friend remembered there was even enough money lef over to pay for a warm bath and the weekly room card.[1]

Hitler not only desperately needed the home's dayrooms fo working on his illustrations; he also used the kitchen facilitie almost daily. When he was totally out of funds he prepared watery soup. When there were kronen to spend, he cooked big platter of rice and milk, liberally doused with sugar an grated chocolate.[11] These relative luxuries alternated with dar periods of absolute want which probably no one will ever b able to document convincingly. Greiner left Vienna at th behest of an uncle who was willing to pay for his studies i Germany, and he returned only for short visits. Though h later argued that he found Hitler in the new and more capaciou Home for Men on the Wurlitzergasse in 1911, his remembranc is challenged by a *Meldezettel* (or residence record) which Jet zinger has uncovered. This document definitely places Hitle in the home on the Meldemannstrasse from June 26, 1910, t May 24, 1913.[12]

Before Greiner and Hitler ever met, the latter had stretche his slender frame over the park benches in the Prater when th night closed in on his misery. He learned, in case of rain, to tak refuge under the arches of the Rotunda, using his coat for pillow and the unyielding ground for a bed. When the autumna frosts began, he swallowed what pride was left and stood in lin for a place in the refuge in Meidling.[13] Thus he became part o the welfare statistics, of even lower caste than the proletariat h professed to lecture. In the Home for Men he brushed shoulder with a count, a baron, and more than one businessman who ha lost everything at the race tracks. Here he argued with hefty Socialist laborers, measured his talents with those of strugglin young artists, and learned to sneer at the Jewish traders an peddlers who also rented rooms.[14] In the parks, flophouses, an

* D.T. this account, & his lies about trade union workers threatening to push him off the road.

warming rooms of imperial Vienna he was but one face in a crowd of defeated men.

The society which helped keep Hitler alive during his toughest bouts with hunger was the Association for the Shelter of the Homeless, which enjoyed the gracious protection of Francis Joseph himself. It endeavored to nourish the hungry with soup and bread and to give shelter to those who had no place to sleep. At the beginning of this century it operated a refuge which, when remodeled in 1903, could handle 420 wretches per night. In the year of its remodeling it welcomed 46,000 men, more than 10,000 women, and 3,000 children. Undoubtedly these figures do not indicate 46,000 *different* men; names never were asked for, and it is extremely likely that there were hundreds of "repeaters." No person could stay in the refuge more than five nights in a row, but one wonders how the permanent staff of six persons ever enforced such a rule. Between December 1 and March 15, the months of agonizing cold, a *Massenquartier* also was operated. As the German indicates, the overflow of men was simply crowded into a structure which at best kept them from freezing in the streets. In these three and a half winter months, such primitive accommodations had to take care of another 42,000 men.

On November 21, 1908, the asylum for homeless men was transferred to the Meidling district, and it was here that Hitler went when the Prater became unendurably cold. Whether or not he was galled by the fact that the Meidling home was largely made possible by the endowment of the wealthy Jewish Epstein family, we know not. Thanks to their generosity, and to the benevolence of others, the new home was serving in 1911 approximately 710,000 portions of soup and bread to the unfortunate and sheltering 226,000 men, 50,000 boys, 61,000 women, and 46,000 children.[15]

This private group's contribution, albeit an impressive one, was but part of the charitable program. The city maintained a refuge for the homeless in which further thousands were allowed to find a spot in which to sleep. In 1911 this asylum handled 94,000 persons, of whom 63,000 were men and 12,000 were

F YZB

Reference Folder

11/96

Austria

The Structure of Agriculture

Despite the government's efforts to sustain agriculture, by 1991 not one province had as much as 10 percent of the population involved in agriculture and forestry. At the beginning of the 1970s, all but two provinces (Vienna and Vorarlberg) had more than 10 percent of their populations involved in farming. This contrasted markedly to the situation in 1934, when all but those same two provinces had more than 30 percent of their populations working in agriculture. Over this period of two generations, the decline in the Austrian farm population was as fast as any in the Western world.

Of Austria's total area of almost 84,000 square kilometers, about 67,000 square kilometers are used for farming and forestry. Roughly half of that area is forest, and the remainder is arable land and pasture.

Agriculture and forestry accounted for about 280,000 enterprises in 1986, with the average holding being about twentythree hectares. There were about 4,500 corporate farms. Beyond those farms, however, only a third of all farmers were full-time farmers or farming companies. Over half the farming enterprises were smaller than ten hectares; nearly 40 percent were smaller than five hectares. Just as the number of farmers has long been in decline, so also has been the number of farms.

Family labor predominates, especially in mountainous areas and on smaller farms. Only a third of all farm and forestry enterprises were classified as full-time occupations in 1986. A full half of these enterprises are spare-time, that is, less than half of household labor is devoted to farming or forestry. The remainder are part-time. Farms up to ten hectares are more often tended by part-time and spare-time farmers rather than by fulltime farmers. For most farm owners and workers, nonfarm income is as important, if not more important, than farm income.

Despite the decline in the number of farmers and agriculture's share of GDP since 1960, agricultural output has risen. As of the early 1990s, Austria was self-sufficient in all cereals and milk products as well as in red meat. This gain was achieved because of the considerable gains in agricultural labor productivity.

The value of agricultural and forestry output is heavily concentrated in field crops, meat, and dairy products, with most of it coming from animal husbandry. Because large parts of Austria are mountainous, only the lowland areas of eastern Austria and some smaller flat portions of western and northern Austria are suitable for crop production and more intensive forms of animal husbandry. The remainder of the land is used for forestry and less intensive animal husbandry, most of which takes advantage of mountain pasturage.

Data as of December 1993

According to Worldatlas.com Main Ag. Products consist of Grains, potatoes, Sugar beets, wine, Fruit, dairy products, cattle, Pigs, poultry & lumber. However, These are NOT Broken down by regional detail. ~~The capital~~ Linz is primarily industrial.

IJ-40 reference file 11/96

Ger. *Oberösterreich*, province (1991 pop. 1,333,480), 4,625 sq mi (11,979 sq km), NW Austria. **Linz** is the capital. Bordering on Germany in the west and the Czech Republic in the north, the province is predominantly hilly. It is drained by the Danube River and three of its tributaries, the Inn, the Enns, and the Traun, and includes a large part of the **Salzkammergut** resort area. Agriculture is still an important branch of the economy, with dairy farming and cattle breeding being the most important. There are salt mines, oil wells, and gas fields in the region and a large number of electric power stations. Industry is centered at Linz, Steyr, the Traun and Ager valleys, and Ranshofen. Manufactures include chemicals, iron and steel, aluminum, processed foods, motors, trucks, ships, beer, agricultural machinery, sports equipment, shoes, optical utensils, and textiles. The area of Upper Austria was included in the Roman province of Noricum. In 1156 it was made a duchy by Frederick I and given to the **Babenberg** dukes of Austria. The province was invaded by the Turks in the 16th cent. It was a site of battles during the **Thirty Years War** (1618-48) and during the campaigns of **Napoleon I** .

Probably an industrial birth after WW II.

Friend to Alois in 1897

~~Hafeld will yet be a town for summer visitors~~

~~Alois decides his mood probably. He will get sell at a profit.~~

1897 + 98

JJ-4 reference file 11/96

(lints) , city (1991 pop. 203,044), capital of Upper Austria, NW Austria, a major port on the Danube River. It is a commercial and industrial center and a rail junction. Manufactures include iron and steel, machinery, electrical equipment, glass, furniture, beverages, shoes, rubber, tobacco products, and textiles. Originally a Roman settlement called Lentia, Linz was made a provincial capital of the Holy Roman Empire in the late 15th cent. The city has numerous historic structures, including the Romanesque Church of St. Martin (8th cent.); the baroque old cathedral (17th cent.), where the composer Anton Bruckner was organist (1856-68); the city hall (17th cent.); the baroque bishop's palace (1721-26); and the new neo-Gothic cathedral (19th-20th cent.). The Provincial Museum in Linz contains paintings, folk art, and Roman artifacts.

1897

Refocusing Alix toward end, End

25 Logan Tsem & Reanut + note dictate R
Mary Hubbley

33 Czars duties after (monstrous) R

34 Kruschage + Marton (end-piece
+ D.K (D.T.)

26 Nicky (D.T. in Hafeld)

23 — precedes? 26

35 End-piece mass grave (refutation?)

END

Alix

29 The law of secrets
(Ella) in mind of KR.

25 Empress + Alix

(toward the end

Sergei

10-13
15-16
18-20
24-~~25~~

30 (Blame) not enough police money, embezzlement

31 Sergei, Ella, Alix - Prince of Khodynka

~~[illegible]~~ 19b-19c - Robespierre followers

19d, 19e } Olga - ~~for~~ Sergei's family side

15 KR on Sergei's mistake.

16 Xenia - Family - Ella
develop. Ella the saint
Sergei the reprobate
very romance
(they have so few secrets
among them that they adore them)

18-20 KR later in the week (a week later)

24 KR on 8 June summing up

"Spitsbub," "Little Wife," or (she of him) "Boysy," "lovy," "*dushki*" (my soul), "my sweet one," "pussy mine," "sweety," "darling manykins," "*Lansbub*,"[16] were married.

Alix' impression of the Czar, formed in her early days of marriage and expressed in a letter to her friend, the German Countess Rantzau, was: "I feel that all who surround my husband are insincere and no one is doing his duty for Russia. They are all serving him for their career and personal advantage and I worry myself and cry for days on end, as I feel that my husband is very young and inexperienced, of which they are taking advantage."[17]

There was much truth in her observation. And Khodynka bore this out. The fete had been managed carelessly—indeed, criminally mismanaged from the beginning. The people's *gulanye*, as such holidays were called in Russia, was a tradition of medieval origin. It was always rowdy and boisterous. Deaths and injuries were not unusual. Indeed, they were expected. You could not assemble so vast a throng of peasants, fill them with beer and vodka, and expect anything else. In fact, at Alexander III's coronation gulanye thirty-two persons had died, a number of them in the rush to get the Czar's presents and free liquor.

Khodynka was planned on a scale to outdo all other gulani. It was held on the same field where the fete of Alexander III had been held. Everyone knew the commons were crisscrossed with shallow trenches. Everyone knew several hundred thousand countrymen would assemble. (The Czar's officials had cast no fewer than 400,000 of the enameled mugs which were the lure that brought so many to their deaths.)

It was true that the crowds proved almost twice as large as had been anticipated. But even if only 400,000 had appeared, the arrangements would have broken down because the responsible official, the governor-general of Moscow, the Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich, had carelessly failed to provide more than a handful of gendarmes to control the throngs. Once the disaster occurred the principal effort of the officials was to conceal its extent from the Czar and the public. When the Czar learned what had happened, he was appalled. He wanted to retire to a monastery and pray for the victims.[18] His intimates dissuaded him and the moment in which the Czar at the onset of his reign might have forged a bond of sympathy and commonality with his people vanished in intrigue and squabble over who was to blame for the catastrophe. This took a pattern which, unfortunately, was to be repeated time and again.

There were two sources of responsibility for Khodynka. One was the Minister of Court, Count I. I. Vorontsov-Dashkov, an old friend and

p. 15 – need more on violating language.
p. 21 – the Left has always used punch phrases – remember Agitprop.

p. 92 – Norman, do you really believe that a sizeable # of fundamentalists care about the poor & the environment?

p. 104 – bottom "But we moved in ..." repetitious.
p. 132 – "When adversaries walk away from ..." – I think here what you mean is make a deal. To "walk away from" ~~[illegible]~~ usually means to give up on.
p. 136 Why a question mark after "corporation"? Also, need to put following JBH on new line.
p. 140 Top 3 lines – doesn't make sense as written.
p. 147 No parentheses needed around "Most of them from drink".
p. 149 Someone told me recently that they couldn't find enough water. Better check it out.
p. 193 Should it be "Bushes" or "Bushies". Bushes refers only to those named Bush.
~~p. 195 Typo – tobe~~

Title?

God discussion – VG

63-73, 75-81, 86-89 5oc

335, 336
696-7
Dunkirk 656-7

Emil Maurice, Goli Raubal
+ Eva Braun

143, 209, 227, 266, 318

~~246~~ 334-337, 545
816 n 29, 817 n 30

3-5, 9, 13-17, 19-24, 803, 26-28,
~~30~~-31, 34-36, 40-44, 47-52,
~~54~~-55, 57-61